

'*DE XIN YING SHOU*
[HEART AND HAND IN ACCORD]'
AND
'*ZHOU YOU DONG XI*
[TRAVELLING ROUND THE EAST AND THE WEST]'

An Investigation
of the Chinese Culturo-Philosophical Thoughts (*Xin* [Heart])
and an Examination
of the Principles of Chinese Painting (*Shou* [Hand])
which also Serve as a Basis
to Look into Chinese Landscape Painting (*Dong* [East])
and European Female-Nude Painting (*Xi* [West])
and to Compare specifically Two Landscapes of Zhang Daqian
with Two Female Nudes of Pablo Picasso

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Abstract

The research was carried out in two parts. Part I investigated the Chinese culturo-philosophical thoughts (*Xin* [Heart])—exploring the Chinese cultural thought through the Chinese brush and the Principle of *Yin Yang* [Negative-Positive], and surveying the Chinese philosophical thought through the doctrines and concepts of Taoism, Confucianism and *Chan-ism* [*Zen* Buddhism]. It then examined the principles of Chinese painting (*Shou* [Hand])—probing into Xie He’s *Liu Fa* [The Six Canons], their reinterpretation and modification, and Shitao’s Principle of *Yihua* [One-Stroke]. (The translation of early Chinese philosophical texts and painting treatises in Part I is a secondary contribution of the thesis.) Using Part I as a basis, Part II looked into the Chinese landscape painting (*Dong* [East]) and European female-nude painting (*Xi* [West])—an art historical analysis leading to a discussion of the landscapes of Zhang Daqian (1899-1983) and female nudes of Pablo Picasso (1881-1973). It finally dealt with the comparison of Zhang’s landscapes and Picasso’s female nudes—a comparative scrutiny of two landscapes of Zhang and two female nudes of Picasso. (The comparison is one of the pioneer contributions to the area of comparative inquiry into twentieth-century Chinese painting and European painting.) The result of the whole research is now presented by this thesis—divided into an introduction, eight chapters and a conclusion. The findings: (1) made clear the previously obscure and ambiguous ideas of the traditional Chinese aesthetics embodied in Chinese painting; (2) showed that both the Chinese culturo-philosophical thoughts and traditional painting principles continue to be revealed in Zhang’s paintings; (3) verified that the paintings of Zhang and Picasso share many interesting common points of reference; and (4) offered a reassessment of Zhang’s landscapes, and a fresh look at Picasso’s female nudes from a cross-cultural perspective.

To the one with whom we were
qingmei zhuma

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INTRODUCTION:¹ OVERVIEW → THE STUDY

[It] can only be perceived, [but] cannot be conveyed
by words.

A Chinese Proverb²

Overview In 1956, a meeting between an Eastern master of Chinese painting and the greatest living master of Western art took place. With the particular charm of an extraordinary blend of the elegance of the Song poet and his anachronistic outlook,³ the refinement of the learned scholar and his self-challenge, the awe and spirit of "a lion among painters",⁴ the Eastern master was Zhang Daqian (1899-1983); with the "personal magic" of an "unusual mixture of the grace of the bullfighter and his death-defying courage, the melancholy of the circus acrobat and his self-assurance, the dash and roguishness of a popular hero",⁵ the Western master was

¹Some of my ideas and discussion given here had been presented in my paper entitled Zhang Daqian and Pablo Picasso: The Beginning, Paper presented as part of the symposium "Theory-Art-Practice: A Symposium for Fine Art Research" at University College London, 3 June 1995.

²Chen Yongzhen & Chen Shanci, eds., Han Ying Duizhao Chengyu Cidian [Chinese Idioms and Their English Equivalents] (Taipei: Shulin Chuban, 1992; 2d pr., 1994), idiom entry 3878, p. 455; translation mine.

³By 'Song', I mean 'Song Dynasty (A.D. 960-1279)'.

⁴Shen C. Y. Fu, Challenging the Past: The Paintings of Chang Dai-chien, with major contributions & trans. Jan Stuart, selected poems & inscriptions trans. Stephen D. Allee (Washington: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery-Smithsonian Institution, 1991), p. 15.

⁵Octavio Paz, Convergences: Essays on Art and Literature, trans. Helen Lane from the Spanish (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 1987), p. 179.

Pablo Picasso (1881-1973). This **East-West meeting** was heavily documented, though almost exclusively in Chinese publications on Chinese painting or on Zhang.⁶ None, however, is reported in English prints on Western art or on Picasso. Why is it so? This has generated a lot of issues that in turn cast many doubts regarding how and why the meeting happened, and exactly what had happened during the meeting, although its actual occurrence is not in question.

In that year, Zhang was invited to exhibit his recent paintings and full-scale copies of the Dunhuang murals in Paris. The trip to Paris was Zhang's first and the exhibitions accumulated much acclaim in the local press then. Zhang was legitimised as the leading exponent of Chinese painting and regarded as 'ambassador' of Chinese art. On the basis of the most acceptable account,⁷ Zhang had the intention of visiting Picasso during that time. However, he could not find anyone who would and could introduce him to Picasso, for the latter was so famous and yet reputed to be inaccessible. His friend Zhao Wuji (b. 1921), a Chinese painter who has settled in Paris, had even advised against the idea of making an appointment, for fear of rejection by Picasso. Despite all these, Zhang managed to set off on his own, bringing

⁶Photographs and write-ups of Zhang's meeting with Picasso have been documented in publications such as: (1) *Bianji Weiyuanhui* [Editorial Committee], ed., *Zhang Daqian Xiansheng Jinian Ce* [Commemorative Book of Mr Zhang Daqian] (Taipei: Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan, 1983), p. 6; (2) *The Exhibition of Donations of Chang Dai-Chien's Paintings and Relics* [exhibition catalogue] ([Taipei]: National Museum of History, [1991]), p. [8]; (3) Wen C. Fong, "Remembering Chang Dai-chien (1899-1983)", in *The International Conference on the Poetry, Calligraphy, and Painting of Chang Dai-chien and P'u Hsin-yu: Proceedings* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1994), p. 23; (4) Fu, *Challenging the Past*, op. cit., pp. 25, 26 & 72; (5) *Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan Bianji Weiyuanhui* [National Palace Museum Editorial Committee], ed., *Zhang Daqian Xiansheng Shi Wen Ji, shang, xia* [The Collection of Mr Zhang Daqian's Poems and Writings, 2 vols.] (Taipei: Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan, 1993), vol. 2, bk. 6, pp. 67-71; bk. 7, p. 113; (6) Li Yongqiao, ed., *Zhang Daqian Huayu Lu* [The Collection of Zhang Daqian's Discourses on Painting] (Xianggang: Baixing Chuban, 1994), pt. 5, chap. 55, pp. 205-8; (7) Liu Pingheng, Huang Yongchuan & Ba Dong, eds. & comps., *The Paintings and Calligraphy of Chang Dai-Chien* (Taipei: National Museum of History, 1990), vol. 7, pp. 116-19; (8) Shan Guolin, "On Zhang Daqian's Landscape Paintings", *Zhang Daqian Shanshui Hua Teji* [Special Issue on Zhang Daqian's Landscape Paintings], *Han Mo* [Brush and Ink: A Magazine of Chinese Brush Art, no. 39 (1 April 1993), p. E18; (9) Richard E. Strassberg, *Master of Tradition: The Art of Chang Ta-ch'ien* [exhibition catalogue] (California: Pacific Asia Museum, 1983), pp. 14-15; (10) Michael Sullivan, *The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art: From the Sixteenth Century to the Present Day* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1973), p. 193, (11) Tang Huangzhen, *Yun Shan, Po Mo, Zhang Daqian* [Clouds and Mountains, Splash Ink, Zhang Daqian], *Jiating Meishuguan: Qianbei Meishujia Congshu* [Family Museum: Series of Books on Senior Artists] (Taipei: Xiongshi Tushu, 1993), pp. 74-75; (12) Xie Jiachao, "Zhang Daqian yi Bi Jiasuo" [Zhang Daqian and Picasso], *Dacheng Zazhi* [Panorama Magazine], no. 21 (1 August 1975), pp. 14-20; (13) id., *Zhang Daqian Zhuan* [Biography of Zhang Daqian], *Mingren Zhuanji* [The Famous People Biographical Series] (Taipei: Xidai Shuban, 1993), pp. 236-252; (14) Xin Yifu, *Zhang Daqian* [Zhang Daqian] (Taiyuan: Beiyue Wenyi Chubanshe, 1986), pp. 98-108; (15) Xu Guohuang, "Symposium on the Art of Zhang Daqian and Pu Xinyu", *Zhang Daqian Qianqi Shanshui Hua Teji* [Special Issue on Zhang Daqian's Early Landscape Paintings], *Han Mo*, op. cit., no. 40 (1 May 1993), p. E15; (16) Yang Jiren, *Zhang Daqian Zhuan, shang xia ce* [Biography of Zhang Daqian, 2 vols.] (Beijing: Wenhua Yishu Chubanshe, 1985), pp. 583-592; (17) Yang Zhu & Zhang Bo, *Daqian Shijie* [World of Daqian] (Xianggang: Bo Yi Chuban Jituan, 1983), pp. 123-130; (18) Yao Menggu et al., eds., comps. & trans., *The Paintings of Chang Dai-Chien* (Taipei: National Museum of History, 1976; 4th ed., 1986), p. 3; and (19) *Yishu Jia Zazhishe* [Artist Magazine House], ed., "Zhang Daqian Zhuanji" [Special Edition on Zhang Daqian], *Yishu Jia* [Artist] 16, no. 6 (May 1983), p. 164.

⁷See, for instance, *Master of Tradition*, *ibid.*, p. 14; Xia Jiachao, *Zhang Daqian Zhuan*, *ibid.*, pp. 236-37; and *Daqian Shijie*, *ibid.*, p. 124.

his wife and an interpreter, and amazingly succeeded in meeting Picasso at his home—*la Californie*—in a residential quarter in Cannes.

The purpose behind this meeting initiated by Zhang is another area of dispute. According to Zhang himself, he paid the visit to Picasso out of his respect of the latter and was motivated by his admiration of Picasso's potential in creation—in his unceasing changing of artistic styles.⁸ However, many scholars—such as Fu Shen, an authority on Zhang and his art, and Professor Michael Sullivan—doubted such intention. According to Fu, Zhang often looked for opportunities to attract publicity. Thus, Fu opined that Zhang's visit to Picasso was inspired by the opportunity for media publicity as much as by a curiosity in his art of creation.⁹ Professor Sullivan is in the opinion that Zhang arranged the meeting with Picasso for the sake of publicity, rather than interested in the latter's work.¹⁰ Indeed, the meeting was given a great exposure in the (Eastern) press and hailed as a commemorated time in the history of Chinese and Western art, and the "summit conference of the art world".¹¹ Photographs of the meeting have subsequently become the most widely published images of Zhang.

What had happened during the meeting continues to invoke interesting discussions. Zhang spoke only Chinese and Picasso did not speak a word of Chinese. It would be interesting to find out how much exchange had actually taken place through haptic communication aided by sign language, despite the presence of an interpreter whose adequacy was questionable. In any case, according to the words left behind by Zhang,¹² Picasso, at one point of the meeting, brought out more than a hundred sketches of flowers, birds and insects he had made from reproductions of Chinese-brush paintings. Zhang recognised them straightaway as being copies of the flower-and-bird paintings of Qi Baishi (1864-1957), *Haishang Huapai* [The Shanghai School of Painting] second generation master.¹³ Forced to make a comment, Zhang

⁸*Zhang Daqian Xiansheng Shi Wen Ji*, op. cit., vol. 2, bk. 6, p. 69.

⁹*Challenging the Past*, op. cit., pp. 25 & 72.

¹⁰In the letter Professor Sullivan wrote to me in his own handwriting, dated 29 October 1996, he said, among other things, "I have a problem with Picasso-Zhang Daqian meeting. I think Zhang (whom I liked & admired) arranged it for its publicity value. I don't think he & his wife liked Picasso's work very much."

¹¹Quoted in the article "From Fine Lines to Ink Splashes", *The Straits Times* (Singapore), 21 July 1993, p. 6, written in conjunction with the Zhang's show-cum-auction in Singapore in 1993. See also, for instance, "Zhang Daqian yi Bi Jiasuo", op. cit., p. 14; and *Daqian Shijie*, op. cit., p. 130.

¹²*Zhang Daqian Xiansheng Shi Wen Ji*, op. cit., vol. 2, bk. 6, pp. 69-70; and *Zhang Daqian Huayu Lu*, op. cit., pt. 5, chap. 55, pp. 206-7.

¹³*Haishang Huapai* is the school of painting founded by Xugu (1823-96), Zhao Zhiqian (1829-84), Ren Bonian (1840-95) and Wu Changshuo (1844-1927), culminated by masters such as Huang Binhong (1864-1955),

reluctantly pointed out that Picasso's brush strokes were uniformly heavy and the ink lacked tonal variety. Zhang continued to talk about the **traditional** Chinese emphasis of capturing the essence of the subject rather than striving for verisimilitude.

Zhang told Picasso that his uniformly heavy brush strokes and monotonous ink-work are apparently due to the use of Western brushes and paper. Picasso then asked for a Chinese brush. After returning to his home in São Paulo, Zhang forwarded some brushes to him, along with an ink painting of bamboo that serves as an illustration of the use of the Chinese brush and ink, as well as a gift in return, for Picasso gave Zhang a painting during the meeting.¹⁴ Zhang was surprised that Picasso, as the leading Western master, should be so interested in Chinese-brush painting. Actually, he should not have surprised, for Picasso always said, "When there's anything to steal, I steal."¹⁵ Did Zhang not know that? On second thought, however, Zhang may have a point, for Chinese-brush painting—unlike Western painting whose tools and materials are scientific—is so attached to the Chinese brush imbued with a huge cultural significance that it could not be easily stolen.

In a spontaneous moment during the meeting, Picasso remarked, "The Western Whites actually have no art! . . . Only the Chinese have art; next the Japanese, but their art is also originated from China; and next the African Blacks."¹⁶ Despite what he said, Zhang expressed that he admires and thinks highly of his Cubist work, especially in the definitive role it plays in the history of modern Western art.¹⁷ However, what did Picasso think of Zhang's work? Did the meeting and the exchange of paintings have any effect on the work of either artist? Does the meeting mean anything in the history of modern Chinese and Western painting? What is its implication, if any, in art education and in the area of East-West comparative studies of the visual arts? These questions, undoubtedly worthy of investigation, remain unanswered and unexplored.

Besides the East-West meeting, Zhang and Picasso had much in common between them. Both the artists began to learn painting in their childhood and achieved

Qi Baishi (1864-1957), Chen Banding (1877-1970) and Xu Beihong (1895-1953), and by third generation painters such as Pan Tianshou (1898-1971), Li Kuchan (1898-1983), Guan Liang (1900-1986), Lin Fengmian (1900-1991) and Li Keran (1907-89).

¹⁴"Zhang Daqian yi Bi Jiasuo", op. cit., pp. 18-19.

¹⁵Hiro Clark, ed., *Picasso: In His Words* (London: Pavilion Books, 1993), p. 53.

¹⁶*Zhang Daqian Xiansheng Shi Wen Ji*, op. cit., vol. 2, bk. 6, p. 69; translation mine.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

fame in their lifetimes, particularly eminent during the late period of their voluntary 'expatriation' from their native countries. Both enjoyed living in elaborated and luxurious mansions, and were also very fond of women and lived with many of them.¹⁸ When I looked into the landscapes of Zhang and the female nudes of Picasso, I could not help conjecturing that they share many common points of reference. In both cases, in spite of the abundance and variety, their paintings are not just passion inspired creations but also amazingly artistic hands-on inventions. Such creative inventions are very different from those of their contemporaries, and in this sense, Zhang and Picasso share a similar difference. Zhang is indeed 'Picasso of the East'; or for that matter, Picasso is 'Zhang of the West'.

I actually first became aware of Zhang in 1984 when the National Museum of Singapore presented an exhibition on eighty-six of Zhang's works, covering a period from 1940 to 1983, from the permanent collection of the National Museum of History, Taipei.¹⁹ The exhibition prompted me to take up Chinese-brush painting, something that I have always wanted to do. The Chinese brush, in fact, was my first writing instrument when I started to learn to write during my early school Chinese education. However, before I could move on from the traditional training in calligraphy into experiencing calligraphy as an art form and then painting with the art of writing, I was streamed to do science for my secondary school education. Besides having to cope with the problems of switching to English medium education and with the struggle for proficiency in three languages (the third one being Malay), the internal conflict of experiencing that art and science do not mix was strongly felt, for I really love art—a passion that began in my childhood.²⁰

In my early training in Chinese-brush painting, I was taught to master the disciplined technique in painting subjects ranging from bamboo, flowers and birds, to trees and landscapes. Like Zhang who was presented with a copy of the manual *Jiezi*

¹⁸For their relationships with women, see, for instance, *Challenging the Past*, op. cit., pp. 21-22, for Zhang; and Picasso, *Picasso, Artists by Themselves*, ed. & with an introduction by Rachel Barnes (London: Bracken Books, 1992), p. 16, for Picasso.

¹⁹In conjunction with the exhibition, which was held during Singapore Festival of Arts 1984, a catalogue entitled *The Art of Chang Da-Chien: Collection of the National Museum of History, Taipei*, with introduction by Choy Weng Yang, was published by the National Museum of Singapore.

²⁰I had the pleasure of spending my childhood in the nature with abundant wildlife in an isolated rural community situated at the edge of a jungle in Johor Bahru—the southern tip of Peninsular Malaysia—where I was born. As a village urchin, I spent part of the period of my early life doodling images of nature and animals on sand pitch by the stream. I made my own toys out of nature such as kites from bamboo strips. I loved to follow my father to work whenever he had a painting contract because that was the only time I had the opportunity to 'play' with the paints and brushes; dabbing here and there.

Yuan Huazhuan [The Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting]²¹ that subsequently contributed to his early artistic training, I was also advised to refer to the manual for self-study. Over the years of going through the manual, I have imperceptibly built up a store of technical knowledge that enables me to tackle any subject with confidence and freedom.²² In the process of formulating my own style in creating artwork, my painting has evolved from figurative naturalism to abstract intellectualism, in pursuit of a balance between 'likeness' and 'unlikeness'.²³ As Qi said many times, "The excellence [of a painting] lies in between likeness and unlikeness".²⁴

Zhang's exhibition in Singapore also triggered me to begin a series of in-depth studies on his work as well as the works of other Chinese masters.²⁵ Photographs and write-ups of Zhang's meeting with Picasso aroused my interest in some parallel investigations into Western paintings.²⁶ However, there were at that time few Western pictures of quality in Eastern collections. It remains as such to date, not to mention that it is almost impossible to find an original Picasso in Singapore. Nevertheless, I was fortunate in being able to draw something from the best of both the Chinese and European schools of painting—the Chinese treatment of black-and-white and the European treatment of light-and-shade—a knowledge that I gained from my involvement in teaching Eastern and Western art. I enjoyed (and will continue to

²¹*Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan* begins with a discussion on the fundamentals of painting, with notes on basic principles, and appears as a guide prescribing steps for beginners in painting to follow. For more information about the manual, see my App. 3.2.2, s.v. "Wang Gai (1645-ca. 1710)".

²²I think this sort of training is important, for no one suggests that a ballet dancer should not learn the individual steps, or a music composer needs not have basic training or knowledge in making music with the instruments that he is working on in his composition. It is how they are performed and put together that determines the merit of the performance.

²³I strive to achieve rich and varied effects within my painting using the technique of '*po mo* [splash-ink, literally]'—first used by Tang artist Wang Qia (d. A.D. 804)—and the self-developed technique of '*pigmentising-and-alumning*' heavy colour created from a mix of Chinese-brush painting colours, flake colours from mineral and vegetable sources, mineral pigments and Western poster colours. In my later paintings, the customary compositional scheme is considerably loosened. The surface is transformed into fluid, unpredictable grounds on which varied entities converge and then disperse. The primary elements of painting—brush-mark, surface and pigment—are rendered sparingly; the viewer is invited to witness the ways by which these elements function separately and then unite harmoniously to make an image.

²⁴Quoted in *Zhongguo Meishu Cidian* [Dictionary of Chinese Fine Arts], 1987 ed., "Main Body", s.v. "*Qi Baishi*", p. 118; translation mine.

²⁵One of my early writings is "The Art and Teaching of Modern Masters of Chinese Painting" (Art Course for Secondary School Teachers diss., Singapore Institute of Education, 1986).

²⁶I carried out an art historical analysis, paying attention in areas such as the Western conceptions of drawing and colour at different periods; the developments in Western painting techniques and perspectives, and of symbolism and subject matter; the achievements and contributions of artists through a series of art movements, taking into account their origins, influences and the patronage accorded to them, what makes the works outstanding and exciting, and their 'style', which is the totality of the visual elements—such as composition, structure or lay-out, use of colour or tone, texture, the handling of space and the manipulation of light effects—which conditions one's reaction to a work of art.

enjoy) teaching as much as being a painter because sharing of ideas, technical approaches and artistic objectives with students sometimes serves me as a means of stimulating personal exploration, and defining and sharpening my own philosophy.

All these, especially the stimulation from the much publicised **Zhang-Picasso meeting** itself—regardless of how and why the meeting happened, and what had happened—sparked off this study, that attempted to venture into the 'what-happen' after it had happened, opening the door to comparative studies of Chinese and European painting, and looking for implications for the twenty-first century art and art education. I had met Zhang, I wanted to meet Picasso, and I had finally met him. This research was not just about the meeting of the two artists, but three.

The Study My research was carried out in two parts. Part I was called forth by what Zhang said to Picasso of the traditional Chinese emphasis of capturing the essence of the subject in painting. It is this very emphasis that has been one of the areas of puzzle, confusion and ambiguity encountered by the West when looking at Chinese painting. As Eastern art scholar Wen C. Fong said, more than twenty years ago:

It [the West] had had less success thus far with the study of Chinese painting. The difficulties encountered in the study are not only linguistic and technical but also **cultural** and **philosophical**, they involve different artistic sensibilities and attitudes . . . as well as **different notions of creativity and artistic value**.²⁷

Quoting art historian Sir Ernst Gombrich, Fong reiterated that "the language in which we [the West] discuss pictures differs so radically from the critical terminology of the Far East that all attempts to translate from one into the other are frustrated."²⁸

Although Fong and Gombrich succeeded a long time ago in pin-pointing "the difficulties encountered in the study" of Chinese painting, scholars hitherto have not offered adequate solution to overcome them. Translation of "the critical terminology of the Far East", appearing in substantial amount of available Chinese literature on painting, remains "frustrating". Errors in interpretation of Chinese aesthetic concepts, many of which set out in early Chinese texts on painting, remain abundant. My Part I thus aimed at improving the situation. I embarked by grouping the areas of study into

²⁷Quoted in Marilyn & Shen Fu, *Studies in Connoisseurship* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), preface; bold emphasis mine.

²⁸Ibid.

two aspects, namely, '*xin* [heart]', representing the "cultural and philosophical" aspect; and '*shou* [hand]', representing the aspect of the "[Chinese] notions of creativity and artistic value". The Chinese painters have always emphasised the harmonious co-ordination of heart (as the inner resource of the mind of the painter) and hand (as the outer expression through techniques as manifested in the painting), and frequently use the idiom '*de xin ying shou*'.²⁹

The outcome of this part of the research is now presented in two sections. Section A is devoted to the *xin*—an investigation of the Chinese culturo-philosophical thoughts, in two chapters; Section B, the *shou*—an examination of the principles of Chinese painting, in the next two. Chapter 1 explores the Chinese culture with a discussion of the Chinese brush as its fundamental instrument, followed by a search of its root that can be traced to the Principle of *Yin Yang* [Negative-Positive]. Chapter 2 provides a survey of the philosophy of Chinese life, dealing *in extenso* with the thoughts of Taoism, Confucianism and *Chan*-ism [*Zen* Buddhism, as known in Japan]. Chapter 3 examines Xie He's *Liu Fa* [The Six Canons]; and Chapter 4 probes into the reinterpretation and modification of *Liu Fa*, and explicates Shitao's Principle of *Yihua* [One-Stroke].

Part I also constitutes the interdisciplinary framework that forms the basis for the second part of my research. As such, the four chapters make up the background preparation that takes the form of a critical study and review of appropriate literature, both in English and a larger amount in Chinese. With these, I began to look at (and into) the '*Dong* [East]' and the '*Xi* [West]'; '*zhou you Dong Xi* [travelling round the East and the West]', so to speak. Specifically, I attempted to compare Chinese and European paintings, with the hypothesis that they share many interesting common points of reference. For the scope of this part, I limited my investigation to a 'close reading', by observational techniques, descriptive approach and critical analysis, of two landscape paintings of Zhang and two female-nude paintings of Picasso. In spite

²⁹The phrase literally means 'wish at heart comes to hand', or 'heart and hand in accord', which is almost equivalent to "as clay in the hands of the potter" (*Han Ying Duizhao Chengyu Cidian*, op. cit., idiom entry 0618, p. 68). This idiom is actually originated from Zhuang Zi, *Zhuang Zi* [The Book of Zhuang Zi] 13:8, in *Xinyi Zhuang Zi Duben* [The New Interpretation of the Text of Zhuang Zi], annotated & interpreted by Huang Jinhong (Taipei: San Min Shuju, 1974; 13th ed., 1996), p. 174, that includes a story about the old wheelwright who said, "[The secret to wheel shaping is a chisel that is] neither slow nor fast, [but one that] comes to hand [exactly as you] wish at heart." (Translation and interpretation mine.) Here and in subsequent references of *Zhuang Zi* in my text and footnotes, numbers immediately after *Zhuang Zi*, separated by colon, indicate chapter and section—a division following that in Victor H. Mair, trans., *Wandering on the Way: Early Taoist Tales and Parables of Chuang Tzu* (New York: Bantam Books, 1994). Also note that for subsequent quotations from **all** Chinese texts in my text and footnotes, translations and interpretations are mine, unless otherwise stated.

of the voluminous amount of literature written about their lives and works,³⁰ I aimed to offer a reassessment of Zhang's landscapes and a fresh look at Picasso's female nudes from a cross-cultural perspective.

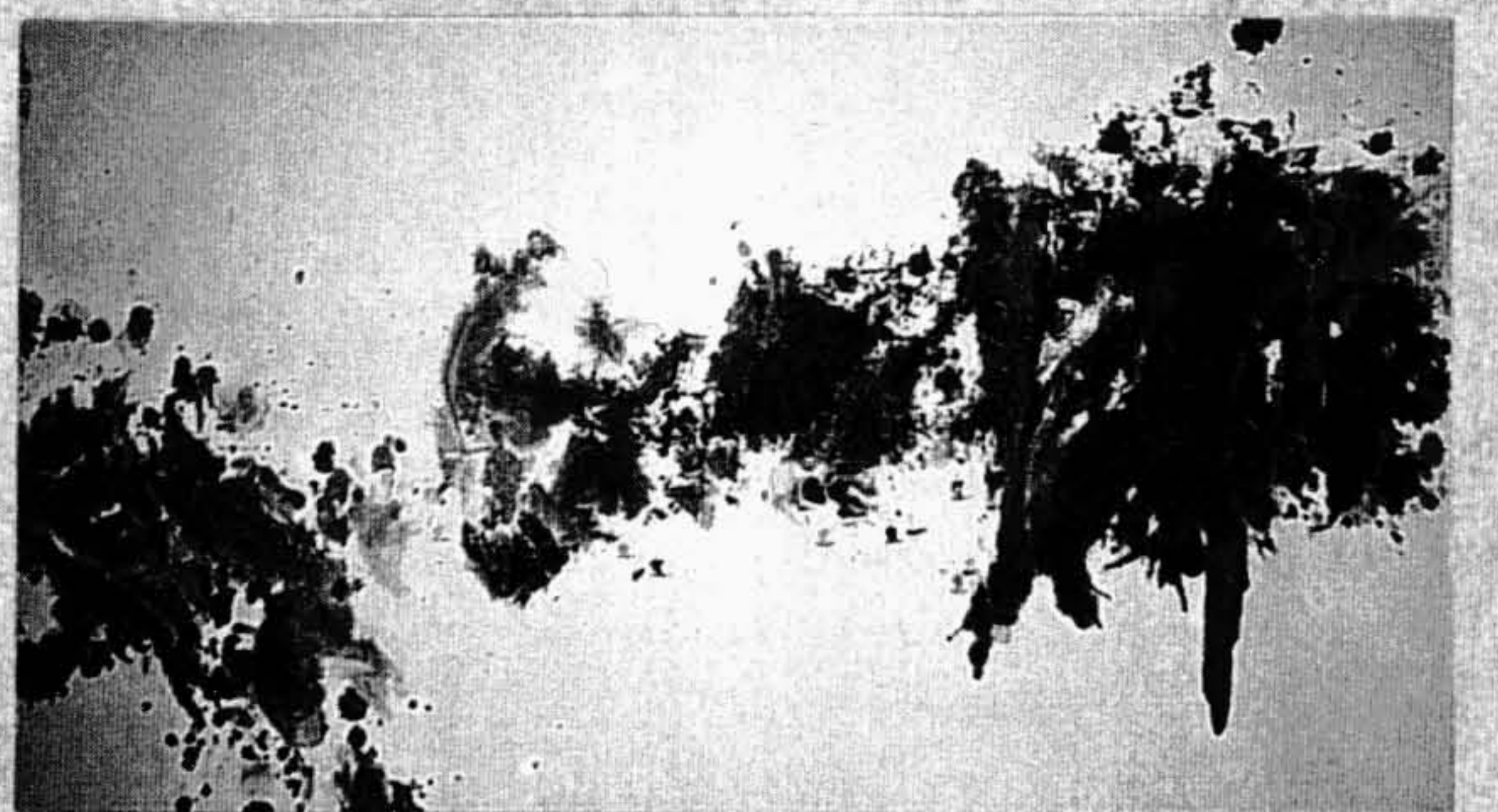
My search for scholarly work revealed that nobody in the West has ever come near to this sort of comparative inquiry.³¹ I was thus able to enter into my study with almost no preconceptions or predilections that might hinder or help me. It was also the right time for me to make a start from such standpoint of *tabula rasa* to stimulate more future investigations in this area. In connection with the study, field trips were made to countries concerned—such as Spain (in 1994), France (in 1995), Taiwan and Hong Kong (in 1995)—visiting museums, private galleries and other institutions for the original artworks, in their collections; and consulting printed materials for factual and biographical information on the artists, in their libraries. The finest paintings seen and the valuable materials gathered there formed the primary data for the research. Informal interviews, conversations and discussions with some art critics and biographers were also carried out during the trips. All these formed a part of my research methodology.

The outcome of my investigation is now presented as Part II, consisting of two sections with two chapters each. In Section A, Chapters 5 and 6 are dedicated to *Dong* and *Xi*—pertaining the Chinese landscape painting and European female-nude painting respectively. This section represents an art historical analysis leading to a discussion of the landscapes of Zhang and female nudes of Picasso. Section B finally deals with *Dong* meets *Xi*—a comparative scrutiny of Zhang's landscapes and Picasso's female nudes, in the last two chapters.

The encounter between Zhang and Picasso serves as a metaphor evoking a range of issues and questions about the nature and implications of East-West cultural exchange and contact. In exploring this process of exchange, my studies in Chinese and Western art hope to prepare the ground for a fuller understanding of internationalising developments in contemporary visual culture at the end of the twentieth century.

³⁰For Zhang, see, for instance, the "Selected Bibliography" in Mayching Kao, ed., *The Mei Yun Tang Collection of Paintings by Chang Dai-chien* [exhibition catalogue] ([Hong Kong]: Mei Yun Tang & Art Gallery of The Chinese University of Kong Kong, 1993), pp. 277-79; and for Picasso, see, for instance, "Bibliography" in Carsten-Peter Warncke, *Pablo Picasso 1881-1973*, 2 vols., ed. Ingo F. Walther, with the assistance of Odo Walther et al., trans. Michael Hulse into English (Köln: Benedikt Taschen Verlag, 1992), vol. II: "The Works 1937-1973", pp. 733-38.

³¹This included computerised searches for British and American theses. A scan of the titles of theses of Canada and other countries was also carried out.



PART I

'DE XIN YING SHOU
[HEART AND HAND IN ACCORD]'

SECTION A

XIN [HEART] → CHINESE CULTURO-PHILOSOPHICAL THOUGHTS

Chinese Culture → Philosophy of Chinese Life

In China, the educated believe nothing and the uneducated believe everything.

A Jesuit Missionary,
A remark made when he first arrived in China
in the sixteenth century¹

Chinese Culture The history of Chinese culture began with the legendary Huang Di [The Yellow Emperor] (ca. 2698-2589 B.C.) and continues right down to the present day. Records of earliest times are few; they are passed down as verbal legacies and legends. There is, however, a folk classic that is known among the Chinese as *Tong Shu* [The Book of Myriad Things]—one of the oldest books in the world.²

¹Catharine Sanders, Chris Stewart & Rhonda Evans, "Contexts", pt. 3 of *The Rough Guide to China* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), p. 569.

²Parts of the book are known to have originated over four thousand years ago. The book—according to Martin Palmer et al., eds. & trans., *T'ung Shu: The Ancient Chinese Almanac* (Manchester: International Consultancy on Religion, Education & Culture, 1986; rev. ed., Kuala Lumpur: Vinpress, 1990; repr., 1993), "History", pp. 14-27—has also been extensively worked upon by Shamans, Taoists, Buddhists, Moslems and Christians at various stages over the last three thousand years and has been annually republished for over two thousand years.

Sometimes referred to as *Li Shu* [The Book of Calendar] or The Sacred Almanac, the core of the book is the Chinese calendar—a careful attempt giving details of *Yin Li* [The Lunar Calendar] (or *Nong Li* [The Farmers' Calendar], as is more commonly known today)³—that provides weather forecasts and a wide range of information relating to the whole year's festivals, auspicious and inauspicious days in the lunar dates. The calendar still has an important bearing on the life, from the cradle to the grave, of many Chinese in China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the Chinese communities in Malay Peninsula and its neighbouring regions.

Besides *Nong Li*, the book also contains other unique materials such as fortune-telling, geomancy, divination systems, charms and talismans, interpretation of dreams, legends and stories, maxims, guidance to learning Chinese characters, dictionaries, astronomical details, herbal medicine and traditional Chinese medical prescriptions, pregnancy charts, telegram and telex charts. It is indeed a "book of esoteric information".⁴ There are few Chinese homes that do not have a copy of the book and owning a copy is widely believed to confer good fortune as well. The book, in fact, constitutes one of the most comprehensive and traditional collections of Chinese beliefs and practices in existence.

It is thus not exaggerating to refer to it as an extraordinary repository of early Chinese culture, that was based upon ceremony—the proper regulation of man's daily life; and upon divination—an attempt to venture into the mystery of the natural forces that lie beyond man's range of knowledge and perception. Ceremony here is "conservative and backward looking" whereas divination is "liberal and peers into the future".⁵ The whole Chinese culture has in fact been developed between these two ends. Over a span of five thousand years, the Chinese culture can be said of '*bao luo wan xiang* [all-embracing]',⁶ deeply interwoven in individual human lives as it pervades almost everything ranging from the family unit to clan association, beliefs to etiquette, events in life to festivities, food to various aspects of arts and craft, etc. All these make up the whole which is culture, like points on the circumference of a circle.

³The history of Chinese calendar is very diffuse, massive and complicated; and, according to Joseph Needham—in Science and Civilisation in China, 7 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954; Taipei: Caves Books, 1985), vol. 3, p. 176—a "definitive monograph on this subject" has yet to be written. His statement still holds.

⁴Marjorie Topley, "Paper Charms and Prayer Sheets as Adjuncts to Chinese Worship", Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society XXVI, pt. 1, no. 161 (July 1953), p. 64.

⁵John C. Ferguson, Chinese Painting (Chicago : The University of Chicago Press, 1927), p. 6.

⁶Han Ying Zonghe Cidian [A Comprehensive Chinese-English Dictionary], 1991 ed, s.v. "*bao* [include]", p. 27.

In Chapter 1, I have aimed to sketch some points of this 'circle' and to draft the essential background pertaining to part of my formulation of Chinese culturo-philosophical thoughts. They are discussed under the section headings of 'The Chinese brush: A Fundamental Instrument of Chinese Culture' and 'The Principle of *Yin Yang* [Negative-Positive]: The Root of Chinese Cultural Thought'.

Philosophy of Chinese Life The emergence of numerous philosophical schools of thought during the Zhou Dynasty (ca. 1122-256 B.C.)—that the Chinese described as *Bai Jia* [Hundred Schools]—marked the beginning of the Chinese quest for developing an understanding of life, that has in turn influenced the Chinese culture extensively. Of the major indigenous schools, *Daojia* [The Taoist School] and *Rujia* [The Confucian School] have stood out, evolved in parallel (though incurring rivalries with each other and with others) throughout Chinese history and eventually became two of the main streams of Chinese thought.

Taoist and Confucian thoughts may be "poles apart from one another, yet they are also the two poles of one and the same axis."⁷ They have permeated every aspect of Chinese life and have become a part of the Chinese consciousness. They have continued to exert influence right up to modern times. In *San Zi Jing* [The Three-Character Classic],⁸ for instance, the very first four phrases that read:

*Ren zhi chu,
Xing ben shan.
Xing xiang jin,
Xi xiang yuan.*

which can be interpreted as the following two statements:

Human nature is originally good.
All men are nearly alike by nature; but their differences become more and more apparent through different practice and in different environment.⁹

⁷Fung Yu-lan, *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, ed. Derk Bodde (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948; 4th pr., 1958), p. 19.

⁸Wang Yinglin (1223-96) is attributed to be the author of *San Zi Jing*—an elementary guide to knowledge for Chinese children; arranged in 356 alternately rhyming lines of three characters each and containing 500 different characters in all; and covering education, history, geography, astronomy, human relations, ethics, etc. There have been countless editions and reprints of the original book. The one published by Wang Xiang in 1786 is accompanied by the very best commentary. Despite of the commentary, some of the text is indeed quite beyond the comprehension of a child and it has also been proven to be difficult for the foreign translators.

⁹*San Zi Jing*, in *Xinyi San Zi Jing* [The New Interpretation of the Three-Character Classic], annotated & interpreted by Huang Peirong (Taipei: San Min Shuju, 1992; 2d ed., 1995), p. 43.

are two of the fundamental Confucian doctrines;¹⁰ and elsewhere in *San Zi Jing*, the statement that read '*San Cai zhe, Tian Di Ren*. [The Trinity refers to Heaven, Earth and Man.]'¹¹ is Taoist. It is also traditionally said that a perfect man is a Confucianist when in office during the day—a righteous and firm administrator, upholding the Confucian virtues while performing public duties, and a Taoist when out of office— withdrawing from responsibilities and giving himself up to a moment of contemplation.¹²

Buddhism, the first organised religion that penetrated China, arrived from India over the Silk Road during Eastern Han Dynasty (A.D. 25-220). The syncretism of Taoist and Confucian thoughts with those of Buddhism subsequently began. Buddhism, with its worship of Buddha and the appearance of Buddhist temples and monasteries, has influenced Taoist and Confucian schools of thought (*Daojia* and *Rujia*)—that started as philosophies of life—to branch off into some kinds of religions as well, as *Daojiao* [The Taoist Religion] and *Rujiao* [The Confucian Religion] respectively. On the other hand, *Chan* [Zen] emerged from Buddhism, as more of a philosophical school of thought, after some blending with the Taoist and the Confucian thoughts.

At their heights, all philosophical thoughts contributed to the evolvement of Chinese culture and provided the profound intellectual and spiritual strength that made China a great civilisation. Besides having been at work on the Chinese life, they have also been adopted to underlie the fundamental philosophical principles of Chinese-brush painting over the centuries. Discussions about painters and paintings have always encompassed discussions of Chinese philosophy of life. "They cannot be fully understood without some knowledge of the latter," wrote Osvald Sirén, "even

¹⁰The first two phrases have been discussed extensively in Meng Zi, *Meng Zi* [The Book of Mencius] 6:1:1-6; and the last two phrases appear in Kong Zi, *Lun Yu* [The Analects of Confucius] 17:2. See the text collected in Xie Bingying et al., comps. & interpreters, *Xinyi Si Shu Duben* [The New Interpretations of the Texts of the Four Books of the Confucian Classics] (Taipei: San Min Shuju, 1987; new ed., 1988), pp. 267 & 565-73. Here and in subsequent references in my text and footnotes, numbers immediately after *Meng Zi*, separated by colons, indicate book, part, chapter (and section in some cases)—a division following the (Chinese) text collected in James Legge, trans., "The Works of Mencius", in *The Works of Mencius*, vol. II of *The Chinese Classics with a Translation, Critical and Exegetical Notes, Prolegomena, and Copious Indexes* (London: Trübner, 1861 in 7 vols.; rev. ed., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893 & 1895; repr., Taipei: SMC Publishing, 1983, 1991, 1994 in 5 vols.); and numbers immediately after *Lun Yu*, separated by colon, indicate chapter and section—a division following the text collected in *Xinyi Si Shu Duben*.

¹¹*San Zi Jing*, in *Xinyi San Zi Jing*, op. cit., p. 63.

¹²On relating Confucian and Taoist attributes to people's attitudes towards life, Arthur Waley has also expressed—in his *Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1939), p. 164—that, "We could even roughly divide our friends and acquaintances into Confucians and Taoists." He was referring to those who are primarily social and moral beings as "Confucians" and those who are primarily individual and imaginative as "Taoists".

though the artistic creations appeal to us through symbols and means which have a value of their own quite distinct from philosophical definitions or literature."¹³

Chapter 2 is thus devoted to a discussion of some crucial doctrines and concepts of Taoism, Confucianism and *Chan*-ism, pertaining to the completion of my formulation of the culturo-philosophical perspective, that is then used, in subsequent chapters, to view the embodiment of the Chinese thoughts in the principles of Chinese-brush painting, and in painting itself.

¹³Sirén, The Chinese on the Art of Painting, op. cit., p. 3.

CHAPTER 1

Chinese Culture and Chinese Cultural Thought

. . . The flower [plum-blossom] is *yang* [positive]—symbolising Heaven; the tree [referring to trunk and branches] is *yin* [negative]—symbolising Earth. . . .

The peduncle—from which the flower issues—is a symbol of *Taiji* [The Primal Beginning]¹ and hence [is drawn with] a '*ding*'² [representing the upright form of the calyx]. The part supporting the blossom is a symbol of *San Cai* [The Trinity of Heaven, Earth and Man] and consequently [is drawn with] three dots [representing three sepals]. The flower . . . is a symbol of *Wu Xing* [The Five Elements]³ and thus [is drawn with] five petals. The stamens . . . are symbols of *Qi Zheng* [The Seven Planets]⁴ and so [are drawn with] seven stalks. When the flowers fade, [they] return to the ultimate number [the number of *Taiji*] and that is why there are nine [stages of] transformations [representing the cycles of growth and decline of the

¹*Taiji* literally means supreme ultimate. It is variously rendered as 'The Absolute', 'The Primal Beginning', 'The Great Root', 'The Ridgepole of the Universe', etc.

²*Ding* is a Chinese character that can be taken to mean 'T-shaped'.

³The Five Elements consist of *jin* [metal], *mu* [wood], *shui* [water], *huo* [fire] and *tu* [earth].

⁴The Seven Planets refer in antiquity to the seven heavenly bodies, including the sun and the moon, that were thought to travel among the fixed stars.

plum-tree]. All these aspects of the plum-blossom are based on *yang* and therefore are associated with the odd [numbers].

The roots . . . symbolise *Er Yi* [The Two Forms—*Yin* and *Yang*] and thus [the trunk is divided into] two parts. The trunk [and main branches] . . . symbolise the four seasons and so [are composed] facing the four directions. The branches . . . symbolise *Liu Xiao* [The Six Lines of *Yi Jing* Hexagrams]⁵ and so have six main establishments [or six types of crossings of branches for a complete tree]. The tips of the branches symbolise *Ba Gua* [The Eight Trigrams of *Yi Jing*] and thus have [their] eight knots [forks]. The whole tree [with its trunk, branches and blossoms] symbolises the complete number [ten] and therefore there are ten kinds [of plum-trees]. All these aspects of the tree pertain to *yin* and are associated with the even [numbers]. . . .

Wang Gai (1645-ca. 1710),
Wang Shi (d. 1737) and Wang Nie (fl. ca. 1701),
Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan
[The Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting],
Ji [Vol.] 2, *Juan* [Bk.] 3: On Plum[-Blossom],
'Explanation of the Symbolism of Plum[-Blossom] Painting'⁶

⁵*Yi Jing* [The Classic of Changes] will be discussed shortly in my text.

⁶For more information about *Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan*, see my App. 3.2.2, s.v. "Wang Gai (1645-ca. 1710)". The cited excerpt is modified from Mai-mai Sze, *The Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting: Chieh Tzu Yüan Hua Chuan, 1679-1701*, Bollingen Series (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1956; new hard cover ed., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963; paperback pr., 1977; 8th pr., 1992), pp. 404-6. Modification is based on a reprint of the Shanghai edition of *Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan*—Wang Gai, Wang Shi & Wang Nie, eds. & comps., *Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan, 3 ji* [The Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting, 3 vols.] (Beijing: Zhongguo Shudian, 1982; 4th pr., 1986), vol. 2, bk. 5, p. 1.

1.1 The Chinese Brush: A Fundamental Instrument of Chinese Culture

1.1.1 *Wenfang Si Bao* [The Four Treasures of the Study]

Wenfang Si Bao or "The Four Treasures of the Abode of Culture"⁷—consisting of *bi* [Chinese brush], *mo* [Chinese ink, which also refers to ink-stick], *yan* [ink-slab] and *zhi* [paper] are the basic writing tools and materials of the Chinese culture. The Chinese also refer to these tools and materials as *Si You* [The Four Friends] indicating that they never regarded them as mere passive tools and materials, but those that have a striking character and ethics of their own, contributing with their specific form to the master's success.

Zhi Paper is one of the finest inventions of the Chinese with which they made a great contribution to the development of culture all over the world. The invention of paper—originally made of plant materials such as the bark of trees, linen waste, old rags, hemp and fishing nets—is credited to Cai Lun (fl. ca. A.D. 105), minister of agriculture of the Han Dynasty (202 B.C.-A.D. 220).⁸ Paper of outstanding quality was later produced during the Tang Dynasty (A.D. 618-907) and around that time it came to Central Asia and Europe with the Arabs.⁹ Paper making in China continues to depend on traditional hand operations and natural plant materials, such as bamboo, mulberry bark, hemp, linen, rice straw and the sliced pith of a plant called the rice-paper tree.¹⁰ The use of the last two materials probably gave rise to the term 'rice paper' to describe oriental papers that are commonly used for Chinese calligraphy and Chinese painting.¹¹

⁷Diana Kan, *The How and Why of Chinese Painting*, op. cit., p. 14.

⁸*The Wordsworth Encyclopedia*, 1995 ed., s.v. "paper".

⁹The Arabs first learned the secret of paper making from the Chinese prisoners of war in Samarkand in A.D. 768. Paper making then spread to Moorish Spain and to Byzantium in the eleventh century, to the rest of Europe in the following century and to America somewhat later.

¹⁰Paper in the West was hand-made from reprocessed rags and cloth until the introduction of new processes by Louis Robert in 1799. Since then, most Western paper has been machine-made from various kinds of wood pulp.

¹¹Paper for Chinese calligraphy and Chinese painting is now available in a wide range but can be generally classified into three main types: (1) *yue gongdian* [moon palace] paper (which is machine-made from

Mo Chinese ink is another of the most important inventions of the Chinese culture. The esteem with which fine ink is regarded not only extends over generations but stretches across countries. Ink in the form of sticks, with the elaborate decorations consisting of pictures and characters (usually in gold colour), is itself an interesting work of art. The gift of a prized ink-stick is considered more valuable than money. Many secrets are connected with its production. The making of *songyan mo* [pine-soot ink] began at the beginning of the Han Dynasty, when it replaced *shi mo* [stone ink, literally, produced from graphite (black lead)] that had previously been in use. Ink-making then became a highly specialised art and since the Tang Dynasty, many personal recipes were developed. However, the basic materials for its production—pine-soot, glue (made from the hides of various types of animals, the earliest of which probably being that of a deer), and aromatic mixtures (such as musk or camphor)—have not changed.¹² Besides pine-soot, *youyan* [oil-soot, literally, which is lampblack obtained from burning oil] is also used nowadays, especially since the Song Dynasty (A.D. 960-1279).

Yan Closely related with the ink-stick is the ink-slab. Like the ink-stick, the ink-slab—on which the ink-stick is rotated and slowly ground with water—is a highly regarded treasure, for great emphasis has been given to the act of grinding the ink-stick. The ink-slabs vary from simple rectangular or circular slablike stones, that are commonly used, to ornate and carved antiques, that are passed down over generations and are collected by connoisseurs. Between these two designs are many different shapes, sizes and amount of carved decoration. Ink-slabs are often carved from river slates or various stones giving many subtle colours, although some are also made of precious materials such as jade. The stones used, however, must be impermeable and the smoothness of the grinding surface will determine the fineness of the ink. It is often said that with a good ink-slab one should not be able to hear the ink being ground.

Bi As significant as the Chinese ink and the ink-slab is the Chinese brush. Little is known of its origin, but its existence can probably be placed into the Warring

Taiwan and Japan and useful as practice paper); (2) *mao bian zhi* [paper made from bamboo]; and (3) *xuan zhi* [high quality handmade paper that comes in different absorbencies and varying thickness in the form of single, double and triple layers].

¹²An ink-stick with a sheen or a mat finish is preferred to a glossy one and a good ink-stick is light in weight and very brittle. The ink-sticks also come in different shades of black colour—blue-black, brown-black and a true black—depending on the part of the pine tree that has been used.

States Period (403-221 B.C.). It is, however, certain that the brush came into widespread use among the Chinese since the Qin Dynasty (221-207 B.C.), for the brush is believed to have been originated by Meng Tian (d. ca. 209 B.C.), who was a general of Emperor Qin Shihuang (260-210 B.C.) and was then in charge of the building of the Great Wall.¹³ Besides being used as a tool, the brush itself has always been greatly respected and properly cared for. A brush may be used for many years, handing down from one generation to another. When it is finally too old to be used, it is wrapped in silk, placed in a sandalwood box and carefully buried.

For an instrument so fundamental in Chinese culture, it is surprising that the whole technique of the production of the brush and the basic materials used have not greatly changed over the centuries. Interestingly, the (simplified) Chinese character for the brush—*bi*—consists of a top component made up of a radical *zhu* [bamboo] and a bottom component *mao* [hair], reflecting that the handle of the brush is still made from bamboo and the tip from hair. When hairs of rabbit, wolf and horse are used, they are called brown-hair brushes; and in the order listed the brushes gradually get stiffer and more resilient. White-hair brushes are made from hairs of sheep and goat and are much softer and more pliant but can hold more liquid. Brushes are also made from combinations of hairs to make full use of the best features of each type of hair. A brush can be, for instance, white outside and brown inside, providing stiffness and the ability to hold more liquid. It may be noteworthy that any good Chinese brush is more flexible and can hold considerably more liquid than its Western counterpart. There is no substitute for a traditional Chinese brush.

1.1.2 The Brush Grip and Writing

The brush grip is also a purely Chinese development. The degree of flexibility or the power of almost infinite adaptability of the brush depends largely on the way it is being held and used. The brush becomes a potent instrument in the hand of a master. It is often compared to a powerful battlefield weapon. The Chinese also believe that the brush is a physical extension of the user's will and that there must be a continuous flow of *qi* [spirit], transmitting his intent from his 'heart' (mind) unrestrictedly through the arm to the brush. There must also be free movement in the entire arm, not just

¹³Josef Hejzlar, *Chinese Watercolours*, trans. Till Gottheinerová & rev. Natalio Graham & Derek French (London: Octopus Books, 1978) p. 34.

flicking the fingers. To achieve such a stage—the stage of '*de xin ying shou*'—one needs to undergo a very long and exacting training, beginning as a school child.

The first order a pupil is given is to sit up straight, relax his body and take a firm grasp of the brush. "It [the brush] is held rather high on the handle," wrote Diana Kan, "with a touch so gentle that the hand could hold an egg in its palm at the same time without crushing the shell, and with the wrist so steady that it could balance a small rock."¹⁴ It is interesting to note that such manner of holding the brush upright is similar to holding chopsticks (which is another purely Chinese development), in terms of the placement of the fingers. The pupil learns—starting with the Chinese character '*yong* [forever]'—to master the eight basic strokes needed for writing characters. He learns initially to write mostly by copying some fundamental characters, and has to master the structural principles of their composition, in terms of the order of strokes, balance, proportions and shapes. He then applies what he learned on other characters.

Learning and practising to write characters take up a great part of the training and the preliminary steps require many diligent years. It is not just a matter of memorising thousands of characters, but of understanding the inner structure of Chinese calligraphy and its artistic demands as well as the knowledge of symbolism embodying the ancient beliefs and ideas in the characters. In the process of such discipline, one also acquires the skill of handling the brush with ease and gaining sensitivity and control of the medium. All these give Chinese calligraphy its personality and value; in contrast to the Western calligraphy (as in the case of the Moslem or medieval handwriting) where a fine handwriting was regular, decorative and impersonal.¹⁵

1.1.3 Writing and Painting

Almost every painter in the long history of China underwent this basic training in brushwork before he even began to study painting itself. That is why every painter of

¹⁴The How and Why of Chinese Painting, op. cit., p. 17.

¹⁵Jean Buhot, "Chinese Writing" in *Arts de la Chine* (Paris: Les Editions du Chêne, 1951), collected under "Evidence and Documents" in Michel Courtois, *Chinese Painting*, trans. Paul Eve, History of Art ([Paris]: Editions Rencontre Lausanne, 1967; English ed., Geneva: Edito-Service, 1970; London: Heron Books, 1970), p. 111.

early China was, almost without exception, also a calligrapher, relying on the same Chinese brush, and the rest of *Wenfang Si Bao*.¹⁶ Using the same tools and materials for literary and scholarly pursuits as well as for artistic ones is further promoted by the poet-painters over the centuries.¹⁷ To them, calligraphy and painting mean the same thing, except probably that writing gives written form to their thoughts while painting gives pictorial form to their fantasies and moods. As Zhang Yanyuan (ca. A.D. 815-875) put it, ". . . although calligraphy and painting have different names, they are the same thing."¹⁸

In fact, when Chinese philosopher Kong Zi [Confucius] (ca. 551-479 B.C.) and ancient Chinese talked about *Liu Yi* [The Six Artistries]—which are *li* [ritual], *yue* [music], *she* [archery], *yu* [chariotteering], *shu* [calligraphy], and *shu* [calculation]¹⁹—painting was not explicitly mentioned; calligraphy is being considered to include both.²⁰ Later, however, both *shu* [calligraphy] and *hua* [painting] were separately enumerated as two of the four accomplishments of the scholar—*qin* [lute], *qi* [chess], *shu* and *hua*. At the end of the Tang Dynasty, Jing Hao (ca. A.D. 870-930) modified the list to *qin*, *shu* and *hua*:

[That which is called] desire is a threat to life. [That is why] virtuous people thoroughly enjoy [playing] *qin*, [doing] *shu*, [and] *tuhua* [painting], replacing worthless desires [with those worthy ones].²¹

¹⁶According to Jane Evans, *Chinese Brush Painting: A Complete Course in Traditional and Modern Techniques* (London: William Collins Sons, 1987), p. 15, "the Chinese [in fact] had been using [the same] brushes for painting and writing long before the dawn of recorded Chinese history."

¹⁷*The How and Why of Chinese Painting*, op. cit., p. 14.

¹⁸Zhang, *Lidai Minghua Ji* [The Record of Famous Paintings of the Successive Dynasties], bk. 1, chap. 1, in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian, shang juan, xia juan* [The Theory of Chinese Painting by Categories, 2 vols.], ed. Yu Kun ([Beijing: Zhongguo Gudian Yishu Chubanshe, 1957]; Taipei: Huazheng Shuju, 1984), vol. 1, p. 28. For a brief biography of Zhang, see my App. 3.2.2.

¹⁹In *Lun Yu* 7:6, Kong Zi advised to "find recreation in *Yi*". According to Xie Bingying et al., in *Xinyi Si Shu Duben*, op. cit., p. 135, '*Yi*' is regarded as '*Liu Yi*'—which are *li*, *yue*, *she*, *yu*, *shu* and *shu*.

²⁰Lin Yutang—in *The Chinese Theory of Art: Translations from the Masters of Chinese Art* (London: William Heinemann, 1967), p. 70—interpreted the last of *Liu Yi*—*shu*—as 'astrology' or 'mathematics'. John C. Ferguson—in his *Chinese Painting*, op. cit., p. 6—however, took it to mean "calculation of areas", that led him to argue that *shu* leads to the inclusion of painting. He wrote:

The last one, calculation, meant the calculation of areas. It might also be spoken of as surveying or land-plotting. With this was necessarily associated with "drawing plans" (*t'u*). Out of this art of calculation or surveying thus grew the drawing of maps which, it is generally agreed among Chinese critics, formed the basis of drawing and painting.

²¹Jing, *Bifa Ji* [Some Notes on the Art of the Brush], in *Hualun Congkan, shang xia liang juan* [Series of Publications on Theory of Painting, 2 vols.], ed. Yu Anlan ([Beijing: Renmin Meishu Chubanshe, 1937 in 1 vol.; 1960 in 2 vols.; repr., 1989]; Taipei: Huazheng Shuju, 1984), vol. 1, p. 8; translation with reference to Susan Bush & Hsio-yen Shih, eds. & comps., *Early Chinese Texts on Painting* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), p. 146. For a brief biography of Jing, see my App. 3.2.2.

1.1.4 Cultured - Scholar - Philosopher - Calligrapher - Painter

The character 'yi' (used in *Liu Yi*)—which also means 'skill'—was later added 'shu'—which means 'method', 'technique' or 'tactics'—to form 'yishu', a term for 'arts'. Under this term, almost all artistic pursuits and products are included. The use of these two characters 'yi' and 'shu', both of which imply skill and technique, shows that Chinese art has never overlooked nor underestimated the importance of technical skill such as the skill of holding the Chinese brush and the technique of brushwork, for both culture and technique have been recognised as **equally** fundamental in the training of an artist. John C. Ferguson, however, regarded 'culture' as primary influence and 'technique' as secondary. "There can be no divorce between culture and technique," said Ferguson, "but in the combination the primary influence is culture and the secondary technique."²² Interestingly, he further mentioned that it is the other way round in the West. He said:

The difference between the way in which artists were produced in China and that in which they were produced with us [in the West] has consisted in the background. With us [the West], this background is technique; with the Chinese, it has been culture. With us [the West], out of a group of those skilled in technique have arisen the inspired artists . . . ; in China, out of the group of cultured men have come the artists Among us [the Westerners], culture has been sought as a valuable addition to the working outfit of a budding genius who had already shown his skill in technique; in China, technique has been learned by those who have given promise of seeing great visions and feeling great thoughts during the ordinary processes of obtaining culture.²³

Nevertheless, the Chinese world of culture indeed reflects a very special sort of society, one in which every artist is "cultured", and he is not only both a calligrapher and a painter, but also a scholar. The humanistic nature of Chinese scholarship and the gentlemanly character of Chinese calligraphy and painting, have created such a possible situation that the scholar and the artist are one. Not only that, the scholar-artist is, unlike his Western counterpart, also something of a philosopher. Michael Sullivan wrote in agreement:

²²Ferguson, *Chinese Painting*, op. cit., p. 7.

²³Ibid., pp. 4-5.

. . . while it is little help in understanding the art of Turner, say, or of Cézanne, to know . . . whether or not they had read Aristotle or Descartes. That is not true of China.²⁴

Being a philosopher, the Chinese artist's vision does not fade with the passing of his youth. Instead, the older he grows, the deeper grows his understanding and the richer his art.

Chinese-brush painting by such cultured-scholar-philosopher-calligrapher-painter is indeed a total art; it is all-embracing. It also represents a unique part of Chinese civilisation in its long history. The evolution of Chinese-brush painting over many centuries has remained remarkably continuous and has established a strong tradition of general independence and self-generating force. New inventions and materials have not greatly affected the use of traditional Four Treasures in Chinese-brush painting although painting with these tools and materials is extremely difficult if one's skills are less than accomplished, for once a mark is executed on the paper, it cannot be erased or altered. This is how Chinese-brush painting differs from Western oil painting and drawing with charcoal and pencil. Although Chinese painting today may bear the external influence of ideas from the West, it remains a distinctly different kind of art, maintaining the essence of its tradition in Chinese culture.

²⁴Sullivan, Symbols of Eternity: The Art of Landscape Painting in China (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), "Preface", p. xi.

1.2 The Principle of *Yin Yang* [Negative-Positive]: The Root of Chinese Cultural Thought

1.2.1 *Yi Jing* [The Classic of Changes]

The earliest simple writing symbols are believed to have been invented by one of the earliest legendary rulers called Fu Xi, in the twenty-eighth century B.C.²⁵ He realised that everything is constantly changing in the universe and created two linear symbols: '—' (a long stroke) and '--' (two short strokes). These two basic symbols correspond respectively to the positive and the negative elements of the universe—the *Yang* and *Yin*. From these symbols eight different triplets or trigrams were formed. By combining each of the eight trigrams with another, one above the other, sixty-four hexagrams were developed. These hexagrams form the linear system of the book *Yi Jing*.

Yi Jing—that grew out of the ancient practice of divination—is divided into the texts (consisting discussions of the hexagrams) and the commentaries. Tradition ascribes the hexagrams to [Zhou] Wen Wang (ca. 1171-1122 B.C.),²⁶ and the texts also to him or his younger son, Zhou Dan (d. 1094 B.C.).²⁷ However, most scholars have rejected this ascription,²⁸ but have agreed that the commentaries were given by Kong Zi, his disciples and followers. *Yi Jing* is one of the Confucian Classics,²⁹ and the earliest. It is noteworthy that of all the Classics, *Yi Jing* alone escaped the famous 'Burning of Books' under Emperor Qin Shihuang. The fact that it has stood in such a high esteem among the Chinese, generation after generation makes many scholars

²⁵Jean Long, The Art of Chinese Calligraphy (Poole: Blandford Press, 1987), p. 10.

²⁶Wen Wang [The Literary King] was a title bestowed posthumously by his son, Zhou Fa—later known as Wu Wang [The Martial King]—who founded Zhou Dynasty (ca. 1122-256 B.C.).

²⁷Zhou Dan was known as the Duke of Zhou. Wen Wang, Wu Wang and Zhou Dan—the three most famous leaders of Zhou Dynasty—also became highly idealised figures in Chinese historical and philosophical writings. *Zhou Li* [The Rites of Zhou Dynasty], a record of the duties, calendars and details of the Court and its officials of the Zhou administration, was ascribed to Zhou Dan.

²⁸Wing-tsit Chan, trans. & comp., A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 262.

²⁹For more information about Confucian Classics, see my App. 3.1.3 & 3.1.4.

believe that the philosophical significance embodied in the book antedated its oracle-taking function.

Although there is no exposition of the *yin* and *yang* principles in the body of the book, the concept of *yin yang* [negative-positive] is implicit in the terminology of the hexagrams since each is designated as a *yin* or a *yang* form, with lines that are either *yin* or *yang*. The interpretations of the hexagrams also explain the fluctuations of *yin* and *yang*. The most succinct, but somewhat enigmatic, statement of the *yin yang* principle in *Yi Jing* is to be found in the following:

[The mutual relationship and the fluctuations of] that which is *yin*, [and] that which is *yang*, [constitute that which] is called *Dao* [*Tao*].
As continuer, it is good;
As completer, it is the essence.³⁰

Here, *yin* and *yang* can be respectively interpreted as the dark and the light, the shadowed and the light side of a mountain, and designating the two primal powers of nature, the two polar forces of the universe.³¹ Through successive movement, they constitute what is called *Dao*.³² These two primal forces never come to a standstill; the cycle of change and becoming continues uninterrupted. That which is perpetuated by *Dao* is good and *Dao* as the power that completes things is the essence.

1.2.2 *Yin* [Negative], *Yang* [Positive], and *Yin Yang*

The designation of *yin* and *yang* in *Yi Jing* suggests that *yin* and *yang* are just value-free symbols, like the negative and the positive poles of a magnet, rather than negative and positive in the sense of bad and good. They can thus be used to represent many things, from the simplest to the most universal. Basically, *yin* stands for the female

³⁰These sentences are found in *Yi Jing*, bk. 2, pt. 1, ch. 6. The first one is my translation of text collected in Guo Jianxun, annotator & interpreter, *Xinyi Yi Jing Duben* [The New Interpretation of the Text of *Yi Jing*] (Taipei: San Min Shuju, 1996), p. 504, with reference to interpretation on p. 504. The second sentence is taken from Cary F. Baynes, trans., *I Ching or Book of Changes*, foreword by C. G. Jung, preface to 3d ed. by Hellmut Wilhelm (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1951 in 2 vols.; 3d ed., 1968 in 1 vol.; paperback ed., 1983; London: Penguin Books, 1989), p. 298.

³¹*I Ching or Book of Changes*, *ibid*, p. 297.

³²*Dao* is being regarded as the indefinable universal principle which later became the basis of Taoism and embodied in the thoughts of Confucianism and *Chan*-ism [*Zen* Buddhism], to be discussed later in my next chapter.

principle of shade, cold and passivity; while *yang* stands for the male principle of light, warmth and activity. Their meanings have been extended to a vast number of parallel pairs such as earth—heaven, moon—sun, autumn-winter—spring-summer, woman—man, fall—rise, receiving—giving, resting—moving, submissiveness—aggressiveness, soft—hard, weakness—strength, liquid—solid, and yielding—unyielding. In numerology, even numbers are *yin* and odd ones *yang*; and in flavours, sour, pungent and salty are *yin* and sweet, bitter and bland *yang*. To a certain extent, *yin* and *yang* also describe respectively such pairs as empty—full, crooked—straight, square—round, heavy—light, inside—outside, left—right.³³

It is, however, important to stress that these pairs are not opposites. *Yin* and *yang* exist relative to each other and they need each other for existence. In other words, each of them contains the essence of its complement. Some Western writings have, however, missed some of these points. An example is the following by Michael Sullivan:

Ever since the *yang-yin* dualism was **first set down in the third century B.C.**, the Chinese have been fascinated by the **dialectical process**. The **conflict** between the claims of the present and those of the past is but one of many dialectics at work in the mind of the educated man: **between the Confucian in him and the Taoist**; between orthodoxy and individualism; between the past as inspiration and the past as burden; between the demands of society and the demands of the self; between stability and change; between objective study and inner illumination. For the artist especially, there were the **tensions between art as representation and art as expression**; between craftsmanship and spontaneity; between the universal and the particular statement; between nature as seen by the old masters and nature as seen by the artist himself.³⁴

It is doubtful, in the first place, to say that the idea of *yin* and *yang* was "first set down in the third century B.C." The idea was already discernible during the times of Chinese philosopher Lao Zi (ca. 604-531 B.C.), or Kong Zi, if not earlier. Lao Zi, for instance, wrote:

Dao produced One. The One produced Two. The Two produced Three. The Three produced the ten thousand [myriad] things. The ten thousand [myriad] things carry *Yin* and embrace *Yang*.³⁵

³³In The Way of Chinese Painting: Its Ideas and Technique, with Selections from the Seventeenth-Century Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting (New York: Vintage Books, 1959), p. 43, Mai-mai Sze designated *yang* to left and *yin* to right which is in contradiction with what she wrote later on p. 73, that "the right indicated what pertained to Heaven and *Yang*, the left what pertained to Earth and *Yin*."

³⁴Symbols of Eternity, op. cit., pp. 144-45, bold emphasis mine.

³⁵Lao Zi, Dao De Jing [The Classic of Tao and Its Power] 42, in Xinyi Lao Zi Duben [The New Interpretation of the Text of Lao Zi], annotated & interpreted by Yu Peilin (Taipei: San Min Shuju, 1973; 10th ed.,

Yin and *Yang* were also mentioned as the two primal forces in the Confucian classics *Shi Jing* [The Classic of Poetry] and *Li Ji* [The Record of Rites], in which the idea was applied by analogy to the weather, the calendar, ceremonies, musical instruments, directions and personal attributes.³⁶ *Li Ji* mentions *yin* and *yang* in these words:

The Great one separated and became Heaven and Earth. It revolved and became the dual forces. It changed and became the four seasons. It was distributed and became the breathing.³⁷

Kong Zi was also quoted as saying:

Qian [the Creative], [and] *Kun* [the Receptive], are indeed the gateway to *yi* [change]. *Qian* is *yang*, [and] *Kun* is *yin*. [When] *yin* and *yang* are united, the strong and the weak receive form. [In this way] the creation of Heaven and Earth [the universe] take shape, [and] the character of spiritual intelligence can be penetrated.³⁸

Next, *yin* and *yang* have never been perceived as dialectics or resulted in "dialectical process", "conflict" or "tensions" in Sullivan's sense. They are in fact complementary and unitary, even between Taoism and Confucianism. Taoism provides a dream world needed for the creative intuition of the Chinese, taking the place of the spiritual imagination—*yin* need of the mind; while the stabilising influence of Confucianism satisfies their practical needs and represents the rational resources of the mind—*yang* of the Chinese society. "Greatness was assured when the stability of Confucian conformity, moderation and lucidity was added to the imagination of Taoist freedom, naturalness and mystery," wrote George Rowley.³⁹

Thus, *yin* and *yang* are neither dialectics nor opposites; they depend on one another with each as the complement of the other, providing a unified whole and a

1994), p. 76. (Here and in subsequent references in my text and footnotes, the number after *Dao De Jing* indicates the chapter—a division following the text collected in *Xinyi Lao Zi Duben*.) This passage is also represented in *Yi Jing* by the coming together of the undivided line (The One) of *yang*, and the divided line (The Two) of *yin* in the formation of three-line primary trigrams (The Three); the combination of these (eight) trigrams to form (sixty-four) hexagrams represent the whole world of possible constellations. *Dao* thus sets in motion and maintains the interplay of *yin* and *yang* forces that determine the cycle of change and the alternations.

³⁶Alfred Forke, *The World-Conception of the Chinese: Their Astronomical, Cosmological and Physico-Philosophical Speculations*, Probsthain's Oriental Series, vol. XIV (London: Arthur Probsthain, 1925), pp. 163-70.

³⁷Quoted in *The Way of Chinese Painting*, op. cit., p. 42.

³⁸*Yi Jing*, bk. 2, pt. 2, ch. 6, in *Xinyi Yi Jing Duben*, op. cit., p. 548, translation and interpretation with reference to *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, op. cit., pp. 248-49 & 268-69.

³⁹Rowley, *Principles of Chinese Painting* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947; 2d ed., 1959; 3d hard cover pr., 1970), p. 13.

creative universe. In fact, the whole passage written by Sullivan conforms to the Western set-up of antagonistic dualisms such as God—human, ideal—natural, classic—romantic, and traditional—avant-garde. The dualisms represent opposites and the West has always indulged in the quest for reality by pursuing each opposite to its end. In the spirit of *yin yang*, the Chinese fusion, however, is a dynamic union of extremes that needed one another for completeness. For the artist, there was no tension "between art as representation and art as expression"; his painting must be neither representative nor expressive, it must be a harmonious fusion of both.

The Chinese approach is holistic. This idea can be and is best illustrated in the *Yin Yang* emblem (or the *Taiji* emblem, as is now popularly known)—in which *yin* and *yang* are the dark and light halves (or the black and red halves), and the S-shaped line dividing them ingeniously depicts the constant rotation that is their prime characteristic. The *yin* half also holds a small circle or seed of *yang*, and the *yang* half holds a seed of *yin*. It indicates that when one of the two is developed to its fullest extreme, it may turn out to become the other element, so that there is a continual fluctuation between *yin* and *yang*. Such idea is also reflected in *Dao De Jing* [*The Classic of Tao and Its Power*] in these words: "Going further means reverting."⁴⁰

This fluctuation between *yin* and *yang* can also be compared to the oscillation of a pendulum. After reaching the furthest position in a *yin* movement, it swings back in a returning *yang* course. Furthermore, any point of the motion in any direction represents only part of the full *yin yang* swing. Thus, at any stage, there are both *yin* and *yang*, each capable of change and always changing, being one or the other, fully or partially, according to the degree of interpretation. In fact, this concept can also be visualised from the original *yin* and *yang* lines. The two separate short strokes of the *yin* line have the tendency to move towards each other to become *yang*. On the other hand, the continuous stroke *yang* line tends to move towards its ends and to split into *yin*.

1.2.3 *Yin Yang* → Chinese Painting

The Chinese believe that all things in the universe are naturally produced by the harmonious and dynamic interaction of the two complementary forces of *yin* and

⁴⁰*Dao De Jing* 25, in *Xinyi Lao Zi Duben*, op. cit., p. 51.

yang. The idea of *yin* and *yang* is indeed "the law of natural action and the action of natural law."⁴¹ It is believed to be important to achieve the balance of *yin* and *yang* in the workings of all things and in the whole of Chinese life. In Chinese cuisine, for instance, a meal must conform to the Principle of *Yin Yang*, with a balanced interplay of dark, cool and feminine dishes and those that are hot, strong and masculine.⁴² In traditional Chinese medicine, it is believed that, "*Yin* and *yang* are . . . the roots of life and death Treatment of disease should [thus] be based upon the roots."⁴³ *Shi'er Shengxiao* [The Twelve-Animal Symbols]—the traditional mode of age calculation—were also created, in the sixth century B.C., to establish the *yin yang* symmetry and rhythm.⁴⁴ The Chinese also devised the callisthenic exercises such as *Taiji Quan* and *Qi Gong*, based on the *Taiji* emblem and the underlying principle.⁴⁵

The Principle of *Yin Yang* also pervades Chinese-brush painting. First of all, the *yin yang* idea is presented virtually in the scroll-mounting of the painting approximately midway between the upper area (symbolising *yang* Heaven) and the lower (symbolising *yin* Earth). Such association of the top part of the painting and the mounting with Heaven and the lower with Earth may be found the original reason for the direction of Chinese writing to be from top to bottom. Since the right also indicated what pertained to *yang* and the left what pertained to *yin*, Chinese writings appear in rows from right to left. A painting of the vertical type is thus 'read' from top to bottom and paintings of the horizontal type are unrolled and 'read' from right to left.⁴⁶

⁴¹Ben Willis, The Tao of Art: The Inner Meaning of Chinese Art and Philosophy (London: Century Hutchinson, 1987), p. 63.

⁴²For recipes of *yin*, *yang* and neutral dishes, see, for instance, Ng Siong Mui, Secrets of Nutritional Chinese Cookery (Singapore: Landmark Books, 1988) and The Chinese Health, Beauty & Rejuvenation Cookbook (Singapore: Landmark Books, 1992) by the same author. Each recipe in the books is marked with a symbol to indicate if the dish produced has *yin* (symbolised by a fully-shaded red circle), *yang* (symbolised by a red circle without shading) or neutral (symbolised by the *Yin Yang* emblem) properties.

⁴³Henry C. Lu, trans., A Complete Translation of the Yellow Emperor's Classic of Internal Medicine and the Difficult Classic (Vancouver: The Academy of Oriental Heritage, 1978), p. 30. This work is a translation of Huang Di Nei Jing [The Yellow Emperor's Classic of Internal Medicine], legendarily ascribed to Huang Di [The Yellow Emperor] (ca. 2698-2589 B.C.) but is actually a work by various unknown authors in the Warring States Period. The book is believed to be based on Yi Jing. It is said that if Huang Di Nei Jing is the door to the treasure-house of Chinese medical classics, then Yi Jing is its key.

⁴⁴For a detail discussion of The Twelve-Animal Symbols, see C. S. Wong, "The Twelve Animal Symbols", chap. 2 of An Illustrated Cycle of Chinese Festivals in Malaysia and Singapore, ed. Peter Hutton & Steve Thompson (Singapore: Malaysia Publishing House, 1967; new ed., Singapore: Jack Chia-MPH, 1987), pp. 33-51.

⁴⁵*Taiji Quan* is a kind of Chinese system of callisthenic exercise and pugilism, characterised by co-ordinated and harmonious movements and known to help keep the mind and body in proper balance; *Qi Gong* is a breathing exercise derived from *Taiji Quan*.

⁴⁶The Way of Chinese Painting, op. cit., p. 73.

In painting, *yin* and *yang* are transmitted by every possible means as a balance fusion, achieving harmony and coherence among the ideas expressed as well as in the elements of the painting itself through the work of the hand. Painters consider this harmony as co-ordination of 'heart (the inner *yin* resource of the guiding mind) and hand (the outer *yang* expression through the technical brushwork)'—which is what Zhang Yanyuan referred to as "conception" and "use of the brush":

Of course, [one] must aim at *xingsi* [likeness in respect to form or formal likeness, which can also mean verisimilitude] in painting a subject, [but] *xingsi* requires completion by *guqi* [strength of individual character]. [Both] *guqi* [and] *xingsi* originate from [the painter's] **conception** [of the subject] and are based ultimately upon **the use of the brush**.⁴⁷

Ding Bai (fl. ca. 1800) compared *yin* and *yang* respectively to *xu* [void, literally, which can be taken to mean imaginary here] and *shi* [solid, literally, which can mean real] in brushwork. He wrote:

. . . Because there are *yin* and *yang*, so [we also] have *xu* and *shi* [respectively] in brush[work]. Because there are *yang* within *yin* [and] *yin* within *yang*, so [we also] have *xu* within *shi* [and] *shi* within *xu* [*sic*] in brush[work].⁴⁸

This '*yang* within *yin* and *yin* within *yang*' or '*shi* within *xu* and *xu* within *shi*' is, in fact, an illustration of the *Taiji* emblem—*yin* holding a *yang* seed and *yang* holding a *yin* seed.

