

Calligraphy for Negotiating Everyday Life: The Case of Fu Shan (1607–1684)

The focus of art history in recent decades has shifted from aesthetics, period style, individual style, and connoisseurship to the social history of art. This is a significant shift, and not only has it caused old interpretations to be reexamined critically, but it has also incorporated previously neglected areas into scholarly agendas. Previously, studies of Chinese painting were heavily influenced by Chinese literati theories of art and criticism, reinforced by the West's enthusiasm during this century for expressionism. In contrast to the strong, long-standing scholarly interest in literati art, until lately there has been almost no interest in artists of lower social background, conventionally categorized as "professional artists." As art historians have revisited Chinese art and adopted a wider outlook, however, the artistic accomplishments, lives, and historical contributions of these "professional" artists have received greater attention.¹ Meanwhile, recent studies of patronage have introduced an economic dimension into our understanding of literati art, taking up such topics as paintings as gifts, exchange of favors, and the lives and creative techniques of literati and professional painters in traditional China.²

Up to now, the new trend has focused on the social status of artists and collectors and the relationship of status in the production and transaction of

I THANK Celia Carrington Riely, who read this paper meticulously and offered invaluable suggestions for revision. I am grateful to Richard Barnhart for his invitation to a colloquium series at Yale University in February of 1999, where part of this article was first presented, and to Patricia Ebrey, who encouraged development of the article for the symposium "Visual Dimensions of Chinese Culture" at the Institute of Advanced Study, March, 1999. My thanks also go to Weigang Chen, Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis, Sylvan Barnet, and, as always, Matthew Flannery for offering constructive comments and discussion.

¹ See Richard Barnhart's *Painters of the Great Ming: The Imperial Court and the Zhe School*, with essays by Mary Ann Rogers and Richard Stanley Baker (Dallas: Dallas Art Museum, 1993).

² The pioneering research on this was James Cahill's *The Painter's Practice: How Artists Lived and Worked in Traditional China* (New York: Columbia U.P., 1994). A recent valuable contribution is Gong Jisui's unpublished manuscript "On Gift Painting." Both Cahill and Gong seek to identify general patterns (Cahill drawing on examples from the Song to the Qing, Gong going up to the modern age), but neither gives a thorough historical study of a single period.

art.³ Countering art history's traditional idealization of literati art as purely an art of self-amusement and expression, the new art history has emphasized the "professional status" of many "amateur" artists and sought to uncover the practical and economic motivations behind their art in order to establish a more realistic view of Chinese art as against "partial or deceptive visions."⁴

This effort is admirable, yet as exploration of the professional status of so-called literati artists moves forward one is compelled to ask whether there are significant differences between the literati and the professionals, besides the fact that education made it possible for the literati to inscribe essays and poems on their art. Did the literati live and work differently from "professional" artists? If so, were transactions for literati art works conducted differently? And if such transactions were conducted differently, what were the major causes of this?

This article attempts to answer such questions by presenting a detailed case study of the seventeenth-century artist Fu Shan 傅山 (zi Qingzhu 青主), an accomplished calligrapher, painter, and seal carver, although I concentrate chiefly on the role calligraphy played in his everyday life. The purpose of this focus is multifold. For centuries, calligraphy has been regarded as one of the most important achievements in Chinese art. Because it was mainly practiced, collected, and appreciated by the elite, it has been defined by art historians as the "art of the elite."⁵ A calligrapher is obliged to follow the sequence of strokes, characters, and lines that constitute writing, and the flow of his brush sketches a sequential path that has a temporal dimension akin to that of music. Because calligraphy is non-representational, and because it is seen as a spontaneous product of hand, mind, and feeling, it has long been viewed and praised by art critics and scholars as *xinhua* 心畫, "traces of the mind." Thus, while students of Chinese art history have spared no effort in studying the practical aspects of painting, little attention has been paid to equivalent questions in the study of calligraphy. Further, even as cultural historians endeavor to investigate the ev-

eryday life of commoners,⁶ the everyday life of the otherwise much-studied elite has been strangely neglected.

This article looks at both domains through Fu Shan, a member of the cultural elite who used his calligraphy in dealing with the problems of everyday life. Calligraphy was used, for example, to repay favors (as, for instance, the securing of a tax remission), to barter for food, to help settle a legal dispute, and to assist in establishing and maintaining a social network. Fu Shan left numerous letters and notes concerning his use of calligraphy in an everyday context – documents that survived due mainly to the desirability of his calligraphy from the viewpoint of collectors. The survival of an artist's everyday letters in such great number is extremely rare in Chinese art history. These materials enable us to reconstruct Fu Shan's life in a detailed and substantiated manner. The following article shows, perhaps for the first time, dimensions of Chinese calligraphy beyond artistic self-expression, not previously discussed by Chinese or Western art historians.

While my study pursues the connections between the art of calligraphy and everyday pursuits, the theoretical implications go beyond just "adjusting our image of the Chinese artist."⁷ Born into a landed family with a long scholar-official tradition, Fu Shan enjoyed an affluent life until the fall of the Ming in 1644. But the Ming-Qing dynastic transition left him in dire economic circumstances, and thereafter he was forced to live off his medical practice and sales of his art. Since much of his income was derived from calligraphy, Fu Shan lived and worked as a professional artist. But an important fact should not be overlooked: late in the Ming, Fu Shan was already the foremost cultural figure in Shanxi province.⁸ He was the possessor of enormous cultural assets – what may be called "cultural capital," to borrow Bourdieu's term.⁹ Most intriguing is that, while his political and economic situation was seriously damaged in the Manchu takeover, Fu Shan's

³ See Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: U. of California P., 1984), p. ix.

⁴ This phrase refers to the title of chap. 1 of Cahill, *Painter's Practice*.

⁵ A brief biography of Fu Shan is in Arthur W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644–1912)* (Washington D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1944), pp. 260–62. See also Hao Shuhou 郝樹侯, *Fu Shan zhuan* 傅山傳 (Taiyuan: Shanxi jiaoyu chubanshe, 1985); Wei Zongyu 魏宗禹, *Fu Shan pingzhuan* 傅山評傳 (Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe, 1995); Lin Peng 林鵬, *Danya shulun* 丹崖書論 (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1989); Min-Shin bunjin kenkyūkai 明清文人研究會, ed., *Fu Zen* 傅山 (Tokyo: Geijutsu shinbunsha, 1994); Uchiyama Kan 内山觀, ed., *Fu Zen no shohō* 傅山の書法 (Tokyo: Nigen-sha, 1994); Qianshen Bai, "Fu Shan (1607–1684) and the Transformation of Chinese Calligraphy in the Seventeenth Century," (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1996).

⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Richard Nice, trans. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P., 1984), p. 12.

³ Two recently published articles in *Art Bulletin* reflect the trend: Anne Burkus-Chasson, "Elegant or Common? Chen Hongshou's Birthday Presentation Pictures and His Professional Status," *Art Bulletin* 76.2 (1994), pp. 279–300; Kathlyn Maureen Liscomb, "Social Status and Art Collecting: The Collections of Shen Zhou and Wang Zhen," *Art Bulletin* 78.1 (1996), pp. 111–36.

⁴ Cahill, *Painter's Practice*, p. 2.

⁵ Lothar Ledderose, "Chinese Calligraphy: Art of the Elite," in Irving Lavin, ed., *World Art: Theme of Unity in Diversity*, Acts of the 25th International Congress of the History of Art (University Park: Pennsylvania State U.P., 1989) 2, pp. 291–94.

cultural reputation continued to rise. From this we may conclude that cultural capital, in addition to having its own logic of accumulation and operation, is, to a degree, independent of political and economic power.

The significance of Fu Shan's case lies in two things: first, his celebrity status gave him tremendous cultural capital, and, second, he was keenly aware of this resource and constantly drew on it when negotiating his way through a path strewn with everyday problems. The cultural capital in fact made it possible for Fu Shan to play an active and even manipulative role when interacting with his public. The relationship between Fu Shan as artist and his socially diverse public is so complicated that it cannot be appropriately explained by reference to the conventional artist-patron framework, which typically assumes that the patron plays a highly influential and often dominant role in art making. We see, below, that a contrary situation is presented in the case of Fu Shan, where the artist was often the arbiter of taste.

ESTABLISHING CULTURAL CELEBRITY:

FU SHAN'S LIFE DURING THE LATE-MING PERIOD

Fu Shan was born in 1607 in Yangqu 陽曲, a county near the city of Taiyuan 太原, Shanxi province. For generations the Fu family maintained a strong commitment to education, but it achieved the pinnacle of success – a kinsman's passing the national civil service examination – only when Fu Shan's grandfather Fu Lin 傅霖 obtained the *jinshi* degree in 1562. Two of Fu Lin's brothers were also successful in the civil service examinations: Fu Zhen 傅震 became a *ju ren* in 1561 and Fu Pei 傅霈 a *jinshi* in 1577. During the Ming dynasty, Shanxi was culturally somewhat backward: only 5.6 percent of the total number of *jinshi* degrees awarded in the Ming period went to natives of Shanxi, a percentage far lower than that for Nan Zhili (the Southern Metropolitan Region) and Zhejiang.¹⁰ Thus, the Fu family's three degrees – two *jinshi* and one *ju ren* – and the official careers these three brothers pursued must have brought them disproportionate power and prestige, and thus enabled Fu Shan to marry a daughter of Zhang Pan 張泮 (*jinshi* 1586), a senior government official, even though Fu Shan's father was not a degree holder.¹¹

¹⁰ Wang Shangyi 王尚義 and Xu Hongping 徐宏平, "Song Yuan Ming Qing shiqi Shanxi wenren di dili fenbu ji wenhua fazhan tedian" 宋元明清時期山西文人的地理分布及文化發展特點, *Shanxi daxue xuebao* 山西大學學報 (1983.3), p. 49.

¹¹ Although two of Fu Shan's uncles became *ju ren* in the Wanli (1573–1619) and Tianqi (1621–1627) reigns, Fu Shan's father did not participate in the examination, but remained at home to fulfill filial duties, working meanwhile as a private tutor.

Yuan Jixian 袁繼咸 (zi Yuanshan 袁山; d. 1646), a scholar-official who enjoyed a national reputation, came to Shanxi in 1634 as commissioner of education. In 1636 he reestablished the Sanli Academy 三立書院, once an important school in the province, and Fu Shan enrolled. The Sanli Academy was soon influential in the political and cultural life of Shanxi, and had a profound influence on the rest of Fu Shan's life. The Academy gathered together some of the most promising young men of the province, many of whom became Fu Shan's lifelong friends. Fu Shan's talent soon won him a high reputation, and he was ranked by Yuan as the best student.

In the very year he reestablished the Academy, Yuan Jixian was accused of taking bribes. He was arrested and sent to Beijing for interrogation. Having heard that Yuan Jixian was in trouble, Fu Shan and his close friend Xue Zongzhou 薛宗周 (d. 1649) urged the students of the Sanli Academy to sign a petition asking for Yuan's release. Led by Fu and Xue, the Shanxi students marched to Beijing. The petition was successful. Yuan Jixian was retried and found not guilty. Fu Shan's and Xue Zongzhou's courage in rescuing Yuan Jixian earned them a name among scholars and officials in Beijing. At the request of Yuan Jixian, a senior official, Ma Shiqi 馬世奇 (1584–1644), wrote an essay entitled "Record of Two Righteous Scholars from the Right Side of Mount [Taihang]," which helped to establish Fu's reputation as a Shanxi leader.

In 1642 Fu Shan failed the civil service examination at the provincial level. This failure put the social advancement of Fu's family at risk. To Fu Shan's way of thinking, however, it was not a disaster. He had long since been devoting attention to religious texts (subjects useless for the civil service examinations), and we may deduce that he paid less than full attention to the examination and the abstruse knowledge it required.¹² Underlining the gap between personal accomplishment and examination results, Fu Shan, assisted by his son Fu Mei 傅眉 (1628–1684), completed a work titled *Liang Hanshu xingming yun* 兩漢書姓名韻 (*Figures in the History of the Former Han and the History of the Later Han [Arranged by] Surname Rhymes*) in the same month that he failed the civil service examination. Their reference work made an inventory of persons named in the two most famous histories of the Han dynasty (206 BC–220 AD), used even today for research on the Han.

Throughout his life Fu Shan continued his scholarly pursuits. Although

¹² Many leading intellectuals of the late-Ming understood that the greatest defect of the examination system was that success required not real knowledge but the memorization of model essays and passages from the classics. See Willard Peterson, *Bitter Gourd: Fang I-chih and the Impetus for Intellectual Change in the 1630s* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 1979), pp. 44–63.

he did not achieve “accomplishment and fame 功名” through the state examination, he believed that his writings would make his fame everlasting.¹³ Fu Shan was already regarded as an accomplished calligrapher and painter before the fall of the Ming dynasty. He was also admired for his own skill in connoisseurship and his works were sought by Shanxi collectors early in the 1630s, when he was still only in his twenties.¹⁴ In sum, though Fu Shan was not a high degree holder and government official, by the end of the Ming dynasty he had already established himself as a leading cultural and intellectual figure in Shanxi through various political and cultural activities. His social status as a cultural celebrity proved to be a major symbolic resource for his survival in the turbulent period of dynastic transition.

STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL: FU SHAN AND DAI TINGSHI

In 1644 the Ming dynasty fell to the Manchus, who were regarded by the Chinese as aliens. Some Chinese died in either organized or personal acts of resistance; others collaborated with the new regime. Those who remained loyal to the Ming dynasty paid a tremendous price, both politically and economically, for their moral integrity. In the early days of the dynastic transition, Fu Shan sold his real estate in Taiyuan and other places and, accompanied by his mother (d. 1661), his son Fu Mei, and his nephew Fu Ren 傳仁 (1638–1674), took refuge in Yuxian 盂縣, Fenzhou 汾州, and other places of relative safety in Shanxi. During this chaotic period, Fu Shan also participated in various secret resistance activities, although the attempt to restore the Ming proved futile.

Money from savings and real estate soon ran out. Fu Shan was forced to find other ways to support the family. Around 1650 he and a few friends tried to open a liquor shop but failed, partly because of the Manchu state's strict prohibition on fermenting alcohol in areas with severe grain shortages.¹⁵ As a medical doctor, Fu Shan also earned money from the practice of

¹³ See the testament addressed to his two grandsons in 1684, before his death, which asks them to collect his and Fu Mei's essays and poems, whether long writings or only jottings of a few words, in order to compile *The Writings of the Fu Family from Shanxi*. He claimed, “It is writing that can become immortal in this world, that can spread the spirit of the universe and manifest the Essence of the Five Virtues”; Liu Guanwen 劉貫文 et al., eds., *Fu Shan quanshu* 傅山全書 (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1992; hereafter cited as *FSQS*), vol. 1, p. 522.

¹⁴ Fu Shan, “Ti Song Yuan mingren huiji” 題宋元名人繪跡, *FSQS* 1, p. 406.

¹⁵ This is mentioned in a letter to a friend, now kept in The Palace Museum collection in Beijing. He also notes that he tried to obtain government permission to manufacture alcohol through Wei Yiao 魏一鰲 (ca. 1620–1694), a government official with whom he was friendly. This attempt appears to have been unsuccessful because it is entirely unmentioned in his

medicine. Records confirm that he owned a small pharmacy in the city of Taiyuan, run by his son Fu Mei, while Fu Shan lived in the suburbs. A major source of income was calligraphy and painting, especially the former. But Fu Shan was disappointed that he had to live off selling calligraphy. He lamented his situation: “My family has been good at calligraphy for five or six generations. But my ancestors never wrote calligraphy for a living. It is I who now suffer the burden of writing calligraphy for income.”¹⁶

Though chagrined, Fu Shan was lucky to make his living this way. The Ming-Qing dynastic transition had no revolutionary impact on Chinese social structure and culture. Cultural tastes and patterns remained the same among the Chinese social and political elite, who preserved their political interests by cooperating with the Manchus or became government officials through the new regime's civil service examinations. At the local level in Shanxi, the gentry and moneyed classes continued to be the major acquirers of calligraphy. Though reluctant to make his living at calligraphy, Fu Shan could find customers for his work without difficulty.

