Negotiating the Discourse of the Modern in Art: Pan Yuliang (1895–1977) and the Transnational Modern

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(History of Art)
in The University of Michigan
2013

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To my family

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The path toward completion of this dissertation was not traveled alone but accompanied by many individuals and institutions that made this path possible in the first place. My committee played a special role and special thanks goes to them. First and foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my advisor, Professor Martin Powers, who made me think in ways that challenged preconceptions and accepted norms and always offered his support and guidance throughout my graduate career, making everything make sense when there was no sense. Along the way he introduced me to many people who graciously provided their assistance: Karen and Mario Cardullo; Gu Yue at the National Museum of China; Jin Mei at the Tsinghua School of Art and Design; and Song Xiaoxia at the Central Academy of Fine Arts in Beijing. Professor Kevin Carr has been both a great mentor, who made teaching art history fun, and sage, providing wisdom throughout my graduate career. Professor Matthew Biro imparted a wealth of knowledge about European modernism and provided an insightful perspective. And I am grateful to Professor Xiaobing Tang, whose work I have long admired, for being the fourth member of my committee.

This opportunity would not have been possible without the financial support of various institutions. I want to thank the Department of the History of Art and Rackham for their support throughout my graduate career. A special thanks goes to the Center of Chinese Studies for supporting me even earlier as an M.A. student and their continued

support in various forms throughout the years, most recently with the Peking American Fellowship in 2012, which allowed me to devote all my time to finishing the last chapters of my dissertation. I was fortunate to receive a Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Fellowship (U.S. Department of Education), which allowed me to conduct my field research. I have been very fortunate and am grateful to the University of Michigan.

To my friends and colleagues at the University of Michigan and elsewhere in the world who have accompanied me in this journey, I can never express my thanks in mere words. First, my fellow Martians Bo Liu and Rebecca Bieberly provided empathy and help with translations and critical analyses and support at various critical junctures. Kathy Zarur always knew what to say and when to say it: your support and encouragement made a world of difference when the world seemed quite bleak. Ksenya Gurshtein always asked the right questions, whether personal or academic, and provided wisdom and a sincerity that could never be matched. Michael Shum always gave helpful suggestions and amusing commentary on my many drafts and fellowship applications and understood the plight of the graduate student, even as he continues on yet another doctoral adventure. Danie Stockmann encouraged me both as a bona fide professor and a really interested friend during the early days of my research in Beijing. Lenore Szekeley was a great confidante and source of support, especially in the later critical stages. And finally, Hayet Sellami, dear friend whom I met in Beijing, a fellow graduate student now academic, she gave me the mantra “Write write write” and “加油,” basically the courage to continue and finish. She also assisted with the French translations for chapter 4.

Last but not least, my family. My mom, if she had been given the opportunity, would have been the better, if not most superior, scholar. She might not have understood exactly what I was doing, but she knew where my heart was and where my curiosities led me and she was willing to support me in the ways that only my supermom could. My little dreamy daughter Kaya kept life in perspective, with her infectious smile and giggles, supplying her mama with abundant kisses and hugs. Finally, my biggest thanks goes to my husband Séan, who from the beginning to the end and all the bumps and mountains in between, believed in me, believed that I could finish my dissertation, despite many of my own doubts. I could have never done this without him.

CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

In a Room of Her Own

From her numerous self-portraits to her female nudes (figures 1–4), the past two decades in particular has witnessed a surge of scholarly and connoisseurial interest in the life and art of Pan Yuliang (1895–1977), both in China[1] and abroad.[2] Her fictionalized life has attained a mythic quality, engendering a popular television drama, best-selling novels in Chinese, English and French,[3] and the film Huahun ("The Soul of Painting"; 1994). As a

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[1] The most recent large-scale exhibition (Fall 2007) was held at the China National Art Museum in Beijing and Anhui Provincial Museum in Hefei. Other large-scale retrospective exhibitions include the 1995 National Museum of History in Taipei. Her last exhibition while she was alive was held at the Musée Cernuschi, Paris, in 1977, where she was exhibited with three other Chinese women artists. Exhibition catalogues include Pan Yuliang, Pan Yuliang meishu zuopin xuan (Hefei: Anhui Provincial Museum, 1988); Pan Yuliang meishu zuopin xuanji (Nanjing: Jiangsu meishu chubanshe, 1988); Pan Yuliang hua ji (Taibei: Guoli lishi bowuguan, 1995); and Pan Yuliang meishu zuopin jingxuan (Chengdu: Sichuan meishu chubanshe, 2011).

[2] For example, Christophe Comentale, "Pan Yuliang de Shanghai à l'Ecole de Paris [From Shanghai to the School of Paris]," Art et Métiers du Livre 254 (June–July 2006): 30–39, and Pan Yuliang, Overseas Chinese Fine Arts Series 3 (Taibei: Yishujia chubanshe, 2007); Phyllis Teo, "Maternal Ambivalence in Pan Yuliang's Paintings," Yishu Journal of Contemporary Chinese Art 9:3 (May/June 2010): 34–47, and Modernism and Orientalism: The Ambiguous Nudes of Chinese Artist Pan Yuliang," New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies 12:2 (December 2010): 65–80; Zhou Zhaokan, Pan Yuliang, Masters of Chinese Painting series 52, vol. 152 (Taibei: Jinxiu chubanshi yegu fen youxian gongsi, 1995).

[3] Two recent works of fiction on Pan Yuliang have been written in English by Joan Cody Epstein, The Painter from Shanghai (New York: W. W. Norton), and in French by Marie-Laure de Shazer, Pan Yuliang (La femme peintre qui savait unir l'Orient et l'Occident) (Paris: Edilivre Editions APARIS, 2010). The main biography in Chinese is by Shi Nan, Huahun (Zhuhai: Zhuhai chubanshe, 2000; orig. 1983).

subject of art history, her works have been praised for their harmonious synthesis of Chinese tradition and European modernism and encapsulated in an oft-quoted phrase: rong zhongxi yizhi 融中西一治 (or, he zhongxi yu yizhi 合中西於一治; "to combine China and the West as compatible"). In addition, Pan has recently been championed as one of the forebears of modern Chinese art during the early twentieth century, elevating her position to that of other Chinese artists such as the "fathers" of modern art in China—Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻 (1895–1953), Liu Haisu 劉海粟 (1896–1994), and Lin Fengmian 林風眠 (1900–1991).[4]

Although scholarship on Pan Yuliang has proliferated in the past few decades, they have focused on a cursory analysis of her works, her status as a woman artist, and a revised understanding of her contribution to the legacy of modern art in China during the twentieth century. Her works are consistently evaluated in relationship to her gender, products that reflect a feminine sensitivity, and often reflected through the lens of nationalism—that is, her works represent her devotion to her motherland, despite years of exile.[5] These recent approaches highlight different agendas that Pan as an artist and as a symbol have provided for various individuals, groups, and nations.

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[4] The proliferating number of articles on Pan Yuliang attests to her increasing popularity and a desire to move beyond a biography to a closer examination of not only her life but also her works. Yet, these analyses overlap in their singularity of focus, that of Pan and her successful synthesis of two opposing art traditions.

[5] For example, see Yi Ge, Pan Yuliang zhuan (Chengdu: Chengdu shidai chubanshe, 2003); Zhou Zhoukan, Pan Yuliang (Taibei: Jinxiu chubanshi ye gu fen you xian gongsi, 1995); Xu Hong, "Early 20th-Century Women Painters in Shanghai," in Shanghai Modern, 1919–1945, ed. Jo-Anne Birnie Danzker, Ken Lum, and Zheng Shengtian (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz, 2005), 200–215; Chen Xi, "Lian shenghuo: Cong shenghuo zhong kanjian Pan Yuliang de yishu jiyin" (Taipei: Dashulin chubanshe, 2006); and Chen Ting, "Pan Yuliang renwu hua de yanjiu," Arts Exploration (Journal of

One agenda identified is a keen interest in the creation of a distinct narrative of Chinese national art history, especially the recuperation of almost forgotten artists and their works. These "forgotten" artists have been recuperated along certain themes, such as the maverick art for art's sake artist or in relation to an unrecognized forward-looking modernity that finds its parallel in the boom of Chinese contemporary art and its status/stature in the global art world.[6]

Yet, these approaches limit understanding how Pan was part of a larger artistic and cultural milieu both within and outside China who had to negotiate her identity as an artist, a woman, and as an individual. Pan's artworks reflect critical moments in the development of a visual language by which she engaged in the broader discourses of the modern in art, which need to be addressed and examined.

In this study, I demonstrate how Pan Yuliang was a conscious agent who actively negotiated such discourses, by questioning labels such as "modern/contemporary," "Chinese," or "woman" artist. She engaged with these labels throughout her life in her artistic practice. By focusing on Pan and her works at specific historical junctures, I highlight other narratives, such as the question of the New Woman during the Republican period to the "East" and "West," focusing on her most familiar subject matter, the female nude, as well as the construction of the Chinese Other in her later works. Most significantly, Pan drew readily from the vocabularies and techniques of Chinese ink

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Guangxi Arts College) 21: 3 (August 2007): 63–66.

[6] Another artist who parallels Pan Yuliang, that is, as an isolated case of artistic achievement, is San Yu (Chang Yu 常玉; 1901–66), who was also an expatriate artist in France. His female nudes and graphic sketches suggest similarities, although their works are very different and engage a different process of self-exoticization.

painting while subtly undermining the authority of that tradition in relation to the European art tradition.

Here I address this recent surge of critical interest in Pan Yuliang and critique the limitations imposed by these recent analyses, which reflect some of the methodological approaches to the historiography of modern art in China during the Republican period (1911–49). The similarities of these methodological approaches to one artist and to the broader history of art in China during the twentieth century highlight the need for different paths to be paved for future analysis, which I will explore in subsequent chapters, such as subject matter to artistic language and practice and their relation to constructions of the modern, nationalism, and gender in twentieth-century China.

PROLOGUE

Since Deng Xiaoping (1904–97) launched economic reforms in 1978 in China, contemporary art in China has boomed internationally. A concomitant interest followed in artists who were once on the margins or forgotten and now reestablished in the present could attest to the creativity and independence of China's vision and China's position in the new world order.

One of these artists, initially on the margins of academic scholarship before the contemporary art boom in China, is Pan Yuliang. A Pan Yuliang "fever" (Pan Yuliang re 潘玉良热) began in the 1980s after her works were repatriated to China posthumously in 1977, a symbolic return "home" of the artist. The Pan Yuliang fever became pitched after the fictional biography by Shi Nan was published in 1983, which then was depicted on the silver screen by Huang Shuqin in the 1990s. The 1994 film Huahun 画魂 (The Soul

of Painting), was directed by He Ailin and starred Gong Li, an internationally recognized Chinese film star, who played the dynamic, fiercely independent, and art for art's sake artist Pan Yuliang. In the film, Gong Li as Pan Yuliang (or just Gong Li) was awesome: talented, defiant, proud, human, vulnerable, all the characteristics necessary of an artist, even though Pan did die alone and penniless. This was not portrayed in the film. Rather the scene shows Gong Li, aged, as Pan Yuliang viewing one of her final exhibitions before her death. You can see in Gong Li's eyes that she was proud and happy for her life's works to surround her in this exhibition, as if they were the members of her extended family gathered around her to celebrate and validate her life. Yet, even prior to the film, a televised drama depicted the life of Pan Yuliang.[7] In 1988, Fujian Provincial Television Studio in Fuzhou produced an eight-part special on Pan's life that generally adopted Shi's approach of dramatizing Pan's conflict between romantic love and domestic happiness on one side and personal self-realization through dedication to artistic pursuits on the other.

Because of her biography and its depiction in popular culture, from film to fiction, Pan is the most well-known Republican-period woman artist and is no longer a footnote to the history of modern art in China.[8] She is prominent in recent histories of woman artists in China and has been reinserted into the narrative of modern art during the

[7] Directed by He Ailin, graduate of the Shanghai Film Academy.

[8] Pan is included in surveys of art in China during the twentieth century: Michael Sullivan, Art and Artists of Twentieth-Century China (Berkeley: University of California press, 1996); Michael Sullivan, Modern Chinese Artists: A Biographical Dictionary (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006): 121; John Clark, Modern Asian Art (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998), 286; Lu Peng, A History of Art in Twentieth-Century China 20 Shiji zhongguo yishu shi (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe); and Ralph Croizier, "Pan Yuliang," in Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women, The Twentieth Century, 1912–2000, ed. Lily Xiao Hong Lee and Clara Wing-chung Ho, vol. 2 (Armonk: M. E. Sharpe, 2003), 417–19.

Republican period.[9] In Anhui Provincial Museum, where the majority of her works were donated posthumously, her works occupy a separate wing, which was undergoing a larger renovation/expansion in the summer of 2010. The most recent exhibition of some of her works took place in Huaihai in Anhui province in March 2010, before they were to go into storage indefinitely until the new wing had completed its renovation.[10]

The recent present has determined Pan's position in the revised history of modern art in China, most often as a reflection of the rise of contemporary China and, of course, contemporary Chinese art since the 1980s. According to Ralph Croizier,

> Perhaps the historical verdict on this remarkable figure will be that she played two roles. In her lifetime, Pan Yuliang was a forerunner, opening new paths for women in the new art and culture coming out of China's early twentieth-century opening to the modern world. Soon after her death, and thus too late for her to witness personally, she then became an even more potent symbol of personal and artistic self-expression for the country's new generation. Pan Yuliang's place in modern China's art history, as well as its gender and international cultural histories, seems secure.[11]

These two roles, forerunner and potent symbol, have allowed Pan to stand for something else and for other agendas, while ignoring how her works suggest competing discourses of artistic practice during their specific sociocultural and historical moment. Of relevance here is the fever (or discourse) of Pan Yuliang and how it reflects different agendas. According to Ralph Croizier, in the 1980s, Pan was praised by art scholars in various

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[9] Xu Hong, "Early 20th-Century Women Painters in Shanghai," in Shanghai Modern, 1919–1945, 200–215.

[10] Anhui Provincial Museum has benefited in many ways from the popularity of Pan Yuliang, generating funds for the museum and the new wing. Her works remain the most popular attraction at the museum.

[11] Croizier, "Pan Yuliang," 417–19.

symposia who were "eager to discover the outside world and pursue its own dreams of personal self-realization," despite a general questioning, albeit less serious, of the historical accuracy of Shi Nan's romanticized heroine.[12] But, according to Croizier, "historical accuracy was not the real issue in the China of the early 1980s. A new generation was eager to discover the outside world and pursue its own dreams of personal self-realization."[13] Today, these works are used to speak for individuals, groups, and a nation and they continue to play a role in an ever-changing game of cultural politics. This provides a telling example of how Pan was recuperated into the canon of modern art in China for other reasons than historical accuracy and a critical analysis of her works.

THEMES

This study examines Pan's contribution to the history of Chinese art. The chapters share several common themes in their approach to Pan's work and her life. First is her biography, that she was a woman (gender) and that she was Chinese (nationalism and race/ethnicity). Second are her works, especially the female nude (subject matter) and the theme of the "synthesis of East and West" in her later works, where both competition and synthesis were understood in terms of technique, skill, and application, as well as the historical discourses of modernism in art.

Art and Life

Because Pan's life has been redefined by popular culture, her artistic practice and works continue to be evaluated by scholars as a reflection of her "biographical" life. Highly

[12] Ibid., 418.
[13] Ibid., 418–19.

romanticized and scandalizing (to the point of titillation), Pan Yuliang's "biographical" life, as well as its many renditions, are often viewed through the lens of the present, reclaiming her uniqueness in ways that bolster other arguments and agendas.

First, her uniqueness is defined in several ways. There is her phoenix-like rise from the flames (as an orphan sold to a brothel) to emerge as one of the most important women artists of the period. This is often understood to reflect the openness of the Republican period and the possibilities that became available to women, despite the obstacles that Pan personally faced in regards to her sex and her social background.[14] There is also her contribution to the development of modern Chinese art and its promotion in Euro-America in her successful synthesis of two painting traditions and her numerous awards obtained in various salons and exhibitions in Europe after 1937. Pan is championed as an artist of the Republican period who was able to successfully merge two opposing modes of artistic practice, that of "Eastern" sketch conceptualism (写意 xieyi/ink play) and "Western" realism (写实 xieshi/oil painting). And, in addition, there is also her habit of firsts: she was part of the first group of women enrolled at the Shanghai Art Academy as well as part of the first group that went abroad to study at the Franco-Sino Institute in Lyon (and then on to Paris); one of the few Chinese artists to exhibit several times at the Salon des Artistes Indépendants in Paris and to have her works collected by the Musée d'Art Moderne and the Musée Cernuschi. And finally is her frequent use of the female nude.

[14] See, e.g., Phyllis Teo, "Modernism and Orientalism: The Ambiguous Nudes of Chinese Artist Pan Yuliang," 65–80; and Xu Hong, "Early 20th-Century Women Painters in Shanghai," in Shanghai Modern, 200–215.

Yet, how does her uniqueness as portrayed in her life story then become appropriated to explain her artistic practice? In regards to the analysis of contemporary women artists in China, Pan becomes the forerunner. She is appropriated as the pioneer example: an independent woman pursuing her artistic goals and dreams, using her own body as both art and object, and forging new paths for other women to follow. This emphasizes the role that gender plays in assessing her position as an artist and determining choices that supposedly are only within the realm of women. One example is the conflict experienced only by a woman, the conflict between love and domestic happiness and personal self-realization through dedication to artistic pursuits on the other. At that time in the early 1990s when Pan Yuliang fever reached its peak, this "dilemma," of choosing between love and domestic happiness and personal self-realization, according to Croizier, "resonated with the lives of many Chinese women who had themselves probably received an education."[15]

In regards to nationalism, she becomes the potent symbol for a cosmopolitan nation, once forgotten and now repatriated, whereby her "works" represent a commitment to a culture and tradition that has persevered and renewed itself in steady stride with its present international significance. In her artistic practice, she carefully acknowledges a strong respect and devotion to Chinese culture, especially ink painting (understood as distinctly "Chinese"), which she incorporated into her later works.

These analyses neglect the possible ways her works act performatively within the context in which they were created, as means to critique the discourses of art and the

[15] Croizier, "Pan Yuliang," Ralph Croizier, "Pan Yuliang," in Lily Xiao Hong Lee and Clara Wing-chung Ho, eds., Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women, The Twentieth Century, 1912–2000, vol. 2 (Armonk: M. E. Sharpe, 2003), 419.

modern in China. On one hand, there is Pan Yuliang the modern artist, whose art is autonomous, independent, and separate from political and social developments. This is an attempt by Chinese scholars to reclaim a modernist position for Pan. By modernist position, I am referring here to a linear, telos-oriented trajectory of her development as an artist, to say that her later artworks are the final culmination of her life as an artist. And thus the "repatriation" of her works "home" to China restores the possibility of an indigenous native modernism that was neither belated nor failed but unrevealed. The significance of an indigenous native modernism highlights how nationalism acts as a primary structuring principle to reincorporate Pan's art within a specific canon of Chinese artists in twentieth-century China. On the other hand, there is Pan Yuliang the Chinese artist, whose devotion to her homeland is represented in her works by choice in subject matter and technique whereby culture (i.e., Asian = Chinese) is visualized, thus suggesting the significance and longevity of Chinese culture and hence its civilization, that is, ink painting (from caimohua 彩墨画 to shuimohua 水墨画), as a means to define the modernity achieved by Pan in her successful synthesis of two opposing painting traditions. And finally, there is Pan Yuliang the woman artist.

The Artist and Development

A natural byproduct of discussing the art and life of Pan Yuliang is tracing the trajectory of her artistic development, mainly to highlight her maturation as an artist when she created her distinctive style. How this "maturation" is signified is discussed below. First, many scholars describe her years of training, often breaking down her development into periods, from early to middle to late, a linear progression of her development as an

artist.[16] Her early works, created during the 1920s while she was studying in Europe are often overlooked since they represent her less mature works, when she worked mainly in the European academic style of realism that she had been trained in during her almost eight years in Europe.[17] Many of these works are no longer extant, although some very important examples remain as reproductions in magazines and periodicals.[18]

Her works created after her return to France in 1937, for reasons stated but really unknown or unconfirmed (e.g., to escape the social conservatism of Chinese society during the peak of the New Life Movement initiated by the Kuomintang or to participate in the Exposition Internationale in Paris in 1937),[19] have garnered the most interest since they represent a transition in her artistic practice. In the 1940s, the main subject in her paintings remains the female nude—European/black woman/exoticized foreigner (e.g., gypsy) —most of which are painted in oil, in addition to still lifes and landscapes of Paris and its environs. In the 1950s, the primary subject still remains the female nude, alone or with others, but the medium and facture change, and a more generalized Asian "exotic"

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[16] Dai Zehua, "Caimo yishu de fazhan yu shidaixing," Journal of Huizhou Teachers College 26:5 (October 2004): 138–40; Dong Song, "Pan Yuliang lixue guiguo yinian jiande xihua chengjiu," Guandian yu yanjiu Perspectives and Research: 53–63; Hu Yi-xun, "Unraveling Pan Yu-liang, Her Works and Person," in The Art of Pan Yu- Lin (Taipei: National History Museum, 1995); Jiang Xinjie, "Zhongguo di yi wei nu xihua jia," Shiji renwu Century Personages (2010): 23; Jiang Zhefeng. "Yong linghun zuohua de chuanqi nüzi: Pan Yuliang zuopin ji yishu jingshen tansuo," Art Panorama (May 2005): 22–23; and Sun Nina, "Pan Yuliang caimohua yishu yanjiu," Shuhua yishu 5 (2008): 72–77.

[17] I would suggest that her artworks created in the 1920s are overlooked because they appear to be standard exercises in oil painting, which included landscapes and portraits of classical figures, which do not speak to the agendas of nationalism and gender so often found in recent analyses of Pan Yuliang.

[18] Reproductions of Pan's works that she created during her stay in Europe in the 1920s can be found in her 1936 catalogue, Pan Yuliang youhuaji, vol. 1 (Shanghai: Zhonghua chuban, 1934, 1936). Some of these works will be discussed in chapter 4.

[19] Phyllis Teo, "Maternal Ambivalence in Pan Yuliang's Paintings," Yishu Journal of Contemporary Chinese Art 9:3 (May/June 2010): 34–47.

ethnicity emerges (e.g., generalized facial features, small eyes, black hair, and in some the absence of noses). In many of these works, the subject is depicted alone in her boudoir, where the interior space is stylized with various embellishments, from the elaborately embroidered pieces of clothing to the tablecloths), almost like the odalisques of Kirchner and Matisse.[20] In others, there is more than one individual female subject depicted, both usually unrobed and in various undefined empty spaces that also suggest a boudoir.[21]

For many of these scholars, these works indicate a different path in her artistic creativity, a movement away from her realist oil paintings (and her early training) to use of Chinese ink on paper, as well as an incorporation of folk themes and other traditions, such as paper cuttings and embroidery. For scholars such as Wang Luxia and Zhang Kangfu, this period marks a maturation of her years as an artist because Pan has found her individual "voice" in these paintings by using specific subjects and specific media.[22] In addition, in the 1940s when Pan begins to use linearity in her oil works rather than a

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[20] Many have highlighted the 1940s and 1950s as a period when Pan develops her own style, yet they have never asked why she might have chosen to slowly move away from the use of oil and to use line and color to depict her ever-increasing similar figures. No one has explored the specific historical conjunction of the vogue for "blackness and colonialism" which has a powerful sensual theme in interwar Paris. Nor have they analyzed the move toward abstraction by other fellow Chinese expatriates like Zao Wou-ki (Zhao Wuji) and Sanyu (Chang Yu) in the 1950s or an analysis of the artists of the School of Paris who practiced under the term abstract art a kind of veiled figuration that gives paintings its structures or determines its chromatic range (figuration vs. abstraction). Although at present there is a dearth of primary material to substantiate any connection between Sanyu and Pan Yuliang, their use of the female nude as subject matter and the linear aspects of their technique warrant further analysis.

[21] There are many other types of scenes depicted, although in general the generalized "Asian" ethnicity is evident in all the subjects depicted, suggesting a Chinese Other, which I address in chapter 5.

[22] Wang Luxia and Zhang Kangfu, "Lun Pan Yuliang he zhongxi yu yizhide yishuguan," Zhejiang ligong daxue xuebao 27:6 (November 2010): 933–37.

thick impasto, Yi Ge defines this facture as a distinctive element in Chinese traditional painting.[23] In the next and final phase of her development in the 1950s and 1960s, when she successfully synthesizes "East" and "West," she has moved completely away from oil painting to ink and color on paper, but continues to depict the corporeality of her female nudes by emphasizing volume, color, and shading.[24]

Understanding the maturation of an artist is a common approach to understanding an artist's oeuvre. By breaking down the periods of artistic development, these scholars have suggested how Pan arrived at a certain point of representation. Yet, Pan's works are viewed as a pristine narrative of development, where exchange and interaction and possible forms of negotiation take a back seat to the development and final maturation of the artist, especially the development of her distinctive style using Chinese ink and paper (e.g., figures 5 and 6). Some have made a cursory focus on the techniques and styles that are suggested to distinguish between East (ink) and West (oil), especially her increasing use of ink (and therefore her retreat to a tradition that was not "old" or "decrepit" or "backward"), but analysis stops here. The one answer given to her increasing use of ink and paper and a visually distinctive "Chinese" subject matter and themes is her desire to merge two traditions, rong zhongxi yizhi. This desire to merge two traditions is encouraged not only by ideology but also by individuals, which is discussed below. There is very little analysis about the subject matter, especially the exotic and racialized female

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[23] Yi Ge, Pan Yuliang zhuan (Chengdu: Chengdu shidai chubanshe, 2003).

[24] Many have written on this period after the 1950s as Pan's maturation as an artist, revealing a "return" to her cultural roots, by abandoning oil on canvas and returning to ink on paper. See, e.g., Xiao Xiao. "Yidai huahun Pan Yuliang," Meizhi duyue weipin 12 (2010): 8–9; Xue Yang, "Zhongxi wenhua de piaoliang chuanyue: Pan Yuliang yu tada caimo yishu," Guohuajia: Xueshu yanjiu 5 (2010): 58–59; and Yang Dong, "Qiantan funu jiefang yundong beijingxia de nuyishujia," Social Sciences Review (Kexue congheng) 20:2 (April 2005): 178–79.

nudes and the way they are depicted, set apart in both time and space, and the lack of proportionality with a heightened exaggeration of form. There are no attempts to view these elements of representation, from the use of Chinese ink to the facture of color and space, as forms of negotiation between competing modernisms.

Synthesis of East and West

As a natural transition of exploring the developmental trajectory and maturation of Pan Yuliang the artist, scholars then focus on her successful synthesis of East and West in her later works.[25] This theme of synthesis is a continuation and culmination of Pan's development as an artist, reflecting the linear development of an artist as she comes into her own. The majority of these analyses evaluate Pan's development as an artist with one goal: toward a synthesis of "East and West." This successful synthesis of East and West suggest a preoccupation on the part of Pan Yuliang, after her training in Europe, to find a way to merge the two traditions. A common phrase that has been used repeatedly among the analyses is he zhongxi yu yizhi 合中西於一治 ("to combine China and the West as compatible").

Her European art training, as well as her initiation into Chinese painting after her return from France in 1928, allowed her to form this successful synthesis. After her return, she studied and copied Chinese traditional paintings, following Cai Yuanpei's Jiejian xifang, zhongxi ronghe (借鑒西方，中西融合; to borrow from the West, [and]

[25] Sun Yanli, "Rong Zhongxi hua yi yizhi: Pan Yuliang huihua yishu fazhan de lichen," Journal of West Anhui University 25:4 (August 2009); Wang Luxia and Zhang Kangfu, "Lun Pan Yuliang he zhongxi yu yizhide yishuguan," Zhejiang ligong daxue xuebao 27:6 (November 2010): 933–37; and Zhang Xiaowen, "Longmian shoufa de xieru yu ronghe: Lun Pan Yuliang youhua zhong de xianxing fengge," Arts Circle 6 (2008): 77.

synthesize East and West) aesthetic thought.[26] Directed by Liu Haisu who felt that her works were "too naturalistic," she began to study ink painting (= Chinese painting) from Zhang Daqian and Huang Binhong, imitated classical ancient Chinese paintings, and began to experiment with combining Chinese traditional line to sketch the human form. Two important aspects of Chinese art, (materials: brush and paper), would play significant roles in her successful guohua bimo 國畫筆墨 synthesis of two traditions.

While it is understandable to address these works as a successful synthesis of East and West, only simple explanations have been given. One is that her interest in painting in oils waned and that her longing for her homeland (to which she could not return) created a desire to use the medium of Chinese ink painting on paper to establish a connection to her homeland. Unfortunately, the question of how these two traditions are defined historically and part of a larger discourse is not offered but merely accepted as different. Pan's ability as an artist, having been "trained" in both traditions, offers the only possible way that the two art traditions can be merged into a harmonious modernity, whereas the larger historical, social, and cultural contexts for which she created these successful works of synthesis remain overlooked or simply ignored.

More relevant for discussion here is from where this desire to synthesize two painting traditions came from, as well as why and how these art traditions became contentious, which will reveal the historical agendas at work that are still relevant as discourse in the present. One is the continuing adherence to the May Fourth period discourse in which Chinese art needs to be reformed.

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[26] Cited in Wang Luxia and Zhang Kangfu, "Lun Pan Yuliang he zhongxi yu yizhide yishuguan," Zhejiang ligong daxue xuebao 27:6 (November 2010), 934.

The May Fourth Movement (Wusi yundong 五四运动; 1917–21) was named for the protests that culminated on May 4, 1919, after the Versailles Treaty, which had ceded Shandong to Japan. Many of its adherents, "May Fourth" intellectuals made claims based on an acceptance that the West was both ideologically and evolutionarily superior. Lu Xun and Chen Duxiu constructed "Western" science as the solution to all modern problems. Yet, prior to May Fourth, elite reformers and intellectuals were concerned with the business of national survival, especially after a series of defeats since the Opium Wars (1839–42 and 1856–60). But this concern was ultimately defensive because it was based on a negative construction of national character. "National character," of course, is a concept that evolved in nineteenth-century Europe as a key feature of nationalist discourse, but Lydia Liu has argued convincingly how the "myth" of national character (guominxing 國民性) was in essence co-authored in China.[27] Chinese intellectuals were complicit in promoting and adapting this tool of European nationalism to the Chinese case via literary efforts such as Lu Xun's "True Story of Ah Q" (1921). Their advocacy of Western culture was essentially political, and science became a weapon to attack beliefs and philosophy that they identified as backward and traditional in order to promote their own agendas. They equated ink painting (what would be termed national painting [guohua]) with a decadent and weak Chinese national character and thus it became a symbolic target for May Fourth intellectuals. In 1918, Chen Duxiu wrote in "Meishu geming" (美術革命; "Revolution in Art") that the "realistic" spirit of "Western" art could be a cure for the repetition and loss of originality that, he claimed, had

[27] Lydia Liu, Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China 1900–1937 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995).

characterized the Qing Dynasty. By associating ink painting with a national character constructed as weak and degenerate, elite intellectuals ironically ignored the long tradition of an artistic dialogue within China that had already attracted the admiration of "modernist" critics in Europe at that time.[28]

Although many scholars have decentered the May Fourth paradigm,[29] this paradigm is still applied to analyses of Pan's works. Wang Luxia and Zhang Kangfu argue that the roots of her desire to syncretize Chinese and Western painting began during the years of the New Culture Movement (1915–19), where new thoughts ("Western" ideas) were expounded by intellectuals and reformers like Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858–1927), Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868–1940), and Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 (1879–1942) and needed to replace the decaying tradition that had kept China from modernizing.[30] Thus, only the new (=Western=modern) could act as a catalyst to reform

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[28] See, e.g., Martin J. Powers, Art and History: The Counterchange Condition, Art Bulletin LXXVII (1995): 382–87, and "Reexamining the 'West': Shifting Perspectives in the Narrative of Modern Art," in Ershi shiji zhongguo hua, ed. Y. Q. Cao and J. Z. Fan (Beijing: Chinese Academy of Arts, 1997), 465–96.

[29] Many projects have decentered the May Fourth legacy in the construction of modernity. For example, Milena Dolelová-Velingerová and Oldrich Král, eds., The Appropriation of Cultural Capital: China's May Fourth Project (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005). In regards to modern Chinese literature, see critical analyses by Lydia Liu, Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity – China, 1900–1937 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995); David Der-Wei Wang, The Monster that is History: History, Violence, and Fictional Writing in Twentieth-Century China (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Wendy Larson, Literary Authority and the Chinese Writer: A Study of Early Twentieth Century Chinese Writers (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991); Jing Tsu, Failure, Nationalism, and Literature: The Making of Modern Chinese Identity, 1895–1937 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005); and Shih Shu-mei, The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in Semicolonial China, 1917–1937 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

[30] Wang Luxia and Zhang Kangfu, "Lun Pan Yuliang he zhongxi yu yizhide yishuguan," Zhejiang ligong daxue xuebao 27:6 (November 2010): 933–37.

Chinese art. As a result, the two painting traditions occupied opposite ends of the spectrum (old vs. new) that needed to be merged in order for Chinese art to be reformed and relevant to society today. Yet, for Wang and Zhang, Pan's successful synthesis in her later art works combined the deep essence of Western oil painting while simultaneously possessing the strong ideas and appeal of the East. The discourse of the "old" and "decaying" tradition of Chinese painting and thus its ideas and symbolic appeal has been transformed to reflect the significance of Chinese civilization and culture today.[31]

Xue Yang's argument continues along this vein yet revises the negative discourse of the May Fourth period toward the past.[32] Instead, he traces the development of Pan's successful synthesis back to her first brush with art, which was not European painting (as has been understood of her early artistic training) but learning embroidery, a folk art, at a young age and how this familiarity with a traditional Chinese folk art played a significant role in her later successful synthesis. Xue insists that Chinese traditional painting was always highly lauded but only needed to be reformed and thus existed an ever-present goal to develop Chinese ancient art by studying European painting.

In addition to these various reasons for Pan's desire to merge two traditions, there are also the reasons that suggest little agency given to Pan in approaching this synthesis. First, the desire to merge the two traditions, according to some analyses, was not self-inspired (although would become an "obsession") but instructed to her by her former teacher, Liu Haisu, the director of the Shanghai Art Academy where she first began

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[31] Of interest here is that their argument uses an object/practice to describe the West, a skill, whereas the East is described as an abstract place for strong ideas that can be visualized on the surface of a painting. This suggests a binary where the mind/spirit represents the East and the body the West.

[32] Xue Yang, "Zhongxi wenhua de piaoliang chuanyue: Pan Yuliang yu tada caimo yishu," Guohuajia: Xueshu yanjiu, 583–59.

formal lessons in 1919 before she left for France in 1921. During her years in Europe, Pan trained at the École des Beaux-Arts de Paris, under French artists Lucien Simon (1861–1945) and Pascal-Adolphe Jean Dagnan-Bouveret (1852–1929), where her European training included copying old masters and learning the fundamentals of traditional pencil sketching, as indicated in still lifes, the human form, and landscape, which is evidenced in her 1934 publication of art works (the works, although no longer extant) included some of her works made during that time. After her return in 1929, Liu Haisu, according to Lin, instructed Pan to study the Chinese classics and copy traditional Chinese paintings.[33] Liu felt that Pan had already developed her skill in European painting (that is, realism) and should learn from the masters of Chinese painting. By this time, in the 1930s, Liu had his own personal agenda, which was to promote Chinese ancient and modern paintings to an international audience in competition with his rival, Xu Beihong. The times had changed in the eight years that Pan had been in Europe.

Others also played a role in instilling this goal. Pan Zanhua, the man who purchased her freedom from the brothel, also encouraged her to study the classics. Scholars have highlighted how he passed on his own interest in Li Gonglin (1049–1106), a painter from the Northern Song Dynasty, to Pan. This interest in Li Gonglin has been interpreted by one scholar as a specific technique that Pan developed that could be

[33] This claim has been cited in several articles: Chen Ting. "Pan Yuliang renwu hua de yanjiu." Arts Exploration (Journal of Guangxi Arts College) 21:3 (August 2007): 63–66; Jiang Xinjie. "Zhongguo di yi wei nu xihua jia, in Shiji renwu." Century Personages (2010): 23; Zhang Guilin. "Lun Pan Yuliang de yishui ji qi chengjiu," Guizhou daxue xue bao yishu ban 2:18 (2004).

attributed to Li Gonglin, that is, the longmian technique, which is borrowed from Li Gonglin's pseudonym, Longmian Jushi 龙眠居士 (Resident of Sleeping Dragon).[34]

This "guidance" by men, from instructors to her own partner, highlights what Amy Dooling has called a persistent "paternalism" by male reformers since the end of the Qing Dynasty to Communist Party officials. She states "insofar as male radicals have dominated both intellectual debates and the political management of modern gender reform in China, women have arguably remained as disenfranchised and marginal as ever, the passive beneficiaries of male authority."[35] One must note that Dooling is writing specifically of China and not suggesting that this situation was particular only in China, since this was true in Europe as well.[36]

Without being part of the debates about Chinese and European painting and their relevance to a new or reformed China, among other significant discourses at the time, Pan is a passive recipient of ideas and her practice is not predicated upon her own agency or awareness of the particular debates. Rather, Pan is instructed by these male intellectuals and reformers that looking back toward the ancient masters of Chinese painting, studying the classics, and copying their works would be the right path for her artistic development, a far contrast to what she had been instructed prior to her first departure to France in 1921, during the early years of the May Fourth and New Culture movement. This guidance and direction by men reflects how male intellectuals and artists cultivated not

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[34] Zhang Xiaowen, "Longmian shoufa de xieru yu ronghe: Lun Pan Yuliang youhua zhong de xianxing fengge." Arts Circle 6 (2008): 77.
[35] Amy K. Dooling, Women and Feminism, 2.
[36] The case was made by Linda Nochlin when she discussed the institutional limitations on women artists, as discussed in her seminal, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?," in Women, Art, and Power and Other Essays (Boulder: Westview Press, 1971), 147–58.

only the New Woman but also the New Woman artist. Each male artist and intellectual with whom she had contact (from Pan Zanhua, Chen Duxiu, to Liu Haisu and Xu Beihong) instructed her on the importance of her role as an artist in the new society and what goals needed to be achieved and then directed her on the "right" path to achieving this goal. She could not find the path herself but had to be directed and then instructed on how to take the path.

