Looking at Late Qing Painting with New Eyes

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In the study of Chinese history and culture, the late Qing has been a rather strange period. The Chinese do not like to mention it much since the whole period marks a long series of humiliating military defeats by Western powers andJapan. In literature and other aspects of cultu re, this period is often regarded as one of decline, filled with satirical novels and sentimental stories, but nothing spiritually uplifting. However, for scholars outside of China the late Qing marks a new beginning in Chinese history when the Chinese, with their long period of self-centered isolation broken, began to face the challenges from the rest of the world. In the scholarship on Chinese history in America, Europe, and Japan, perhaps more books and doctoral dissertations have been written on this period than any other. Yet, in art history, this period has been almost a non-entity until recently. Most scholars, in their teaching of Chinese art, usually stop in the eighteenth century. Museums as a rule seldom collect paintings of this period. Even though there have been some dissertations on artists from this period (one on Ren Yi and one on Zhao Zhiqian, for example)' they are regarded almost as anomalies.

But in the last several years things began to change. Chinese historians gradually came to see the late Qing as the period in which the Chinese began to show signs of modern development, especially during the Taiping Rebellion and the reform movements. There has been a new interest in literature of this period, especially in the variety and vitality of late Qing novels. Many of them have been rediscovered and recently published . In art, there has been a definite move away from the strict literati point of view and a new look at the art of the period, especially the Shanghai School. In the new attitude toward art, many art works hitherto considered unimportant are receiving greater attention, such asthe newly discovered paintings oftheTaiping Heavenly Kingdom, thewoodcuts of theYangliuqing Studio inTianjin, and the New Year's woodcuts.

Several interesting developments during the last twenty years have also helped to create a greater interest in the art of the late Qing period. A considerable number of paintings of the late Qing began to come out of mainland China in the early 1970s due to special circumstances during the Cultural Revolution. Collectors in Hong Kong, Taiwan and abroad became interested in them. Then auction houses, Sotheby 's and Christie 's, began to promote late Qing paintings. In the mid-198os, a collector-dealer gave a large collection of later Chinese paintings to The Metropolitan Museum in New York. At about the same time Jeannette Elliott Shambaugh of Tucson gave a collection of modern Chinese paintings to the Phoenix Art Museum which included a considerable number of late Qing works. The culmination of all these activities is this exhibition, *Transcending Turmoil: Painting at the Close of China's Empire,* 1796-1911.2

Despite this new situation, it is necessary to fight against certain prejudices that still exist, both in China and abroad, concerning late Qing painting. First, among most of the traditional critics, it is still regarded as a period of decline in art. According to this view, traditional literati painting in this period only repeated ideas and styles of the Four Wangs and their followers down to the Qianlong period. The court in Beijing was no longer interested in painting and did not patronize artists. The major new school of painting, the Shanghai School, was looked down upon by critics, somewhat like the Baroque artists in Europe in the early days. Second, there seems to have been no great artist in this period with a similar standing and extensive influence as those great masters of the past, such as Dong Yuan and Jing Hao of the Five Dynasties; Li Cheng, Fan Kuan, Ma Yuan, and Xia Gui of the Song; Zhao Mengfu, Huang Gongwang, Ni Zan, and Wang Meng of the Yuan; Shen Zhou, Wen Zhengm ing, Tang Yin, and Dong Qichang of the Ming; the *yimin* masters such as Bada Shanren, Shitao, and Gong Xian; and the Orthodox painters such as Wang Hui and Wang Yuanqi of the early Qing.

As a result of all these circumstances, it is quite necessary for us to take a good look at late Qing paintings, to reevaluate individual painters as well as entire schools and the whole period, and to single out achievements of certain painters and their significance in the history of Chinese painting. In addition, we have to look at these paintings in the light of the historical, social, and cultural developments of the period.