1.2.4 *Yin Yang* → *Shanshui Hua* [Landscape Painting]

The *yin yang* idea is also carried through and applied at every stage of composition of a landscape painting. At the start of planning a composition, for instance, a clearly visible amount of space is usually reserved for the sky or mist (or just voids) with respect to that given to mountains, trees and other terrestrial features. Such allocation is a visualisation of the interplay of *yang* (for the sky) and *yin* (for the terrestrial

⁴⁷Zhang, *Lidai Minghua Ji*, bk. 1, chap. 4, in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 32; bold emphasis mine, translation with reference to *The Chinese Theory of Art*, op. cit., p. 52. For the translation of the term '*guqi*', I have used 'strength of individual character' instead of Lin's 'basic individuality'. William Acker, however, has wrongly translated it as "noble vitality", as quoted in *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, op. cit., p. 54.

⁴⁸Ding, *Xiezheng Mijue* [The Secrets of Portrait Painting], in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, ibid., p. 547. For a brief biography of Ding, see my App. 3.2.2.

matter). At the last stage of landscape painting, when inscriptions are added, they are usually placed at the top of the painting not only because this space is available but probably because originally inscriptions consisted of thoughts related to heaven and the spirit.⁴⁹

The idea of *yin* and *yang* is also constantly active, permeating and energising each element of a landscape. However, the manifestations of *yin yang* in painting "often escape the most careful scrutiny of the Western eye and the analytical appraisal of the Western mind."⁵⁰ Li Cheng (A.D. 919-967), for example, wrote, "[Among] lofty trees towering vertically, [have] one or two twisted, gnarled ones."⁵¹ To the Western mind this appeared to be a note of variety, but to Li, the painter is advised to bring out the living quality of the luxuriant trees by the *yin yang* harmony of a gnarled tree rather than merely breaking up the monotony of all green ones. Han Zhuo (fl. ca. 1095-1125) also wrote:

Generally, leafy trees are valued for their abundant and dense foliage. As for wintry forest, it is essential that its groves tower in deep layers; dispersed but not scattered. [One also] ought to make withered twigs and old fallen trees, [and] use light ink to paint similar kinds of trees in the background, causing them to be harmonious.⁵²

Here, the double action of *yin* and *yang* is translated into principles of harmony in composition, in the rendering of perspective, in placing and in tonality of ink.

Indeed one can almost say that landscape painting or *shanshui hua*—in Chinese—is a projection in visual terms of the Principle of *Yin Yang*. The characters '*shan*' and '*shui*' (which together as a word '*shanshui*' for 'landscape') are in themselves interestingly symbolic of *yang* and *yin*, for '*shan*' means 'mountain' which is hard and solid—qualities of *yang*,⁵³ and '*shui*' stands for 'water' which is soft and liquid—a

⁴⁹The Way of Chinese Painting, op. cit., p. 73.

⁵⁰Rowley, Principles of Chinese Painting, op. cit., p. 51. Ironically, Rowley himself did not grasp the concept of *yin yang* well when he regarded, on p. 50, *yin yang* as "opposing forces" and took landscape painting to imply "the opposition of two basic elements [of *yin* and *yang* denoting water and mountains respectively]".

⁵¹Li, Shanshui Jue [The Secrets of Landscape], in Hualun Congkan, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 13; translation with reference to Early Chinese Texts on Painting, op. cit., p. 177. For a brief biography of Li, see my App. 3.2.2.

⁵²Han, Shanshui Chunquan Ji [Chunquan's Collection on Landscape], chap. 3, in Hualun Congkan, ibid., p. 39; translation with reference to Early Chinese Texts on Painting, ibid., p. 150. For a brief biography of Han, see my App. 3.2.2.

⁵³According to Sze—in The Way of Chinese Painting, op. cit., p. 100—mountains were also described as, in early cosmology, the pillars of Heaven (which symbolises *yang*) with the central peak being *Taiji* [The Ridgepole of the Universe], the axis and the still centre.



representation of *yin*. However, within the *yin* water, there is an element of *yang* (which is 'moving'); and within the *yang* mountain, there is an element of *yin* (which is 'resting')—another illustration of the *Taiji* emblem. It is this hidden *yang* seed in water—that is the vivifying element—that acts on the *yin* seed of the mountain and gives rise to the interesting relation between water and mountain, best described by Lao Zi that, "[What is] flexible and weak can triumph over [what is] firm and strong."⁵⁴ He also said:

The most yielding [thing] under heaven [on earth],
Can overwhelm [that which is] the hardest under heaven [on earth];
Being insubstantial [it] can enter [even where there is] no space.⁵⁵

Here, he was referring to water and rock (or mountain) respectively and the action of the vivifying *yang* seed of the *yin* water penetrating the static *yin* seed of the *yang* rock. To him, there is nothing that is softer and weaker than water, but in attacking the hardest and strongest rock, nothing surpasses it. In Fritz Van Briessen's words, "Water obeys the laws of gravity and yet . . . its ceaseless flux forms mountains and rocks and occasionally conquers them."⁵⁶

1.2.5 *Yin Yang* → *Wenfang Si Bao*

The idea of *yin* and *yang* may also be found in the Chinese art vocabulary even on the purely material level as observed in the interdependence of *Wenfang Si Bao*. Among the Four Treasures, the brush can be considered as *yang*—being an instrument expressing aspects of heaven such as *qi*. It is *yang* in using the ink—the ingredients of which (soot, water, etc.) and their qualities of blackness and thickness, are all *yin* elements. It is also *yang* in making its expression of *yang* lines on *yin* paper. Tang Dai (1673-1752) wrote:

[When] the ancients painted, [they] considered the movement [or activity] of the brush as *yang* [and] the quiescence [or passivity] of the ink as *yin*;

⁵⁴*Dao De Jing* 36, in *Xinyi Lao Zi Duben*, op. cit., p. 67.

⁵⁵*Dao De Jing* 43, *ibid.*, p. 78.

⁵⁶Fritz Van Briessen, *The Way of the Brush: Painting Techniques of China and Japan* (Rutland: Charles E. Tuttle, 1962; 6th pr., 1971), p. 31.

capturing *qi* with the brush is *yang* [and] producing *cai* with the ink is *yin*. [They] used the brush [and] the ink to realise *yin yang*.⁵⁷

Cai [colour, literally] here refers to the gradations of ink tones—which, according to Tang, are "*hei* [black], *bai* [white], *gan* [dry], *shi* [wet], *nong* [thick] and *dan* [light]". Tang regarded these as "*liu* [six] *cai*" of the ink.⁵⁸ These *liu cai* displayed in a painting in turn symbolise the degrees of the blending of *yang* (light) and *yin* (dark), resulting in harmonious effects and achieving liveliness, as in *Yi Jing*: "That which is *yin* [the dark], [and] that which is *yang* [the light], [constitute that which] is called *Dao*."

The interchangeable aspects of *yin* and *yang* can also be revealed in the various relationships among the Four Treasures, depending on how they are paired. The ink-stick, for instance, is *yang* relative to the *yin* ink-slab. It is also *yang* in mingling with water (which is *yin*) to make liquid ink. The ink-slab, however, is *yang* when considered with ink and water. Ink itself also shows a *yang* aspect when paired with the passive paper (which is *yin*).⁵⁹ Such revelation brought us back to one of the concepts implicit in the *Taiji* emblem—the *yin* half holding a seed of *yang* and the *yang* half holding a seed of *yin*.

In conclusion, the Chinese have applied the Principle of *Yin Yang*—the root of Chinese cultural thought—to everywhere in their painting and everything in their culture.

⁵⁷Tang, *Huishi Fawei* [Insignificant Utterance on the Art of Painting], in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 253. For a brief biography of Tang, see my App. 3.2.2.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 242.

⁵⁹*The Way of Chinese Painting*, op. cit., p. 73.

CHAPTER 2

Philosophy of Chinese Life and Chinese Philosophical Thought

Every Chinese is a Confucian, a Taoist and a Buddhist.
He is a Confucian when everything is going well; he is
a Taoist when things are falling apart; and he is a
Buddhist as he approaches death.

A Chinese Folk Saying¹

¹This generalised folk saying—quoted in Robert E. Allinson, "An Overview of the Chinese Mind", in Understanding the Chinese Mind: The Philosophical Roots, ed. Robert E. Allinson (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 15—has been taken generally to illustrate a kind of practical wisdom of the Chinese. Cf. Lin Yutang, trans, "Chuangtse", in The Wisdom of China, ed. Lin Yutang ([London]: Michael Joseph, 1944; Four Square ed., London: The New English Library, 1963), pp. 73-74, which says that "when a Chinese succeeds, he is always a Confucianist, and when he fails, he is always a Taoist."

2.1 The Sayings of Lao Zi and Zhuang Zi: Doctrines and Concepts of Taoism

2.1.1 *Daojia* [The Taoist School of Thought] and *Daojiao* [The Taoist Religion]

Taoism is traditionally regarded as a Chinese philosophical system founded by Lao Zi (ca. 604-531 B.C.), who was followed by Zhuang Zi (ca. 369-286 B.C.).² As time passed, it found itself in direct competition with the imported teachings of Buddhism. Over the subsequent dynasties, it tried to preserve its popularity by building monasteries in imitation of the Buddhist ones, adopting "liturgies, chants, legends and a whole pantheon of gods, none of which had existed before the arrival of its opponent."³ It drew on original folk, ritual and obscure mystical traditions and "borrowed [the Buddhist religious practices] so widely and exhaustively that it [almost] lost its own identity."⁴

This has created a distinction between Taoism as a philosophy, which is called *Daojia* and Taoism as a religion called *Daojiao*. According to Feng Youlan [Fung Yu-lan], "Their teachings are not only different; they are even contradictory."⁵ Taoism as religion is outside the scope of my study here; I am only interested in "the earlier, more philosophical Taoism [that] has continued to inspire Chinese painters and poets through the ages".⁶ I will thus limit my discussion within the original teachings of Lao Zi and Zhuang Zi as distinct from the later so-called Taoist writings. In the following, I will take 'Taoism' to stand for the Chinese philosophy identified

²The character 'Zi [Master]' is a polite suffix added, as title of respect, to surnames of most philosophers of the Zhou Dynasty, such as Lao Zi, Kong Zi, Meng Zi (ca. 372-289 B.C.) and Zhuang Zi. Zhuang Zi, for instance, means Master Zhuang. (*Han Ying Zonghe Cidian*, op. cit., s.v. "zi [ancient title of respect for a learned or virtuous man]", p. 1169.)

³Soame Jenyns, *A Background to Chinese Painting* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1935; repr., New York: Schocken Books, 1966), p. 77.

⁴Ibid., p. 82.

⁵Fung, *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, op. cit., p. 3.

⁶Bob Whyte, "Religions in China", *China Now*, no. 123 (Winter 1987), p. 16.

with *Daojia* and represented by Lao Zi and Zhuang Zi through their works—*Dao De Jing* and *Zhuang Zi* [The Book of Zhuang Zi] respectively.⁷

2.1.2 *Dao* [*Tao*]

Wu/You/Xuan/Da/Xiao *Dao* is the central emphasis of Lao Zi's philosophy and, hence, the names '*Daojia*' for his school of thought and '*Daoshi* [Taoists]' as his followers. To Lao Zi, *Dao* is the most precious thing in the world, for he said:

Why did the ancients value this *Dao*?
 [Did they] not say, "[Those who] seek shall attain [it], [and those who] has sinned shall be forgiven"?
 Thus, [*Dao*] is [indeed the most] **precious** [of all things] under heaven [under the sun].⁸

Ironically, Lao Zi actually never intended to call *Dao* '*Dao*' initially. In the opening phrases of the very first chapter of *Dao De Jing*, he said:

Dao [*tao*] that can be *dao* [told],
 Is not the eternal *Dao* [*Tao*];
 Names that can [be used to] name [it],
 Is not an eternal name.⁹

Later in the same chapter, however, he tried to suggest some names:

Wu [Non-Existence] is the **origin** of heaven-[and]-earth [the universe];
You [Existence] is the **mother** of the ten thousand [myriad] things.

 These two names [*Wu* and *You*],
 [Although] different, [but] both derived from the same source [*Dao*],
 [And] both [may be] called *Xuan* [The Profound].¹⁰

⁷For brief biographies of Lao Zi, Zhuang Zi, and their works, see my App. 3.1.1 & 3.1.2.

⁸*Dao De Jing* 62, in *Xinyi Lao Zi Duben*, annotated & interpreted by Yu Peilin, op. cit., p. 99; bold emphasis mine. Interestingly, there is an obvious parallel with the words of Jesus Christ (ca. 4 B.C.-A.D. 29), as in Mark 11:24-25 translated in "The Books of the New Testament", in *The Holy Bible: New International Version* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1979; new ed., 1988), p. 716:

Therefore I tell you, whatever you ask for in prayer, believe that you have received it, and it will be yours. And when you stand praying, if you hold anything against anyone, forgive him, so that your Father in heaven may forgive you your sins.

⁹*Dao De Jing* 1, *ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁰*ibid.*; bold emphasis mine.

Here, 'Wu', 'You' and 'Xuan' are but other names suggested for *Dao*,¹¹ before he finally decided to call it '*Dao*'.¹² However, he was still not happy and later proceeded to suggest other names, such as '*Da* [The Great]' and '*Xiao* [The Small]'. He called *Dao* '*Da*' because "ten thousand [myriad] things come to it [depend on it for life] and [it] does not master them", and he called it '*Xiao*' because "[it] accomplishes its task, but does not claim credit for it".¹³ He finally gave up. "*Dao* [is] **hidden**," he wrote, "[and] **nameless**."¹⁴

Even if *Dao* could be named, it might not be defined or described, for naming *Dao* '*Dao*' does not define it as in the case of calling a table 'table', where it is meant that it has some attributes by which it can be named.¹⁵ Although *Dao* is constantly referred to, it may not have any nameable attributes. In the entire *Dao De Jing*, efforts have been made to reject actual definitions of *Dao*, but at the same time illustrating its existence. It is thus difficult, for those who understand *Dao*, to explain it clearly to those who do not understand it; just as a man with normal vision is unable to describe the sun to a blind man. In *Zhuang Zi*, there are many stories that tell us that *Dao* can only be hinted at; it cannot be encompassed by words or knowledge, or defined by argument.¹⁶

Mysteriously Mysterious Mystery The translation of the word '*Dao*' has been the subject of controversy. *Dao* has been translated literally as "Path" by Kakuzo Okakura,¹⁷ and interpreted as "Divine Intelligence", "Principle", "Creative Principle" and "Ultimate Reality" by Archie J. Bahm.¹⁸ To Bahm's "Principle" and

¹¹Guan Feng & Lin Yushi, "*Lun Lao Zi Zhexue Tixi de Weixin Zhuyi Benzhi*" [On the Idealist Basis of Lao Zi's Philosophical System], in *Lao Zi Zhexue Taolun Ji* [Collected Papers on Lao Zi's Philosophy], ed. Zhexue Yanjiu Bianjibu [Editorial Department of Philosophical Research] (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1959), pp. 181-84.

¹²*Dao De Jing* 25.

¹³*Dao De Jing* 34, in *Xinyi Lao Zi Duben*, op. cit., p. 65; translation and interpretation with reference to Wing-tsit Chan, trans. & comp., *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, op. cit., p. 157.

¹⁴*Dao De Jing* 41, *ibid.*, p. 74; bold emphasis mine.

¹⁵*A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, op. cit., p. 95.

¹⁶See, for instance, *Zhuang Zi* 22.

¹⁷Okakura, *The Book of Tea*, introduction [& afterword] to new edition by Everett F. Bleiler (N.p.: Fox, Duffield, 1906; Edinburgh: T. N. Foulis, 1919; new ed., New York: Dover Publications, 1964), p. 50.

¹⁸Bahm, trans., *Tao Te Ching: Interpreted As Nature and Intelligence* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing, 1958), "Commentary", pp. 74 & 75.

"Creative Principle", Ben Willis added "*Spiritual Principle*" and "*Universal Principle*".¹⁹ Bahm's "Ultimate Reality" is also supported by Allan W. Watts who spoke of it as "most certainly the ultimate reality and energy of the universe, the Ground of being and non-being";²⁰ and by Thomé H. Fang who described it as "the really real Reality".²¹ Thomas Cleary later took *Dao* to mean "the matrix, structure, and reality of the universe itself".²² While attempts to interpret and translate go on, a number of writers have simply introduced the word '*Tao*' into European languages.²³

Some critics have tried to compare Lao Zi's *Dao* with the ancient Greek concepts. Ren Jiyu and Feng Jingyuan, for instance, claimed that his *Dao* is like "atoms".²⁴ However, such claim is rejected by Guan Feng and Lin Yushi who argued that atoms, though invisible, are not nothingness, whereas *Dao* is,²⁵ and yet it doesn't mean that there is nothing in *Dao*, for Lao Zi said:

The thing that is [called] *Dao*, [is] **impalpable** and **evasive**.
Evasive and impalpable, in it there is form;
Impalpable and evasive, in it are entities.
Profound and **obscure**, in it there is quintessence;
This quintessence [is] very true, in it are truths.²⁶

In fact, Lao Zi referred to such 'nothingness' as 'formlessness' and 'imagelessness':

[Try] to gaze at it, [but] cannot see [it];
[It] is called *Yi* [The **Invisible**].
[Try] to listen to it, [but] cannot hear [it];
[It] is called *Xi* [The **Inaudible**].
[Try] to grasp it, [but] cannot hold [it];
[It] is called *Wei* [The **Intangible**].

¹⁹Willis, *The Tao of Art*, op. cit., pp. 17-19.

²⁰Watts, *Tao: The Watercourse Way* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975), p. 40.

²¹Fang, *Chinese Philosophy: Its Spirit and Its Development* (Taipei: Linking Publishing, 1981; 3d pr., 1986), p. 25, translating *Dao* into the phraseology of Francis Herbert Bradley (1846-1924).

²²Cleary, trans., *The Essential Tao: An Invitation into the Heart of Taoism through the Authentic Tao Te Ching and the Inner Teachings of Chuang Tzu* ([San Francisco]: Harper Collins Publisher, 1991; paperback ed., 1993), p. 1.

²³H. G. Oswald, trans., *Tao Te Ching: The Book of Meaning and Life*, trans. into English from the Richard Wilhelm edition (Köln: Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1978; [London]: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985; repr., Penguin Books, 1989), p. 12.

²⁴Ren & Feng, "*Lao Zi de Yanjiu*" [Studies of Lao Zi], in *Lao Zi Zhexue Taolun Ji*, op. cit., p. 19.

²⁵"*Lun Lao Zi Zhexue Tixi de Weixin Zhuyi Benzhi*", op. cit., p. 191.

²⁶*Dao De Jing* 21, in *Xinyi Lao Zi Duben*, op. cit., p. 47; bold emphasis mine.

These three cannot be further defined;
Thus, [they] merged into one.

.....
[It] reverts to nothingness.
[This] is called the form of the **formless**,
[And] the image of the **imageless**.²⁷

It is precisely the notions of "the form of the formless" and "the image of the imageless" that *Dao* can be "the origin of heaven-and-earth" and "the mother of ten thousand things". If it had form and image, it would be the same as all other concrete things that will finally transform and exterminate, how could it still become the origin of myriad things? Thus, *Dao* is "**empty**" and yet "**inexhaustible**".²⁸

Thus, although *Dao* is empty, it can be strangely drawn upon endlessly and myriad things come out of it. Not only it produces them, it is also "adept in providing [for all] and bringing [them] to fulfilment";²⁹ it "fosters them, makes them grow, develops them, harbours them, shelters them, nurtures them, [and] protects them; . . . but does not take possession [of them], . . . [or] master [them]."³⁰ In fact, when the seasons come and go, the myriad things will finally return to the origin, *Dao*, which is the reason for its inexhaustibility. Lao Zi wrote:

[Being] great means passing on;
Passing on means going further;
[And] Going further means reverting [to the original point].³¹

In conclusion, Lao Zi's *Dao* is the "nameless"—which is "precious", "hidden", "impalpable", "evasive", "profound", "obscure", "invisible", "inaudible", "intangible", "formless", "imageless", "empty", "inexhaustible", etc.—that makes up the universe by being its "origin", and produces the myriad things by being their "mother". It is probably in consideration of some of these aspects that *Dao* is being translated as "Divine Intelligence" by Bahm and interpreted as "energy" by Watts. Indeed, to find an exact English equivalent to *Dao* seems impossible except to create the term '*Tao*'. It is indeed "the mysteriously mysterious Mystery"³² that led Yan Mingxuan to

²⁷*Dao De Jing* 14, *ibid.*, p. 36; bold emphasis mine.

²⁸*Dao De Jing* 4, 6 & 35.

²⁹*Dao De Jing* 41, in *Xinyi Lao Zi Duben*, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

³⁰*Dao De Jing* 51, *ibid.*, p. 86. Cf. *Dao De Jing* 2 & 10.

³¹*Dao De Jing* 25, *ibid.*, p. 51.

³²*Chinese Philosophy*, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

compare *Dao* with the "numbers" of Pythagoras, which were thought to have mystical qualities.³³

Dao → *Qi* → Principle *Dao* never rests. Forms appear and disappear and the harmonious interaction is created through *qi* [can be understood as the breath of *Dao* here]. Yang Xingshun claimed that *Dao* was the original vital force that through its *qi* forms the basis of the universe and gives rise to life and human forms on earth.³⁴ Life here is not to be perceived as "the quality that distinguished a living animal or plant from inorganic matter or dead organism",³⁵ but to include inorganic matter such as mountain and water. What Yang said is in accord with *Dao De Jing* 42 that says, "The harmony [of all things produced by *Dao*] is created by *qi*."³⁶

Lao Zi's *Dao* thus refers to not only that which causes the ceaseless changes but also *qi* that harmonises all things that participate in those changes. Everything also has its own characteristic and qualities that come but from *Dao* and all things must realise and fulfil their respective natures by acting spontaneously accordingly: mountain acts as mountain and does not act as water. *Dao* comes naturally into being. Its workings can be seen all through the universe—in the alternation of days and nights, in the harmony of light and shade, in the regularity of the seasons, in the cycle of growth, decay and rebirth of all things.

Dao in Lao Zi's thought thus also refers to the orderly process or pattern of change itself and thus is the 'Principle' that governed the universe.³⁷ This may be the reason for *Dao* to be interpreted by Bahm and Willis as "Principle", "*Spiritual Principle*", "*Universal Principle*" and "*Creative Principle*". It is this *Dao*, as 'Principle', that is favoured by Zhuang Zi. He wrote, for instance, a story about a cook cutting up an ox for Hui Wang that goes as follows:

³³Yan Mingxuan, "Guanyu Lao Zi Zhexue Taolun zong de Yixie Wenti" [A Few Problems on the Discussions of Lao Zi's Philosophy], *Xin Jianshe* [New Construction], no. 9 (1957), p. 55.

³⁴Yang Xingshun, *Zhongguo Gudai Zhexuejia Lao Zi ji Qi Xueshuo* [China's Ancient Philosopher Lao Zi and His Philosophy], trans. Yang Chao (Beijing: Kexue Chubanshe, 1957), pp. 37-41.

³⁵*New Webster's Dictionary and Thesaurus of the English Language*, 1992 ed., s.v. "life", p. 572.

³⁶*Xinyi Lao Zi Duben*, op. cit., p. 120.

³⁷Yang Chao—in his "Lao Zi Zhexue de Weiwu Zhuyi Benzhi" [The Materialist Basis of Lao Zi's Philosophy], *Zhexue Yanjiu* [Philosophical Research], no. 4 (1955), pp. 137-38—said that *Dao* in *Dao De Jing* is both matter which made up the universe and principles which governed nature, and that these two aspects should not be confused.

[There was] a cook cutting up an ox for Lord Wenhui [Hui Wang]. Every touch of his hands, every lean of his shoulders, every tread of his feet, every nudge of his knees, . . . every move of his knife; none were not in tune [in perfect rhythm]. . . . [When asked how his skill attained such heights,] the cook put down his knife and answered, "What I care about is *Dao*, [that] goes beyond [mere] skill. When I first began cutting up oxen, all [I] could see was nothing but [simply the whole] ox itself. After three years, [I] no longer saw the ox as a whole. And now, I **meet [the ox] by [my] *shen*** [spirit, literally, which may be taken to mean intuition] **and not look [at it] with [my] eyes.** [All other] senses have come to a stop and [my] *shen* [takes over] to move as it wants. [I] accompany the natural principle."³⁸

This story of someone who is capable of making something unusual out of a humble profession is typical of Zhuang Zi's conception of what *Dao* is.³⁹ To Zhuang Zi, *Dao*, when manifested in the actual living, is not only a "Creative Principle", but also the aesthetic experience of life.

2.1.3 *Wu* [Nothingness] and *Wuwei* [No-Action]

Non-Existence/Nothingness/Emptiness As seen earlier, *Dao* is "the origin" of the universe; "the mother" of the myriad things. It is thus obvious that Lao Zi thought that *Dao* created the universe and the myriad things. However, instead of idolising a celestial creator, *Dao* is regarded as *Wu* [Nothingness], for he said:

The ten thousand [myriad] things under heaven [under the sun] come from
You [Existence];
You comes from *Wu*.⁴⁰

Thus, the ultimate source of *Dao* must be *Wu*.⁴¹ Such idea of 'nothingness' or 'non-existence', in fact, has also been spoken in the terminology of Western thought. German philosopher Martin Heidegger (1889-1976), for instance, pointed out that

³⁸*Zhuang Zi* 3:2, *Xinyi Zhuang Zi Duben*, annotated & interpreted by Huang Jinhong, op. cit., p. 77, bold emphasis mine, translation and interpretation with reference to Victor H. Mair, *Wandering on the Way*, op. cit., p. 26.

³⁹The episode of the cook is the only story about a special knack in the Inner Writings of *Zhuang Zi*. There are, however, many more stories in the Outer Writings, such as the wheelwright in 13:8 (cited earlier in my Introduction to the thesis), the hunchback cicada catcher in 19:3, the swimmer in 19:8, the woodworker in 19:9, the craftsman in 19:11, and the forger of buckles in 22:9.

⁴⁰*Dao De jing* 40, in *Xinyi Lao Zi Duben*, op. cit., p. 73.

⁴¹Guan Feng & Lin Yushi—in "*Lun Lao Zi Zhaxue Tixi de Weixin Zhuyi Benzhi*", op. cit., pp. 185-89—had also tried to interpret that *Dao* is void.

"from ancient times, metaphysics has spoken about nothingness".⁴² Another German philosopher Karl Theodor Jaspers (1883-1969)'s concept of "Being beyond being and Existence beyond existence"⁴³ also explains, to a certain degree, the Taoist concept of *Wu*.

According to Lao Zi, not only *Wu* produces *You*, it is also this *Wu* [which may also be interpreted as emptiness or empty space] that makes *You* useful. Lao Zi illustrated this point by giving the following three concrete examples:

Thirty spokes share a [wheel's] hub;
 It is the *Wu* [central hole] that makes the cart useful.
 Mould clay into a vessel;
 It is the *Wu* [inner empty space] that makes the clay vessel useful.
 Build a room with [a] door and windows;
 It is the *Wu* [space within] which makes the room useful.⁴⁴

No-Action/Action without Effort It seems that if *Dao* were of such nature of 'nothingness', 'emptiness' and 'non-existence', it follows that one should do nothing, or *wuwei*, in order to live in accord with *Dao*. That's why throughout *Dao De Jing*, Lao Zi told us to 'let things alone',⁴⁵ and to 'stay where we are'.⁴⁶ However, his concept of *Wuwei* does not signify 'complete absence of activity' or 'no action' as the term literally suggests. It is also not to be confused with the meaning as in 'Much Ado about Nothing', one of the comedies of William Shakespeare (1564-1616).⁴⁷ In fact, Lao Zi's idea is to avoid such ado:

Act [in the manner of] *Wuwei*;
 Do without ado,
 Taste without savouring.⁴⁸

⁴²Martin Heidegger, "Nothingness", in *Treasury of Philosophy*, ed. Dagobert Runes (New York: MCMLV Philosophical Library, n.d.), p. 487.

⁴³Karl Jaspers, "Reason", *ibid.*, p. 611.

⁴⁴*Dao De Jing* 11, in *Xinyi Lao Zi Duben*, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

⁴⁵See, for instance, *Dao De Jing* 32 & 57.

⁴⁶See, for instance, *Dao De Jing* 47.

⁴⁷*The Wordsworth Encyclopedia*, *op. cit.*, s.v. "Shakespeare", p. 1940.

⁴⁸*Dao De Jing* 63, in *Xinyi Lao Zi Duben*, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

"Do without ado" suggests the purpose of doing something, which is to have something done, but at the same time, stresses the avoidance of something being over-done.

Thus, *Wuwei* calls for some 'necessary actions' that is "necessary to the achievement of a certain purpose, and never over-doing."⁴⁹ It is the necessary amount of necessary action that characterises proper *Wuwei*.⁵⁰ It may be even better to define *Wuwei* as 'no action that is unnatural', as hinted in *Dao De Jing* 2:

... the sage manages affairs by *Wuwei* [by taking no unnatural actions],
[And] spreads teaching without words.⁵¹

'Taking no unnatural actions' can be appreciated by a more popular dictum that appears in *Dao De Jing* 37, that describes *Dao* as "*wuwei er wu buwei*". This phrase means that *Dao* invariably "takes no action, and yet nothing is left undone".⁵² As discussed earlier, *Dao* is that by which all things come to be naturally, but it itself is not a thing. Hence, it cannot act as other things do except to do nothing. Here, *Wuwei* actually also signifies 'action without effort' and *Dao* allows each thing to 'act spontaneously according to *Ziran*'. This is exactly what Lao Zi meant when he said, "[*Dao*] supports ten thousand [myriad] things in their [state of] *Ziran*, but does not interfere to take [any] action."⁵³ According to Feng Youlan, if one acts this way, that is, "spontaneously, without any deliberate discrimination, choice, or effort," he is practising *Wuwei*.⁵⁴ This spontaneity aspect of *Wuwei* leads to the following discussion of the co-ordinate doctrine: *Ziran*.

⁴⁹A Short History of Chinese Philosophy, op. cit., p. 101.

⁵⁰Cf. *Lun Yu* 7:27, where Kong Zi said, "... To hear much, select what is good and follow it, ..."; and *Meng Zi* 4:2:8, where Meng Zi said, "[When] a man [is clear on what he] will not do, [he] can then act with vigour [in what he ought to do]." (*Xinyi Si Shu Duben*, op. cit., pp. 143 & 495.)

⁵¹*Xinyi Lao Zi Duben*, op. cit., p. 19; translation with reference to the interpretation on p. 20. Cf. *Dao De Jing* 43. Such idea has later influence the development of Huineng (A.D. 638-713)'s *Chan*-ism, specifically in the tradition of transmission of doctrines without expounding sacred scriptures, to be discussed later.

⁵²*Ibid.*, p. 68. Cf. *Dao De Jing* 48.

⁵³*Dao De Jing* 64, *ibid.*, p. 101.

⁵⁴A Short History of Chinese Philosophy, op. cit., p. 249.

2.1.4 *Ziran* [Spontaneity]

Although Lao Zi's philosophy is based on *Dao*, its spirit actually lies on *Ziran*, for he said:

Man models after earth,
The earth models after heaven,
The heaven models after *Dao*,
[And] *Dao* models after *Ziran*.⁵⁵

This *Ziran*—literally means "self-so", "self-formed" or "that which is so by itself"⁵⁶—suggests the whole truth of *Dao*. "*Dao* is esteemed", wrote Lao Zi, "[because] without anyone's order, it [creates all things] always [in the manner of] *Ziran*."⁵⁷

Here, Lao Zi hinted that in order to live in accord with *Dao*, one has to be naturally spontaneous. Such spontaneity is also advocated by Zhuang Zi who wrote, for instance, a story that gives rise to an often quoted phrase of '*jie yi banbo* [taking off clothes and sitting with legs splayed]'—a crucial phrase in treatises on Chinese painting:

[When] Lord Yuan of Song wished to have [some] pictures painted, all official [painters] arrived. After receiving instructions and bowing in acknowledgement, [they] stood around, licking [their] brushes and [grinding their] ink. . . . One official [painter] arrived late, in a casual manner [and] without hurrying [himself]. Having received instructions and bowed in acknowledgement, [he] did not remain standing. [Instead, he] preceded [straightaway] to the [painting] room. The duke [then] sent someone to see him [to find out what he was doing]. [It was found that he was] already half-naked; *jie yi banbo*. The lord said, "[He] will do. [He] is a real painter."⁵⁸

Ever since, the phrase '*jie yi banbo*' has become an expression of *Ziran* that refers to the unshackled state and the spontaneity of a painter at work.

⁵⁵*Dao De Jing* 25, in *Xinyi Lao Zi Duben*, op. cit., p. 51; translation with reference to Lin Yutang, trans., "Laotse, the Book of Tao", in *The Wisdom of China*, ed. Lin Yutang ([London]: Michael Joseph, 1944; Four Square ed., London: The New English Library, 1963), p. 44.

⁵⁶"Laotse, the Book of Tao", *ibid.*, p. 44.

⁵⁷*Dao De Jing* 51, in *Xinyi Lao Zi Duben*, op. cit., p. 86; translation with reference to the interpretation on p. 86.

⁵⁸*Zhuang Zi* 21:7, *Xinyi Zhuang Zi Duben*, op. cit., p. 244; bold emphasis mine, translation with reference to the interpretation on p. 250 and Victor H. Mair, *Wandering on the Way*, op. cit., p. 204.

Zhuang Zi carried such *Ziran* a little further by saying that one has also to be purposelessly spontaneous in order to emulate *Dao*. Believing that the best way to experience *Dao* is just to go wandering, he wrote:

Let's try to go wandering in a place of nothingness, [where we] will join in mutual discussion, [and realise that *Dao*] is endless. Let's try [to practise] *Wuwei*—peace and quiet, still and pure, in harmony and at ease! [In this way,] our wills would be vacuous. [We] would go out without knowing where [we] would reach; [we] would come back without knowing where [we] would stop. After going out and coming back, we still would not know where [we] would end up. [We will continue to] roam [purposelessly] in vacuity.⁵⁹

It is probably based on such story in *Zhuang Zi* that Watson took *Wuwei* to mean "a course of action that is not founded upon any purposeful motives of gain or striving".⁶⁰ "In such a state," added Watson, "all human actions become as spontaneous and mindless as those of the natural world."⁶¹ This state that is "spontaneous and mindless", similar to "those of the natural world", is precisely Zhuang Zi's state of *Ziran*.

⁵⁹*Zhuang Zi* 22:6, *ibid.*, p. 256, translation with reference to the interpretation on p. 263 and *Wandering on the Way*, *ibid.*, p. 218.

⁶⁰Burton Watson, trans., *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, *Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies LXXX* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), p. 6.

⁶¹*Ibid.*

2.2 The Sayings of Kong Zi [Confucius] and Meng Zi [Mencius]: Doctrines and Concepts of Confucianism

2.2.1 *Rujia* [The Confucian School of Philosophy] and *Rujiao* [The Confucian Religion]

Kong Zi (ca. 551-479 B.C.), belonged to a social group known as '*Ru* [The Literati]'⁶² that originated before his time and comprised of learned ritualists, some of whom were teachers. Subsequently, followers of Kong Zi—the most dedicated of whom is Meng Zi (ca. 372-289 B.C.)—are traditionally regarded as belonging to *Rujia*, now interpreted as the Confucian School of Philosophy. Kong Zi and *Rujia* sought to build a cosmology in which the general nature of the world is expressed in human terms. Kong Zi's primary concern was to create an ordered society through strict conformity to formal rules and proper conduct set out by a good government headed by one whose moral sense was most refined; through practice of the virtuous ways of the ancestors; and through harmonious human relations based on the context of the family.

Kong Zi was not interested in religious belief, nor was he concerned about life after death. He said:

Not yet able to serve man, how to serve spiritual beings?
Not yet know [matters] about life, how to know [matters] about death?⁶³

However, in A.D. 59 during the arrival of Buddhism, an emperor decree stated that sacrifice should be made to Kong Zi. This began a process of syncretism of Confucian thoughts and Buddhist doctrines during which an official Confucian cult emerged,⁶⁴

⁶²*Han Ying Zonghe Cidian*, op. cit., s.v. "*ru* [literati]", p. 753. *The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy*, 1995 ed., s.v. "Confucianism", p. 151, has, however, misinterpreted '*ru*' as 'weaklings' or 'foundling'. The same mistake was also committed by Lien-sheng Yang, in his paper, "The Concept of 'Pao' as a Basis for Social Relations in China", in *Chinese Thought and Institutions*, ed. John K. Fairbank (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 306.

⁶³Kong Zi, *Lun Yu* 11:11, in *Xinyi Si Shu Duben*, comp. & interpreted by Xie Bingying et al., op. cit., p. 185. The cited saying seems to have anticipated what Jesus Christ said later, as in Matthew 6:34 translated in "The Books of the New Testament", op. cit., p. 685, that, "Therefore do not worry about tomorrow, for tomorrow will worry about itself. Each day has enough trouble of its own."

⁶⁴"Religions in China", op. cit., pp. 15-16.

that finally led to the formation of *Rujiao* or *Kongjiao* [The Confucian Religion]. *Rujiao* has, however, disappeared in contemporary China.⁶⁵ In my subsequent discussion, I will take the term 'Confucianism' to refer to the thoughts of *Rujia*, as represented by Kong Zi and Meng Zi through their works, *Lun Yu* [The Analects of Confucius] and *Meng Zi* [The Book of Mencius]—which are two of the so-called the *Si Shu* [The Four Books] of the Confucian Classics.⁶⁶

2.2.2 *Dao* [Way] (of *Junzi* [The Superior Man])

Confucian *Dao* versus Taoist *Dao* Kong Zi believed that, "Man can make *Dao* great, *Dao* cannot make man great."⁶⁷ Zisi, his grandson,⁶⁸ later interpreted it as: "Unless there is [man with] *De* [Perfect Virtue], the great *Dao* cannot be materialised."⁶⁹ Because of this, Kong Zi, Meng Zi and their disciples concentrated on man, on the *Dao* [Way] of *junzi* [originally used to refer to the ruler but came to acquire the meaning of the noble gentlemen or the morally superior man]—the life each person has to live. Instead of accepting Lao Zi's great *Dao*, Kong Zi believed in the perfectibility of man,⁷⁰ based on his opinion that "*Dao* is not far from man."⁷¹ Confucian *Dao* is thus primarily an ethical ideal and a standard leading to the quality of goodness in man.

⁶⁵Although Confucian temples still remain, Kong Zi is revered as a sage instead of being worshipped as a god.

⁶⁶The other two of *Si Shu*—*Da Xue* [The Great Learning or The Study] (attributed to Zeng Shen, an immediate disciple of Kong Zi) and *Zhong Yong* [The Doctrine of the Mean] (ascribed to Kong Ji, Kong Zi's grandson)—are also used in my discussion as supplement. For more information about *Si Shu* and brief biographies of Kong Zi and Meng Zi, see my App. 3.1.3 & 3.1.4.

⁶⁷*Lun Yu* 15:28, in *Xinyi Si Shu Duben*, op. cit., p. 251.

⁶⁸Zisi is the popularly known *zi* [a style or name taken at the age of twenty] of Kong Ji.

⁶⁹*Zhong Yong* 27:5, in *Xinyi Si Shu Duben*, op. cit., p. 53; translation with reference to the interpretation on p. 53. Here and in subsequent references in my text and footnotes, numbers immediately after *Zhong Yong*, separated by colon, indicate chapter and section—a division following the (Chinese) text collected in James Legge, trans., "The Doctrine of the Mean", in *Confucius Analects, The Great Learning, and The Doctrine of the Mean*, vol. I of *The Chinese Classics with a Translation, Critical and Exegetical Notes, Prolegomena, and Copious Indexes*, by Legge (London: Trübner, 1861 in 7 vols.; rev. ed., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893; repr., Taipei: SMC Publishing, 1983, 1991, 1994 in 5 vols.).

⁷⁰Jesus also believed in perfectibility of man, for he said, as in Matthew 5:48 translated in "The Books of the New Testament", op. cit., p. 684, that, "Be perfect, therefore, as your heavenly Father is perfect."

⁷¹Quoted in *Zhong Yong* 13:1, in *Xinyi Si Shu Duben*, op. cit., p. 32.

Dao in this sense was used throughout *Lun Yu* by Kong Zi and his disciples. Kong Zi, for instance, said:

Wealth and honours are what man desires. [But if] they have been obtained not in accordance with *Dao*, [they should] not be kept. Poverty and lowliness are what man dislikes. [But if] they have been obtained **not** [*sic*] in accordance with *Dao*, [they should] not be avoided.⁷²

You Zi (ca. 538-457 B.C.), one of Kong Zi's immediate disciples,⁷³ also said:

A *junzi* devotes to the root [the fundamentals]. [With] the root established, *Dao* will grow.⁷⁴

In the above saying of Kong Zi, *Dao* was used to mean 'the moral principle' or, simply, 'the right way' or 'the proper way'; and in You Zi's saying, *Dao* was used to mean 'the moral character'. Furthermore, Kong Zi said, "In the morning, hear *Dao*; in the [same] evening, die without regret!"⁷⁵ Here, he definitely was not referring to Lao Zi's *Dao*, for the latter is "inaudible". By "hearing *Dao*", Kong Zi meant 'realising the truth'. He also said:

Junzi seeks *Dao*; [he] does not seek a [mere] living. . . . *Junzi* worries about [how to live in accord with] *Dao*; [he] does not worry [whether] poverty [should come upon him].⁷⁶

Here, he was definitely talking about the Way of *junzi*. It follows that when he advised to "set the will on *Dao*",⁷⁷ the '*Dao*' that he referred to was also the *Dao* of *junzi*.

Yi Kong Zi actually tried initially to aim at a far more supreme ideal of manhood than merely *junzi*; he aimed at the *Dao* of Lao Zi's *shengren* [the holy sage].⁷⁸ But Lao Zi's *shengren* is such a superman that this ideal seemed to be so far

⁷²*Lun Yu* 4:5, *ibid.*, p. 98. In my opinion, the word 'not' that I highlighted should not be there in order for the statement to make sense.

⁷³You Zi refers to You Ruo, whose *zi* is Ziruo, and noted among the disciples for his great memory and fondness for antiquity.

⁷⁴*Lun Yu* 1:2, in *Xinyi Si Shu Duben*, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

⁷⁵*Lun Yu* 4:8, *ibid.*, p. 100.

⁷⁶*Lun Yu* 15:31, *ibid.*, p. 252.

⁷⁷*Lun Yu* 7:6, *ibid.*, p. 135.

⁷⁸*Shengren* was translated into English, from Richard Wilhelm's German term, by H. G. Ostwald—in *Tao Te Ching*, *op. cit.*, p. 18—as 'Man of Calling', which, I think, missed the point.

beyond reach.⁷⁹ "[In becoming] *sheng[ren]*," Kong Zi said, "is what I cannot [succeed]."⁸⁰ Thus, Kong Zi modified his ideal and concentrated instead upon producing *junzi*. He said:

Shengren, I cannot expect ever to meet one. To meet a *junzi*, is the most [I] can hope for.⁸¹

Thereafter, all the virtues that Kong Zi and his disciples taught are those that are exemplified in the qualities of a *junzi*.

To Kong Zi, *junzi*—the term of which is mentioned in *Lun Yu* for more than a hundred times—is not the master of mankind but one who "in nothing [that he] does not [try to] do his utmost",⁸² to achieve goodness and to realise one's potential by following one's human nature. As *Zhong Yong* [*The Doctrine of the Mean*] says:

What *tian* [heaven] imparts [to man] is called *xing* [human nature]. To follow *xing* is called *Dao* [of *junzi*].⁸³

According to Kong Zi, thus, a *junzi* is not the one who 'does nothing' or 'accomplishes by not doing'—as advocated by the Taoist concept of *Wuwei* or the dictum "*wuwei er wu buwei*"—but must be one who not only 'does something' but 'does for nothing'. He said:

Junzi in dealing with [matters] under heaven [on earth], [does] not [set his mind] for [anything], [does] not [set his mind] against [anything]. [He simply follows] *Yi* [Righteousness] as the guideline.⁸⁴

He also mentioned that, "[The reason] *junzi* takes office, [is because he considers it as] carrying out his *Yi* [righteous duty]."⁸⁵ A *junzi* thus puts duty before self. "A *junzi*

⁷⁹The qualities of *shengren* are described in *Dao De Jing* 2, 7, 12, 22, 26, 27, 29, 47, 49, 58, 64, 70, 72, 77, 79 & 81.

⁸⁰Quoted in *Meng Zi* 2:1:2:19, in *Xinyi Si Shu Duben*, op. cit., pp. 362-63.

⁸¹*Lun Yu* 7:25, *ibid.*, p. 142.

⁸²*Da Xue*: commentary 2:4, in "The Great Learning", in *Confucian Analects, The Great Learning, and The Doctrine of the Mean*, by Legge, op. cit., p. 361; translation mine. Here and in subsequent references in my text and footnotes, numbers after *Da Xue*, separated by colon, indicate chapter and section—a division following the (Chinese) text collected in *Confucian Analects, The Great Learning, and The Doctrine of the Mean*.

⁸³*Zhong Yong* 1:1, in *Xinyi Si Shu Duben*, op. cit., p. 22; translation with reference to the interpretation on p. 23.

⁸⁴*Lun Yu* 4:10, *ibid.*, p. 101.

⁸⁵*Lun Yu* 18:7, *ibid.*, p. 284; translation with reference to the interpretation on pp. 284-85.

does not seek gratification of [his] appetite, does not seek comfort in [his] home;" said Kong Zi, "[he] is diligent in [his] duties".⁸⁶ Meng Zi also said:

The mouth likes [delicious] tastes, the eyes like [beautiful] colours, the ears like [pleasant] sounds, the nose likes [fragrant] odours, [and] the four limbs like rest; [these desires] are [usually regarded as] *xing*. But [whether they can be fulfilled,] it's *ming* [destiny]. [Therefore,] *junzi* does not regard [these] as *xing* [and thus does not strive after them]. [However,] . . . [as for] *Yi* between the ruler [and] his subjects, . . . [people take for granted that] it's *ming*. But it's [actually] *xing*. [Therefore,] *junzi* does not regard [it] as *ming* [and thus strives after it].⁸⁷

This means that a *junzi* must first of all "understands *Yi*" and "regards *Yi* as the most important."⁸⁸ Meng Zi certainly regarded *Yi* as the most important, for it is this *Yi*, combined with *Dao*, that is required to cultivate his *qi* [spirit]—his '*Haoran zi Qi*'. The following is his description:

This *Qi* [is] extremely great, [and] extremely strong. [If] it is cultivated directly [in the right manner] without [sustaining any] injury, then [it can] fill the space [pervade all] between heaven and earth [in the universe]. This *Qi*, [is cultivated by] the combination of *Yi* and *Dao*. Without these [*Yi* and *Dao*], [*Qi* will be] weakened.⁸⁹

It is thus no wonder that such *Yi* is considered in *Lun Yu* as one of the important conducts in accord with *Dao* of *junzi*. Kong Zi said:

There are four [conducts in accord with] *Dao* of *junzi*: [in] his behaviour, [he should be] humble; [in] serving his superiors, [he should be] respectful; [in] nourishing the people, [he should be] kind; [in] ordering the people, [he should do it in accord with] *Yi*.⁹⁰

Kong Zi later expanded this list of four conducts into a list of nine wishes of a *junzi*:

Junzi has nine wishes: [in] seeing, [he] wishes [to see] clearly; [in] hearing, [he] wishes [to hear] distinctly; [in his facial] expression, [he] wishes [to be] warm; [in his] appearance, [he] wishes [to be] humble; [in his] speech, [he] wishes [to be] sincere; [in] handling affairs, [he] wishes [to be] serious; [when] in doubt, [he] wishes to ask; [when he is] angry, [he] wishes [to consider] the

⁸⁶*Lun Yu* 1:14, *ibid.*, p. 71.

⁸⁷*Meng Zi* 7:2:24:1, *ibid.*, p. 656; translation based on the interpretation on p. 656.

⁸⁸*Lun Yu* 4:16 & 17:23 respectively, *ibid.*, pp. 103 & 277.

⁸⁹*Meng Zi* 2:1:2:13-14, *ibid.*, p. 362; translation with reference to the interpretation on p. 370.

⁹⁰*Lun Yu* 5:16, *ibid.*, p. 113.

disastrous consequences; [and when he] sees [an opportunity for] a gain, [he] wishes [to think of] *Yi*.⁹¹

Ren and *Li* Besides *Yi*, Kong Zi also mentioned three other important virtues that constitute the *Dao* of *junzi*, in these words:

The *Dao* of *junzi* is threefold The man of *Ren* [Humanity] has no worry; the man of *Zhi* [Wisdom] has no perplexity; [and] the man of *Yong* [Courage] has no fear.⁹²

It is, however, the *Ren* that Kong Zi regarded as the foremost virtue of a *junzi*, for he said, "[There are but] two courses [to follow in life], [that of] *Ren* and not *Ren*."⁹³ Meng Zi similarly regarded *Ren* as the most important when he said, "*Junzi* merely strives after *Ren*."⁹⁴ Not only that, he also expected a *junzi* to help others to do the same, when he said, "[When] *junzi* serves his ruler, [it is his] duty to lead him towards *Dao*, [and] to merely direct [his] mind to *Ren*."⁹⁵ Kong Zi was also quoted as saying that, "[When] *junzi* has acquired *Dao*, [he] then loves man."⁹⁶ Thus, out of the concept of '*Dao* of *junzi*', Kong Zi (and Meng Zi) evolved another new concept of *Ren*, that has become the most central emphasis in Confucianism. In this respect, Kong Zi can rightly be considered as a creator, not just a transmitter as he humbly claimed.⁹⁷

Besides evolving *Ren*, Kong Zi also revived the ancient concept of '*Li* [originally understood as ritual or attention to the rites]' when he attached it to the conduct of *junzi*. Kong Zi said:

Junzi regards *Yi* as the fundamental. [He] practices it according to *Li*. . . .⁹⁸

⁹¹*Lun Yu* 16:10, *ibid.*, p. 263; translation with reference to *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, *op. cit.*, p. 45. The last sentence in the cited excerpt is similar to what Meng Zi exclaimed in *Meng Zi* 2:2:3:5 that, "Is there *junzi* who can be taken with a bribe?" (*Xinyi Si Shu Duben*, *op. cit.*, p. 390.)

⁹²*Lun Yu* 14:30, *ibid.*, p. 233. Cf. *Lun Yu* 9:28.

⁹³Quoted in *Meng Zi* 4:1:2:3, *ibid.*, p. 465; translation with reference to the interpretation on p. 466.

⁹⁴*Meng Zi* 6:2:6:2, *ibid.*, p. 598.

⁹⁵*Meng Zi* 6:2:8:9, *ibid.*, p. 604.

⁹⁶*Lun Yu* 17:4, *ibid.*, p. 267. 'Love' here is an aspect of *Ren*, that will be discussed shortly.

⁹⁷*Lun Yu* 7:1.

⁹⁸*Lun Yu* 15:17, in *Xinyi Si Shu Duben*, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

Here, *Li* was regarded by Kong Zi as the norms or principles governing human conduct or behaviour that accords with *Yi*. Meng Zi also implied that *junzi* can be differentiated from animals by this *Li* (and *Ren*) when he said:

That whereby man is different from animals is slight. The common people cast it away, [while] *junzi* retains it.⁹⁹

"That whereby *junzi* is different from [other] men is what he retains in [his] heart," he explained, "*Junzi* retains *Ren* in [his] heart; [he retains] *Li* in [his] heart."¹⁰⁰

Meng Zi in fact decided to consider such a person, who retains *Ren* and *Li*, and whose conduct accords with *Yi*, more than just a *junzi*; he regarded him as *dazhangfu* [the true great man]. He said:

To live in the big house [of *Ren*] under heaven [on earth], to stand in the right position [of *Li*] under heaven, [and] to follow the great path [of *Yi*] under heaven; . . . he can be called *dazhangfu*!¹⁰¹

Although such an ideal seems difficult to be achieved, it can nevertheless, according to Meng Zi, be achieved by every man, for he said, "All men can be [like] Yao [or] Shun."¹⁰² In fact, to make it perfect, Meng Zi later added *Zhi* and claimed that they can be imparted to the four limbs. He said:

That which belongs by [his] nature to *junzi*—*Ren*, *Yi*, *Li*, [and] *Zhi*—is rooted in his heart. It manifests [itself] by appearing sleekly in the face, as a rich fullness in the back, and imparting to the four limbs. [These] four limbs render [their] message intelligibly without words.¹⁰³

This '*Zhi*', however, is not new, for Kong Zi had long compared *Zhi* and *Ren* with the two wings, one supporting the other.¹⁰⁴ Thus the inner nature of *junzi* is to be

⁹⁹*Meng Zi* 4:2:19:1, *ibid.*, p. 500.

¹⁰⁰*Meng Zi* 4:2:28:1, *ibid.*, p. 510.

¹⁰¹*Meng Zi* 3:2:2:3, *ibid.* pp. 437-38; translation with reference to the interpretation on p. 439.

¹⁰²*Meng Zi* 6:2:2:1, *ibid.*, p. 591. Yao and Shun refer to the two legendary sage-rulers—Emperor Yao (ca. 2350-2250 B.C.) and his successor.

¹⁰³*Meng Zi* 7:1:21:4, *ibid.*, p. 624; translation with reference to D. C. Lau, trans., *Mencius*, Penguin Classics (London: Penguin Books, 1970, p. 186.

¹⁰⁴Feng Qi has collected the many passages in *Lun Yu* that treat *Ren* and *Zhi* together in *Zhongguo Gudai Zhaxue de Luoji Fazhan* [The Logical Development of Chinese Ancient Philosophy] (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe, 1983), vol. 1, pp. 82-89.

motivated by *Ren*, *Yi*, *Li* and *Zhi*, and the outward conduct must accords with them. To these virtues, later commentators added *Xin* [Fidelity, Trustworthiness, or Reliability] or keeping one's promise. *Ren*, *Yi*, *Li*, *Zhi* and *Xin* are then known as *Wu Chang* [The Five Confucian Virtues]. However, it has also been claimed that *Ren* and *Li* still form the basis of *junzi*'s pursuit of *Dao*, and they formed the fundamental content of Confucian education, an endeavour that deserves the whole of one's concentration.¹⁰⁵ These two concepts, *Ren* and *Li*—that I consider also having a greater implication in painting—will be discussed next.

2.2.3 *Ren* [Humanity]

As in the case of the term '*junzi*', '*Ren*' appears more than a hundred times in *Lun Yu*. Much has also been devoted to the (divergent) interpretation of *Ren* in the past and in contemporary Chinese and Western scholarship on Chinese philosophy.¹⁰⁶ It usually revolves around the discussion of human or human relationship, for the Chinese character for *Ren* consists of a left component made up of a radical *ren* [man] and a right component *er* [two], reflecting 'man in a group' etymologically, and Meng Zi also claimed outright that, "*Ren* is *ren*."¹⁰⁷ In this sense, *Ren* is used in *Lun Yu* to refer to, at times, a particular virtue of human being; and, at other times, the perfect virtue of *junzi*.

Benevolence/Love/Benevolent Love Kong Zi once said, *Ren* is "to love man."¹⁰⁸ This has led to the translation of *Ren* as "benevolence", "love" or "benevolent love".¹⁰⁹ However, what he said here does not necessarily mean "to love

¹⁰⁵Chen Jingpan, *Kong Zi de Jiaoyu Sixiang* [Confucius's Educational Thought] (Wuhan: Hubei Renmin Chubanshe, 1957), p. 27; and Xu Mengying, "Kong Zi de Jiaoyu Sixiang" [Confucius's Educational Thought], *Guangming Ribao* [Guangming Daily], 14 June 1954.

¹⁰⁶Wing-tsit Chan, "The Evolution of the Confucian Concept of *Jên*", *Philosophy East and West: A Journal of Oriental and Comparative Thought* IV, no. 4 (January 1955), pp. 295-319; and id., "Chinese and Western Interpretations of Jen (Humanity)", *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 2, no. 2 (March 1975), pp. 107-29.

¹⁰⁷*Meng Zi* 7:2:16, in *Xinyi Si Shu Duben*, op. cit., p. 651. Cf. *Zhong Yong* 20:5.

¹⁰⁸*Lun Yu* 12:22, *ibid.*, p. 206.

¹⁰⁹Legge used 'benevolence' and 'love', as mentioned in "Chinese Characters and Phrases", sec. VII of "Indexes", in *Confucian Analects, The Great Learning, and The Doctrine of the Mean*, op. cit., pp. 452; and in "Of Chinese Characters and Phrases", sec. III of "Indexes", in *The Works of Mencius*, op. cit., pp. 518. In "Laotse, the Book of Tao", op. cit., p. 40, Lin Yutang mentioned that 'benevolence' is a bad translation and he preferred 'love',

all men",¹¹⁰ for he also said, "[It is] only the man of *Ren* [who] can [justly] love others [who deserve to be loved], [and] can [justly] hate others [who deserve to be hated]."¹¹¹ In fact, he advocated, "to recompense hatred with uprightness, [and] to recompense kindness with gratitude."¹¹² Kong Zi thus did not believe in "repaying hatred with gratitude", as advocated by Lao Zi.¹¹³ Lao Zi gave the following explanation:

[To] those who are good I am good to them, [and to] those who are not good I am also good to them; [thus all] get [to be] good. [To] those who are sincere I am sincere to them, [and to] those who are not sincere I am also sincere to them; [thus all] get [to be] sincere.¹¹⁴

Meng Zi also use *Ren*. in *Meng Zi*, almost exclusively to mean 'love' or 'benevolence'.¹¹⁵ He also compared *Ren* with "man's heart", and advocated to go after it when strayed:

Ren is man's heart To allow his heart to stray and not has enough sense to go after [it]; it is indeed sad! [When] man's chickens and dogs are lost, [he] has enough sense to seek for them; [but when his] heart strays, [he] does not have enough sense to go after [it]. The sole concern of learning is nothing else, [but] to merely go after this strayed heart.¹¹⁶

which is also used by Derk Bodde in "On Translating Chinese Philosophical Terms", *Far Eastern Quarterly*, no. 14 (1955), pp. 235-37. Homer H. Dubs, however, combined 'benevolence' and 'love' to create 'benevolent love', in "The Development of Altruism in Confucianism", *Philosophy East and West: A Journal of Oriental and Comparative Thought* I, no. 1 (April 1951), pp. 48-55.

¹¹⁰This is the interpretation of Legge, in "Confucian Analects", in *Confucian Analects, The Great Learning, and The Doctrine of the Mean*, *ibid.*, p. 260.

¹¹¹*Lun Yu* 4:3, in *Xinyi Si Shu Duben*, *op. cit.*, p. 97; translation based on the interpretation on p. 98. Cf. *Da Xue*: commentary 10:15.

¹¹²*Lun Yu* 14:36, *ibid.*, p. 235. Note that "recompensing hatred with uprightness" does not imply 'repaying evil with evil'. By "uprightness", Kong Zi meant absolute impartiality, guided by what is right rather than one's personal preference.

¹¹³*Dao De Jing* 63, in *Xinyi Lao Zi Duben*, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

¹¹⁴*Dao De Jing* 49, *ibid.*, p. 84; translation with reference to the interpretation on p. 84. Lao Zi's words were almost repeated by Jesus who preached the doctrine of 'loving one's enemy', as in Matthew 5:44, ". . . Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you . . ."; and in Luke 6:35, "But love your enemies, do good to them . . .". ("The Books of the New Testament", *op. cit.*, pp. 684 & 728.)

¹¹⁵See, for instance, *Meng Zi* 1:1:1; 4:1:27; 4:2:28:2; 6:1:1, 4 & 7:2:24:2.

¹¹⁶*Meng Zi* 6:1:11:1-4, in *Xinyi Si Shu Duben*, *op. cit.*, p. 582; translation with reference to Mencius, p. 167.

That may be the reason for Meng Zi to sound the warning of "not to lose one's [originally unstrayed] baby's heart."¹¹⁷ It is noteworthy that Lao Zi had also used the symbol of a baby or an infant to illustrate this 'originally unstrayed state of pure being',¹¹⁸ besides using '*Pu* [simple, literally, which originally used to refer to a piece of unhewn or uncarved wood]' to describe "the unembellished, the natural goodness and honesty of man",¹¹⁹ and '*Su* [plain, literally, as in undyed silk]' to describe "the unadorned, uncultured, the innate quality, simple self".¹²⁰

Perfect Virtue and the Man of *Ren* Kong Zi also used the same word '*Ren*' to extend the particular virtue of 'benevolence' to an all-encompassing ethical ideal, regarding it as the basis of all goodness of human beings. He considered, for instance, the ability to practise the five virtues of "gravity, generosity, *Xin*, diligence, [and] kindness" as *Ren*.¹²¹ As a combination of all these virtues, *Ren* is variously translated as "goodness", "human-heartedness", "humanity", "co-humanity" and "true manhood".¹²² Thus, Kong Zi's "man of *Ren*" can be translated as, for example, 'good man' or 'true man', especially in instances where the "man of *Ren*" is compared to other 'kinds' of men, as in the following:

The man of *Zhi* finds pleasure in water; the man of *Ren* finds pleasure in mountains. The man of *Zhi* is active; the man of *Ren* is tranquil. The man of *Zhi* enjoys happiness; the man of *Ren* enjoys long life.¹²³

Kong Zi also extended this use of *Ren* to mean the "perfect virtue"¹²⁴ when he said, "The man of *Ren* [is one who is the] first [to take up a] difficult [task], and last

¹¹⁷*Meng Zi* 4:2:12, *ibid.*, p. 496.

¹¹⁸*Dao De Jing* 10 & 55, in *Xinyi Lao Zi Duben*, *op. cit.*, pp. 30 & 90.

¹¹⁹*Dao De Jing* 15 & 28, as interpreted in "Laotse, the Book of Tao", *op. cit.*, pp. 38 & 46 respectively.

¹²⁰*Dao De Jing* 19, *ibid.*, p. 40.

¹²¹*Lun Yu* 17:6, in *Xinyi Si Shu Duben*, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

¹²²"Goodness" is used in Arthur Waley, trans., *The Analects of Confucius* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1938; repr., 1956), p. 83; "human-heartedness" in *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, *op. cit.*, p. 42, and in E. R. Hughes, *Chinese Philosophy in Classical Times* (London: Dent, 1954), p. 13; "humanity" and "co-humanity" in Peter A. Boodberg, "The Semasiology of Some Primary Confucian Concepts", *Philosophy East and West: A Journal of Oriental and Comparative Thought* II, no. 4 (January 1953), pp. 317-332; and "true manhood" in Lin Yutang, ed. & trans., *The Wisdom of Confucius* (New York: The Modern Library, 1938), p. 184.

¹²³*Lun Yu* 6:21, in *Xinyi Si Shu Duben*, *op. cit.*, p. 129; translation with reference to *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

¹²⁴"Chinese Characters and Phrases", *op. cit.*, p. 452.

[to think about a] reward; [this indeed] can be called *Ren*."¹²⁵ It is also understood that this "perfect virtue" is made the 'trademark' of *junzi*, for he said:

[If] a *junzi* casts away *Ren*, how can [he] fulfil that name? [Thus,] a *junzi* never abandons *Ren* [even] for the lapse of a meal [i.e., for a moment].¹²⁶

Similarly, Meng Zi said:

Ren is [the distinguishing characteristic of] man. When embodied [in man's conduct], it is *Dao* [of *junzi*].¹²⁷

In these instances, the "man of *Ren*" indeed becomes the *junzi*.

Zhong and *Shu* Much of Confucian teachings also confined to the continued practice of *Ren*. When asked how to put *Ren* into practice, Kong Zi gave a principle, "What one does not wish [done to oneself], not to do to others."¹²⁸ This principle has also been summarised into one word by Kong Zi and has since come to be known as the Confucian golden rule. He said:

It is [the word] *Shu* [forgiveness, literally, but here taken to mean Altruism]. What one does not wish [done to oneself], not to do to others.¹²⁹

Calling it '*Shu*' is actually the negative aspect of the practice of *Ren*. The positive aspect is what Zeng Zi (ca. 505-436 B.C.)—an immediate disciple of Kong Zi¹³⁰—called '*Zhong*' [loyalty, literally, but here taken to mean Conscientiousness]¹³¹ or "Do to others what you wish yourself."¹³² This, in fact, is what Kong Zi meant when he described another way of practising *Ren*, that:

¹²⁵*Lun Yu* 6:20, in *Xinyi Si Shu Duben*, op. cit., p. 129; translation with reference to the interpretation in Cai Xiqin, Lai Bo & Xia Yuhe, interpreters, annotators & trans., *Han Ying Duizhao Lun Yu [Chinese-English Analects of Confucius]* (Beijing: Sinolingua, 1994), pp. 96-97.

¹²⁶*Lun Yu* 4:5, *ibid.*, p. 98.

¹²⁷*Meng Zi* 7:2:16, *ibid.*, p. 651.

¹²⁸*Lun Yu* 12:2, *ibid.*, p. 195. Cf. *Lun Yu* 5:12.

¹²⁹*Lun Yu* 15:23, *ibid.*, pp. 249-250.

¹³⁰Zeng Zi, as known in *Lun Yu*, is Zeng Shen, whose *zi* is Ziyu. He was a voluminous writer and noted for his filial piety and to whom also ascribed *Xiao Jing* [The Classic of Filial Piety]—a book of eighteen short chapters, quoting the examples of ancient kings and sages, regarding them as the ones who pre-eminently exercised the virtue of filial piety and encouraged their people into the practice of it.

¹³¹*Lun Yu* 4:15.

¹³²A Short History of Chinese Philosophy, op. cit., p. 43 This is also exactly what Jesus preached, as in Luke 6:31, translated in "The Books of the New Testament", op. cit., p. 728, that, "Do to others as you would have

A man of *Ren*, wishing to sustain himself, also sustains others; [and] wishing to develop himself, also develops others.¹³³

The way to practise *Ren* is thus expressed as 'the principle of *Zhong* and *Shu*', which is Kong Zi's "*Yi* [Unity, understood as one single principle or a body of doctrines]" that threads through his teaching, as interpreted by Zeng Zi, that:

Kong Zi's teaching [that, as he claimed, can be threaded through by *Yi*], [consists of the principle of] *Zhong* [and] *Shu*, [and] that's all.¹³⁴

It is through this principle that brings about awareness of the presence of others, during one's practice of *Ren* and one's pursuit of *Dao*. Put it the other way round, to involve others in one's pursuit of *Dao* is not only *Shu* [altruistic], but also help in the realisation of one's *Zhong* [conscience]. However, this practice implies a standard or a measure of what is right. Kong Zi called this *Li*. He said, "To master one's self [in the pursuit of *Dao*], [that is,] to return to *Li*, is *Ren*."¹³⁵ Here, "to return to *Li*" is to be taken to mean 'to act in accord with *Li*'. Kong Zi elaborated:

What is contrary to *Li*; not to look at; what is contrary to *Li*; not to listen to; what is contrary to *Li*; not to talk about; what is contrary to *Li*, not to do.¹³⁶

2.2.4 *Li* [Propriety]

On the basis of what Kong Zi said, that regarded *Ren* as "to master one's self, to return to *Li*", Zhao Jibin believed that *Li*, rather than *Ren*, was the primary concept in Kong Zi's teaching. Zhao considered Kong Zi's *Ren* as merely a derivative of the ancient *Li* [rites] of the state of Zhou.¹³⁷ This position was later supported by Guan

them do to you." Also, in the essay entitled "The Duty of Civility", published by Royal Bank of Canada in Royal Bank Letter 76, no. 3 (May/June 1995), p. [1], the author urged that "you treat everyone as decently and considerately as you would like to be treated yourself." This can be another expression of Zeng Zi's *Zhong*.

¹³³*Lun Yu* 6:28, in *Xinyi Si Shu Duben*, op. cit., p. 132; translation with reference to *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, op. cit., p. 43.

¹³⁴*Lun Yu* 4:15, *ibid.*, p. 102.

¹³⁵*Lun Yu* 12:1, *ibid.*, p. 194.

¹³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 195.

¹³⁷Zhao, "*Ren Li Jiegu*" [The Original Meanings of *Ren* and *Li* Explained], chapter in *Lun Yu Xintan* [A New Exploration of the Analects of Confucius] (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1962), p. 179.

Feng and Lin Yushi, who both also agreed that Kong Zi's motive for promoting *Ren* was to restore such *Li*.¹³⁸ In the opinion of others, there is more to this, for Kong Zi not only evolved a new concept of *Ren*, but also developed a new meaning of *Li*, liberating it from the restricted meaning of merely rites.¹³⁹

It is true that in its earliest use, as recorded in *Lun Yu*, *Li* refers to rites such as funerals or sacrifices to ancestors, and sacrifices concerning communal festivities.¹⁴⁰ *Li* in this sense is also used in *Zhong Yong*.¹⁴¹ The use of *Li* is later extended to the more ordinary occasions relating to all sorts of ceremony and courtesy that specified the conduct of courtiers, and it also came to include the regulations of government.¹⁴² Soon, Kong Zi used the term '*Li*' to encompass matters of etiquette, decorum or rules of propriety, good form or good custom for everyone. To begin with, he said, "[Parents, when] alive, serve them according to *Li*".¹⁴³ He even considered "asking about everything [that one does not know]" as *Li*.¹⁴⁴ He further emphasised *Li* in the following way:

Respectfulness but not in accord with *Li* leads to [fruitless] labour; carefulness but not in accord with *Li* leads to timidity; courage but not in accord with *Li* leads to rebelliousness; forthrightness but not in accord with *Li* leads to rudeness.¹⁴⁵

Li in the sense of respectfulness was also adopted by Meng Zi who wrote, "The man of *Li* respects others."¹⁴⁶ In this sense, the primary function of *Li* is to prevent human conflict with a set of constraints to ensure harmonious social order and control, as You Zi put it:

¹³⁸Guan & Lin, "Lun Kong Zi" [On Confucius], in *Kong Zi Zhexue Taolun Ji* [Collected Papers on Kong Zi's Philosophy], ed. *Zhexue Yanjiu Bianjibu* [Editorial Department of Philosophical Research] (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1963), pp. 255-58.

¹³⁹Chan, for instance—in *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, op. cit., pp. 15-17—believed that Kong Zi "was a creator as well as a transmitter" based on his evolvement of the concept of *Ren* and the extension of the idea of *Li*.

¹⁴⁰See, for instance, *Lun Yu* 2:5; 3:4 & 3:17.

¹⁴¹See, for instance, *Zhong Yong* 18:3 & 19:6.

¹⁴²See, for instance, *Lun Yu* 3:19; 14:44; 15:32; and *Zhong Yong* 27:3.

¹⁴³*Lun Yu* 2:5, in *Xinyi Si Shu Duben*, op. cit., p. 75.

¹⁴⁴*Lun Yu* 3:15, *ibid.*, p. 91.

¹⁴⁵*Lun Yu* 8:2, *ibid.*, p. 148; translation with reference to interpretation on p. 148.

¹⁴⁶*Meng Zi* 4:2:28:2, *ibid.*, p. 510.

[Among] the functions of *Li*, the most valuable is [that it establishes] harmony [All things,] small [and] great [are carried out] according to it [as the guide]. [However,] there may be instances where [it] does not work. Knowing [the usefulness of establishing] harmony and [try to] establish it, but without regulating it by *Li*, [it] will not work.¹⁴⁷

Li thus represents the right ethos of the people. To Kong Zi, it is the distinctive character of a *junzi* and to observe *Li* becomes his duty, that will in turn ensures harmonious living with others. "*Junzi* extensively studies literature, [and] restrains himself with *Li*," he said. "Thus, [he] will not err from what is right."¹⁴⁸ He also mentioned that, "Without understanding *Li*, it is impossible [for the character of *junzi*] to be established."¹⁴⁹ To summarise, he said:

[If] a *junzi* is serious [in his deeds] and without doing anything wrong, [and] be respectful to others and observant of *Li*, [then] all within the four seas [i.e., the world] are [his] brothers.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷*Lun Yu* 1:12. *ibid.*, p. 70.

¹⁴⁸*Lun Yu* 6:25, *ibid.*, p. 131. Cf. *Lun Yu* 12:15.

¹⁴⁹*Lun Yu* 20:3, *ibid.*, p. 301.

¹⁵⁰*Lun Yu* 12:5, *ibid.*, p. 197; translation with reference to the interpretation in *Han Ying Duizhao Lun Yu*, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

2.3 The Sayings of Huineng and Shenhui: Doctrines and Concepts of *Chan*-ism [*Zen* Buddhism]

2.3.1 *Chan*-ism and *Nan Zong* [The Southern School]

Chan-ism It is traditionally believed that Buddhism first penetrated China during [Han] Ming Di's reign (A.D. 58-75).¹⁵¹ However, the first event in the Chinese history of Buddhism that can be documented with some certainty is the arrival of Bodhidharma (fl. A.D. 460-534)—the twenty-eighth Indian Patriarch of the *Mahayana* School of Buddhism—in China in the fifth century.¹⁵² For about fifty years he propagated the doctrines of *Lankavatara Sutra* (translated as *Lengjia Jing* in Chinese) and attracted many disciples from all over China.¹⁵³ It is also traditionally accepted that he originated the school of *Chan*.¹⁵⁴ However, Christmas Humphreys regarded him as only a "midwife". He wrote:

. . . it was the Chinese genius working on the raw material of Indian thought which, with contributions from Confucian and Taoist sources, produced, with Bodhidharma as midwife, the essentially Chinese School of Ch'an¹⁵⁵

¹⁵¹A Short History of Chinese Philosophy, op. cit., p. 241.

¹⁵²Hu Shi—in his "*Lengjia Zong Kao*" [An Investigation into the *Lanka* School], originally published in vol. 2 of series 4 of *Hu Shi Wencun* [Collected Writings of Hu Shi], now collected in *Shenhui Heshang Zhuan* [Biography of Priest Shenhui], *Hu Shi Zuopin Ji* [Collected Works of Hu Shi], bk. 16, published by Wang Rongwen (Taipei: Yuanliu Chuban Shiye, 1986; 5th pr., 1994), p. 53—summarised that Bodhidharma came during ca. A.D. 470-75.

¹⁵³Hu Shi, "*Puti Damo Kao*" [On Bodhidharma], originally published in vol. 4 of series 3 of *Hu Shi Wencun*, ibid., now collected in *Haiwai Dushu Zaji* [Miscellanies Jotted while Studying Overseas], *Hu Shi Zuopin Ji* [Collected Works of Hu Shi], bk. 12, published by Wang Rongwen (Taipei: Yuanliu Chuban Shiye, 1986; 4th pr., 1994), pp. 137-150.

¹⁵⁴A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy, op. cit., p. 425. The Chinese character '*chan*' is an abbreviation of '*channa*', a Chinese translation of the Sanskrit term '*dhyana*', which means literally 'meditation'. In Japanese, the Chinese character for '*chan*' is read '*zen*', the term by which this school of Buddhism is most commonly known in the West today.

¹⁵⁵Christmas Humphreys, *Zen Buddhism* (London: Heinemann, 1949; Allen & Unwin, 1962), p. 26. Cf. John C. H. Wu, *The Golden Age of Zen* ([Taipei]: Guofang Yanjiuyuan, 1967), p. 44, that says:

If Buddhism is the father, Taoism is the mother of this prodigious child [*Chan*-ism]. But there can be no denying that the child looks more like the mother than the father.

Such statement has probably led to the observation, in Thomas Merton, *The Way of Chuang Tzu* (New York: New Directions, 1965), p. 15, that, "The true inheritors of the thought and spirit of Chuang Tzu [Zhuang Zi, representing Taoism] are the Chinese Zen Buddhists of the T'ang period." This also probably explains why Alan W. Watts—in *The Way of Zen* ([London]: Thames & Hudson, 1957; repr., London: Penguin Books, 1990), pp. 23-25—suggested to understand Taoism before studying *Chan*-ism.

Such "essentially Chinese School of Ch'an" began to take shape in the hand of Hongren (A.D. 601-74),¹⁵⁶ the Fifth *Chan* Patriarch, who taught *Jingang Jing* [Chinese translation of *Vajracchedika Sutra*, known in the West as the *Diamond Sutra*], emphasising the mind—the central focus since then. Hongren had many disciples, some of whom were able to establish sects of their own, though with varying degrees of success.¹⁵⁷ Among them, Hongren made Huineng (A.D. 638-713) the Sixth Patriarch. Through the activity of Huineng and his immediate disciple Shenhui (A.D. 670-762), *Chan*-ism was fully developed into a characteristically Chinese form—that "was so very Chinese and so little Buddhist"¹⁵⁸—and became the dominant sect of Chinese Buddhism. *Liuzu Tanjing* [Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch] ascribed to Huineng, and the sayings of Shenhui in *Shenhui Yulu* [Recorded Sayings of Shenhui] later set the course for *Chan*-ism to follow from the eighth century until today. My subsequent discussion will be based on these two works.¹⁵⁹

Nan Zong The following sacred *gatha* [a Sanskrit word meaning poem or verses of four lines] was believed to be a summary of Bodhidharma's mission, as summarised by later followers of *Chan*-ism:

Jiao wai biechuan [A special transmission separate from the doctrinal teaching],
Bu li wenzi [Not reliant upon the written words];
Zhizhi renxin [Pointing directly at one's mind],
Jian xing cheng Fo [Seeing his own nature and becoming a Buddha].¹⁶⁰

In my opinion this *gatha* expresses more characteristically the spirit of Huineng and Shenhui than that of Bodhidharma.

¹⁵⁶Accounts of Hongren's life are mostly legends. According to *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, op. cit., p. 426, it is agreed that he was a bright boy and that after he joined the Buddhist order he spent most of his time in spiritual cultivation and teaching. In A.D. 639 he was favoured with an imperial audience.

¹⁵⁷See the chart in Philip Yampolsky, "New Japanese Studies in Early Ch'an History", in *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet*, ed. Whalen Lai & Lewis R. Lancaster, Buddhist Studies Series 5 (Berkeley: University of California, 1983), p. 11.