This parallels the rhetoric that created the New Woman as visual and textual trope during the Republican period. Pan is an example of this New Woman created and shaped by men for the new nation. Yet, how would Pan herself play with the visuality of the New Woman of which she and others were part and parcel? I address this question in chapter 4.

In addition, by highlighting synthesis, scholars argue that Pan's obsession with merging the two traditions of painting reveals the significance of Chinese culture and civilization for Pan and how these works symbolize her love of motherland. By emphasizing Pan's successful synthesis of East and West in her art, scholars have a tendency to highlight her fervent nationalism and her desire to return home. Several articles have highlighted a seal used by Pan: "For ever and ever towards the Jade Palace" (zongshi yuguan qing 總是玉關情).[37] Although several connotations are implied,

[37] A glimpse of the moon hangs over the capital,
Washing-mallets are still pounding and bounding;
And the autumn wind blowing my heart,
For ever and ever towards the Jade Passage;
Oh, when will the Tartars troop be conquered?
And my lover comes back from the long campaign!

Ballads of Four Seasons: Autumn by Li Bai: 長安一片月，萬戶擣衣聲；秋風吹不盡，

scholars have suggested that this statement represents Pan's eternal longing for the motherland. The works are not analyzed in their specific sociocultural context but used as a filter to further expand the biography of Pan who is described as troubled by loneliness in a foreign land, which is revealed in her works, the subtle feelings of a woman who longed to return to her home country and family, which, in the end, simplifies the quandary of exile for Pan and how she addresses this concern in her works. Reading nationalism into her works simplifies the multiple visual referents in her works.

Yuan Huimin discusses Pan's self-portraits, which is considered to be the most objective of her works and can be divided into three periods (1937–40, 1941–49, and after 1949).[38] A transition occurs from the self-portrait in the first period, an objective self-representation, to the second during which her self-portraits signal the beginning of her creativity, the colors becoming more vibrant. In the second period, the author notes that a subtle transformation takes place in the expressions of the women and their inner spirit. Under her brush, the expressions of the women and the inner spirit begin a subtle transformation. In the third, there appears more exaggeration and apparent in the self-portraits is her loneliness from not being able to return to her homeland. Unfortunately, there is no explanation for how this is depicted in the self-portrait.

The Woman Artist

總是玉關情；何日平胡虜，良人罷遠征。李白《子夜四時歌之秋歌. Cited in Christie's Asian Contemporary and Chinese Twentieth-Century Art sale 2009. http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/paintings/pan-yuliang-5265276-details.aspx.

[38] Yuan Huimin. "Yige nuren de zi hua xiang: Jieshi Pan Yuliang 'Zihuaxiang'," Shixue yishu zuopin jiexi, Xin shijue yishu 1 (2009): 109–11.

Gender plays a prominent role in analyses of Pan Yuliang as an artist but also in her works, especially her main subject matter of female nudes. She is discussed not only along her contemporaneous women artists, such as Guan Zilan and Fang Junbi, but also with contemporary Chinese women artists, and even compared with other "modern" woman artists, like Frida Kahlo.[39] This approach has been helpful when information about these women artists have been sparse, as in the case of Pan, yet she is a backdrop for other points of discussion, as in the case of contemporary Chinese women artists. In addition, how the discourse around gender and the production of meaning in art are intertwined remains ambiguous or even ambivalent, resulting in inherited gender assumptions, such as reading "femininity" in her works.

First, Pan is used as an extreme example of how extraordinary the times were when a "former Chinese prostitute who entered an art school in Paris went on to become one of China's leading artists."[40] Xu Hong, who has written several different articles that examine the historical situation of Chinese woman artists, often uses the past, that of the Republican period, to introduce the contemporary women artists of China.[41] In "The

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[39] Xu Hong. "Early 20th-Century Women Painters in Shanghai." In Jo-Anne Birnie Danzker, Ken Lum, and Zheng Shengtian, eds., Shanghai Modern, 1919–1945. Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz, 2005, 200–215, and "China—Dialogue: The Awakening of Women's Consciousness." ART AsiaPacific 2.2 (1995): 44–51; and Xiang Hongnian. "Aide butong biaoda fangshi." Wenhua yishu yanjiu (September 2009): 83–85.

[40] Xu Hong, "China—Dialogue: The Awakening of Women's Consciousness," 44.

[41] Xu Hong, "The Spotted Leopard: Seeking Truth from History and Reality: Trends in the Development of Chinese Art," ART AsiaPacific 1.2 (April 1994): 31–35, and Xu Hong, 'China—Dialogue: The Awakening of Women's Consciousness." Some of the women artists mentioned, such as Cai Jian and Li Xiujin, according to Xu, "represent a gradual emergence of a recognizable women's art" but that "there are other female artists who choose to emphasise artistic consciousness and who are determined to engage and do battle with entrenched male artistic principles. Sometimes the expression of women's character (often through materials and forms) and women's consciousness (ideology) are

Awakening of Women's Consciousness (1995)," Xu mainly discusses the role and position of woman artists in the development of art in China during the twentieth century, focusing on several key woman artists, including Pan. Yet, she argues that only in contemporary times, beginning in the early 1980s, women artists were able to "re-creat[e] their own image." Xu discusses the ways in which contemporary woman artists in China since the 1980s have found different ways to express themselves individually in their artistic practice, especially in relation to the depiction of their own image, that is, the image of women. This is what she calls the awakening of women's consciousness, which she says must "be expressed through an understanding of the female character." (49) Unfortunately, by discussing contemporary women artists in China and their newfound ways to express themselves individually, Xu overlooks the ways that women artists like Pan and her contemporaneous women artists during the Republican period also had to negotiate their own expression in their works, especially in their use of the female nude.

Second, Pan's works are described in gendered language. Many scholars have focused on the "feminine" traits in her paintings which also include the subject matter but also her use of line and colors. The composition of the paintings acts as a focal point for mediation on these so-called feminine traits, such as virtue, serenity, benevolence and tranquility. Of her works in oil, Chen Ting suggests that the strong color palette and graceful style represents both the strength and fragility of the woman artist. She uses words like "nuxing de" qingying 轻盈 (slim, graceful gentle), xini 细腻 (fine, smooth, exquisite), and wenrun 温润 (mild, beautiful, tender) to describe a 1940 work by Pan,

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both manifest in an artist's work. This is because women's consciousness must be expressed through an understanding of the female character" (49).

Woman Holding a Fan (1940; figure 7). For Chen, this type of painting is a departure from the oil paintings that Pan created in the 1920s, in which the lines are less coordinated (lacking harmony), the form more stylized, and the colors less vivid. As in the case of her increasing move toward synthesizing two traditions, many consider these later works as "feminine" works, emphasized by the themes of love, play, solitude, and isolation represented in the subject matter.[42]

This reading of femininity in her works is a direct result of the categories that she is placed in, being a woman and her choice of certain subject matter. For many of these scholars, as her creativity expands and solidifies in her distinctive style, her works become more "feminine," especially in her later works that merge two traditions. Yet, this common approach to her works simplifies notions of femininity as well as Pan's complex mediations on what constituted the modern in painting practices of the period.

Third, Pan has been evaluated in relation to other women artists of the Republican period, such as Qiu Ti 丘提 (1906–58; wife of Pang Xunqin 龐薰琴 [1906–85], a prominent artist and one of the founders of the Storm Society [Juelanshe 決瀾社]), Guan Zilan 關紫蘭 (1903–86), Cai Weilian 蔡威廉 (1904–39; daughter of Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培), and Fang Junbi 方君璧 (1898–1986).[43] This approach has helped to address the

[42] Sun Yanli, "Rong zhongxi hua yi yizhi: Pan Yuliang huihua yishu fazhan de lichen." Journal of West Anhui University 25:4 (August 2009); Sun Nina, "Pan Yuliang caimohua yishu yanjiu." Shuhua yishu 5 (2008): 72–77; Jiang Zhefeng, "Yong linghun zuohua de chuanqi nüzi: Pan Yuliang zuopin ji yishu jingshen tansuo," Art Panorama (May 2005): 22–23; and Chen Xi, Lian shenghuo: Cong shenghuo zhong kanjian Pan Yuliang de yishi jiyin (Taipei: Dashulin chubanshe, 2006).

[43] Xu Hong, "Early 20th-Century Women Painters in Shanghai," in Shanghai Modern, 1919–1945, edited by Jo-Anne Birnie Danzker, Ken Lum, and Zheng Shengtian

ways that history has excluded or included women artists from the familiar narratives of art history in twentieth-century China and to examines the ways that women variously fit into, redefine, or turn upside down the usual categories of art and art-making. Yang Dong notes how woman artists like Pan Yuliang, Qiu Ti, and Liang Baibo are pioneers, whose rebellion toward society is the reason for their tragic state as well as the ability of their artworks to affect people. For Yang, Pan was the only one who could continue creating her art yet it was at the sacrifice of nation and home. She could neither return home nor have a family home.[44]

Yet, by comparing these women artists, other factors, such as class and social background, are neglected. Unlike her contemporaneous women artists, Pan's lineage was less exemplary. Pan is "different" from other women artists, as she was neither wife nor mother, and her early life in the brothel is repeatedly mentioned, a biographical appendage that explains her tendency toward depicting the female nude. She did not live the life of a sheltered young lady from an educated family who broke from tradition to become an independent artist and teacher. She did not embody those feminine qualities that were considered to be essential to the making of a modern nation, that is, women who could nurture good citizens and who could articulate the ideals of public culture.

Thus difference and exclusion become a theme that surrounds Pan and her work. One representative example, in speaking of gender and effects of exclusion, Wu Jing

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(Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz, 2005), 200–215; Wei Jing, "Minguo shiqi liuxue haiwai nuhuajia de yishu tedian: Yi Pan Yuliang, Guan Zilan weilie," Yishu yu sheji 10 (2009): 326–28; Yang Dong, "Qiantan funu jiefang yundong beijingxia de nuyishujia," Social Sciences Review (Kexue congheng) 20:2 (April 2005): 178–79.

[44] Yang Dong, "Qiantan funu jiefang yundong beijingxia de nuyishujia," 178–79.

attempts to provide a gender analysis of Pan's works.[45] As much as Wu's analysis departs from a biography of Pan's development of an artist, it sticks to a more radical position that Pan's temperament/nature tended toward the masculine, both in her works and in her life. While attempting to challenge gender-based norms in regards to Pan's works, Wu reinforces the divisions between men and women's behavior, rather than offering any constructive reading of performative femininities and masculinities. For Wu, if the style of art expression exists in gendered difference, then the works of Pan Yuliang and her style obviously overcome the gendered adjectives that Wu associates with women's painting, such as xianruo 纤弱 (fragile, delicate), wumei 妩媚 (lovely, charming), and wenrou 妩媚 (gentle and soft/tender). Therefore, Wu, by arguing that Pan's style and her works negate these gendered adjectives such as fragile and gentle, actually implies that Pan's work possesses a masculine character. Wu tries to reinforce the "masculine" character of Pan's works by associating her with great European male artists, such as Velasquez, Ingres, Modigliani, Van Gogh, Degas, and Matisse, without making any clear argument of how the works by these male masters of art are masculine. For Wu, this simple association allows Pan to stand apart from other women in a patriarchal society.

In Wu's argument, Pan is removed from the canon of woman artists because her behavior is masculine. According to accounts from people who have known Pan, Wu describes Pan as strong and her demeanor straightforward and blunt, someone who likes

[45] Wu Jing, "Xingbiejian de xuanze: Nu huajia Pan Yuliang de huihua yishu," Yishu jingdian 8 (2010): 16–35.

to drink and laugh.[46] In a society that criticized her family background or lack thereof, Pan, according to Wu, had to maintain a strong forceful external masculinity as a way to protect herself in order to survive in this world. Wang is saying is that Pan had to forgo her womanhood, mainly defined by stereotypical feminine traits, and to become a man to play in a man's world, which is the "art" world.

Not only does Wu suggest that Pan appropriated masculine tendencies to "toughen" herself against a society that bore down on her background, she also highlights Pan's nationalism in a series of paintings that depict a mother and child, often in a natural outdoor environment, such as a beach and not within closed quarters. This series of paintings was initiated in the 1950s, when Pan was unable to return to China.[47] For Wang, mother and child become a metaphor for the mother country, a relationship that is natural and unbreakable.

As a woman artist, Pan was on the periphery but efforts by recent scholars to recuperate her and place her squarely with the other "fathers" of modern art in China has other implications. One on hand, to be on par with the "fathers" of modern art, Pan has to forgo her femininity and adopt a masculine persona, as described by Wu, although this has also been the case for European women artists who painted the female nude, such as Suzanne Valadon. On the other hand, her ability to "create" and thus nurture a successful synthesis of two opposing traditions, while sacrificing neither, suggests the role of the New Woman as nurturer. Pan, for these scholars, is the New Woman, who gives birth to a new style of painting, to save the nation, a conceit that still resonates although it can be traced back to Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873–1929), the late Qing reformer, who

[46] Ibid., 30.
[47] Cf. Phyllis Teo, "Maternal Ambivalence in Pan Yuliang's Paintings," 34–47.

championed feminine qualities that he considered to be essential to the making of a modern nation, that is, women who could nurture good citizens.[48] Thus, Pan's paintings become the anthropomorphized good citizens of the new China, representing the reproductive nature of Pan as the New Woman of the new modern Chinese society to rebirth the nation through art.

The Female Nude

Because of her specific approach to the female nude, in both content and facture, Pan's female nudes remains unavoidable in any discussion of her works. For some scholars, Pan's nudes are simply subject matter and a genre that was imported from European painting, and has nothing to do with the significance of her Chinese brushwork that is at work in her use of line.[49] For others, the female nude paintings not only represented the pursuit of the ideal and of beauty in her artistic creations but also challenged the social customs in early twentieth-century China.[50]

However, the majority of analyses highlight how the female nude is associated with Pan's synthesis of the two painting traditions, despite the fact that Pan had been

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[48] Liang Qichao, *General Discussions of Reform*, 1896–97. For a thorough analysis in relation to the discourse of the New Woman, see Hu Ying, *Tales of Translation: Composing the New Woman in China, 1899–1918* (Stanford: Stanford University Prses, 2000).

[49] Xiao Xiao, "Yidai huahun Pan Yuliang," Meizhi duyue weipin 12 (2010): 8–9; and Wang Lili, "Qianzhe Pan Yuliang ta zhe shijie de xingcheng," Science and Technology Information 15 (2010).

[50] Xu Hong. "Early 20th-Century Women Painters in Shanghai," in Jo-Anne Birnie Danzker, Ken Lum, and Zheng Shengtian, eds., Shanghai Modern, 1919–1945 (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz, 2005), 200–215; and Phyllis Teo, Modernism and Orientalism: The Ambiguous Nudes of Chinese Artist Pan Yuliang," New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies 12:2 (December 2010): 65–80.

depicting the female nude since the early days of her artistic training.[51] For Sun Nina and Zhang Guilin, it is Pan's incorporation of elements of Chinese traditional culture, especially the aesthetic line of Chinese ink painting, that ultimately display her successful synthesis, which is embodied in the female nude.[52] Depicting the human form is a skill obtained by training but it is the essence of Chinese painting, the linearity, which conveys the movement and flow of her subjects, and her love of the female form, depicted in the fan dance, expresses emotion and love. They do not discuss how Pan's nudes reference the female nude as part of European aesthetics and tradition, despite the nude being as traditional as one can get in the European tradition.

If Pan's female nudes are associated with her successful synthesis of East and West, then what is the role played by Pan's "oriental woman" dongfang nuzi (東方女子)? Sun, in speaking of her exhibitions in 1953 and 1959 at the Galerie d'Orsay, as well as further exhibitions elsewhere in Japan, England, Germany, Greece, Luxembourg, and Italy, despite lacking any evidence regarding the works' reception, maintains that Pan's work, in general, began to represent an "Oriental" style (dongfang shi 東方式) recognizable in women in "ethnic" clothing and hairstyles, holding fans while performing a dance (e.g., figures 8–10).[53] She sees the women painted on the canvas are

[51] Sun Nina, "Pan Yuliang caimohua yishu yanjiu," Shuhua yishu 5 (2008): 72–77; Xue Yang. "Zhongxi wenhua de piaoliang chuanyue: Pan Yuliang yu tada caimo yishu," Guohuajia: Xueshu yanjiu 5 (2010): 58–59; Zhang Guilin, "Lun Pan Yuliang de yishui ji qi chengjiu," Guizhou daxue xue bao yishu ban 2:18 (2004); Zhang Xiaowen, "Longmian shoufa de xieru yu ronghe: Lun Pan Yuliang youhua zhong de xianxing fengge," Arts Circle 6 (2008): 77.

[52] Sun Nina, "Pan Yuliang caimohua yishu yanjiu," *Shuhua yishu* 5 (2008): 72–77; and Zhang Guilin, "Lun Pan Yuliang de yishui ji qi chengjiu."

[53] Sun Nina, "Pan Yuliang caimohua yishu yanjiu," 76.

embodiments of Chineseness, Chinese women, Chinese womanhood, and the "nature" she ascribes to the Chinese woman; being gentle and soft (wenrou 温柔) and possessing a supple beauty (roumei 柔美). Yet, scholars have not considered why Pan depicted clearly exoticized and racialized female nudes within the context of 1950s Parisian society. They over-simplify her "Eastern" themes and subject matter as a reflection of pride in her native heritage and culture, reducing "culture" to a simple package of defined images. These analyses fail to see the possibility of the female nude as part of a larger discourse about fine art that Pan would use to display her knowledge of Western ideals. In addition, the female nude as a genre allowed Pan Yuliang to question the discourse of ideal femininity and beauty circulating around the New Woman and critique the multiple representations of the static female body, from graphic display by stripping it of any erotic overtones, allowing the subject painted to demonstrate a refusal to be the object of the viewer's gaze, as well as demonstrating her skill as an artist.

WHAT IS NEGLECTED

Pan Yuliang's life is such that her work feeds into the modernist imaginary of the lonely, isolated maverick artist, whose life was dedicated to art, a fact that, ironically, obscures her individuality. Although recent analyses by Wu Jing, Chen Ting, and Sun Nina, among others, have elevated her status among women artists and in the canon of modern Chinese art,[54] certain themes recur in these analyses. First, there is an adherence to a

[54] Wu Jing, "Xingbiejian de xuanze: Nu huajia Pan Yuliang de huihua yishu," Yishu jingdian 8 (2010): 16–35; Chen Ting, "Pan Yuliang renwu hua de yanjiu," *Arts Exploration* (Journal of Guangxi Arts College) 21:3 (August 2007): 63–66; and Sun Nina, "Pan Yuliang caimohua yishu yanjiu," *Shuhua yishu* 5 (2008):

Euramerican modernist narrative of development, the idea of a linear progression in the development of the artistic genius/maverick, ironically ignoring the artist genius/maverick topos as it appears in Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠 (c. 815–c.877) and Guo Ruoxu 郭若虛 (fl. c. 1070–75) during the Song Dynasty.[55] As a result, accounts of her maturation as an artist often reflect an uncritical acceptance of a teleological modernist narrative of development, in which artistic creation was understood as fundamentally Western and therefore part of a history in which the artist carries history forward by making new breakthroughs.

Therefore, her successful synthesis is one way of addressing the theme of "trying to catch up" with Euramerican art, which introduces a temporal aspect to development in art, an idea of progress which privileges the new and the modern and is captured in the cliché of "embodying the spirit of the times." This "catching up" reflects the label of a belated or defensive modernity given to artistic practice and production during the Republican period (1911–49) by scholars like Gao Minglu.[56] This belated or defensive modernity is often associated with the failure of artists during this period to embrace European avant-garde art strategies as a means to liberate and individualize their artistic styles and postures.

72–77.

[55] See Zhang Yanyuan, *Lidai minghua ji*, in *Huashi congshu* (Shanghai: Shanghai meishu chubanshe, 1962), vol. 1, juan 10, p. 125; and Guo Ruoxu, *Tuhua jianwen zhi*, in *Huashi congshu* (Shanghai: Shanghai meishu chubanshe, 1962), vol. 1, juan 3, p. 35–36.

[56] Gao Minglu, "Toward a Transnational Modernity: An Overview of *Inside Out: New Chinese Art*," in *Inside Out: New Chinese Art*, ed. Gao Minglu (Berkeley: University of California Press, in association with San Francisco Museum of Modern Art and Asia Society Galleries, New York), 15–40. See also his essay "Particular Time, Specific Place, and the Truth of Mine: Modernity and the Avant-Garde in China," in *Documenta Magazine* no. 1 (2007): Modernity?, 166–79.

Yet, this label of belated or defensive modernity during the Republican period works was given only in relation to the rise of contemporary Chinese art during the latter decades of the twentieth century. Critics of contemporary Chinese art needed a framework to establish a narrative for contemporary Chinese art, which required a necessary foil: artistic practice and production during the early decades of the twentieth century. In casting the matter in these forms, scholars fail to realize that they are engaged in the very cultural politics that engulfed the artists and intellectuals of the Republican period, using the very same competing discourses of East and West as embodied by the two supposed opposite painting traditions.

Modern historians argue that Pan successfully merged East and West, and that it was only Pan Yuliang's recognition and deployment of the spiritual "essence" of Chinese classical painting that permitted her to achieve this synthesis. In their view, Pan's distinctive style was produced not by her skill in the European painting tradition but through the application of an essential national character that transformed her work. Viewed this way, "Western" painting and Chinese painting as terms were accepted at face value, easily defined and separated into categories of technique/practice/skill (brushwork, perspective, shading and color) and medium (oil vs. ink on paper). "Western" painting referred to traditional oil painting, highlighting Euramerican artistic movements, ranging from Postimpressionism to Modernism. "Eastern," specifically Chinese, painting referred to ink painting on paper, as well as elements from folk art and embroidery. In the end, scholars such as Zhou Zhaokan, Xue Yang, and Sun Yanli agree with a linear narrative of progress that privileges one nation's artistic tradition, often at

the expense of another.[57] In doing so, of course, these scholars claim cultural proprietorship of elements that, in fact, had been in constant flux during the Republican period. It might be more cogent instead to regard "East" and "West" as elements within a set of competing discourses of the modern during the early decades of the twentieth century.

The goal of this project is to take the analysis one step further and situate her works within their historical contexts so as to understand the binary of "East" and "West" within a dynamic of cultural politics running from the past through to the present. I examine a range of historical moments, culling primary source material from Pan's participation in the 1929 National Exhibition of Art to her engagement in exhibitions in France after she left China in 1937. I also analyze her most common subject matter, the female nude, in relation not only to the discourse of the New Woman in early nineteenth-century China but also to discourse of the Chinese Other in a transnational context.

OVERVIEW OF THE DISSERTATION

In chapter 1, "Invention of the Artist," I examine how Pan was understood in relation to other artists, women and men, to the nation, and to the art of China during the twentieth century. How does the story of Pan's achievement change in the twenty-first century, and how does these changes reflect contemporary concerns and agendas? What features of Pan's work drive these analyses? In sum, I expand on the zhongxi ronghe approach to the

[57] Zhou Zhaokan, *Pan Yuliang*, Masters of Chinese Painting series 52, vol. 152 (Taibei: Jinxiu chubanshi yegu fen youxian gongsi, 1995); Xue Yang, "Zhongxi wenhua de piaoliang chuanyue: Pan Yuliang yu tada caimo yishu," *Guohuajia: Xueshu yanjiu* 5 (2010): 58–59; and Sun Yanli, Rong zhongxi hua yi yizhi: Pan Yuliang huihua yishu fazhan de lichen," *Journal of West Anhui University* 25:4 (August 2009).

works of Pan Yuliang. This term is applied not only to her works but also to her life, as representative of the period itself, when the goal was to synthesize East and West. Yet, at each stage, these supposed polar terms actually meant different things, and evolved different usages, which I address specifically in chapters 3 and 4.[58]

In chapter 2, "Woman Artist: First National Exhibition of Art 1929," I analyze a case study, the First National Exhibition of Chinese Art in 1929,generally regarded as a milestone for the Republic (1911–49), yet filtered through the lens of a special issue on the exhibition in Funü zazhi (The Ladies Journal), volume XV, number 7, July 1, 1929.[59] Scholars have written on this exhibition as a significant temporal landmark in the history of the Republican period, yet they have generally focused on the debates between cultural arbiters leading up to the exhibition or the exhibition as a reflection of nationalism.[60]

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[58] Although I critique these recent analyses to reveal the cultural politics in naming and claiming Pan Yuliang the artist, many of these works, by focusing on her, allow the field of Pan Yuliang studies to exist, providing more information and primary source material available for further analysis. This ultimately is pivotal for continuing an ongoing sustained analysis into Pan Yuliang and her artistic production and practice. Some of the recent book-length monographs and catalogues provide a wealth of information about her works and her life. See, e.g., Yi Ge, Pan Yuliang zhuan (Chengdu: Chengdu shidai chubanshe, 2003); Chen Xi, "Lian shenghuo: Cong shenghuo zhong kanjian Pan Yuliang de yishi jiyin (Taipei Xian Zhonghe Shi: Dashulin chubanshe, 2006); Pan Yuliang, Pan Yuliang meishu zuopin jingxian (Chengdu: Sichuan meishu chubanshe, 2011); Pan Yuliang zuopin xuan (Taiyuan: Shanxi chuban ji tuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 2011); and Zhou Zhaokan, Yidai zhong shi huatan ju jiang: Jinian Pan Yuliang dan chen 115 zhounian: Pan Yuliang meishu zuopin jing xuan (Chengdu: Sichuan meishu chubanshe, 2011).

[59] The special issue has been included or mentioned by Chinese scholars: Liu Ruikuan, Zhongguo meishu xiandaihua (Beijing: Xinzhi sanlian shudian, 2008) and Xu Hong, Shanghai Modern: 1919–1945, eds. Jo-Anne Birnie Danzker, Ken Lum, Zheng Shengtian (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz Publishers, 2004), 200–215. Xu Hong, a feminist art historian, has been prominent among Chinese scholars in her analyses of women artists (e.g., Nuxing; Meishu zhi si [Jiangsu: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 2003]).

[60] For example, David Der-wei Wang and others have focused on the debate "I am perplexed" between Xu Beihong and Xu Zhimo on the pages of a prominent art journal about the merits of recent European painting in relation to recent Chinese modern art; see

In this chapter, I approach the exhibition by examining several layers of the special issue of the exhibition in regards to Pan Yuliang. One layer is the role of women artists like Pan Yuliang during the Republican period. Although featuring these women artists as a separate category for distribution and dissemination in a popular magazine like The Ladies' Journal might suggest similarities in the status and role of the woman artist, their approach to the questions of womanhood and feminine beauty, art and artistic practice, and aesthetics were quite varied. The second layer is the status of women artists as creators of art rather than as objects to be created in relation to the female nude, for which Pan Yuliang is most well known.[61] I examine how she used the female nude as a

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David Der-wei Wang, "In the Name of the Real," in Chinese Art: Modern Expressions (New York: Department of Asian Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001). See, also, Xu Beihong, "Huo" 惑 (Perplexity), in Xu Beihong yishu wenji (Collection of XB's writings on Art), ed. Xu Boyang and Jin Shan (Taipei: Yishujia chubanshe, 1987); and Li Yishi, "I have no Doubts," Meizhan huikan, no. 8, 1/5/1929, in Youhua taolunji (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1993), 29–32. Julia F. Andrews has focused on the various dynamics of nationalism that propelled the organizers of the exhibition to define Chinese modern art in relation to nationalism and the nation, which culminated in the national exhibition; see Julia Andrews, "Art to Represent the Nation: China's First National Art Exhibition of 1929," Session 126 of Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting (March 26–29, 2009, Chicago): Inter-Asian Convergences: Cultural Nationalism and the Art of Twentieth Century India, China, and Japan. For more analyses, see Ralph Croizier, "Post-Impressionists in Pre-War Shanghai: The Juelanshe (Storm Society) and the Fate of Modernism in Republican China," in Modernity in Asian Art, ed. John Clark (Sydney: Wild Peony, 1993), 135–54; Michael Sullivan, Chinese Art in the Twentieth Century (London: Faber and Faber, 1959) and Art and Artists of Twentieth-Century China (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Julia F. Andrews, "Traditional Painting in New China: Guohua and the Anti-Rightist Campaign," Journal of Asian Studies August 49 (1990): 555–85; Lang Shaojun, "Traditional Chinese Painting in the Twentieth Century," Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting (New Haven: Yale University Press and Beijing Foreign Languages Press, 1997), 317, 320; and Eugene Wang, "Sketch conceptualism as modernist contingency," in Chinese Art Modern Expressions (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001).

[61] The female nude has often been connoted with the European art and thus an "import" representing a distinct sign of modernity. Yet, by the time Pan returned from Europe, the images of female nudes, either in photographs, lithographs, or paintings, and even

way to question the singularity of the role of creator versus that of object and the relationship of the female body and gendered discourses of the New Woman/Modern Woman that were in constant flux during the Republican period. The third layer is strategies of negotiation available to Pan Yuliang, from both text and image found in this special issue, especially her work Gazing at One's Shadow and her own article "My Experience Painting with Gouache." I reveal here how Pan negotiated her own practice against other artists, both men and women, and challenged the various intertwined discourses of womanhood, nationalism, and art that she faced upon her return in 1928.[62]

This case study presents an alternative way to view her works and move beyond the recent contemporary evaluations of the celebrated national heroine Pan Yuliang and her oeuvre, revealing instead how she had different things to say about herself and her works within the constantly shifting mores of being a woman and an artist during the Republican period.

In chapter 3, "The Female Nude at Work and Play," I address the role that the female nude in Pan's works plays within the cultural politics of the time, especially in terms of the "cultural politics of the brushstroke," during the Republican period.[63] Within China, the female nude as subject matter and genre suggests the importance of the nude in European/Western artistic practice and tradition, which, in China, was new and

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cartoons, were quite prevalent in magazines and periodicals, such as Liangyou (Young Companion) and Dongfang zazhi (Eastern Miscellany).

[62] During Pan's absence, Western art and its history were widely introduced and had become a heated point of discussion (at least among artists and intellectuals) by the late 1920s, which would continue to the First National Exhibition of Art in 1929. Writings on art "history" significantly changed over the course of two decades. In 1917, Jiang Danshu 姜丹書 (1885–1962) published a book about art history, *History of Fine Arts* (Meishu shi), which included both Western and Chinese sections, and is considered to the first textbook on art history found to date in China.

[63] Martin J. Powers, "Cultural Politics of the Brushstroke." Art Bulletin (forthcoming).

hence “modern” at a time when all things “China” (its history, status, and relevance) were considered by intellectuals and reformers to be defunct. Yet, in contemporary analyses, the female nude as subject matter and as “high art” is neglected as a subject of inquiry. Rather, the female nude becomes a vehicle by which to evaluate form and technique, such as line and color, as a reflection of difference between two painting traditions, that of China and the putative West (Europe).

For Pan, the female nude was a vehicle for a subtle transcultural negotiation that played a large role in negotiating competing discourses of the modern, from the nude to East and West. Using Lydia Liu’s concept of translingual practice, which focuses on the translation of specific words from a source to another source, I examine the cultural translation of the nude, not only in its discourse but also in its practice as translated in situ. As Liu suggests, the translation does not involve an “essential” text but reveals a complicated process.[64] The nude conveyed many things simultaneously and at different times. The female nude is the marker that, for her Chinese and European audiences, would reference the “West.” Yet within that body, on its very surface, she was able to muster original arguments about the discursive shits in the construct of East and West.

Chapter 4 examines “The Chinese Other,” I examine Pan’s later works, focusing specifically on exotic imagery and the female body, often referred to as the “Oriental woman” (dongfang nuzi 東方女子), through the discourse of the Chinese “Other.” Rather than viewing these works as a pristine narrative of development, the maturation of an artist and her successful synthesis of two opposing art traditions, the evidence suggests instead that Pan in these later works addressed the discourses of the Chinese Other as

[64] Lydia Liu, Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China 1900–1937 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995).

represented in exhibitions of "modern"/"contemporary" Chinese art vis-à-vis Chinese "traditional" art. Although her works at first glance might suggest the exotic and the "Orient," Pan was exploiting modernism's inherent cultural hybridity to a degree that is rare in other Chinese artists of that period.[65]

[65] It is at present beyond the scope of this project to discuss in depth her works in relation to other Chinese expatriate artists in France, such as Zao Wou-ki, Zhu Dequn, and Sanyu.

CHAPTER ONE

Invention of the Artist

Since the economic reforms in China during the late 1970s and China's increasing prominence on the global stage, Pan Yuliang has generated much critical interest both in her native China and internationally.[66] The most recent large-scale exhibition (Fall 2007) was held at the China National Art Museum in Beijing and Anhui Provincial Museum in Hefei. Other large-scale retrospective exhibitions include 1995 National Museum of

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[66] Shi Nan, The Soul of Art: Biography of Pan Yu-liang (Zhuhai: Zhuhai chubanshe, 2000; orig. 1983); Yi Ge, Pan Yuliang zhuan (Chengdu: Chengdu shidai chubanshe, 2003); Zhou Zhaokan, Pan Yuliang (Taibei: Jinxiu chubanshi ye gu fen you xian gongsi, 1995); Xu Hong, "Early 20th-Century Women Painters in Shanghai," in Shanghai Modern (Munich: Museum Villa Stuck, 2004), 200–215; Chen Xi, "Lian shenghuo: Cong shenghuo zhong kanjian Pan Yuliang de yishu jiyin" (Taipei: Dashulin chubanshe, 2006); Chen Ting, "An Analysis of Pan Yuliang's Figure Paintings" Arts Exploration (Journal of Guangxi Arts College) 21:3 (August 2007): 63–66. There have been an increasing number of theses and dissertations on Pan Yuliang: Zhang Xifan, "A Study of Identity in Pan Yuliang's Self-Portraits, National Cheng Kung University Institute of Art Studies," MA thesis (National Cheng Kung University Institute of Art Studies, 2011): Marian Sooyun Lee, "Looking into the Mirror: Pan Yuliang and the Representation of the Artist," Honors thesis, Stanford University, 2008; Hwee Leng Teo (Phyllis Teo), "Re-interpreting Modern Chinese Art: An Analysis of Three Women Artists in Twentieth-Century China: Pan Yuliang, Nie Ou, and Yin Xiuzhen," PhD dissertation, University of Queensland, 2008–2009). Teo has since published several articles: "Modernism and Orientalism: The Ambiguous Nudes of Chinese Artist Pan Yuliang," New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies 12:2 (2010): 65–80. Of note, other women artists of the Republican period are also receiving due attention in more in-depth analyses: Amanda Wright, "Qiu Ti's Contributions to Juelanshe and the Intersection of Modernist Ideology, Public Receptivity, and Personal Identity for a Woman Oil Painter in Early Twentieth-Century China (PhD dissertation, University of Kansas, 2011) and Doris Sung, Redefining Female Talents: Chinese Women and the Visual Arts, 1900s – 1930s (PhD dissertation, York University, in progress)

History in Taipei. [67] In Anhui Provincial Museum, where the majority of her works were donated posthumously, her works occupy a separate wing, which was undergoing a larger renovation/expansion in the summer of 2010. The most recent exhibition of some of her works took place in Huaihai in Anhui province in March 2010, before they were to go into storage indefinitely until the new wing had completed its renovation.[68]

Yet, over the past decade, scholarship in China on Pan has significantly increased. Although her many nudes and portraits continue to be viewed through the lens of gender and nationalism, the role that is created for her as an artist—as woman artist, as modern artist, and as Chinese artist—has changed.

PAN IN THE POPULAR IMAGINATION

Interest in Pan Yuliang began in the popular imagination, with the fictionalized biography published by Shi Nan in 1983,[69] which spawned a very popular dramatized television series in the late 1980s and a film in the early 1990s by Huang Shuqin that

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[67] Her last exhibition while she was alive was held at the Musée Cernuschi, Paris, in 1977, where she was exhibited with three other Chinese female artists. Exhibition catalogues include Pan Yuliang, Pan Yuliang meishu zuopin xuan (Hefei: Anhui Provincial Museum, 1988); Pan Yuliang meishu zuopin xuanji (Nanjing: Jiangsu meishu chubanshe, 1988); Pan Yuliang huaji (Taibei: Guoli lishi bowuguan, 1995); and Pan Yuliang meishu zuopin jingxuan (Chengdu: Sichuan meishu chubanshe, 2011).

