

《 論 說 》

Feng Zikai's Experience of War as Seen in
A Teacher's Diary⁽¹⁾

ONO, Kimika

Feng Zikai in Wartime

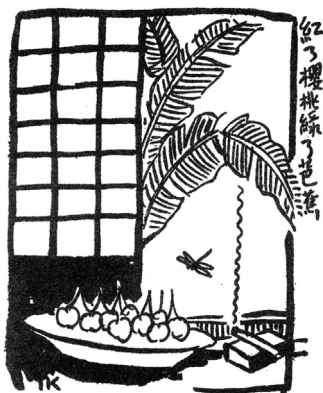
Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (1898-1975) was a multitalented Chinese artist who was part of the liberal environment of his time. Amongst his various activities he is particularly well-known for his distinctive style of illustration as shown in his 1925 collection called *Zikai's Cartoons*⁽²⁾ and for his essays collected in 1931 under the name of *Essays from the Yuanyuan Studio*⁽³⁾. Following the appearance of these works, where philosophical ideas were woven into themes that included children (Figure 1), classical poetry (Figure 2) and scenes from daily life (Figure 3), he gained great popularity among the new class of urban intellectuals⁽⁴⁾.

Following the Manchurian Incident of 1931, Chinese literary circles enthusiastically discussed forming a united popular front against Japanese aggression. Feng was a member of the Chinese Writers' Association, formed in Shanghai in June 1936, and supported the "Declaration on Uniting to Resist Aggression and on Freedom of Speech"⁽⁵⁾, adopted in October the same year.

The invasion of Shanghai by the Japanese



(Figure 1) Feng Zikai, "A-Bao Has Two Legs, Chair Has Four Legs"



(Figure 2) Feng Zikai, “Season of Fresh Cherry and Green Musa Basjoo”



(Figure 3) Feng Zikai, “Sweat”

army in the summer of 1937 brought all-out war. In November, war reached Feng's hometown, Shimenwan 石門灣, forcing him, with ten of his family members, to flee into the interior of the country. For about ten years, until his return to Shanghai in 1947, he lived at various times in nine different provinces⁽⁶⁾. During that time, he taught art and Chinese Literature between the autumn of 1938 and the early summer of the following year at the Guangxi Guilin Normal College and then at Zhejiang University, which had been evacuated to Guilin. *A Teacher's Diary*, the subject of this paper, describes his emotions and the conditions he was living under at that time. It was serialized in the magazine *Cosmic Wind II* (1939-1940, Nos. 17-30) and afterwards published as a book⁽⁷⁾.

In December 1937, Nanjing 南京 fell to the Japanese, and Wuhan 武漢 became the wartime capital. The focus of literary activity also shifted to Wuhan, and Feng and his family moved to Hankou 漢口 in March the following year. The same month the All-China Resistance Association of Writers and Artists⁽⁸⁾ was set up in Hankou with Zhou Enlai 周恩來 as the Honorary Chairman. Feng joined the Association, and was a member of

the editorial board of the Association's official publication, *Literature and Art of the War of Resistance*. He created the lettering for the title of the inaugural issue of May 1938⁽⁹⁾.

Feng Zikai's Wartime Cartoons

As he became more active in the war of resistance, Feng, like his fellow cartoon artists, drew a large number of cartoons that condemned the Japanese invasion. There was however one difference between him and the others. At the time, virtually all "resistance" cartoons drawn by the Chinese unreservedly portrayed the brutality of Japanese soldiers (Figure 4) and the wickedness of Chinese traitors (Figure 5), playing up anti-Japanese hatred (Figure 6)⁽¹⁰⁾. Feng also drew resistance propaganda cartoons that depicted Japanese brutality, such as a series of drawings called *Pictorial History of the Japanese Invasion of China*⁽¹¹⁾ and "Air raid" (Figure 7), based on his own experience and observation. However, he also drew works like "Yesterday's Hero", showing a young man who had lost a leg in war, and "I want to become an angel and grab the bombs from the sky" (Figure 8), expressing the meaninglessness and pity of war, works like "The Battlefield in Spring" (Figure 9) which praise the grandeur of nature



(Figure 4) Zhang Ding 張行, "Beasts"



(Figure 5) Lu Shengmei 盧盛美, "Traitors"



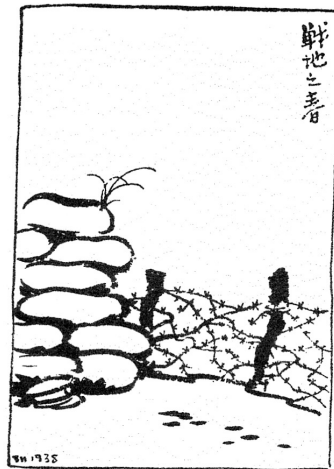
(Figure 6) Cai Ruohong 蔡若虹, "Big Wave of a united popular front against Japanese aggression"



