

20TH CENTURY CHINESE ART



ART WORKS OF PAN YULIANG

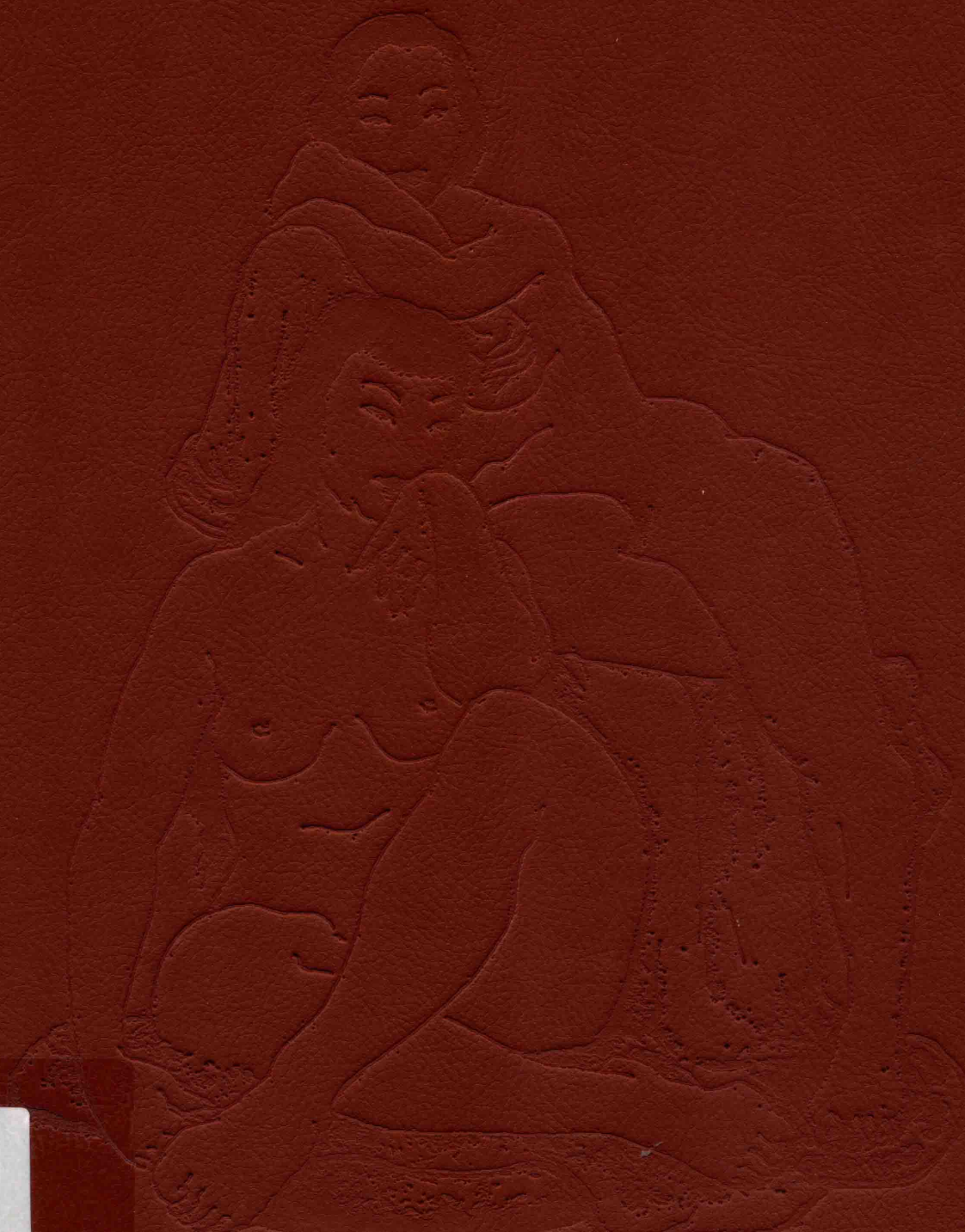
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EDITOR-IN-CHIEF PAN DIAN

