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The Display and Misplacement of Confucius Statues in Modern China

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Abstract

The study of the image of Confucius is an essential topic in Confucian studies. Images and statues of Confucius are the direct and objective forms of Confucius. In traditional Chinese society, the moral spirit of the Confucius image is more significant than, or even surpasses the art form. The core spirit of the Confucius image metaphor is moral goodness. The schema and standard of the ancient classic Confucius statue are still used in modern times, but there have been changes in the placement, display field, and people's hearts. The display, interpretation and misplacement in various fields have presented unprecedented complexity and contradiction, which has significantly changed the cultural meaning of the Confucius statue and become a social symbol of both metaphor and modernity.

Key Words

Modern China (1840-1949), statues of Confucius, presentation paradigm, dislocation metaphor

The study of images of Confucius is one of the important issues in Confucian studies, and images and statues of Confucius are connected to the intuitive and objective existence of Confucius. In traditional Chinese society, the moral spirit of the Confucius image is more significant than, or even surpasses, the artistic form, and the core spirit of Confucius image metaphor is one of ethical and moral goodness.

1. The Paradigm of Confucius Statues in Ancient China

The artistic media used in the creation of ancient Confucius images include silk, rice paper, wood, stone, bricks, walls and other materials, mainly in the form of illustrations and sculpture. The image of Confucius has three forms: single, multiple, and multiple composite. The single form includes works such as *The First Sage Portrait*, *Confucius Yan Ju Tu*, *Confucius for Lu Sikou Portrait*, *Quzhou Confucius Temple First Sage Portrait*, etc., except for the Southern Song Dynasty *Ma Yuan Confucius Portrait*, where Confucius' face is thin, and his body posture is weak; the adult portrait of Confucius has a square face, a dignified appearance, and

is portrayed as a tall man. Multiple composite images, such as *Kong Xing Yan Sui*¹, *Confucius see Laozi*, *Confucius' Ten Disciples*, *Confucius Apricot Altar Lecture Picture*, etc., feature multiple composites, such as various versions of the miracle picture and Confucius biography illustrations which Meng Jiuli defined as works of Chinese narrative painting.² Different carving materials may be used for statues of Confucius, including stone or wood, as well as metals for sculptures, such as copper or bronze. Examples can still be seen today and include the bronze Confucius statue from the Tang Dynasty preserved in the Zhejiang Wenling Jiangwan; the wooden Confucius couple statue in Qufu cultural relics archives; *Confucius Five Beam Crown Sitting Stone Carving* at the North side of the east end of Tianjie at the Southern Heavenly Gate of Tianshan in the Ming Dynasty; the Shiyang Confucius Temple's Dacheng Hall of *Confucius Crown Bronze Statue* in Dayao County, Yunnan; the Confucius Temple's Dacheng Hall of *Confucius Sikou Bronze Statue* in Xincai County, Henan, etc.

The ancient Chinese people had few doubts about the image of Confucius and the space where it was placed. The focus of the descendants of Confucius was on who had the true portrait of Confucius in their hands. They

seemed to seek truth, but they were trying to prove the legitimacy of their blood inheritance. Official discussions in past dynasties mostly focused on where and how to place the image of Confucius, with the focus being on which image, statue or tablet could best represent the spirit of Confucius. They claimed to promote good deeds but had different intentions, trying to achieve political demands by praising Confucius.

The classical Confucius image schema and format are used in modern times, and scholars have found that it is a repeated application of the ancient classic paradigm. For example, Kong Deping summarized the Quzhou style of the Confucius teaching image, the Qufu sacred shrine style, and the Qufu Qisheng temple style and speculated that they all originated from the small shadow (*Kong Xing Yan Sui*) painted by Wu Daozi. Julia K. Murray *Illustrations of the Life of Confucius: Their Evolution, Functions, and Significance in Late Ming China*, Shen Jin "Preliminary Exploration" of the Version of the Holy Figure, Li Yun *Preliminary Exploration of the Painting and Collection of "Confucius' Holy Figure"*, and Kong Xiangsheng and Shangguan Maofeng *Analysis of the "Holy Figure"* also proposed the relationship between the Qufu stone carving, the old woodcut version, the Ming color painting, and many other copies in their discussion of the Confucius holy figure.

