Fu Baoshi 傅抱石: Reviewing Traditional Chinese Painting since the Establishment of the Republic of China 民国以来国画之史的观察

Translated by Jiren Liu, Lei Hou, Wenying Pan, Lu Zong, Ziyue Ding and Xiao Liang

一、中国画的文人画

I: The Literati in Traditional Chinese Painting

中国的艺术思想,还是受着几千年前的儒家道家思想的支配,直至今日,或亦不能说有了多大的变化。虽然洋风已吹了若干年,但大多数,还只是表面,只是某种极小限度的表面,对于传统的一切,可谓依然故我,维护得相当周密的。所以中国画的历史,只有技法上的歧义,表现的最明显,因此就把所以歧义的内在原因遮没了。此外只是些画人的传记,和画坛的故事,此外便没有什么。这种情形,在民国二十六年六月以前,绝无例外。

A Chinese understanding of art is still (very much) influenced by Confucianism and Taoism, both of which have a history of several thousand years. To this day, this understanding cannot be said to have significantly changed. Although the Western trend (*yangfeng* 洋风) has been influential for some years now, its influence cannot be considered more than largely superficial. Chinese painters carefully maintain everything that is traditional and conventional. The history of traditional Chinese painting therefore, is most clearly characterised by the ambiguity of technique, resulting in the concealment of the reasons intrinsic to such ambiguity. What's more, there is not much more than a few biographies of painters and some stories of the painting world to go by. Before June of the 26th year of the Republic, this situation is not much changed.¹

中国画两条不同的道路,南宗北宗,作家画文人画,作不得已的进展。因为如此,到了南宗的时候,便大家都感着疲倦,乏味,牵强,………,而同时又想不出超越死范围的办法。于是南宗也好,北宗也好,自然的形成了一种「流派」而流派化。自元代以后,固然稍稍换了换面目,但不过是文人画——假定南宗——更合乎传统的思想,把院体——假定北宗——打倒了而已。明代的文沈唐仇,清代的四王恽吴,谁又不是文人画流派化后的小流派化?缩短一点说,二百年来的中国画,都被流派化的文人画所支配。这种势力,说起来怪可怕。日本足利时代起,也被它征服得利害,虽然日本人善变,然我们不能说不是十三世纪日本刊刻论语等经书的原因吧?

Traditional Chinese paintings developed along two distinctive paths; the Northern School (beizong 北宗),

1

¹ Translator's note: the 26th year of the Republic of China is 1937 C.E.

also known as professional painting (*zuojia hua* 作家画) and the Southern School (*nanzong* 南宗), also known as literati painting (*wenren hua* 文人画). We have no choice but to take these as our starting points. Faced with this situation, by the time we arrive at the Southern School period, tedium and exasperation is the general feeling...and yet no one is able to come up with solutions to push the boundaries (*sifanwei* 死范围). The Southern School and new schools (*liupai* 流派) were established as the field diverged into schools (*liupai hua* 流派化). After the Yuan dynasty, the situation changed a little bit. But literati painting, the so-called Southern School, which accorded more with traditional understandings, replaced professional painting, the so-called Northern School. Among Wen, Shen, Tang and Qiu from the Ming dynasty, and the Four Wangs, Yun and Wu from the Qing dynasty, none of them could ever deny the fact that he was from a school after the further divergence of literati painting.² In brief, the new schools of literati painting have dominated traditional Chinese painting for two hundred years. They are frighteningly powerful. Even Japanese painting has also been influenced by their dominancy since the Muromachi period. We could never say the reason was not that Japanese people inscribed the Analects of Confucius and other Classics (*jingshu* 经书) in the 13th century, although Japanese people are mercurial.

客观的看看,文人画的确是代表中国的绘画。它的源远流长,简直非后起的欧洲绘画可比!因为它抓住了中国人的心,任何反动的势力。都不能有所摇动,有所改变。它具备某种程度的固定样式,只要你见着它,便会起一种"神游于古画"的共鸣。大多数画人,无非是这些"样式"的复制,再严格的说,自南宗以来,文人画家只有技巧的熟与不熟的问题,没有新样式的创造。只有"公式"的练习,没有自我的抒写。一部分人虽提"笔墨","性灵"等口号,试问躲在斗室之中,下笔即为古人所囿,有什么"笔墨","性灵"呢?

Objectively speaking, literati painting indeed typifies traditional Chinese painting. Its long and rich history is something European painting could compare with. Chinese people's faith is unshakeable, regardless of reactionaries, because traditional Chinese painting is rooted within their hearts. To some extent, it has a fixed style, which makes everyone who sees it experience the sensation of "spiritually traveling in an ancient painting" (shenyou yu guhua 神游于古画). Most of the painters simply copied this style. Strictly speaking, since the emergence of the Southern School, there was no innovation of style; it was only a matter of proficiency. It had nothing to do with self-expression but rather following the "formula". Some advocated the "ink and brush stroke" (bimo 笔墨), the "native sensibility and natural wit" (xingling 性灵) and so forth, but where can we find any of them when painters shut themselves in a room painting in the

_

² Translator's note: Four Wangs, Yun and Wu respectively refers to Wang Shimin (王时敏; 1592-1680), Wang Jian (王鉴; 1598-1677), Wang Hui (王翚; 1632-1717), Wang Yuanqi (王原祁; 1642-1715), Wu Li (吴历; 1632-1718) and Yun Shou (恽寿; 1633-1690). Wen, Shen, Tang and Qiu respectively refers to Wen Zhengming (文征明; 1470-1559), Shen Zhou (沈周; 1427-1509), Tang Yin (唐寅; 1470-1524) and Qiu Ying (仇英; 1482-1559).

ancient style?3

基于上面的论述,中国画是"求心状"的,从外向内面钻。钻的太久自然会头碰头。所以中国画人的相对,唯有来一个会心的微笑,彼此心照不宣。

In conclusion, traditional Chinese painting is centripetal (*qiuxin zhuang* 求心状), because painters explore towards the center. After such a long time immersed in exploration, Chinese painters may bump their heads up against each other's. Therefore, when they meet, they give knowing smiles, sharing a tacit understanding.

中国画便在这种状态中, 反复的咀嚼古代的残余。

Under such circumstances, traditional Chinese painting repetitively "chews up" the ancient "leftovers".