二十 世 纪 中 国 美 术

潘 玉 良 全 集

4 彩 墨 卷
范 迪 安 主 编

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潘玉良的彩墨艺术

贾方舟

20 世纪之前的中国美术史，几乎没有女性艺术家的位置，然而有意味的是，中国自有文字记载的最早画家却是一位女性——帝舜之妹嫫手，她甚至被推崇为中国绘画的“创始人”，被史书称为“画祖”，《世本·作篇》《画史汇要》《书尘》《汉书·古今人表》等历史文献中均有关于她的记载。尽管中国绘画由一位女性艺术家所开创，但在数千年的中国绘画历史中，嫫手却处在一种“缺席”状态，即使偶然被提及，与其艺术成就相比也是无足轻重的。进入 20 世纪，在巨大的社会变革的推动下，中国妇女的历史境遇也作为一个时代的课题被提了出来。随着知识女性的觉醒、思想的自由和个性的解放，她们开始走出闺阁，在艺术上表现出一种前所未有的活跃状态，潘玉良正是这一历史潮流中的一个佼佼者。

马克思曾说，全部人类史，就是一部五官感觉的发展史，但在男权社会的知识体系中，妇女的感觉经验一般被排除在知识话语之外。人类的美术史几乎是一部男性的视觉经验史。男人掌握着话语权，而妇女却像哑巴一样长期处在“失声”的沉默之中。所以，女权主义者认为在男权社会中，语言本身就对妇女构成了压迫，不是没有道理的。当然就绘画而言，女画家们也可以和男画家一样用相同的语言方式去画人物、画风景，或画山水、画花鸟。在这个领域，她们也可以在艺术上达到与男性同等的高度，并凭着她们的才气和艺术造诣，在男性视觉文化中占有一席之地。但这些艺术中的明亮音符，终究还不是女性的声音，只能是男性视觉文化的一部分，它没有形成女性自己的话语，因而不是女性按照自己的体验重新来解释世界的。一个没有能力表达自己经验的群体，必然是一个沉默的、甚至被埋没的群体；只有当能用自己的话语重建现实时，她们才能获得表达个人经验的权利。而女性艺术家一旦将探寻的目光转向自身，转向个人经验的陈述和心灵事件的表白，这些深潜的情感领域便成为建构女性话语的理想境地。

与数千年的封建专制不同，20 世纪中国女性艺术的发展是在“女性解放”的历史背景下展开的，随着殖民强权对中国传统文化的冲击和中国思想启蒙运动的出现，中国女性作为一个受压迫、受歧视的群体，也开始从一种蒙昧状态中觉醒，结束“目不识丁，足不出户”的历史，从闺房走向社会，参与到各种政治和文化活动中来，成为新一代的女性。

20 世纪前半叶，是近代以来中国社会最为开放的一个时期，孙中山领导的辛亥革命推翻了清王朝的封建统治，1912

年中华民国建立，接着五四新文化运动又向传统文化发起全面挑战，从而使中国的新文化、新艺术进入一个勃兴时期。在这样一个开放的文化环境中，中国女性艺术家的绘画活动也呈现出一种异常活跃的局面。这一时期的女性艺术家，体现为三种不同的取向：一是投身于社会革命，以变革社会为职志的艺术家；二是接受五四新文化运动的思想启蒙以建树新文化为目标的艺术家；三是以艺术修身养性，作为高雅消遣的“闺阁派”艺术家。其中，第二类艺术家多是受新文化思想影响的“新女性”，她们对传统文化抱持的态度，决定了她们在艺术取向上不可能再回到传统的程式之中，她们大多投入西学热潮，到西方的新艺术中去确立自己的价值取向。

