

黄宾虹与现代艺术思想史 国际学术研讨会文集

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*Huang Binhong and the Evolution of Modern Ideas in
Art : An International Forum, Hangzhou, China*

孔令伟 [德] 尤 莉 Juliane Noth 主编

中国美术学院出版社

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Huang Binhong and the Intellectual History of Modern Art: A Brief Introduction

[德] 尤莉 Juliane Noth

As one of the most renowned painters of twentieth-century China, Huang Binhong (1865—1955) has been the subject of numerous studies. While an overwhelming part of these studies is concerned with his painting method and related theories, in recent years an increasing number of authors have shed more light on Huang's activities as scholar, collector, and connoisseur, as well as his role in the artistic, intellectual, and political circles of the first half of the twentieth century.

The present volume takes both approaches into consideration and regards Huang Binhong's artistic practice and theoretical writings as closely linked to his other activities, and as an intrinsic part of the intellectual currents of his time. Due to the multiple roles that Huang adopted during his long-lasting career, his personality can be viewed as a prism through which a variety of issues and phenomena can be examined depending on the point of view that the observer chooses. Furthermore, the complexity of Huang's life and the different intellectual circles in which he was active require a detailed and differentiated analysis that goes beyond clear-cut categories such as "traditionalist" or "conservative." The essays assembled in this volume, therefore, are not solely dedicated to Huang Binhong, but instead elucidate the broader intellectual and artistic discourses of Republican China and their socio-political background to clarify how Huang Binhong engaged with these currents.

Huang's paintings, calligraphy, and writings are the venues

where his engagement becomes manifest. They require careful analysis with regard to the historical moment and the circumstances of their creation. Brushwork, composition, subject matter, and art-historical positioning all carry their distinct meaning and can be linked not only to other artworks but also to broader issues of artistic and cultural identity. Again, more useful than regarding Huang's work as the solitary achievement of a great master is to contextualise it with the work of his contemporaries, with its audience, and in the context of its original publication. The essays in this volume are a preliminary step in this direction.

The volume is composed of three sections: "Huang Binhong's Painting and Calligraphy: Theoretical and Practical Aspects," "The Art World in the Republican Period and the Intellectual History of Modern Art," and "Huang Binhong and Modern Intellectual History."

The essays in the first section explore Huang Binhong's theoretical concepts and his views on historical and modern Chinese painting in relation to the European painting tradition. They trace the development of these ideas and concepts over different points in Huang's long career and thereby serve to form a more detailed narrative of his intellectual biography.

Huang's writings on Euro-American art and on the critical situation of *guohua* in the first decades of the twentieth century are explored by Li Weiming; he discusses the ambivalent position that Huang took when he opposed the adaptation of Western techniques and concepts to reform Chinese ink painting, while at the same time using Euro-American scholarship and interest in Chinese art in its defence. Li argues that Huang ultimately strove for international recognition to counter the reformist attack on more traditional practices. Huang's early art-historical writings in *Zhenxiang hua-bao* (*The True Record*) and in the series of articles published as "Discourse on Modern Painting" (新画训) are the subject of Yu Yang's contribution. Yu maps out a differentiated view of the complex nature of Huang's art-historical writings, especially in relation to Chinese and Western painting in comparison. Furthermore,

he analyses the use of the terms “picture” (图) and “painting” (画) by Huang and his contemporaries to ascribe a higher moral value to traditional painting forms inspired by literati painting concepts.

The last two essays in this section are concerned with aesthetic concepts and practices in Huang Binhong’s theoretical writings, his painting, and his calligraphy. Wang Zhongxiu examines the concepts of “inner beauty” (内美) and of “beauty within the ugly” (丑中之美) in Huang’s writings and traces them back to premodern artists such as Fu Shan, Shitao, and Su Shi. In a second step, these concepts are related to Huang’s painting technique and his theorisations on brush and ink method. Shao-lan Hertel focuses on the function and conception of copying and transformation in Huang’s calligraphic practice, which is in turn closely linked to his painting. She also highlights the meaning underlying Huang’s choice of model and, by consequence, the semantics of his style. Thus she opens up new perspectives on how to interpret Huang’s use of concepts such as “copying from old masters” and “learning from nature.”