¹⁵⁸Edwin O. Reischauer & John K. Fairbanks, *East Asia: The Great Tradition* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960), p. 145.

¹⁵⁹For *Liuzu Tanjing*, I refer to the corrected version of the Chinese Dunhuang text of *Liuzu Tanjing*, collected under "The Tun-Huang Text" in *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, by Philip B. Yampolsky (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), following p. 212; for *Shenhui Yulu*, the Chinese text collected in Hu Shi, ed., *Shenhui Heshang Yiji* [Surviving Works of Priest Shenhui] (Shanghai: Yadong Tushuguan, 1930), pp. 91-152. For brief biographies of Huineng, Shenhui, and their works, see my App. 3.1.5 & 3.1.6.

¹⁶⁰My translation of the Chinese verses endnoted as n. 2 of chap. IV in *The Golden Age of Zen*, op. cit., p. 301.

'*Jiao wai biechuan*' distinguishes the Southern School of *Chan*-ism from the Northern School, a division that occurred after Hongren's death. Hongren made Huineng the Sixth Patriarch, after he demonstrated his wisdom by a poem (of four lines) that indicated a higher level of awakening compared to the one composed by Shenxiu (ca. A.D. 605-706), the monastery's *zuo zu* [head monk] and the most learned and influential disciple.¹⁶¹ Following the death of Hongren in A.D. 674, Shenxiu, deprived of the patriarchal succession, went off with some followers to establish a new monastery at Mt. Dangyang in Hubei Province. Regarding himself as the Sixth Patriarch, he soon became a celebrated *Chan* master in the North. His teaching enjoyed a great popularity and his school is later identified with what came to be known as *Bei Zong* [The Northern School].

Meanwhile, Huineng set up a new movement at Mt. Caoxi in the South, that later came to be known as *Nan Zong*. Huineng's *Nan Zong* and Shenxiu's *Bei Zong* developed divergent tendencies and they were popularly referred to as *Nan Neng Bei Xiu* [In the South, Neng; in the North, Xiu]. The freshness of the teachings of *Nan Zong*, however, soon attracted a large following, especially during the time of Shenhui. In A.D. 734, Shenhui began to openly attack *Bei Zong*. His successful attacks and effective protest against the listing of Shenxiu as Sixth Patriarch later led to a decision by an imperial commission, in A.D. 777, to reinstate Huineng as the Sixth Patriarch and to make Shenhui the Seventh. *Nan Zong*, with a whole succession of great priests, eventually over-shadowed *Bei Zong*. From the ninth century onwards, the story of *Chan*-ism has been that of *Nan Zong*.

It is this *Nan Zong* that is to be considered "*Jiao wai biechuan*", that has carried on the spirit of "*Bu li wenzi*" in the form of its concept '*Dunwu* [Sudden Enlightenment]'; "*Zhizhi renxin*" in the form of '*Wunian* [No-Thought]'; and "*Jian xing cheng Fo*" in the form of '*Dao* [Buddhahood]'—all to be discussed in the following.

¹⁶¹The whole event was recorded in *Liuzu Tanjing* 4-9. (Here and in subsequent references in my text and footnotes, the number immediately after *Liuzu Tanjing* indicates the section—a division following the text collected in *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, op. cit.) The two poems will be discussed later in my text. Shenxiu was a literate and highly cultivated man. According to Luo Xianglin, *Tangdai Wenhua Shi* [History of the Culture and Civilisation of the Tang Dynasty] (Taipei: n.p., 1955), pp. 105-8 & 136-143, Shenxiu was quite a student of Chinese philosophy before he joined the Buddhist order, having thoroughly studied *Dao De Jing*, *Zhuang Zi*, and *Yi Jing*. He became a monk probably at fifteen and went to Hongren in A.D. 669 when he was at least fifty years old. He was then Hongren's disciple for six years until the latter died.

2.3.2 *Dunwu* [Sudden Enlightenment]

Nan Dun Bei Jian "Bu li wenzi" means that there should be no attachment to the written words of the *sutras*, not that words cannot be used to expedite pointing to the truth, as Huineng rebutted:

Since [it is] said that [one should] not use written words, [then] man should not speak, [for] speech [itself] is [a form of] written words.¹⁶²

'*Bu li wenzi*' is also not a blanket renunciation of the scriptures. In fact, Huineng's attitude toward the study of *sutras* is never inhibitory. In responding to queries from a priest who had been reciting *Fahua Jing* [Chinese translation of *Saddharmapundarika Sutra*, known in the West as *Lotus Sutra*] for seven years, for instance, his advice is:

[If you] practise with the heart [wholeheartedly], [you will] turn [have command of] *Fahua*; [if you] do not practise [wholeheartedly], [you will be] turned [bound] by *Fahua*. [If your] heart [mind] is right, [you will] turn *Fahua*; [if your] heart is evil, [you will be] turned by *Fahua*. . . . [If you] try hard to cultivate [yourself] through practising the *Dharma*, it is turning the *sutra*.¹⁶³

Here, he implied a methodological distinction in approach towards the *sutras* rather than renouncing them.

'*Bu li wenzi*' thus describes the spirit of the *Nan Zong Chan*-ists. To them, real knowledge could not be acquired through studying the sacred scriptures but could only be gained in awakening to one's own nature. Furthermore, such awakening should be sudden, as opposed to the gradual attainment advocated by *Bei Zong*, whereby *Wu* [a Chinese rendition to the Sanskrit term *Bodhi*, which means Enlightenment] is achieved only through the gradual accumulation of intellectual study of the *sutras* and practice through meditation. *Bei Zong* thus believes in *Jianwu* [Gradual Enlightenment] of the mind, while the essence of the teaching of *Nan Zong* is *Dunwu*. This basic difference between the two schools has traditionally been summed up in the phrase '*Nan Dun Bei Jian* [South Sudden, North Gradual]'

¹⁶²*Liuzu Tanjing* 46, in *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, op. cit., p. [223].

¹⁶³*Liuzu Tanjing* 42, ibid., pp. [225-26]. *Fahua* refers to *Fahua Jing*.

Dunwu versus *Jianwu* The teaching of *Dunwu* finds its most concrete expression in Shenhui's teaching. In his *Shenhui Yulu*, for instance, he said:

[If at the start of one's spiritual striving for] ten beliefs, in [one's] initial resolve [to seek enlightenment], an instant of thought corresponds [with truth], [one] will [immediately] achieve Buddhahood. [It is] in accord with *li* [principle]. . . . This clarifies the mystery of *Dunwu*.¹⁶⁴

He also said:

[If one points one's] thought to *Dun[wu]* as if climbing a nine-story tower with the intention of [ascending] the steps gradually, [one] is not aiming right but [instead] sets up the principle of *Jian[wu]*.¹⁶⁵

Thus, in *Jianwu*, one advances towards enlightenment in a slow series of steps, just like climbing a ladder, and grades his *Chan*-ic practice into stages. For this reason, this method is also popularly referred to as "ladder enlightenment".¹⁶⁶ It emphasises the gradual development of the mind, a slow process involving monastic discipline of study and practice. Its aim is to accomplish a state of complete tranquillity of the heart and a concentration of the mind on the unity of the inner self with the external environment. In *Dunwu*, on the other hand, such long process is not necessarily essential; the novice just continues his daily routine of normal activities in life until the time is ripe when enlightenment floods the mind suddenly, for Shenhui said:

The resolve [to seek enlightenment] may be *dun jian* [sudden or gradual]; delusion [and] enlightenment may be slow [or] fast. Delusion may continue for infinitely long periods, [but] enlightenment takes but a moment.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁴*Shenhui Heshang Yiji*, op. cit., p. 100; translation and interpretation with reference to *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, op. cit., p. 440. The ten beliefs here refer to the ten grades of the first stage towards Buddhahood. These are faith, unforgetfulness, serious effort, wisdom, calmness, non-retrogression, protection of the Law, the mind to reflect the light of the Buddha, discipline, and free will. There are altogether six stages, consisting 52 grades in all, towards Buddhahood. *Bei Zong* believes that one has to go through all the six stages before achieving Buddhahood.

¹⁶⁵*Shenhui Heshang Yiji*, *ibid.*, p. 130, translation with reference to *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, *ibid.*, p. 441.

¹⁶⁶Yasuichi Awakawa, *Zen Painting*, trans. John Bester (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1970; paperback ed., 1977; 4th pr., 1981), p. 16.

¹⁶⁷*Shenhui Heshang Yiji*, op. cit., p. 120; translation and interpretation with reference to *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, op. cit., p. 440.

Huineng, however, did not reject *Jianwu* altogether, for he said:

In *Dharma*, [there is] no *dun jian*. [Among] man, [however,] there are [some who are] intelligent [and others who are] stupid. The deluded understand [the *Dharma*] gradually, [while] the enlightened understand suddenly. [But once they] knew [their] own original hearts [minds], [they will] then see into [their] original nature, [and] there is from the outset no difference in [their] *Wu*. Without *Wu*, [however, they] remain forever caught in the cycle of transmigration.¹⁶⁸

Fahai, one of the immediate disciples of Huineng, also gave a similar picture:

Man in the world all say "*Nan Neng Bei Xiu*", [but they] do not know the basic reason. . . . There is only one *Chan*-ism, [but] people may come from the North or South [geographically], so Southern [and] Northern [Schools] have been established. What is meant by *jian dun* [gradual and sudden]? There is only one *Dharma*, [but the method of] seeing [it] may be slow [or] fast. Seen slowly, it is [called] *Jian*[*wu*]; seen fast, it is *Dun*[*wu*]. In *Dharma*, [there is] no *jian dun*. [Among] man, [however,] there are [some who are] intelligent [and others who are] stupid. Thus, [we have] the names *jian dun*.¹⁶⁹

Thus, to Huineng or Fahai, there is no difference between *Jianwu* and *Dunwu*; what makes the difference is whether one's mind is deluded or enlightened, that may determine the slowness or fastness of attaining the same end-result—*Wu*.

2.3.3 *Wunian* [No-Thought]

Xin '*Zhizhi renxin*' literally means 'Pointing directly at the human *xin* [heart]'. 'The human *xin*' here refers to 'one's mind'. According to Huineng:

The wisdom of *Puti* [*Bodhi*], [and the wisdom of] *Banruo* [*Prajna*] are originally possessed by man in the world by their own. It is only because [their] hearts [minds] are deluded, [that they] cannot attain *Wu* by themselves.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸*Liuzu Tanjing* 16, in *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, op. cit., p. [243].

¹⁶⁹*Liuzu Tanjing* 39, ibid., p. [228]. Cf. *Liuzu Tanjing* 35 & 41.

¹⁷⁰*Liuzu Tanjing* 12, ibid., p. [244]. According to Ernest Wood, *Zen Dictionary* (New York: Penguin Books, 1957; repr., 1984), s.v. "Bodhi", "Prajna", pp. 18 & 81-82 respectively, '*Puti*' is the Chinese translation of the Sanskrit term '*Bodhi*', which is a form of wisdom (in the sense of enlightenment), through the realisation of the essential truth; and '*Banruo*' is the Chinese translation of the Sanskrit term '*Prajna*', which means essential wisdom, through realisation without mental knowledge, beyond both normal senses and mind. *Prajna* is also equated to Buddha-mind.

In other words, one needs to "recover the original heart"¹⁷¹ in order to perceive the wisdom of *Puti* and *Banruo*, that constitute his self-nature. Therefore, although the ultimate aim is to attain Buddhahood, it takes *xin* [the mind] to see one's self-nature first. A primary concern of a *Nan Zong Chan*-ist is thus first pointing directly at his own *xin* alone. Everything else, such as the monastic discipline of study and practice, is regarded as secondary. In other words, what is necessary is nothing but activities of daily life, for the daily activities of the ordinary mind are also the activities of a Buddha. This is illustrated by the following *Chan* dialogue between Master Congshen of Guanyin Monastery (situated just outside the city of Zhaozhou) and a man who went to him to become his disciple:

Disciple told Master, "I have just entered the monastery and I am deluded. Please instruct me."
 Master asked, "Have you eaten your rice porridge?"
 Disciple replied, "Yes, I have eaten."
 Master said, "Then go wash your bowl."¹⁷²

Here, the master is trying to help the disciple to point directly at his own *xin* to attain enlightenment.

This concept of *xin* seems philosophically similar to the Confucian concept of *Cheng* [Sincerity], for *Zhong Yong* says:

That enlightenment results from *Cheng*, is to be ascribed to [self]-nature; that *Cheng* results from enlightenment, is due to instruction. [In any case, given] *Cheng*, there will be enlightenment; [and given] enlightenment, there will be *Cheng*.¹⁷³

Wu Jingxiong pointed out, however, that *xin* here is not referring to the real mind, for "the *real* mind is that which is *thinking*, not that which is thought about."¹⁷⁴ To Wu, *xin* is a concept and in speaking of it, "we are not really pointing directly at the mind, but at best *pointing to the pointing*."¹⁷⁵ Such consideration led to the emphasis on *wuxin* [mindlessness] or *Wunian* in the teaching of Huineng and Shenhui.

¹⁷¹*Liuzu Tanjing* 19, *ibid.*, p. [241].

¹⁷²My adaptation from Paul Reps, *Zen Flesh, Zen Bones* ([Rutland]: Charles E. Tuttle, 1957; [London]: Pelican Books, 1971; London: Penguin Books, 1991), p. 101.

¹⁷³*Zhong Yong* 21, in *Xinyi Si Shu Duben*, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

¹⁷⁴*The Golden Age of Zen*, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

¹⁷⁵*Ibid.*

Wunian versus *Linian* This *Nan Zong*'s doctrine of *Wunian* was originally put forward as a criticism of *Bei Zong*'s teaching of *Linian* [Detachment-from-Thought]. *Bei Zong* advocates that the pure mind arises only after erroneous thoughts are eliminated, as illustrated by Shenxiu's poem:

The body is the tree of *Puti*,
 The heart [mind] is like the stand of a bright mirror.
 Constantly whisk [it] with diligence,
 [And] do not let the dust collect.¹⁷⁶

According to Shenhui, this *Linian* involves a bondage to purity when one has to intentionally attempting to look at his own 'originally pure mind'¹⁷⁷ and attaching to the detachment from thought. Such doctrine of *Linian* is later described by Shenhui's follower Zongmi (A.D. 780-841) as the practice of '*fu chen kan jing* [whisking away dust to view purity]'.¹⁷⁸ Such is the case of the young *Chan*-ist Yamaoka Tesshu who travelled to visit one master after another and ultimately called upon Dokuon of Shokoku Monastery. The following is the dialogue between them:

Desiring to show his level of awakening, Yamaoka said: "*Xin* [the mind], *Fo* [the Buddha] and *zhongsheng* [all living beings] are all emptiness. The true nature of phenomena is emptiness. There is no *Wu*, no delusion; no sage, no mediocrity; no giving, no reward."

Dokuon, who was smoking then, said nothing. However, he whacked Yamaoka suddenly with his smoking pipe. This made him quite angry. Dokuon inquired, "If everything is empty, where did that anger come from?"¹⁷⁹

Linian was interpreted as suggesting that the *Chan*-ist should make his mind blank by attempting to 'whisk away' all thinking from the mind through consciously stopping the arising of thoughts. However, the conscious effort of 'stopping the arising of thoughts' itself has yet to be eliminated. For this reason, *Nan Zong* advocates *Wunian*, as illustrated by Huineng's poem:

Puti originally has no tree,
 The bright mirror also has no stand.

¹⁷⁶*Liuzu Tanjing* 6, in *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, op. cit., p. [246].

¹⁷⁷*Nan Zong*'s belief of 'originally pure mind' is clearly reflected in Huineng's poem, to be discussed shortly in my text.

¹⁷⁸Yanagida Seizan, "The *Li-tai fa-pao chi* and the Ch'an Doctrine of Sudden Awakening", trans. Carl Bielefeldt, in *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet*, op. cit., p. 18.

¹⁷⁹My adaptation from *Zen Flesh, Zen Bones*, op. cit., p. 75.

Buddha-nature is always clean [and] pure,
Where is there [any] dust?¹⁸⁰

This poem expresses the idea of direct pointing to one's originally pure mind, without going through the unnecessary stage of 'whisking away' defilement and desires, the existence of which was not even recognised by Huineng in the first place. The whole idea of purifying the mind was thus irrelevant, for Huineng insisted that "man's nature is originally pure, . . . original nature is pure, . . . [and our] own nature is originally pure".¹⁸¹ This is in fact also Lao Zi and Meng Zi's 'originally unstrayed state of pure being'.

Huineng also rejected the formal discipline of literally *zuo chan* [sitting in meditation], as advocated by Shenxiu's school. He offered his alternative view:

. . . without [any] obstruction anywhere, without activating any thought externally [and] under all circumstances, [this] is *zuo* [sitting]; seeing internally the original nature [and] not to become confused, [this] is *chan* [meditation].¹⁸²

In other words, *chan* does not necessarily limit to a strict method of sitting in certain postures, but can be practised at any time, even when one is walking or working, so long as the mind is no longer disturbed by external conditions.

As such, Huineng defined *Wunian* in these words: "That which is *Wunian* is [when involved] in thought, yet not to think [of it]."¹⁸³ Such expression for *Wunian* indeed has a similar tone as Lao Zi's doctrine of *Wuwei* in the form of "taking no action, and yet nothing is left undone". Huineng elaborated:

Not to be attached to all realms [of thought], [this] is called *Wunian*. [It is] to separate [your] own thought from [all] realms, [and] not to have thoughts attached to the *Dharma*. If [you] stop thinking of the myriad things [and] eliminate all thoughts, [as soon as] one instant of thought is cut off, [you] will be reborn elsewhere.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁰*Liuzu Tanjing* 8, in *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, op. cit., p. [245]. Later versions of *Liuzu Tanjing*, however, have modified the poem to:

Puti originally has no tree,
The bright mirror is also not a stand.
[Since] originally there is nothing,
Where is there to collect dust?

(My translation of the Chinese verses endnoted as n. 5 of chap. III in *The Golden Age of Zen*, op. cit., p. 300.)

¹⁸¹*Liuzu Tanjing* 18, *ibid.*, p. [242].

¹⁸²*Liuzu Tanjing* 19, *ibid.*, p. [241]; translation with reference to p. 140.

¹⁸³*Liuzu Tanjing* 17, *ibid.*, p. [242].

¹⁸⁴*Ibid.*

Here, past, present and future thoughts form a chain of all realms of successive thoughts. To be attached to such chain is to tie oneself up. To be able to eliminate attachment to one instant of thought is to detach from the whole chain of thoughts and thus attaining *Wunian*. In this way, the mind is capable of thinking all possible thoughts so long as it remains unattached to any particular thought. In other words, one can suddenly attain enlightenment the moment he does not think of aiming at it.

In conclusion, *Wunian* means 'to see, to hear, to sense, and to know all things with the mind free from any attachment', as Huineng (and Shenhui) put it:

[If it is your originally pure self]-nature that gives rise to thought, [then,] although [you] see, hear, sense, [and] know, [your self-nature] is not attached to the ten thousand [all] realms, and [it] forever remains free.¹⁸⁵

2.3.4 *Dao* [Buddhahood]

Buddha/Buddhahood To Huineng, perceiving one's own originally pure nature is the path to attain Buddhahood. He said:

See [your] originally pure self-nature, cultivate yourself, [and] accomplish yourself. [Your] own nature is the *Dharmakaya*, self-practice is [also] the practice of *Fo* [Buddha]; [and] by self-accomplishment, [you will] achieve by yourself *Fodao* [the *Dao* of *Fo*, literally, which can be taken to mean Buddhahood].¹⁸⁶

What he said can be summarised precisely by the phrase "*Jian xing cheng Fo*". Huineng used the term '*Fodao*' as equivalent to 'the state of enlightenment' and in this sense, "*Jian xing cheng Fo*" can be compared with what Lao Zi said, that, "He who knows himself [perceives his original nature] is enlightened."¹⁸⁷ What the *Chan*-ist

¹⁸⁵Ibid. Cf. *Shenhui Heshang Yiji*, op. cit., p. 130.

¹⁸⁶*Liuzu Tanjing* 19, in *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, op. cit., p. [241]; translation with reference to p. 141. According to *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, op. cit., pp. 436-37, n. 44, Buddhism conceives a Buddha to have a threefold body, namely, *Dharmakaya* [the Law-body, or Spiritual-body], *Sambhogakaya* [the Reward-body, or Enjoyment-body], and *Nirmanakaya* [the Transformation-body, or Incarnation-body]. *Dharmakaya* is the Buddha-body in its self-nature, the body of the *Dharma* or truth, the body of reality, the body of principle. This 'body' has no bodily existence. It is identical with truth. *Sambhogakaya* is the person embodied with real insight, enjoying his own enlightenment or that of others. *Nirmanakaya* is a body variously appearing to save people. The three 'bodies' are three in one, are possessed of all Buddhas, and are potential to all men.

¹⁸⁷*Dao De Jing* 33, in *Xinyi Lao Zi Duben*, op. cit., p. 64; translation with reference to the interpretation on p. 64.

calls *Fodao* or Buddhahood [*Buddhata* in Sanskrit] is then similar to what the Taoist calls *Dao*.

To the *Chan*-ist, the Buddha-nature is inherent in all sentient beings and thus within everyone, and to discover this nature so as to attain Buddhahood (that should be sudden), one has to seek within oneself and see one's own original mind. In other words, the Buddha is not to be sought outside, but within his mind. Huineng explained:

. . . [we] know that without *Wu*, a Buddha is then [the same as any other] living beings. With *Wu*, [even] in an instant of thought, all living beings then become Buddhas. Therefore, [we] know that all the ten thousand *dharma*s are all within [our] own bodies [and] hearts [minds]. . . [If you] perceive [your] heart [mind], [and] see [your own] nature, [then you will] achieve by yourself *Fodao*. 'At once, [and] out of a sudden, [you] recover the original heart.'¹⁸⁸

Xiudao It is obvious that "*Jian xing cheng Fo*" has to be the main occupation of the *Chan*-ists. To *Nan Zong*, not only that attaining Buddhahood should be sudden through *Dunwu*, but the best way to see one's nature—a process usually referred to as *xiudao* [cultivation for attaining Buddhahood]—is not to consciously see it, but be natural or spontaneous, as explained by Huineng:

[It is] just as the sea gathering all the streams, [and] merging into one the small waters [and] the large waters. This is seeing into [one's own] nature.¹⁸⁹

Accordingly, the best way of *xiudao* is not to practice any cultivation, in accord with Huineng's poem that implies 'cultivating by not cultivating'—illustrating a form of Taoist *Wuwei*. This concept of *xiudao* seems, however, different to the Confucian concept of *xiuyang* [self-cultivation], whereby one strives deliberately to pursue the *Dao* of *junzi* by working hard to achieve goodness and to realise one's potential by following one's nature. To the *Chan*-ic *xiudao*, Feng Youlan offered the following explanation:

What the Ch'an masters emphasized is that spiritual cultivation does not require special acts, such as the ceremonies and prayers of institutionalized religion. One should simply try to be without a purposeful mind or any

¹⁸⁸*Liuzu Tanjing* 30, in *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, op. cit., p. [236]. Cf. *Liuzu Tanjing* 35, 52 & 53.

¹⁸⁹*Liuzu Tanjing* 29, *ibid.*, p. [236]. Cf. *Dao De Jing* 32, in *Xinyi Lao Zi Duben*, op. cit., p. 62, that says, "Analogically, *Dao* under heaven [under the sun] may be compared to streams and torrents flowing into river or sea."

attachments in one's daily life; then cultivation results from the mere carrying on of the common and simple affairs of daily life.¹⁹⁰

To this, he also gave an analogy:

. . . although to wear clothes and eat meals are in themselves common and simple matters, it is still not easy to do them with a completely non-purposeful mind and thus without any attachment. A person likes fine clothes, for example, but dislikes bad ones, and he feels please when others admire his clothes. These are all the attachments that result from wearing clothes.¹⁹¹

Thus, the best way of *xiudao* is to pursue nothing more than the ordinary tasks of one's daily life, for "Your everyday life, that is *Dao*."¹⁹² To the Confucianist, 'the ordinary tasks of one's daily life' is to pursue the *Dao* of *junzi*. In this sense, *xiuyang* is then not too different from *xiudao*. However, to the *Chan*-ist, another emphasis is that such pursuit should be natural, "just as the sea gathering all the streams", or be "without a purposeful mind" or deliberate effort.

¹⁹⁰A Short History of Chinese Philosophy, op. cit., pp. 260-61.

¹⁹¹*Ibid.*, p. 260.

¹⁹²Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, Introduction to Zen Buddhism (Kyoto: n.p., 1934; repr., New York: Philosophical Library, 1949), p. 74, quoting the reply of an early *Chan* master in the Tang period when he was asked about *Dao*.

SECTION B

SHOU [HAND] → PRINCIPLES OF CHINESE PAINTING

Basic Principles → The Principle

The fish-trap is for catching fish; [once] the fish is caught, the trap [can] then be forgotten. The rabbit-snare is for catching rabbits; [once] the rabbit is caught, the snare [can] then be forgotten.

Zhuang Zi (ca. 369-286 B.C.),
Zhuang Zi 26:13
[The Book of Zhuang Zi, Ch. 26: Sec. 13]¹

Basic Principle Lao Zi (ca. 604-531 B.C.) once said, ". . . a *shengren* is **guided by the belly, [and] not by the eyes.**"² Such attitude has been adopted by the Chinese painting artist, for it is known that he paints what he feels and not what he actually sees. As such, he needs an excellent familiarisation with the various elements of painting and a clear understanding of the principles of art. Through familiarisation with the elements, the painter will be able to visualise his realm of artistic conception.

¹In *Xinyi Zhuang Zi Duben*, annotated & interpreted by Huang Jinhong, op. cit., p. 313.

²Lao Zi, *Dao De Jing* 12, in *Xinyi Lao Zi Duben*, annotated & interpreted by Yu Peilin, op. cit., p. 33; bold emphasis mine.

Through understanding of the principles, he will be able to locate the elements in appropriate composition conforming to a definite order using the right techniques. This approach assures that painters achieve, over the ages, what needs to be achieved. What they do not achieve is unnecessary to them.³

There have been intensive efforts to classify what they have accomplished. It is not surprising that the need to classify arises from the Chinese ideal of harmony and the strong sense that things should be ordered to facilitate its attainment and to function accordingly—a view reinforced by Taoist belief in the oneness of *Dao* and Confucian thought in *Li*. These efforts to effect order in turn lead to innumerable rules, methods and classifications, that appear excessive but are quite general and remarkably flexible, for the chief characteristic of *Dao* was conceived to be movement and constant change, representing all the processes and mutations of nature. After they have been studied, there remains a wide scope for individual freedom of taste and touch.

These various basic rules, methods and classifications, which Mai-mai Sze called "conventions of the *tao* [way] of painting",⁴ are indispensable and "the idiom of painting they established can be used with great expressiveness or with more limited degrees of expression, depending on the painter; and experience in handling it has generally tended to shift the truly creative talents from the merely adept and imitative."⁵ In the ensuing Chapter 3, I will discuss some of these "conventions" in the form of Xie He's *Liu Fa* [The Six Canons]. These six *fa* [canons] have been subsequently subjected to numerous reinterpretation and modification by painters and art critics into other forms such as Jing Hao's *Liu Yao* [The Six Important Fundamentals], Liu Daochun's *Liu Yao Liu Chang* [The Six Essentials and the Six Merits] and Wang Yu's *Liu Chang* [The Six Credits]—all of which, interestingly, were patterned as lists of six (or *liu* in Chinese) words or phrases. This might be due to the Chinese belief of 'six' as a significant number for basis of classification.⁶

³Wucius Wong, *The Tao of Chinese Landscape Painting: Principles & Methods* (New York: Design Press, 1991), p. 29.

⁴Sze, *The Way of Chinese Painting*, op. cit., p. 86.

⁵Ibid., p. 87.

⁶According to *Dao De Jing* 42, cited earlier in my Chap. 1.2.2, "*Dao* produced One. The One produced Two. The Two produced Three. The Three produced the ten thousand things." Belief in the sacredness of the 'three'—or '*san*' in Chinese—and the use of such designations as *San Bao* [The Triratna of Buddhist Trinity of the Buddha, the *Dharma* (his doctrine) and the *Sangha* (the monastic order)], *San Cai* [The Trinity of Heaven, Earth and Man] were also universal. 'Three' was regarded as the actively creative number as in *sancai*—the three-colour glazed pottery of the Tang Dynasty. The doubling of 'three' to form 'six' was employed when the three lines of the original Trigrams in *Yi Jing* were doubled to form the Hexagrams. According to Sze, *ibid.*, p. 50, "Six thus stood for an intensification of power: the doubling of the Three Powers and the tripling of the Two of the *Yin* and *Yang*;

The Principle Over the ages, there were also painters and critics who repudiated *Liu Fa* and rebelled against ancient rules. Shitao (1642-ca. 1718), for instance, is one of the few Chinese-painting individualist-artists who have again and again appeared to be advocating the breaking away from the old models and painting without regard for conservative rules or principles. He established a unique theory of his own, that he referred to as Principle of *Yihua* [One-Stroke] and claimed that such establishment "creates [a] principle out of no principle, [and a] principle that threads through [covers] all principles."⁷ Such 'principle that covers all principles' seems to be a peculiar combination of Chinese traditionalism and extreme individualism. This makes his principle worth to be discussed in Chapter 4.

moreover, it was the sum of the three primary numbers, One, Two, and Three. It was therefore held to be a particularly significant number to use in basic classifications."

⁷Shitao, *Kugua Heshang Huayu Lu* [The Record of Monk Bitter-Gourd's Discourse on Painting], chap. 1, in *Hualun Congkan*, ed. Yu Anlan, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 146.

CHAPTER 3

Xie He's *Liu Fa* [The Six Canons]

What are these *Liu Fa*? [They are:]

Fa 1: *Qiyun Shengdong*;

Fa 2: *Gufa Yongbi*;

Fa 3: *Ying Wu Xie Xing*;

Fa 4: *Sui Lei Fu Cai*;

Fa 5: *Jingying Weizhi*; [and]

Fa 6: *Chuanmo Yixie*.

Xie He (fl. ca. A.D. 500-535),

Gu Huapin Lu

[The Record of the Classification of Ancient Paintings],

Xu [Preface]¹

¹For a brief biography of Xie, see my App. 3.2.2. The cited list of *Liu Fa* is my modification of text collected in Yu Kun, ed., *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 355. *Fa* 3 has been modified from 'Ying Wu Xiang Xing' and *Fa* 6 from 'Chuanyi Moxie', based on those quoted in Wang Gai, Wang Shi & Wang Nie, eds. & comps, *Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan*, vol. 1, bk. 1, p. 1. 'Chuanmo Yixie' for *Fa* 6 is also quoted in Zhang Yanyuan, *Lidai Minghua Ji*, bk. 1, chap. 4; and in Guo Ruoxu, *Tuhua Jianwen Zhi* [The Record of Things Seen and Heard about Paintings], bk. 1. For more information about *Lidai Minghua Ji* and *Tuhua Jianwen Zhi*, see my App. 3.2.2, s.v. "Zhang Yanyuan (ca. A.D. 815-875)" and "Guo Ruoxu (fl. ca. 1070-80)" respectively.

3.1 *Liu Fa*

Xie He, while considering Lu Tanwei (d. ca. A.D. 485) as one of the best painter, introduced his *Liu Fa* with the following remarks in his short preface to *Gu Huapin Lu*:

On classification of paintings, all paintings [should be categorised] according to [their] superiority [and] inferiority. [Among] pictures, [there are] none that do not exercise some admonition; [be it of an] upraising [or] abasing [type]. The deserted [and] silent [records] over thousands of years can be appraised when [we] unscroll a picture. Although *Liu Fa* existed in paintings, [there were] few who could command them all, yet from past to present [there have been painters who] each proficient in one [or the other].²

It can be deduced from above that Xie did not invent the *Liu Fa*. His words show clearly that he had no pretensions to any originality of the principles he put forward. He merely systematically analysed the ideals about painting principles that had been handed down to his generation, probably from the times of Taoist or Confucian philosophers. The result of his analysis is the formulation of *Liu Fa* that were intended, at least, to serve as "a basis for the appreciation of painting"³ or as "the conditions which a good painting should fulfil and on which a classification of painters might be based".⁴

Although Xie, a portrait painter, has been described as "doubtless a pedantic critic whose taste leaned toward meticulous realism",⁵ his formulation of *Liu Fa* has certainly remained as pivotal criterion for all subsequent criticism of Chinese painting and discussion of the theory of painting. These six *fa*—each of which to be discussed shortly in subsequent sub-sections—have played an extremely important role in all discussions among Chinese-painting artists, writers and critics from Xie's time. "One might say that," in Osvald Sirén's words, "most critics and artists who wrote about this art [Chinese painting] referred back to them and based their estimation of masters on the

²In *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, op. cit., p. 355. For a brief biography of Lu, see my App. 3.2.2.

³Hu Heng et al., *Zhongguo de Yishu [Chinese Art]*, trans. Harold L. K. Siu, Ruo Zhengrong & Zhang Hongyong (Taipei: Youth Cultural Enterprises, 1985), p. 104.

⁴Osvald Sirén, "How the Chinese envisage the art of painting", Lecture delivered to the Association Française des Amis de l'Orient at Musée Guimet, Paris, 30 November 1933; notes of Lecture collected under "Evidence and Documents" in Michel Courtois, *Chinese Painting*, trans. Paul Eve, History of Art ([Paris]: Editions Rencontre Lausanne, 1967; English ed., Geneva: Edito-Service, 1970; London: Heron Books, 1970), p. 104.

⁵Michael Sullivan, *The Birth of Landscape Painting in China* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962), p. 106.

Six Principles [*Liu Fa*]."⁶ However, most of them did not explain what must be understood in *Liu Fa* that were merely formulated without further elaboration by Xie.

The Chinese expressions, especially those written in ancient form, always leave room for different interpretations, though within certain limits, without major change in the essential meaning. As will be illustrated shortly, Xie's *Liu Fa*—each of which is stated only in four Chinese characters—are examples of such expressions that have been subjected to numerous interpretations in Chinese and innumerable translations in Western languages. On many occasions, the Western translations differ more than the Chinese interpretations. One might be tempted to combine the translated versions into a single general statement for each of the six *fa* but yet still without closing in on the heart of the matter. This thus illustrates the difficulty in finding a reliable and valid interpretation of Xie's *Liu Fa*. James Cahill gave up at one point and considered *Liu Fa* as irreducible to a "definitive interpretation" as are the most obscure of the Taoist classics.⁷ John Hay, on the first two *fa* of *Liu Fa*, said, "They are, indeed, untranslatable."⁸ Their problem lies, of course, in the inclusiveness and terseness of the original ancient form of the Chinese language, and the lack of in-depth understanding of the technicality of Chinese painting itself.

⁶"How the Chinese envisage the art of painting", op. cit., p. 105.

⁷Cahill, "The Six Laws and How to Read Them", *ARS Orientalis*, no. 4 (1961), p. 381.

⁸Hay, "Values and History in Chinese Painting, II: The Hierarchic Evolution of Structure", *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no. 7/8 (Spring/Autumn 1984), p. 135.

3.2 The First *Fa*: *Qiyun Shengdong*

The first *fa* of Xie He's *Liu Fa* is formulated in four characters, or two dissyllabic words, as '*Qiyun Shengdong*'. The characters '*qi*', '*yun*', '*sheng*' and '*dong*'—which are hard to understand entirely and have been subjected to numerous interpretations even by the Chinese—are probably the most important four characters ever written about Chinese art. As a phrase, this first *fa* actually suggests more than it defines. There is a possibility of "philosophical or æsthetic interpretations"⁹ that are not present in the following five *fa*, wrote Osvald Sirén. It is thus almost impossible to render into English by just four words. Yet these four characters have troubled many translators and the numerous translations differ widely one from the other in terms of interpretations and explanations.

3.2.1 Spirit and Vitality

Vitality Herbert A. Giles proposed, in 1905, a very short phrase of two words—"Rhythmic Vitality"¹⁰—as the English equivalent to *Qiyun Shengdong*. Here *Qiyun* is taken to function as an adjective and *Shengdong* a noun and the whole phrase implicitly describes the vital energy of the painter lingering in a rhythmic manner to produce the effect of life in a painting. Laurence Binyon, in 1927, further expanded Giles' translation into "Rhythmic Vitality, or Spiritual Rhythm [*Qiyun*] expressed in the movement of life [*Shengdong*]"¹¹ It is noteworthy that the same phrase "Rhythmic Vitality" is used to mean different things; in the case of Giles, *Qiyun Shengdong*, and in that of Binyon, *Qiyun*. In the latter, *Qiyun* functions as a noun.

⁹Sirén, The Chinese on the Art of Painting: Translations and Comments (Peiping [Beijing]: Henri Vetch, 1936; New York: Schocken Books, 1963; 4th pr., 1971), p. 20.

¹⁰Giles, An Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art (Shanghai: Messrs. Kelly & Walsh, 1905; 2d ed., rev. & enlarged ed., 1918), p. 29.

¹¹Binyon, The Flight of the Dragon: An Essay on the Theory and Practice of Art in China and Japan, Based on Original Sources, The Wisdom of the East Series, ed. L. Cranmer-Byng & Alan W. Watts (London: John Murray, 1927), p. 12.

In the same year, John Ferguson replaced 'rhythm' by 'harmony' to suggest an implication of *Qiyun Shengdong* by saying that, "The conception should possess harmony and vitality."¹² Twenty years later, George Rowley seemed not satisfied with Ferguson's "harmony" and decided to turn back to the original word, 'rhythm'. He regarded *Shengdong* as a fruit of *Qi* that is equivalent to rhythm in Western painting and is fraught with all the extension meanings associated with that word. The characters 'qi', 'sheng' and 'dong' have remained and 'yun' has gone to the West. He wrote:

Both shêng-tung [*Shengdong*] and western rhythm concern the fusion of variation and order, of movement and measure, and of vitality and stylization; also they involve suggestion, repetition and fluency of design. The Chinese approach to these problems is belied by the term life-movement [*Shengdong*] since that word implies an emphasis upon natural rhythms.¹³

Spirit Sirén insisted that 'rhythm' was not the right word. While discussing Zhang Yanyuan (ca. A.D. 815-875)'s descriptions of *Qiyun* in *Lidai Minghua Ji* [The Record of Famous Paintings of the Successive Dynasties], he wrote:

But this [*Qiyun*] is active in the artist before it becomes manifest in his works; it is like an echo from the divine part of his creative genius reverberating in the lines and shapes which he draws with his hand. **To call it rhythm (as sometimes was done) is evidently not correct**, because it is not intellectually measured or controlled, quite the contrary, it manifests unconsciously and spreads like a flash over the picture or over some part of it.¹⁴

Qiyun, as interpreted by him based on Zhang's writings, is "a spiritual force imparting life, character and significance to material forms, something that links the works of the individual artist with a cosmic principle."¹⁵ He translated *Qiyun Shengdong* as "Spirit Resonance (or Vibration of Vitality) and Life Movement"¹⁶ or "resonance or vibration of the vitalizing spirit and movement of life".¹⁷ However, such monosyllabically translation in the form 'spirit [*qi*], resonance [*yun*], life [*sheng*], movement [*dong*]' hardly means anything in English. Furthermore, it later led many sinologists and other translators, lacking familiarity with the usage of Chinese words and phrases, to dissect

¹²Ferguson, Chinese Painting, op. cit., p. 30.

¹³Rowley, Principles of Chinese Painting, op. cit., p. 40.

¹⁴The Chinese on the Art of Painting, op. cit., p. 23; bold emphasis mine.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 219.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 22.

every phrase they come across into monosyllabic characters; some even to the extent of unnecessarily splitting each character, though possible, into components.

Sirén, however, is not the first among scholars to use 'spirit' for 'qi' in translations. In 1905, Friedrich Hirth translated *Qiyun Shengdong* as "Spiritual Element: Life's Motion".¹⁸ He suggested that *Shengdong* serves to define *Qiyun*, which to him is a "spiritual element". A few years later, Sei-ichi Taki rendered it as "Spiritual Tones and Life-like Features".¹⁹ The word 'tones' here is a departure from earlier translations but is the closest in interpreting 'yun' when it is detached from *Qiyun*. In French, Raphael Petrucci wrote, in 1911, "*La consonance de l'esprit engendre le mouvement (de la vie)*"²⁰ that is quite similar to Alexander Coburn Soper's "Animation through spirit consonance",²¹ which appeared in 1949. The French translation of '*engendre le mouvement*' is entirely off the mark, for *sheng* is not only detached from *Shengdong*, he also used it as a verb '*engendre*' which is wrong. Arthur Waley, on the other hand, followed the same style as Hirth's translation and wrote, almost twenty years later but without much improvement, "Spirit Harmony—Life's Motion".²²

Spirit-Vitality It might be timely here to mention that in the original form as in Xie's preface to his *Gu Huapin Lu*, each *fa* consisted of six characters. Each was phrased in the familiar four characters followed by two more characters '*shi* [to be]' and '*ye* [thus]' that together as *shiyé* means 'thus it is'. However, Zhang dropped these two characters when he quoted Xie's *Liu Fa* in his *Lidai Minghua Ji*. Subsequently in all the Chinese treatises that followed, Zhang's version was cited. William Acker was probably the first among the Western scholars to discover this difference that prompted him to carry out the study after which he wrote, in 1954, "As soon as I had the two versions side by side, I saw that my suspicions had been (as usual) well founded: Chang [Zhang]'s quotation was not literal at all."²³

¹⁸Hirth, Scraps from a Collector's Notebook: Being Notes on Some Chinese Painters of the Present Dynasty with Appendices on Some Old Masters and Art Historians (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1905), p. 58.

¹⁹Taki, Three Essays on Oriental Painting (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1910), p. 66.

²⁰Quoted in Lin Yutang, The Chinese Theory of Art, op. cit., p. 36.

²¹Quoted in The Birth of Landscape Painting in China, op. cit., p. 106.

²²Waley, An Introduction to the Study of Chinese Painting (London: Ernest Benn, 1923), p. 40.

²³Acker, trans., Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts on Chinese Painting, 2 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954 & 1974), p. xxi.

In his report, he reinterpreted the grammar of Xie's six-character phrases based on the belief that Xie was quoting two-character terms from an earlier source and then defining them with more accessible contemporary two-character terms by putting a 'comma' in between. Thus, from Xie's '*Yi: Qiyun Shengdong shiye*', he read it as '*Yi: Qiyun, Shengdong shiye*' and translated as "the first: *ch'i-yün* (spirit-resonance), which is *sheng-tung* (vitality)".²⁴ Such grammatical reconstruction and rendering of first *fa* were questioned, seven years later, by James Cahill who argued that *Liu Fa* must be indivisible four-character phrases even if the original version is consulted. What he meant was that, the first *fa*, for example, should be read as 'the first: *Qiyun Shengdong*, thus it is.' However, he then proposed yet another wrong interpretation of the grammar of taking the third character in each phrase to have a verbal meaning—as in Petrucci's translation of the first *fa*. He wrote "engender [a sense of] movement [through] spirit consonance"²⁵ that is almost identical as that of Petrucci. Both of them considered that the "consonance" of *Qi* is resulted in the sheer joy of perfected movement involved in the making of the brush strokes—the movement of wrist, arm and even body.

From all the above translations, one gets the impression that most of the words the scholars have chosen revolve, in one way or another, around the concern of 'vitality' or 'movement'. There is also an emphasis on '*Qi*' instead of '*Qiyun*' and many have talked about the former in terms of spirit. A reason for that could be due to the later revision of Xie's *Liu Fa*—for contemporary usage in post-Tang discussions of painting and for associating *Qiyun* with different subjects or styles of painting—into *Liu Yao* by Jing Hao (ca. A.D. 870-930), where '*Qi*' and '*Yun*' have become separate concepts considered necessary attributes of images.

3.2.2 *Shen* [Inner Spirit] and *Dao* [*Tao*]

Shen Before Xie formulated his *Liu Fa*, such terms as '*shenqi* [vital expression]' and '*shengqi* [vigour or vitality]', or phrases like '*chuanshen* [when inner spirit is transmitted or captured]' and '*yixing xie shen* [to portray the inner spirit through depicting the outer form]' present in Gu Kaizhi (ca. A.D. 345-406)'s

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Quoted in Susan Bush & Hsio-yen Shih, eds. & comps., Early Chinese Texts on Painting, op. cit., p. 53.

writings,²⁶ have long suggested the elements of *Qiyun Shengdong*. Zhang, in his *Lidai Minghua Ji*, used 'guqi' when discussing *Qiyun* by contrasting it with *xingsi*. By comparing ancient masters and painters of his times, he began by saying that, "[In] paintings of the ancients, some [masters were] able to transmit its *xingsi* while endowing it with *guqi*, [for they] sought for [something] that went beyond *xingsi* in their painting." He went on to complain that, "[In] paintings today [late Tang period], [even if] by chance *xingsi* is captured, yet the *Qiyun* does not arise." Zhang advised painters to aim at that which lies "beyond *xingsi*" and insisted that "[if one were to] aim at [endowing] *Qiyun* in his painting, then [inevitably] *xingsi* [would implicitly] reside in it."²⁷

Here, Zhang seemed to offer a description of *Qiyun Shengdong* that has "become a more individualized quality"²⁸ when he attempted to link "guqi" with "*Qiyun*". He also gave the impression that verisimilitude in a painting is not enough. The significance of a painting goes much deeper, and liveliness should be aimed at as a manifestation of *Qiyun*. This paramount importance of *Qiyun* was also emphasised by Shen Gua (1031-95), where he implicitly suggested that if a work possessed *Qiyun*, logic could even be spared. He used the painting in his collection, that depicts "a banana tree in a snow scene", to illustrate this point.²⁹

Guo Ruoxu (fl. ca. 1070-80) also wrote to support such view. He said:

[A] painting must be permeated by *Qiyun*, then [it] can be hailed as a treasure of the world. If not [if *Qiyun* is lacking], though exhaustion in skill [and] thought [in producing the painting], [it] would still be regarded as artisan's work. **Although [it] is called a 'painting', [it] isn't [really] painting.**³⁰

What he wrote above was further explained by Deng Chun (fl. ca. 1167) who offered a reason for Guo not calling a picture a painting:

The function of painting is truly vast. The ten thousand [myriad] things between the heaven and earth [in the world] can all be depicted with their various characteristics by licking the brush [manipulating the ink-saturated brush] and

²⁶For a brief biography of Gu, see my App. 3.2.2.

²⁷Zhang, *Lidai Minghua Ji*, bk. 1, chap. 4, in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 32.

²⁸*The Chinese on the Art of Painting*, op. cit., p. 23.

²⁹Shen, *Mengxi Bitan* [Some Casual Writings from Mengxi Garden], in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 43. For a brief biography of Shen, see my App. 3.2.2.

³⁰Guo, *Tuhua Jianwen Zhi*, bk. 1, *ibid.*, p. 59; bold emphasis mine. For a brief biography of Guo, see my App. 3.2.2.

revolving thoughts. This thorough depiction is made possible by one method. What is this one [method]? It is [the method of] *chuan shen* [transmitting the inner spirit], that is all. People in the world [merely] know that human beings have *shen* and do not know that things [also] have *shen*. [Thus,] when [Guo] Ruoxu deeply despised common artisans, saying [of their work] "although [it] is called a 'painting', [it] isn't [really] painting", it was because [they were] only able to *chuan* [transmit] their *xing* [forms], [and] cannot *chuan* their *shen*.³¹

Here, Deng seemed to try to equate *Qiyun Shengdong* with *chuanshen*—a term first appeared in Gu's writings. Such view was more explicitly being expressed by Yang Weizhen (1296-1370) in his preface to Xia Wenyan (fl. ca. 1365)'s treatise, *Tuhui Baojian* [*The Precious Appraisal of Pictures*], when he exclaimed, "That which is *chuanshen*, is *Qiyun Shengdong*!"³²

Dao Guo's insistence that "[a] painting must be permeated by *Qiyun*" in order to "be hailed as a treasure of the world" and that if *Qiyun* is lacking, "although [it] is called a 'painting', [it] isn't [really] painting", seem to share the same sentiment as Lao Zi's thought that *Dao* "is [the most] precious under heaven" and that "*Dao* that can be told, is not the eternal *Dao*".³³ To him, *Qiyun* indeed corresponds to *Dao*. The similarity between these two terms has, in fact, led to the talk of a 'pictorial *Dao*'.³⁴ Some painters, however, began to point to the vapour and moistness effects in painting to suggest the presence of *Dao* and thus *Qiyun*. Such vagueness was rejected by Tang Zhiqi (b. 1565):

Qiyun Shengdong is not the same as [the effects of] *yan* [mist or vapour], [and] *run* [moistness]. [When] people in the world simply point to [such effects of] *yan* [and] *run*, [and presumptuously] call [them] *Shengdong*, it is remarkably laughable [i.e., they have misunderstood]. [It is] because **that which is *Qi* may be *biqu* [*Qi* in the brush], may be *moqi* [*Qi* in the ink], may be *seqi* [*Qi* in the colour]; or [it] may also be *qishi* [*Qi* in momentum], may be *qidu* [*Qi* in the intensity of strength], may be *qiji* [*Qi* in the mysterious secret of heaven]. [All] these may be called *Yun*. Yet, *Shengdong* cannot be substituted for *Yun*.³⁵**

³¹Deng, *Hua Ji* [*The Continuation of Guo Ruoxu's Tuhua Jianwen Zhi*], bk. 9, *ibid.*, p. 75. For a brief biography of Deng, see my App. 3.2.2.

³²In *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, *ibid.*, p. 93. For brief biographies of Yang and Xia, see my App. 3.2.2.

³³Cited earlier in my Chap. 2.1.2.

³⁴Mario Bussagli, *Chinese Painting*, trans. Henry Vidon from Italian (Milan: Gruppo Editoriale Fabbri, Bompiani, Sonzogno, Etas, 1966; trans. ed., London: Cassell Publishers, 1988), p. 25.

³⁵Tang, *Huishi Weiyan* [*A Humble Statement on the Art of Painting*], in *Hualun Congkan*, ed. Yu Anlan, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 114; bold emphasis mine. For a brief biography of Tang, see my App. 3.2.2.

Gu Ningyuan (1582-1645), along the same line as Tang, interpreted *Qiyun Shengdong* in a slightly differently manner:

Among *Liu Fa*, the first is *Qiyun Shengdong*. [If] there is *Qiyun* [in a painting] there is also *Shengdong*. *Qiyun* may lie in *jing* [realm of artistic conception] or may be outside *jing*. [It] may be grasped in the four seasonal aspects, [in] coldness [or in] warmth, [in a] fine [day or in the] rain, [in] darkness [or in] brightness. [It is] not merely [a matter of] heaping on the ink.³⁶

Thus, according to Gu, *Qiyun* is not merely a subjective quality, a flash of genius, but indeed something revealed also in external circumstances such as in the moods of nature. In both Tang and Gu's writings, the essential nature of this great quality—that was regarded as something more closely akin to the all-pervading *Dao* that cannot be represented except by reflection from the individual mind—does not change, but its scope is widened and it becomes more comprehensible.

3.2.3 Innateness and Learnability

Innateness According to Zhang Geng (1685-1760):

***Qiyun* may be expressed through ink, may be expressed through brush[work], may be expressed through an idea, [or] may be expressed through the absence of intention.** That expressed through the absence of intention is superior, that expressed through an idea is next, then followed by that expressed through brush, [and finally,] that expressed through ink is inferior. . . . [*Qiyun*, however,] is [best] obtained beyond the feeling of the brush and the effect of ink, because [it is] *tianji* [the mysterious secret of heaven] that is suddenly disclosed. Only those who are [capable of] *jing* [literally, calmness] can comprehend it first, [while] for those who are slow [in reacting] it becomes confused with the intentions and disappears in the brush [and] ink.³⁷

When Zhang regarded *Qiyun* as "*tianji* that is suddenly disclosed" and claimed that "only those who are [capable of] *jing* can comprehend it first" he was dealing with the three essentials of *Chan*-ic experience—*Dao*, *Wunian* and *Dunwu*.

³⁶Gu, *Hua Yin* [A Guide to Painting], *ibid.*, p. 141. In the excerpt, '*jing* [realm of artistic conception]' is being mistaken as '*jing* [scene]' by Sirén in "How the Chinese envisage the art of painting", *op. cit.*, p. 107 and in *The Chinese on the Art of Painting*, *op. cit.*, p. 160; and also by Lin in *The Chinese Theory of Art*, *op. cit.*, pp. 121. For a brief biography of Gu, see my App. 3.2.2.

³⁷Zhang, *Pushan Lun Hua* [Pushan's Discussion on Painting], *ibid.*, p. 271; bold emphasis mine. In the excerpt, it is my opinion that the state of '*jing*' is to be understood as in the same sense as the state of *Chan*-ic *Wunian*. For a brief biography of Zhang, see my App. 3.2.2.

Part of Zhang's views had actually been expressed earlier by Li Rihua (1565-1635) that, *Qiyun* "is something innate in the painter and that it is in a state of vacuity and tranquillity that ideas are born."³⁸ The difference is: Li maintained that *Qiyun* cannot be learned or practised but must be inborn—an opinion long held by many critics before him. The most prominent one being Guo who perceived *Qiyun* as a reflection of a painter's character, while defining the rest of *Liu Fa* as learnable techniques. He wrote:

The quintessential representation of *Liu Fa* has not been altered over the ages. [Of these six *fa*,] the five *fa* from *Gufa yongbi* [the second *fa*] onwards can be learned, but *Qiyun* must be inborn [in the painter]. [It] thus cannot be achieved by skill [or] practice, nor can [one] attain [it] through years [of study]. [It is] secretly born through *shenhui* ["spiritual communion", in Soper's words]; [one] does not know how, yet [it] is there.³⁹

Guo has represented this mysterious quality of *Qiyun Shengdong* as something issuing from the innermost recesses of the painter's consciousness and is inborn in the painter as a gift of heaven that could not be forced or constrained by outward means; "[it] is obtained [by the individual] as *tianji*, [and it] issues from *lingfu* [the recesses of the soul]"⁴⁰ without one's knowing how. Such way of interpreting *Qiyun* is again similar to Lao Zi's "*wuwei er wu buwei*".⁴¹ The first *fa* is thus seen as something that cannot be acquired by an act of the will no matter how tenacious or enlightened. One must have an instinctive feel for it; it seems to come by itself.

Learnability Guo and Li are among the many scholar-critics who emphasised *Qiyun Shengdong* in painting as the personal, individual quality of the artist, which is inborn. While insisting that "[a] painting must be [first] permeated by *Qiyun*, then [it] can be hailed as a treasure of the world," Guo argued that, "[If a painter's] personal qualities are already lofty, [his] *Qiyun* cannot but be lofty [also]. [If his] *Qiyun* is already lofty, *Shengdong* cannot but be secured."⁴² Thus, according to

³⁸"How the Chinese envisage the art of painting", op. cit., pp. 106-7, citing Li, *Zhulan Huaying* [*Zhulan's Poetry on Paintings*]. For a brief biography of Li, see my App. 3.2.2.

³⁹*Tuhua Jianwen Zhi*, bk. 1, in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 57; bold emphasis mine, translation with reference to Alexander Coburn Soper, *Kuo Jo-Hsü's Experiences in Painting (T'u-Hua Chien-Wên Chih): An Eleventh Century History of Chinese Painting, Together with the Chinese Text in Facsimile*, American Council of Learned Societies: Studies in Chinese and Related Civilizations, no. 6 (Washington: American Council of Learned Societies, 1951), p. 15.

⁴⁰*Tuhua Jianwen Zhi*, in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, *ibid.*; translation with reference to *The Chinese on the Art of Painting*, op. cit., p. 77.

⁴¹Cited earlier in my Chap. 2.1.3.

⁴²*Tuhua Jianwen Zhi*, bk. 1, in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 57.

him, a true artist must be a scholar with exceptional *Qiyun*. However, when Zhang said that "*Qiyun* may be expressed through ink, may be expressed through brush[work], may be expressed through an idea, [or] may be expressed through the absence of intention", he seemed to suggest that *Qiyun* can be acquired, to a certain extent, methodically and that proper use of ink and competent control of brushwork may result in *Shengdong* in a painting. It is regrettable that people blindly followed every word Guo said about *Qiyun*—which comes only through instinct and cannot be acquired by learning—for more than six hundred years.

In fact, long before Zhang, Dong Qichang (1555-1637) had already voiced the first note of doubt:

[On] painters' *Liu Fa*, the first is *Qiyun Shengdong*. *Qiyun* cannot [be achieved] by learning [and] is inborn as an instinctive talent. [It is] naturally a gift of heaven. However, some of it may be learned. [If one has] **read ten thousand [many] volumes of books, travelled ten thousand miles [widely], [and] removed [one's] chest [freed one's mind] from dust and dirt** [clarified one's thoughts], [then] beautiful landscapes will naturally form within [the mind], [and whatever] painted freely by [the work of] the hand will *chuan* the *shen* [transmit the inner spirit] of the landscapes [i.e. the landscapes will be lively and inspiring].⁴³

Here, as a painter, art lover and a man of learning, he offered some hope that one can arrive at *Qiyun* by reading—to enrich one's knowledge—and travelling—to enhance the power of observation. According to him, something of it may be developed through intellectual culture. Han Zhuo (fl. ca. 1095-1125), in supporting such views, stretched further to say that hard and conscientious practice according to the rules can also lead to the attainment of *Qiyun Shengdong*. He insisted, "[It is] the most important to follow the rules [and] the styles; the originally natural *Qiyun* will [be acquired to express] complete[ly] its *shengyi* [living thoughts]."⁴⁴

Here, Han pronounced that *Qiyun* is the result of the successful orchestration of "the rules [and] the styles" or those prescribed by the others of Xie's *Liu Fa*. *Qiyun Shengdong* is thus a result, and not a method. In fact, as is evident from his preface to *Gu Huapin Lu*, Xie had never intended to make his *Liu Fa* as six methods. He had listed them as criteria for classifying paintings and painters. To render *Liu Fa* as 'The Six Methods' seems not appropriate. Whatever it may be, *Qiyun Shengdong* as the first

⁴³Dong, *Hua Zhi* [The Decree on Painting], bk. 1, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 71; bold emphasis mine. For a brief biography of Dong, see my App. 3.2.2.

⁴⁴Han, *Shanshui Chunquan Ji*, chap. 7, *ibid.*, p. 43.

fa has in any case remained as the quality that epitomises what Chinese painting is all about, providing a painter all his life.

3.3 The Second *Fa*: *Gufa Yongbi*

3.3.1 Brush Stroke and *Li* [Structural Strength]

Shen Zongqian (fl. ca. 1781) once wrote:

[Of] all things formed by *qi* [the forces] of heaven-and-earth [the universe], none do not have their own *shen*. Wishing to depict them using brush [and] ink is not only to catch their *xing*, [but also] to catch their *shen*. **[One] may try to catch them by a few casual strokes, but these will only suggest a rough idea, and lack substance.** The fault lies in the lack of technique [and the understanding of the underlying] principle. **[Or one] may try to catch them by all the details,** although [one will] get the general outlines of woods and rocks easily, **but [one will also] worry that they seem not lively.** The fault lies in overemphasis of detail.⁴⁵

Shen was emphasising the importance of the brushwork, the aims of which are to "make visible the invisible"⁴⁶ and "animate what would otherwise be a set of lifeless conventions."⁴⁷ In other words, if these two aims are achieved, the painting is admirable; if not, however skilfully painted, it is a dead thing.

The strokes of the brush have always been accepted as the nerves of the work as well as its skeleton and body. As expressed in *Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan*, "each brushstroke should be a living idea."⁴⁸ The writers and critics have never failed to insist upon its supreme importance. Mastery of the brush has also been the main concern of every Chinese-painting artist. According to Osvald Sirén, "It is the *sine qua non* of the painter's technical accomplishments."⁴⁹ The nature of the brush and the permanency of the Chinese ink do not permit correcting or working over a stroke without spoiling the overall effect of the painting. The hand has to be without

⁴⁵Shen, *Jiezhou Xuehua Bian* [A Compilation Based on Jiezhou's Study of Painting], bk. 1, chap. 6, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., pp. 336-37; bold emphasis mine, translation with reference to *The Chinese Theory of Art*, op. cit., pp. 160. For a brief biography of Shen, see my App. 3.2.2.

⁴⁶Mai-mai Sze, *The Way of Chinese Painting*, op. cit., p. 118.

⁴⁷Michael Sullivan, *Symbols of Eternity*, op. cit., p. 17.

⁴⁸*The Way of Chinese Painting*, op. cit., p. 118, quoting *Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan*.

⁴⁹*The Chinese on the Art of Painting*, op. cit., p. 20.

hesitation, for brushwork is the direct expression of the mind in action. This is exactly what the Chinese refer to as '*de xin ying shou*'.

It is therefore not surprising that Xie He has long considered *Gufa Yongbi*—the second of his *Liu Fa*—as the vehicle for *Qiyun Shengdong*. As in the case of *Qiyun Shengdong*, *Gufa Yongbi* has also troubled many translators, especially those who are not aware of the non-literally use of Chinese words. To render it literally as, for example, "bone-means—use brush"⁵⁰ by Arthur Waley or in a reverse order as "use the brush [with] the 'bone method'"⁵¹ in James Cahill's translation is quite meaningless in English. To stretch it to "skeleton-drawing with the brush"⁵² by Friedrich Hirth did not do better either and to translate into "the art of rendering the bones or anatomical structure by means of the brush"⁵³ by Laurence Binyon is a serious error for *Gufa* did not refer to anatomy; it is a pictorial principle, even though it is formed by the two Chinese characters '*gu* [bone]' and '*fa* [method]'.

Gufa Yongbi actually refers to the control of the brush for creating dots and lines not just as two-dimensional marks but also as forms consisting of volume and structure, with spatial depth implications. Such forms have little to do with the resultant images that are representational forms with direct reference to the objects. A flat shape becomes a form through *Gufa*. *Gufa* is some kind of method to manifest hidden structural strength, that provides a sense of permanence and solidity to the form. Thus a more appropriate translation for *Gufa Yongbi* would be that close to "the brush should be used to establish the structural framework"⁵⁴ by John Ferguson, "the framework should be calligraphically established"⁵⁵ by Benjamin March, "that by means of the brush, the structural basis should be established"⁵⁶ by Shio Sakanishi or "building structure through brush-work"⁵⁷ by Lin Yutang.

⁵⁰An Introduction to the Study of Chinese Painting, op. cit., p. 40.

⁵¹Quoted in Early Chinese Texts on Painting, op. cit., p. 53.

⁵²Scraps from a Collector's Notebook, op. cit., p. 58.

⁵³The Flight of the Dragon, op. cit., p. 12.

⁵⁴Ferguson, Chinese Painting, op. cit., p. 30.

⁵⁵March, "Linear Perspective in Chinese Painting", Eastern Art III (1931), p. 131.

⁵⁶Sakanishi, trans., The Spirit of the Brush: Being the Outlook of Chinese Painters on Nature from Eastern Chin to Five Dynasties A.D. 317-960, The Wisdom of the East Series, ed. L. Cranmer-Byng & Alan W. Watts (London: John Murray, 1939), p. 50.

⁵⁷The Chinese Theory of Art, op. cit., p. 34.

The second *fa* thus lays down the use of the brush for the essential structure of the subject represented. This so-called *Gufa* has embedded in the use of the brush to produce a brush stroke that will appear solid and strong implying the existence of some vigorous structural strength or power which the Chinese call *li*. This quality of *li* may not be immediately appreciable, but is considered as more important than the final visual images the brush line constitutes. When the painter draws this kind of line, he must do it in one breath, without hesitation, but with full concentration of the mind. On this, Fritz Van Briessen once gave an interesting description of a brush stroke:

A brush stroke resembles nothing so much as a sword stroke, the release of an arrow, . . . the karate chop. They all have one thing in common: they require an extraordinary discipline and concentration of mind . . . with exact co-ordination of mind and body achieved through controlled breathing. They achieve such incomparable perfection of expression that they go beyond the merely physical purpose into the realm of the spirit, and this the Chinese call Tao [*Dao*]. In the West we have at least one activity that approaches this Eastern form of expression, and that is golf. . . . [A] golf stroke involves all the same elements of precision and concentration.⁵⁸

Although Van Briessen managed to see the strength and concentration involved in a brush stroke, it is far from accuracy to compare the brush stroke to "a sword stroke, the release of an arrow, . . . the karate chop . . . [and] golf stroke", for a brush stroke can be made as the brush "dots, flicks, or moves forward, sweeping, turning, lifting, plunging, thinning out, swelling, sometimes stopping abruptly, sometimes crouching to leap again."⁵⁹ It is certainly more interesting and has more variations than the stroke of, say, a golf. In fact, it has always been remarked that 'the brush dances and the ink sings'. Furthermore, for the achieved "incomparable perfection of expression that they go beyond the merely physical purpose into the realm of the spirit", the Chinese do not call it *Dao*. '*Shenhui*' is a more likely term they use.

3.3.2 Quality of *Yibi* [One-Brush-Stroke] and Faults in the Use of the Brush

The secret of the brush stroke, according to Guo Ruoxu in his *Tuhua Jianwen Zhi* [The Record of Things Seen and Heard about Paintings], is its quality of *yibi* [one-brush-

⁵⁸Van Briessen, *The Way of the Brush*, op. cit., p. 39.

⁵⁹*The Way of Chinese Painting*, op. cit., p. 117. In the same place, Sze also compared such movements of the brush to "the flight of a bird".

stroke, literally]. This quality of *yibi* is certainly not that described by Van Briessen, but it describes the interrelated and uninterrupted flow of the brush from beginning to end through the responsiveness of the brush and without a break in the beating of *qimai* [the spiritual pulse] or in the transfer of thoughts and sentiments of the painter.⁶⁰ Guo cited Zhang's commendation that only Wang Xianzhi (A.D. 344-388) and Lu Tanwei have been able to write whole pages or paint complete paintings respectively in the style of *yibi* through the harmonious co-operation of 'heart and hand'.⁶¹ They "apply the ink freely under perfect control"⁶² and "nothing prevents the flow of *ch'i yün* [*Qiyun*]; the mind reflects the inspiring flame and the brush transfers it freely to the silk."⁶³ This is exactly what Guo meant when he said that, "In painting, *Qiyun* originates from the wanderings of the heart [mind]."⁶⁴

Thus, well-executed, free and *yibi* brush strokes involve not only the muscle actions of the painter's hand, but also the concentration of his mind throughout the whole process of execution. Lacking in this 'heart and hand' in accord will result in the three faults in painting—which are all connected with the handling of the brush—as enumerated by Guo:

In painting there are *san bing* [three faults], all referred to the handling of the brush. These three faults are: (1) *ban* [literally printing plate which can be taken to mean platelike], (2) *ke* [carving], and (3) *jie* [knottedness]. *Ban* is [a result of] a weak wrist [and] a sluggish brush, [which cause] the complete inability to give and take [i.e., move freely]; the shapes of the objects [become] flat [and] thin [hence, platelike], lacking in solidity. *Ke* is [caused by] hesitation when manipulating the brush; the heart [mind] and the hand are not in co-ordination; [and] when outlining the forms, sharp angles [as in carving] are arbitrarily drawn. *Jie* [results if the brush] does not move when [one] wants [it] to move [hence, the knotted effect], and does not spread when [it] should spread; [or] as if something congealed, [and] cannot flow freely.⁶⁵

These three faults due to weakness, hesitation and inability to move the brush freely are seen to be the common obstructions to the attainment of the quality of *yibi* of the brush.

⁶⁰This definition of *yibi* is my adaptation of part of Guo's *Tuhua Jianwen Zhi*, bk. 1, based on the (Chinese) text collected in *Kuo Jo-Hsü's Experiences in Painting*, op. cit., p. [138]. This part has been omitted from the collection in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, op. cit.

⁶¹For a brief biography of Wang, see my App. 3.2.2.

⁶²*The Chinese Theory of Art*, op. cit., p. 122, translating Gu Ningyuan's *Hua Yin*.

⁶³*The Chinese on the Art of Painting*, op. cit., p. 81, commenting on Guo's secret of the brush stroke discussed in his *Tuhua Jianwen Zhi*, bk. 1.

⁶⁴*Tuhua Jianwen Zhi*, *ibid.*, in *Kuo Jo-Hsü's Experiences in Painting*, op. cit., p. [138]; translation mine.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*

In agreeing that these are among the numerous faults in painting, Han Zhuo (fl. ca. 1095-1125), however, regarded the fault of *su* [vulgarity] as the most serious one. In his treatise *Shanshui Chunquan Ji*, he wrote:

[*Su*] arises from superficiality, attachment to inferiority, neglecting the rules, [and] working without principles. [The brush is] simply moved about [in a pretentious attempt] to attain excellent [brushwork]; [the painter] forcibly tries to [make things look] traditional [and] plain, but [giving them instead an appearance of being] dull [and] dry; [he] meticulously works in an elaborate [and] detail [manner], but [ultimately] becomes entangled and tied up; [or he] makes display of brushwork that is originally not natural.⁶⁶

3.3.3 Brushwork and Brush Line

What Han meant by "brushwork that is originally not natural" is not clear. However, we might be able to guess an answer when he next attempted to define Chinese brushwork when he wrote:

. . . the brush may be used in a bold [manner] or in a delicate [style]; [the brushwork] may be scattered [randomly] or may be evenly [spaced]; [the brush] may be [applied] heavily or may be [applied] lightly. [These manners] should not be individually identified [or to be used alone] to depict the near [and] the far [i.e., the composition in painting]. [Otherwise, it would be] as if [the effect of] *qi* [spirit] is weak, and [there will be] no [real] painting. [If] the brush[work] is too bold, then [the painting will] lack of logic [and] delight; [if] the brush[work] is too delicate, then *Qiyun* [will] be cut off.⁶⁷

Perhaps, the most comprehensive definition of Chinese brushwork is to be found in Wang Yu (1714-48)'s *Dongzhuang Lun Hua* [*Dongzhuang's Discussion on Painting*], where he wrote, "Light, heavy, swift, slow; concentrated, diluted, dry, moist; shallow, deep, scattered, clustered; beautifully flowing, lively; . . . the beginner [in painting] understanding all these in depth, whenever the brush is applied, [the result will] naturally be perfect."⁶⁸ Here, almost all the essential elements of brushwork are

⁶⁶Han, *Shanshui Chunquan Ji*, chap. 7, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 43; translation and interpretation with reference to *The Chinese on the Art of Painting*, op. cit., pp. 82-83.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 44.

⁶⁸In *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 259, translation with reference to Kwo Da-Wei, *Chinese Brushwork in Calligraphy and Painting: Its History, Aesthetics and Techniques* (Montclair: Allanheld & Schram, 1981; repr., New York: Dover Publications, 1990), p. 4. For a brief biography of Wang, see my App. 3.2.2.

mentioned. The words "light" and "heavy" refer to the pressure exerted by the painter in manipulating the brush; "swift" and "slow" its speed. "Concentrated", "diluted", "dry" and "moist" are terms applied to the tonality produced by the Chinese ink. "Shallow", "deep", "scattered" and "clustered" are some essential aspects of composition; and the terms "beautifully flowing" and "lively" refer to the overall effect expressed in a painting. Shen expanded on Wang's "light, heavy, swift, slow":

The brush contacting the paper could be light [or] heavy, fast [or] slow, slanting [or] upright, sinuous [or] straight. However, [if] the strength [applied] is [too] light, then [the brushwork will be] floating [appear weak]. [If] the strength [applied] is [too] heavy, then [the brushwork will be] clumsy. [If the brush is] moved [too] fast, [it will] then slip. [If it is] moved [too] slow, then [it will become] sluggish. [If the brush is] held [too] slanting, then [it will display] thinness. [If it is always] held upright, then [it will lead to] stiffness. [If the brush is always] moved sinuously, then [it will make marks] like saw-tooth [edges]. [If the brush is always] moved [in a] straight [manner], then [it will look] like *jie hua* [painting done with the aid of a ruler].⁶⁹

It is quite clear by now that brushwork is heavily emphasised in Chinese painting. This emphasis on brushwork in turn leads to the preference for using line to achieve structural form instead of using Western technique through light and shade with colours to attain plastic solidity. The Chinese painting artists have long devised a method of rendering three-dimensional forms with a modulated, 'thin-and-thick' brush line created by the lifting and pressing of the brush—"light" and "heavy", in the words of Han, Wang and Shen—in the progress of a line. They did not and need not attempt to construct, as the eye sees, a continuous patchwork of lighted, coloured surfaces.

Wu Daozi (ca. A.D. 685-758) is a good example of masters of such brush line.⁷⁰ He was able to render a fully articulated three-dimensional figure, for example, with such forceful linear expression that they needed neither shading nor colours. His bold and fluent 'thin-and-thick' lines are full of vitalising life. In referring to his paintings, Zhang Yanyuan wrote, "[We] may say that all six *fa* are complete, [and] the ten thousand [myriad] phenomena have been wholly expressed [in his work]. [Some] supernatural being [must be painting] through [his] hand, [his work is] so complete that [it] seems to be [the work of] the Creator."⁷¹ With powerful 'thin-and-thick' brush

⁶⁹*Jiezhou Xuehua Bian*, bk. 1, chap. 2, in *Hualun Congkan*, *ibid.*, p. 327.

⁷⁰For a brief biography of Wu, see my App. 3.2.2.

⁷¹Zhang, *Lidai Minghua Ji*, bk. 1, chap. 4, in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 32-33.

strokes describing a fully plastic sculptural image, he mastered three-dimensionality with lines alone.

Besides the 'light-and-heavy' technique of creating 'thin-and-thick' brush line, the three-dimensional attributes of the flat shapes are further enhanced by the Chinese brush itself. The Chinese brush is conical in shape, generally made of animal hair that is fastened together layer by layer into a bulging bulb tapering to a pointed tip. There are altogether five layers of which the third is shorter and thus creating a hollow space within the bulb. As the brush is dipped in liquid ink, the bulb spreads out to absorb the ink and at the same time allow it to enter the hollow space. When the brush is lifted, the bulb will hold the ink in the reservoir inside. As the brush is held vertically to make a mark, the tip would be the part first contacting the paper and exerting the heaviest pressure upon the surface, defining the core of the mark. Deposit of ink is usually heavier and wetter there, where the brush hair lingers longer, and the ink tends to spread from the core mark as it is transferred slowly from the reservoir onto the paper. Such uneven distribution of ink on the absorbent paper thus further enhances the three-dimensional effect.⁷²

In this way, a line becomes a round rod representing visual entities in their own right, besides connoting surface, suggesting space and providing not only shape but three-dimensional form with vitalising character. Thus, if a line is properly drawn, it will be complete with a bone and nerve structure, with flesh and blood; hence endowed with a body and soul—all summarised implicitly in Xie's *Gufa Yongbi*.

⁷²Wucius Wong, *The Tao of Chinese Landscape Painting*, op. cit., p. 25.

3.4 The Third *Fa*: *Ying Wu Xie Xing*

3.4.1 *Xing* [Form] and *Xingsi* [Likeness in Respect of Form]

Liu An (d. 122 B.C.) opined that painters during his time like to depict demons and goblins, but hate to paint dogs and horses. His reason was that "demons [and] goblins do not appear [before man] but dogs [and] horses can be seen in the day."⁷³ Before that, when Han Fei [Zi] (ca. 280-233 B.C.) quoted a painter saying that supernatural beings are easier to depict in painting than dogs and horses, similar reason was cited. He said:

Dogs [and] horses are [those things that are easily] recognised by man, visible before [man] throughout the day. [In painting, they] cannot be made to [exactly] resemble the real ones [and] thus [are] difficult [to be depicted]. Demons [and] goblins are those that are without *xing*, [and] not visible before [man], thus [it is] easy [to depict] them.⁷⁴

Zhang Heng (A.D. 78-139) shared the same opinion by saying that, "Indeed, substantial entities [dogs and horses] are difficult to *xing* [give form], but insubstantial counterfeits [demons and goblins] are inexhaustible [in terms of possibilities in painting]."⁷⁵ Gu Kaizhi went beyond dogs and horses and wrote:

In painting, human figures are the most difficult [to depict], then landscapes, followed by dogs [and] horses. Towers [and] pavilions are fixed objects, difficult to complete but easy to render well, [and] not dependent on a marvellous realisation of the conveying of thought.⁷⁶

⁷³*Huainan Zi* [The Book of Prince Huainan], edited as "*Huainan Zi Lun Hua*" [Prince Huainan on Painting] in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 6. *Huainan Zi* is a syncretic collection of Taoist and Confucianist writings of second century B.C. compiled at the court of Liu, who was conferred the title *Huainan Wang* [Prince Huainan] by his father, an emperor of the Western Han period.

⁷⁴*Han Fei Zi* [The Book of Master Han Fei], bk. 11, edited as "*Han Fei Zi Lun Hua*" [Han Fei Zi on Painting], *ibid.*, p. 4. Han Fei [Zi] or Master Han Fei was the leading philosopher of *Fajia* [The Legalist School] that accepted the absolute authority of the ruler and advocated controlling the people through punishments and rewards. *Han Fei Zi* is a compilation of writings in 20 books attributed to him by later followers.

⁷⁵Zhang, "*Ping Zi Lun Hua*" [Ping Zi on Painting], *ibid.*, p. 9; translation and interpretation with reference to *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, op. cit., p. 24. Zhang is best known as an astronomer and mathematician, and distinguished as a writer. Ping Zi is his *zi* [a style or name taken at the age of twenty].