[68] Anhui Provincial Museum has benefited in many ways from the popularity of Pan Yuliang, generating funds for the museum and the new wing. Her works remain the most popular attraction at the museum.

[69] Shi Nan's own account of Pan Yuliang has been reissued in several reprints, from the initial Huahun: Zhang Yuliang zhuan (Beijng: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1983; and Hefei: Anhui wenyi chubanshe, 1994; Taibei: Haifeng chubanshe, 1991 and 1993; Taibei: Zhengzhan chuban gongsi, 2003; Zhuhai: Zhuhai chubanshe, 2000; and Changchun: Shidai wenyi chubanshe, 2003); Huahun: Pan Yuliang zhuan (Nanjing: Jiangsu wenyi chubanshe, 2011). Other fictionalized accounts of her life include Yang Zhishen, Huahun (Beijing: Zhongguo funü chubanshe, 2004)

starred Gong Li.[70] And continues to the present not only within China[71] but also internationally with the publication of Jennifer Cody Epstein's The Painter from Shanghai, which been translated into numerous languages, from Russian, Norwegian, Spanish, Portuguese, to Polish and German, as well as another account in France by Marie-Laure de Shazer (Pan Yuliang: La femme peintre qui savait unir l'Orient et l'Occident).[72]

At present, interest in Pan is peaking and continues, as reflected in the many numerous exhibitions and their catalogues, the proliferation of scholarly articles in Chinese academic journals.[73] In addition, Pan's rising importance to Chinese art, both historically and contemporaneously, is reflected in the increasing number of exhibitions as well as the skyrocketing auction prices for recent sales of her work at the various illustrious auction houses such as Christie's and Sotheby's. At the recent Sotheby's auction of Twentieth-Century Chinese art in Hong Kong (October 7, 2012), her work Deux Femmes (1963; ink and color on paper; provenance private European collection;

[70] Yang Xinlin, "Ping dianying Huahun zhong de Pan Yuliang," Fengge yu tese 1 (2010): 70–71. Yang attempts to separate fact and fiction: between the film by Shi Nan and her fictionalized account; the artistic style of Pan in the film; and the reality of Pan Yuliang versus that of the film.

[71] Jing Wenqi, "Yu Pan Yuliang chang yan zai yiqi de wuming nanzi," Evening Paper Digest 11 (2010), 28–29, which discusses the "man" in her life, Wang Shouyi, in France.

[72] Jennifer Cody Epstein, The Painter from Shanghai (New York: Norton, 2009); Marie-Laure de Shazer, Pan Yuliang: La femme peintre qui savait unit l'Orient et l'Occident (Paris: Edilivre Editions APARIS, 2010).

[73] Pan Yuliang, Pan Yuliang huaji (The Art of Pan Yuliang) (Taibei: Guoli lishi bowuguan, 1995); Pan Yuliang, Pan Yuliang meishu zuopin xuanji (Nanjing: Jiangsu meishu chubanshe, 1988); Christophe Comentale, Pan Yuliang (Pan Yu-lin) (Taibei: Yishujia chubanshe, 2007). Of note in France is another fictionalized account of Pan Yuliang's life by Marie-Laure de Shazer: Pan Yu Liang, La Manet chinoise: La femme peintre qui savait unit l'Orient et l'Occident (Paris: Edilivre, 2010).

figure 11) sold at 2,300,000 HKD, well above the estimate of 1,200,000–1,800,000 HKD.[74]

Yet, the popular imagination still continues to fuel interest in Pan Yuliang, remaining highly linked with the myth of the artist, the rise of China and Chinese contemporary art, for some recent critics, a belated or failed modernity, that is now often inverted to reflect an "indigenous" one that falls outside the paradigm of Euramerican modernity.

In the Sotheby's catalogue, Deux Femmes is described as follows: "The artist injected uniquely Chinese elements and techniques into the work, applying the sensitivity and finesse inherent in female artists in treating such a delicate yet reserved subject, in

[74] http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2012/20th-century-chinese-art-hk0388/lot.507.lotnum.html. Catalogue description is as follows:

> A representative work from Pan Yuliang's series of female nudes, Deux femmes is based on the wider context of Western mainstream realism, impressionism and fauvism. The artist injected uniquely Chinese elements and techniques into the work, applying the sensitivity and finesse inherent in female artists in treating such a delicate yet reserved subject, in turn distinguishing herself among her male counterparts. In this work, human figures and surrounding objects are outlined in faintly discernible brushstrokes, then filled in with colour; the depiction of skin and flesh in multiple hues and rich textures are the artist's trademark. Asian art builds on the foundation of calligraphic contours, an aesthetic well known in the world. In fact, Pan's characteristically Asian female perspective and style add graceful charm to the canvas. Although the setting seems squarely confined within the European milieu, the two female figures display more of the sentiments of courtly ladies in classical literature. This is particularly evident in the figure facing the viewer who leans against the table, propping her chin with her eyes cast down. Her thoughts have extended beyond the picture frame, and the viewer's imagination runs with her into the distance. Among the Chinese artists who immigrated to France, Pan Yuliang established her fame with nudes, typified by deliberate touches of exaggerated humour. Her nude figures are conceived from the female vantage point that is filled with deep empathy, and the intrinsic beauty of the human physique is probed to the fullest extent.

turn distinguishing herself among her male counterparts."[75] Within this sentence, three significant aspects of Pan Yuliang emerge: being a woman, being Chinese, and being modern. By being Chinese, she is able to apply Chinese elements and techniques in the work. By being a woman, she has a feminine sensibility and "sensitivity" to treat such subjects. By being modern, she distinguishes herself from (male) others and expresses an incomparable individuality.

These features in Pan's work represent to many viewers the work of an artist with multiple identities, the themes reflecting her gender, her nationalism, her individualism, and her modernity by her treatment of two opposing art traditions. Yet, in these very works the political aspects are just as present as contemporary works from China. The language used to describe the visual has changed but the politics has not. Within her many images exist the nature of cultural politics, embodied in her use of color, line, and form and to whom or what entity these belong, be it the nation or self. How these elements continue to become identified as "East"/China or "West"/Euramerican in contemporary analyses reveal cultural politics constantly at play. The quandary is not so much what is "praised" in her works, but how, in comparison, what is "neglected" becomes subordinated. There is a careful selection of what is deemed worthy of Pan's works, especially in relation to how she is constructed as an artist, be it a Chinese artist, a modern artist, or a woman artist. The artist and her works speak for other concerns.

Therefore, in this chapter I address the three identities of Pan Yuliang that emerge in recent analyses. First, there is Pan Yuliang the woman artist. Her works reflect a feminine sensitivity and for certain scholars explain the rise of women's consciousness in

[75] http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2012/20th-century-chinese-art-hk0388/lot.507.lotnum.html.

art in China during the twentieth century. She is the exemplar, the pioneer, for women artists in China, especially today. Her technique is distilled through gendered language, where the line suggests a graceful contour, the colors a gentle spirit, and the subject matter a feminine interiority. Second, there is Pan Yuliang the modern artist, whose art is autonomous, independent, and separate from political and social developments. This is an attempt by Chinese scholars to reclaim a modernist position for Pan. By modernist position, I am referring here to a linear telos-oriented trajectory of her development as an artist, to say that her later artworks are the final culmination of her life as an artist. And thus the "repatriation" of her works "home" to China restores the possibility of an indigenous native modernism that was neither belated nor failed but unrevealed. Third, there is Pan Yuliang the Chinese artist, whose devotion to her homeland is represented in her works by choice in subject matter and technique whereby culture (i.e., Asian = Chinese) is visualized, thus suggesting the significance and longevity of Chinese culture and hence its civilization, that is, ink painting (from caimohua 彩墨畫 to shuimohua 水墨畫), as a means to define the modernity achieved by Pan in her successful synthesis of two opposing painting traditions.[76]

BIOGRAPHY: "一代画魂" Yidai huahun

[76] Of note is an article by Christophe Comentale 柯孟德: "Pan Yuliang de Shanghai à l'Ecole de Paris" [From Shanghai to the School of Paris]," Art et Métiers du Livre, no. 254 (June–July 2006): 30–39. He has also written a catalogue raisonné of Pan: Christophe Comentale, Pan Yuliang, Overseas Chinese Fine Arts Series 3 (Taibei: Yishujia chubanshe, 2007).

The biographical still maintains a strong presence in analysis of her works. These biographies tend to cast her life in a dramatic fashion as the soul haunted by painting: becoming an orphan at an early age, being sold to the brothel by her uncle, and finally becoming a triumphant artist with her many awards and experiences in Europe, as well as the professional and artistic accolades. Though the audience is familiar with her "life," they remain unfamiliar with how her works reveal her "nationalism" or "feminine" sensibility, which is what some of these analyses try to direct. Scholars have described the phrase "For ever and ever towards the Jade Palace," a seal used by Pan Yuliang, to explain how she was troubled by loneliness in a foreign land, which is revealed in her works, the subtle feelings of a woman who longed to return to her home country and family.[77] Ma Qilai discusses her representative works, using specific examples to express her longing for home (Nanjing fuzi miao 1930s [oil on canvas]), desire for family (Fu yu zi, 1937 [sketch]), and yearning to be a mother (since she had no child of her own; Mu ai 1958 [oil on canvas]) (figures 12–14)[78] Her maternal images have been interpreted to address her biography, that is, her lack of a child, or as a way to address her foreign status in relation to her mother country.[79] Zhou Tian explores the theme of melancholy in her works, reflecting her difficult and melancholic life and the struggles of her experience as a woman artist, highlighting her existence as a sanbu ("三不" 女人: 一不恋爱, 二不

[77] For example, see Chen Ting, "Pan Yuliang renwu hua de yanjiu," Arts Exploration, Journal of Guangxi Arts College 21:3 (August 2007): 63–66. Also see Christie's catalogue entry for a work by Pan Yuliang: Christie's Asian Contemporary and Chinese Twentieth-Century Art sale 2009, http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/paintings/pan-yuliang-5265276-details.aspx.
[78] Ma Qilai, "Yidai huahun de qiqing zhi zuo," Hualun shucang 80 (2008): 99–103.
[79] Zhou Tian, "Pan Yuliang huihua de ge ti xinli," Dazhong wenyi, yishu pinglun 4 (2009): 28–29.

入外籍，三不签约于画廊; a “sanbu” woman: no love, no foreign passport, and no gallery contract).[80]

These fan the flames of the Pan Yuliang fever, revealing her significance as an artist based on her rise from the dregs of society to a preeminent art position, artistic creative merit on her synthesis of two art traditions, allowing her to express her individuality, creativity, and femininity.[81] Yet, for these scholars and others, Pan provides an impasse to discuss Chinese art production within a new context. In this sense, although the nationalism espoused is readily apparent, it remains more subtle, especially in an artist who was not at the forefront of the debates between tradition and modernity, East and West, in early studies of art in China during the twentieth century. Yet, because these attributes are given distinction in her works, her newly found position as an arbiter between East and West finds new meaning.

THE MANY IDENTITIES OF PAN YULIANG

The Woman Artist

[80] Zhou Tian, “Pan Yuliang huihua de ge ti xinli, Dazhong wenyi, yishu pinglun,” 28–29; Yuan Huimin, “Yige nuren de zi hua xiang: Jieshi Pan Yuliang ‘Zihuaxiang,’” Shixue yishu zuopin jiexi, Xin shijue yishu 1 (2009): 109–11: “潘玉良前半生的画中带有很明显的西方 画派痕迹，创作这幅画的时候她整五十岁，她将自己对祖 国的爱恋,对亲人的思念体现到了画面之中，从此以后她 逐渐将中国传统的绘画线条及色彩与西方画结合在一起，并使自己的绘画风格逐渐的走向成熟” (111).

[81] Huang Zefeng, “Chongchu zhigu zouxiang ziyou: Ershi shiji jiushi niandai lai zhongguo nuxing huihua zuopin tanjiu,” Meishu tiandi (2009): 49–50; Xiao Xiao, “Yidai huahun Pan Yuliang,” Meizhi duyue weipin 12 (2010): 8–9. Dong Song has written several articles detailing Pan’s chronology: “Zhigua yunfan jicang hai: Pan Yuliang liuxue guiguo yinian jiande xihua chengjiu,” Perspectives and Research 2 (2011): 53–63; “Pan Yuliang de hushing suiyue,” Shanghai wenbo luncong 2 (2007): 79–82; and “Pan Yuliang nianpu qian bian (1895–1937),” Shuhua shijie 2 (2010): 25, 27.

Pan has garnered a lot of general praise as a woman artist.[82] She is used as an extreme example of how extraordinary the times were when, according to Xu Hong, a "former Chinese prostitute who entered an art school in Paris went on to become one of China's leading artists," which "illustrates just what was possible at that time."[83] In addition to Pan Yuliang as one example, Xu also cites another woman artist of the period Cai Weilian 蔡威廉 (1904–39), the daughter of Cai Yuanpei, the reformer who advocated radical reform of the education system. Cai, like Pan, was educated in France and also become a celebrated artist and professor of art education and in her case, the National Academy of Art in Hangzhou. Xu acknowledges their very different social backgrounds, one a former prostitute and the other the daughter of a celebrated and elite intellectual, yet states that, as women, their "spirited and optimistic oil paintings reflected their personalities and the opportunities that they were afforded during their respective lifetimes."[84] Also, Wang Lili describes Pan's work as an example of women's individuality.[85] Pan displays her creativity in combining the spirit of the brush and yishu qiyun (中国的笔墨精神及艺术气韵) and to realize a uniquely independent individual female body, thus enabling her to express her emotional experience and life experience.[86]

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[82] Jiang Xinjie, "Zhongguo di yi wei nu xihua jia," in Shiji renwu (Century Personages) (2010): 23; and Yang Xinlin, "Touguo xingbie kan mingguo shiqi Pan Yuliang de meishu huodong," Chuan guo zhongwen hexin qikan yishu baijia 8:11 (2009): 183–86.
[83] Xu Hong, 44.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Wang Lili, "Qiancha Pan Yuliang tazhe shijie de xingcheng," Science and Technology Information 15 (2010). Pan is not alone; other contemporaneous woman artists, like Fang Junbi, Cai Weilian, Qiu Ti, Sun Duosi, and Guan Zilan also have been the subjects of numerous studies, beginning with their recuperation in 1990s, to demonstrate their contribution to the development of modern art in China.
[86] Ibid.

Yet, regardless of Pan's subject matter—female nudes and maternal images, for example—which are for these scholars symptomatic of being a woman artist, many scholars have focused on the "feminine" traits in her paintings, especially her technique and use of line and colors, using gendered language in their description. The composition of the paintings acts as a focal point for mediation on these so-called feminine traits, such as virtue, serenity, benevolence and tranquility. Of her works in oil, Chen Ting has suggested that the strong color palette and graceful style represents both the strength and fragility of the female artist. She uses adjectives, specifically attributable to women ("nuxing de" 女性的), like slim, graceful and gentle (qingying 轻盈); smooth and exquisite (xini 细腻); and beautiful and tender (wenrun 温润) to describe a 1940 work (Woman Holding a Fan).[87] This is a departure from her oil paintings created in the 1920s, in which the lines are less coordinated (in harmony), the form more stylized, and the colors lighter. Many consider these later works as increasingly "feminine" works, occupied by themes of love, play, solitude, and isolation, although how these themes convey a feminine spirit is not problematized.[88]

Others like Wei Jing and Yang Dong have compared Pan with other prominent contemporaneous woman artists, like Guan Zilan who also studied abroad and Qiu Ti, the

[87] Chen Ting, "Pan Yuliang renwu hua de yanjiu," *Arts Exploration* (Journal of Guangxi Arts College) 21:3 (August 2007): 63–66.

[88] Sun Nina, "Pan Yuliang caimohua yishu yanjiu," Shuhua yishu 5 (2008): 74–75; Jiang Zhefeng, "Yong linghun zuohua de chuanqi nüzi: Pan Yuliang zuopin ji yishu jingshen tansuo," Art Panorama (May 2005): 22–23; and Chen Xi, Lian shenghuo: Cong shenghuo zhong kanjian Pan Yuliang de yishi jiyin (Taipei: Dashulin chubanshe, 2006)

wife of Pang Xunqin.[89] Huang Zefeng discusses the rise of ziyanziyu 自言自語 (to speak their mind) and woman's consciousness in art as embodied by Pan Yuliang and Guan Zilan, a contemporary of Pan.[90] Their artistic production reveals a women's language embodied in art that sets itself apart from the patriarchal realm of men's art production. According to Wei, because of the abundance of women's emotions, Pan's and Guan's approach to color and understanding is different from that of men artists, that their use of color is bolder (examples cited are Pan Yuliang's Zuijiu and Guan Zilan's Nuhai).

According to Yang Dong, woman artists, like Pan Yuliang, Qiu Ti, and Liang Baibo are pioneers, whose rebellion toward society is the reason for their tragic state as well as the ability of their artworks to affect people.[91] For Yang, Pan was the only one who could continue creating her art yet it was at the sacrifice of nation and home. She could neither return home nor have a family. This was the sacrifice that Pan had to make if she was to be considered a true artist, which is not a criterion required for men to be true artists.

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[89] Wei Jing, "Minguo shiqi liuxue haiwai nuhuajia de yishu tedian: Yi Pan Yuliang, Guan Zilan weilie." Yishu yu sheji 10 (2009): 326–28; Yang Dong, "Qiantan funü jiefang yundong beijingxia de nuyishujia," Social Sciences Review (kexue congheng) 20:2 (April 2005): 178–79. Xiang Hongnian compared Pan with Frida Kahlo (非里达 卡洛): Xiang Hongnian, "Aide butong biaoda fangshi," Wenhua yishu yanjiu (September 2009), 83–85. Xiang argues that these two women artists used the brush as their weapon, thus using art to support their body/form and to reflect their feelings. Art became a way for them to overcome their limitations and represent their nationalism and love.

[90] Wei Jing, "Minguo shiqi liuxue haiwai nuhuajia de yishu tedian: Yi Pan Yuliang, Guan Zilan weilie," 327.

[91] Yang Dong. "Qiantan funü jiefang yundong beijingxia de nuyishujia." Social Sciences Review (Kexue congheng) 20:2 (April 2005): 178–79

The Modern Artist

Many scholars claim that Pan is a "modern" artist because of her individuality, as suggested by her subject matter and her status as maverick artist.[92] Comparisons are made to other "individual" modern artists, like Van Gogh and Frida Kahlo.[93] What these analyses adhere to is the Euramerican modernist narrative, understood to be carrying forward history by making new breakthroughs. Or the idea of "trying to catch up" with Western art, which introduces a temporal aspect to development in art, an idea of progress that privileges the new and the modern and is captured in the *Zeitgeist* cliché of "embodying the spirit of the times."

Many of these analyses ignore the broader debates regarding art and art history in the making of the modern in art in China during the Republican period. In some ways, by isolating her and her work, for these scholars, Pan feeds into the modernist imaginary of the lonely, isolated maverick artist, whose life was dedicated to art. Pan's ultimate success for many of these scholars is determined by her synthesis of East and West in her art, the ultimate goal for which she strived as that maverick artist, sacrificing her life. In the end, they essentialize East and West in her works, often claiming the significance of one at the expense of the other, failing to see how her work suggests an awareness of the

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[92] Jiang Zhefeng, "Yong linghun zuohua de chuanqi nüzi: Pan Yuliang zuopin ji yishu jingshen tansuo," Art Panorama (May 2005): 22–23; Huang Zefeng, "Chongchu zhigu zouxiang ziyou: Ershiji niandai yilai Zhongguo nuxing huihua zuopin tanjiu: 20 shiji jiushi niandai lai zhongguo nuxing huihua zuopin tanjiu," Yihai 10 (2009): 49–50; Zhang Xiaowen, "Yidai huahun Pan Yuliang: Ziwo shenfen de rentong yu shixian," Shixue diantang 4 (2009): 94.

[93] Yang Xinlin and Wu Jing compare her works to Van Gogh, expressing her individuality and spirit; see Yang Xinlin, "Touguo xingbie kan mingguo shiqi Pan Yuliang de meishu huodong," Chuanguo zhongwen hexin qikan yishu baijia 8:11 (2009): 183–86; and Wu Jing, "Xingbie jian de xuanze: Nu huajia Pan Yuliang de huihua yishu," Rongbaizhai 8 (2010): 16–35.

competing discourses of the time. The nationalist rhetoric emerges again today as it did in Pan's time and modern artist now becomes the Chinese artist.

The Chinese Artist

Pan is praised for her development of Chinese modern art. Directly related to her development as an artist is what is finally achieved in the end, the culmination of her many years of development: her successful synthesis of two traditions. Yet, owing to her successful synthesis, she has become a potent symbol for a cosmopolitan nation, once forgotten and now repatriated, whereby her "works" represent a commitment to a culture and tradition that has persevered and renewed itself in steady stride with its present international significance. In her artistic practice, she carefully acknowledges a strong respect and devotion to Chinese culture, especially ink painting (understood as distinctly "Chinese"), which she incorporated into her later works. This "aspect" of her works occupies a dominant position in the discourse of "synthesis."

At one point, Pan speaks to a need to reconcile two traditions. Rather than highlight the incompatibility of two traditions, being in neither camp, that is, "East" or West," embodied by artists such as Qi Baishi 齊白石 (1864–1957) and Liu Haisu 劉海粟 (1896–1994), respectively, Pan's successful merging of these two traditions creates a unique style and vision of modernity that can be applied retrospectively as one way to address the label of belated or defensive modernity created by Gao Minglu and others

that have been given to art practice and production during the Republican period when compared with the modernity experienced by late twentieth-century artists in China.[94]

Yet, at present, with the rise of China and its increasing significance on the global stage, from art to politics, for some critics, elements of Pan's work have begun to take a distinctively Chinese hue, a dominance of one element over another, from technique to sensibility, to tradition and culture as they are reinvented and reappropriated for the larger discourse of nationalism.

One critic has suggested that her interest in painting in oils waned because her longing for her homeland (to which she never returned) created a desire to use the medium of Chinese ink painting on xuan paper to establish a connection to her homeland, the materials' origin taking precedence over style or technique. For Sun Nina, Pan's ink paintings completely employ elements of Chinese traditional culture, especially her brushwork, where the line in Chinese painting plays a dominant role in achieving harmony in a work that shares elements with Postimpressionism and Cubism.[95] In the end, they create Pan the Chinese artist, embroiling her within the cultural politics of the present, claiming her and elements in her work as distinctly Chinese.

CULTURAL POLITICS AT PLAY IN THE PRESENT

Synthesis of East and West

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[94] Gao Minglu, "Toward a Transnational Modernity: An Overview of *Inside Out: New Chinese Art*," in *Inside Out: New Chinese Art*, ed. Gao Minglu (Berkeley: University of California Press, in association with San Francisco Museum of Modern Art and Asia Society Galleries, New York), 15–40; and John Clark, "Problems of Modernity in Chinese Painting," Oriental Art 32 (Autumn 1986): 270–83.

[95] Sun Nina, "Pan Yuliang Caimohua yishu yanjiu," Shuhua yishu 5 (2008): 72–77.

Many scholars have highlighted Pan's success at synthesizing Western painting and Chinese ink painting.[96] A common phrase that has been used repeatedly among the analyses is he zhongxi yu yizhi 合中西於一治. The phrase, 合中西於一治, or "to combine China and the West as compatible," is often interpreted as advocating a "synthesis" of East and West, but the Chinese suggests rather a combination of two distinct yet fundamentally compatible traditions. From the perspective of this scale of value, one could argue that Pan achieved her most successful combinations in her later works, when she "abandoned" oil and canvas and chose ink and paper as her primary medium. The former was definitively coded as "Western" while the latter, even in the West, was viewed as "intrinsically" Chinese.

The attempt to combine two disparate yet fundamentally compatible traditions had as its goal the reconciliation of cultural difference, yet that very difference was actually reinscribed in her work through her subtle and expressive use of line. "Western painting" usually refers to her ability to paint in oil (the medium) and her accuracy in depiction of the human form (the skill). "Chinese ink painting" refers to her use of ink (the medium) and her brushwork, especially her use of line. These analyses essentialize East and West, without examining how these two terms had become radicalized in the

[96] Discussing the synthesis of Chinese and European art for artists during the early twentieth century in China is a common approach to studies of art in China during the twentieth century. The earliest example in English is probably Maysching Kao, "The Quest for New Art," in Twentieth-Century Chinese Painting (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Museum of Art, 1984), which provides an account of artists who sought to synthesize Chinese and Western art, from Li Shutong and Li Yishi to Xu Beihong, Wu Zuoren, Liu Haisu, Ding Yanyong, Lin Fengmian and ends with Pan Xunqin. Each individual provides their own approach to synthesis, opening up "new avenues for development of Chinese art."

Republican period, becoming tools in the culture wars when nationalist overtones peppered art historical scholarship on both sides of the Pacific.

Technique

Technique, especially brushwork, is the focus of many analyses. When evaluating Pan's works, especially her "distinctive" style, the authors often lay claim to a distinction between Chinese painting and Western art that is revealed in her successful synthesis of these two painting traditions. Yet, synthesis, for some, implies a subordination of Western "technique" to Chinese "tradition," embodied in the line in Chinese art.

For Lin Zhongru the important characteristic that is easily identified as Pan's unique artistic trait is her "fragment painting" (xiaosuihua 小碎畫).[97] Fragment painting is an element that Pan develops in her later period (1950s–60s), although the initial development can be seen as decorative material detail in her earlier works. In her paintings, one can see the elements of fragment painting continuously: on the clothing of her models, on all the sitting chairs, the tablecloths, floral vases, and even on the bedding. One can also see them on the painting surface and even as the background of her Chinese ink paintings (shuimohua). For Lin, the form of fragment painting, whether in the technique of adding washings of ink to a Chinese painting or the color of the Fauves or the pointillism of "xin" (new) impressionism[98] becomes the most important element in Pan's works that allows her to merge Eastern and Western painting. By the 1950s and 1960s, Pan, according to Lin, has abandoned her previous Western artistic training and

[97] Lin Zhongru, "Pan Yuliang de xiaosuihua," Bulletin of the National Museum of History 3:152 (2006): 74–81.

[98] Lin uses the term xinyingxiang pai 新印象派 for Impressionism.

begins to express her own individuality, which manifests in her desire to make compatible Eastern and Western painting (融中西画風於一致 rongzhongxi huafeng yu yizhi). According to Lin, it is impossible to determine what might have triggered Pan's use of fragment painting, yet one can see in her different paintings their variety and even the extensive use of Chinese traditional elements, outside flexible inside firm (外圓內方 waiyuan neifang) of the molding of ancient coins (手字文 shouzi wen), revealing the deep influence of Chinese culture on Pan, despite her having lived forty years abroad. By associating the fragment painting that Lin says Pan developed in her later years with these ancient Chinese traditional elements, Lin sublimates Pan's active engagement with these two competing traditions, implying that in the end it was tradition and its continuity that allowed Pan to create these distinctive works.

Zhang Xiaowen has written several essays on Pan Yuliang.[99] Zhang emphasizes the "Chinese" aspects of her artistic practice and her "Eastern charm" (dongfang qingyun 東方情韻).[100] Like Feng Zikai many years ago, Zhang claims the line as distinctly Chinese, using the language that Roger Fry championed (like Feng) to state that the great Western modernists (since Impressionism), such as Gauguin, Van Gogh, Matisse, have used the spirit of Eastern painting in their oil painting. Of Pan's paintings of women, Zhang states that Pan displayed a deep understanding of Chinese traditional culture as embodied in her baimiao, since the line is the most important element in Chinese ink

[99] Zhang Xiaowen, "Yidai huahun Pan Yuliang: Ziwo shenfen de rentong yu shixian," Shixue diantang 4 (2009): 94; and "'Yidai huahun': Pan Yuliang xin baimiaoti de xianxing tezheng jieshi," Yishubaijia 8:105 (2008): 124–25.
[100] Zhang Xiaowen, "Longmian shoufa de xieru yu ronghe: Lun Pan Yuliang youhua zhong de xianxing fengge," Arts Circle 6 (2008): 77.

painting.[101] In regards to Pan's line drawings (xianmiao), Zhang calls the technique used by Pan tiexian (iron wire). For Zhang, Pan's iron wire technique is a distinctly Chinese form of sketch conceptualism, with a long history in Chinese painting. The technique she uses, the "iron wire" technique, is culturally pure having been found in the figure paintings on silk found in tombs dating to the Warring States period (戰國時代: 475 BCE to 221 BCE) to its cultivation by Wu Daozi 吳道子 of the Tang Dynasty (618–907) and Wu Zongyuan 武宗元 (?–1050) of the Northern Song Dynasty (960–1126), indicating a clear linear development of the art of lines and thus hermetically pure. He compared Pan to Li Gonglin 李公麟 (1049–1106), who while studying and bringing together the basic foundation of the fine tradition of using line by previous masters, also brought the artist's individual emotions/ feelings, bravely breaking through conventions and in the end fundamentally forming an individuality to "baimiao" and later having a deep effect on later Chinese painting, especially figure painting. After all, for Zhang, Chinese art is xianxing 線性 (linear).

For Zhang then, because Pan is a Chinese painter, she was able to apply the line of Eastern art to oil painting, evidently possessing an innate superiority, while in the process of assimilating Western art, she took the Chinese traditional "line" in her paintings, also adding her own sensitivity as a woman artist and her background, allowing her sketches to have a deep spirit of resonance of national painting.

[101] Ibid.

Xue Yang[102] highlights he zhongxi yu yizhi 合中西於一治 by tracing the development of Pan's caimohua (color and ink painting), which act as a successful synthesis of Chinese and Western painting techniques. He suggests that her first brush with art was not oil painting but learning embroidery at a young age and that this familiarity with a folk art would play a significant role in her later successful synthesis.

Xue insists that Chinese traditional painting was highly lauded but only needed to be reformed. Therefore, the study of Western painting was necessary to develop Chinese ancient art. This is not a far cry from Zhang Zhidong's self-strengthening formula of zhongxue wei ti, xixue wei yong 中西為題，西學為用 (Chinese learning as principle, and Western learning as application), who was responsible for designing Peking University's first long-lasting curriculum in 1903, or the aim of Cai Yuanpei and his successors to integrate both forms of knowledge, which was to develop a new universal form of knowledge that combined both methodologies (Western and Chinese) while ultimately transcending both of them.[103] Therefore, because of Pan's strong association with the Shanghai Art Academy and her mentors there, Liu Haisu and Wang Jiyuan, this reform of Chinese art with Western painting would have a long-term impact on Pan's artistic production.

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[102] Xue Yang, "Zhongxi wenhua de piaoliang chuanyue: Pan Yuliang yu tada caimo yishu," Guohuajia: Xueshu yanjiu 5 (2010): 58–59.

[103] Xiaoqing Diana Lin. Peking University: Chinese Scholarship and Intellectuals, 1897–1937 (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005). Lin analyzes early history of the most famous academic institution in modern China, Peking University; since its establishment in 1898, it has played an important role in China's intellectual life, struggling to define new relationships between education and the state as well as between Western and Chinese education.

This use of nationalist rhetoric is not something new to contemporary understandings of Pan. Beginning in the late 1920s through the 1940s, many Chinese critics adopted nationalist rhetoric and attempted to deploy it in defense of Chinese culture at a time when art historical scholarship on both sides of the Pacific was charged with nationalist overtones. Feng Zikai (like Pan Tianshou and Huang Binhong, as well as Xu Zhimo and Liu Haisu) claimed that the line, as depicted in works since Postimpressionism and embodied by Cezanne, Van Gogh, and Gauguin, derived from Chinese art theory.[104] Thus, all European modern art from Postimpressionism to the present was characterized as "the Easternization of Western Art."[105]

Although today there is a growing awareness of the hybridity of modernist painting,[106] these proprietary claims on the line, as distinctly Chinese, is not so much a defense as it was for Chinese critics during Pan's time. Rather, today these claims are a form of praise and pride, to create an indigenous modernity distinct from the "West," which ultimately sublimates the West's importance, placing it in a subject position. Pan could not achieve her signature style if she did not emphasize the importance of the line in Chinese painting at the expense of Western/Euramerican artistic movements such as Postimpressionism and Cubism.

THE REVERSAL OF ROLES

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[104] Feng Zikai, "The Victory of Chinese Art in Modern Art," Eastern Miscellany 27:1 (1930).

[105] Ibid. Ironically, Feng referred to Roger Fry's work in support of his claims, adopting Fry-esque language to prove the primacy of Chinese art.

[106] Bert Winther-Tamaki, "The Asian Dimensions of Postwar Abstract Art: Calligraphy and Metaphysics," in The Third Mind: American Artists Contemplate Asia, 1860–1989, ed. Alexandra Munroe (New York: Guggenheim, 2009), 145–57; Joan Kee, The Curious Case of Contemporary Ink Painting," Art Journal 69:3 (Fall 2010): 88–113.

These approaches to evaluate Pan's successful synthesis of two art traditions reveals a reversal in roles for cultural critics in China today, compared to the May Fourth intellectuals during Pan's time.

May Fourth intellectuals[107] once appropriated the very language that was used to denigrate their race and "civilization," from Arthur Smith's "Chinese Characteristics" (1890) to its various translations, advocating Western culture to attack beliefs and philosophy identified as backward and traditional to promote their own agendas. They equated ink painting (what would be termed national painting [guohua 國畫])[108] with a decadent and weak Chinese national character[109] and thus it became a symbolic target for May Fourth intellectuals. In 1918, Chen Duxiu wrote in "Meishu geming 美術革命"

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[107] May Fourth Movement (1917–21), named for the protests that culminated on 4 May 1919 after the Versailles Treaty, which had ceded Shandong to Japan; see Chow Tse-tsung, The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964); and Vera Schwarz, The Chinese Enlightenment: Intellectuals and the Legacy of the May Fourth Movement (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

[108] Julia F. Andrews, "Traditional Chinese Painting in an Age of Revolution, 1911–1937: The Chinese Painting Society of Shanghai," in Chinese Painting and the Twentieth Century: Creativity in the Aftermath of Tradition. Hangzhou: Zhejiang People's Fine Arts Press, 1997: 578–95; and Kuiyi Shen, "Traditional Painting in a Transitional Era, 1900–1950," in A Century in Crisis: Modernity and Tradition in the Art of Twentieth-Century China, ed. Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen (New York: Guggenheim Museum, 1998), 80–131.

[109] "National character," of course, is a concept that evolved in nineteenth-century Europe as a key feature of nationalist discourse, but Lydia Liu has argued convincingly how the "myth" of national character (guominxing 國民性) was in essence co-authored in China. Chinese intellectuals were complicit in promoting and adapting this tool of European nationalism to the Chinese case via literary efforts such as Lu Xun's "True Story of Ah Q," written in 1921. Ah Q is considered to be the personification of the negative traits of the Chinese national character. In the allegory, Lu Xun sees China unprepared to deal with the impact of European culture and technology. See Lydia Liu, Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China 1900–1937 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), chapter 2.

(Revolution in Art) that the "realistic" spirit of "Western" art could be a cure for the repetition and loss of originality, which, he claimed, had characterized the Qing Dynasty. By associating ink painting with a national character construed as weak and degenerate, elite intellectuals ironically ignored the long tradition of an artistic dialogue within China that had already attracted the admiration of "modernist" critics in Europe at that time.[110]

The May Fourth rhetoric, to destroy the old and bring in the new, still lingers in recent analyses comparing Chinese and Western art, essentially re-establishing the Western impact-China response approach.[111] One example is by Dai Zehua, who in 2009, stated that since the Ming and Qing dynasties, when Western painting/art entered China, its concept of form, zaoxing, linian and scientific spirit began to influence Chinese painting. As a response to the influence of Western painting, caimoyishu ("color and ink painting") was born, a new type of art best represented in the works of Pan Yuliang. According to Dai, this is how Chinese painting was reformed, resulting in caimoyishu. Of

[110] Roger Fry, "Line as a Means of Expression in Art," Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs 33:189 (December 1918): 201–3, 205–8; and "Line as a Means of Expression in Art (Continued)," Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs 34:191 (February 1919): 62–63, 66, 67, 69. For an analysis, see Martin Powers, "Modernism and Cultural Politics" (in Chinese), in Reflections: Chinese Modernities as Self-Conscious Cultural Ventures, ed. Song Xiaoxia (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 94–115.

[111] For example, Deng Fuxing, "Ershi shiji zhongguo meishu yanjiu," Fine Arts Research 2 (1998): 53–56; and Dai Zehua, "Caimo yishu de fazhan yu shidaixing," Journal of Huizhou Teachers College 26:5 (October 2004): 138–40. Dai discusses Lin Fengmian, Li Keran, Liu Haisu, Zhang Daqian, and Wu Guanzhong, stating that "they all succeeded in developing the synthesis of East and West in painting" (Tamen dou jiang zhongxi ronghe de huihua deyi jicheng he fayang guangda 他们都将中西融合的 绘画得以继承和发扬光大).

course, he does not evaluate how caimoyishu became an "official" department in art schools after the People's Republic of China was established in 1949.[112]

But these approaches address what has recently been labeled the belated or defensive modernity of art in China during the early twentieth century.[113] According to Gao Minglu, regarding the art practice during the Republican period (1911–49), Chinese modernity during this period "could be labeled a defensive modernity, . . . inextricably bound up with the articulation of a national identity and subjectivity. It did not seek a global role or interaction in a larger modern world."[114] What Gao is implying is that Chinese modernity during the Republican period is often associated with the failure of artists during this period to embrace European avant-garde strategies as a means to "liberate," individualize, and make maverick their artistic styles and postures.