During this period, the visual images of Confucius that appeared in official institutions, with descendants of Confucius, in literati groups, and civil society were still dominated by statues. The clothing on the Confucius statue included imperial robes, official clothing, a headdress, and cloth robes, corresponding to different stages of Confucius' life and social identity: Confucius as a plain king, Confucius as a great teacher, Confucius as an official (with a headdress and a cap), Confucius traveling around the country (with a headdress and a cap, followed by Yan Hui), and Confucius as a commoner (an image of an unsuccessful scholar and private school teacher). Among them, the statue of Confucius with the emperor's crown and robe system appeared on various ritual occasions. The classic pattern and format did not undergo fundamental changes during the Republic of China period and continued to be used and spread. The extensive application of paradigms also created a stereotype of Confucius in the public mind.

Since the Taiping Rebellion, the appearance of Confucius as an orthodox and authoritative figure has been threatened. Hong Xiuquan and others shouted that "all wood, stone, clay, and paper images" were demons and monsters, and they burned the Confucian Temple and smashed various statues, including the statue of Confucius. During the Republic of China, Confucius once

became an accomplice of the feudal class in the mouths of radicals, and many intellectuals demanded the breaking of the idol and the removal of the tablet of Confucius. The paradigm of the emperor's crown with Confucius' image was widely criticized and resisted. The appearance of images and statues of Confucius connected to various activities for worshipping Confucius would be pointed out as a misplacement with ulterior motives by the planners.

Compared with traditional society, the way of placing Confucius' image in modern China has undergone significant changes in placement, display space, and public support.

2. The Exhibition Field and Misplacement of Confucius Statues in Modern China

The time of the Spring and Autumn Festival in ancient Confucian Temples was the first day of the fifth month and the eighth month of the lunar calendar, respectively. The emperor would usually send officials to the Imperial Academy or Confucian Temple to offer sacrifices as a model for the whole country, and ordinary people did not have the right to participate in the ceremony. On January 1, 1912, the Republic of China was established, Sun Yat-sen was sworn in, and then the Nanjing Provisional Government issued a *Change Calendar and Change Yuan* announcement to change the solar calendar to the era of the emperor and set January 1, 1912 as the first day of the Republic of China. Each province issued 5,000 copies of the calendar.

The public and folk festivals could not adapt to this sudden change. At that time, the general etiquette of the Republic of China had not yet been formulated, so there was a mixing of old and new calendars. Soon, local civil officials asked the provisional government for instructions on how to hold the Spring Festival sacrifice. On February 29, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of the Interior sent a telegram: "It is found that the general etiquette of the Republic of China has not yet been promulgated. Before it is promulgated, the Confucian Temple should temporarily continue to offer sacrifices. However, the kneeling ceremony should be removed and replaced with three bows. The sacrificial clothes should be casual. The rest of the pre-Qin rituals that involve superstition should be abolished."³ The provisional government allowed the Spring and Autumn Confucian Temple sacrifice in 1912 to continue basically as usual and also ordered local governments to handle it appropriately, but did not send officials to the scene to offer sacrifices, nor did it issue any instructions on the

pattern and hanging methods for images, statues, and tablets of Confucius. Local governments took action accordingly. Shanghai directly suspended the sacrifice, while Li Yuanhong in Hubei continued to offer sacrifices to Confucius and divided the sacrifices into two parts for four philosophers. Guangdong Province abolished thirteen sacrificial objects and retained the Confucian sacrifice ceremony.

The Nanjing Provisional Government attached great importance to the birthday of Confucius despite the controversy over the timing of August 27 and 28, the lunar and solar calendars, etc. Overall, it reflected their intention to eliminate traditional rituals and turn to the reform of the birthday of Confucius with a strong sense of modernization, which was associated with transforming the Confucius Temple into a school and using the temple's fields as educational funds. The Beijing government stipulated that flags should be hung in public places instead of hanging portraits of Confucius, and all citizens could visit the Confucius Temple on the anniversary but no longer kneel in front of the portrait of Confucius.

In the early years of the Republic of China, private schools and provincial and county schools at all levels had images or tablets of Confucius. At the beginning of the school term, on the birthday of Confucius and other important occasions, teachers would lead students in performing the ritual of offering sacrifices to Confucius. In 1912, the government issued the *Fourteen Provisional Measures for General Education*, which abolished the study of Confucian classics in primary schools. People with insight advocated that the private school education model must be transformed into a modern school system. In the *Proposal of Zhong Rongguang*, director of the Guangdong Provincial Department of Education, it was proposed that "the idols and tablets of the school's religious leaders should be removed" in public schools. However, it was strongly opposed due to the excessive strength of conservative and traditional forces. In 1913, Yuan Shikai issued a general order to resume offering sacrifices to Confucius in schools.