⁷⁶Gu, *Wei Jin Shengliu Hua Zan* [The Eulogies on Famous Paintings of the Wei and Jin Dynasties], *ibid.*, p. 347; translation modified from *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, *ibid.*

These writings lead to the discussion of Xie He's third *fa*: *Ying Wu Xie Xing*. The last character—'xing'—is the same one used by Han and Zhang. In fact, the likeness in respect of *xing*—what the Chinese call *xingsi*—has long been regarded as equal importance to *Qiyun*. Ouyang Jiong (A.D. 896-971), for instance, wrote, "If a painting possesses *Qiyun*, but not *xingsi*, then its substance will dominate over its pattern; if it attains *xingsi*, but not *Qiyun*, then it will be beautiful but not substantial."⁷⁷

3.4.2 *Xie* [To Write] and *Hua* [To Paint]

Let me now discuss the meaning of *Ying Wu Xie Xing*. Literally, the whole phrase could be translated into 'responding [to] things, write [their] forms' that, at first glance, is quite meaningless, especially the use of the character or word '*xie* [to write]' in depicting forms. However, this word '*xie*' is noteworthy in that it has been the verb used to describe both the action of painting and that of writing because *xie* technically refers to the creation of form with dots and lines that are the ingredients for both Chinese painting and calligraphy. It is also often said that painting and calligraphy are of the same origin because Chinese-painting artists paint with a brush just as calligraphers of Chinese calligraphy do, using the same brush.

To be precise, *hua* is the right word for 'to paint' but among many Chinese-painting artists this usually becomes *xie*. This seeming identity between writing and painting could be due to the long-held opinion among many Chinese that a calligrapher can perform either action with the same Chinese brush. Su Shi (1037-1101), for example, had suggested that a scholar need not study how to paint in order to paint. The following excerpt from poems inscribed on paintings by him serves to illustrate this point:

When my empty bowels receive wine, angular strokes come forth,
And my heart's criss-crossings give birth to bamboo and rock.
What is about to be produced in abundance cannot be retained,
And will erupt on your snow-white walls . . .
What is divinely imparted in a dream is retained by the mind;
Awakened, one relies on the hand, forgetting brush technique . . .
Why should a high-minded man study painting?
The use of the brush comes to him naturally.

⁷⁷Modified from that quoted in *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, *ibid.*, p. 224. Ouyang was a poet with musical gifts active during the unsettled Five Dynasties period. He aimed at refined craftsmanship and freshness in his poetry.

It is like those good at swimming,
Each of whom can handle a boat.⁷⁸

The linguistic peculiarity and the twin-uses of the Chinese brush have led many authors into overemphasising the close relationship between writing and painting, to the extent of speaking of paintings as being 'written down'.⁷⁹

In my opinion, 'xie' in *Ying Wu Xie Xing* should not be translated as 'write', neither should it be replaced by 'hua', for 'hua' would call for another set of different interpretations. Zhang Yanyuan, for example, had collected some definitions of 'hua' in his *Lidai Minghua Ji*:

Guangya [a lexicon of synonyms compiled in the third century A.D.] says: "*Hua* is *lei* [to cause to resemble]." *Erya* [another lexicon of synonyms compiled between the fifth and the fourth century B.C.] says: "*Hua* is *xing* [to give form]." *Shuowen* [the first Chinese etymological dictionary compiled in A.D. 121] says: "[The character] *hua* is [derived from] the raised paths between fields. [It is] like drawing the boundaries of fields [and] farms, hence *hua*." *Shiming* [a dictionary compiled in A.D. 100 that attempted to explore the relations of different words by their similarity in pronunciation] says: "[The character] *hua* has to do with [the character] *gua* [hang, literally, which can also signify to place upon or overlay], [that is,] to overlay the forms of objects with [the use of] colours."⁸⁰

Jing Hao also discussed 'hua' in an imaginary dialogue between himself and an old sage of the mountains, in *Bifa Ji* [*Some Notes on the Art of the Brush*]:

[Jing] said, "That which is *hua* [to paint], is *hua* [ornamentation, decorative beauty and splendour]. But, [when one] devotes [oneself] to [attaining] *si* [likeness], [one] obtains *zhen* [true essence]. How could this [simple truth] be distorted?"

⁷⁸Ibid., pp. 217-18, quoting Su; bold emphasis mine. For a brief biography of Su, see my App. 3.2.2.

⁷⁹Jane Evans, for instance—in *Chinese Brush Painting*, op. cit., pp. 17-18—translated *xieyi hua* into "to **write** an idea"; Josef Hejzlar—in *Chinese Watercolours*, op. cit., p. 10—took *xieyi* to mean "**writing** the meaning" and wrote, "The word 'hsieh' [*xie*] means 'to **write**' and refers to the painter's brushwork, which resembles the calligraphic manner of **writing** in a loose brush technique." Diana Kan—in *The How and Why of Chinese Painting*, photographs by Sing-Si Schwartz, text by Diana Kan with Miriam Mermey, Art-in-Practice Series (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1974), p. 8—translated *Ying Wu Xie Xing* as "to establish the form, **write** its likeness"; Sirén—in *The Chinese on the Art of Painting*, op. cit., p. 198—translated *xieyi* as "the spontaneous manner of **writing down** an inspiring thought"; and Wong—in *The Tao of Chinese Landscape Painting*, op. cit., p. 24—wrote, "You could say that Chinese painting is more **written** than painted, in fact, for it rarely consists of a surface covered with a layer of paint or other substance."

⁸⁰Zhang, *Lidai Minghua Ji*, bk. 1, chap. 1, in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 28; translation with reference to *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, op. cit., p. 51.

The old man replied, "Not so. That which is *hua* [to paint], is *hua* [to paint]. [One] examines the appearance of the object and grasps its *zhen*. . . . **That which is *si*, is to obtain its *xing*, [but] to leave out its *Qi*; that which is *zhen*, is that both *Qi*, *zhi* [matter] are captured.**"⁸¹

3.4.3 *Xie Xing* and *Xiang Xing* [To Obtain Formal Resemblance]

Implicit in the above dialogue is the distinction between *xie xing*—where one "examines the appearance of the object and grasps its *zhen*" through capturing "both *Qi* and *zhi*"—and *xiang xing* [to obtain formal resemblance]—where one obtains "*si*" through attaining "*xing*" but fails to catch "*Qi*".

Jing's writing thus strongly recommended a revision, almost four hundred years later, of Xie's original third *fa* of *Ying Wu Xiang Xing* into *Ying Wu Xie Xing*. However, Guo Ruoxu remained loyal to the original version when he enumerated Xie's *Liu Fa* in his influential *Tuhua Jianwen Zhi*. This insistence of interest to outer appearance in Guo's writing illustrates the tendency among Song academicians to emphasise faithful representation. This had led to the production of the precise, accurate, and in many ways superb paintings of flowers, birds and animals by members of the Imperial Academy and the Emperor [Song] Hui Zong (reigned 1101-1126) himself.⁸² This in turn led many painters of that time, and later in the periods of the Ming (1368-1644) and the Qing (1644-1912), to produce over elaborate and ornate works. What Jing proposed to achieve by *xie xing* actually goes beyond just to attain *xingsi* by *xiang xing*, as in the views of Xie and Guo. Such views, according to Su, "are those of a child", as illustrated in his poem:

[If anyone] discusses painting in terms of *xingsi*,
[His] views are those of a child.⁸³

On the same note, it could be said that many translators' views are also "those of a child" when they rendered, without modification, Xie's third *fa* into "conform with

⁸¹In *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., pp. 7-8; bold emphasis mine.

⁸²For a brief biography of Emperor Hui Zong, see my App. 3.2.2, s.v. "Zhao Zhi (1082-1135)".

⁸³Su, *Dongbo Lun hua* [Dongbo's Discussion on Painting], in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 51. For a brief biography of Su, see my App. 3.2.2.

the objects (to obtain) their Likeness",⁸⁴ "conformity with objects and resemblance (to nature)",⁸⁵ "fidelity to the object in portraying forms",⁸⁶ "to portray the subject faithfully"⁸⁷ or "depicting the forms of things as they are".⁸⁸

3.4.4 *Zhen* [True Essence] and *Shi* [Reality]

Chinese-painting artists actually see outer appearance only as a means of capturing *zhen*. In doing so, when *Qi* and *zhi* are being attained beyond outer appearance, *shen* is said to reside in the resultant work and thus possessing *Qiyun Shengdong*. This search for *shen* is indeed the heart of Chinese painting, for the painter is not concerned with the appearance that the senses perceive, but with *zhen* that lies beneath the surface. He "is guided by the belly [what he feels that lies beneath the surface], [and] not by the eyes [what he perceives]".⁸⁹

However, this does not mean that *shi* is not preserved in such work, for "[if] *shi* is inadequate," according to Han Zhuo, "[one] may as well discard his brush, for there will be excessive *hua* [floweriness]." Han elaborated, in reference to landscape painting:

Shi suggests *zhi*, [or] corporeality; *hua* suggests floweriness, [or] ornamentation. *Zhi* [or] corporeality originates from nature; floweriness [or] ornamentation is [however] man-made. *Shi* is fundamental, [whereas] *hua* is terminal; nature is the body [underlying basis], [and] man-made [things] the application. [Thus,] how can [one] neglect the fundamental and pursue the terminal, [or] forget the basis and be attached to the application?⁹⁰

The demand for nature as "the body [underlying basis]" for capturing *shi* as advocated by Han might have resulted in translations of *Ying Wu Xie Xing* as "conformity with

⁸⁴Osvald Sirén, A History of Early Chinese Art, 4 vols (London: Ernest Benn, [1928]), vol. I, p. 32.

⁸⁵"How the Chinese envisage the art of painting", op. cit., p. 105.

⁸⁶Quoted in The Birth of Landscape Painting in China, op. cit., p. 106.

⁸⁷Bussagli, Chinese Painting, op. cit., p. 24.

⁸⁸The Chinese Theory of Art, op. cit., p. 34.

⁸⁹Cited earlier in introduction to my Pt. I, Sec. B.

⁹⁰Han, Shanshui Chunquan Ji, chap. 7, in Hualun Congkan, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 44.

nature"⁹¹ by Herbert Giles, "the drawing of forms which answer the natural forms"⁹² by Laurence Binyon, or "sketching form from nature"⁹³ by Kwo Da-Wei.

What Han meant when he said *shi* "originates from nature" is that all objects of nature, such as the figures, animals, flowers or whatever motifs that may be chosen, are never to the Chinese simply decorative forms or appearances; they always carry, besides *zhi*, a meaning or *Qi* that could be expressed through capturing *shen* by *xie xing*. For the Chinese, *xie xing* is only a vehicle to reach the goal of *shensi* [spiritual likeness]—when *shen* is captured. The purpose of painting is '*yixing xie shen*'—a famous saying by Gu that has become every painter's motto.⁹⁴ What Gu meant by *yixing xie shen* is that, "Painting is not the simple imitation of form, therefore only the features representing the character of a subject should be included; a picture should be a revelation of the soul and the individuality of the subject."⁹⁵ Such should also be the right manner of reading Xie's third *fa*.

⁹¹An Introduction to History of Chinese Pictorial Art, op. cit., p. 29.

⁹²The Flight of the Dragon, op. cit., p. 12.

⁹³Chinese Brushwork in Calligraphy and Painting, op. cit., p. 74.

⁹⁴Tao Mingjun, ed., Zhongguo Hualun Cidian [Dictionary of Chinese Painting Theory] (Changsha: Hunan Chubanshe, 1993), p. 47.

⁹⁵Fei Ch'eng-wu, Brush Drawing in the Chinese Manner, The How to Do It Series, no. 73 (London: The Studio Publications, 1957), p. 18, citing Gu.

3.5 The Fourth *Fa*: *Sui Lei Fu Cai*

3.5.1 Appropriate Colouring and Prejudice against the Use of Colours in Chinese Painting

Appropriate Colouring The fourth *fa*—*Sui Lei Fu Cai*—has created some uncertainty in rendering the second character '*lei*' which can be literally translated as 'kind' or 'type' as in "conformity to **kind** in applying colors"⁹⁶ by Alexander Coburn Soper and "suitability to **Type** which has to do with the laying on of colors"⁹⁷ by William Acker. Some scholars have gone beyond that and proposed the word 'species' for '*lei*'—probably based on the fact that Xie He's *Liu Fa* were formulated during which *xiaoxiang hua* [portrait paintings] and *huaniao hua* [flower-and-bird paintings] were more popular—as in Arthur Waley's "according to the **species**, apply color"⁹⁸ and Osvald Sirén's "application of colour according to each **species**".⁹⁹ Waley or Sirén's translation is seen as an example which "reflects the masochistic pains which these scholars love to exhibit as a result of their work."¹⁰⁰

Sirén later changed his translation into "apply the colors according to the characteristics",¹⁰¹ without specifying what characteristics. Friedrich Hirth offered a suggestion using 'nature' as applied to 'object' in his translation: "The Colouring to correspond to nature of **object**",¹⁰² while Benjamin March applied to 'subject' in "color should be applied in accordance with the nature of the **subject**".¹⁰³ Diana Kan simply rendered as "apply color in accordance with nature".¹⁰⁴ Kwo Da-Wei,

⁹⁶Quoted in *The Birth of Landscape Painting in China*, op. cit., p. 106; bold emphasis mine.

⁹⁷Quoted in *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, op. cit., p. 40; bold emphasis mine.

⁹⁸*An Introduction to the Study of Chinese Painting*, op. cit., p. 40; bold emphasis mine.

⁹⁹"How the Chinese envisage the art of painting", op. cit., p. 105; bold emphasis mine.

¹⁰⁰*The Chinese Theory of Art*, op. cit., p. 37.

¹⁰¹*The Chinese on the Art of Painting*, op. cit., p. 219.

¹⁰²*Scraps from a Collector's Notebook*, op. cit., p. 58; bold emphasis mine.

¹⁰³"Linear Perspective in Chinese Painting", op. cit., p. 131; bold emphasis mine.

¹⁰⁴*The How and Why of Chinese Painting*, op. cit., p. 8.

however, offered a very different interpretation as: "Coloring according to various categories, such as warm (red, yellow, orange) or cold (green, blue, purple)".¹⁰⁵ But to render *Sui Lei Fu Cai* as "appropriate distribution of the colors"¹⁰⁶ by Laurence Binyon or "distinguish objects by applying colors"¹⁰⁷ by Wucius Wong is wrong.

It is certain that this *fa* has something to do with "appropriate colouring"¹⁰⁸ that is already being anticipated by Herbert Giles when he used "suitability of colouring".¹⁰⁹ Colour is important as the fourth *fa* of Xie's *Liu Fa* probably through his interest in portraiture, along with *huaniao hua*. Throughout the period during the development of *shuimo hua* [water-and-ink painting or ink-monochrome painting], colour was mentioned less prominently, and in some instances it was omitted from lists of principles, such as Jing Hao's *Liu Yao* where ink instead is separately listed. It is thus not surprising that not much has been written about Chinese painting colours and even less on the use of colours in Chinese painting.¹¹⁰

Prejudice Colour technique is pushed somewhat into the second place by the unequivocal dominance of brush and ink technique. Texts usually treat colour as adjunct to brush and ink. Its significance is in no way comparable with that occupied by colour in Western painting.¹¹¹ Chinese also has far fewer words than English to identify specific colours. Many Chinese-painting artists have held a prejudice against the use of significant degree of colour in painting and regard colour in painting as a secondary quality. Colour has been used in an extremely diluted form and chiefly employed to give added definition to certain natural forms already delineated by ink

¹⁰⁵Chinese Brushwork in Calligraphy and Painting, op. cit., p. 74.

¹⁰⁶The Flight of the Dragon, op. cit., p. 12.

¹⁰⁷The Tao of Chinese Landscape Painting, op. cit., p. 18.

¹⁰⁸The Chinese Theory of Art, op. cit., p. 34.

¹⁰⁹An Introduction to History of Chinese Pictorial Art, op. cit., p. 29.

¹¹⁰Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan has discussed some methods of preparing colours for Chinese painting, at the beginning of vol. 1. The best-known source on colours, however, is Yu Fei'an, Zhongguo Hua Yanse de Yanjiu [Studies on Colour in Chinese Painting] ([Beijing: Zhaohua Meishu Chubanshe, 1955]; Taipei: Huazheng Shuju, 1987). This Chinese text has also been translated as Yu Feian, Chinese Painting Colors: Studies of Their Preparation and Application in Traditional and Modern Times, trans. Jerome Silbergeld & Amy McNair (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1988).

¹¹¹Roger Goepper, The Essence of Chinese Painting, trans. Michael Bullock (Boston: Boston Book & Art Shop, 1963), p. 50.

outlines or being superimposed on or filled in between the inked strokes, which usually allow through the colours even in the completed painting.

All these might be explained by the traditional Taoist attitude that have moulded Chinese intellectual life—prizing detachment from worldly things and the stilling of emotions. "The five colours will blind one's eyes [to true perception],"¹¹² said Lao Zi (ca. 604-531 B.C.). This serves as a warning for those crazed by their love of beauty and pleasure. Kong Zi (ca. 551-479 B.C.) had also set forth certain rules in regard to the colours of his dress. "*Junzi* [superior man, here referring to Kong Zi himself] does not use dark green [or] puce colour for borders [collars and cuffs]," he said. "[He also] does not use red [or] purple for casual clothes [to be worn at home]."¹¹³ The Chinese language has also since reinforced a negative attitude towards colour, for the written word for colour, '*se*', also means 'lewdness', 'passion', 'pornography' and 'salacity'. The use of ink monochrome is thus preferred by painters in accord with the goal of expressing the "originally pure" inner essence of form by ink alone instead of being "deluded" by the outward appearance of surface colours or hues, as in the case of *Chan-ic danse hua* [ink-monochrome painting].

The relationship of painting to calligraphy sought by those scholar-painters who preferred *mo xi* [ink play] to painting in colour and the almost interchangeable use of *xie* [to write] for *hua* [to paint] discussed earlier might also contribute to this negative attitude towards colour. The scholarly character of Chinese painting meant that technically it would depend on brush and ink. This, to a certain extent, restricted the use of colour both representationally and decoratively. The painting of bamboo in ink, for example, became so common that the story was told of an eccentric artist, Su Shi, who enjoyed painting bamboo in red, much to the surprise of his audience. When one disbelieving onlooker was asked what colour bamboo should be, his answer was, "Black, of course." On the whole, however, decorative colour belonged rather to the Japanese tradition, being inherent in the *Yamato-ye* style and reborn in the great decorators and print masters.¹¹⁴

¹¹²Lao Zi, *Dao De Jing* 12, in *Xinyi Lao Zi Duben*, annotated & interpreted by Yu Peilin, op. cit., p. 33.

¹¹³Kong Zi, *Lun Yu* 10:6, in *Xinyi Si Shu Duben*, comp. & interpreted by Xie Bingying et al., op. cit., p. 173; translation with reference to the interpretation on p. 174. This section of *Lun Yu* has also been edited, as part of "*Lun Yu Lun Hua*" [*Lun Yu* on Painting], in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 1.

¹¹⁴*Principles of Chinese Painting*, op. cit., p. 76.

3.5.2 Chinese Colour Symbolism and *Mo Fen Wu Se* [Ink Can be Separated into Five Colours]

Symbolism It might be interesting to deviate a little to look at the attitude towards colour in the archaic Chinese culture because in place of a colour theory based on natural observation, the traditional Chinese painter inherited a pedigreed system of colour symbolism. The oldest dynasties claimed a definite ceremonial colour as their own: white for the Shang dynasty (ca. 1550-1027 B.C.) and vermilion for the Zhou (ca. 1027-256 B.C.). In general vermilion seems to have been particularly favoured for magical purposes; it is the colour of the life substance, hence the dead were laid to rest in it and until very recently coffins were painted with it; it was an ingredient in the alchemist's elixir of life.¹¹⁵ One recipe from the *Keji Jingyuan* [The Mirror of Scientific Discovery] names the ingredients explicitly, even though the recipes for the elixir are believed to be beyond a layman's grasp owing to the purposely elusive language of alchemy. It says:

The elixir of the eight precious things . . . contains cinnabar, orpiment [a sulphide of arsenic], realgar, sulphur, saltpetre [potassium nitrate], ammonia, 'empty-green' [an ore of cobalt], and 'mother of clouds' [a kind of mica].¹¹⁶

The cinnabar is the mineral for yielding mercury, and from mercury vermilion is derived.¹¹⁷ The process of manufacturing vermilion has been kept secret partly for commercial reasons and partly due to the habit of secrecy characteristic of the old alchemists. Vermilion [or *zhusha* in Chinese] is the red to be used in Chinese painting. This relationship of colour to alchemy might suggest a close and intricate connection between painting and alchemy. In fact, another term (other than '*hua*') for 'painting' or 'to paint' is '*danqing*' (formed from the Chinese characters *dan* [red] and *qing* [blue]), which shares the common character '*dan*' with '*lian dan*', meaning 'the brewing and distilling of immortality elixirs' which is a part of alchemical activity.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵The Essence of Chinese Painting, op. cit., p. 42.

¹¹⁶W. A. P. Martin, The Lore of Cathay (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1901), p. 64.

¹¹⁷According to an alchemical work, fourteen ounces of vermilion is derived from a pound of mercury.

¹¹⁸Sze has further discussed the relationship of colours to alchemy and thus of painting to alchemy in The Way of Chinese Painting, op. cit., pp. 80-83. There, she also mentioned that, "The Taoists, who were particularly concerned with alchemy and whose philosophy was interwoven with alchemical ideas, became absorbed in prolonging life . . . ". In my context, "the Taoists" mentioned by her are to be taken to refer to those belonging to *Daojiao* and not *Daojia*, a distinction discussed in my Chap. 2.1.1.

In *Yi Jing*, a section is devoted to description of symbolic values attributed to certain colours. Red and black, for instance, represent fire and water; spirit and matter; heaven and earth; and *yang* and *yin*, as in the *Yin Yang* emblem. During the Han period (206 B.C.-A.D. 220), the five colours—black, red, blue (which includes green), white and yellow—were made to correspond schematically to the five elements of *shui* [water], *huo* [fire], *mu* [wood], *jin* [metal] and *tu* [earth], of *Wu Xing*.¹¹⁹ The five colours were also designated as representing the cardinal points of the compass and the primal forces of nature.¹²⁰ Colours were, moreover, related to the seasons—*Wu Qi* [The Five Atmospheric Influences of rain, sunshine, heat, cold and wind].¹²¹ It is endless to explore the range of these analogies in traditional Chinese thought. In conclusion, colours were endowed in ancient times with a significance far beyond their application as hues.

Mo Fen Wu Se Although the five symbolic colours were chosen for other than naturalistic reasons, they are also the five main colours of Chinese painting and they correspond directly to the five colours held basic in Western colour theory, in which all coloured pigments may be generated through combinations of red, blue, yellow, black and white. Chinese painting artists, however, accepted the hues that natural vegetables and minerals provided. They do not attempt to adjust them to spectrally 'true' reds and blues. They do not mix hues to achieve a closely related series of intermediate hues, as Western counterparts so often do.

Another aspect of colour, besides hue, which is prominent in Western colour theory is tone (or value) which refers to the relative lightness or darkness of a colour. White itself represents the highest possible tonality and black the lowest. The addition of white to other hues raises their tonal value and is referred to as tinting; the addition of black lowers tonal value and is called shading. In Chinese painting tonality is achieved partially by its integration of large tracts of unpainted silk or paper into the overall composition which in turn, contributes to the general mood of the work. A white paper ground heightens the tonality of transparent colours and deep golden silk lowers tonality, contributing to the profound tranquillity of many richly atmospheric landscapes.

¹¹⁹Alfred Forke, *The World-Conception of the Chinese*, op. cit., p. 236.

¹²⁰In *Zhou Li*, chap. 6, there is a short entry about painting where the five colours of black, red, green, white and yellow are designated as representing North, South, East, West and the Earth respectively. This chapter has been edited in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 2.

¹²¹*The Way of Chinese Painting*, op. cit., p. 77.

Another way to attain tonality adopted by the Chinese painting artists is the use of water and ink. When properly diluted with water and combined with skilful manipulation of the brush, the Chinese ink is capable of producing gradations in tone giving "*nong* [thick], *dan* [light], *gan* [dry], *shi* [wet] and *hei* [dark]."¹²² This is what is meant by '*mo fen wu se*'—a popular phrase that is originated from what Zhang Yanyuan said in his *Lidai Minghua Ji*: ". . . manipulate ink in such a way that all the five colours are possessed."¹²³

3.5.3 Colours and *Caimo Hua* [Colour-and-ink Painting]

In Chinese painting painted in the style of *mogu* [submerged-bone, literally, which is a technique by which calligraphic brush lines are being subdued or hidden], colours, however, play an important role in the manner of ink to execute the form-giving stroke. *Mogu hua* [painting in *mogu* style] abandons brush line contours and models natural forms exclusively with graded washes of colour and more rarely of ink. The relatively naturalistic effect of this technique exercises an important influence on the choice of themes for *huaniao hua*. Colours also play a very important role in *gongbi hua* [painting done in the style of *gongbi*—laboured brush, literally—which is characterised by fine and compact brushwork and close attention to detail].

In modern *caimo hua*, whether a painter applies colour or not depends upon several factors. He may have planned to use colour from the very beginning or the painting may appear to demand a finish of colour at some stage of its execution. The colour may therefore be more than something merely added to an ink painting; it may be inherent in the original conception of the work, or it may become a necessity during the course of the work. In any case, the proper method in applying colours is stressed. In fact, in Yuan period, Rao Ziran (fl. ca. 1340) has considered "dot and dye [applying colours] without [proper] techniques"¹²⁴ as one of the twelve things to be avoided in his list *Shi'er Ji* [The Twelve Things to Avoid].

¹²²*Zhongguo Meishu Cidian*, op. cit., "Main Body", s.v. "*mo fen wu se*", p. 7.

¹²³*Ibid.*

¹²⁴Rao, *Huizong Shi'er Ji* [The Twelve Things to Avoid in Painting Tradition], in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 53. For a brief biography of Rao, see my App. 3.2.2.

Before Rao, Liu Daochun in his list *Liu Yao Liu Chang*, suggested that "*Caihui You Ze*" which means "to paint in colours, lustre [or enrichment must] be accomplished".¹²⁵ To him, the use of colours should enrich and be in accord with what makes the painted object come alive against a realistic setting of time and space. Liu's statement is further echoed by Wang Yu in his list *Liu Chang*, where he said "*Shese Gao Hua*" which means "colours [should] be applied splendidly [but in a] noble [manner]".¹²⁶ All these writings further stressed the correct method of applying colours if colours are to be used—a method first set forth by Xie's *Sui Lei Fu Cai*.

¹²⁵Liu, *Songchao Minghua Ping* [The Critique of Famous Paintings of the Song Dynasty], in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, op. cit., vol. 1 p. 408. For a brief biography of Liu, see my App. 3.2.2.

¹²⁶Wang, *Dongzhuang Lun Hua*, op. cit., in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., p. 259.

3.6 The Fifth *Fa*: *Jingying Weizhi*

"Artistic composition",¹²⁷ "the correct division of **space**",¹²⁸ "planning and disposing degrees and **places**",¹²⁹ "composition and subordination, or **grouping** according to the hierarchy of things",¹³⁰ and "the **perspective** should be correctly conceived"¹³¹ are examples of the varied interpretations of Xie He's fifth *fa* which is *Jingying Weizhi*. The translators viewed this *fa* as rules for the composition as a whole and its various elements, through spacing, placing, grouping and perspective. They touched on certain but not all aspects of *Weizhi* that should not merely be literally translated into "place and position", as in Osvald Sirén's "plan and design, place and position (that is, composition)",¹³² and in Shio Sakanishi's "that, through organization, place and position should be determined".¹³³ Nevertheless, let me begin my discussion of this *fa* from these two aspects; first 'spacing', then 'positioning'.

3.6.1 Spacing and *Kong* [Empty Space]

When Rao Ziran said that, "The first [thing to avoid] is a composition [that is] overcrowded,"¹³⁴ he was addressing the problem of 'spacing' in such a way that the intermediate spaces become eloquent and aesthetically significant. The importance of proper spacing is brought out still more definitely in the following remarks by Dong Qichang:

¹²⁷An Introduction to History of Chinese Pictorial Art, op. cit., p. 29.

¹²⁸Scraps from a Collector's Notebook, op. cit., p. 58; bold emphasis mine.

¹²⁹An Introduction to the Study of Chinese Painting, op. cit., p. 40; bold emphasis mine.

¹³⁰The Flight of the Dragon, op. cit., p. 12; bold emphasis mine.

¹³¹Chinese Painting, op. cit., p. 30; bold emphasis mine.

¹³²"How the Chinese envisage the art of painting", op. cit., p. 105.

¹³³The Spirit of the Brush, op. cit., p. 50.

¹³⁴Rao, Huizong Shi'er Ji, in Hualun Congkan, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 52.

When painting landscapes, [one] must be aware of [proper] dividing [and] combining, [for] distribution of the parts [i.e., the spacing] is the main principle. There is spacing of the whole composition [of the painting], [and] there is spacing of [each individual] section. Understanding this, [one] has considered more than half of *dao* [the principles] of painting.¹³⁵

Thus, from the relationship of the largest themes down to the dotting of moss on the ground, the spacing was crucial.

In painting bamboo, for instance, although the leaves may seem to be a confused mass of foliage, a closer study will reveal proper spacing of groups of two, three, four or five leaves in which each leaf is placed after another following certain rules based on the Chinese characters *ren* [man] consisting of two strokes, *ge* [unit] with three strokes, *jie* [be situated between] four strokes and *fen* [separate] five. In drawing a group of three, four or five trees in a landscape painting, special attention is paid to the relationships in terms of spacing between the different trees and their branches. The trees are not painted in a line, but rather some stand in front of others, not necessarily overlapping but with variation of heights enriched by an interplay of increasing intervals in depth. The outstretched branches are arranged according to the relative position of each tree. When the tree trunks and branches have been drawn, the leaves are then added. The arrangement of leaves again depends on spacing and according to the structure of each tree.

The Chinese-painting artists have approached the arrangement of parts by emphasising the intervals between them—an approach different from the Western tradition that uses all the devices of overlapping, foreshortening, and active poses and gestures to tie forms together. In a Chinese figure painting, for instance, a group of figures painted may seem unconnected. Various devices are employed to give a maximum awareness of the intervals; isolation of the figures has been the standard practice; and when overlapping does appear, it is restricted to the minor figures so that the important figure or figures might be left alone. Isolation means that the forms must be related mentally rather than visually. Normally no ground plane established a physical connection between plastic forms held down securely by gravity, but rather incorporeal forms frequently presented across a background of void.

This background of void—or *kong* [the empty space]—represented by the unpainted whiteness of the painting paper not only intrinsically forms an effective and interesting contrast to the various shades and tones of the black Chinese ink, it also

¹³⁵Dong, *Hua Zhi*, bk. 1, *ibid.*, p. 71.

suggests positively endless possibilities for an imaginative mind. The unpainted empty space can suggest all sorts of things such as broad stretches of water, mist, sky, or just simply means empty space, in the same way as the white (colourless) light is dispersed into a spectrum of (seven) colours but not representing any of them. In Siroku Noma's words, ". . . white, like red, is a color. Indeed, it is all the colors, and therefore it cannot represent any of them." He continued:

Hence the . . . artist uses it to express the unessential colors that surround his subject. [White] . . . is the essence of the ever-present non-essential, the indistinct mass of irrelevant detail that forms the background of any scene we focus . . . on.¹³⁶

Here, white refers to the unpainted surface and the above excerpt reveals yet another aspect of the use of the empty space, that is, in the representation of "the indistinct mass of irrelevant detail that forms the background".

3.6.2 Positioning and the Principle of *Bin Zhu* [Guest-Host]

Tang Hou (fl. ca. 1322-29) wrote:

In painting, there are *bin* [guests], [and] *zhu* [hosts]; [one] must not make *bin* outshine *zhu*. In landscapes, for example, the mountains [and] water are *zhu*; clouds [and] mists, trees [and] rocks, figures, birds [and] animals, towers [and] pavilions are all *bin*. Furthermore, if a one-foot mountain is to be *zhu*, then for all those [regarded as] *bin*, the far-and-near [the perspective and scale] should be accordingly calculated, [and] must be equal[ly co-ordinated].¹³⁷

In the last sentence, when he said that "the far-and-near should be accordingly calculated, [and] must be equal[ly co-ordinated]" when painting "one-foot mountain", he was trying to offer a modification to the 'rule of thumb' for size first set forth by the famous poet painter Wang Wei (A.D. 701-761). According to Wang:

Mountains [are of] ten feet [in height], trees [of] a foot;
Horses [of] an inch, people [of] one-tenth [of an inch].
Distant people [faces] have no eyes [do not show eyes];
Distant trees have no branches;

¹³⁶Siroku Noma, ed., *Artistry in Ink*, trans. Edward Strong (New York: Toto Bunka, 1958), p. 3.

¹³⁷Tang, *Hualun* [The Theory of Paintings], in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., p. 62. For a brief biography of Tang, see my App. 3.2.2.

Distant mountains have no rocks,
 [And] appear faint like eyebrows;
 Distant waters have no ripples,
 [And] rise to level with the clouds [on the horizon].
 These are *jue* [rhymed formulas].¹³⁸

However, Tang's modification was questioned by Rao, who later gave the following advice:

If [you] abide by this saying [Wang's *jue*], [and paint] a mountain one foot high [in referring to Tang's one-foot mountain], for instance, how big [then] should the figures be made? Thus, for the near [i.e., the foreground], slopes, rocks [and] trees should be large, with matching [in size] buildings, pavilions [and] figures; for the far [distance], mountain peaks [and] forests should be small, with matching buildings, pavilions [and] figures; in the furthest [distance], there should be no figures. The ink [used] should be light [to depict] the far, [and] thick for the near; the further the lighter. [This is] the unchanging theory.¹³⁹

Although the Chinese have these rough guidelines for size and although they observed the diminution of size according to distance, they are never too particular in natural physical scale in landscape painting. Foreground features, for instance, may be diminished to avoid obstruction and overemphasis, and far distant objects—that were too minute to count pictorially—may be enlarged to act as a counterpoint to the middle ground or foreground. A prominent idea-form or the major form in a composition—the *zhu*—needs not be the largest shape, but it must be located conspicuously. Around it, *bin* shapes compete for attention as points of interest playing a secondary role mainly to balance that major point of interest, or as focal points with varying degrees of visual distinction.

In landscape, the mountain form can be *zhu*, whereas a cascade, trees, a hut and travellers can all be considered as *bin*, the subordinate objects. The Principle of *Bin Zhu* may also emphasise the dominant mountain among mountains, or the dominant tree among trees. The dominant mountain occupies the most important position in the painting, and it is rendered in a more detailed, complete manner. Such compositional design is strikingly similar, probably intentionally, to the Chinese written character *shan* for mountain, which is a tri-partite structure usually described in terms of a central *zhu* [host mountain] and flanking *bin* [guest mountains] on both sides. Such design was emphasised by Wang long ago when he wrote:

¹³⁸Wang, *Shanshui Lun* [A Discussion on Landscape], in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 596; translation with reference to *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, op. cit., p. 173, and *The Chinese Theory of Art*, op. cit., p. 39. For a brief biography of Wang, see my App. 3.2.2.

¹³⁹*Huizong Shi'er Ji*, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 52.

[When painting mountains,] one must first determine *qixiang* [the atmosphere], then differentiate between the pure [and] the turbid. [One may then proceed to] select the positions of *bin* [and] *zhu* [for the mountains], [and] distinguish the [various] attitudes of all the peaks.¹⁴⁰

In the above writing, he implicitly emphasised that the main "*zhu*" and accompanying "*bin*" mountains must have a mutual relationship when he mentioned the determination of "the various attitudes of the peaks". Such view is later echoed by Li Chengsou (b. ca. 1150):

[When painting landscapes, the first thing to do is] to establish the positions of *bin* [and] *zhu*; [next,] to consider the far [and] the near, and then to locate the objects in the conception, [and] to adjust [the forms] in higher [and] lower [parts of the composition].¹⁴¹

Before Li, Guo Xi (1023-ca. 1085) had also reiterated what Wang said when he wrote:

A big mountain dominates as *zhu* [the master] of all other mountains, assembled about [it] in order. [It] serves majestically as the lord of the ridges [and] peaks, the forests [and] valleys; the far [and] near, the big [and] small. Its general appearance is like an emperor sitting gloriously on his throne, receiving the homage of [his] hundreds of courtiers; none daring to assume arrogant [or] disrespectful postures. A tall pine stands erect as the model of all other trees, arranged about [it] in order. [It] serves as the commander in chief of the subsidiary trees [and] plants as numerous admiring assistants. Its general appearance is like a *junzi* dazzling in his prime, with all lesser mortals in his service; none adopting defiant [or] oppressive attitudes.¹⁴²

Here, ritual attitudes representing reciprocal and co-operative relationships aimed at general harmony are an important basic element of a composition. For this reason, when Guo painted mountains, he made the main one lofty, vibrant, expansive, sturdy, heroic, and with an air of spiritual purity.

¹⁴⁰*Shanshui Lun*, in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 596. Mai-mai Sze—in *The Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting*, op. cit., p. 156—has misinterpreted *qixiang* as "spiritual forms".

¹⁴¹Li, *Hua Shanshui Jue* [The Secrets of Painting Landscape], *ibid.*, p. 620. For a brief biography of Li, see my App. 3.2.2.

¹⁴²Guo, *Lin Quan Gaozhi* [High Inspiration in the Woods and the Springs] chap. 1, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 19-20; translation and interpretation with reference to Shio Sakanishi, *Lin Ch'üan Kao Chih: An Essay on Landscape Painting* (London: John Murray, 1959), p. 37. For a brief biography of Guo, see my App. 3.2.2.

3.6.3 The Principles of *Kai He* [Open-Join] and *Qi Fu* [Rise-Fall]

From my discussion so far, it is evident that the fifth *fa*—*Jingying Weizhi*—thus refers to something more than what is superficially understood by composition and design. Regarding *Weizhi*, I have discussed spacing, positioning and the related concept of scale—all of which could be summarised into a collective term: the Principle of *Zong Heng* [Verticality-Horizontality], which is one of the terms used by Wang Yu when he attempted to define *Weizhi*. In his treatise *Dongzhuang Lun Hua*, he expressed that *Weizhi* includes the principles of "Yin Yang, Xiang Bei [Support-Oppose], Zong Heng, Qi Fu [Rise-Fall], Kai He [Open-Join], Suo Jie [Lock-Knit], . . . Guo Jie [Pass-Receive], and Yang Dai [Echo-Counterpoise]".¹⁴³ I have so far discussed two of his list—*Yin Yang* and *Zong Heng*.

Kai He works together with *Bin Zhu*, for *Bin Zhu* deals with the various relative positions of the individual parts of a painting, and *Kai He* is concerned with the spreading out of certain parts and the gathering up of other parts so as to form a harmonious whole, from the beginning to the end. Later, Shen Zongqian all the more claimed that *Kai He* exists even before one started to paint, for he wrote, ". . . in a vertical scroll, the lower half, where [one] begins [to paint], denotes *kai* [open], [and] the upper half, where [one] tidies up denotes *he* [join]."¹⁴⁴ Modern writers Dong Xinbin and Zheng Qi elaborated and stretched it even further by the following:

[In] any painting, not only *Kai He* exists once [one] started painting, but *Kai He* exists even without [one] has started to paint. A piece of paper [can] be divided into the upper [half] and the lower [half] (Heaven and Earth). This [division into] top and bottom is *kai*, [and] is also *he*. Furthermore, [the same paper can also] be divided into the left [and] the right sides. This [division into] the two sides of left [and] right is also *kai*, [and] is also *he*.¹⁴⁵

The meaning of *kai* and *he*, denoted by the lower and upper halves respectively, is further explained by Shen:

[Now, we] begin by painting [some] pebbles [and] rocks, and trees [and] woods in the foreground; [then] deciding to place houses here, [and] deciding

¹⁴³In *Hualun Congkan*, *ibid.*, p. 259.

¹⁴⁴Shen, *Jiezhou Xuehua Bian*, bk. 2, chap. 6, *ibid.*, p. 358.

¹⁴⁵Dong & Zheng, *Zhongguo Huihua Dui'ou Fanchou Lun* [The Discussion by Category on Antithetical Concepts in Chinese Painting] (Nanjing: Jiangsu Meishu Chubanshe, 1990; 2d pr., 1992), p. 79.

to place bridges there; water [and] springs, [and] roads [and] paths, [are then depicted] layer by layer, [with some partially] hidden, [and some clearly] visible. There is a sense of liveliness, [as if everything is ready for] unceasing expansion. [This is the] so-called *kai*. [When] the lower half is fixed, [we] then resolve the upper half. How the peak of the chief mountain is to appear, how empty space [of the paper is to be left untouched to represent] the clouds [and] vapour, [or] how the distant sandy plain is to achieve *Yang Dai* [to echo and counterpoise the others], everywhere [must be attended] satisfactory. There must be [a sense of] gathering up and yet no excessive spilling over. [This is the] so-called *he*.¹⁴⁶

It is clear from the above definition that *kai* is for the purpose of *he*, and *he* is for the purpose of *kai*. Thus, within *kai*, there is *he*, and within *he*, there is *kai*; such is the true meaning of *Kai He*. *Kai He* has also been considered by Wang Yuanqi (ca. 1642-1715) as equally important as the Principle of *Qi Fu* and another vital concept in painting—the *longmai* [the dragon vein, literally]. With reference to landscape painting, where *Bin Zhu*, *Suo Jie*, *Xiang Bei*, *Guo Jie* and *Yang Dai*, are also mentioned, he wrote:

In painting, *longmai*, *Kai He*, [and] *Qi Fu*, although provided by the traditional principles, have not been [clearly] recorded [and discussed]. . . . **Longmai is the source of *Qi* [and] *shi*** [the momentum or the powerful impact] **in painting**. [It] may be slanting, may be straight; [it] may be whole, may be fragmentary; [it] may be interrupted, may be continuous; [it] may be concealed, may be exposed. . . . *Kai He* follows from the top to the bottom [of the painting], [with forms and shapes following] *Bin Zhu* in succession naturally; sometimes [they are] knit together [in the manner of *Suo Jie*], sometimes [they] sway freely. . . . *Qi Fu* continues from the near to the far, [with] *Xiang Bei* [of forms and shapes] clearly defined; sometimes [they rise] high [and] lofty, sometimes [they] appear flat [and] mended. . . . If realising the existence of *longmai*, but without differentiating between *Kai He* [and] *Qi Fu*, [it will] definitely lead to tying up [of forms and shapes, and] loss of *shi*. [If] **realising *Kai He* [and] *Qi Fu*, but without [regarding] *longmai* as the root, [it] is said that 'gu zi shi mu [while caring for the child, the mother is neglected]**'. . . . Furthermore, [if] the whole scroll [of painting] possesses *Kai He*, [then all] separate parts [of it] also possess *Kai He*; [and if] the whole scroll [of painting] possesses *Qi Fu*, [then all] separate parts also possess *Qi Fu*. [It is even] more wonderful [if all the parts are taken care of by the actions of] between *Guo Jie* [and] *Yang Dai*, [for in this way,] the excessive is restricted [and] the insufficient is nourished. **Let *long[mai]* be slanting [or] straight, whole [or] fragmentary, concealed [or] exposed, interrupted [or] continuous, [but all appearing] vivaciously within, then [it] is a real painting.**¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶*Jiezhou Xuehua Bian*, bk. 2, chap. 6, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 358-59.

¹⁴⁷Wang, *Yuchuang Manbi* [Scattered Notes at a Rainy Window], *ibid.*, pp. 206-7; bold emphasis mine. For a brief biography of Wang, see my App. 3.2.2.

Such discussion reveals clearly the importance of *longmai*, *Kai He* and *Qi Fu* in the compositional scheme of Chinese painting, especially of landscape painting. They are indeed the vital spirits of landscapes.

3.7 The Sixth *Fa*: *Chuanmo Yixie*

3.7.1 *Miao* [Copying], *Lin* [Reproducing], and *Fang* [Interpretation]

"Finish"¹⁴⁸ is the only word uttered by Herbert A. Giles when he attempted to translate Xie He's last *fa*. He must be exhausted going through the *Liu Fa* and finally thought that everything is over. He was wrong for the word "finish" is nowhere near the last *fa*. This last *fa* which reads '*Chuanmo Yixie*'¹⁴⁹ has something to do with transmitting and copying as suggested by '*Chuanmo*'. A good start for rendering '*Chuanmo*' would be "Copying Models"¹⁵⁰ by Friedrich Hirth, "the copying of classic masterpieces"¹⁵¹ by Sei-ichi Taki, "the transmission of classic models"¹⁵² by Laurence Binyon or "Transmission by Copying, that is to say the copying of models"¹⁵³ by William Acker. In attempting to translate the whole phrase, Arthur Waley proposed: "By handing on and copying, to transmit designs".¹⁵⁴ This is wrong because '*Chuanmo*' or '*Yixie*' needs not mean "to transmit design". A better one would be Alexander Coburn Soper's "transmission of the experience of the past in making copies",¹⁵⁵ but still falls short of hitting '*Chuanmo Yixie*'.

¹⁴⁸An Introduction to History of Chinese Pictorial Art, op. cit., p. 29.

¹⁴⁹The original version of this *fa* in Xie He's *Liu Fa* reads '*Chuanyi Moxie*' in which '*Moxie*' suggests a limited meaning of 'copying exactly by tracing', and results in translations such as "transmitting and conveying [earlier models, through] copying and transcribing" by James Cahill, as quoted with modification in Early Chinese Texts on Painting, op. cit., pp. 53-54. Hu Heng et al. also put forward an interesting interpretation—in Zhongguo de Yishu, op. cit., p. 103—based on the fact that Xie was known as a portrait painter. He took the sixth *fa* to mean that "the forms done in preliminary sketches for figure paintings [*mo*] should be skilfully executed [*xie*] when reproducing [*chuanyi*] them onto the silk." In portraiture and figure painting, it is indeed helpful to use a draft to serve as a guide for the artist to follow. But, for other subject matters, such as flower-and-bird or landscape, a draft may not be necessary. Thus, this sixth *fa* should be reinterpreted or modified instead of just being quoted by rote. In fact, as mentioned earlier, Zhang—in his Lidai Minghua Ji, bk. 1, chap. 4—modified the original phrase into '*Chuanmo Yixie*', which is a great improvement. Subsequently, in almost all the Chinese treatises that followed, including Guo's Tuhua Jianwen Zhi, Zhang's version was cited.

¹⁵⁰Scraps from a Collector's Notebook, op. cit., p. 58.

¹⁵¹Three Essays on Oriental Painting, op. cit., p. 66.

¹⁵²The Flight of the Dragon, op. cit., p. 12.

¹⁵³Quoted in Early Chinese Texts on Painting, op. cit., p. 40.

¹⁵⁴An Introduction to the Study of Chinese Painting, op. cit., p. 40.

¹⁵⁵Quoted in The Birth of Landscape Painting in China, op. cit., p. 107.

In my opinion, 'Yixie' when put together with 'Chuanmo' suggests implicitly an ability to copy a painting with own interpretation [*fang*] once one has learned through transmission of experience of the past masters by copying [*miao*] and reproducing [*lin*] their works.¹⁵⁶ To stretch it further in contemporary terms, there should be room for creativity in painting despite learning by copying. As Tang Zhiqi put it, "To learn from the master's idea, [and] yet not to learn from his painting, is the true [meaning] of copying."¹⁵⁷ However, Xie's sixth *fa* was not perceived this way then. The respect for the ancients was unquestioned and always taken for granted as a traditional Confucian virtue of the Chinese. Copying an ancient model was maintained as tradition as in the method of learning to write which consists of three progressive stages—*miao*, *lin* and *fang*. From this method, the practice of copying was borrowed and was considered, as early as the fourth century, to be a part of the training of the student artist.

3.7.2 *Shenhui* [Spiritual Communion] and *Rushen* [State of Entrancement Due to Complete Absorption]

The emphasis on copying was overwhelming. Over the centuries, there have even been painters who became masters almost entirely by copying old paintings, without having had teachers at all. They learned how to handle the brush by writing with it, and for the rest, they armed themselves with numerous manuals on painting. As a result of this Chinese attitude, copying has been both the blessing and the curse of Chinese painting. There is not thought to be anything despicable in tracing over a painting, stroke for stroke; and to make a free reproduction of some famous painting is thoroughly honourable. This passionate devotion to copying the masters might well account for the fact that there are so many forgeries of leading artists' works in the Oriental art market. It might also be the reason for so many Chinese-painting artists to choose to identify themselves with certain schools of art instead of searching for their own individual identity in the art world.

In fact, Zhang Yanyuan has long warned the deadening effect of copying when he wrote:

¹⁵⁶*Miao* is done by placing the paper over the original to trace. *Lin* is to make a faithful copy from an original placed before the artist.

¹⁵⁷Tang, *Huishi Weiyuan*, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 111.

As for *Chuanmo Yixie*, [this] should be the painter's last concern [in agreement with Xie's ranking]. However, painters today [late Tang period] are satisfied with copying the [superficial] appearance, attaining its *xingsi*, but without [capturing] its *Qiyun*; or [they] apply the colours but neglecting [to pay attention to] the brushwork. How [can these work] be called painting?¹⁵⁸

Such remark of "[capturing] its *Qiyun*" as well, instead of merely "copying the [superficial] appearance" and "attaining its *xingsi*", can also be interpreted in terms of what Zhang Daqian (1899-1983) said, that, "To emulate the ancient masters, [one] must be able to undergo a complete metamorphosis, [and] cannot resort to duplicating or pirating."¹⁵⁹

To this date, copying is still being accepted as a stage in learning to paint; but its purpose is to acquaint the student with methods and styles of brushwork so as to acquire the mastery of line and other necessary technical means of expression while, in the process, he absorbed something of the intent and spirit of the masters. Copying is indeed a helpful steppingstone to creative results. However, it does not necessarily lead to reproductions of old paintings; it leads to a creative activity in conformity with the ideas and forms of the old masters. Shen Hao (b. 1586) remarked that copies should not be reproductions of pictures in front of the painter but renderings of their ideas:

The copying of ancient masters [should] not be done by [just] having the original in front, but [must be accomplished] through *shenhui*. [In other words, one must attempt to use] the eyes [to seek] communion with [the masters' original] *yi* [idea], without [being deflected by] the admittance of [even] a grain of dust. [Whether the copy ultimately becomes] like and yet unlike [the original], [or whether it becomes] unlike and yet like [the original], [is something that] cannot be decided by [any] thoughtful deliberation.¹⁶⁰

Through such "*shenhui*", copying not only constitutes the process of learning the master's techniques in painting, but also a process of learning how the master perceived things and thus sharing his mind. "[When] copying ancient paintings, [one] must first grasp the ancient master's spirit [and pinpoint] the whereabouts of the lifeblood," wrote Fang Xun (1736-99). "If [it] were done just for [the purpose of obtaining]

¹⁵⁸*Lidai Minghua Ji*, bk. 1, chap. 4, in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 33.

¹⁵⁹Zhang, "*Hua Shuo*" [Talk on Painting], in *Zhang Daqian Xiansheng Shi Wen Ji*, op. cit., vol. 2, bk. 6, p. 125.

¹⁶⁰Shen, *Hua Chen* [The Dust of Painting], chap. 11, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 139. Note that the term '*shenhui*' has been used earlier in *Tuhua Jianwen Zhi*, bk. 1, cited earlier in my Chap. 3.2.3. For a brief biography of Shen, see my App. 3.2.2.

resemblance, then [you might as well] hide the [painting] scroll [and] forget [about it] immediately."¹⁶¹

What Shen meant by "*shenhui*" could also be explained by another term—*rushen* [state of entrancement due to complete absorption]—used by Huang Tingjian (1045-1105) in describing copying of works of Chinese calligraphy. Huang wrote:

When the ancients learnt calligraphy, they did not copy exactly. They spread out the calligraphy of a predecessor on the wall and looked at it closely until reaching a state of *rushen*. Then, when they put brush to paper, it was in accordance with the predecessor's original ideas.¹⁶²

3.7.3 Copying and Originality

Besides Huang's *rushen*, it must also be remembered that an artist should never copy just one artist. It is always recommended that the beginner copy one model for a period of time and then move on to copy other styles, so that in the end he should be able to create a style of his own. On this point, Guo Xi wrote:

As for great men [and] intellectual scholars, [they] do not confine [themselves] to one school. [It is] necessary to integrate [several models], and [initially] to glance through, [but later] to view thoroughly [and] to investigate extensively, so that one may [absorb to] form his own style, [and] subsequently to attain [excellence]. . . . To learn by specialising [in one school], has been the mistake [of many people] since the ancient times, [and the result is what] is called out of a [monotonous] uniformity. . . . [Since] the ears [and] eyes of man [always] like the new [innovation], [and] hate the old [uniformity] . . . therefore, I think that great men [and] intellectual scholars [should] not confine [themselves] to one school.¹⁶³

Shen Zongqian also echoed this view:

A student of painting must copy ancient works. . . . First, [he] should concentrate on copying one school; then, [he] should broaden out to copy other schools. More importantly, [he] should be aware that all the various masters **'breathed through the same nostrils** [i.e., shared the same interest in

¹⁶¹Fang, *Shanjingju Hualun* [Theory of Painting from the Abode of the Quiet Mountains], bk. 1, *ibid.*, p. 438. For a brief biography of Fang, see my App. 3.2.2.

¹⁶²My (slight) adaptation of the translation quoted in *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, *op. cit.*, p. 205. For a brief biography of Huang, see my App. 3.2.2.

¹⁶³Guo, *Lin Quan Gaozhi*, chap. 1, in *Hualun Congkan*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 18.

painting]'. Then he should identify his [own] *Qi* [spirit] of the brush with them, [before he] can understand 'Why I am I' [finding his own self]. First, [he] depends on others; later, [he] stands by himself.¹⁶⁴

He further explained what he meant by "Why I am I" by saying:

[By that I mean] developing [one's] own *xinsi* [thought or idea] in accordance with the [traditional] principles of the ancient masters. . . . [In doing so, one] must not forget [even] for a moment the principles of the ancient masters. Although *xinsi* always changes and does not have a fixed pattern, but the principles are established and never vary. [It will be possible,] then, in a moment of inspiration, *jie yi banbo* [to go off spontaneously], and yet never violate the principles.¹⁶⁵

Thus, one should be sure that he is learning what he set out to learn, he may try miscellaneous brush strokes of other schools and uses them as he pleases. He will then be at the stage when he himself may mix all kinds of brush strokes, of whatever schools and in whatever proportion he chooses. He himself may become a master and the founder of a school. At this later stage, it is good to forget the classifications and to create one's own combinations of brush strokes. At the beginning, however, the various brush strokes should not be mixed.

Through this underlying purpose of copying, the last *fa* sums up the intent of Xie's *Liu Fa*: to follow and transmit to posterity the methods and principles developed and tested by the masters and proceed to illustrate the creative power of Chinese art. The student painter thus believes in the benefit of copying as a process of learning ancient rules and techniques, and as a means of perpetuating them that might otherwise be forgotten; he is also encouraged to learn by copying until such rules and techniques have been assimilated, after which his own creative inspiration should take over in the creation of his own artwork. It is just like the silkworms converting the mulberry leaves into silk, after consuming the necessary nutrients. It is thus unfair for Michael Sullivan to comment that, "Originality, which counts for so much in Western art, has for him [the Chinese painter] no virtue in itself."¹⁶⁶ Such statement would only bring in more misconceptions in the study of Chinese painting.

¹⁶⁴Shen, *Jiezhou Xuehua Bian*, bk. 2, chap. 3, *ibid.*, p. 349; bold emphasis mine, translation and interpretation with reference to *The Chinese Theory of Art*, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

¹⁶⁵*Jiezhou Xuehua Bian*, bk. 2, chap. 4, *ibid.*, p. 351; translation with reference to *The Chinese Theory of Art*, *ibid.*, p. 201. The phrase '*jie yi banbo*' is originated from *Zhuang Zi* 21:7, discussed earlier in my Chap. 2.1.4.

¹⁶⁶Sullivan, *Chinese and Japanese Art*, Great Art and Artists of the World, vol. 9 (New York: Franklin Watts, 1965), p. 11. Elsewhere—in *The Birth of Landscape Painting in China*, *op. cit.*, p. 128—Sullivan also made a similar statement. He wrote, ". . . to the Chinese artist, originality as such counts for nothing."

CHAPTER 4

Reinterpretation and Modification of *Liu Fa* [The Six Canons] and Shitao's Principle of *Yihua* [One-Stroke]

. . . Wipe out the treatises [on principles of Chinese painting], scatter [to the winds] the five colours, glue shut the eyes . . . , then men under heaven [painters in the whole world], [will] begin to [confide in] using their [native sense of] sight. Destroy hooks [and] strings [for drawing lines and curves] and discard compasses [and] squares, cut off the fingers . . . , then men under heaven [will] begin to [confide in] using their [native] skills.

Zhuang Zi (ca. 369-286 B.C.),
Zhuang Zi 10:1
[The Book of Zhuang Zi, Ch. 10: Sec. 1]¹

¹In *Xinyi Zhuang Zi Duben*, annotated & interpreted by Huang Jinhong, op. cit., pp. 136-37.

4.1 Reinterpretation and Modification of *Liu Fa*²

4.1.1 Jing Hao's *Liu Yao* [The Six Important Fundamentals]

In *Bifa Ji*, Jing Hao (ca. A.D. 870-930) listed his *Liu Yao* as follows:

There are *Liu Yao* in painting:

Yao 1: *Qi*;
Yao 2: *Yun*;
Yao 3: *Si*;
Yao 4: *Jing*;
Yao 5: *Bi*; [and]
Yao 6: *Mo*.³

Jing, himself a master of landscape painting, expressed practically the same idea as Xie He (fl. ca. A.D. 500-535) but by only six Chinese characters: *qi*, *yun*, *si*, *jing*, *bi* and *mo*, which literally mean spirit, tone, thought, scene, brush and ink respectively. Although far few characters were used, they seem to be more specific, as can be observed from Jing's detailed definition:

That which is *Qi* [refers to] the heart [mind] following along [and guiding] the movement of the brush, without hesitating in getting images. That which is *Yun* [refers to] establishing *xing*, [while] concealing [obvious] traces [of the brush], [and thus] equipping [them] with the proprieties, [and at the same time] avoiding *su* [vulgarity]. That which is *Si* [refers to] giving thoughts on the compositional scheme [first], [and later] concentrating on *xing* [and] objects. That which is *Jing* [refers to paying attention to] the [natural] principles, [with respect to] the [different] times [and] cause [and effect], searching for the wonderful [sublime], [and re-]creating it with *zhen*. That which is *Bi* [refers to handling the brush], although according to the rules [and] principles [of brushwork], [but] making smooth adjustments as [the brush] goes along. [The brushwork should be regarded] neither as *zhi*, nor *xing*, [but rather] as a flight [or] as a movement. That which is *Mo* [refers to differentiating between] higher [and] lower parts of objects with a tonal gradation, [giving a sense of the location and delineating clearly] shallowness [and] deepness, [and thus making them appear] refined, graceful [and] natural, as if [they] had not come from a brush.⁴

²Along with the ensuing discussion, I have created a summary chart for easy reference. See my App. 2.1. For brief biographies of Jing Hao, Liu Daochun and Wang Yu, see my App. 3.2.2.

³In *Hualun Congkan*, ed. Yu Anlan, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 7.

⁴Jing, *Bifa Ji*, *ibid.*, p. 8.

Comparing Jing's *Liu Yao* to Xie's *Liu Fa*, the obvious changes are in the different emphasis of importance of principles. In *Liu Yao*, the first and second *yao* correspond to Xie's first half of his *fa* 1—*Qiyun*—split in two; *yao* three leads to Xie's fifth *fa*—*Jingying Weizhi*; *yao* four is a result of Xie's third and fourth *fa*—*Ying Wu Xie Xing* and *Su Lei Fu Cai* respectively; and the fifth and sixth *yao* correspond to Xie's second *fa*—*Gufa Yongbi*. Xie's last *fa*—*Chuanmo Yixie*—was completely ignored by Jing who emphasised outdoor studies of nature. Jing has also avoided mentioning Xie's second half of his *fa* 1—*Shengdong*. Jing probably believed that *Shengdong* is but a result of *Qiyun*—a view that was later upheld by Guo Ruoxu (fl. ca. 1070-80) who argued that "[if a painter's] *Qiyun* is already lofty, *Shengdong* cannot but be secured."⁵ Gu Ningyuan (1582-1645) is also in the same school, for he said that "[if] there is *Qiyun* [in a painting] there is also *Shengdong*."⁶

Qiyun → *Qi* and *Yun* Jing took *Qi* as a guide for creating paintings, in a manner that *Qi* is being encouraged to rise in the heart and to flow to the finger tips to guide the creation of the work. Jing's *Qi* is thus the quintessence of the painter's life-force and when transformed into the qualities of his painting, it sometimes becomes *biqu* [individual character or personal style of brush strokes] that may then constitutes (Jing's) *Yun* or even (Xie's) *Qiyun* of the painting. As Tang Zhiqi (b. 1565) put it outright, ". . . that which is *Qi* may be *biqu*, . . . [it] may [also] be called *Yun*."⁷ Tang Dai (1673-1752) also wrote, "*Qiyun* arises from *bi*-[and]-*mo*, . . . [and when] using the brush without infatuation [and] without weakness, [it] is [said] to have acquired *Qi* of *bi* [or *biqu*]."⁸ Such *Qi* or *biqu* of a painter is different from one individual to another. However, the function of *Qi* as creative resources or a catalyst of emotions is the same in all artists, although the outcomes—*Yun*—may be different in each case.

Earlier on in *Bifa Ji*, Jing also talked about another kind of *Qi*. He wrote, "That which is *si* [likeness], is to obtain its *xing*, [but] to leave out its *Qi*; that which is *zhen*, is that both *Qi* [and] *zhi* are captured."⁹ Long before Jing, Wang Wei (A.D. 415-453) has also discussed this *Qi* using a different term—*ling* [soul or spirit]. He declared that paintings should be produced by the observation of *ling*:

⁵Cited earlier in my Chap. 3.2.3.

⁶Cited earlier in my Chap. 3.2.2.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Tang, *Huishi Fawei*, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 254.

⁹Cited earlier in my Chap. 3.4.3.

[In painting,] *xing* [must first] fuse with [its] *ling*, then the heart [mind] animatedly transforms [it]. [If] *ling* is not manifested [in the painting], then what is depicted [will be] lifeless.¹⁰

This *Qi* or *ling* is considered as the spirit or soul of objects or any other substance of the same nature as the mountains, the rivers and all of nature. It is thus important for a painter to be able to identify it within them, and so be able to "*chuan*" their "*shen*"—to borrow Deng Chun (fl. ca. 1167) or Dong Qichang (1555-1637)'s terms.¹¹

Thus, there are two kinds of *Qi* in painting: (1) as the individual and personal creative resources of the painter—the qualities of which can be transformed into the qualities of his painting; and (2) as the objective and descriptive essential vitality and essence of the subject portrayed that can be transmitted into a painting and perceived by the spectator. Jing has described both. According to Xu Fuguan, (the first kind of) *Qi* provides for the man the 'living' reality for his otherwise abstract ideals and (the second kind of) *Qi* in his art is the means whereby his ideals are expressed. "This is [indeed] one of the most outstanding characteristics in the theories of Chinese literature [and] the arts," he wrote.¹²

With *Qi* as an important harmonising agent providing the essential life and animating pulsations with underlying unity between both the painter and his painting, the painting can then achieve Jing's *Yun*—expressing greater cohesion and internal harmony than the most skilful establishment and arrangement of its forms while emitting a quiet external charm perfected with proprieties and non-vulgarity. Such idea of *Yun* is an evidence of the Confucian influence in the formulation of art principles. The influence includes the Confucian respect for tradition and *Li*, and Kong Zi (ca. 551-479 B.C.)'s emphasis of *Dao* of *junzi*.

Mai-mai Sze went further to suggest that "the [Confucian] search for a rational explanation of the nature of the universe further encouraged the tendency to order and to regulate"; she also concluded that *Yun* "connotes a constructive and creative sense of the harmony of the whole; but in application, owing to its emphasis on order and correctness, it had the power to stifle that most desired quality," which is the Taoist

¹⁰Wang, *Xu Hua* [A Recountal on Painting], in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, ed. Yu Kun, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 585. For a brief biography of Wang, see my App. 3.2.2.

¹¹Cited earlier in my Chaps. 3.2.2 & 3.2.3.

¹²Xu, *Zhongguo Yishu Jingshen* [The Spirit of Chinese Art], *Xinya Yanjiusuo Congkan* [Series of Publication of Xinya Research Centre] (Taipei: Taiwan Xuesheng Shuju, 1966; 11th pr., 1992), pp. 163-64.

Ziran.¹³ George Rowley also wrote in agreement, "*Yun* concerned following the rules and knowing the laws of nature, both of which acted as brakes against too much originality and eccentricity."¹⁴ Here, I disagree with both of them in saying that *Yun* leads to lack of *Ziran* and originality, for *Yun* is not just referring to rules and correctness. In fact, Jing expressed the opposite as well, as seen from his definition for *Yun*—"establishing *xing*," in accord with rules and correctness by "equipping [them] with the proprieties," but attaining *Ziran* by "concealing [obvious] traces [of the brush]," and creates originality by "avoiding *su*."

Jingying Weizhi → *Si* *Si* was given considerable weight by Jing, immediately after the two indispensable fundamentals. Jing's *Si* appears more technical and straightforward than Zong Bing (A.D. 375-443)'s spiritual *si* [thought]. "The ten thousand [myriad] *qu* [wonderful delights] are thawed from spiritual *si*," wrote Zong.¹⁵ The meaning of Jing's *Si* is inclined towards deep thinking or careful deliberating—that is more intellectual, whereas that of Zong's is more inclined towards fancy imagining or fantasy dreaming—that is more intuitive. In both cases, however, the character '*si*'—made up of two parts with the character '*xin*' as the lower half—suggests that thinking or imagining is controlled by the heart and issues from it.

Ying Wu Xie Xing and *Sui Lei Fu Cai* → *Jing* The use of colour became less important in Jing's list, although it was implied in his *Jing*—which is to take into consideration "the [natural] principles", particularly with regard to "the [different] times [of the day and the changing seasons of the year]". These principles and different aspects of nature, in fact, have been enumerated and discussed in great detail by Wang Wei (A.D. 701-61).¹⁶ Guo Xi later summarised the lengthy description in a few words. He wrote, "[In] spring, [the scene looks] cheerfully warm; [in] summer, [it looks] luxuriant; [in] autumn, [it looks] scanty; [and in] winter, [it looks] dim."¹⁷ By this statement, he actually meant:

¹³Sze, *The Way of Chinese Painting*, op. cit., p. 57.

¹⁴Rowley, *Principles of Chinese Painting*, op. cit., p. 14.

¹⁵Zong, *Hua Shanshui Xu* [The Introduction to Painting Landscape], in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit. vol. 1, p. 1. For a brief biography of Zong, see my App. 3.2.2.

¹⁶See Wang, *Shanshui Lun*, in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 597. This Wang, that has also been mentioned in my Chap. 3.6.2, is not to be confused with Wang Wei (A.D. 415-453).

¹⁷Guo, *Lin Quan Gaozhi*, chap. 1, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 19.

Spring mountains [are covered with] unbroken [stretch of] mists [and] clouds, [and] people are joyful. Summer mountains [are covered with] fine trees [that provide] abundant shade, [and] people are contented. Autumn mountains are bright [and] clear, [for all leaves] sway [and] fall, [and] people feel depressed. Winter mountains [are covered with] thick fogs that clog [the scene], [and] people feel lonely.¹⁸

Gufa Yongbi → *Bi* and *Mo* *Bi* and *Mo* were listed by Jing as two separate *yao*, and their marvels have since been highly esteemed. "Speaking in terms of the strange [and] bewildering [phenomena] in the realm [of nature], then painting is not as good as [real] landscapes," wrote Dong, "[but] speaking in terms of the splendor [and] wonderfulness of *bi*-[and]-*mo*, then landscape is definitely not as good as painting."¹⁹ On "splendor [and] wonderfulness of *bi*-[and]-*mo*", Shen Hao (b. 1586)—his contemporary—wrote, "Clear [or] turbid, [it] depends on *bi*; . . . hidden [or] exposed, [it] depends on *mo*."²⁰ *Bi mo* or brush-and-ink indeed forms the fundamental of Chinese-brush painting and has, in fact, most distinguished it from its Western counterpart.

Mo was also separately considered and highlighted, for the first time, in Jing's list, though it has always been assumed to be essential. Since then, *mo* has been highly regarded. "In *mo*," wrote Qiaoben Guanxue [Hashimoto Kansetsu], "there is a complexity of **colours** that cannot be found in [any] Western painting colours."²¹ Xie had not specifically mentioned *mo* but it was implied in his *Gufa Yongbi*. In this respect, it seems that Jing had foreseen the increasingly emphasis of *mo* in painting. In fact, by the later Tang period *shuimo hua* had flourished and reached heights in the landscape painting of the Song Dynasty (A.D. 960-1279) and the bamboo painting of the Yuan (1279-1368).

¹⁸Ibid., p. 20. Cf. Huang Gongwang, *Xie Shanshui Jue* [The Secrets of Painting Landscape], ibid., pp. 56-57. For a brief biography of Huang, see my App. 3.2.2.

¹⁹Dong, *Hua Zhi*, in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 720.

²⁰Shen, *Hua Chen*, chap. 5, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 135.

²¹Quoted in Fu Baoshi, *Zhongguo Huihua Lilun* [Theories on Chinese Painting] ([Shanghai, 1936]; Taipei: [Huazheng Shuju], 1988), chap. 1, p. 2; bold emphasis mine. 'Colours', in bold emphasis, refers to the tonal effects of the ink.

4.1.2 Liu Daochun's *Liu Yao Liu Chang* [The Six Essentials and the Six Merits]

Later, when the number of different subject matters of painting expanded during the Northern Song period (A.D. 960-1126) and when new genres of painting were recognised, Liu Daochun (fl. ca. 1059) reinterpreted Xie's *Liu Fa* and Jing's *Liu Yao* to form his list of *Liu Yao Liu Chang*, that appears even more explicit. In *Songchao Minghua Ping* [The Critique of Famous Paintings of the Song Dynasty], he wrote:

Now, the secret of knowing painting lies in the understanding of *Liu Yao* [The Six Essentials] and [in] the perception of *Liu Chang* [The Six Merits]. The so-called *Liu Yao* are:

- Yao* 1: *Qiyun Jian Li*;
- Yao* 2: *Gezhi Ju Lao*;
- Yao* 3: *Bianyi Heli*;
- Yao* 4: *Caihui You Ze*;
- Yao* 5: *Qu Lai Ziran*; [and]
- Yao* 6: *Shixue She Duan*.

The so-called *Liu Chang* are:

- Chang* 1: *Culu Qiu Bi*;
- Chang* 2: *Pise Qiu Cai*;
- Chang* 3: *Xiqiao Qiu Li*;
- Chang* 4: *Kuangguai Qiu Li*;
- Chang* 5: *Wumo Qiu Ran*; [and]
- Chang* 6: *Pinghua Qiu Chang*.²²

This list can be interpreted as the following, without being strictly bound by the literal meaning of the four-character phrases:

- Essential 1: *Qiyun* [must] be combined with strength [in terms of the momentum or the powerful impact projected by the resultant painting];
- Essential 2: [Fundamental] styles and rules [in painting composition must be fully acquired] in accord with tradition;
- Essential 3: Variation [in expression must] be rational;
- Essential 4: To paint in colours, lustre [or enrichment must] be accomplished;
- Essential 5: Back and forth [wandering within the painting, must engender a feeling of] *Ziran*;
- Essential 6: [When] learning from the masters, [their] shortcomings [must] be avoided;
- Merit 1: [Within] crudity or vulgarity, [yet] possessing [graceful] brushwork;
- Merit 2: [Within] eccentricity or obscureness, [yet] possessing refinement;
- Merit 3: [Within] fineness or delicateness, [yet] possessing strength [in terms of vigour of execution of brushwork];
- Merit 4: [Within] wildness or queerness, [yet] possessing [natural] principles;
- Merit 5: [Within the empty space] untouched by the ink, [yet] possessing [the ability to convey] nuances of ink-tone; [and]

²²In *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, op. cit., vol. 1 p. 408.

Merit 6: [Within] the flatness of the painting [surface], [yet] possessing depths.²³

Although *Liu Yao Liu Chang* were formulated more than four hundred years after Xie propounded his *Liu Fa*, they seem to appear more succinct and have since taken a more important position in Chinese painting history than Jing's *Liu Yao*, for in *Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan*, only *Liu Fa* and *Liu Yao Liu Chang* are reiterated as fundamentals of painting.²⁴

Qiyun Shengdong → *Qiyun Jian Li* In Liu's essential 1—which appears as a modification of Xie's first *fa*—*Shengdong* has been extrapolatively interpreted as 'strength associated with the momentum or the powerful impact of resultant painting'. "Such results may be seen in a landscape painting filled with tempestuous forces . . . possessed of power and grandeur and seemingly at the point of bursting out of the picture;" wrote Sze, "yet the elements of such paintings are controlled, integrated, and harmonious."²⁵ These "tempestuous forces" are best described by the Chinese character *shi* [power or force, literally]. "[When] painting a big scroll of landscape," wrote Zhao Zuo (fl. ca. 1611-16), "[one] must emphasise on capturing *shi*."²⁶ With this term, Liu's '*Qiyun* to be combined with *shi*' is then not much different from what Jing called '*Qi shi*'. Jing wrote, "The [various] appearances of mountains [and] water [in a landscape painting] are produced by the mutuality of *Qi* [and] *shi*."²⁷

Jingying Weizhi → *Gezhi Ju Lao*, and *Chuanmo Yixie* → *Shexue She Duan* Essential 2 is offered as a rule for Xie's fifth *fa*—*Jingying Weizhi*. Liu's emphasis of '*Ju Lao*' is well supported by his contemporaries, such as Huang Tingjian (1045-1105) who said, ". . . when they put brush to paper, it was in accordance with

²³Ibid.; translation and interpretation with reference to Mai-mai Sze, ed. & trans., *The Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting*, op. cit., p. 20; Susan Bush & Hsio-yen Shih, eds. & comps., *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, op. cit., pp. 98-99; and Osvald Sirén, *The Chinese on the Art of Painting*, op. cit., p. 74.

²⁴See Wang Gai, Wang Shi & Wang Nie, eds. & comps., *Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan*, op. cit., vol. 1, bk. 1, p. 1.

²⁵*The Way of Chinese Painting*, op. cit., p. 48.

²⁶Zhao, *Wendu Lun Hua* [Wendu's Discussion on Painting], in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 759. For a brief biography of Zhao, see my App. 3.2.2.

²⁷*Bifa Ji*, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 9.

the predecessor's original ideas."²⁸ Much later, Shen Zongqian (fl. ca. 1781) also expressed his full support when he raised the awareness that "all the various [ancient] masters 'breathed through the same nostrils.'"²⁹ However, it should be noted that Liu's '*Ju Lao*', Huang's "in accordance" or Shen's "through the same nostrils" is not to be interpreted as 'stroke for stroke duplication', but in terms of Shen Hao's "*shenhui*".³⁰

Essential 6 appears as precautionary advice and a follow-up to essential 2, in that while striving to be in accord with the ancients—*Ju Lao*, one must not forget to avoid their faults—*She Duan*. Liu's *Shixue She Duan* thus also illustrates an extension that goes beyond literally *Chuanmo Yixie*—Xie's sixth *fa*. As Qi Baishi (1864-1957) put it, "He who learns from me lives; he who copies me dies."³¹ Guo Xi (1023-ca. 1085) also advised that when learning from the masters, one must not "confine to one school."³² The idea is that one can then learn from each master's strong points. One indeed needs to "*shi chang she duan*", in Li Keran (1907-89)'s words, which mean "to learn from [the masters'] strong points, [but] avoid [their] shortcomings."³³ Such dictum is obviously an improvement to Liu's *Shixue She Duan*.

Ying Wu Xie Xing and *Jing* → *Bianyi Heli*, *Qu Lai Ziran*, *Pise Qiu Cai* and *Kuangguai Qiu Li* Liu's essentials 3 and 5, and merits 2 and 4 were attempts to modify Xie's *Ying Wu Xie Xing* and to elaborate on Jing's fourth *yao*—*Jing*—based on Jing's definition mentioned earlier, that is, "[to pay attention to] the [natural] principles, [thus merit 4], [with respect to] the [different] times [and] causes [and effect], [thus essential 3], searching for the wonderful [sublime], [thus merit 2], [and re-]creating it with *zhen*, [thus essential 5]." Furthermore, the 'rationality' in essential 3 or the '*li* [principles]' in merit 4 to be sought after by a painter is precisely part of what constituting the *Dao* pursued by the Confucian *junzi*, for Zeng Zi (ca. 505-463 B.C.) mentioned that, "in thoughts, a *junzi* does not go out of his position;"³⁴ and

²⁸Cited earlier in my Chap. 3.7.2.

²⁹Cited earlier in my Chap. 3.7.3.

³⁰Cited earlier in my Chap. 3.7.2.

³¹Quoted in Wen C. Fong, "The Modern Chinese Debate", *Artibus Asiae* LIII, no. 1/2 (1993), p. 304.

³²Cited earlier in my Chap. 3.7.3.

³³Wang Zuo, ed., *Li Keran Hualun* [Li Keran's Theory on Painting] (Guangdong: Gaodeng Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 1992), chap. 2, p. 32. For a brief biography of Li, see my App. 3.2.2.

³⁴Quoted in Kong Zi, *Lun Yu* 14:28, in *Xinyi Si Shu Duben*, comp. & interpreted by Xie Bingying et al., op. cit., p. 233.

Meng Zi (ca. 372-289 B.C.) also said, "*Junzi* practises [right] principle".³⁵ Su Shi (1037-1101) also discussed Liu's *li* in the following words:

. . . man [and] animals, buildings [and] houses, utensils [and] furniture, all have [their] constant *xing*; as for mountains [and] rocks, bamboos [and] trees, water [and] ripples, mists [and] clouds, although [they] do not have constant *xing*, but [they] have constant *li*. . . When the *xing* is inconstant [which may then lead to Liu's *Kuangguai*], then [one] cannot be careless about the *li*.³⁶

Li is indeed important in painting, as Huang Gongwang (1269-1354) also put it, "[In] painting, only the word *li* is the most important."³⁷ However, how not to "be careless about the *li*" or how to secure *li* is not described clearly by Su. To him, *li* can only be rendered by one who is "an eminent man [or man of] outstanding talent".³⁸ Later Zhao offered an advice that as long as *shi* is captured, *li* is also secured. "[In painting, if] *shi* of a rock is captured," wrote Zhao, "[then] although [it may look] strange [or] queer, but [it] does not lose the *li*."³⁹ This statement also echoes Liu's merit 4 well.