(Figure 7) Feng Zikai, "Air raid"



(Figure 8) Feng Zikai, "I want to become an angel and grab the bombs from the sky"



(Figure 9) Feng Zikai, "The battle field in spring"

and give encouragement to the Chinese people, and works like “During an Alert” (Figure 10) and “War and Music” (Figure 11) that show people’s love of the arts even during wartime, and attest that the capacity to fill the mind still exists. If the purpose of the resistance cartoons was to lift morale, Feng’s works were anti-war rather than just simply resistance cartoons.

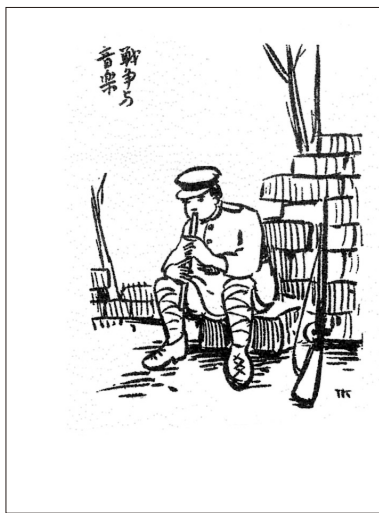
Concerning Feng Zikai’s anti-war cartoons, Chang-Tai Hung pointed out as below:

For Feng, history was an unending search for the meaning of life and peace. His wartime cartoons represent such a search in a chaotic world. Indeed, one of the most important themes in his work is the marked contrast between war and peace. One is destruction while the other is prosperity; one cause death while the other celebrates life; one is ugliness while the other is beauty. The juxtaposition of guns and music is not to promote war but to bring forth peace⁽¹²⁾.

In letters sent by Ye Shengtao 葉聖陶 (1894-1988) from his refuge in Sichuan 四川 to Xia Mianzun 夏丏尊 (1886-1946) and other friends he had in common with Feng,



(Figure 10) Feng Zikai, “During an Alert”



(Figure 11) Feng Zikai, “War and Music”

he wrote, concerning the characteristics of Feng's war cartoons:

Zikai's style of drawing is extremely graceful and fluent; it is not very suitable for this [i.e. *Selections of Songs of the War of Resistance*⁽¹³⁾, then being planned by Feng: Author's note]. (March 27, 1938)

I have encouraged him [i.e. Feng Zikai] to change his style of drawing cartoons, to that the form corresponds more to the content. (Even though he depicts a brave soldier, the figure looks more like someone in a traditional landscape painting, and it just does not fit.) (April 8, 1938)⁽¹⁴⁾

It did not need Ye Shengtao to point out that Feng's war cartoons were different to the works of other artists; Feng himself realized it. In 1938, he edited an illustrated book called *Random Jottings and Cartoons* which brought together fifty war cartoons by Chinese and foreign artists. A piece of writing accompanied each cartoon; most of these were essays by Feng himself. There was only one of Feng's cartoons included, a picture of a seed of grass sprouting from a brick wall, called "The Instinct for Life" (Figure 12). In the preface to the book, Feng described his reasons for including the work:



That I have had the temerity to include one of my own works is because all of the other illustrations are full of a sense of urgency, seeing which readers will hardly have the chance to catch their breath for the anger they feel. I hope that by placing this illustration last, I will give make their feelings a little more tranquil. At the same time, this work indicates the true aim of our war of resistance - a war to

(Figure 12) Feng Zikai, "The Instinct for Life"

achieve peace, a war to oppose war. I searched for such an illustration among those I had collected, but unable to find one, was forced to use my own⁽¹⁵⁾.

In order to understand the distinctive quality of Feng's cartoons, we need to consider, together with his attitude to war described above, his ideas about art. Let us look at these through illustrations and essays during the war.

Feng's View of War

As we have seen above, as far as Feng was concerned, the war of resistance was a war for peace, and a war to oppose war. To justify it, Feng conferred meaning on it: humanity and righteousness. As an example, let us look at one of his resistance songs, "The Humane Person Has No Enemy"⁽¹⁶⁾. Feng was incensed by the inhumane Japanese invasion of China, and urged the solidarity of the Chinese people and a resistance:

[People of China] Rise together and protect the country.

The war of resistance is for the sake of righteousness.

Overcoming violence, there must be humanity.

It is not found in the sharpness of weapons or in helmets or armor.

The humane person originally has no enemies.

The poor devils! Small barbarians from the East⁽¹⁷⁾.