Yet, the perceived belated or defensive modernity during the Republican period reflected more a concern on the part of these critics with contemporary Chinese art in the 1990s, to compare its merits of difference versus that of the Republican period. In addition, the "impact" and "response" theme still guided a way for these critics to answer this projected negative view of modernity during the Republican period. According to Pan Gongkai, some artists in China reacted to the influx of Western artistic practices by

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[112] See Julia F. Andrews, "The Reform of Chinese Art," in Painters and Politics in the People's Republic of China, 1949–1979 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), esp. 52–53.

[113] See, e.g., John Clark, "Problems of Modernity in Chinese Painting," Oriental Art 32 (Autumn 1986): 270–83; and Gao Minglu, "Toward a Transnational Modernity: An Overview of *Inside Out: New Chinese Art*," in *Inside Out: New Chinese Art*, ed. Gao Minglu (Berkeley: University of California Press, in association with San Francisco Museum of Modern Art and Asia Society Galleries, New York), 15–40.

[114] Gao Minglu, "Toward a Transnational Modernity: An Overview of *Inside Out: New Chinese Art*," 16. See also his essay "Particular Time, Specific Place, and the Truth of Mine: Modernity and the Avant-Garde in China," in *Documenta Magazine* no. 1 (2007): Modernity?, 166–79.

developing a distinctive self-consciousness (zijue 自覺) as a distinctive feature of the Chinese experience of modernity, which ascribes agency to certain artists who chose to develop ink painting. For so called "traditionalists," like Fu Baoshi, Huang Binhong, or Qi Baishi, they responded intentionally by developing new styles of painting entirely within the "traditional" mode, as either a reaction or reverse reaction to the introduction of Western painting in particular and to the indigenous culture change posed in modern China in general.[115]

Today, critics rarely refer to the art of this period as belated or failed; rather, a more common adjective used in recent criticism is "success." Pan is the prime example, since her works reveal the successful synthesis of East and West and the dedication of an artist with a singular vision.

CONCLUSION

By focusing specifically on the scholarship in China on Pan, I reveal the contemporary cultural politics that play out in the various approaches, especially in the reversal of roles for intellectuals in China regarding their positive views of "tradition," in contrast to the May Fourth intellectuals who viewed tradition as defunct and detrimental to the new

[115] Pan Gongkai, The Chinese Road of Modern Art (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2000). For Pan, "traditionalism," as one of the four "isms," is a type of modernity in twentieth-century Chinese painting and should not be a viewed as a conservative retreat. His argument focuses on traditional Chinese ink painting versus European painting and continues to reinforce the typical approaches to analyzing twentieth-century Chinese art. His argument rests on a defense of artists who used ink painting as a point of substantiating local and internal concerns with modernity without exploring the overlapping historical and social contexts that gave rise to the discourse of tradition against the modern that prevails in studies of ink painting. (z

China, to the claiming of Pan by those in her "native" land, despite the forty years that she spent in France.[116]

The native accounts of Pan emphasize her significance to the new nation as China's increasing importance on the global stage, revealing its cultural merits and strengths, Pan being part and parcel of that rebirth and significance. As the prices for Pan's works increase in auction houses like Sotheby's and Christie's,[117] more of her works are emerging from the closets and there is a drive to keep her works "home," that is, within China, where her many works (more than four thousand) were returned, upon her request, after her death (a claim of her unswerving loyalty to her native home).

[116] Pan was not considered among the coterie of foreign artists in the Second School of Paris like her compatriots Zao Wou-ki 趙無機 (b. 1921) and Zhu Dequn 朱德群 (b. 1922), although having exhibited with them and being featured in a documentary about the artists of Montparnasse.

[117] Christie's Hong Kong, Twentieth-Century Chinese Art (Hong Kong: Christie's 2005); Christie's Hong Kong, Chinese Twentieth-Century Art (Hong Kong: Christie's 2007); Christie's Hong Kong, Chinese Twentieth-Century Art: Day Sale (Hong Kong: Christie's 2010); Sotheby's, Twentieth-Century Chinese Art (Hong Kong: Sotheby's, 2012).

CHAPTER TWO

The Woman Artist: The First National Exhibition of Art 1929

This chapter focuses on a case study, the First National Exhibition of Chinese Art in 1929, considered to be a milestone for the Republic (1911–49), yet filtered through the lens of a special issue on the exhibition in Funü zazhi (The Ladies Journal), volume XV, number 7, July 1, 1929.[118] Scholars have written on this exhibition as a significant temporal landmark in the history of the Republican period, yet they have generally focused on the debates between cultural arbiters leading up to the exhibition or the exhibition as a reflection of nationalism.[119] David Der-wei Wang and others have

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[118] The special issue has been included or mentioned by Chinese scholars: Liu Ruikuan, Zhongguo meishu xiandaihua (Beijing: Xinzhi sanlian shudian, 2008) and Xu Hong, Shanghai Modern: 1919–1945, eds. Jo-Anne Birnie Danzker, Ken Lum, Zheng Shengtian (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz Publishers, 2005). Xu Hong, a feminist art historian, has been prominent among Chinese scholars in her analyses of women artists (e.g., Nuxing: Meishu zhi si [Jiangsu: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 2003]).

[119] David Der-wei Wang, "In the Name of the Real," in Chinese Art: Modern Expressions (New York: Department of Asian Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001); Ralph Croizier, "Post-Impressionists in Pre-War Shanhai: The Juelanshe (Storm Society) and the Fate of Modernism in Republican China," in John Clark, ed., Modernity in Asian Art (Sydney: Wild Peony, 1993), 135-54; Michael Sullivan, Chinese Art in the Twentieth Century (London: Faber and Faber, 1959) and Art and Artists of Twentieth-Century China (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Julia F. Andrews, "Traditional Painting in New China: Guohua and the Anti-Rightist Campaign," J Asian Studies August 49 (1990); Lang Shaojun, "Traditional Chinese Painting in the Twentieth Century" (317, 320), in Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting (New Haven: Yale University Press and Beijing Foreign Languages Press, 1997); Eugene Wang, "Sketch conceptualism as modernist contingency," in Chinese Art Modern Expressions (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001).

focused on the debate "I am perplexed" between Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻 (1895–1953) and Xu Zhimo 徐志摩 (1897–1931)[120] on the pages of a prominent art journal about the merits of recent European painting in relation to recent Chinese modern art. Julia F. Andrews has focused on the dynamics of nationalism that propelled the organizers of the exhibition to define Chinese modern art in relation to the nation, a development that culminated in the national exhibition.[121] Yet, specific aspects of the exhibition have often been overlooked, from the diverse categories included in the exhibition, encompassing industrial design, sculpture, photography, as well as foreign works (i.e., Japanese), to the artists who exhibited their works. Thus, the diversity of the exhibition has been overlooked, reduced again to the binary of East and West, which, in this case, is Chinese painting (guohua 国画) and "Western-style" painting (xiyanghua 西洋画). And these terms have continued to play a significant role in the construction of modern art in China during the twentieth century.

This chapter examines the exhibition through several layers reflected through the prism of the special issue devoted to the exhibition. One layer is the role of women artists like Pan Yuliang during the Republican period. The special issue of The Ladies Journal

[120] Realist painter Xu Beihong was opposed to Matisse and Cezanne, while the poet Xu Zhimo defended them. Glasgow-trained painter Li Yishi concluded that their popularity should be opposed, since it would excite society, whereas in a period turmoil, art should be used to regulate the people's thoughts and console their spirit. Xu Beihong, "Huo" 惑 (Perplexity), in Xu Beihong yishu wenji (Collection of XB's writings on Art), ed. Xu Boyang and Jin Shan (Taipei: Yishujia chubanshe, 1987); Li Yishi, "I have no Doubts," Meizhan huikan, no. 8, 1/5/1929, see Youhua taolunji (Renmin Meishu Chubanshe, 1993), 29–32.

[121] Julia Andrews, "Art to Represent the Nation: China's First National Art Exhibition of 1929," session 126 of Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting (March 26–29, 2009, Chicago): Inter-Asian Convergences: Cultural Nationalism and the Art of Twentieth Century India, China, and Japan.

reveals the different perspectives of individual woman artists, journalists' impressions and evaluations of the exhibition, and commentaries about artistic practice for women. The contents of the special issue, the artworks presented, and the subjects included suggest conflicting viewpoints as regards artistic practice and art history. Although featuring these women artists as a separate category for distribution and dissemination in a popular magazine like The Ladies' Journal might suggest similarities in the status and role of the woman artist, their approach to the questions of womanhood and feminine beauty, art and artistic practice, and aesthetics were quite varied.

The second layer is the status of women artists as creators of art rather than as objects to be created in relation to the female nude.[122] When Pan returned from eight years in Europe in 1927, she faced an artistic climate and a political environment that had changed considerably during her years of training in the various academies of France and Italy. There, the social and cultural environment after the devastation of the First World War had also affected realms of artistic production.

The third layer is those strategies of negotiation that were available to Pan Yuliang. Her work Gazing at One's Shadow was included in the 1929 First National Exhibition of Art, and her own article "My Experience Painting with Gouache" (我習粉筆畫的經過談) also was published. A close examination of both suggests that Pan negotiated her own practice against other artists, both men and women, and in doing so challenged the intertwined discourses of womanhood, nationalism, and art that she faced

[122] The female nude has often been connoted with the European art and thus an "import" representing a distinct sign of modernity. Yet, by the time Pan returned from Europe, the images of female nudes, either in photographs, lithographs, or paintings, and even cartoons, were quite prevalent in magazines and periodicals, such as Liangyou (Young Companion) and Dongfang zazhi (Eastern Miscellany).

upon her return in 1928. This painting and this essay, then, offer an entry point into examining those works created in the 1930s in China and in France upon her return in 1937.[123]

This special issue does not attempt a broad historical statement for all women artists during the Republican period. Rather it presents a diverse body of textual and visual material. As such it provides a small glimpse into the lives and practices of woman artists like Pan Yuliang and so reveals how sex and gender played a significant role in the visual representation of the female nude.

In this context it may be appropriate to borrow Bourdieu's concept of "strategy," which does not suggest a conscious or necessarily self-interested plan but refers to actions taken by individuals making sense of the field in which they operate. [124] The field in question is that of the artistic practice and production within the increasingly hostile arena of national and cultural politics. For Pan, the "strategy" that she developed when she returned from France in 1928 can be viewed as a negotiation within this field.[125]

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[123] During Pan's absence, Western art and its history were widely introduced and had become a heated point of discussion (at least among artists and intellectuals) by the late 1920s, which would continue to the First National Exhibition of Art in 1929. Writings on art "history" significantly changed over the course of two decades. In 1917, Jiang Danshu (1885–1962) published a book about art history, which included both Western and Chinese sections, and considered to the first textbook on art history found to date in China.

[124] Pierre Bourdieu, Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998)

[125] Of note, the discourse of art in relation to the nationalism began to shift during this period while Pan was in Europe, France and Italy specifically, undergoing her "Western" art training. During her eight years in Europe, there were multiple shifts in various discourses regarding women and their place in the nation, artistic practice and art history, which then in turn affected art pedagogy and art-historical understanding. Already by the time she had departed in 1921, art pedagogy was changing, with the more significant

My study follows the strides made by feminist scholars who have situated women's history within a broader social history and explored how women artists were able to produce alternate strategies for negotiating their works, representation, and identity.[126] In China, from the late Qing reformers to the Kuomintang Nanjing regime in the 1930s, male intellectuals and reformers maintained a stronghold on a pattern of gendered discourse that refined the trope of the "new woman" (新女性 xin nüxing) image in early twentieth-century China. The similarity of their discourses was reflected in the subject of women as the object that needed to be transformed in order to build a new and modern China, whether reformed from the past or created anew in the present and for the future. Male intellectuals used the discourse of the new woman to support their own cultural agenda for strengthening the nation (the Qing reformers), for individual liberty (the May Fourth intellectuals and writers), or for binding a nation under its own authority (the Kuomintang Nanjing regime). The discourse of nationalism has played a significant role in defining and shaping the role of women in the Republican period, which in turn

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institutes, like the Shanghai Art Academy, gaining cultural and national importance and implementing more diverse art departments. During the 1920s, Chinese art, whether "modern" or a revitalized "traditional" Chinese ink painting, was in its incipient stage in promotion by Chinese intellectuals and artists. Art had a different place for women artists after the New Culture Movement and May Fourth period and was also reflected in the content of women's periodicals and would again transform during the Nanjing period.

[126] Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, Old Mistresses: Women, Art, and Ideology (London: Routledge, 1981, 1987); Griselda Pollock, Differencing the Canon: Feminist Desire and the Writing of Art's Histories (London: Routledge, 1999); and Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism, and Histories of Art (London: Routledge, 1988); and Aida Yuen-Wong, Parting the Mists: Discovering Japan and the Rise of National-style Painting in China (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006).

has given rise to a multitude of literary, visual, and popular images that reflect these concerns.[127]

Many scholars have examined the discourses that surrounded the trope of the New Woman, where the figure of woman signified the virtuous mother and dutiful wife who would nurture the citizens of the new nation. Alternatively the New Woman was portrayed as the "natural woman" a target for commercial products for maintaining personal hygiene or for accentuating beauty. Finally, the New Woman, for some, signified the loss of virtue in an increasingly consumerized culture.[128] How did these tropic strategies take shape in the fine art female nude? The numerous images of the New Woman, from fine art reproductions to photographs or cartoons, clothed and unclothed, become sites where ideals of feminine beauty and artistic practice intersected with representation of the female body.

The multiple images of the New Woman dominated gender discourses in early twentieth-century China. Literary scholars such as Rey Chow, Lydia Liu, Tamara

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[127] Lydia Liu, "The Female Body and Nationalist Discourse: The Field of Life and Death Revisited," in Scattered Hegemonies: Postmodernity and Transnational Feminist Practices, ed. Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 37–62: Louise Edwards, "Policing the Modern Women in Republican China," Modern China 26: 215 (2000): 115–47; Prasenjit Duara, "The Regime of Authenticity: Timelessness, Gender, and National History in Modern China," in Constructing Nationhood in Modern East Asia, ed. Kai-wing Chow, Kevin M. Doak, and Poshek Fu (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 359–85; and Megan M. Ferry, "Woman and Her Affinity to Literature: Defining Women Writers' Roles in China's Cultural Modernity," in Contested Modernities in Chinese Literature, ed. Charles McLaughlin (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), chap. 2.

[128] Tani E. Barlow, "Commodity Desire and the Eugenic Modern Girl"; Bryna Goodman, "Unvirtuous Exchanges"; Harriet Zurndorfer, "Gender, Higher Education, and the 'New Woman'"; Wendy Larson, Women and Writing in Modern China (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998); Hu Ying, Tales of Translation: Composing the New Woman in China, 1899–1918 (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2000); Joan Judge, "Talent, Virtue, and the Nation: Chinese nationalisms and female subjectivities in the early twentieth century," American Historical Review (June 2001): 65–803.

Hamlisch, and Wendy Larson, among others, have examined these gender discourses in regards to literary and visual images of women and women writers. They have revealed how Chinese modernity was constituted via the relationship between the generally marginalized practice of women writers vis-à-vis literary and visual images of women.[129] Yet, in art-historical analyses, the role that woman artists played in relation to the circulation of visual images of women during the Republican period have remained largely unexamined.

Women artists like Pan Yuliang have remained on the margins in the discourse of art during the Republican period. Perhaps this is because of their status as an object to be created and re-created by male artists and intellectuals. These woman artists appear in the historical record as the subjects of biographies, where their aesthetic sensibilities have distinguished them in a life devoted to art, to their husbands and families, or to their nation. According to Linda Nochlin, speaking of women artists in Europe, "[their] existence as an object rather than a creator of art constitute an ongoing subtext underlying almost all individual images involving women."[130] It would be reasonable to apply the same observation to China in the early twentieth century.

Griselda Pollock spoke of how women artists have not been absent from the history of culture but have spoken from a different place within it and how "[t]he art they have made has been determined by the diverse ways in which they negotiated their

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[129] Rey Chow, Women and Chinese Modernity; The Politics of Reading between East and West (Theory of History and Literature 75), ed. Wlad Godzich and Jochen Sculte-Sasse (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991). See the collection of essays in Tani E. Barlow, ed., Gender Politics in Modern China: Feminism and Literature (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993),

[130] Linda Nochlin, "Women, Art, and Power," in Linda Nochlin, Women, Art and Power and Other Essays (Boulder: Westview Press, reprint 1989), 2.

specific situations as women and as artists at a given historical moment. In many cases they have struggled against the given definitions and ideologies of femininity and have resisted what has been expected of them. At other times they have worked within genres or forms which have been collusive with dominant ideologies."[131]

The situation in China was not entirely similar to that of Europe. First, in the history of Chinese art, there was no problem with the nude, as Chinese artists did not paint nudes. Women artists could undertake "masculine" subjects such as pines or landscapes, though the latter is rare. In addition, women artists achieved recognition in the art-historical literature much earlier than in Europe. Women were credited in histories as masters as early as Song times. The notion of a female literatus was well established by that period as well, and paintings of literary gatherings show women participating rather than merely present. A common image of an educated woman shows her with her art collection. By late Ming times, special chapters were devoted to women artists in some works on the history of art, so the situation facing women artists in modern China was different in some respects than that faced by European women. The social role of the female artist was well established.[132] What was lacking, in the eyes of twentieth-century intellectuals, was "Westernness" and "modernity."

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[131] Pollock, Art and Ideology, 1983, 43–44.

[132] Entries of women artists were mentioned in sources that date as early as the Tang Dynasty. By the Qing Dynasty, Tang Souyu (1794–1836) was able to compile the *Yutai huashi* (*History of the Jade Terrace*), a history of women painters from early times through the beginning of the nineteenth century, from more than a hundred of these earlier sources, such as the Xuanhe huapu 宣和畫譜(imperial painting catalogue written during the reign of Emperor Huizong 宋徽宗 [1119–1125] of the Song Dynasty). For more information, see Marsha Weidner, "Women in the History of Chinese Painting," in *Views from the Jade Terrace: Chinese Women Artists 1300–1912*, ed. Marsha Weidner,

The special edition mentioned above offers a prism into how women artists during the Republican period were able to negotiate their own "female" and individual position within a male-dominated discourse of artistic production. From literature to magazine periodicals and pictorials, the nude female body was ubiquitous during this period. Many scholars have addressed this fact in ways that highlight the male erotic gaze, treating the female nude, according to Yinjing Zhang, as "artwork, commodity, and event."[133] In the case of Pan Yuliang, her use of the female nude first suggests an alternative to the popular images of the female nude via other media, such as photography and cartoons found in print culture, and subtly undermines the viewing practices of the female body by challenging the visual tropes of the New Woman while simultaneously affirming her role as creator of art and not just as object/subject.

FUNÜ ZAZHI 婦女雜誌: THE LADIES COMPANION

Pictorials and magazine illustrations played a pivotal role in the dissemination of "fine" art and the visual trope of the New Woman.[134] Some scholars have shown how the portrayal of this modern woman was characterized by ambiguity or contradiction. She represented an ideal to be defined and constantly redefined throughout the Republican

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Ellen Johnston Laing, Irving Yucheng Lo, Christina Chu, and James Robinson (Indianapolis: Indianapolis Museum of Art, 1988), 18, 13–30.

[133] Yingjin Zhang, "Artwork, Commodity, Event: Representations of the Female Body in Modern Chinese Pictorials," chap 4, in Visual Culture in Shanghai 1850s–1930s, ed. Jason C. Kuo (Washington, DC: New Academia Publishing, 2007), 121–61.

[134] The magazines were themselves a historically important by-product of the new genre of the "periodical press" which arose in the mid-nineteenth century, which would multiply in the 1930s. Joan Judge, Print and Politics: "Shibao" and the Culture of Reform in Late Qing China (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996); Rudolf Wagner, "The Early Chinese Newspapers and the Chinese Public Sphere," European Journal of East Asian Studies 1/1 (2001): 1–33.

period. She could represent all that was wrong with China, its past, its weakness, its backwardness, but she also could become the key to how China finally could define its modernity.[135]

The Ladies Journal was one of the most prominent women's periodicals, spanning almost sixteen years of publication.[136] It was published by the Commercial Press in Shanghai (Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館) and began its circulation in January 1915, the same year that Chen Duxiu began publication of New Youth (Xin qingnian 新青年). Because the Commercial Press was the most successful publishing house in China, with stores in twenty-eight cities, The Ladies Journal had a broad circulation across a wide geographical area.[137] The Ladies Journal was not the most well-known journal published by the Commercial Press—that was The Eastern Miscellany (Dongfang zazhi 东方杂志

[135] Others have mapped the emergence of the new genre of the woman's journal and analyzed the evolution of specific genres these journals since the waning years of the Qing dynasty and through the Republican period. See Charlotte L. Beahan, "Feminism and Nationalism in the Chinese Women's Press, 1902–1911," Modern China 1 (1975): 379–416; Amy D. Dooling and Kristina Torgeson, eds., Writing Women in Modern China; Jacqueline Nivard, "Women and the Women's Press; The Case of the Ladies' Journal (Funü zazhi), 1915–31," Republican China 10:1b (1984): 37–55; Hu Ying, Tales of Translation; Joan Judge, "Talent, Virtue, and the Nation: Chinese Nationalism and Female Subjectivities in the Early-Twentieth Century," American Historical Review 106.2 (June 2001), 218–48; Stephen R. MacKinnon, Toward a History of the Chinese Press in the Republican Period," Modern China 23:1 (1997): 3–32.

[136] Wang Zheng "A case of circulating feminism. The Ladies' Journal," in Women in the Chinese Enlightenment: Oral and Textual Histories (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 67–11; Nivard, "Women and the Women's Press."

[137] Jacqueline Nivard ("Women and the Women's Press") breaks down the history of the *Ladies Journal* into four parts, as a reflection of the development of certain themes in the feminist women's movement in China: (1) 1915–19, where change was needed but there was no specific direction; (2) 1920–25, a "questioning of traditional morality"; (3) 1926–30, a return to the first period's more conservative stance; and (4) 1930–31, less defined and vague. The fourth period of The Ladies Companion, according to Nivard, might be explained by the rise of the communist party among Shanghai intellectuals.

). Nevertheless, it remains an important source for the study of women and gender during the Republican period.[138]

Over time, the direction of the The Ladies' Journal shifted in its position regarding the discourse of the virtuous mother and dutiful wife, becoming more conservative after the New Culture movement in the 1930s.[139] The pre-1919 literature on Chinese women's education in The Ladies' Journal developed two parallel themes, very much in line with the discourse of the New Woman championed by intellectuals of the May Fourth and New Culture Movement: one stressed the importance of women to the nation, and the other deplored the "poor quality" of Chinese women. Elaborating on the first theme, writers, according to Carole C. Chin, borrowed from Euramerican sources the concept of women's benevolent nature and virtues, such as the American trope of republican motherhood, emphasizing how Chinese women should be "educated to

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[138] Other periodicals that are a good source for the study of women and gender are Liangyou (see Yingjing Zhang)

[139] In 1921, Zhang Xichen replaced Wang Yunzhang. Zhang was formerly an editor of Eastern Miscellany (东方杂志), which was also a publication by the Commercial Press. In 1922, Zhang started to organize special issues, each focusing on a single problem, the "Woman question" and its various situations. In the late teens and early 1920s, a broad range of articles, written by both men and women, regarding women and their place in the new society, were published. The following are a few examples, which were cited in Wang, Women and the Chinese Enlightenment: Mao Dun, "Women gai zenyang yubeili qu tan fun*ü* jiefang wenti" (How we ought to discuss the woman's liberation question), Funü zazhi 6:3 (1920), 1–5; Shi Guanying, "Nuxing yanjiu de mudi" (Reasons for studying women), Funü zazhi 7:3 (1921), 1–3; Chen Dongyuan and Zhang Youwan, "Nüzi yu wenhua" (Women and culture), Funü zazhi 8:1 (1922), 8–11; Zhou Zuoren, "Nüzi yu wenxue" (Women and literature), Funü zazhi 8:8 (1922), 6–8; Miao Ran, Xin funü de xin daode" (The new moral virtue of the new woman), New Woman 1:1 (1920), 9–12; Shi Guanying "Nüxing yanjiu de mudi" (The Reasons for studying women), Funü zazhi 7:3 (1921), 1–3; C. K., "Funü wenti yu zhongguo funü yundong" (The woman question and Chinese women's movement), Funü zazhi 8:11 (1922), 55–56; Zhu Yi, "Nüzi haomei shi buyong shuode" (It goes without saying that women love beauty), Funü zazhi 12:1 (1926), 167–70; Wu Rubin, "Wenxue yu nüzi" (Literature and women), Funü zazhi 14:11 (1928), 27–30; and Yang Songxian, "Xin jiu funü de bijiao" (A comparison between new and traditional women), Funü zazhi 15:9 (1929), 23–24.

become ‘good wives and wise mothers,’ rearing the new citizens of the new nation,” although the Confucian concept of the worthy wife and good mother (贤妻良母 *xianqi liangmu*) was already well established in Chinese society.[140] But the second theme was more often voiced: contributors discussed Chinese women’s weaknesses and how to correct them for the sake of the nation.”[141] According to Wang Zheng, both male and female writers criticized the inherent weaknesses of the Chinese woman, from “old” habits like bad hygiene, ignorance (lack of education), and footbinding to “new habits” recently acquired, such as superficiality, frivolity, and lack of manners.[142]

Prior to 1925, many articles included discussions about love, marriage, divorce and sexuality, as well as translations of feminist texts or Western stories, all of it geared toward addressing the faults of the Chinese women and ways to ameliorate them, in order for the New Woman to emerge. According to Wang Zheng, a significant shift occurred in September 1925 when The Ladies’ Journal hired a new editor-in-chief “concerned about fostering women’s artistic taste.” As a result the journal published a special issue on art. Wang describes how “the readers no longer asked questions about love, courtship, marriage, or the women’s movement, but about photography and health. Although many articles in the journal discussed topics of women’s education and women’s professional training, The Ladies’ Journal was no longer a voice of feminism.”

While Wang suggests that this shift in content indicates a weakening of The Ladies Journal as a “voice of feminism,” Liu Huiying argues that The Ladies Journal

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[140] See Carol C. Chin, “Translating the New Woman: Chinese Feminists View the West, 1905-15, *Gender and History* 18:3 (November 2006): 495, 490–518.
[141] Wang Zhen, Women and the Chinese Enlightenment, 71.
[142] Some examples that Wang cites are Chen Shizhen, “Shenfucong nuzhou zhiyi” [On the definitions of “woman”] 2:4 (1916); Piao Ping Nushi, “Lixiang zhi nüxuesheng” [The ideal female students], Funü zazhi 1:3 (1915). See footnotes 12–13.

continued not only to promote women's education and learning but also geared itself toward cultivating both married and single women. Its continuing objective, so Liu states, was not to follow the narrative of the nation state in the construction of the modern woman trope, but as a means for women to promote themselves, apart from the nation state narrative. The magazine's special edition on the arts and literature is entirely consistent with this interpretation.[143]

THE FIRST NATIONAL EXHIBITION OF ART 1929

The First National Exhibition of Art, which opened on April 10, 1929, was a major cultural event sponsored by the Ministry of Education. The works displayed were for the most part created by Chinese artists, both contemporary and past masters in a variety of media.[144] Three categories of painting were exhibited: Chinese painting (guohua 国画), Western-style painting (xiyanghua 西洋画), and foreign works.[145] The category of Western-style painting was comprised of Chinese artists working in oil, charcoal, and

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[143] Liu Huiying, "Bei zhebi de funu fuchu lishi xushu: Jianshu chuqi de Funu zazhi," Shanghai Wenxue 3 (2006).

[144] The exhibition catalogue Meishu tekan (美術特刊) consisted of two volumes. The first volume contained the following categories: 西畫, 外國作品, 健築, 工藝美術, 攝影 (Western painting, foreign works, architecture, industrial arts, and photography, respectively). The second volume contained the following: 古代書畫, 金石, 近人遺作 (ancient calligraphy and painting, rubbings of inscriptions, and posthumous works of recent persons, respectively). Only passing reference is made to European works of recent times, such as Post-Impressionism, in the introduction by Cai Yuanpei and Jiang Menglin, Zhonghua minguo quanguo meishu zhanlanhui (Shanghai 1929); Meizhan tekan, 2 vols. (Shanghai: Zhengyishe, 1929).

[145] Liu Ruikuan, Zhongguo meishude xiandaihua: Meishu qikan yu meizhan huodongde fenxi (1911–1937) (Beijing: SDX Joint Publishing Committee, 2008), 356–77.

watercolor. Works under the category of "foreign works" listed only Japanese artists.[146] Of the works exhibited, 1,231 were classified as Chinese painting, 354 as Western-style paintings, and 82 as Japanese works. This does not include some of the other categories also exhibited: photography, sculpture, and industrial design. Of the 354 Western-style paintings exhibited, 186 were sold.

Pan exhibited five works at this exhibition. Two of her older works, originally completed in Europe, were Bacchanalian (Jiutu 酒徒; figure 15) and African Woman (Heinu 黑女; figure 16). The newer works included Man Lying under a Light (Dengxia luo nan 灯下卧男; figure 17), Singing Minstrel (Geba 歌罢), and Gazing at One's Shadow (Guying 顾影; figure 18).[147]

THE LADIES JOURNAL, July 1, 1929

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[146] Michael Sullivan considers the inclusion of Japanese artists as "notable feature of the exhibition, and a tribute to the debt owed to Japan, which Aida Yuen Wong has detailed in her Parting the Mists: Discovering Japan and the Rise of National-style Painting in Modern China (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006). The works by Japanese artists included mainly figure studies and nudes, e.g., Wada Eisaku, Ishii Takutei, Mitsutani Kunishoro, Terauchi Manjiro, and Umehara Ryuzaburo (see Sullivan, Art and Artists of Twentieth-Century China, 59). For Sullivan, "the presence of works by these Japanese artists made painfully clear how far the Chinese oil painters still had to go. In Japan, oil painting had been established for half a century. Their modernists painted with immense assurance and skill. But to the educated Chinese artist, mere skill carried with it the taint of professionalism. Art was much more than skill, it was the expression of thought and feeling. This devotion to personal expression rather than to craft may help to account for the relative reluctance to surrender completely to the discipline of oil painting that some Chinese Western-style painters showed" (Sullivan, Art and Artists of Twentieth-Century China 59)

[147] Unfortunately, Singing Minstrel (Geba 歌罢) is no longer extant and no reproductions exist.

Of the works reproduced in the special issue, like the official exhibition catalogue, a broad spectrum of images was represented, including landscapes, still lifes, self-portraits and portraits, rustic scenes, and fine art nudes. Different media were used, such as ink, oil, gouache, photography, and sculpture. The reproduced works included not only the works of the woman artists but also recent Japanese works (many female nudes) and traditional Chinese ink paintings of previous masters, such as Shitao, which were included in the exhibition. Of the works by woman artists, the only two nudes in the special issue were by Pan: Gazing at One's Shadow (顧影) and Man Lying under a Light (灯下卧男).

The special issue of The Ladies Journal featured a broad selection of works by women artists, as well as multiple articles about the exhibition, which included reviews, the role of art, and art historical comparisons and analyses. Male authors contributed to the reviews of the exhibition, yet women artists in the exhibition were invited to write their views about art, art and history, and their own artistic practices, especially in the section "Artist Talks."[148] Some articles suggested a natural relationship between women and art, constructing art-historical lineages that overlapped European art history and Chinese art history, despite the relative rarity of women artists in art historical treatises. Sometimes these overlappings suggested similarities in aesthetic sense or artistic technique, blurring perceived differences between "East" and "West."

[148] Four "Artist Talks" (作家經驗譚) were included and are as follows: 藝術世界性的過去和將來 by 金启靜; 今日之新畫家納格蘭 by 岳侖; 音樂家與欣賞家 by 潘伯英; 藝術的使命 by 王伊茹; 我习粉笔画的经过谈 by 番玉良.

In “My Experience Learning to Paint with Gouache” (我习粉笔画的经过谈), Pan wrote on the benefits of gouache painting/watercolor for woman artists as a practice beneficial to them, though it is not clear why it was beneficial specifically to women.[149] Perhaps this view was based on Li Shutong’s writings, who argued that, of all the different types of Western painting, watercolor was the most akin to Chinese painting.

Each of the featured women artists was given a separate page with a brief biography as well as an accompanying image, mainly highly stylized photographs or, in one case, a sketch of a self-portrait. The featured artists included: Pan Yuliang, Tang Yunyu, Wu Qingxia, Cai Weilian, Feng Wenfeng, Yang Xuejiu, Chen Xiaocui, Jin Qijing, Jin Naixian, Hong Jingyi, Wu Wanlan, Tao Cuiying, Liang Tianzhen, Cai Shaomin, Li Xi, Zhou Luhua, Yang Manhua, Wu Peizhang, Wang Yiru, Fang Junbi, Fang Yun (only one provided a sketch), Fang Yu, Weng Yuanchun, and Wang Zuyun.

Li Wanyi (李万一) reviewed the exhibition, written in two parts and published separately in the special issue.[150] In Part II, he reviewed the Western painting and sculpture sections of the exhibition (Xihua bu zhi gaikuang 西画部之概况). In his review of the Western painting section, he began his review with Pan Yuliang and her work. He praised her works as the best in the section, given their prominence in the exhibition,

[149] Pan Yuliang, “Wi xi fenbihua de jingguo tan,” Funü zazhi 15:7 (July 1929): 51.

[150] Other reviews included the following: Hu Gentian, “Kanle diyici quanguo meishu zhan xihua chupinde yinxiang” (看了第一次全国美术展西画出品的印象), Yiyuan 艺苑 3 (May 1929), 37–40 (顾影的调子大体上很柔和有致，其他两幅则稍逊，她的油画，对于写实的关照和技巧颇为拘谨): “The tone of Gazing at One’s Shadow is in overall gentle and has a lasting charm. Her other two paintings are slightly lower in skill; her oil paintings, in regards to realism, by word of mouth and skill, are slightly reserved.”

drawing in the viewers' gaze among all the others. He then offered a lengthy description of her experience as an artist, her many years of training at academies in France and Italy, and the individual exhibition held upon her return in 1928. He mentioned as well as her various teaching positions at the Shanghai Art Academy and her involvement in art societies as Art Gallery Research Institute (Yiyuan yanjiusuo 艺苑研究所).[151] Of the five works exhibited, he praised especially the two earlier works made in Europe, for their accurate realism. He praised Man Lying under a Light as revealing an extremely "cunning" composition, and he much appreciated the convincing signs of fatigue on the minstrel's face in Singing Minstrel (歌罢).

One wonders what was it about these images that was regarded as most significant, the human figure or the exoticism of the subject matter? Was it the mirror quality of realism that attracted the viewer's gaze? Why, of these images, would Gazing at One's Shadow be treated as most significant? One might well ask why this painting did not achieve the same significance in the annals of modern art in China as Édouard Manet's Olympia (1863; figure 19) or Kuroda Seiki's Morning Toilette (*Chôshô*; figure 20) did in histories of modern art in France and in Japan, respectively, where both were paintings of a nude female "accepted to a high-profile government-sponsored exhibition?"[152] Was it because the work was created by a woman or was it that the image

[151] Of note, Jin Qijing, a fellow woman artist, who wrote "Women and Art," was also Pan's fellow student at the Shanghai Art Academy and a member of the Art Gallery Research Institute.

[152] Alice Y. Tseng, "Kuroda Seiki's Morning Toilette on Exhibition in Modern Kyoto," Art Bulletin vol. XC, no. 3 (2008): 417–40. Like Pan Yuliang who returned from Paris to exhibit her work in the First National Exhibition, Kuroda Seiki exhibited his Morning Toilette, a painting of a nude woman standing before a mirror, at a national event (1895 Fourth National Industrial Exposition in Kyoto). Although the painting had been

of the nude had become blasé by the time that Pan exhibited her Gazing at One's Shadow in 1929? What about Man Lying under a Light, another painting done in gouache, or was this image too ambiguous to deserve mention? These questions indicate the range of possible meanings conveyed by the nude. However, for Pan, the nude was not, for example, simply about eroticism but about her displaying a knowledge of Western ideals of what constitutes fine art.

Gazing at One's Shadow received the most attention in the special issue not only in the reviews but also in the only extant full-page color reproduction that followed a brief biographical introduction on the preceding page, which was also written by Li Wanyi.[153] Here in his biographical sketch, Li states that Pan's Gazing at One's Shadow represented the most outstanding work of realism in the exhibition. He focuses on the accurate contours, the hues rich in emotion, which thus allow for much variation. He also cites the colors on the surface as achieving a certain simplicity of form. He suggests that the brushwork reflects an "Eastern" inflection, allowing the painting to acquire a refined elegance. He describes the figure's facial features as emitting a listless, almost careless distraction, which he compares to the mysterious smile in Da Vinci's Mona Lisa. Yet, he focuses on the figure itself, a "white" woman gazing at her reflection in a demeanor of self-pity (自憐).

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exhibited publicly in Paris and Tokyo, it was only after its exhibition in Kyoto that it received widespread recognition and notoriety. Tseng writes that the painting was an embodiment of the conflict between the city and the nation at large to modernize and revitalize Japanese art.