Not all members of the social elite in Shanxi experienced the same economic misfortune as Fu Shan during the political transition. Dai Tingshi 戴廷枏 (zi Fengzhong 楓仲; ca. 1623–1692), a young friend from a scholar-official family in Qixian 祁縣, a county south of Taiyuan, presents a different case. The friendship between Fu Shan and Dai Tingshi started in the 1630s when both were students at the Sanli Academy. In his preface to *Fenglin yizhi* 楓林一枝 (*Branch from a Maple Forest*), a collection of Dai's essays, Fu Shan describes their early acquaintance:

Fengzhong (Dai Tingshi) became a student of Yuan Yuanshan (Yuan Jixian) in his early teens, and resolved that he would one day win recognition for moral integrity and literary talent. In the year *bingzi* (1636), the governor of Shanxi Wu Luyou 吳鹿友 (Wu Sheng 吳牲; 1589–after 1644) and Master Yuan reestablished the Sanli Academy and selected talented young men to study there, Fengzhong was popular among his peers. He seldom yielded to other students, aside from requesting instruction from me. Because he was young and bright, I always gave him what I thought was good advice.¹⁷

later writings. With regard to the Manchu prohibition on alcohol production, see Fan Jinmin 范金民, “Qingdai jinjiu jinqu di chubu yanjiu” 清代禁酒禁麴的初步研究, *Jiuzhou xuekan* 九州學刊 4.3 (1991), pp. 81–113. Although Fan's article deals only with the Kangxi reign (1662–1722), it is likely that the policy began in the Shunzhi reign (1643–1662) because north China, including Shanxi province, suffered severe famines in this period, forcing the government to grant frequent tax exemptions to affected areas.

¹⁶ *FSQS* 1, p. 864.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 367.

At the Sanli Academy, Dai Tingshi gained immediate prestige from the fact that both his grandfather and father were *jinshi* degree holders, a rare occurrence in Shanxi. Dai probably felt superior to most of his classmates. But Fu Shan was some sixteen years older than Dai, and had established himself as a leading figure in Shanxi cultural circles while Dai was still a teenager. Hence Dai treated Fu Shan less as a classmate than as a mentor. Elsewhere in the same preface, Fu mentions that Dai was willing and eager to learn from him, and thus we can assume that Dai was proud of the association and believed it would enhance his reputation.

Unlike his close friend Fu Shan, whose fortune was ruined by the dynastic transition, Dai managed to keep his well-to-do family out of economic trouble in the early years of Manchu conquest. The reasons were, first, that Qixian seems not to have been seriously attacked by either Li Zicheng's 李自成 rebel army or by the Manchus, leaving the Dai family property relatively intact, and second, Dai's skill in business allowed a rapid accumulation of wealth after the devastation of war.

Dai's economic resources allowed him to become the most important art collector in early-Qing Shanxi. His cultural activities were not limited to collecting art and antiques. Among the many publications he sponsored were anthologies of poetry by the Shanxi literati and a collection of Fu Shan's calligraphy. In the Ming and Qing dynasties, while Shanxi merchants were as successful and rich as merchants from Huizhou, in Anhui province, Shanxi merchants spent much less money on sponsoring cultural enterprises than did their Anhui counterparts. This only emphasized Dai Tingshi's activities in collecting and cultural sponsorship, and made him the sole Shanxi collector of that time to achieve national reputation.¹⁸

Dai also provided economic support to friends in trouble. Many of Fu Shan's surviving letters to Dai reveal the economic dimension of their relationship. Gifts like food, vegetables, and fruit, were often mentioned in letters, as, for example, the following: "The rice and dry melon arrived. I am truly grateful for your kindness. Thank you."¹⁹

Beginning in 1653, Fu Shan settled in a suburb of Taiyuan, where the cost of living was higher than in most places in Shanxi, including Qixian. To save his limited financial resources, Fu Shan carefully planned expenditures. He frequently asked Dai Tingshi to send food from Qixian for his

family. A few letters by Fu Shan survive concerning these matters (see figure 1). One, written around 1665, reads:

I heard that the prices of rice and wheat are considerably cheaper there than here in the provincial capital (Taiyuan). I would like to bother you to buy eight taels of rice and six taels of wheat to prepare for the coming winter and spring. Money is ready. I did not give it to messenger Xu because I was afraid that he would return alone [which was unsafe]. If you are coming to the provincial capital as you said, I will give it to you in person. If you are not, please ask messenger Xu to bring a letter to me, and I will give him the money. I will pay for an ox cart to transport the goods.²⁰

In most cases, when money was available, Fu Shan would pay Dai Tingshi in cash when asking for help. But when he was short of money, he would borrow money from Dai. About 1656, he wrote to Dai:

I went to the provincial capital yesterday. Originally I planned to see the surveillance commissioner but had no proper gift [to present]. May I bother you to buy tea and a fan on credit as gifts for him? I do not think I will be able to see him today. When you see him, please give him my regards. At present, I need money... I am reluctant to impose on you, but I must ask for your help. I have not yet decided on an amount, but my son Mei can discuss this with you in person.²¹

Fu Shan in fact asked Dai to provide a wide range of services. The following letters tell us more about the routine contacts between Fu Shan and Dai Tingshi. In a letter written probably in the early 1670s, Fu Shan wrote:

I am going to realize the dream that I have cherished for many years: visiting Mt. Song and Mt. Shaoshi (in Henan). Now that I am old and weak, I want to fulfill this goal before my death. I would like to ask you to lend me a horse. And when the time comes, I also need a capable servant to help me... For travel expenses, I plan to collect enough money by selling a few [examples of] calligraphy and paintings. Are there some foolish people in your county who would buy them?²²

²⁰ FSQS 1, p. 476.

²¹ FSQS 1, p. 478. The commissioner was Yang Sisheng 楊思聖 (1621–1663), a native of Zhili province (modern Hebei) and a *jinshi* of 1646. Yang was appointed as surveillance commissioner of Shanxi in 1655 and subsequently became Fu Shan's friend. In the following year, Yang was promoted to the post of provincial administrative commissioner of Henan. Fu Shan and Dai Tingshi both kept in touch with him, and made plans to visit Yang in Henan and bring him art works and antiques. Fu Shan wrote calligraphy and carved seals for him; see Fu's letters to Dai, FSQS 1, pp. 476, 483, 499.

²² FSQS 1, p. 477.

¹⁸ Fu Shen's 傅申 discussion of early-Qing art collections lists Dai as the only Shanxi native among important northern collectors; "Wang Duo ji Qingchu beifang jiancangjia" 王鐸及清初北方鑒藏家, *Duoyun* 朵雲 (1991.1), pp. 73–86.

¹⁹ FSQS 1, p. 471.

Among 150 or so surviving letters by Fu Shan, about seventy were written to Dai Tingshi. Although those cited above are but a fraction of this invaluable group of documents, they present a vivid picture of Dai's relationship with Fu Shan, in particular Dai's acting virtually as business manager for Fu Shan in his family affairs.

Fu Shan paid cash to Dai for the requested goods. For other services, Fu Shan repaid Dai with medical services to his family and with art works, including calligraphy, paintings, and seals. Many of Fu Shan's letters to Dai bear witness to the exchanges of art work for mundane help. One reads:

I have made for you one painting, ten [works of] calligraphy of my poems on gold-flecked paper, and four large hanging scrolls on Korean paper. These more or less fulfill your request. I am having a messenger deliver them to your office.²³

Dai Tingshi may well have kept some, sold others, or used some as gifts to strengthen his social network. This is evidenced by a beautiful album of paintings by Fu Shan and Fu Mei, now in a private collection. Dai Tingshi's colophon states that, late in the summer of 1663 Shen Hanguang 申涵光 (1619–1677), a renowned literatus from Zhili province, met Dai Tingshi in Taiyuan and asked him to purchase works by Fu Shan. Dai presented the album to Shen as a gift. Shen Hanguang was in fact also a friend of Fu Shan, yet he did not buy the art work directly from the artist, but through Dai Tingshi because Shen very likely knew that Dai was an agent of Fu Shan. In traditional China, many art collectors were also dealers. In the letter quoted above in the text, the works Fu Shan made at Dai's request seem not to have been for Dai himself. It is likely that Dai commissioned them, at least in part, for others. It is also reasonable to assume that Dai may have received benefits from this art transaction.

Dai was a well-educated literatus, yet he relied heavily on Fu Shan's connoisseurship. As the foremost art connoisseur in Shanxi, Fu Shan served as the chief and probably sole consultant to Dai Tingshi in building his collection. A handscroll by the famous landscape painter Yan Wengui 燕文貴 (active ca. 970–1030), purchased by Dai around 1645 and now in the collection of the Ōsaka Municipal Museum of Art, bears Fu Shan's frontispiece of four seal-script characters, as well as a long colophon. In the colophon, Fu Shan says that Dai Tingshi consulted him before buying it and

²³ *FSQS* 1, p. 472. Many surviving letters to Dai contain similar messages, e. g., "Your satin has been received, but I still do not have leisure to make use of it. When the ink is ready, I shall shoulder my responsibility"; *ibid.*, p. 477.

that he encouraged Dai to pay a high price.

Letters by Fu Shan describe further the critical role Fu Shan played in Dai Tingshi's collecting activities. One of them reads:

None of the paintings by Mr. Wang is good. His painting did not improve until the year *xinyou*. It became better as he got older. These paintings seem to have been made when he was just beginning to learn how to paint. The small painting with towers and pavilions is not very good, either. But it may, after all, be acceptable as a painting of old architecture, so you can keep it.²⁴

As we see here, Fu Shan gave Dai his straightforward opinion on what to buy, what not to buy, and why.

Dwelling in Taiyuan, with a richer cultural life than that of Qixian, Fu Shan had more opportunities to see good antiques than did Dai, who usually remained in Qixian on business and was unable to come to Taiyuan as often as he wished. For this reason and as a trusted friend who understood well Dai's tastes and needs, Fu Shan occasionally bought antiques without consultation. Fu Shan notified him of such a purchase in a letter: "I have found a Xuande incense burner. The price is three taels of silver, fairly cheap. I will send it to your office as soon as I get it. Since the owner now has something else to do, I have not yet bought it."²⁵

Because of Fu Shan's reputation and skill, Dai often asked him to add colophons to paintings in his collection. A letter to Dai from Fu reads:

...The paintings arrived... I will keep them in my place for a few days and give them to messenger Yang after inscribing them... The painting by Dong [Qichang] is fine. But the ink plum attributed to Chen [Jiru] is fake.²⁶

Because of their critical content and calligraphy, Fu Shan's inscriptions unquestionably increased the market and artistic value of such works.

The foregoing letters to Dai hint at the degree of economic interaction between the two and at the extent to which it was bound up in social (and, if we examine Fu's letters to others, political) issues. In this web of interdependence there was a subtle type of deal-making and negotiation. That is, negotiation was implicit in the fabric of their dealings. In China, exchanges

²⁴ *FSQS* 1, p. 483.

²⁵ *FSQS* 1, p. 471.

²⁶ *FSQS* 1, p. 476. Often, Fu Shan mentions that he wrote inscriptions and colophons for Dai. For instance, "The painting has been inscribed, and I will send it off tomorrow morning... The fan was given to messenger Kang. You can get the seal [I carved for you] from my pharmacy"; *FSQS* 1, p. 476. Evidently Fu regularly added inscriptions and colophons to works in Dai's collection.

of art works, particularly, were imbedded in a wider web of transactions in which negotiation was understood rather than explicit, thus restricting our ability to quantify the specific terms of a deal. There was no need for such specificity in Dai's and Fu's culture, yet for every action by one there should have been a proportional, if not immediate, reaction by the other simply in order to maintain social norms. Thus, a balancing of obligations and benefits, although seldom stated in quantifiable terms, prevailed in most of the dealings between these two individuals and among Chinese generally.

Describing a relationship between two descendants of Ming scholar-officials like Dai and Fu, and their differing fortunes in the early part of the Qing, leads to broader issues: first, how far-reaching were the uses of calligraphy in everyday life; and second, what was the nature of the relationship between an artist and his audience?

CALLIGRAPHY FOR EVERYDAY LIFE:

A VARIETY OF USES FOR FU SHAN'S CALLIGRAPHY

The previous section showed some of the ways in which Fu Shan, an artist from a family of scholar-officials, struggled to survive during the period of dynastic transition. Drawing on Fu Shan's association with his close friend Dai Tingshi, I provided examples of how calligraphy was used in everyday life. But Fu Shan's calligraphy was employed in yet other situations, such as personal gratitude and political protection.

Calligraphy quite often was used to express gratitude. In 1681, Fu Shan spent several months at the residence of his friend Zhang Zhi 張植 (zi Yuanpei 元培) in Pingding 平定, a small prefecture in eastern Shanxi. To express his appreciation, Fu Shan composed a poem and wrote it on a fan. In a short introductory note to the poem Fu wrote: "In the winter of the year of *xinyou* (late 1681 or early 1682) I stayed at Mr. Zhang Yuanpei's Yuli Garden and returned home in the third month of the year of *renxu* (1682). I write this fan to express my thanks."²⁷ Fu Shan mentions in his poem that Zhang was the grandson of his close friend Zhang Sanmo 張三謨 (zi Rikui 日葵; 1585–1649), a senior official of the Ming dynasty from Pingding. Zhang Zhi endeavored, by his hospitality, to maintain the earlier tie with an important cultural figure. Fu Shan's fan was a repayment (in some part, at least) for the favor of Zhang's hospitality.²⁸

²⁷ FSQS 1, p. 199.

²⁸ Whether or not Fu Shan made works of art for Zhang during his stay at Zhang's residence is unclear.

As a leading literary figure, Fu Shan was often asked to compose, and make calligraphic scrolls of, congratulatory essays for such occasions as the birthdays of the sons and grandsons of friends. A long handscroll now in a Japanese collection tells the following story. For many years Wang Daling 王大令 (zi Yuqing 毓青), a friend of Fu Shan, was not able to have a son (a serious problem for a gentry family in traditional China). Finally, in 1667, when Wang was fifty-two years old, his wife gave birth to a boy. Happy and excited, Wang asked Fu Shan to write something for the occasion. Fu Shan wrote eleven poems and an essay in the form of a handscroll.²⁹ In a social context, this action must either have paid off an obligation previously incurred by Fu Shan or created one on Wang's part.

Exchanging calligraphy for food was also a common activity in Fu Shan's daily life. In a letter to someone named Quan, who was apparently well-to-do, Fu Shan wrote that his family had run out of rice and that he had copied the *Classic of Filial Piety* in small regular script to trade for twenty to thirty pounds of rice from Quan.³⁰ Presumably Fu Shan and Quan had made this kind of trade before, and both knew roughly the terms, otherwise Fu Shan would not have written hastily without advance notice. In the same letter, Fu Shan said that his trading calligraphy for rice would make him a laughingstock in Daling 大陵 (another name for Wenshui 文水 county, near Taiyuan). Though Mr. Quan seems to have been an agent for Fu Shan's calligraphy in Daling, the trade between Fu Shan and Quan was not monetary.³¹ It is, however, a clear instance of the use of art in a negotiated exchange, a negotiation that, in this case, was immediate and explicit.

Trading calligraphy for assistance not only took place between Fu Shan and wealthy individuals like Dai Tingshi; deals were also made with people of relatively low social background, like the residents of Fu Shan's village. Fu Shan wrote a set of four quatrains of five characters per line that recount a particular negotiation for his calligraphy. An introductory note to the poems explains: "Mrs. Pang 龐內 kindly made me a pair of new shoes. I informally jotted down four poems to express my thanks. Then Jinlang 盡郎 admitted they had planned from the beginning to use the shoes to trade for my calligraphy." In the poems, Fu Shan describes how happy

²⁹ The poems are undated, but in an anthology of poems by Fu Shan's friend Li Yindu 李因篤 (1631–1692) one in particular is "Congratulating My Old Friend Wang Daling (Yuqing) on the Birth of His Son" (datable to 1667). See Li Yindu, *Shouqutang shiji* 受祺堂詩集 (Kangxi edn.) 11, pp. 4a–b. Fu's eleven poems were very likely written at this time.

³⁰ FSQS 1, pp. 496–97.

³¹ I have found only one specific request for silver – to his friend Wei, in a letter to him; see n. 33.

he was to receive the new shoes and how well made they were.³² It is unclear how Mrs. Pang and Jinlang were related. From the context, however, Jinlang was probably Mr. Pang. It was Jinlang's idea to exchange shoes for Fu Shan's calligraphy, something he admitted quite openly. It is unlikely that Jinlang and Mrs. Pang were of high social background, although Jinlang may have been able to read. This exchange is also of interest because both parties anticipated the exchange before its terms were made explicit; only Jinlang's frankness and Fu's note permit us to know the history of an exchange that would otherwise have remained private. This trade shows the range of possible exchanges: if someone might have traded shoes for calligraphy, why not socks or pants?