作文人画,要有必需的几个条件。

There are several necessary norms in literati painting.

清代的画论。讨论这条件的很多。陈师曾作中国文人画之价值一文(见中国文人画之研究)说文人画家,第一是要有"人品",第二是要有"天才",第三是要有"学问"。再看杨子云说的,"画,心画也",和邓椿说的"其为人也无文,虽有晓画者寡矣"的话,可见陈师曾的画法,并不是没有理由和根据。因为中国自元以后,已把绘画看做画家一切的寄托,是画家人格思想的再现,是纯粹的艺术。所以绘画的价值,是至高无上的。

A large amount of discussion about these norms has emerged in the painting theory of the Qing dynasty. Chen Shizeng stated in his article, *The Value of Chinese Literati Painting* (see also *Research on Chinese Literati Painting*), that there were three requirements for literati painters: Firstly, painters ought to have moral character (*renpin* 人品). Secondly, they should be talented (*tiancai* 天才). Thirdly, they need to be knowledgeable (*xuewen* 学问).⁴ According to Yang Ziyun's statement that "painting reflected real thoughts from one's heart", as well as Deng Chun's statement that "painters with poor literary skills were most unlikely to successfully produce literati painting even though they were familiar with painting techniques", we can see that the painting theory suggested by Chen Shizeng was not without reason.⁵ After the Yuan dynasty, Chinese people have preferred to regard painting as the painters' spirit, a

³ Translator's note: based upon an existing translation in: Chang Taiping, *A Dictionary of Chinese Literature* (London: Oxford University Press, 2017), 12.

Xingling 性灵 was originally a theory proposed by Yuan Mei (袁枚; 1716-1798), a poet in the Qing dynasty.

⁴ Translator's note:《中国文人画之价值》(*zhongguo wenrenhua zhi jiazhi*) is an article from the book *Research on Chinese Literati Painting*, written by Seigai Ōmura (*dacun xiva* 大村西崖: 1867-1927) and translated by Chen Shizeng.

⁵ Translator's note: the original statement is '书,心画也 (*Shu Xinhua ye*)' written by Yang Ziyun (扬子云; 53 BCE–18 CE) who was a poet and philosopher of the Han dynasty better known as Yang Xiong (杨雄).

[&]quot;其为人也无文,虽有晓画者寡矣" from *Huaji* 画继 [History of painting] , a book written by Deng Chun who was a famous critic in the Song dynasty.

representation of their personality and thoughts, considering painting as a pure art. Thus, painting is perceived to be invaluable.

现在的一切,只要将五十年前的一切来比较,任何部门,都起了急剧的变动。处在今日,耳目所接,当非从前那种形相,甚至因了生活方式的转易,每个人的感受,也自不同。根据文化的历史,中国在这时候,需要一种适合现实的新艺术,自无问题。然而我们放眼看看,现在的中国绘画,和"现代性"有关系么?许多批评中国画不合现实的理论,姑不管它。就中国画的本身而论,它的缺陷实在太多。不过这里所谓缺陷,不是好与不好的问题,是说画的本身早已僵化了,布局、运笔、设色……等技法的动作,也成了牢不可破的定程。我们很明瞭,若是画家的脑子没有死守着传统的方法的话,恐怕谁都有极度的烦闷,谁都有想改革的念头。然而结果似乎太惨,虽千年来的潜势力,还整个笼罩了画家的心,束缚得使你动也不能动。中国画的不进步,说明了又没有多大希奇。

All sections have changed significantly compared with those 50 years ago. Today, everything we see and hear is different from that in previous times. Even the feelings of everyone are different due to the changes in their lifestyle. According to the history of cultural development, there is no doubt that China needs New Art to match reality. However, we should think about whether Chinese painting now is relevant to modernity (xiandaixing 现代性). For the moment, we can ignore numerous arguments that criticize Chinese painting for being unsuitable for the modern world. As far as the Chinese painting itself is concerned, it has a considerable number of flaws. Nevertheless, the flaws here refer to the overstructured mode of the Chinese painting and have no relevance to whether Chinese painting is good or bad. Painting methods such as the layout, way of painting and the design of color, have become unbreakable regulations. It is clear that if painters refuse to follow these methods from the traditional mode, they will feel extremely bored and frustrated, preferring to make modifications. However, the cruel fact is that painters cannot escape from the invisible influence of the past several thousand years. They are not capable of developing any new thoughts under this influence. Therefore, there is nothing strange about the lack of improvement in Chinese painting.

就取材上说,文人画是"消极"的,"颓废"的,"老"的,"无"的,"隐逸"的,"悲观"的。他是中国士大夫狭义的人生观,譬如在政治上玩得腻了,看看——或者画画——这种东西刺激刺激,博一个风雅的名儿。我们想想,今日的中国,是什么时代?是什么环境?若把艺术从"伦理""道德"上看,这种制作,是否有继续发扬的必要?况且这种大理石似的公式,许多年来没有人打得破,发扬也终久是一句似是而非的空话。

From the perspective of subjects determining the painting theme, literati painting is perceived to be negative (*xiaoji* 消极), frustrated (*tuifei* 颓废), old fashioned (*lao* 老), weak (*wu* 无), reclusive (*yinyi* 隐逸), and pessimistic (*beiguan* 悲观). It comes from an outlook on life under a narrow sense of Chinese scholar-officials (*shidafu* 士大夫). For example, these scholar-officials selected to read or draw paintings

when they felt tired of playing political games, obtaining intellectual stimulation and reputation for elegance (*fengya* 风雅). We should be concerned with the issue of what is today's China. If we consider the art from ethics and morality, is it necessary to carry forward the traditional methods of Chinese painting? Moreover, this formula is as firm as marble and has not been broken for many years. Ultimately, the further development of painting methods is a lost cause.

中国绘画, 无论如何是有改进的急迫需要。

In any case, Chinese painting is in urgent need of reform.

二、二十六年来的几种相

II: Phenomenon in The Past 26 Years

在这个小题目之下,应该先有相当的说明。以下所论,完全站在纯客观的立场,从"史的观察"予以轮廓的述说,丝毫不掺主观或类似主观的意见,但又完全不是人云亦云。

In this section, sufficient explanation should be presented. What I discuss below is described in a completely objective way as observations of history without any subjective opinion. Yet, I also refrain from repeating word for word what others say.