[153] 潘玉良女士從法 D'egas, Simon 等名家遊，得寫實之基本工夫。此圖表白女子顧影自憐之態，輪廓極正確。色調富於情感，故多變化。筆觸帶有東方之象徵意味，故能簡秀。允為本展寫實最優之作品。原圖長四英尺，寬三英尺，用色粉繪成

A larger claim of painting technique is being made here which reveals how East and West was being radicalized in art and artistic practice. For Li, it was the work's brushwork that could be defined as distinctly Eastern, whereas its realism was understood to be Western. Although the work itself is naturalistic, that is, Western, its tendency to be "real" is subsumed under the significance of Chinese brushwork. This then reveals a subtle distinction being made between "East" and "West," praising the "East" via its brushwork, as claimed by Li and also implying that the brushwork allow the painting to be "rich with an oriental flavor."

He then goes on to compare her works to art in general: "In our country, in an environment that has low standards, where society oppresses the information of art, Pan's spirit, her individual ability allows for the exotic, thus generating an unparalleled splendor." He explicitly states the significance of a woman's artistic production in relation to societal limitations, the ways in which her art acts as a "salvation" for the society's decrepit state. This, of course, is not far from the discourse of the New Woman and her role in saving the nation.

Several questions arise in regards to Li's review of Gazing at One's Shadow and Pan's artistic significance. How do we gauge what is written about this painting and what it represents? What of the painting methods that Pan discusses in her artist talk "My Experience Learning to Paint with Gouache"? What are its possible connotations in regards to women and artistic production in relation to articles written by women artists included in the special issue, such as "Women and Art" (Nuxing yu meishu 女性與美術) by Jin Qijing 金启靜 and "Developing Feminine Beauty and Figure Painting Methods"

(Nuxing fayu mei yu renti mei huafa 女性发育美与人体美画法) by Tao Cuiying 陶粹英?[154]

First, the image shows a woman seated, her right foot crossed over her left. The room is sparse. She sits on a nondescript chair. Her right arm rests on a round table that has a tablecloth draped over it. The image is void of artifice: there are no decorative patterns on any of the furniture, the chair, the table, the floor, or the curtain behind her. Her hair is long and black and is draped over her right shoulder and falls to her thighs, much like a cloth drapery, and her left hand seems to be in the act of pulling her hair down. In her right hand that rests on the table, she holds a hand mirror. She gazes at herself and we can assume that only her face is reflected in the small hand mirror. The description in the review by Li suggested that she gazed as her own reflection with a certain melancholic detachment, rendering her real, that is, a woman conveying poignant emotions coming to life at the tip of Pan's brush.

For Li and thus for the readers of this special issue, Pan Yuliang's Gazing at One's Shadow is fine art, worthy of praise as one of the best works of realism in the exhibition. The skill he admires is apparent in terms of contour, line, and color. Second, he claims that the emotion expressed in portraying the facial features deserves comparison with the enigmatic Mona Lisa by Da Vinci. Yet, there is no mention of the female body and the only relation it has to a European masterpiece is its enigmatic expression. Yet, what of the female body? Is it concealed by the language and technique of fine art?

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[154] Jin Qijing, "Nuxing yu meishu," Funü zazhi 15:7 (July 1929): 30–32; and Tao Cuiying, "Nuxing fayu mei yu renti mei huafa," Funü zazhi 15:7 (July 1929): 33–39.

In her article "Developing Feminine Beauty and Painting Methods of the Human Figure," Tao Cuiying, a fellow woman artist in the exhibition, emphasized the beauty of the human form, especially the female nude, in artistic practice since ancient Greece, confirming female nude as fine art by associating it with antiquity. Countering how China's painting has emphasized the female face, she notes that the face is just one part of the body as a whole. The entire body conveys beauty, where each part, from the bone structure and the flesh to the flow of blood and the body in movement, must be taken into consideration. But how is this achieved? She then launches into a diatribe about women's health, how women should take care of themselves and practice exercise, if she wants to be beautiful. Criticizing everything in women from bloodshot eyes, acne, and hirsutism, to lack of poor circulation, Tao blames the current environment for restricting women from expressing themselves naturally, and therefore preventing them from developing a consciousness of beauty. Tao then explicitly ties this in with the practice of using live models, which causes difficulties for artists to draw the human form, since the bodies of these young women are malproportioned, not having done the requisite exercise. This, in turn, makes them 100% unattractive, and their skin muddy, something she does not even want to discuss. Therefore, because artists cannot choose an "ideal" model, their paintings of the human form cannot achieve a brilliant result. This can be achieved only by choosing a good model, one who is lively, with a freedom of body, and especially one who has not experienced manual labor.

Tao then expounds on painting the human form, of which the first step is the skill of the artist, for she must draft the correct proportions, the head being the first unit of

measurement. She then breaks down the human form, from the face, the hands, the eyes, the feet, to differing heights, based on the horizontal divisions of the body.[155]

Tao's article discusses beauty as a definitive social norm, where balance, health, body, and bodily functions all play a role in the construction of feminine beauty. Yet, when we view the visual evidence, the female body in Gazing at One's Shadow as presented in that exhibition, we find another ideal of feminine beauty altogether. The woman/subject does not gaze at the audience, although her naked body is rendered frontally. The figure provides no confirmation of the viewer's gaze, the gaze that evaluates her on those very concepts of beauty laid down by another woman artist. Instead, she rejects the gaze's opinion, turning to herself to evaluate where she stands, narcissistically in love with her own image, specifically at that moment when eyes judge her beauty.

As the most prominent painting discussed and reproduced in this special issue of The Ladies' Journal, Gazing at One's Shadow provides an important counterpoint to the cover illustration and the image of the female nude. The cover of the special issue shows a graphic image of a female nude (figure 21). The slender seminude woman has her hands cupped and raised in the air, as if making an offering, or perhaps a plea to the heavens. The yellow moon or sun, set against a blue background expands in different concentric circles from the center, in different hues in a range of cool colors. The woman wears only some type of beaded draping and a heart-shaped front bodice that barely

[155] This dividing of the human body is mentioned by Svetlana Alpers, who uses the example of Albrecht Durer's "Draughtsman Drawing a Nude" (1538); see Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

covers her breasts. On her ankles and her wrists, there appear to be decorative bands, yet upon closer inspection, these appear to be shackles. She appears to be the offering.

Her hair is short and the choppiness of the various uneven lengths does not match the neat arabesques of the pattern beneath her feet. Her hair appears shorn roughly and quickly, very unlike the stylish modern women of the Republican period. A cupid-like imp is pictured on the upper right corner, sitting on one of the clouds looking down upon the woman, yet he has no bow and arrow and his inclusion is enigmatic.

Differing from other magazines of the period such as The Young Companion (Liangyou 良友), Arts and Life (Meishu Shenghuo 美術生活), and Eastern Miscellany (Dongfang zazhi 東方雜誌), where the covers often depicted photographs of women with the in-vogue short bob, or the fashionable and ubiquitous qipao,[156] this image is unique and, although it attests to the popularity of the female nude, the image also suggests the difficulties that faced artists who wanted to emphasize the female nude as "art" and distance themselves as artists from the discourse of the female body in terms of the New Woman.[157]

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[156] The following are some excellent examples of fashion and modernity during the Republican period: Antonia Finnane, "What Should Women Wear? A National Problem," Modern China 22 (April 1996): 99–131; Francesca Dal Lago, "Crossed legs in 1930s Shanghai: How 'Modern' the Modern Woman? East Asian History 19 (June 2000): 103–44; Ellen Johnston Laing, "Visual Evidence for the Evolution of 'Politically Correct' Dress for Women in Early Twentieth Century Shanghai," Nan nü 5 (April 2003): 69–11; Paola Zamperini, "On Their Dress They Wore a Body: Fashion and Identity in Late Qing Shanghai: Going Somatic," Positions 11 (Fall 2003): 301–30.

[157] I am not including many of the nianhua calendar posters and their graphic images of idealized and sexualized women, since they are beyond the scope of this chapter. For analyses of these, see, for example, Ellen Johnston Laing, Selling Happiness: Calendar Posters and Visual Culture in Early Twentieth-Century China (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004).

The graphic illustration of the female nude on the cover of this special issue highlights some of the issues that women artists faced, like Pan, who would use the female nude in a specific desexualized and even compartmentalized subject matter for artists to display their skill and learning. The image on the cover adheres to the discourses about the New Woman, where she is placed in relation to the new nation as an offering, her sacrifice being necessary for the salvation of the new nation. Also, the image suggests its status as "artwork, commodity, and spectacle," according to Yingjin Zhang, as a graphic illustration, as the cover image that sells issues, making use of the female body on display.[158]

With the color reproduction, we can see that there is no shadow in the image. What does it suggest for a woman to see in a mirror a shadow as opposed to a reflection? Is it that woman artists are hidden beneath the shadow of the male artists? Can this be a suggestion made by Pan, that is, seeing the painting surface as a reflection of herself? This painting seems to be saying something important as if it is a space within which Pan, as a woman artist, can say something about her own situation and that of other women artists during this period. This possibility becomes all the more credible because this would not be the first time in China's history that a woman artist used her medium to make a statement about women as artists. Marsha Weidner and Ellen Johnston Laing have documented several woman artists, such as Guan Daosheng 管道昇 (1262–1319) and Cai Han 蔡含 (1647–86), who made use of the medium in this manner, seeing

[158]Yingjin Zhang, "Artwork, Commodity, Event: Representations of the Female Body in Modern Chinese Pictorials," chap 4, in Jason C. Kuo, ed., Visual Culture in Shanghai 1850s-1930s (Washington, DC: New Academia Publishing, 2007), 121–61.

themselves in opposition to male patriarchy and thus asserting a woman's presence in the picture.[159] In fact, one of Cai's seals stated, "There are women in books and painting in poetry" (*shuzhong you nu, huazhong you shi* 書中有女，畫中有詩), a riff on Su Shi's famous remark that within Wang Wei's poems there were paintings and within his paintings there were poems (*shizhong you hua, huazhong you shi* 詩中有畫 畫中有詩).[160]

In "Women and Art" by Jin Qijing, Jin discusses the importance of women as both subject and practitioner in the aesthetics and practice of art. For Jin, women and art have always had a special relationship. Women not only represent the spirit of beauty, which makes them suitable as subjects of art, but in addition they have a unique innate ability to practice art. Women have been the basis of art, as subject, as spirit, and as inspiration since ancient Greece. Although Christianity cast a dark light on art, the Renaissance allowed for a rebirth of women and beauty, and here Jin cites the example of Da Vinci's Mona Lisa and her enigmatic smile. She suggests further the close link between art and women by citing the nineteenth-century works she has seen in museums, such as those that feature the women as subject. She goes on to note the works by Japanese artists in the exhibition, twenty of the eighty paintings representing women as

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[159] Marsha Weidner, "Women in the History of Chinese Painting," and Ellen Johnston Laing, " Wives, Daughters, and Lovers: Three Ming Dynasty Woman Painters," in *Views from the Jade Terrace: Chinese Women Artists 1300–1912*, ed. Marsha Weidner, Ellen Johnston Laing, Irving Yucheng Lo, Christina Chu, and James Robinson (Indianapolis: Indianapolis Museum of Art, 1988), 13–30 and 31–40, respectively.

[160] See Weidner et al., *Views from the Jade Terrace: Chinese Women Artists 1300–1912*, 113. Su Shi 蘇軾 (Su Dongpo 蘇東坡 1037–1101) was a noted poet, scholar-official, and painter during the Song Dynasty. He exerted a great influence on the development of Chinese aesthetics, especially the theory of literati poet-painters.

subject. For Jin, in the Japanese works, the female nude merely acts as a standard representation, as all the works were created by male artists. Yet, for her and other women artists working in the Western-style category, the female nude is not merely the representation of the female nude as a genre. The female nude expresses a natural affinity for these women artists and naturally supposes the importance of women for art, and this fact is confirmed by the exhibition and the works exhibited.

She deplores the relative lack of women painters in the past, although she does cite the History of the Jade Terrace collection of women artists (Yutai huashi 玉台画史 by Tang Souyu 湯漱玉, published in the nineteenth century). Following standard May Fourth rhetoric, she criticizes Confucianism and its fetters on women, their lives relegated to the inner chamber, where they were not able to express their own individuality so that the few works produced by women, she claims, lack any sign of independent creativity. Although the History of the Jade Terrace allows for the existence of woman artists, she claims that they are mere exceptions, all of which is entirely in line with the arguments of May Fourth iconoclasts who deplored the tradition that imagined had kept China backward, unable to develop alongside the Western powers. For Jin, this exhibition shows how present-day woman artists are changing all that and shows what is right, that women are art. It demonstrates further that women artists now are on par with the men, from the rich and solid colors of Pan's paintings, to Cai Weilian's energetic self-portraits and Wang Jingyuan's fine bust sculpture. Women, she claims, have a special innate artistic ability, one that has been confirmed in this exhibition.

DISCUSSING TECHNIQUE: GOUACHE

Gouache, also known as "bodycolor," "refers to the use of opaque watercolours in a loosely defined area of technique and the materials and effects associated with such painting."[161] There are several advantages in using gouache, including its opacity (covering brushstrokes or other marks), its quick-drying matte finish ("a feature exploited by plein air painters, like Turner, who needed to work faster than studio artists"), the ability to apply it in differing thicknesses, ranging from ultrathin to impasto, and its variety of color options.[162]

At a time when writings by women artists were few, Pan chose to write about gouache. In Xu Hong's translation of Pan's artist's statement, "Learning to Paint with Gouache: My Experience," she said, "Once I was hooked on [the colors of painting], music and sculpture became something that I had to sacrifice."[163] Xu does not analyze this statement, but Pan in fact suggested that gouache was especially appropriate for women.

> 我自愧對於粉畫沒多研究；但我感覺到這粉畫是較油畫為方便， 便宜於我們女子學習很望國人對於這畫多多德研究.[164]

> I feel ashamed that I have no deep understanding of gouache, but I have come to realize that gouache images are more convenient than oil paintings, especially

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[161] Jonathan Stephenson, "Gouache," in Grove Art Online, http://www.oxfordartonline.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/subscriber/article/grove/art/T033806.

[162] Of note, Matisse, with whom Pan has often been compared, used gouache much later in his career (e.g. The Snail, 1953; London, Tate).

[163] Xu Hong, "Early 20th-Century Women Painters in Shanghai," in Jo-Anne Birnie Danzker, Ken Lum, and Zheng Shengtian, eds., Shanghai Modern, 1919–1945 (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz, 2005), 200–14, 210.

[164] Pan Yuliang, "Wi xi fenbihua de jingguo tan," Funü zazhi 15:7 (July 1929): 51.

suitable for us women to study. I am hopeful that our nation's people will devote more energy to the study of gouache!

What else does Pan imply in her discussion of gouache? First, the use of gouache suggests going beyond the more common binary of ink versus oil. Gouache was categorized as "Western" yet it was a technique that suggested an interstice between these two competing painting traditions. Pan could not have been unaware of the East/West discourse as developed by May Fourth writers, so her choice here should be understood in relation to it. Second, unlike Jin, who argued the importance of woman as both subject and practitioner in the practice of art, Pan here distances herself from association with the female body by discussing technique rather than subject. In other words, she chose to be a practitioner rather than a subject and in doing so emphasized that women are practitioners.

It is understandable that Pan, as a woman artist, would distance herself from the sexually connoted female body, subject to and part and parcel of the nation's reform efforts. Painting the female nude, with its ties to European fine art and its history, allowed her to establish some distance from the discourse of the New Woman and her role in the new China. In this way Pan was able to establish a small niche that challenged the viewers' devouring gaze, allowing her awareness of the status of the female nude as fine art to elevate the female body to fine art. This was solidified not by her discussion of gouache as a practice suited for women, but in her choice to discuss the technique itself and its aesthetic qualities. In doing so, Pan, first, strips the figure of any blatant sexuality or reproductive qualities, thus denying viewers an easily identifiable association with the discourse of the New Woman. More subtly still, her essay denies viewers easy access into

the fictive space, for she presents it as a finished product of her skill in using gouache, that is, not real.

Delimited by the ubiquitous images of the female nude that would proliferate into the 1930s, Pan Yuliang chose to present the fine art female nude in ways set apart from how the female body and New woman were represented. Gazing at One's Shadow denies the sexuality with which the female nude model was associated, for the figure does not challenge the viewer's gaze, like Manet's Olympia, thereby supporting the fiction of her existence. Instead Pan simply suggests the importance of art as a definitive practice, where the nude is systematically broken down into the elements that cause it to seem to exist. Like the practice of drawing the human form described by Tao Caiying, the figure is reflected in its contours and colors, and the skill that Pan wields in creating the image.

Other examples in depictions of the human form also attest to this, suggesting that the nude as "fine" art was a display of facture. The skill of was a practice that she and others had to develop in their years of artistic training, but she takes it a step further by her choice of technique. I would suggest that this offered her a way to maneuver from the impasse of the female nude with its ties to the female body for herself and possibly other women artists, while also addressing the debates between national painting and Western-style painting. By choosing a medium that, like ink painting, allowed for speed and spontaneity, often been associated with ink painting, and also for layering and impasto effect, associated with European styles, she challenges popular assumptions about the differences between the two painting traditions. She would continue this approach in her later works, where the subject of the female nude would reference the "West" while her

technique would continue to assert an affinity with Chinese ink and brush, blurring the lines between the two, essentialized cultural constructs.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this chapter is not to discuss women artists during the Republican period as a separate category but to analyze a specific case where, within certain hierarchies and definitions about art, there was room for negotiation; where an artist, whether Pan Yuliang or her other woman artists, spoke visually or verbally to critique the discourses surrounding the ever-evolving discourse of the "New Woman" in China, highlighting the complexities and ambiguities of that discourse to which they were inescapably bound. Pan Yuliang's Gazing at One's Shadow—as an image and a document of her gouache technique, which she described in her own words, and skill—responds and makes a statement about the status and position of woman artists, as well as women in general.

CHAPTER THREE

The Female Nude: At Work and at Play

In twentieth-century China, the female nude as a genre referenced the nude in European artistic practice. Although post-Renaissance practices were being rejected in Europe at that time, in China these styles were associated with all that was new and scientific and therefore "modern." For some iconoclasts, all things "Chinese" (its history, status, and relevance) were treated as defunct or in need of reform. Yet, in the analyses of that period, the female nude as subject matter and as "high art" is taken for granted and thus neglected as a subject of inquiry.[165] Rather, the female nude was treated in these analyses as a vehicle by which to evaluate form and technique, such as line and color, as a reflection of difference between two painting traditions, that of China and the putative West (Europe).

For Pan, the female nude was a means for a sophisticated transcultural process for negotiating competing discourses of the modern, from the nude to East and West. The nude conveyed many things simultaneously and at different times. An awareness of these

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[165] An exception here is work by Sanyu (常玉; 1901–66), a contemporary of Pan Yuliang, whose prolific works of female nudes have garnered much connoisseurial and academic interest. His female nudes have sold for millions in recent auctions at Sotheby's and Christie's. A retrospective exhibition was held at the Musée des arts asiatiques Guimet, Paris, in 2004, which included a number of essays by scholars such as Jonathan Hay and Julia F. Andrews. Also helpful is an article by Leslie Jones, "Sanyu: Chinese Painter of Montparnasse," Res: Anthropology and J Aesthetics 35 (Spring 1999): 224–39.

discursive shifts allowed Pan to use the female nude to disassociate herself from commercial art, yet also set herself apart from other artists by adopting means of formal expression, or using different media, such as gouache.

In this chapter I will adopt a method similar to Lydia Liu's translingual practice by focusing on the translation of specific words from one cultural source to another. In this way we can also examine the cultural translation of the nude, not only in its discourse but also in its practice. As Liu observes, this means recognizing that translation does not involve an "essential" text but rather reveals a more complicated process of negotiation.[166]

THE FEMALE NUDE IN CHINA

During the late nineteenth to early twentieth century, the range of meanings for the nude shifted from its significance from a scientific perspective (as anatomy, as practice, and as precision) to fine art (aesthetics and connoisseurship). This essential part of European painting practice, which included shading and perspective, was symbolic of "Western" modernity, industrialization, and colonial power. These artistic practices therefore were seen as "tools" that had created and sustained Western advances. This especially came to the fore during the May Fourth and New Culture movement (1917–21).

The May Fourth movement was initiated by the protests that culminated on May 4, 1919, after the Versailles Treaty, which had ceded Shandong to Japan. Many of the May Fourth intellectuals made claims based on an acceptance of the claims of European

[166] Lydia Liu, Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China 1900–1937 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995).

missionaries that the West was both ideologically and evolutionarily superior.[167] Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881–1936) and Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀(1879–1942) constructed "Western" science as the solution to all modern problems.[168] Their advocacy of Western culture was essentially political, and science became a weapon to attack beliefs and philosophies that they identified as backward and "traditional" in order to promote their own agendas. They equated ink painting (what would be termed national painting [guohua 國畫]) with a decadent and weak Chinese national character and thus it became a symbolic target for May Fourth intellectuals. In 1918, Chen wrote in "Revolution in Art (Meishu geming 美術革命) that the "realistic" spirit of "Western" art could be a cure for the repetition and loss of originality which, he claimed, had characterized the Qing Dynasty.[169] By

[167] Vera Schwarcz, The Chinese Enlightenment: Intellectuals and the Legacy of the May Fourth Movement (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); and Tse-tsung Chow, The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964).

[168] Yet, prior to May Fourth, elite reformers and intellectuals were concerned with the business of national survival, especially after a series of defeats since the Opium Wars (1839–42 and 1856–60). But this concern was ultimately defensive because it was based on a negative construction of national character. "National character," of course, is a concept that evolved in nineteenth-century Europe as a key feature of nationalist discourse, but Lydia Liu (Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China 1900–1937 [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995], chapter 2) has argued convincingly how the "myth" of national character (guominxing 國民性) was in essence co-authored in China. Chinese intellectuals were complicit in promoting and adapting this tool of European nationalism to the Chinese case via literary efforts such as Lu Xun's 魯迅 "True Story of Ah Q," written in 1921.

[169] Of note, Chen in the 1930s would write a colophon on two of Pan's works. On one, Chen said that Pan used the sculptural spirit of Western (xifang 西方) oil painting in her Chinese baimiao 白描, calling it the "new baimiao" (xin baimiao 新白描). Some have claimed that this is in accordance with how Chen advocated that artists must use realism

associating ink painting with a national character constructed as weak and degenerate, elite intellectuals ironically ignored the long tradition of an artistic dialogue within China that had already attracted the admiration of "modernist" critics in Europe at that time.[170]

In 1919, Chen championed the twin banners of Science and Democracy that would lead to the "enlightenment" (qiming 啓明) of the Chinese people:

> 要擁護那德先生，便不得不反對孔教，禮教，貞節，舊倫理，舊政治，要擁護那賽先生，便不得不反對舊藝術，舊宗教；要擁護德先生又要擁護賽先生，便不得反對國粹和舊文學.[171]
>
> To embrace Mr. Democracy, one cannot avoid opposing Confucianism, [Confucian] morality, chastity, old virtue, and old politics. To embrace Mr. Science, one cannot avoid opposing old art and old religion. To embrace both Mr. Democracy and Mr. Science, one cannot avoid opposing the national essence and the old literature.

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in order to cultivate one's own talent, paint one's own painting, and not fall into the way of the ancients. Yet, here his comment directly suggests a synthesis of supposed painting traditions, placing a greater role to the significance of Chinese brushwork in her use of baimiao. This "xin" 新/new does not reflect so much the "modern" or the "West" as it had during the May Fourth period. I suggest that this is a reflection of the times, the influence of writings like ones by Feng Zikai that imply the Easternization of Western art.

[170] See Martin Powers, "Art History: The Counterchange Condition," Art Bulletin LXXVII (1995): 382–87.

[171] Chen Duxiu, "Xin qingnian zui'an zhi dabian shu," in Chen Duxiu zhuzuo xuan, vol. 1 (Shanghai: Renmin Publishing, 1993), 442–43. Originally published in Xin qingnian, New Youth, or La Jeunesse 6:1 (1919).

One can only wonder how these two figures would lead the way to the future, but the way was paved for all things "Western" and thus "new" and "modern" to have a role in the reshaping of the nation. And one example was the female nude.

Following this fashion, academic studies of the nude were introduced into China during the early twentieth century and became an important means by which to master skills necessary for producing "scientific" depictions of objects.[172] Indeed, the subject matter was considered more "advanced" when contrasted with the local tradition that had been characterized as "stagnant," even as it was admired by leading artists and critics at that moment in the West.[173] As such, it often served to negotiate between "moderns" in a transnational context.

THE NUDE AT WORK

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[172] The earliest use of nude studies in China may well have been in 1914, when Li Shutong 李叔同 (Hongyi Dashi 弘一大師: 1880–1942), who had studied Western painting in Japan, introduced them to the Zhejiang First Normal School (Zhejiang Diyi Shifan Xuexiao 浙江第一師範學校). See Li Shu, "Wo guo zuizaode jiwei youhuaji," Meishu 4 (1962), 68–70; and Wu Mengfei, "Wusi yundong qianoude meishu jiaoyi huiyi pianduan," Meishu yanjiu 3 (1959): 42–46. This legacy of science and art continued when Mao said, "Fundamental training in drawing and sculpture requires models—male, female, old, and young; they are indispensable. The prohibitions of feudal ideology are inappropriate. It is unimportant if a few bad things emerge. For the sake of art and science, we must put up with some small sacrifices" (cited in Richard Kraus, The Party and Arty: The New Politics of Culture, chapter 3, p. 76. Mao letter to (Lu Dingyi, Kang Sheng, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi, and Peng Zhen), July 18, 1965, to allow nude models, overriding Ministry of Culture's earlier decision to ban nude modeling in August 1964 (in response to petition by three professors at the Central Academy of fine arts)."

[173] See, e.g., Laurence Binyon, *Painting in the Far East* (London: Edward Arnold, 1908) and *The Flight of the Dragon* (London: John Murray, 1911); and Roger Fry, "Oriental Art," *Quarterly Review* 212:422 (January/April 1910): 225–39 and "Line as a Means of Expression in Modern Art," *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 33:189 (February 1918): 201–3, 205–8.

Pan would return to the female form time and time again throughout her long career. At her last exhibition at Musée Cernuschi in 1977, she mentioned in the exhibition catalogue that the nude was the most representative of her works.[174] Pan's awareness of the discursive valence of the nude allowed her to use it to display both her technical skills and her artistic sensibility so as to disassociate herself from the commercial propagation of the female body in print media, such as advertisements and calendar posters (e.g., figures 22 and 23). At that time, from literature to magazine periodicals and pictorials, the nude female body was ubiquitous.[175] But Pan manipulated the medium as a means of formal expression, affirming her role as creator of art and thereby setting herself apart from other artists and artisans, while simultaneously challenging the viewing practice of the female body and the visual tropes of the New Woman.

By the time Pan exhibited at the 1929 First National Exhibition of Art, after having spent more than eight years in Europe, the female nude in China had come to stand for "Art" by metonymy. Ni Yide 倪藝德 (1901–70) in his 1928 article "Discussing the Fine Art Nude"[176]celebrates the importance of the fine art nude, tracing its lineage in European art from classical Greece to nineteenth-century realism. For intellectuals of the May Fourth persuasion, its centrality in European art would validate its importance generally. Ni analyzed the reception of the nude in modern China, distinguishing

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[174] Quatre artistes chinoises contemporaines: Pan Yu-lin, Lam Oi, Ou Seu-tan, Shing wai (Ville de Paris: Musée Cernuschi, March 26–April 30, 1977).

[175] Many scholars have addressed this in ways that highlight the male erotic gaze, treating the female nude, according to Yinjing Zhang, as "artwork, commodity, and event." See Yingjin Zhang, "Artwork, Commodity, Event: Representations of the Female Body in Modern Chinese Pictorials," chap 4, in Jason C. Kuo, Visual Culture in Shanghai 1850s–1930s (Washington DC: New Academia Publishing), 121–61.

[176] Originally written on December 3, 1924, but published in Yishu mantan (Shanghai: Shanghai guanghua shuju, 1928).

different attitudes among three separate social groups: conservatives (so called "literati"), professional artists, and common artisans. Ni acknowledged the professional artists' basic understanding of the nude, but berated their lack of aesthetic acumen. He claimed that they only understood the nude in relation to its practical function, as a form of practice to achieve technical proficiency. As for the common "artisans," commercial artists who made pictures of naked women, they debased the beauty of the nude, seeking only profit. On the other hand, the "artiste" (yishujie de ren 藝術界的人, yishujia 藝術家),

according to Ni, must rise above these groups so as to demonstrate the aesthetic value of the fine art nude.

Ni's article celebrates the importance of the fine art nude in relation to European aesthetics, and so he adopts a European scale of value, including balance and symmetry, and the nude's long lineage from classical Greece to nineteenth-century classicism. Therefore, Ni's understanding of modern art takes as exemplary such "modern" artists as Cezanne and Matisse, whom he understands as taking the style of the fine art nude one step further. In other words, rather than seeing "modern art" as a break from traditional post-Renaissance painting, he constructs it as *continuous*. Thus, in this context, "Western" art, as associated with Aristotle's theory of pure form, was also contemporary, or modern, since "modern" artists also made use of the fine art nude in the pursuit of beauty. In order to resolve what, to some, would appear to be a contradiction, Ni concedes that modern artists do not pay sufficient attention to this specific form, by which he means anatomical accuracy ("Xiandai de yishujia duiyu keti hua de guannian, que you jin le bu, tamen duiyu zhe you yiding fangshi de xingshi mei bukan zhongshi le"

现代的艺术家对于裸体画的观念，却又进了步，他们对于这有一定方式的形式美不甚重视了).

With several years of artistic training in Europe behind her, Pan certainly could be classed as an artiste, but she still had to differentiate the fine art female nude from the female body as represented by commercial artisans in magazines or in popular calendar posters.[177] In those contexts the nude appeared mainly as an eroticized commodity, sometimes justified by reference to the trope of the New Woman in China. In the trope of the New Woman, the figure of woman symbolized different things for the new nation, from the virtuous mother and dutiful wife, via the significance of women's role in creating and nurturing the citizens of the new nation, to the "natural woman" as a target for commercial products to maintain personal hygiene or accentuate beauty, or the loss of virtue in an increasingly consumer culture.

For Pan, the female nude was not simply about the erotic—though some of her nudes certainly qualify as erotic—rather for her, the nude needed to reveal her knowledge of anatomy as well as other Western ideals of fine art. She also had to convey the beauty of form characteristic of the fine art nude, which, according to Ni, required portraying its anatomy and its symmetry accurately. Accuracy, of course, demanded a naturalistic style.

Gazing at One's Shadow (Guying),[178] which was discussed in chapter 2 (figure 18), exhibited in 1929 and featured in The Ladies Journal, a prominent women's

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[177] See, e.g., Ellen Johnston Laing, Selling Happiness (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004).

[178] This image resonates with "retour a l'ordre" (return to order) during the years after WWI, when artists rejected "extreme avant-garde forms of art that had proliferated before the war. Instead, more reassuring and traditional approaches were adopted. . . . Cubism with its fragmentation of reality was rejected even by its inventors Braque and Picasso.

magazine, offers a good example of this style. The image showcases Pan's ability to render the female body accurately, anatomically correct and also in harmony. The composition of the body reflects those ideals that Ni analyzed in his writings: symmetry, from the legs to the arms, balanced in the center by the torso and the head, all displaying a high level of skill that depicts a harmonious whole. Pan also offers us a nude that clearly avoids overt eroticism. Commercial works often showcased European art works in which the sitter gazes at a presumed male viewer through her reflection in the mirror – for example, The Toilet of Venus ("The Rokeby Venus"; 1647–51) by Diego Velàzquez (figure 24). Pan, on the other hand, has the sitter look at her own image in the mirror. In this way she occupied the role of both subject and object, thereby obfuscating the sexuality implied in the male gaze that so often informed the nudes displayed in print media, from advertisements (as commodities) to art magazines and journals.[179] The sitter is aware of herself on display, yet blithe to the viewer's gaze. In addition, the cropping of

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Futurism, with its worship of the machine and its enthusiasm for war, was particularly discredited. Classicism was an important thread in the return to order, and in the early 1920s Picasso entered a Neo-Classical phase. Braque painted calm still life and figure pictures which, while still having some Cubist characteristics, were simple and readable. The former Fauve painter André Derain and many other artists turned to various forms of realism. In Germany Neue Sachlichkeit can be seen as part of the return to order" (TATE glossary; http://www.tate.org.uk/collections/glossary/definition.jsp?entryId=248).

[179] By definition of the "male gaze," I am referring to Laura Mulvey's formulation of the male gaze, which is active and controlling, transforming the subject of its gaze into an object of erotic desire; see Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," in The Audience Studies Reader, ed., Will Brooker and Deborah Jermyn [London: Routledge, 2003], 436). I would suggest that Pan's work reflects Griselda Pollock's exploration of the female spectator and the possibility that "texts made by women can produce different positions within [a] sexual politics of looking"; see Griselda Pollock, Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art [New York: Routledge, 1988], 85).

the room decontextualizes this naked body so that, in the end, there is hardly anything that we can know about her, except her sex and (possibly) race.[180]

This image clearly reveals Pan's years of artistic training in Europe at the École des Beaux Arts in Lyon and Paris, as well as in Rome. Her skill would convey to both European and Chinese viewers her aesthetic understanding of the human form, thereby setting her apart from commercial artisans. She distinguishes herself yet further by her choice of medium—gouache, which she discussed in her "Artist Talk" in The Ladies Companion (1929; discussed in greater depth in chapter 2). By using a medium that could accommodate her speed and spontaneity, she simultaneously referenced the tradition of Chinese ink painting, an effect further enhanced by her use of a layering, impasto effect. But since the layering also effaces some of the artist's brushstrokes, she also challenges the very debates about the difference between the two traditions that informs her work. In such ways she ultimately challenged, whether consciously or not, the universal assumption of difference at that time. In addition, as a work of naturalism, the close cropping of the space, which makes the viewer focus her gaze on the woman, highlights a possibility of reading the debate on naturalism as delimited, a boundary no longer completely marked, as the fictive space in the work becomes smaller, quite obviously constricted.

THE NUDE AT PLAY: 合中西於一治

[180] In the review of Gazing at One's Shadow by Li Yishi in the special issue of the Ladies Companion, he said that she was non-Asian.

Although Pan is most well known for her female nudes, it is not so much the subject matter that the critics notice but her synthesis of East and West. He zhongxi yu yizhi 合中西於一治, or "to combine China and the West as compatible," is often cited as a slogan of Pan's ultimate goal of synthesizing East and West, an approach commonly adopted by Chinese critics to frame the work of other expatriate Chinese artists.[181] This phrase is often interpreted as advocating a "synthesis" of East and West, but the Chinese suggests rather a combination of two distinct yet fundamentally compatible traditions. From the perspective of this scale of value, one could argue that Pan achieved her most successful combinations in her later works, when she "abandoned" oil and canvas and chose ink and paper as her primary medium. The former was definitively coded as "Western" while the latter, even in the West, was viewed as intrinsically Chinese.

The attempt to combine two disparate yet fundamentally compatible traditions had as its goal the reconciliation of cultural difference, yet that very difference was

[181] Pan is not alone. In May 1949 Zao Wou-Ki had his first one-man exhibition at the Galerie Creuze. In the preface to the catalogue, Bernard Dorival, curator of the Musée National d'Art Moderne, wrote: "Chinese in their essence, modern and French in certain respects, Zao Wou-Ki's paintings accomplish a pleasing synthesis" (Paris: Galerie Creuze, 1949). Not surprising that other nonwhite, non-European artists who hail from "different" cultures fall under this celebratory analysis of melding East and West, such as Tsuguhara Foujita (baptized Léonard) and Sanyu, both contemporaries of Pan. Advocating a synthesis of East and West was very prominent early on among intellectuals and reformers; Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858–1927) wrote in 1917 that "Someday there should be people who become masters by combining Chinese and Western methods. Japan has already worked hard to promote this idea" (它日常有合中西而成大家者. 日本已力让之); see Kang Youwei, Wanmu caotang canghuamu (1917), reprinted in Ershi shiji Zhongguo meishu wenxuan, ed. Lang Shaojun and Shui Tianzhong (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1999), 1:21–27. Yet, synthesis was not only under the purview of Chinese artists but also of European artists, like Matisse (see Henri Matisse, La revelation m'est venue de l'Orient [Florence: Artificio, 1997]).

actually reinscribed in her work through her subtle and expressive use of line. Recent scholars have been quick to spot this and single out that feature of her style for special praise. Zhou Zhaokan wrote:

> 但她的油畫最終似乎未能脫出後印象主義和立體主義的藩籬,...只是在條運用上，她得力於中國畫得功力，較之那些大師們更為自然，流暢和生動...倒是她用西洋畫技法畫得中國畫（或稱彩墨畫)，似乎更有個性和意境， 雖然仍見後期印象主義，立體主義甚至於印象主義點彩派大師們得影子，但卻被巧妙地柔和進東方蕃美情中，別具一格.[182]

> In the end, her oil painting did not break free from the barriers of Postimpressionism or Cubism . . . only in her use of line did she display the skill of Chinese painting, being more natural, flowing, and livelier than those Western masters . . . Although one can still see the imprints of Postimpressionism, Cubism, to Impressionism and Pointillism, the Eastern line is her unique style.