A picture of a brave soldier accompanies this song. In his hands he holds a shield inscribed with the character for "humanity (仁)" and a sword inscribed with the character for "righteousness (義)" (Figure 13). Both are Confucian concepts. However, in so far as "humanity" means "love for all people," it also corresponds with the Buddhist



(Figure 13) Feng Zikai, "The Humane Person Has No Enemy"

“compassion.” For Feng, who was a lay Buddhist and who had absorbed a Confucian training as a young child at school, love for humanity and compassion could not be abandoned even at a time when a war of resistance was being waged. Yet it was war, and attacks on the enemy troops were inevitable. It was perhaps in order to resolve this conundrum that Feng gave meaning to the war of resistance through concepts such as humanity and righteousness. We can also say that Feng invoked this logic so as not to have the reality that was the war of resistance violate the Buddhist idea of compassion that was part of his own belief. For Feng, the purpose of the war of resistance was to defend humanity, righteousness and peace. The “violence” of Japan and fascism would be overcome by the “humanity” of the Chinese.

Feng expressed this understanding very clearly in a poem entitled “Long Live the Republic of China.” It reads as follows: A Japanese plane falls to earth, but just as farmers who had captured the Japanese pilots brandish their spades and hoes, a Chinese officer stops them and says to the Japanese pilots, “You have been taken advantage of stupidity that cannot distinguish between right and wrong. Now I forgive you . . . when we sweep away all the wicked invaders, we will release you.” The Japanese pilots, moved by the officer’s words, wept and fell to their knees upon the solid earth of China ⁽¹⁸⁾.

The Japanese soldier, even the ordinary foot soldier who had been drafted into the army, was depicted by the majority of Chinese cartoon illustrators as a figure of hatred, an assailant who enjoyed behaving brutally. They did not portray only the battlefield and soldiers, but also ordinary Japanese, whom they ridiculed and scorned without any feeling of sympathy or compassion, drawing pictures of people grieving over those they had lost and suffering under deteriorating living conditions as the war widened. It was extremely rare to find someone who, like Feng in his poem, could see Japanese soldiers and the military as the victims of war and so as beings who should be forgiven.

In the state of emergency that is war, battles and slaughter are inevitable. It was because of that very fact, however, that Feng dreaded the idea of fighting and killing becoming an object in themselves. He wrote:

Our land of China is being invaded by a brutal enemy. It is as if we were being attacked by a virus and suffering a severe illness, so that only dangerous drugs can help us fight the illness and survive. The war of resistance is just such a treatment. However, dangerous drugs are only a short term remedy and it should not use habitually. When the virus has been eradicated, and we recover our health, we must take proper nourishment in place of dangerous drugs. This is the only way to regain full health. And what kind of nourishment do I mean? It is “art,” whose vital ingredients are Peace, happiness, universal love and preserving life⁽¹⁹⁾.

The trigger for writing this was that when he arrived in Hankou from Changsha in March 1938, he heard reports that an old acquaintance, Cao Juren 曹聚仁 (1900-1972), had declared publicly that Feng's *Paintings to Protect Life* (*Husheng Huaji* 護生画集) should be burned⁽²⁰⁾. *Paintings to Protect Life* was begun in collaboration with Dharma Master Hongyi 弘一法師 (1880-1942) and eventually came to comprise six volumes with 450 illustrations. Both artistically and as a Buddhist, Feng Zikai was a distinguished follower of his famous high-school mentor, Li Shutong 李叔同, who became ordained as the monk Hongyi. The project was first planned in the autumn of 1927, when Hongyi officiated at a ceremony in which Feng took the Refuge of Buddhism. Feng made a series of pictures on the theme of “protecting life 護生” to commemorate Hongyi's fiftieth birthday, in what was intended as a one-time collection. However later Hongyi himself asked Feng to mark each subsequent tenth anniversary up to what would be his one hundredth birthday, by adding ten more cartoons to the existing collection. Feng carried on this work, despite the war and the later Cultural Revolution, and finished all six volumes, taking almost fifty years from 1929 to 1973⁽²¹⁾.

In response to Cao Juren's statement, Feng wrote an essay called “Do Not Pull It Down” in which he spoke of the importance of “protecting life”⁽²²⁾.

The point of *Paintings to Protect Life* is to call upon people to treasure life and refrain from killing, so as to cultivate benevolence and love, and to promote peace· · · · · .

This person [i.e. Cao Juren] no doubt considers that since we are in the midst of a

war of resistance, we should be encouraged to kill the enemy. Thus he declares that this book should be burned, since its emphasis on preserving life undermines this. This is because he understands neither the point of preserving life nor the meaning of a war of resistance. We are not waging a war of aggression, we are fighting a war of resistance. We are fighting for humanity, we are fighting for righteousness, we are fighting for peace. We [should] cease slaughter by means of slaughter and overcome violence by means of humanity.