中华民国建国二十六年中,艺术上最显见的进步,是艺术能在教育上有了位置。虽然现在还是那么一套,但民国以前,却谈不到普及和提倡的。各级学校的学生,他们所受关于绘画上的智识和练习,几乎可以说,与中国固有的绝缘。照某方面情形论,中国绘画的盛衰,和学校教育无关。尤其和青年学生——除了学中国画的极少数——无关。

In the past 26 years since the establishment of The Republic of China, the most significant development for fine art is the place it has earned in education. Although the norms are still the same, popularization or promotion cannot be started before the Republic of China. The knowledge and practice of painting that students of schools at all levels have learned are almost insulated from the traditional Chinese painting. In a way, except for the very few who learn traditional Chinese painting, the prosperity and decline of traditional Chinese painting has nothing to do with school-based education, especially for young students.

二十六年来,国内仍然是动乱着,国外的侵略压迫,这些环境远远的隔离,好像生存在另外一个世界。纵有制作,也还是些"悠然见南山"之类。这不能怪画家没有脑筋,只怪"流派化"的壁垒太坚,你要是稍微来一点新花样,保管你被人骂得狗血淋头。

In the past 26 years, artists separated themselves from the environment of domestic turmoil and foreign invasions, as if they live in another world. Even if the painting was produced, the painter's style still

implied "carefree, I see the southern hill".⁶ We cannot blame the painters for being brainless – the barriers of the factions are so strong that if you were to come up with anything new, you would be subject to abuse and taunts.

然则中国画没有从事新的途径的人么?这又不然。

Yet, can we say there is no one in Chinese painting who is forging new paths? This is not the case.

我有一种感想,我觉得民国二十六年来,——尤其近十年——有一件不十分可解的事。这件事,就是中国的艺术家,他的评价,完全建筑在"人事"上面的,艺术还在其次。你看谁开画展,不是许多许多的人署名介绍?这班名人,也许他并不认识这请求的人,或者并未拜读过他的作品,如何能知道他的艺术?如此一来,社会上只剩有耳而瞎了眼睛了。于是被介绍者一跃自居名家。介绍者也俨然画坛盟主。这种情形,影响于艺术的进步是极大的。

I have a thought: In the past 26 years of the Republic of China, especially in the past ten years, there is something that is very unreasonable. The evaluation of Chinese artists were based on "interpersonal relationships" (*renshi* 人事) instead of art. Could you find even one exhibition without many celebrities' signed introductions? These celebrities may not know the artists who requested it or did not read their works, let alone understand their art. Therefore, there are only the people who listen well but cannot see anything. As a result, those introduced by the right person quickly leap ahead and soon consider themselves to be a master, while the one who introduces such people plays the role of a god in the painting world. This kind of environment dramatically affects the progress of art.

进一步,谈中国画的动态,影响最大的要推吴昌硕。他的花果山水之类,甚至于他的字,不知影响了多少学画的人。他本身的艺术,当然是他几十年写猎碣的功夫所得来,所以他每一笔都有渊源,并不是专从间架布置上取得的。学的人就不然了。我曾想,吴昌硕的画,为什么会有这么大的影响?几乎可以支配华东的花果画。这或者是山水太繁琐了,太费时间了,加之天下又不太平,谁肯安心去做那五日一山十日一水的工作?随便来几笔也正见得楚楚有致。吴昌硕的影响,当在这种情形之下而发生作用。不然,日本人对于他的作品,是极其尊重的,为什么日本人没有学他的画家?听说他的作品的价钱,不如民国一十二年那么高,这也许是他的影响日渐薄弱之徵。

Furthermore, when talking about the dynamics of Chinese painting, the most influential painter is Wu Changshuo.⁷ His paintings of flowers and fruits (*huaguo* 花果) and landscapes (*shanshui* 山水), even his calligraphy, have influenced so many people who have studied painting. His art, of course, is the result of his efforts over decades to write Stone Drums Inscriptions (*liejie* 猎碣).⁸ Therefore, there is a track of

⁶ Translator's note: "悠然见南山" (*youran jian nanshan*) was adopted from the poem *Drinking Wine 5*, Tao Yuanming (陶渊明; 365?-427). "I pick fence-side asters at will; Carefree I see the southern hill".

⁷ Translator's note: Wu Changshuo (吴昌硕; 1844-1927) was a famous painter and expert in seal carving.

⁸ Translator's note: inscriptions on drum-shaped stone blocks of the Warring States Period (475-221 B. C.)

each stroke, not exclusively acquired from the layout of the frame. However, the people who followed him are not the same. I have thought about why Wu Changshuo's paintings had such a profound impact that they have almost dominated the flower and fruit paintings of East China. Perhaps this is because landscape painting is too cumbersome and too time-consuming, not to mention the disorder in this world. Who is willing to concentrate on work which takes "five days to draw one mountain and ten days for one river" ($wuri\ yishan\ shiri\ yishui\ \Xi \Box - \Box + \Box - x$)? Just a few casual strokes are also very elegant. The influence of Wu Changshuo arises under such circumstances. Otherwise, the Japanese are extremely respectful of his works. Why did the Japanese painters not follow him? I heard that the price of his work is not as high as that in 1923, and this may be the sign that his influence is getting weaker.

画与吴昌硕同是花果一类的作风,则有齐白石式。齐氏摹印,魄力之雄伟,可以说直接间接已冲动了许多 印人,但能得他的精神的,却不多见。他的画近几年来,颇为北方一部分人所推重,并不减于民国十年左 右之对于吴昌硕。

Paintings in the Qi Baishi style are similar to the flower and fruit paintings of Wu Changshuo.⁹ It can be said that Qi's seal is too majestic to directly or indirectly impact many people, but it is rare to capture his spirit. In recent years, his paintings have been praised highly by some people in the north, and are regarded as no less important than those of Wu Changshuo back around 1921.