While essential 3 and merit 4 have a Confucian character, essential 5 and merit 2 are Taoist and *Chan*-ic respectively. The requirement of the feeling of spontaneity to be engendered when wandering within the painting, in essential 5, is ascribed to the Taoist concept of *Ziran*. "Let's try to go wandering in a place of nothingness," wrote Zhuang Zi. "[We] would go out without knowing where [we] would reach; [we] would come back without knowing where [we] would stop. After going out and coming back, we still would not know where [we] would end up."⁴⁰ Merit 2—*Pise Qiu Cai*—that appropriately describes Huineng (A.D. 638-713), who appeared uncouth, obscure and untrained in *Chan* while working all his time as an ordinary labourer at Hongren (A.D. 601-74)'s monastery and yet was the one with great character and intuition (and was thoroughly enlightened), is equally appropriate when used to describe *xieyi hua*—characterised by sparing, swift and bold brushwork produced in a simplified and spontaneous manner.

³⁵Meng Zi, *Meng Zi* 7:2:33:3, *ibid.*, p. 663. This *li* is not to be confused with *Li* [Propriety], though they are related.

³⁶Su, *Dongbo Lun Hua*, in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 47.

³⁷*Xie Shanshui Jue*, in *Hualun Congkan*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 57.

³⁸*Dongbo Lun Hua*, in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 47.

³⁹*Wendu Lun Hua*, *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 759.

⁴⁰Cited earlier in my Chap. 2.1.4.

Sui Lei Fu Cai → *Caihui You Ze* As mentioned before, Liu's essential 4 not only agrees with Xie's fourth *fa* in the correct manner of colouring, but also emphasises further the enriching effects to be created by applying colours correctly, if colours are to be used. Applying colours by simply "dot and dye without [proper] techniques" is to be avoided, wrote Rao Ziran (fl. ca. 1340).⁴¹ One really needs to "*yise mao se*", that is, "use colours [to capture appropriately] the colours [when delineating] the looks [or appearances]". As Zong put it, "*Yixing xie xing* [Use forms to depict forms]; *yise mao se*."⁴² Such maxim summarises exactly Xie's *Yingwu Xiexing* and *Sulei Fucai* respectively.

Bi → *Culu Qiu Bi* and *Xiqiao Qiu Li* Liu's merits 1 and 3 elaborate Jing's *Bi*, and can be used to characterise respectively the brushwork in *xieyi* and *gongbi*—the two major styles of painting. "In the use of the brush, there is [a manner that is] bold [and] simple, [and] yet [by which] the thoughts are complete[ly expressed];" Han Zhuo (fl. ca. 1095-1125) wrote, "there is [also a manner that is] elaborate [and] detail, yet [it is] fine [and] delicate."⁴³ The former refers to the technique of *xieyi* and the latter *gongbi*. Whether it is *xieyi* or *gongbi*, both techniques depend upon the skilful use of the brush.

Si → *Wumo Qiu Ran* and *Pinghua Qiu Chang* Liu's merits 5 and 6 are certainly within Jing's *Si* for compositional scheme of the painting. They also have a strong Taoist flavour, for Lao Zi (ca. 604-531 B.C.) believed that one can obtain something out of *Wu* or what is not there. "*Dao* [is] empty," he said, ". . . [and] yet is inexhaustible."⁴⁴ Liu's *Wumo Qiu Ran* thus refers to the use of the unpainted empty space as a positive compositional element.⁴⁵ This space may be representing broad stretches of water, mist or sky; it may also be denoting an unlimited space meant for the viewer's imaginative participation to complete the work through reading the painter's mind or by injecting the viewer's own ideas; or it may be read simply as just empty space. In any case, it is not void, for Zhang Shi (fl. ca. 1840) wrote:

⁴¹Cited earlier in my Chap. 3.5.3.

⁴²*Hua Shanshui Xu*, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 1.

⁴³Han, *Shanshui Chunquan Ji*, chap. 7, *ibid.*, p. 43.

⁴⁴Lao Zi, *Dao De Jing* 4, in *Xinyi Lao Zi Duben*, annotated & interpreted by Yu Peilin, op. cit., p. 23.

⁴⁵The use of the empty space in this sense has been touched upon in my Chap. 3.6.1.

[On a piece of] three-foot [long] paper, paint [only] one foot of painting. Although the remaining [portion of the] paper is unpainted, but there exists painting.⁴⁶

For the same reason, Ma Yuan (fl. ca. 1190-1225) and Xia Gui (ca. 1180-1230)—the two Southern Song (1127-1279) landscape painters—thus always left empty space by painting only in one corner and on the half side so much so that they are popularly known as *Ma Yijiao* [One-corner Ma] and *Xia Banbian* [Half-side Xia] respectively.⁴⁷

4.1.3 Wang Yu's *Liu Chang* [The Six Credits]

Another later attempt to approach the traditional problem of defining the basic principles is Wang Yu's modification of Jing's *Liu Yao*. Wang modified them as *Liu Chang*, as listed in *Dongzhuang Lun Hua*. They are:

Chang 1: Qigu Gu Ya;
Chang 2: Shenyun Xiu Yi;
Chang 3: Shibi Wuhen;
Chang 4: Yongmo Jingcai;
Chang 5: Buju Bianhua; [and]
*Chang 6: Shese Gao Hua.*⁴⁸

These can be interpreted as:

Credit 1: *Qigu* [captured in a painting should give a sense of] antiquity [and] classic elegance;
 Credit 2: *Shenyun* [secured in a painting should be able to transmit the qualities of] excellence [and] untrammelledness;
 Credit 3: The brush [should] be moved [in such a way that brush marks are produced and yet] without [leaving any] trace;
 Credit 4: The ink [should] be used brilliantly;
 Credit 5: The composition [should possess] transformations; and
 Credit 6: Colours [should] be applied splendidly [but in a] noble [manner].⁴⁹

⁴⁶Zhang, *Hua Tan* [Talks on Painting], in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 428. For a brief biography of Zhang, see my App. 3.2.2.

⁴⁷For brief biographies of Ma and Xia, see my App. 3.2.2, s.v. "Ma Yuan (fl. ca. 1190-1225)".

⁴⁸In *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1 p. 259.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*

Gufa Yongbi and *Qi* → *Qigu Gu Ya* Jing's *Qi* in *yao* 1 is replaced by *Qigu* in Wang's credit 1, for Jing explained earlier that "*Qi* means the heart [mind] moving along, guiding the brush without hesitating in delineating images", and "guiding the brush" is precisely what Xie meant by *Gufa Yongbi* in his second *fa*. That *Qigu* should lead to *gu* [antiquity] and *ya* [classic elegance] illustrates implicitly once again that one cannot escape from the tradition. In fact, *gu* and *ya* constitute precisely part of the same interest shared by the ancient masters when Shen Zongqian said earlier that "all the various [ancient] masters 'breathed through the same nostrils'." Zhao Mengfu (1254-1322) also emphasise *gu* when he wrote:

[What is] most valuable in painting is the possession of the spirit of *gu*. If there is no spirit of *gu*, [then], although [there may be] skill, [it is] worthless.⁵⁰

Yun → *Shenyun Xiu Yi* Wang also replaced Jing's *Yun* in *yao* 2 by *Shenyun* in his credit 2. The adjective '*shen*' in *Shenyun* is used in the same sense as the adjective '*shen*' in Gu Kaizhi (ca. A.D. 345-406)'s '*shenqi*', in Guo Ruoxu's '*shenhui*' or Tang Hou's '*shencai* [spiritual expression]'. It is also used in the same sense as the noun '*shen*' in Gu's '*chuanshen*' and '*yixing xie shen*'.⁵¹ As such, *Shenyun* as a dissyllabic term has a multiple interpretation; it can be used to describe an attribute of a painter himself or of the subject of painting.

In *Gu Huapin Lu*, Xie used *Shenyun* in the former sense.⁵² However, *Shenyun* is used by Wang, to describe the attribute of the subject of painting, in contrast to *xingsi*, as the key to achieving the excellent and untrammelled qualities in painting—which is *Qiyun Shengdong*, in Xie's definition.

Bi → *Shibi Wuhen* Jing's definition for *Yun*, in fact, is used by Wang to formulate his credit 3—*Shibi Wuhen*, which also represents an aspect of Jing's *Bi*.

⁵⁰Zhao, *Songxue Lun Hua* [Songxue's Discussion on Painting], in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 92. For a brief biography of Zhao, see my App. 3.2.2.

⁵¹Gu's *shenqi*, *chuanshen* and *yixing xie shen*, and Guo's *shenhui*, have been mentioned in my Chaps. 3.2.2 & 3.2.3. Tang's *shencai* appears in his *Hualun*, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 61, where he ranked the attributes to be looked for when looking at a painting: *bifa* [brush technique], *Qiyun*, *shencai*, and *xingsi*. Cen Jiawu, in "Zhongguo Hua de Qiyun yi Xingsi" [*Qiyun* and *Xingsi* in Chinese Painting], in *Jindai Zhongguo Meishu Lunji* [The Collections of Modern Discussions on Chinese Fine Arts], ed. He Huaishuo (Taipei: Yishu Jia Chubanshe, 1991), vol. 1, p.107, wrote outright that, "*Qiyun* is *Shenyun*, [which] is also *chuanshen*."

⁵²See Xie, *Gu Huapin Lu*, in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 357.

Before Wang, Zhao Xigu (fl. ca. 1195-1242) had also explained what is meant by Jing's "hiding traces":

To paint without traces of the brush does not refer to its ink—[whether it is] light, dim, and without distinctness. [It is however] exactly similar to [the way] a good calligrapher hides his brush tip [when executing brush strokes] . . . [and] hiding of the [brush] tip in calligraphy relies upon the handling of the brush in a steady [and yet] joyous manner. One who can realise [such] technique of the good calligraph[er] in handling of the brush [will] then understand the saying that famous paintings [are] without traces of the brush.⁵³

To be able to "paint without traces of the brush"—or "to deal with *xing* but [leaving] no traces"⁵⁴ in Shitao (1642-ca. 1718)'s words—the painter has actually become like Zhuang Zi's cook who "meets [the ox that he is about to cut up] by [his] *shen* and not looks [at it] with [his] eyes",⁵⁵ and who achieved Lao Zi's *Wuwei* state wherein he "walks without [leaving any] track".⁵⁶ Whether it is the painter who "paint without traces of the brush" or the cook who "walks without [leaving any] track", they both come close to Jing's requirement for *Bi*—the brush should be handled "according to the rules" and yet the brushwork should be like "a flight".

Mo → *Yongmo Jingcai* In the place of Jing's description for the use of *Mo*, Wang used the term '*jingcai* [brilliant]' in his credit 4. Wang's term refers not only to the intrinsic capability of the Chinese ink itself to produce tonal gradations of "*nong, dan, gan, shi* and *hei*", or the so-called '*mo fen wu se*',⁵⁷ but also refers extrinsically to the manners to achieve such effects, such as the techniques of *pomo* [break-ink, literally] and *po mo* [splash-ink, literally].⁵⁸

Jingying Weizhi and *Si* → *Buju Bianhua* Wang's credit 5 offers yet another aspect of Jing's *Si* for the compositional scheme or *Jingying Weizhi* of a painting. Wang used *bianhua* [transformations] that are to be established by the

⁵³Zhao, *Dongtian Qinglu Ji* [The Compilation of Pure Earnings in the Realm of Immortals], *ibid.*, p. 86. For a brief biography of Zhao, see my App. 3.2.2.

⁵⁴Shitao, *Kugua Heshang Huayu Lu*, chap. 16, in *Hualun Congkan*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 155.

⁵⁵Cited earlier in my Chap. 2.1.2.

⁵⁶*Dao De Jing* 27, in *Xinyi Lao Zi Duben*, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

⁵⁷Cited earlier in my Chap. 3.5.2.

⁵⁸To be discussed later in my Chap. 5.

combinatory use of the principles of "*Yin Yang, Xiang Bei, Zong Heng, Qi Fu, Kai He, Suo Jie, . . . Guo Jie, and Yang Dai*",⁵⁹ all of which have been discussed earlier.⁶⁰

Sui Lei Fu Cai → *Shese Gao Hua* *Shese Gao Hua* in Wang's credit 6 complements Liu's *Caihui You Ze* to further emphasise Xie's *Sulei Fucai*. To Wang Yuanqi (CA. 1642-1715), *shese* or applying colours actually complements the use of brush and ink, for he said, "The idea [of *shese*] is such that the inadequacy of the *bi*-[and]-*mo* is made up for, [and] the wonderfulness of the *bi*-[and]-*mo* is [further] manifested."⁶¹

⁵⁹Cited earlier in my Chap. 3.6.3.

⁶⁰*Yin Yang* has been discussed in my Chap. 1.2 and the rest have been discussed in my Chap. 3.6.3.

⁶¹Wang, *Yuchuang Manbi*, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 208.

4.2 Shitao's Principle of *Yihua*

4.2.1 *Yihua* and *Dao* [*Tao*]

Shitao's fundamental aesthetic ideology and all the essential elements of *Kugua Heshang Huayu Lu* [The Record of Monk Bitter-Gourd's Discourse on Painting],⁶² can be summarised by the Principle of *Yihua* that he introduced in the first chapter:

[In] the primordial past [there was] no principle, [for] the primordial *Pu* [state of natural simplicity] had not been broken up. Once the primordial *Pu* was broken up, a principle was then established. How was [this] principle established? [It] was established upon *Yihua*. . . . However, man in the world does not know [this]. Thus, the Principle of *Yihua* was originally established by me.⁶³

The first two statements have close affinity with Taoism, for they seem to correspond to a passage in *Zhuang Zi*:

[Among] the people of the past, . . . there were [those] who realised that [there was a state] before things existed . . . [a state to which] nothing could be added. Next, [there were those] who recognised that there were things, but have not begun to made differentiations [between them]. Next, [there were those] who understood that there were differentiations [among things], but have not begun to pass [judgement of] right or wrong [upon them].⁶⁴

'*Pu* [etymologically referring to a piece of unhewn or uncarved wood]' is used in Shitao's passage in a similar sense as the Taoist concept '*Pu*' used by Lao Zi to describe "the unembellished" or "the natural goodness".⁶⁵ In both cases, *Pu* refers to that which is simple and indicates a primordial unity from which all multiplicity and diversity derive, for Shitao also said, ". . . [when] the primordial *Pu* was broken up, the Principle of *Yihua* was then established; [and when] the Principle of *Yihua* was

⁶²For a brief biography of Shitao and his work, see my App. 3.2.1.

⁶³In *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 146. The last sentence has been variously interpreted inaccurately. In *The Tao of Chinese Landscape Painting*, op. cit., p. 119, for instance, Wucius Wong has interpreted it as "In fact, the method of one line is established by the self." To interpret it as "but I have established it for myself", as in *The Chinese on the Art of Painting*, op. cit., p. 185, is, however, wrong.

⁶⁴*Zhuang Zi* 2:7, in *Xinyi Zhuang Zi Duben*, op. cit., p. 63.

⁶⁵Cited earlier in my Chap. 2.2.3.

established, the ten thousand things were then revealed."⁶⁶ Shitao's affiliation with Taoism is thus evident.

What then is this Principle of *Yihua* established by Shitao? According to Osvald Sirén, "it is not a method that may be intellectually defined."⁶⁷ By making such remark, he has already missed some points, for *Yihua* does not merely refer to "method" as hinted by Sirén. In fact, Shitao first offered a cosmological meaning of *Yihua* when he wrote, "That which is *Yihua*, is the origin of all *You* [Existence], the root of ten thousand [myriad] *xiang* [forms]."⁶⁸ Once again, Shitao has borrowed the terminology from Taoist source and his *Yihua* also seems synonymous with, though literally different from, Lao Zi's *Dao*, for the latter said:

Wu is the origin of heaven-[and]-earth;
You is the mother of ten thousand things.

 These two names [*Wu* and *You*],
 . . . both derived from the same source [*Dao*]⁶⁹

Since *Yihua* "is the origin of all *You*," it certainly is the origin of all principles of painting. In Shitao's own words, "The establishment of the Principle of *Yihua* creates [a] principle out of no principle, [and a] principle that threads through [covers] all principles."⁷⁰ That *Yihua* is "the root of ten thousand *xiang*" also suggests that *Yihua* is the initial 'one stroke' or "one line",⁷¹ that gives rise to all subsequent strokes to produce visual images and expressions of myriad things in a similar way as *Dao* created the whole universe:

Dao produced One.
 The One produced Two.
 The Two produced Three.
 The Three produced the ten thousand things.⁷²

⁶⁶*Kugua Heshang Huayu Lu*, chap. 1, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 146.

⁶⁷*The Chinese on the Art of Painting*, op. cit., p. 183.

⁶⁸*Kugua Heshang Huayu Lu*, chap. 1, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 146.

⁶⁹Cited earlier in my Chap. 2.1.2.

⁷⁰*Kugua Heshang Huayu Lu*, chap. 1, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 146. Cf. *Dao De Jing* 40.

⁷¹"One line" is used in place of '*Yihua*' in *The Tao of Chinese Landscape Painting*, op. cit., p. 119.

⁷²Cited earlier in my Chap. 1.2.2.

Shitao's attempt to link artistic activity with natural creation is obvious. "Painting is to him a microcosmic activity, a miniature parallel to the creative activity of the macrocosmic forces,"⁷³ wrote Sirén. Painting to Shitao is definitely a creative activity that parallels the macrocosmic creation of the universe, but to label it as "a microcosmic activity" or "a miniature" is doubtful. Sirén, as Shitao once said of some learned scholars, was "not yet able to realise the expansive power of *Yihua* and [fully] develop it."⁷⁴

4.2.2 *Yihua* and *Yi* [Unity]

Such is Shitao's cosmological meaning of *Yihua*. To this cosmological viewpoint, he also added a metaphysical dimension, based on the Taoist basic idea of adopting the unity of multiplicity and diversity. From *Dao De Jing* that says:

Acquiring *Yi* [the One], the heaven became clear;
 Acquiring *Yi*, the earth became stable;

 Acquiring *Yi*, the ten thousand [myriad] things [came] alive.⁷⁵

and:

The ten thousand things live simultaneously,

 Although things are in all their multitude,
 [But] each [of them] returns ultimately to its root [*Dao*].⁷⁶

Shitao had:

With *Yi[hua]*, ten thousand [all strokes] are taken care of, [and] with the ten thousand [all the strokes], *Yi[hua]* is dealt with.⁷⁷

⁷³The Chinese on the Art of Painting, op. cit., p. 182.

⁷⁴Kugua Heshang Huayu Lu, chap. 4, in Hualun Congkan, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 148.

⁷⁵Dao De Jing 39, in Xinyi Lao Zi Duben, op. cit., p. 71.

⁷⁶Dao De Jing 16, *ibid.*, p. 40.

⁷⁷Kugua Heshang Huayu Lu, chap. 18, in Hualun Congkan, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 158. In The Chinese Theory of Art, op. cit., p. 156, Lin Yutang interpreted it inaccurately as "The One controls All, and All are controlled by One." Such interpretation also shows a redundancy (of the second verse) not present in the original text.

Thus, there is a unity among all multiplicity and diversity, for all myriad things are issued from and return to oneness. Shitao's idea then amounts to painting of such oneness, and involves more than just the initial 'one stroke'. "*Yihua* contains ten thousand [myriad] things within [it],"⁷⁸ said Shitao himself. It is, in fact, the "oneness of brush strokes".⁷⁹

Earlier on, with specific reference to painting, Shitao wrote the following:

[If one is to] travel far [and] ascend high [in painting], [he must] realise that the [first step] begins with an inch near at hand, [for] this *Yihua* includes a universe [of brush strokes] and beyond. [Among] those very millions [and] thousands of brush-[and]-ink [works], none does not derive from this [*Yihua*] and end in it. [It] is merely up to man [the painter] to grasp it. With *Yihua*, the man [will then] be able to identify the concrete [entirety of nature] with [this] minuteness [in painting]. . . . Therefore, I [also] say, "My principle—*Yi* [Unity]—threads through all."⁸⁰

The opening sentence is again Taoist but the concluding statement is undoubtedly quoted from what Kong Zi said of his teaching.⁸¹ While Kong Zi was summarising his ethical teaching with a unifying principle, Shitao was referring to his metaphysical, unifying Principle of *Yihua*.

4.2.3 *Yihua* and the Capturing of *Li* [Natural Principle]

To Shitao, this *Yi* or *Yihua* is extremely crucial, just as *Yi* is to the Confucianists. "[If] there is unclarity in *Yi*, then ten thousand [myriad] things [appear as] obstructions;" explained Shitao, "[if] there isn't [any slightest] unclarity in *Yi*, then the ten thousand things [will be] in [harmonious] unison." Thus, if *Yi* is not thoroughly understood, one cannot capture the myriad things as they should be depicted, that is, according to their inner nature (not just their external appearance), that Shitao called *li*—

⁷⁸*Kugua Heshang Huayu Lu*, chap. 4, *ibid.*, p. 148. My interpretation is in direct opposite to that in *The Chinese Theory of Art*, *ibid.*, p. 144, which reads, ". . . the one-stroke is contained in all things."

⁷⁹"Oneness of brush strokes" is adopted as a translation of '*Yihua*' by Earle Jerome Coleman in *Philosophy of Painting by Shih-T'ao: A Translation and Exposition of His Hua-P'u (Treatise on the Philosophy of Painting)* (The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1978). See, for instance, pp. 16, 35 & 115.

⁸⁰*Kugua Heshang Huayu Lu*, chap. 1, in *Hualun Congkan*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 146.

⁸¹See *Dao De Jing* 63, in *Xinyi Lao Zi Duben*, *op. cit.*, p. 100, that says, "Great affairs under heaven [under the sun] must have developed from [what is] small." For Kong Zi's statement of his teaching, see my Chap. 2.2.3.

a term of Confucian source, meaning '[natural] principle'. According to Shitao, the reverse is also true:

. . . [As for] the delicate layout of mountains, rivers [and] human figures, the characteristic nature of birds, animals, grass-[and]-trees, [or] the sizes of ponds, pavilions [and] terraces, [if the painter] cannot deeply understand their *li*, [and merely] express in great detail their [external] appearance, [he] still has not grasped the underlying Principle of *Yihua*.⁸²

Thus, with regard to painting, *Yihua* has something to do with capturing *li*, in a similar sense that *Dao* of Confucian *junzi* has something to do with practising the right principles.⁸³ Whereas the Confucian *li* is related to *Li* [Propriety] and has references to the past—for Meng Zi said, "All men can [then] be [like] Yao [or] Shun."⁸⁴—Shitao's pursuit of capturing *li* in painting does not require one to adhere to tradition or be bound by ancient rules. In fact, Shitao advocated just the opposite. He was one of the few Chinese painters who have continuously rebelled against being bound by the old models. He wrote:

[It is] often regrettable that [there are] those [painters] who are bound by ancient [models], [that leads to] no transformations [in their own styles] . . . [They] know [only] that there are ancient [masters], but do not realise that [they too] have a self. **I am as I am; in me there is [only] I.** The beards [and] eyebrows of the ancients cannot grow on my face; the lungs [and other] entrails of the ancients cannot be placed in my [chest and] belly. **I express from my [own] lungs [and other] entrails, [and] display my [own] beards [and] eyebrows.**⁸⁵

Here, Shitao's 'self' refers to the true self, or what Huineng called Buddha-nature. To Shitao, the thoughts and feelings of the ancient masters cannot be transferred into one's mind; he has to issue forth his own thoughts and feelings in his work. Such thought certainly confirms his condemnation of endless copying of the ancient masters.

⁸²*Kugua Heshang Huayu Lu*, chap. 1, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 146.

⁸³Sirén—in *The Chinese on the Art of Painting*, op. cit., p. 183—however, attributed Shitao's pursuit of capturing *li* to the *Chan*-ic ideals.

⁸⁴Cited earlier in my Chap. 2.2.2.

⁸⁵*Kugua Heshang Huayu Lu*, chap. 3, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 147-48; bold emphasis mine.

4.2.4 *Yihua* and the Method of *Wufa* [No-Method]

By 'expressing from his own lungs and other entrails, and displaying his own beards and eyebrows', Shitao introduced his Method of *Wufa* [No-Method, literally] and wrote, "*Wufa* as a method, is the perfect method."⁸⁶ Such idea of '*Wufa*' in painting is, in fact, a direct aesthetic application of the Taoist *Wuwei*. In Shitao's own words, through *Wufa*, "[when he] moves the brush, [it is] as if [he were practising] *Wuwei*."⁸⁷ Just as *Wuwei* does not signify 'complete absence of activity' or 'no action' as the term literally suggests, *Wufa* does not mean altogether without method.⁸⁸ In fact, in the same sense that *Wuwei* urges 'no action that is unnatural' and 'action without effort', Shitao's method of *Wufa* advocates a manner of painting that is natural and spontaneous, "without being in the slightest forced" and without going "against the heart's desire", as he elaborated:

It [the brush] is moved by revolving [the wrist]; they [the brush strokes] are enriched by rotating [the brush]; they [the ink marks] are left [freely] in open spaces. [The brush is moved] outwards as if cutting, [and] inwards as if lifting. [The brush strokes created] can be round [or] can be square, can be straight [or] can be bent, can be upwards [or] can be downwards. [The ink marks made can appear to spread] harmoniously to the left [or] right, [can appear to] protrude [or] sink abruptly, [can appear] broken [or] cut, [and can appear to sweep] horizontally [or] transversely. Like water flowing downwards, like flames burning upwards, [all must be] natural and without being in the slightest forced. [In this manner,] none is without *shen* and none is not threaded by the Principle [of *Yihua*], no *li* [inner nature] is not penetrated and no appearance is not complete[ly expressed]. Man [may] not realise [how] the painting is completed. [However, it is clear that the act of] painting never goes against the heart's desire.⁸⁹

It is no wonder that Ben Willis regarded Shitao's paintings done by the Method of *Wufa* as "completely spontaneous creative painting".⁹⁰

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 147.

⁸⁷*Kugua Heshang Huayu Lu*, chap. 16, *ibid.*, p. 155.

⁸⁸In *Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, bk. 4, p. 16, there is an interesting passage that says, "[For one who paints without a method, when he] grasps the brush, [all his] ten fingers have already frozen [and] for a whole day [he] cannot [even] deposit a dot of ink [i.e., make an ink mark]." It is noteworthy that not only the five fingers that are grasping the brush are frozen, the other five that are not holding the brush are also frozen.

⁸⁹*Kugua Heshang Huayu Lu*, chap. 1, in *Hualun Congkan*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 146. Cf. *Dao De Jing* 34. Furthermore, when Shitao said that "none is without *shen* and none is not threaded by the Principle, no *li* is not penetrated and no appearance is not complete[ly expressed]", he appeared to be reiterating, but in his own words, the first four of Xie He's *Liu Fa*.

⁹⁰Willis, *The Tao of Art*, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

Thus, Shitao's Method of *Wufa* is a method that is spontaneous and free from methods in the conventional sense, which are associated with constraining rules and techniques of the past. Yet, Shitao did not reject outright the ancient methods altogether, for he wrote:

That which is ancient, [provides] the means of [gaining] knowledge. Those who [are able to] transform, realise this means but without being trapped.⁹¹

Shitao's statement is in fact in accord with the thoughts of Kong Zi who believed in "reviewing the old so as to realise [what is] new".⁹² For both of them, one should make inspired use of the past but must not be overrely upon it, so that he is not hindered from creativity and originality. Thus, Shitao's concern is also that an innovative painter should first enter the core of methods, then be able to get out of it—not rejecting it—to establish his own method that may be regarded as the Method of *Wufa*. To Shitao, creativity and originality have no opposition with traditional methods but are actually the outgrowth of their mastery. As Gu Ningyuan put it:

[In] painting, [one should] aim at *sheng* [rawness, literally, which can be interpreted as freshness as in the case of the Method of *Wufa*], [after getting] out of *shu* [cookedness, literally, which can be interpreted as skilledness or mastery of ancient methods]. But, after being *shu*, [it seems] cannot return to *sheng*. The important [thing is that between] *lanshu* [overcooked, literally, which can be interpreted as slavishly bound to ancient methods], [and] *yuanshu* [satisfactory cooked, literally, which can be interpreted as proficiently mastered of skills], there is, however, a difference. If [it is] *yuanshu*, then [it] can [become] *sheng* again.⁹³

Thus, the studying of ancient painting techniques—by an approach of "*yuanshu*"—that serves a positive purpose of foundational development is not prohibited. What Shitao rejected is the bondage to such techniques—in the manner of "*lanshu*"—to the extent of slavish imitation of ancient models, instead of self-transformation for individual creative advances—in the form of "*sheng*". Such is also the advice offered in *Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan*, first published around the same time as Shitao's *Kugua Heshang Huayu Lu*. On the fundamentals of painting, it says:

Talking about [the art of] painting, . . . some emphasise presence of methods, some emphasise absence of method. [To be] without method is not [our main concern], to depend entirely on methods is not even [in our concern]. [One needs] only to first observe the rules strictly, and later transcend [one's]

⁹¹*Kugua Heshang Huayu Lu*, chap. 3, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 147.

⁹²*Lun Yu* 2:11, in *Xinyi Si Shu Duben*, op. cit., p. 78.

⁹³Gu, *Hua Yin*, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 142.

spiritual [capacity], [and at the same time] transform exhaustibly. [At the final stage,] the perfect [method] of methods [will] result in *Wufa*.⁹⁴

These statements are upheld right up to modern times. Zhang Daqian (1899-1983), for instance, wrote:

[For] a successful painter, [whose] painting techniques have attained the state of sublimation, there is no fixed painting method that can restrain him, [or] restrict him. . . . [When he has] already proficient in painting, why [should he] need to be enslaved by conventional rules? But for the beginner, it is still right [for him] to adhere to the rules, to follow the principles [and] to advance step by step accordingly.⁹⁵

4.2.5 *Yihua* and Oneness with Nature

Thus, Shitao did not entirely reject the traditional methods but advocated escape from the bondage to them at the later stage, when one is supposed to work with the Method of *Wufa*, based on the Principle of *Yihua*. Furthermore, working according to such method—the "One-Stroke Method"⁹⁶ in Lin Yutang's words—also not necessarily means that one can afford to abandon nature. Nature, in fact, has been the source of inspiration for Shitao, for he wrote:

I, having [mastered the Principle of] *Yihua*, can penetrate [both] *xing*, [and] *shen* of mountains [and] rivers. That's why [since] fifty years ago, [I] have not born out of [i.e., broken away from] mountains [and] rivers.⁹⁷

This passage also explains why Shitao travelled almost everywhere and never felt contented with any particular place for long, producing compositions that were never repeated. He also made numerous sketches in apparently unattractive and primitive landscape, for he "**never ignored the mountains [and] rivers and [he could not] let the mountains [and] rivers keep their secrets.**"⁹⁸ In the words of Michael Sullivan, "Like some sensitive instrument, Shih-t'ao [Shitao] tuned in to the

⁹⁴*Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan*, op. cit., vol. 1, bk. 1, p. 1.

⁹⁵Zhang, "Hua Suo", in *Zhang Daqian Xiansheng Shi Wen Ji*, op. cit., vol. 2, bk. 6, pp. 123-24.

⁹⁶*The Chinese Theory of Art*, op. cit., p. 140.

⁹⁷*Kugua Heshang Huayu Lu*, chap. 8, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 151.

⁹⁸*Ibid*; bold emphasis mine.

delicate vibrations of nature that lie beyond the normal range of our senses, picked them up, and amplified them into a visual music of extraordinary freshness and charm."⁹⁹ Shitao himself also wrote:

[In] painting, [one must give] emphasis to *si* [thought, literally, but here carries a meaning of penetrating contemplation]. [When in] *si* of *Yi* [Unity, here can be interpreted as Oneness with nature], then [one's] heart [mind] is inspired and is delighted to paint. [His painting can] then enter into [a state of] perfection [and] refinement [that is] beyond prediction.¹⁰⁰

Thus, technically, the Method of *Wufa* supported by the Principle of *Yihua* represents an approach of painting that escapes from the bondage of tradition, but does not escape from penetrating contemplation into nature so as to achieve oneness with it—the goal of the Taoist.

4.2.6 *Yihua* and *Yuanchen* [State of without Obstructions]

In the Method of *Wufa*, there must also be a free uninterrupted flow of ideas without obstructions, as Shitao put it:

[When the Principle of] *Yihua* is understood, then obstructions do not exist before the eyes, and painting can [be issued freely] according to the heart[’s will]. [When] painting [is issued freely] according to the heart[’s will], then the obstructions distance by themselves. . . . The Method [of *Wufa*] is **without obstructions**; [when there are] obstructions, [then it is] not the Method [of *Wufa*]. [When] the Method arises by itself from painting, [then] obstructions withdraw by themselves from painting. The Method [and] the obstructions do not mix. . . . The *Dao* of painting is [then] manifested, [and the Principle of] *Yihua* is [then fully] understood.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹Sullivan, *Symbols of Eternity*, op. cit., p. 156. It would be better if Sullivan began by saying: "Using some sensitive instrument . . .", for then the "instrument" can be interpreted as 'the Principle of *Yihua*' that Shitao used to "penetrate [both] *xing*, [and] *shen* of mountains [and] rivers." It is insulting that Sullivan compared Shitao to just "some sensitive instrument".

¹⁰⁰*Kugua Heshang Huayu Lu*, chap. 15, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 155. As seen from the cited passage, Shitao's *si* is different from the extremes of Jing Hao's *Si* (which involves deep thinking or careful deliberating), and Zong Bing's *si* (which involves fancy imagining or fantasy dreaming), both of which have been discussed in my Chap. 4.1.1.

¹⁰¹*Kugua Heshang Huayu Lu*, chap. 2, *ibid.*, p. 147; bold emphasis mine.

Shitao later used the term '*Yuanchen*' to signify the state of 'without obstructions', although the term—which literally means 'to distance from dust'—suggests 'to avoid obstructions'. Shitao's *Yuanchen* then compares well to *Chan*-ic concept of *Wunian*, but not *Linian*, for Shitao did not advocate to deliberately strive to be free from obstructions, but he believed that "obstructions distance by themselves". He elaborated further:

[When] man is deceived by [material] things, then [he] becomes associated with dust [worldly attachments]. [When] man is commanded by things, then [he] taxes [his] heart [mind]. Taxing the heart to labour over paintings results in self-destruction [i.e., collapse due to exhaustion]. . . . As for me, [I let] things to be deceived by things, [and] dust to be associated with dust. Then, [my] **heart is not taxed**. [When my] heart is not taxed, painting then [naturally] arises.¹⁰²

Thus, from such a state of '*Yuanchen*', or a state when "heart is not taxed", painting is freely issued forth and such painting will be a true expression of the painter's state of mind—which is also the *Wunian* state of mind. "The *Dao* of painting is [then] manifested" by the painter in the similar way as the *Chan*-ist achieving his *Dao*. To the latter, *Dao* is the state of enlightenment characterised by *Wunian*; to the painter, *Dao* is "the spontaneous reflection from one's inner reality, unbound by arbitrary rules from without, and undistorted by confusion and limitations within," using the words of Chang Chung-yuan. "In this spontaneous reflection, one's potentialities are set free and great creativity is achieved without artificial effort."¹⁰³

In conclusion, Shitao's Principle of *Yihua*—that has since influenced all creative endeavour in the development of Chinese painting—is that by which one achieves *Yi* with nature and penetrates its *li* through the Method of *Wufa* in the manner of *Yuanchen* and in such a way that the *Dao* of painting is manifested. The Principle is not just a standard or measure of excellence of painting, by which such painting is esteemed capable of liberating the painter. It is also, technically, an untrammelled expression of freedom of natural brushwork, as opposed to constraint by bondage, and a spontaneous and unobstructed flow of executions that is instantaneous and powerful, from beginning to end. *Yihua*—which literally means 'one stroke'—thus does not mean that a painting is completed by one continuous brush stroke, but rather refers to "one continuous act of creation", to borrow Lin's words.¹⁰⁴ It is no wonder that Shitao

¹⁰²*Kugua Heshang Huayu Lu*, chap. 15, *ibid.*, p. 155; bold emphasis mine.

¹⁰³Chang, *Creativity and Taoism: A Study of Chinese Philosophy, Art, and Poetry* (New York: The Julian Press, 1963), p. 203.

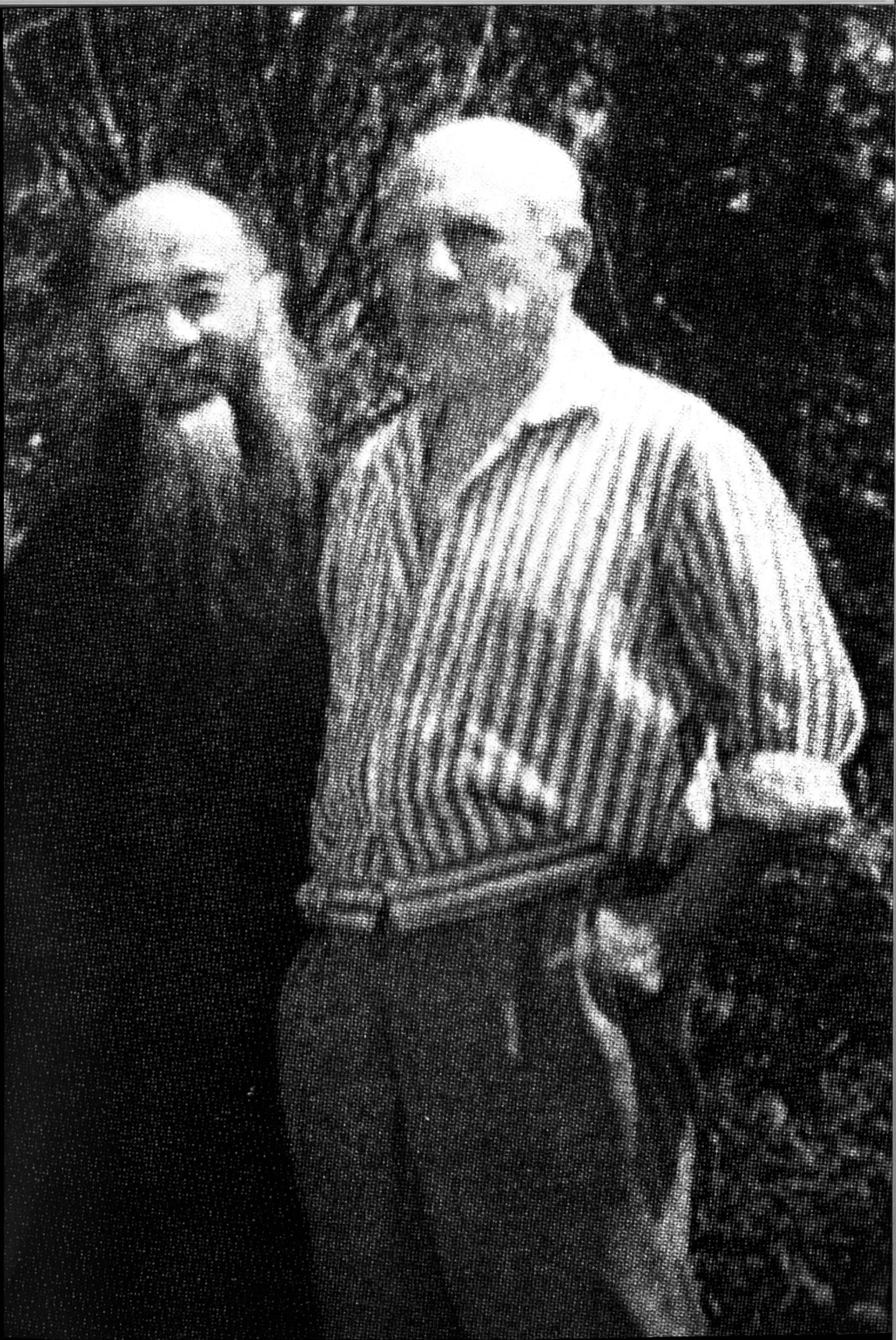
¹⁰⁴*The Chinese Theory of Art*, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

said, "[The ability] to paint is possessed by man, [but to be able to paint with the Principle of] *Yihua* [can]not be acquired by [any] man."¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵*Kugua Heshang Huayu Lu*, chap. 15, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 155.

PART II

'ZHOU YOU DONG XI
[TRAVELLING ROUND THE EAST AND THE WEST]'



SECTION A

DONG [EAST] AND *XI* [WEST] → CHINESE LANDSCAPE PAINTING AND EUROPEAN FEMALE-NUDE PAINTING

Chinese-Brush Painting and European Oil Painting → Landscapes and Female Nudes

Our painting [Chinese painting] does not seek *xingsi* [verisimilitude] and does not depend on fixed patterns; we describe it as something *shen* [divine] and *yi* [untrammelled]. Theirs [European painting, eighteenth century and earlier] concentrates entirely on the problems of dark and light, front and back and the fixed patterns of physical likeness. . . . Their use of the brush is also completely different.

Wu Li (1632-1718),
An account of the differences
between Chinese and European paintings¹

Chinese-Brush Painting and European Oil Painting Although the origins of oil-paint cannot be accurately dated, there is evidence of the use of oil

¹The cited excerpt is slightly modified from that quoted in Michael Sullivan, The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art, op. cit., pp. 62-63. For a brief biography of Wu, see my App. 3.2.2.

(usually linseed) as a paint base and a varnish in as early as the twelfth century.² However, painters did not begin to exploit the potentialities of colour pigments mixed with oil until the fifteenth century. Flemish painters Jan van Eyck (ca. 1390-1441), and his brother Hubert (d. 1426), were among the first painters who developed the use of oil-paint as a glazing medium over tempera. According to Florentine art historian and the great biographer of the Renaissance artists Giorgio Vasari (1511-74), this new Flemish technique of oil painting was introduced to Venice in 1475 by Antonello da Messina (ca. 1430-79).³ Although this has been disproved, Antonella's mastery of the medium exerted a great influence in Italy.

Oil-paint was finally established as a medium in its own right by the sixteenth century, when Italian Renaissance reached its culmination, having spread in the meantime to other parts of Europe. Painters also began to work on stretched canvasses (instead of wood panels), which provided the flexibility to produce paintings the size of murals, or to be rolled up for easy transportation. All these happened, however, more than a thousand years after Chinese ink was first used for painting on silk and paper in China.

While the Europeans continue to value the brilliant colours of paintings in oils on canvas, the Chinese remain faithful to painting in black Chinese-ink on silk and paper. However, whereas Western viewers of Chinese painting are usually overwhelmed by the abundance of *shanshui* [landscapes] and other forms of nature, the Chinese visitor to European art galleries is often confronted with the battles, martyrdom, nude flesh and other human forms that seem to him to take up so much space. This might have given rise to the present phenomenon that the Westerner finding himself wondering why the same subjects occur repeatedly in Chinese painting—the same towering mountains, the same magnificent waterfalls or the same rolling streams—just like the Chinese finding himself asking: "Why on earth did the [European] artist [continue to] paint a subject like that?"⁴

²David Piper *A-Z of Art & Artists: An Illustrated Biographical Dictionary from The Mitchell Beazley Library of Art*, 1984 ed, s.v. "Oil-paint", p. 314.

³Gaston Du C. de Vere, trans., *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, 3 vols., introduction by Kenneth Clark, illustrations selected & annotated by Michael Sonino (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1979), vol. I, pt. II, pp. 505-12. This work is a complete translation into English of Vasari's *Le vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani* [The Lives of the Most Excellent Italian Architects, Painters and Sculptors].

⁴Michael Sullivan, *Symbols of Eternity*, op. cit., p. 1.

Landscapes Natural scenery has been very highly esteemed in China and Chinese philosophers have always emphasised solitary meditation and retreat to the wilderness. However, not all could succeed in doing so and the society also could not function if everybody indulged in literally pursuing such ideal. Hence, painters over the dynasties provided the imaginary scenes for people to do so, at least by contemplation. Landscapes have naturally become the main genre in Chinese painting. As Guo Xi (1023-ca. 1085) put it:

The bridles [and] fetters [of the daily world] are what people, by nature, constantly resent. Immortals [and] sages [hidden among] the mists [and] clouds are what people, by nature, constantly wish for but not succeed in seeing. . . . [We are indeed] shut out from the sights and sounds [of nature]. [Fortunately, we] now have [the painters whose] miraculous hands have reproduced them splendidly [for us]. Without leaving the room, [we can imagine ourselves] sitting contentedly [among] streams [and] valleys, [with] the voices of apes [and] the calls of birds falling on [our] ears faintly, [and] the glow of the mountain [and] the colours of the water dazzling [our] eyes sparkingly. Could these not excite us, [and] actually capture our hearts? This is the original meaning behind the honour that the world accords to the paintings of *shan[shui]*.⁵

In stressing a philosophical preoccupation with the immensity of nature and the overall rhythm of life, Chinese painting has been focusing on the towering peaks of seemingly timeless mountains and the endless patterns of flowing waterfalls or rolling streams. The Chinese have been claiming explicitly, since the ancient times, that landscape painting has not just an aesthetic value but a spiritual one. Landscape painting in China is a language of extraordinary richness and breadth, able to embody the strongest emotional and poetic feelings and the most profound philosophical and metaphysical ideas. It has "an air of living nature, of harmony and peace, that is not always to be found in the art of other civilizations."⁶

Since the Song Dynasty (A.D. 960-1279) when the genre of landscape painting became well established, the beauty of nature has been perceived by the Chinese as a great manifestation of the Taoist *Dao*, as a symbol of nobility pursued as Confucian *Dao* of *junzi*, and as a mystical locale to seek *Chan-ic Dao* of enlightenment. Many of the landscapes also include figures that could be Taoist hermits, Confucian scholars or *Chan-ic* devotees. The supremacy of *Dao* of the three

⁵Guo, *Lin Quan Gaozhi*, chap. 1, *Hualun Congkan*, ed. Yu Anlan, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 17; translation and interpretation with reference to Lin Yutang, *The Chinese Theory of Art*, op. cit., p. 71; and Susan Bush & Hsio-yen Shih, eds. & comps., *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, op. cit., pp. 150-51.

⁶*Symbols of Eternity*, op. cit., p. 1.

different schools of thought indeed makes it unavoidable that "landscapes had to emerge as the main contribution the Chinese have made to the art of the world".⁷

Chinese landscape painting is thus much more than just the painting of a landscape. The importance assumed by nature as expressed in landscape paintings explains why Chinese painting artists were not interested in the human body and avoided the nude. Nudes of either sex have never been featured in traditional Chinese painting. The painters have been trying to break away from the constraints of bodily limitations and concentrate in spiritual nature instead; and be able to express freely the abstract conceptions in a seemingly less substantial form.

Female Nudes In European art, on the other hand, the human body has been consistently a pervasive subject for all the years "since Western man has always been entranced with his own image".⁸ Few subjects in the European art have consistently proved as fundamental and universally compelling as the human body. Its portrayal has been regarded as the most elevated and yet difficult task for a painter. The primary reason for such popularity of human body images is not surprising, for after all what is more interesting to them than themselves?

The Europeans not only consider the human body as the supreme vehicle of aesthetic expression in their art, but they also have a natural tendency to make the human body the standard for artistic creation as well as to some extent for ideal concepts. The symmetrical and clearly centralised character of the body creates an inclination to look for something similar in a work of art—a symmetry or a balance that depends upon the equilibrium of the parts. When such symmetry or balance is missing, a sense of dissatisfaction is experienced and the work is regarded to be incomplete or fragmentary. The Western mind is so permeated with such conviction of the superiority of the human body that it is understandable why the West keeps referring to the body as an ultimate standard for the appraisal and appreciation of the creations of art.⁹

⁷Kai-Yu Hsu & Catherine Woo, Magic of the Brush (Taipei: Art Book, 1989), p. 75.

⁸Benjamin Rowland, Jr., Art in the East and West: An Introduction through Comparisons (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), p. 8.

⁹Osvald Sirén, Studies of Chinese and European Painting (Point Loma: The Aryan Theosophical Press, 1918), pp. 43-44.

In the classical world of the ancient Greeks and Romans, and throughout the fifteenth century in Italy and northern Europe, the representation of the naked human body remained predominantly religious or mythological. Initially, both male and female nudes were depicted but by the sixteenth century attention was increasingly paid to the female, usually shown as Venus. It soon became portrait of a particular person such as a courtesan and finally as an ideal form in its own right. The most popular type of female nude has also become the reclining figure.

Since the eighteenth century, the conventional representation of the female nude has gradually faced the challenges as how it should be depicted and what meanings it could project. The late nineteenth century also saw the exhaustion of "representational realism" and the early twentieth-century avant-garde painting shifted towards "abstraction and aesthetic experimentation".¹⁰ Despite all these, the female nude, viewed and treated variedly, continues to appear in painting well into our own times.

In the ensuing Chapters 5 and 6, I attempt to provide an art historical analysis of Chinese landscape painting and European female-nude painting, leading to a discussion of the landscapes of Zhang Daqian (1899-1983) and female nudes of Pablo Picasso (1881-1973).

¹⁰Borrowing the terms from Wen C. Fong, "The Modern Chinese Debate", *op. cit.*, p. 294.

CHAPTER 5

Chinese Landscape Painting and Landscapes of Zhang Daqian

The man of *Zhi* finds pleasure in water; the man of
Ren finds pleasure in mountains.

Kong Zi [Confucius] (ca. 551-479 B.C.),
Lun Yu 6:21
[The Analects of Confucius, Ch. 6: Sec. 21]¹

¹In *Xinyi Si Shu Duben*, comp. & interpreted by Xie Bingying et al., op. cit., p. 129.

5.1 Landscape Painting

5.1.1 Southern Dynasties Period: The Beginning

Zong Bing (A.D. 375-443), towards the end of his life, is reported to have painted landscapes to be viewed in his room as a substitute for roaming in natural scenery. The following is extracted from *Hua Shanshui Xu* [The Introduction to Painting Landscape]:

I think nostalgically of Mount Lu and Mount Heng, [and] recall the gorges of Jingzhou. . . . [I] regret that [I] cannot materialise myself to stand over the waters of Shimen. Thus, [I have decided to indulge in] drawing forms [and] applying colours, [in] composing clouds [and] mountains. . . . Living a leisured life, [and having] put [my] mind in order, [I sometimes] clean a wine-cup, strum the *qin* [lute], [or] unscroll a painting [and] look at [it] alone. . . . [I] wander by myself in the solitarily wild nature. [There are] the mountain peaks [that] soar aloft, [and] the clouds and forests spread far away. . . . All these delights are absorbed into the mind. What more do I want? [I] just [aim] to enjoy [myself]; [and if I] attained enjoyment, what more can [I] ask?²

These statements, written in Song of Southern Dynasties period (A.D. 420-479), have been heralded by art historians as signalling the birth of landscape painting, although it is likely that there were attempts at landscape as a setting for figures before the Jin Dynasty (A.D. 266-420).³ It is thus evident that as early as the fifth century, Chinese painters had begun to look into the question of representing nature.⁴ Since then, landscape has been gradually establishing in its own right and has since proven a major force behind the development of ideas and theories of Chinese painting.

²Zong, *Hua Shanshui Xu*, in *Hualun Congkan*, ed. Yu Anlan, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 1; translation with reference to Lin Yutang, *The Chinese Theory of Art*, op. cit., pp. 31-32.

³Chiang Yee, *The Chinese Eye: An Interpretation of Chinese Painting*, preface by S. I. Hsiung (London: Methuen, 1935; 4th ed., 1960), p. 151.

⁴This development predated Western paintings of nature by approximately one thousand years.

5.1.2 Tang Dynasty: Chinese *Yin Yang*, Confucian *Li* and *Chan-ic Wunian* → *Gongbi Hua* [Labourer-Brush Painting] and *Xieyi Hua* [Write-Idea Painting]

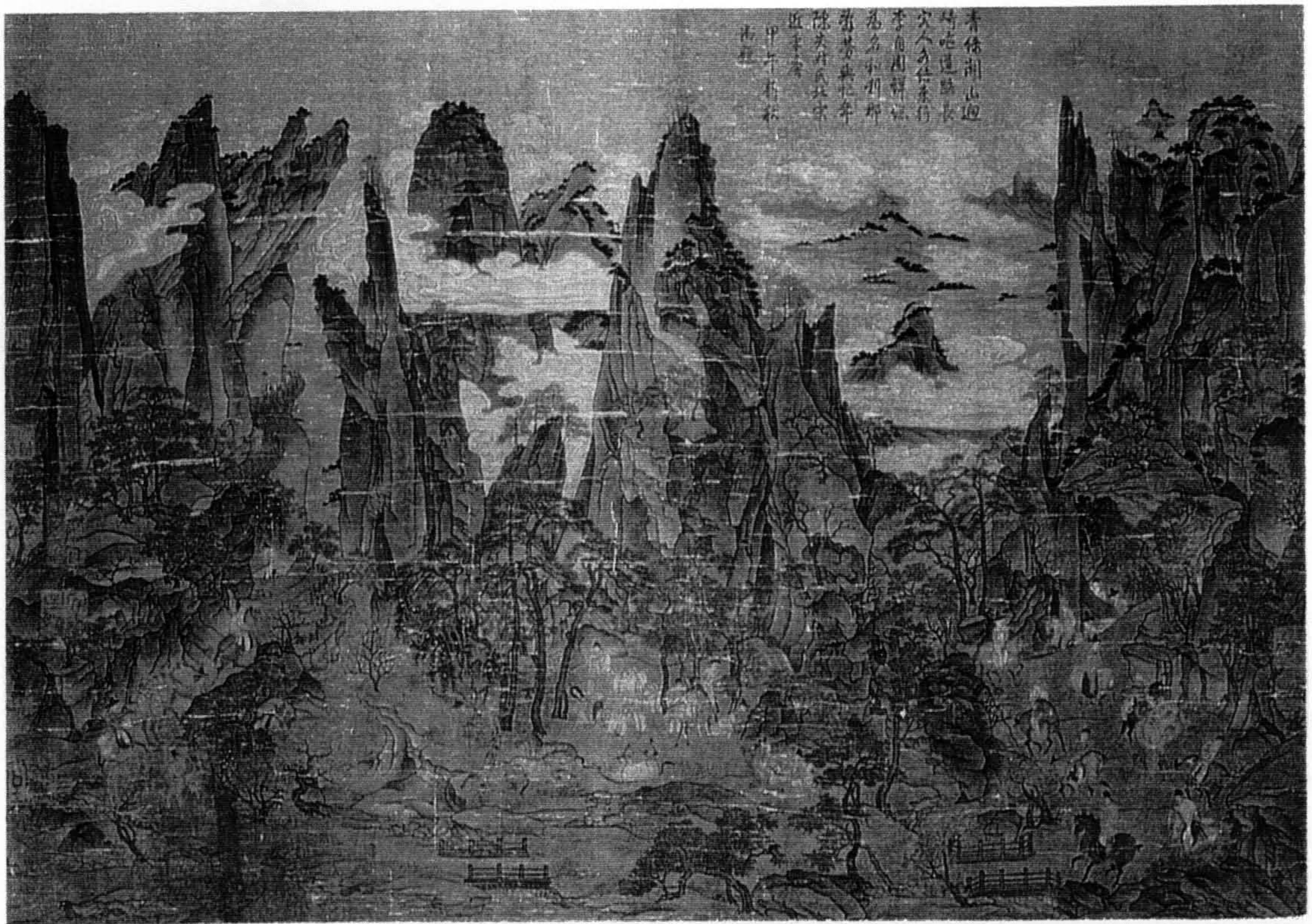
Landscape painting entered its flowering season during the Tang Dynasty (A.D. 618-907) when production of paper and silk as painting materials expanded. The development was further stimulated by *Chan*-ism that was also flourishing in the mid-Tang period, assimilating with the indigenous concepts of Taoism and Confucianism. Landscapes indeed underwent important changes during this time and according to Zhang Yanyuan (ca. A.D. 815-875), "The change in *shanshui* began with Wu, [and] was completed by *Er Li* [The Two Li's]."⁵ Here, Wu refers to Wu Daozi (ca. A.D. 685-758)—acclaimed by later generations as *Huasheng* [The Sage-Painter], and the Two Li's refers to Li Sixun (A.D. 653-718) and his son Li Zhaodao (fl. ca. A.D. 670-730).

Gongbi Li Sixun is attributed to be the founder of *gongbi hua*—Chinese painting done in the style of *gongbi*, characterised by fine and compact brushwork, and close attention to detail. Popularly known as *Da Xiao Li Jiangjun* [Senior and Junior Generals Li] during their time, Sixun and his son Zhaodao are also credited with the founding of the *qinglü* [blue-and-green] or *jinbi* [gold-and-green] decorative tradition of landscape painting, characterised by not only the precise and exceedingly fine and compact brushwork, and careful realism of *gongbi* technique, but also the use of bright mineral pigments (usually green in colour) for highlighting landscape forms that were sometimes emphasised in gold as well. An example of such painting is *Minghuang Xin Shu Tu* [Picture of Emperor Tang Xuanzong (A.D. 712-756)'s Journey to Shu (now Sichuan Province)] (Fig. 3), attributed to Li Zhaodao.⁶

⁵Zhang, *Lidai Minghua Ji*, bk. 1, chap. 5, quoted in Hu Heng et al., *Zhongguo de Yishu*, op. cit., p. 61.

⁶This painting is very similar to another by him, entitled *Cunshan Xinglü Tu* [Picture of the Journey to the Mountains in Spring] (95.5 X 55.3 cm, [Chinese ink &] colour on silk, hanging scroll, [Guoli] Gugong Bowuyuan [National Palace Museum], Taipei), as reproduced in Jiang Xun, *Xie gei Dajia de Zhongguo Meishu Shi* [History of Chinese Fine Arts Written for Everybody] (Beijing: Shenghuo Dushu Xinzhi Sanlian Shudian, 1993), p. 102.

Figure 3



Xieyi In great contrast to the richly coloured paintings of the Li's, Wu chose to paint landscapes in monochrome ink. He is known as the founder of *xieyi hua*—Chinese painting done in the style of *xieyi* (as opposed to *gongbi*), characterised by simplicity and spontaneity, that are also the hallmarks of Taoism and *Chan*-ism. To paint "by the belly, [and] not by the eyes",⁷ is the aim and it is from *Wunian* that *xieyi hua* acquires the emphasis on the importance of simplicity—demanding the elimination of colours and reducing content and form to their essentials rather than pursuing verisimilitude. Such emphasis of simplicity has also been long expressed in the Taoist concepts of 'Su [Plainness]' and 'Pu [Simplicity]', for Lao Zi (ca. 604-531 B.C.) had always advocated "to [externally] manifest *Su*, [and internally] embrace *Pu*".⁸

Li, Wunian and Yin Yang Zhang was right in stating that "[in] painting, there are two styles: *shu* [loose], *mi* [meticulous]".⁹ The former refers to the *xieyi* style of Wu; the latter, *gongbi* of the Generals Li. The relationship between the two styles can be compared to that between Confucianism and *Chan*-ism. While *gongbi* provides order and stability and so does the Confucian *Li*, *xieyi* proposes unrestrainedness and spontaneity and so does the *Chan*-ic *Wunian*. The two styles of painting (and the practice of Confucianism and *Chan*-ism) may also be loosely compared to the Principle of *Yin Yang*. In this case, *yang* represents a more academic and gradual approach of *gongbi*; *yin*, a freer and livelier style of brushwork of *xieyi*. Since the Chinese always believe in *yin yang* harmony, it is not surprising that a modern painter often works in both styles.

⁷Cited earlier in introduction to my Pt. I, Sec. B.

⁸Lao Zi, *Dao De Jing* 19, in *Xinyi Lao Zi Duben*, annotated & interpreted by Yu Peilin, op. cit., p. 44; translation with reference to the interpretation on p. 44.

⁹*Lidai Minghua Ji*, bk. 2, chap. 2, in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, ed. Yu Kun, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 37.

5.1.3 Tang Dynasty, Five Dynasties Era and Northern Song Dynasty: *Chan*-ism → Techniques of *Pomo* [Break-Ink] and *Po Mo* [Splash-Ink] → *Shuimo Hua* [Water-and-Ink Painting]

Wu's *xieyi* tradition was continued by Wang Wei (A.D. 701-61) with his invention of the technique of *pomo*, and further developed by Wang Qia (d. A.D. 804) with his *po mo*. *Shuimo hua* was finally established during the Five Dynasties era (A.D. 907-960) and the Northern Song Dynasty (A.D. 960-1226), but into two traditions—Li-Guo tradition in the North and Dong-Ju in the South.¹⁰ The former refers to Li Cheng (A.D. 919-967) and Guo Xi (1023-ca. 1085),¹¹ while the latter refers to Dong Yuan (fl. ca. A.D. 937-962) and his student Juran (fl. ca. A.D. 960-980). Whereas the Li-Guo tradition is generally related with the depiction of the harsh and arid northern landscape, Dong-Ju is associated with the temperate and lush southern landscape. A typical example of the latter is Juran's *Cengyan Congshu Tu* [Picture of Steep Mountains and Deep Forest] (Fig. 4).¹²

Pomo *Pomo*—literally means break-ink—is a technique by which ink is divided into many different tones using light and dark washes that are applied in layers, and allowed to spread out and permeate into one another. Although there is a feeling of reserve and restraint in the actual application, this style of *pomo* [broken-ink] calls for the vitality of a broader brushwork of graded ink tones that create an illusion of shades of colour without actually using any colour. The effect can be summarised by the popularly quoted phrase of '*mo fen wu se*', and the result is what Wang Yu (1714-48) later regarded as "*Yongmo Jiangcai*". With this technique of *pomo*, the mid-Tang period saw the birth of a new awareness of painting as a means of expressing the inner spirit of the individual painter—in line with the prevailing *Chan*-ic emphasis upon seeking one's own inner *Dao*—and the establishment of the so-called *shuimo hua* or *danse hua*.

¹⁰The division was accrued to the north and south of the Yangzi [Yangtze] River that historically is the dividing line between northern and southern China.

¹¹Together with Fan Kuan (ca. A.D. 960-1030), Li and Guo actually continued and developed further the Jing-Guan style of Jing Hao (ca. A.D. 870-930) and his student Guan Tong (fl. ca. A.D. 907-23).

¹²The luxuriant forest depicted in this painting is very different from the parched trees in Li-Guo tradition, as in Guo's *Zaocun Tu* [Picture of the Early Spring] (158.3 X 108.1 cm, Chinese ink on silk, hanging scroll, [1072], [Guoli] Gugong Bowuyuan, Taipei), as reproduced in *Xie gei Dajia de Zhongguo Meishu Shi*, op. cit., p. 137.



Po Mo More than the term *po mo* literally suggests, this style implies the use of rapid brush strokes ranging from delicate grace to bold vitality and the use of ink splashes from simple dots to massive blobs, to record the painter's sudden perception of an artistic conception. It was recorded that whenever Wang Qia wished to paint, he would splash ink over the silk, kick at it, rub it, sweep it and scrub it, then he would finally make mountains and rocks, clouds and water, according to the forms thus produced, transforming his seeming smears into genuine landscapes.¹³ Such speedy and instantaneous manner of creation, at moments of ecstasy, is indeed a manifestation of *Dunwu*.

5.1.4 Northern Song, Southern Song and Yuan Dynasties: Confucian *Dao* of *Junzi* and Way of Painter → *Wenren Hua* [Literati Painting]

The literary movement led by Ouyang Xiu (1007-72), developed to its peak during the Northern Song, had resulted in the inevitable combination of literature and painting. Eventually the *wenren hua* was established by Su Shi (1037-1101). This *wenren* style was incorporated into Wang Wei's tradition of *shuimo* landscape by Mi Fei (1051-1107) who originated '*Mi dian* [Mi dots]', the successful use of which is best seen in his son Youren (1074-1153)'s *Xiao Xiang Qiguan Tu* [Picture of the Wonderful View of the Place where the Rivers Xiao and Xiang Meet] (Fig. 5).¹⁴ After a brief interruption by the *yuanti* style of the Southern Song Court (1127-1279) painting academy,¹⁵ the *wenren shuimo* landscape—increasingly an amalgam of poetry, calligraphy and painting—has since become popular, through the works of Zhao Mengfu (1254-1322) and *Yuan Si Jia* [The Four Master Painters of the Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368)].¹⁶

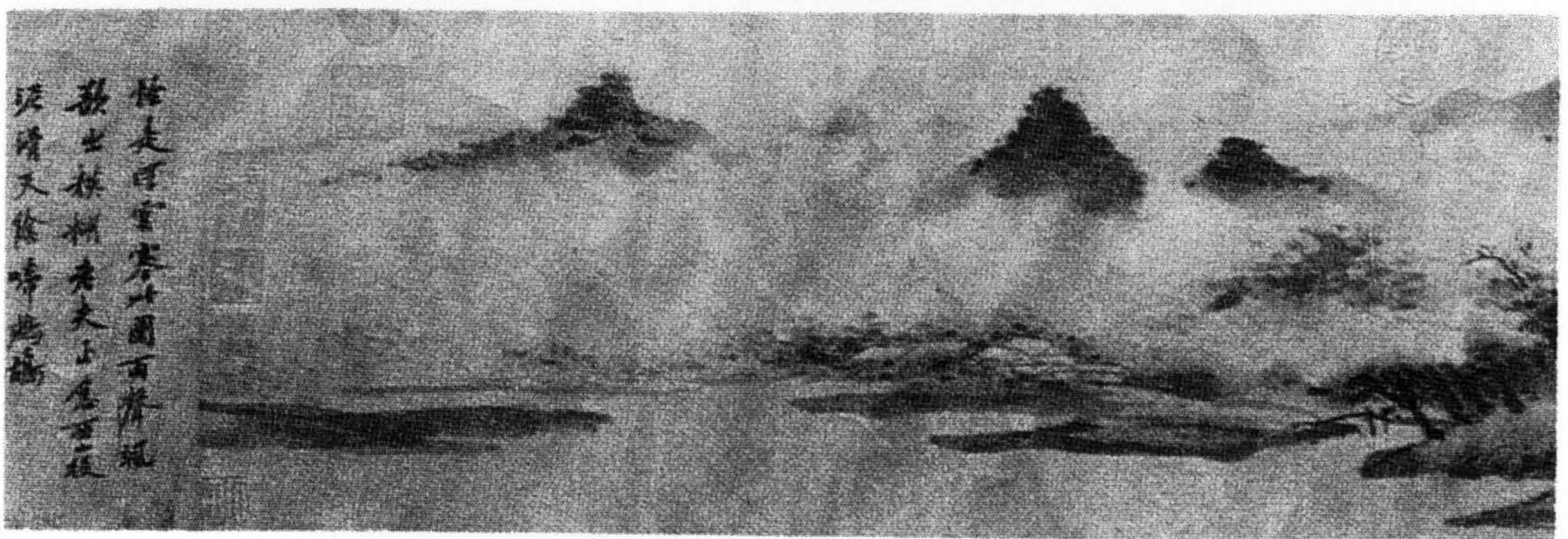
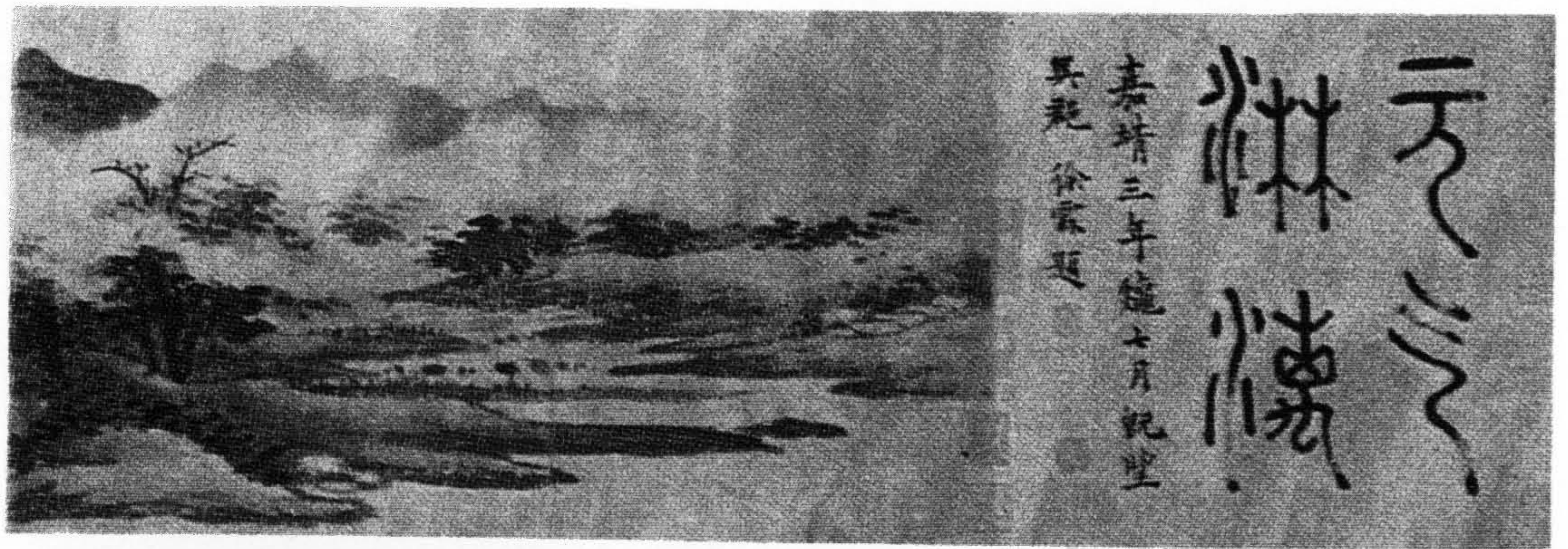
¹³Based on what is quoted in Susan Bush & Hsio-yen Shih, eds. & comps., Early Chinese Texts on Painting, op. cit., pp. 65-66.

¹⁴In the painting, crowded clusters of dots not just represent the leaves of trees and the vegetation covering mountains, but build up the form of mountains as well, creating an illusion of three-dimensionality. Paintings such as this has led Lin—in The Chinese Theory of Art, op. cit., p. 12—to use the words "Impressionism" or "Impressionist" painting to describe Wang Wei's School. The use of such terms injects unnecessary misconception and confusion.

¹⁵This academic tradition is best represented by *Yuan Pai* [The Academic School] of Ma Yuan (fl. ca. 1190-1225) and Xia Gui (ca. 1180-1230).

¹⁶*Yuan Si Jia* refer to the four landscape innovators Huang Gongwang (1269-1354), Wu Zhen (1280-1354), Ni Zan (1306-74) and Wang Meng (ca. 1308-85).

Figure 5



Wenren-painter Like Kong Zi (ca. 551-479 B.C.) who advised to "set the will on *Dao* [of *junzi*], . . . [and] find recreation in *Yi* [the Six Artistries],"¹⁷ Su was also in the opinion that "[one should] have *Dao* [and] have *Yi*".¹⁸ Thus, a *wenren*-painter is not only an accomplished painter but has "to be a gentleman and scholar, a philosopher, a poet, . . . and sometimes also a calligrapher".¹⁹ *Wenren hua* is thus not to be seen as merely "widespread use of calligraphic techniques", which is the narrow-minded view of Josef Hejzlar.²⁰ Such Confucian outlook of the *wenren*-painter emphasises not only the obligation to cultivate oneself, but also the cultivation of Meng Zi (ca. 372-289 B.C.)'s "extremely great, [and] extremely strong" '*Haoran zi Qi*', for such *Qi*—once cultivated—"fills the space between heaven and earth", and thus sustains man's life (as a *wenren*-painter) and his activities (such as painting).²¹

5.1.5 Ming Dynasty: *Chan*-ic *Nan Neng Bei Xiu* → *Nan Bei Zong Shanshui Hua* [The Northern and Southern Schools of Landscape Painting]

The tradition of *wenren shuimo* landscape continued into the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) and was brought to its climax by *Wumen Pai* [The Wu School of Painting], founded by Shen Zhou (1427-1509).²² Accomplished in both poetry and calligraphy, he is also known as one of *Ming Si Jia* [The Four Master Painters of the Ming Dynasty].²³ It was towards the end of the era of *Ming Si Jia* that landscape painting began to be divided into two schools—*Nan Bei Zong Shanshui Hua*—first put forward by the *wenren*-painter Dong Qichang (1555-1637), the backbone of late

¹⁷*Lun Yu* 7:6, in *Xinyi Si Shu Duben*, op. cit., p 135. The first part is my interpretation while the second part, as mentioned in my Chap. 1.1.3, is that of Xie Bingying et al.

¹⁸Quoted in Tao Mingjun, ed., *Zhongguo Hualun Cidian*, op. cit., s.v. "*Dao* [*Tao*]", p. 1.

¹⁹Shan-Hong Shen, "The Influence of Tao in the Development of Chinese Painting" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1978), p. 328.

²⁰Josef Hejzlar, *Chinese Watercolours*, op. cit., p. 13.

²¹Both quotations cited earlier in my Chap. 2.2.2.

²²Shen came from Suzhou that was known as *Wumen* or the *Wu* district at the time, and hence the name of the school of painting.

²³The other three being Shen's student Wen Zhengming (1470-1559), and friends Tang Yin (1470-1523) and Qiu Ying (ca. 1494-1552).

Wumen Pai (or *Wu Pai*, as it was known later). Known for his theories on art and his discernment in art connoisseurship, Dong was also highly regarded for his calligraphy and painting. In his painting, he emphasised clarity of composition and fine brush stroke, as can be seen in his *Jianxi Jiuyou* [*Reminiscence of Jian River*] (Fig. 6).

Nan Bei Zong Shanshui Hua The division of *Chan*-ism into *Nan Neng Bei Xiu*—Huineng (A.D. 638-713)'s Southern School and Shenxiu (ca. A.D. 605-706)'s Northern School—was taken as the model for the division of *shanshui hua* into *Nan Bei Zong*.²⁴ Dong, who was more or less imbued with *Chan*-ism that was still the prevailing source of spiritual inspiration during his time, inevitably transferred some of the characteristics of *Nan Neng Bei Xiu* to *Nan Bei Zong*. He wrote:

In *Chan*-ism, there are two schools: *Nan* [and] *Bei*, [that] first separated in the Tang times. The two schools of *Nan* [and] *Bei* in painting were also distinguished in the Tang times. But their men [representatives] were not [necessarily from] the South or the North. *Bei Zong* originated from Li Sixun, father [and] son, . . . down to Ma [Yuan (fl. ca. 1190-1225)], Xia [Gui (ca. 1180-1230)] and others. *Nan Zong* began with Wang Mojie [Wang Wei] His followers were Zhang Zao [fl. ca. A.D. 782], Jing [Hao (ca. A.D. 870-930)], Guan [Tong (fl. ca. A.D. 907-23)], Dong [Yuan], Ju[ran], . . . [and] Mi family—father [and] son, down to the Four Great Masters of Yuan [*Yuan Si Jia*]. It was like [in *Chan*-ism, where *Nan Zong*] after [the time of] the Sixth Patriarch . . . [continued to] flourish, while *Bei Zong* faded out.²⁵

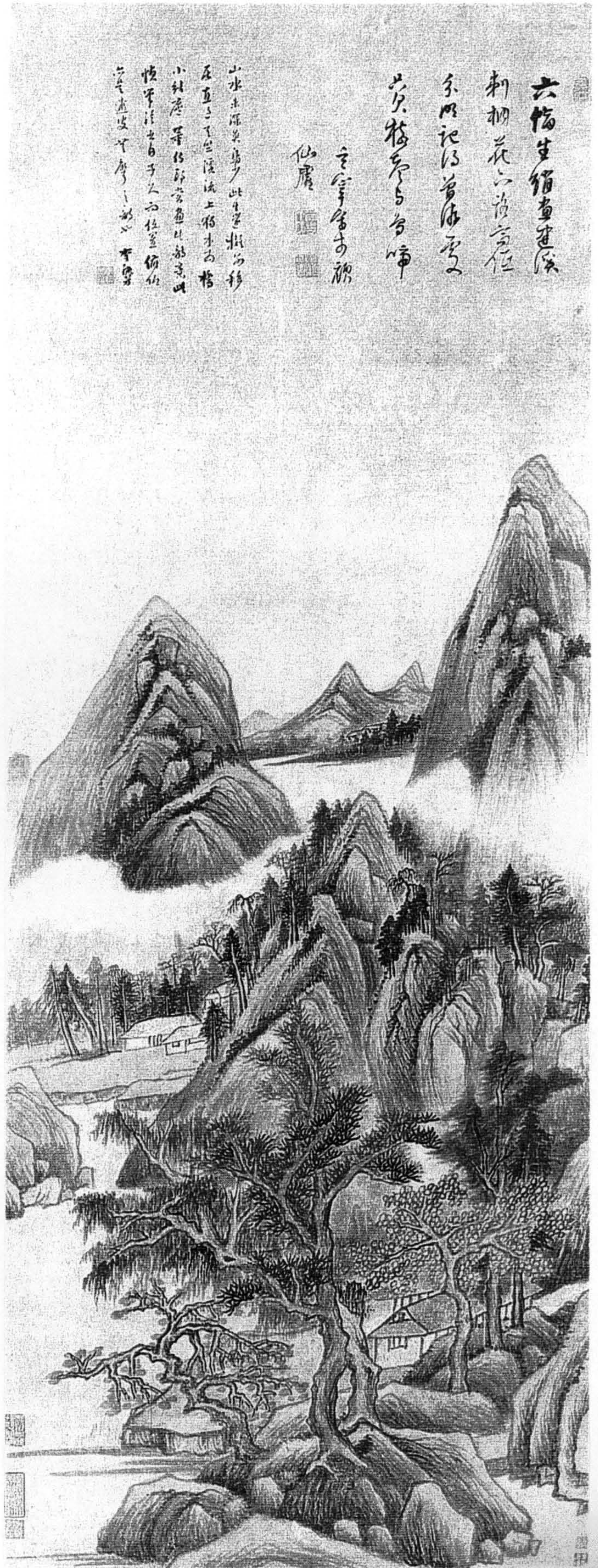
It is clear from the above theoretical pronouncement that Dong did not divide landscape painting into the Northern and Southern Schools on geographical basis, as the terms would seem to misleadingly suggest.²⁶ It was more of an effort to point out the two different stylistic trends that had long existed in Chinese painting history.²⁷ Such division, however, did not just come about simply as what Fritz Van Briessen described:

²⁴This is not to be confused with the northern Li-Guo and the southern Dong-Ju landscape traditions mentioned earlier.