The second section of the book assembles essays dedicated to broader topics that elucidate the historical and cultural background of *guohua* practice in the Republican era. Huang Xiaofeng departs from a contemporary phenomenon, the concept of “painting theory” (画论) as it is commonly used in Chinese art history textbooks today. He traces the development of this almost standardised mode of art historiography back to its formative period during the Republican era, when Chinese painters and scholars like Fu Baoshi, Yu Jianhua, and Teng Gu started to use the terminology and epistemological framework established by Japanese scholars such as Okakura Kakuzō, Ōmura Seigai, and Kinbara Seigo.

Cao Qinghui looks at the field of higher education in traditional Chinese painting in Beijing art schools during the Republican period. Through a comparative analysis of art school curricula, he shows the prevalence of traditional training methods and genres, despite the public prominence of reformist approaches. He argues that the reforms that Xu Beihong tried to implement at the Beiping National Art School

gained their importance mainly in retrospect, because they prefigured the thorough reform of art education during the 1950s.

Mo Ai analyses traditionalist Chinese painting as a social formation and distinctive cultural practice. In her essay she sketches the various social networks of prominent members of what she terms the “traditionalists” (传统派) in early Republican Beijing, arguing that these networks form the conditions of the existence, development, and transformation of *guohua*. She also demonstrates the involvement of painters in the contested political arena of the period from 1911–1928. The artistic and social activities of the painters under discussion cannot be seen as distinct from the larger socio-political environment, but form an intrinsic part of the intellectual and political history of that time.

Li Ruqing takes one painting and its numerous colophons as a starting point to recount the history of Buddhism in modern Guangzhou and collecting in monasteries. The handscroll “Zeng Binggu’s Elegant Gathering at Changshou Monastery” (曾宾谷长寿寺修禊图) records an event in 1815 and was formerly in the collection of the monastery named in the title. When the monastery was secularised in the last years of the Qing dynasty, the officials responsible for the secularisation and their peers added colophons to the painting, which thus became a document not only of the transformation of religious institutions but also of the intellectual circles of early twentieth-century Guangdong.

Gu Yi’s essay traces the discourse on outdoor sketching (野外写生) from its introduction to China in the 1910s as the basic foundation of Western painting, through the role ascribed to it by art educators as a tool to teach a “scientific” world-view based on Euclidean geometry, and finally to its adoption in traditional Chinese painting as a technique that had always been inherent in Chinese painting history. She convincingly describes the pervasion of artistic discourse with the practice of *xiesheng* as an instance of translingual practice, which gains new and evolving meanings in the course of multiple translations and adaptations. This point is highly significant for the largely understudied body of sketches by Huang Binhong,

since these cannot be understood independently from the context of the contemporary discourse on *xiesheng*.

All of the articles in the third section of this volume deal with Huang Binhong's work in the context of intellectual history during the first half of the twentieth century. The essays by Hong Zaixin and Kong Lingwei both take the "National Essence" movement (国粹派) as their point of departure. Hong Zaixin traces the long friendship and cooperation of Huang Binhong and Deng Shi over different stages of their lives. In a close comparative reading of texts written by Deng, Huang, and their peers, he shows how certain concepts and ideas, such as the "revival of ancient learning" (古学复兴) and Huang's proposition of the "revival of painting during the Daoguang and Xianfeng eras" (道咸画学中兴), evolved through intertextual references. Hong also shows that scholarly and economic activities were closely connected since art works were sold and exchanged through the same channels as knowledge and ideas. In his contribution, Kong Lingwei puts the national essence movement into historical perspective. He demonstrates how modern concepts like "tradition" (传统) were formed in a process of transcultural exchange with Western thinking, and he compares them with premodern Chinese terminology. He also discusses the new interdependence between literati and popular art forms that evolved out of the modern framework of a "national tradition," which in turn developed out of a dialectical relationship with "Western" art. Traditionalist and reformist tendencies are therefore to be understood as mutually connected and interdependent.