The Confucianist Association launched a national religion movement to establish Confucianism as a state religion. In 1914, the Ritual Department of the Beijing government formulated a complete *Ceremony for Worshipping Confucius*, and there were people responsible for drawing and designing the altar. On September 28, 1914, Yuan Shikai held the first national ceremony in the history of the Republic of China for worshipping Confucius. However, the response from various provinces was not enthusiastic. For example, the participants in Zhejiang wore ordinary dresses, and

Jiangsu did not specifically notify schools to take a holiday to participate in the ceremony. However, in the following fourteen years, the Beijing government continued to hold the ceremony for worshipping Confucius, and the statues of Confucius used in various local ceremonies remained unchanged. Photos of Confucius statues in the Confucian Temple in Qufu often appeared in newspapers and magazines such as *Confucianist Magazine* and *World Pictorial (Beijing)*. For example, *Confucianist Magazine* 1, no. 1 (1913)⁴; *World Pictorial (Beijing)*, no. 154 (1928)⁵; *Popular Pictorial*, no. 12 (1934)⁶; *Current Affairs Weekly*, no. 7 (1934)⁷; and *Radio Weekly*, no. 101 (1936)⁸; all inserted photos of Confucius statues in the Ming Dynasty Costume System in the Confucian Temple in Qufu. The only difference was the shooting angle. In 1933, *The Imperial Palace Weekly*, no. 247⁹ and *Jiangsu Education* 5, no. 9 (1936)¹⁰ used images from the Hall of Supreme Harmony to depict images of sages and saints.

Artists seek the expression of artistic emotions. Once the creative impulse is transformed into artworks, the purpose of creation is achieved. The dissemination and influence of their works may be one of the issues they will consider, but it is not the focus of attention. The artwork is also complete, and the accurate position and subtle arrangement of each constituent element on the screen are the most authoritative basis for interpreting the work. Wu Hong divides images into plot-based and idol-based, and most of the illustrations in the *Stories of the Sacred Relics* and Confucius' biography adopt an asymmetric and closed composition, depicting characters from a side or three-quarter side perspective. The deeds of Confucius took place in a specific time and space, and the image of Confucius is self-contained within the image. However, idol-based images and statues adopt symmetrical compositions from the front, which are not complete in themselves and require the participation of the audience. Such images of Confucius indicate a sacred duty "directly attracting viewers and actively involving them in worship or other ways to 'complete' through him or her."¹¹

The image of Confucius hung during the rituals and the statues of Confucius enshrined in the temples around the country are placed in open fields, releasing or conveying a summoning message. The empty space in front of the statue of Confucius is specially designed for people who come to watch and worship. The designer's purpose is not within the picture, nor is it to express artistic emotions, but to imply, guide, and discipline the audience. Suppose the 1914 ceremony is attributed to the strength of traditional forces and the difficulty of the reform movement. In that case, the 1935 ritual is a

conscious plan and guidance from the Nationalist government.

In April 1927, the Nanjing National Government of Chiang Kai-shek was established, and in October the Supreme Education Authority was established. In 1928, the University Court decreed the abolition of the Spring and Autumn Festival celebration of Confucius on the grounds that Confucius should be respected for his lectures as a commoner. Still, he respected the king and loyal subjects, which violated modern ideas, freedom principles, and the Three People's Principles. Immediately afterwards, some people argued the compatibility of Confucianism and the Three People's Principles, and there were incidents such as Yu Weichen's throwing Confucius' tablet into the sea in Zhejiang Province and Han Zhenying's throwing herself into a well in Hebei Province in anger. For them, if there was no one to worship before Confucius's statue, it was an unfinished state; if there was no ceremony for the Spring and Autumn Festival sacrifice in the Temple of Confucius, it was not a complete temple. The various sectors of the Republic of China had no objection to the existence of Confucius' statue, and the government only changed its presentation and exhibition venues to weaken its feudal loyalty ideology and promote a new era of the Confucius image on the basis of improvement. In 1929, the *Measures for the Custody of Property at the Temple of Confucius* affirmed the tradition of worshipping Confucius' portrait in Dacheng Hall, stipulating that the Spring and Autumn Festival sacrifice would no longer be held and a memorial meeting would be held on Confucius' birthday. In 1931, the Kuomintang stipulated that schools would be closed on August 28 to hold a memorial ceremony for Confucius' birthday. In 1934, August 27 was designated as a National Commemoration Day and a grand commemorative event was held.