When we look at traditional Chinese painting, from the Song to the early Qing period, we generally look for a number of characteristics. First is the relationship of the painting to what it depicts, whether mountains, trees, flowers, figures, or animals. The closer this relationship is, the better. This means that the painter must have the technical facility necessary to capture his object in nature. Second is the relationship of the painting to what it derives from, namely the works of the masters of the past. The artist usually draws from his own teacher or the past masters but transforms them into something new. Third is the relationship of the painting to how the painter feels. The deeper he can express himself in his painting, the better.

In looking at the paintings of the late Qing, we of course still have to follow these three basic approaches but perhaps with different weight. In their relationship to what they depict, these paintings seem to have gone beyond the range of objects in the past to include a wider group of things in nature. It seems that painters in this period did not feel bound by all the traditional limits and felt free to explore something new. In the same way, in their relationship to past masters' works, late Qing painters seem to be less tied to the past than before. In many ways they attempted to find models not in the classical ones but in common and everyday life or in the folk tradition. There is also a broader range of feelings and emotions that artists expressed. It is in these differences that we can see late Qing painting with new eyes.

During the late Qing period, Chinese society went through many great changes which are only beginning to be understood. Although military defeats have been regarded as negative elements in Chinese history, they did bring many positive changes. The most important was the opening up of the treaty ports to foreign trade which radically changed the whole economic situation in China. Shanghai, which had been only a small town up to the nineteenth century, suddenly found itself the new economic and commercial center of the whole country. The other ports, Guangzhou (Canton), Xiamen (Amoy), Fuzhou, and Ningbo, also became regional centers, especially Guangzhou. The establishment of foreign concessions with extraterritorial rights was a great insult to the sovereignty of the Chinese but it enabled extensive contacts between the Chinese and Westerners and, thus, considerable cultural exchange. In addition, a new class of merchants emerged in these treaty ports. Many of the merchants worked for

foreign companies and thus came to live in the foreign settlements . With their new wealth and their new status under foreign protection, they climbed the ladders of Chinese society and achieved a new sense of power in their ports . In deed, many of them became new patrons of paintings.

With the rapid development of the treaty ports there appeared a gap between these wealthy, foreign-oriented cities and the relatively poor, traditional towns and villages in the vast area of China. These port cities, with the introduction of new industries from abro ad , began to attract the migration of peasants hoping to becomeworkers. It did not take long for many of the regional artists to realize that, in order to gain patronage for their art , they too must go to Shanghai to make their livings. As a result, Shanghai became a melting pot for Chinese from many different regions. In art, they introduced some new styles which merged with the prevailing ones in Shanghai to form ever new ones.

The new patronage in these port cities was very different from the one before which was mainly made up of high officials and local gentry. They preferred the literati tradition , attempting to follow the taste of the scholar-officials . But in the port cities the new merchants did not have the educational background of the literati , although some of them did aspire to the same taste as the officials. These merchants gradually developed a taste of their own, not so highbrow in standard but more popular in subject matter, drawn directly from real life or from legends and stories from the past, more appealing in style, with exaggerated and showing ostentatious characteristics. Colorful, decorative and dramatic, the style of Shanghai became a new language in its own right.

The artists themselves also underw ent a considerable change . Even during the reign of Emperor Qianlong, in the eighteenth century, many of the artists working in Yangzhou were already selling their works without qualms. No longer pretending to be pure literati , those who went to Shanghai during the nineteenth century definitely sought their fortunes as professional artists. Even some of the artists from literati families were doing the same although they painted in the very traditional literati style.Selling was important and Shanghai waswhere merchants reigned.The prosperity of the city assured agood market for artists tosell their art works. It attracted artists from allover the country.

The eighteenth century already saw the merging ofliterati and professional tastes in Yang zhou. But the major artists there, especially the so-called 'Eight Eccentrics' were mainly literati. Some of them acquiredjinshi degrees and served as officials, some even at the court in Beijing. Others came from literati families with good backgrounds in poetry, calligraphy, and painting. A few may have come from lower status, but they seemed to aspire to be literati painters. As a result, most of their works tried to blend the 'three supremes ' of poetry, calligraphy , and painting together into one. In artistic expression, these works were basically literati, although their artists wanted to sell them .