Claire Roberts focuses on issues of place and identity in Huang Binhong's activities as painter, seal-carver, author, and collector. His ancestral home was in Shexian, Anhui Province, in the vicinity of Huangshan. He variously identified with Huangshan in his seals and painted this famous mountain numerous times. His interest in the landscape of the region, including the mountains and valleys, but also the rivers and waterways, is present not only in his paintings, but also in his interest in the history of his own family and in the cultural history of Anhui. Works by artists from Anhui also formed

an important part of Huang's personal collection, along with ancient seals. Roberts points out the larger political issues, and especially the preservation of national culture during the turbulences of the late Qing and early Republican period, which formed part of Huang's motivation in collecting and publishing antiques.

Huang Binhong's dedication to his home region Shexian is also central to the questions explored in my own contribution. I analyse a number of travel paintings, landscape sketches, and paintings that refer to specific sites in order to show the relations between visual experience, the topography of iconic places such as Huangshan, their cultural history, and related images. While it is widely acknowledged that Huang constantly referred to ancient masters in his painting, the essay aims to highlight the neglected aspect of visual perception of places and how the act of seeing is in turn embedded into traditional practices of picturing and writing. This leads away from the models of literati painting to more vernacular images—namely, the wood-block print illustrations in topographical compendia such as the late-Ming *Hainei qiguan* (“Strange Views from within the Four Seas”) and *Mingshan tu* (“Pictures of Famous Mountains”).

As a coda to this book, Yang Xiaoneng critically reflects on the reception of Chinese ink painting in the West, especially in the Anglophone countries. He discusses the historical conditions for the formation of private and public collections, the development and tendencies in research on twentieth-century ink painting, and how these are reflected in exhibitions. He concludes with the remark that although Huang Binhong is internationally recognised as an important and innovative painter in modern China, much research remains to be done on his oeuvre and on modern ink painting in general, but also in spreading knowledge about these subjects amongst scholars and a wider audience around the world.

One step toward this goal is to enhance the cooperation between scholars working in China and in other countries. Therefore, I would like to express my deep gratitude to Xu Jiang, director of the China Art Academy, for initiating the conference in Hangzhou of which this volume is the outcome. My sincere thanks also go to Kong Lingwei,

who generously invited me to participate in the planning of the conference and the editorship of this book. The result has been a year of fruitful and collegial cooperation.

Berlin, September 2013

大师之学与圣贤之学

——关于黄宾虹及其当代效应的思考札记

李伟铭

毫无疑问，黄宾虹是在西学风摩天下、国人对传统文化包括传统文人画在现代世界的价值普遍持怀疑态度的情境中，以坚忍不拔的毅力和“返本而求”这种传统的中国方式致力于证验传统笔墨的有效性最引人注目的艺术家。在他生活的时代，黄宾虹所陷入的文化焦虑，在四十年代前期与傅雷书中表现得最清楚：