这一类型的艺术家可以举出不少，但最值得提及的，是潘玉良（1895—1977）。她是创作最丰富、成就也最高的一位。她的一生经历坎坷，自幼家贫、父母双亡，8 岁时由舅父抚养，14 岁时被卖给烟花楼，受尽屈辱，17 岁被芜湖海关监督潘赞化赎出，前往上海做了潘赞化的二房太太，并改张姓为潘姓。1920 年考入上海美专。1921 年赴法留学，先后在里昂国立美术学校和巴黎国立高等美术学校就读。1925 年入罗马皇家美术学院深造，曾多次获得意大利政府给予的奖金。1926 年其作品在罗马国际艺术展览会上荣获金奖。1928 年回国，应聘为上海美专西洋画科主任；1929 年在中央大学艺术科执教。并从 1928 年起先后五度举办个人画展，也是近代以来第一位举办个展的中国女艺术家。1937 年因迫于家庭纠葛再度离开故土，定居法国，直至离世。

潘玉良在艺术上的成就是多方面的，不仅以油画著称，还兼作雕塑、国画、版画等。艺术面貌也不拘一格，不同时期表现出不同的探索轨迹，从传统的写实风格到印象派、野兽派风格，她都有不同程度的借鉴、涉猎。她还尝试在艺术中融入东方情调，寻找一种与中土文化相联系的艺术情韵。但是，潘玉良的艺术最具价值的部分，我以为还不在于其作品的形式，而在于她用直率的画笔所表现出来的那些与自身经历相关的主题。可以说，她是中国女性艺术家中最早将视角转向自身、最早关注到女人的生存状态的艺术家。在她之前和在她之后的许多年中，很少再看到如她那样流露出强烈的女性意识的作品。因此，她不仅是 20 世纪中国第一位最有影响的女艺术家，也是中国女性艺术的开创者和奠基人。

潘玉良生于 1895 年，与徐悲鸿同龄，又和他先后赴法留学。

他们作为 20 世纪中国早期的开创性艺术家，都面对着相同的时代课题，都处于相同的文化语境之中；所不同的是，他们各自的个人经历、性格气质，特别是性别差异决定了他们不同的艺术走向。但在面对共同的时代课题时，他们又不谋而合，在中西融合这条路上走到了一起。

从《彩墨卷》收入的作品中不难看出，她是如何从西方的“油画系统”逐步转换到一种东方式的表达。这种转换不只表现在工具材料的不同选择，还在于表现方式和表现观念的不同，所以潘玉良在画了多年的油画之后，开始尝试用中国的传统方式作画并不是偶然的。第一代油画家中有相当一批人都做过这种努力，用吴冠中的话说叫“水陆兼程”，“兼”到最后有些画家干脆落脚到水墨画中来，不再画油画。徐悲鸿、林风眠、刘海粟、关良等都是如此。这种情况在日本就不存在。20 世纪早期，日本的“洋画家”和“日本画”画家阵线分明，没有一个洋画家还兼作日本画的。明治维新运动的口号是“脱亚入欧”，彻底西化，所以，学洋画的不会回头再画日本画。但在中国不同，所有到西方学习洋画的回到国内都会面对一个共同的时代课题：如何把西方艺术融汇到本土艺术中来，用海德格尔的话说，这叫“归根返本”。潘玉良即使又返回巴黎定居，依然没有放弃对这一时代课题的思考并且付诸实践性的探索。

潘玉良尝试在宣纸上作画是在 20 世纪 40 年代，大部分作品产生于五六十年代。题材基本没有离开“女性”这个主题，并且多以女人体的方式表达，或站，或坐，或梳妆，或母子对话。基本手法是以线勾勒形体，再施以色彩，并且一般都作背景处理，很少纯粹留空白。少数作品也接近“写意”的笔意，但也非传统的书法用笔，只是接近速写的画法。从风格上看，与徐悲鸿早年画的那种半工半写的人物接近。因为要遵从造型的准确，很难放笔直抒胸臆，但从她的以线造型的彩墨作品中，不难看到她坚实的学院写实的造型功力，且她力图把这种写实精神体现在以线造型的中国水墨画的格局之中，力图走出一条中西融合的路。