Calligraphy was useful in ways that would surprise most modern art historians. In the twelfth month of the year *wuzi* (early 1649), Jiang Xiang 姜瓖, a former Ming general who surrendered to the Qing and retained his military rank, led an insurrection against the Manchus in Datong, Shanxi. Jiang's army soon occupied Xinzhou 忻州, near Taiyuan. Martial law was declared in Taiyuan. The city gates were closed, and a special pass was required of those wishing to leave. Fu Shan wrote to Wei Yiao to obtain a pass, and at one point explained the reason for his request:

My mother was about to go to Pingding to manage her grandson's (Fu Mei) marriage. But it happens that the city gates are closed, and she cannot leave because Taiyuan is under martial law. It is said that you might be able to help me get a pass. I am now sending Mr. Huangyu to ask your advice on this special matter.³³

Slightly later, Fu Shan sent another letter to Wei concerning Fu Mei's marriage, in which he mentions that he is in the process of writing several scrolls for Wei:

At present, I have no special reason for staying here except that I have not yet finished the hanging scrolls of calligraphy for you. I will depart eastward once the writing is done. My children may go first. If you happen to be there, I hope you will trouble yourself to take care of them, since the wedding will be held there.³⁴

³² *FSQS* 1, p. 196.

³³ This is one of eighteen letters Fu Shan wrote to Wei mounted as a handscroll, now in the collection of Dr. Yip Shing Yiu in Hong Kong. For the transcription of these letters and a discussion of the relationship between Fu Shan and Wei Yiao, see Bai Qianshen 白謙慎, "Fu Shan yu Wei Yiao: Qingchu Ming yimin yu shi Qing Hanzu guanyuan guanxi di ge'an yanjiu" 傅山與魏一龍清初明遺民與仕清漢族官員關係的個案研究, *Guoli Taiwan Daxue meishushi yanjiu jikan* 國立臺灣大學美術史研究集刊 3 (March, 1996), pp. 95–139.

³⁴ *FSQS* 1, p. 130. Fu Shan's only child was Fu Mei, but his nephew Fu Ren also lived with

At the time this letter was written, Wei Yiao was working for the provincial administrative commissioner in Shanxi. Earlier, in 1646–47, he had served as prefect of Pingding. Although he was now serving in Taiyuan, he must have known many people in Pingding and traveled there frequently owing to the nature of his job. He could certainly have provided conveniences to the Fu family. As the former prefect of Pingding where Fu Mei's wedding was to be held, his presence at the wedding would no doubt greatly honor the Fu family and their in-laws. The closely spaced interactions between Wei and Fu involving calligraphy, gate passes, and care of Fu's family suggest a pattern of social and economic involvement, as well as pointing to the two men's mutual regard.³⁵

Late in the Ming, wealthy families with local influence and power could easily evade regular taxation and labor service. After 1644, though, their political power was severely damaged, and they lost many privileges and benefits. Fu Shan had to find new ways to balance his losses. About 1652, Fu Shan wrote to Wei Yiao regarding the lifting of a tax exemption on his land. The letter reads in part:

My family is originally from Xinzhou; at present we still own some poor land there... As a registered household, my family has not been taxed for eighty years. But now, treacherous officials have put them into the tax category "Real Grain." I am bombarded with complaints from my clansmen there, and my two brothers are burdened with taking care of this matter. Their bitterness cannot be expressed by words. I am going to submit a report to the government and ask to have the case transferred to the prefecture in which I am living and to have the property tax exempted as before. Is this possible? If so, I still do not know how to process it. I hope you can advise my brother [Fu] Zhi 傅止 about this. I myself am ready to live in abject poverty, but this concerns the livelihood of my family, so I cannot leave the matter unsettled. I have just heard that the Bureau of Agriculture is investigating famine. Might this help my chance of pursuing it?³⁶

Presumably Fu Shan was ashamed to ask the Qing government to ex-

him (Ren's father Fu Geng 傅庚, Fu Shan's older brother, died in 1642). So here Fu Shan talks of his "children" rather than child.

³⁵ Besides executing calligraphy for Wei Yiao, surviving letters demonstrate that Fu Shan also made a bamboo painting for Wei and wrote a prescription for Wei's younger brother, Wei Yikun 魏一鯤 (d. 1653).

³⁶ Like other letters in the handscroll, this is undated. According to *Qingshi gao* 清史稿, the government remitted tax on crops because of the famine of 1652. Zhao Erxun 趙爾巽 et al., *Qingshi gao* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976–1977), vol. 1, pp. 130–31. Thus I tentatively date it to 1652.

empt his land from taxation, although he found himself obliged to do so in order to feed his family. Hence, at the end of the letter, he adds the following words: "After reading, please burn this immediately; do not keep it. Be sure of that! Be sure of that!" But Wei Yiao so treasured Fu Shan's calligraphy that he did not honor Fu Shan's request and instead preserved this interesting historical document because of its calligraphic value. Letters and prescriptions by Fu Shan had already become collectible items by the early part of the Qing. For Wei Yiao and others, receipt of letters from Fu Shan became an opportunity for collecting his calligraphy, and one may also suppose that the choice of Fu Shan as medical advisor was sometimes influenced by a desire to collect his prescriptions. By sending a request for assistance or by writing out a prescription, Fu Shan simultaneously presented the recipient with a collectible item.

Art could be involved in situations even more unusual than the above. Perhaps the most bizarre example in the case of Fu Shan occurred when he was in jail. If not typical of everyday life, it was part of it, and reveals the diversity of circumstances in which calligraphy figured. In the summer of 1654, Fu Shan was arrested and jailed in Taiyuan for his involvement in anti-Manchu activity.³⁷ A report favorable to Fu Shan, drafted by a number of provincial and prefectural officials, was submitted to the central government for examination and approval. Meanwhile, friends in Shanxi actively participated in the rescue work. By fall of the same year, Fu Shan's punishment was significantly mitigated, and he was moved into a special jail at Jinci, a beautiful temple in Taiyuan. While he was in jail waiting for a memo from Beijing, he produced works of calligraphy in surprising numbers. Brush and paper must have been obtained by friends, even by guards. People were all the more anxious to collect his calligraphy because no one could predict the outcome of his case.³⁸ Government officials, even jail guards, may have taken this chance to ask Fu Shan to execute works of calligraphy for them. It is interesting that, for the most part, the few works of this time that survive take their texts from the Daoist and Buddhist classics. It is hardly surprising that Fu Shan, while waiting for a verdict, copied religious texts in the hope that he would be protected by spiritual powers.

³⁷ Details of the case are well documented in three reports submitted to the Shunzhi emperor by three judicial departments in the central government in 1654 and the year following; *FSQS* 7, pp. 5159–97.

³⁸ For a detailed discussion, see Bai, "Fu Shan yu Wei Yiao," pp. 109–14; and idem, "Fu Shan yanjiu zhaji" 傅山研究札記, *Shanxi daxue shifan xueyuan xuebao* 山西大學師範學院學報 (1998.2), pp. 71–72.

Fu Shan was released late in the summer of 1655. Of the three other people involved in the case, one was hanged and two were whipped one hundred times and exiled a thousand *li* away. Fu Shan was the only one to have avoided punishment. His fame as the leading intellectual and cultural figure in Shanxi won him greater political protection than that available to men of lesser background. While the example just cited did not involve a direct negotiation of art for freedom, Fu Shan's artistic reputation must have loomed large in the consideration of his case. Ironically, his jailing may have increased his fame among Ming loyalists, Han Chinese officials in the Qing government, and literati.³⁹ The more famous he became, no matter what the reason, the more popular his calligraphy became and the greater the demand for it. A significant political reputation helped to increase status in the cultural sphere.

One of the government officials who played a key role in rescuing Fu Shan was Bian Dashou 邊大綬 (active 1640s–50s), the prefect of Taiyuan.⁴⁰ Bian, in fact, was Fu Shan's friend; in a letter to Dai Tingshi, Fu Shan wrote: "Prefect Bian just sent me a letter saying he was about to leave. He asked me to prepare a work (or works) of art for him. Then he will rush north."⁴¹ It was evident that Fu Shan and Bian Dashou knew each other well, and that Bian had Fu Shan execute calligraphic works for him. Thus calligraphy was part of the groundwork of friendly social interaction that won Bian's active assistance for Fu Shan in a moment of great peril.

The letters left by Fu Shan reveal in a striking way the wide uses to which his calligraphy was put in the negotiations of everyday life. In order, however, to further our understanding of why and how Fu Shan's calligraphy was created and used, we need to know who were the recipients of Fu Shan's calligraphy. Important members of Fu Shan's audience, like Dai Tingshi and Wei Yiao, have been discussed above. But others need to be introduced, because only when a sufficient number of recipients have been studied and compared is a reconstruction of the interaction between Fu Shan and his audience possible.

³⁹ His case was mentioned and he was called a hero in friends' poetry; *FSQS* 7, p. 4990. Contemporary and later historians mentioned the case when composing biographies of Fu Shan; *ibid.*, pp. 5032, 5040, 5054.

⁴⁰ The preliminary proceedings were held in Taiyuan prefecture, Bian directing the cross examination. In his report to the provincial court, Bian defended Fu Shan as innocent and wrongly charged. Later, Bian's report was quoted by the provincial court in their report to the central government; *FSQS* 7, p. 5181.

⁴¹ *FSQS* 1, p. 480.

FU SHAN'S PUBLIC

It is no easy task to define Fu Shan's public. Nevertheless, by studying the writings of Fu Shan and his friends and other historical sources like local gazetteers, scholars have identified about 150 people associated with him.⁴² Among the hundreds of Fu Shan's calligraphic works, some bear dedications. Though not as numerous as we might wish, these, together with records scattered in other documents, allow us to categorize Fu's public into five groups, mostly by social status and geography: Ming and Qing government officials; the Shanxi literati; literati from other provinces; clergy; and unknown gentry and merchants.⁴³

Ming and Qing Government Officials

Fu Shan consistently maintained close relationships with Ming and Qing government officials. Since he only occasionally traveled beyond Shanxi, the officials he knew were mainly natives of Shanxi and those appointed to office in Shanxi.

As a member of the Shanxi elite, Fu Shan had a long relationship with Shanxi-born officials. Some of them were classmates from the Sanli Academy who successfully passed the civil service examinations and became government officials. Others he knew through different channels. One was Zhu Zhijun 朱之俊 (*jinshi* 1622), a Ming official from Shanxi who served the Manchus briefly in the 1640s and then retired to his hometown of Fenzhou. A student of Chen Jiru 陳繼儒 (1558–1639), Zhu had wide contacts with literati in Jiangnan, long a cultural center. He had a fairly close relationship with Fu Shan. Late in the 1650s Fu Shan painted four leaves with landscapes on which he inscribed poems to celebrate Zhu's birthday. In a letter to Dai Tingshi, Fu Shan mentioned the event and asked Dai to help him have these works mounted. Zhu's excitement over these works was expressed in a group of poems praising them.⁴⁴

⁴² An incomplete list of Fu Shan's friends and acquaintances can be found in a biographical chronology compiled by Hou Wenzheng 侯文正 in his *Fu Shan shiwen xuan* 傅山詩文選注 (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1985), pp. 567–69. See also a study of Fu Shan's relationship with eminent scholars and literati of the early Qing in Yin Xieli 尹協理, "Fu Shan yu xuezhe mingshi jiaoyou kao" 傅山與學者名士交遊考, in *San Jin wenhua yanjiuhui xueshubu* 三晉文化研究會學術部, ed., *San Jin wenhua yanjiu luncong* 三晉文化研究論叢 (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1994), pp. 106–50.

⁴³ Among the 150 identified friends, less than ten were Ming officials, about thirty Qing officials, about thirty famous literati from other provinces; the rest were Shanxi literati and well-educated Buddhist monks.

⁴⁴ *FSQS* 1, p. 472. Zhu's poems can be found in Deng Zhicheng 鄧之誠, *Qingshi jishi*

Fu Shan's friends among officials appointed to posts in Shanxi ranged from top provincial officials to county magistrates and even, occasionally, to low-ranking government staff. Thus the geographical, educational, and family backgrounds of this part of Fu Shan's audience were diverse. Officials serving in Shanxi at the beginning of the Qing were almost all keen to obtain Fu Shan's calligraphy. Wang Yuyou 王餘佑, a friend of Fu Shan from Zhili province, told his fellow townsman Kong Xianyi 孔憲翼, who was leaving for Shanxi to take a low government position, that Fu Shan's calligraphy was imbued with the spirit of Zhong You 鍾繇 (151–230 AD) and Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (ca. 303–361) and that every character could be valued in gold. He told Kong that if he wanted to obtain Fu Shan's calligraphy he should visit Fu, taking wine and his letter of introduction.⁴⁵

The Shanxi Literati

Spread throughout the province, Shanxi literati were the major acquirers of Fu Shan's art. These Shanxi friends were from Ming scholar-official families or the landed class, the latter including former Ming princes. Many were Fu Shan's friends from his days at the Sanli Academy, the group to which Dai Tingshi belonged.

Local literati esteemed Fu Shan as the leader of Shanxi culture, and their association with him had the benefit of reinforcing their cultural position in their prefectures or counties. When traveling in Shanxi, Fu Shan was entertained by these friends, and his attendance at an event was considered a favor or even a great honor.⁴⁶ More important from the standpoint of art, these friends formed a wide network that promoted, distributed, exchanged, and sold Fu Shan's calligraphy.

chubian 清詩紀事初編 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1984), vol. 2, p. 724. In another poem, Zhu said he missed Fu Shan, but that when he saw his calligraphy on his wall, he felt near; *ibid.*, p. 723.

⁴⁵ Wang Yuyou, *Wugong shanren ji* 五公山人集 (Kangxi edn.) 12, pp. 3b–4a. So far no work by Fu for a Manchu has been discovered.

⁴⁶ As mentioned above, late in 1681, or early in 1682, Fu stayed at Zhang Zhi's for about three months. He wrote out a calligraphy fan for Zhang expressing gratitude. If Fu Shan executed no other works of art during his stay, then this fan may seem to us too little to requite the favor. But we must realize that towards the end of his life Fu Shan enjoyed a national reputation. Thus many officials and local literati were eager to associate with him, and to offer him hospitality. By accepting such offers, Fu Shan was himself conferring a favor, so that circumstance would determine if and when Fu gave advice on collecting or presented an art work.

Literati from Other Provinces

Intellectual life in China had been dominated by men from the south for centuries, but in the 1660s and 70s a Shanxi community made up of northerners and southerners contributed significantly to Chinese intellectual and cultural life. Throughout this period, Fu Shan's residence in a village about five miles southeast of Taiyuan was a center for scholarly gatherings. This intellectual community contained a host of leaders in scholarship, literature, and the arts. It included Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 (1613–1682) from Kunshan, Jiangnan, who had a profound influence on Qing intellectual life; Pan Lei 潘耒 (1646–1708), a student of Gu Yanwu from Wujiang, Jiangnan; Yan Ruoyu 閻若璩 (1636–1704) from Shanyang, Jiangnan; Cao Rong 曹溶 (1612–1683), a scholar and prominent collector of ancient calligraphy from Xiushui, Zhejiang; Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊 (1629–1709), a fellow townsman of Cao; Li Yindu, a scholar from Fuping, Shaanxi; Wang Hongzhan 王弘撰 (1622–1702), also a northerner and collector of calligraphy, from Huayin, Shaanxi; and two poets: Shen Hanguang from Zhili and Qu Dajun 屈大均 (1630–1696) from Canton.⁴⁷

On the one hand, Fu Shan's connection with these men from other areas increased his national reputation. On the other hand, they were not just his intellectual companions, but were also competitors who challenged his position as the cultural authority of Shanxi. In the 1660s and 1670s, Fu Shan devoted himself to studies of the ancient classics, phonology, and paleography in response to the challenges posed by this milieu,⁴⁸ undoubtedly the most sophisticated members of his public.

Religious Figures

Fu Shan, of course, did not always write calligraphy with material interests and practical purposes in mind. He became a Daoist priest after the Ming's collapse and was deeply interested in Buddhism. He left quite a number of scholarly writings on religion and also wrote many items of calligraphy for Daoist and Buddhist temples and their religious personnel.⁴⁹ At the request of a temple, Fu Shan sometimes wrote works of calligraphy for charity; in a short note to eight poems on calligraphy included in his collected writings, he wrote: "Sometimes people ask me to write calligra-

phy to provide relief to the poor. If it really helps a little, satin and silk are not wasted."⁵⁰ Although Fu Shan may not have received payment for writing calligraphy for monks, he often stayed in their temples when he traveled, and because many temples had a garden-like setting, he frequently made use of them to host literary gatherings.

The Unknown Audience

Most of Fu Shan's works do not bear a recipient's name, thus we must speculate in reconstructing this part of Fu Shan's public. It is reasonable to assume that such calligraphy was made in three kinds of circumstance. First was that created in leisure. At the end of an album of calligraphy in a variety of scripts Fu Shan wrote: "In the bright autumn, my sight is clear. I wrote this [piece of] calligraphy to calm my unsettled heart." Presumably Fu Shan executed this work at leisure without an intended audience, and, if this is true, it was not intended to be put to any particular use, although any calligraphy might become a gift or commodity later on. Second, some works were executed for agents without knowing who might be the potential buyer.