In contrast, the nineteenth century was very differe nt. Whereas a few painters such as those represented in *Transcending Turmoil* - Huang Yue (1750-1841), Huang Jun (1775-1850), Yao Yuanzhi (1776-1852), Tang Yifen (1778-1853), Dai Xi (1801-1860), and others such as Zhang Zhiwan (18n-1897) and Weng Tonghe (1830-1904) - still served as high officials and painted in the typical literati style,' a majority of the artists active in Shanghai did something quite different. Determined to make a living with their works, they painted whatever was pleasing to the public. Their subjects may have come from legends, folk tales, novels, drama , history, Buddhist and Taoist deities and their stories, famous personages and beauties from history and litera tu re, or from people and events of everyday life. Sometimes these Shanghai artists generated a way of their own between the literati and the professional. They would take up subjects from the literati , such as landscape and flower-and-bird, but treat these subjects differe ntly, with only their signatures and without any poems. In other words, they tended to blend literati and professional elements in their own ways, in a variety of manners.

Let us take a look at some of the paintings of this period with new eyes. First , in strict literati tradition , a number of painters still followed the Four Wangs' manner while trying to incorporate some innovations. A number of them , such as Huang Yue, Yao Yuanzhi, Tang Yifen, Dai Xi (figu re 1), Zhang Zhiwan, and Weng Tonghe , mentioned abo ve, were well-educated , having passed several examinations and served at court or in the provinces. For them , naturally, the great literati tradition was their basis and they aspired to continue it. During the late Qing there were quite a few painters working in the literati tradition, such as Wang Xuehao (1754-1832), Huang Jun, Tang Yifen, Gu Yun (1835-1896), Wu Guxiang (1848-1903), Lu Hui (1851-1920),

Figure 1. Dai Xi, *Landscape.*
Hanging scroll, dated 1837. Collection of Roy and Marilyn Papp, Phoenix.

He Weipu (1844-1925), Gu Linshi (1865-1930), and some others.' Most of them came from literati or well-to-do families but in this period they found it necessary to go to Shanghai to make a living with their paintings. As a whole, they aspired to be the equals of the great painters of the past.They had a good command of brushwork and basic techniques; they were acquainted with the manners of the past masters; they tried to express the same ideal to be hermits in a secluded world of their own, away from the dusty world, as a way to come to terms with nature and the universe. However, their world was no longer the same as before. As a whole this group of painters continued a nostalgia for the literati ideal. Consequently, their works have to be looked at with 'old eyes,' or traditional literati standards.

The strength of the literati tradition lies in its long and solid achievements in technique, theory, and expression. Works of the masters of the past of many centuries are always great inspirations to young aspirants. No matter what happens in Chinese art, this always remains the ideal to be fulfilled. Typically, in the late Qing, as shown in*Transcending Turmoil,* many works show that this tradition was still alive and well.

But as the nineteenth century moved on, we can see a number of departures from this orthodoxy. While this school as a whole is known for its special interest in the pure beauty of brush and ink, some of the nineteenth-century painters tried to exploit this further. One of them is Ren Yu, the youngest of the so-called Four Rens and the son of the oldest of the group, Ren Xiong. His landscapes seem to be in a group of their own; he was very interested in patterns and formal quality and less dependent on ancient models.' The interesting designs he developed in the depiction of mountains and rocks show his boldness in this direction. Ren Yu has generally been regarded as the least prominent of the Four Rens but his innovations should be recognized as a major contribution.