我们知道,清末的花鸟翎毛草虫蔬果之类的作品,还是瓯香馆的余韵有势力。以后张熊及山阴任氏和李复堂赵之谦,或是金冬心之派流,虽曾在构图上各有各的面目,但仍不敢逾越规矩太远。吴昌硕不同,胆大多了。齐氏更不同,有些构图,确令人神往。不过自吴昌硕,到齐白石,正是中国大动乱的时候。文化方向已受巨大动摇而渐趋转变,人心的不安定,产生这种作风,自是必然的结果。

As we know, in the late Qing Dynasty, works of flowers and birds (*huaniao* 花鸟), feathers (*lingmao* 翎毛), grass and insects (*caochong* 草虫), vegetables and fruits (*shuguo* 蔬果) – works from the fragrance hall – still have the most significant impact.¹⁰ Subsequent painters like Zhang Xiong and Shanyin Renshi and Li Futang, Zhao Zhiqian or Jin Dongxin's style, although they had their different styles, they still did not dare stray too far from the norms.¹¹ Wu Changshuo is different; he is bolder. Qi is even more different, and the composition of some of his works are really fascinating. However, both Wu Changshuo and Qi Baishi lived in the period of great turmoil in China. The cultural direction had been greatly shaken and was changing. People also felt precarious. As a result, it was inevitable for him to generate this style.

⁹ Translator's note: Qi Baishi (齐白石; 1864-1957) was a famous painter of Chinese traditional painting.

¹⁰ Translator's note: Ouxiangguan (瓯香馆) is the former residence of a famous painter, Yun Nantian (恽南田; 1633-1690).

¹¹ Translator's note: Shanyin Renshi refers to the painter Ren Bonian (任伯年; 1840-1895). Jin Dongxin refers to the painter Jin Nong (金农; 1687-1763).

山水画呢,据上述的理由,当然也应由四王的流派,转趋简的疏放才对,然实际上不尽如此。这因为山水的构造不同,同时也因为以山水为本位的文人画的壁垒太严,如芥子园时代的任颐、杨伯润,早就着手过这种改革,但为流不远,只可供山水画家偶然的游戏,不能供经常的经营。山水较之花果等,其不同就在此。

As stated previously, landscape painting was supposed to reverse the trend of new schools established by the Four Wangs to a simple style, and to be unrestrained by propriety. However, that is not the case. Two reasons can account for this issue: The shapes of mountains and rivers are different; the boundary of literati painting which takes mountains and rivers as the essential is strict. For example, in the era of Jieziyuan, Ren Yi and Yang Borun had already embarked on this kind of reform, but the influence was slight. For landscape painters, painting mountains and rivers can only be a source of occasional amusement, rather than a reliable source of income. Hence, landscape painting is different from the painting of flowers and fruits.

光绪间,陆恢秦祖永··· ··· 等人的山水。若用欣赏四王的眼光来看,即说是"超四王而上之",也未尝不可。足见山水画自有山水画的一切条件,这些条件,宋人得了十之六七,元人得了十之八九,明人——如四大家——是十分之十,清人就只得在这圈子里旋转了。所以廉夫,逸芬等的工夫虽雄厚,也脱不了那一道圈子。降而至于民国,也就可想而知。

During the time of Emperor Guangxu, landscapes painted by Lu Hui and Qin Zuyong might be regarded as "superior to the Four Wangs" if evaluating their paintings by the same standard.¹³ Therefore, painting landscape had requirements. Painters in the Song dynasty discovered six or seven out of ten. Painters in the Yuan dynasty learned eight or nine out of ten. Painters like the Four Great Masters of the Ming dynasty were entirely capable of applying these norms. For painters in the Qing dynasty, they were trapped in a circle and had to continuously pace to and fro. As a result, even if Lu Hui and Qin Zuyong were consummate painters, they could not escape this. Not surprisingly, we see such conditions continue to dwindle in the Republic of China.

在大圈子之中,复不少有小圈子的。如吴待秋汤定之二氏,各自祖述他们的衣钵, 功夫境界, 均有可传, 这是就圈子说圈子的话。从高处一望, 依然距理想有相当距离的。根据这假定条件, 再看萧厔泉溥心畲张

¹² Translator's note: "Mustard Seed Garden" is the name of the garden built by Li Yu, and also the name of the bookstore opened by him. More importantly, "Mustard Seed Garden" is the name of a set of painting compiled by Li Yu. "*Manual of the Mustard Seed Garden*, written in 1679, is the earliest textbook of Chinese painting and its influence lasts for three centuries". "*Jieziyuan Huazhuan* 芥子园画传" [Manual of the Mustard Seed Garden], last modified May 10, 2018,

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Manual_of_the_Mustard_Seed_Garden (accessed May 23,2019)

Ren Yi (任頤; 1840-1896) "was noted for his bold brushstrokes and use of color". "*Shijja shanshui* 十佳山水" [Ten Magnificent Landscapes], last modified May 12, 2019, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ren_Bonian. (accessed May 23, 2019)

Yang Borun (杨伯润; 1837-1911) was "a well-known Chinese poet, calligrapher, and painter of the Shanghai School". "Weiji baike 维基百科" [Wikipedia], last modified May 12, 2019, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yang_Borun. (accessed May 23, 2019)

¹³ Translator's note: Lu Hui (陆恢; 1851-1920) was a famous landscape painter.

Qin Zuyong (秦祖永; 1825-1844) was "a calligrapher and a painter". "Weiji baike 维基百科" [Wikipedia], last modified April 20, 2013, https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E7%A7%A6%E7%A5%96%E6%B0%B8. (accessed May 24, 2019)

大千甚至于胡佩衡诸位,他们对于山水,站在宋朝建筑元明清初修葺过的山水舞台上,都是重要的角色,都有声容并茂的佳作,而这些佳作,就是不声明仿元四大家(吴镇,王蒙,黄公望,倪瓒)或仿清湘老人(石涛的别名,大涤子,原济老人,苦瓜和尚),也自有其不可埋没的精彩。譬如一座大院落,只有一个大门,在内面的,进出必须由此,所以用不着声明你是东边,我是西边了。日本天保时的"谷文晁""渡边华山"也住过这里面呢。

It is common to see several sub-fields within fields. For instance, Wu Daiqiu and Tang Dingzhi adhered to their own norms. Their achievements were remarkable, and their masterpieces had endured throughout the ages within their own communities. However, the gap between their aspiration and reality is still wide when seeing the initial architecture of landscape painting that was first constructed in the Song dynasty but further renovated in the Yuan, Ming and early Qing dynasties. Based on these assumptions, Xiao Zhiquan, Fu Xinyu, Zhang Daqian as well as Hu Peiheng were essential figures. The influence of these painters on landscape is still profound. These four painters all had impressive masterpieces – by no means imitations of the Four Masters from the Yuan dynasty or Shi Tao – but fabulous in their own way nonetheless. Just like a courtyard with only one gate, people inside need not specify whether they are on the east side or the west side, as the gate is the only way to enter and exit. In Japan, during the Tenpō period, Tani Bunchō and Watanabe Kazan once "lived" in this courtyard as well.

