

ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: ART FOR THE MARKET: COMMERCIALISM IN REN YI'S
(1840-1895) FIGURE PAINTING

Degree Candidate: Tang Li

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Thesis directed by: Professor Jason Kuo

Department of Art History and Archaeology

Ren Yi (1840-1895) was one of the most accomplished and influential Shanghai painters of the late nineteenth century. He produced a great deal of artwork, much of it figure painting.

This thesis will examine the economic aspect of Ren Yi's figure paintings in terms of the circumstances under which the artworks were produced, their subject matter, style, and historical background. Ren's figure painting was done not just for art's sake, but in a broad sense for a commercial purpose, specifically for the ready art market in Shanghai. Such commercialism is best manifested in three categories of Ren's figure painting, i.e. portraits, narratives depicting mythological, legendary and historical figures, and genre scenes of ordinary people. The three categories of Ren's figure painting suggest three strategies for Ren to successfully live by painting in Shanghai: (1) Making connections with influential art patrons and artists to establish

himself in Shanghai, (2) catering to the tastes and needs of the populace (especially the newly rising merchants) to attract their attention and thus make a name in Shanghai, and (3) making his artwork close to reality and thus easily accessible to the common people so as to expand his potential audience and customer base.

The commercialism in Ren's figure painting was first directly related to the social, economic, and cultural circumstances in Shanghai, a city that rapidly and dramatically developed into the largest and most prosperous metropolis in the late nineteenth century. Secondly, personally, as a professional painter who lived by painting, Ren Yi had to tailor his artworks to meet the demands of his patrons and potential customers so that he could support himself. Thirdly, from an historical standpoint, the commercialism manifested in eighteenth-century Yangzhou painting, especially in artworks by *Yangzhou baguai* (the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou), had significant impact on Ren Yi's figure painting.

ART FOR THE MARKET: COMMERCIALISM IN REN YI'S (1840-1895)

FIGURE PAINTING

by

Tang Li

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Advisory Committee:

Professor Jason Kuo, Chair
Professor Sandy Kita
Professor Marie Spiro

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DEDICATION

To my parents, my elder sister and my beloved boyfriend

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Introduction

Ren Yi 任頤 (*zi* Bonian 伯年, 1840-1895), one of the most accomplished and influential Shanghai painters in the late nineteenth century, produced a great number of artworks during his lifetime. Figure painting comprises a major portion of his works. His figure painting includes most kinds of figure subjects, such as portraits, mythological and historical figures, legendary personages, literary episodes, etc. By examining Ren's figure paintings in terms of the economic circumstances under which they were produced, their subject matter, style, and historical background, this thesis argues that Ren's figure painting was made not just for art's sake, but also for commercial purposes, specifically for the ready art market in Shanghai.

Chapter 1 concerns the economic, social and cultural circumstances of late nineteenth-century Shanghai. Shanghai 上海, as the city where Ren Yi resided and made his living as a painter for almost 30 years, undoubtedly had a direct influence on the commercialism in his figure painting. The rise of Shanghai in the late nineteenth century was firstly the result of colonialism. Since Shanghai was opened by force as one of the five treaty-ports after the Opium War 鴉片戰爭 (1839-42), it rapidly and dramatically developed from a small fishing village into the largest and the most prosperous metropolis in China. Another factor which gave impetus to the rise of Shanghai in the late nineteenth century is the 1860s' Taiping rebellion 太平天國, which drew large numbers of workers, intellectuals, and members of the upper class in southern China to seek refuge and protection there. Because of Shanghai's swift development into China's leading commercial center, the merchants there rose

to prominence as an independent and powerful social class. A great number of these merchants were active art patrons. Because of its economic prosperity and political stability, Shanghai gradually became a new center for the art market in the late nineteenth century. Many artists including Ren Yi moved to Shanghai during the population surge in the 1860s. Even after that, Shanghai continued to attract artists who sought active customers for the works they produced. The Shanghai artists in the late nineteenth century were independent professionals who openly sold their artworks to support themselves.

Chapter 2 provides a short biography of Ren Yi. A native of Shanyin 山陰 (present-day Shaoxing 紹興) in Zhejiang 浙江 province, Ren Yi was born into a middle-class family in 1840 and died in Shanghai, of lung disease, in 1895. At the age of 10 Ren Yi began to learn some basic techniques of portraiture from his father, Ren Hesheng 任鶴聲 (*zi* Songyun 淞雲), who was a small rice merchant but who excelled at portraiture. At the age of fifteen or sixteen Ren Yi was lucky enough to meet the famous painter Ren Xiong 任熊, and he later became a student of another famous painter, Ren Xun 任薰. In the 1860s, significant changes happened in Ren Yi's life: First in 1861 he lost his father in the Taiping rebellion and even himself got involved in it for a time. Afterward he led a wandering life in Ningbo 寧波, Zhenhai 鎮海 and Suzhou 蘇州 for almost four years (1862-1865), but in 1868, he moved to Shanghai to begin his career as a professional painter. During his long-term stay in Shanghai, Ren turned from an unknown professional painter, whose painted fans sold for just

three *jiao* each,¹ into a prestigious painter whose artworks the public, especially the Canton merchants, spared no expense in purchasing.

Chapter 3 deals with the manifestation of commercialism in Ren Yi's figure painting. On the basis of the themes and contents of the extant artworks by Ren Yi, Ren's figure painting can be loosely divided into three major categories: (1) Portraits, (2) narratives depicting mythological, legendary and historical figures, and (3) genre scenes of ordinary people. A number of Ren Yi's portraits were made for his friends and patrons, who generously provided him with financial and moral support. These informal portraits not only evidenced the friendship between the sitter and Ren Yi, but also and more importantly suggest the efforts Ren made to get himself well-connected with figures active in the artistic and cultural circles of Shanghai, so as to establish his reputation as a professional painter, especially during the first years after he arrived there. A great portion of Ren's figure paintings are narratives of characters in myths and fairy tales as well as in historical records or legends. Such subjects are linked to folk tradition and thus fit well the taste of the common people, especially the newly-rising merchants, who were the major patrons which professional painters like Ren relied on to make a living. Ren Yi painted a few genre scenes, but not many. Such paintings depicting the lives of ordinary people are close to reality and thus easily identifiable and accessible to the common people, who were usually not well educated and purchased paintings mainly for decoration. Ren's genre scenes

¹ Xue Yongnian 薛永年, "Yangzhou huapai yu haipai de huihua yi shu 揚州畫派與海派繪畫藝術(The Art of Yangzhou Painters and Shanghai Painters)," in *Zhongguo meishu quan ji-wan qing juan* 中國美術全集: 晚清卷 (Collections of Chinese Artworks: Late Qing dynasty) (Beijing: renmin meishu chuban she, 1980), 13.

expanded his potential audience and customers, and thus undoubtedly were beneficial to his career as a professional painter in Shanghai.

In a word, the abovementioned three categories of Ren's figure painting suggest three strategies for Ren to successfully live by painting in Shanghai, namely (1) making connections with influential art patrons and artists to establish himself in Shanghai by painting portraits, (2) catering to the tastes and needs of the populace (esp. newly-rising merchants) to attract their attention and thus make a name for himself in Shanghai by painting narratives, and (3) making his artwork close to reality and thus easily accessible to the common people, so as to expand his potential audience and customers by painting genre scenes.

Chapter 4 discusses the historical background of the commercialism in Ren Yi's figure painting. There is an important historical factor that had great impact on the commercialism in Ren Yi's figure painting; that is, a legacy of eighteenth-century Yangzhou 揚州 painting. The most prosperous city in China during the eighteenth century was Yangzhou. The most influential artistic group in eighteenth-century Yangzhou was known as *Yangzhou baguai* 揚州八怪 (the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou). In a sense, *Yangzhou baguai* can be called as the forerunner of the Shanghai school, particularly in terms of the painting style and subject matter of their artworks. The major characteristics of Yangzhou painting, i.e. personal and expressive painting style, exploration of new areas of subject matter related to the mundane aspects of daily life, and specialization in subject matter, "can be said to be

the result of a business-dominated society, first [found] in Yangzhou and later in Shanghai.”²

² Chu-tsing Li, “Eighteenth-Century Foundations in Modern Chinese Painting,” in *Chinese Painting under the Qianlong Emperor: The Symposium Papers*, edited by Ju-hsi Chou and Claudia Brown ([Tempe, Ariz.]: Arizona State University, 1988), 324.

Chapter 1

Economic, Social and Cultural Circumstances in Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai

Shanghai, as the city in which Ren Yi resided and made a living by painting for almost 30 years, undoubtedly was strongly reflected in the commercialism of his figure paintings, owing to Shanghai's rapid growth from a small fishing village into the largest city in China, and its dramatic development into "China's leading center of economy and industry, as well as that of art, printing, publishing, journalism, popular entertainment, and higher education"³ during the late nineteenth century.

The Rise of Shanghai in the Late Nineteenth-Century

First of all, the rise of Shanghai in the late nineteenth century was result of colonialism. Since Shanghai was forced to be opened as one of the five treaty-ports according to the Nanjing Treaty 南京條約 of 1842 after the Opium War (1839-42), it rapidly and dramatically developed from a relatively small but significant county city and port into the largest and the most prosperous metropolis in China, and replaced Suzhou 蘇州, Yangzhou 揚州, and Guangzhou 廣州 as China's leading commercial center.

With Shanghai's formal opening as a treaty-port in November, 1843, foreigners began to establish concessions as their special residential places in Shanghai; these concessions contributed to the westernization of Shanghai. On

³ Kuiyi Shen, "Wu Changshi and the Shanghai Art World in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries"(Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 2000), 25.

September 24, 1846, the British set up the first foreign concession in the northern suburb of Old Shanghai City.⁴ Only a few years later, the French and then Americans established their concessions successively along both sides of the Yangjing River 洋涇浜 and on the north side of the Wusong River 吳淞河 in Shanghai.⁵ In 1863 the British and the American concessions were amalgamated to form the International Concession.⁶ The concessions were controlled totally by the foreigners who occupied them; the Chinese local government, under the doctrine of extraterritoriality, had no right to interfere in their business. As a result, the construction and administration of the concessions was completely westernized; the streets were lined with foreign banks and companies, western colonial houses and offices, etc.

Meanwhile, many foreign entrepreneurs and bankers came to Shanghai and invested there. Thus a great number of foreign companies and banks were established after the opening of Shanghai to outsiders in 1842. According to the historical records, there were eleven foreign companies founded there in 1843, “such as Yihe Yanghang (Jardine, Matheson & Co.), Renji Yanghang (Gibb Livingstone & Co.), Yiji Yanghang (Holliday, Wise & Co.), Badi Yanghang (Wolcott, Bates & Co.), and

⁴ Wang Hui 汪暉 and Yu Guoliang 余國良, eds., *Shanghai: chengshi, shehui yu wenhua* 上海：城市，社會與文化 (Shanghai: City, Society and Culture) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong zhongwen daxue chubanshe, 1998), 94.

⁵ The French established their concession in April 1849, and the Americans established theirs in March 1852. See Tang Zhenchang, ed. *Shanghai shi* 上海史 (History of Shanghai) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1989), 144-146.

⁶ Jonathan Hay, “Painting and Built Environment in Late-Nineteenth-Century Shanghai”, in *Chinese Art: Modern Expressions* edited by Maxwell K. Hearn and Judith G. Smith (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001), 61.

Baoshun Yanghang (L. Dent & Co.).”⁷ By 1876 over two hundred foreign companies were being operated in Shanghai.⁸ Meanwhile, after the establishment of the first British Bank, Liru 麗如 Bank (Oriental Banking Corporation) in 1847, a great number of foreign banks were subsequently opened in Shanghai, such as Falanxi 法蘭西 Bank (Comptoir d’escompte de Paris) by the French in 1860 and Huifeng 滙豐 Bank (Hong Kong & Shanghai Banking Corporation) by the British, Americans, and Germans in 1865.⁹ It was recorded that the total value of foreign-owned property in Shanghai was over 25,000,000 pounds during the 1860s.¹⁰ Hence, Shanghai quickly became the most prosperous commercial metropolis in China. The total value of imports and exports in Shanghai was 16,900,000 *yuan* 圓 in the early 1840s. However, by the 1850s it leaped to 32,000,000 *yuan*—nearly double what it had been ten years before.¹¹

⁷ Shen, “Wu Changshi and the Shanghai Art World in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries,” 27.

⁸ Le Zeng 樂正, “Qing mo Shanghai tongshang yu shehui xingtai bianyi 清末上海通商與社會形態變異(The Trade and Social Changes of Shanghai in the Late Qing Dynasty),” *Wenshizhe* 文史哲 vol.188, no.9 (1988):14.

⁹ Shen, “Wu Changshi and the Shanghai Art World in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries,” 27-28.

¹⁰ Shan Guolin 單國霖, “Haipai huihua de shangyehua tezheng 海派繪畫的商業化特徵 (Characteristics of Commercialism in the Shanghai School of Painting),” in *Shanghai huapai yanjiu wenji* 上海畫派研究文集 (Studies on the Shanghai School of Painting) (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2001), 561.

¹¹ Stella Yu Lee, “The Figure Painting of Jen Po-Nien (1840-1896): The Emergence of a Popular Style in Late Chinese Painting” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1981), 51-52.

The 1860s' Taiping 太平 rebellion, which drew large numbers of workers, intellectuals, and members of the upper class in southern China to Shanghai to seek refuge and protection, was another reason for the rise of Shanghai in the late nineteenth century. The foreigners in Shanghai did not permit either the rebels or the Imperial Manchu forces to occupy the concessions in which they resided. Under such foreign protection, Shanghai became a haven from the nation's internal turmoil. Especially when the Taiping Rebellion occupied the Jiangsu 江蘇 and Zhejiang 浙江 areas in 1860, a large portion of the population of southern China, including the local officials, wealthy people, and even lower middle-class people fled from their homelands to seek refuge and protection in Shanghai.¹² The total population of the above-mentioned international concession in Shanghai, also called the "British and American concession," was around 20,000 before 1860; in 1860 it had jumped to 300,000, and two years later it was up to 500,000.¹³ By the end of the nineteenth century, Shanghai was believed to have a population of more than three million people.¹⁴ The population flow laid a foundation for the city's new economic and artistic growth in the late 1860s. These new immigrants brought in large quantities of capital, treasures (including art collections), labor, and talent. It was at that time that Ren Yi came to Shanghai to live by painting. He was to become an accomplished and distinguished painter in the late nineteenth century.

¹² Wang Tao 王韜, *Yingruan zazhi* 瀛環雜誌 (A Collection of Jottings on Miscellaneous Subjects Relating to Shanghai) (Preface dated 1853, reprint 1875. Reprint. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989), 89-91.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 47.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 19.

Art and Art Patronage in Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai

As Shanghai developed into China's leading commercial center during the late nineteenth century, the merchants in this newly rising metropolis rose to prominence as an independent and powerful social class. These newly rising merchants came from different parts of China, such as Fujian 福建, Guangdong 廣東, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Anhui 安徽. As a matter of fact, a majority of the new merchants were from the first two provinces, and among other things, they operated hundreds of pawnshops in Shanghai.¹⁵ Some of these new merchants came from official circles; however, most of them were members of the middleclass who had not received a good education but built up their fortunes from the bottom of society.¹⁶ Despite their low education level, these merchants desired to establish their reputations as people of good taste by purchasing many artworks, especially those done by the masters. As Wang Tao 王韜 (1828-1897) pointed out in his *Yingruan zazhi* 瀛環雜誌 (A Collection of Jottings on Miscellaneous Subjects Relating to Shanghai), "Most of the merchants were very vulgar, but they wanted to associate themselves with elegance and refinement, so they spared no expense in purchasing paintings and works of calligraphy in order to establish good reputations."¹⁷ Thus, the newly rising

¹⁵ Shen, "Wu Changshi and the Shanghai Art World in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries", 32.

¹⁶ Wu Zhenyi 吳圳義, *Qing mo Shanghai zujie shehui* 清末上海租界社會 (The Society of the Concessions of Shanghai in the Late Qing Period) (Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1978), 99.

¹⁷ Wang Tao, *Yingruan zazhi, juan* 卷 4, 11. For Chinese text, see Appendix I (1).

merchants became the major patrons of Shanghai art, and thereafter, such new patronage had great influences on the subject matter and style of Shanghai painting.