Cao Juren, like Feng, had been a student at the Zhejiang First Normal College 浙江省立第一師範學校 in Hangzhou and had studied under Li Shutong (Hongyi). After graduation, their association continued through Kaiming Books 開明書店, a new educational publisher. Their dispute had begun in December 1937, when they met again in Cao's hometown of Lanxi 蘭溪 in Zhejiang province. Cao was then staying in Lanxi as a war correspondent for the southeastern region on behalf of the Central News Agency, and Feng was fleeing from Shimenwan following the outbreak of war there. Cao published an essay called "Sentiments of the Past Few Months" based on the conversation the two had at that time⁽²³⁾. Feng, declaring what Cao wrote to have no basis in fact, expressed his rage in "Decision Point: A Record of a Flight from the Bandits"⁽²⁴⁾. The dispute continued on after this and had not been resolved when ties between the two men were severed⁽²⁵⁾.

Feng's View of Art

As we have seen above, Feng compared China, exhausted by foreign invasion, to a sick person, and the war to a fight against disease. In order to kill the virus that was the invader, it was unavoidable that the dangerous drugs of a war of resistance must be taken temporarily. However, for a return to full health, nourishment in the form of art was essential. Here we will discuss Feng's views about art, including his ideas about art in the war of resistance.

When he was ending his lectures on art education at Zhejiang University in Guilin

where he worked while seeking refuge in Guanxi province, Feng summarized the essentials of art and art education as follows:

“The artistic sentiment” = a broad and sympathetic heart/mind

“Art” = the heart/mind is primary, technique secondary

“Art education” = the application of the artistic spirit⁽²⁶⁾

Feng had learned the idea of the heart/mind being primary and technique secondary from Li Shutong when he was studying at the Zhejiang First Normal College. He also spoke of art as “the mother of peace and happiness in this world⁽²⁷⁾.” This was because he considered the artistic sentiment fostered through art education, which is a “broad and sympathetic heart/mind” that regards all things as one, to be related to the achievement of a peaceful and happy society⁽²⁸⁾.

Feng’s view that the artistic mind is one that is “broad and sympathetic” can be traced back to core ideas about art held by Lu Xun 魯迅, as MARUO, Tsuneki 丸尾常喜 has pointed out⁽²⁹⁾. Lu Xun sought artistic value in cultivating “the ‘power of the imagination’ in each individual to become the basis for ‘sympathy’.” Here Lu Xun was begging the Chinese people to use their power of imagination to look on the humiliation and sufferings of others as being their own, in order to “elevate humanity⁽³⁰⁾.” Sometime after 1937, Feng was commissioned to illustrate Lu Xun’s *The True Story of Ah Q*. The pictures were twice destroyed during military action, once in Shanghai and again in Guangzhou 廣州; the illustrated edition was finally published in 1939 by Kaiming Books in Beijing. In the preface to the first edition of this book, Feng prayed for the repose of the soul of Lu Xun, who had died in 1936, and said to that soul in heaven, “The war of resistance by all the [Chinese] people is now stimulating a revival and deep realization by our race. Ah Q and the conditions that led to his appearance will never again exist in the China of the future⁽³¹⁾.”

When Feng talked about art or aesthetics in the prewar period, he relied upon western aesthetic theory, that of people like Emmanuel Kant and Theodor Lipps. During the period of the war of resistance, however, he applied Confucian interpretations even to

such western concepts. For example, speaking of Lipps's notion of empathy (*Einfühlungstheorie*) that argued that when appreciating art, we must infuse our own emotions into the object, he stated that this was being conscious of all things in the world as being existences equal to the human being, and extending the bounds of empathy to everything under heaven. This was no more than an idea that is considered a distinctive feature of Chinese thought, the oneness of all things, he continued⁽³²⁾.

Behind Feng's application of Confucian values to art can be discerned the influence of Ma Yifu 馬一浮 (1883-1967), a scholar and thinker, with whom he was in close contact during his time as a refugee at Tonglu 桐廬. In a letter addressed to Feng during the war of resistance, Ma Yifu wrote, "The role of art is to call forth those emotions lying deep within human life, and to fuse those emotions with the art. This is an action that causes old manners and customs to change⁽³³⁾." Within the drift of public opinion moving towards wholesale westernization following the New Culture and May the Fourth Movements, Ma had reappraised traditional Chinese culture and thought, and pointed out its value in the world. One way to achieve this was to synthesize Confucian thought and western philosophy. He and those who thought the same way attempted to go critically beyond the German philosophy that had been accepted in China from the end of the nineteenth century by means of Confucian-type values⁽³⁴⁾. Feng too wanted to give his fellow countrymen pride in being Chinese, by placing value on traditional Chinese culture and art from a Confucian sense of values.