至于对于中国艺术——某一点上趋重中国画——抱有改革的大愿,并且实际从事多年,各有其千秋的陈树人高剑父高奇峯徐悲鸿刘海粟诸位,彼此都拥有相当的崇拜者。高氏兄弟在岭南长时期的提倡新国画,徐刘两位分在京沪从事艺术的教育,都有若干青年所愿意景从,但本文不欲越出题外说什么话。

As for Chinese art, Chen Shuren, Gao Jianfu, Gao Qifeng, Xu Beihong and Liu Haisu had aspirations to

¹⁴ Translator's note: Wu Zheng (吴征; 1878-1949) was "a representative painter of the Shanghai School". "Weiji baike 维基百科" [Wikipedia], last modified August 28, 2017, https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E5%90%B4%E5%BE%81 (%E7%94%BB%E5%AE%B6). (accessed May 24, 2019)

Tang Dingzhi (汤定之; 1878-1948) was "an excellent painter in Beijing during the Republic of China". "Baidu baike 百度百科" [Baidu encyclopedia], https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E6%B1%A4%E5%AE%9A%E4%B9%8B. (accessed May 24, 2019)

¹⁵ Translator's note: Xiao Junxian's (萧俊贤; 1865-1949) "courtesy name is Zhiquan. He specialized in landscape painting". "Weiji baike 维基百科" [Wikipedia], last modified March 6, 2014, https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E8%90%A7%E4%BF%8A%E8%B4%A4. (accessed May 24, 2019)

Fu Xinyu (傅心畲; 1896-1963) "was good at painting landscapes, figures and flowers. He adopted the painting principles from the Song and Yuan dynasties". "Weiji baike 维基百科" [Wikipedia], last modified March 14, 2019, https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E6%BA%A5%E5%BF%83%E7%95%AC. (accessed May 24, 2019)

Zhang Daqian (张大千; 1899-1983) was "originally known as a *guohua* (traditionalist) painter, by the 1960s he was also renowned as a modern impressionist and expressionist painter". "Weiji baike 维基百科" [Wikipedia], last modified April 1, 2019, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zhang_Daqian. (accessed May 24, 2019)

Hu Peiheng (胡佩衡; 1892-1962) was "a landscape painter in modern China". "Weiji baike 维基百科" [Wikipedia], last modified October 24, 2018, https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E8%83%A1%E4%BD%A9%E8%A1%A1. (accessed May 24, 2019)

¹⁶ Translator's note: Shi Tao's (石涛; 1642-1707) "courtesy name is *Qingxianglaoren* (清湘老人). He was Chinese painter and theoretician and was one of the most famous of the Individualist painters in the early Qing period". "Weiji baike 维基百科" [Wikipedia], last modified April 21, 2019, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shitao. (accessed May 24, 2019)

¹⁷ Translator's note: Tenpō (天保) was "a Japanese era name after Bunsei and before Kōka". "Weiji baike 维基百科" [Wikipedia], last modified April 14, 2018, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tenp%C5%8D. (accessed May 24, 2019)

Tani Bunchō (谷文晁; 1763-1841) was "a Japanese literati painter". "Weiji baike 维基百科" [Wikipedia], last modified March 20, 2018, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tani_Bunch%C5%8D. (accessed May 24, 2019)

Watanabe Kazan (渡边华山; 1793-1841) was "a Japanese painter and scholar". "Weiji baike 维基百科" [Wikipedia], last modified May 25, 2018, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Watanabe_Kazan. (accessed May 24, 2019)

reform and had been engaged in reforming traditional Chinese painting for years. ¹⁸ Each painter had his own strong points, and they all had quite a lot of followers. The Gao Brothers (Gao Jianfu and Gao Qifeng) advocated new Chinese painting in the southern area of the Nanling Mountains for a long time. ¹⁹ Xu Beihong embarked on art education in Beijing. Liu Haisu undertook the same career in Shanghai. Both of them received many young disciples. I am digressing. This article is not concerned with delving into these topics.

高奇峯氏逝世了,剑父也年来将滋长于岭南的画风由珠江流域展到了长江。这种运动,不是偶然,也不是 毫无意义,是有其时代性的。高氏主持的春睡画院画展,去年在南京上海举行,虽然在几天短短的期间, 也有掀动起预期的效果。但展品数百中间有渲染阴影,无识者流,以为近于日本作风。关于日本画风,后 面再谈。

After Gao Qifeng passed away, the painting style which thrived in the southern area of the Nanling Mountains spread from the Pearl River to the Yangtze River thanks to the efforts of Gao Jianfu. Such a campaign reflected the times, neither an accident nor a meaningless event. Last year, Gao Jianfu opened the *Chun Shui* Painting Academy Exhibition in Nanjing and Shanghai.²⁰ Although this exhibition lasted for just a few days, the excepted effects were attained. Hundreds of exhibits showed shades of rendering, unconsciously aligning with the Japanese painting style. I will discuss the Japanese painting style in the following chapter.