Another innovator out of the literati tradition was Wu Qingyun (died 1916), a native of Nanjing who spent most of his life in Shanghai . He seems to have been in Japan for some time where he might have come into contact with elements of Western painting . In his land - scapes, he attempted to combine cloudy mountain scenes in the tradition of Mi Fu and Gao Kegong with the atmospheric effects and strong light-dark contrasts found in Western watercolors.6 In order to show more realism than in literati works, he also depicted houses,

pagodas, boats, bridges, and peasants and fishermen in the countryside. Perhaps one can say that he brought the literati tradition to the mundane world as a reflection of the new taste of Shanghai.

If Shanghai still continued the orthodox literati tradition that prevailed in the Jiangnan region before, Guangzhou, the southernmost treaty port which had been opened to the West since the early sixteenth century, produced something quite different in regard to this tradition. Artists in Guangzhou did not try to follow the Four Wangs until well into the nineteenth century. Because of its distance from Jiangnan, its artists had different outlooks. A case in point was the influence of Shitao during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The influence of some other *yimin* painters was also strong in this area, but most interesting were some of the innovations they introduced as new literati expressions. The most creative was Su Renshan (1814-1850) whose works show a tremendous imagination and ingenuity in both conception and expression.[7] For someone whose short and tragic life was confined mainly to the south, in Guangdong and Guangxi, such an expression is the work of a genius. Unfortunately, because of his personal problems, there was no follower to continue his creative achievements.

As a whole, landscape painting was no longer the dominant genre in the late Qing; it was flower-and-bird painting that became the major type of presentation of this period. In flower-and-bird paintings, the late Qing is a great period with many innovations. The standard type, usually done in fine lines, bright colors and elaborate details, followed the tradition of court paintings. Quite a few painters in the late Qing showed very strong technical skill and a sense for the highly decorative. Zhang Xiong, Wang Li, Zhu Cheng, and some others show that, even within this tradition, they made certain departures from this court style.• In the work of the brothers Ren Xiong and Ren Xun, the two oldest of the Four Rens, there was quite an innovative spirit, although they started from some of Chen Hongshou's ideas of the late Ming period. Their works tended to turn flowers-and-birds into either some unusual patterns with very decorative colors and interesting outlines, or into free and bold brushwork with imaginative composition and formal design.9

Perhaps one of the most important developments of flower-and-bird painting in the art of the late Qing was a new merging together of calligraphy and painting. There had been a long history of this in

China, but the late Qing development had a character of its own. During the Qianlong period, some painter-calligraphers, such as Jin Nong and Zheng Xie, brought the two arts together into one to reach a new height. At the same time, the exciting development in calligraphy based on carved inscriptions on ancient stelae led to new seal-carving and stele-style calligraphy. Both of these trends paved the way for some important developments in the late Qing. Wu Xizai (1799-1870) was the first to paint flowers-and-birds in a purely calligraphic manner.[10] With ink only, he handled his subjects in a variety of tonal qualities, fully showing the potential of calligraphic strokes in painting.

Wu Xizai paved the way for the next calligrapher-painter, Zhao Zhiqian (1829-1884), who was an expert in stele-style calligraphy and a painter of flowers-and-birds.[11] Again the two arts were combined very well. Zhao used a considerable amount of color in his works, but in his use oflines he combined them with colors into one expression. A third painter along this line, Wu Changshuo (1844-1927) continued Zhao's development and brought this blending of calligraphy and painting to a new height.[12] With flowers and plants as his main subject matter, he achieved a greater sense of unity between calligraphy and painting by making the lines more calligraphic at the expense of form.

These three painters were generally grouped together as the Metal and Stone School *(Jinshi* Pai) since they followed scripts from both stelae and seals in their calligraphy and also applied them to their paintings.They are one branch of the literati school with their own special characteristics. In true literati tradition, they were all well educated in the classics, passed some government examinations, served as officials in some local areas, but decided to devote their time and energy to the pursuit of the arts, including poetry, calligraphy, and painting.