²⁵Dong, *Hua Zhi*, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 75. For a brief biography of Zhang Zao, see my App. 3.2.2.

²⁶In the case of *Chan*-ism, however, the division was being seen as originally geographical, as recorded in Huineng, *Liuzu Tanjing* 39, cited earlier in my Chap. 2.3.3.

²⁷Accordingly, the *Chan*-ic concept of *Dunwu* was extended to apply to the 'sudden' and free, intuitive approach to painting of the Southern School, and *Jianwu* to the 'gradual' and more formalistic intellectual approach of the Northern School.



. . . he [Dong Qichang] searched about in the history of Chinese art to find painters whom he considered worthy of the accolade of belonging to the Southern school Having thus devised the term Southern for painters of whom he approved, Tung [Dong] classified all the others as Northern.²⁸

5.1.6 Qing Dynasty: *Chuanmo Yixie* (Xie He's *Fa* 6) → *Shixue She Duan* (Liu Daochun's Essential 6) → *Pise Qiu Cai* (Liu's Merit 2)

Chuanmo Yixie → *Shixue She Duan* The Southern School of Landscape Painting had come to represent the mainstream of landscape painting well into the Qing Dynasty (1644-1912). However, during this period, landscape painting turned into a widespread practice of "*Chuanmo Yixie*"; most painters were interested in the mannerisms of the masters, especially those of *Yuan Si Jia* and *Ming Si Jia*. Nevertheless, the so-called *Si Wang* [The Four Wang's of the Qing Dynasty] managed to make interpretations of the Yuan and Ming masters, in the spirit of Liu's *Shixue She Duan*.²⁹ With their personal brushwork that formed a style of landscape painting of the time,³⁰ they were admired by many of their contemporaries.

Pise Qiu Cai The important development of painting in the Qing Dynasty was, however, the rise of a group of four Chinese painting artists known collectively as *Yimin Huajia* [The Survivor-Painters], for they were all born during the Ming Dynasty and died in the Qing.³¹ Remaining faithful to the Ming, all of them became monks around the dynastic transition period. They are later popularly known as *Qingchu Si Gaoseng* [The Four Eminent Monks of Early Qing Dynasty].³² Usually

²⁸Van Briessen, *The Way of the Brush*, op. cit., p. 116.

²⁹*Si Wang* refer to Wang Shimin (1592-1680), Wang Jian (1598-1677), Wang Hui (1632-1717) and Wang Yuanqi (ca. 1642-1715). Together with Wu Li (1632-1718) and Yun Shouping (1633-90), they are collectively known as *Qing Liu Jia* [The Six Master Painters of the Qing Dynasty].

³⁰Wang Hui, for instance, succeeded in combining the colour of the Northern School and the ink of the Southern, as in his *Landscape* (62.2 X 39.7 cm, [Chinese] ink & colour on paper, hanging scroll, 1680, Academy of Arts, Honolulu), as reproduced in Michael Sullivan, *Chinese and Japanese Art*, op. cit., p. 194.

³¹*Zhongguo Hualun Cidian*, op. cit., s.v. "*Qingchu Si Seng* [The Four Monks of Early Qing Dynasty]", p. 244.

³²*Qingchu Si Gaoseng* refer to Hongren (1610-64), Shixi (1612-ca. 1692), Bada Shanren (1624-1705) and his nephew Shitao (1642-ca. 1718).

referred to as the "Individualists" in Western literature,³³ they reflected their eccentric characters through their paintings, in the spirit of Liu's *Pise Qiu Cai*. Among them, Shitao (1642-ca. 1718)—who spent his last years in Yangzhou—most evidently showed a successful effort towards independence from the past masters, as shown by his *Shanshui* [Landscape] (Fig. 7).³⁴ His work exerted a great influence on the Yangzhou painters who later formed a school represented by *Yangzhou Ba Guai* [The Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou].³⁵

5.1.7 Twentieth Century: *Chuantong* [Tradition] → *Chuangxin* [Innovation]

Chuantong *Yangzhou Ba Guai* formed a bridge between the great founders of *xieyi* painting and *Haishang Huapai* [The Shanghai School of Painting, the name of which later abbreviated to *Hai Pai*].³⁶ Among the founders, Wu Changshuo (1844-1927) developed another parallel school called *Jinshi Pai* [The Bronze-and-Stone School, literally, or The School of Calligraphic Painting] that extended the antiquarian epigrapher's taste in calligraphy into painting, (thus) emphasising the calligraphic quality of brushwork in painting. Both *Hai Pai* and *Jinshi Pai* live on, with their ideas gradually spreading all over the country. Their *xieyi* style and *wenren* manner of painting soon assume nation-wide importance and represent the so-called stream of *chuantong* in the development of twentieth-century painting.³⁷ Followers of *chuantong* include Huang Binhong (1864-1955), Qi Baishi (1864-1957), Li Ruiqing (1867-1920) and Pan Tianshou (1898-1971).

³³*Chinese Watercolours*, op. cit., p. 19.

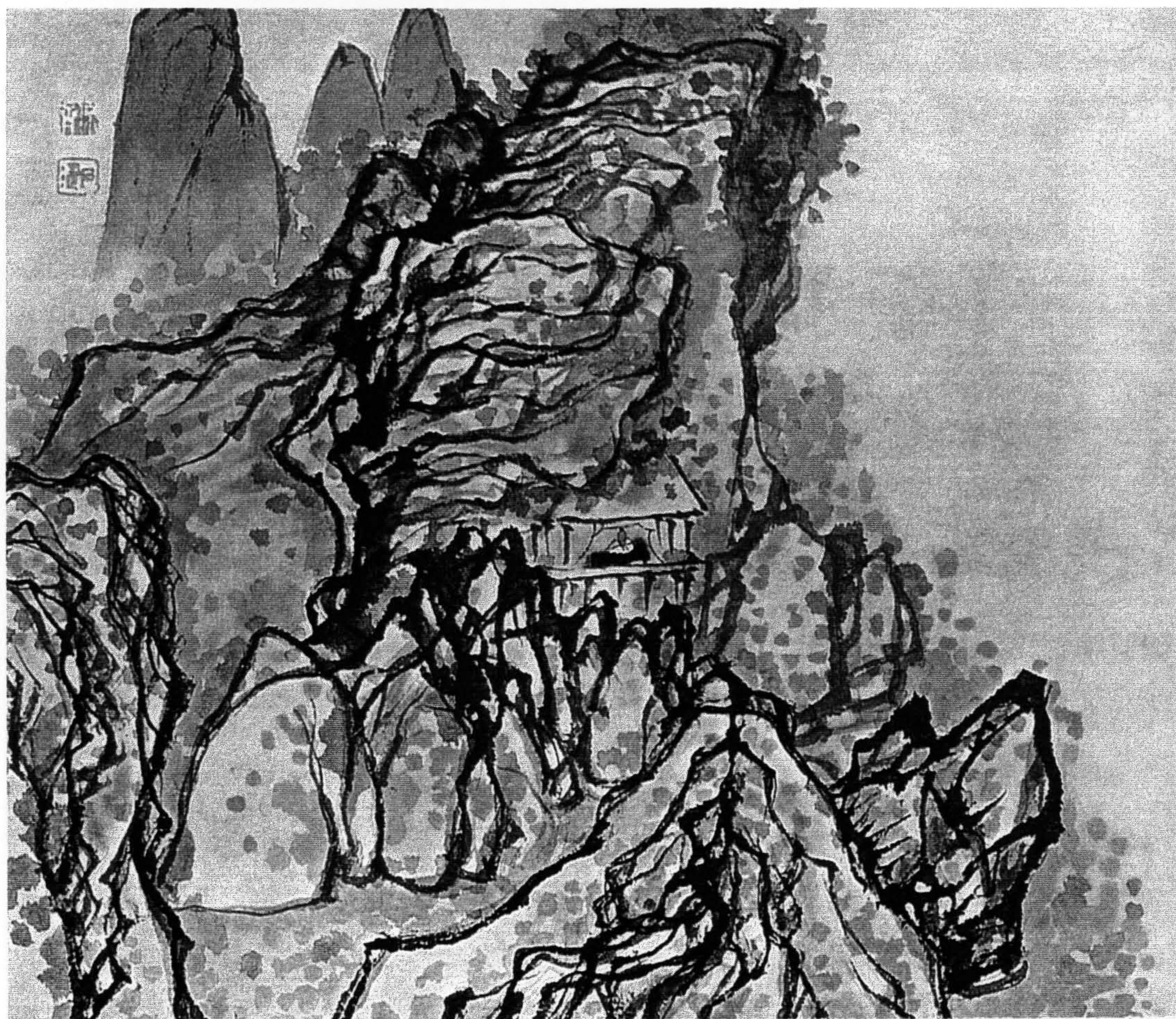
³⁴In the painting, Shitao seemed not very keen in depicting the elegance and grandeur of rocks and mountains in the way the past masters had done, but attempted to capture awesomely the very natural forces that shape and form the rocks and mountains, as represented by the multiple *xieyi* outlines that contour them. Furthermore, his novel use of colours in dots rather than in washes creates more excitement than just merely serves the purpose of *Sui Lei Fu Cai* (light brown for the mountains and light blue for the vegetation covering mountains), or to create an illusion of three-dimensionality as in the case of the Mi dots in ink.

³⁵There were, of course, more than just eight painters in this school but for the sake of simplicity and popularity, it took the name of the eight most distinguished representatives—Li Shan (1686-1762), Wang Shishen (1686-ca. 1762), Jin Nong (1687-1763), Huang Shen (1687-ca. 1770), Gao Xiang (1688-1753), Zheng Banqiao (1693-1765), Li Fangying (1695-1755) and Luo Ping (1733-99).

³⁶Xugu (1823-96), Zhao Ziqian (1829-84), Ren Bonian (1840-95) and Wu Changshuo (1844-1927) are considered as among the founders.

³⁷*Chuantong* represents one of the two major artistic trends; the other being *chuangxin* [innovation].

Figure 7



Huang is rightly considered the most important Chinese landscape painter of the twentieth century and one of the greatest *chuantong* masters. Like Kong Zi who "reviewed the old so as to realise [what is] new",³⁸ Huang "insisted on the creative transformation of the past tradition which [to him] would in turn lead to the revitalization of the true spirit of Chinese painting."³⁹ As in his *Xieyi Shanshui* [Landscape in *Xieyi* Style] (Fig. 8), he relied fully on his intuitive use of vigorous and varied brush strokes and vivid ink wash, as a completely satisfying traditional mode of expression, and yet created a sense of freshness and uniqueness. Paintings such as this have always been described as "innovation within tradition".⁴⁰ There is absolutely no hint of infusion of Western techniques in his work, though Western influence has become increasingly prevailing, especially during his time.

Chuangxin While the *chuantong* painters feel much pride in their long and inspiring tradition and strive for its preservation and continuation into the modern era, there are those who consciously resent the hefty burden of their past heritage and sought opportunities of artistic freedom and creativity through *chuangxin*. Ideas from *Weixin Zhuyi* or *Gailiang Zhuyi* [Reformism],⁴¹ that advocated the adoption of (scientific and therefore modern) Western Realism in painting, have created a nationwide drive to attempt to learn from the West in order to achieve parity with it. Many painters such as Gao Jianfu (1879-1951), Xu Beihong (1895-1953) and Lin Fengmian (1900-1991) went abroad to study and returned just in time for the clash between painters of the two streams of *chuantong* and *chuangxin*.

³⁸Cited earlier in my Chap. 4.2.4.

³⁹Szeto Yuen-kit, "The Paintings of Huang Binhong: An Introduction", leaflet accompanying the exhibition *Homage to Tradition: Huang Binhong*, at Xubaizhai Gallery of Chinese Painting & Calligraphy, Hong Kong Museum of Art, Hong Kong, from 27 October 1995 to 17 March 1996.

⁴⁰This phrase is taken from the title of the book by Jason Kuo, *Innovation within Tradition: The Painting of Huang Pin-hung* (Williamstown: Hanart Gallery, in association with Williams College Museum of Art, 1989).

⁴¹Reformism is a political movement started in the late nineteenth century and reached its climax during the May Fourth Movement of 1919, led by Kang Youwei (1858-1927) and his followers, Liang Qichao (1873-1929) and Chen Duxiu (1879-1942).



Gao Jianfu went to Japan in 1906 and was later followed by Qifeng (1889-1933), his brother, and Chen Shuren (1884-1948). Having studied from the Western-influenced Japanese artists, they returned to embark on *Yishu Gexin Huodong* [Reformist Movement in the Arts] and promoted what they called *xin guohua* [new Chinese Painting].⁴² They attempted to blend the Chinese with the Western, and the ancient with the present.⁴³ As a result, people in contemporary dress, modern buildings, even cars and aeroplanes, and landscapes in romantic settings, such as sunsets and moonlight scenes, were introduced and depicted quite realistically in their paintings.⁴⁴ Such paintings, while stirring up a *chuangxin* movement in early twentieth-century painting scene, brought about severe criticism. On this, Michael Sullivan made the following correct observaton:

The weakness of his [Gao Jianfu's] art, and that of his followers, was that it was too conscious and deliberate a synthesis. It came from the head, not from the heart. Besides, its exponents had learned their Western techniques at second hand from the Japanese. When we consider what was happening elsewhere in the world, it was not modern art at all⁴⁵

For these reasons, they did not gather as many followers as the comparatively more traditional *Hai Pai*.

Xu first studied in Japan in 1917, and two years later went to Paris, remaining in Europe for eight years. Upon his return, he continued to paint in oil for many years. Concurrently, he began to experiment with traditional Chinese painting. He soon became the most influential painter and leading art educator in the stream of *chuangxin*, advocating that, "As far as the ancient methods are concerned, maintain the good ones, revive the interrupted ones, improve those that are not good, strengthen the weak ones, and assimilate appropriate elements from Western painting."⁴⁶

⁴²The Gao brothers and Chen are collectively known as *Lingnan San Jie* [The Tree Outstanding Painters of Lingnan]. They founded a school that has come to be known as *Lingnan Huapai* [The Lingnan School of Painting, or The Canton School of Painting, as known in Europe].

⁴³Feng Boheng, "Gao Jianfu yi Lingnan Huapai" [Gao Jianfu and the Lingnan School], *Meishu Yanjiu* [Fine Art Research], no. 4 (1979), pp. 73-80.

⁴⁴An example is Gao Jianfu's aeroplanes in *Flying in the Rain* (46 X 35.5 cm, [Chinese] ink & colour on paper, [hanging scroll], 1932, Art Gallery, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong), as reproduced in Mayching Kao, ed., *Twentieth-Century Chinese Painting*, with contribution by James Cahill et al. (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1988), fig. 1.3.

⁴⁵Sullivan, "Art and Reality in Twentieth-century Chinese Painting", in *Twentieth-Century Chinese Painting*, op. cit., pp. 5-7.

⁴⁶Xu Beihong, "Zhongguo Hua Gailiang Lun" [Discussion on the Reform of Chinese Painting], as translated by Mayching Kao in "The Quest for New Art", in *Twentieth-Century Chinese Painting*, op. cit., pp. 136-37.

Together with Liu Haisu (1896-1994), they contributed to the establishment of a so-called modern art education system in China based on Western models—one of which is to stress that Western drawing techniques should form the basis for all fine art study, including Chinese painting. The word 'modern' in China was then seen to be equivalent to 'Westernisation'.

Lin went to France in 1918 and remained there for seven years. For many years after his return, he was inspired by the Impressionist and the Post-Impressionist paintings and adapted the European techniques of painting to traditional Chinese painting, so much so that his Chinese paintings appear to be like oils, in terms of expressive colours applied with impasto.⁴⁷ Unlike the latter, however, he worked rapidly, in a manner comparative to that of *xieyi* style; the floor of his studio usually piled inches high with sketches and paintings in a short time. His paintings are filled with an air of natural and spontaneous synthesis that is not present in those of Gao Jianfu or Xu. Such works have indeed inspired many young painters, some of whom have achieved their individual creative expression in the synthesis of the East and the West. The most outstanding among them is his student Wu Guanzhong (b. 1919).

Wu also went to France, in 1947. After his return, he has soon become one of the most important *chuangxin* painters. He has successfully incorporated abstract concepts of European painting into an indisputably Chinese format, as seen, for instance, in his *Shan Gao Shui Chang* [*Soaring Mountains and Endless River*] (Fig. 9).⁴⁸ It is Wu who discovered that the reconciliation of the East and the West would have to take place, if it were to take place at all, not just a matter of techniques and not just in the head (as in the case of Gao Jianfu), but in the heart of the painter, with vision and feeling. As Sullivan put it, "It was a question not of a conscious blending of styles but of what the artist felt about the world around him—and, even more, of what he felt himself to be."⁴⁹ It is no wonder that Wu said to himself, quite immediately after his training in Paris, "So I had to go home."⁵⁰

⁴⁷An example of such of his paintings is *Qiuse* [*Autumn Landscape*] (67.5 X 68 cm, [Chinese] ink & colour on paper, [mounted for framing, ca. 1980], Hong Kong Museum of Art, Hong Kong), as reproduced in *Twentieth Century Chinese Painting: Tradition and Innovation* [exhibition catalogue] (Hong Kong: Urban Council of Hong Kong, 1995), catalogue no. 58.

⁴⁸In the painting, his lines and dots—figurative and at the same time abstract—are as free and spontaneous as those done in the traditional *xieyi* style and yet they are very unorthodox.

⁴⁹Sullivan, *Symbols of Eternity*, op. cit., p. 171.

⁵⁰Wu Guanzhong, "Cong Dongfang dao Xifang you Hui dao Dongfang" [From the East to the West and Back to the East], *Meishu Jia* [Artist], no. 57 (August 1987), p. 5.

Figure 9



Chuantong versus Chuangxin In 1949 the People's Republic of China was established under the Communist rule of Mao Zedong (1893-1976). Some years before that, the basis of the philosophy behind the artistic activity had been his talks at the Yan'an Forum on Art and Literature held in May 1942.⁵¹ He proclaimed, among other things, that art and literature are for the masses when he said that "our art and literature are primarily intended for the workers, peasants and soldiers", for these are the people that form the majority of the Chinese nation, and he continued, "We must popularize what is needed and can be readily accepted by the workers, peasants and soldiers themselves."⁵² Subsequently, the aesthetic qualities of the traditional mode of painting became diluted with characteristic folk elements of bright colours and naive composition.

Traditional Chinese painting was also modified to suit the new political circumstances. As Mao put it:

In the world today all culture, all art and literature belong to definite classes and follow definite political lines. There is in fact no such thing as art for art's sake, art which stands above classes or art which runs parallel to or remains independent of politics. . . . What we demand is unity of politics and art, of content and form, and of the revolutionary political content and the highest possible degree of perfection in artistic form.⁵³

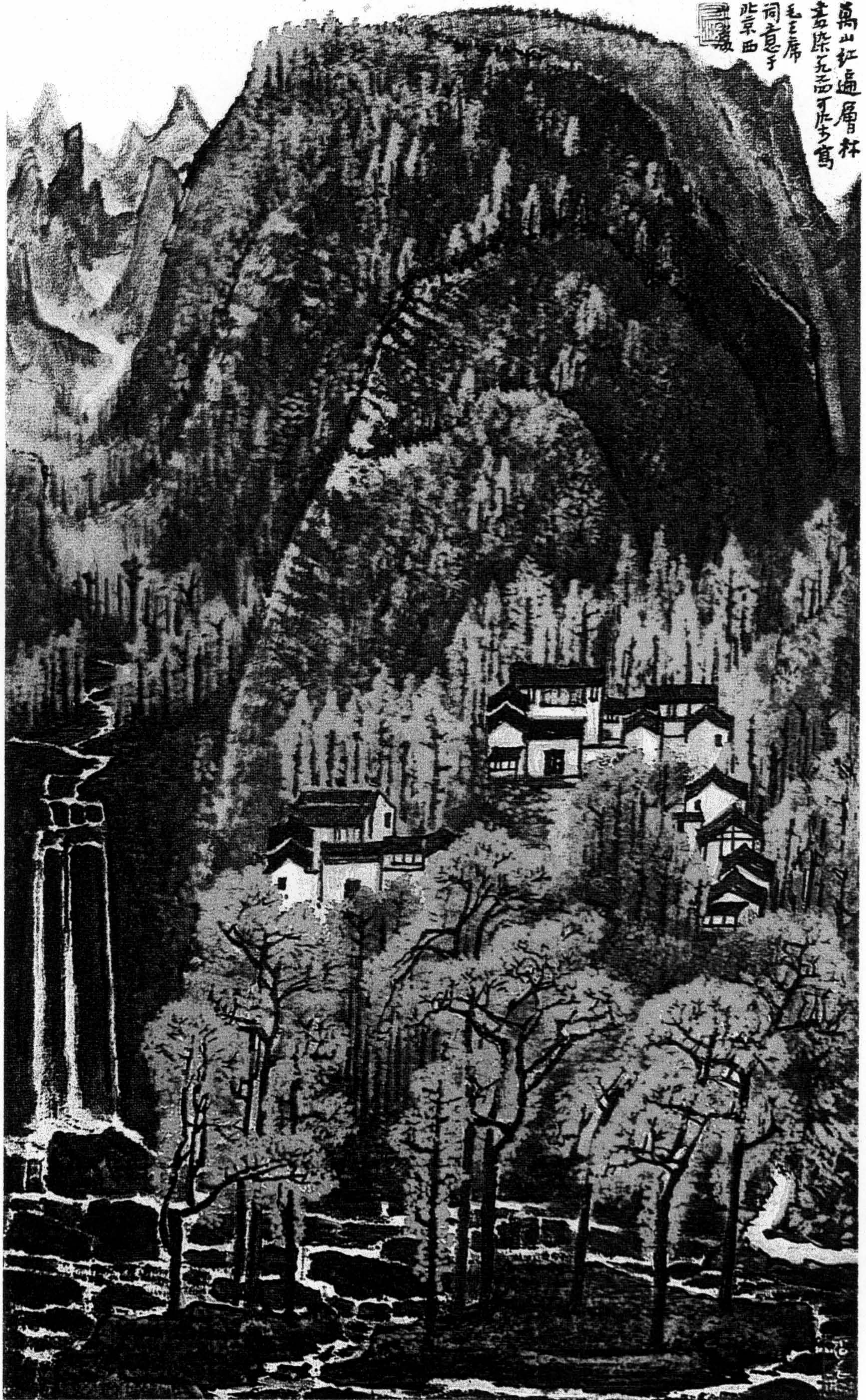
As such, the content of painting had been particularly utilised as political propaganda to glorify the success of Communism in China. Landscape painting began to incorporate political themes, such as the 'red landscapes' of Qian Songyan (1898-1985), Li Keran (1907-89), Guan Shanyue (b. 1912) and Shi Lu (1919-82). The colour red—that was used here to symbolise the Communist Party—was rarely if not never used in *chuantong* Chinese landscape painting. Nevertheless, these 'red landscapes', such as Li's Ten Thousand Crimson Hills (Fig. 10), are being viewed as a form of *chuangxin*. Li has in fact been regarded as "the reformer of Chinese landscape painting".⁵⁴

⁵¹The document of the forum has been the subject of many reviews and discussions, but so far as painting is concerned it has been comprehensively and most adequately covered by Arnold Chang in Painting in the People's Republic of China: The Politics of Style, Westview Special Studies on China and East Asia (Boulder, Westview Press, 1980), where Chang explored the interaction between policy makers and artists in contemporary China through an in-depth examination of the development of Chinese painting from 1949 to 1979.

⁵²Mao Tse-tung, "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Art and Literature", in Mao Tse-tung on Art and Literature, trans. People's Literature Publishing House (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1960, p. 94.

⁵³*Ibid.*, pp. 104 & 110.

⁵⁴Zhang Ding, "*Shanshui Hua de Gexinjia: Li Keran*" [Li Keran: The Reformer of Chinese Landscape Painting], as translated by Qingli Wan in "Li Keran (1907-1989) and Twentieth-Century Chinese Painting" (Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 1991), p. 3.



萬山紅遍層林
盡染五岳可作多寫
毛主席
詞意
北京西
[Seal]

During the period of Communist revolution, other landscape painters who rose to fame in China include He Tianjian (1891-1977), Fu Baoshi (1904-65), Lu Yanshao (1909-93) and his student Song Wenzhi (b. 1919). While the struggle between the streams of *chuantong* and *chuangxin* rages on,⁵⁵ there are, however, many already-established painters who chose to leave the Chinese mainland. Some settled in Taiwan or Hong Kong, others travelled further to Europe, America or Canada. Zhang Daqian (1899-1983) is one of them.

⁵⁵Chinese traditionalism never dies out because nothing ever dies out in China. To the Chinese, everything is great since everything partakes of the mystery of *Dao*, and *Dao* is great. According to *Dao De Jing* 25, in *Xinyi Lao Zi Duben*, op. cit., p. 51:

Great means continuing and passing on; passing on, it goes far and becomes remote; having become remote, it returns.

5.2 Landscapes of Zhang

5.2.1 "Citizen of the World"

Born in Neijiang County in the remote southwestern province of Sichuan, Zhang Daqian left his native China in 1949, not long after he had established himself as an equal to Qi Baishi. (They are collectively referred to as *Nan Zhang Bei Qi* [In the South, Zhang; in the North, Qi].) Zhang first brought along one of his children Xinpei and his fourth wife Xu Wenbo (b. 1927), whom he married in 1947, to Hong Kong. After a brief residence there, they subsequently lived in India (Ajanta and Darjeeling during 1950-51), Argentina (Godoy Cruz near Mendoza during 1952-53), Brazil (Mogi near São Paulo during 1954-68) and California (Carmel during 1969-70 and Pebble Beach during 1971-75). Zhang and his family finally settled in Taiwan and remained there till his death. Not just an *émigré* artist, Zhang is indeed a "citizen of the world".⁵⁶

It is during this period of voluntary 'exile' that Zhang made a uniquely Chinese contribution to the international movement in modern painting. In 1958, he was credited as "one of the greatest painters in the world"⁵⁷ and awarded Gold Medal by the International Council of Fine Arts in New York⁵⁸—an honour never before accorded to a Chinese artist abroad. Popularly known as "the Picasso of China"⁵⁹ he produced more than thirty thousand paintings—mainly original works, as well as some in the style of past masters, copies of earlier paintings, and forgeries. However, it is based on the diversity and quality of his works rather than the prodigious output that Zhang is acclaimed as a "lion among painters".⁶⁰ He is a great painter, a master calligrapher, an expert seal carver, an accomplished poet and a man of letters in his own right—indeed a Confucian *junzi*; he is also a landscape designer, an art

⁵⁶Shen C. Y. Fu, *Challenging the Past*, op. cit., p. 69.

⁵⁷Shan Guolin, "On Zhang Daqian's Landscape Paintings", *Zhang Daqian Shanshui Hua Teji*, op. cit., p. E18.

⁵⁸Mayching Kao, ed., *The Mei Yun Tang Collection of Paintings by Chang Dai-chien*, op. cit., p. 34.

⁵⁹Gao Lingmei, ed., *Zhang Daqian Hua* [Chinese Painting by Chang Da-chien], *Hua Hao Guohua* [Paint Well in Chinese Painting], no. 12 (Taipei: Art Book, 1988), p. 12.

⁶⁰*Challenging the Past*, op. cit., p. 15.

connoisseur, a gourmet and a chef of fine cuisine. It is no wonder that Xu Beihong praised him as "the first person [great artist] in five hundred years".⁶¹

Zhang is indeed worth the credit of being applauded by art historians as "surely one of the most versatile, prolific, best-trained, and well-travelled artists in the history of Chinese painting".⁶²

5.2.2 Zhang and Shitao

Shenhui Although Zhang was born more than two and a half centuries after Shitao, there seems no distance between them, from the viewpoint of Chinese art history. Fu Shen, an authority on Zhang and his art, wrote:

[Among] those people who study the calligraphy and painting of Shitao, if [one] didn't study Zhang Daqian's works as well, then [he] couldn't become a real expert in Shitao. Conversely, if [one] didn't inquire into the effect of Shitao on Zhang Daqian's lifelong artistic development, then [he] could never really understand Zhang Daqian.⁶³

Indeed, it is difficult to tell apart a painting by Shitao and a forgery by Zhang, for Zhang is such a well-known and the finest forger of Shitao. Zhang, however, enjoyed that reputation. Not just copying Shitao's paintings in the literally sense of Xie He (fl. ca. A.D. 500-535)'s *Chuanmo Yixie*, he could imitate his style so well that his creation had fooled many of his friends and the most authoritative art connoisseurs. Some of his own paintings have even been sold as genuine Shitao's work.⁶⁴

⁶¹Xu Beihong, "Wubai Nian lai Diyi Ren" [The First Person in Five Hundred Years], in *Zhang Daqian Shengping he Yishu* [The Life and Art of Zhang Daqian], ed. Lü Changfu (Beijing: Zhongguo Wenshi Chubanshe, 1988), pp. 1-2.

⁶²*Challenging the Past*, op. cit., p. 15.

⁶³Fu Shen, "Daqian yu Shitao" [Daqian and Shitao], in *Zhang Daqian Jinian Wenji* [Commemorative Writings on Zhang Daqian], ed. Ba Dong & Huang Chunxiu (Taipei: Guoli Lishi Bowuguan, [1988]), p. 99.

⁶⁴Huang Miaozi, "Zhang Daqian's Journey in Art", *Zhang Daqian Shanshui Hua Teji*, op. cit., p. E31. An example of his early forgeries is the painting *Through Ancient Eyes* (33.3 X 33.3 cm, [Chinese] ink & light colour on paper, hanging scroll, ca. 1920-22, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)—as reproduced in *Challenging the Past*, op. cit., p. 84—on which he signed as Shitao.

In the spirit of Kong Zi who "took delight in it [seeking the ancient teaching]"⁶⁵ and "revised constantly what has been learnt",⁶⁶ Zhang always thought that painting in the manner of Shitao was fun. Traditionally, it is morally acceptable to paint in the manner of a great master. Many painters in fact take pride in acknowledging the fact by inscribing 'in the manner of . . .' on their paintings. Zhang himself believed that the best way to achieve success is to initially copy a master, followed by studying many other masters' works in order to assimilate their credits.⁶⁷ Zhang, however, did not merely make exact copies of Shitao's paintings, but he had commanded such a mastery of his technique and style that when he signed in Shitao's name on his own paintings created in the manner of the old master, no one could tell that they were actually not Shitao's.⁶⁸ This is possible for Zhang had done it through what Shen Hao (b. 1586) referred to as the stage of "*shenhui*".⁶⁹

Oneness with Nature Although Zhang's paintings could resemble those of Shitao, they could never be exactly the same, for the two painters had a very contrasting background and very different experiences. Whereas Shitao, throughout his life, had grieved for the fall of his country and led a miserable lonely life without a family, Zhang had married four wives and fathered sixteen children, and lived merrily despite having to leave China and travel extensively overseas. However, Shitao and Zhang definitely shared the love of nature. Nature, to them, was the greatest teacher. This is not surprising, for the great early masters had no painting to copy except studying directly from nature.

Like Shitao who "never ignored the mountains . . . and [could not] let the mountains . . . keep their secrets", Zhang visited almost all the famous mountains of China in his lifetime. He climbed to the peak of Huangshan [Mount Huang] in Anhui Province three times (in 1927, 1931 and 1936); he visited Taishan [Mount Tai] in Shandong Province (in 1928), Hengshan [Mount Heng] in Hunan Province (in 1933), Huashan [Mount Hua] in Shanxi Province (in 1934 and 1935) and Yandangshan

⁶⁵*Lun Yu* 6:18, in *Xinyi Si Shu Duben*, op. cit., p. 128.

⁶⁶*Lun Yu* 1:1, *ibid.*, p. 65.

⁶⁷Zhang Daqian, "*Hua Shuo*", in *Zhang Daqian Xiansheng Shi Wen Ji*, op. cit., vol. 2, bk. 6, p. 122.

⁶⁸According to T. C. Lai, *Three Contemporary Chinese Painters: Chang Da-chien, Ting Yin-yung and Ch'eng Shih-fa* (Kowloon: Swindon Book, 1975), p. 23, Zhang always left an identifying mark on the back of such paintings: the phrase "in sport and fun".

⁶⁹Cited earlier in my Chap. 3.7.2.

[Mount Yandang] in Zhejiang Province (in 1937); and he scaled Emeishan [Mount Emei] in Sichuan Province five times (in 1939, 1944, 1945, 1946 and 1948).⁷⁰ In Zhang's own words:

People in the past said, "Read ten thousand [myriad] volumes of books, [and] travel ten thousand miles [widely]." What does this mean? It means that broad experience [and] wide knowledge must be obtained from actual observation, [and] not by just relying on books; the two must be carried out in complementarity. [When] **famous mountains [and] great rivers have been familiarised in the *xin*** [heart, literally, but refers to mind], [till] '[one's] chest embraces hills [and] valleys', [so to speak, then he can] use the brush [to paint] naturally, with a [solid] foundation [or without creating something out of the void].⁷¹

Such is Shitao's state of 'Oneness with nature', when "famous mountains [and] great rivers have been familiarised in the *xin*, [till] '[one's] chest embraces hills [and] valleys' ". Only then, as Shitao put it, can "[one's] heart [mind] be inspired and be delighted to paint. [His painting can then] enter into [a state of] perfection [and] refinement [that is] beyond prediction."⁷² It is precisely in this way that Zhang later created his own unique landscapes.

5.2.3 Confucian *Li* → Respectfulness towards Tradition and Hard Work in Disciplinary Training

The development of Zhang's landscape painting can be divided into two major periods, namely, before and after his self-imposed 'exile'. Before he left his native land, he was engaged mainly in studying and understanding the traditions. Endowed with an aptitude for painting in his childhood, he first learned to paint in the traditional manner at home from his artist-mother Zeng Youzhen (1860-1936), and later from his much older brother Shanzi (1882-1940)—famous for his tiger paintings. Zhang also studied under his sister Qiongzhi (ca. 1892-1911). Brought up in such an artistic environment, little Zhang began to wield the brush at the age of nine; and by twelve, he had mastered all the basic painting skills and had produced creditable works on flowers, birds, figures and landscapes.

⁷⁰Challenging the Past, op. cit., pp. 80-81.

⁷¹"*Hua Shuo*", op. cit., vol. 2, bk. 6, p. 123; bold emphasis mine.

⁷²Cited earlier in my Chap. 4.2.5.

In 1917, Zhang went to Japan with Shanzi to study textile dyeing and weaving. However, he came back soon after he learned that his childhood sweetheart and fiancée Xie Shunhua had died (in 1918). The heart-broken Zhang left home to become a monk, denouncing all his worldly possessions, including his original name. He was then given a religious appellation Daqian—originated from the Buddhist terminology '*Daqian Shijie*' that means the 'Boundless Universe'.⁷³ However, he gave up the monastic life after about a hundred days, as suddenly as he entered it; but he retained the name Daqian that subsequently became his widely-known *hao* [nickname].

Zhang came to Shanghai in 1919 and studied poetry, calligraphy and painting under two masters, Zeng Xi (1861-1930) and Li Ruiqing, who later influenced him to admire greatly the paintings of Shitao and Bada Shanren (1624-1705) respectively. A year later, however, Zhang was lured back to Chongqing by Shanzi and forced to marry Zeng Qingrong (1901-ca. 1960) at Neijiang in a blind marriage. As this marriage was passionless, Zhang chose to marry, two years later, Huang Ningsu (b. 1907) as his second wife, and in 1934, Yang Wanjun (1917-ca. 1985)—a songstress whom he used as a model to paint when he was in Beijing—as his third. It is between his second and third happy marriages that Zhang had made a name for himself in producing facsimiles of past masters, of which some found their way into the art market later and were bought as genuine works by numerous museums and collectors.⁷⁴

In his early forties, he spent more than two years (between 1940-43) living in Qian Fo Dong [the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas], forty miles from Dunhuang in Gansu Province (in the Gobi Desert at the far northwestern frontiers of China), working intensively on studying and copying the Dunhuang murals. He made two hundred and seventy-six full-scale copies of the best mural paintings of Tang, Song and Yuan dynasties. (If Zhang was not going to be remembered for anything else in the history of art, he would certainly be credited as the preserver of the great heritage of some thousand years of ancient Chinese paintings.) Thereafter, he turned to the study of the landscape masters from Tang all the way to Ming, such as Li Zhaodao, Wang Wei, Li Cheng, Guo Xi, Dong Yuan, Juran, Ma Yuan, Xia Gui, Zhao Mengfu, *Yuan Si Jia* and Dong Qichang.

⁷³*Han Ying Zonghe Cidian*, op. cit., s.v. "da [big]", p. 158.

⁷⁴A selection of Zhang's most notable forgeries has been compiled under "App. 2", in *Challenging the Past*, op. cit., pp. 308-9.

In forming his early style, it was said that he successfully "blended the simplicity and strength of the Tang artists, the methods of the Song masters and the brushwork of the Yuan and Ming painters".⁷⁵ The most mature examples of landscapes in this style were produced in his late forties and early fifties, during the early years of his 'expatriation'. These landscapes are, however, characterised by conformation to the system of orthodox rules and established methods of painting, with an attainment of technical excellence.⁷⁶ Such is the result of two factors: respectfulness towards tradition and hard work in disciplinary training.

Tradition Zhang had esteemed regards for the authority and adherence to the tradition. This is in fact the attitude advocated by the Confucian doctrine of *Li*, in the sense of respectfulness towards superiors, parents, brothers and friends. In the words of Li Keran:

. . . [Tradition] is an incomparably rich art treasure-house, [from which it is] worthwhile for us to learn seriously, explore seriously, [and] summarise seriously⁷⁷

Such words recall H. W. and Dora Jane Janson's definition of "tradition", in the world of Western art:

All works of art . . . are part of similar chains that link them to their predecessors. . . . The sum total of these chains makes a web in which every work of art occupies its own specific place, and which we call tradition. Without tradition—the word means "that which has been handed down to us"—no originality would be possible.⁷⁸

Li continued, "Thus, [we] must learn from the experiences of [our] predecessors; and [we] must inherit the historical heritage."⁷⁹ This statement is almost the same as what Kong Zi said: "I am not one who was born with knowledge; [I am] one who loves ancient [teaching], [and I] diligently seek it."⁸⁰ In this spirit, Zhang was in the opinion

⁷⁵Zhang Muhan, "*Daqian Jushi Zuofeng de Yanbian*" [Evolution of the Style of Daqian the Lay Devotee], as translated in *The Mei Yun Tang Collection of Paintings by Chang Dai-chien*, op. cit., p. 27.

⁷⁶An example of such landscapes is *Picking the Fungus of immortality at Tong Village* (24 X 187 cm, [Chinese] ink & colour on paper, handscroll, 1953, private collection, Taipei), as reproduced in *Challenging the Past*, op. cit., p. 202.

⁷⁷Wang Zuo, ed., *Li Keran Hualun*, op. cit., chap. 2, p. 31.

⁷⁸H. W. & Dora Jane Janson, *History of Art: A Survey of the Major Visual Arts from the Dawn of History to the Present Day* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1967), "Introduction", p. 15.

⁷⁹*Li Keran Hualun*, op. cit., chap. 2, p. 31.

⁸⁰*Lun Yu* 7:19, in *Xinyi Si Shu Duben*, op. cit., p. 140.

that one should first start with copying the old masters. As noted earlier, he himself had spent much time in copying Shitao and many other landscape masters of the past. To him, "imitating past masters was like practising artistic alchemy in hopes of transmuting the iron of raw talent into gold."⁸¹

Zhang had also often said that young painters today should broaden their vision by studying from the widely available masterpieces in museum collections and the easily accessible art publications⁸²—a view also shared by Li who wrote:

To learn from the tradition of Chinese painting, the best way is to be 'transmitted directly', . . . but [we] must also not neglect 'indirect transmission', [which] includes looking at original artwork, reading original [painting] treatises, [and] listening to others . . .⁸³

Zhang, however, also added that one should not merely accept tradition with blind faith. He advised that one should incorporate the finest of the past tradition with an aim to surpass it. In accordance to what Kong Zi said: "[One who] learns without thinking is lost; [one who] thinks without learning is in danger",⁸⁴ Zhang wrote, "[One] must exercise [his own] rationality [and] intelligence when emulating the essence [and] spirit of the great paintings, and [at the same time] must be able to **transform** them [for his own use]."⁸⁵ (Such is the sense of *Li*, in knowing what to do and how to do it, that is firmly followed throughout the disciplinary training of Zhang.) Li also wrote in support:

Our right attitude towards tradition should be respectful but not having blind faith. [Thus, we] cannot say that the artistic tradition of Chinese painting has already reached [its] climax; we [should instead] continue to explore for new regularity, with tradition as basis. . . . [We] have to respect tradition, and [also] be brave enough to **break through**.⁸⁶

It is precisely this attempt to "transform" or "break through" that Liu Daochun referred to as "*Shixue She Duan*". It is also in this spirit that Zhang himself had thoroughly digested and absorbed the essence of past masterpieces through tirelessly

⁸¹*Challenging the Past*, op. cit., p. 15.

⁸²Li Yongqiao, ed., *Zhang Daqian Huayu Lu*, op. cit., pt. 1, chap. 12, p. 27.

⁸³*Li Keran Hualun*, op. cit., chap. 2, p. 31.

⁸⁴*Lun Yu* 2:15, in *Xinyi Si Shu Duben*, op. cit., p. 79; translation with reference to Wing-tsit Chan, trans. & comp., *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, op. cit., p. 24.

⁸⁵"*Hua Shuo*", op. cit., vol. 2, bk. 6, p. 122; bold emphasis mine.

⁸⁶*Li Keran Hualun*, op. cit., chap. 2, pp. 35-36; bold emphasis mine.

studying and copying them, and yet be able to create a distinct style of his own subsequently. Like Huang Binhong, Zhang believed in "innovation within tradition."

Hard Work Apart from having extraordinary talent, Zhang had put in much hard work to attain success. As he himself put it, "[A painter is] seventy percent hard work [and] thirty percent talent."⁸⁷ Such hard work began with his initial training, that required daily concentrated practice over a considerable number of years, under the guidance of teachers whose unquestionable authority was upheld. In Zhang's own words, ". . . [for] beginners, [strict] rules [and] principles [of painting] are still to be diligently followed."⁸⁸ Such statement recalls what Meng Zi had said more than two thousand years ago:

Yi, in teaching others to shoot, made sure to aim at drawing the bow to the full, [and] the learners also made sure to aim at drawing the bow to the full. [Similarly,] a master carpenter, in teaching others, makes sure to use the compasses [and] square, [and] the apprentices also make sure to use the compasses [and] square.⁸⁹

What Meng Zi said illustrates the importance for both the master and the learner to proceed according to rules, for if the master neglects them, he cannot teach; and if the learner neglects them, he cannot learn.

The importance of the hard work to be put into the training of basic skills is best expressed by Li, who said, "The training of basic skills is the basic training of the art of painting, [that] concerns the superiority and inferiority of an artist's future accomplishment."⁹⁰ Li linked the basic skills with artistic creation, as he wrote further:

The entire purpose of basic skills is to serve creation. If [one] does not engage in creation, there is naturally no need for basic skills. . . . [And] to do well in creation, [one] must train well in basic skills Without the prerequisite of basic skills, there will be no artistic creation of high standard. . . . The higher the artistic expectation, the higher [and] more rigid the expectation of mastering the regularity The restraint imposed by the regularity at the beginning [will] give freedom in expression later. The more rigid the restraint imposed by the regularity at the beginning, the more freedom [one gets] in

⁸⁷"*Hua Shuo*", op. cit., vol. 2, bk. 6, p. 114.

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 124.

⁸⁹Meng Zi, *Meng Zi* 6:1:20:1-2, in *Xinyi Si Shu Duben*, op. cit., p. 588. Yi is the name of a legendary archer during the Xia Era.

⁹⁰*Li Keran Hualun*, op. cit., chap. 1, p. 19.

expression later. . . . Only after mastering the regularity of creation can [one] really obtain the freedom in creation.⁹¹

In conclusion, implicit in the sayings of Zhang, Li, Kong Zi and Meng Zi is a message that one should make good use of the past and to equip oneself with the basic skills through disciplinary training, so as to be able to create later. Such is the true spirit of *Li* to be had by the painter; and Zhang had aptly acquired it.

5.2.4 Shitao's Method of *Wufa* → Zhang's Style of *Po Mo Po Cai* [Splashed-Ink-and-Colour]

Zhang's art went into constant transformations that tended to accelerate with more years of his 'exile'.⁹² Zhang had worked from Shitao's Method of *Wufa*, but was finally, in his sixties at a time when abstract painting—sometimes with huge splodges of colour—was in vogue in Western art, able to infuse into his work a refreshingly new quality in terms of both concept and style. It is in this style, which later developed into and has come to be known as *Po Mo Po Cai*, that his landscapes achieved simplicity, directness, immediacy and untrammelledness.⁹³

In Zhang's *Po Mo Po Cai* paintings, black ink washes and blobs of strong mineral colours such as turquoise and ochre are allowed to mix in the most harmonious manner and in a daring and seemingly accidental fashion, spreading towards the edges and filling up almost the whole picture surface. These purely abstract fantasies are then usually moderated and turned into panoramic landscapes by the introduction of some telling accents or precisely painted details. The resulting compositions are filled with what Xie called "*Qiyun Shengdong*".

⁹¹Ibid., pp. 18-19 & 21.

⁹²Huang Dizi, "*Tan Zhang Daqian de Huihua*" [A Talk on Zhang Daqian's Painting], *Meishu Jia* [Artist], no. 20 (June 1981), p. 20.

⁹³An account of Zhang's formation of this splashed-ink-and-colour style is given in *Challenging the Past*, op. cit., pp. 71-76; a detailed study has also been carried out by Ba Dong in "*Zhang Daqian Zuopin Biannian zhi Disanqi Yanjiu: Po Mo Po Cai Huafeng zhi Xingcheng*" [Study on the Third Period of Zhang Daqian's Works in Chronological Order: The Formation of the Painting Style of Splashed-Ink-and-Colour], *Gugong Wenwu Yuekan* [Monthly Magazine of Palace's Cultural Relics] 6, no. 4 (1988), pp. 100-119. Ba grouped Zhang's works into three periods, namely the First Period from 1920 to 1939, the Second Period from 1940-1959, and the Third Period from 1960 to 1983.

Having had the opportunity to study the highly decorative early Buddhist paintings in the heavily ornamented grottoes at Dunhuang, Zhang made a unique achievement in the extremely sensitive use of colours. Stressing the independently expressive characters of colours, rather than their descriptive potential, he used colour in a new way—as the main structure of the picture rather than as a subordinate, as in traditional Chinese painting—and ventured close to pure abstraction. The resulting beauty belongs to a realm unattained by the past masters. Such unmatched creation is indeed worth the credit of Liu's *Caihui You Ze* or Wang Yu's *Shese Gao Hua*.

Through these landscapes, Zhang achieved what his model Shitao wrote of as "expressing from my [one's own] lungs [and other] entrails, [and] displaying my [one's own] beards [and] eyebrows."⁹⁴ Such unique style of painting would have been rejected if he had developed it in the mainland China then, based on many possible excuses such as: "it is individualistic and subjective; it is associated with bourgeois culture; it is hard for the masses to understand; its content is often objectionable; and, most fundamentally, it can only be appreciated by applying to it an order of values that obeys no laws but those of art itself, which, in a Communist state, is heresy."⁹⁵

Western Influence versus Failing Eyesight Michael Sullivan wrote, "If the Chinese painter continued to work in the traditional style they [the Western public] dismissed him as of no international significance, while if they detected in his work the influence of Picasso or Klee they accused him of 'copying' . . .".⁹⁶ On the same note, many critics were in the opinion that Zhang was influenced by the abstract tendencies of modern Western painting that he came to appreciate during his trips and stay in Europe and America.⁹⁷ Features of Zhang's paintings that evoked such opinion include the increasingly frequent resort to colour, seemingly applied for its own sake; and the filling up of the picture surface, so that the traditional void in Chinese painting is decreasingly evident. In particular, his style of *Po Mo Po Cai* was even linked with the American Abstract Expressionism.⁹⁸

⁹⁴Cited earlier in my Chap. 4.2.3.

⁹⁵Sullivan, *Symbols of Eternity*, op. cit., pp. 177-79.

⁹⁶*The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art*, op. cit., p. 179

⁹⁷One of them is Li Zhujin who discussed it at length in his "Zhang Daqian yu Xifang Yishu" [Zhang Daqian and Western Art], in *Zhang Daqian Xueshu Lunwen Ji: Jiushi Jinian Xueshu Yanjiuhui*, op. cit., pp. 52-59.

⁹⁸Arnold Chang, "Tradition in the Modern Period", in *Twentieth-Century Chinese Painting*, op. cit., p. 27.

Zhang himself, however, had always "denied that Western influence had anything to do with his later works,"⁹⁹ even though the format of his later paintings had become increasingly more amenable to framing—they were not mounted in the traditional manner of Chinese scrolls but were edged with silk and intended to be framed like Western watercolours. Instead, he mentioned his partial loss of vision as the main reason for such innovation. "Due to failing eyesight," he said in 1968, "it seems that my paintings in the recent years have been changed, in terms of [the manner of] expression."¹⁰⁰ Indeed, since 1957, Zhang was suffering from a serious eye disease that almost blinded him in the right eye. He subsequently abandoned his refined *gongbi*-like brushwork and began to paint with bold *xiayi* brush strokes.

Zhang also attributed the creation of his *Po Mo Po Cai* landscapes to tradition.¹⁰¹

Chuantong and Chuangxin Despite extensive travel to and stay in the Western world, Zhang lived in his very own Chinese kingdom, complete with the patriarchal family system and surrounded with Chinese friends and assistants, in elaborate residences with Chinese gourmet's kitchen and landscaped Chinese gardens.¹⁰² Always in his traditional Chinese scholar's long gown, he never wore a Western suit.¹⁰³ The fact that he was living outside mainland China made him nonetheless Chinese, and had not stopped him linking himself with the Chinese tradition. On the techniques of his style of *Po Mo Po Cai*, Zhang said:

. . . [It is] not that I have invented some new techniques of painting, [for these] techniques of painting have actually been used by the ancients. [It is] only that people later do not employ [them] anymore; [and] I merely reapply [them].¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹Three Contemporary Chinese Painters, op. cit., p. 19.

¹⁰⁰Zhang Daqian Huayu Lu, op. cit., pt. 1, chap. 4, p. 9.

¹⁰¹Wang Yaoting, "The Change in Aesthetics, Attitudes toward the Ancient Masters, and Technique after Chang Dai-chien and P'u Hsin-yu", in The International Conference on the Poetry, Calligraphy, and Painting of Chang Dai-chien and P'u Hsin-yu: Proceedings (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1994), p. 504.

¹⁰²A brief description of all Zhang's gardens and residences is given under "App. 3" in Challenging the Past, op. cit., pp. 310-13.

¹⁰³Three Contemporary Chinese Painters, op. cit., p. 19.

¹⁰⁴Part of the conversation between Zhang and a Taiwan newspaper reporter in 1968, as quoted in Zhang Daqian Huayu Lu, op. cit., pt. 1, chap. 4, p. 9.

Indeed, Zhang's splashing technique is traceable to a Chinese origin—to the *po mo* technique of Wang Qia. He continued to have faith in the way early Chinese masters worked. What makes the difference is that he never failed to infuse in his paintings a fresh and vital interpretation. He looked for changes from within the Chinese tradition instead of 'transplanting' Western ideas and techniques into Chinese painting, as in the works of Gao Jianfu, Xu Beihong or Liu Haisu. Unlike them, Zhang came into contact with Western painting as an accomplished master in his own art, not approaching it as a student. His firm mastery of Chinese painting had made it easy for him to view Western painting in its proper perspective and with deeper insight. Untouched by the pure abstraction of the West, however, he chose to remain essentially within the expanded confine of Chinese art, though abandoning much of the descriptive detail in his landscapes, for instance. He combined the random splashing with the relatively more controlled *xieyi* technique; the result of such delicate balance is an ingenious juxtaposition of tradition and the avant-garde—a harmony of *yang* and *yin*.

Sullivan once said of Lin Fengmian as one of "the most successful artists in showing how Chinese painting could be 'modern' in form and style, and yet essentially Chinese in feeling";¹⁰⁵ in my opinion, Zhang can rightly be counted as another one. In fact, Zhang has been noted as "a pioneer in transforming the artistry of antiquity into the modern medium."¹⁰⁶ He is both the last great traditionalist in Chinese painting history and an internationally acclaimed modernist in the twentieth century. He is indeed a master of both *chuantong* and *chuangxin*.

¹⁰⁵The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art, op. cit., p. 168.

¹⁰⁶Quoted in The Mei Yun Tang Collection of Paintings by Chang Dai-chien, op. cit., p. 21.

CHAPTER 6

European Female-Nude Painting and Female Nudes of Pablo Picasso

You know, it's like being a peddler. "You want two breasts? Well, here you are—two breasts."

Pablo Picasso (1881-1973),
A remark he made to a fellow painter¹

¹Hiro Clark, ed., Picasso: In His Words, op. cit., p. 80.

6.1 Female Nude Painting

6.1.1 The Ancestors: *Chuanmo Yixie* (Xie He's *Fa 6*) → *Shixue She Duan* (Liu Daochun's Essential 6)

Early Renaissance Painters—*Chuanmo Yixie* In spite of the far-reaching artistic innovations—of the Florentine techniques of single-vanishing-point linear perspective and human anatomy—the 'Early Renaissance' (1420-1500) painters preoccupied themselves with a coherent set of values based on antique classical models. Their paintings exhibit some reference to the ancient—either in form or content—and the composition is strongly influenced by antiquity or, in Liu Daochun (fl. ca. 1059)'s terms, "*Gezhi Ju Lao*". This period is best described as the period of "*Chuanmo Yixie*", borrowing Xie He (fl. ca. A.D. 500-535)'s phrase. It is also best characterised by the orthodox representation of a supernatural reality towards an increasing mastery of the visual fundamentals of painting, in a spirit similar to the Confucian love for *Li* and respect for traditions.

High Renaissance Painters—*Shixue She Duan* High Renaissance (1500-1530) has seen a shift of art centre from Florence to Rome and Venice. This is also a period when the leading painters had sufficiently mastered the technical representation of colour, light, movement, plasticity and space; and when the Venetians forwent the dull tempera used for fresco or panel painting, and made the best use of the brilliant effects of the new oil painting technique on canvas. There was also a shift of emphasis from *disegno* to *colore*. The goal of the sixteenth century was not merely classically based *Chuanmo Yixie* through "*Gufa Yongbi*" (in Xie's terms), but to further develop the style perfected by their predecessors, avoiding their shortcomings. This period is marked precisely by the stage of "*Shixue She Duan*" (in Liu's terms) through "*Sui Lei Fu Cai*" (in Xie's terms).

It was with the Venetian *colore* technique of oil painting that the female nude in the Western tradition began, through the works of Giorgione [Giorgio da Castelfranco] (ca. 1477-1510) and his pupil Titian [Tiziano Vecellio] (ca. 1485-1576). The theme of the reclining nude was also first developed by them through their portrayal of the reclining Venus. Subsequently, the reclining Venus (or simply, the

reclining nude) has become a stereotype of European painting. Giorgione's Sleeping Venus (Fig. 11)² and Titian's Venus of Urbino (Fig. 12), two of the most admired nude paintings in art history, are credited with the precursors in a long line of images of the reclining nude. They are also the first paintings in which the figure is modelled on life models, instead of on statues as was the Florentine tradition for a long time.

In Sleeping Venus, the asleep nude and the landscape, that also sleeps, have fused into a single unity of idyllic mood of calmness that would have been a great relief to the hectic life of the city-dwelling Venetians. Such oneness with nature has also been the foremost quest of the Taoists. For that matter, Giorgione can be rightly considered the pioneer painter to pursue the artistic vision of the unity of man (or woman, rather) and nature. In Venus of Urbino, on the other hand, the nude is shown wide-eyedly awake, alertly looking out of the picture and seductively attempting to establish an intimate relationship, through direct eye contact, with the viewer. The overall impact projected is radically, though subtly, different from Giorgione's nude who is unconscious of any onlooker. While the latter is effectively guarded from any hint of exciting lustfulness, the former gives a suggestion of amatorial titillation. In other words, Sleeping Venus is at most "sensuous"³ but Venus of Urbino is erotic.

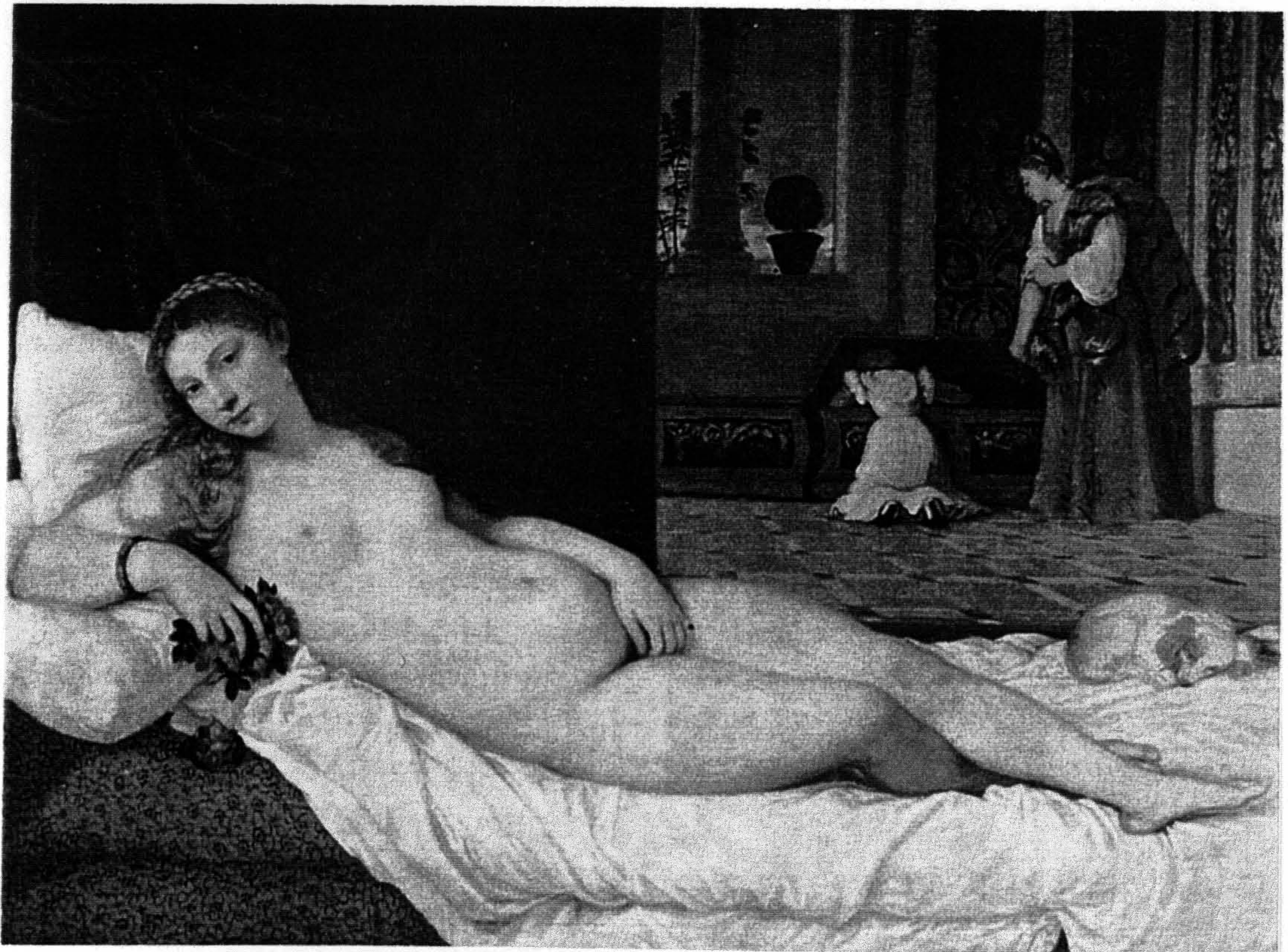
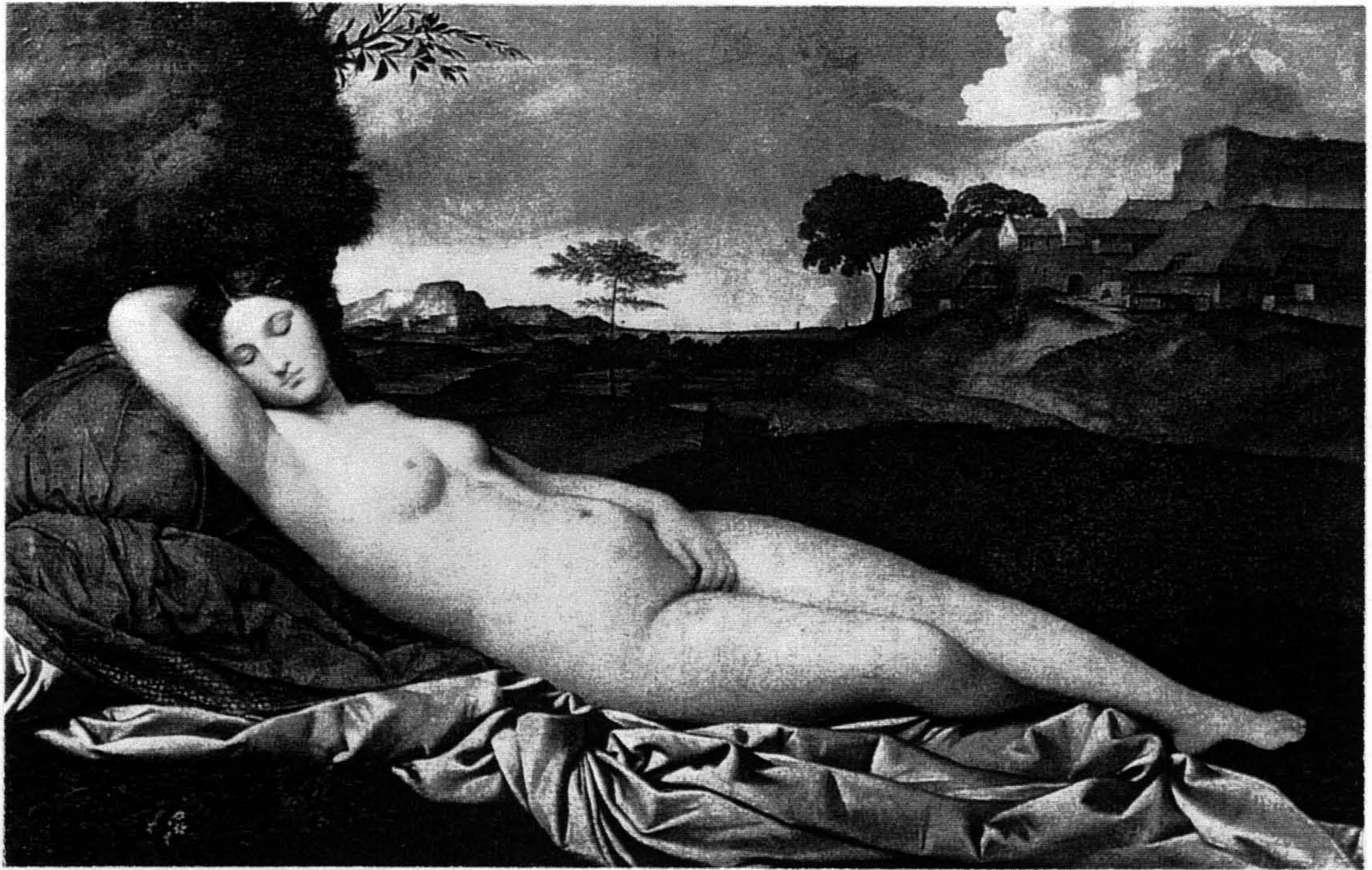
6.1.2 The *Rubénistes*: *Sui Lei Fu Cai* (Xie's *Fa* 4) → *Caihui You Ze* (Liu's *Essential* 4) and *Shese Gao Hua* (Wang Yu's *Credit* 6)

Baroque Painters—*Caihui You Ze* By the end of the sixteenth century and during the so-called Baroque period (1600-1750), the genre of the erotic female nude first developed by Titian was firmly established throughout Europe. The oil painting technique exemplified by Titian was also further developed in bold brushwork by Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) in the Catholic south of the Netherlands, in striking chiaroscuro by Harmensz van Rijn Rembrandt (1606-69) in the Protestant north of the country, and in unusual sensitivity to light by Diego Rodriguez de Silva y Velázquez (1599-1660) in Spain. Their followers were soon to

²According to documentation, such as The Bloomsbury Guide to Art, 1996 ed., p. 469, and The A-Z of Art: The World's Greatest and Most Popular Artists and Their Works, 1996 ed., p. 150, this painting is ascribed to Giorgione although the landscape may have been finished by Titian upon Giorgione's death.

³According to Collins Concise Dictionary Plus, op. cit., s.v. "sensuous", p. 1182, this term is apparently coined by poet John Milton (1608-74) to avoid the sexual overtones of 'sensual'.

Figure 11
Figure 12



be known as *Rubénistes*, who not only explicitly claimed that (what Xie would refer to as) *Sui Lei Fu Cai* was the utmost concern in painting, but went further to aim at (Liu's) *Caihui You Ze*.

Rococo Painters—*Shese Gao Hua* *Rubénisme*, that dominated by the end of the seventeenth century, opened the way for the lighter but more decorative style of Rococo (1715-80)—the style of "*Shese Gao Hua*", using Wang Yu (1714-48)'s terms. The French painters had chosen the Venetians, took their lead from Rubens and turned to the intimate pleasures of life. Such endeavour first appeared in the paintings of Jean Antoine Watteau (1684-1721). Watteau, however, rarely painted the living nude. It was his follower, François Boucher (1703-70), who first painted an enormous quantity of the most erotic nudes in the history of Western art. Thereafter, the favoured themes of Rococo painting have been "elegant flirtation, amorous dalliances, intimate, awkward situations and erotically suggestive movements".⁴

Boucher often used delicate pink tones to capture the luxurious texture of the titillating fresh of young girls, and casually draped silks or satins to suggest the pampered weariness of naked women. *Mademoiselle O'Murphy* [*Miss O'Murphy*] (Fig. 13) is one of such paintings, in which the body is flushed with health and full of vitality, giving a sense similar to what Xie defined as "*Shengdong*". Such *Shengdong*-ness is further enhanced by the smoke coming out of the Chinese incense-burner and by the little creature on the lid that turns its head to O'Murphy as if entranced by her sexuality. In the painting, one can also easily notice a design that is full of echoing of curves—the curvilinear forms of the girl's body, those of the couch and the panelling in the background. Such echoing of curves—which is also present in *Sleeping Venus*⁵—is what the Chinese call "*Yang Dai*", one of the principles Wang used to explain what he meant by his *Buju Bianhua*.

⁴Anna C. Krausse, *The Story of Painting: From the Renaissance to the Present*, with contributions by Ralf Burmeister et al., trans. Shaun Whiteside, Ingrid & Iain Macmillan (Köln: Könemann Verlagsgesellschaft, 1995), p. 48.

⁵The echoing of curves is observed between the curvilinear forms of the nude body and the configuration of the landscape in the immediate background.



6.1.3 The *Poussinistes*: *Gufa Yongbi* (Xie's *Fa* 2) → *Qigu Gu Ya* (Wang's Credit 1) and *Ying Wu Xie Xing* (Xie's *Fa* 3)

Mannerists—*Gufa Yongbi* Giorgio Vasari (1511-74) used the term "*maniera*" as a desirable quality in art that reached its greatest expression in the work of his teacher, Michelangelo di Ludovico Buonarroti Simoni (1475-1564).⁶ He praised Michelangelo's work of idealised strength or "*li*" (as in Liu's "*Xiqiao Qiu Li*"), and elegance or "*xiu*" (as in Wang's "*Shenyun Xiu Yi*"), especially as seen in his paintings on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican.⁷ Mannerism (1530-1600) was thus essentially a search for *li* and *xiu*, with its paintings characterised by an emphasis of *disegno*—or equivalently *Gufa Yongbi*. In this sense, Michelangelo, as one of the principal exponents of Mannerism, can rightly be considered as a master of *Gufa Yongbi*.

Baroque-Classicalists and Neoclassicists—*Qigu Gu Ya* and *Ying Wu Xie Xing* *Disegno* was also advocated by the French Baroque-Classicalists whose most important representative was Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665). Since the seventeenth century, Poussin and his followers—the *Poussinistes*—have been debating the supremacy of *disegno* as against *colore* upheld by the *Rubénistes*.⁸ Although by the end of the seventeenth century the *Rubénistes* had been setting the tone, *disegno* was 're-emphasised' in the eighteenth century. Once again, artist stressed what Xie would call *Ying Wu Xie Xing*, and tended to return to the art of the ancients. It was this return to the antiquity, as if aiming at Wang's *Qigu Gu Ya*, that gave the new trend the name 'Neoclassicism' (1770-1830), best represented by Jacques-Louis David (1744-1825) and his pupil Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1780-1867).

⁶Gaston Du C. de Vere, trans., *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 325-442.

⁷*The Creation of Adam* (ca. 280 X 570 cm, fresco, ca. 1510), as reproduced in Robert Suckale et al., *From the Gothic to Neoclassicism*, vol. I of *Masterpieces of Western Art: A History of Art in 900 Individual Studies*, 2 vols., ed. Ingo F. Walther, trans. Karen Williams & Ishbel Flett (Köln: Benedikt Taschen Verlag, 1996), p. 169, for instance, best illustrates *li* and *xiu*.

⁸It is noteworthy that such division finds its parallel in Chinese landscape painting that was also divided into two camps, though by different criteria, of *Nan Bei Zong Shanshui Hua*, interestingly around the same time.

Ingres shared the same interest with Kong Zi (ca. 551-479 B.C.) who "believed in and loved the ancients."⁹ Yet, he was highly original in his painting, for like Kong Zi, he "reviewed the old so as to realise [what is] new".¹⁰ In this sense, *Shixue She Duan* was definitely one of his fixed bench marks. As another superior master of *Gufa Yongbi*, Ingres placed great emphasis on lines and pure form. He observed from nature, however, before employing his classical vocabulary to achieve harmony and balance in painting. As such, he was in accord with *Ying Wu Xie Xing*. Ingres was also unmoved by Romanticism (1800-1850), during which majority of the artists chose to be "guided by the belly, [and] not by the eyes", so to speak, in Taoist terms.¹¹ Landscape became their increasingly favoured genre of painting. Ingres, instead, concentrated on the nude. Valpinçon Bather (Fig. 14) is one of his most beautiful female nude paintings.

6.1.4 The *Plein-Air* Painters: *Shi* [Reality] → Nature → *Shen* [Inner Spirit]

Realists—Capturing of *Shi* The naturalists produced their paintings on the spot and in the open air. Their interest lay in the study and precise depiction of nature. Such approach, that resulted in the so-called *plein-air* painting, was soon joined by another of which the interest was in down-to-earth everyday subjects. This socially dedicated form of naturalism aimed to capture *Shi* by seriously representing reality as faithful as possible.¹² It later developed into 'Realism' (1840-80) and reached its peak with Jean Désiré Gustave Courbet (1819-77), who wrote an excellent aesthetic exposition in which he said, among other things:

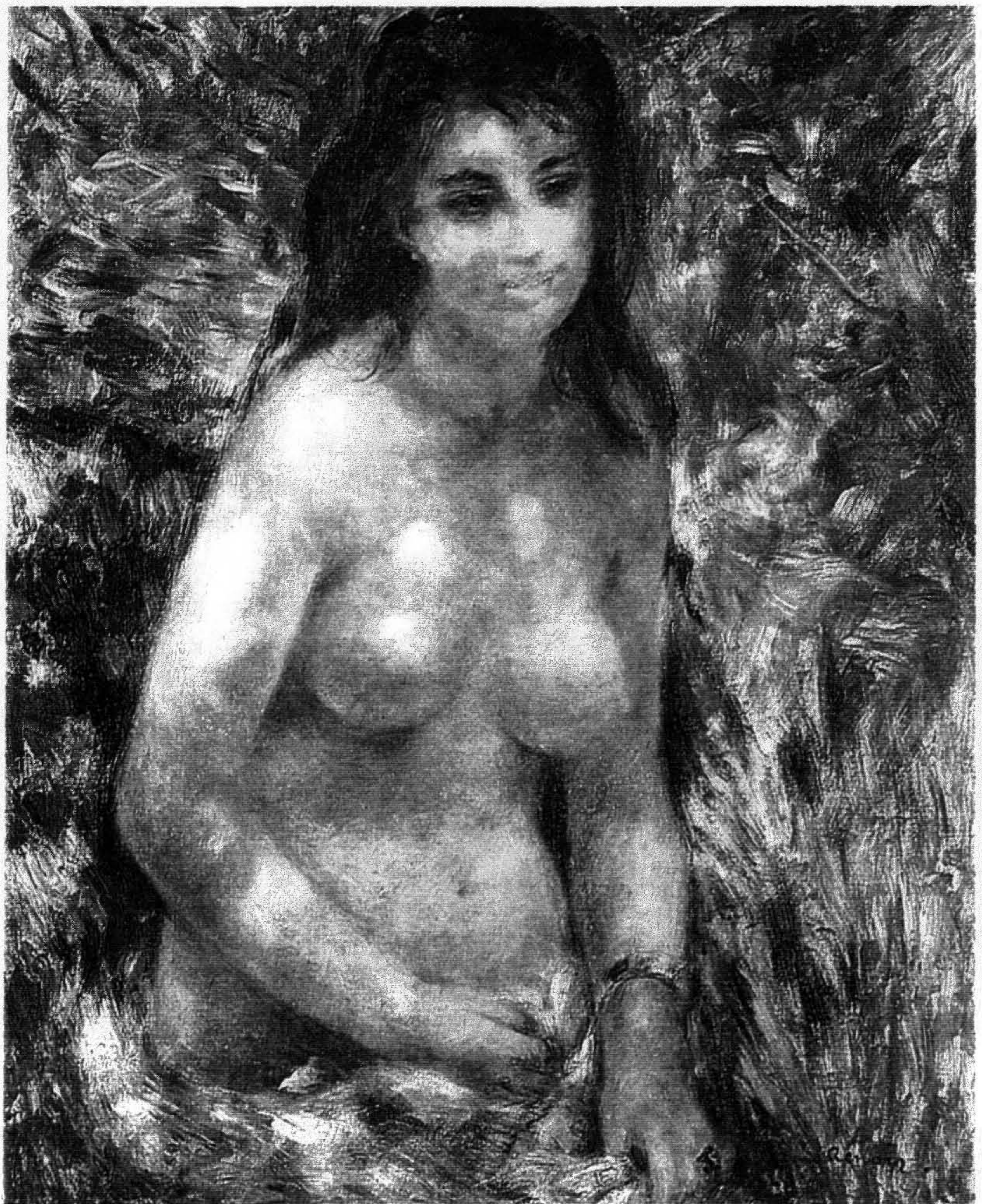
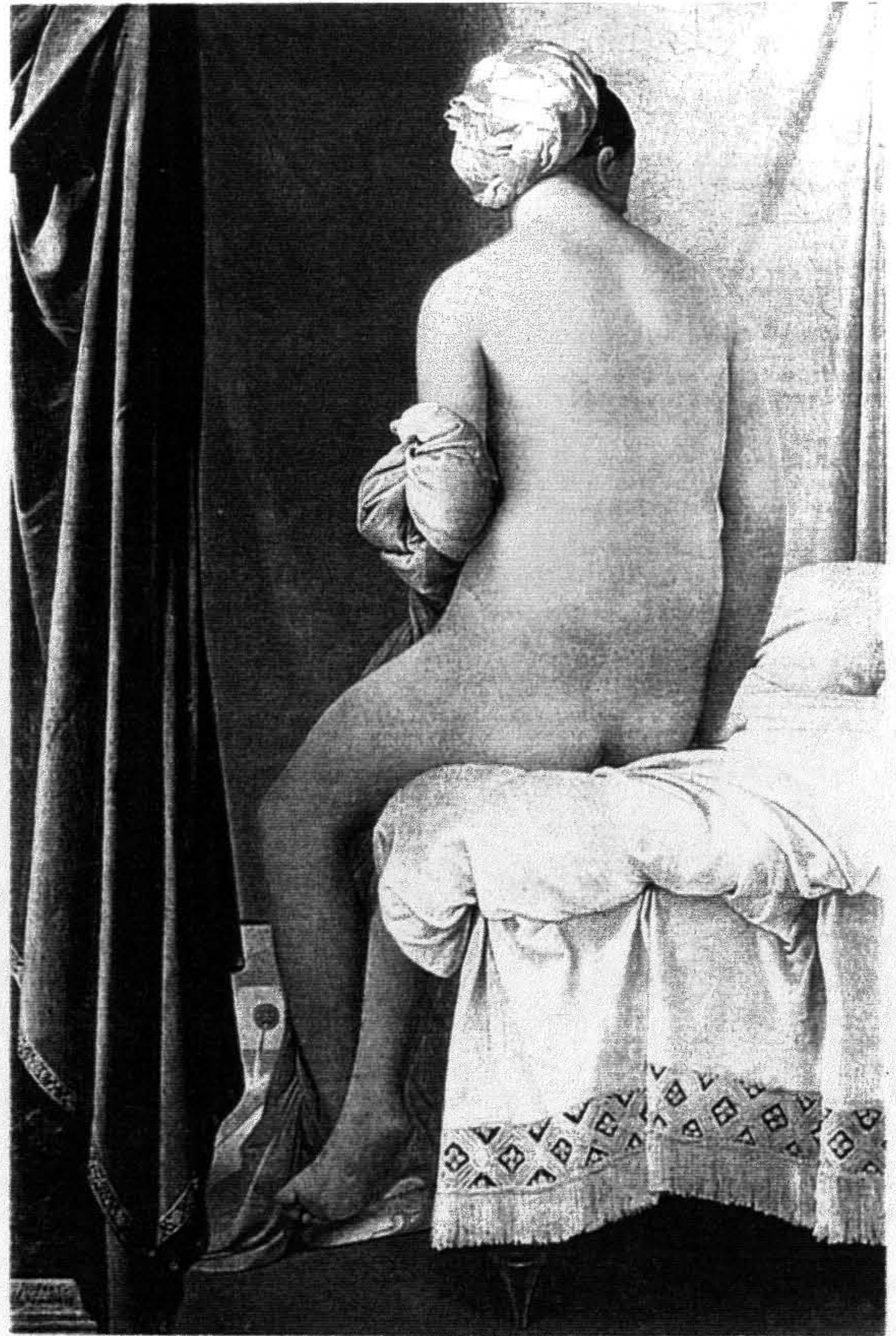
⁹Kong Zi, *Lun Yu* 7:1, in *Xinyi Si Shu Duben*, comp. & interpreted by Xie Bingying et al., op. cit., p. 133.