我对于春睡画院画展里,有二位的画我最佩服,一是方人定的人物,一是黎雄才容大块的写生——山水——这三位,最低限度,可以说是某部分上打破了"传统的""流派化的"的束缚,同时所走的途径,已有相当的成功,是值得惊异的。

At the Chun Shui Painting Academy Exhibition, the works that I appreciated the most were the figure

Translator's note: Chen Shurer

¹⁸ Translator's note: Chen Shuren (陈树人;1884-1948) was "one of the leaders of the Lingnan school of painting". "Weiji baike 维基百科" [Wikipedia], last modified March 27, 2019, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chen_Shuren. (accessed May 24, 2019) Gao Jianfu (高剑父; 1879-1951) was "a Cantonese artist during World War II. He is known for leading the Lingnan School's effort to modernize Chinese traditional painting as a 'new national art'". "Weiji baike 维基百科" [Wikipedia], last modified May 16, 2019, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gao_Jianfu. (accessed May 24, 2019)

Gao Qifeng (高奇峯; 1889-1933) was "Gao Jianfu's brother, was one of the leaders of the Lingnan school of painting together with Chen Shuren and Gao Jianfu". "Weiji baike 维基百科" [Wikipedia], last modified May 16, 2019, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gao_Jianfu. (accessed May 24, 2019)

Xu Beihong (徐悲鸿; 1895-1953) was "primarily known for his Chinese ink painting of horses and birds and was one of the first Chinese artists to articulate the need for artistic expressions that reflected a modern China at the beginning of the 20th century". "Weiji baike 维基百科" [Wikipedia], last modified May 14, 2019, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Xu_Beihong. (accessed May 24, 2019) Liu Haisu (刘海粟; 1896-1994) was "a prominent twentieth-century Chinese painter and a noted art educator. He excelled in Chinese painting and oil painting. He was one of the four pioneers of Chinese modern art who earned the title of 'The Four Great Academy Presidents'". "Weiji baike 维基百科" [Wikipedia], last modified May 12, 2019, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liu_Haisu. (accessed May 24, 2019)

¹⁹ Translator's note: at present, "South of the Nanling Mountains (*Lingnan* 岭南) refers to Guangdong, Guangxi, Hainan, Hong Kong and Macao". "Weiji baike 维基百科" [Wikipedia], last modified May 4, 2019, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lingnan. (accessed May 24, 2019)

²⁰ Translator's note: "Chun Shui Painting Academy (春睡画院) was bought and reconstructed by Gao Jianfu. Chun Shui generates from a poem of Zhuge Liang "草堂春睡足,窗外日迟迟". Michael Sullivan 迈克尔•苏立文, Dangdai Zhongguo yishujia: yiben renwu zhuanji cidian 当代中国艺术家: 一本人物传记词典 [Modern Chinese Artists: A Biographical Dictionary] (US: University of California Press, 2006), 249.

paintings of Fang Rending, the drawings and landscape paintings of Li Xiongcai and Rong Dakuai.²¹ In the very least, these three painters accomplished breaking down the restrictions of "convention" and "schools". Meanwhile, their painting style achieved huge success, which was amazing.

陈树人的花卉,另剏一格,脱离古人羁绊,阴阳向背,均表一种新的技法,色彩有清秀明丽之气。 Flowers painted by Chen Shuren were unique. His paintings were free from the norms and principles

established by previous painters. The usage of lights and shadows showed a new technique. Color in his painting was bright and graceful.

徐刘两位,关于中国画的集子,各有几种。徐的画,创造了一种新的样式,又将写山水的树叶皱擦等等, 予以革命,而代以西洋画的技法。所以每一张画都有一种新面目。譬如马、鸡、猫·······等样,现在在 模仿的很多,足见有改进中国画志气的人不在少数。

Both Xu Beihong and Liu Haisu had collections of their traditional Chinese paintings. Xu Beihong created a new painting style and reformed the way of sketching the leaves in landscape painting by alternatively employing Western painting techniques.²² Therefore, each painting was brand new. At present, many painters are imitating these new painting techniques and applying them to horses, chickens, cats and so on, which shows that many painters hold high aspirations to reform traditional Chinese painting.

刘氏的中国画,山水花鸟走兽蔬果都写。就中国画的革命上论,刘的作品,对于传统的气氛,只保留些成分;对于新的技法,已放胆的引用。

Liu Haisu painted mountains and rivers, flowers and birds, fowls and beasts (*zoushou* 走兽), as well as vegetables and fruits in his traditional Chinese paintings. On the reform of Chinese painting, Liu Haisu only retained some elements of the conventional norms; he had already bravely adopted new painting techniques.

三、日本影响及其他

III: The Japanese Influence and Other Matters

²¹ Translator's note: Fang Rending (方人定; 1901-1975) was "a painter of the Shanghai School, well versed in drawings". "Weiji baike 维基百科" [Wikipedia], last modified March 6, 2018, https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E6%96%B9%E4%BA%BA%E5%AE%9A. (accessed May 24, 2019)

Li Xiongcai (黎雄才; 1910-2001) was "a painter of the Shanghai School, famous for landscape painting". "Weiji baike 维基百科" [Wikipedia], last modified January 28, 2019, https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E9%BB%8E%E9%9B%84%E6%89%8D. (accessed May 24, 2019)

Rong Dakuai (容大块; 1901-1963) was "one of the earliest members of the Chun Shui Painting Academy, proficient in painting landscape, flowers, birds etc". "Baidu baike 百度百科" [Baidu encyclopedia], https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E5%AE%B9%E5%A4%A7%E5%9D%97. (accessed May 24, 2019)

²² Translator's note: "sketching (*zhouca* 皱擦) is a typical painting method used in traditional Chinese painting, generally refers to using different brush strokes to rub out the wrinkle texture of mountains, trees, leaves...". "Weiji baike 维基百科" [Wikipedia], last modified March 31, 2019, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sketch (drawing). (accessed May 24, 2019)

说起"日本",颇使我不愿下笔。

To be honest, I am reluctant to write about Japan.

近来能谈日本的是相当时髦了。但书画家们和日本的因缘是如何呢?我们在很多中国画家的作品——或印 刷品——中,可以看出"幸野梅岭""渡边省亭"的花鸟,"桥本关雪"的牛,"横山大观"的山 水, … … 等的一现再现, 同时又听到 "某人的画日本画法呀" 的话。同时又随处可见着 "日本画大 成""南宗画选粹""楳岭画鉴" … … …在画家们手里宝贝般的运用。这样,中国画坛便热闹了。再不 然,由上海到日本去勾留几天,回国来,也好说"名重东亚""甚为彼邦所推重"。

It is quite fashionable to talk about Japan recently. Though, what is the connection between our artists and Japan? We always found that some traces of Japanese paintings, such as the bird and flower painting styles of Kono Bairei and Watanabe Shotei, the cow painting styles of Hashimoto Kansetsu, or shanshui painting styles of Yokoyama Taikan, frequently appeared in many Chinese painters' works or prints with comments like "This artist's paintings are stylized by Nihonga."23 Meanwhile, some so-called painting skills, such as Quintessence of Nihonga (Ribenhua dacheng 日本画大成), Compilation of Nanzonghua Skills (Nanzonghua xuancui 南宗画选粹) and Appreciation of Kōno Bairei's Works (Meilin huajian 梅岭画鉴) are treated as precious and used widely in works by plenty of painters.²⁴ Indeed, the Chinese painting world is bustling with activity. Moreover, some even go from Shanghai to stay a few days in Japan to pretend that they are "famous" in East Asia or their works are "favored" by the Japanese when they return home.