The combination of calligraphy and painting makes their works more surface-conscious, two dimensional, and semi-abstract. Although flowers, trees, plants, rocks, and other objects are quite recognizable, their lines are filled with the energy and vitality typical of calligraphy. The poems are often written in the same style as the flowers and plants are painted. Together, calligraphy, painting, and poetry play equal roles in the compositions of the paintings. This approach is similar to that of seal-carvingsince all the characters, usually in stylized

form, must be placed in the square area of the seal in a beautiful and innovativecomposition. Itissomething that attracted the attention of many of their contemporaries.

The Shanghai School is a term applied to a large number of painters living in Shanghai during this period. In *Haishang Molin*, a compilation of the painters of Shanghai by Yang Yi, printed in 1919, a total of 741 names is included.[13] This is a very large number of painters for a city such as Shanghai which did not gain importance as an urban center until the nineteenth century. Although the book covers all the painters and calligraphers who either lived or came as visitors in this area from the Song until the early years of the Republic, a majority of them, probably more than two thirds of the total, lived in the late Qing period. This means that about five hundred artists were active in Shanghai during the period of a little over a century. From this point of view, Shanghai was a great flourishing center for painting and calligraphy in the late Qing.

In this respect, we should examine the works of whom I consider the greatest master of thelate Qing, Ren Yi or Ren Bonian (1840-1895).[14] He was born the first year of the Opium War into the family of a rice merchant, who had an education in the classics, though not enough to pass examinations, and who was a self-trained painter, especially in portraiture. Growing up in his native Shanyin, now Shaoxing, Ren learned to paint from his father and was able to master portrait painting when still quite young. In 1861, when he was twenty-two, he was forced to join the Taiping army when Shanyin was invaded by the rebels. During the chaotic period of the Taiping invasion, Ren Yi's father died. Soon he was able to leave the army, but due to the disruptions caused by the war he had to make a living by selling paintings in Shanyin and some of the nearby cities such as Ningbo, one of the new treaty ports, Hangzhou, the largest city in the province of Zhejiang, and Suzhou, on the north bank of Lake Tai. Finally in1868, at the age of twenty-nine, he went to Shanghai to seek his fortune.

When he was fifteen, he probably met one of the painters in his home district, Ren Xiong (1823-1857), who was in the same clan.[15] Eighteen years older than Ren Yi, he was well-established as a painter when Ren Yi came of age. Indeed, he must have been an inspiration since Ren Xiong was the one who developed a style from an earlier painter in the same district, Chen Hongshou of the early Qing period. From Chen's manner of exaggeration and distortion from archaic

models, Ren Xiongperfected a manner that echoed Chen's approaches on the one hand but turned to his own way of depicting figures on the other. [1] This style was continued by his brother, Ren Xun (1835-1893), who was twelve years younger , but five years older than Ren Yi. Both ofthem became mentors of Ren Yi.Their styles became the basis of his development.

In his early works, Ren Yi was indebted to the two senior Rens , who painted in the tradition of Chen Hongshou. Figures and objects are archaicized by stylization oflines and shapes , patternization of details, and exaggeration of features (figure 2). Archaism is the key to this early period and he executed all the details of the paintings with great care and facility. He was especially interested in the manipulation of lines, shapes and colors to show decorative and expressive effects. Facial features, garments , chairs, objects on tables, trees, rocks and other details are done in his arbitrary manner,very different from their shapes generally known to us but full of archaic flavor.

In contrast to this, he developed another manner quite early in his life, namely portrait paint ing. Perhaps as a result of some Western influence , the late Qing was a period of portrait making.Very different from the official portraits of earlier periods, these informal paintings were of contemporary people, usually seated in garden settings, with realistic depictions of facial features and somewhat free handling of draperies.[1] The figures are quite alive and close to life, showing a trend toward realism in the late Qing.