As Li Chu-tsing points out,

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 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 to 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 language in its own right.¹⁸

Because of its economic prosperity and political stability, Shanghai gradually became a new center of the art market in the late nineteenth century. As a matter of fact, many other artists besides Ren Yi moved to Shanghai during the population surge in the 1860s. Even afterward, it continued to attract artists, who came to Shanghai in search of active customers. As Zhang Mingke 張鳴珂 (1818/1819-1908/1909) pointed out in his book *Hansongge tanyi suolu* 寒松閣談藝瑣錄(Records of the Comments on Art in Hansongge),

¹⁸ Li Chu-tsing, "Looking at Late Qing Painting," in *Art at the Close of China's Empire*, ed. Ju-hsi Chou (Phoenix : Phoebus, 1998), 21.

After the ban on maritime trade was removed, Shanghai became the most prosperous place for trade. Those artists who lived by painting thus all came [to Shanghai] and then lived there to sell their paintings.¹⁹

In fact, during the late nineteenth century, artists who had moved to Shanghai from other places outnumbered artists who were native to Shanghai. Among the more than 600 artists who were active in Shanghai from the late nineteenth century till the early twentieth century and whose names were recorded in the *Haishang molin* 海上墨林 (A Collection of Biographical Notes on Shanghai Artists) by Yang Yi 楊逸 (1864-1929), at least 338 came from other provinces.²⁰ Furthermore, the majority of famous artists in Shanghai were not Shanghainese, but came from other provinces such as Jiangxi 江西, Huating 華亭, Shaoxing 紹興, Suzhou, Yangzhou, Ningbo 寧波, and Nanjing.²¹

The Shanghai artists in the late nineteenth century were independent professionals who consciously and openly sold their artworks to support themselves. They were willing to make paintings catering to the taste of their potential customers even at the expense of the quality of their art. They no longer worked as the

¹⁹ Zhang Mingke 張鳴珂, *Hansongge tanyi suolu* 寒松閣談藝瑣錄 (Records of the Comments on Art in Hansongge) (Preface 1919. Reprint. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1988), *juan* 6, 150. For Chinese text, see Appendix I (2).

²⁰ Yang Yi 楊逸, *Haishang molin* 海上墨林 (A Collection of Biographical Notes on Shanghai Artists) (Preface dated 1919. Reprint. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989), *juan* 3, 55-90.

²¹ Ge Yuanxu 葛元煦, *Huyou zaji* 滬游雜記 (Notes on Traveling in Shanghai) (Preface dated 1876. Reprint. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989), vol.2, *juan* 4, 6a-8a.

traditional literati who took painting as personal entertainment. In the book *Huyou zaji* 滬游雜記 (The Notes on Traveling in Shanghai), Ge Yuanxu 葛元煦 noted that famous Shanghai painters such as Zhang Xiong 張熊 (1803-1886), Hu Yuan 胡遠 (1823-1886), Ren Yi, Yang Borun 楊伯潤 (1837-1911), and Zhu Cheng 朱偁 (1826-1899/1900) all openly priced their artworks in their homes. These professional artists refused to make concessions on the prices of their paintings. According to *Qingcao yeshi daguan* 清朝野史大觀 (Records of the Unofficial Histories of the Qing dynasty),

Once a high official of Songjiang sent a servant with money to Hu Gongshou's [Yuan] house in order to ask Hu to do a painting for him. Hu thought that the money was not enough and thus said to the servant, "Give my thanks to your master. I don't know what he is, but he should pay me enough money according to my price lists, so that I can paint for him."²²

In the late nineteenth century, especially during the period when Ren Yi lived in Shanghai (1868-1895), there were two major means for the artists to sell their paintings in Shanghai: One was through fan shops, the other was through painting societies.

A large number of paintings were sold through fan shops during the late nineteenth-century in Shanghai. According to the statistics by *Shanghai huashang minglu* 上海華商名錄 (Records of Chinese Merchants in Shanghai), there were 109

²² Ibid. , *juan* 2, 43. For Chinese text, see Appendix I (3).

fan shops until the first year of Xuantong 宣統 (1909).²³ These fan shops “offered clients [an] easy place to buy a painting—free of the stresses of personal obligation involved in many pre-modern transactions. At the same time, they helped establish the artist’s fame and price structure and thus contributed to developing [a] celebrity that might lead to direct business between patrons and artists themselves.”²⁴ For example, Jiuhuatang 九華堂, originally founded on Guanqianjie 觀前街 of Suzhou and later moved to Shanghai during the Guangxu 光緒 reign (1875-1908), was the fan shop with the longest history in Shanghai. The owner of Jiuhuatang, Zhu Jintang 朱錦堂, was a lover of painting and calligraphy. He made good friends with the famous Shanghai painters such as Ren Yi and Xugu 虛谷 (1823/4-1896). Ren Yi once painted a group portrait of Zhu Jintang, Zeng Fengji 曾鳳寄, and himself in 1884 (figure 7), which will be explained in detail in Chapter 3.

Unlike the informal gatherings of painters held in the eighteenth century “for the purpose of exchanging painting skills and making friendly contacts,”²⁵ painting societies held in late nineteenth-century Shanghai were something like guild organizations which were mainly used for the artists to “coordinate their sales and commercial activities for mutual benefit.”²⁶ From 1839 to 1911, there were at least

²³ Shan Guolin, “Haipai huihua de shangyehua tezheng (Characteristics of Commercialism in the Shanghai School of Painting),” 565.

²⁴ Shen, “Wu Changshi and the Shanghai Art World in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries”, 100.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 116.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

eleven formally organized painting societies founded in Shanghai.²⁷ For example, Feidange shuhuahui 飛丹閣書畫會(Feidan Pavillion Painting and Calligraphy Society) (1861-1908), located at the original site of the Deyuelou 得月樓 fan shop in the Yu Garden 豫園, included almost all of the famous painters of that time, such as Gaiqi 改琦 (1744-1829), Hu Yuan, Yang Borun, Ren Yi, Ren Xiong 任熊 (1823-1857), Ren Xun 任薰 (1835-1893), and Zhang Xiong. It is believed that Ren Yi had frequently stayed in Feidange even before he settled down in Shanghai in 1868, as indicated in the inscriptions on many of his paintings there.²⁸

²⁷ *Zhongguo meishu nianjian* 中國美術年鑑 1947 (The Yearbook of Chinese Art, 1947) (Shanghai, 1948), *shiliao* 史料(Historical Documents), 2-3.

²⁸ Shen, “Wu Changshi and the Shanghai Art World in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries”, 117.

Chapter 2

A Short Biography of Ren Yi

A native of Shanyin 山陰 (present-day Shaoxing 紹興) in Zhejiang province, Ren Yi was born into a middle-class family in 1840²⁹ and died of lung disease in Shanghai in 1895. He was called Run 潤 at first, but later he changed his first name into Yi. His *zi* 字 was Bonian 伯年, and his *hao* 號 was Xiaolou 小樓³⁰, and later Ciyuan 次遠. He also had a nickname called Monk Ren 任和尚.

At the age of 10 Ren Yi began to learn some basic techniques of portraiture³¹ from his father, Ren Hesheng 任鶴聲 (*zi* Songyun 淞雲), who was a small rice merchant but who excelled at portraiture.³² When there were visitors stopping by

²⁹ Since there is no documentation on Ren Yi's early life, his birth date and native place are not precisely pinpointed. For detailed discussion about these issues, see Ding Xiyuan 丁義元, *Ren Bonian: nianpu, lunwen, zhen cun, and zuopin* 任伯年: 年譜, 論文, 珍存, 作品 (Ren Bonian: Chronology, Theses, Artifacts and Works) (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1989), 2-4.

³⁰ When Ren yi sold his paintings in Ningbo, Zhenhai 鎮海, and Suzhou during his early life, he once made pictures of beautiful women in the style of Fei Danxu's 費丹旭 (1801-1850, *hao* Xiaolou 小樓), and thus used the same style name Xiaolou as Fei. According to Qian Jingtang 錢鏡塘, when Ren Yi moved into Shanghai during the first years, he still used this style name. But soon he stopped using it because of the opposition from Fei's son, Fei Yubo 費餘伯. See *Ibid.*, 4.

³¹ There was a tradition of learning portraiture in Shanyin and Xiushui 秀水, Zhejiang Province, which came from Zeng Jing 曾鯨 (1564-1647) who was active during the late Ming 明 and early Qing 清. *Ibid.*, 6.

³² “[Since] [Ren Hesheng] was getting old and there was no harvest that year, he taught Ren Yi portraiture.” See the inscription by Ren Jinshu 任堇叔 (1881-1936) (Ren Yi's only son) on the handscroll *Portrait of Ren Songyun* (1869, Palace Museum,

while his father was not home, young Ren Yi was required to paint their portraits for his father rather than tell him their names. Thus, by being forced to memorize people's features by heart, Ren Yi gradually acquired great powers of observation, which laid a solid foundation for his unique art in his later life.³³ There is an interesting story concerning Ren Yi's keen observation of nature, although according to Ding Xiyuan 丁羲元, it may be not substantiated.³⁴

At the age of twelve or thirteen, Ren was still learning painting skills in his home, Xiaoshan. One day, he saw two oxen fighting with each other in the countryside, and he immediately recorded this scene with his fingers on his robe. After he returned home, he made a painting called *Oxen Fighting*, with an inscription which reads "Painting is from all things in the world, and thus the fingernail can be used as a painting brush. If you want to know how this painting is made, you can see traces of the nail drawing on my robe."³⁵

Ren Yi was lucky enough to meet the famous painter Ren Xiong 任熊 and, he later became a student of another famous painter, Ren Xun 任薰, when he was fifteen

Beijing; figure 1). "Moving from Shanyin to Xiaoshan 蕭山, his [Ren Yi's] father excelled at portraiture and worked as a rice merchant." See Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻, "Ren Bonian pingzhuan 任伯年評傳 (A Critical Biography of Ren Bonian)," in *Ren Bonian yanjiu 任伯年研究 (Studies of Ren Bonian)*, edited by Gong Chanxing 龔產興 (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin meishu chubanshe, 1982), 1.

³³ Ding Xiyuan, *Ren Bonian: nianpu, lunwen, zhen cun, and zuopin (Ren Bonian: Chronology, Theses, Artifacts and Works)*, 6.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 7.

³⁵ "Huajia Ren Bonian gushi," 畫家任伯年故事 (Stories of the Painter Ren Bonian) *xinmin wanbao 新民晚報*, 24 March 1962. For Chinese text, see Appendix I (4).

or sixteen years old, which undoubtedly had a great influence on his later painting career. Based on the words from Wang Yiting 王一亭, Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻 (1895-1953) recorded an amusing story about the accidental meeting between Ren Xiong and Ren Yi during his early years of apprenticeship in Shanghai, in “Ren Bonian pingzhuan” 任伯年評傳 (A Critical Biography of Ren Bonian):

When his father died (Bonian was then about fifteen or sixteen years old), he moved to Shanghai. At that time, Ren Weichang 任渭長 [Xiong] was very well known in the south [of China]. For the purpose of making a living [in Shanghai], Bonian painted many fan pictures by himself and forged Weichang’s long inscriptions on them. He put these works on the street for sale, and he himself stood by them. By chance, Weichang passed by and saw them. He scrutinized these paintings signed with his own name, and he was surprised by the painting skills. All of a sudden, he asked [Bonian], “Who painted these fan pictures?” Bonian replied, “Ren Weichang.” [Weichang] asked, “What relationship is there between you and Ren Weichang?” [Bonian] replied, “He is my uncle.” [Weichang] asked further, “Do you know him?” Bonian felt that something was wrong and thus replied in embarrassment, “If you want to buy these paintings, please do so. If you don’t want to buy them, it’s OK for me. Why do you want to get to the bottom of this?” Weichang said in a relaxed manner, “I just want to know who really made these paintings.” Bonian said, “How can you get a genuine painting by Ren Weichang at the price of 2 *jiao*

角?”Weichang asked again, “Do you really know Ren Weichang?” Bonian was stunned. Weichang thus said, “I am Ren Weichang.” Bonian was so ashamed that he wanted to run away and hide. Then he did not say a word for a while. Weichang said, “Never mind. But I need to know who made these paintings.” Bonian replied in embarrassment, “I did these paintings to make a living.” So Weichang asked his name, and he replied, “My family name is Ren. My father used to talk about Weichang’s paintings and told me that he also belonged to my uncle’s generation. Knowing your honor’s fame, after I came to Shanghai, I forged your name on these fan paintings to make a living here.” Weichang asked, “Where is your father?” [Bonian] replied, “He is dead.” [Weichang] asked, “Do you really like painting?” Bonian nodded. Weichang said, “Would you like to study painting with us?” Bonian was very excited at this invitation. But he said that he was poor and thus did not know what he could do. So Weichang asked him to go to Suzhou to live and study with his [Weichang’s] younger brother Fuchang 阜長 [Ren Xun].³⁶

Fang Ruo 方若 also recorded this same story in his book *Haishang huayu* 海上畫語 (Records of Shanghai Painting).³⁷ The story is significant because it more or less

³⁶ Xu Beihong, “Ren Bonian pingzhuan (A Critical Biography of Ren Bonian),” 1. The translation of this story is adapted from Lee, “The Figure Painting of Jen Po-Nien (1840-1896): The Emergence of a Popular Style in Late Chinese Painting”, 81-82. For Chinese text, see Appendix I (5).

³⁷ Cited in Ding Xiyuan, *Ren Bonian: nianpu, lunwen, zhen cun, and zuopin* (Ren Bonian: Chronology, Theses, Artifacts and Works), 9.

manifests the close stylistic ties between Ren Yi and the other two Rens, Ren Xiong and Ren Xun, who had made their marks in the Shanghai painting circle before Ren Yi.

However, there are doubts held by scholars about whether Ren Yi did encounter Ren Xiong, because of the chronological discrepancies existing in Ren Yi's standard biography. For instance, if Ren Yi had met Ren Xiong in Shanghai, he would have been not 15 or 16 years old but 30, since he did not move to Shanghai until 1868, but by that time Ren Xiong had already died. If he had met Ren Xiong at the age of 15 or 16, Ren Yi would have met Ren Xiong in his home town Xiaoshan, rather than Shanghai.³⁸

The 1860s was a transitional era in Ren Yi's life: First, in 1861 he lost his father in the Taiping rebellion and even himself got involved in it for a time. Afterward he led a wandering life in Ningbo, Zhenhai and Suzhou for almost four years (1862-1865), but eventually in 1868 he moved to Shanghai to begin his career as a professional painter. According to the recollection of Ren Yi's son, Ren Jinshu 任堇叔, Ren Yi's father was killed during the turmoil in 1861, and in the same year, Ren Yi was drawn into the Taiping military campaigns and made into a flag bearer, which caused him great suffering.³⁹ In early 1862, after Ren Yi had found his father's body and buried it, he returned to his home town Xiaoshan, where he lived for another two or three years. In 1865 Ren Yi went to Ningbo to make a living by

³⁸ The detailed discussion about this problem can be found in Shan Guoqiang 單國強, *Ren Bonian* 任伯年 (Taipei: Taiwan Mac Educational Co. Ltd., 1995), 8-9.

³⁹ See the inscription by Ren Jinshu on the handscroll *Portrait of Ren Songyun* (figure 1).

selling his paintings. Strongly influenced by Ren Xiong and Ren Xun, he made a large number of figure paintings in the style of Chen Hongshou 陳洪綬 (1598-1652) during that time. Meanwhile, he also made pictures of beautiful women in the style of Fei Danxu. Early in 1868, after four-year stay in Ningbo, Ren Yi went with his uncle Ren Xun to Suzhou to practice painting. There he met Hu Yuan (*zi* Gongshou 公壽), with whom he was to form a long-term partnership of artistic collaboration. Their relationship will be explained in detail in the following chapter. Ren Yi did not stay in Suzhou for long. In the winter of 1868, he moved to Shanghai and then began his almost thirty-year residence there as a professional painter.