The third category was works written for people to whom Fu Shan did not want to write dedications. He mentions that he was often asked by *suwu* 俗物, "vulgar people," to write calligraphy,⁵¹ that they took advantage of his need for money, and that he was forced to produce calligraphy even when he did not want to.⁵² Who were these "vulgar people?" It is fair to assume that they were Shanxi merchants and gentry who could afford Fu Shan's calligraphy but whose little knowledge of literature and art made it awkward for them to approach him. In this general time period, merchants from Shanxi attained a national reputation for business acumen and wealth. But compared to their southern counterparts, Shanxi merchants were notorious for stinginess in sponsoring cultural activities.⁵³ "Vulgar people" were probably those unwilling to pay what the calligrapher expected and what they could very well afford. Such people had neither erudition nor elegance, and so would have annoyed Fu Shan. We can assume that many examples of Fu's calligraphy without dedication were made for just such vulgar people.⁵⁴

Though anonymous, such clients should not be forgotten. The fact

⁴⁷ Their biographies are in Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*.

⁴⁸ For a discussion of the effect of this intellectual community on Fu Shan's intellectual activities, see Bai Qianshen, "Shiqi shiji liushi, qishi niandai Shanxi xueshuquan dui Fu Shan xueshu yu shufa di yingxiang" 十七世紀六十七十年代山西的學術圈對傅山學術與書法的影響, *Guoli Taiwan daxue meishushi yanjiu jikan* 5 (March 1998), pp. 183–217.

⁴⁹ *FSQS* 1, pp. 80–81, 123, 166, 189, 230, 237, 240, 272, 443–68.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 864.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 866.

⁵³ Zhao Ruyong 趙汝泳, "Ming-Qing Shanxi junxiu zhishi heyi qishi congshang" 明清山西俊秀之士何以棄仕從商, *Shanxi daxue xuebao* (1987.4), pp. 45–49.

⁵⁴ Kathlyn Liscomb makes a useful comparison of the collection of paintings by literati painter Shen Zhou 沈周 (1427–1509) with that of Wang Zhen 王鏊 (1424–1495), a successful 15th-c. merchant. She writes: "[That] none of the paintings in Wang Zhen's collection

that a great number of Fu Shan's works of calligraphy bear no dedication makes it likely that Fu Shan spent considerable time and energy dealing with such people on a daily basis. More important, a considerable proportion of Fu Shan's income must have come from making calligraphy for the vulgar, winning him some independence from exclusive reliance on a few narrow resources.

Fu Shan's public, as demonstrated above, was highly diverse. It included people from all social and cultural backgrounds, ranging from high-ranking officials and leading scholars to monks, local gentry and merchants. Some were culturally sophisticated, while others whom Fu deemed vulgar merely aspired to elegance by hanging up examples of celebrity calligraphy in their homes.

TACTICS

His public defined, we now turn our attention to Fu Shan's variety of approaches in dealing with different audiences.⁵⁵ This raises the question of how Fu Shan's calligraphy was created and used.

Calligraphy for Fu Shan was not simply a matter of writing out scrolls: it was a complicated process in which he employed specific tactics that varied with the situation, thus increasing efficiency, elevating the value of a work, or pleasing recipients. Sometimes a tactic was employed to protect the calligrapher's dignity. In sum, the tactics were distinct but not necessarily independent: an work of calligraphy could be the result of adopting several of them at the same time.

*Selecting Texts*⁵⁶

A calligraphic work consists of the following parts: the principal text, which can be a brief one- or two-character phrase, long poems or essays, or a combination; an inscription or colophon; a dedication with the recipi-

ent's name; and the signature of the calligrapher.

was dedicated to him and that he clearly formed his collection in large part by acquiring many paintings done for another person strongly suggests that he was not part of any elite artistic circles"; see Liscomb, "Social Status and Art Collecting," p. 133. While merchants may have obtained Fu Shan's calligraphy, it was difficult for them to negotiate with Fu for his adding to them personal dedications and inscriptions.

⁵⁵ Discussions of such tactics in Chinese painting are in Ginger Cheng-chi Hsu's article "Merchant Patronage of Eighteenth Century Yangzhou Painting," in Chu-ting Li et al., eds., *Artists and Patrons: Social and Economic Aspects of Chinese Painting*, The Kress Foundation and Department of Art History, University of Kansas (Kansas City and Seattle: Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in cooperation with the U. of Washington P., 1989), pp. 215-25; Cahill's *Painter's Practice*; and Gong "On Gift Painting."

⁵⁶ Robert E. Harrist, Jr.'s "Reading Chinese Calligraphy" is probably the first study to call

ent's name; and the signature of the calligrapher.

Some of those who sought his work probably asked Fu Shan to copy a specific text, such as the *Thousand Character Classic*. In other cases, clients left all decisions to the calligrapher. This does not mean that the calligrapher had a free hand when creating a work for a friend or client. Typically, when a work was made for a specific occasion, the calligrapher would take into consideration the recipient and type of occasion, and then select a text and script accordingly. A text could be composed by the calligrapher, composed by the recipient, or drawn from a famous ancient or contemporary writer.

Fu Shan was unmatched as a poet and essayist in Shanxi cultural circles, and often when creating calligraphy he simply selected one or several of his old poems. For more formal occasions, he would compose new poems or essays, in which case, both text and calligraphy honored the recipient. He was frequently called on, for instance, to produce birthday gifts for old friends. Cao Wei 曹偉, a *juren* degree holder from Fenzhou and classmate of Fu Shan from the Sanli Academy, turned sixty in 1656. To celebrate this event, Cao's children and students asked Fu Shan to compose an essay praising Cao's virtues that ultimately numbered 800 characters and was copied out on twelve huge satin hanging scrolls.⁵⁷ Such a gift of course did Cao a great honor.

The selection of texts from ancient sources had been a popular practice in calligraphy since the Eastern Jin dynasty (317-420). A text copied out by a master calligrapher made the reading and viewing a thoroughly enjoyable experience. Fu Shan, of course, routinely made use of this practice. But what interests us is that Fu Shan turned it into a strategy for increasing efficiency when faced with an overwhelming number of commissions. A frequently copied text was the set of eight poems by the famous Tang-era poet Du Fu 杜甫 (712-770) entitled "Qiuxing" 秋興 ("Autumn Meditations"). In a colophon appended to these eight poems (on a calligraphy album in the collection of the Palace Museum, Beijing), Fu Shan explains his reason for using them so often:

This old man (that is, Fu Shan himself) cannot remember how many hundreds of times he has copied these eight poems. About to copy them again, I know that even the "Autumn Meditations" are tired of my copy-

for scholarly attention to the texts of calligraphic works. See Robert E. Harrist, Jr., and Wen Fong, *The Embodied Image: Chinese Calligraphy from the John B. Elliot Collection* (Princeton: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1999), pp. 2-27.

⁵⁷ This set of hanging scrolls is now in the collection of the Shanghai Museum. Each scroll measures 190 x 45 cm. Reproductions and text are in Lin Peng 林鵬 and Yao Guojin 姚國瑾,

ing them. But these eight poems are familiar to people, and so I avoid the problem that, when I copy other poems by Du Fu, people may be unhappy because they do not know which poems they are.⁵⁸

Copying poems he had memorized speeded up commissions that Fu Shan did not have to take seriously. By choosing such a text, Fu Shan steered clear of problems that might arise with the segment of his public that was not well educated, since he avoided having to explain the text to those with inadequate literary training. This approach also worked well from the standpoint of the recipient. With a calligraphic rendering of "Autumn Meditations" hung in a conspicuous place in his reception hall, the owner could proudly show off his literary knowledge by reading the poems aloud and explaining them to his guests, and the guests could respond with a few positive but general comments. An unfamiliar text might create an embarrassing situation if it could not be identified and explained by either host or guests. Aesthetic enjoyment in this situation depended on the beholders' knowledge, however limited. A well-known ancient text permitted a broader appreciation of the calligraphy.

On rare occasions, Fu Shan would write calligraphy the text of which was composed by its recipient. This was the highest honor Fu Shan could offer. For example, in 1669 Gu Yanwu and Li Yindu – both friends of Fu Shan – traveled northward to visit the thirteen Ming imperial tombs in Changping 昌平 and mourn their fallen dynasty. Each wrote a commemoration of the emotional journey and Li produced a set of thirteen poems for the thirteen tombs.⁵⁹ Fu Shan, a die-hard Ming loyalist who shared Li's affection for the fallen dynasty, was deeply moved by their pilgrimage. In addition, Fu Shan, like Gu Yanwu, had a high opinion of Li Yindu, regarding him as the best poet since Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582–1664).⁶⁰ So he respectfully promised Li that he would transcribe Li's poems in small regular script and accompany them with thirteen matching paintings.⁶¹

eds., *Fu Shan* 傅山, vol. 63 of Liu Zhengcheng 劉正成, gen. ed., *Zhongguo shufa quanji* 中國書法全集 (Beijing: Rongbaozhai, 1996), pp. 84–89, 362–63.

⁵⁸ The exact meaning of the last sentence is not entirely clear because Fu Shan used an obscure allusion the reference of which cannot be determined. But the context suggests that it is an explanation of why he did not copy Du Fu poems that were considered unfamiliar.

⁵⁹ Gu Yanwu's short memorial ode written for this event is in *Gu Tinglin shiwen ji* 顧亭林詩文集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), p. 120. Li's poems for this occasion seem not to be extant. He wrote that he gave the poems to Fu Shan; Li, *Shouqitang wenji* 受祺堂文集 (1823) 3, p. 13.

⁶⁰ *FSQS* 1, p. 181.

⁶¹ Li, *Shouqitang wenji* 3, p. 13. Elsewhere, Li writes that Fu Shan liked to use Li's own poems when executing calligraphy for him; *ibid.* 2, pp. 5–6.

Prefaces and Inscriptions on Calligraphy

The importance of prefaces and inscriptions should not be overlooked in studying how works of calligraphy were commissioned. Fu Shan, like many other calligraphers, treated these particular aspects seriously. In the 1670s he was commissioned to write out a set of twelve hanging scrolls for the sixtieth birthday of Wang Xiyu 王錫予. His short preface (see figure 2A) reads:

Wang Jizi 王季子 (Yongyu 用予) is going to shatter the cold and shock the waves sailing to Hailing 海陵 to celebrate his second older brother's sixtieth birthday. He asked his friend Lingqi 令器 to order calligraphy from this old man [Fu Shan] [as a birthday gift].

The preface tells us that the work was commissioned by Wang Yongyu for his brother Wang Xiyu, whose name appears as the dedicatee on the final scroll. The text of these scrolls is a forty-line poem by Fu Shan in which he praises the friendship between the Wang brothers. Whether Fu Shan knew Wang Xiyu, the dedicatee, is unclear. From the text, we know that Xiyu was probably a Shanxi native with some literary training, currently doing business in Hailing (modern Taizhou 泰州), a county on the Grand Canal near Yangzhou and an important center for the salt business. Wang Xiyu may have had something to do with this trade since Shanxi merchants were active in Jiangnan in the early part of the Qing period. If so, then Wang Xiyu was probably a literatus engaged in business, like Dai Tingshi. Fu Shan's forty-line poem mentions that Wang Yongyu, who commissioned the work, had sent Fu a letter and poems on a previous occasion. But it seems likely that Wang Yongyu did not know Fu Shan well; otherwise he would not have asked Lingqi, son of an old friend of Fu Shan, to deliver the commission.

What we do know is that four people were concerned in the transaction. Fu Shan was the calligrapher; Wang Yongyu commissioned the work (not for himself but as a birthday gift for his brother); Wang Xiyu was the actual recipient; and Lingqi was the go-between who transmitted the commission from Wang Yongyu to Fu Shan and the work from Fu Shan to Wang Yongyu. Following the text, Fu Shan appended a colophon that concerns all four of those involved. It reads (figure 2B):

My old arms have been so painful that I burned my ink stone a long time ago. It is pleasant that [Lingqi], the son of my friend, comes to visit. He [Lingqi] has said repeatedly that the brotherhood [between Wang Yongyu and Wang Xiyu] is lofty like the clouds. I was touched, and unaccount-

ably my withered arms are suddenly light. The allusions in my poem are derived from the elegant poems that Yongyu presented to Mr. Wen (Yangmeng 文養蒙; fl. first half of seventeenth century) from Longmen 龍門.⁶² I cannot forget these poems, and I mention them to show my respect. Is this enough to make Xiyu cizhang 詞丈 [the literary gentleman]⁶³ happy and [encourage him] to drink his fill [at his birthday party]?⁶⁴

We know that Fu Shan never abandoned calligraphy for any length of time; thus when he says, "My old arms have been so painful that I burned my ink stone," he is guilty of hyperbole. But the language of this inscription serves several purposes. First, it alerts his viewers that this work is exceptional: he suggests he has come out of retirement to make it, and that therefore the recipient is particularly deserving. Second, it suggests that the calligrapher was ailing when the work was made. Ailing or not, Fu's point is that the completion of so huge a piece is no easy task for him, and the fact that he is willing to undertake it is in itself a compliment to the recipient. Whether or not the task was really hard to complete is immaterial: Fu's intention was to compliment the recipient, not describe accurately the gestation of the piece. Third, it hints that Fu Shan accepted the commission only after his friend Lingqi repeatedly described the lofty friendship between the two brothers, which deeply moved Fu Shan. "Said repeatedly" suggests that persuasion was necessary, and that Fu Shan's calligraphy was not easily come by. Fourth, it compliments all those involved: Wang Yongyu, the commissioner, whose idea it was to present calligraphy by Fu Shan to his brother as a birthday gift; Lingqi, the go-between, who did his best to persuade Fu Shan to write the piece; and Wang Xiyu, the recipient, whose lofty relationship with his brother was what impelled Fu Shan to pick up his brush.

Last, and perhaps most important, even though forced to produce calligraphy for a living, the text of the inscription preserved Fu Shan's dignity

⁶² This is the ancient name of Hejin 河津 county, southwestern Shanxi. The distance between Longmen and Taiyuan is about 280 miles, or 900 *li*. In the poem, Fu Shan says, "From a distance of a thousand *li*, the fourth son of Mr. Wen came to visit me." So it is likely that Lingqi, the go-between, was Wen Yangmeng's fourth son, and Mr. Wang Yongyu was Wen Yangmeng's student.

⁶³ Lit., "man of literature," or "man of letters," a respectful form of address in traditional China.

⁶⁴ For further details about this work, see Lin and Yao, eds., *Fu Shan* (n. 57, above), pp. 382–83. I do not agree with Yao's argument that it was Wang Yongyu himself who came to visit Fu Shan to ask for calligraphy. It ignores the fact that Wang Yongyu asked Lingqi to pass the request to Fu Shan, as Fu mentions in his short preface.

as a literatus. No monetary transaction was mentioned in this case, although it is likely that Fu Shan received a handsome payment in some form or other. But the inscription makes it clear that the calligrapher undertook serious calligraphic works for others only when moved by their lofty character. The shades of meaning contained in this short inscription show what could be involved in an art transaction of this period. That Fu was able to express so much in a few lines demonstrates his gift as a writer.

The importance placed on inscriptions in the context of *yingchou* 應酬 calligraphy (calligraphy executed in honor of an occasion or in order to fulfill a social obligation) is illustrated by a letter Fu Shan wrote to Wei Yiao around 1657, when Wei asked Fu to write calligraphy for his friend Zichuan 淄川. Fu Shan writes:

I will soon write the calligraphy for Zichuan, as you requested. But I have to consult you on the inscription. I have no idea how to write it, nor do I know what kind of personality he has. I need your instruction.⁶⁵

What is of particular interest here is that Fu Shan is concerned more about the inscription than about the principal text, which was usually written in larger characters and occupied most of the album, or scroll. The reason Fu Shan appears so cautious about phrasing the inscription is that he wanted to satisfy Wei Yiao by pleasing Zichuan, and thereby keep his friend happy. Although Fu Shan did not know Zichuan, he wanted the inscription to personalize the work for him. If the text was a standard literary composition, the inscription offered the artist the best, and perhaps only, opportunity to do that. The reason Fu Shan was willing to go to this trouble was because he knew that the recipient would be delighted to receive a work that demonstrated an "intimate" relationship with a cultural celebrity, even though, in fact, the recipient knew the calligrapher only by reputation.

The Function of shangkuan (Dedications) and the Artist's Seal

An old tradition in Chinese calligraphy called for the calligrapher to dedicate his works to the sponsor, colleague, relative, or friend who was its recipient. Dedications (*shangkuan* 上款) on art works could serve as a private communication between artist and dedicatee; but usually the dedication was also public, since the calligraphy was often displayed in places where people other than the recipient and his family could view the work. Thus, in many cases, a dedication involved not only the artist and recipient but also a wider audience, by putting the relationship between the artist

⁶⁵ This is one of the eighteen letters that Fu Shan wrote to Wei Yiao, mentioned above, n. 33.

and recipient on display.