However, the paintings that won him thegreatest acclaim inShanghai were the flower-and-bird type. Among all the paintings he painted during his lifetime, no doubt the largest number fall into this category. Still deriving from Chen Hongshou and the two older Rens, hedepicted flowers , plants, trees , birds, and animals sometimes in archaic, expert outlines and rich colors, including gold that he used quite often, and sometimes in broad , free brushwork and interesting colors in the so-called 'boneless style' (figure 3). In these paintings, he shows the full development of his own personal style that enjoyed great popularity in Shanghai. Skillfully composed on the two dimensional surface, his w o rks show a very strong sense of form, a great awarenessof decorative quality and a spirited vitality of brushwork.

Ren Yi was such a versatile artist that in subject matter, technique and style he shows a tremendous range. In addition to archaic figures, portraits, flowers-and-birds , he also painted animals, people from all

Figure 2. Ren Yi, *Presenting Spring Felicities*.
Hanging scroll, dated 1872. Source: *Paintings by Ren Bonian*, plate 1.

Figure 3. Ren Yi, *Plantain and Hydrangea*. Hanging scroll, dated 1882. Source: *Paintings by Ren Bonian*, plate 4.

walks of life, legendary and historical figures, stories from poems, novels and dram a, and landscapes . In these works he is not only noted for his brushwork, colors, compositions, and sense of form, but also for his new taste, such as a sense of humor, especially in his figures and animals.

The sense of humor is one of the most typical aspects of the Shanghai School, made especially interesting and important by Ren Yi. First it isfound in Ren's depictions of animals and birds. Indeed, as shown mostly in their eyes, they seem to have taken on the characteristics of human beings.[18] This , of course, is not new, for in the works of Bada Shanren in the early Qing we can already find some of the birds or fish or other creatures with quizzical expressions. Ren seems to have broadened this not only in birds but also in horses and goats and in human beings. Sometimes they appear to be very self-conscious; sometimes they are rather naive; sometimes they show humorous expressions. Again this sense of humor is typical of the new taste developed inShanghai.

Another typical type of painting in Shanghai was of figures, especially of Buddhists and Daoists, and ladies. Although this type can be traced back to the middle Ming painter Qiu Ying, its popularity during the late Qing had something to do with the society in Shanghai. Perhaps a parallel can be drawn from the *ukiyo-e* prints of actors and courtesans inJapan, for both the Shanghai type of figure paintings and the *ukiyo-e* were products of a new merchant class taste .The Shanghai paintings ranged in subject from female beauties based on traditional novels and drama inworks of such artists as Gai Qi(1777-1828)(figure 4), Fei Danxu (1801-1850) and Wang Su (1794-1877)[19] to legendary figures such as Zhong Kui the demon queller,'[0] the Eight Im m ort als, the Three Gods of Luck, Fortune and Longevi ty, the Buddha, Guanyin, *luohan,* and many others, in the works of Ren Yi and most typically Qian Hui'an (1833-19n) (figure 5). In Guangzhou, both Su Renshan and Su Liupen g2[1] developed their own ways of depicting historical and legendary figures. Most of these figures had existed for centuries in the folk tradition in China. But in the late Qing they became subjects of works for popular artists in connection with the wishes of the newly rich society.

It is interesting to look at the painting development oflate Qing with new eyes. Without the emperors and their courts as arbiters of taste, literati painting, while generally regarded as the mainstream,

Figure 4. Gai Qi, *Yuzhen's Conversion to Dao.*
*FromAlbum of FamousWomen.*Collection of Roy and Marilyn Papp, Phoenix.

Figure 5. Qian Hui'an, *Eight Immortals in Birthday Celebration.*
Hanging scroll, dated 1908. Source: *Guotai Meishu Guan Xuanji*, I, plate 3.

served as an ideal but failed to attract the main body of young artists. The domination of the Four Wangs and their descendants was over. The new artists were not seeking approval or acceptance from the court or the cultural elite but from the newly prosperous of the port cities. While some members of this group did aspire to be patrons of the literati tradition, a majority followed their own tastes .These merchants were mostly self-made people who came from families of artisans and peasants. When young, they began as apprentices in certain trades or foreign companies. By hard work and luck they rose through the ranks to become entrepreneurs or compradors. Most of them got ahead in connection with foreign trade and in time some of them became extremely rich in Shanghai , Guangzhou , and other ports. With their wealth they became patrons of the arts .Their taste was then a combination of highbrow and middlebrow.