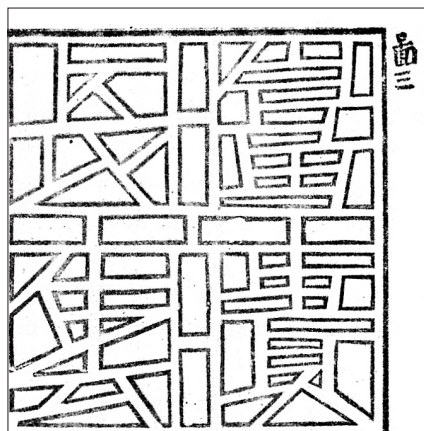
As we have seen, Feng connected art and the war of resistance. Here too, the ultimate purpose of art lay in "the fostering of a mind that loves beauty." By learning art, people would come to understand that "by living as if one were drawing a picture, one is able to confront the world. In doing so, life becomes more beautiful, and the world will be at peace." To this end, Feng discovered, even in the midst of war, beauty in every aspect of the everyday and he proclaimed the beautification of life. Xia Mianzun, a friend of Hongyi and Feng's former teacher, described the artistic life as "discerning the essence of the everyday, and appreciating it⁽³⁵⁾." In *A Teacher's Diary*, Feng was capti-

vated by everyday bamboo products native to Guangxi province and carpentry work full of simplicity and natural beauty (Figure 14), and recorded in detail his great interest in the nature of Guangxi, so different from that of Zhejiang (Figure 15)⁽³⁶⁾. For Feng, finding joy and interest in everyday life and living in full enjoyment of it, was in itself the artistic life, which he himself could practice.

A Teacher's Diary also relates how at times Feng was criticized for this attitude⁽³⁷⁾. Previous experience had told Feng what the results would be of discussing beauty and art during a time of war. Nevertheless, what he showed the reader in the form of a diary was his idea that "We ourselves should be a model to the people of China by encouraging in them a tenacious spirit. This is a kind of education, but it is also a form of resistance⁽³⁸⁾." Remaining undejected despite the war and his life as an evacuee, and continuing as before to love nature and art, Feng must have been a figure who offered consolation and encouragement to readers exhausted in mind and body.

Looking towards China

Feng thought about "a model for the people of China" and we can see in *A Teacher's Diary*, many references to conditions in the country.



(Figure 14) Feng Zikai, "Carpentry work"



(Figure 15) Feng Zikai, "Peach Petals"

In 1934, Feng published an essay called “Eating Melon Seeds”⁽³⁹⁾. “There is no more effective way of ‘killing time.’ Apart from smoking opium, there is nothing to rival eating melon seeds for wasting time.” He commented ironically that if the Chinese continued to waste time in this way, before long all of China would disappear. In an entry in *A Teacher's Diary* dated February 17, 1939, Feng referred to this essay, saying that the melon seeds were “thieves of time” and that he still felt a hatred of “decadent things”⁽⁴⁰⁾.

“Eating Melon Seeds” was translated into Japanese in 1940, and TANIZAKI, Jun'ichiro 谷崎潤一郎 spoke highly of it, saying, “How interestingly written it is, while being so Chinese, so trivial”⁽⁴¹⁾. In 1944, Xia Mianzun translated TANIZAKI's review about Feng Zikai's essays, including the above, and it was published in the magazine *The Juvenile Student* (*Zhongxuesheng* 中学生)⁽⁴²⁾. Feng's response to it is full of sharp irony towards TANIZAKI⁽⁴³⁾. How did the differences between TANIZAKI's and Feng's understanding appear to contemporary Chinese?

Just as Feng began *A Teacher's Diary*, his son Xinmei 新枚 was born, the last of the family. Xinmei is mentioned often in the diary. Feng remodeled the cowshed he had been using as a study as a room for the baby. Concerning this, he wrote:

Drinking milk and living in a cowshed, Xinmei will grow strong like an ox, and, scattering the enemy forces, will reclaim our lost land. At the very least, he will plough the fields and be able to save those who are starving. Even if he has the bovinity of an ox, that doesn't matter at all. China has been placed in the present situation because people are too clever and do not want to make honest efforts!⁽⁴⁴⁾

Feng Zikai was famous for his long beard. In an entry in the “Diary” dated February 24, 1939, he mentions various reports that had been made about it. Because of Feng's fame, newspapers often published fallacious reports about him and his family in exile.