我可以告诉关心日本画坛的人。中国画在日本,除了死去在二百年以上的作家,也许换得到他们几文。他 们对于现在的中国作家,是看不起的。——中国画家尽管在欧洲可以起劲,在日本就要注意了!——至于 他们研究中国画,那目的又复杂的很。在现代的南画家(纯中国画)群里,只有极少数少数的几位,其他 都是新派的仿中国的作风题诗加款的,大多数早已变成了自己的面目。能把现实的许多题材,广泛的应 用。每年一度的帝国美术院展,就没有一点是裱成挂轴的出品,虽然裱画店比中国多。

²³ Translator's note: Kōno Bairei (幸野梅岭; 1844-1895) was a Japanese painter and art teacher.

Watanabe Shōtei aka Watanabe Seitei (渡边省亭; 1851-1918) was a Nihonga painter and one of the first to visit Europe, attending the 1878 International Exhibition in Paris.

Hashimoto Kansetsu (桥本关雪; 1883-1945) was a Nihonga painter who was active in the Kyoto art world during the Showa and

Shanshui 山水 is a style of traditional Chinese painting that involves or depicts scenery or natural landscapes.

Yokoyama Taikan (横山大观; 1868-1958) is a *Nihonga* painter in Pre-World War II Japanese painting.

Nihonga (Ribenhua, 日本画) is the Japanese-style painting.

²⁴ Translator's note: Southern School (*Nanzonghua*, 南宗画) is a school of Chinese painting focuses on expressive brushstrokes and considered to have inspired Nanga (南画) of Japanese paintings.

I want to say to those who care about the Japanese painting world: The Japanese only care for the works of Chinese painters who died more than 200 years ago and regard all others as worthless. The Japanese look down on the Chinese painters of today. Chinese painters of today, though they may be active in Europe, have to be careful in Japan! To be sure, the Japanese are still studying Chinese painting as well, but their motivations for doing so are by no means naïve in design. Among those modern *Nanga* (*Nanhua* 南画) painters, only a few of them are still doing Chinese traditional paintings. All the others are inscribed with poems in the new style of Chinese imitation. Most of them have already established their own schools. Others are in the new style; though the painting styles are their own and widely inspired by many realistic themes, they inscribe poems and credit their own names on the painting. Among those works in the annual Imperial Academy of Fine Arts Exhibition (*Diguo meishuyuan zhan* 帝国美术院展), none of them are mounted as a *guazhou* (hanging scroll 挂轴), although there are more mounting shops (*Biaohua dian* 裱画店) in Japan than in China. An China.

但日本对于中国绘画的参考,以至于笔纸颜色,却远比中国完备,便利,这是到过东京的人便可知道的。 同时日本画家,又非常羡慕中国的自然,常常到中国来写生,像京都的竹内栖凤氏和桥本关雪氏,他们画 的苏州景物,已成名作。苏州也不少画家,为何没有地方性和时代性的作品?这又牵到中国画流派化的题 上去了。

However, it is well known by those who have been to Tokyo that *Nihonga* draws lessons from Chinese paintings. But the pen, paper and pigments of *Nihonga* are far more complete and functional than China's. At the same time, Japanese painters favor Chinese nature landscape as well and often come to China to sketch. For examples, the scenery paintings of Takeuchi Seihōand and Hashimoto Kansetsu from Kyoto are considered masterpieces.²⁷ There are also many painters in Suzhou. Why cannot they produce famous works that can represent the city and the era? This is related to the genre of Chinese painting. At this point we should return to the issue of Chinese painting genres.

日本的画家,虽然不作纯中国风的画,而他们方法材料,则还多是中国的古法子,尤其是渲染更全是宋人方法了,这也许中国的画家们还不十分懂得的,因这方法我国久已失传。譬如画绢、麻纸、山水上用的青绿颜色,日本的都非常精致,有的中国并无制造。

²⁵ Translator's note: *Nanga* (*Nanhua*, 南画) is also known as *Bunjinga* (*Wenrenhua*, 文人画), a school of Japanese painting which flourished in the late Eto period among artists who considered themselves literati, or intellectuals.

²⁶ Translator's note: *Guazhou* 挂轴, also known as hanging scroll, is one of the traditional ways to display and exhibit works of Chinese painting and calligraphy.

²⁷ Translator's note: Takeuchi Seihō (竹内栖凤; 1864-1942) was a pseudonym of a Japanese painter of the *Nihonga* genre, active from the Meiji through the early Showa period.

Hashimoto Kansetsu (桥本关雪; 1883- 1945) was a painter of *Nihonga* who was active in the Kyoto art world during the Showa and Taisho eras.

Although Japanese painters do not paint in a completely Chinese way, their skills and materials mostly accord with traditional Chinese painting. In particular, the skills of rendering (*xuanran* 渲染) in *Nihonga* are all from the rendering of Song Dynasty paintings, which may not be very well understood by Chinese artists nowadays (this method has been lost in China for a long time). For more illustrations, silk for painting (*huajuan* 画绢), jute paper (*mazhi* 麻纸) and blue and green color pigments (*qinglv* 青绿) for *shanshui* paintings are all delicately produced in Japan while hard to find in China.²⁸

中国近二十几年,自然在许多方面和日本接触的机会增多,就画家论,来往的也不少。直接间接都受着相当的影响。不过专家从绘画的方法上讲,采取日本的方法,不能说是日本化,而应当认为是学自己的。因为自己不普遍,或已失传,或是不用了,转向日本采取而回的。

To be sure, over the past two decades, China has increased its contacts with Japan in many aspects, including conversations among painters, and we cannot deny that Chinese painting has been influenced directly or indirectly by Japan. However, from the professional perspective of painting skills, it is held that adopting the Japanese approach does not imply we are being Japanized, but rather that we are learning from ourselves. The skills and approaches of traditional Chinese painting have either not been popularized enough or past generations have failed in handing them down. So, we shall turn to Japan to take them back.