With this development newapproaches and aesthetics were needed to define their tastes. Again , like the Baroque in the West, what was once looked down upon as vulgar and bizarre, late Qing painting, when studied in its proper light, could become just as interesting and exciting as the Renaissance and other periods. The taste in Shanghai and Guangzhou and other treaty ports was looked down upon by the elite in similar fashion. Luckily, there has been gradual appreciation of this for some time. First, the people who got their early training in Western art, some inJapan and some later in Europe, began to appreciate artists such as Ren Yi and the whole group of Shanghai painters. Then came the Communist artists and critics, who showed great respect for these artists because of their plebian backgrounds and their interest in the folk tradition. Now with Chinese art seen in a whole range of traditions and potentials, the art of thelate Qingis also regarded as one of the most interesting in the history of Chinese art .

Indeed , if we take the twentieth century point of view to look at the art of the late Qing we can find some fascinating materials which had not been accepted as fine arts before. There were book illustra - tions, some done by well-known painters, that are quite elegant and exquisite.[22] There were New Year's woodcuts, colorful and attractive, which, aside from depicting guardian deities, show a whole variety of subjects from everyday life, with humor and drama." There was also some pictorial journ alism, probably used as propaganda. Others show the impact from abroad in oil painting depicting scenes in Hong Kong

and Guangzhou .[2] One of the most interesting types of painting was a kind of Chinese trompe l'reil, in the depiction of a number of pages from books.[2] They give us a sense of vision in late Qing China.

The new aesthetic in late Qing was basically formed by a variety of artists from many parts of China who went to Shanghai with the overt purpose of selling their paintings as a way of making a living. Because of the new cosmopolitan society dominated by foreign-oriented merchants and entrepreneurs, the patronage of art also underwent a considerable change. While literati ideals still prevailed, these artists tried to bring in many different elements to enrich this tradition. Some introduced techniques and practices of ancient scripts from stone stelae; others took some ideas from Western watercolors and oil paintings; still others found interesting ideas from folk art; some depicted people and animals from everyday life. What they did was to transform all these elements from the mundane to the level ofliterati expression without vulgarizing or debasing the quality of art . From this point of view, the art of the late Qing, instead of imitating and repeating the ideas of the early and middle Qing, took on new life to become an art in its own right.