如果从水墨画的传统文脉这一角度看，潘玉良彩墨的最大贡献是通过人体这一西方常见的题材来表达她对女性群体的关注。在 20 世纪以来的中国水墨画中，还没有一个画家像她这样持久地、一而再地以女人体的方式展开她的经验叙事。不能把潘玉良的女人体等同于常见的风景、静物、人体等学院题材，她是 20 世纪中国最早具有女性意识的画家，借助这一题材所

诉求的是这个弱势群体的命运、饱受磨难后的内心孤寂与无助，当然也包括她通过“母爱”这一主题对伟大母性的歌颂。这些画不仅与她个人的经历和身世有关，也与受到西方文化的熏陶有关。

在 20 世纪 90 年代的中国当代艺术中，女性艺术是广受瞩目、非常活跃的一道风景。女性艺术家在这一时期所展开的自我探寻之路，最早可追溯到女权启蒙时代的潘玉良。这一历史阶段始于康梁的维新运动。正是康有为、梁启超这些启蒙大师首先提出了“废缠足、兴女学”的口号，对妇女几千年来的种种遭遇寄予深切同情。而接下来的五四新文化运动，又使知识女性寻求自立自主的解放斗争更加深入，从而能以一种平等的身份参与到艺术与文化活动中来，充分展示出一种“新女性”形象。如何评价女性艺术家在这一时期取得的艺术成果并不重要，重要的是，艺术活动已成为女性参与社会、参与文化的标志，艺术创造已成为女性思想自由、个性解放的象征。而潘玉良的艺术，正是标志了女性的个性解放和女性意识的萌动。作为一个知识女性来说，潘玉良是最早意识到自己人格尊严的艺术家，也是从西方留学回来后积极参与各种社会文化活动和艺术教育并取得很高成就的艺术家。

Preface to Pan Yuliang's Complete Works of Color Ink

Jia Fangzhou

Before the 20th century, almost no female artists had taken any position in the Chinese art history. Nonetheless, what is interesting is that, according to China's written records, the first recorded artist was indeed a woman, named Keshou, a sister of Emperor Shun. She had even been worshipped as the "founder" of Chinese paintings, and called "the pioneer painter" by some Chinese history books. Historical documents, such as "Shimu Painting", "Painting History", "Books of Han Ancient People", all have kept records of her. Despite the thousands of years of Chinese painting history initiated by a female artist, female artists have been "absent", though occasionally mentioned, whose artistic achievements have been ignored. In the 20th century, driven by the huge social change, the subject of Chinese women's positioning in the historical circumstances had been raised. Being awakened, freed spiritually and liberated in individuality, the intellectual women began to step out and exhibited an unprecedented artistic vitality. Pan Yuliang was an outstanding figure in that historical trend.

Marx once said that all human history was a history of the development of the five senses. But in the patriarchal society of knowledge, the emotional experiences of the intellectual women were generally excluded from the discourse of knowledge. Art history of mankind was almost the history of visual experiences of men. The men held the words power, while women had been long in "silence" as if they were dumb. Therefore, feminists believe that in the patriarchal society, language itself constitutes oppression against women, such an opinion is not unreasonable. Of course, as for paintings, the female artists can use the same visual language approach to draw or paint human figures, landscapes, mountains, rivers, flowers and birds as the male. In these areas, they can achieve as much as men, and take their position in the male visual culture with their talents and artistic skills. However, these bright art elements, after all, are not originated from the female, but solely a part of the male visual culture. Since it does not form the female own language, thus it is not in accordance with the experiences of women themselves in re-interpreting the world. A group which is unable to express their experiences, must be a silent, or even a buried group. Only when the female artists are able to reconstruct reality in their own words can they obtain the right to express personal experiences. While a female artist turns her attention to exploring herself, she begins to illustrate her personal experiences and spiritual encounters, thus such deep emotional realm becomes an ideal ground to construct female discourse.

Different from what had happened in the thousands of years of feudal autocratic society, the 20th century art development of the Chinese women took place in the historical backdrop of "women's liberation". As colonial powers launched impact on Chinese traditional culture and the movement of enlightenment of thoughts took place, Chinese women, as an oppressed and discriminated group, had awoken from the state of ignorance, put an end to the history of being perceived as "illiterate, home-bound". They left their boudoirs

and entered the society, participating in a variety of political and cultural activities, evolving themselves into a new generation of women.