Before Ren Yi left Ningbo for Suzhou with Ren Xun to practice painting in early 1868, he said farewell to his best friends, Wan Geting 萬个亭, Chen Duofeng 陳朵峰, and Xie Lianshi 謝廉始, and then painted the handscroll *Dongjin huabie tu* 東津話別圖 (Saying Farewell at the Ling Bridge in Ningbo, China Art Gallery, Beijing; figure 2) as a record of their friendship. Ren Yi wrote an inscription on this painting, which reads,

I have sojourned and traveled in Yongshang 甬上 [Ningbo] for over four years. When I met the two gentlemen, Wang Geting and [Chen] Duofeng for the first time, it was as if we had known each other for a long time. At night we light lamps, in the rain we wear bamboo hats, singing songs with the *qin* 琴 instrument and composing poetry with wine, searching out both famous places and hidden spots; we shared these pleasures without wasting time. With the help of rivers and mountains, and the happiness engendered from friendship,

this journey was worth a lot. But now I have to go with uncle Fuchang [Ren Xun] to Jinchang 金閶 [Suzhou] to practice painting, and Lianshi also plans to go north. We are all about to separate. Duofeng is affected by the sadness of parting and encounters the thoughts of the poem *Denglou* 登樓 (climbing the pavilion) by Wang Can 王粲; therefore I painted this picture to record that I feel like a traveling star [without a fixed lodge]. On the 2nd month of the 7th year of the Tongzhi 同治 (1862-1874) era, 10 days after the Birthday of Flowers 花朝 [namely, March 18 in terms of the solar calendar], Ren Yi Ciyuan of Shanyin, while packing, paints and inscribes this at Ganxi 甘溪 lodgings.⁴⁰

It is generally recognized that this painting is the earliest one to include Ren Yi's self-portrait. The leading figure must be Ren Xun, gesturing to Ren Yi, who still lingered among his friends, to follow. Although Ren Yi just used several brushstrokes to create each figure in this painting, each of these five figures has unique physical features and a unique state of mind. As Pu Hua 蒲華 (1830? -1911) comments in his inscription to this painting, "The appearances [of these figures] are so lifelike that [these figures] would come out of this painting if they were called."⁴¹

⁴⁰ The translation of this inscription is adapted from Roberta May-Hwa Wue, "Making the Artist: Ren Bonian (1840-1895) and Portraits of the Shanghai Art World" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 2001), 91. For Chinese text, see Appendix I (6).

⁴¹ Shan Guoqiang, *Ren Bonian*, 13. For Chinese text, see Appendix I (7).

It needs to be pointed out here that the most important reason why Ren moved to Shanghai was that he wanted to make a fortune there. Actually, before he came to Shanghai, he had once sold his paintings in Ningbo and then in Suzhou for four years as mentioned above, but he did not make as much money in these two cities, as he had hoped. Only when he moved to Shanghai in the winter of 1868 did Ren's career as a professional painter take a turn for the better; during the almost 30-year stay in Shanghai, Ren turned from an unknown professional painter, whose fan paintings sold at the cheapest price of just three *jiao*⁴², into a prestigious painter whose artworks the people, especially the Canton merchants, spared no expense purchasing. According to Fang Ruo's *Haishang huayu* (Anecdotes to Shanghai Painting), there was an interesting anecdote about how the Canton merchants desired to get artworks from Ren Yi:

The Canton merchants who desired to ask for [Ren Bonian's] paintings had waited at his house for a long time. They could not meet [Bonian] until he came back. Then these Canton merchants followed him into his house. Bonian went upstairs immediately, and then looked back, saying, "It's my private bedroom, please stop; it's my private bedroom, please stop!" Later this story spread out as a joke.⁴³

As a matter of fact, Ren did make a fortune in Shanghai. When he was seriously ill in 1894, Ren entrusted his cousin's husband with a stake of nearly 30,000 dollars which he had saved over the years to purchase some land in Shaoxing, his home town.

⁴² Xue Yongnian, "Yangzhou huapai yu haipai de huihua yi shu ((The Art of Yangzhou Painters and Shanghai Painters)," 13.

⁴³ Cited in *Ibid.* For Chinese text, see Appendix I (8).

However, his cousin's husband was addicted to gambling and thus squandered almost all of Ren's money. He later gave Ren a fake land deed, which was a great shock to Ren after Ren himself found out the truth.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Ding Xiyuan, *Ren Bonian: nianpu, lunwen, zhen cun, and zuopin* (Ren Bonian: Chronology, Theses, Artifacts and Works), 109.

Chapter 3

Commercialism in Ren Yi's Figure Painting

A large number of Ren Yi's artworks are figure painting. His figure painting includes almost all kinds of figure subjects, such as portraits, mythological and historical figures, legendary personages, and literary episodes. Based on the themes and contents of the extant artworks by Ren Yi, his figure painting can be loosely divided into three major categories: (1) Portraits, (2) narratives depicting mythological, legendary as well as historical figures, and (3) genre scenes of people in ordinary life.

These abovementioned three categories of Ren's figure painting suggest three strategies for Ren to successfully live by painting in Shanghai, namely (1) making connections with influential art patrons and artists to establish himself in Shanghai by painting portraits, (2) catering to the tastes and needs of the populace (esp. newly rising merchants) to attract their attention and thus make a name in Shanghai by painting narratives, and (3) making his artwork close to reality and thus easily accessible to the common people so as to expand his potential audience and customers by painting genre scenes.

Portraits

A good number of Ren Yi's portraits, as Roberta Wue points out, are for "individuals important enough or well-enough placed to be in a position to request a

portrait from Ren.”⁴⁵ In other words, a good number of Ren Yi’s portraits are made for his friends and patrons, who generously provided financial and moral support to Ren in Shanghai.

Based on Richard Vinograd’s study of later Chinese portraits, traditional Chinese portraiture can be divided into three categories, namely informal portraits, formal portraits, and ancestral or commemorative portraits.⁴⁶ Accordingly, Ren Yi had a specialty in informal portraiture, namely “private portraits of living sitters, the sitter usually belonging to the educated or elite classes, with the intended audience for their portraits being friends and colleagues.”⁴⁷ These informal portraits not only evidenced the friendship between the sitter and Ren Yi, but also and more importantly suggest the efforts Ren made to get himself well-connected with the figures active in the artistic and cultural circles of Shanghai, so as to establish his reputation as a professional painter, especially during the first years after he came to this new metropolis.

As far as Ren’s career in Shanghai was concerned, Zhang Xiong’s support was critical to Ren’s rise to fame in Shanghai. A native of Jiaxing 嘉興, Zhang Xiong was known for his rich art collection, elegant literati tastes and skills in painting, calligraphy, music, and *kunqu* 崑曲. Because of Taiping rebellion, he moved to

⁴⁵ Wue, “Making the Artist: Ren Bonian (1840-1895) and Portraits of the Shanghai Art World,” 205.

⁴⁶ Richard Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self: Chinese Portraits, 1600-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 1-18.

⁴⁷ Wue, “Making the Artist: Ren Bonian (1840-1895) and Portraits of the Shanghai Art World,” 206.

Shanghai.⁴⁸ However, his prestige as a famous painter, which was already established in Jiaxing, continued. According to Xu Beihong's "Ren Bonian pingzhuan" (A Critical Biography of Ren Bonian), Zhang Xiong was greatly impressed by Ren Yi's painting talent; with the help of Zhang Xiong's active promotion, Ren's fame as a gifted painter spread, and as a result, Ren became widely known in Shanghai.⁴⁹ "Elsewhere, Ren is even declared to have been Zhang's student."⁵⁰ In addition, Chao Xun 巢勛, a student of Zhang's and the author of a new edition of the *Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manual* 芥子園畫譜, included Ren Yi and a number of his sketches in the expanded lithographic edition.⁵¹ Undoubtedly, the publication of the new edition of the *Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manual* was influential and had much to do with Ren Yi's rise to fame in Shanghai.

In 1872 Ren Yi painted a portrait of Zhang Xiong entitled *Jiaolin huansu tu* 蕉林道暑圖 (Escaping the Heat in the Shade of Banana Palms, location unknown, figure 3) when Zhang Xiong was seventy years old. Zhang is shown sitting on a bamboo chair set beneath banana palms and holding an elaborately delineated transparent gauze fan, with chest bared and one leg crossed over the other in a relaxed pose. This portrait of Zhang Xiong has direct reference to Luo Ping's 羅聘(1733-

⁴⁸ Wang Tao, *Yingruan zazhi*, 3922.

⁴⁹ Xu Beihong, "Ren Bonian pingzhuan (A Critical Biography of Ren Bonian)," 1.

⁵⁰ Wue, "Making the Artist: Ren Bonian (1840-1895) and Portraits of the Shanghai Art World", 111.

⁵¹ Chou Ju-hsi, "The Rise of Shanghai," in *Transcending Turmoil: Painting at the Close of China's Empire 1796-1911*, edited by Claudia Brown and Chou Ju-hsi (Phoenix Art Museum, 1992), 179.

1799) portrait of his master, Jin Nong 金農 (1687-1763), *Portrait of Jin Nong's Noon Nap beneath Banana Palms* (1760, Shanghai Museum, figure 4), in which Jin Nong is shown similarly dressed and seated beneath banana palms enjoying the cool shade, his head bent down toward the round fan held in his hand. Vinograd suggests that Ren Yi may have used this model to place the sitter and painter in the circumstance of the teacher and student, just like the teacher-student relationship between Jin Nong and Luo Ping.⁵²

Hu Yuan was another influential figure in Ren Yi's career as a professional painter in Shanghai. A native of Huating 華亭, Hu chose to paint after he failed in the examinations several times. He was highly praised by his contemporaries for his mastery of landscape painting and literati-style flower painting, calligraphy, and poetry. Hu was introduced to Ren Yi in Suzhou by Ren Xun about 1868, and then he began a long-term close relationship of artistic collaboration with Ren, although he was seventeen years older and had gained his fame long before Ren. According to Fang Ruo's *Haishang huayu* (Anecdotes of Shanghai Painting),

[During Ren's early career in Shanghai], Hu was connected to the *qianye gonghui* 錢業公會 (banking industry association), which enabled him to secure patronage for Ren and thus help make Ren's reputation as a painter. Meanwhile, he also introduced Ren to the fan shop Guxiangshi 古香室 so that Ren could support himself by making

⁵² Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self*, 134.

fan paintings there. [With Hu's generous help], Ren established a solid name as a painter in Shanghai within a few years.⁵³

In addition to financial support, Hu was also said to have been “instrumental in presenting to him [Ren Yi] modes of landscape painting.”⁵⁴ Hu even collaborated on several portraits Ren painted in the early years of his stay in Shanghai, adding scenic backgrounds to images, as can be seen in *Portrait of Gao Yongzhi at Age Twenty-eight* (1877, Shanghai Museum, figure 5), in which Hu Yuan painted the setting of pine tree, rocks, and slope.

In the winter of 1868, Ren Yi made a portrait of Hu entitled *Hengyun shanmin xingqi tu* 橫雲山民行乞圖 (The Hengyun Mountain Man as a Traveling Beggar, Central Academy of Fine Arts, Beijing; figure 6). This portrait shows Hu barefoot and wearing a floppy straw hat, leaning on a thin bamboo staff and carrying a basket laden with plum blossom branches, with a vacant gaze toward the viewer's left. According to Hu's self-inscription on the top right corner of the portrait, which reads, “in the winter of the seventh year of Tongzhi, Hu Gongshou [Yuan] himself made the inscription,”⁵⁵ it can be inferred that such a costume portrait may be commissioned at Hu's own request. Hu always took pride in being aloof from politics and material pursuits, therefore, by means of being portrayed as a traveling beggar asking for plum blossoms, Hu might have wanted to assert that he would keep elegant and pure even

⁵³ Cited in Wang Jingxian 王靖憲, “Ren Bonian qiren qiyi 任伯年其人其藝 (The life and art of Ren Bonian),” in *Ren Bonian zuo pin ji* 任伯年作品集 (Collection of Ren Bonian's Artworks), ed. Wang Jingxian (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1992), 13. For Chinese text, see Appendix I (9).

⁵⁴ Chou, “The Rise of Shanghai”, 179-180.

⁵⁵ For Chinese text, see Appendix I (10).

though he lived a poor life. According to Vinograd, on the basis of the inscription by Jiang Jie 蔣節, added in 1871, this portrait indicates “some genuine distress on Hu’s part: ‘I recognize his being repressed and hindered, confused and untranquil.’”⁵⁶ The portrait is also a reflection of Ren’s predicament at that time, when Ren was so little known that his artworks could not sell well in Shanghai.

The most famous portrait directly concerning Ren’s patrons is *Sanyou tu* 三友圖 (Three Friends, Palace Museum, Beijing; figure 7), painted in 1884. It was made during the prime of Ren’s artistic life. Ren Yi’s inscription (figure 8) at the lower left records his satisfaction in being invited to render himself seated among his subjects as an equal: “[Zhu] Jintang 朱錦堂 and [Zeng] Fengyi [Fengji] 曾鳳寄, the two sirs [who] commissioned me to make portraits for them, and moreover allowed me to sit among them, calling it *Three Friends*- fortunate indeed, fortunate indeed.”⁵⁷ Zhong Dexiang 鍾德祥, the *jinshi* 進士 degree-holder and Hanlin 翰林 academician, made an inscription at top center, which carefully distinguishes the three sitters: “Zeng Fengji seated in the middle, [Zhu] Jintang seated toward the left, and [Ren] Bonian seated toward the right, all wearing the Buddhist monks’ costume.”⁵⁸ The identity of Zeng Fengji is not known, but according to Ding Xiyuan,⁵⁹ Zhu Jintang was the owner of the fan shop Jiu Huatang 九華堂, as well as collector and lover of painting

⁵⁶ Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self*, 147. For Chinese text, see Appendix I (11).

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 144. For Chinese text, see Appendix I (12).

⁵⁸ Cited in Ding Xiyuan, *Ren Bonian: nianpu, lunwen, zhen cun, and zuopin* (Ren Bonian: Chronology, Theses, Artifacts and Works), 62. For Chinese text, see Appendix I (13).

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 61.

and calligraphy. He was also a friend and patron of painters such as Ren Yi, Hu Gongshou, and Xugu. In this portrait, Zhu was rendered in the fullest and most prominent manner, leaning against a table with heaps of books, painting albums, handscrolls, and a large container of rolled-up scrolls, probably part of Zhu's own rich collection of painting and calligraphy. Ren rendered himself in a lower position, perhaps to show his respect and appreciation for Zhu. However, the blurring of the boundaries between artist and patron can still be seen in this group portrait. As Vinograd points out,

But the denotations of position and identity are nonetheless rather ambiguous in term[s] of describing internal orientations or relations to the viewer; the uniformity of costume also blurs social distinctions. ... Ren Bonian's imagistic and textual presence in the *Three Friends* group portrait, however compromised, is still emblematic of the cultural repositioning of the age.⁶⁰

Narratives Depicting Mythological, Legendary and Historical figures

A major portion of Ren Yi's figure paintings are narratives of characters in myths and fairy tales as well as in historical records or legends, such as Zhong Kui 鍾馗, Baxian 八仙 (Eight Immortals), Su Wu 蘇武, and Fengchen sanxia 風塵三俠 (Three Chivalrous Warriors), etc. According to Ding Xiyuan, 43% of Ren's figure

⁶⁰ Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self*, 144.

paintings compiled in his book on Ren's artworks belong to this category.⁶¹ Linked to the folk tradition, such subjects are easily accessible to the common people, especially to the newly-rising merchants, who are the major patrons which painters such as Ren should rely on for making a living, and thus fit their taste well. As Meyden points out, "Bonian's middle-class customers were not trained to perceive the finest nuances of ink or the mysteriously hidden symbolism as displayed in the better works of the literati painters. The bourgeois collectors of Shanghai demanded more sensuality and spontaneity from their protégés."⁶² In a sense, these narratives of mythological, legendary, and historical figures are made more for commercial purposes than for self-entertainment or for art's sake.

Ren painted a great number of pictures of Zhong Kui, the ghost queller. Ren's colophons of this subject matter all bear a date of the fifth day of the fifth month, which is the Dragon Boat Festival 端午節, or some time close to it. Ren once painted six pictures of Zhong Kui on the fifth day of the fifth month of 1880.⁶³ The custom of hanging a picture of Zhong Kui, which was used to exorcise evil spirits and ghosts on the fifth day of the fifth moon, was a common practice in nineteenth-century China, because the fifth month (*duyue* 毒月, or the evil month) was "recognized as the arrival of summer when come 'all sorts of venomous creatures, in which evil spirits

⁶¹ Ding Xiyuan, "Ren Bonian renwu hua zongshu 任伯年人物畫綜述 (Ren Bonian's Figure Painting)," *Hanmo*, vol. 28 Ren Bonian renwu hua teji 任伯年人物畫特集 (1992 Spring), 49.

⁶² Hans van der Meyden, "The Life and Works of Ren Bonian: an Attempt to Strip the Artist's Biography of Some Apocryphal Fabrications," *Oriental Art* (1992 Spring), no 38: 32.