Notes

1. James Soong, 'A Visual Experience in 19th-Century China: Jen Bo (1840-95) and the Shanghai School of Painting' (PhD dissertation: Stan- ford University, 1978), and Elizabeth Benn ett , 'Chao Chih-ch'ien (1829-1884), A Late Nineteenth Century Chinese Artist: His Life, Calligraphy and Painting' (PhD Dissertation: Yale University, 1984).
2. This exhibition traveled to the Denver Art Museum, the Honolulu Academy of Art, and the Hong Kong Art Museum after it had opened at the Phoenix Art Museum in August, 1992. Claudia Brown and Ju-hsi Chou cocurated the exhibition and coauthored the accompanying catalog (Phoenix, 1992).
3. See Brown and Chou, *Transcending Turmoil,* respectively numbers 1, 4, 12, 13-16, and 17-18. For works by major officials, Zhang Zhiwan (18n-1897) and Wen Tonghe (1830-1904) see Robert Ellsworth, *Later Chinese Painting and Calligraphy* (New York, 1986), II, Po31.01, *Album of Landscapes,* and Po44.01, *Landscape,* respectively.
4. For Wang Xuehao's work, see *Transcending Turmoil,* numbers 9-n. For Wu Guxiang's, see number 58. For Lu Hui's, see numbers 79-80. For the works of Gu Yun and He Weipo, see Ellsworth , *Later Chinese Painting,* II, Po33.01, *Huaisu in the Banana Grove* and *Po62.01, Albu mof Landscapes,* respectively. For an example of Gu Lingshi's painting, see Po68.01, *A Ting-tzu near a Stream* .
5. For a fine treatment oflandscape motif, see his *Meditation in a Cave,* published in Ellsworth, *Later Chinese Painting,* II, Po41.02.
6. For paintings byWu Qingyun, see *Transcending Turmoi l ,* numbers 81-82.
7. For works by Su Renshan, see *Transcending Turmoil,* numbers 98-ro2. For in-depth studies of this artist, see Pierre Ryckmans, *The Lifeand Work of Su Renshan: Rebel, Painter and Madman, 1814-1849?* (Paris and Hong Kong , 1970), two volumes; and Guangzhou Art Gallery and the Art Gallery, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, *The Art of Su Liupeng and Su Renshan* (Hong Kong, 1990).
8. See *Transcending Turmoil* , numbers 51 (Zhang Xiong), 52 (Zhu Cheng), and 77 (Wang Li).
9. Examples of their flower painting can be seen in *Masterworks of Shanghai School Painters from Shanghai Museum Collect ion* (Hong Kong, 1991), figure 15 (Ren Xio ng) and figure 44 (Ren Xu n). Also see *Transcending Turmoil,* number 63, for a bolder attempt by Ren Xun.
10. For Wu Xizai's painting, see *Transcending Turmoi l ,* number 87.

11. For Zhao Zhiqian, see *Transcending Turmoil,* numbers 89-93. Also see the PhD dissertation by Elizabeth Bennett, cited in note r above.
12. For the art ofWu Changshuo, see *Transcending Turmoil,* numbers 94-96.
13. A reprint of *Haishang Molin* (Taipei , 1975) isknown to contain 691 entries. Someof theseentries also mention related artists. In thisversion, anindex is appended for easy reference.
14. For a comprehensive study of Ren Yi's biography, see Ding Xiyuan, *Ren Bonian* (Shanghai , 1989). Also see Hans van der Meyden , 'The Life and Works of Ren Bonian (1840-1896),' *Oriental Art,* new series, XXXV1II, number r (Spring1992), 27-40.
15. For Ren Xiong's art , see *Transcending Turmoil,* numbers 59-61, displaying an impressive range of themes and styles.
16. For an example of Ren Xiong's linkage with Chen Hongshou, see *Transcending Turmoil* ,number 59, *Enchanting Vignettesfrom the Past.* This album was published under the title of *Yao Meibo Ti Ren Weichang Renwu Shi'er Zheng* (Shanghai , 1919).
17. For an example of Ren Xun's figure style, see *Mast erworks of Shanghai School* ,figure 45. See also Vinograd's paper in this volume.
18. For an example, see*Transcending Turmoil,* number 68.
19. For Gai Qi's work, see also *Transcending Turmoil,* numbers 29-31. For Fei Danxu's figure paintings, see number 35. For Wang Su, see numbeq8.
20. For an example of Zhong Kui, see Huang Shanshou's rendition in the collection of the Phoenix Art Museum. It is published in *Transcending Turmoil,* number 38.
21. See *Transcending Turmoil,* numbers 97 (Su Liupeng) and 100-101 (Su Renshan).
22. SeeJonathan Hay's article in this volume.
23. For examples of popular prints and New Year's woodcuts, see an exhibition catalog of folk art in the Fung Ping Shan Museum, University of Hong Kong, *Chinese Folk Art* (Hong Kong , 1995). Seeju-hsi Chou's introduction ,n-21.
24. See Hong Kong Museum of Art, *Late Qing China Trade Paintings* (Hong Kong, 1982), with an essay by Joseph S. P. T ing.
25. See Nancy Berliner,'The "Eight Brokens :" Chinese Trompe-L'ceil Painting,' *Orientations* (February 1992), XXIII, number 2, 6rff.