Since the beginning of the war of resistance, newspapers in Jiangsu 江蘇 and Zhejiang 浙江 have often featured my wanderings. Most reports are complete nonsense.

A while ago, a newspaper in Zhejiang had as a heading, “Feng Zikai is offering re-

sistance by cutting off his beard.” In another newspaper, the reporter said that he had met me himself in Kaihua 開化, and wrote, “His long beard had already gone.” (In fact, I have never been to Kaihua.) A minor newspaper in Shanghai reported, “Not one hair remains of his beard.” And now, the Wuxi 無錫 newspaper writes, “[The beard] has been cleanly shaved off.” It is truly astounding that in a time of national emergency, my beard should have such fascination for the population. Recently, Xinmei has been playing with my beard with his little hands when I hold him, and sometimes he pulls out several hairs. I will have to stop him from touching it. A child must not be allowed to play freely with, and pull hairs out of something that is such a subject of press and national interest!⁽⁴⁵⁾

Full of wit and irony, this passage vividly portrays Feng Zikai as the man he was. Whereas so much resistance writing of the time begins and ends with a condemnation of Japan, Feng’s gaze looked towards China.

- (1) This paper is based on the presentation at the international workshop on “Suffering Bodies during the Sino-Japanese War: 1931-1945” held at Harvard University on April 6-7, 2012.
- (2) Feng Zikai, *Zikai’s Cartoons (Zikai Manhua 子愷漫画)*, Shanghai: Wenxue Zhoubaoshe 文学週報社, 1925.
- (3) Feng Zikai, *Essays from the Yuanyuan Studio (Yuanyuantang Suibi 緣緣堂隨筆)*, Shanghai: Kaiming Books 開明書店, 1931.
- (4) For a detailed analysis of Feng’s cartoon before the war, see Geremie Barme, *An Artistic Exile: A Life of Feng Zikai (1898-1975)*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002. See also, Christoph Harbsmeier, *The Cartoonist Feng Zikai: Social Realism with a Buddhist Face*, Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1984.
- (5) Original name: 文芸界同人為團結御侮與言論自由宣言.
Besides Feng Zikai, twenty leading writers and artists like Luxun 魯迅, Guo Moruo 郭沫若, Maodun 茅盾, Bajin 巴金, Lin Yutang 林語堂 etc, signed the declaration.
- (6) Feng Zikai lived in the following places:

【1937】 Zhejiang Province 浙江省 (Nanshengbing 南聖浜 · Tonglu 桐廬 · Lanxi 蘭溪 · Quzhou 衢州 · Changshan 常山), Jiangxi Province 江西省 (Shangrao 上饒) 【1938】 Jiangxi Province 江西省 (Shangrao 上饒 · Pingxiang 萍鄉), Hunan Province 湖南省 (Xiangtan 湘潭 · Changsha 長沙), Hubei Province 湖北省 (Hankou 漢口), Hunan Province 湖南省 (Changsha 長沙), Guangxi Province 廣西省 (Guilin 桂林) 【1939】 Guangxi Province 廣西省 (Guilin 桂林 · Yishan 宜山 · Si-en 思恩), Guizhou Province 貴州省 (Duyun 都勻 · Zunyi 遵義) 【1940-1941】 Guizhou Province 貴州省 (Zunyi 遵義) 【1942】 Guizhou Province 貴州省 (Zunyi 遵義), Sichuan Province 四川省 (Chongqing 重慶) 【1943-1945】 Sichuan Province 四川省 (Chongqing 重慶 · Luzhou 瀘州 · Leshan 樂山) 【1946】 Sichuan Province 四川省 (Chongqing 重慶 · Guangyuan 廣元), Shanxi Province 陝西省 (Baoji 寶鷄), Henan Province 河南省 (Kaifeng 開封 · Zhengzhou 鄭州), Hubei Province 湖北省 (Wuhan 武漢), Jiangsu Province 江蘇省 (Nanjing 南京), Shanghai 上海, Zhejiang Province 浙江省 (Shimenwan 石門灣 · Hangzhou 杭州)