The fourth article of the commemorative measures adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the Nanjing National Government is "All sectors of the country should hoist flags to pay tribute," and the third item of the fifth promotion point is "to tell the relationship between Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary thoughts and Confucius." The fourth link of the commemorative ceremony process is "to bow three times to the party flag, the prime minister's portrait and Confucius's portrait."¹² The commemorative measures were issued nationwide, and governments at all levels responded one after another, including county-level governments. For example, the remote Nanhai County Government of Guangdong Province ordered "the birthday commemoration meeting of the most sacred Confucius should be held at the central party

headquarters. The portrait of Confucius should be placed on the table in front of the portrait of the prime minister. The commemorative song should be temporarily absent before it is formulated."¹³ On that day, grand commemorative activities were held in Nanjing and Qufu, and the placement of Confucius' portrait was in accordance with the commemorative measures adopted by the central party department. The special link added to the procedure was the memorial activity in Qufu, where the party flag was crossed at the entrance of the Confucius Temple, and important members of the Confucius family and special guests from the National Government performed three bows to the statue of Confucius in Dacheng Hall. The family memorial ceremony of the Confucius family followed the old system and knelt. The 1934 birthday commemoration of Confucius affected many aspects of society, especially the education sector. Schools in various places hoisted Confucius' portrait and slogans of *The Analects* under government requirements and organized teachers and students to bow and pay tribute on annual commemoration days. For example, in 1935, a Hunan Provincial Peasant Education Museum library hung multiple images of Confucius and maps of the Confucian Temple and Confucian Forest. In 1936, the *Chaoyang County Gazette* issued an order to hang Confucius' portrait in primary and secondary schools.¹⁴

Kneeling, looking up, and bowing are two rituals of greeting and two ways of viewing and accepting. Most of the images and statues on the altar have slightly lowered heads, level eyes, and slightly downward gaze, which preset the posture and perspective of the worshipper. The perspective of the kneeling worshipper is lower than that of the bowing worshipper, and the curve of the viewpoint movement is longer. During the process of bowing and raising one's head, there is a greater possibility of meeting and exchanging with the statue's gaze. The front photo of the statue of Confucius taken by a camera will have more differences from what the worshipper sees during the process of greeting. Images, photos, and statues are static, but the worshipping action is dynamic and continuous. Therefore, the image of Confucius in the eyes of the worshipper is dynamic and changing. Specific perspectives and sightlines will ultimately create a specific image of Confucius in the hearts of worshippers. Even if there are no new versions of Confucius' portrait, as long as the government stipulates that their presentation methods and placement need to be changed, then the image of Confucius in the eyes of the audience will change, and so will the image of Confucius.

The Nanjing National Government stipulated that in the national commemorative activities of Confucius' birthday, the portrait of Confucius should be placed in

front of the party flag and Sun Yat-sen's portrait. The order of bowing and paying respect is first to respect the party and the country, then the prime minister, and finally Confucius. The position of Confucius' portrait is clearly secondary compared to the party, country, and prime minister. With the increase of commemorative objects and the reform of worship gestures, Confucius is no longer the protagonist of sacrifice and commemoration. The memorial ceremony is more like a team-building activity planned to comfort and unify a certain group. In this regard, people who respect Confucius feel uncomfortable and question the misplacement of the sacrificed. They propose that commemorating Confucius should be dedicated to Confucius alone. Some old scholars lament the decline of Confucianism and call for the continuation of the learning tradition, and radical people shout that Confucius has its own merits but should not be used by politicians as a bargaining chip for social change and political games. In *Confucius in Modern China*, Lu Xun wrote, "Confucius's presence in China was held up by those in power, who were either sages themselves or wanted to be sages and had nothing to do with ordinary people. However, those in power were only temporarily enthusiastic about the Confucian Temple. Because when they respect Confucius, they have other intentions. Therefore, once their purpose is achieved, this instrument is useless. If it is not achieved, it is even more useless."¹⁵ The placement and display space of the Confucius statue in the Republic of China reflects the social identity, power range, and cultural proposition of the planners.