Zhou makes the claim that expressive line is the characteristic property of Chinese painting, underlining its nationalist overtones and defending it against the encroachment of the "great" Modern art movements. Yet, Zhou—writing in the late twentieth century—does not seem aware of a similar stance made by some artists and critics in China during Pan's own time, such as Feng Zikai.

[182] Zhou Zhaokan, Pan Yuliang, Masters of Chinese Painting Series 52, vol. 152 (Taibei: Jinxiu chubanshi yegu fen youxian gongsi, 1995), 32.

By the late 1920s, when Pan returned from France, the theories of European art (xiyanghua 西洋畫) and those of Chinese literati painting were already associated.[183] Between 1919 and 1929, hundreds of articles and translations of foreign works on Western art theory and aesthetics appeared. Writers and intellectuals, beyond artists, were interested in the dissemination of Western art history through translation and treatise.[184]

European art history was "created" as much as Chinese art, to be translated by the producers of knowledge.[185] Many types of art under the broad rubric "Western" art were introduced. For Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873–1929), one of the early reformers, Western art meant Renaissance art, which was based on his personal experiences in Europe, especially in Italy, as was recorded in his Travel in Italy (Yidali youji 意大利游记). For

[183] European art and its history (as well as contemporaneous movements) were already being discussed in China from the early years of the republic; for example, in 1912 Zhou Zuoren 周作人 (1885–1967) published series of articles in Zhengxiang huabao 真相畫報, discussing Manet, Whistler, and the Impressionists; in 1917 Lu Qingzhong introduced theories of modernism (i.e., "contemporary" art at the time), including Cubism and Futurism in Dongfang zazhi.

[184] This influx of European art history, from artists to periods to movements, was concentrated during this period. Yet, the technical aspects of European art, from draftsmanship, with its vanishing point perspective, light and shade, design had been introduced to China in the sixteenth century but did not have the same functional importance for modernization and progress (see James Cahill, "Some Thoughts on the History and Post-history of Chinese Painting," Archives of Asian Art 55 [2005]: 17–33).

[185] For example, Jiang Danshu 姜丹書 (1885–1962) published in 1917 what is considered to be the first textbook on art history found to date in China, History of Fine Arts (Meishu shi); Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892–1978), edited Outline of Western Art History; and Shi Zhecun 施蟄存 (1905–2003) translated Herbert Read's Art Now with the Chinese title Jinri zhi yishu, which was published two years after Read's publication in 1933. For a recent analysis of creating art history in China, see Guo Hui, "Writing Chinese Art History in Early Twentieth-Century China" (PhD dissertation, Leiden University, 2010).

Xu Beihong, considered to be the "father" of modern Chinese art, it was French academic painting and realism. And contemporaneous European "avant-garde" art was also considered to be "Western" and was held up as a banner for art societies such as the Storm Society (Juelanshe 決瀾社), whose manifesto stated:

> 二十世纪以来， 欧洲的艺术出现新与的气象：野兽群的叫喊， 立体派的变形， Dadaism 的猛烈， 超现实主义的幻想 ... 二十世纪的中国艺术， 也应当现出一种新兴的气象了.[186]

> The art scene in Europe has witnessed a new climate since the twentieth century: the outcry of the Fauves, the distorted forms of Cubism, the fierceness of Dadaism, the dreamlike atmosphere of Surrealism… Twentieth-century Chinese art world should also create a new climate.

Through these filters, Chinese art and its history were criticized. Yet, as a result of this criticism it was difficult to escape a comparison with "indigenous" Chinese art tradition and history. This intermingling of a transnational text of artistic practice and theory revealed itself anew in the interpretation of Chinese "traditional" painting (i.e., literati painting) through the filter of European modern art.

Beginning in the late 1920s through the 1940s, many Chinese critics adopted nationalist rhetoric and attempted to deploy it in defense of Chinese culture at a time when art historical scholarship on both sides of the Pacific was charged with nationalist

[186] L'Art, Yishu xunkan 1:5 (October 1932): 8.

overtones. Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (1898–1975)[187] (like Pan Tianshou 潘天寿 [1897–1971] and Huang Binhong 黃宾虹 [1865–1955], as well as Liu Haisu 刘海粟 [1896–1994][188]) claimed that the line, as depicted in works since Postimpressionism and embodied by Cezanne, Van Gogh, and Gauguin, derived from Chinese art theory.[189] In contrast, Xu Zhimo 徐志摩 (1897–1931), in his 1929 famous "I am perplexed" ("Huo" 惑) debate with the other Xu, Xu Beihong, during the First National Exhibition of Art used the language of Chinese literati art theory to praise and validate Cezanne, a modern European/Western artist:

> In our evaluation of art, isn't it true that the most important criteria should be an independent artistic vision and a little pure, artistic feeling? What is an artist? Isn't he someone who desires to express, through painting or sculpture, a certain spiritual experience uniquely his own?
>
> If, in the history of modern art, there was anyone who had a rare, noble character, who stayed completely unattached to worldly matters, driven only by a sense of moral integrity, unaffected by riches and fame, and who sought only to realize as his life's purpose his own unique artistic vision, then Cezanne was such a

[187] Feng is famous for his manhua "cartoon" paintings and translations on fine arts, music, and literature, who writings on art and Western art history were prolific: The History of Western Art (Xiyang meishu shi; 1928), The Ten Lectures on Modern Art (Xiandai yishu shier jiang; 1930), Jindai yishu fengyao (1934), are but a few of the ten or so written or translated works. The majority of his translated works on European art was from Japanese, e.g., Xiandai yishu shier jiang [The Twelve Lectures on Modern Art], were translated from Ueda Bin (Shanghai: Kaiming Bookstore, May 1929).

[188] Pan Tianshou, Zhongguo chuantong huihuade fengge (Shanghai: Shanghai chubanshe, 2003); and Liu Haisu, "Shitao yu houqi yinxiang pai," China Times, August 25, 1923.

[189] Feng Zikai, "Zhongguo meishu zai xiandai yishu shang de shengli," Eastern Miscellany 27:1 (1930).

person.[190]

Xu, according to Eugene Wang, used language that was "squarely couched in idioms from traditional Chinese literati discourse,"[191] yet Xu perhaps was not aware of this, seeing as he was a product himself of the May Fourth rhetoric that called for the abolition of "traditional" Chinese painting.

Rather, the general trend understood by artists and intellectuals that the European "modern" movements were moving more toward Chinese "traditional" art, that is, personal expression and aesthetic transcendentalism over mimesis. Thus, Feng and other artists and intellectuals fueled with nationalist fervor claimed that all European modern art from Postimpressionism to the present was characterized as "the Easternization of Western Art." Ironically, Feng appears to have derived this notion from Roger Fry's work, adopting Fry-esque language, like Xu earlier, to prove the primacy of Chinese art.[192]

Yet, where Roger Fry made no attempt to claim Western ownership of the expressive line, Feng, like Zhou many years later, did make proprietary claims on the line, arguing that it was fundamentally Chinese, as a defense against other Western and Chinese critics who generally equated modernism and "the West." Notably, Zhou's analysis was based on a nationalist understanding of Postimpressionism and other

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[190] Translation from Shanghai Modern, 376.

[191] Eugene Wang, "Sketch Conceptualism as Modernist Contingency," in Chinese Art: Modern Expressions, ed. Maxwell Hearn and Judith Smith (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001), 113.

[192] Feng Zikai, "Zhongguo meishu zai xiandai yishu shang de shengli," Eastern Miscellany 27:1 (1930). Wang Yachen 王亞塵 (1894–1983) wrote an article about Roger Fry, noting Xu Zhimo's friendship with Fry; see Wang Yachen, "An English Painter: Roger Fry" (Yingguo huajia luojie fulai), Shishi xinbao, May 18, 1924.

European artistic movements that construed these movements as evolving in cultural purity, hermetically sealed from Asian artistic practice, even though it is clear that the calligraphic line played a prominent role in the cultural politics of modernism.[193] In fact, the purity of modernist painting, while often presumed, has been challenged in recent years by scholars working in both European and Asian art.[194] Zhou seems unaware of the more cosmopolitan claims of critics such as Roger Fry or Feng Zikai, both of whom claimed that Western art since Postimpressionism (i.e., modern art) should have, or did have, partial roots in the theory and practice of East Asian art.

Assuming that Pan was conversant with the writings of influential Chinese critics of her period, she could not but be aware of these cultural battles in artistic theory and practice. She was certainly aware of the proprietary claims being made about the significance of line as it emerged in the practice of artists and in the theories of art during the twentieth century. At that time, during the heyday of aggressive nationalism worldwide, Pan's migration from China to France/Italy in 1919, returning to China in 1928, and then back to France in 1937, made it impossible for her to escape the cultural politics that informed critical writing during this period. One wonders whether she was aware of how ironic was the constant shifting of scales of value with Chinese artists first favoring the expressive brushstroke, and later naturalism, while European artists at first valued naturalism, and later abandoning it for expression. While both sides claimed the

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[193] Martin Powers, "Xiandai zhuyi yu wenhua zhengzhi," in Zijue yu Zhongguo de xiandai xing, ed. Song Xiaoxia (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 94–115; and Powers, "Cultural Politics of the Brushstroke," Art Bulletin, forthcoming.

[194] Bert Winther-Tamaki, "The Asian Dimensions of Postwar Abstract Art: Calligraphy and Metaphysics," in The Third Mind: American Artists Contemplate Asia, 1860–1989, ed. Alexandra Munroe (New York: Guggenheim, 2009), 145–57; and Joan Kee, "The Curious Case of Contemporary Ink Painting," Art Journal 69:3 (Fall 2010): 88–113.

line as a distinctive cultural attribute, Pan instead used it in ways that highlighted its ambiguity, thereby undermining claims to exclusive ownership. Is that a modernist line? Is that a calligraphic brushstroke? Is that line a personal gesture, or an homage to Matisse? And if it is an homage, is it offered to a fellow modern artist, or to a Western master, fundamentally incommensurate with the author of the homage? Pan's work is open to any and all of these interpretations.

LINE (xian 線) AND THE FEMALE NUDE

Pan skillfully manipulated the female form to provoke such questions and to challenge the claims characteristically made between East and West, Chinese and "Western" art. It would appear that Pan treated Postimpressionist European art as her object (物),

deploying the calligraphic line as a line that could reference multiple and apparently incompatible things, from an object's contour to the extension of her own inner self, in keeping with traditional Chinese art theory.

In figure 25 we see a study in line, a line that impresses us as fluid, effortless, and beautiful. Pan's calligraphic signature, on the top right, mirrors the elegance of the linear contours of her female nude. The rhythm of the line continues onto the blanket beneath her body.[195] At the same time, the decorative pattern accentuates the quality of line in the female form, highlighting the blank canvas of the nude. The curve of the body likewise mirrors the curve of the blanket upon which she rests.

[195] The term "rhythm" here is a period term used by both Roger Fry and Feng Zikai and that it corresponded roughly to qiyun 气韵, or the "expressive gesture," in its translated form.

Here we find several pictorial elements at play, from the visual to the art historical. As subject matter, the female nude as metonym represents the West, a readily identifiable subject for her European audience (as this painting is from 1946 when she was in France). And yet, beyond the subject, on the far upper right—besides balancing out the composition and also suggesting recessive space—is her signature, as it were, on the horizon. The lines of the female body show a dexterous hand, the line flowing long and lean but also strong. There is an undeniable naturalism in the subject's hair, a three-dimensionality to the surface, but at the same time we see a reference to a specific type of brushwork in Chinese painting known as feibai 飛白, or flying white, which would only be understood by those familiar with Chinese brushwork.

The brush, with little ink, moves swiftly and becomes dry, thus leaving empty white spaces, suggesting the texture of the surface, as well as the spontaneous motion of the hand revealed in the brush marks beyond the white spaces. Finally the calligraphic stroke reveals itself, and thus the artist, as possessing a knowledge of the "calligraphic" that no Western modernist could match, seeing as her signature is precisely that form of calligraphy that Roger Fry so much admired:[196]

> The word calligraphic conveys to us a slightly depreciatory sense. We have never held calligraphy in the esteem that the Chinese and Persians did, we think at once of the vulgar flourishes of the old-fashioned writing master. But, in fact, there is a possibility of expression in pure line, and its rhythm may be of infinite different kinds, expressive of infinite varieties of mood and condition.[197]

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[196] Powers, "The Cultural Politics of the Brushstroke," 25.
[197] Roger Fry, "Line as a Means of Expression in Modern Art," The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs 33:189 (December 1918), 202–3.

> The quality of line which, while having an intelligible rhythm, does not become mechanical is called its sensitiveness. And here the most obvious thing is clearly that the line is capable of infinite variation, of adapting itself to form at every point of its course. It clearly demonstrates Matisse's intense sensibility, and it is for that reason that I called it provisionally calligraphic.[198]

The female nude in this example, as in other works (figures 27 and 27), is excised from any specific cultural environment. Like the lines used to depict the body, Pan's own signature represents an extension of herself, not only establishing her identity but also making claims about the representation of this, particular, physical body. To quote Martin Powers, in using the expressive mark, "the artist ... is both the subject and the primary referent of the expressive mark."[199] Her name identifies her and so does this female form, yet each also represents the artist, subject and object, her hand, her vision, and her body.

Why the female nude? On an image (figure 28), an example of the elegant line embodied in the female form, Pan wrote the following:

> 意在玄化，物在靈府，不在耳目。
>
> 故得於心，應於手，孤姿絕狀，觸豪（毫）而出。
>
> 氣交沖漠，與神為徒，乃畫學之難者也。

> When your conception takes shape as subtle transformations [of brush], the object will reside in your soul, not in your eyes or ears. Therefore, if the object is fixed in your mind, and your hand responds, then unique gestures and masterful forms

[198] Ibid., 202
[199] Powers, "The Cultural Politics of the Brushstroke," 32 (forthcoming).

> will arise with heroic force. The force of your brush will cross, burst forth and disappear, naturally following along with your imagination. In learning the art of painting, this is the most difficult thing to achieve.[200]

The reference is to a quotation of a Tang dynasty (seventh to early tenth century; 618–907) text originally written in praise of Zhang Zao's (張漕; eighth century) landscape painting. Zhang is remembered in Dong Qichang's Southern school theory of art-historical evolution as advocating that "one should learn from natural process, yet paint the image in one's mind" (外师造化、中得心原 waishi zaohua, zhongde xinyuan).[201]

The image in one's mind is formed as in nature, but is nonetheless transformed by the painter and revealed subjectively by her own hand. This process characterizes the epitome of painting. Like Zhang, who was said to have painted landscapes from the depths of his own creativity and thereby was able to capture the processes of nature on small surfaces, so too does Pan represent herself as fashioning the female body, perceived as process, and transforming it in that process into an expressive mark

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[200] Translation Martin Powers.

[201] See Guo Ruoxu (eleventh-century critic) passage cited by Lawrence Binyon and reproduced in Martin Powers, "The Cultural Politics of the Brushstroke," Art Bulletin (forthcoming):

> It is always the case that a painting must entirely convey the artist's character (qiyun) if it is to be hailed as a treasure in its age…This is contingent upon natural genius and proceeds from the depths of the artist's soul. It may be compared to the commonly practiced art of judging signature. We call these "heart prints," for it is first of all in the springs of the heart that one imaginatively creates forms and lines. When such lines are in harmony with the heart, they are called its "prints." For example, with painting and calligraphy, it begins with thoughts and emotions which then are impressed upon paper and silk. How should such works not be considered prints? If signatures reveal a man's dignity and condition, how should painting and calligraphy not likewise reveal the quality of his personality? In this respect painting is just like calligraphy" (20).

CONCLUSION

Although the nude is the most apparent visual element in her works, Pan was able to make subtle use of other visual and historical referents, often playing on the inescapable binary of East and West. Although these referents were subject to multiple and sometimes conflicting interpretations, she appears to have been able to transcend these binaries by challenging them in subtle and often ironic ways. The female nude is the marker that, for her Chinese and European audiences, would reference the "West," yet within that body, on its very surface, she was able to muster original arguments about the relationship between East and West. Thus, for Pan, the female nude was a vehicle for a sophisticated, transcultural negotiation. The subject matter and genre recognizes the importance of the nude in the European/Western artistic tradition and its signification as Art for twentieth-century Chinese critics. At the same time the line, as technique and vehicle for the self, highlighted Chinese theories of expression that were known both to Chinese critics and to some Western critics, including Fry and his followers. These expressive signs overlapped in such subtle ways as to challenge common assumptions about cultural difference at the time.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Chinese Other

Her works created after her return to France in 1937, for reasons stated but really unknown or unconfirmed (e.g., to escape the social conservatism of the New Life Movement initiated by the Kuomintang or to participate in the Exposition Internationale in Paris in 1937[202]), have garnered the most interest since they represent a transition in her artistic practice.

Many have highlighted the 1940s and 1950s as a period when Pan develops her own style,[203] especially the development of her distinctive style using Chinese ink and paper.[204] They have viewed her works as a typical narrative of development, her later works displaying the final maturation of the artist. One representative example can be found in a recent art auction catalogue, a work described as a self-portrait, comprised of

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[202] Phyllis Teo, Maternal Ambivalence in Pan Yuliang's Paintings, Yishu Journal of Contemporary Chinese Art 9:3 (May/June 2010): 34–47.

[203] Many have highlighted the 1940s and 1950s as a period when Pan develops her own style, yet they have never asked why she might have chosen to slowly move away from the use of oil and to use line and color to depict her ever-increasing similar figures. No one has explored the specific historical conjunction of the vogue for "blackness and colonialism" which has a powerful sensual theme in interwar Paris. Nor have they analyzed the move toward abstraction by other fellow Chinese expatriates like Zao Wou-ki (Zhao Wuji 趙無極) and Sanyu (Chang Yu 常玉) in the 1950s or an analysis of the artists of the School of Paris who practiced under the term abstract art a kind of veiled figuration that gives paintings its structures or determines its chromatic range (figuration vs. abstraction). Although at present there is a dearth of primary material to substantiate any connection between Sanyu and Pan Yuliang, their use of the female nude as subject matter and the linear aspects of their technique warrant further analysis.

[204] Sun Yanli, "Rong Zhongxi hua yi yizhi: Pan Yuliang huihua yishu fazhan de licheng" Journal of West Anhui University 25:4 (August 2009); Wang Luxia and Zhang Kangfu, "Lun Pan Yuliang he zhongxi yu yizhide yishuguan," Zhejiang ligong daxue xuebao 27:6 (November 2010); and Zhang Xiaowen, "'Longmian' shoufa de xieru yu ronghe: Lun Pan Yuliang youhua zhongde xianxing fengge," Arts Circle Meishu jie 6 (2008): 77.

self-portraits depicting four different expressions combined in a group of nudes in colored ink (figure 29).[205] First, critics have noted similarities between her work and European art movements such as Fauvism and Impressionism: "the creative techniques and views that [she] has adopted reflect the impact from both Impressionism and Fauvism…her use of colors and the images are much exaggerated, which reflects an obvious influence from Modern [sic] western painting." She is often compared to Matisse, the master of Fauvism, especially in her works during the 1940s, with their odalisque and vibrant colors and flattening of surface (see, e.g., figure 30). This association with European art movements suggests "influence" rather than "originality," a common approach to understanding the work of non-Western artists working with subject matter or practice typed as "Western." Yet, the significance of this association is weakened when the critics discern the "diminishing trace of discovering Western art trends in her work." Western influence is seen as overcome by her unique and creative use of line, which, according to Hu Yixin, is of Eastern origin: "Pan's use of colors and positioning of the nude model is in the tradition of Western fine arts. However, the lines are of Eastern tradition—the iron lines and silver hooks have taken inspiration from the vigorous yet delicate style of Chinese calligraphy."[206] As the "Western" elements are diminished by viewing practices, the line in its "Eastern" connotation is seen as ascendant and becomes the "definition of beauty."

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[205] Lot 066, Ravenel Spring Auction 2007, Ravenel International Art Group. http://ravenel.com/artwork.php?id=931&lan=en. There is no evidence or statement from Pan that this is a self-portrait, or self-portraits.

[206] Cited in Ravenel International Art Group catalogue, Lot 35, http://ravenel.com/artwork.php?id=630&lan=en; original in Deng Chaoyuan, "Spirit of China, Outstanding Ink Paintings," in The Art of Pan Yu-lin (Taipei: National Museum of History,1995), 138.

Clearly even today Pan's later works continue to be viewed through the lens of nationalism. This distinction given to her later works highlights the cultural politics that have played out in the discourse of Chinese art history in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, whereby Chinese ink painting (i.e., "tradition") is given priority over her European oil paintings, a simplistic and overused distinction between two traditions cast as competitors in a race for modernity.[207]

But there is more to Pan's late work than an oriental line. Pan had always focused on the female body, mainly the nude, yet in the 1950s, though the primary subject still remained the female body, changes in medium and facture yielded a more "exotic" ethnicity (e.g., generalized facial features, small eyes, black hair, and in some the absence of noses). In many of these works, the subject was depicted alone in her boudoir, where the interior space was stylized with various embellishments, from elaborately embroidered pieces of clothing to tablecloths, calling to mind the odalisques of Kirchner and Matisse. In others, dancers in "ethnic" accouterments are depicted suspended in movement. One finds many other types of scenes, although typically the generalized "Asian" ethnicity is evident in all of them.

Phyllis Teo has discussed Pan's use of the "oriental" nude as reflecting her marginalization according to sex/gender, race, and ethnicity. Teo states:

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[207] This approach is not unique to Pan, whereby a certain primacy is given to Chinese aesthetic precedents, such as calligraphy or poetry. For example, Pan's use of the nude was not a reconfiguration, the way that Sanyu's nudes have been discussed. For Sanyu, according to Leslie Jones, "his reconfiguration of the female nude—as Western subject and thus novel and thus modern, as a symbol of modernity, was not a first step taken toward 'self-westernization' but informed by his background in Chinese calligraphy" (see Leslie Jones, "Sanyu: Chinese Painter of Montparnasse," Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics 35 (Spring 1999), 224–39.

> Pan's situation is further complicated by her controversial attempts to represent the oriental nude and her ambiguous style in doing so. Pan attempted to "speak" of her distinct identity in the West by turning her race, as well as her gender, into a site of self-expression through her multiple representations of the Oriental body. Besides portraying dark haired and skinned [naked?] nudes, her paintings are often accompanied by indigenous embellishments, such as the ornate Chinese fan seen in her oil painting Woman with a Fan [see figure 7]. In addition, her sitters are regularly decorated with an ethnic hairdo."[208]

My question is, do we take these elements—a Chinese woman ("ethnic" hairdo), a Chinese dance, a Chinese fan—as "indigenous" elements only because of Pan's Chinese ethnicity, or what was stated in the Ravanel catalogue entry, "a cultural blood tie with China which is not easily severed?"[209] Or, can we also treat them as an effective means to engage constructions of the Chinese Other?

THE "OTHER" AND CHINESENESS

When discussing her works, scholars have focused on Pan Yuliang's "style," viewing the composition and colors as "Western" and the subject and symbolism as "intrinsically" Chinese. I would rather argue that what these works achieve is the projection of a quality semiotically functioning as "Chineseness." Chineseness of course was not a fixed category but a process that imparted a range of meanings for both producer and viewer. Pan was aware of discourses about the Chinese Other and was more interested in

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[208] Phyllis Teo, "Modernism and Orientalism: The Ambiguous Nudes of Chinese Artist Pan Yuliang," New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies 12:2 (December 2010): 77, 65–80.
[209] Cited in Ravenel International Art Group catalogue, Lot 35, http://ravenel.com/artwork.php?id=630&lan=en.

manipulating a set of semiotic choices than expressing something about being Chinese/"Oriental" in itself.

This awareness prompted Pan to use multiple referents from subject matter to facture, to highlight the ambiguity of what constitutes a "Chinese" work, be it "modern" or "traditional." The process is most evident in her treatment of the racialized and exoticized female body, the "Oriental woman" (dongfang nüzi 東方女子). It is precisely in this subject that the exotic female "other," the signifier of Chineseness, takes form as the female nude, which, as subject matter, had always been seen as quintessentially Western. Had the Chinese woman conquered the Western nude, or did she rather submit to Western rules of taste? Or did Pan imagine her orientalized nude in different terms altogether?

Before addressing that question, we need to first examine how the European audience, specifically the French audience, was instructed to understand "Chinese" painting and Pan's work in the concrete context of her exhibitions. How did the distinctive style that emerged in Pan's works of the 1950s reflect her engagement with the discourse of Chineseness in the European context?

CONSTRUCTIONS OF THE CHINESE OTHER: THE CHINESE WOMAN

Since the Enlightenment, China has played the good or bad foil to European writers who would construct critical or flattering narratives of "Western civilization."[210] In the early

[210] Martin J. Powers has discussed how around the eighteenth century, "Asian culture appears prominently as a necessary foil to the emerging concept of the 'West.' In their attempts to situate the discussion of human societies on more rational, universalistic grounds, writers such as Hobbes, Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Raynal repeated contrasted the monarchies of Europe with those of 'Asia.' In doing so, they constructed a

twentieth century, despite the negative picture painted by missionary works such as Arthur Smith's Chinese Characteristics, China—its art and its "culture"/civilization—still continued to fascinate French authors throughout the twentieth century. Even during Pan's own time, the fascination with China is evident in texts like Andre Malraux's La tentation de l'Occident of 1929, and Georges Duthuit's[211] Chinese Art and Mysticism published in 1936.[212]

Consider chapter 7 in Malraux's The Temptation of the West (La tentation de l'Occident). Following the example of eighteenth-century works in both French and English, such as Silhouette's The Chinese Balance (La balance chinoise: Ou lettres d'un chinois lettre: 1768) or Oliver Goldsmith's Citizen of the World (1760), this work imagines an epistolary relationship between A.D. (a European traveling through the "Orient") and Ling (a Chinese man living in Europe), exploring their separate

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counterchange design specifying a collective identity for both. The discourse of modernity was inflected with Asian tonalities from the start" (383). See Martin J. Powers, "Art and History: Exploring the Counterchange Condition," Art Bulletin 77:3 (September 1995): 382–87.

[211] Georges Duthuit was the son-in-law of Matisse and was an art historian who had written numerous essays on Fauvism, making Matisse the central figure. His book Chinese Art and Mysticism offers many interesting juxtapositions of Chinese art and European "modern" artists like Degas and Cezanne, both visual and textual comparison. Although it is briefly evaluated in Alice Yang, "Modernism and the Chinese Other in Twentieth-Century Art Criticism," a more thorough analysis with other texts on Chinese art during this period is needed.

[212] There were also numerous texts published on Chinese painting during Pan's time, from Raphael Petrucci, La philosophie de la nature dans l'art d'extreme-Orient (Paris 1910), where he discusses Xie He's Six Laws of Chinese painting to Laurence Binyon's The Flight of the Dragon (London 1911). Some others include Herbert Allen Giles, An Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art (Shanghai 1918); Arthur Waley, "Chinese Philosophy of Art – 1, Note on the Six 'Methods,'" Burlington Magazine XXXVII, no. CCXIII (1920); Osvald Siren, A History of Chinese Painting (London 1933); Chiang Yee, The Chinese Eye: An Interpretation of Painting (London 1935); Soame Jenyns, A Background to Chinese Painting (London 1935); and Osvald Siren, The Chinese on the Art of Painting (Beiping 1936).

viewpoints.[213] In a letter from Ling to A.D. in "response to a letter of no importance," Malraux compares the two cultures, focusing on the difference between European women and Chinese women.[214] Malraux writes, via Ling, describing Woman and Chinese women, in particular, setting up the latter as object: "Woman is a worthy enough object of attention, capable, like the work of art, of beauty, and destined to the accomplishment of certain duties." After discussing women's roles as wife, as concubine, and as courtesan, Ling remarks that "our concept of her prevents our giving her any particular personality."[215] Then he adds: "The young girls and women of China do not try to set themselves apart by emphasizing individualistic traits. Their coiffeur, their make-up, and the smallness of their eyes all contribute to a similarity, as does perhaps even more than their appearance, the emptiness of their existence."[216]

Malraux re-presents, through Ling (an authority on Chinese women, as the fictive character himself is supposed to be Chinese), a common European fantasy of the Chinese woman as passive Oriental object, a stereotype lacking individuality, thereby implying in a self-flattering way that individuality is characteristic of the West. This would not be the first time that European writers sought to construct a flattering image of themselves by

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[213] This epistolary relationship is not the first; see, e.g., Letters from John Chinaman, by G. Lowes Dickinson. According to Jonathan Spence, in the introduction to Malraux's The Temptation of the West (English translation), Malraux borrows this style and forms his views on China from earlier Franco sinologists, such as Victor Segalen, Pierre Loti, and Paul Claudel.

[214] Of interest, is to compare Julia Kristeva's About Chinese Women, written in 1977, which employs the discourse of the Chinese Other, that is, Chinese culture and Chinese women, in her construction of Western feminine subjectivity. See, for example, Su-lin Yu, "Reconstructing Western Female Subjectivity," Jouvert 71:1 (Autumn 2002), http://english.chass.ncsu.edu/jouvert/v7is1/slyu.htm.

[215] Andre Malraux, The Temptation of the West, trans. Robert Hollander (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992; originally published in 1926), 41.

[216] Ibid., 43.

using a fantasy "China" as a foil; since others have discussed such tactics there is no need to go into further analysis here.[217] What this passage reveals, however, is that intellectuals in France still felt defensive about China as cultural rival such that they needed to reassure themselves of the truth of their stereotypes, even long after China's defeat at the hands of the British and the Japanese. It discloses as well a common stereotype about Chinese women, a stereotype that Pan Yuliang would have had to negotiate most every day of her life while living in France. We would do well to bear this stereotype in mind as we seek to read the works she produced for a French audience.

CHINESE ART EXHIBITIONS IN EUROPE

Prior to Pan's return to France in 1937, several notable Chinese art exhibitions sponsored by the Chinese government and various European institutions were held in Europe.[218] The majority, organized before and after World War I, were exhibitions devoted to

[217] See, e.g., Martin Powers, "Art and History: Exploring the Counterchange Condition," Art Bulletin LXXVII (1995): 382–87.

[218] Two of the most successful and widely publicized exhibitions of the 1930s were the Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart (Chinese Contemporary Art) exhibition in Berlin from January 20 to March 4, 1934, and the International Exhibition of Chinese Art held in London from November 27, 1935, to March 7, 1936. Others have discussed the significance of these international exhibitions in relation to how Chinese and European modernities intersected during the early twentieth century (e.g., Anik Fournier "Representing Self and Nation Through the Other: the 1933 Exposition de la Peinture Chinoise at the Jeu de Paume Paris," paper presented at symposium "'China' on Display: Past and Present Practices of Selecting, Exhibiting and Viewing Chinese Visual and Material Culture (Leiden University, December 2007); and Guo Hui, "New Objects, New History: the Preliminary Exhibition of Chinese Art, Shanghai, 1935, PhD dissertation, Leiden University, 2010), as well as generating a discourse of Chinese art history and the role that exhibitions played for individuals and nations in the context of China. See Shelaigh Vainker and Jo-Anne Birnie Danzker, Shanghai Modern (Hatje Cantz Publishers, 2005).

Chinese art as a whole, from sculptures to frescoes to bronzes, such as the International Exhibition of Chinese Art held in 1935 at the Burlington House in London.[219]

Earlier exhibitions in Europe include the 1925 Vereniging van Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst (Society of Friends of Asiatic Art) in Amsterdam, the 1926 Freunde Ostasiastischer Kunst (Friends of East Asian Art) in Cologne, and the 1929 Ausstellung Chinesischer Kunst in Berlin, organized by the Gesellschaft für Ostasiastische Kunst and the Preussische Akademie der Künste.[220]

Former studies have focused on the importance of these exhibitions for Chinese organizers, such as Xu Beihong and Liu Haisu,[221] in providing an international platform

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[219] The International Exhibition of Chinese Art exhibited works ranged from bronzes sculpture (e.g., a standing Boddhisattva of the Tang period) and calligraphy (Poem on the Mudan Peony, by Emperor Huizong 1100–1125) to porcelain to painting (A Heard of Deer in a Forest in Autumn, Five Dynasties 907–960). According to David Percival, the exhibition "aspires to illustrate the culture of the oldest surviving civilization in the world. The culture itself is so composite, so esoteric and so storied in its long tradition that it is difficult at once to glean from it a simple significance. Yet the significance exists. It is that of the spirit of the unseen world around us which pervades the materiality of our earthly existence. It lies subtly concealed in the Chinese theory of ancestor worship, in their peculiar quietist philosophy, in their symbolic interpretation of Nature and her works. By the same token, this inner consciousness of "powers and presences mightier than ourselves" forms also the guiding principle of Chinese art" (Percival, 239). See David Percival, "The Exhibition of Chinese Art: A Preliminary Survey," Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs 67:393 (December 1935): 238–241, 244–57, 251.

[220] For an overview of these exhibitions, see Jason Steuber, "The Exhibition of Chinese Art at Burlington House, London, 1935–36," Burlington Magazine 148:1241 (August 2006): 528–36, esp. 530–32.

[221] Although the competition between Chinese organizers in representing their nation's art was high, especially between Xu Beihong and Liu Haisu who exhibited in France and Germany, respectively, their desire to "speak" for a nation's art was political and reflected their own personal agendas. Besides speaking on an international platform, displaying their knowledge and expertise, they were competing culturally with other nations. For Liu Haisu, it was cultural competition with Japan. In his preface, "Promoting Chinese Art," Liu states: "Since China has found itself in troubled waters, however, the Japanese government has, in the past few years, seized the opportunity to allocate huge quantities of money in a desperate attempt to promote Japan's modern art. They have posed as the only nation to have attained a high cultural standing in the Orient. In Europe,

to construct a China that could speak for itself and on its own terms.[222] According to Jason Steuber, the Executive Yuan, which sponsored and coordinated the 1935 exhibition of Chinese Art at the Burlington House, "placed such importance on lending generously to the Burlington House exhibition and on their involvement in its catalogue because it was attempting to establish an international identity based on credibility, control and intellectual leadership in the field of art as well as internal political and legal control."[223] This increase in the number of exhibitions, as well as the increasing number of works exhibited on loan from private and public collections, can be credited in part to cultural

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the general public also thinks of China as belonging to the past" (Danzker et al., Shanghai Modern, 378). For Liu, the goal was to advance "modern" Chinese art to make it on par or even greater than modern Japanese art. Directly competing with Japan in its superior cultural primacy in the eyes of Europe and the West. Liu says it plainly: "Let us not allow the Japanese to overstep their position by claiming to hold the leading role in the art of the Orient. That is what I have prayed for day and night" (Danzker et al., Shanghai Modern, 378)

In 1931, Liu was invited to speak on the theories of Chinese painting at the University of Frankfurt's China Institute. Comparing the success of the spring 1931 Japanese exhibition in Berlin, which "were produced mainly to cater to the European sensibility. These Japanese works convinced the European audience that Oriental art sought to westernize some of tis superficial elements without expressing any of its own character – until they saw the modern Chinese painting exhibition, which elicited both surprise and admiration. Indeed, there was no comparison between the plain, natural and unembellished Chinese style and the insincere efforts of the Japanese" (Danzker et al., Shanghai Modern, 378). Of interest is that while promoting modern Chinese art, he was speaking on literati theories of Chinese painting. How then are Chinese painting, often "literati theory," and modern Chinese painting reconciled?

[222] E.g., Jo-Anne Birnie Danzker, "Shanghai Modern," in Shanghai Modern: 1919–1945, edited by Jo-Anne Birnie Danzker et al. (Ostfildern-Ruit Hatje Cantz Publishers, 2005), 18–68; and Shelaigh Vainker, "Modern Chinese Painting in London, 1935," in Shanghai Modern, 118–25.

[223] Jason Steuber, "The Exhibition of Chinese Art at Burlington House, London, 1935–36," Burlington Magazine 148:1241 (August 2006): 528–36, 534. For an analysis of the preliminary exhibition held in Shanghai in 1935 (before going to London), as well as its resulting exhibition catalogue, see Guo Hui (PhD dissertation, Leiden University, 2010).

competition among European nations to do bigger and better exhibitions of Chinese art.[224]

EXHIBITIONS OF CHINESE ART IN FRANCE: L'art national chinois

There were several exhibitions of Chinese art in France prior to and after Pan's return in 1937. Of significance, prior to Pan's return, was the 1924 Exhibition of Ancient and Modern Chinese Art (Exposition chinoise d'art ancient et modern) in Strasbourg, organized by the Association of Chinese Artists in France (Association des artistes chinois en France) and the Chinese Society of Decorative Arts in Paris (Société chinoise des Arts décoratifs à Paris) and the 1933 Exhibition of Contemporary Chinese Art (Exposition d'art chinois contemporaine) in Paris organized by Xu Beihong. After her return in 1937, her work appeared in the 1946 Exhibition of Chinese Contemporary Paintings (Exposition de peintures chinoises contemporaines) and the 1977 Four Contemporary Chinese [Women] Artists (Quatre artistes chinoises contemporaine), the latter exhibition, focusing mainly on her works, compared her achievement with that of three other contemporary Chinese artists.