The first half of the 20th century was a period when the Chinese society was most open. The 1911 Revolution led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen overthrew the feudal Qing Dynasty, and the Republic of China was established in 1912, followed by the "May Fourth" New Culture Movement which initiated an overall challenge to traditional culture. So China's new culture, new arts got into a flourishing period. In such an open cultural environment, China's female artists became exceptionally active. Female artists of this period showed three different orientations: 1. Engaging in social revolution with the mission to change the society; 2. Accepting enlightenment of the "May Fourth" New Culture Movement, aiming to contribute to a new culture; 3. Engaging in artistic self-cultivation, joining the elegant "boudoir school". Most of the artists in the second group were influenced by the new cultural ideology of the "new women". Their attitudes towards the traditional culture determined their orientations, meaning that they could not revert to the traditional formula anymore. Most of them were involved in the Westernization establishing their own value systems in the new art of the West.

There were plenty of such artists, but the one most worthy of being mentioned is Pan Yuliang (1895–1977). She was the most creative, and achieved the most. There had been ups and downs in her life. She was poor in childhood, orphaned, under her uncle's custody by the age of 8, sold to a brothel at the age of only 14, humiliated and suffered a lot. At 17, she was redeemed by Pan Zanhua, the supervisor of Wuhu customs. She followed him to Shanghai and became his concubine, since then she changed her surname Zhang into Pan. In 1918, she was admitted to the Shanghai Academy of Fine Arts, then she went abroad to France in 1921 to study at Lyon Fine Arts School and Paris Fine Arts School respectively, graduated as a top student in 1925 with a Rome scholarship. Then she entered Rome Royal Fine Arts College for further studies. In 1926, her works won the gold medal at the International Art Exhibitions in Rome. In 1928, she returned to China as the Director and Tutor of the Shanghai Academy of Fine Arts, In 1928, he became the professor of Art Department in Central University. Since 1928, she had held 5 Solo exhibitions, and became the first Chinese female artist who had ever held such exhibitions. In 1937, due to family disputes, she was once again forced to leave her homeland to settle down in France and stayed there till she passed away.

Pan Yuliang's achievements in art are multifaceted, not only is she well known for oil paintings, but also attempted sculptures, traditional Chinese paintings, engraving prints, and so on. She was active in creation and did not conform to any specific style, exhibiting different ways of exploration in different periods, borrowing and taking reference from the traditional realist style, Impressionism and Fauvism. She also attempted to infuse her art with Oriental flavor, in search for an artistic contact with the Chinese culture. However, the

most valuable part of Pan Yuliang's art, in my opinion, is not its form, but rather the themes associated with her personal experiences expressed through her bold strokes. It can be said that she was the first Chinese female artist who turned around to focus on herself, paying attention to the state of women's life. For many years before and after her, there were very few works like hers that revealed strong feminist consciousness. Therefore, not only was she the first most influential female artist in the 20th century of China, but also a pioneer and a founder of Chinese female art.

Pan Yuliang was born in 1895, Xu Beihong's peer. Both of them had studied in France. As exploring Chinese artists of the early 20th century, both were faced with the same topics of the times, which had appeared in the same cultural context. The differences in their personal experiences and personality temperament, especially their gender differences, determined their different artistic bearings. But in the face of common topics of the times, they met each other on the road of Western and Chinese integration.