¹⁰Cited earlier in my Chap. 4.2.4.

¹¹Cited earlier in introduction to my Pt. I, Sec. B. Such statement, however, does not equate Romanticism with Taoist approach completely. George Rowley has given a good account in support of this view in *Principle of Chinese Painting*, op. cit., pp. 22-23.

¹²In Linda Nochlin's words—as quoted in *The Bloomsbury Guide to Art*, op. cit., s.v. "realism/Realism", p. 742—it attempted "to give a truthful, objective and impartial representation of the real world, based on meticulous observation of contemporary life."

Figure 14
Figure 15



. . . painting is an essentially *concrete* art, and can consist only of the representation of things both *real* and *existing*. . . . An *abstract* object, invisible or nonexistent, does not belong to the domain of painting.¹³

Such dictum is in fact in line with the teaching of Kong Zi who said, "Not yet know [matters] about life, how to know [matters] about death?"¹⁴ Like Kong Zi who had always aimed to "set the will on *Dao* [of *junzi*], have a firm grasp of *De* [Perfect Virtue], comply with *Ren* [Humanity], [and] find recreation in *Yi* [the Six Artistries]",¹⁵ Courbet had also always desired "to record the manners, ideas and aspects of the age as I myself [he himself] saw them, to be a man as well as a painter—to create a living art."¹⁶ Courbet's 'man as well as painter' is indeed Kong Zi's *junzi*.

Impressionists — Oneness with Nature and Capturing of *Shen*
Under the influence of the work of Realist Édouard Manet (1832-83), Impressionism (1860-1900) developed as an off-shoot of Realism. Like the Realists, the Impressionists demanded that nature be depicted as it is observed, not as it is known to be, and aimed to capture the momentarily visual impression of a scene *en plein air*. As a result, an Impressionist painting, usually characterised by swift brush strokes, vague outlines and open composition, may appear as a sketch rather than a finished picture, or as "a spontaneous work rather than a calculated one", in Claude Monet (1840-1926)'s own words.¹⁷ Besides painting in the Parisian boulevards, the Impressionists also made their way into the country to capture their picnics or excursions in their paintings. Among those who devoted much time to the female nude is Pierre Auguste Renoir (1841-1919).

Bathers were Renoir's favourite and Study; Torso, Sunlight Effect (Fig. 15) is one of his early masterpieces. In the painting, although the outline of the face and body almost disappears and the features blurred, one can still make out "the freshness of her pale complexion and the healthy blush of her lips and cheeks, and the beguiling

¹³Robert Goldwater & Marco Treves, comps. & eds., Artists on Art: From the 14th to the 20th Century (London: John Murray, 1976; repr., 1990), p. 296.

¹⁴Cited earlier in my Chap. 2.2.1.

¹⁵Lun Yu 7:6, in Xinyi Si Shu Duben, op. cit., p 135.

¹⁶Clive Gregory, ed., The Great Artists: Their Lives, Works and Inspiration, 4 vols. (London: Marshall Cavendish, 1985-86; repr. 1993-95), vol. 1, pt. 20, p. 616.

¹⁷The Thames and Hudson Dictionary of Art and Artists, rev., expanded & updated ed. (1994), p. 183. These words have sometimes led to a misconception of regarding Chinese paintings Impressionist.

mane of reddish-blond hair that flows down to her hips."¹⁸ This is the *shen* of the bather. Renoir was not actually concerned about merely *xie xing* [depicting forms], but also *xie shen* [capturing the inner spirit] or better still, what Gu Kaizhi (ca. A.D. 345-406) called "*yixing xie shen*". Moreover, he was concerned with the oneness of his nude with nature. Different from Ingres' Valpinçon Bather who does not bathe in water, Renoir's bather not only bathes in water but also in sunlight, in nature. With the play of sunlight and the reproduction of reflections on the naked body, with short and vague brush strokes and delicate patches of tints in the surrounding greenery that gently weave patterns on her skin, he achieved oneness.

6.1.5 The Modern Painters: *Bianyi* (First Half of Liu's Essential 3) → *Kuangguai* (First Half of Liu's Merit 4)

Post-Impressionists — Forerunners of *Bianyi* and *Kuangguai*
 Twentieth-century painting has been subjected to "an uninterrupted succession of abrupt leaps and sudden changes . . . by each new movement and its manifestos as well as by the appearance of each new artist."¹⁹ Two such artists are Paul Cézanne (1839-1906) and Paul Gauguin (1848-1903). I regard the former as the forerunner of *Kuangguai* painting; and the latter, the forerunner of *Bianyi*. While Cézanne aimed at a more disciplined and rational (Confucian) analysis of the real world by reducing nature to individualised geometrical forms and basing his pictorial arrangements on the intrinsic use of colour, Gauguin (adopting the Taoist attitude) escaped to the South Seas in search of the archaic and the primal and attempted at a symbolic use of line and colour in his painting. For the latter, the emotion of the spiritual (analogous to the *Chan-ic Dao*) and the world of inner reality (comparable to the Taoist *Dao*) were of primary importance.

For the whole of his career, Cézanne was interested primarily in form, guided by his much quoted motto: "treat nature by the cylinder, the sphere, the cone".²⁰ Nature was also his lifelong obsession. Shortly before his death, he said:

¹⁸Barbara Eschenburg et al., From the Romantic Age to the Present Day, vol. II of Masterpieces of Western Art, op. cit., vol. II, p. 504.

¹⁹Octavio Paz, Convergences, op. cit., p. 174.

²⁰Artists on Art, op. cit., p. 363.

I am continually making observations from nature, and I feel that I am making some slight progress. . . . I have sworn to die painting²¹

Such sincere attitude towards nature finds its match in Shitao (1642-ca. 1718) who said, ". . . [since] fifty years ago, [I] have not born out of mountains [and] rivers."²² Like Shitao, Cézanne was not interested in imitating the nature; in fact, he called his paintings "constructions after nature".²³ Towards the end of his life, this "constructions after nature" became increasingly abstracted through his emphasis on limited tonality of colour and on compositional structure based on his concept of "tilting planes and a multifaceted viewpoint",²⁴ resulting in paintings that deserved the credit of "*Buju Bianhua*" (in Wang's terms).

Symbolists, Secessionists and *Brücke* Painters — Masters of *Bianyi*

From Gauguin onwards, modern painters such as the Symbolists, the Secessionists and members of *Die Brücke* produced paintings in a style best described as '*Bianyi*'—against the representational art of the academies and the traditional treatment of form, in odd perspectives and unbalanced composition, in unusual and brilliant colours as their own personal way of seeing, feeling, understanding and interpreting. The human figure (and the human condition) remained vital concerns for many of the masters of *Bianyi*, such as Edvard Munch (1863-1944), Gustav Klimt (1862-1918) and Ernst Ludwig Kirchner (1880-1938). While Munch and Klimt described fundamental human experiences such as fear, horror and death, and often focused on the woman as a powerful and mysterious creature, Kirchner painted (and drew) his subjects in everyday attitudes, without instilling any deeper meaning.

The models for Kirchner and the *Brücke* painters were actually their girlfriends, lovers or long-term partners. They lived with them in their studios. "It was only at home that I had complete freedom in my work," wrote Kirchner, describing the personal and aesthetic intimacy that he obtained between him and his girlfriends living and working together.²⁵ This recalls the way, though not exactly, the Chinese portrait painters used to work. The following is a description by Fei Ch'eng-wu:

²¹Ibid., p. 366.

²²Cited earlier in my Chap. 4.2.5.

²³*The Great Artists*, op. cit., vol. 1, pt. 13, p. 393.

²⁴*Harrap's Illustrated Dictionary of Art & Artists*, 1990 ed., p. 108.

²⁵Lucius Grisebach, *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner 1880-1938*, trans. Michael Hulse into English (Köln: Benedikt Taschen Verlag, 1996), p. 38.

A portrait painter is invited to live with the family of the sitter . . . ; they just dine together, sip tea and talk together. The sitter is never asked to sit still for hours and he is not aware of his portrait being in progress in the round of the artist.²⁶

Stehender Akt mit Hut [Standing Nude with Hat] (Fig. 16) is one of Kirchner's most important paintings produced in this manner. The model painted is none other than Doris Große, known as Dodo to Kirchner—the most important woman in his life and art, from 1909 to 1911.

Fauves and Cubists—Masters of *Kuangguai* Wild-and-queer-ness or "*Kuangguai*", in Liu's terms, evolved within the twentieth-century environment of tension created by the dichotomy between figurative and abstract art. While the human figure continues to be revered as "the supreme canon of beauty" in Western art,²⁷ it nevertheless gives rise to new perceptions through, particularly, 'wild' colours of the Fauves and 'queer' forms of the Cubists. While Henri Emile Benoît Matisse (1869-1954) and the Fauves created images of matchless harmony born of their enthusiasm for violent colours and unbounded brushwork, the Cubist artists such as Georges Braque (1882-1963) and Pablo Ruiz y Picasso (1881-1973) were determined to stretch the limit of representational qualities of form and indeed, under the influence of Cézanne's idea, succeeded in developing the so-called "Cubist simultaneity of point of view".²⁸

Human figure had always been Matisse's main interest.²⁹ In the 1920's he had been interested in female nudes set in decorative interiors, and became increasingly interested in the tension between two and three dimensionalities. An example of such paintings is *Decorative Figure on an Ornamental Background* (Fig. 17). In the painting, the geometrical nude,³⁰ though plain and bloodless, stands out nevertheless against the strong colours and the ornate details of the elaborated background. Such design is in direct opposite to the Chinese Principle of *Bin Zhu*, for although the *zhu*—

²⁶Fei Ch'eng-wu, *Brush Drawing in the Chinese Manner*, op. cit., pp. 81-82.

²⁷*Convergences*, op. cit., p. 180.

²⁸Leo Steinberg, *Other Criteria: Confrontations with Twentieth-Century Art* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972; paperback ed., 1975), p. 154.

²⁹In *Artists on Art*, op. cit., p. 412, he was quoted as saying that, "What interests me most is neither still life nor landscape, but the human figure."

³⁰Matisse distorted his nude to be fitted into a right-angled triangle—of which the right angle is formed by the nude's back and her left thigh.

Figure 16

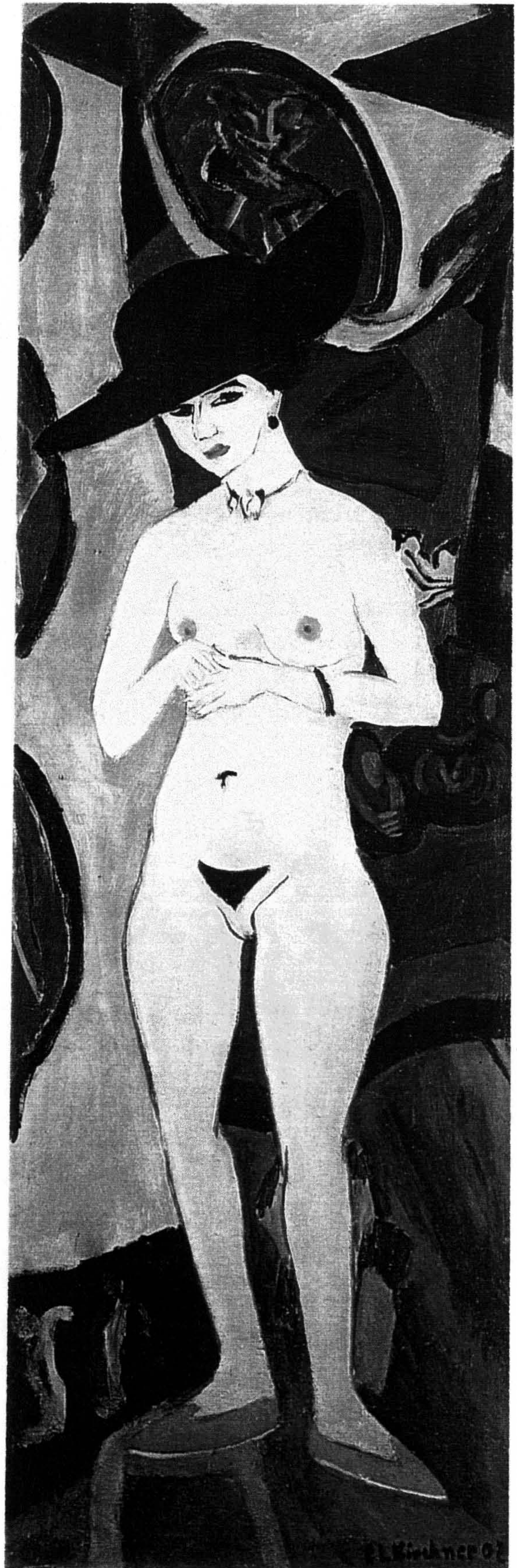


Figure 17
Figure 18



the nude as the main object—is placed in the important position, it is simplified; whereas the *bin*—the supporting background—is exaggeratingly depicted in detail.³¹

Matisse continued to paint exaggeratingly bloodless nudes, in the least realistic shape and most unnatural colour,³² but by the mid-1930's, they are set against simplified geometrical background, as in Pink Nude (Fig. 18). Like the former, this large Nude, though stretched out in an extraordinary suggestive way, is devoid of any sensual content or feeling. However, it doesn't mean that the painting is expressionless, for Matisse wrote:

What I am after, above all, is expression. . . . Expression, to my way of thinking, does not consist of the passion mirrored upon a human face or betrayed by a violent gesture. The whole arrangement of my picture is expressive. The place occupied by figures or objects, the empty spaces around them, the proportions—everything plays a part.³³

Such is the very expression that Matisse was after, giving rise to "a luminescence that allows the [whole] painting to radiate from within",³⁴ as if it has a life of its own.

³¹However, this is also not uncommon in Chinese painting. The cloud, for instance, is usually portrayed but leaving an unpainted circle to suggest the moon, which is supposed to be the *zhu*. Similarly, the streams or waterfalls are not painted, but are implied by leaving empty spaces bordered by detailed rendering of banks and mountains, which are *bin*.

³²In Jack D. Flam, Matisse on Art (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1973; 2d ed., paperback, 1978), p. 82; he was quoted as saying that, "Above all, I do not create a woman, *I make a picture*."

³³Artists on Art, op. cit., pp. 409-10.

³⁴The Story of Painting, op. cit., p. 85.

6.2 Female Nudes of Picasso

6.2.1 "A Continent Called Picasso"

Pablo Picasso is not only "the most prolific of all painters",³⁵ he is also "this century's most creative artist, whose variety of styles and whose invention and genius in so many media are without parallel."³⁶ He is indeed "an extraordinary fusion of individual and collective genius",³⁷ and "the most profoundly original artist".³⁸ It is no wonder that Jackson Pollock (1912-56) once hurled a book of Picasso reproductions across the room and shouted, "God damn it, that guy thinks of everything!"³⁹

Picasso remains "a legendary figure, the most famous"⁴⁰ artist in the recent history of Western art. Nowadays, it is often being said that "it is impossible to understand modern painting without Picasso".⁴¹ As the most talked about artist in the twentieth century, he is also probably "the most documented of modern artists".⁴² Numerous books, essays and articles, in the serious form of critical and biographical studies, or in the nonsensical form that treated him as no more than a "man in the news",⁴³ have emerged around him and his work. In reminiscences, poems, catalogues, photographs and full-length films,⁴⁴ the artist and his work have been

³⁵The New Guinness Book of Records 1995, p. 134.

³⁶Makers of the Twentieth Century, 1981 ed., s.v. "Pablo Picasso", p. 127.

³⁷Convergences, op. cit., p. 173.

³⁸The Great Artists, op. cit., vol. 4, pt. 71, p. 2241.

³⁹Quoted in Michael Sullivan, The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art, op. cit., p. 195.

⁴⁰The Great Artists, op. cit., vol. 4, pt. 71, p. 2241.

⁴¹Convergences, op. cit., p. 173.

⁴²Janet Hobhouse, The Bride Stripped Bare: The Artist and the Nude in the Twentieth Century (London: Jonathan Cape, 1988), p. 104.

⁴³Mario De Micheli, Picasso, trans. Pearl Sanders from Italian, Dolphin Art Books (London: Thames & Hudson, 1967), p. 28.

⁴⁴The latest film being Surviving Picasso, Merchant Ivory movie directed by James Ivory, with Sir Anthony Hopkins in the lead role, opened in Britain on 26 December 1996. This film has been ridiculed in "

documented. He has indeed created "a continent called Picasso".⁴⁵

6.2.2 Picasso and Shitao

Unlike the ancient masters, such as Michelangelo, who have met with similar popularity and whose relation with their world had been always most harmonious, Picasso was never a model of harmony with his world. More like Shitao, he remained a mad recluse—unsociable and, at times, in violent and sarcastic opposition to the norms and morality of society. According to Octavio Paz, "he knew how to laugh at the world and, on occasion, himself."⁴⁶ Picasso was as eccentric and rebellious as Shitao, who believed that "I am as I am; in me there is [only] I."⁴⁷ Both their paintings show a successful effort towards independence from the past tradition and nonconformity to the prevailing public taste. However, whereas Shitao did not entirely reject the traditional methods of painting but advocated escape from the bondage to them, Picasso believed that all manners of expression were equally valid. That's exactly what Paz meant when he considered Picasso "the great nihilist and, at the same time, the man of great passions."⁴⁸

Picasso had an incredible visual memory, comparable to that of Shitao's follower Zhang Daqian (1899-1983). Right from the beginning, both of them were able to grasp the different and diverse techniques of past masters. However, unlike Zhang who initially imitated (and forged) the masters and produced paintings in their exact styles, Picasso assimilated the elements of their styles and made them into something personal. Although he produced paintings on famous models, he neither duplicated them nor copied their styles, but re-created in his own pictorial language. "Art is not the application of a canon of beauty," he said to art publisher Christian

'Ridiculous' film frames Picasso, says art expert", *The Times* (London), 23 November 1996, Home News sec., p. 13.

⁴⁵Werner Spies, *Focus on Art*, trans. Luna Carne-Ross & John William Gabriel from German (München: Prestel-Verlag, 1979; trans. ed., New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1982), pp. 1-7.

⁴⁶*Convergences*, op. cit., p. 174.

⁴⁷Cited earlier in my Chap. 4.2.3.

⁴⁸*Convergences*, op. cit., p. 174.

Zervos, "but what the instinct and the brain can conceive beyond any canon."⁴⁹ In the footsteps of Shitao, Picasso expressed from his own "lungs [and other] entrails", and displayed his own "beards [and] eyebrows".⁵⁰

While Shitao went on to establish the Principle of *Yihua* as a "principle out of no principle, [and a] principle that threads through [covers] all principles",⁵¹ Picasso introduced a more conceptual Cubist approach to art—as a defiance to the five-century-old system of perspective and the related notions for rendering reality that had been traditionally identified with European painting. "In order to *make*," he said, "one must make against."⁵² He created a new visual language that shattered the traditional conventions of painting and broke the link that had connected the late nineteenth century art, through all its predecessors, to the Renaissance. He once remarked angrily:

What is painting? Everyone clings to old-fashioned ideas and outworn definitions, as if it were not precisely the role of the artist to provide new ones.⁵³

Under his 'new definitions', painters of his time found it increasingly difficult to return to the "old-fashioned" and "outworn" way of painting as it had existed before Cubism.

Shitao "never ignored the mountains [and] rivers, and [could not] let the mountains [and] rivers keep their secrets".⁵⁴ Picasso, on the other hand, never got bored of women and spent almost his entire life and career concentrating on the woman. In the words of Marie-Laure Bernadac:

Picasso is *the* painter of woman: goddess of antiquity, mother, praying mantis, blown-up balloon, weeper, hysteric, body curled in a ball or sprawled in sleep, pile of available flesh, cheerful pissier, fruitful mother or courtesan: no painter

⁴⁹Alfred H. Barr, Jr., *Picasso: Fifty Years of His Art* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1946; Arno Press repr. ed., 1966; 3d pr., 1980), p. 273, reproducing Myfanwy Evans' translation of the conversation (in 1935) between Picasso and Zervos.

⁵⁰Cited earlier in my Chap. 4.2.3.

⁵¹Cited earlier in my Chap. 4.2.1.

⁵²Quoted by Paz in *Convergences*, op. cit., p. 181. Such quotation seems to contradict what Paz himself said earlier. On p. 173, he said, "I don't know whether Picasso is the best painter of our time; I do know that his painting, with all its stupendous and surprising changes, is the painting of our time. By this I mean that his art **doesn't stand in the face of, against, or apart from** his era; nor is it a prophecy of the art of tomorrow or nostalgia for the past . . ." (bold emphasis mine).

⁵³*Picasso: In His Words*, op. cit., p. 29.

⁵⁴Cited earlier in my Chap. 4.2.5.

has ever gone so far in unveiling the feminine universe in all the complexity of its real and fantasy life.⁵⁵

"Mountains, [and] rivers let me speak for them," wrote Shitao.⁵⁶ Analogously, Picasso can be regarded as "the interpreter of the world of woman".⁵⁷

Whereas Shitao aimed at Oneness with nature, Picasso aimed at Oneness with his women. Like the *Brücke* painters, Picasso took the women he loved and who lived with him to be his models. "So what his paintings show is never a 'model' of a woman," wrote Bernadac, "but woman as model."⁵⁸ For Picasso, "the beloved woman stands for 'painting', and the painted woman is the beloved; detachment is an impossibility."⁵⁹ Paul Valéry once wrote, on Titian, "It is easy to see that for Titian, when he painted Venus in the plenitude of her perfection *as goddess and as painted object . . . to paint was to caress*, to join two kinds of sensuality in one sublime act, in which possession of the Beauty through all the senses was joined."⁶⁰ For Picasso, to paint is indeed to literally caress.

6.2.3 Picasso's Women → Picassian Styles of *Bianyi* [Variation] and *Kuangguai* [Wild-and-Queer-ness]

There are seven women known to have serious love affairs with Picasso, two of whom he married. His life with all of them, his art and aesthetics were all mixed up but ruled by the same principle: *Bianyi*-and-*Kuangguai*. Although he was fond of calling them "goddesses or doormats",⁶¹ they were his greatest source of inspiration

⁵⁵Marie-Laure Bernadac, "Picasso 1953-1972: Painting as Model", in Late Picasso: Paintings, Sculpture, Drawings, Prints 1953-1972 [exhibition catalogue] (Paris: Editions du Centre Pompidou, 1988; English ed., London: Tate Gallery Publications, 1988), p. 80.

⁵⁶Shitao, *Kugua Heshang Huayu Lu*, chap. 8, in *Hualun Congkan*, ed. Yu Anlan, op. cit., p. 151.

⁵⁷Jean Leymarie, Picasso: The Artist of the Century, trans. James Emmons from the French (Geneva: Editions d'Art Albert Skira, 1971; London: Macmillan, 1972), p. 53.

⁵⁸"Picasso 1953-1972: Painting as Model", op. cit., p. 78.

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Quoted in Carol M. Armstrong, "Edgar Degas and the Representation of the Female Body", in The Female Body in Western Culture: Contemporary Perspectives, ed. Susan Rubin Suleiman (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), p. 223; translation and italics Armstrong's.

⁶¹John Richardson, in "Picasso: A Retrospective View", in A Picasso Anthology: Documents, Criticism, Reminiscences, ed. Marilyn McCully (London: The Arts Council of Great Britain, in association with Thames &

and the most lasting source of energy for his creation. Each of them played a strong role in representing different aspects of feminine beauty to him. The appearance of each of them at different stages of his life often signalled a change in artistic direction and triggered him along his continuous search for fresh and innovative ideas. He didn't paint all of them "à la Picasso",⁶² but each time resulted in a different sorts of *Bianyi* and *Kuangguai*—characterised by "a sum of destructions", instead of "a sum of additions".⁶³

Fernande → The Analytical Picasso met Fernande Olivier, a beautiful art student from the *École des Beaux Arts*, in 1904—the year Picasso decided to leave his native Spain. She soon became his first love and mistress. The liaison, that lasted until 1911, marked a change in Picasso's style from a mournful Blue Period (1901-4) to the mellower Rose Period (1904-6). Throughout the Rose Period Fernande was the subject of a number of portraits and a great inspiration to his work that began to concentrate on nonallegorical and nonpsychological aspects of the female figure. His earlier distortion of the figure also gave way to a sculptural deformation of the nude by 1906. The latter is characterised by an emphasis on volume and mass of the body, increasingly represented as "solid fields of flesh."⁶⁴

Fernande continued to be present in Picasso's work, though under different guises, well into the beginning of 1907, when Picasso went on with a different type of female description—a *Bianyi* type. The starting point was the painting *Les Femmes d'Alger (O. J. Version O)* [The Brothel of Avignon] (243.9 X 233.7 cm, oil on canvas, 1907, The Museum of Modern Art, New York).⁶⁵ While traces of ancient Iberian sculptures, African carvings and tribal masks can be inextricably noticed in the angular bodies and on the faces of the *Femmes*,⁶⁶ the influence of Paul Cézanne can also be seen in the break-up and redefinition of forms, and the breakdown of

Hudson, 1981), p. 283, quoted Françoise Gilot as saying that Picasso had only two ways of treating women—as "goddesses or doormats".

⁶²Georges Boudaille, Marie-Laure Bernadac & Marie-Pierre Gauthier, *Pablo Picasso*, trans. Patricia Konnecky et al. (Paris: Nouvelles Editions Françaises, 1985; English trans. ed., London: Alpine Fine Arts Collection, 1987), p. 155.

⁶³*Picasso: Fifty Years of His Art*, op. cit., p. 272.

⁶⁴*The Bride Stripped Bare*, op. cit., p. 112.

⁶⁵As reproduced in Carsten-Peter Warncke, *Pablo Picasso 1881-1973*, op. cit., vol. I: "1890-1936", p. 159.

⁶⁶John Richardson, "A Life of Picasso 1907-1917: The Painter of Modern Life", Lecture delivered as the Sixth Roland Penrose Memorial Lecture at The National Gallery, London, 14 November 1996.

perspectival space. Introducing "the Cubist idea of reproducing volumes fundamentally as rhythms of surfaces",⁶⁷ Picasso had reinforced Cézanne's demand for reduction to "the cylinder, the sphere, the cone" with excessively geometrical fragmentation of the bodies. Picasso once said:

When you start with a portrait and search for a pure form, a clear volume, through successive eliminations, you arrive inevitably at the egg. Likewise, starting with the egg and following the same process in reverse, one finishes with the portrait.⁶⁸

This recalls the following passage in *Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan*:

[One] must know the whole body [form] of the bird. [Birds are] born originally from eggs [and thus their forms resemble eggs. Therefore, from] the form of an egg, [one] adds the head [and] the tail [first]; wings and feet are subsequently added.⁶⁹

Picasso, however, usually stopped in between, for he added, "But art, I believe, escapes these simplistic exercises which consist in going from one extreme to the other. It's necessary to know when to stop."⁷⁰ Such statement indeed echoes the Chinese Principle of *Yin Yang*.

Picasso's years between 1907 and 1909 are sometimes known as his 'Negro Period' that began with paintings that developed out of the treatment of the two nudes on the right of *Les Femmes d'Alger (O. J. R. Version O)*. While the Iberian sculptures and African masks remained an energetic force behind his distortions of the figure, Fernande continued to dominate Picasso's portraits up to the period when he (and Georges Braque) created the first distinct phase of Cubism—the Analytical Cubism (1909-12). In these pictures, indeed *Bianchi*, Fernande was increasingly being treated more as an impersonal object or "motif" than as a portrait subject, as Pierre Daix argued.⁷¹

⁶⁷The Bloomsbury Guide to Art, op. cit., p. 703.

⁶⁸Picasso, *Picasso, Artists by Themselves*, op. cit., p. 62.

⁶⁹Wang Gai, Wang Shi & Wang Nie, eds. & comps., *Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan*, op. cit., vol. 3, bk. 1, p. 8. Such passage seems to lead to the idea that ". . . because the artist has concentrated upon the essential form of the bird . . . , the painting could represent any bird . . ." instead of a particular bird, which is precisely an observation made in Helga Loeb, Phil Slight & Nick Stanley, eds., *Designs We Live By* (Corsham: National Society for Education in Art & Design, 1993), p. 36.

⁷⁰Picasso, *Artists by Themselves*, op. cit., p. 62.

⁷¹William Rubin, "Reflections on Picasso and Portraiture", in *Picasso and Portraiture: Representation and Transformation*, ed. William Rubin, with essays by Anne Baldassari et al. (London: Thames & Hudson, 1996), p. 32, quoting Daix.

Eva and Olga → The Synthetic and the Classical Fernande's friend Marcelle Humbert (d. 1915)—whom Picasso fondly called Eva—became his new love and model for his figure painting since 1912. The affair coincided with Picasso's Synthetic Period (1912-15)—the next and final phase of Cubism. Influenced probably by Eva's petiteness and delicateness, and under the impetus of collage—*papier collé* invented by Braque, a new approach of Cubist figuration that seemed less 'abstract' and more 'legible' than the Analytical phase emerged.

However, all Picasso's 'portraits' of Eva rarely reproduced her facial features, but grafted identifiable phrases such as "*Ma Jolie*" or "*J'aime Eva*" onto the typical 'Synthetic portraits'.⁷² Such (nonarbitrary) use of words (and lettering or numbers) on canvas was first introduced by Braque, and used by him and Picasso as a stratagem to prevent their paintings from appearing to be literally flat abstractions, as in the case of the 'Analytical paintings'. Besides, the problem of colour, that had been almost completely neglected earlier, had finally been resolved. Once again, vibrant colours were reintroduced, though still in the typical Cubist manner of interlocking planes. Together with Braque, Picasso fully developed Cubism that completely revolutionised the future course of modern art.

Meanwhile, in 1917, Picasso met the ballerina Olga Khokhlova (d. 1955)—daughter of a Russian general—in Rome. He married her the following year and she remained a very attentive wife until 1935. During his years with her, Picasso had enjoyed a very prosperous and rather respectably grand lifestyle. His interest in art seemed to have diverted from Cubist constructions to extraordinarily realistic representations of stage props and costumes; and the Synthetic style of his figure painting also seemed to have given way to a monumental Neoclassical style of his so-called Classical Period (1916-24). His figural work of the early 1920s, that imbued with the theme of maternity, following the birth of his first child, Paulo, in 1921, may be seen as expressions of contentment and joy—remarkably different from those of the Blue Period.

Although Picasso seemed to have confused his critics and fellow artists by returning to a more conventional figure painting, it is important to note that Picasso actually did not stop exploring his Synthetic Cubism. In fact, working simultaneously with (and swopping in between) the Synthetic Cubist and the Neoclassical styles had unexpectedly led to the brief emergence of a new Curvilinear Cubist style. By 1925,

⁷²Ibid., p. 35.

contact with the Surrealists, and subsequently conflicts between him and his wife, had also prompted him to probe into the destructive human impulses, and to paint violently expressive, distorted body forms and aggressive sexual images. In these respects, Picasso was at one point regarded as a Surrealist by André Breton (1896-1966).⁷³

Marie-Thérèse and Dora → Beauty and the Beast The year 1927 marked the beginning of Picasso's relationship with Marie-Thérèse Walter (d. 1977)—a seventeen-year-old blonde beauty of easygoing temper and opulent charms. She unconditionally offered herself to him and remained his secret mistress until she gave birth to a daughter in 1935. Thereafter, their relationship lasted for ten more years.

Marie-Thérèse had inspired a series of constant transformations and was the subject of Picasso's many figure paintings of the 1930s "that range from instantly recognizable portraits to transcendent universal symbols."⁷⁴ Picasso's relationship with her also signalled the beginning of a new treatment of the human face in his paintings: he showed two viewpoints—the front face and profile—simultaneously on a single facial form. The visual impact of such "twin-aspect"⁷⁵ face is a fresh sense of dynamic movement of the head as if the subject is in a state of unrest. This all the more creates an atmosphere of liveliness, or "*Shengdong*", in Xie He(fl. ca. A.D. 500-535)'s terms.

In paintings after 1930s, the effect of simultaneity increasingly involves the whole form of the figure, not just a head with "two-in-one face"⁷⁶ that stops short at the trunk. This is especially evident in his series of female **sleeping nudes**—naturally inspired by Marie-Thérèse—produced in the most queer style of *Kuangguai*. With this style, coupled with his long, intense and sexually passionate liaison with Marie-Thérèse, Picasso injected a strong sense of eroticism that was not so apparent in his painting before she entered his life. Since then, it opened a new form of sensual expression in his art that predominated his paintings until his last days.

⁷³Hutchinson Gallup Info 93: Today's Yearbook & Factfinder, 1992 ed., s.v. "Surrealism", p. 306.

⁷⁴Robert Rosenblum, "Picasso's Blond Muse: The Reign of Marie-Thérèse Walter", in Picasso and Portraiture, op. cit., p. 341.

⁷⁵Other Criteria, op. cit., p. 194.

⁷⁶Ibid.

During the war years, Picasso also had a long standing relationship with Dora Maar with whom he lived from 1936 to 1945. A young Yugoslavian painter and photographer with a pair of starry eyes and a steadfast look, Dora soon primarily inspired a series of beast-like human images and monsters that were often of a nightmarish nature. An example is the mural Guernica (349.3 X 776.6 cm, oil on canvas, 1937, Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, Madrid).⁷⁷ According to John Richardson, "Even the women's head in Guernica have a generic resemblance to Dora."⁷⁸ Paintings such as this rely on the most "abstract and cruel"⁷⁹ distortions of the human form that may have also been inspired by Surrealist idea, for Dora was an enthusiastic follower of the Surrealists. Such style is "great" and, at the same time, "horrible", as Picasso himself admitted in a statement made in 1946:

Anything of great value—creation, a new idea—carries its shadow zone with it. . . . Every positive value has its price in negative terms and you never see anything very **great** which is not, at the same time, **horrible** in some respect.⁸⁰

Such statement offers yet another definition of *Yin Yang*.

Françoise and Jacqueline → Goddess and the Erotic Françoise Gilot (b. 1921), another young painter, first became Picasso's "goddess" in 1943. Unlike the way he treated Dora, Picasso idolised her as flower and sun in many of his portraits of her. During the ten-year liaison, she bore him a son and a daughter. Paintings of them "are usually brilliant in colour and decorated with vigorous flourishes and arabesques."⁸¹ Once again, like those of Olga and his first son, these paintings express feelings of complacency and maternal joy. The paintings of his children, whether at play, reading, drawing, or lying asleep, all show Picasso's caring and tender observation of their behaviour and reveal the happiness and artlessness of childhood.

⁷⁷As reproduced in From the Romantic Age to the Present Day, op. cit., p. 549.

⁷⁸John Richardson, ed., Picasso: An American Tribute (New York: Public Education Association, 1962), "Perls Galleries: The Thirties" (no page number).

⁷⁹This phrase is taken from Gertrude Stein, "The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas", in Selected Writings of Gertrude Stein, ed. Carl Van Vechten (New York: Vintage Books, 1972), p. 86, where Stein wrote, "Americans . . . are like Spaniards. They are abstract and cruel."

⁸⁰Picasso: In His Words, op. cit., p. 65; bold emphasis mine.

⁸¹The Arts Council Picasso Exhibition 1960 [exhibition catalogue], introduction by Roland Penrose ([London]: The Arts Council of Great Britain, 1960), pp. 52-53.

Picasso married for a second time in 1961 to a divorcée Jacqueline Roque (1926-86) who worked in a pottery shop at Vallauris. Like the first wife, she was an extremely attentive woman. Together, they led an increasingly reclusive life until Picasso's death. Right from the beginning when Picasso first met her around 1952, her sharp profile with large eyes had dominated the images of his final female conquest. These images constitute the largest single group of portraits produced in his late years, of which some are fairly realistic pictures of Jacqueline while some others are distorted or rendered abstractly. Almost all of these, especially all the nude images of her, were executed from memory and not from life, for Jacqueline—unlike Marie-Thérèse—never posed nude. Like Marie-Thérèse, however, Jacqueline inspired Picasso to create some of the most erotic pictures in Western art history, despite confronting his own sexual impotence then.⁸² It was also during these last twenty years with Jacqueline that he increasingly concentrated, in his painting, on the theme of the **reclining nude**.

Jacqueline is also present, under some guises, in Picasso's reappropriation of old masters' paintings. Out of a desire to pit his mature visual language of *Kuangguai* against that of the great masters in their treatment of the same subjects, Picasso drew great satisfaction in painting Picassian versions, ludicrous in some cases, of the old masters. Having settled his accounts with the old masters in this grand manner, Picasso spent his final ten years returning to *Ziran* in painting, and to pursue what the Chinese call *yi* [untrammelledness]. Picasso was now in the state of Taoist "*wangji* [forget everything]",⁸³ in a similar way as an actor forgetting who he really is in order to play his role well on stage. "Painting is stronger than I am," said Picasso. "It makes me do what it wants."⁸⁴ Such is also the *Chan*-ic spirit of '*wuwo* [no-self, literally]', as related by the following story about a wrestler named O-nami (which means 'the Great Wave'):

O-nami was immensely strong and highly skilled in wrestling. In his private bouts he defeated even his teacher, but in public he was so bashful that his own pupils threw him. Not knowing why, he went to Hakuju, a *Chan* master.

⁸²Picasso once said to Brassai—as recorded in 1971 by the latter in "The Master at 90", in *A Picasso Anthology: Documents, Criticism, Reminiscences*, ed. Marilyn McCully (London: The Arts Council of Great Britain, in association with Thames & Hudson, 1981), pp. 272-73—. . . It's the same thing with making love. We don't do it any more, but the desire for it is still with us!" Such sentiment recalls the passage (quoted in my Chap. 5.1.1) by Zong Bing who, towards the end of his life, turned to landscape as a substitute for roaming in the real landscape.

⁸³In Zhuang Zi, *Zhuang Zi* 12:9, in *Xinyi Zhuang Zi Duben*, annotated & interpreted by Huang Jinhong, op. cit., p. 156, it is quoted that Lao Zi used the term "*wangji*" to mean "forget [all] the surrounding things, even forget [the whole of] nature" (translation with reference to the interpretation on p. 165).

⁸⁴*Picasso: In His Words*, op. cit., p. 70.

Hakuju advised him to remain in the monastery to meditate, imagining that he was a giant wave instead of a wrestler suffering from stage fright. Initially, he had some difficulty concentrating, but soon he turned more and more to the feelings of the waves. As the night advanced, the waves became larger and larger, knocking over vases and sweeping away items of worship, statues and the entire monastery. Before dawn, there was nothing left but the ebb and flow of an immense sea. In his wrestling contests thereafter, he imagined that he had become a wave, and won every time.⁸⁵

With this spirit of '*wuwo*', Picasso continued into his last years to exercise, with an extraordinary energy and to the most successful extent, the distortion of form in his reclining nude. In keeping with his *Kuangguai* style, the nude's body remains to be shown simultaneously from the front, side and back. The sensual and erotic attributes of the nude are, however, further enhanced by another "late style" that is characterised by the use of arbitrary colour applied by free and powerful brushwork. As Meyer put it in 1976:

Where the Cubist treatment becomes more 'concrete' without forfeiting its 'conceptual' character, and the painter sees a primal creative power in painting itself, there occurs a change of basic approach which is also manifested in his painting. The style that corresponds to this approach may be termed Picasso's 'late style'.⁸⁶

It is also the freedom in the handling of paint in the "late style" that can rightly be regarded as his yet another major contribution to modern painting. Vitality inevitably becomes a striking feature of his late period—not just to be perceived as the speed or urgency of the execution of brushwork within the work itself, but conveyed by the giant volume of his output. At this time of his life, it seemed to him that speed and accumulation were his only resistance against death. "I have less and less time," he said, "and yet I have more and more to say"⁸⁷

⁸⁵Adapted from Paul Reps, comp., *Zen Flesh, Zen Bones*, op. cit., pp. 22-23.

⁸⁶Quoted in Evelyn Weiss & Maria Teresa Ocaña, ed., *Picasso: The Ludwig Collection*, with contribution by Pirre Daix, Maria Teresa Ocaña & Evelyn Weiss, an interview with Peter Ludwig by Daniel Geralt-Miracle and commentaries on the works by Babara Thiemann & Evelyn Weiss, English edition trans. John Brownjohn from the German & Spanish, and ed. Simon Haviland (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1992; English ed., [1993]), plate 92.

⁸⁷*Picasso: In His Words*, op. cit., p. 88.

6.2.4 *Bianyi* and *Kuangguai* → *Shi* [Reality] and *Zhen* [True Essence]

Picasso's paintings in the style of *Bianyi*-and-*Kuangguai* were never intended to be an abstract art. Although they may be difficult to be read at times, they were always intended to be representational or to reproduce an aspect of *shi*—the real world. Picasso was aware of his way of reproducing reality, that may appear alien to the archetypal mould of European art, but, as he explained, "Whatever the source of the emotion that drives me to create, I want to give it a form which has some connection with the visible world".⁸⁸ Such "some connection with the visible world", however, not necessarily means that 'reality' for Picasso was a literal transcription of what he saw in front of him. Poet Guillaume Apollinaire made the following observation, in 1912:

Verisimilitude no longer has any importance, since everything is sacrificed by the artist to **truth**, to the necessities of a higher nature, whose existence he assumes but does not lay bare.⁸⁹

Paz offered another definition of Picasso's 'reality':

. . . his paintings expressed (and express) a reality that is and is not ours. It is not ours because these paintings express a *beyond*; it is ours because this beyond does not lie either before or after us but *right here*; it is what is within each of us. Or rather, what is *below*: sex, passions, dreams. It is the reality—the **untamed reality**—that every civilised being bears within.⁹⁰

To this, Paz also added that, "For Picasso the outside world was always the point of departure and the end point, the **primordial reality**."⁹¹

Apollinaire's "truth" and Paz's "untamed reality" or "primordial reality" actually point to what Jing Hao (ca. A.D. 870-930) called "*zhen*"—the true essence. Picasso had always wanted to express the 'true essence' of the subject, even if it amounts to disfiguring or deforming the subject. "I have never been out of reality," he

⁸⁸Quoted in *The Great Artists*, vol. 4, pt. 71, p. 2251.

⁸⁹Apollinaire, "The Cubist Painters", in *Cubism*, by Edward F. Fry, [documentary texts] trans. Jonathan Griffin from French & German (London: Thames & Hudson, 1966; repr., 1978), p. 115; bold emphasis mine.

⁹⁰*Convergences*, op. cit., p. 174; bold emphasis mine.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, p. 181; bold emphasis mine.

said. "I have always been in the essence of reality".⁹² It is thus not the external appearance—or "*si*"—of the subject that fascinated him, but its *zhen*. "I paint objects as I think them," he told poet Ramon Gomez de la Serna, "not as I see them."⁹³ It is no wonder that Apollinaire also wrote:

Cubism differs from the old schools of painting in that it is not an art of imitation, but an art of conception which tends towards creation. In representing conceptualized reality or creative reality, the painter can give the effect of three dimensions. He can to a certain extent cube.⁹⁴

According to Jing, "That which is *si*, is [merely] to obtain its *xing*, [but] to leave out its *Qi*; that which is *zhen*, is that both *Qi* and *zhi* are captured."⁹⁵ Indeed, both *Qi* and *zhi* are grasped in Picasso's *Bianyi* and *Kuangguai* paintings, as will be discussed soon.

⁹²Picasso, *Artists by Themselves*, op. cit., p. 68.

⁹³Quoted in Roland Penrose, Picasso, with notes by David Lomas (London: Phaidon Press, 1971; rev. & enlarged ed., 1991), p. 13.

⁹⁴"The Cubist Painters", op. cit., p. 116.

⁹⁵Cited earlier in my Chap. 3.4.2.

SECTION B

DONG [EAST] MEETS *XI* [WEST] → COMPARISON OF ZHANG DAQIAN'S LANDSCAPES AND PABLO PICASSO'S FEMALE NUDES

Selection of Paintings → Comparison

The mountain takes water as [its] blood, takes vegetation as [its] hair, [and] takes mist and clouds as [its] *shencai* [characteristic personal expression]. . . . Water takes the mountain as [its] countenance, takes pavilions as [its] brows [and] eyes

Guo Xi (1023-ca. 1085),
Lin Quan Gaozhi
[High Inspiration in the Woods and the Springs],
Pian [Chap.] 1: Advice on Landscape Painting¹

In the world of twentieth-century painting, both in the East and the West, some artists paint abstraction to continue their obsession with figuration and some use figuration to continue painting abstraction; and yet some find their own balance between abstract figuration and figurative abstraction. Zhang Daqian (1899-1983) and Pablo Picasso

¹In *Hualun Congkan*, ed. Yu Anlan, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 22.

(1881-1973) belong to this last group. While Zhang achieved such synthesis by his technique of *Po Mo Po Cai* in his Oneness with nature, Picasso created his through Picassian styles of *Bianyi* and *Kuangguai* in his Oneness with woman. The abstract quality of Zhang's paintings arises from simplification and elimination, but has evolved from the old and never departed from the laws of nature. That of Picasso's paintings, on the other hand, arises from distortion and fragmentation of the human form, and represents a break from the past tradition.

The result of both cases, however, is similar; and it is what I call figurative-abstract-figurative painting—painting that imposes abstract structures on subject but retains recognisable figurative origin (landscape in the case of Zhang and figure in Picasso's case). Although both were increasingly concerned with painting itself and with spontaneous self-expression, Zhang and Picasso never departed from the original subject matter. In their paintings, shapes and sizes appear to be aesthetically modulated and rhythmically expressed according to individual artistic taste and their own inner vision; but the overall impression remains fairly figurative and never purely abstract. "Naturalistic illusion and surface abstraction"—borrowing Jerome Silbergeld's words—are present simultaneously, "blended in varying degrees and proportions."² In this sense, there is no difference between their paintings. As Zhang put it:

. . . [there is] fundamentally no distinction between Chinese and Western in painting. This is so during [the initial stage of] learning; it is also the same [when one] ultimately attained the highest [artistic] realm. Although [there] may be a slight dissimilarity, [but] that is [due to] regional divergence in custom and [difference] in tools and materials [of the painter] . . .³

In this spirit, two comparisons are carried out here between two landscape paintings of Zhang and two of Picasso's female nudes. This section is thus devoted to an examination of similarities rather than differences. Zhang's *Shanyu Yu Lai* [Approach of a Mountain Storm] (Fig. 19) is selected to compare with Picasso's *Nude in a Garden* (Fig. 20) in Chapter 7, and Zhang's *Lushan Tu* [Picture of Mount Lu] (Fig. 21) with Picasso's *Reclining Nude with Necklace* (Fig. 22) in Chapter 8. The comparisons are made from the interdisciplinary perspective set up in Part I, in an attempt to verify that the paintings of Zhang and Picasso share many common points of reference. It is important to note that the comparisons are treated "not as a conflict,

²Silbergeld, *Chinese Painting Style: Media, Methods, and Principles of Form* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1982; 3d pr., 1992), p. 40.

³Zhang, "Hua Shuo", in *Zhang Daqian Xiansheng Shi Wen Ji*, op. cit., vol. 2, bk. 6, p. 115.

or even as a reconciliation, of opposites, but as a dynamic and truly life-enhancing [unitarity]",⁴ in the sense of the eternal interaction of the opposite but complementary principles of Chinese *Yin* and *Yang*.

Shanyu Yu Lai and *Nude in a Garden* *Shanyu Yu Lai*—an infused view of nature with a new flavour—is selected for its most unusual visual effect achieved by the traditional Chinese painting tools and materials. It is also one of Zhang's most successful paintings produced during the period when he first entered a stage of reform and innovations and started painting in splashed-ink-and-wash in the early 1960s, and later in splashed-ink-and-colour style towards the end of his stay in Brazil. The latter technique remained his favourite when he moved to the United States. It is with paintings such as *Shanyu Yu Lai* that he took his works into the arena of modern art.

The inscription in gold at the lower right corner on the painting also influences my choice of the painting. It reads:

[As] the river *yun* [clouds] begin to rise,
[And] the sun sinks behind the hall;
The mountain *yu* [rain] is approaching,
[While] the breezes fill the tower [room].⁵

These are lines Zhang extracted from a poem by Tang poet Xu Hun (fl. ca. 850 A.D.), entitled 'Poem from the East Tower of Xianyang Cheng [City Wall of Xianyang]'.⁶ The quotation of the poem not only exemplifies the amalgamation of modern and ancient in this *Po Mo Po Cai* painting, it may also invoke a sense of eroticism, for *yun* and *yu* in Chinese combine (into *yunyu*) to refer metaphorically to "sexual union, the clouds being the blending of male with female, and rain the climax of the union."⁷

⁴Michael Sullivan, *The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art*, op. cit., p. 8. I prefer 'unitarity' to "dialectic", used originally in Sullivan's text.

⁵Translation mine.

⁶As collected in Chen Yongzhen & Chen Shanci, eds., *Han Ying Duizhao Chengyu Cidian*, op. cit., idiom entry 2335, p. 274.

⁷Wolfram Eberhard, *Dictionary of Chinese Symbols: An Essential Guide to the Hidden Symbols in Chinese Art, Customs and Beliefs*, trans. G. L. Campbell from the German (Cologne: Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1983; trans. ed., Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986; Singapore: Federal Publications, 1990), p. 68. 'Yunyu' has also been used as the title of a book by Michel Beurdeley—*The Clouds and the Rain: The Art of Love in China*, in collaboration with Kristofer Schipper, Chang Fu-jui & Jacques Pimpaneau, trans. Diana Imber from the French (Fribourg: Office du Livre, 1969). The book is about erotic art in China.

This sparks off the idea of comparing *Shanyu Yu Lai* with *Nude in a Garden*, of which the latter represents the acme of the series of studies of sleeping nudes, in the most erotic style in the whole of modern painting, by Picasso in the 1930s. During this period, he made Marie-Thérèse Walter, with whom he treasured his love the most, his exclusive and universal mistress-model. He simultaneously employed a diversity of techniques, but with a same fundamental aim of presenting her benign but erotic nature, in his repeated and renewed representations of her. Picasso had always said to himself, "That's not right yet. You can do better."⁸ That is why he painted so many versions of the sleeping Marie-Thérèse, "from one canvas to the next, always go further, further . . .".⁹ In his own words, "To express the same thing, but express it better."¹⁰

Lushan Tu and Reclining Nude with Necklace Three years before he died, Zhang—probably alleviating his regret over never having climbed the peak of Mount Lu—began to paint *Lushan Tu*. This painting, a panorama almost two metres high and ten metres long, was only eighty-five percent completed (and thus unsigned) when he died.¹¹ In spite of its unfinished state, it is both the most important and the largest of his paintings produced during his final years in Taipei. Defying the presumption that painters over the age of eighty show a trembling hand and thus limiting themselves to less vigorous work and small-scale compositions, Zhang produced a landscape in the format of a traditional handscroll, but at a much expanded scale of a wall mural. He indeed "wanted people to witness that although old, he was not aged."¹² Such creation of the imaginative panorama of Mount Lu, painted in the manner of '*de xin ying shou*' and in accord with Shitao's Principle of *Yihua*, certainly stands as "a sensational conclusion to a lifetime of painting."¹³ It is also the very encyclopaedic range of his styles—*gongbi* and *xieyi*; *qinglü* and *shuimo*; *po mo* and *po cai*—that he incorporated into this painting that make him such an eminent *chuantong-chuangxin* painter.

⁸Hiro Clark, ed., *Picasso: In His Words*, op. cit., p. 60.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Xie Jiaxiao, *Zhang Daqian Zhuan*, op. cit., p. 426.

¹²Shen C. Y. Fu, *Challenging the Past*, op. cit., p. 302.

¹³Ibid., p. 303.

Reclining Nude with Necklace is selected, for almost the same consideration as above, to compare with Lushan Tu. This painting is typical of Picasso's late works, concentrating on the theme of the reclining female nude on its own, with decreasing emphasis of background or surrounding that had been always clearly present in the sleeping nude series. It was during this period that he fully achieved oneness with his painting and woman, through his matured style of *Bianyi-and-Kuangguai*. The woman this time was his second wife Jacqueline Roque. All the much-transformed reclining nudes of his last years were inspired by her, though she never posed for him, nude or otherwise. She was so much a part of his daily life, and his visual vocabulary and memory of the nude were so rich, that there was no need for her to pose. Picasso created Reclining Nude with Necklace, so to speak, in a similar way Zhang '*de xin ying shou*'-ly created his Lushan Tu. Like the latter, Reclining Nude with Necklace, and all his late nudes, "convey very powerfully the feelings of a great artist, acutely aware of approaching death but refusing to accept it, and defiantly affirming life by a virtually continuous act of creation of works which in every way are themselves emblematic of the will to live and create."¹⁴

¹⁴Simon Wilson, Tate Gallery: An Illustrated Companion [selection of gallery collection] (London: Tate Gallery Publications, 1990; 2d ed., rev. & expanded, 1991; repr., 1995), p. 209.

CHAPTER 7

Zhang Daqian's *Shanyu Yu Lai* [Approach of a Mountain Storm] and Pablo Picasso's *Nude in a Garden*

She is a peony sweetened by dew impearled,
Far fairer than the Goddess bringing showers in dreams.
.....

Li Bai (A.D. 701-62),
'The Beautiful Lady Yang',
Tang Shi Sanbaishou
[Three Hundred Poems of the Tang Dynasty]¹

¹Li Bai's poems typify a style with a vein of natural grace and unconstrained boldness. More than 900 of his poems have been handed down, some of which are collected in the compilation known as *Tang Shi Sanbaishou*, first compiled in 1764 by Sun Zhu (1711-78). The cited verses are taken from Xu Yuan-zhong, Loh Bei-yei & Wu Juntao, eds., *300 Tang Poems: A New Translation* (Hong Kong: The Commercial Press, 1987), p. 105. 'She' in the poem refers to Lady Yang Yuhuan who was the favourite mistress of Emperor [Tang] Xuanzong (reigned A.D. 725-768). 'The Goddess' refers to the Goddess of Mount Witch. The legend said that the king of a southern kingdom dreamed of the Goddess with whom he made love and who would come out in the morning in the form of *yun* [a cloud] and in the evening in the form of *yu* [a shower].

7.1 Shanyu Yu Lai

7.1.1 Taoist *Wuwei* and *Chan-ic Dunwu* → *Ziran* [Spontaneity] → *Qu Lai Ziran* (Liu Daochun's Essential 5) and *Shibi Wuhen* (Wang Yu's Credit 3)

Zhang Yanyuan (ca. A.D. 815-875), in *Lidai Minghua Ji*, wrote:

. . . [one who] moves the brush, with an intention to make a painting, misses to a greater extent [the art of] painting; . . . [one who] moves the brush, [but] without any intention of making a painting, attains [the art of] painting. [His] hands [will] not get stiff, [his] heart [mind] not congeal; without knowing how, [he] accomplishes [it].²

This passage precisely illustrates, in painting terms, *Wuwei*—characterised by an 'action without effort' or a 'necessary amount of necessary action'. According to Feng Youlan, if one acts this way, that is, "spontaneously, without any deliberate discrimination, choice, or effort," he is practising *Wuwei*.³ It is this very manner of *Wuwei* that Zhang Daqian adopted when he painted his *Shanyu Yu Lai* (Fig. 19). "[When he] applied the ink, [it is] as if [the work was] already completed [by itself];" borrowing Shitao (1642-ca. 1718)'s words, "[when he] moved the brush, [it is] as if [he were practising] *Wuwei*."⁴

Besides the tools and materials, Zhang's process of painting certainly formed an integral part of the act. Like Zhuang Zi (ca. 369-286 B.C.)'s cook (who was cutting up an ox for Lord Wenhui) or his painter (who was commissioned to paint pictures for Lord Yuan), Zhang did not force things unnaturally (and thus practised *Wuwei*), but responded spontaneously (and was thus entirely absorbed in a state of *Ziran*). In Lao Zi (ca. 604-531 B.C.)'s words, he "walked without [leaving any] track",⁵ and this is exactly what Jing Hao (ca. A.D. 870-930) meant by "establishing *xing*, [while]

²Zhang, *Lidai Minghua Ji*, bk. 2, chap. 2, in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, ed. Yu Kun, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 36; translation with reference to Osvald Sirén, *The Chinese on the Art of Painting*, op. cit., 'App. III', pp. 230-31.

³Fung Yu-lan, *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, op. cit., p. 249.

⁴Shitao, *Kugua Heshang Huayu Lu*, chap. 16, in *Hualun Congkan*, ed. Yu Anlan, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 155.

⁵Cited earlier in my Chap. 4.1.3.



concealing [obvious] traces [of the brush]",⁶ or better still, what Wang Yu (1714-48) defined as "*Shibi Wuhen*". In this manner, Zhang's process of painting is characterised by a state of 'unconsciousness'; it is as involuntary as breathing. This state of 'unconsciousness' is, however, not to be equated to the Automatism of European surrealists—whose iconography derived fairly directly from Sigmund Freud (1856-1939)'s theories of psychoanalysis. With Zhang, it is not a matter of iconography but of process.

Spontaneity being crucial, the successful use of Zhang's *Po Mo Po Cai* technique as manifested in *Shanyu Yu Lai*, however, reveals his earlier training in executing the brushwork by strict control of the movement of arm (and the painting paper as well), and on constant practice in estimating the amount of ink or colour to be splashed to achieve a desired effect. Every seemingly random move is quite definite, for subsequent cover-up or corrections are impossible once the paper absorbs the ink or colour. What he learned from such training or practice is, however, how to be liberalised from the bounds of it, into a special method of working with surprisingly creative expression—a method Shitao referred to as the 'Method of *Wufa*'. The result is a free, intuitive and untrammelled style.

Shanyu Yu Lai, with the spontaneous but harmonious mixing of black ink washes and strong blue, green and turquoise splodges, "stopping just short of the point of pure abstraction", "reveals an extreme sophistication of spirit, style, and technique that is utterly remote from the academic precision".⁷ It was created in a speedy and instantaneous manner, at sudden moments of ecstasy akin to *Dunwu*, with no preconceived composition. It is in fact this very fantasy of *Dunwu* that gives the painting its unprecedentedly great charm and fascination. It is also the resultant spontaneity effect that gives rise to the well-sought-after quality of *Qu Lai Ziran*, the origin of which can be traced to Zhuang Zi's purposeless wandering. Zhuang Zi wrote:

Let's try to go wandering in a place of nothingness Let's try [to practise] *Wuwei*—peace and quiet, still and pure, in harmony and at ease! . . . [We] would go out without knowing where [we] would reach; [we] would come back without knowing where [we] would stop. After going out and coming back, we still would not know where [we] would end up. [We will continue to] roam [purposelessly] in vacuity.⁸

⁶Cited earlier in my Chap. 4.1.2.

⁷Borrowing Michael Sullivan's words from *Symbols of Eternity*, op. cit., p. 153, where he was commenting on Bada Shanren (1624-1705)'s painting.

⁸Cited earlier in my Chap. 2.1.4.

Such quality of *Qu Lai Ziran* achieved in the painting by the 'purposelessly spontaneity' is, however, different from that attained by the approach in American Action Painting. While Zhang's *Po Mo Po Cai* is seemingly just as unconventional with the apparently uncontrolled dripping and splashing of paint over the canvas to achieve compositions that seem accidental or automatic, the latter is considerably less rational and less surer of the end it wishes to attain. Like Wang Qia (d. A.D. 804), Zhang always worked a recognised landscape out of the resulting blotches. In *Shanyu Yu Lai*, for instance, Zhang finally brushed a few schematic buildings in the lower left to 'convert' his seeming smears into forest, mountains and thunderclouds. Jackson Pollock (1912-56), on the other hand, would allow paint to drip all over the canvas laid on the floor, relying more fully on chance and accident to produce images that remained purely abstract in the end. "The painting has a life of its own," he defended. "I try to let it come through."⁹

7.1.2 Taoist *Wu* and *Chan-ic Wunian* → *Xu* [Vacuity] of the Mind

Wu → *Xu* Lao Zi's statement that *Dao* is "empty" and yet "inexhaustible" implies that 'emptiness', a rather negative idea, can be replaced by the more positive idea of 'inexhaustible plentifulness'. Thus, with the right Taoist cultivation, the painter's mind can attain such state of 'inexhaustible plentifulness' while achieving the condition of *Xu*. *Xu*, literally means vacuity, can also refer to the boundless state of the mind, in which lies the infinite capacity of *Wu* that is all-embracing, for Lao Zi said that, "*Wu* is the origin of heaven-[and]-earth". *Xu* also refers to the pure state of mind, in which the mind perceives clearly and responds effortlessly, for Zhuang Zi said, "[All other] senses have come to a stop and [my] *shen* [takes over] to move as it wants."¹⁰

To cultivate such Lao-Zhuang state of the mind is what the Taoists call *jingxin*, which literally means 'stilling the heart'. At this state, an individual will become one with *Dao* and the whole universe opened up before him, for Zhuang Zi said, "[To] a still mind, [all] under heaven [under the sun] surrenders; . . . [to] a still

⁹The Thames and Hudson Dictionary of Art and Artists, op. cit., s.v. "Pollock", p. 287.

¹⁰All quotations in this paragraph cited earlier in my Chap. 2.1.2.

mind, the ten thousand [myriad] things submit."¹¹ Such is the true meaning of 'emptiness' and yet 'inexhaustible plentifulness'. It is at such a state of the mind that Zhang "is guided by the belly, [and] not by the eyes",¹² and went on to create the scene of a brewing storm in *Shanyu Yu Lai*. It is also this positive idea of *Xu* that is responsible for the recognition of qualities of *qing* [sublimity] and *gao* [loftiness] in the painting.

Wunian → *Xu* *Wunian* demands *shunyata* or *kong* [emptiness] of the mind, which is the state of absence of all qualities as prerequisite to direct seeing of one's own nature that is in turn characterised by it. The mind is totally free from any attachment, including the thought of detachment that is itself an attachment. The conception of "white suprematism" of Kasimir Severinovich Malevich (1878-1935) seems to be close to such state of the mind. On this, Karsten Harries wrote:

. . . It [non-representational art] alone invites the "white state of mind" which emerges when all cares and concerns have been silenced and man desires nothing. . . . His "white suprematism" is an instrument of salvation. It, too, serves an ideal image of man . . . [by which] he equates the holy with **zero**.¹³

This "white state of mind", however, compares better with Shenxiu (ca. A.D. 605-706)'s concept of *Linian*, for all thoughts have to be intentionally "silenced" to achieve such a state. The "zero" in his case is also different from the *Wu*, for the latter suggests 'inexhaustible plentifulness' at the same time.

In the terms of Chinese painting, *Wunian* demands the painter to paint without any preconceived ideas of painting, for the related concept of Huineng (A.D. 638-713)'s *zuochan*—that can be practised at any time—influenced that the painter's aspirations in life are also those in painting. Such mind of *Wunian*—as translated by Zhang Yanyuan as "moving the brush, [but] without any intention of making a painting"—is precisely the state of *Xu* mind of Zhang Daqian when he painted *Shanyu Yu Lai*. It was in such state of mind that he was able to penetrate the external reality to capture the inner essence of the brewing storm.

¹¹Zhuang Zi, *Zhuang Zi* 13:1, in *Xinyi Zhuang Zi Duben*, annotated & interpreted by Huang Jinhong, op. cit., p. 170.

¹²Cited earlier in introduction to my Pt. I, Sec. B.

¹³Karsten Harries, *The Meaning of Modern Art: A Philosophical Interpretation* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1968), p. 68.

7.1.3 Taoist *Wu* → *Wumo Qiu Ran* (Liu's Merit 5) → *Yi Dao Bi Budao* [Idea Is Expressed Even in the Absence of Brushwork]

After looking closely at *Shanyu Yu Lai* in order to decode the forms depicted, one is likely to pull back, to see if a distant view might make the random but dynamic patterns more legible. However, such move may be unnecessary, for although the painting may appear as "an art of extreme elimination, simplification and suggestion",¹⁴ seemingly attempting to say much with little, pure abstraction is definitely ruled out, quite bluntly by the inscription on the painting, for instance. Nevertheless, the painting itself does display an elimination of descriptive detail such as that of trees, a simplification of forms such as that of mountains, but a host of suggestions—forest, mountains, thunderclouds, brewing storm, etc.

Blotches of ink and brilliant colour—not just serve to compose the forest, mountains and thunderclouds but also form part of the visually vibrant surface of the painting itself—covered almost the whole surface of the paper except for a small portion slightly above and to the right of its centre. This small area, though unpainted, "takes on an uncanny glow, like the burning sun in a sky darkened with thunderclouds."¹⁵ This is exactly what Liu Daochun (fl. ca. 1059) meant by *Wumo Qiu Ran*.

All things in this world can be visualised, for Lao Zi said that they "come from *You* [Existence]", but he also said that "*You* comes from *Wu*."¹⁶ The unpainted space in *Shanyu Yu Lai* is thus worthy of greater respect and more significant than what is expressed in the painted space. "What is not suggested, not said, is more important and expressive than what is said," wrote Eugen Herrigel.¹⁷ To Liu and Zhang Daqian, empty space in painting is as important as painted area, for 'empty' space is also filled with *Dao* and thus *Qi*, and is regarded as filled with imagination and meaning. Tang Zhiqi (b. 1565) once said, ". . . that which is *Qi* may be *biqu* [*Qi* in the brush], may be

¹⁴George Rowley, *Principles of Chinese Painting*, op. cit., p. 36.

¹⁵Shen C. Y. Fu, *Challenging the Past*, op. cit., p. 266.

¹⁶Cited earlier in my Chap. 2.1.3.

¹⁷Herrigel, *The Method of Zen*, ed. Hermann Tausend, trans. R. F. C. Hull from the German (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960), p. 52.

moqi [*Qi* in the ink], may be *seqi* [*Qi* in the colour]".¹⁸ For Zhang, as illustrated by the small unpainted space in *Shanyu Yu Lai*, *Qi* is also in emptiness.

In this way, the empty space of the painting forms an integral part of the painting, not just an unpainted area. This almost amounts to an aspect of *Wuwei* or in painting terms, 'painting by not painting', or the popular phrase '*yi dao bi budao* [idea is expressed even in the absence of brushwork]'.¹⁹ Such is indeed a "divine technique", as Yun Shouping (1633-90) put it:

People [painters] nowadays use [their] hearts [paid attention] to where there is brush-and-ink, [whereas] the ancients paid attention to where there is no brush-and-ink [i.e., empty space]. If [one is] able to see [how] the ancients paid attention to where brush-and-ink cannot reach [or where there is absence of brush-and-ink], he is advancing towards the **divine technique** [in painting].²⁰

¹⁸Cited earlier in my Chap. 3.2.3.

¹⁹Tao Mingjun, ed., *Zhongguo Hualun Cidian*, op. cit., s.v. "*yi dao bi budao*", p. 71.

²⁰Yun, *Nantian Huaba* [Nantian's Colophons on Painting], in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 175-76; bold emphasis mine. For a brief biography of Yun, see my App. 3.2.2.

7.2 Nude in a Garden

7.2.1 *Xiang Xing* [Obtaining formal resemblance] → *Xie Shen* [Capturing the Inner Spirit] and *Chuan Shen* [Transmitting the Inner Spirit]

Xie Shen In *Bifa Ji*, Jing Hao wrote, "That which is *si*, is to obtain its *xing*, [but] to leave out its *Qi*; that which is *zhen*, is that both *Qi*, *zhi* are captured."²¹ He defined the method by which one aims merely to obtain "*si*" as *xiang xing*, and that by which one goes further to grasp "*zhen*" as *xie xing*. The fact that Xie He (fl. ca. A.D. 500-535)'s original *Ying Wu Xiang Xing* has been modified into *Ying Wu Xie Xing* shows that Chinese painting artists have always regarded outer appearance as only a means of capturing the true essence. In doing so, when *zhen* is being attained beyond *si*, *shen* is also said to reside in the painting. This is exactly what Gu Kaizhi (ca. A.D. 345-406) meant by his dictum '*yixing xie shen*'.

Xie shen is indeed the heart of Chinese painting, for the painter is not concerned with superficial appearance, but with *shen* that lies beneath the surface. Once again, he "is guided by the belly [what he feels that lies within], [and] not by the eyes [what he perceives on the surface]". It is also precisely in this manner that Pablo Picasso painted his Nude in a Garden (Fig. 20). In this painting, the sleeping figure of Marie-Thérèse Walter is seen simply stretched out supinely at first glance but multiple viewpoints are actually presented harmoniously; the body form is simplified with scattered bodily features and yet appears whole and compact, in somewhat natural perfection; her nude body appears distorted in both shape and colour and yet conveys a sense of wholesomeness and voluptuousness; the atmosphere is placid and yet lively, for one could almost hear her deep breathing (or snore). Picasso has indeed successfully captured her *shen* through depicting her *xing*, using optimum amount of visual language, without excessive detail, in accord with what Shen Zongqian (fl. ca. 1781) had said:

[One] may try to catch it [the *shen*] by a few casual strokes, but these will only suggest a rough idea, and lack substance. . . . [Or one] may try to catch it by all the details . . . , but [one will] worry that they seem not lively.²²

²¹Cited earlier in my Chap. 3.4.2.

²²Cited earlier in my Chap. 3.3.1.



"Enclosed, but yielding, she may be woken at the artist's bidding."²³ She also appears as a recipient, surrounded by luxuriant green vegetation, and at the same time an "originator of a multitude of expanding organic forms, shooting out, burgeoning, germinating [spontaneously] into fruit and flowers",²⁴ like the Taoist *Dao* producing myriad things in the manner of *Ziran*. A flowering plant "virtually grows from the loins of the nude sleeper".²⁵ Furthermore, "her blond hair becomes a pun upon a seed that appears to be fertilizing an ovarian breast."²⁶ In fact, "the breasts [themselves] are like ripening fruits",²⁷ or the whole figure itself is like "a ripe fruit, an oval cleft like a peach".²⁸ Indeed, Nude in a Garden "is not the simple imitation of form," borrowing Gu's words, but "a revelation of the soul".²⁹

Chuan Shen Deng Chun (fl. ca. 1167), in Hua Ji [The Continuation of Guo Ruoxu's Tuhua Jianwen Zhi], wrote:

The ten thousand things between the heaven and earth can all be depicted with their various characteristics . . . by one method. What is this one [method]? It is [the method of] *chuan shen*, that is all.³⁰

In portraiture or figure painting especially, the Chinese have always use the eyes of the sitter or model to *chuan shen*. According to Meng Zi (ca. 372-289 B.C.), "There is in man nothing more ingenuous than the pupils of his eyes," for they reveal his character.³¹ Liu An (d. 122 B.C.) was also quoted as saying, "If one paints . . . [the famous warrior] Meng Pen's eyes so that they are large but not terrifying, [spirit,] the

²³Janet Hobhouse, The Bride Stripped Bare, op. cit., p. 125.

²⁴Timothy Hilton, Picasso, World of Art (London: Thames & Hudson, 1976; repr., 1987), p. 218.

²⁵Robert Rosenblum, "Picasso and the Anatomy of Eroticism", in Studies in Erotic Art, ed., Theodore Bowie & Cornelia V. Christenson (New York: Basic Books Publishers, 1970), pp. 347-48.

²⁶Ibid., p. 348.

²⁷Ibid., p. 350.

²⁸The Bride Stripped Bare, op. cit., p. 125.

²⁹Cited earlier in my Chap. 3.4.4.

³⁰Cited earlier in my Chap. 3.2.3.

³¹Meng Zi, Meng Zi 4:1:15:1-2, in Xinyi Si Shu Duben, comp. & interpreted by Xie Bingying et al., op. cit., p. 479.

master of form will be lacking."³² Thus, "the difficulty in *chuan shen* lies in the eyes."³³

Picasso, however, succeeded to *chuan* the *shen* of Marie-Thérèse in Nude in a Garden, without having to resort to showing her telling eyes. In fact, her very erotic character is revealed through the very closed eyes. As a result, the painting is filled with *Qiyun Shengdong*, for Yang Weizhen (1296-1370) exclaimed, "That which is *chuanshen*, is *Qiyun Shengdong*!" Nude in a Garden is indeed not just called a painting, it is really painting, for Guo Ruoxu (fl. 1070-80) put it:

[A] painting must be permeated by *Qiyun* [*Shengdong*], then [it] can be hailed as a treasure of the world. If not, . . . although [it] is called a 'painting', [it] isn't [really] painting.

Deng summarised by saying:

[Thus,] when Ruoxu deeply despised common artisans, saying [of their work] "although [it] is called a 'painting', [it] isn't [really] painting", it was because [they were] only able to *chuan* its *xing*, [and] cannot *chuan* its *shen*.

On this note, Nude in a Garden not only *chuan* the *xing* of Marie-Thérèse, it also *chuan* her *shen*.³⁴

³²Liu, *Huainan Zi*, quoted in Susan Bush & Hsio-yen Shih, eds. & comps., Early Chinese Texts on Painting, op. cit., p. 28.

³³Su Shi, *Dongbo Lun Renwu Chuanshen* [Dongbo's Discussion on Transmitting the Inner Spirit in Figure Painting], in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 454.

³⁴All quotations in this paragraph cited earlier in my Chap. 3.2.3.

7.3 The Comparison

7.3.1 *Qiyun Shengdong* (Xie He's *Fa* 1) → *Qi* (Jing Hao's *Yao* 1) and *Shenyun Xiu Yi* (Wang Yu's *Credit* 2)

Taoist *Qi* and Confucian *Qi* Originally, *qi* is the name given to any gaseous matter that has as much substance as any other physical matter but without a definite or recognisable form. The ancient Chinese also took *qi* to be the nearest thing between the tangible and the intangible; matter and mind; and material and spirit.³⁵ Its significance, however, is perhaps best suggested by another of its meanings—'breath'. According to the traditional Chinese belief, men and all myriad things have *qi*, their breath, as well as other forms of *qi*—disposition, capacity, temperament, constitution, complexion, expression, style and manner.³⁶ Since that which separates animate life from apparent death is observed to be the presence or absence of breathing, *qi* is also readily identified as the essence of life.³⁷

Historically, the earliest reference to *qi* was in *Dao De Jing*, where it was recorded that, "*Qi* [is what] creates the harmony [of *Yin* and *Yang*]." ³⁸ *Yin* and *Yang* are also referred to as the Two *Qi*, and their complementary action is said to produce *Wu Qi* [The Five Atmospheric Influence of rain, sunshine, heat, cold and wind].³⁹ *Qi* was later identified with Taoist *Dao* by Han Zhuo (fl. ca. 1095-1125) when he said that "[painting] shares the same *ji* [mysterious secret] as *Dao*."⁴⁰ He identified *qi* of art with *Dao* of the universe. *Qi* was thus recognised as something essentially undefinable then. The task of defining *qi* seemed to be analogous to a master sage of Taoism or someone adept in meditation trying to share the spiritual experience with others.

³⁵Kai-Yu Hsu & Catherine Woo, *Magic of the Brush*, op. cit., p. 13.

³⁶Mai-mai Sze, *The Way of Chinese Painting*, op. cit., p. 60.

³⁷*Magic of the Brush*, op. cit., p. 13.

³⁸Lao Zi, *Dao De Jing* 42, in *Xinyi Lao Zi Duben*, annotated & interpreted by Yu Peilin, op. cit., p. 76.

³⁹*The Way of Chinese Painting*, op. cit., p. 60.

⁴⁰Han, *Shanshui Chunquan Ji*, chap. 7, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 43.

It was Meng Zi who first put the concept of *qi* (as '*Haoran zi Qi*') in wide circulation and incorporated it into the orthodoxy of Chinese thinking. Such *Qi* has later come to be regarded as *sine qua non* of a painter, especially the *wenren* painters who pursue the *Dao* of *junzi* as the Way of painter. Some time along that development, Jing Hao defined two kinds of *qi* in painting. The first kind refers to the characteristic quality of the individual painter's creative resources. "That which is *Qi* [refers to] the heart following along [and guiding] the movement of the brush," he wrote, "without hesitating in getting images."⁴¹ The second kind refers to the resultant vitality of the subject captured in painting. "That which is *si*, is to obtain its *xing*, [but] to leave out its *Qi*;" he wrote, "that which is *zhen*, is that both *Qi*, *zhi* are captured."⁴² The first kind of *Qi* is manifested in the way Zhang Daqian and Pablo Picasso painted their *Shanyu Yu Lai* and *Nude in a Garden* respectively; and the second kind is reflected as the most important attribute of their paintings.