近日东西海外艺术家，以其写生相近欧学，啧啧称之。近年欧美人能读中国论画之书，已知其卑陋而求于士夫画矣。芥子园画谱因得李流芳画册数十页，又请王概字安节足成之，为山水画谱。此明人刻书习气。李笠翁人品学问，皆非上游，为投时作此，便于不学之人流览，偶尔涉笔，即可冒得风雅之名。于是清代画者以四王为最佳。在当时因明季名大家虽多高手，因东林党人为时所忌，王时敏世代与东林为仇敌，且捧场王石谷一寒酸寡学之子，以为高出宋元之上，即麓台皆为之不平，谓为大江南北，以石涛为第一。由此一变为扬州八怪，与四王相反，惜仍学识不足，远逊明贤。至于道咸，学书者多，兼之习画，如吴荷屋、姚元之、吴让之，翁松禅，皆出八怪之上。而提倡之者以其真迹不易见，而四王真赝杂出之作，遂为雅俗所共赏。犹词曲昆腔不行，陂黄京调较易合俗，今且变舞台为剧场，令不学者一望而知，才是通俗。仿古之画既将推翻，而折衷一派不东不西，国画灵魂早已飞入九天云外，非有大魄力者拯救疾苦。画乃文化萌芽，不能培养，其他更不堪问。画有民族性，无时代性。虽因时代改变外貌，而精神不移。今非注重笔墨，即民族精神之丧失，况因时代参入不东不西之杂作。今之士夫，书法且不讲，何由识

画。画之不明，语言文字精神无所寄托，昏昏如梦如醉，大可哀矣。拙撰屡拟竭忱删改，一则招人非笑迂腐，以为重在复古。历史沿革，古既难度，时习之所谓新者，皆中国古人所唾弃。海外学者虽有名言确论分科类析诸法可以参用，鄙见以为多宝架上之瑜瑕杂见，每多挂一漏万，不若一鳞片羽，尚是希世之珍。因与众见参差，踽踽凉凉，寂寞久已。¹

究竟是黄宾虹不理解置身其中的时代，还是那个时代背离黄宾虹的理想越来越远？黄宾虹自己似乎也不甚明了。他在这里和盘托出的尖锐的文化危机感，表明，在五千年未遇之大变局中，他对“世人皆醉吾独醒”这种古老的精神状态，持有深刻的认同感。显然，黄宾虹既不能像陈散原一类逊清遗老悠闲自在地扮演“袖手来作神州人”的角色，也没法像早年的革命盟友如柳亚子那样成为识时务的俊杰。当他选择古物书画作伴为自己的人生形式的时候，与古为徒、超然物外，底下掩盖着的则是苛刻的斤斤计较。近人愚昧，今人轻浮，外人更是瞎子摸象——一群自是其是的笨蛋。于是，在被极度放大的书画功能磁场中，放眼望去，尽是浊浪滔天；孤舟独驾，追寻业已沉没的“民族精神”，不啻大海捞针，更近乎一场生死未卜的赌注！活着，其“踽踽凉凉，寂寞久已”，也就不在话下了。

自古圣贤皆寂寞，黄宾虹也不例外。黄宾虹的功德勋业，今天无论如何高度评价都不会过分。何况，关于这方面的著述，早已汗牛充栋，《艺术当代》显然也不是我狗尾续貂的合适场合。勉强要说，只能重复一些不说也罢的废话。要而言之，黄宾虹在现代绘画史上的贡献，主要体现在下述两个方面：

第一，在文字著述中，黄通过对中国传统画学——主要是宋代以来的传统文人画——以及与之相关的其他古典视觉材料譬如古陶、封泥、玺印、书法持续、精深的整理和研究，将传统中国画法及其理论进一步系统化。²值得注意的是，无论过去还是现在，也许没有人会否认中国画是一门“艺术”，在掇物质而张性灵的反现代化思潮中，中国画也一直分享着性灵之光的照拂；但对黄宾虹来说，中国画与其说是一种表情达意的媒介，倒不如说是一门承传有绪的学问。在他看来，古今有序、秩序井然——一个完美无缺的“理法”体系，既是“民族精神”的载体，也是中国画赖以存在和发展的唯一依据。所以，黄宾虹认为，“舍置理