It is not difficult to see from this volume of "Ink and Color Painting" how she had gradually turned herself away from the Western "oil painting system" to some kind of Oriental expression. This conversion is not only reflected in the choice of different materials and tools, but also in the expressions and manifestations of different concepts. It is not accidental that Pan Yuliang began experimenting with the traditional way of Chinese painting after having been engaged in oil painting for many years. A considerable number of the first generation oil painters had made such efforts. Wu Guanzhong called it "amphibious progress". In the end, some artists settled in ink paintings away from oil paintings. Xu Beihong, Lin Fengmian, Liu Haisu, Guan Liang, etc. belonged to this group. But such a scenario did not exist in Japan. In the early 20th century, Japan's "foreign painters" and painters of "Japanese paintings" formed distinct camps, none of the "foreign painters" handled Japanese paintings at the same time. I think the reason lies in the fact that in Japan there were two origins of paintings: Western origin and Chinese origin. The slogan of Meiji Restoration movement was "away from Asia, heading for Europe" to be completely westernized. Therefore, people who had studied Western paintings would never go back to Japanese paintings. But things were different in China. All, who had been to the West to learn Western paintings, were facing a common topic of the era when they returned home: how to integrate Western art into the local art. Heidegger called it "returning to the roots". Even when she settled down in Paris, Pan Yuliang never gave up pondering over this topic of her era, but putting it into practical quest.

Pan Yuliang's first attempt to paint on rice paper was in the 1940s, most of her ink works were produced in the fifties and sixties, mostly dealing with the female subject matters and the expression of female bodies, standing, sitting, dressing, combing and chatting with a son. The basic techniques are line shaping, and then subjected to color, generally for background processing, rarely with

pure blank. A few works are close to "freehand painting", but not applying the traditional calligraphy strokes, just close to the way of line sketching. Her style is similar to Xu Beihong's when the latter had painted semi-free figures in his early years. They tried to be exact in the realistic paintings, so it was difficult for them to express freely. But from her color ink works painted with lines, it is not difficult to discover her solid college realistic modeling skills, and her efforts to embed such spirit of realism into the composition of the Chinese ink paintings expressed with lines, exploring in merging Western art with Chinese art.

Viewing from the traditional perspective of Chinese ink paintings, the greatest contribution of Pan Yuliang's color ink paintings is expressing her concern for the vulnerable female class of the society including herself through the subject of human bodies, a subject common to the West. In the field of Chinese ink paintings in the 20th century, there was no painter who could match her persistence in painting the female bodies repeatedly so as to expand her experience with narration. Pan Yuliang's choice of female nudes are not equivalent to those common subjects of landscape, still life, human bodies and other academic themes. Pan Yuliang was the earliest Chinese painter with a feminist consciousness in the 20th century. She expressed with this theme to expose the unfair destiny of this vulnerable group of women, suffering from hardships, inner loneliness and helplessness. Of course, the theme also includes maternal love, and her high praise of motherhood. Not only are these paintings connected to her upbringing and personal life experiences, but they are also influenced by the Western culture.

In the Chinese contemporary art of the 1990s, female art drew much attention, forming a very dynamic landscape. The personal quest of the female artists during that period could be traced back to as early as Pan Yuliang who lived in the Age of feminism Enlightenment. This historical phase began in Kang and Liang's "reform movement". It was those enlightening masters like Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao who proposed the slogan of "getting rid of foot-binding, education for women" showing deep sympathy for women who had suffered thousands of years of bitterness of foot-binding. And the "May fourth" Movement of New Culture further advocated that women should seek self-independence and self-liberation, so that they could participate equally in the art and cultural activities, fully demonstrating an image of "new women". How to evaluate the artistic achievements the female artists had attained during this period is not important. The key is that artistic activities had already symbolized women's participation in the social and cultural activities. Artistic creation had become a symbol of female intellectual freedom, individuality liberation. The art of Pan Yuliang marked the beginning of female personality liberation and feminist consciousness. She was the first female artist who came to realize her self-dignity among the female intellects in the very beginning, and one who had actively participated in various social, cultural activities as well as the education in arts, and gained great artistic achievements after her return from the West.