⁶³ Wang Jingxian, *Ren Bonian zuo pin ji* (Collection of Ren Bonian's Artworks), 42.

are believed to be incarnated, revived, [to] overrun the Earth and do mischief to men.”⁶⁴ It is also said that the popularity of pictures of Zhong Kui in the nineteenth-century Shanghai was due to the large number of foreigners residing in Shanghai, who were considered as “foreign ghosts” by the native Chinese people.⁶⁵

Stylistic changes in Ren’s rendering of Zhong Kui evidently manifest how Ren adjusted his brushwork to be suitable for commercial mass production of this popular subject matter. In Ren Yi’s early pictures of Zhong Kui, he devoted much attention to it. Zhong Kui is depicted with “precise angular lines made by a careful and fastidious handling of the brush.”⁶⁶ Such features are well exemplified in the *Zhong Kui zhanhutu* 鍾馗斬狐圖 (Image of Zhong Kui Killing a Fox Spirit, 1878, Museum of Art, Tianjin; figure 9). As the ghost queller, Zhong Kui is always pictured together with the ghosts. However, Ren Yi puts Zhong Kui together with the fox spirit in this painting. Such a unique composition probably has a close relationship with the tales of the fox spirit from the *Biji xiaoshuo* 筆記小說 (literary sketches) that were very popular during the late Qing dynasty, e.g. *Liaozhai zhiyi* 聊齋誌異

⁶⁴ James Han-hsi Soong, “A Visual Experience in Nineteenth-Century China: Jen Po-nien (1840-1895) and the Shanghai School of Painting,” (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1977), 86.

⁶⁵ Li Chu-tsing, and Wan Ching-li 李鑄晉, 萬青力, *Zhongguo xiandai huihua shi: Wan Qing zhibu, 1840 zhi 1911* 中國現代繪畫史: 晚清之部, 1840 至 1911 (History of Modern Chinese Painting: Paintings in the Late Qing Period, 1840-1911) (Taipei: Rock Publishing International, 1997), 108.

⁶⁶ Soong, “A Visual Experience in Nineteenth-Century China: Jen Po-nien (1840-1895) and the Shanghai School of Painting,” 87.

(Strange stories from a Chinese studio) by Pu Songling 蒲松齡 (1640-1715).⁶⁷ In this painting, Ren vividly re-creates the moment when Zhong Kui is angrily pulling a sword out of a scabbard to kill the fox spirit in the disguise of an innocent woman. Here Ren renders the hero, Zhong Kui, in red ink, with delicate, powerful and angular brushstrokes, in contrast to the evil fox spirit rendered in black ink with sketchy, soft and round ones.

Seen from Ren Yi's late artworks depicting Zhong Kui, the painting style is characteristic of borrowings from known iconographic formulas (for instance, the recognizable sword, official hat and beard), simplification of details, and unrestrained and loose brushwork. Evidently, such improved techniques contributed a lot to quick sketches and mass production, which Ren took advantage of so that he could finish as many pictures of Zhong Kui as fast as possible when they were in great demand. The *Image of Zhong Kui* painted in 1887 (Duo Yun Xuan, Shanghai; figure 10) is the best example, showing Zhong Kui with eyes wide open and hair upright, standing with one leg stepping forward before an excited devil who is holding a torn umbrella, and meanwhile seizing another scary devil in his right hand. Compared to the early artwork *Zhong Kui zhanhutu*, in this painting Zhong Kui's facial features are still meticulously reproduced, but his robe is rendered with relatively sketchy, loose, yet vigorous brushstrokes.

Probably the most ambitious and exquisite painting of mythological figures made by Ren Yi is a screen entitled *Qunxian zhushou tu* 群仙祝壽圖 (dated 1878, Gathering of the Immortals in Wishes of Long Life, Association of the Artists,

⁶⁷Xue Yongnian 薛永年, *Ren Bonian* 任伯年 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1998), 14.

Shanghai; figures 11 & 12).⁶⁸ This screen is made up of twelve hanging scrolls, all done on gold foil paper. Originally, it may have been made up of sixteen hanging scrolls.⁶⁹ It portrays forty-six figures assembled to celebrate the birthday of *Xi wangmu* 西王母 (Queen Mother of the West) in wishes of her longevity. The forty-six figures can be loosely divided into three groups: Sixteen immortals coming to attend the birthday feast by traveling along the sea (two have already landed), *Xi wangmu* and her attendants (eleven in all) descending from the sky, and nineteen people singing, dancing, or busy preparing the feast on land. The theme of this screen is excerpted from a larger story in Chinese mythology referred to as *Pantao hui* 蟠桃會 (Feast of the Peaches).⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Originally, this screen was collected by Qian Jingtang 錢鏡塘. According to Ding Xiyuan, Qian Jingtang, the connoisseur and collector, found this screen at an antique shop in Shanghai and immediately recognized it as Ren Bonian's artwork when the owner of the antique shop attempted to melt the gold on this screen for money. There is no signature by Ren Yi on this screen. Zhang Shiyuan 張石園, a friend of Qian's and also a connoisseur, made an inscription which reads, "one of the authentic sets of *qunxian zhushou tu* by Ren Bonian (12 hanging scrolls in total); [Ren Bonian] painted it at around the age of 38 [ca. 1878]; Shiyuan *jushi* 居士 made this inscription." See Ding Xiyuan, *Ren Bonian: nianpu, lunwen, zhen cun, and zuopin* (Ren Bonian: Chronology, Theses, Artifacts and Works), 42.

⁶⁹ Judging from the arrangement of the scenes, the correspondence among the figures, as well as the whole composition, the existing *qunxian zhushou tu* made up of 12 hanging scrolls may not be a complete version. Originally, this screen may be made up of 16 hanging scrolls. See *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ It is said that this feast was held at *Xi wangmu*'s palace situated in Kunlun 崑崙 mountains. According to the mythology, "the feast itself 'took place on the borders of the Yao Ch'ih [Jasper Lake], and is attended by both male and female immortals. Besides several superfine meats, they were served with bears' paws, monkeys' lips, dragons' liver, phoenix marrow, and peaches gathered in the orchard, endowed with the mystic virtue of conferring longevity on all who have the good luck to taste them. It was by these peaches that the date of the banquet was fixed. The tree put forth leaves once every three thousand years, and it required three thousand years after that

Qunxian zhushou tu best represents Ren Yi's talent as a professional painter during his early artistic life. Ren's creativity and gift as a painter is evidently manifested by his ability to deal with such a complex and diverse scene in such an orderly and harmonious way. Each of the twelve hanging scrolls is not only harmoniously integrated into the whole screen, but also on its own can function as a piece of exquisite painting. The re-creation of the figures in the screen represents Ren's figure painting accomplishments in the style of Chen Hongshou 陳洪綬 (1598-1652), which is characterized by meticulous brushwork and bright colors.

However, although the screen shows an imaginary grand banquet held in Heaven, it still has a strong link with reality. Ren Yi may have intended to suggest that some similar event happened on earth, as can be seen from the immortals' expressions and manners. They look almost the same as the common people on earth, although they are rendered in archaic and strange forms. It can be inferred that this screen might have been commissioned by some wealthy merchant in Shanghai to serve as a birthday gift for his mother or grandmother, because of such closeness to reality and the existing "custom of presenting women fifty years of age with an image of Hsi Wang-mu."⁷¹

In addition to pictures of mythological figures, Ren also painted pictures of legendary and historical figures. Like mythological figures, legendary and historical

for the fruit to ripen. These were Hsi Wang-mu's birthdays, when all the immortals assembled for the great feast, the occasion being more festive than solemn, for there was music in invisible instruments and songs not from mortal tongues." See Soong, "A Visual Experience in Nineteenth-Century China: Jen Po-nien (1840-1895) and the Shanghai School of Painting," 88.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 89.

figures were also popular among the common people and thus were in great demand in the art market of nineteenth-century Shanghai. For example, Ren painted *Fengchen sanxia* (Three Chivalrous Warriors) several times. The three warriors here are Qiu ran gong 虬髯公, Li Jing 李靖 and Hong fou nu 紅拂女, who are legendary figures from a novel titled *Qiu ran ke zhuan* 虬髯客傳 (Biography of Qiu ran ke) written during the Tang dynasty. Hong fou nu, originally a singing girl belonging to the minister Yang Su 楊素 of the Sui dynasty, was deeply impressed by Li Jing when Li Jing met her master, and thus she eloped with him. On the way to Taiyuan 太原, they met Qiu ran gong. Hong Fou nu considered Qiu as a hero and thus became his sworn sister. Then Qiu took Hong and Li to his home and gave all his property and treasure to Li, so that Li could help a wise master to make his name in the near future, while Qiu himself went somewhere else to start a new career.⁷²

The hanging scroll *Fengchen sanxia* made in 1880 (Shanghai Museum, figure 13) particularly represents Ren Yi's style during the prime of his artistic life in Shanghai. In this painting Ren did not exactly reproduce the scene according to the description in the novel *Qiu ran ke zhuan* (Biography of Qiu ran ke). For example, the setting of this painting seems to be in a city, rather than in the regions north of The Great Wall 塞外, where the three chivalrous warriors met and departed. It seems that here Ren paid more attention to the composition, coloring and design of the painting itself. According to Li Chu-ting, such an unusual painting may reflect that “Ren Bonian [during his prime of artistic life] turned from depictions of real people and scenes to [those that] emphasize changes of appearance, color, lines, and forms.

⁷² Cited in Shan Guoqiang, *Ren Bonian*, 62. For Chinese text, see Appendix I (14).

Thus such paintings mainly function as decoration, which is characteristic of the Shanghai school.”⁷³

Genre Scenes of Ordinary People

Ren painted a few genre scenes, but not many. Such paintings of ordinary people were close to reality and thus easily identifiable and accessible to the populace, who were usually not well educated and purchased paintings mainly for decoration. In consequence, his genre scenes expanded Ren’s potential audience and customers, and thus undoubtedly were beneficial to Ren’s career as a professional painter in Shanghai. *Wan niao ren* 玩鳥人 (Man Playing with a Bird, 1882, China Art Academy, Shanghai; figure 14) is a typical example, reflecting the leisure life of the wealthy in the nineteenth-century China. The painting is of a pot-bellied man holding up a birdcage in one hand to look at the bird, his eyes narrowed, and meanwhile shaking a goose feather fan in the other hand. Some features of the subject indicate his wealth and high social status, e.g. his long fingernails and big belly. The representation here is very lively, spontaneous and humorous. *Mai rou tu* 賣肉圖 (“Selling Meat”, probably painted in 1881, Palace Museum, Taipei; figure 15) is another typical example. It represents a scene in which an old man with his little grandson waited for a butcher to sell them a piece of pork, while the butcher was busy weighing and chatting with another bearded middle-aged man. Here, three different expressions are vividly represented: (1) The butcher’s carefulness in weighing, (2) the bearded

⁷³ Li Chu-tsing and Wan Ching-li, *Zhongguo xiandai huihua shi: Wan Qing zhibu, 1840 zhi 1911* (History of Modern Chinese Painting: Paintings in the Late Qing Period, 1840-1911), 108. For Chinese text, see Appendix I (15).

middle-aged man's absent-mindedness in chatting, and (3) the eagerness of the old man and his grandson waiting for a piece of pork from the butcher. As a matter of fact, Ren's way of depicting of subjects which reflect urban culture and life is influential in the general painting style of the Shanghai school. As Li Chu-tsing points out, "He [Bonian] portrays ordinary people as heroic characters and thus combines elegance with vulgarity, which sets a good example for the painting style of the Shanghai school."⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Ibid. For Chinese text, see Appendix I (16).

Chapter 4

Historical Background of Commercialism in Ren Yi's Figure Painting: Eighteenth-Century Yangzhou Painting

In addition to the economic, social and cultural circumstances in late nineteenth-century Shanghai, there is another important historical factor which influenced Ren Yi's figure painting; that is, the legacy of eighteenth-century Yangzhou painting. Historically, the commercialism manifested in eighteenth-century Yangzhou painting, especially in artworks by *Yangzhou baguai* 揚州八怪 (the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou), had significant impact on Ren Yi's figure painting.

Eighteenth-Century Yangzhou Painting: The Forerunner of the Shanghai School

Yangzhou, once called Guangling 廣陵 in ancient times, was the most prosperous city in China during the eighteenth century. Located on the northern bank of the Yangtze River, Yangzhou first became an important city during the Six Dynasties. But its days of glory began with Sui Dynasty, when the Grand Canal 大運河 linking the rice-producing Jiangnan 江南 area with the capital Luoyang 洛陽 was built, rendering Yangzhou a pivot connecting the lower Yangtze River area with the political center in the north. From the Tang Dynasty on, "[w]ith an influx of material goods from its hinterland, Yangchow was a trade center for commodities, such as tea, salt, rice, and handicrafts, as well as industry and services, such as marine

architecture, jewelry making, and entertainment.”⁷⁵ However, it was during the eighteenth century, with the establishment of the Salt Transportation Superintendency 兩淮鹽運使 by the Qing government and the continued Ming policy granting this city the privilege of monopolizing the salt trade, that Yangzhou came to be the most economically powerful city in China. At that time Yangzhou replaced Suzhou as China’s most prosperous city. Accordingly, the salt merchants of Yangzhou, most of whom originally came from Huizhou 徽州 (a poor mountainous region in south Anhui 安徽 province), became fabulously wealthy. It is reported that, “[D]uring most of the eighteenth century, the so-called golden age of the Liang-huai salt merchants, Yangchow merchants controlled the salt supply to one-quarter of the population of the empire, which numbered about 300 million by 1800. The merchants’ average aggregated profit is estimated to have been about 5 million taels of silver annually during the latter half of the eighteenth century.”⁷⁶

With the economic prosperity of Yangzhou came heightened interest in culture. Scholars, poets, painters, and other members of cultural and intellectual circles were attracted to the city, and great art collections and libraries were established. Literary gatherings became one of the fashionable activities in Yangzhou. The painting *The Literary Gathering at a Yangzhou Garden* (1743, The Cleveland Museum of Art, figure 16) is a case in point. It shows the brothers Ma Yueguan 馬曰

⁷⁵ Ginger Cheng-chi Hsü, *A Bushel of Pearls: Paintings for Sale in Eighteenth-Century Yangzhou* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 4.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

瑄 (1686-1755) and Ma Yuelu 馬曰璐 (1697-after 1766)⁷⁷ hosting a party with sixteen members of the Han-jiang shishe 韓江詩社 who are divided into five groups in a garden, engaging in leisure activities such as reciting poetry, flower culling, music making, and painting appreciation.

The most influential artistic group in eighteenth-century Yangzhou is known as *Yangzhou baguai* 揚州八怪 (the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou), although their number was not limited to eight, and they were not necessarily eccentric. They included such painters as Hua Yan 華岳 (1682-1756), Gao Fenghan 高鳳翰 (1683-1748), Wang Shishen 汪士慎 (1686-1759), Li Shan 李鱣 (1686-1762), Chen Zhuan 陳撰 (1686-?), Jin Nong 金農 (1687-1763), Huang Shen 黃慎 (1687-ca.1772), Gao Xiang 高翔 (1688-1753), Zheng Xie 鄭燮 (1693-1765), Li Fangying 李方膺 (1697-1756), Yang Fa 楊法 (1690-?), Min Zhen 閔貞 (1730-?), Luo Ping 羅聘 (1733-1799), and a number of others. Some of them were native to the Yangzhou area, but most of them were immigrants. Because Yangzhou had a reputation for great wealth and generous patronage, these artists were attracted to the city in search of a private mode of expression, and to sell their art for a living.