How a dedicatee was addressed was often important. The cultural significance of different forms of address is seen in the contents of such reference books as *Chengwei lu* 稱謂錄 (*Listings of Forms of Address*), which gives forms of address, past and present, formal and informal.⁶⁶ There were also numerous guides to ordinary writing that taught proper forms of address and the occasions for their use. Differing forms of address might be applicable to one individual, depending on circumstances. Some forms signaled intimacy between addresser and addressee, such as *yinzhang* 姻丈 (friend related by marriage), while others indicated a long-standing relationship, such as *shixiong* 世兄 (friend whose older kin were friends of the older kin of the writer).

Some terms elevated the addressee by stressing his cultural background. For example, when dedicating the above-mentioned set of twelve hanging scrolls to Wang Xiyu, who was probably a literatus engaged in commercial business, Fu Shan addressed him as *cizhang*, thus emphasizing Xiyu's literary side and lending him an aura of culture. If, like Fu Shan, the calligrapher was an important cultural figure, a laudatory form of address could considerably enhance the recipient's self-esteem. Of course, it could also be a cheap and meaningless cliché. Distinguishing the implications of such terms is critical to understanding the calligrapher-commissioner relationship and often depends on context. In the present case, for example, we know that the use of *cizhang* was genuinely intended to honor the recipient because of the character of the inscription as a whole. In another setting, its use might be routine.

The inclusion or exclusion of the recipient's name can also be a matter of some significance. Anne Burkus-Chasson observes this when discussing a birthday painting by Chen Hongshou 陳洪綬 (1599–1652). She correctly characterizes Chen's work "Female Immortals," now in the Palace Museum, Beijing, as a painting for a birthday celebration. Because it bears no dedication, Burkus-Chasson argues: "Omitting the name of the painting's recipient, Chen does not directly honor the birthday celebrant. Rather, he only guarantees his authorship of this work. Extending his signature and seals along the left edge of the painting, he proffers an object of his hand. Value lay in this, and not in the demonstration of social affinities that bound painter to celebrant. From this, Chen's relative distance from the commis-

sioner may be inferred."⁶⁷ This argument is valid, except that we are not certain who commissioned Chen Hongshou's painting. Chen may have painted it during his spare time and given it to an agent for sale. It may have had no specific audience at all. Fu Shan, for instance, made many works of calligraphy without dedications for his agents. The advantage of having no dedication was that an agent could sell a painting to anyone needing a birthday gift. This caveat notwithstanding, Burkus-Chasson's discussion of Chen's work focuses our attention on the functions of dedication. By including or withholding a recipient's name, an artist could control his degree of intimacy with the recipient. Moreover, when producing calligraphy for sale, a good dedication might require extra money. Thus, inclusion of a personalized dedication of the kind Fu Shan intended to write for Wei Yiao's friend Zichuan was a favor that Wei would have felt obligated in some way to return.

Affixing seals to paintings and works of calligraphy was already an old and widespread practice. In most cases, a work would not be considered complete until one or more seal impressions was made, except for works considered as daily practice pieces or on letters and drafts. Nevertheless, an artist might purposely avoid impressing seals on a work for two reasons. First, he might be reluctant to impress his seals on an unsatisfactory work. Thus absence of an artist's personal seals sometimes means that a work is of low quality. Alternatively, by neglecting to impress his seal, the artist may have been seeking to downplay his association with the recipient. Fu Shan seems to have adopted this ploy. In a letter to Wen Xuanxi 文玄錫 (1596–after 1679) he wrote:⁶⁸

Since my skin ulcer flared up, my hands and arms are swollen and painful. This has lasted almost ninety days. I have not been able to produce calligraphy for over one hundred days and have not written to you for long time. But not desiring to decline your various requests, I present as a start this work full of errors. I have finished this couplet first, but with regard to the fan, please give me another two or three days to do it. I do not have the right brush for fans here. And I have no seal paste. For this reason I did not impress my seal on the(se) work(s).⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Burkus-Chasson, "Elegant or Common?" p. 294.

⁶⁸ Wen Xuanxi was an old friend of Fu Shan who seems to have been wealthy. Fu Shan's letters and poems show that Wen often sent him gifts or treated him to good food. For a discussion of the relationship, see Yao Guojin, "Fu Shan *Tianquan wubo tu kao*" 傅山天泉舞柏圖考, *Shanxi daxue shifan xueyuan xuebao* 37 (1997.1), pp. 67–69.

⁶⁹ *FSQS* 1, p. 486.

⁶⁶ Liang Zhangju 梁章鉅, *Chengwei lu* (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1991), who notes that social position may have required several or even dozens of forms of address.

Why did Fu Shan, calligrapher and painter, have no seal paste? Even if true, seal paste was a common commodity. Fu could easily have managed to borrow some if he had wanted to. Probably Wen was trying to get hold of free or cut-rate works for his friends – a commission that Fu Shan was not inclined to treat seriously. “I have no seal paste” is merely an excuse here, and a thin one at that.

These considerations suggest that some works of calligraphy were more important than others, in that they conferred greater prestige on their recipients. Excluding other factors, we may rank them follows:

1. works with a text composed by the artist especially for the recipient;
2. works with *changkuan* 長款, a long, descriptive inscription that included the recipient's name;
3. works with *shangkuan* (a dedication);
4. works with *qiongzhu* 窮款 (signature) and seal(s) of the artist;
5. works with the artist's signature but no seal(s); and
6. works with the artist's seal(s) but no signature.

Having something like this in mind (subconsciously, at least), Fu Shan would tailor his works of calligraphy according to his assessment of the occasion and the recipient. As mentioned above, many of Fu Shan's surviving works are without a dedication. Often they were intended for the less important, less discriminating members of his audience.

Selection of Scripts

The discussion above demonstrates that rational calculation was often involved in the making of calligraphy. Like the selection of text, the selection of the type of script was sometimes part of this calculation.

Few of those commissioning calligraphy made a request regarding the nature of the text, and only very occasionally might they express an interest in the choice of script.⁷⁰ But if Fu Shan did agree to execute a calligraphic work in a particular script, the commissioners would usually make no further demands – Fu Shan, after all, was a great master.

In particular, he was one of the most accomplished seventeenth-century masters of cursive writing, and most of his calligraphy is written in two scripts, running and cursive. The majority of his extant works are hanging scrolls: huge in size, bold in brushwork, their images are striking, and they

⁷⁰ For example, in an inscription on a hanging scroll executed in cursive script, now in the collection of the Beijing Municipal Bureau of Cultural Relics, Fu Shan wrote: “I have not written cursive calligraphy for a while. But owing to the persuasion of my old friend Changbo, I wrote this.”

must easily have gained the attention of viewers. But partly because they were spontaneous, a great many of these works are also carelessly executed. Interestingly, most of them bear no dedication and were very likely made for the anonymous segment of Fu Shan's public, those he called “vulgar people.” Fu Shan writes in a note that he often was pushed to write calligraphy by “vulgar people” when he had no wish to do so;⁷¹ he describes calligraphy made under these circumstances as “dead calligraphy.”⁷² Thus, on the one hand, running and cursive scripts were expressive because less restrained, and on the other, they permitted speedy execution, so that the calligrapher could finish a job in the fastest possible time, a combination of factors that favored the calligrapher's interest.

Fu Shan's true metier was small regular script; but regular script is formal and time-consuming. As mentioned above, in the discussion of Fu Shan's public, when Fu Shan promised Li Yindu that he would transcribe Li's poems commemorating his trip to the thirteen Ming imperial tombs, he told Li that he would copy them in small regular script. Fu Shan wanted to show how seriously he took this special task. Compared with cursive script, which is easy to scribble but hard to do well, small regular script is easier to control, but only if a calligrapher applies unbroken concentration and devotes considerable time to a work. Because regular script was time-consuming, a gift of small regular script was usually considered sincere and generous. In addition, unlike cursive script, which is usually written on huge, striking scrolls intended to be hung on conspicuous walls, small regular script was usually reserved for album and handscroll formats. One opened them slowly and perused them thoughtfully. This more “private” viewing allowed for intimacy between artist and recipient. Thus Fu Shan tended to reserve this script for the most valued and educated members of his public.

Both extant works and written records confirm this point. Kept in the Fu family collection, other works in small regular script were written for friends like Dai Tingshi, Li Yindu, and government officials like Cao Rong, Sun Maolan 孫茂蘭 (active mid-seventeenth century; governor of Ningxia), and Gao Heng 高珩 (1612–1697, vice-minister of justice). For instance, in farewell poems to Fu Shan written in 1667, Cao Rong, who was also a famous collector of calligraphy, mentions that Fu Shan had transcribed the Buddhist classic *Diamond Sutra* for him.⁷³ Although Cao Rong did not spec-

⁷¹ *FSQS* 1, pp. 863–64.

⁷² *FSQS* 1, p. 900.

⁷³ Cao Rong, “Liubie Fu Qingzhu” 留別傅青主, in *Jingtingtang shiji* 靜惕堂詩集 (1725) 34.

ify what script was used, it is safe to assume that it was written in small regular script, since it was the convention to copy sutras in that script, and all extant copies of Buddhist sutras by Fu Shan (except one in seal script, which was even more formal) were written in regular script. For literati calligraphers, the text of the “Diamond Sutra” is long, and it must have taken a long time for Fu Shan to finish this work. Unquestionably, it was a precious gift, which is the reason Cao mentions it in his poem.

Another script that Fu Shan treasured but seldom used for others was clerical script. During the early part of the Qing era a significant departure occurred in Chinese calligraphy, with clerical script playing an important role. Scholars placed increasing emphasis on textual research: ancient inscriptions came to be regarded as important sources for verifying or correcting standard versions of the classics and histories, and the study of epigraphy assumed a new importance. In line with this development, the primitive character of epigraphical texts came to be appreciated in the field of calligraphy, and such texts were advocated as stylistic models by a number of leading calligraphers of that time.⁷⁴ Fu Shan was a vigorous advocate of the clerical script calligraphy found on Han steles, claiming it as a major source of calligraphic inspiration and as a spur to innovation, and he took rubbings of Han steles as models when practicing clerical script calligraphy.⁷⁵ He was keenly aware, however, that his taste for Han clerical script was not shared by many others of his time. He said in a note on calligraphy:

Three generations of my family have grasped the profundity of Han clerical script. We treasure our writings and do not lightly show them to people, because their excellence lies in things people do not understand: the ugly and awkward, the archaic and plain.⁷⁶

Few works in clerical script by Fu Shan survive. He was inclined to show and discuss clerical script calligraphy only for the artistically sophisticated. In a colophon to a rubbing of the Han stele “Huashan bei 華山碑,” originally in the collection of Wang Hongzhuan, the famous collector mentioned above, Li Yindu said that recently he had met Fu Shan in Taiyuan, and that the two had discussed Han clerical script: Fu had claimed a deep understanding of the essentials of Han calligraphy, which, he said, had been ignored by previous calligraphers for a thousand years.⁷⁷ In 1667 Dai Ting-

shi asked Fu Shan to copy out the text of a stele for the grave of his father, Dai Yunchang 戴運昌 (1579–1667), a retired Ming official. The stele’s epitaph was written by Li Yindu and the title by Gu Yanwu. Fu Shan paid Dai the signal honor of transcribing the epitaph in the formal dignity of Han clerical script.

Ghost-calligraphers

Fu Shan’s fame in calligraphy brought him many commissions and requests, which sometimes overwhelmed and exhausted the aging calligrapher. Over-burdened, he inevitably turned to ghost-calligraphers, especially because his son and nephew were both accomplished calligraphers. Fu Shan’s writings state that his son Fu Mei and nephew Fu Ren played such a role.⁷⁸ But the use of ghost-calligraphers caused problems of its own. On occasion, clients would come to Fu Shan’s home and urge him to execute calligraphy on the spot in order to ensure its authenticity. Fu Shan was usually dismayed by such pushiness. He knew that what most visitors wanted was not style or quality but the assurance of authenticity. In response, he probably grasped a brush and executed a work as quickly as he could, sending calligraphy-seekers away as soon as possible. Works made under these circumstances were never good, Fu Shan once said, because they resulted from bad moods. Fu Shan further claimed in a resentful tone, “If my calligraphy is not worth viewing, even a genuine work is not worth treasuring.”⁷⁹

Another problem caused by ghost-calligraphers was the speculation about its being a genuine work by Fu Shan based on appearance. Fu Shan mentions, in a note written about 1674, that people frequently speculated on the differences between his calligraphy and that of his ghost-calligraphers:

Some people pretend to be connoisseurs and claim that they are able to distinguish my calligraphy from my son’s. How amusing! They argue that works with ink-saturated, bold and spontaneous strokes are made by the

⁷⁴ See Bai, “Fu Shan.”

⁷⁵ On Fu’s advocacy of Han-era clerical script, see *FSQS* 1, pp. 853–56.

⁷⁶ *FSQS* 1, p. 862.

⁷⁷ This rubbing is now in the collection of the Palace Museum, Beijing. Li’s colophon is

not dated, but states that Li wrote it in the summer in Xi’an, just after returning from Taiyuan, where he had met Fu Shan. This allows us to date the colophon to 1666, because in that year Li was in Taiyuan in the spring and spent his summer in Xi’an. See Wu Huaqing 吳懷清, *Guanzhong san li nianpu* 關中三李年譜, ed. Chen Junmin 陳俊民 (Taipei: Yunchen wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 1992), pp. 337–38. Fu Shan also discussed clerical-script calligraphy with Cao Rong and Zhu Yizun; see Zhu Yizun, *Pushuting ji* 曝書亭集 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1936) 47. Zhu was clearly familiar with Fu Shan’s clerical script because he praised Fu in a poem as one of the few early-Qing masters of it (*ibid.* 10, p. 2b).

⁷⁸ *FSQS* 1, p. 864.

⁷⁹ *FSQS* 1, pp. 864, 866.

father, and those with less ink and with clearly defined strokes are made by the son. Listening to this kind of argument is like listening to a lunatic's ravings.⁸⁰

Thus, on the one hand, good works by ghost-calligraphers were sometimes taken as Fu Shan's works, and, on the other hand, careless works by Fu Shan were sometimes considered ghost-calligrapher fakes. In the early 1670s, Zhao Jishi 趙吉士 (*juren* 1650; native of Xiuning, Anhui), then magistrate of Jiaocheng 交城 county, asked Fu Shan through the agency of Dai Tingshi to write the signboard for his studio. Fu Shan complied, but Zhao complained angrily about the quality of the calligraphy received. In a letter to Dai Tingshi, Zhao told Dai that, although he was not good at calligraphy, he had sufficient knowledge to appreciate it, and he believed that the work he had been sent was written not by Fu Shan but by his son. To Zhao, this was an ethical matter. Though he had the calligraphy engraved on the signboard and hung in his studio, he warned that it would damage Fu Shan's reputation.⁸¹

Whether the work Zhao received was genuine or not is unclear; nor do we know the exact nature of the transaction. All we know is that Zhao regarded the calligraphy as problematic. But if Zhao Jishi was casting doubt on Fu Shan's ethics, Fu Shan was himself finding an ethical justification for careless execution:

Because of difficulties arising from too little money, I have been forced to do these pieces as if I were a servant. Most visitors are not very honest.⁸²

Fu believed that it was he, proud scholar and talented artist, who was being taken advantage of by others. He was the victim; hence, he was not ashamed of producing careless works. But if Fu Shan continued to produce poor works, why did people continue to request his calligraphy? And what made it possible for Fu Shan to survive the criticism of people like Zhao Jishi, who recognized the poor quality of some of Fu Shan's productions? I address these questions below.

Delayed Response

When overburdened, Fu Shan probably ranked requests for his calligraphy and responded accordingly. He would have responded promptly to

⁸⁰ *FSQS* 1, p. 864.

⁸¹ Zhao Jishi, "Yu Dai Fengzhong" 與戴楓仲, *Wanqingge ziding wenji* 萬青閣自訂文集 (Kangxi edn.) 3, p. 120a; rpt. *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* 四庫全書存目叢書 (Ji'nan: Qilu shushe, 1997), *jibu* 集部, vol. 220, p. 327.

⁸² *FSQS* 1, p. 866.

requests with deadlines, for instance, for works intended as birthday or farewell gifts, such as a set of twelve hanging scrolls for Cao Wei's sixtieth birthday party mentioned above; and he would have given priority also to works he intended to exchange for necessities, like the ones he executed for exchanging food with Mr. Quan.