In ancient China, intellectuals stood within the Confucian school and looked up to Confucius, but they were unable to see the whole picture of Confucius in the shadow of giants. Therefore, most of them identified with Confucius, but they had different opinions about the way of conveying Confucius' image. During the Republic of China, intellectuals received traditional education when they were young, and the genes of traditional culture were born into their bones. They were born and raised in this place and were influenced by the civilization. Their love for the country and culture was no less than that of the ancients. For them, if they were complete, how could they seek? However, they found that the knowledge they learned from the classics was not useful in dealing with the great disaster that China was suffering at that time. Therefore, they stepped out of the Confucian cultural circle and dedicated themselves to studying Western science and technology. Some intellectuals once believed that the way out for Chinese culture was not a return to feudal Neo-Confucianism but a comprehensive innovation based on Western culture

as a model. Only by stepping out of the Confucian cultural circle and standing outside Confucian ethics and morality can we truly, rationally examine Confucian culture and Confucius himself. Reforming Chinese thought in the form of criticizing traditional culture and reshaping the image of Confucius in the new era by negating the stereotype of ancient Confucius is not a salvation.

3. The Metaphorical and Modernization Tendency of the Statue of Confucius in the Republic of China

The hearts and minds of society were undergoing tremendous changes and traditional Confucianism, under the manipulation of planners, naturally encountered various obstacles as he went against the historical trend. For all parties involved in the debate at that time, Confucius did not exist as a purpose but only as a tool for social development. How the image of Confucius was conveyed was not important either. Confucius's images, statues, and even plaques only needed to conform to the previous schematic system. What was important was whether they still needed to be worshipped or even needed to exist.

The visual image of Confucius originated from physics, while the formation of the spiritual image of Confucius belongs to epistemology and psychology. The image of Confucius in the hearts of blind and deaf people generally originates from tactile sensation and imagination. The study of the image of Confucius involves various knowledge disciplines, and the image of Confucius in morality and politics is closely related to ethics and social criticism; the image of Confucius in texts and music mostly belongs to literary criticism and music appreciation. The image, statue, and actor-portrayed character of Confucius will be recorded in art history. Compared to the images and statues of Confucius, the image of Confucius in dramas and movies has shown a tendency towards modernization and artistry. In November 1928, Lin Yutang published his new single act historical drama *Zi Jian Nan Zi* based on *The Analects* and *Records of the Grand Historian* in vol. 1, no. 6 of the monthly magazine *Benliu*. At that time, social drama troupes and school groups competed to rehearse and interpret literary images into visual images in the form of dramas. Among them, the performance of the Shandong Provincial Second Normal School (Qufu Second Normal School) Student Union on June 28, 1929, was the most successful. In 1940, director Fei Mu's film *Confucius* was released in Shanghai. Tang Huaiqiu, who played Confucius, accurately grasped the tone and position of the character and accurately portrayed it.

This was the first presentation of the image of Confucius in film and television. Compared with the image of Confucius in traditional drama, both the play *Zi Jian Nan Zi* and the movie *Confucius* have made substantial breakthroughs in terms of ideology and artistry.

Therefore, it is unreasonable to limit the image of Confucius within a certain discipline. The study of Confucius images always relies on the description of moral character, which invisibly creates a dependence on spiritual images closely related to social ideology; the discussion on the spiritual image of Confucius in society is sometimes linked to the visual image of Confucius. It seems that the official statues of Confucius or the portraits of Confucius passed down from generation to generation by descendants of the Kong Family represent a certain spirit of Confucius and can directly symbolize his spiritual character without any intermediary. Therefore, every change in the design, sculpture format, and even the hanging of images and placement of Confucius statues is closely related to the social movements of a specific era.

In traditional Chinese society, officials and folk have formed a tradition of making and placing Confucius statues. In fact, the carving techniques, production methods, and placement positions of Confucius images and statues did not change for a long time and even formed several fixed patterns and systems. In most cases, the production and placement of Confucius statues do not come from the artistic impulses of the creators and planners, and the understanding and attitude of the artists and planners towards the works are not important. The works of artists convey the will of the planners, and the planners need to convey specific information in the form of art for a purpose other than art.

The answer given by descendants of Confucius in the Southern Song Dynasty as to whether their ancestor's portrait was from Qufu or Quzhou can indicate whether they were a descendant of Confucius who stayed in Shandong and were sponsored by the Jin people or whether they came from the Kong Family, who moved south with the Song Dynasty and established a new image of Confucius, reflecting the Kong Family's choice and identification with the two opposing regimes.¹⁶ The answer from literati during the Jiajing period of Emperor Shizong of the Ming Dynasty as to whether the statue of Confucius should be erected indicates whether he was a radical advocate for reforming sacrificial rituals or a conservative advocate for traditional rituals. In the end, the ritual reform in 1530 completely abolished the statue of Confucius in the Confucian Temple and replaced it with a unified standard of saint plaques. On the surface, Confucius' idol destruction movement¹⁷ was a debate

about ritual and symbolic significance, but in reality, it was also a disguised social movement.