In a sense, *Yangzhou baguai* can be called the forerunner of the Shanghai school, particularly in terms of their painting style and the subject matter of their artworks. *Yangzhou baguai* used brush, ink, and color in personal and expressive ways. Their painting turned away from Orthodox artistic statements that did not allow

⁷⁷ The two Mas, wealthy Anhui salt merchants whose family was in its third generation of residence in Yangzhou, were known as the most generous patrons of art and culture in Yangzhou. For a detailed discussion about the two Mas, see *Ibid.*, 17-63.

for personal expression. It seems that most of the painters in Yangzhou were “far less concerned with broad, general issues than with their own personal feelings and tragedies.”⁷⁸ As to the subject matter of Yangzhou painting, the Yangzhou painters explored new areas of subject matter related to the mundane aspects of daily life, in addition to the traditional literati subjects such as the “Four Gentlemen” 四君子 (the plum blossom, bamboo, orchid, and chrysanthemum), and the “Three Friends of Winter” 歲寒三友 (the pine, bamboo, and plum blossom). For instance, Luo Ping painted ghosts (*Two Ghosts*, date unknown, location unknown, figure 17) and informal portraits (*Portrait of the Artist’s Friend Yi’An*, Ching Yuan Chai Collection, figure 18), and Huang Shen painted common people in their everyday surroundings (*Genre Figures at Play*, 1730, Ching Yuan Chai Collection, figure 19), and informal figure paintings (*Sounding a Musical Stone*, probably 1739, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa; figure 20). Furthermore, there seemed to be “specialization in subject matter”⁷⁹ for the eighteenth-century Yangzhou painters. As Chu-ting Li points out,

Thus Wang Shishen first and Jin Nong later were known for their plum blossoms. Zheng Xie was most famous for his bamboos and orchids. Li Shan and Li Fangyin were specialists in flowers and plants and pine trees. Huang Shen was mainly a figure painter. Luo Ping caused a sensation when he painted ghosts. Hua Yan though versatile was well known for his birds and flowers in colors as well as in historical

⁷⁸ Li, “Eighteenth-Century Foundations in Modern Chinese Painting,” 323.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 322.

subjects and personages. Gao Fenghan, after his right arm was handicapped in the middle of his life, became known for his left-handed paintings.⁸⁰

All the abovementioned characteristics of Yangzhou painting, i.e., personal and expressive painting style, exploration of new areas of subject matter related to the mundane aspects of daily life, and specialization in subject matter, “can be said to be the result of a business-dominated society, first [found] in Yangzhou and later in Shanghai.”⁸¹

However, although both the Yangzhou painters and Shanghai painters lived by painting, the Yangzhou artists showed more reluctance to be placed exclusively in a commercial world and in the position of having to please their patrons than the Shanghai painters in the late nineteenth century. In Zheng Xie’s letter to his brother, he mentioned that it was both vulgar and disgrace to have been forced to earn a living by calligraphy or painting.⁸² As a matter of fact, the eighteenth-century Yangzhou painters were essentially literati, although they made a living by selling their artworks like the professional painters. Some of them acquired *jinshi* 進士 degrees and served as officials; some even served at court in Beijing. Others were from literati families with good backgrounds in poetry, calligraphy, and painting. A few may have been

⁸⁰ Ibid. , 322-323.

⁸¹ Ibid. , 324.

⁸² Vita Giacalone, *The Eccentric Painters of Yangzhou* (New York: China House Gallery; China Institute in America, 1990), 14.

originally of lower status, but they seemed to aspire to be literati painters.⁸³ In contrast, the nineteenth-century Shanghai painters were essentially professionals, although a few of them, such as Zhang Zhiwan 張之萬 (1811-1897) and Weng Tonghe 翁同龢 (1830-1904), still served as officials of high rank and painted in the typical literati style. The Shanghai painters openly and shamelessly painted whatever was pleasing to the public in order to live by their artworks. Many Shanghai artists came to this metropolis in order to seek their fortunes, and thus they were equivalent to independent businessmen, no longer pretending to be high-minded literati painters who painted only for their own entertainment and self-cultivation as before. Their art was intentionally made for the market, and they had no qualms about painting for such a commercial purpose. As Stella Lee comments, “[I]t was only when the domination of society by the commercial bourgeoisie reached its full vitality in nineteenth century Shanghai that the artists were able to overcome their scruples and enjoy unashamedly the profits they had earned by their own efforts.”⁸⁴

⁸³ For the general biographical notes concerning members of *Yangzhou baguai*, see *Ibid.*, 32-68.

⁸⁴ Stella Yu Lee, “Art Patronage of Shanghai in the Nineteenth Century,” in *Artists and Patrons: Some Social and Economic Aspects of Chinese Painting*, edited by Chu-tsing Li (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1989), 225-226.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

Based on the analysis in the previous chapters, it can be concluded that Ren Yi's figure painting in a sense functions as a commodity created for a specific art market; it is not made just for art's sake or for the painter's own entertainment, as was what the literati amateur painters had done before. Such commercialism is best manifested in three major categories of Ren's figure painting: Namely, portraits, narratives of mythological, legendary and historical figures, and genre scenes of ordinary people. The three categories of Ren's figure painting suggest three strategies for Ren to live by painting: (1) Making connections to establish himself in Shanghai through portraits, (2) catering to the tastes and needs of the populace through narratives, and (3) expanding his potential audience and customers through genre scenes.

The commercialism in Ren Yi's figure painting had a close relationship not only with the circumstances in Shanghai, where a majority of the artworks were produced, but also with Ren Yi's personal experiences as a professional painter, as well as the historical legacy of commercialism in eighteenth-century Yangzhou painting. First of all, the commercialism in Ren's figure painting is directly related to the rapid growth of Shanghai and its dramatic development into a commercial center during the late nineteenth century. Secondly, seen from Ren Yi's biographical notes, it can be inferred that, as a professional painter, Ren had to tailor his artworks to meet the demands of his patrons and potential customers. Thirdly, from an historical

standpoint, the commercialism in Ren's figure painting is heavily influenced by the commercialism in eighteenth-century Yangzhou painting. In a sense, the Yangzhou painting anticipates the Shanghai painting, particularly in terms of painting style and subject matter.

The economic aspect of artworks, or commercialism, is a very hot topic in the field of art history. To put the artworks in the perspective of social-economic art history, one can see the value and quality which they possess, beyond the objects themselves. Such analysis contributes to comprehensive understanding of the artworks. Although this thesis does not include any discussion of general ideas about commercialism in artworks, this topic is itself also worthy of further study.

Ren Yi is one of the most outstanding Shanghai painters in the Chinese art world during the late nineteenth century. He is an expert in figure painting. To relate commercialism to Ren's figure painting is a tentative attempt to better understand the issue of commercialism and the artist himself.

FIGURES



Figure 1. Ren Yi and Hu Yuan, *Portrait of Ren Songyun*, 1869. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 172.7 x 47.1 cm. Beijing, Palace Museum. *Source: Shan Guoqiang, Ren Bonian*, p.7.



Figure 2. Ren Yi, *Dongjin huabie tu* (Saying Farewell at the Ling Bridge in Ningbo), 1868. Handroll, ink and color on paper, 34.3 x 136 cm. China Art Gallery, Beijing.
Source: Shan Guoqiang, *Ren Bonian*, p.14.



Figure 3. Ren Yi, *Jiaolin huansu tu* (Escaping the heat in the shade of banana palms), 1872. Hanging scroll. Location unknown. *Source*: Ding Xiyuan, *Ren Bonian* n 40



Figure 4. Ren Yi, *Portrait of Jin Nong's Noon Nap beneath Banana Palms*, inscription dated 1760. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper. Shanghai Museum. *Source*: Richard Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self: Chinese Portraits, 1600-1900*, plate 13.



Figure 5. Ren Yi and Hu Yuan, *Portrait of Gao Yongzhi at Age Twenty-eight*, 1877. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper. Shanghai Museum. *Source*: Shan Guoqiang, *Ren Bonian*, p.20.



Figure 6. Ren Yi, *Hengyun shanmin xingqi tu* (The Hengyun Mountain Man as a Traveling Beggar), 1868. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper, 147 x 42 cm. Central Academy of Fine Arts, Beijing. *Source*: Li Chu-tsing, and Wan Ching-li, *Zhongguo xiandai huihua shi: Wan Qing zhibu, 1840 zhi 1911*, Fig. 2.73.



Figure 7. Ren Yi, *Sanyou tu* (Three Friends), 1884. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 36.1 x 63.5 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing. *Source*: Shan Guoqiang, *Ren Bonian*, p.89.

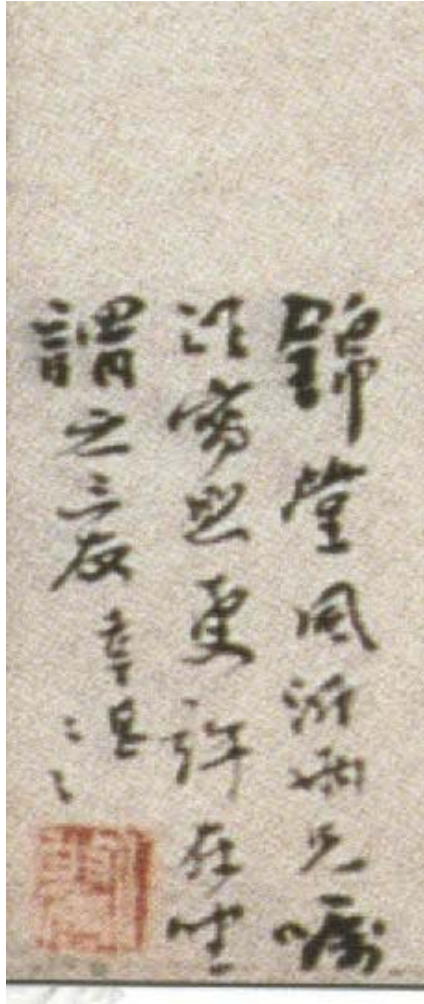


Figure 8. Ren Yi, *Sanyou tu*, inscription.



Figure 9. Ren Yi, *Zhong Kui zhanhutu* (Image of Zhong Kui killing a fox spirit), 1878. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 134.3 x 65.5 cm. Museum of Art, Tianjin. *Source*: Xue Yongnian, *Ren Bonian*, p.15.



Figure 10. Ren Yi, *Image of Zhong Kui*, 1887. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 76 x 143 cm. Duo Yun Xuan, Shanghai. *Source*: Shan Guoqiang, *Ren Bonian*, p.101.



Figures 11 & 12. Ren Yi, *Qunxian zhushou tu* (Gathering of the Immortals in Wishes of Long Life), 1878. Screen (12 hanging scrolls), ink and color on gold foil, each 206.8 x 59.5 cm. Association of the Artists, Shanghai. *Source*: Xue Yongnian, *Ren Bonian*, pp.10-11.



Figure 13. Ren Yi, *Fengchen sanxia* (Three chivalrous warriors), 1880. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 122.7 x 47 cm. Shanghai Museum. Source: Li Chu-tsing, and Wan Ching-li *Zhongguo xiandai huihua shi: Wan Qing zhibu, 1840 zhi 1911*, Fig. 2.83.



Figure 14. Ren Yi, *Wan niao ren* (Man playing with a bird), 1882. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 34.5 x 36 cm. China Art Academy, Shanghai. *Source: Wang Jingxian, Ren Bonian zuo pin ji.*



Figure 15. Ren Yi, *Mai rou tu* (Selling meat), probably 1881. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper. Palace Museum, Taipei. *Source: Li Chu-tsing, and Wan Ching-li, Zhongguo xiandai huihua shi: Wan Qing zhibu, 1840 zhi 1911, Fig. 2.84.*



Figure 16. Fang Shishu and Ye Fanglin, *The Literary Gathering at a Yangzhou Garden*, 1743. Handscroll, ink and color on silk. 31.7 x 203.8 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art. *Source*: Vita Giacalone, *The Eccentric Painters of Yangzhou*, pp.18-19.



Figure 17. Luo Ping, *Two Ghosts*, date unknown. Fan mounted as album leaf, ink and light color on paper, 28 x 62.2 cm. Location unknown. *Source*: Vita Giacalone, *The Eccentric Painters of Yangzhou*, No.32.



Figure 18. Luo Ping, *Portrait of the Artist's Friend Yi'An*, 1798. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 119.4 x 43.8 cm. Ching Yuan Chai Collection. *Source*: Vita Giacalone, *The Eccentric Painters of Yangzhou*, No.31.



Figure 19. Huang Shen, *Genre Figures at Play*, leaf J: *Five Musicians*, 1730. Album of twelve leaves, ink and color on paper, each 34.4 x 44.1 cm. Ching Yuan Chai Collection. Source: Vita Giacalone, *The Eccentric Painters of Yangzhou*, No.19.



Figure 20. Huang Shen, *Sounding a Musical Tone*, probably 1739. Hanging scroll, ink and light color on paper, 115.5 x 60.3 cm. National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. Source: Vita Giacalone, *The Eccentric Painters of Yangzhou*, No.20.

APPENDIX I: THE CITED CHINESE TEXTS

- (1) 賈于戶者，大抵皆無目者流耳，即慾攀附風雅，不惜重金購求書畫，亦徒震于其名，非有真賞也。(Chapter 1, page 10)
- (2) 自海禁一開，貿易之盛，無過于海上一隅，而以硯田為生者，亦皆于于而來，僑居賣畫。(Chapter 1, page 11)
- (3) 嘗有松江府某太守遣僕持金請胡（公壽）畫。胡見其持金少，對來使曰：‘謝汝主人，我不識何者為官，但須如我潤格始畫。’(Chapter 1, page 13)
- (4) 任伯年十二、三歲時，居住家鄉蕭山習畫，有次在農村見到兩牛相鬥，他即撩起長衫代替紙張，在上面用手指劃出牛鬥之狀，回家後就創作了一幅《鬥牛圖》，並在上面題詩一首：‘丹青來自萬物中，指甲可以當筆用。若問此畫如何成，看余袍上指刻痕。’(Chapter 2, page 16)
- (5) …… 迨父卒（伯年約十五六歲），即轉徙上海，是時任渭長有大名于南中，伯年以謀食之故，自畫折扇多面，偽書渭長款，置于街頭地上售之，而自守于旁，渭長適偶行遇之，細審冒己名之畫實佳，心竊異之，猝然問曰：‘此畫是誰所畫？’伯年答曰：‘任渭長所畫。’又問曰：‘任渭長是汝何人？’答曰：‘是我爺叔。’又追問曰：‘你認識他否？’伯年心知不妙，忸怩答曰：‘你要買就買去，不要買就算了，何必追根究底！’渭長夷然曰：‘我要問此扇究竟是誰畫。’伯年曰：‘兩角錢那裏買得到真的任渭長畫扇。’渭長乃曰：‘我就是任渭長。’伯年羞愧無地自容，默然良久不作一聲。渭長曰：‘不要緊，但我必慾知這些究誰所畫。’伯年僞促答曰：‘是我自己畫的，聊資糊口而已。’渭長因問：‘童何姓？’答曰：‘姓任，習問當年父親常談渭長之畫，且是叔伯輩，及來滬，又知先生大名，故畫扇偽託先生之名，賺錢度日。’渭長曰：‘汝父何在？’答曰：‘已故。’問：‘汝真喜歡作畫否？’伯年首肯。渭長曰：‘讓汝隨我們學畫如何？’伯年大喜，渭窮奈何！渭長乃令其赴蘇州，從其弟阜長長居，且遂習畫。(Chapter 2, pages 17-18)
- (6) 客游甬上已閱四年，萬丈个亭及朵峰諸君子，一見均如舊識。宵篝燈，雨戴笠，琴歌酒賦，探勝尋幽，相賞無虛日。江山之助，友生之樂，斯

游洵不負矣。茲將隨叔阜長橐筆游金閭，廉始亦計北上，行有日矣，朶峰抱江淹賦別之悲，觸王粲登樓之思，爰寫此圖，以誌星萍之感。同治七年二月花朝後十日，山陰任頤次遠甫倚裝畫並記於甘溪寓次。
(Chapter 2, pages 20-21)

- (7) …… 不獨面目逼真，呼之慾出已也。(Chapter 2, page 21)
- (8) 粵商索畫者纍候（伯年）不遇，值其自外歸，尾之入，伯年即登樓，返顧曰：‘內房止步，內房止步！’相傳為笑柄。(Chapter 2, page 22)
- (9) 胡為錢業工會所禮聘，（為伯年）揚譽自易為力，且代覓古香箋扇店安設筆硯。不數年，名聲大噪。(Chapter 3, page 26)
- (10) 同治七年之冬，胡公壽自題。(Chapter 3, page 27)
- (11) …… 吾知其抑塞磊落之不平。…… (Chapter 3, page 27)
- (12) 錦堂、風沂兩兄囑頤寫照，更許在坐，謂之三友，幸甚幸甚。
(Chapter 3, page 28)
- (13) …… 中坐者曾鳳寄，錦堂左向坐，伯年右向坐，皆僧衣，……
(Chapter 3, page 28)
- (14) 紅拂女原是隋朝大臣楊素的歌伎，一次李靖謁見楊素時，見李舉止不凡，遂深夜出奔，與李靖同往太原。途遇虬髯公，紅拂女慧眼識英雄，主動結拜為兄妹。虬髯公將他們帶至家中，把家產和珍寶盡贈李靖，助他匡輔英王，成就勛業，自己則遠走異城，另開天地。(Chapter 3, page 34)
- (15) …… 任伯年已從真人實景的描寫，轉變成為完全注重於畫面、色彩、綫條，事物形式的變化，係以裝飾性為主，而成為「海派」重要的表現特色。(Chapter 3, page 35)
- (16) …… 他將一般市井人物描繪成有如英雄般的風味，合雅俗而為一，成為「海派」畫風的榜樣之一。…… (Chapter 3, page 36)