In all likelihood, Fu Shan was often asked by friends to make gratis works of calligraphy, or on the understanding that they would return the favor at a later date. If the artist was swamped with work, he might treat such a request as a low priority and delay his response. We can assume that those who wanted a free or "cut-rate" work would not press Fu Shan as much as those who paid cash, unless they needed it urgently. Extant letters and colophons prove that delaying his response was in fact a strategy of Fu Shan. Fu might even have delayed a request for calligraphy from his close friend Dai Tingshi. In a colophon to an album for Dai that was a copy of the *Thousand Character Classic* in cursive script (see figure 3), Fu wrote:

It has been three or four years since Fengzhong [Dai Tingshi] asked me to copy the *Thousand Character Classic*. Old, my wrists stiff as iron, how can I copy it seriously? Moreover, my eyesight is blurred. When I am writing, [all I can do is] write what I see vaguely. At the end of spring, I was about to ride a donkey deep into the mountains, but Dai's messenger came over to ask me to finish what I had promised.⁸³

If Dai had not sent someone to urge Fu Shan, there is no telling when Fu might have finished it.

In one extreme case, there was even an eight- to nine-year delay. An essay in an album by Fu Shan begins with these interesting sentences:

This small album has been on my desk for eight or nine years, and I had forgotten who asked me to write in it. Not until a few days ago did Anbo 岸伯 ask me whether I had written calligraphy for his small album, and I remembered that this one was his.⁸⁴

Anbo was the *zi* of Shi Xun 石詢, a *xiucai* degree holder from Yuxian. Fu probably felt guilty for having delayed so long and composed for this album a long essay praising Liwa 黎娃, a former prostitute and wife of Shi Xun, for her faithful love of her husband, a poor literatus, during difficult times.⁸⁵

In most cases, Fu Shan could avoid feeling guilty if, instead of refusing a request, he simply put off responding because he was too busy. He had many things to take care of, and sometimes he was ill. A slow response, we

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 400.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 372.

⁸⁵ Fu Shan also wrote a biography of Shi Xun; *FSQS* 1, p. 358.

assume, was doubly effective because a reasonable person would not send another request, at least until the previous one had been completed; thus, by delaying current orders, Fu Shan warded off future ones as well.⁸⁶

Delayed responses were most often experienced by those asking for free or cut-rate works. The fact that such requests were usually from old friends often exacerbated the delays, since Fu Shan would have been reluctant to let his ghost-calligraphers handle them. For one thing, Fu Shan would have felt uncomfortable "cheating" friends like Dai Tingshi. For another, those who knew Fu Shan well might easily discover whether a work was actually by Fu Shan or whether it was only by one of his ghost-calligraphers. For friends, then, it was necessary for Fu Shan to respond in person, and delays did not tend to give affront, as would outright refusal.

Though Fu Shan might delay his responses, the tactic did not always work well. Sometimes his friends, especially his close friends, came to his home to urge him to finish a requested work. On a calligraphic inscription Fu Shan left a record of just such an occasion:

Brother Ju asked for my calligraphy. My old arms are so painful that I could not even make wild duck [untrained] calligraphy. But when Mr. Bohun 伯渾 came to urge me to write, I finished it perfunctorily. It makes you laugh.⁸⁷

Bohun is the *zi* of Zhu Boyi 朱伯璠, a former Ming prince from Fenzhou. After the Manchu conquest, he made a living from his medical practice. He and Fu Shan were close friends: they composed poems and traveled together. When he came to urge Fu Shan to finish a work for his friend "Brother Ju," it was hard for Fu Shan to refuse.

Complaints

Fu Shan may not have been able to decline requests from his friends, but he could complain. After writing out a Tang poem for Bai Yuncai 白孕彩 (*zi* Jushi 居實), a close friend since his days in the Sanli Academy, Fu Shan added an inscription that is self-denigrating, almost bitter in tone:

⁸⁶ No example of Fu Shan's calligraphy has been found for supporting this point. But a relevant case is a painting by Fu Shan for his friend Wen Xuanxi, mentioned above, now in the collection of Shanxi Provincial Museum. An inscription reads, in part: "The paper has been in my place for a year since Mr. Xuan[xi] brought it here and charged me to make a painting. Old and sick, I have not been able to raise the brush. The third month of the year of *bingchen* (1676) is Mr. Xuan[xi]'s eighty-first birthday. I roughly brush a [cypress] tree in celebration." Fu Shan cleverly killed two birds with this single stone. If he had completed the painting soon after Wen's request, he would have had to prepare a second gift, likely another painting or calligraphy, for Wen's birthday.

⁸⁷ *FSQS* 1, p. 287.

This calligraphy by an old man (Fu Shan himself) is just like a wild duck, not worth treasuring. But those who love sick things continually request my calligraphy. Nowadays people are so strange, even Jushi! Take a look. Where can you find excellence [in this work]?⁸⁸

In a letter to Dai Tingshi written in his old age, Fu Shan describes in detail his sufferings when forced to write calligraphy:

When this old man [Fu] heard the words "write calligraphy," he got a headache. After struggling to finish the writing, I felt as if my eyes were burning. I applied some salve to my eyes, and then could not even open them. My suffering is great; this is no falsehood. As for the calligraphy: how can one even call it calligraphy! At your request, I have smeared two fans. This is not my fault. If someone criticizes them, please explain for me.⁸⁹

Here, Fu implies that the artist should not be held responsible for unsatisfactory quality. Complaints such as these sent a message to his friends that the calligrapher was heavily burdened, and served as an excuse for careless work.

Storing Away the Best Works

Our discussion of Fu Shan's tactics unavoidably leads us to the question, who among Fu Shan's public received his best and his worst works?

Obviously, those whom Fu Shan called "vulgar people" and those who asked for free work were prime candidates for receiving the worst. Free-loaders deserved poor works. But, ironically, even vulgar people who paid the calligrapher might receive poor works because Fu Shan knew that they lacked the skill to judge calligraphy. Though rich, they were culturally inferior to Fu Shan. Money talked; it was not always heard.

In general, educated government officials and literati got better works. But if we sort through Fu Shan's works and identify their recipients, we find that the quality of a work does not always match the social status of its recipient. For instance, even Zhao Jishi, Magistrate of Jiaocheng county, failed, apparently, to obtain a good work.

Whether on the basis of contemporary or traditional aesthetic standards, only a limited number of Fu Shan's extant works are considered of especially high quality, of which a few bear Fu-family collection seals. Some are impressed with the seal "Fushi jiacang 傅氏家藏" ("Collection of the Fu family"; figure 4, upper-right corner); some bear the seals of Fu Shan,

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 400.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 479.

Fu Mei, and Fu Ren, showing that the Fu family considered these works important. The example shown in figure 4 is an album of small regular-script calligraphy that has a Fu-family collection seal and seals of Fu Shan, his son, and his nephew. The text is the “Zeng Zi wen 曾子問” chapter of the *Li ji* (*Book of Rites*).⁹⁰ The calligraphy is beautifully executed, with brushwork and character structure resembling that of the Tang master Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 (709–785).

The works Fu Shan kept for himself served three purposes. First, they could be used for urgent and important occasions, as when Fu Shan gave the “Zeng Zi wen” album to Wei Xiangshu. Second, they constituted a portfolio of Fu Shan’s superior calligraphy. Fu Shan knew that there were connoisseurs who could judge the quality of his work. The many careless works he made on various occasions may have hurt his reputation,⁹¹ but his personal collection could be used to demonstrate his achievement. Furthermore, if educated visitors wanted to see good work, he had something to show them, and Fu Shan was no doubt concerned about how to satisfy this small segment of his public. Third, Fu Shan was anxious to transmit to later generations the works on which he hoped his future fame would rest. He writes in a short note:

To live in the human world and ensure that one or two works become immortal: this is what one should strive for.⁹²

Although Fu Shan always believed that the quality of his calligraphy would be acknowledged by later generations, he knew that only a limited number of his works would be considered masterpieces by later generations. He once remarked:

Even the best calligrapher is not satisfied with all his works. Just as in literature, there are only a few masters in each dynasty, and each master can produce only a few masterpieces.⁹³

⁹⁰ Fu Shan’s colophon informs states that it was executed in 1653. Early in 1684, anticipating his death and concerned that his two young grandsons would be bullied by local rivals after he died, Fu Shan wrote a letter to Wei Xiangshu 魏象樞 (1617–1687), an old friend and retired senior official, asking the latter to be his grandsons’ guardian. At the end, Fu Shan said, “I present you with the ‘Zeng Zi wen’ I copied thirty years ago”; *FSQS* 1, p. 504. Very likely, then, the album in Japan is the work that Fu Shan presented to Wei Xiangshu in 1684. This example illustrates the point made above that Fu Shan tended to reserve works in small regular calligraphy for the most educated members of his public.

⁹¹ For instances in which Fu Shan’s careless works attracted criticism, see Bai Qianshen, “Fu Shan wei Chen Mi zuo caoshu shice yanjiu biji” 傅山為陳謐作草書詩冊研究筆記, *Shufa yanjiu* 書法研究 88 (1999.2), pp. 94–104.

⁹² *FSQS* 1, p. 889.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 859.

To support his family, Fu Shan was forced to rely on the market or on friends acting as his agents in Shanxi and Zhili, but distrusted the art market as a means of passing his works on to posterity. For this reason, and the more practical reasons just discussed, Fu Shan retained some of his best works in his own collection.

NEGOTIATION AS ELITE INTERACTION

Tactics were an important element in Fu Shan’s negotiation with his public, and to some degree they enabled him to manipulate his social environment. But they did nothing, however, to change the larger social space that was shaped by the political context and in which Fu Shan had to exist. In other words, for much of his life Fu Shan wrote calligraphy for a living. But skillful manipulation allowed the artist to expand, to a more than ordinary degree, his own space within the confines of the socio-political order of his time, and the leverage for expanding this space was afforded by the power of his celebrity status. Although obliged to write calligraphy for a living, to a considerable degree within that limitation, he could do so on his own terms.

As mentioned, Fu Shan achieved celebrity status owing to his family background, talent, and leadership in the 1636 petition, which won the young man a national reputation as a “man of righteousness.” He gained charisma directly from this involvement, yet also from his active engagement in the intellectual and cultural movements of Ming loyalists like himself during the early-Qing period.

Two events helped perpetuate Fu Shan’s fame. One was his imprisonment in 1654–1655, which made him a loyalist hero. The other was his refusal to sit for the special examination of 1679 that was held directly by the Kangxi emperor. In 1678, the Qing court summoned famous scholars and literati to Beijing to take part in a special imperial examination for erudite scholars and for those with literary talent.⁹⁴ Fu Shan was one of about 170 from all over the nation to be recommended, but he refused to take it, giving illness as an excuse. This refusal, a symbolic gesture against collaboration, enhanced his reputation. When Fu Shan was about to return to Taiyuan, Feng Pu 馮溥 (1609–1692), a senior official in charge of the examination, composed two farewell poems in which he alluded to Fu Shan

⁹⁴ For details, see Qianshen Bai, “Turning Point: Politics, Art, and Intellectual Life during the Boxue Hongci Examination (1678–1679),” paper presented at the symposium “The Qing Formation in Chinese and World Time,” Indiana University, Bloomington, June 12, 1999.

as the Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (365?-427) of his time.⁹⁵

Fu Shan's leading position in literary and artistic circles also derived from his innovative scholarship. In his day scholars adopted a radically new approach to intellectual inquiry, with the result that the cultural elite were ranked according to new criteria. In a discussion of the major characteristics distinguishing the Ming cultural elite from that of the early Qing, Guo Shaoyu has argued that Ming literati made achievements mainly in literature and art, while their Qing counterparts did so through scholarship in the modern sense.⁹⁶ Although, for instance, the painter and calligrapher Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555-1636) is often spoken of as a scholar-official, his work cannot really be called scholarship because it involved no serious research. In contrast, after the dynastic change scholars carefully gathered their research materials and developed insights based on this type of systematic investigation. Guo's generalization is perhaps simplistic, but he is right in pointing out that scholarship increased in importance in Qing cultural life. The most celebrated cultural figures were loyalists like Sun Qifeng 孫奇逢 (*zi* Zhongyuan 鍾元; 1585-1675), Fang Yizhi 方以智 (1611-1671), Gu Yanwu, Wang Fuzhi 王夫之 (1619-1692), and Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (1610-1695). After the fall of the Ming, they devoted their energies to scholarship and became experts in such fields as philosophy, phonology, historiography, and paleography. Their accomplishments were formidable; and they virtually shaped the intellectual discourse of their age. Literary talent in and of itself was no longer enough to secure one a leading position in cultural circles.⁹⁷ Fu Shan was among this group of loyalist leaders, and his surviving works demonstrate his competence in the disciplines just mentioned. Talent in calligraphy alone was not enough to make Fu Shan a famous calligrapher: he was scholar first, then artist. His reputation in politics and scholarship promoted his fame in calligraphy. Cultural celebrity was by this time a status that could not be achieved by artistic talent alone.

In previous sections I have discussed the mundane aspects of Fu Shan's career and his use of calligraphy in everyday life. Yet, these mundane real-

ities never damaged his image as a celebrity. By the mid-1650s, at the latest, Fu Shan was already being called a "*gaoshi* 高士" ("lofty scholar, or hermit") and "*qishi* 奇士" ("marvelous, extraordinary scholar"), a standing he retained till the end of his life.⁹⁸

In his later years, Fu Shan became even more of a cultural legend. Xu Qianxue 徐乾學 (1631-1694) was a nephew of Gu Yanwu and one of the top Chinese officials in the central government; in a preface to the collected works of Liu Tiren 劉體仁 (*jinshi* 1655; *zi* Gongyong 公勇), a government official and influential literary figure, Xu wrote:

Mr. Liu Gongyong from Yingchuan was a marvelous scholar with extraordinary talent.... When he visited Sumen 蘇門⁹⁹ and met Sun Zhongyuan [Sun Qifeng], he wanted to leave office and become Sun's disciple. He stayed there about a month, building a house [for future visits] before he left and leaving his zither behind. Passing through Taiyuan, he paid special homage to Fu Qingzhu [Fu Shan] in Songzhuang village. Sitting under thatch, they composed poetry all day. How noble Liu was!¹⁰⁰

Aside from some general remarks on Liu's literary talent and unusual personality, the two specific pieces of evidence that Xu gives us to demonstrate Liu's superior quality as an individual are, first, that Liu built a house in Sumen and studied with Sun Qifeng,¹⁰¹ and second that he and Fu Shan composed poems together. No other details are offered. But none of this mattered for Xu: the mere fact that Liu associated with leading cultural figures was proof of his nobility.¹⁰²

⁹⁵ In the 1650s, Zhu Zhijun, the retired official from Fenzhou mentioned above, presented a poem to Fu Shan praising him as a "lofty scholar"; Deng, *Qingshi jishi*, vol. 2, p. 723. In the winter of 1664-1665 Ji Yingzhong 紀映鍾 (active after about 1650), a well-connected literatus from Nanjing, wrote a letter to Fu beginning: "I have heard that on the right side of Mt. Taihang lives Mr. Fu Qingzhu, a marvelous scholar. His writings are like his personality - candid and lofty - and the land in which he lives"; Ji Yingzhong, "Ji Fu Qingzhu" 寄傅青主, in Zhou Lianggong 周亮工, ed., *Chidu xinzhao* 尺牘新鈔 (Shanghai: Shanghai zazhi gongsi, 1935-1936), vol. 3, pp. 170-71.

⁹⁶ Sumen was in Huixian 輝縣, Henan province, where Sun Qifeng lived and taught.

¹⁰⁰ In Liu Tiren, *Qisongtang shiji* 七頌堂詩集 (1868).

¹⁰¹ Liu Tiren was not the only one who built a small house by Sun's residence in Sumen. After quitting his government job in 1656, Wei Yiao visited his teacher Sun in Sumen four times, and during his third visit in 1670 built a thatched hut there, which he named Xueting 雪亭 (Snow Pavilion) because it was covered by snow in the winter. Proud of following his teacher for so long a time, Wei Yiao called himself Mr. Xueting.

¹⁰² Chu Fangqing 儲方慶 (1633-1683) was another Han Chinese official who exhibited the craze for celebrities. When serving as the magistrate of Qingyuan 清源 county in Shanxi, Chu sent a student to Fu with a letter that stated his hope to make Fu Shan's acquaintance but also his fear that a magistrate's position was too humble for seeking association with national figure. Thus he sent his student to present his poems and essays, hoping to show Fu

⁹⁵ Feng Pu, "Zeng Fu Qingzhu zhengjun ershou" 贈傅青主徵君二首, *Jiashantang ji* 佳山堂集 (Kangxi edn.) 6, pp. 20a-b.

⁹⁶ Guo Shaoyu 郭紹虞, "Mingdai di wenren jituan" 明代的文人集團, in *Zhaoyushi gudian wenxue lunji* 照隅室古典文學論集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1983), vol. 1, p. 526.