保守的画家们,满眼满脑子的"古人",往往又"食古不化""死守成法"。对于稍稍表现不同的作品,多半加以白眼,嗤之以鼻。我们很明白的中国的画僵了,应该重新赋予新的生命,新的面目,使适合当时代的一切。然而回想最近的过去,虽然有几位先生从事这种革新的运动——如高剑父等——,恐怕也到处遭遇着意外的阻碍。受着传统画家们的排挤攻击。

As for those conservative painters, their minds are full of the painting methods from the ancient painters. However, they often follow the beaten track and stick to outdated methods. Most of them look down upon works that are even slightly different from traditional paintings. We are well aware that Chinese paintings are in an over-structured mode and should be given new life and meaning to make them fit into the present age. However, when recalling the recent past, although several masters engaged in this innovative movement, such as Gao Jianfu, I am afraid that they also encountered unexpected obstacles and were attacked and pushed aside by traditional painters.

又要说几句旧话了。中国的文化,是从西来的,是从黄河流域发展到长江流域,再到珠江流域的。就东洋 言,是从天山东走,到朝鲜,再到日本的。若是截开来的看,在现在的情况,据个人的管见,似乎可以把

²⁸ Translator's note: *xuanran* 渲染 is a painting skill also known as rendering. *Huajuan* 画绢 is a fabric made by silk for painting. *mazhi* 麻纸 is a kind of tenacious paper mainly made by jute. *qinglv* 青绿 is a blue and green pigment that is often used in *shanshui* paintings.

文化的高下,随时代看成一个反比例。即是文化发达愈早的地方,现在愈不行,愈倒霉,反之文化后起的地方则愈前进愈厉害。在东洋,日本是后起的,印度最古,但也最苦。在中国,珠江流域是后起的,黄河的西北最古,但也最苦。假如这种推想有点像,那么,中国画的革新或者要希望珠江流域了。朱谦之说过下面一段话,我非常同情。他说:

I have to repeat what I have already mentioned. Chinese culture developed in the west of the country, from the Yellow River Basin to the Yangtze River Basin, and then to the Pearl River Basin. As for East Asian culture, it was developed from Tianshan in the east to Korea and then to Japan. If you separate and look at the development of culture in different countries from the present situation, according to my personal opinion, it seems that how developed a culture is can be regarded as an inverse proportion with time. That is, where the culture develops earlier, the worse the situation is now. On the contrary, where the culture develops later, the better the culture is developed now. In the East Asian context, Japan developed the latest and India developed the earliest, but India is in the worst situation now. In China, the Pearl River Basin is the youngest, the northwest of the Yellow River is the oldest, but is also in the worst situation now. If we were to take this supposition, then the innovation of Chinese painting should be counted on the Pearl River Basin. Zhu Qianzhi said the following words, with which I agree wholeheartedly:²⁹

要使中华民族不亡,唯一的希望,无疑乎只有南方,只在南方即珠江流域。北方在政治上表现保守的文化,其特质为服从而非抵抗;中部表现进步的文化其特质为顺应亦非抵抗,只有南方才真正表现革命的文化,其文化特质就是反抗强权,现在中国所需要的正是反抗强权之革命的文化。……(文化哲学附录南方文化运动商务版页二六一——二六二)

"Undoubtedly, the only hope for the Chinese nation to survive is the south part of China, which is the Pearl River Basin. The north part of China expresses conservative culture on politics; its characteristic is obedience not resistance. The characteristic of progressive culture in the middle part of China is conformity rather than resistance. Only the South can truly express revolutionary culture. Its cultural characteristic is resistance to the Western powers and that is exactly the revolutionary culture that China needs now." (Appendix to *Cultural Philosophy* Southern Cultural Movement Business, Page 261-262)

朱氏的话,虽从文化的全体立论,若试把我前面提及画家按着地理去观察,实在最有意义且最有趣味的。 总括一下,立此结论:中国从南宋以后文人画大盛,但形成了"流派化"。其影响直至今日还安然未动。 因为传统的势力太烈,"服从""顺应"的画家,是很难有所改革的。

Although Zhu's words are based on the overall views of culture, it is truly the most meaningful and interesting thing to observe the painters I mentioned before through this territorial (cultural development) lens. To sum up and draw a conclusion: since the Southern Song Dynasty, Chinese literati paintings have

15

²⁹ Translator's note: Zhu Qianzhi (朱谦之; 1899-1972) was a Chinese intellectual, translator and historian.

flourished, but they have formed different schools. Its influence has remained intact until now. Because the traditional forces are so strong, it is very difficult for "obedient" and "conformist" painters to reform.

民国以来,无论花鸟山水………还是因袭前期的传统,仅管有极精的作品,然不能说中国画有了进步。 与艺术教育有关的先生们乃至喜欢玩玩中国画的名流们,请不再遏止新的创作,新的尝试。否则中国画只 有向后转的。请不必过事颂扬服从或顺应传统的作品,这样等于打有志改革者的耳光。

Since the establishment of the Republic of China, whether we are discussing the drawing of flowers, birds or landscapes, all paintings inherited the traditions of bygone eras. Although there are several outstanding works, we cannot say that Chinese paintings have made progress. Masters of art education and celebrities who like collecting Chinese paintings: please stop holding back new creations and new attempts. Otherwise, Chinese painting will fall behind. Please do not heap praise on works that subordinate or conform to traditions. It will be a slap in the face for people who want to reform.

时代是前进的,中国画呢?西洋化也好,印度化也好,日本化也好,在寻求出路的时候,不妨多方走走,只有服从顺应的,才是落伍。

The times are moving on. What about Chinese painting? No matter whether it is Westernized, Indianized or Japanized, when Chinese painters are trying to reform, they should refer to the outside world. Only those who obey and conform to traditions are out of date.