APPENDIX II: LIST OF REN YI'S FIGURE PAINTINGS

Sources:

Abbreviation	Author & Title
<i>Bonian</i>	Shan, Guoqian 單國強, <i>RenBonian</i> 任伯年
<i>DXY</i>	Ding Xiyuan 丁羲元, <i>Ren Bonian: nianpu, lunwen, zhen cun, and zuopin</i> 任伯年：年譜，論文，珍存，作品 (Ren Bonian: Chronology, Theses, Artifacts and Works)
<i>GCX</i>	Gong, Chanxing 龔產興, ed. <i>Ren Bonian yanjiu</i> 任伯年研究 (Studies on Ren Bonian)
<i>Hanmo</i>	<i>Hanmo</i> 翰墨, vol. 28 Ren Bonian ren wu hua te ji 任伯年人物畫特集
<i>Jingpin</i>	<i>Ren Bonian jingpin ji</i> 任伯年精品集 (Collection of Ren Bonian's masterpieces)
<i>Ren</i>	<i>Zhongguo jinxindai mingjia huaji: Ren Bonian</i> 中國近現代名家畫集：任伯年 (Collection of Paintings in Modern China: Ren Bonian)
<i>Wan Qing</i>	Li, Chu-tsing 李鑄晉, and Wan, Ching-li 萬青力, <i>Zhongguo xiandai huihua shi: Wan Qing zhibu, 1840 zhi 1911</i> 中國現代繪畫史：晚清之部 (History of Modern Chinese Painting: Paintings in the Late Qing Period, 1840 to 1911)
<i>XYN</i>	Xue Yongnian 薛永年, <i>Ren Bonian</i> 任伯年
<i>Zuopin</i>	Wang, Jingxian 王靖憲, <i>Ren Bonian zuopin ji</i> 任伯年作品集 (Collection of Ren Bonian's Artworks)

Year	Title	Format	Dimension	Location	Illustration	Textual Reference
1865	<i>Yulou ren zui xinghua tian</i> 玉樓人醉杏花天	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper; ink and color on paper	N/A	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 23	
	<i>Renwu</i> 人物	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper; ink and color on paper	N/A	Private Collection (Lin Erqing 林爾卿)		<i>GCX</i> p.66
	<i>Shinü</i> 仕女	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper; ink and color on paper	128.9 x 32.9 cm	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>Ren</i> plate 1 <i>Bonian</i> p.35	
1866	<i>Xiaoji Jiang huabie tu</i> 小 浹江話別圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 24 <i>Jingpin</i> plate 1 <i>Ren</i> plate 2 <i>DXY</i> plate 31 <i>Bonian</i> p.13 <i>Bonian</i> p.41	
	<i>Fang Qiaoling zhi zunren xiang</i> 方樵齡之尊人像	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown		<i>DXY</i> p.19

1866	<i>Meihua shi' nü tu</i> 梅花仕女圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Zhejiang Provincial Museum, Hangzhou		<i>DXY</i> p.19 <i>GCX</i> p.66
	<i>Ershisi xiaotu</i> 二十四孝圖	Album leaf; ink and color on paper	15.4 x 20.7 cm	Guangdong Provincial Museum, Guangzhou		<i>DXY</i> pp.19-20 <i>GCX</i> p.66
1867	<i>Songxia wedao</i> 松下問道	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Museum of Art, Tianjin	<i>Wan Qing</i> plate 2.74	
	<i>Fengchen sanxia tu</i> 風塵三俠圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	114.8 x 43.6 cm	Suzhou city Museum, Suzhou	<i>Ren</i> plate 3	
	<i>Fanhu Jushi sishiba sui xiaoxiang</i> (Zhou Xianxiang) 范湖居士四十八歲小像 (周閑像)	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Zhejiang Provincial Museum, Hangzhou		<i>DXY</i> pp.20-21 <i>GCX</i> p.66
	<i>Sanxia tu</i> 三俠圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Art Gallery in memory of Xu Beihong, Beijing		<i>DXY</i> p.21

1867	<i>Songxia wedao</i> 松下問道	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	146.5 x 40 cm	People's Fine Arts Publishing House, Tian Jin	<i>Ren</i> plate 3	
1868	<i>Dongjin huabie tu</i> 東津話別圖	Handscroll; ink and color on paper	34.1 x 135.8 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>Jingpin</i> plate 14 <i>XYN</i> pp.4-5 <i>Zuopin</i> plate 27 <i>GCX</i> plates 6-7 <i>Hanmo</i> pp.56-57 <i>Bonian</i> pp.14-15	
	<i>Boying sishi xiaoxiang tu</i> 伯英四十小像圖	Handscroll; ink and color on paper	43.2 x 132.2 cm	Suzhou City Museum, Suzhou		<i>GCX</i> p.67
	<i>Ren Fuchang xiang</i> 任阜長像	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	116.5 x 31 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>Jingpin</i> plate 5	
	<i>Liusheng xiang</i> 榴生像	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Nanjing Museum, Nanjing	<i>Jingpin</i> plate 2 <i>Zuopin</i> plate 30	
	<i>Doumei tu</i> 鬥梅圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	108.5 x 43.8 cm	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>Ren</i> plate 6 <i>Jingpin</i> plate 4 <i>Bonian</i> p.53	

1868	<i>Hengyun Shanmin xingqi tu</i> 橫雲山民行乞圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	147 x 41.5 cm	Central Academy of Fine Arts, Beijing	<i>Ren</i> plate 213 <i>Zuopin</i> plate 28 <i>Bonian</i> p.16 <i>Wan Qing</i> plate 2.73	
	<i>Hu Gongshou furen xiang</i> 胡公壽夫人像	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	131 x 53 cm	Art Gallery in memory of Xu Beihong, Beijing	<i>Ren</i> plate 167 <i>Jingpin</i> plate 8 <i>Bonian</i> p.15	
	<i>Peiqiu furen xiaoxiang</i> 佩秋夫人小像	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	159.7 x 48.3 cm	Suzhou City Museum, Suzhou	<i>Ren</i> plate 8	
	<i>Sha Fu sanshijiu sui xiaoxiang</i> 沙馥三十九歲小像	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	128.4 x 32.3 cm	Jiangsu Provincial Museum, Nanjing	<i>Ren</i> plate 7 <i>Jingpin</i> plate 3 <i>Zuopin</i> plate 29	
	<i>Chen Yunsheng xiang</i> 陳允昇像	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Zhejiang Provincial Museum, Hangzhou		<i>GCX</i> p.67
1869	<i>Songyun xiansheng xiang</i> 淞雲先生像	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 31 <i>DXY</i> plate 28 <i>Bonian</i> p.7	

1869	<i>Chen Tuan xiang</i> 陳搏像	Round fan; ink and color on paper	N/A	Zhejiang Provincial Museum, Hangzhou		<i>DXY</i> p.26
	<i>Renwu</i> 人物	Handscroll; ink and color on silk	28 x 41.5 cm	Luxun Academy of Fine Arts, Shenyang		<i>GCX</i> p.68
1870	<i>Shenfu xiaoxiang</i> 深甫小像	Handscroll; ink and color on paper	40 x 95 cm	Duoyun Xuan (朵雲軒), Shanghai	<i>Hanmo</i> p.70 <i>DXY</i> plate 45	
	<i>Chuixiao yinfeng</i> 吹簫引鳳	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	76.8 x 40.5 cm	People's Fine Arts Publishing House, Tianjin	<i>Ren</i> plate 10	
	<i>Shitang xiansheng yingbin tu</i> 詩堂先生迎賓圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plates 33-34	
1870	<i>Yongzhi xiansheng wushisui zaochao tu xiaoxiang</i> 詠之先生五十歲早朝圖小像	Handscroll; ink and color on paper	66.6 x 139.7 cm	Shanghai Museum, Shanghai	<i>Hanmo</i> pp.54-55 <i>DXY</i> color plate 12 <i>Bonian</i> p.28	

1871	<i>Su Wu muyang</i> 蘇武牧羊	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	127.5 x 51.3 cm	Central Academy of Fine Arts, Beijing		<i>GCX</i> p.68 <i>DXY</i> p.28
	<i>Shitou maque lao shaoniani</i> 石頭麻雀老少年	Folding fan; ink and color on paper	N/A	Central Academy of Fine Arts, Beijing		<i>GCX</i> p.68
1872	<i>Xianrui tu</i> 獻瑞圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	149 x 78 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 43 <i>Jingpin</i> plate 6	
	<i>Lifo tu</i> 禮佛圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	104 x 32 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>Jingpin</i> plate 7 <i>Zuopin</i> plate 44	
	<i>Zhong Kui</i> 鍾馗	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	133.5 x 66.4 cm	Central Academy of Crafts and Fine Arts, Beijing	<i>Ren</i> plate 15	
	<i>Renwu</i> 人物 (Inscription: 壬申春孟寫，為仙苓仁兄大人雅屬。伯年任頤。)	Folding fan; ink and color on gold foil	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 35	

1872	<i>Jiaolin huansu tu</i> 蕉林道暑圖	Hanging scroll	N/A	Location unknown	<i>DXY</i> plate 8	
1873	<i>Ge Zhonghua xiang</i> 葛仲華像	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	118.6 x 60.3 cm	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>Ren</i> plate 18 <i>Jingpin</i> plate 18 <i>XYN</i> p.9 <i>DXY</i> plate 7 <i>Bonian</i> p.39	
	<i>Magu xianshou tu</i> 麻姑獻壽圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Nanjing Museum, Nanjing		<i>GCX</i> p.70
	<i>Renwu</i> 人物	Album	N/A	Location unknown		<i>DXY</i> p.31
1874	<i>Su Wu muyang</i> 蘇武牧羊	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	180.8 98.3 cm	Central Academy of Crafts and Fine Arts, Beijing	<i>Ren</i> plate 22	
	<i>Nü xian</i> 女仙	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	175 x 92 cm	Private Collection	<i>Ren</i> plate 23	
	<i>Erlao bingzuo tu</i> 二老并坐圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	116 x 57.8 cm	People's Fine Arts Publishing House, Tianjin	<i>Ren</i> plate 21	

1874	<i>Zhong Kui</i> 鍾馗 (Inscription: 同治甲戌端陽前三日, 伯年任頤寫于滬上寓 所。)	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 48	
	<i>Zhong Jinshi</i> 鍾進士	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	135 x 63.5 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>Ren</i> plate 19 <i>Wan Qing</i> plate 2.77	
1875	<i>Renwu</i> 人物	Folding fan; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown		<i>GCX</i> p.71
	<i>Shinü xianhe</i> <i>tu</i> 仕女仙鶴 圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown		<i>DCY</i> p.34
1876	<i>Kuixing tu</i> 魁 星圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknow	<i>Wan Qing</i> plate 2.78	
	<i>Shenyng tu</i> 神嬰圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Suzhou City Museum, Suzhou	<i>Ren</i> plate 214 <i>Zuopin</i> plate 432 <i>Bonian</i> p.18	

1876	<i>Xieqin fangyou tu</i> 攜琴訪友圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown		<i>DXY</i> p.36
1877	<i>Fengyu duqiao</i> 風雨渡橋	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	116x 52.5 cm	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>Ren</i> plate 29 <i>Bonian</i> p.65	
	<i>Queping zhongxuan</i> 雀屏中選	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	184 x 95 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>Jingpin</i> plate 19 <i>Zuopin</i> plate 57 <i>Bonian</i> p.47	
	<i>Yicheng xiaoxiang</i> 以誠小像	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Central Academy of Fine Arts, Beijing	<i>Ren</i> plate 27 <i>Zuopin</i> plates 58-59	
	<i>Shinong xiaoxiang</i> 石農小像 (Inscription: 光緒丁丑春作)	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	49 x 46.4 cm	Suzhou City Museum, Suzhou	<i>Ren</i> plate 31 <i>Zuopin</i> plate 52	
	<i>Shinong xiaoxiang</i> 石農小像 (Inscription: 光緒三年正月)	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	74.9 x 48.4 cm	Suzhou City Museum, Suzhou		<i>DXY</i> p.36 <i>G CX</i> p.71

1877	<i>Zhongying wushiliu sui xiaoxiang</i> 仲英五十六歲小像	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Private Collection (Dong Xiwen 董希文)	<i>Zuopin</i> plates 54-55 <i>GCX</i> plate 8	
	<i>Fanshi xiansheng wushi xiaoxiang</i> 飯石先生五十小像	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Private Collection (Qian Jingtang 錢鏡塘)	<i>Jingpin</i> plate 22 <i>Zuopin</i> plate 2	
	<i>Kuixing tu</i> 魁星圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	134 x 61 cm	Central Academy of Fine Arts, Beijing	<i>Ren</i> plate 28	
	<i>Quxie baofu tu</i> 驅邪保福圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>DXY</i> plate 49	
	<i>Zhong Kui xi gui tu</i> 鍾馗戲鬼圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Shanghai Museum, Shanghai		<i>DXY</i> p.37
	<i>Feng Jingshan xiang</i> 馮耕山像	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Shanghai Museum, Shanghai	<i>DXY</i> color plate 35	

1877	<i>Gao Yongzhi</i> <i>ershiba sui</i> <i>xiaoxiang</i> 高 邕之二十八 歲小像	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Shanghai Museum, Shanghai	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 56 <i>Bonian</i> p.20	
1878	<i>Shinü</i> 仕女	Round fan; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 68	
	<i>Zhubi Zhong</i> <i>Kui tu</i> 硃筆 鍾馗圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Shanghai Museum, Shanghai		<i>DXY</i> p.40
	<i>Zui Zhong</i> <i>Kui tu</i> 醉鍾 馗圖	Folding Fan; ink and color on paper	18 x 50 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>Jingpin</i> plate 27	
	<i>Zhong Kui</i> <i>zhuogui</i> 鍾馗 捉鬼	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	136 x 66.2 cm	Museum of Art, Tianjin	<i>Ren</i> plate 32 <i>XYN</i> p.14	
	<i>Chijian</i> <i>Zhong Kui tu</i> 持劍鍾馗圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown		<i>DXY</i> p.40
	<i>Fengchen</i> <i>sanxia</i> 風塵 三俠	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>DXY</i> color plate 27	

1878	<i>Wu Gan (Jutan)</i> <i>xiaoxiang</i> 吳淦 (鞠潭) 小像	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 67	
	<i>Chunjiang yufu tu</i> 春江漁父圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	135 x 75.2 cm	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>Ren</i> plate 36	
	<i>Qunxian zhushou tu</i> 群仙祝壽圖	Screen (12 Hanging scrolls); ink and color on gold foil	Each: 206.8 x 59.5 cm	Association of the Artists, Shanghai	<i>DXY</i> color plates 29-30 <i>Ren</i> plate 180 <i>Jingpin</i> plate 21 <i>XYN</i> pp.10-11 <i>Zuopin</i> plates 379-386	
1879	<i>Shinü</i> 仕女	Round fan; ink and color on paper	D: 25 cm	Najing Museum, Nanjing	<i>Jingpin</i> plate 24	
	<i>Muniu</i> 牧牛	Folding fan; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>DXY</i> color plate 16	
	<i>Cezhang shangmei</i> 策杖賞梅	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	118.5 x 24.5 cm	Private Collection (Low Chuck Tiew 劉作籌)	<i>Hanmo</i> p.61	

1879	<i>Taxue xunmei</i> 踏雪尋梅	Round fan; ink and color on paper	D: 28.7 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>XYN</i> p.13	
	<i>Lübei yinshi</i> 驢背吟詩	Round fan; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 3	
	<i>Shoushi tu</i> 授詩圖	Handscroll; ink and color on paper	97.7 x 51.7 cm	People's Fine Arts Publishing House, Tianjin	<i>Ren</i> plate 38 <i>XYN</i> p.8 <i>DXY</i> plate 3	
	<i>Wu Wenxun songxia xunshi xiaoxiang</i> 吳文恂松下尋詩小像	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Tianyi Ge 天一閣, Ningbo		<i>DXY</i> p.45
	<i>Gan Mo lianjian tu</i> 干莫煉劍圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>Ren</i> plate 39 <i>Zuopin</i> plate 74	
	<i>Ge Zhichuan yiju tu</i> 葛稚川移居圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Shanghai Museum, Shanghai	<i>DXY</i> color plate 31	
1880	<i>Zhong Kui zhuogui tu</i> 鍾馗捉鬼圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown		<i>DXY</i> p.46