- (7) Published in *Cosmic Wind* II (*Yuzhou Feng Yikan* 宇宙風 乙刊) was only the diary covering the period at the Guilin Normal College 桂林師範學校 (October 1938 - March 27, 1939). *A Teacher's Diary* (*Jiaoshi Riji* 教師日記) (first published in Chongqing 重慶 by Wanguang Shuju 萬光書局 in 1944; second edition published in Shanghai by Wanguang Shuju in 1946) includes also the diary covering the period at Zhejiang University 浙江大學 (March 28, 1939 – June 24, 1939).
- (8) Original name: 中華全國文藝界抗敵協會.
- (9) *Literature and Art of the War of Resistance* (*Kangzhan Wenyi* 抗戰文藝) was first published in Hankou on May 4, 1938. Its last issue (No. 71) appeared in Chongqing in May 1946.
- (10) For the detailed analysis of the war cartoons drawn by the Chinese, see MORI, Tetsuro 森哲郎 ed., *History of Cartoons of the War of Resistance in China* (*Zhongguo Kangri Manhuashi* 中國抗日漫畫史), Translated by Yu Qinde 于欽德 and Bao Wenxiong 鮑文雄, Qinan 濟南: Shandong Huabao Chubanshe 山東畫報出版社, 1999.
- (11) Original title: *Riben Qinhua Huashi* 日本侵華畫史.
- (12) Chang-Tai Hung, "War and Peace in Feng Zikai's Wartime Cartoons", *Modern China* 16: 1 (January 1990) : pp.69-71.

- (13) Feng Zikai and Xiao Erhua 蕭而化 eds., *Selections of Songs of the War of Resistance (Kang-zhan Gexuan 抗戰歌選)*, Hankou: Dalu shudian 大路書店, 1938.
- (14) Ye Shengtao, *I and Sichuan (Wo yu Sichuan 我与四川)*, Sichuan Renmin Chubanshe 四川人民出版社, 1984, pp. 31, 34.
- (15) Feng Zikai, "Preface to *Random Jottings and Cartoons (Manwen Manhua Xu 漫文漫画序)*", *Selected Works of Feng Zikai (Feng Zikai Wenji 豐子愷文集)*. Hangzhou: Zhejiang Wenyi Chubanshe 浙江文芸出版社 and Zhejiang Jiaoyu Chubanshe 浙江教育出版社, 1996, Vol. 5, p. 672.
- (16) The phrase "The Humane Person Has No Enemy 仁者無敵" has its origins in Mencius 孟子 (Liang Hui Wang, Part 2, Ch. 3 - 3 梁惠王章句上五).
- (17) Feng Zikai, song, "The Humane Person Has No Enemy 仁者無敵", *Young Vanguard (Shaonian Xianfeng 少年先鋒)*, No. 6 (May 5, 1938), p. 3.
- (18) Feng Zikai, "Long Live the Republic of China (Zhonghua Minguo Wanwansui 中華民國万万歲)", *Young Vanguard*, op. cit., No. 3 (March 20, 1938), p. 28.
- (19) Feng Zikai, "The Kindness of One Meal (Yifan zhi En 一飯之恩)", *Young Vanguard*, No. 6 (May 5, 1938), p. 30.
- (20) *Ibid.*, p. 28.
- (21) Because Hongyi died in 1942, Feng was actually able to present only the first two collections to him (1929 and 1939).
- (22) Feng Zikai, "Do Not Pull It Down 則勿毀之已", *Daily News (Ribao 日報)*, literary supplement "Yanlin 言林," April 17, 1938. The phrase "Do not pull it down" comes from Mencius 孟子, (Liang Hui Wang, Part 2, Ch. 5. 梁惠王章句下五).
- (23) Cao Juren, "Sentiments of the Past Few Months (shuyuelai de Fangan 数月来的繁感)", *Young Vanguard*, op. cit., No. 2 (March 5, 1938), pp. 32-33.
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- (26) Feng Zikai, *A Teacher's Diary* (June 22, 1939), Shanghai: Wanguang Shuju, 1946, p. 155.
- (27) Feng Zikai, "Xinmei, the nation in the future (新枚—未来的国民)", Feng Zikai 1996, op.cit., Vol. 5, p. 664.
- (28) Feng Zikai, 1946, op. cit., (June 22, 1939), p. 155.
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- (33) Ma Yifu, "Letter to Feng Zikai (Shuzha Feng Zikai 書札 豐子愷) 9 (July 19, 1938)", *Selected Works of Ma Yifu (Ma Yifu Ji 馬一浮集)*. Hangzhou: Zhejiang Guji Chubanshe 浙江古籍出版社, 1996, Vol. 2, p. 569.
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- (36) Feng Zikai, "A Teacher's Diary," (November 23, 1938), *Cosmic Wind* II No. 20, p. 16. Ibid., (December 9, 1938), *Cosmic Wind* II No. 23, p. 249. Ibid., (January 22, 1939), *Cosmic Wind* II No. 25, p. 398. Ibid., (March 18, 1939), *Cosmic Wind* II No. 29, p. 40.
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- (37) Ibid., (December 22, 1938), *Cosmic Wind* II No. 24, p. 336. Feng Zikai, 1946, op. cit., (December, 1938), p. 54. See also, Chen Fu 陳浮 [i.e. Ke Ling 柯靈], “Wipe Off Spits of the Ignorance (Shiqu Wuzhi de Tuomo 拭去無知的唾沫)”, *Wenhuibao* 文匯報, literary supplement “*Shiji Feng* 世紀風”. Chen Fu [i.e. Ke Ling], “After Wiping Off the Spits (Shimo zhi Yu 拭沫之余)”, Ibid., September 2, 1938.
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- (40) Feng Zikai, 1946, op. cit., (February 17, 1939), p. 84.
- (41) TANIZAKI, Jun’ichirō, *Last Year, Yesterday and Today* (*Hatsumukashi, kinō, kyō* 初昔きのふけふ). Sōgensha 創元社, 1942, p. 147.
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- (43) Feng Zikai, “Impression on Reading *Essays from the Yuanyuan Studio* 《讀〈讀綠堂隨筆〉讀後感》”, Ibid., pp. 107-111.
- (44) Feng Zikai, 1946, op. cit., (October 28, 1938), p. 8.
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FIGURES