凡例

一、《潘玉良全集》共八卷。卷一、卷二为《油画卷》，收录作品369幅；卷三、卷四为《彩墨卷》，收录作品336幅；卷五、卷六为《白描卷》，收录作品604幅；卷七为《综合卷》，收录了潘玉良的素描、水彩、版画、雕塑等176幅作品；第八卷为《文献卷》，收录了潘玉良大量的极具文献价值的史料，其中绝大多数为首次发表，弥足珍贵。

二、《潘玉良全集》主要收录了安徽博物院、中国美术馆、上海美术馆、中央美术学院美术馆、潘玉良家属及法国有关机构的部分藏品，散藏于其他地区作品暂未收录。

三、鉴于潘玉良遗留的作品中，尚有大量作品未署创作年代，为方便检索，本书将有明确年代的作品按年代顺序分类编排；对年代不详而风格与之相同或相近的作品则随类分编其后。

四、凡白描、油画、彩墨作品中的题跋均随图配有释文，以供读者研究欣赏。

五、《文献卷》中的研究评介文章按照艺术评价、生平往事两方面来编排。本着尊重原作者的行文风格、忠实保留文献史料原貌的原则，所录历史文献只作少量改动：

A.为了方便读者阅读，本卷所录的文献史料进行了繁简体字的转换；

B.文献资料中，由于保存年代久远、印刷模糊等各种原因导致无法识别的字、词、句子，均用□代替；多字、漏字、别字均用（）括起；

C.文献资料中，人名、地名尽量使用现在的叫法。如：①梵高（凡·高），②蒙德梭雷（玛利亚·蒙台梭利）；

D.为了尊重原文的行文风格，个别异形词和“的、地、得”的用法仍保留原貌，未作改动。如：①若果②那末③罢④呵。

六、《文献卷》中收录的部分研究评介文章，由于作者研究角度和原始资料掌握情况不同，所涉及的事件、年代与年表中的叙述有所出入，为保持原文的面貌，只做了少量的修改，其他部分保持原样。

七、《文献卷》中尚有部分图片因其时日久远，难以考证详释，敬请读者见谅。诚望识者赐书补遗，不胜感激！

General Notices

1. "Art Works of Pan Yuliang" is composed of eight volumes. "Volume I" and "Volume II" are of oil paintings, including 369 pieces; "Volume III" and "Volume IV" are of color ink paintings, including 336 pieces; "Volume V" and "Volume VI" are of line drawings, including 604 pieces; "Volume VII", a comprehensive volume, has collected Pan Yuliang's 176 works, including sketches, watercolor paintings, prints, and sculpture pieces, and so on; "Volume VIII", a literature volume, has collected a large number of Pan Yuliang's highly valuable historical documents, most of which are very precious and are published for the first time.

2. "Art Works of Pan Yuliang" mainly includes collections from Anhui Provincial Museum, National Art Museum of China, Shanghai Art Museum, Art Gallery of China Central Academy of Fine Arts, Pan's family and the French authorities. Collections from other areas are not included.

3. Lots of Pan Yuliang's works are not marked with date of creation. For the convenience of retrieval, this book arranges the works with clear date in chronological order. As for the works without date, they are arranged by style.

4. Inscriptions in line drawings, oil paintings and color ink paintings are translated for readers to study and appreciate.

5. The articles of research and evaluation in the "Literature Volume" are arranged according to art evaluation and life events. To respect the original author's writing style and to faithfully retain the origin of historical documents, the historical literature in this volume is basically unmodified:

A. For the convenience of readers, the historical literature is recorded with simplified Chinese characters instead of traditional Chinese characters.

B. The words and sentences, which can't be identified due to long preservation, fuzzy printing or other causes, are replaced by "□"; Unnecessary Chinese characters, missing ones or wrongly written or mispronounced ones are put in parentheses.

C. Names and places in the literature are expressed as modern as they can be. For example: ①梵高(凡·高); ②蒙德梭雷(玛利亚·蒙台梭利)。

D. To respect the original style, some old words and "的、地、得" are unmodified, retaining what they used to look like. For example: ①若果; ②那末; ③罢; ④呵。

6. Because the original materials the authors had were different and they made researches from different angles, some evaluation and research articles in the "Literature Volume" are not in accordance with the events and years in the chronological order. In order to maintain the original appearance, only a few modifications are made, and other parts remain the same.

7. It is difficult to verify some pictures in the "Literature Volume" due to long preservation. We hope the readers will understand. Any supplement from the readers will be appreciated.

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