The information conveyed by the images and statues of Confucius often goes beyond visual art itself from the very beginning, overlaid with the various complex intentions of many people. The objective image of Confucius is the subjective design of the planner. In the dissemination process, audiences with different political positions, cultural propositions, educational backgrounds, and personality experiences will have subjective attitudes such as support, identification, opposition, and criticism. Many people will also argue from their positions, eroding the objectivity of the image of Confucius.

Under the frequent participation of subjective intention, the objectivity of the image of Confucius is dissolved and reshaped, forming a universal cognition by most members of society and forming a relatively stable tradition. In countless drawings and placements, people only need to see this pattern and feature to know who it is without deliberately emphasizing the details. The Confucius statue's information function is weakening and may no longer transmit new information. On the other hand, tradition is also becoming stronger and stronger, and every addition of images is reinforcing this tradition, deeply ingrained and rooted in people's hearts.

The political and cultural propositions and revolutionary actions of a few opponents will directly or indirectly promote the next transformation of the way and connotation of how Confucius' image is conveyed. The transformation of Confucius' image is related to social movements rather than the self-discipline development of art. Even if the pattern and format of the Confucius statue remain unchanged, as the social identity and cultural beliefs of the planners change, the degree of audience recognition, support or opposition to criticism, and the rise and fall of calls for support and overthrow will inevitably change the form and connotation of the Confucius statue.

The connection between the statue of Confucius in modern China and social movements is also similar. The placement and worship of Confucius statues, as well as the drawing and hanging of images, are often not related to the purposefulness of artistic creation but rather stem from the direct and clear political motives of various forces which, under the impetus of certain forces, have evolved into major events that affect society. In addition, the image of Confucius was constantly misplaced in the social changes and cultural currents of modern China, repeatedly encountering intentional or unintentional interpretations and misreadings, and even multiple uses and harsh criticisms. The image of Confucius, which is inherently objective and visible to everyone, has become

a cultural symbol rich in metaphors, presenting unprecedented complexity and contradictions, and officially opening the door to the modernization transformation of the image of Confucius in complex contradictions.

Today, the images, carvings, and statues of traditional society are still present, but the artistic quality of Confucius' visual image has been fully demonstrated. Artists who create works with Confucius as the theme not only seek truth and beauty, but also pursue the presentation of beautiful forms. The images of Confucius shaped according to classical schemas are spreading like wildflowers, and Confucius museums, memorial halls, and cultural centers in different places display various physical or virtual images of Confucius. The number and quality of portrait paintings, situational paintings, and *Sacred Relics of Confucius* that are themed on Confucius are increasing year by year. Statues of Confucius are placed in squares all over the country, have a brief stop at the north gate of the

National Museum on the east side of Tiananmen Square, and frequently appear at the entrances of distinctive hotels. The presentation specifications of Confucius' visual image range from the 9.5m high bronze statue created by Wu Weishan, the 7.33×4.86m painted portrait of Confucius grinding paint completed by Zhou Jumin, and the 2.219m high porcelain statue of Confucius fired by Lai Tongli, to the laser engineering holographic projection of the Confucius Museum. Smaller ones include the commemorative postage stamps issued by the Qufu Post Office, the "Confucius tumbler" written on the market stall that will pass every exam, and the poster of Confucius for propaganda and epidemic prevention. All of them convey a message that the image of Confucius has become a cultural symbol, which is backed by China's long history and strong cultural confidence.

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中國近代孔子像的“展示”與“錯置”

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摘要：孔子形象研究是孔學研究的重要議題之一，孔子圖像和雕像是孔子形象直觀而客觀的存在方式。中國傳統社會孔子形象的道德精神大於甚至是溢出了藝術形式，孔子像隱喻的核心精神是倫理道德的善。古代經典孔子像的圖式和制式到了近代時期依然重複使用，只是在放置方式、展示場域和人心向背方面已生變化。其在各種場域的展示、演繹與“錯置”，呈現出前所未有的複雜性和矛盾性，使孔子像的文化意涵發生了明顯變化，成為兼具隱喻性和現代性的社會符號。

關鍵詞：中國近代（1840-1949）；孔子像；“展示”範式；“錯置”隱喻