1880	<i>Sanduo tu</i> 三多圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>DXY</i> plate 46	
	<i>Xunmei tu</i> 尋梅圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	174.5 x 48 cm	Private Collection (Lau Muikit 劉梅潔)	<i>Hanmo</i> p.78	
	<i>Shen Luting dushu tu</i> 沈蘆汀讀書圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	33 x 40 cm	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>Ren</i> plate 42 <i>Zuopin</i> plate 81 <i>Bonian</i> p.61	
	<i>Fengchen sanxia tu</i> 風塵三俠圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown		<i>DXY</i> p.48
	<i>Xinglü tu</i> 行旅圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	132.3 x 50 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>Jingpin</i> plate 30 <i>Zuopin</i> plate 82	
	<i>Fengchen sanxia tu</i> 風塵三俠圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	122.7 x 47 cm	Shanghai Museum, Shanghai	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 83 <i>Hanmo</i> cover plate <i>DXY</i> color plate 33 <i>Wanqing</i> plate 2.83	
	<i>Zhulin dushu xiang</i> 竹林讀書像	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown		<i>DXY</i> p.48

1880	<i>Renwu</i> 人物 (Inscription: 光緒庚辰春 三月吉日, 山陰任頤伯 年製)	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown		<i>GCX</i> p.76
	<i>Zhong Kui tu</i> 鍾馗圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plates 90-91 <i>GCX</i> plate 10	
	<i>Zhubi Zhong Kui xiang</i> 硃 筆鍾馗像	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	134 x 66 cm	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>XYN</i> p.14 <i>DXY</i> color plate 20	
	<i>Tingqin guanquan tu</i> 停琴觀泉圖	Handscroll; ink and color on paper	37.5 x 143 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 84 <i>Jingpin</i> plate 26	
	<i>Renwu</i> 人物 (Inscription: 光緒庚辰九 月吉日, 山 陰任頤伯年 寫于海上客 齋)	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown		<i>GCX</i> p.76
	<i>Baxian</i> 八仙	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plates 86-89	

1880	<i>Longnü muyang tu</i> 龍女牧羊圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown		<i>DXY</i> p.49
	<i>Su Wu muyang tu</i> 蘇武牧羊圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown		<i>DXY</i> p.49
	<i>Tang taizong pingzi tu</i> 唐太宗評字圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Private collection (Zhang Chengwang 章誠望)		<i>DXY</i> pp.49-50 <i>GCX</i> p.75
	<i>Renwu</i> 人物 Inscription: 光緒庚辰嘉平似省齋仁兄大人正之。伯年任頤)	Round fan; ink and color on silk	28 x 28 cm	Guangdong Provincial Museum, Guangzhou		<i>GCX</i> p.76
	<i>Zhang Yisan xiaoxiang</i> 張益三肖像	Handscroll; ink and color on paper	28.5 x 39.6 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>Jingpin</i> plate 23	
1881	<i>Renwu</i> 人物	Folding fan; ink and color on paper	24.9 x 53.1 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing		<i>GCX</i> p.77
	<i>Lütian'an xueshi tu</i> 綠天庵學詩圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	136.6 x 33 cm	Museum of Art, Tianjin	<i>Ren</i> plate 47	

1881	<i>Lúbei xunshi</i> 驢背尋詩	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	136.6 x 33 cm	Museum of Art, Tianjin	<i>Ren</i> plate 48	
	<i>Shuyu mudu</i> 疏雨牧讀	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	136.6 x 33 cm	Museum of Art, Tianjin	<i>Ren</i> plate 49	
	<i>Zhinü tu</i> 織女圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 96	
	<i>Xu Bu dugeng</i> 徐步督耕	Album; ink and color on paper	N/A	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>Zuopin</i> plates 97-98	
	<i>Yishi yiqi</i> 倚石奕棋	Album; ink and color on paper	N/A	Palace Museum, Beijing		<i>DXY</i> p.50
	<i>Zhong Kui</i> 鍾馗 (Inscription: 光緒辛巳五月五日, 山陰伯年任頤, 用禪門米計寫終南進士像, 并記于滬上寓舍。)	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>GCX</i> plate 11	

1881	<i>Xishan guanpu</i> 溪山觀瀑	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Palace Museum, Beijing		<i>DXY</i> p.51
	<i>Shanjian zhuozu tu</i> 山澗濯足圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Jingpin</i> plate 32 <i>Zuopin</i> plate 5	
	<i>Yufu tu</i> 漁父圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Shanghai Museum, Shanghai		<i>GCX</i> p.77
	<i>Yanziling Fuchun chuidiao tu</i> 嚴子陵富春垂釣圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	136.6 x 33 cm	Museum of Art, Tianjin	<i>Ren</i> plate 46	
	<i>Renwu huaniao</i> 人物花鳥	Album (12 leaves); ink and color on paper	N/A	Palace Museum, Beijing		<i>DXY</i> p.52
	<i>Renwu</i> 人物	Screen (4 Hanging scrolls); ink and color on paper	N/A	Museum of Art, Tianjin		<i>DXY</i> p.52
	<i>Sanxing tu</i> 三星圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Shanghai Museum, Shanghai		<i>DXY</i> p.78 <i>GCX</i> p.53

1881	<i>Shoutian bailu tu</i> 受天百祿圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Private Collection (Qian Jingtang 錢鏡塘)		<i>DXY</i> p.78 <i>GCX</i> p.53
	<i>Wu Zhongying xiang</i> 吳仲英像	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	150.6 x 64.8 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>Jingpin</i> plate 31 <i>Hanmo</i> p.47 <i>DXY</i> plate 25	
	<i>Su Wu muyang tu</i> 蘇武牧羊圖	Folding fan; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown		<i>GCX</i> p.78
	<i>Mai rou tu</i> 賣肉圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Palace Museum, Taipei	<i>Wan Qing</i> plate 2.84	
1882	<i>Wenchang Guan Yu xiang tu</i> 文昌關羽像圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown		<i>DXY</i> p.54
	<i>Kuixing tu</i> 魁星圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown		<i>DXY</i> p.54
	<i>Renwu</i> 人物	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	121.6 x 27.3 cm	Liaoning Provincial Museum, Shenyang	<i>Bonian</i> p.77	

1882	<i>Su Wu</i> <i>muyang</i> 蘇武 牧羊	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>GCX</i> plate 14	
	<i>Huang daxian</i> 黃大仙	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	128 x 66.5 cm	Private Collection	<i>Hanmo</i> p.17	
	<i>Wuyue piqiu</i> 五月披裘	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	182.1 x 48.1 cm	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>Ren</i> plate 54 <i>Bonian</i> p.69	
	<i>Renwu</i> 人物 (Inscription: 光緒壬午伯年, 任頤)	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>GCX</i> plate 12	
	<i>Guanhe yiwang</i> <i>xiaosuo</i> 關河 一望蕭索	Album leaf; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>GCX</i> plate 13	
	<i>Zhong Kui</i> 鍾馗	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	104 x 33.2 cm	Central Academy of Crafts and Fine Arts, Beijing	<i>Ren</i> plate 63	
	<i>Denggao tu</i> 登高圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 128	

1882	<i>Fengchen sanxia tu</i> 風塵三俠圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	182.1 x 48,1 cm	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>Ren</i> plate 53 <i>Jingpin</i> plate 35 <i>Zuopin</i> plate 136 <i>Bonian</i> p.63	
	<i>Shinü yingxi</i> 仕女嬰戲	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Palace Museum, Beijing		<i>DXY</i> p.55 <i>GCX</i> p.78
	<i>Xiaohong dichang wo chuixiao</i> 小紅低唱我吹蕭	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	184 x 45.5 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>Jingpin</i> plate 40 <i>Zuopin</i> plate 127 <i>Hanmo</i> E8 <i>DXY</i> color plate 4	
	<i>Renwu</i> 人物	Round fan; ink and color on silk	27.2 x 29 cm	Suzhou City Museum, Suzhou		<i>GCX</i> p.79
	<i>Yan xiansheng diao Fuchun zhi tu</i> 嚴先生釣富春之圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	182 x 48 cm	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>Jingpin</i> plate 36 <i>Zuopin</i> plate 135	
	<i>Renwu duiyi</i> 人物對弈	N/A	N/A	Location unknown		<i>GCX</i> p.80
	<i>Yufu tu</i> 漁父圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	138.4 x 72 cm	Shanghai Museum, Shanghai		<i>GCX</i> p.79

1882	<i>Wan niao ren xiang</i> 玩鳥人像	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	34.5 x 36 cm	China Art Academy, Shanghai	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 138	
	<i>Mi Dian baishi tu</i> 米顛拜石圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	126.2 x 52.8 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>Jngpin</i> plate 34	
	<i>Xizhi ai'e tu</i> 羲之愛鵝圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown		<i>DXY</i> p.56
	<i>Guifei zuijiu tu</i> 貴妃醉酒圖	Album leaf; ink and color on paper	N/A	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 390	
1883	<i>Song tan tu</i> 送炭圖	Hanging scroll; ink on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 145	
	<i>Mulan cong jun tu (guan he yi yang xiao se)</i> 木蘭從軍圖 (關河一望蕭瑟)	Album; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown		<i>DXY</i> p.57
	<i>Zhao Xiaoyun xiang</i> 趙嘯雲像	Hanging scroll; ink on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 166 <i>DXY</i> plate 26	

1883	<i>Guanyin songzi tu</i> 觀音送子圖	Hanging scroll; ink on paper	80 x 34 cm	Museum of Art, Tianjin	<i>Ren</i> plate 71	
	<i>Songlin miju</i> 松林覓句	Hanging scroll; ink on paper	150.3 x 40.5 cm	Central Academy of Fine Arts	<i>Ren</i> plate 75	
	<i>Qingxi youting</i> 清溪遊艇	Folding fan; ink and color on paper	18 x 52 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>Jingpin</i> plate 84	
	<i>Wu Qing tingzhang xiang</i> 蕪青亭長像	Hanging scroll; ink on paper	N/A	Art Gallery in memory of Wu Changshuo, An'ji, Zhejiang		<i>DXY</i> p.58 <i>G CX</i> p.81
	<i>Renwu</i> 人物 (Inscription: 光緒癸未四月, 山陰任頤伯年寫)	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Dept. of Chinese Painting, Zhejiang Academy of Fine Arts, Hangzhou		<i>G CX</i> p.82
	<i>Song xia zhangren tu</i> 松下丈人圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Palace Museum, Beijing		<i>DXY</i> p.58 <i>G CX</i> p.81
	<i>Shoutian mailu tu</i> 壽天百祿圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	238.7 x 119 cm	Anhui Provincial Museum, Hefei		<i>DXY</i> p.59 <i>G CX</i> p.82

1883	<i>Su Wu muyang</i> 蘇武牧羊圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	148.5 x 83.3 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>DXY</i> color plate 24 <i>Jingpin</i> plate 41 <i>GCX</i> plate 15 <i>Hanmo</i> p.30	
	<i>You huang duzuo tu xiang</i> 幽篁獨坐圖像	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Zhejiang Provincial Museum, Hangzhou		<i>DXY</i> p.59
	<i>Renwu</i> 人物 (Inscription: 越曼先生法正之, 山陰任頤弟伯年)	Round fan; ink and color on silk	29 x 27 cm	Luxun Academy of Fine Arts, Shenyang		<i>GCX</i> p.82
	<i>Renwu</i> 人物 (Inscription: 祥甫仁兄大人正, 光緒癸未七月, 山陰任頤)	Round fan; ink and color on silk	N/A	Location unknown		<i>GCX</i> p.82
1884	<i>Xizhi ai'e tu</i> 羲之愛鵝圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown		<i>DXY</i> p.62 <i>GCX</i> p.83
	<i>San you tu</i> 三友圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	36.1 x 63.5 cm	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>XYN</i> p.8 <i>Zuopin</i> plate 242 <i>GCX</i> plate 16 <i>Bonian</i> p.89	

1884	<i>Song xia ce zhang tu</i> 松下策杖圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Palace Museum, Beijing		<i>DXY</i> p.63 <i>GCX</i> p.82
	<i>Shinü</i> 仕女	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	130.5 x 40.5 cm	Central Academy of Crafts and Fine Arts, Beijing	<i>Ren</i> plate 80	
	<i>Lu Shucheng xiang</i> 陸書城像	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Zhejiang Provincial Museum, Hangzhou	<i>Zuopin</i> plates 175-176	
	<i>Tong yin shinü tu</i> 桐蔭仕女圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	120.3 x 39.4 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>Jingpin</i> plate 42 <i>Bonian</i> p.87	
	<i>Renwu</i> 人物	Round fan; ink and color on silk	28 x 28 cm	Guangdong Provincial Museum, Guangzhou		<i>GCX</i> p.83
	<i>Mi Yuanzhang baishi tu</i> 米元章拜石圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown		<i>DXY</i> p.65
	<i>Meihua shinü tu</i> 梅花仕女圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	96 x 42.6 cm	Liaoning Provincial Museum, Shenyang	<i>Bonian</i> p.97	

1884	<i>Yunlin xitong tu</i> 雲林洗桐圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 173	
	<i>Xiqiao tingquan tu</i> 溪橋聽泉圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	<i>Xiling yinshe</i> 西泠印社, Hangzhou		<i>DXY</i> p.65
1885	<i>Yuelou xiansheng heyi xiaoxia tu</i> 月樓先生銷夏圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 223	
	<i>Mancheng fengyu jinchongyang</i> 滿城風雨近重陽	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 222	
	<i>Kesun tu</i> 課孫圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 224	
	<i>Guanhe yiwang xiaosuo tu</i> 關河一望蕭索圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Nanjing Museum, Nanjing	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 213 <i>GCX</i> plate 17 <i>Ren</i> plate 81 <i>Jingpin</i> plate 43	

1885	<i>Zhao Dechang fufu xiang</i> 趙德昌夫婦像	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	148 x 80 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>Hanmo</i> p.45 <i>Jingpin</i> plate 44 <i>Zuopin</i> plate 188	
	<i>Mi Fu baishi tu</i> 米芾拜石圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Zhejiang Zhenhai Cultural Center, Zhenhai		<i>DXY</i> p.71
	<i>Lübei yinshi</i> 驢背吟詩	Handscroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 230	
	<i>Qingliu zhuozu</i> 清流濯足	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 229	
	<i>Wang Chuzhong jihu tu</i> 王處仲擊壺圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	<i>Tainyi ge</i> 天一閣, Ningbo	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 216	
	<i>Yingxue dushu tu</i> 映雪讀書圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown		<i>DXY</i> p.72
	<i>Zhulin duzuo tu</i> 竹林獨坐圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on silk	68.5 x 30 cm	Suzhou City Museum, Suzhou		<i>DXY</i> p.72 <i>G CX</i> p.86

1885	<i>Tongyin qingshu tu</i> 桐蔭清暑圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 215	
	<i>Guanhe yiwang xiaosuo tu</i> 關河一望蕭索圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Suzhou Antique Shop, Suzhou		<i>DXY</i> p.72
	<i>Renwu</i> 人物	Round fan; ink and color on silk	26 x 26 cm	Guangdong Provincial Museum, Guangzhou		<i>GCX</i> p.87
	<i>Xi yng tu</i> 洗嬰圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown		<i>DXY</i> p.73
	<i>Xuezhong songtan tu</i> 雪中送炭圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	138.5 x 68.5 cm	Shanghai Museum, Shanghai		<i>DXY</i> p.73 <i>GCX</i> p.86
	<i>Guanhe yiwang xiaosuo tu</i> 關河一望蕭索圖	Fodling fan; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>DXY</i> color plate 14	
	<i>Xuezhong songtan tu</i> 雪中送炭圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Palace Museum, Beijing		<i>DXY</i> p.73

1885	<i>Yan Lu gong xie jing tu</i> 顏魯公寫經圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown		<i>DXY</i> p.74
	<i>Shan ju tu</i> 山居圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Zhejiang Provincial Museum, Hangzhou		<i>G CX</i> p.86
1886	<i>Xuezhong songtan</i> 雪中送炭	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 246	
	<i>Yinbian tu</i> 吟鞭圖	Handscroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 257	
	<i>Sanxian tu</i> 三仙圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	249.5 x 118 cm	Museum of Art, Tianjin	<i>Ren</i> plate 99	
	<i>Meiqi hezi</i> 梅妻鶴子	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 244	
	<i>Dongpo wanyan tu</i> 東坡玩硯圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper; ink & color on paper	131 x 45 cm	Art Gallery in memory of Xu Beihong, Beijing	<i>Ren</i> plate 102 <i>Jingpin</i> plate 59 <i>Zuopin</i> plate 232	