⁹⁷ One example demonstrates the powerful impact of this intellectual trend on the literati. Gao Shiqi 高士奇 (1645-1704), a literati courtier of the Kangxi emperor (r. 1662-1722), commissioned Xu Shan 徐善 (active after 1650) to write *Chunqiu diming kaolue* 春秋地名考略 (*Brief Studies of Place Names in the Spring and Autumn Annals*) but listed himself as the author; Zhang Mu 張穆, *Yan Ruogu nianpu* 閻若璩年譜 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1994), pp. 68-69.

Though brief, Xu Qianxue's remarks point to an interesting phenomenon in early-Qing politics. We know that at this time many Han Chinese officials supported loyalist scholars, and many, like Liu Tiren, became their students.¹⁰³ After Sun Qifeng was forced to move to Henan from his hometown in Zhili, several senior government officials became his disciples, including Wei Yijie 魏裔介 (1616–1686) and Tang Bin 湯斌 (1627–1687). Fu Shan and Gu Yanwu were not enthusiastic about recruiting and preaching to students, but they often received hospitality from local officials when they traveled. Gu spent the last twenty-some years of his life in north China frequently being entertained by officials.¹⁰⁴ In about 1673 he made plans to found a research library in Fenzhou, Shanxi, and his nephews Xu Qianxue, Xu Bingyi 徐秉一 (1633–1711), and Xu Yuanwen 徐元文 (1634–1691) – all senior officials in the Qing government,¹⁰⁵ wrote an open letter that circulated in literary circles asking for donations of books for their uncle.¹⁰⁶ The Xu brothers' letter should not be viewed simply as a request for assistance but as a symbolic rallying call among Han Chinese literati.

Given the strict Manchu policy of ethnic discrimination, Han Chinese officials knew very well that no matter how high their government position, they were still second-class citizens. Furthermore, those who took office in the early years of the Manchu conquest knew that assisting an alien government would inevitably be viewed as a stigma by later generations. Thus, when political and military struggle against the Manchus was found to be futile, those serving the government sought to assuage their guilt by helping loyalists survive, supporting their research, and promoting their cultural achievements. This, they hoped, would constitute some justification for their "betrayal." During this difficult period of political transition, it was the case not only that loyalist scholars and artists needed Han Chi-

Shan that he was not a "vulgar official." See Chu Fangqing, *Chu Dun'an wenji* 儲遼庵文集 (Kangxi edn.), 1, pp. 16a–17a.

¹⁰³ Receiving help from Han Chinese officials during the early Qing would not have hurt the image of a loyalist as long as he himself did not serve the Manchus. Although Fu Shan asked for and received help from Han Chinese officials in the Manchu government, he was nevertheless praised in the context of Boyi and Shuqi – figures in an ancient legend about loyalty to one's original ruler. See Wei Yiao's poem mourning the death of Fu Shan in 1684; *FSQS* 7, p. 5020.

¹⁰⁴ See Willard J. Peterson, "The Life of Ku Yen-wu, 1613–1682," *HJAS* 29 (1969), pp. 202–6.

¹⁰⁵ Biographies of the Xu brothers are in Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, pp. 310–12, 327.

¹⁰⁶ The Xu brothers' letter is given in an article by Wang Zongyan 汪宗衍, "Gu Tinglin xiansheng nianpu shuhou" 顧亭林先生年譜書後, in *Gu Tinglin xiansheng nianpu huijian* 顧亭林先生年譜彙編 (Hong Kong: Congwen shudian, 1975), pp. 365–66.

nese officials, but also that the officials desperately needed the loyalists. The officials had what the loyalists needed – economic support and political protection. But equally, loyalists could provide officials with justification for their action in the eyes of history: it was the loyalists who would determine history's assessment of their participation in the Manchu government. That Han Chinese officials were the important acquirers of works produced by loyalist artists like Fu Shan only increased loyalist-official interaction and the complexity of the negotiations between them. Support by officials for loyalists like Fu Shan, Sun Qifeng, and Gu Yanwu may have been chiefly economic, but their interactions were political and social as well: they shared a loyalty to certain ideals, and were often bound by ties of friendship.

With this in mind, we might better understand a certain contradiction. While receiving generous support from various officials, Fu Shan could nonetheless maintain his independence, since, in some respects, he was the one who was in a position of power. Take the case of Wei Yiao, an official who provided key assistance to Fu Shan from 1648 to 1656.¹⁰⁷ Late in 1656 Wei Yiao was appointed magistrate of Xinzhou, north of Taiyuan. He resigned the post two months later on the excuse of illness and returned home. On behalf of his friends in Shanxi and himself, Fu Shan executed a set of twelve hanging scrolls for Wei Yiao as a farewell gift (figure 5). The text is an essay by Fu Shan titled "As Brother Lianlao [Wei Yiao] Sets Off for the North, Frank Words Are Presented in Farewell."¹⁰⁸ Fu Shan says that when asked to praise Wei's achievements as an official he could not. He explained that he would have offended not only Wei Yiao but also wine because Wei "was not interested in his official post, only in wine." By stressing Wei's love of wine (a symbol of passive resistance) and avoiding discussion of Wei's official service in Shanxi, Fu Shan implied that serving the Manchus was, though regrettable, understandable. Wei, of course – aware that future generations might read this essay, would have felt himself deeply obligated to Fu Shan.

However, in the same essay, Fu Shan implicitly criticizes Liu Yin 劉因

¹⁰⁷ Wei Yiao's economic assistance to and political protection of Fu Shan were discussed in the previous section. The most generous instance of economic support for Fu occurred in 1653, when Wei bought him a house in the Taiyuan suburb of Tutang for thirty taels of silver. Moving into this house ended a chaotic period in Fu Shan's life during which, for nine years, he remained unsettled; see Wang Yuyou, "Wei Haiweng zhuan" 魏海翁傳, in Wei Yiao, *Xueting shiwen gao* 雪亭詩文稿 (manuscript in the collection of Beijing Library).

¹⁰⁸ These scrolls are now in the collection of Mr. H. Christopher Luce of New York. For a transcription and more thorough discussion of this text, see Bai, "Fu Shan yu Wei Yiao," pp. 98–107.

(1249–1293), a famous scholar of neo-Confucianism who served the Yuan dynasty. For Fu Shan, the critical mistake of neo-Confucian moral teaching lay in its neglect of the distinction between Chinese and barbarian. Fu Shan's attitude towards Liu Yin offers a more subtle reading of the scrolls: serving an alien regime was understandable, albeit regrettable. This heightens the meaning of his having given Wei Yiao's "frank words as farewell."¹⁰⁹

Paradoxically, while receiving assistance from collaborators, loyalists continued their criticism of collaboration. Their criticism was tolerated because Han Chinese officials were themselves ambivalent. Note, for instance, Wei Yiao's retirement from office on the pretext of illness. Many officials would have preferred to be loyalists, but lacking the means to support their families, or for other practical considerations, or fearful of defying Manchu pressure to serve the government, they were unable to realize their preference. In this cultural climate, Fu Shan could criticize collaboration in a general way even in cultural interactions with collaborating officials. As long as his remarks were not so embarrassing to officials as to be unacceptable, his criticisms only improved his image as a loyalist cultural hero.

Whereas Wei Yiao was a government official with whom Fu developed a close relationship, Dai Tingshi was simply a member of the literati. Normally, from the viewpoint of art history, Dai Tingshi falls squarely in the category of patron: he was a collector who economically supported Fu Shan's work. But the Fu-Dai friendship leads us to a critical question in Chinese art history: what was the nature of the relationship between artist and patron?

To perceive the Fu-Dai relationship simply as one of artist and patron is to ignore its multiple facets. In addition to being classmates at the Sanli Academy, Dai and Fu were also loyalist friends and related by marriage.¹¹⁰ Dai Tingshi's son Dai Ji 戴記 married the daughter of Li Tianfu 李天馥, a *juren* degree-holder in Taiyuan, while several members of the Li family had married into the Fu family. While Dai served as an economic sponsor and agent of Fu's art, Fu, who was himself a collector of calligraphy,

¹⁰⁹ Even so, Fu Shan could hardly have expressed his ideas as frankly as he would have wished, given the political situation; thus he later wrote to Wei Yiao and asked him to read "between the lines" of these scrolls. He also asked Wei to tolerate his criticizing Liu Yin. Fu's letter to Wei is fortunately preserved as the last letter in the handscroll of eighteen letters in the Yip Shing Yiu collection (see above, n. 33).

¹¹⁰ Fu Shan called Dai Tingshi "a friend in winter" (see *FSQS* 1, p. 367), meaning that he treated Dai as a loyalist comrade. After Fu's death, Dai became a state teacher in Wenxi 聞喜 county, Shanxi.

painting, and calligraphic rubbings and sometimes dealt in art,¹¹¹ acted as the most influential consultant to Dai's art collection. Fu was also medical doctor to the Dai family, so there was a doctor-patient relationship between him and Dai. Moreover, Dai esteemed Fu as his mentor, something that took the relationship beyond simply one of intellectual companionship.

As demonstrated here, Fu Shan and Dai Tingshi interacted in a complex way. Although Dai Tingshi was wealthy, Fu Shan possessed tremendous "cultural capital." Although Fu Shan was more active – even dominant – in some aspects of their relationship, Dai was more active or dominant in others. The net result was a balance in which neither man had the upper hand. Having said this, however, we must qualify it to a degree by drawing attention to the mentor-disciple aspect of their relationship.

Both Fu Shan's letters to Dai and Dai's own writings confirm that Fu Shan was Dai's mentor and that Dai treated him with great respect. For instance, in a long letter to Dai, Fu Shan recommends a number of classics and advises Dai what he should pay attention to and why.¹¹² Here Dai was very much the subordinate. A student remains, to an extent, forever indebted to his teacher, who is usually his superior in age; and in China the position of teacher is a revered and powerful one that often overshadows other interactions with the person who has once been a student.¹¹³ Dai's subordinate position as "pupil" remained a factor in their relationship as long as Fu Shan lived.

I have already mentioned in the second section, above, that Dai Tingshi's art collection was shaped by Fu Shan's advice. Not only was Dai a collector but he was also, like many literati, an amateur calligrapher. An extant album of landscapes by Fu Shan and Fu Mei preserves a rare colophon by Dai: the convex strokes of his calligraphy are reminiscent of Yan Zhenqing, but his characters are more elongated than Yan's (figure 6). Comparing Dai's colophon with an album of calligraphy by Fu Shan, we find

¹¹¹ According to Dai Tingshi, Fu Shan once acquired, in a trade with his friend Chen Mi, a painting by Guan Daosheng 管道昇 (wife of the Yuan master Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫). Fu later sold this painting to a Mr. Gao from Yuxian. Fifteen years later, Dai bought it from Mr. Gao; see Dai Tingshi, "Guan Furen xiaohua ji" 管夫人小畫記, in Dai, *Banke ji* 半可集 (1853) 3.

¹¹² *FSQS* 1, p. 469. Similar advice can be found in another letter Fu Shan wrote to Dai Tingshi (*ibid.*, p. 479).

¹¹³ When describing China in the sixteenth century, Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) wrote: "These people pay more respect to their teachers than we do, and if one man places himself under another for instruction, even for a day, he will call him master for the rest of his life. Not only that, but he will show him the deference of a pupil to his master, by sitting beside him at any public gathering and by honoring him with the titles and rites that due to a magistrate"; Matteo Ricci and Nicolas Trigault, *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journal of Matteo Ricci*, 1583–1610, trans. Louis J. Gallagher, S.J. (New York: Random House, 1953), p. 80.

that Dai's calligraphy bears a strong formal resemblance (figure 7).¹¹⁴ Here, again, Fu was the dominant party.

The relationship between the two men challenges conventional studies of patronage in Chinese art. To focus chiefly on its economic aspects misses the multiple roles played by a literatus like Fu Shan, who as well as being an artist was a collector, connoisseur, and critic.¹¹⁵ Fu Shan was quite able to negotiate with Dai and others who sought his calligraphic works: it was Fu Shan, not his patron or client, who to a large extent determined the style of the work commissioned, the degree of intimacy implied by the inscription, and how soon the patron or client took possession of it. Of course, Fu Shan could not altogether ignore the wishes of a patron or client, nor entirely flout social convention. But he could and did find ways to improve his position within the limits and constraints imposed on him by society.¹¹⁶

While modern scholars tend to perceive the patron as the superior in the artist-patron partnership, the Fu-Dai relationship gives us, in many respects, the opposite. In fact, the strands of their relationship were so interwoven that the artist-patron model is too simple to reproduce the realities of the Chinese artist-collector or artist-recipient relationship. The facets of such a relationship are so much more complex and dialectical than those anticipated by the model that they utterly overwhelm its explanatory capacity.

With regard to Fu Shan's relationship with the anonymous segment of his public – local gentry, merchants, and those attempting to obtain free or cut-rate calligraphy – we have little information. But though culturally less sophisticated, they derived meaning from Fu Shan's calligraphy. A deep-rooted belief in traditional China held that calligraphy reflected the mind of its creator, and that acquiring calligraphy by a famous artist brought the artist's presence into the owner's home. From this standpoint, the man who

¹¹⁴ One might ask whether it was Dai Tingshi's calligraphy that influenced Fu Shan's. But this is unlikely. From letters, we know that Dai constantly requested calligraphy from Fu Shan, yet Fu Shan never reciprocated. Moreover, not only was Dai Tingshi the most enthusiastic promoter of Fu Shan's calligraphy, but also Fu's calligraphy was the more famous; see Dai, "Ba jiacang Fu Daoweng sanshi moji" 跋家藏傅道翁三世墨蹟, in *FSQS* 7, pp. 5117–18.

¹¹⁵ As the period's most influential calligraphy critic, Fu Shan shaped Qing calligraphic taste. See Bai Qianshen, "Qingchu jinshixue di fuxing dui Bada Shanren wannian shufeng di yingxiang" 清初金石學的復興對八大山人晚年書風的影響, *Gugong xueshu jikan* 故宮學術季刊 12.3 (1995), pp. 90–93, 96–100.

¹¹⁶ Li-tsui Flora Fu's excellent review article patronage in Chinese painting points out that a defect of these studies is in overstating the role of patronage and neglecting the active role played by some artists in art making; Fu Li-tsui 傅立萃, "Yonguan Zhongguo huihua zanzhu di yanjiu" 有關中國繪畫贊助的研究, *Renwen xuebao* 人文學報 15 (June 1997), p. 71.

created the work was more important than what it was about or how well it was made. Fu Shan knew that many calligraphy-seekers paid less attention to artistic quality than to his fame as a celebrity. Because it mattered little to such people whether a piece was good or bad, those that Fu produced for them were often mediocre. He once wrote cynically:

In West Village there is a useless old man. People come to him one after another, asking either for prescriptions or calligraphy. This old man does not know how many people died because of his medicine, or how many brocades, satins, and fans were smeared by him [with poor writing]. One can say that these people do not love their lives nor treasure their money. What foolishness!¹¹⁷

It is unlikely Fu Shan would have made public such thoughts. But sometimes he did tease recipients in the very works they obtained. A poem titled "At Random, I Playfully Inscribe" includes this passage:

Blindly, people shower praises over my calligraphy!
But where lies the excellence of my calligraphy, if excellent?
Although calligraphy is made for others,
It is I who know much of the method.

Learning Han clerical script, Cai Yong 蔡邕 (132–192 AD) is my model;
For the standard script of Tang, I follow Yan Zhenqing.¹¹⁸

In most cases, Fu Shan used this tactic with sufficient discretion, and people took his jokes and teasing well, thinking them part of the eccentric character of a lofty scholar. But sometimes he offended people. He said in a note that some thought he liked to curse others.¹¹⁹ Nevertheless, as pointed out above, Fu Shan's reaction to requests for occasional calligraphy was often based on his assessment of the expectations of his public. If the assessments went wrong, criticism would follow. In the case of Zhao Jishi, Fu Shan might have underestimated Zhao's skill in distinguishing good from careless calligraphy. Even then, Fu could have afforded to be eccentric and cynical in his response. Since he was already a national cultural figure, Zhao, a local official, could do little harm.

The recipients of Fu Shan's calligraphy, whoever they were, had little to do with shaping Fu Shan's taste; rather, Fu's own aesthetic goal and his responses to the political and intellectual environment led to innovation.

¹¹⁷ *FSQS* 1, p. 900.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 119. Fu Shan sometimes copied this poem onto scrolls when he was asked to write calligraphy.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 891.