In these latter exhibitions, the 1946 and 1977 exhibitions, Pan engages the shifting discourses of Chinese art and art history that took place in France, and their role in the

[224] Steuber citing Laurence Binyon's introduction to the exhibition catalogue, wrote that Chinese art is able to "transcend the world of sense and to speak in some subtle and secret way to the emotions of the spirit" (Steuber, "The Exhibition of Chinese Art at Burlington House, London," 528). But the exhibition was organized establish better diplomatic relationships. According to Steuber, during the 1935–36 exhibition, "the leaders of China's governing body, known as the Executive Yuan, which included Chiang [Kaishek], sought to benefit from the exhibition's vast international audience by publicizing their idea of China's political status" (Steuber, "The Exhibition of Chinese Art at Burlington House, London," 539).

construction of the Chinese Other. This was unavoidable because, in these exhibitions Chinese art, regardless of the greater goals of the exhibition organizers, European or Chinese, was situated in difference, in both the "traditional" and "contemporary" versions. By being constructed in difference, that is, different from Western art or even Chinese "traditional" art, Pan, as a "contemporary" artist, rather than viewing this difference as incommensurable, was obliged to address that difference in a transnational context.

Exhibition 1924: Exposition chinoise d'art ancien et modern (Strasbourg)

In 1924, the Exhibition of Ancient and Modern Chinese art (Exposition chinoise d'art ancien et modern) was organized by the Association of Chinese Artists in France (Association des artistes chinois en France) and the Chinese Society of Decorative Arts in Paris (Société chinoise des Arts décoratifs à Paris) and took place at the Palais du Rhin in Strasbourg.[225] In the preface to the catalogue, Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868 – 1940) wrote that the works exhibited were divided into three sections, with 485 works total: (1) traditional fine and applied art from private collections belonging to Chinese collectors

[225] Craig Clunas writes that "the event was explicitly intended by its organisers to act as a prelude to a major Chinese involvement in the 1925 Paris Exposition international," although the exhibition garnered very little interest in the Parisian art world, merely being announced in an art journal but not deserved worthy of a review. The 1924 exhibition failed to promote an equivalent Chinese art, thus explaining China's "invisibility" at the 1925 exhibition, among other factors (e.g., government fallout). This is ironic given that "China was then everywhere in the art and design of Europe, as one of a number of 'exotic' and 'primitive sources of inspiration for designers and decorators" (Clunas, 105). See Clunas, "Chinese Art and Chinese Artists in France, 1924–25," Arts asiatiques 44:44 (1989): 100–106. Clunas examines the documentation surrounding the exhibition, focusing on an article by Li Feng published in Dongfang zazhi (August 28). Clunas mentions that this exhibition was briefly touched upon Maycching Kao in her study of the Chinese reception of Chinese art (Maycching Kao China's Response to the West in Art: 1898–1937, PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 1972).

living in Europe; (2) "Western-style paintings (l'art imité de l'occident); and (3) 'New Art" (l'art nouveau) created by Chinese artists in Europe. Of the last two categories, "l'art imité de l'occident" and "l'art nouveau," he writes:

> Ces deux dernière catégories, oeuvres des artistes chinois, ne peuvent prétendre a présenter l'ensemble du mouvement artistique modern en Chine. Mais ces fragments permettent de juger si les artistes chinois sont capables d'assimiler la civilisation européenne et assez habiles pour réaliser la synthèse d'art ancien et modernes.[226]
>
> These last two categories, the works of these Chinese artists, cannot claim to represent the modern artistic movement in China. However, these fragments allow us to judge whether Chinese artists are able to assimilate European civilization and (whether they are) capable of realizing a synthesis of modern and ancient art.

These least two categories of art produced by Chinese artists are distinct and incommensurable. The former category, l'art imité de l'occident, that is, art produced in Western styles, is a direct comparison to European art, being judged as a successful imitation. The comparison made here is on unequal footing, suggesting that these works can only be an imitation, whether deemed successful or not. The latter category, l'art nouveau, then, is given priority, by suggesting not only an incompatibility between the two opposing art traditions but also a rupture between past and present that needs to be synthesized to form a "new art." A synthesis of ancient and modern art can only occur if these Chinese artists adapt some features of European art to create a "new" Chinese art,

[226] Exposition chinoise d'art ancient et modern. Imprimerie Alsacienne (Strasbourg, 1924), p. 9. A copy is in the National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, pressmark 5.D.55). All French translations by Hayet Sellami, modified by Elissa Park.

not one that "imitates" the West. This is not a far cry from the May Fourth rhetoric, to which Cai contributed substantially, in which the "West" was seen as a necessary resource for supplementing Chinese culture and civilization. But if this is so, then what aspects of European civilization needed to be assimilated in order for these artists to be judged well, or judged at all, and by whom?

Exhibition 1933: Exposition d'art chinois contemporain (Paris)

In 1933 the Exposition d'art chinois contemporain[227] was held at the Musée du Jeu de Paume, which was organized by the museum and Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻 (1895–1953), Pan's fellow artist who had studied at the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts in Paris during the 1920s.

Like Liu Haisu's promotion of Chinese contemporary art in the 1934 Exhibition Chinesische Malerei der Gegenwart/Chinese Contemporary Painting, Hamburg,[228] which extoled Chinese civilization by stressing the continuity of its art tradition rather than the novelty of contemporary Chinese art, Xu's also had a nationalist bent. In fact, from the late 1920s through the 1940s, many Chinese critics had adopted nationalist rhetoric and deployed it at a time when art historical scholarship on both sides of the Pacific often was charged with nationalist overtones. In such writings the exchange of artistic techniques between nations was portrayed as if artists were soldiers and their works were military

[227] Exposition d'art chinois contemporain, at the Musée des écoles étrangères et contemporaines à Paris (with M. André Dezarrois, Conservateur de Musée national des écoles étrangères contemporaines Jeu de Paume des Tuilleries), 1933.

[228] Of the twenty-nine (of the 274 exhibited) images presented in the German exhibition catalogue, the majority (if not all) were hanging scroll format, images done on ink on paper, representing mostly subjects such as landscapes, birds, bamboo, and sage/scholars. Works by Liu Haisu (organizer), Zhang Daqian, Wu Changshi, and Qi Baishi were included.

actions warranting descriptive terms such as “penetrated” or “triumphed.” Xu Beihong’s exhibition offered a broad survey of “ancient” Chinese art, along with an introduction to the various dynasties, beginning with the Han (“Notes sur différentes époques de la peinture Chinoise”) to the Qing, highlighting the art patronage of the emperors Kangxi and Qianlong, as well as Jesuits who served as court painters, such as Castiglione and Attiret.

The exhibition displayed a range of contemporary Chinese works juxtaposed with premodern works (described in the French of that period as “ancient”) from various private and public collections in Europe, including some wall paintings and manuscript paintings from Dunhuang that had been excavated by Paul Pelliot (Mission Pelliot). In addition works collected by Europeans (e.g., Buffles in the collection of Mrs. Cole Porter and Halte de cavaliers Tartares – Ecole de Tchao Mong-fou in the collection of Henry Rivière) and from museum collections (Portrait de l’Empereur K’ien Long by Castiglione in the Musée Guimet) were exhibited. The contemporary paintings that Xu had personally selected included hanging scrolls by Huang Binhong (1865–1955), Qi Baishi (1864–1957), and Chen Shuren (1884–1948), as well as a large portrait of his own family completed by his father Xu Dazhang. In this work the artist portrayed himself as a scholar under a pine tree, while Xu Beihong was depicted as a child at a table in front of a blank notebook holding a brush, presumably practicing his calligraphy.

In juxtaposing these works from private and museum collections in Europe with contemporary Chinese works, Xu had to establish some sense of symmetry, and his strategy was to seek continuity with the past, whereas Cai had called for a “new art” in the 1924 exhibition. In addition ancient and contemporary works were not treated as

separate categories, as in the 1924 exhibition. The putative continuity with the past was emphasized by underplaying cultural ties with Europe.

Xu (Ju Peon) writes:

> Tout en continuant la tradition artistique des Ming, la peinture Ts'ing sera néanmoins pénétrée par les formules occidentales: les jésuites, qui jouent un grand rôle a la cour des empereurs, enseigneront aux Chinois l'art du modèle et l'emploi de la perspective européenne. La frère Castiglione, favori de K'ien long, le frère Attiret venue en 1738, son autant de maîtres du pinceau, dont les élèves exécuteront des peintures curieuses et parfois charmantes, où se mêlent deux visions.[229]

> Although continuing the Ming artistic tradition, Qing painting was still influenced by Western formulae: the Jesuits, who played a very important role in the courts of various emperors, taught the Chinese the art of the model and the use of European perspective. Father Castiglione, Emperor Qianlong's favorite, and Father Attiret, who came to China in 1738, were masters of the brush: their students executed curious and sometimes charming paintings, combining two visions.

Although Xu says that Jesuit court artists Castiglione and Attiret introduced European modeling and perspective, they, in fact, were merely court artists working for the Chinese emperor. No evidence remains to suggest that the techniques they used were widely imitated, or that they had any presence in the public art market of that time. The Chinese impact on these artists is more obvious, since they altered European shading practices in order to suit Chinese taste and adapted Chinese style brushwork to their

[229] Xu Beihong, "La peinture chinoise dans les temps modernes," in Exposition d'art chinois contemporain, at the Musée des écoles étrangères et contemporaines à Paris (Ville de Paris, 1933), 15.

works. There actually was no significant role for the European artists at the Qing court other than among a small circle of court artists at that time.[230]

Yet, Xu here is addressing several points to make a broader claim about the continuity of the Chinese art tradition. First, he is addressing the May Fourth rhetoric that lingers about the degeneration of Chinese painting, that the "Western" formulae" had penetrated Qing painting. Rather than deny the European influence, Xu is ultimately claiming the incompatibility of the literati style and European post-Renaissance methods, that is, two art traditions; the combination of "two visions" only produce works that are "curious" and sometimes charming (parfois charmantes). He chose to include in the exhibition catalogue Castiglione's Portrait de l'Empereur K'ien Long as an example, which attests to this European perspective and modeling, yet this example stands in stark contrast to the sparse ink paintings that Xu chose, many of which included subject matter favored by literati painters, such as birds, flowers, landscapes, animals, historical and mythical figures, and bamboo.[231] The example of Castiglione's work signals less continuity between the past and the present, an anomaly when juxtaposed to the other works chosen by Xu to represent the continuity of the past and present of the Chinese art tradition.

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[230] Wang Yaoting, Xin shijie: Lang shining yu qinggong xifeng (New Visions at the Ch'ing Court: Giuseppe Castiglione and Western-Style Trends), in Wang Yaoting, ed., New Visions at the Ch'ing Court: Giuseppe Castiglione and Western-Style Trends (Taipei: National Palace Museum Gallery, 2007).

[231] Of the works chosen for the exhibition catalogue, most were in handscroll or hanging scroll format and were painted in ink (e.g., Qi Baishi's Squirrel/Tzibesch "Ecureuil"; plate 24 in catalogue) and a Huang Binhong landscape (Huouan Pin Hon – Paysage). The only "historical" painting included was Xu Beihong's Jiufanggao (Horsemaster Jiu Fanggao 1931) (Ju Peon; Kinfankao).

Having thus stated the incommensurability between literati painting and European post-Renaissance art methods, Xu stresses the continuity of Chinese art from the past to the present by using the "recent" art revolutions in Europe as a contrast (by "recent" he means the late nineteenth and early twentieth century art movements such as Impressionism, Post-Impressionism, and Cubism). These recent art revolutions created an unparalleled rupture with the past, a break from post-Renaissance classicism and naturalism toward abstraction and expression. Xu maintained that these recent art revolutions that occurred in Europe could not have taken place in China for, as he states in the section "Chinese painting in modern times" (La peinture chinoise dans les temps modernes), China is "a country with strong traditions and so solidly framed that no revolutionary movement could pretend to completely shake the fundamental dogmas (dogmes fondamentaux) of our art.[232]

Although "fundamental dogmas of art" may sound severe, Xu was expounding more on an art tradition, that is, literati ink paintings, which has continued to make use of the expressive mark from premodern to contemporary Chinese art, as represented in his selections for the exhibition. For Xu, no rupture is needed, like those "recent art revolutions" in Europe, since Chinese art, both past and present, still maintains self-expression as its goal and emphasizes artistic facture, like modern European works. In other words, there is greater continuity between premodern Chinese art and modern European art than there is between premodern European art and modern European art.

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[232] "Tel qu'on les conçoit en Europe les révolutions d'où naquirent les éléments de l'art modern n'ont pas existé en Chine, pays de tradition forte et si solidement encadrée qu'aucun mouvement révolutionnaire ne pouvait prétendre à bouleverser entièrement les dogmes fondamentaux de notre art" (Xu Beihong, "La peinture chinoise dans les temps modernes," 15).

The reason is that both premodern Chinese art and modern European art (and presumably modern Chinese art) make use of the expressive mark.

Yet, although stressing the continuity of premodern and modern Chinese art, mainly emphasizing the expressive mark as a distinctive trait that now finds itself in modern European art, Xu reveals the current situation in China.

> Les oeuvres de ceux d'entre les meilleurs qui sont exposés ici témoigneront de leurs efforts pour une renaissance de l'art national chinois. Certes la situation artistique en Chine est encore confuse. Un exotisme sans valeur d'ailleurs, s'est infiltré dans nos ateliers. L'intellectualisme de notre peinture a beaucoup dégénéré depuis les grandes époques. Mais nous pouvons espérer avec ferveur que parmi tant de jeunés artistes, cultivant leur art avec un désintéressement absolu et une indépendance jalousie, il s'en trouvera de plus courageux encore et d'obstinés, qui, nourris de notre culture millénaire, pourront continuer et rénover un art auquel le monde occidental a bien voulu reconnaitre, dans le passé, de hautes qualités d'originalité, de noblesse et de sagesse."[233]
>
> The works exhibited here reveal the efforts of these artists for a rebirth of Chinese national art. The artistic situation in China is indeed heaped in confusion. Worthless exoticism has infiltrated our workshops. The intellectualism of our painting has highly degenerated since the great epochs of the past. But we can hope that among so many young artists, cultivating their art with absolute selflessness and independence, there are courageous artists who, inculcated with our millennia-old civilization, will pursue and revive an art that the Western world will recognize, as it did once in the past, as having high qualities of originality, nobility, and wisdom."

[233] Xu Beihong, "La peinture chinoise dans les temps modernes," 17. There is no Chinese original. We can assume from the many years that Xu spent in France that this was written by him, although the grammar and language used is not that of a native French speaker.

Such a passage marks a departure from the stated goals of the 1924 exhibition. It may be that the rise of nationalism during the 1930s required the organizers of Chinese art exhibitions to adopt a rhetorical stance different from the May Fourth rhetoric that Cai Yuanpei had once advocated. Where May Fourth rhetoric could find little to admire in traditional Chinese culture, now Xu was arguing that modern art should in some sense find roots in China's great tradition, while at the same time appear sufficiently new that Europeans would recognize it as original.

To appreciate this shift in the discourse of Chinese art we need to call to mind the semi-military rhetoric art historians employed in discussing processes of artistic exchange: "penetrated, triumphed," and the like. If European critics delighted in celebrating the penetration of Western art into Chinese practice, then we should not be surprised that Chinese artists and critics, such as Feng Zikai, retaliated in kind. Xu Beihong's essays for the 1933 exhibition appear to have been written in the midst of just this kind of culture war. This didn't mean that the old cultural polarities—East/West, or "ancient"/modern—had disappeared; rather the relationships among them had changed. Both the 1924 and 1933 exhibitions focused on contrasts, ancient Chinese art versus modern and contemporary Chinese art. Yet, while the 1924 exhibition treated these categories as distinct—ancient and modern—Xu Beihong stressed continuity with the past by privileging a certain type of Chinese painting: contemporary and premodern works in the literati style. Cai Yuanpei had acknowledged the historical conjunction of two cultures and supposed that the assimilation of European art would be necessary in order to synthesize modern and premodern Chinese art ("to assimilate European civilization and [thus] capable of synthesizing [Chinese] modern and ancient art"). Xu, on

the other hand, does not aim for synthesis, either of European and Chinese art, or modern and premodern Chinese art. Rather, he emphasizes an unparalleled continuity in Chinese art from past to present (i.e., literati ink paintings) where self-expression has always been the goal and artistic facture (brushwork) conveys the artist's emotions. These "dogmas" of Chinese art can be found in the works of recent modern European art, where the European art tradition needed to "revolutionized" in order to reach this point.

George Salles[234] further confirmed the fundamental continuity of Chinese art in his introduction in the exhibition catalogue:

> Si, a partir du XVIIe siècle, nous discernons la pénétration de formules européennes, l'emploi de celles-ci n'en demeure pas moins exceptionnel et aujourd'hui même peu compatible, semble-t-il, avec la vision traditionnelle de la Chine.[235]
>
> Though, since the seventeenth century, we can discern the penetration of European [artistic] formulae, their use remained quite exceptional and even today not compatible, it seems, with the traditional vision in China.

Salles has a point, revealing a conundrum. The fundamental contrast between modern and premodern, as constructed by Fry, was the difference between using the image for expressive purpose and using the expressive mark, which Fry called the "calligraphic, for

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[234] Georges Salles (1889–1966) was at the time curator at the Department of Asian Art at the Louvre Museum (he later became the Director of the Musée Guimet in 1941). Connections with Duthuit and Malraux: In 1933 Salles, Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, and Georges Duthuit authored a book on Byzantine Art, Art byzantine: Cent planches reproduisant un grand nombre de pieces chosies parmi les plus representatives des diverses (Paris: A Levy, 1933). With Malraux he edited the book series L'univers des forms. See Lee Sorenson, "Georges Salles," Dictionary of Art Historians, accessed November 11, 2012, www.dictionaryofarthistorigans.org/salles.htm.

[235] Georges Salles, "Peinture chinoise," in Exposition d'art chinois contemporain, at the Musée des écoles étrangères et contemporaines à Paris (Ville de Paris, 1933), np.

purposes of self-expression. For this reason, before the 1930s, it was not obvious that Western art (defined as post-Renaissance art) was more modern or that Chinese art was less so, and not as obvious as it might seem to us in the twenty-first century. For this reason, literati painting was fundamentally at odds with post-Renaissance naturalism, as the latter required maintaining a fictive space while the former required subverting it. Defined in this way, European art and Chinese art could be constructed as two, incompatible traditions, despite the fact that modern Chinese artists, such as Pan Yuliang, were attempting to adapt some aspects of both traditional and modern European art to their own work. Salles elaborated further on this difference by describing the difference between viewing a scroll painting versus viewing an oil painting:

> Lorsque pour les voir nous les accrochons contre une paroi, ils ne font pas corps avec elle; ils flottent devant elle, et alors même que nous les fixons à un cadre, ils demeurent indépendants du fond auquel ils s'appuient et ne lui ajoutent qu'un maigre décor. Son rôle n'est pas la. Son mérité est ailleurs . . . Du coup nous voici loin de la Chine.[236]
>
> To view these paintings, we hung them against a wall yet they will not be joined to form one body with the wall: they float in front of [the wall], and even though we put a frame around it, they remain independent from the background against which they are resting, adding only a slight decorative aspect to [the wall]. Its role is not there. Its merit lies elsewhere . . . Thus, we are far from China.

Salles is highlighting the challenge of understanding a Chinese work because, he claims, a European sensibility rooted in post-Renaissance naturalism cannot understand its true

[236] Georges Salles, "Peinture chinoise," in Exposition d'art chinois contemporain, at the Musée des écoles étrangères et contemporaines à Paris (Ville de Paris, 1933), np.

"merits." A European cannot understand a Chinese work even if attempts are made at "framing" it like a European work. This permits him to describe Chinese art in more mystical terms, which he elaborates by expounding upon the use of line.

> Le trait, par son seul dessin nous émeut. Avant même de comprendre sa signification, nous subissons le pouvoir de son accent ou de son rythme. Sous le charme de son langage abstrait nous sommes parfois conduits par une voie singulière jusqu'au seuil de mystère….[237]
>
> The drawing line, only through its drawing moves us. Even before understanding its meaning, we experience the power of its accent and rhythm. Under the charm of its abstract language, we are sometimes driven by a singular path to the threshold/edge of mystery . . .

In both passages, there is a clear link to Fry's "An Essay on Aesthetics" (1909), from the difference in viewing practices to Fry's translation of qiyun to "rhythm" (rythme).[238] This example shows that Salles and, probably, Xu had accepted Fry's discourse on line, a discourse in which China was not seen as so obviously premodern as it has come to be seen in more recent decades.

Here line is understood as the essential element in Chinese art, whether speaking of the past or of the present, an argument that did not begin among Western art critics in the twentieth century but began in China in the seventeenth century.[239] Unlike Fry, Salle exoticizes the Chinese line as mysterious. For Fry, the line in Chinese calligraphy, as in

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[237] Georges Salles, "Peinture chinoise," in Exposition d'art chinois contemporain, at the Musée des écoles étrangères et contemporaines à Paris (Ville de Paris), np.
[238] Roger Fry, "An Essay in Aesthetics," New Quarterly 2 (April 1909), 171–90, reprinted in Vision and Design (London: Chatto and Windus, 1928), 16–38; discussed in Powers, "Art and Exchange: The Counterchange Condition," 385–87.
[239] Martin J. Powers, "Cultural Politics of the Brushstroke," Art Bulletin (forthcoming).

the work of Matisse, was a personal gesture, something tangible and visible that was capable of conveying the artist's inner state. While Salle appears to adopt Fry's theories, he sees the works of Chinese artists in the exhibition ultimately as expressions of a mysterious Other.

Exhibition 1946: Exposition de peintures chinoises contemporaines

In June 1946, Pan exhibited with several other Chinese artists at the Musée Cernuschi in the exhibition "Peintures chinoises contemporaines,"[240] thus recognizing that Chinese art could also be "contemporary" art.[241] Around sixty artists were represented, including Pang Xunqin, Lin Fengmian, Zhang Daqian, Xu Beihong, Wu Zuoren, and Zao Wou-ki.[242] It is worth noting that, in the index of the painters, all the Chinese artists were labeled as figure painters (peintres figurant). Pan exhibited four works: two nudes (one a drawing/dessin), Thinking of My Native Country (En pensant au pays natal), and After the Bath (Aprés le bain), which were not included in the exhibition catalogue.[243]

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[240] Musée Cernuschi, Exposition de peintures chinoises contemporaines. Catalogue illustre, Ville de Paris, June 1946, avec le patronage de son excellence Monsieur Tsien Tai Ambassadeur de Chine en France. Modern Chinese painting (as it was defined by 1946). There was also an exhibition in 1948, Exposition de peintures chinoise, at the Musée Municipal d'Art Moderne at the Palais de New York, but Pan was not included in the exhibition, although Fu Baoshi, Xu Beihong, Pan Tianshou, and Lin Fengmian, among others, were exhibited as contemporary Chinese painters.

[241] Although the exhibition was titled "Exposition de peintures chinoise contemporaines," presumably exhibiting Chinese painting, a selection of sculptures was also included.

[242] This exhibition stands in stark contrast to previous exhibitions of Chinese art (at least in title) at the museum during Pan's first sojourn in Europe, such as "Animals in Chinese Art" (Les animaux dans l'art chinois/7e exposition des Arts de l'Asie; May–June 1922) and "Flowers and Birds in Chinese Art" (Les fleurs et oiseaux dans l'art chinois 1929).

[243] These works are no longer extant.

Like the exhibition catalogue for the 1933 exhibition organized by Xu Beihong, this exhibition included an essay providing a broad historical overview of Chinese art by way of introducing Chinese contemporary painters. Entitled "Notes on Chinese Painting" ("Notes sur la peinture chinoise") and written by Vadime Elisseeff, Conservateur adjoint of the Musée Cernuschi, it surveyed premodern critical theories such as Xie He's Six Principles of Painting,[244] a body of theory about the "rhythm" of brushwork that had been valorized in the writings of Roger Fry and Laurence Binyon as early as 1908. This catalogue essay also noted the importance of paper, silk, ink and brush in Chinese painting, and the evolution of Chinese painting from the Han dynasty (206 BC–220 AD) to the Four Wangs of the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911). The catalogue thus outlined a specific Chinese theory of painting, specific media for that painting, and a degree of historical longevity and continuity almost unparalleled in the history of art. Yet, unlike the 1933 exhibition catalogue, it did not include any examples of premodern Chinese art to juxtapose with more recent works by Chinese artists.

An ink scroll painting by Zhang Daqian, entitled "Begonia," along with its colophon on the left, was chosen for the cover of the exhibition catalogue. This choice highlighted a culture-specific medium (i.e., ink painting) and a monochrome palette. Since both were features of premodern Chinese art, we might ask how such an image was interpreted as "contemporary" or "new" (l'art nouveau chinois)? What did it mean to be

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[244] Xie He 謝赫 (fifth century), "Six principles of Chinese painting" (Huihua liufa 绘画六法), taken from the preface of The Record of the Classification of Old Painters (Guhua pinlu 古画品录). The translation of Xie He's six principles have lead to a long heated debate about their meanings; see, e.g., W. R. B. Acker, Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts on Chinese Painting (Leiden: Brill, 1954), 440–44; and James Cahill, "The Six Laws and How to Read Them," Ars Orientalis 4 (1961): 372–81.

"contemporary" for Pan and other Chinese artists in relation to modernist European artists of that period, working with the same expressive mark, especially when it looked both modern and Chinese to some critics at the time?

Against this backdrop of Fry-esque critical categories, two artists were discussed in detail: Pan Yuliang and Zao Wou-ki.[245] The analysis of both Pan's and Zao's works reveal which qualities these critics regarded as quintessentially Chinese. At the top of the list, not surprisingly, was the Chinese line—la ligne chinoise—in contrast to what was deemed typically European, such as the role played by color—la technique chromatique européen.[246] For Elisseeff, the Chinese qualities would be difficult to transplant into European painting, that is, oil on canvas. Still, Elisseeff maintained that Pan and Zao, whom he considered to be Western-style painters, were able to modify the chromatic palette by using la technique linear chinoise:

> Si donc les traditionalistes tendent à enrichir la ligne chinoise par la technique chromatique européenne, les peintres à l'occidental, eux, cherchent mois à modifier notre palette par la technique linéaire chinoise.[247]
>
> If traditionalists tend to embellish the Chinese characteristic [line] by using European chromatic technique, Western-style painters, then, try to modify our palette using Chinese linear technique.

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[245] In chapter 3, "The Female Nude: At Work and Play," I examined the Pan's use of the "Chinese" expressive line. Cosmopolitan claims of critics such as Roger Fry or Feng Zikai both of whom claimed that Western art since Postimpressionism (i.e., modern art) should have, or did have, partial roots in the theory and practice of East Asian art.

[246] Zao's exhibited works were done in oil (he was categorized with the group "peintures a l'huile" (oil painters); he exhibited ten oil paintings and seven drawings, the majority of which were portraits (others included landscapes, florals, and still lifes)

[247] Vadime Elisseeff, "La peinture chinoise contemporaine," in Exposition de peintures chinoises contemporaines, Musée Cernuschi (Ville de Paris, 1946), 30.

In these brief remarks, Elisseeff shifted the terms of debate significantly in that he placed the Chinese tradition and the European tradition on roughly equal terms where both traditionalists and Western-style Chinese artists sought to combine Chinese and Western techniques, though in different ways. This approach offers the possibility of a negotiated settlement in the culture wars, rather than total victory or defeat. For this reason, Pan's "scientific" (read "Western") drawing was admired for its ability to preserve both the Chinese line and European color :

> Elle a su préserver ans ses tableaux la ligne chinoise et l'habiller des couleurs franches caractéristiques de l'huile. C'est donc une fusion extrêmement intéressante où notre palette est soutenue par la ligne chinoise.[248]
>
> In her drawings, she knows how to preserve the Chinese line and use bold colors, as they are used in oil painting. This is a very interesting fusion in which our [Western] palette is supported by the Chinese line.

Such language appears to derive from Fry's ideas about the Chinese calligraphic line, while labeling Fauvist color as Western. As such, along with Fry, Elisseeff recognizes Pan's expressive line as both Chinese and modern.

Still, the language of victory re-appears when the critic turns to Zao Wou-ki's work, "which shows the rich possibilities of assimilation by a young Chinese painter who never left China. It is without a doubt our art, and only the signature seems to point out its

[248] Ibid., 31.

foreign origin."[249] Zao's work, in other words, has been entirely reshaped by French influence. His Chineseness has been demolished such that all that is left of his Chinese origin is his signature. While cultural politics inform the comments on both artists, the construction of "us" and "them" differed in the two cases apparently because of the difference between color and line. One artist's work could be claimed as entirely Western in its color palette, the only foreign trait visible being the artist's signature, while another artist was admired for her fusion of European chromatic technique and her Chinese line. In hindsight, and with a view to the cultural politics of the period, it would be easy to predict which of these two artists would go on to artistic fame and participate in the Second School of Paris?

Exhibition 1977: Quatre artistes chinoises contemporaine

In 1977, Pan held a quasi-solo show at the Musée Cernuschi, with three other overseas Chinese (women) artists, Lam Oi, Ou Seu-tan, and Shing Wai: Quatre artistes chinoise contemporaine (Four Contemporary Chinese Artists). The other Chinese women artists in the exhibition were from Hong Kong (Shing Wai), Hawaii (originally Canton; Lam Oi), and France (originally Beijing; Ou Seu-tan). Shing Wai's works included various styles of calligraphy, from running script (xingshu 行書) to large seal script (dazhuan 大篆) on hanging scrolls. Lam Oi's included hanging scrolls and leaves of bamboo, landscapes, flowers, and birds, all in ink. Ou Seu-tan's included ink landscapes. What these women had in common is the fact that they all trained at the École des Beaux-Arts.

[249] "Nous montre es riches possibilités d'assimilation d'un jeune peintre chinois qui n'a jamais encore quitte a Chine. C'est incontestablement notre art, et seule la signature semble nous indiquer sa provenance étrangère" (ibid., 30).

In this exhibition, the three other artists' "traditional" works served as counterpoints to Pan's more modern work.[250] As written in the preface to the exhibition catalogue by Vadime Elisseeff, Pan, when asked to choose the works that best represented her evolution as an artist, chose a series of nudes that "eloquently attest the harmony of various themes, dear to the West, and a facture that is a proper characteristic of her native country"[251] (e.g., Reader [Liseuse], 1954; figure 6).[252] Here it is not Pan's line that is acknowledged as both Chinese and modern, but rather her facture. Both qualities were significant features of the literati tradition of painting, of course, and both qualities became prominent in modern French painting as well. There are many possible ways to interpret these facts, but for French critics at this time, the only viable way was to read them as emblems of national character.

Yet, it is clear that, at this late date, the use of expressive line was still associated with Chinese artists:

> Peintres chinoises, près ou loin de leur patrie, ces femmes illustrent la permanence d'un gout pour la qualité du trace: leur palette est classique et relativement secondaire, mais dans la ligne et le trait, qui plus que tout traduisent la sensibilité

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[250] "Il eut été possible d'en ajouter d'autres mais nous avons préfère prendre, en contrepoint, de sorties aux tendances traditionnelles…" (Quatre artistes chinoises contemporaines: Pan Yu-lin, Lam Oi, Ou Seu-tan, Shing wai [Ville de Paris: Musée Cernuschi, March 26–April 30, 1977], np). Originally, this exhibition was slotted to coincide with the Year of Women in 1975, but was cancelled owing to Pan's health reasons.

[251] "Elle choisit ses séries du nus qui, si éloquemment, témoignent de l'harmonie de sujets chers à l'Occident et d'une facture (du trait propre à son pays natal)," in Vadime Elisseeff, Conservateur en chef du Musée Cernuschi, Introduction in Quatre Artistes Chinoises Contemporaines: Pan Yu-lin, Lam Oi, Ou Seu-tan, Shingwai, Musée Cernuschi, Paris (March to April 1977), np.

[252] Besides her ink on paper works, labeled "la technique chinoise," Pan's works included oil painting (*peinture a l'huile sur toile*, or, "la technique occidentale"), drawings (*dessin*) engravings (*gravure sur platre*), and sculpture.

de l'artiste, on retrouve toute la charge d'une à motion délicate mais pleine, réserve mais franche, équilibre féminine typiquement chinoise, libre de tout apprêt et de tout mièvrerie.[253]

As Chinese painters, near or far from their country, these women illustrate the permanence of a taste for the quality of the drawing of the line [le tracé]: their palette is classic and relatively secondary but in the line and the drawing of the line, which express the most the sensibility of the artist, we find a delicate movement, yet full, reserved, and bold, a feminine balance typically Chinese, without artifice and soppiness.

The term used here for line is no longer "la ligne" but "le tracé," a word that emphasizes the line's ability to reveal innate sensibility, bold or feminine, reserved or full, but always personal. This type of critical language still derives from Fry's essay on line as a means of expression.[254] After explaining to his Western readers the expressive powers of Chinese calligraphy, Fry added that:

The quality of line which, while having an intelligible rhythm, does not become mechanical is called its sensitiveness. And here the most obvious thing is clearly that the line is capable of infinite variation, of adapting itself to form at every

[253] Vadime Elisseeff, Conservateur en chef du Musée Cernuschi, introduction in Quatre Artistes Chinoises Contemporaines: Pan Yu-lin, Lam Oi, Ou Seu-tan, Shingwai, Musée Cernuschi, Paris (March to April 1977), np. Of interest is how this has been translated into Chinese in various scholarly articles in China: 她的作品融中西画之长，又赋于自己的个性色彩。她的素描具有中国书法的笔致，以生动的线条来形容实体的柔和与自在，这是潘夫人的风格，她的油画含有中国水墨画技法，用清雅的色调点染画面，色彩的深浅疏密与线条相互依存，很自然地显露出远近、明暗、虚实，色韵生动. 她用中国的书法和笔法来描绘万物，对现代艺术已作出了丰富的贡献.

[254] Roger Fry, "Line as a Means of Expression in Modern Art," The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs, 33:189 (December 1918), 202–3.

> point of its course. It clearly demonstrates Matisse's intense sensibility, and it is for that reason that I called it provisionally calligraphic.[255]

The idea that the line was expressive of the artist's inner feelings and character had been articulated by Binyon as early as 1908.[256] Since modern artists tended to delight in manipulations of line and facture, Fry's language was well adapted to the needs of modern critics, and so came to be used widely. Despite the late date of this exhibition, Fry's formalist language still informs the critic's analytical categories. It is also interesting to see how Chinese artists continued to be typed according to national origin and gender at this late date.

THE CHINESE OTHER: 东方式 DONGFANG SHI

Alice Yang addresses the construction of the Chinese Other in Euramerican modernism, examining the role that Chinese art has played for European modernist critics in their narratives of modernism, from Roger Fry to Clement Greenberg, up to Norman Bryson and Arthur Danto. Yang writes that there is both a "recognition and disavowal of difference" among these critics, since "each critic could only judge Chinese art in terms of an either/or – either as an analogue or as an antithesis of Western art, either as the triumph of as the failure of visual form relieved of tis reference and, thus, of the task of representation understood as optical naturalism"[257]

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[255] Roger Fry, "Line as a Means of Expression in Modern Art," 202.
[256] Laurence Binyon, *Painting in the Far East* (London: Edward Arnold, 1908).
[257] Yang, "Modernism and the Chinese Other in Twentieth-Century Art Criticism," "Modernism and the Chinese Other in Twentieth-Century Art Criticism," in Why Asia? Contemporary Asian and American American Art, ed. Jonathan Hay and Mimi Young (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 134.

What we find in the catalogues for these exhibitions is a construction of the Chinese Other not only in relation to Western/Euramerican art, as Yang argues, but also in relation to Chinese art and its history, especially as it is evaluated in the context of cultural competition as imagined by Chinese and European interlocutors. By positing a prescribed notion of Chinese art as a form of continuity, as in Xu's 1933 exhibition, or as a distinctive aesthetic in the 1946 exhibition, or as the line feminized in the 1977 exhibition, such exhibitions made it difficult for Chinese artists like Pan to create works that did not speak to this idiom. By reducing the significance of technique—whether facture or color—to emblems of national character, critics limited the content of these works largely to varieties of expression of national character. By defining what is "Chinese" and limiting Chineseness to a narrow set of parameters, these exhibitions limited the artist's choices to assimilation, penetration, annihilation, or some form of synthesis, where the protagonist was always China and the object of attention was always in some a reified "West."

How did Pan's work address the fragmentary nature of "Chineseness" that critics were anxious to project onto her work as a Chinese contemporary artist?

ADDRESSING THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE CHINESE OTHER

Working with the female body as one canvas for formal experimentation, Pan explored a wide range of meanings that ultimately challenged contemporaneous notions of the Chinese Other. In order to place ourselves outside the hopeless binaries and nationalist bickering that dominated the critical writing of that period, it may be helpful to view Pan's artistic choices as an instance of "intervisuality." Nicholas Mirzoeff defines

intervisuality as consisting of "interacting and interdependent modes of visuality" that "can create multiple visual and intellectual associations both within and beyond the intent of the producer of that image."[258]

For example, consider how Pan flaunted her calligraphic line in the same works that appear to others as imitations of Matisse. Since Fry associated the calligraphic line with China, and also regarded Matisse as its principle Western exponent, could it be that Pan was exploiting modernism's inherent cultural hybridity to a degree unseen in the works of other contemporaneous Chinese artists? Given the almost universal presence of Fry's theories among English, French, and Chinese critics, is it difficult to imagine that she would view Matisse as her natural counterpart, the acknowledged master of the calligraphic line in the land where she had made her home? Viewed in this way, her references to Matisse recall more readily literati references to classical masters. In the Chinese context such references were more often viewed as "encounters" (yu 遇) or imaginary conversations (shenhui 神会) rather than as simple imitations.