1886	<i>Renwu</i> 人物	Round fan; ink and color on silk	27.7 x 28.7 cm	Suzhou City Museum, Suzhou		<i>GCX</i> p.90
	<i>Su Wu muyang tu</i> 蘇 武牧羊圖 (Inscription: 蘊父二哥大 人社長之 教，光緒丙 戌長夏同客 春申浦，頤 記)	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown		<i>DXY</i> p.77
	<i>Song xia mi ju tu</i> 松下覓 句圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	128.3 x 39 cm	Luxun Academy of Fine Arts, Shenyang		<i>DXY</i> p.77 <i>GCX</i> p.89
	<i>Su Wu muyang tu</i> 蘇 武牧羊圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown		<i>DXY</i> p.77
	<i>Yunshan cema tu</i> 雲山 策馬圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown		<i>DXY</i> p.77
	<i>Tingqin tu</i> 聽 琴圖	Handscroll; ink and color on paper	77.3 x 142 cm	Nantong Museum, Nantong		<i>GCX</i> p.88

1886	<i>Shensan guanquan tu</i> 深山觀泉圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	175.5 x 46 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>Jingpin</i> plate 61	
	<i>Chengtian yeyou tu</i> 承天夜遊圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	177.5 x 47.4	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>Jingpin</i> plate 57 <i>Zuopin</i> plate 245 <i>GCX</i> plate 18	
	<i>Xiaohong dichang wo chuixiao tu</i> 小紅低唱我吹蕭圖 (兩幀)	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown		<i>DXY</i> p.78 <i>GCX</i> p.88 & p.90
	<i>Taoyuan wenjin tu</i> 桃源問津圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	177.5 x 47.4 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>Jingpin</i> plate 58 <i>Zuopin</i> plate 247	
	<i>Gui tian tu</i> 歸田圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown		<i>DXY</i> p.80
	<i>Ge lian shinü tu</i> 隔簾仕女圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Private Collection (Qian Jingtang 錢境塘)		<i>DXY</i> p.80 <i>GCX</i> p.90

1887	<i>Fengchen sanxia tu</i> 風塵三俠圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	46 x 65 cm	Museum of Art, Hong Kong	<i>Wan Qing</i> plate 2.82 <i>Hanmo</i> E7	
	<i>Zhong Kui</i> 鍾馗	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	130 x 65 cm	Art Gallery in memory of Xu Beihong, Beijing	<i>Ren</i> plate 103	
	<i>Xuezhong songtan</i> 雪中送炭	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 276 <i>GCX</i> plate 19	
	<i>Shezhi tu</i> 射稚圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>GCX</i> plate 20	
	<i>Gao Yongzhi shugai tu xiaoxiang</i> 高邕之書勾圖小像	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 254 <i>Bonian</i> p.25	
	<i>Jishi xiansheng guyingzilian tu</i> 吉石先生顧影自憐圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown		<i>DXY</i> p.84

1887	<i>Shuang tong dou xishuai tu</i> 雙童鬥蟋蟀圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	175.6 x 47 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>Hanmo</i> p.72 <i>Jingpin</i> plate 60 <i>Zuopin</i> plate 255 <i>DXY</i> color plate 1	
	<i>Hanlin gaoshi tu</i> 寒林高士圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	177 x 47 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>Jingpin</i> plate 62	
	<i>Zhong Kui chuxun tu</i> 鍾馗出巡圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Association of Artists, Shanghai		<i>DXY</i> p.84
	<i>Zongyin naliang tu</i> 稜蔭納涼圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Wu Changshuo's Home	<i>DXY</i> plate 27	
	<i>Zhong Kui tu</i> 鍾馗圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	76 x 143 cm	Duo Yun Xuan 朵雲軒, Shanghai	<i>Bonian</i> p.101	
	<i>Liu Hai xiang</i> 劉海像	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Zhejiang Provincial Museum, Hangzhou	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 273	
	<i>Fengchen sanxia tu</i> 風塵三俠圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>DXY</i> plate 29	

1887	<i>Qingnü su'e tu</i> 青女素娥圖	Hanging scroll; ink on paper	N/A	Palace Museum, Beijing		<i>DXY</i> p.86 <i>GCX</i> p.90
	<i>Yang Xian zhulin xianting tu</i> 楊峴竹林顯亭圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>DXY</i> plate 5	
1888	<i>Wuyue piqiu</i> 五月披裘	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 296	
	<i>Yefang</i> 夜紡	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 282	
	<i>Muyang</i> 牧羊	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 283	
	<i>Guangshan zaiwang</i> 關山在望	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 284 <i>GCX</i> plate 24	

1888	<i>Huaisu shuyan</i> 懷素書燕	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 288	
	<i>Songxia tingquan</i> 松下聽泉	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 290	
	<i>Muniu tu</i> 牧牛圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 291	
	<i>Muniu tu</i> 牧牛圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 294	
	<i>Yuzhou</i> 漁舟	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>GCX</i> plate 23	
	<i>Hanlin muma</i> 寒林牧馬	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	130 x 62 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>DXY</i> color plate 5 <i>Jingpin</i> plate 63	

1888	<i>Lüei yinshi</i> 驢背吟詩	Folding fan; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 279	
	<i>Yuju canchan</i> 玉 局參禪	Folding fan; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 280 <i>DXY</i> color plate 32	
	<i>Houxi tu</i> 猴 戲圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	93 x 52 cm	Private collection (Fan Jia 范 甲)	<i>GCX</i> plate 22 <i>Hanmo</i> p.31	
	<i>Nü Wa lianshi tu</i> 女 媧煉石圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	118 x 66 cm	Art Gallery in memory of Xu Beihong, Beijing	<i>Ren</i> plate 109 <i>Jingpin</i> plate 65 <i>XYN</i> p.25 <i>Zuopin</i> plate 281 <i>GCX</i> plate 21	
	<i>Shinü tu</i> 仕 女圖	Album (12 leaves)	24 x 38.2 cm	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>XYN</i> p.24	

1888	<i>Xizhi ai'e tu</i> 羲之愛鵝圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	150 x 81.5 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>Jingpin</i> plate 64 <i>Zuopin</i> plate 287	
	<i>Shuyin guanjian tu</i> 樹蔭觀劍圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	248.5 x 120.6 cm	Shanghai Museum, Shanghai	<i>GCX</i> plate 25 <i>DXY</i> color plate 8	
	<i>Zhubi Zhong Kui tu</i> 硃筆鍾馗圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Private Collection (Qian Jingtang 錢境塘)		<i>DXY</i> p.91 <i>GCX</i> p.93
	<i>Suan hanwei xiang</i> 酸寒尉像	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	164.2 x 77.6 cm	Zhejiang Provincial Museum, Hangzhou	<i>DXY</i> color plate 36 <i>XYN</i> p.23 <i>Zuopin</i> plate 292 <i>Hanmo</i> p.50 <i>Bonian</i> p.30 <i>Wanqing</i> plate 2.94	
	<i>Jiaoyin naliang tu</i> 蕉蔭納涼圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	129.5 x 58.9 cm	Zhejiang Provincial Museum, Hangzhou	<i>XYN</i> p.22 <i>Zuopin</i> plate 428 <i>GCX</i> plate 31 <i>Hanmo</i> p.51 <i>Wanqing</i> plate 2.95	

1888	<i>Xianshou tu</i> 獻壽圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown		<i>DXY</i> p.93
	<i>Zhubi Zhong Jinshi xiang</i> 硃筆鍾進士像	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Zhejiang Provincial Museum, Hangzhou		<i>GCX</i> p.93
	<i>Cen Tongshi xiaoxiang</i> 岑銅士小像	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Private Collection (Cheng Shifa 程十發)		<i>DXY</i> p.93 <i>GCX</i> p.93
	<i>Renwu xiaopin</i> 人物小品	Album (4 leaves); ink and color on paper	N/A	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>Hanmo</i> E17-E23	
1889	<i>Ziqi donglai</i> 紫氣東來	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	134 x 65 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>Jingpin</i> plate 68 <i>Zuopin</i> plate 299	
	<i>Gutu nanwang</i> 故土難忘	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 300 <i>GCX</i> plate 28	
	<i>Shidai shuxiang</i> 世代書香	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	182 x 92 cm	Art Gallery in memory of Xu Beihong, Beijing	<i>Ren</i> plate 114	

1889	<i>Xiaohong dichang wo chuixiao tu</i> 小紅低唱我吹蕭圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown		<i>DXY</i> p.96
	<i>Zhong Kui xingyin tu</i> 鍾馗行吟圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown		<i>DXY</i> p.96
	<i>Magu xianshou tu</i> 麻姑獻壽圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	149.5 x 80.5 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>Jingpin</i> plate 66 <i>Zuopin</i> plate 301	
	<i>Li Guang sheshi(hu)</i> 李廣射石(虎)	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	149 x 81.5 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>Zuopin</i> p.303 <i>Jingpin</i> pl.67 <i>G CX</i> plate 26	
	<i>Su Wu muyang tu</i> 蘇武牧羊圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	183.2 x 47 cm	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>Ren</i> plate 112 <i>Bonian</i> p.105	
	<i>Wu xiangwei tu</i> 無香味圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	120.2 x 56.1 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>Jingpin</i> plate 69 <i>Zuopin</i> plate 421	
	<i>Xiting qiu'ai</i> 溪亭秋藹	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>Jingpin</i> plate 70	

1890	<i>Songxia cezhang tu</i> 松下策杖圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Palace Museum, Beijing		<i>DXY</i> p.97 <i>GCX</i> p.95
	<i>Mutong tu</i> 牧童圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 306	
	<i>Yufu tu</i> 漁父圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown		<i>DXY</i> p.97
	<i>Renwu</i> 人物	Album (8 leaves); ink and color on paper	N/A	Library, Zhejiang Academy of Fine Arts, Hangzhou		<i>GCX</i> p.96
	<i>Xizhi ai'e tu</i> 羲之愛鵝圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	136.2 x 67 cm	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>Ren</i> plate 117 <i>Jingpin</i> plate 71 <i>Zuopin</i> plate.8 <i>Bonian</i> p.113	
	<i>Zhongqiu shangyue tu</i> 中秋賞月圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	93.3 x 41.7 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing		<i>DXY</i> p.98 <i>GCX</i> p.97

1891	<i>Meihua an</i> 梅花庵	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	174 x 46.5 cm	Art Gallery in memory of Xu Beihong, Beijing	<i>Ren</i> plate 129	
	<i>Jiaoyin yaji</i> 蕉蔭雅集	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	147 x 54 cm	Changzhou Antique Shop, Changzhou	<i>Ren</i> plate 143	
	<i>Zhong Kui</i> 鍾馗	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 322	
	<i>Tianguan tu</i> 天官圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 324	
	<i>Renwu hengpi</i> 人物橫披	Handscroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 326	
	<i>Qiulü fangmu</i> 秋驢放牧	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 336	
	<i>Liutang shuangzhou</i> 柳塘雙舟	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown	<i>Zuopin</i> plate 337	

1891	<i>Muren jiniu</i> 牧人及牛	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	177 x 47 cm	Art Gallery in memory of Xu Beihong, Beijing	<i>Ren</i> plate 125	
	<i>Dongshan sizhu</i> 東山絲竹	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	183 x 96 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>Jingpin</i> plate 78 <i>XYN</i> p.29 <i>DXY</i> color plate 34	
	<i>Zhong Kui</i> 鍾馗	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	132 x 66 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>Jingpin</i> plate 80 <i>DXY</i> color plate 17	
	<i>Touhu tu</i> 投壺圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	179 x 95 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>Jingpin</i> plate 81	
	<i>Songxia gaoshi</i> 松下高士	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	117 x 47 cm	Art Gallery in memory of Xu Beihong, Beijing	<i>Ren</i> plate 126	
	<i>Liuxi yingchun</i> 柳溪迎春	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	175 x 48.5 cm	Art Gallery in memory of Xu Beihong, Beijing	<i>Ren</i> plate 128 <i>Jingpin</i> plate 75	
	<i>Xu You xi'er tu</i> 許由洗耳圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Locaiton unknown	<i>GCX</i> plate 29	

1891	<i>Renwu</i> 人物	Screen (4 Hanging scrolls); ink and color on gold foil	208 x 43 cm	Central Academy of Fine Arts, Beijing	<i>Ren</i> plate 138	
	<i>Su er xiaoxiang tu</i> (<i>Wu Dongmai xiaoxiang</i>) 蘇兒小像圖 (吳東邁小像)	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown		<i>DXY</i> p.101
	<i>Mobi poshan Zhong Kui tu</i> 墨筆破扇鍾馗圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Shanghai Museum, Shanghai	<i>DXY</i> plate 48	
	<i>Magu xianshou tu</i> 麻姑獻壽圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on gold foil	N/A	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>Bonian</i> p.24	
	<i>Lü bei xun shi tu</i> 驢背尋詩圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	94 x 42.3 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>Jingpin</i> plate 79 <i>Zuopin</i> plate 340	
	<i>Yao Xiaofu wushisi sui xiaoying tu</i> 姚小復五十四歲小影圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Private Collection (Qian Jingtang 錢境塘)	<i>DXY</i> plate 30	

1892	<i>Qiulin chuidiao</i> 秋林垂釣	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	40.5 x 44.6 cm	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>Ren</i> plate 146	
	<i>Nongzhang tu</i> 弄璋圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	107 x 42.8 cm	Museum of Art, Tianjin	<i>Ren</i> plate 148	
	<i>Wuyue piqiu</i> 五月披裘	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	161.5 x 45 cm	Central Academy of Crafts and Fine Arts	<i>Ren</i> plate 152	
	<i>Jiangpan fangya</i> 江畔放鴨	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	67.5 x 41.5 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>Jingpin</i> plate 82	
	<i>Ting song tu</i> 聽松圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	133.2 x 64.8 cm	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>Ren</i> plate 145 <i>Bonian</i> p.121	
	<i>Mi Fu baishi tu</i> 米芾拜石圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	168 x 45 cm	High School, affiliated to Central Academy of Fine Arts, Beijing.		<i>DXY</i> p.104 <i>GCX</i> p.100
	<i>Dongpo qin cao tu</i> 東坡琴操圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown		<i>DXY</i> p.104 <i>GCX</i> p.100

1892	<i>Zhulin yaji tu</i> 竹林雅集圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Private Collection (Qian Jingtang 錢境塘)		<i>DXY</i> p.104
	<i>Renwu</i> 人物	Screen (4 Hanging scrolls); ink and color on paper	N/A	Shanghai Museum, Shanghai		<i>DXY</i> p.104
	<i>Liu an naliang tu</i> 柳岸納涼圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper; ink and color on paper	N/A	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>DXY</i> plate 4	
	<i>Cai lian shiniu</i> 採蓮仕女	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper; ink and color on paper	138.5 x 40 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>Jingpin</i> plate 77	
	<i>Huansha tu</i> 浣沙圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	130 x 40 cm	Guangdong Provincial Museum, Guangzhou		<i>DXY</i> p.106 <i>G CX</i> p.101
1893	<i>Zhong Kui tu</i> 鍾馗圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	167.5 x 82.8 cm	Liaoning Provincial Museum, Shenyang	<i>Bonian</i> p.123	

1893	<i>Zhubi Zhong Kui tu</i> 硃筆鍾馗圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	124 x 42 cm	Guangdong Provincial Museum, Guangzhou		<i>DXY</i> p.107 <i>GCX</i> p.102
	<i>Guitian fengqu tu</i> 歸田風趣圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	China Art Gallery, Beijing		<i>DXY</i> p.107 <i>GCX</i> p.102
	<i>Guo Ziyi daizi ruchao tu</i> 郭子儀帶子入朝圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Palace Museum, Beijing		<i>DXY</i> p.107 <i>GCX</i> p.101
1894	<i>Magu shouxing tu</i> 麻姑壽星圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Palace Museum, Beijing		<i>DXY</i> p.109 <i>GCX</i> p.102
	<i>Songxia wenxiao tu</i> 松下問蕭圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	105 x 54.8 cm	China Art Gallery, Beijing	<i>XYN</i> p.29 <i>Zuopin</i> p.360	
	<i>Qiusheng fu tu</i> 秋聲賦圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	134.5 x 53.9 cm	Palace Museum, Beijing	<i>Jingpin</i> plate 83	
1895	<i>Su Wu muyang</i> 蘇武牧羊	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Palace Museum, Beijing		<i>GCX</i> p.102

1895	<i>Lushou tu</i> 祿 壽圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	N/A	Location unknown		<i>GCX</i> p.102
	<i>Shinü tu</i> 仕 女圖	Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper	107 x 48 cm	Zhenjiang City Museum, Zhenjiang		<i>GCX</i> p.102

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