- (Figure 1) Feng Zikai, “A-Bao Has Two Legs, Chair Has Four Legs” [SOURCE: Feng Zikai, Feng Chenbao 豐陳宝 and Feng Yiyang 豐一吟 eds. *Feng Zikai Cartoon Collection* (*Feng Zikai Manhua Quanji* 豐子愷漫畫全集), Vol. 1, Peking: Jinghua Chubanshe 京華出版社, 2001, p.27.
- (Figure 2) Feng Zikai, “Season of Fresh Cherry and Green Musa Basjoo” [SOURCE: Ibid. Vol. 6, p. 26.] This is based on a poetry 詞 “One Plum Blossom (Yi jian Mei 一剪梅)” by Jiang Jie 蔣捷 of the Song dynasty.
- (Figure 3) Feng Zikai, “Sweat” [SOURCE: Ibid. Vol. 3, p. 104.]
- (Figure 4) Zhang Ding 張仃, “Beasts” [SOURCE: Shen Jianzhong 沈建中 ed., *Cartoons of War of Resistance* (*Kanzhan Manhua* 抗戰漫畫), Shanghai: Shanghai Shehui Kexueyuan Chubanshe 上海社会科学院出版社, 2005, p. 3.]

- (Figure 5) Lu Shengmei 廬盛美, "Traitors" [SOURCE: Ibid. p.225]
- (Figure 6) Cai RuoHong 蔡若虹, "Big Wave of a united popular front against Japanese aggression" [SOURCE: Bi Keguan 畢克官, *History of Chinese Cartoons (Zhongguo Manhua Shihua 中国漫画史話)*, Tianjin 天津: Baihua Wenyi Chubanshe 百花文芸出版社, 2005, p.258.]
- (Figure 7) Feng Zikai, "Air raid" [SOURCE: Feng Chenbao and Feng Yiyiing eds. *Father's Paintings (Baba de Hua 爸爸的画)*, Vol. 3, Hong Kong: Sanlian 三聯 (香港) 有限公司, 2001, p.192.
- (Figure 8) Feng Zikai, "I want to become an angel and grab the bombs from the sky" [SOURCE: Chen Xing 陳星 and Zhu Xiaojiang 朱晔江 eds. *How Many People Remember the Time at Jiang Bldg.? (Jiren Xiangyi Zai Jiang Lou 幾人相憶在江樓)*, Jinan 濟南: Shandong Huabao Chubanshe 山東畫報出版社, 1998., p.83.]
- (Figure 9) Feng Zikai, "The battlefield in spring" [SOURCE: Ibid. p.91.]
- (Figure 10) Feng Zikai, "During an Alert" [SOURCE: *Feng Zikai Cartoon Collection*, Vol. 3 . p.295.]
- (Figure 11) Feng Zikai, "War and Music" [SOURCE: *How Many People Remember the Time at Jiang Bldg.?*, p. 87.]
- (Figure 12) Feng Zikai, "The Instinct for Life" [SOURCE: Feng Yiyin ed. *Selected Paintings of Feng Zikai (Feng Zikai Jingpin Huaji 豐子愷精品画集)*, Shanghai: Guji Chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 2002, p.133.]
- (Figure 13) Feng Zikai, "The Humane Person Has No Enemy" [SOURCE: Young Vanguard (*Shao-nian Xianfeng 少年先鋒*), No. 6 (May 5, 1938), p. 3.]
- (Figure 14) Feng Zikai, "Carpentry work" [SOURCE: Ibid. pp.32-33.]
- (Figure 15) Feng Zikai, "Peach Petals" [SOURCE: Ibid. p.104.]

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—おおの きみか・法学部准教授—