In her use of the female nude, the quintessential subject of Western art, she actually complicates the reading with her technique suggesting—to her audience—distinct affinities with Chinese methods, executed primarily in brush and ink and evoking Chinese calligraphy, wherein the quality of line had as much significance as the form it delineates. Likewise her use of the feibai technique of rendering facture to suggest the effect of light on black hair, she effectively collapses one of the most characteristic forms of Chinese painting facture with "scientific" naturalism (figure 25, discussed in chapter

[258] Nicholas Mirzoeff, "The Multiple Viewpoint: Diaspora and Visual Culture," chapter 22, in the Visual Culture Reader, ed. Nicholas Mirzoeff (London: Routledge, 2000), 209.

3). But rather than read these acts as attempts at harmony or synthesis, is it not more cogent to read them as arguments that, through juxtaposition and irony, undermined the very cultural binaries that the critics took for granted?

Arguably, another form of irony in Pan's work takes the form of hyperbole, the exaggeration of features constructed by French critics as "Chinese." What I see as hyperbole would include those elements of "Chinese" linework in female bodies, those "Oriental" clothes and facial features racialized as the Oriental woman (东方女子 dongfang nüzi). In the context of what would otherwise be seen as a "Western" painting, with its broad color palette and thick impasto brushwork, it is difficult not to read these features as hyperbolic intrusions whose irony, of course, is in fact thoroughly modern.

In the Fan Dance (Shuangren shanwu 雙人扇舞, 1955; figure 8), a work painted in oil, Pan displayed a range of brushstrokes, from thick impasto on the garments to the crosshatch pattern of the space beyond the figures, clearly revealing the artist's hand in each case. The use of line on the outline of the garments is distinctive, almost as if she painted the outline with black paint and then filled it in with color or pattern, a technique that denies the calligraphic quality of the line. The only visible features manifests themselves as ethnically exaggerated features, such as the large slanting eyes, the red blotches to indicate cheeks and lips, a nose visible only by its absence. With her hair tied back, her gaze engages neither her dancing partner nor the viewer, but rather peers beyond the surface of the painting. Her gaze is glazed and unfocused, curiously neither here nor there. In the figure in red on the right we find the use of line more focused, whereas the green garment on the left figure blurs into the space behind it, with no clear demarcation between the garment and the space around it.

Meanwhile, the image is awash in color. Color, as described in the exhibition catalogues, signifies a "Western" practice, whereas line is associated with the "East"/China. We can only assume that Pan was fully aware of this discursive practice. In her use of a strong color palette she is associated with European masters like Matisse, and therefore approved. Yet Pan would have been aware that the use of colors in Chinese literati art theory was considered to be slick, a means of pandering to the taste of the vulgar at the expense of one's own integrity. We find this attitude alive and well in the comments of Sanyu, a contemporary of Pan Yuliang's. Commenting on art of his time he once exclaimed: "Contemporary artists paint with a type of deception using more color. I do not deceive, so I cannot be regarded as one of the more popular painters."[259] According to Leslie Jones, this is "[n]ot only a dandyish statement, the remark shows Sanyu [Chang Yu] evoking a Chinese literati commonplace that the (over)use of color was facile in its direct appeal to the senses."[260]

In sum, by blatantly using what appears to be the "Oriental" body clothed in "Oriental" raiment, and dancing an "Oriental" dance complete with fans as attributes, Pan serves up a stereotype of Chinese art that nonetheless declares itself a work of modern art by virtue of its color and abstraction.[261] What might appear to be simple markers of

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[259] Leslie Jones, "Sanyu: Chinese Painter of Montparnasse." Res: Anthropology and J Aesthetics 35 (Spring 1999): 230.

[260] Leslie Jones, "Sanyu: Chinese Painter of Montparnasse," fn. 17: "La façon de peindre des modernes est une certaine façone de tricher avec les couleurs; je ne triche pas; je ne puis donc être un peintre common on l'entend de nos jours" (in Robert Frank's Sanyu, Sotheby's auction catalogue, Taipei, Sunday, October 19, 1997, 34).

[261] Some scholars have viewed these "Chinese dancers" as Pan's return to indigenous roots, a "folk" tradition/custom, and the embroidery and embellishment on the folds of fabric, from clothing to a throw on a divan, as her first "real" foray into art (i.e., not European painting/Western art). See, e.g., Ma Qilai, "Yidai huahun de qiqing zhi zuo," Hualun shucang 80 (2008): 99–103; Nie Leiming, "Pan Yuliang huihua yuyan jiedu,"

ethnic identity can better be understood as part of a broader strategy of undermining the ethnic binaries that defined the critical language of the period. Whether we consider the calligraphic line that she equally shared with French masters like Matisse, or her feibai strokes that functioned equally well as feibai and as naturalistic renderings of light on dark hair, or her hyperbolic renderings of Oriental women, her works consistently testify eloquently to the vapidity of precisely those categories that contemporary critics tried to foist onto Chinese artists.

CONCLUSION

The historical trajectory of these exhibitions, spanning almost fifty years, represents a social and historical context against which to evaluate Pan's later works, especially those completed after 1950, such as her dancer series. Contemporary analyses remain focused on her successful synthesis of two disparate traditions, highlighting familiar binaries, such as East and West, China and Europe, timeless and history, ink and oil, ultimately privileging the victory, triumph, or penetration of one "tradition" over or into the other, these works can be read more cogently as ironic commentaries on multiple discourses of art and art history. Her works problematize these familiar antimonies through exaggeration, or by blurring the neat divisions projected onto European and Chinese painting through manipulations of technique both subtle ingenious.

The meaning of Chinese art, both "ancient" and "modern," and its role in the European imaginary, both by Europeans and Chinese, was in constant flux, despite claims to its homogeneity and continuity. Pan addressed this flux, recognizing shifts in

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Zuojia 4 (2012): 239–40; and Sun Nina, "Pan Yuliang caimohua yishu yanjiu," Shuhua yishu 5 (2008): 72–77.

the discourse of Chinese art, complicating in the end representations of the Chinese as "Other," be it via facture or subject. Her awareness of these multiple discourses permits her work not only to question but also comment on the construct of difference, ultimately revealing its tenuous claim on her works.

CONCLUSION

Scholarship on Pan Yuliang has proliferated in the past few decades, yet it has offered only a cursory analysis of her works, focusing on her status as a woman artist and a revised understanding of her contribution to the legacy of modern art in China during the twentieth century. These approaches highlight different agendas that Pan as an artist and as a symbol has provided for various individuals, groups, and nations. They have failed to recognize how Pan's artworks reflect critical moments in the deployment of visual language that engaged with the competing discourses of art in a transnational/transcultural context during the twentieth century.

In this study, I have shown how Pan Yuliang was a conscious agent who actively negotiated such discourses, by questioning labels such as "modern/contemporary," "Chinese," or "woman" artist. She engaged with these labels throughout her life. By focusing on Pan and her works at specific historical junctures, I have highlighted other narratives and discourses, from the question of the New Woman during the Republican period to the "East" and "West" as manifested in competing art historical discourses. Most significantly, Pan drew readily from the vocabularies and techniques of Chinese ink painting while subtly undermining the authority of that tradition in relation to the European art tradition.

In chapter 1, I critically analyzed recent scholarship in China on Pan over the past couple of decades. By focusing specifically on the scholarship in China on Pan, I revealed the contemporary cultural politics that play out in the various approaches, especially in the reversal of roles for intellectuals in China regarding their positive views of "tradition," in contrast to the May Fourth intellectuals who viewed tradition as defunct and detrimental to the new China, to the claiming of Pan by those in her "native" land, despite the forty years that she spent in France. The native accounts of Pan emphasize her significance to the new nation as China became increasingly important on the global stage. Revealing its cultural merits and strengths, Pan being part and parcel of that rebirth and significance. Here I have revealed a keen interest in the creation of a distinct narrative of Chinese national art history, especially the recuperation of almost forgotten artists and their works and how these "forgotten" artists have been recuperated along certain themes, such as the maverick art for art's sake artist or in relation to an unrecognized forward-looking modernity that finds its parallel in the boom of Chinese contemporary art and its status/stature in the global art world.

In chapter 2, I examined Pan's role as a woman artist, specifically exploring her artistic role and practice during a pivotal moment in the new republic, the 1929 First National Exhibition of Art, filtered through the lens of a special issue of The Ladies' Companion (Funü zazhi), a popular women's periodical that devoted an entire issue to the exhibition and women artists. Pan's prominence as an artist and her exhibited works, especially Gazing at One's Shadow, despite certain hierarchies and definitions about art and women's role in it, question the discourse of ideal femininity and beauty circulating

around the discourse of the "New Woman" during the early twentieth century and critique the multiple representations of the static female body.

In chapter 3, I explored the most well-known and familiar subject matter in Pan's works, the female nude. Although the nude is the most apparent visual element in her works, Pan was able to make subtle use of other visual and historical referents, often playing on the inescapable binary of East and West. Although these referents were subject to multiple and sometimes conflicting interpretations, she appears to have been able to transcend these binaries by challenging them in subtle and often ironic ways. The female nude is the marker that, for her Chinese and European audiences, would reference the "West," yet within that body, on its very surface, she was able to muster original arguments about the relationship between East and West. Thus, for Pan, the female nude was a vehicle for a sophisticated, transcultural negotiation. The subject matter and genre recognizes the importance of the nude in the European/Western artistic tradition and its signification as art for twentieth-century Chinese critics. At the same time the line, as technique and vehicle for the self, highlighted Chinese art theories of expression that were known both to Chinese critics and to some Western critics, including Roger Fry and his followers. These expressive signs overlapped in such subtle ways as to challenge common assumptions about cultural difference at that time.

In chapter 4, I considered the role of the Chinese Other or "Chineseness" found in Pan's later works by examining four exhibitions that took place in France, prior to and immediately after Pan's second and final return to Paris in 1937. The historical trajectory of these exhibitions, spanning almost fifty years, represents a social and historical context by which to evaluate Pan's later works, especially those done after 1950, such as her

dancer series. While contemporary analyses remain focused on her successful synthesis of two disparate traditions, highlighting familiar binaries, such as East and West, China and Europe, timelessness and history, ink and oil, ultimately privileging one "tradition" over the other, these works are an ironic commentary on the multiple discourses of art and art history. Her works problematize these familiar antimonies through exaggeration, blurring the neat divisions not only in European painting but also in Chinese painting, by playing on the construction of the Chinese Other in her artistic practice.

The meaning of Chinese art, both "ancient" and "modern," and its role in the European imaginary, both by Europeans and Chinese, was in constant flux, despite claims to its homogeneity and continuity. I have demonstrated how Pan addresses this flux, recognizing the shifts in discourse of Chinese art, complicating in the end the representations of the Chinese as "Other," be it via facture or subject. Her awareness of these multiple and overlapping discourses lets her work not only question but also comment on the construct of difference, ultimately revealing its tenuous claim on her works.

CODA

Although Pan is the subject of this dissertation, it is neither a biography nor a study of her entire oeuvre. Yet, in my ongoing project, her art remains an ideal site for further examination, from her "ink" works compared with those of other expatriate Chinese artists like Sanyu, Zao Wou-ki, and Zhu Dequn in Paris after World War II in the contemporary discourse of ink painting and the discourse of "color" and line" in Chinese

ink painting and Euramerican modernism to how her works are redefined today to suit today's burgeoning art markets to the quandary of exile.

FIGURES

FIGURE 1
Pan Yuliang (1895–1977)
Self-Portrait, 1940
Oil on canvas, 62×92 cm
Anhui Provincial Museum, Hefei

FIGURE 2
Pan Yuliang (1895–1977)
Self-Portrait, 1945
Oil on canvas, 59×73 cm
Anhui Provincial Museum, Hefei

FIGURE 3
Pan Yuliang (1895–1977)
Women before the Window, 1940
Oil on canvas, 33×24 cm
National Art Museum of China, Beijing

FIGURE 4
Pan Yuliang (1895–1977)
Sounds of Singing and Dancing, 1966
Ink and color on paper, 66×134 cm
Anhui Provincial Museum, Hefei

FIGURE 5
Pan Yuliang (1895–1977)
Woman Draping a Floral Blanket over her Shoulder, 1960
Ink and color on paper, 64.5×90 cm
Anhui Provincial Museum, Hefei

FIGURE 6
Pan Yuliang (1895–1977)
Liseuse Reader, 1954
Ink and color on paper, 64.5×90 cm
Anhui Provincial Museum, Hefei

FIGURE 7
Pan Yuliang (1895–1977)
Woman with a Fan, 1940
Oil on canvas, 92×62 cm
Anhui Provincial Museum, Hefei

FIGURE 8
Pan Yuliang (1895–1977)
Fan Dance, 1955
Oil on canvas, 65×33 cm
Anhui Provincial Museum, Hefei

FIGURE 9
Pan Yuliang (1895–1977)
Spring Wind Dance, 1955
Oil on canvas, 74×54 cm
Anhui Provincial Museum, Hefei

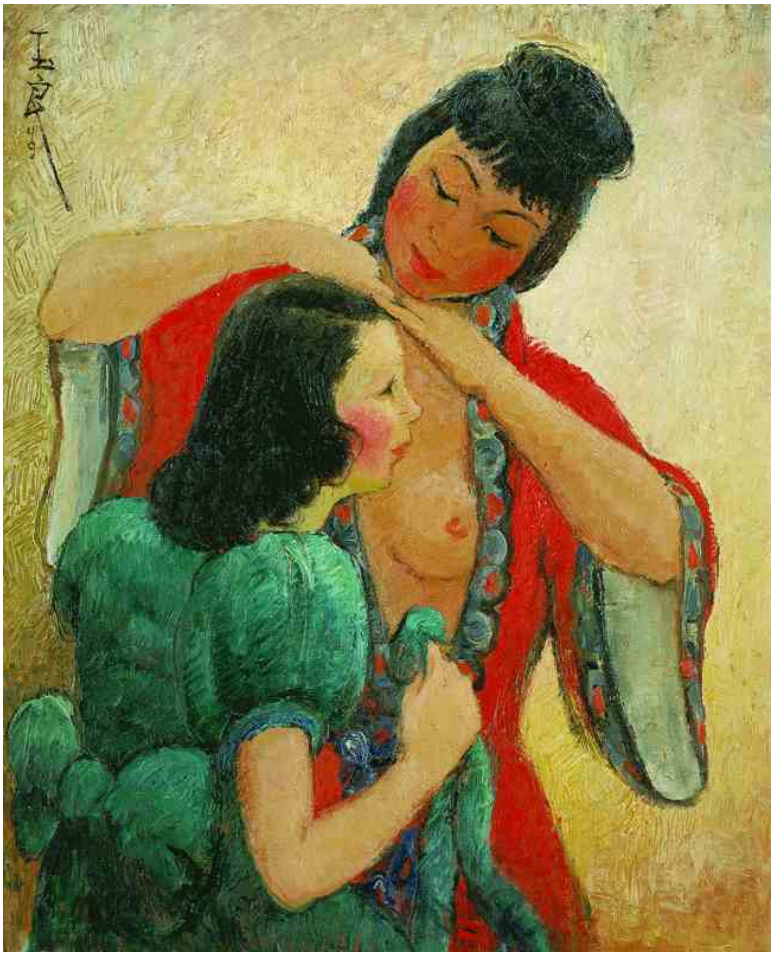

FIGURE 10
Pan Yuliang (1895–1977)
Qing, 1949
Oil on canvas, 59×72 cm
Anhui Provincial Museum, Hefei

FIGURE 11
Pan Yuliang (1895–1977)
Deux Femmes, 1963
Ink and color on paper, 67.6×50 cm
Private collection

FIGURE 12
Pan Yuliang (1895–1977)
Nanjing Confucius Temple, 1937
Oil on canvas, 73×55 cm
Anhui Provincial Museum, Hefei

FIGURE 13
Pan Yuliang (1895–1977)
Father and son, 1937
Drawing
Anhui Provincial Museum, Hefei

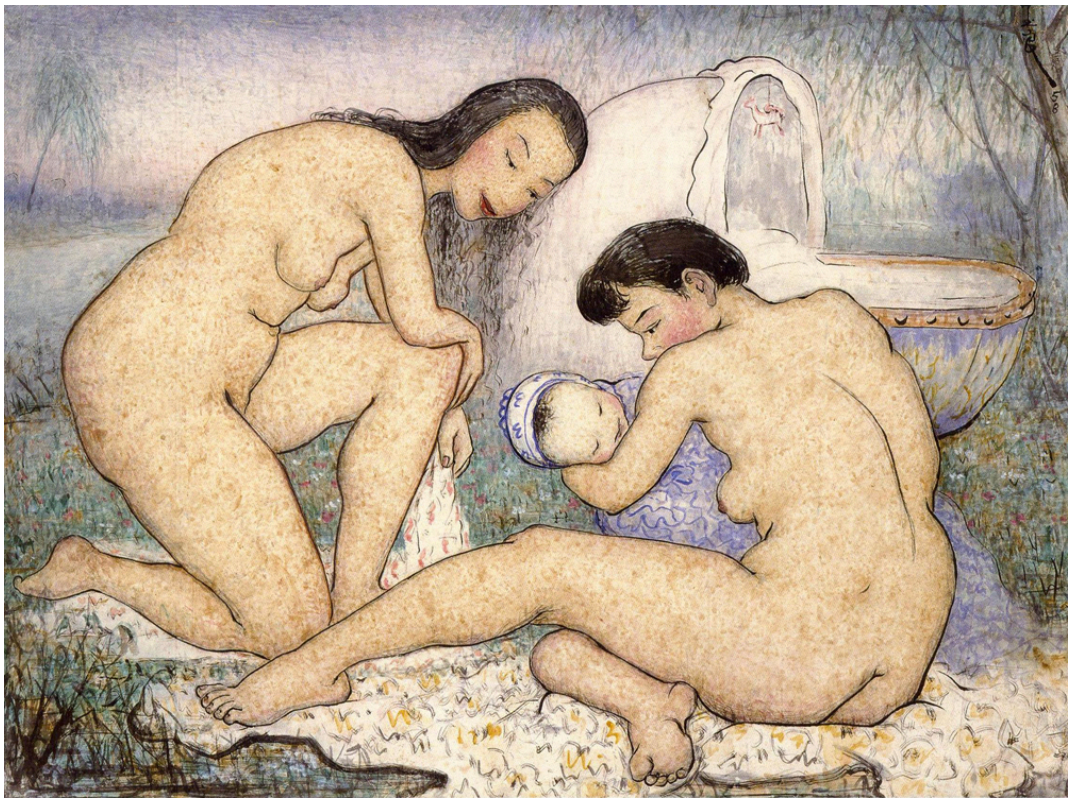

FIGURE 14
Pan Yuliang (1895–1977)
Motherly love, 1958
Ink on paper, 80×107 cm
Anhui Provincial Museum, Hefei

FIGURE 15
Pan Yuliang (1895–1977)
Bacchanalian (*Jiutu* 酒徒), 1920s
In *Pan Yuliang youhuaji*. Vol. 1. Shanghai: Zhonghua, 1934

FIGURE 16
Pan Yuliang (1895–1977)
African Woman (*Heinu* 黑女), 1920s
In *Pan Yuliang youhuaji*. Vol. 1. Shanghai: Zhonghua, 1934

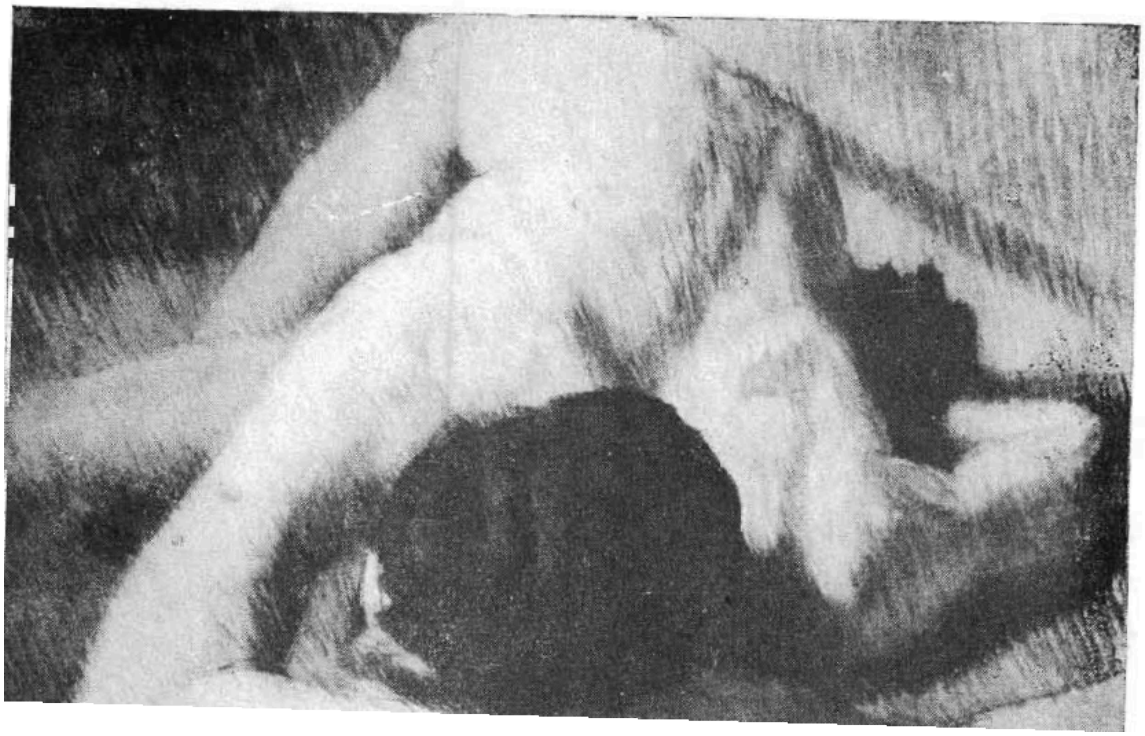

FIGURE 17
Pan Yuliang (1895–1977)
Man Lying under a Light (灯下卧男), 1920s
Gouache
Reproduced in *Funü zazhi* (*The Ladies Companion*) 15:7 (July 1, 1929)

FIGURE 18
Pan Yuliang (1895–1977)
Gazing at One's Shadow (顾影), 1928
Gouache
Reproduced in *Funü zazhi* (*The Ladies Companion*) 15:7 (July 1, 1929)

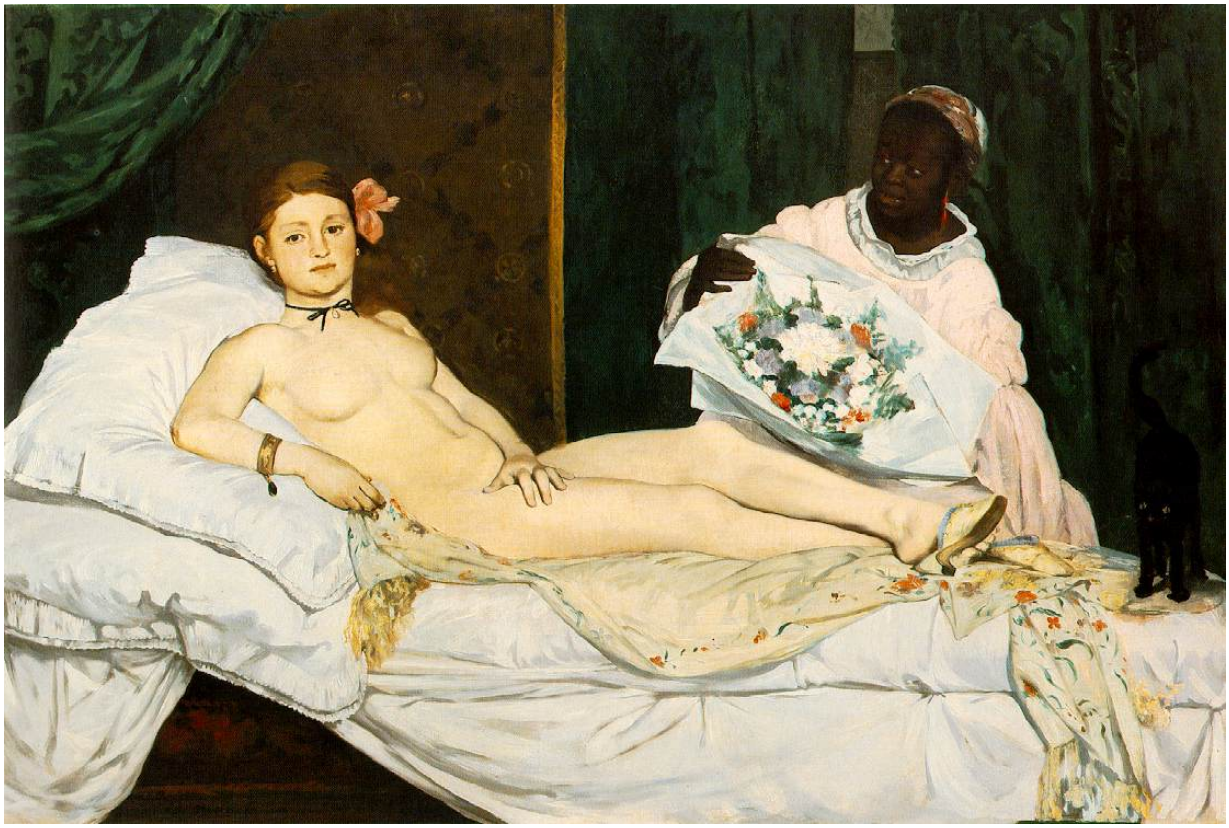

FIGURE 19
Édouard Manet (1832–83)
Olympia, 1863
Oil on canvas, 130×190 cm
Musée d'Orsay, Paris

FIGURE 20
Kuroda Seiki (1866–1924)
Morning Toilette (Chosho), 1893
Oil on canvas, 70×35.5 inches
Destroyed by fire in WWII

FIGURE 21
Cover Illustration of *The Ladies Companion*, special issue on the National Exhibition of Art 1929
Artist unknown

FIGURE 22
Hang Zhiying (1900-1947)
Girl in pink, advertisement calendar poster
for Monkey Brand mosquito incense 1930s
After Song Jialin, ed., *Lao yuefenpai*
(Shanghai: Shanghai huabao chubanshe, 1997), 48

FIGURE 23
Ni Gengye (dates unknown), 1930s
From Ellen Johnston Laing, “The British American Tobacco Company Advertising Department and Four of Its Calendar Poster Artists,” http://mclc.osu.edu/rc/pubs/institutions/laing/laing.htm

FIGURE 24
Diego Velàzquez (1599–1660)
The Toilet of Venus, "Rokeby Venus"1647–51
Oil on canvas, 48×49.7 inches
National Gallery, London

FIGURE 25
Pan Yuliang (1895–1977)
No title, 1946
Ink and color on paper
Anhui Provincial Museum, Hefei

FIGURE 26
Pan Yuliang (1895–1977)
Two Woman, 1950
41×53 cm
Ink and color on paper
Private collection

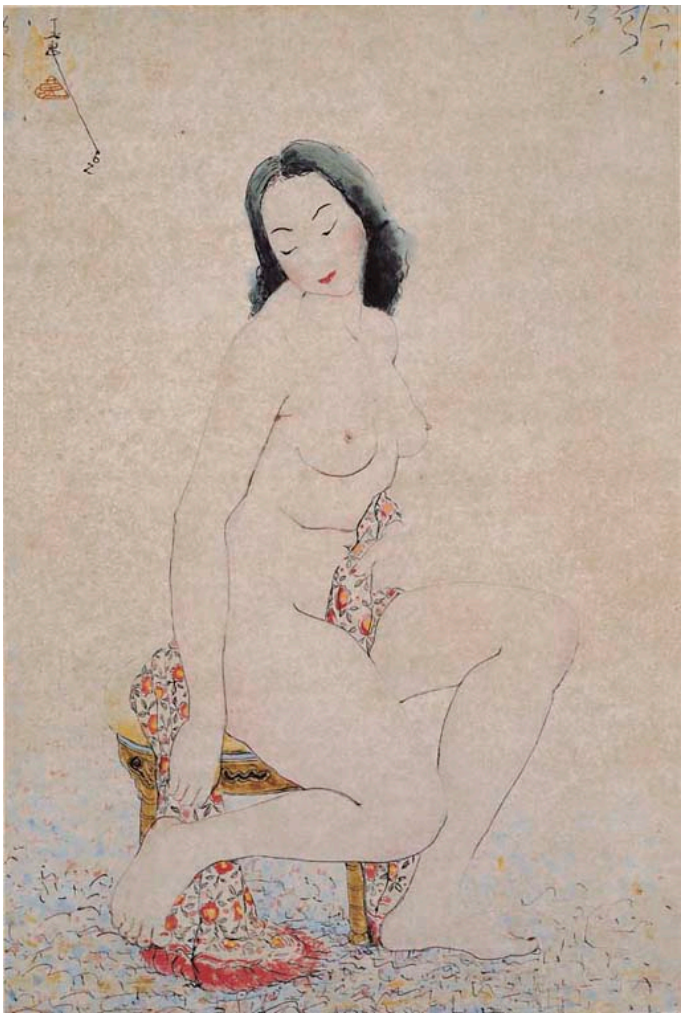

FIGURE 27
Pan Yuliang (1895–1977)
Posing, 1962
Ink and color on paper, 49.3×33 cm
Private collection

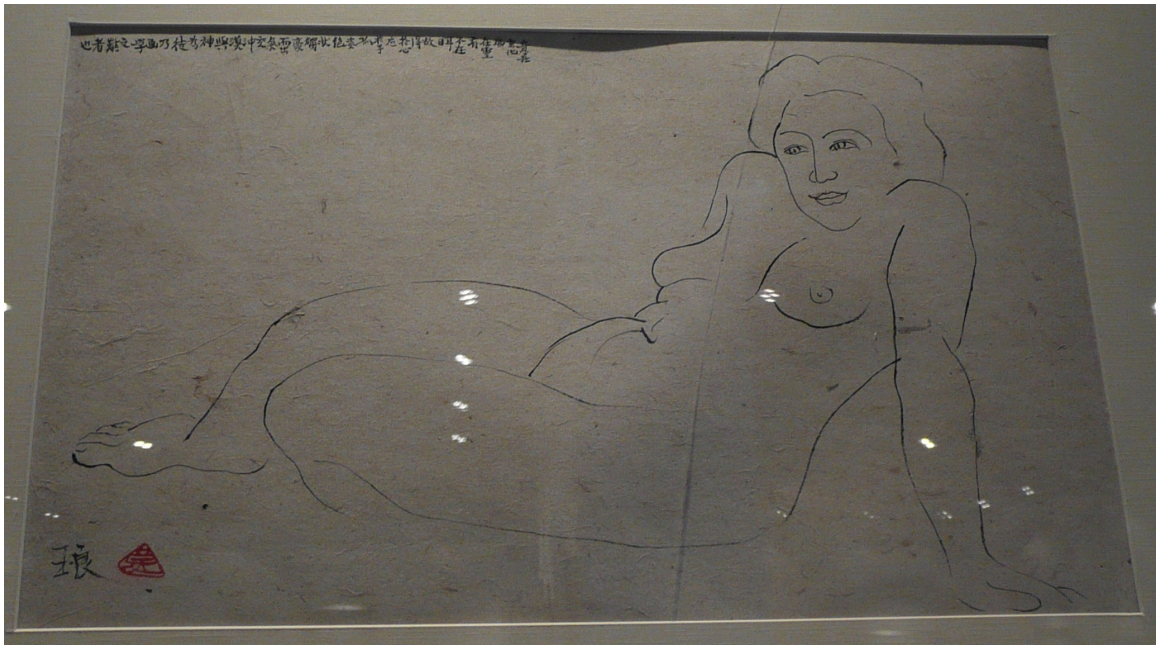

FIGURE 28
Pan Yuliang (1895–1977)
No title
Ink on paper, no date
Anhui Provincial Museum, Hefei

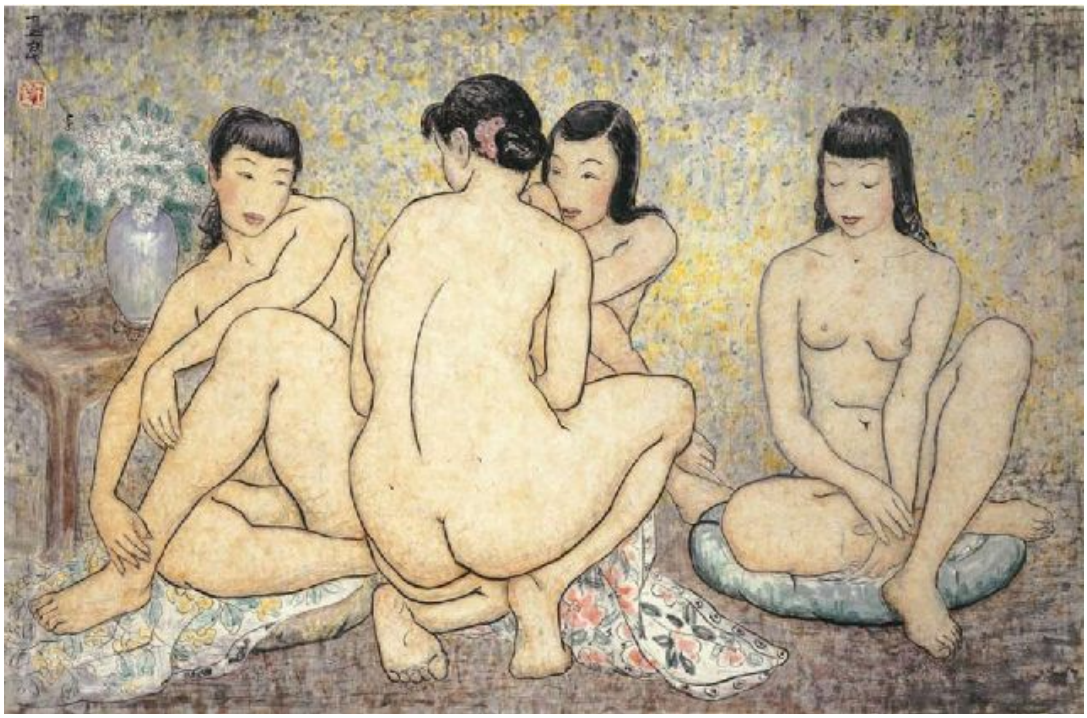

FIGURE 29
Pan Yuliang (1895–1977)
Four Beauties after Bath, 1955
Ink and color on paper, 80×130 cm
Private collection

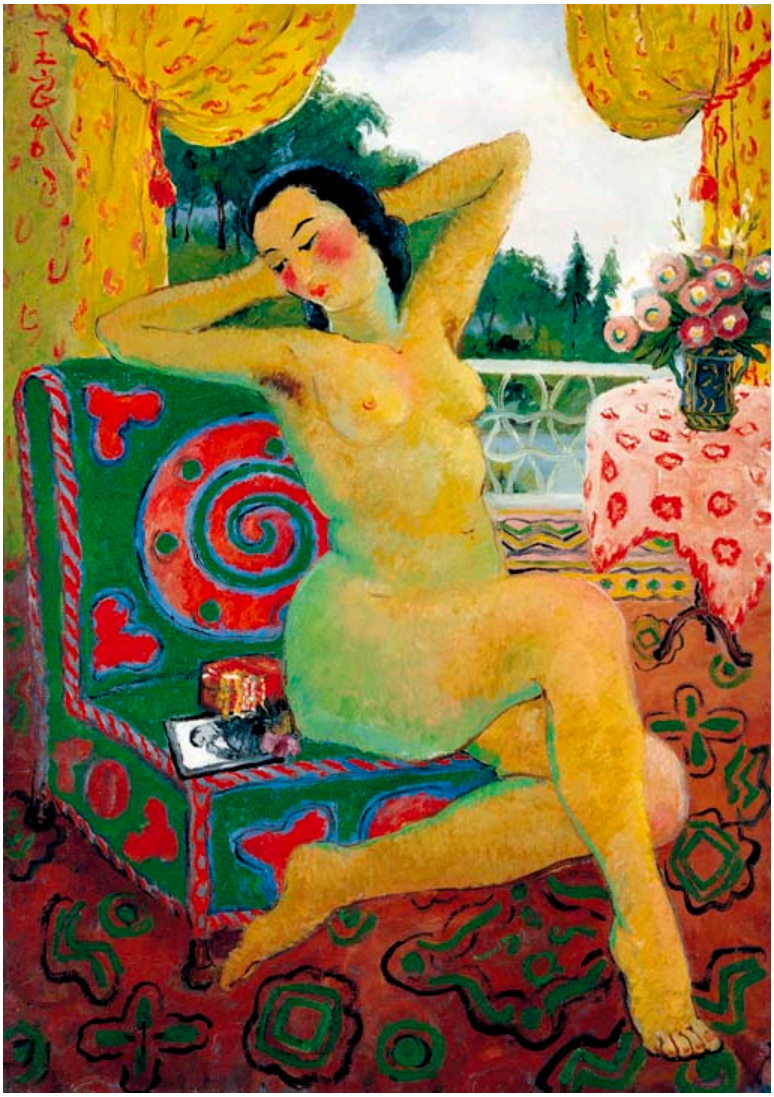

FIGURE 30
Pan Yuliang (1895–1977)
Nude by Window, 1946
Oil on canvas, 91.5×65.4 cm
Anhui Provincial Museum, Hefei

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