1. 《黄宾虹文集·书信编》，页216—217，上海书画出版社，1999年。

2. 这里有必要略为提示，在黄宾虹那里，“文人画”这个概念的内涵比当代美术史学中使用的“文人画”要小得多。譬如，黄在三十年代中期发表的《画法要旨》（《国画月刊》第一卷创刊号，1934年，上海）中曾将被视为“画之正传”者分为三大类，即文人画（词章家、金石家）、名家画（南宗派、北宗派）、大家画（不拘家数、不分宗派）；四十年代在与傅雷书中，又特别于文人画之外别立“士夫画”，而且价值判断的天平明显倾向后者。参阅前揭《黄宾虹文集·书信编》，页216。

法必邻于妄，拘守理法又近于迂，宁迂毋妄”。³缘乎此，黄氏庞杂并且经常在某种情况下流于重复的史论著述在整体上所呈现的就像一幅线条简括、仪容清晰的国画宗族“祖宗图”；以三十年代中期发表的《画法要旨》为代表，黄所揭示的中国画法，则是一部维系国画宗族香火千古于不堕的宗法律令。不错，从顾、陆、张、展到前清、今学，黄不是没有看到他所处的时代中国绘画因“欧日学术之灌输”而产生的趣味、笔法变化，也并不反对“因时而有所变迁，借观而容其抉择”的世俗走向。⁴然而，恰恰正是这种充满矛盾而又耐人寻味的现象，表明黄在本质上既是虔诚的古典主义者，也是异常清醒的现实主义者。换言之，黄所强调的“鉴古非为复古，知时不欲矫时”，⁵既勾勒出了一位眼观六路、耳听八方的学者在众神喧嚣的情境中力图保持某种高度的平衡的稳妥心态；同时也挑明他在学理上强调的“返本而求”，继续行走的仍然是晚清国粹学派的内在理路。

第二，黄宾虹偶尔也作花鸟画，但绘画实践主要还是山水画。早在宋代，山水之学在士大夫画家那里已被目为所谓十三画科的宝塔尖，原因无他，孔圣人有云，智者乐水，仁者乐山。志寄尘表，心游物外——身在廊庙，倘要志存山林，更不用说溪壑之间，自有终南捷径了。对那些胸怀“达则兼济天下，穷则独善其身”之志的传统知识分子来说，山水之中自有福府洞天，当然也是理想翱翔的自由空间。黄宾虹承接的正是这种传统。因此，曾被黄氏引为域外知音的苏立文（Michael Sullivan）的说法并不完全正确，黄宾虹提笔作画时，并非仅仅希望回到清初强调“自我表现”的“个人主义者”如石涛的世界里去。⁶像他那个时代的绝大多数艺术家一样，黄宾虹也强调大自然的启示意义并注意石涛的艺术实践，认为“师造化”是激活伟大的唐宋传统的有效方法；但正像他反复强调的，“美术之本原在古文字”，⁷“中国画法，完全从书法文字而来”，⁸黄氏在山水画实践中努力的目标在于，在绘画发生学的意义上，重新践履古人“道法自然”的原则。在强调“以复古为更新”的康有为看来更接近书法“原典”的意味的金石学，正是从这里进入黄宾虹的视野。黄认为，“画家千古以来，画目常变，而精神不变。”“精神”是什么呢？按照黄的理解，就是“笔墨”。“华滋浑厚”、“法备气至”，是被黄氏视为绍述“纯全而美”的“画学正宗”——董、巨、二米——之作的描述，反过来，也成为黄氏笔墨的典范以及时人（譬如傅

3. 黄宾虹《中国山水画今昔之变迁》，《国画月刊》第一卷第四期，页59，1935年，上海。

4. 前揭书，页60。

5. 同上。

6. 苏立文《山川悠远——中国山水画艺术》，页108，洪再新译本，岭南美术出版社，1988年。

7. 《黄宾虹书简》，页30，上海人民出版社，1988年。按，这种说法直接源自章太炎、刘师培，后者认为，文学的基础为古文字。

8. 转引自裘柱常《黄宾虹年谱》，页84，人民美术出版社，1985年。本节以下未注出处引文均见于此。