Twice in the early years of the new dynasty his calligraphy underwent transformation. During the 1640s and 50s, for instance, it shows the increasing influence of Yan Zhenqing. An album of small regular-script calligraphy written by Fu Shan in the winter of 1653–1654 is evidence of it (see figure 4). Carefully executed, the work takes as model Yan's calligraphy in small regular-script entitled *Magu xiantan ji* 麻姑仙壇記 ("Record of the Lady Magu's Immortal Terrace"). In this work, Fu used Yan's own techniques to reproduce Yan's solid, convex strokes. But the slightly unbalanced character structure reminds us of Fu Shan's early training in the small regular-script of Zhong You and Wang Xizhi.

Fu Shan's strong interest in Yan Zhenqing in this period is reflected in his writings. In the middle or late 1670s, he wrote: "When I open a [work of] calligraphy by Lugong [Yan Zhenqing], I dare not look at it carelessly. This is because I have the reverence of a loyalist. . . . Thirty years ago I used to copy [Yan Zhenqing's calligraphy] carefully. . . . Now I am old! I am old!"¹²⁰ His enthusiasm for the Tang-era master apparently remained undiminished over time: in his late calligraphy, especially in the small running-script in which he recorded notes in the books he read and annotated, the influence still was dominant.

The second transformation, which took place in the 1660s, was brought about by Fu's deep interest in the clerical-script calligraphy of the Han period. As mentioned, Fu's passion for Han clerical script was influenced by early-Qing intellectual trends, which stressed the importance of inscriptions on such ancient objects as steles in the process of interpreting the histories and the classics. The most eloquent advocate of this new calligraphic taste was Fu Shan.

Thus, Fu Shan, in his calligraphy, was influenced not chiefly by his contemporaries but by artists from the distant past, with whom he com-

muned, as it were, through direct examination of their works. (Naturally, though, Fu's political and intellectual milieu probably influenced his choice of ancient models.) The result was the development of an independent style that only increased his celebrity; and that celebrity in turn boosted his bargaining power with individuals in every sector, whether cultural, social, political, or economic.

CONCLUSION

The current study has focused almost entirely on the practical and political of Fu Shan's calligraphy, but this focus should not be viewed as denying its all-important aesthetic aspect. Fu Shan produced many works not intended for a practical purpose: some were made for his own enjoyment, and many others were inspired by his artistic interest.¹²¹

Fu Shan was an artist with a keen awareness of his cultural assets and his status as a cultural celebrity – what I have called his "cultural capital." It was his cultural capital that enabled him to deal successfully with life problems; without it, he would not have been able to achieve what he did. Unlike political power and wealth, which might be drastically reduced or entirely lost during a time of dynastic transition,¹²² cultural capital was not so easily stripped away, and Fu Shan's cultural reputation not only remained intact but continued to grow at the beginning of the Qing.

One reason it did so was that the dynastic transition did not change the institutional process for selecting the nation's political elite. In particular, the civil service examination, adopted in the north in 1645 and later resumed in the south, had much to do with shaping the political landscape. The Manchu were a ruling minority, and to rule China effectively and efficiently, they relied heavily on the Confucian scholarly elite. Confucianism was adopted early on by the state as the most important component of its ruling ideology. The Han Chinese political elite were selected by the same procedures and according to the same standards, from the same possessors of cultural capital, as in the past. Since the rules of the game remained unchanged, Fu Shan's leading position in the cultural sphere was secure.

¹²¹ Fu Shan's discussions of the art of calligraphy can be found in *Fu Shan* (see n. 57), pp. 396–406.

¹²² Jonathan Spence writes: "In Ming and Qing China, there was almost no aristocracy as such. The descendants of the ruling families of even the greatest dynasties did not retain their titles and prestige once their dynasties had fallen. . . . Similarly, after 1644, the former Ming aristocracy was not preserved"; *The Search For Modern China* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1990), p. 45.

¹²⁰ Chen Jie 陳玠, "Shufa ouji" 書法偶集, in *Pinglu congke* 屏嶺叢刻 (Beijing: Beijing Zhongguo shidian, 1985), p. 11a. The second character Fu Shan used for "old" is *mao* 髦, which also has the meaning of "seventy years old." Fu Shan turned seventy in 1676; thus this passage dates from or after 1676. In the passage, Fu mentions that he was copying Yan's calligraphy thirty years earlier, in the late 1640s or early 1650s. This passage, then, reinforces my conclusion that Fu Shan spent the years after the Manchu conquest intensively copying Yan Zhenqing's calligraphy. In another writing, he describes his feelings when copying Yan Zhenqing's calligraphy: "I have [often] copied the calligraphy of the two Wangs, and although I have written the names of [Wang] Xizhi and [Wang] Xianzhi thousands of times, I have never paid them special attention. But when I write the name of Lugong [Yan Zhenqing], it calls forth in me a feeling of profound respect. I do not know why. In just the same way, when I read the *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 [*History of the Three Kingdoms*] and encounter Guan [Yu] 關羽 (d. 219) and Zhang [Fei] 張飛 (d. 221), I am unaccountably partial to them and take their side"; *ibid.*

For the Han Chinese, Fu Shan was a member of the “cultural nobility” (to borrow a term from Bourdieu):¹²³ to respect Fu Shan and treasure his art was to respect and treasure “this culture of ours.”¹²⁴

By reviewing everyday economic, political, and cultural matters,¹²⁵ the present study shows how a calligrapher lived and worked early in the Qing. It demonstrates how cultural capital was formed, maintained, and accumulated, and how the possessor of cultural capital was in a position to extract political protection or economic support from those who were politically and economically powerful – reversing what is usually assumed to be the direction taken between the politico-economic and cultural spheres.

In order to show how cultural capital functioned, I have chosen Fu Shan, an artist who was keenly aware of his cultural assets and consciously made use of them in dealing with everyday problems, as the subject of my investigation. But readers may ask if this concept is applicable to other literati artists of the early Qing?

The answer is yes. Relationships like the one between Fu Shan and Dai Tingshi were common among literati artists and collectors. Bada Shanren 八大山人 (1626–1705), for instance, a former Ming prince who lived through his calligraphy and painting after the dynastic transition, and his young friend Fang Shiguan 方士瑄 (1650–ca. 1711), an Anhui merchant living in Nanchang who had a great interest in art and literature, had a relationship similar to that of Fu and Dai.¹²⁶ Towards the end of his life, Bada Shanren received much praise, affection, and economic support from Fang, who was twenty-four years his junior and probably regarded the former Ming prince as his mentor and probably as a cultural hero. Two lines from one of Fang’s poems express his admiration: “Fortunately, we still have our model of character close by, so the world is not as sad and

cold as it is in deep autumn.”¹²⁷

The well-connected senior government official Zhou Lianggong 周亮工 (1612–1672) was another artist-collector to whom the approach employed here might be applied.¹²⁸ Take, for example, Zhou’s interaction with Cheng Sui 程邃 (1607–1692), a literati seal-carver.¹²⁹ In his *Yinren zhuan* 印人傳 (*Biographies of Seal Carvers*), Zhou wrote:

When someone asked Muqian [Cheng Sui] to carve a seal, he would respond to the request only after several months, or a few years later; or sometimes not at all. For this reason, he has been condemned by those who do not know his character well. But Muqian does not care, because with [such superlative] poems and essays he despises his contemporaries. I have known Muqian for more than thirty years, but have fewer than thirty seals by him in my collection.¹³⁰

Thus it seems that Cheng, like Fu Shan, frequently adopted the tactic of delayed response when dealing with his clientele.¹³¹ What is significant is that it was his poems and essays – the true measure of one’s cultural achievement in traditional China – and not his artistic skill, that Cheng was so proud of, and allowed him to delay his response to requests, even to ignore some. While Zhou, a powerful collector, was unable to get as many of Cheng’s seals as he wished, he nonetheless praised Cheng as the foremost seal carver of his time and was proud of their association.¹³²

Many more examples of this kind might be cited. Once the notion of cultural capital is introduced into the study of early-Qing literati art, we

¹²⁷ Translation by Wang Fangyu, in Wang and Barnhart, *Master of the Lotus Garden*, p. 59. For the respect showed Bada Shanren by local officials, see Wang, “Qingchu sidaseng,” pp. 198–99.

¹²⁸ For a biographical study of Zhou Lianggong, see Hongnam Kim, *The Life of a Patron: Zhou Lianggong (1612–1672) and the Painters of Seventeenth-Century China* (New York: China Institute of America, 1996).

¹²⁹ For biographical information on Cheng Sui, see Li Zhigang 李之綱, “Cheng Sui (1607–1692) huihua yanjiu” 程邃 (1607–1692) 繪畫研究, Master’s Thesis, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1995.

¹³⁰ Zhou Lianggong, *Yinren zhuan*, as reprinted in *Ming Qing yinren zhuan* 明清印人傳 (Hong Kong: Boyazhai, 1977), j. 1, p. 10b.

¹³¹ If we read carefully the letters, notes and inscriptions of early-Qing artists, we find that the tactics employed by Fu Shan were also sometimes adopted by others. E. g., in the seventh letter of a newly discovered album of Bada Shanren’s letters, the latter writes: “On a small fan for Mr. Nai, I transcribed [some of] my own writing(s) to invite his criticism. On other works [I am sending to you] I did not sign my name [or impress my name seal]. Please forgive me.”

¹³² Zhou, *Yinren zhuan* 1, p. 10b.

¹²³ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, p. 2.

¹²⁴ This point may be illustrated by the following. In 1646 Wei Yiao was appointed prefect of Pingding, Shanxi. Before he left for Shanxi, his Ming loyalist mentor wrote him a motto: “Be honest in performing official duties; love the people; respect the scholars”; Bai, “Fu Shan yu Wei Yiao,” p. 98. The phrase “this culture of ours” is borrowed from the title of Peter K. Bol’s *This Culture of Ours: Intellectual Transitions in Tang and Song China* (Stanford: Stanford U.P., 1992).

¹²⁵ Studies of this kind in Chinese painting tend to miss the significant distinction between artists who possessed much cultural capital and those who had very little, if any.

¹²⁶ On the life and art of Bada Shanren, see Wang Fangyu and Richard Barnhart, *The Master of the Lotus Garden: The Life and Art of Bada Shanren (1626–1705)*, ed. Judith Smith (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1990), esp. discussion of Bada Shanren’s friendship with Fang Shiguan on p. 59; see also Wang Shiqing 汪世清, “Qingchu sidaseng hekao” 清初四大僧合考, *The Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong* 香港中文大學中國文化研究所學報 15 (1984), pp. 199–200.

find that Fu Shan was by no means an isolated case. Few artists, of course, enjoyed a national reputation like Fu Shan's. But there were many who were celebrities at the provincial or local level, and though their cultural capital varied, and many were not as skillful as Fu in putting it to use, they nonetheless employed it in dealing with the political and economic circumstances in which they found themselves. This is the key point that the present study tries to make: that, in possessing cultural capital, literati artists may be distinguished from professional artists.

Fu Shan's use of cultural capital was by no means extraordinary. What is perhaps unique is that in his notes and letters, Fu Shan documented this use – and his negotiating tactics – in great detail; and that these notes and letters, which fortunately have survived because of their calligraphic value and Fu Shan's fame, enable us to reconstruct his interactions with his friends and clients. Many early-Qing artists who did not leave such writings in fact lived lives not unlike Fu Shan's, and shared with Fu Shan the modes of making and using works of art. It seems reasonable to generalize on the basis of Fu Shan's experience.

A study of Fu Shan leads us to the conclusion that the political, economic, and cultural circumstances of Chinese literati artists early in the Qing era were in many ways richer, more variable, and more complex than has been assumed by previous investigations, and it calls for theoretical alternatives in the study of early-Qing art in particular, and the social history of Chinese art in general.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

FSQS *Fu Shan quanshu* 傅山全書

付許買銀壹十六兩
買米兩麥六兩餘貳兩
儘買香油可也尚須麻
油百斤便再補來此付急

Figure 1. Fu Shan, Letter to Dai Tingshi on Purchase of Food in Qixian

Ca. 1665; collection of Deng Baoshan. After Lin and Yao, eds., *Fu Shan* (see n. 57), p. 110; by permission of the editors.

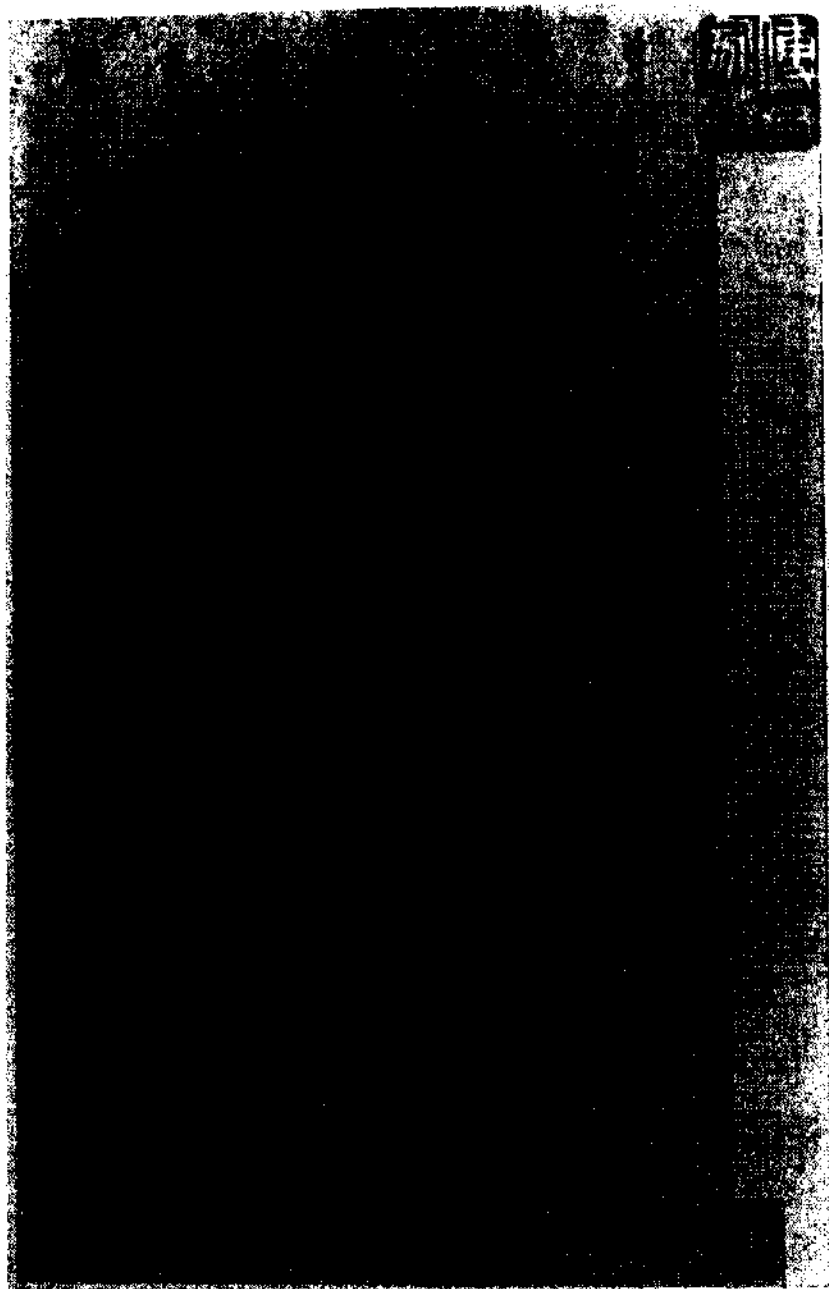


Figure 4. Fu Shan, Transcription of Zengzi wen

Small regular script; 1654. Current collection unknown. After Nishikawa Nei 西川寧, ed., *Shin Fu Zen shū* 清傅山集 (Tokyo: Nigensha, 1977), p. 43.



Figure 5. Fu Shan, Hanging Scroll

1656. First of a set for Wei Yiao. Collection of H. Christopher Luce. By permission of the collector.

驪駕四處芝蓋九葩鑾與水人弄蛇奇
 幻儻忽易貌不形吞刀吐火雲霧杳冥
 畫地成川流渭通涇東海黃公赤刀粵祝
 尊厭白虎卒不能救挾邪作蠱於是石

正自家教癸卯季夏晤

見盟太原窩中縱談今古留一迂紫日屬
 余購之因出素藏者以贈是十年前
 得之西河道遠者知

見盟社翁先生之不以為蘭即以為馬画
 者購者贈者指之非指漆園之吏

Figure 6. Dai Tingshi, Colophon to Album of Paintings by Fu Shan and Fu Mei
 1663. Private collection on loan to the University of Michigan Museum of Art.
 By permission of the collector.

Figure 7. Fu Shan, Leaf in Album of Calligraphy in Assorted Scripts

Undated. Formerly in collection of Dingyuanzhai, Taipei. Photograph
 provided by Gong Jisui of New York.