Qi in Zhang and Picasso

As discussed earlier in the chapter, Zhang painted by employing a spontaneous *Po Mo Po Cai* style, in the manner of *Wuwei*, *Ziran* and *Dunwu*, with a mind of *Xu* resulted from *Wu* and *Wunian*. As such, he painted with "the heart following along [and guiding] the movement of the brush, without hesitating in getting images." This is exactly Jing's definition of the first kind of *Qi* and such is Zhang's *Qi*.

Picasso also adopted a similar working method. "I do not know in advance what I am going to put on the canvas," he said, "just as I do not know in advance which colours I will use."⁴³ He explained by asking, "If you know exactly what you are going to do, what's the good of doing it?"⁴⁴ Such is, in fact, the state of *Wunian* that demands *shunyata* of the mind. Far from the literal sense of emptiness, this *shunyata* is more like *Wu*—emptiness in the form of 'inexhaustible plentifulness'. This *Wu*, that has been manifested as *Xu* state of Zhang's mind, describes Picasso's mind equally well, for Picasso once said:

⁴¹Cited earlier in my Chap. 4.1.2.

⁴²Cited earlier in my Chap. 3.4.2.

⁴³Quoted in *Discovering the Great Paintings*, 80 issues (Milan: Gruppo Editoriale Fabbri, 1989; English ed., London: Fabbri Publishing UK, 1990-92), no. 22, p. 19.

⁴⁴Hiro Clark, ed., *Picasso: In His Words*, op. cit., p. 24.

I don't know. Ideas are just simple points of departure. . . . As soon as I set to work, others seem to flow from the pen.⁴⁵

It is through this 'emptiness and yet inexhaustible plentifulness' of his mind that Picasso allowed his initial idea the same flexibility as his thoughts. "A picture is not thought out and settled beforehand," he said to Christian Zervos. "While it is being done it changes as one's thoughts change."⁴⁶

This illustrates his very approach to painting—one by which he "paints to unload himself of feelings and visions."⁴⁷ In this approach, it is also the creative process itself that counts. Watching him draw, one may have seen a bunch of flowers undergo several transformations, becoming a fish, then a cock and finally the head of a faun.⁴⁸ To borrow Herbert Read's words, "There is no deliberation, no anxiety: merely a hand that moves as naturally as a bird in flight."⁴⁹ This statement is the exact equivalent to Jing's, on the definition of *Qi*; and such is precisely the *Qi* in Picasso. With such *Qi*, painting to him is as voluntary as breathing. "I paint just as I breathe,"⁵⁰ he said. In this way, Picasso took his canvasses through many stages, always trying to capture his "spontaneous" or "impulsive" idea,⁵¹ without finishing or killing it off. In his words:

To finish a picture? What nonsense! To finish it means to be through with it, to kill it, to rid it of its soul⁵²

Qi in *Shanyu Yu Lai* and *Nude in a Garden* Jing's second *Qi* refers to the spirit of the subject captured by the painter. In *Shanyu Yu Lai*, as discussed earlier, Zhang captured the *Qi* of the brewing storm through his wonderful and ingenious play

⁴⁵Picasso, *Picasso*, Artist by Themselves. op. cit., p. 26.

⁴⁶Quoted in Alfred H. Barr, Jr., *Picasso: Fifty Years of His Art*, op. cit., p. 272.

⁴⁷*Picasso: In His Words*, op. cit., p. 66.

⁴⁸*Le Mystère Picasso* [The Picasso Mystery], 1956, film produced by Filmsonor, directed by Henri-Georges Clouzot, shown on BBC2, 18 February 1994, 0:25-1:45 A.M.

⁴⁹Read, *A Concise History of Modern Painting*, preface by Benedict Read, concluding chapter by Caroline Tisdall & William Feaver (London: Thames & Hudson, 1959; rev. ed., 1968; new & augmented ed., 1974), p. 152.

⁵⁰*Picasso*, Artists by Themselves, op. cit., p. 18.

⁵¹*Picasso: In His Words*, op. cit., p. 85.

⁵²*Ibid.*, p. 63.

of ink and colour. In fact, everywhere in the painting is filled with such *Qi*—not just in the ink as *moqi* and in the colour as *seqi*, but even in the unpainted space that gives rise to the quality of *wumo* and yet *ran*, *bi budao* and yet *yi dao*. In Nude in a Garden, Picasso evidently succeeded in capturing the *Qi* of Marie-Thérèse through the processes of *xie shen* and *chuan shen*. Not only the literal *qi*—her deep breathing—is captured, but the *Qi* of her wholeness and compactness (captured ironically by scattering of the bodily parts), wholesomeness and voluptuousness (captured ironically by distortion of bodily form and colour), and overt eroticism (captured ironically by the closed eyes).

The *Qi* in Shanyu Yu Lai reveals that Zhang must have delved into the secrets of nature—to explore and attempt to understand the mysterious processes of *Dao* in nature. The symbolisation of the early writing also pointed the way towards the creative works that aimed at presenting aspects of *Dao* by expressing *Qi* in landscape forms. The underlying purpose was the transmission of a spiritual significance. As Wang Wei (A.D. 415-453) noted:

. . . [When] the ancients produce paintings, [they] did not [produce them] merely [for the purpose of] recording the sites of cities, settling country districts, marking out the boundaries of towns and villages, [or] sketching water-courses.⁵³

In fact, Gu Kaizhi had already noted that paintings, besides being representations of natural scenes, should be expressions of spiritual significance.⁵⁴ It was in accord with all these sayings that Shanyu Yu Lai was painted. Similarly, Picasso painted his nudes such as Nude in a Garden to express the *Qi* he understood through his deep indulgence in the *Dao* of woman. "So what his paintings show is never [merely] a 'model' of a woman,"⁵⁵ but the *Qi* of the woman.

Thus, Zhang and Picasso did not attempt to explore the traditional European idea of the beauty as a supreme value, associated with the good and the true. In Shanyu Yu Lai and Nude in a Garden, formal beauty was not isolated but resided in the whole content and thus the paintings do not explicitly express beauty, but *Qi*. In realising that, both the painters strove not to re-create the appearances but to re-establish a vital self-generating spirit in the forms, marks, textures and spaces. That is

⁵³Wang, Xu Hua, in Zhongguo Hualun Leibian, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 585; modified from Shio Sakanishi, The Spirit of the Brush, op. cit., 44.

⁵⁴Gu, Hua Yuntaishan Ji, ibid., pp. 581-82.

⁵⁵Marie-Laure Bernadac, "Picasso 1953-1972: Painting as Model", in Late Picasso, op. cit., p. 78.

exactly why Rao Ziran (fl. ca. 1340) considered "mountains without *qimai* [the spiritual pulse]"—and correspondingly 'figure without *shenqi* [vital expression]'—as the third thing to be avoided in painting, in his list *Shi'er Ji* [The Twelve Things to Avoid].⁵⁶

Zong Bing (A.D. 375-443) discussed with even stronger emphasis the aim of painting as the manifestation of the spirit residing in **each and every** form, and pointed out the balance and fusion necessary between the impression received through the eyes and the perceptions of the mind.⁵⁷ In the words of Wang, "[Human] eyes are limited [in their scope] and hence cannot possibly perceive all that is to be seen; yet [by means of] a brush [one] can depict the whole universe."⁵⁸ Through the style of *Po Mo Po Cai* and *Bianyi-and-Kuangguai*, Zhang and Picasso respectively succeeded in transcending the limitations of the eyes and in representing parts that embody the life and spirit of the whole. As Zhuang Zi put it, "[there is] no place [that *Dao* is] not present",⁵⁹ each of the forest, mountains, thunderclouds, etc., in *Shanyu Yu Lai* also has its own *Dao* and thus *Qi*. Similarly, in *Nude in a Garden*, the hair, face, breasts, buttocks, pubes, etc., each has its own *Dao* and thus *Qi*. In conveying *Qi* of each of the forms individually in the painting, Zhang and Picasso arrived at expressing the *Qi* or *Dao* that pervades the whole—"[painting] shares the same *ji* as *Dao*", indeed.

In conclusion, *Qi* "is the binding element between 'nature', man and art, [landscape, Zhang and *Shanyu Yu Lai*; figure, Picasso and *Nude in a Garden*] and works back from the products of art upon the viewer."⁶⁰ In Mai-mai Sze's words:

Ch'i [Qi] . . . stirs all of 'nature' to life and sustains the eternal processes of movement and change; and that if a work has *ch'i* it inevitably reflects a vitality of spirit that is the essence of life itself. Man's spiritual resources are regarded as a direct manifestation of this creative power of Heaven. Through developing them, a painter not only nourishes that part of Heaven in himself but, possessing it, is capable of revealing it in his conduct and activity. In his painting, he can draw on these spiritual resources to express the same force in every other 'natural thing' that he depicts; for the subjects of his compositions have always been predominantly from 'nature'.⁶¹

⁵⁶Rao, *Huizong Shi'er Ji*, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 52.

⁵⁷Zong, *Hua Shanshui Xu*, ibid., p. 1.

⁵⁸Xu Hua, in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 585.

⁵⁹Zhuang Zi 22:6, in *Xinyi Zhuang Zi Duben*, op. cit., p. 256.

⁶⁰Roger Goepfer, *The Essence of Chinese Painting*, op. cit., p. 30; the single quotation marks for the word nature are mine.

⁶¹*The Way of Chinese Painting*, op. cit., p. 37; all single quotation marks mine.

Shengdong → *Shenyun Xiu Yi*

Jing defined *Yun* in these words: "That which is *Yun* [refers to] establishing *xing*, [while] concealing [obvious] traces [of the brush], [and thus] equipping [them] with the proprieties, [and at the same time] avoiding *su*."⁶² To a certain extent, "concealing [obvious] traces [of the brush]" has led to *Yun* being interpreted as the production of harmonious effects by the tonal qualities of the Chinese ink and the gradations of colour washes, as in *Shanyu Yu Lai*, where varied tones of ink washes and shades of turquoise splodges were allowed to mix spontaneously. However, it was "avoiding *su*" that led Wang Yu to replace Jing's *Yun* by *Shenyun*. *Shenyun* was used by Wang to describe the attribute of the subject of painting as the key to achieving the qualities of *xiu* [excellence] and *yi* [untrammelledness] in painting.

Modern writer Cen Jiawu once wrote, "*Qiyun* is *Shenyun*, [which] is also *chuanshen*."⁶³ In this respect, *Nude in a Garden* can be rightly considered to have attained *Shenyun*, for, as discussed earlier, the painting *chuan* not only the *xing* of Marie-Thérèse, but also her *shen*, that gives it the very quality of *Shengdong*. "A picture [such as that of Marie-Thérèse in *Nude in a Garden*] lives a life like a living creature," said Picasso.⁶⁴ It is also this quality of liveliness or *Shengdong* that gives the painting its excellence and the attribute of *yi*. For *Shanyu Yu Lai*, on the other hand, it is the quality of spontaneity or *Qu Lai Ziran* that inevitably gives the painting its appearance that is not *su*, and thus *yi*.

Therefore, *yi* is the result of the painter seeking complete freedom in the pursuit of spontaneity and liveliness in painting; *yi* is the result of Zhang's *Po Mo Po Cai* and Picasso's *Bianyi-and-Kuangguai*. It is indeed regretful that *yi*, as defined by Huang Xiufu (fl. ca. 1006), was misleadingly interpreted by Osvald Sirén in his translation of *Yizhou Minghua Lu* [*The Record of the Famous Paintings of Yizhou*], of which a part says, "Those who follow it [the *yi* style of painting, that Huang considered as the best] are unskilled in the use of compasses and squares for drawing circles and squares."⁶⁵ In my opinion, instead of "are unskilled in", a more accurate

⁶²Cited earlier in my Chap. 4.1.1.

⁶³Cited earlier in footnotes of my Chap. 4.1.3.

⁶⁴Quoted in *Picasso: Fifty Years of His Art*, op. cit., p. 272.

⁶⁵*The Chinese on the Art on Painting*, op. cit., p. 36. For a brief biography of Huang, see my App. 3.2.2.

interpretation of the word '*zhuo*' in the Chinese text,⁶⁶ should be either 'reject', 'discard' or better still, 'are not reliant on', although '*zhuo*' means literally 'unskilful'.

7.3.2 *Jing* (Jing's Yao 4) → *You Jing* [There's Sight] *You Jing* [There's Artistic Conception]

Zhang and Picasso had always wandered in 'nature'—'nature' here is taken to stand for environment in the broadest possible sense: for Zhang, it's mountains and water; for Picasso, it's women. When they found 'something'—a picturesque place or someone of special appeal—they might paint 'it' faithfully according to 'its' external appearance perceived at a certain location in a certain moment, delivering the *jing* [sight] to a viewer, that represents only a small portion of reality.

More often than not, Zhang and Picasso, on encountering the sight of the subject, usually found its elements affecting their feelings, stimulating their thoughts, or evoking their memories. They would then paint a picture with transformation and noticeable deviations from what is seen by others. Employing "an art of extreme elimination, simplification and suggestion", through *Shibi Wuhen*, *Wumo Qiu Ran* and '*yi dao bi budao*' of his method of *Po Mo Po Cai*, Zhang attempted not merely to depict *jing* but also to create *jing* [artistic conception] and achieved Oneness with landscape. Similarly, adopting "a sum of destructions",⁶⁷ distortions and rearrangements, through "Cubist simultaneity of point of view",⁶⁸ '*yixing xie shen*' and '*chuan xing chuan shen*' of his method of *Bianyi-and-Kuangguai*, Picasso created *jing* [sight] and *jing* [artistic conception] and attained Oneness with woman. In this sense, the first *jing* can be regarded as the *xing* of 'nature'; and the second *jing*, 'its' *shen*.

In these respects, both *Shanyu Yu Lai* and *Nude in a Garden* can be rightly considered '*you jing you jing*'.⁶⁹ Zhang had always insisted on the unity of *jing* and *jing*, for he saw things whole and valued the uniquely consistent 'wholeness' of its

⁶⁶Huang, *Yizhou Minghua Lu*, edited as *Si Ge* [The Four Classes of Painters] in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 405.

⁶⁷Cited earlier in my Chap. 6.2.3.

⁶⁸Cited earlier in my Chap. 6.1.5.

⁶⁹*Zhongguo Hualun Cidian*, op. cit., s.v. "*yijing* [realm of artistic conception]", p. 27.

presented feeling in his painting. Similarly, Picasso also believed that the reality of the whole "does not stop at what we see of it at a single glance" but "comprises those views and aspects which we do not actually see at one glance but which, in our minds, we know to exist."⁷⁰ Thus, *you jing you jing* makes the brewing storm in the midst of mountains and forest in *Shanyu Yu Lai* more sensational, technically not by describing in detail all physical appearances, but in actual fact by eliminating them, keeping the *Qi*, though. It also makes the erotic Marie-Thérèse more sensual, not by realistically delineating all bodily parts, but in effect by distorting them, retaining the *shen*, however.

With such quality of *you jing you jing*, both *Shanyu Yu Lai* and *Nude in a Garden* also reflect the painters' state of mind—his feelings and emotions. Wucius Wong distinguished between 'feelings' and 'emotions' by saying that "feelings are connected more with the sensing and the filtering processes, whereas emotions relate to the coloring and the responding processes."⁷¹ He defined "the sensing and the filtering processes" and "the coloring and the responding processes" earlier on in these words:

The sensing process refers to what reaches the mind-heart, stirring an awareness. The filtering process refers to what can affect it and what it is indifferent to. The coloring process refers to how the mind-heart selects, modifies, and interprets the stimulation. The responding process refers to how it is finally moved by the stimulation.⁷²

On the basis of these definitions, it can be said that both Zhang and Picasso were "profuse with feelings in the sensing [and filtering] of the operations of 'nature' [reflected as first *jing* in their paintings], but . . . [coloured and responded according to their] emotions [as reflected through the second *jing*]."⁷³ In other words, each of *Shanyu Yu Lai* and *Nude in a Garden* "represents his [the painter's] view of 'nature', his responses to 'nature's various manifestations, his introspection and contemplation, his aspiration and yearning, or his dreams and fantasies."⁷⁴ *Shanyu Yu Lai* and *Nude in a Garden* indeed *you jing you jing*.

⁷⁰Cited earlier in my Chap. 6.2.3.

⁷¹Wong, *The Tao of Chinese Landscape Painting*, op. cit., p. 22.

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³Ibid., p. 23; the single quotation marks for the word nature are mine.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 103; all single quotation marks mine.

7.3.3 Picassian *Bianyi-and-Kuangguai* → *Bianyi Heli* (Liu Daochun's Essential 3) and *Kuangguai Qiu Li* (Liu's Merit 4), and Zhang's *Po Mo Po Cai* → *Pise Qiu Cai* (Liu's Merit 2)

Bianyi-and-Kuangguai → *Bianyi Heli* and *Kuangguai Qiu Li* in Nude in a Garden Like Shitao, Picasso is a great master of *Bianyi-and-Kuangguai*. Picasso once said:

What is painting? Everyone clings to old-fashioned ideas and outworn definitions, as if it were not precisely the role of the artist to provide new ones.⁷⁵

Such statements recall what Shitao said around two hundred years earlier:

[It is] often regrettable that [there are] those [painters] who are bound by the ancients, [that leads to] no transformations [in their own styles] [They] know [only] that there are ancient [masters], but do not realise that [they too] have a self. . . . The beards [and] eyebrows of the ancients cannot grow on my face; the lungs [and other] entrails of the ancients cannot be placed in my [chest and] belly. I express from my [own] lungs [and other] entrails, [and] display my [own] beards [and] eyebrows.⁷⁶

Like Shitao who expressed from his own "lungs [and other] entrails", and displayed his own "beards [and] eyebrows", Picasso rejected the "old-fashioned" and "outworn" way of painting and created his style of *Bianyi-and-Kuangguai*.

However, unlike the abstract artists in the first half of twentieth century, who devoted themselves increasingly (and later exclusively) to pure abstraction, Picasso remained throughout his life attached to reality. "I have never been out of reality," he said. "I have always been in the essence of reality".⁷⁷ This very "essence of reality" is also what the Chinese call *li* or the '[natural] principle' behind everything. Thus, in the terms of Liu Daochun, what Picasso tried to seek, or to find (for he was often quoted as saying: "I do not seek. I find."⁷⁸) was not merely *Bianyi*, but *Bianyi Heli*; not just *Kuangguai*, but *Kuangguai Qiu Li*. This strikes the same note as what Shitao said of

⁷⁵Cited earlier in my Chap. 6.2.2.

⁷⁶Cited earlier in my Chap. 4.2.3.

⁷⁷Cited earlier in my Chap. 6.2.4.

⁷⁸Picasso: In His Words, op. cit., p. 32.

his Principle of *Yihua* and *li*, "[If the painter] cannot deeply understand *li*, . . . [he] still has not grasped the underlying Principle of *Yihua*."⁷⁹

As discussed earlier, *li* has been one of the virtues pursued by the Confucian *junzi* through his *Dao*, for Zeng Zi (ca. 505-463 B.C.) mentioned that, "in thoughts, a *junzi* does not go out of his position;" and Meng Zi also said, "*Junzi* practises [right] principle".⁸⁰ Zhu Xi (1130-1200)—the greatest Chinese philosopher and critic of Confucian thought—extended the definition of *li* to imply that everything has its own inner principle. He said:

As soon as a thing exists, the *Li* is inherent in it. Even in the case of a writing brush—though it is not produced by nature but by man . . . —as soon as that brush exists, *Li* is inherent in it.⁸¹

Such statement is an equivalent to the five-thousand-year-old idea in *Yi Jing*, that says: "Nothing in the world is without its principle and no principle is without its manifestation."⁸² According to Zhu, it seems that "*Li* is the *Tao* [*Dao*]",⁸³ for Zhuang Zi said, "[*Dao* is] in ants, in panic grass, in tiles and shards, in shit and piss."⁸⁴ However, whereas "*Tao* refers simply to the what, *Li* is the how or the why"⁸⁵ that gives each 'thing' a character and individuality—its inner nature. Zhu had raised the term '*li*' to such an eminent position that painters eventually declared it the most important merit to be sought after in painting. As Huang Gongwang (1269-1354) put it outright, "[In] painting, only the word *li* is the most important."⁸⁶

Wu Daozi (ca. A.D. 685-758) was often quoted as 'The Sage-Painter' who dashed out "more than three hundred miles of Chia-ling River scenery in one day",

⁷⁹Cited earlier in my Chap. 4.2.3.

⁸⁰Both quotations cited earlier in my Chap. 4.1.2.

⁸¹Quoted in *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, op. cit., p. 296; translation and capitalisation of '*Li*' are Fung Yu-lan's.

⁸²Chao Min, "Cosmic Ideas in the Book of Changes", *Universitas* XI, no. 3 (March 1974), p. 40, quoted in Shan-Hong Shen, "The Influence of Tao in the Development of Chinese painting", op. cit., p. 11.

⁸³Zhu himself was quoted as making this statement, in *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, op. cit., p. 299; translation Fung Yu-lan's.

⁸⁴My adaptation from *Zhuang Zi* 22:6, in *Xinyi Zhuang Zi Duben*, op. cit., p. 256.

⁸⁵*The Tao of Chinese Landscape Painting*, op. cit., p. 18.

⁸⁶Cited earlier in my Chap. 4.1.3.

after a trip there during which he had not made even a single sketch.⁸⁷ He said, ". . . but all is recorded in my mind".⁸⁸ What he said of course referred not only to the incredible memory he had, but more to the fact that he understood the principles of nature so well that he could swiftly re-create the whole landscape in painting. It was also in this manner that Picasso created his Nude in a Garden. He had understood the *li* of the nude so thoroughly,⁸⁹ that his nude is a nude, not any decomposed-recomposed figure. Despite all the simplifications and dismemberment under his style of *Bianyi-and-Kuangguai*, he said:

It is all there. I try to do a nude as it is. If I do a nude, people ought to think:
It's a nude.⁹⁰

In Nude in a Garden, not only the unity and cohesion of the body are conserved, the *li* is preserved. Picasso indeed "captured *shen* at the expense of appearance, [and yet] without violating the fundamental *li*", borrowing the words of Zhang Daqian.⁹¹

Po Mo Po Cai → *Pise Qiu Cai* in *Shanyu Yu Lai* *Pise Qiu Cai* best describes Huineng, who appeared uncouth, obscure and untrained in *Chan* (thus *Pise*) while working all his time as an ordinary labourer at Hongren (A.D. 601-74)'s monastery and yet was the one with great character and intuition, and was thoroughly enlightened (thus *Cai*). The phrase describes even better the *Po Mo Po Cai Shanyu Yu Lai*. In the painting, the very eccentric effects of unorthodox intermixing of the abstract looking ink smears and expressive colour splodges, and yet giving an illusion of forest, mountains and thunderclouds; and the very obscure impressions of *wumo* and yet *ran*, *bi budao* and yet *yi dao*, are the characteristics of *Pise* that ironically give rise to the very quality of *cai* [refinement], manifested as *Qiyun Shengdong*, *Shenyun Xiu Yi* and *you jing you jing*.

Pise Qiu Cai, to Zhang, was probably the result of "escapism"—"yearning for the spiritual, the remote, . . . the homeland, or the unattainable; . . . forgetfulness of all

⁸⁷Zhu Jingxuan, *Tangchao Minghua Lu* [The Record of Famous Paintings of the Tang Dynasty], quoted in Early Chinese Texts on Painting, op. cit., pp. 67-68. For a brief biography of Zhu, see my App. 3.2.2.

⁸⁸Ibid.

⁸⁹In "The Cubist Painters", in Cubism, op. cit., p. 115, Guillaume Apollinaire wrote, "A man like Picasso studies an object as a surgeon dissects a corpse."

⁹⁰Quoted in "Picasso 1953-1972: Painting as Model", op. cit., p. 80.

⁹¹Zhang, "Hua Shuo", in Zhang Daqian Xiansheng Shi Wen Ji, op. cit., vol. 2, bk. 6, p. 125.

disheartening experiences."⁹² Such escapism had led to his fantasy of creating seemingly *Pise* landscapes, as in the case of *Shanyu Yu Lai*. In this painting, the painter's presence may be portrayed by the isolated, small houses in the midst of the forest and mountains; or the whole scene may show no human presence at all, for the painter has fused himself into (or achieved Oneness with) the *jing* [sight] of thunderclouds through the *jing* [artistic conception] of the brewing storm. It is, however, in between these 'presence' and 'absence' that lies the *cai* of the painting.

This wonderfulness of 'in between presence and absence' recalls the words of *Hai Pai* master Qi Baishi (1864-1957), who said, "The excellence [of a painting] lies in between likeness and unlikeness".⁹³ Zhang explained:

To put it briefly, when painting something [a picture], [the painter] should not aim at excessive likeness, nor should [he] deliberately strive for unlikeness. [If] it is likeness to be aimed at, [painting is] of course not as good as photography; if it is unlikeness to be striven for, what then is the point of painting it? Thus, [he] must [try to] capture, **in between likeness and unlikeness**, the extramundane, heavenly delight. Only then [can it] be regarded as the art [of painting].⁹⁴

In fact, it is also this "in between likeness and unlikeness", or in between figuration and abstraction, that gives *Nude in a Garden* its excellence. Both *Shanyu Yu Lai* and *Nude in a Garden*, with their characteristics of *Pise* and *Bianyi-and-Kuangguai* respectively, were actually derived from real (or real experience of) 'nature'. With much simplification of the former and distortion of the latter, the *jing* [sight] of the paintings may appear far removed from 'nature', causing the unlikeness; but, with the suggested *jing* [artistic conception] of the paintings, both the *li* and *shen* of 'nature' are intact, assuring likeness. (In these respects, both *Shanyu Yu Lai* and *Nude in a Garden* are far different from the so-called Surrealist paintings.)

7.3.4 Chinese *Yin Yang* → *Buju Bianhua* (Wang's Credit 5)

The Chinese have always been using the term '*hua* [change]' or '*bianhua* [transformation]' to mean synthesis and creation in painting. *Bianhua* thus denotes the

⁹²*The Tao of Chinese Landscape Painting*, op. cit., p. 108.

⁹³*Zhongguo Meishu Cidian*, op. cit., "Main Body", s.v. "Qi Baishi", p. 118.

⁹⁴"*Hua Shuo*", op. cit., vol. 2, bk. 6, pp. 120-21; bold emphasis mine.

accomplished state of thoroughly integrating and transforming all the inherited methods from past masters, whereby the painter establishes his own method. As Shitao put it:

Everything [that comes down to us] . . . as methods must have [undergone some] transformations. . . . [Thus,] once [one] has learned its methods, [he should] then work on transformations.⁹⁵

It is in this spirit that Zhang and Picasso created *Shanyu Yu Lai* and *Nude in a Garden* respectively.

Conditioned by the Principle of *Yin Yang*, the Chinese painters have always been thinking, writing, and painting in terms of the complementary *yin* and *yang*. Thus, by *Buju Bianhua*, Wang Yu meant that the composition in a painting should possess transformations, to be realised by the combinatory application of the inevitable principles such as "*Yin Yang*" and "*Zong Heng*".

Yin Yang Wang Wei once said, "Paintings are not [produced by] the mere exercise of artistic skill, [but] upon completion, must correspond to *Yi Jing*."⁹⁶ What he meant can be interpreted as that painting should also describe 'nature'⁹⁷ through the interplay of *yin* and *yang*, just as *Yin Yang* forming the soul of *Yi Jing*.

Since "*Qi* [is what] creates the harmony [of *Yin* and *Yang*]", and that "[painting] shares the same *ji* as *Dao*", the conceptual aspect of the idea of *yin* and *yang* in painting is thus the idea of *Qi* and *Dao* secured in painting that adds considerable meaning to *Buju Bianhua*. As discussed earlier, Zhang had captured the *Qi* of not only the brewing storm as a whole, but also each and every form of the forest, mountains, thunderclouds, etc., in *Shanyu Yu Lai*. Similarly, Picasso had captured the *Qi* of not only Marie-Thérèse as a whole, but also individually her hair, face, breasts, buttocks, pubes, etc., in *Nude in a Garden*. Such *Qi* secured in the paintings is the outcome of their delving into and indulgence in the secrets of 'nature'—the mysterious *Dao* of 'nature'. It is this conveyance of *Qi* through *Dao* that gives the paintings their *Buju Bianhua*; every element of 'nature' becomes a pictorial

⁹⁵*Kugua Heshang Huayu Lu*, chap. 3, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 147-48.

⁹⁶Cited earlier in my Chap. 1.2.4.

⁹⁷As before, 'nature' stands for mountains and water for Zhang, women for Picasso.

mark of individual *Qi* that contributes to the overall pictorial rhythm of whole *Qi*, representing an expression of the painters' experience with *Dao*.

Furthermore, in *Shanyu Yu Lai*, the movement—starting from the uncannily bright glow and obscure thunderclouds at the far distance (upper right) to the clearly, distinctly and detailedly depicted houses in the middle distance, the blurred forest (in front of the houses) in the foreground, back to the ambiguous mountains (upper left), and finally returning to the dark thunderclouds—is analogous to the cycle of coming and returning of *Dao*.⁹⁸ Similarly, the same cycle of *Dao* is manifested in *Nude in a Garden*, by the movement beginning from the distorted nude in the middle distance, to the realistically painted flowers and delicately depicted leafy plant in the green background, back to the elaborated red pillow and plain ground sheet, to the sketchy grass in the foreground, and finally returning to the pink nude. Moreover, the obscureness and clarity, the far and near, the blurredness and detailedness, the ambiguity and distinctness, the darkness and brightness, the distortion and realism, the green and red-pink, the elaboration and plainness, the sketchiness and delicateness, are *yin* and *yang* (respectively); and the resultant tension and balance set up illustrates the complementarity of *yin yang*.

Zong Heng An aspect of Wang's *Zong Heng* as an element of *Buju Bianhua* refers to the Principle of *Bin Zhu*. Li Chengsou (b. ca. 1150) explained, "[When painting, the first thing to do is] to establish the positions of *bin* [and] *zhu*; [next,] to consider the far [and] the near, and then to locate the objects in the conception, [and] to adjust [the forms] in higher [and] lower [parts of the composition]." On *bin* and *zhu*, Tang Hou (fl. ca. 1322-29) also stressed that "[one] must not make *bin* outshine *zhu*."⁹⁹ What he meant in fact had been expressed by Guo Xi (1023-ca. 1085), who wrote:

A big mountain dominates as *zhu* [the master] of all other mountains, assembled about [it] in order. [It] serves majestically as the lord of the ridges [and] peaks, the forests [and] valleys; the far [and] near, the big [and] small. Its general appearance is like an emperor sitting gloriously on his throne, receiving the homage of [his] hundreds of courtiers; none daring to assume arrogant [or] disrespectful postures.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸According to *Dao De Jing* 25, cited earlier in footnotes of my Chap. 5.1.7, "Great means continuing and passing on; passing on, it goes far and becomes remote; having become remote, it returns." ('Great' is another name for 'Dao', given by Lao Zi himself.)

⁹⁹Both quotations cited earlier in my Chap. 3.6.2.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*

Shanyu Yu Lai and Nude in a Garden certainly appear to be in accord with all these statements made by Li, Tang and Guo. For the case of the former, the thunderclouds that seem to be everywhere, dominate as *zhu* that serves as "the lord"—an evil one, though—attempting to swallow up the *bin* forest, mountains and houses. For the latter, the sleeping nude who may wake up any moment, dominates as *zhu* whose appearance is like "an emperor"—a queen, rather—lying down graciously, receiving adoration of the *bin* grass, flowers and other plants.

Another aspect of *Zong Heng* refers to the appropriate (not accurate) rendering of scale and clarity of the various components in the painting. Although the Chinese (and the European painters) have the rules of thumb for observing the diminution of size and clarity according to distance, they are never too faithful. Thus, foreground features may be diminished or made vague to avoid obstruction and overemphasis. In Shanyu Yu Lai, for instance, the forest appears blurred compared to the houses behind it; and in Nude in a Garden, the grass in the foreground appears sketchy in comparison to the detailedly painted flowers and leafy plant in the background.

Under the same consideration, *zhu* sometimes needs not be the largest shape, but it must be located conspicuously. Around it, shapes compete for attention as points of interest playing a secondary role mainly to balance that major point of interest, or as focal points with varying degrees of visual distinction. *Bin* is not insignificant; on the contrary, it is necessary, as essential as the leaves are to a flower. All these are best illustrated within the form of the nude itself in Nude in a Garden. Here, the navel takes over as *zhu*, positioned right in the centre of the painting; all other *bin*—the breasts, the buttocks, the pubes and the hair—are organised almost at equal distance around it.

CHAPTER 8

Zhang Daqian's Lushan Tu [Picture of Mount Lu] and Pablo Picasso's Reclining Nude with Necklace

.....
Two peaks stand face to face above the Gate of Gold.
A waterfall is hanging down from Three Stone Beams,
.....

Li Bai (A.D. 701-62),
'Song of Mount Lu—To Censor Lu Xuzhou'
Tang Shi Sanbaishou
Three Hundred Poems of the Tang Dynasty¹

¹The cited verses are taken from Xu Yuan-zhong, Loh Bei-yei & Wu Juntao, eds., 300 Tang Poems, op. cit., p. 119.

8.1 Lushan Tu

8.1.1 Confucian *Li* → *Gezhi Ju Lao* (Liu Daochun's Essential 2)

Zhang Daqian had always carried *Li* [Propriety] with him. Since his young days, he had esteemed regards for the authority and adherence to the tradition, to respectfulness towards superiors, parents, brothers and friends. Despite extensive travel to and stay in Europe and the Americas, Zhang—always in his traditional Chinese scholar's long gown—continued to live with a traditional Chinese patriarchal family system. The foundation of his early style of painting was said to have been "blended [from] the simplicity and strength of the Tang artists, the methods of the Song masters and the brushwork of the Yuan and Ming painters".² On the techniques of his revolutionary style of *Po Mo Po Cai*, he always said:

... [It is] not that I have invented some new techniques of painting, [for these] techniques of painting have actually been used by the ancients. [It is] only that people later do not employ [them] anymore; [and] I merely reapply [them].³

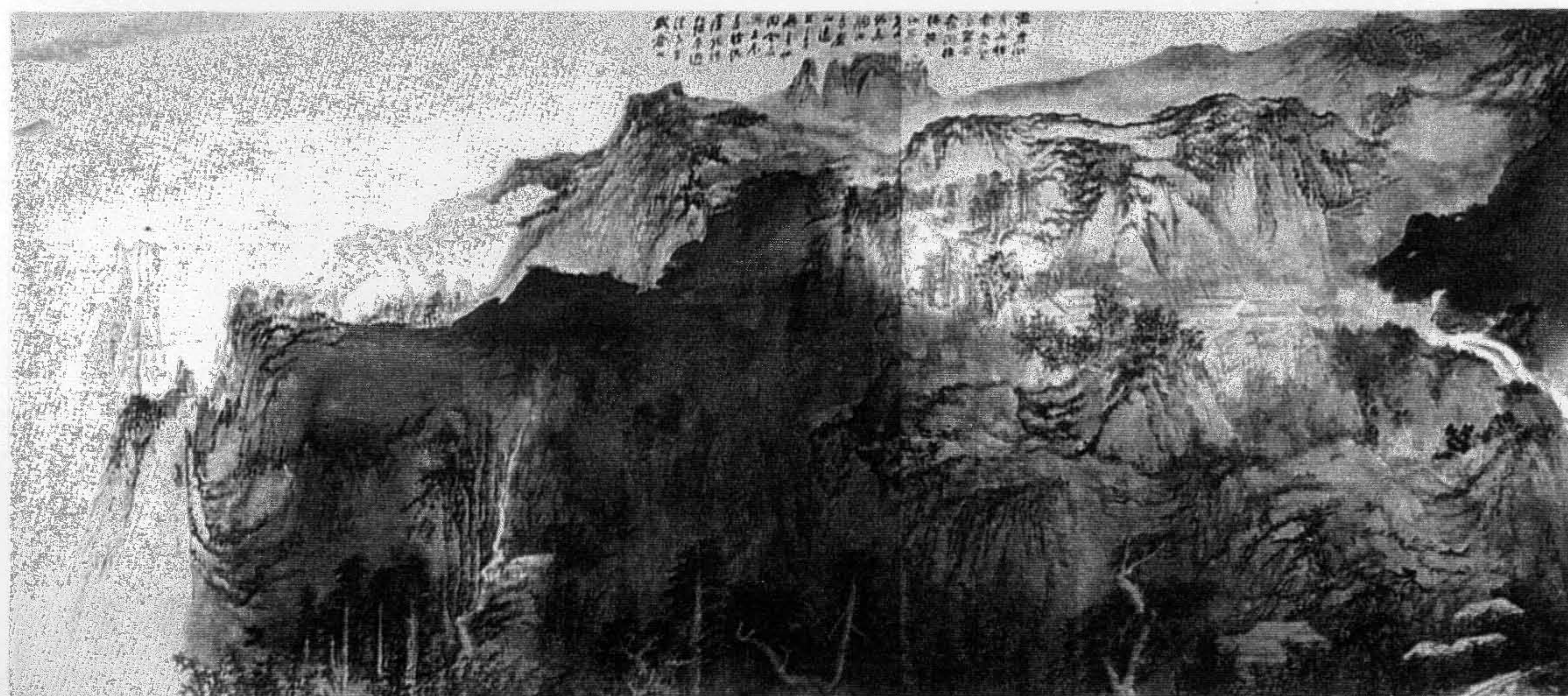
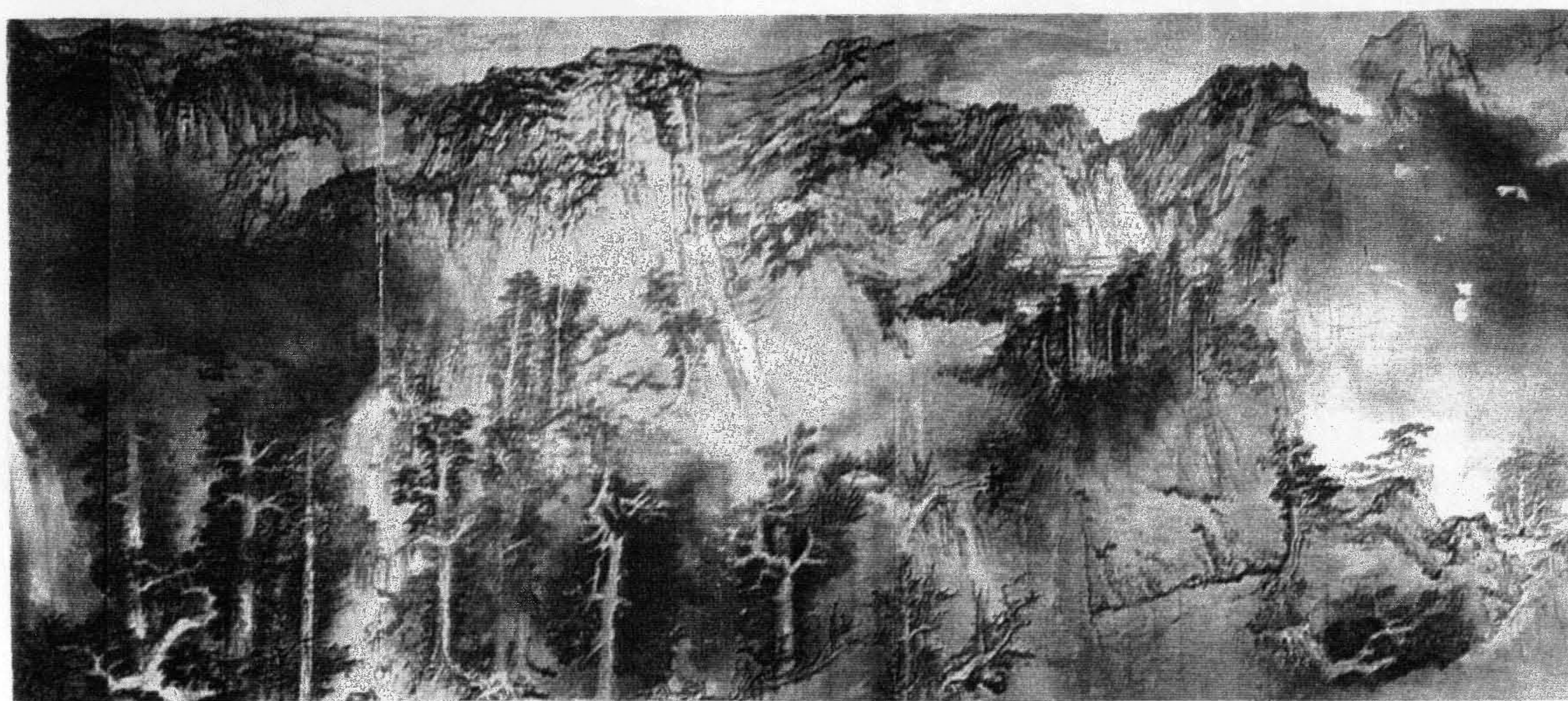
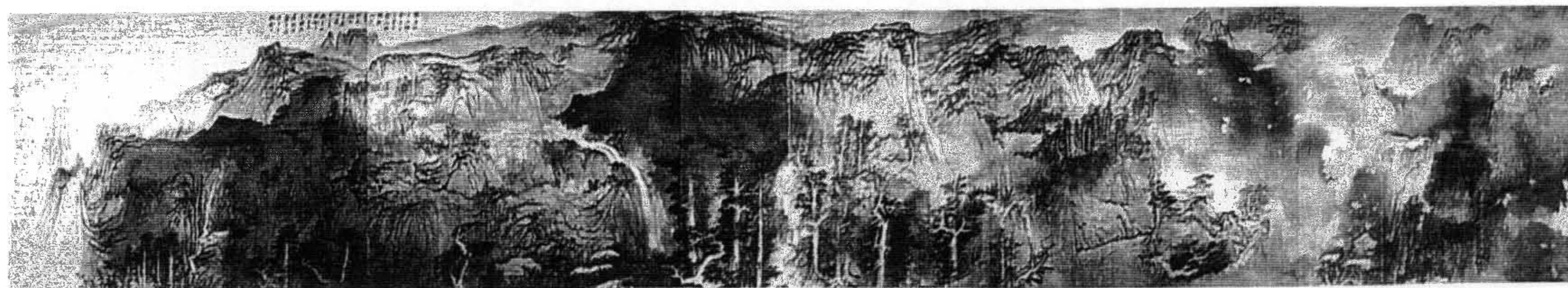
These statements show that he continued to have faith in the way early Chinese masters worked; and for this reason, he upheld *Gezhi Ju Lao* in his paintings, especially in his last masterpiece—*Lushan Tu* (Fig. 21).

Ju Lao Composition *Lushan Tu* is a landscape produced in the format of a traditional handscroll, but at a much expanded scale of a wall mural, measuring almost two metres high and ten metres long. Zhang created such a panorama because he "wanted people to witness that although old, he was not aged."⁴ As such, besides showing his skill in capturing *Qiyun Shengdong* with his brushwork, he was even more cautious with the composition or the *Jingying Weizhi* of the painting. As *Xuanhe Huapu* [Catalogue of Paintings in the Xuanhe Collection] says, "... [for] those [painters who have succeeded in] capturing [the quality of] *Qiyun* [*Shengdong*], [they]

²Cited earlier in my Chap. 5.2.3.

³Cited earlier in my Chap. 5.2.4.

⁴Cited earlier in introduction to my Pt. II, Sec. B.



may still lack *bifa* [the art of the brush]; [for] those who may have attained *bifa*, the majority [of them still] fail at *Jingying Weizhi*."⁵ *Lushan Tu* reveals that Zhang not only succeeded in all three, but at the same time conformed to *Gezhi Ju Lao*.

In the painting, smears of ink and colour appear bizarre and yet they contribute to a lucid structure of a traditional landscape. The painting opens (on the right) with splashed ink that was skilfully tidied up to give an illusion of depth, of layers of near and distant mountains, surrounded obscurely by massive clouds and dense mist. The middle section is broadly predominated by soaring trees (some delineated in a detailed manner and some in bold brushwork) and waterfalls, encircling a range of steep mountains (painted with orthodox textural brush strokes and controlled washes of ink and light ochre), parts of which covered with heavy vegetation (portrayed by unorthodox splashed turquoise). The mountains continue (with alternate light brown washes and heavy azurite and mineral green splodges) to the left, where an expansive lake (represented by the vast unpainted space) spreads infinitely towards the horizon. Such scheme of landscape composition is indeed *Ju Lao*.

Law of Five Another *Ju Lao* feature in *Lushan Tu* is to be found in the trees. In the foreground (middle section of the painting), where the trees are clearly depicted and can be counted, their grouping usually obeyed the so called 'law of five'; that is, the composition is broken up into small groups of five or less. *Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan* says:

. . . if [one] knows well how to render five trees, then thousands or ten thousands of trees can be depicted. The clue is in crossing and joining [the branches] skilfully. Thus, the ancient people painted trees mostly [in groups of] five trees [or less].⁶

Glancing the foreground rightwards from the waterfall on the left, one can easily notice trees—with their branches skilfully crossed and joined—in a group of four, followed by a group of five, a group of two, a group of three, and finally a group of four (on the far right of the middle section of the painting). In fact, the groves of trees

⁵*Xuanhe Huapu*, preface by Zhao Zhi (who reigned as Emperor [Song] Huizong), bk. 10, in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, ed. Yu Kun, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 658. For a brief biography of Zhao and more information about *Xuanhe Huapu*, see my App. 3.2.2.

⁶Wang Gai, Wang Shi & Wang Nie, eds. & comps., *Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan*, op. cit., vol. 1, bk. 2, p. 6. It is amazing that—as noted in George Rowley, *Principles of Chinese Painting*, op. cit., p. 55—"Centuries ago they [the Chinese] intuitively sensed that the average person cannot grasp more than five as a numerical group, a fact we [in the West] have only recently demonstrated in our psychological laboratories."

in the middle distance (right of middle section and centre of left section), where they represented dense woods or forests, also obey the 'law of five'.

Furthermore, although these groves of trees appear in a row, they are not of the same height, in accord with the rules in *Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan*, that say, "Although [trees may appear in a row,] like wild geese in flight, making [their] roots [and] tops the same levels is to be avoided most, [for that would] look like a bundle of firewood."⁷ All the trees in the foreground, especially the one on the extreme right of the last group of four trees (on the far right of the middle section of the painting), also illustrate a conformation to these rules in *Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan*:

. . . Draw the branches by [first] establishing [the basic structure of] a tree bare of foliage. . . . Make distinct [the way the branches disposed themselves, i.e.,] *yin yang*, *xiang bei* [facing the front or back], *zuo you* [on the left or right]; consider [the tension and balance created by some branches] pushing forward [while others seemingly] drawing back⁸

Kai He, *Qi Fu* and *Longmai* The conformation to the principles of *Kai He* and *Qi Fu*, is another feature of *Ju Lao* in *Lushan Tu*. According to Wang Yuanqi (ca. 1642-1715), "*Kai He* follows from the top to the bottom [of the painting], . . . sometimes [the forms and shapes are] knit together, sometimes [they] sway freely."⁹ For the case of *Lushan Tu*, *Kai He* is concerned with the range of mountains spreading out in the midst of clouds and mist in the opening section of the painting, and gathering up with trees and forests, streams and waterfalls, pavilions and temples knitted in the middle section, and finally swaying out again into the lake and the horizon in the last section. The resultant effect is a harmonious whole, from the right to left. Wang also mentioned that, "[if] the whole scroll [of painting] possesses *Kai He*, [then all] separate parts [of it] also possess *Kai He*". Indeed, within the big *Kai He* of *Lushan Tu*, there are the small *Kai He*, in the groups of trees (some pushing forward while others seemingly drawing back, for instance), in the groups of buildings (some spreading out far while other gathering into a slum), and in the plateau and waterfall.

On *Qi Fu*, Wang wrote, "*Qi Fu* continues from the near to the far, [with] *Xiang Bei* [of forms and shapes] clearly defined; sometimes [they rise] high [and]

⁷*Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan*, *ibid.*, p. 5.

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹Here and all the following quotations from Wang's work have been cited in my Chap. 3.6.3.

lofty, sometimes [they] appear flat [and] mended." Such description fits well for *Lushan Tu*, in which the mountains, starting from the right, rise loftily into the clouds, then appear mended with a pavilion and a nearby bridge over the small waterfall, soar high again with luxuriant vegetation, then appear flat as plateau with temples near to the source of the cataract, and then rise steeply into the remote before dropping finally into the lake. Such rise and fall indeed created a rhythmic sequence conforming to *Qi Fu*.

With *Kai He* and *Qi Fu*, Wang brought forth another vital concept in landscape painting. He wrote:

[If] realising *Kai He* [and] *Qi Fu*, but without [regarding] *longmai* as the root, [it] is said that '*gu zi shi mu*'. . . . Let *long[mai]* be slanting [or] straight, whole [or] fragmentary, concealed [or] exposed, interrupted [or] continuous, [but all appearing] vivaciously within, then [it] is a real painting.

Longmai—the "root" or the "*mu* [mother]"—is in fact "the source of *Qi* [and] *shi* in painting"; and it is indeed what makes *Lushan Tu* "a real painting". In the painting, one can almost sense the intangible *Qi* that weaves through the entire panorama, forming a powerful web knitted across the whole painting and giving an overall magnificent portrayal of *shi*. Such is precisely the "witness" that Zhang produced to prove that "although old, he was not aged."

8.1.2 Confucian *Ren* → Animated Humanness → *Qigu Gu Ya* (Wang Yu's Credit 1)

Meng Zi (ca. 372-289 B.C.)'s claim that "*Ren* is *ren* [man]" has given a very strong support to the emphasis of the importance of man and to the Confucian idea of a man-centred universe. The main concern is rested upon the relationship between man and man, starting within the family as the root and ending with mankind of *junzi*. Influenced by such idea of "man of *Ren*", the painter tends to embody an animated humanness in almost everything related to painting. The tools and materials used for painting, for instance, are called '*Wenfang Si You* [The Four Friends of the Study]' and regarded as having human ethical characteristics.¹⁰

¹⁰'*Si You*' has been mentioned and discussed in my Chap. 1.1.1.

Subjects of painting are also embodied animated humanness to display behavioural characteristics of man. Plum-blossom, orchid, bamboo and chrysanthemum, for instance, are collectively referred to as '*Si Junzi* [The Four Superior Men]'. In my opinion, they loosely correspond to Meng Zi's "man of *Li*", "man of *Ren*", "man of *Yi*" and "man of *Zhi*" respectively, for plum-blossom, usually appearing on the leafless and apparently lifeless branches of the tree, can endure frosty weather, thus symbolising durability and integrity of the "man of *Li*"; orchid's graceful prose stands for love and represents the refinement of the "man of *Ren*"; bamboo is pliant yet strong, thus symbolising reliability, uprightness and unbending loyalty of the "man of *Yi*"; and chrysanthemum—*ju* in Chinese—is pronounced phonetically close to *jiu*, the Chinese word for 'a long time', thus symbolising long life and representing fortitude, patience and wisdom of the "man of *Zhi*".

In another grouping, plum-tree, bamboo and pine are regarded as '*Sui Han San You* [The Tree Friends of the Cold Season]', for they continue to grow in winter and they remain constant and blossom before the spring comes. These three friends remind us of Kong Zi (ca. 551-479 B.C.)'s '*Yizhe San You* [The Tree Types of Good Friends]', mentioned in *Lun Yu* in the form of three beneficial friendships. He said:

Friendship with the upright; friendship with the sincere; [and] friendship with the well-informed; [these are] beneficial.¹¹

Later, the three 'friends' are also sometimes combined with orchid and chrysanthemum to form '*Wu Qing* [The Five Pure Friends]'.

Such animated humanness is also to be found in landscape painting. In regard to the basic components of a landscape, for instance, the mountains shared the strength of the man whereas water unveiled the grace of the woman, as the Chinese folk song goes:

The high mountain green, the stream water blue;
The young woman from Mount Ali is as beautiful as the water,
The young man from Mount Ali is as strong as the mountain.
Ah . . .
The young woman from Mount Ali is as beautiful as the water,
The young man from Mount Ali is as strong as the mountain.
The high mountain forever green, the stream water forever blue;

¹¹Kong Zi, *Lun Yu* 16:4, in *Xinyi Si Shu Duben*, comp. & interpreted by Xie Bingying et al., op. cit., p. 260.

The young woman and the young man will never part;
The blue water forever surrounds the green mountain.¹²

Moreover, in *Kugua Heshang Huayu Lu*, Shitao (1642-ca. 1718) wrote, in reference to Confucian and Taoist terms:

. . . The mountains awaken [and] grow [out of nondifferentiation] through *Ren*; . . . the mountains arch [and] bow [to each other] through *Li*; . . . the mountains manifest [a sense of] vacuity [and yet] spirituality through *Zhi* [Wisdom] It [the water] flows downwards according to natural course through *Yi* [Righteousness]; [its] tides ebb and flow without resting through *Dao*¹³

These statements indeed best describe the mountains and waterfalls in *Lushan Tu*. The mountains appear kind, polite and wise; the waterfalls appear just and law abiding. Zhang had learnt to understand himself and the human feelings through his Oneness with nature. In this way, not only the mountains and waterfalls in *Lushan Tu* are alive, even the trees are alive and have the qualities of human beings. His well-formed pines, characterised by their sinuous grace and venerable age, are like people (such as himself) who are well-informed and intelligent; his straight Chinese parasol trees, characterised by their leanness and majestic refinement, are like people (such as himself) who are upright and of lofty morals.

It is this very animated humanness in *Lushan Tu* that gives his modern landscape a classic elegance that links it to the ancient Confucian virtues, to tradition and to antiquity. This is exactly what Wang Yu (1714-48) meant by *Qigu Gu Ya*.

8.1.3 *Mo* (Jing Hao's *Yao* 6) → *Yongmo Jingcai* (Wang's Credit 4)

Jing Hao (ca. A.D. 870-930) defined *Mo* in these words:

That which is *Mo* [refers to differentiating between] higher [and] lower parts of objects with a tonal gradation, [giving a sense of the location and delineating clearly] shallowness [and] deepness, [and thus making them

¹²Lyric of the popular Chinese folk song entitled "Gaoshan Qing" [The High Mountain Green], *Ertong Jiaoyu Gequ Jingxuan* [Excellent collection of Children Educational Songs] 3, no. 13 [compact disc (digital audio)] ([Singapore]: Form, 1988; Form Music Publication, 1992).

¹³Shitao, *Kugua Heshang Huayu Lu*, chap. 18, in *Hualun Congkan*, ed. Yu Anlan, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 157.

appear] refined, graceful [and] natural, as if [they] had not come from a brush.¹⁴

What he meant by *Mo* here is actually *yongmo* [ink usage], that concerns the techniques with regard to the specific qualities of the ink, such as its tones and fluidity, rather than those of the brush that produced the ink marks. Such *yongmo* is in fact the chief concern of Zhang in *Lushan Tu*; and it is his way of *yongmo* that gives rise to what Wang called "*Jingcai*".

Pomo and Po Mo

In the painting, the effects of two famous methods of *yongmo*—namely, the methods of Wang Wei (A.D. 701-61)'s *pomo* and Wang Qia (d. A.D. 804)'s *po mo*—are evident. Whereas *po mo* best manifests itself as clouds and mist in the opening section of the painting, *pomo* can be most clearly observed in the dotting of the foliage of trees and woods, of the textured contour and textural vegetation on the mountains in the middle distance, and in the controlled washes of distant mountains. In the *po mo* area, a large quantity of ink-and-water is literally splashed or poured directly onto the painting surface, gathering into pools as reservoirs for the sweeping brush. In the *pomo* areas, on the other hand, ink is divided into different tones using light and dark dots, brush strokes or washes that are applied in layers and allowed to spread out and permeate into one another. This creates an effect of moistness and freshness, and a richly textured surface design of uneven and angular strokes, dots and blobs.

Although there is a feeling of reserve and restraint in *pomo*, the spontaneous and rapid *po mo* gives a seemingly contrasting feeling that creates an overall balance and harmony. Together, they give rise to an atmosphere best described as *Qiyun Shengdong*.

Mo Fen Wu Se

The attainment of the quality of *Qiyun Shengdong*, however, is not solely credited to *yongmo* but also to *mo* itself. It is said that the Chinese ink is capable of producing gradations in tone giving "*nong, dan, gan, shi* and *hei*"; and this is what is meant by '*mo fen wu se*'.¹⁵ In this sense, black ink is (and has been) considered the best colour among the Chinese painters.¹⁶

¹⁴Cited earlier in my Chap. 4.1.2.

¹⁵Mentioned earlier in my Chap. 3.5.2.

¹⁶Interestingly, the Fauves of the early twentieth century did not recognise black as a colour.

In *Lushan Tu*, Zhang certainly illustrated that he had acquired "all the five colours" of the ink, for one can easily identify areas of "*nong, dan, gan, shi* and *hei*" in the painting; and the result, "*Jingcai*". The ink doubtlessly has more telling powers of suggestion than the actual colours. As the saying goes, "*Yi mo wei zhu, yi se wei fu* [Take ink as primary, take colour as secondary]",¹⁷ the colours (azurite and mineral green) function relatively more as *fu* [secondary] and the black ink as *zhu* [primary] in *Lushan Tu*, in comparison with *Shanyu Yu Lai* in which the tendency of the reverse seems higher. For the latter, it is more of *Caihui You Ze*—Liu Daochun (fl. ca. 1059)'s Essential 4; for the former it is definitely *Shese Gao* (but not) *Hua*—Wang Yu's Credit 6.

¹⁷Tao Mingjun, ed., *Zhongguo Hualun Cidian*, op. cit., s.v. "*Yi mo wei zhu, yi se wei fu*", p. 163.

8.2 Reclining Nude with Necklace

8.2.1 *Shen* [Inner Spirit] → *Shi* [Momentum] → *Qiyun Jian Li* (Liu Daochun's Essential 1)

Shi and *Li* *Shengdong*, or liveliness, of Marie-Thérèse Walter has been secured by Pablo Picasso in Nude in a Garden by capturing her *shen* through *xie shen* and *chuan shen*. The very same quality is captured through the depiction of Jacqueline Roque in Reclining Nude with Necklace (Fig. 22), but this time by portraying *shi*, that gives the painting its *Qiyun Jian Li*—a kind of strength projected as a speedy momentum or a powerful impact coming out of the painting. Such speediness and powerfulness are in fact his testimony to his refusal to accept the approaching death at this time of his life.

Lin Yutang defined *shi* in the following words:

Shih [*Shi*] means force of movement, advantage of position, the striking position in battle, influence in government, or leverage in jujitsu. It may refer to the quick force of an oncoming flood, or the latent danger of a collapsing wall, etc. It is always associated with movement and action, or their possibility.¹⁸

To me, *shi* in painting is best interpreted as 'the inherent momentum' and it is in this sense that *shi* has always been regarded as a treasured quality in Chinese painting, especially landscape. It not only pertains to Shitao's Principle of *Yihua*, but also the *shen* and *li* [natural principle]. As Zhao Zuo (fl. ca. 1611-16) put it:

[When] painting a big scroll of landscape, [one] must emphasise on capturing *shi*. . . . The reason [we] value capturing *shi* [within] *jing* [sight] is that, [when we] look at it [the resultant painting] as a whole, [it appears] as if done with one breath [in the manner of *Yihua*]; [and when we] study it carefully, [both] *shen* [and] *li* are also [captured] in harmony.¹⁹

Zhao explained by giving some explicit examples:

[In painting, if] *shi* of trees is captured, [then,] although [they may appear] disorderly, thrusting forwards and backwards, but [they are] each perfectly

¹⁸Lin Yutang, The Chinese Theory of Art, op. cit., p. 175, n.

¹⁹Zhao, Wendu Lun Hua, in Zhongguo Hualun Leibian, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 759.



unimpeded; [if] *shi* of a rock is captured, [then,] although [it may look] strange [or] queer, but [it] does not lose the *li*.²⁰

Such statements in fact also best describe the nude in Reclining Nude with Necklace in which *shi* must be inevitably captured, for although the limbs, breasts and buttocks may appear "disorderly, thrusting forwards and backwards, [upwards and downwards, entwined and twisted, due to Picasso's favourite method of dismemberment-rearrangement,] but [they are] each perfectly unimpeded"; and although the nude body as a whole may look "strange [or] queer, [due to the Picassian style of *Bianyi*-and-*Kuangguai*,] but [it] does not lose the *li*."

Shi and *Longmai* Wang Yuanqi associated *shi* with the concepts of *Qi* and *longmai*, and the related principles of *Kai He* and *Qi Fu*, when he wrote:

Longmai is the source of *Qi* [and] *shi* in painting. [It] may be slanting, may be straight; [it] may be whole, may be fragmentary; [it] may be interrupted, may be continuous; [it] may be concealed, may be exposed. . . . If realising the existence of *longmai*, but without differentiating between *Kai He* [and] *Qi Fu*, [it will] definitely lead to tying up [of forms and shapes, and] loss of *shi*.²¹

This very *longmai* that has been manifested in Lushan Tu once again manifests itself in Reclining Nude with Necklace. The reclining nude, constituted frontally and horizontally, is almost an incarnation of a kind of landscape very similar to Lushan Tu—even the location of Picasso's signature almost coincides with that of Zhang's inscription. As in the case of Lushan Tu, one is not difficult to sense the *Qi* that weaves uninterruptedly through the entire body, from head to toes. Each part of the nude—the eyes, nose, breasts, hands, buttocks, pubes, legs, etc.—having the characteristic touch of Picasso, is filled with *Qi*. As a result, the nude seems to force herself upon our attention.

Kai He follows from the right to left of the painting, beginning from the bust of the nude that opens up with the swaying hair, followed by the gathering in the torso of mountain-like breasts, valley-like buttocks and pubes covered with foliage-like pubic hair, all tightly knitted around the plateau-like navel region, and finally the opening of the thighs to allow the pouring of glandular secretions out of her genitals like a waterfall. *Qi Fu* also arises from the right to left, starting from the raised head and supporting left arm pressing down firmly, followed by the breasts, one facing up

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Cited earlier in my Chap. 3.6.3.

and the other down, and finally the thighs, one erected and the other lying flat. All these contribute to a powerful web of *longmai* woven ingeniously across the whole painting, giving a strong sense of *shi*.

Furthermore, in Reclining nude with Necklace, every visible line is treated in a different manner—short or long, straight or curved, thick or thin, blunt or tapering, black or white, calligraphic or patchy, etc. Each line is a force sending off momentum, and each line contributes to a new tension that runs through the whole painting like *longmai*, creating a surprising equilibrium of *shi*. Moreover, the arms and legs are of different lengths; the two eyes, two breasts, two buttocks are all of different shapes and sizes, and facing different directions. All these, while contributing to a dynamic Picassian compositional arrangement with a distinctive structural character, seem to conform to what is said in Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan, on painting landscape:

. . . There are two methods [of drawing] two trees: [first draw] a large [one], [then] add a small [one]; this is called *fulao* [carrying the old on the back]; [first draw] a small [one], [then] add a large [one]; this is called *xiyou* [taking the young by the hand]. . . . [In any case,] making [their] roots [and] tops the same levels is to be avoided most [*Fulao* best describes the legs; and *xiyou*, the arms, of the nude in Reclining nude with Necklace.]

[Whether] dotting leaves [or] drawing leaves, [there is] not much difference. . . . [That is exactly how it appears in the case of the pubic hair of the nude.]

[In painting,] rocks without *Qi* are [considered] dead rocks, thus, painting rocks without *Qi* is certainly to be avoided. Now, [in order] to paint rocks with *Qi*, [one needs] to seek *Qi* [beyond the material and] in the intangible . . . [and this is] not difficult. [If one knows well that] a rock has three faces, [and] these three faces are [to be found] in the depths of the rock's hollows, [and] the height of [its] projections, [and if, in depicting the rocks, one] pay attention to *yin yang*, positioning [in regard to whether] above or below, and appropriate volume [in regard to whether] fat or thin, and [having a knowledge of the formation of rocks, such as] *fantou* [alum head], *lingmian* [water-chestnut top], *futu* [half-covered with earth] and *taiquan* [source of a spring], . . . then *Qi* would emerge with *shi*. . . . ['A rock has three faces' can be best observed on the face of the nude; '*yin yang*, above or below, fat or thin, *fantou*, *lingmian*' are applicable to the two breasts; '*futu*' for the buttocks and '*taiquan*' for the pubes.]

The waterfall . . . [should be painted] so that [one] could almost hear the sound [of the pouring water] . . . [or the pouring glandular secretions].²²

It is through all these that the *shi* of the nude in Reclining Nude with Necklace is firmly secured, giving rise to *Qiyun Jian Li*. Picasso once said, "I have less and less time, and yet I have more and more to say".²³ In effect, he had said it all in Reclining Nude with Necklace.

²²Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan, op. cit., vol. 1, bk. 2, pp. 5 & 7; bk. 3, pp. 1 & 27.

²³Cited earlier in my Chap. 6.2.3

8.3 The Comparison

8.3.1 *Bi* (Jing Hao's *Yao* 5) → *Culu Qiu Bi* (Liu Daochun's Merit 1) and *Xiqiao Qiu Li* (Liu's Merit 3)

Han Zhuo (fl. ca. 1095-1125) once wrote, "To wheel and deal [in painting], [one needs only to] care about *bi* [referring to both the brush and brushwork]."²⁴ The Chinese brush, one of *Wenfang Si Bao*, has been the most important tool of the Chinese painter (and calligrapher as well) for more than two thousand years. The Chinese have also developed a vast number of techniques for *yongbi* (as in *Gufa Yongbi*)—the use of brush in painting. When a painter has thoroughly mastered *Gufa Yongbi*, he is said to have acquired *bifa* or the *shen* of brush, and his paintings possessing the attribute of *youbi* [having brush, literally]. As Shitao put it, "the brush spreads the ink by *shen* . . . ; brush[work] not lively [reveals that the brush] lacks *shen* . . . [and paintings that] can convey the *shen* of life . . . are [considered] *youbi*".²⁵ It is this quality of *youbi*, manifested as *Culu Qiu Bi* and *Xiqiao Qiu Li* in *Lushan Tu* and *Reclining Nude with Necklace*, that gives them their *shi*, making each of them "a real painting".

Xiqiao Qiu Li and *Culu Qiu Bi* *Xiqiao Qiu Li* is best observed in *Lushan Tu*—in the brush lines depicting the clearly defined pavilions and temples, the little but strong bridge over the small waterfall, the luxuriant trees with their elaborated branches and leaves, and the range of textured mountains with soaring peaks and steep cliffs. It is also revealed in the calligraphy of the inscription on *Lushan Tu*, and in Pablo Picasso's tiny but powerful signature on *Reclining Nude with Necklace*.

All these reveal a kind of *li*, different from the *li* in *Qiyun Jian Li*, (and thus) not the strength Zhang Daqian exploited to prove that "although old, he was not aged", or the strength Picasso utilised to "convey . . . the feelings of a great artist, acutely aware of approaching death but refusing to accept it".²⁶ It is the strength

²⁴Han, *Shanshui Chunquan Ji*, chap. 7, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 43.

²⁵Shitao, *Kugua Heshang Huayu Lu*, chap. 5, *ibid.*, p. 149.

²⁶Both quotations have been cited in introduction to my Pt. II, Sec. B.

within the brush strokes themselves—the very *li*, according to Hua Lin (fl. ca. 1840), that makes "the resultant painting . . . stands up, . . . [and that distinguishes between] a scarecrow . . . [and] a man",²⁷ and the *li* Shen Zongqian (fl. ca. 1781) mentioned that "can lift bronze tripods."²⁸ Such *li* refers to the sureness of brush touching the painting surface and the firmness of the line made on it.

Culu Qiu Bi most suitably describes Reclining Nude with Necklace, that shows an inclination towards the much increased use of dynamic or calligraphic brush strokes (as compared to Nude in a Garden). *Lushan Tu*, on the other hand, shows a tendency towards a projection of non-calligraphic brushwork by the impetuous splashes of ink and colour. Such tendency is even better seen in *Shanyu Yu Lai* in which splodges of azurite and mineral green seem to rule the painting. This seems to set the tone of modern painting that comes after: for the West, from non-calligraphic coloration to calligraphic brush strokes (and gestures); for the East, from calligraphic brushwork to non-calligraphic washes. However, these paintings, especially those of Zhang and Picasso, arrive at a common point—the point characterised by 'the figurative-abstract-figurative'.

In Reclining Nude with Necklace, Picasso had dissolved the solid cubism of the nude (as seen in Nude in a Garden) into one with painterly calligraphy, now also incorporating his *Bianyi*-and-*Kuangguai* idea—of the structure of the nude—into the form of the line itself. As a result, his lines are not merely form-delineating lines, but intrinsically *Bianyi*-and-*Kuangguai* lines appearing in a wide flexibility of distortions and tensions (joyously circumscribing yet violently dissecting the body, frenziedly harassing yet passionately caressing every part of it), and applied with a lively urgency and energy (most visibly expressed in the dense strokes of white paint jetting upwards from the hip, and the swirling strokes of blue paint spurting out from the genitals). The overall impact of the painting may appear crude or vulgar, yet each of the seemingly doodling lines is creative and each of the triumphal brush strokes within is graceful on its own merits, illustrating precisely *Culu Qiu Bi*.

Jin, Rou, Gu and Qi Jing Hao mentioned the four essential qualities of *Bi*, in terms of the *shi* inherent within it, that are to be sought after in painting. He wrote:

²⁷Hua, *Nanzong Juemi* [The Secrets of the Southern School of Landscape Painting], in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 298. For a brief biography of Hua, see my App. 3.2.2.

²⁸Shen, *Jiezhou Xuahua Bian*, bk. 1, chap. 2, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 326.

Generally there are four [types of] *shi* in *Bi*, namely, *Jin* [Tendons], *Rou* [Flesh], *Gu* [Bones], [and] *Qi*.²⁹

Jin refers to the *shi* in the short and sinewy brush strokes that seem to be "broken off and yet remain connected."³⁰ As such, the patterns on the red pillow and bed in Reclining Nude with Necklace can be said of consisting strokes with *Jin*.

Rou results as *shi* that fills within the thinning and thickening of the brush line created respectively by "lifting and pressing"³¹ of the brush in the progress of a line, giving rise to a rhythmic movement from beginning to end. The runny, impasto-like, thickening and thinning strokes that outline the nude body and its various parts in Reclining Nude with Necklace, though may not be applied by literally pressing and lifting of the brush, are in effect comparable to Wu Daozi (ca. A.D. 685-758)'s famous 'thick-and-thin' brush line,³² and project the same kind of *shi* best described as *Rou*. Moreover, the careless-looking scribbles and doodles of thick paint that are applied over the thin and flat patches of paint underneath (such as the thick white paint applied over the green flat patch of the buttocks) also create another effect of *Rou*.

The *shi* in the brush stroke that distinguishes the "liveliness [from] deadness"³³ is called *Gu*; the *shi* in the brush strokes that gives rise to strength and vigour, so that each stroke "delineating [the whole] painting [is] undefeatable",³⁴ so to speak, is called *Qi*. In this sense, all the brush strokes in Reclining Nude with Necklace are filled with *Gu* or *Qi*, for these brush strokes not only form the backbone of the painting but actually constitute to the *longmai* that weaves powerfully through the whole surface, giving the resultant painting its liveliness, strength and vigour.³⁵

In conclusion, all these four essential qualities of *Jin*, *Rou*, *Gu* and *Qi* are displayed in Reclining Nude with Necklace. The painting is indeed *youbi*. (In fact, there is hardly any other Western painting by another artist that has attained this

²⁹Jing, *Bifa Ji*, *ibid.*, p. 8.

³⁰*Ibid.*

³¹*Ibid.*

³²Wu's 'thick-and-thin' line has been discussed in my Chap. 3.3.3

³³*Bifa Ji*, in *Hualun Congkan*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 8.

³⁴*Ibid.*

³⁵Liveliness, strength and vigour of the painting have been discussed in my Chap. 8.2.1.

quality.) With *bifa*, Picasso succeeded in painting by drawing. In fact, analogous to Zhang or any other Chinese painter's incorporation of calligraphic writing skill into painting, Picasso "combines a painterly form of writing with a painterly form of painting".³⁶ Han once said:

[It is] often said [that Wu] Daozi's landscapes *youbi* but *wumo* [show no ink], [and that] the landscapes of Xiang Rong [(fl. ca. 766-804), Wang Qia's teacher] *youmo* [have ink] but *wubi* [show no brush]. These [two masters] were both not good enough; only Jing Hao [who] incorporated the merits of the two masters into [his] own style is [to be considered] perfect.³⁷

Like Jing, Picasso is "perfect", for his paintings such as Reclining Nude with Necklace, like Lushan Tu, "*youbi youmo* [having brush and having ink]"³⁸—or more precisely, '*youbi youse* [having brush and having colour]'.

8.3.2 *Xin* [The Heart-Mind] → *Si* (Jing's *Yao* 3)

Dong Qichang (1555-1637) once wrote:

[If one has] read ten thousand volumes of books, travelled ten thousand miles, [and] removed [one's] chest from dust and dirt, [then] beautiful landscapes will naturally form within [the mind], [and whatever] painted freely by [the work of] the hand will *chuan* the *shen* of the landscapes.³⁹

Zhang Daqian echoed:

People in the past said, "Read ten thousand volumes of books, [and] travel ten thousand miles." . . . [Indeed,] the two must be carried out in complementarity. [When] famous mountains [and] great rivers have been familiarised in the *xin*, [till] '[one's] chest embraces hills [and] valleys', [so to speak, then he can] use the brush [to paint] naturally, with a [solid] foundation [or without creating something out of the void].⁴⁰

³⁶Marie-Laure Bernadac, "Picasso 1953-1972: Painting as Model", in Late Picasso, op. cit., p. 85.

³⁷Shanshui Chunquan Ji, chap. 7, in Hualun Congkan, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 43.

³⁸Zhongguo Hualun Cidian, op. cit., s.v. "*youbi youmo*", p. 146.

³⁹Cited earlier in my Chap. 3.2.3.

⁴⁰Cited earlier in my Chap. 5.2.2.

Thus, when one has "removed [his] chest from dust and dirt," and when "famous mountains [and] great rivers have been familiarised in the *xin*," then, as Shitao put it, his painting can "enter into [a state of] perfection [and] refinement [that is] beyond prediction."⁴¹ The first prerequisite requirement refers to the Taoist concept of *jingxin*; the second refers to Jing's *Si* and the related concept of *yi* [idea, literally].

Xin *Xin* literally means 'the heart', where feelings and emotions dwell. However, the Chinese also take *xin* to mean 'the mind', thus taking *xin* as the logical and analytic intellect, as well as the origin of instinctive and aesthetic thoughts. Heart and mind, to them, are not two distinct entities; they are combined into one. Thus, *jingxin* means the attainment of the state of *Xu* by stilling of the *xin*—getting rid of all feelings and emotions through Taoist *Wu*; freeing of the mind of any attachment (including the thought of detachment that is itself an attachment) through *Chan*-ic *Wunian*. With *Wu*, *Xu* is the boundless state, in which lies 'emptiness' and yet 'inexhaustible plentifulness'; with *Wunian*, *Xu* is the pure state, in which one succeeds in 'seeing his own nature' in the 'absence of all'. It was precisely at this boundless and pure state that Zhang and Picasso painted *Lushan Tu* and *Reclining Nude with Necklace* respectively.

Zhang never personally visited the site of Mount Lu (thus 'emptiness'), despite that he had travelled extensively to almost all the famous mountains of China in his lifetime (thus 'inexhaustible plentifulness'). Yet he created *Lushan Tu*, with the landscape corresponding to many of Mount Lu's best-known sights. Analogously, Picasso also never painted Jacqueline Roque from life, for she never posed nude. However, his visual vocabulary and memory of the nude were so rich, that there was no need for her to pose. With a method that is free from all traditional conventions of painting traceable to the Renaissance through all its manifestations over the centuries (thus in the 'absence of all'), he employed his unique style of *Bianyi*-and-*Kuangguai* (thus 'seeing his own nature') to create his *Reclining Nude with Necklace*, a picture of Jacqueline, without doubt.

The creation of *Lushan Tu* and *Reclining Nude with Necklace* is the result of what Jing regarded as *Si*. The character '*si*'—made up of two parts with the character '*xin*' as the lower half—suggests that painting is controlled by the *xin* and issues from it. As Han put it, "That which is painting, is brush[work]; [and] this [brushwork] is to

⁴¹Cited in my Chap. 4.2.5.

be issued from *xin*."⁴² Better still, Shitao said, "That which is painting, is what issued from *xin*."⁴³ Centuries ago, in fact, Zhang Zao (fl. ca. A.D. 782)—famous in his time for his paintings of pine, rock and landscape—had already emphasised the important role of *xin* as the source out of which painting originates. When he was asked about the techniques he used and the master from whom he had learned them, he replied, "Externally, [I] model on all creation [on Earth]; [and] internally, [I] find the source in [my own] *xin*."⁴⁴ Such statement is equally appropriate when applied to Picasso's *Bianyi-and-Kuangguai* technique of painting. It is at such a state of finding the source in his own *xin*—akin to the *Chan*-ic advocacy towards attaining *Dao*, as summarised by the saying '*Zhizhi renxin, Jian xing cheng Fo*'—that Picasso perceived his original nature and painted in the very Picassian way.

Zhang's statement on 'externality' and 'internality' was almost repeated by Mark Tobey (1890-1976) who talked about "outer space" and "inner space" in relation to his 'white writings'. He said:

The dimension that counts for the creative person is the Space he creates within himself. This inner space is closer to the infinite than the other, and it is the privilege of a balanced mind—and the search for an equilibrium is essential—to be as aware of inner space as he is of outer space.⁴⁵

Tobey statement has also in turn influenced Morris Graves (b. 1910) who used the terms "phenomenon of the external world" and "the inner eye" instead:

I paint to evolve a changing language of symbols, a language with which to remark upon the qualities of our mysterious capacities which direct us towards ultimate reality. I paint to rest from the phenomenon of the external world—to pronounce it—and to make notations of its essence with which to verify the inner eye.⁴⁶

However, while Zhang's *xin* refers to the painter's nature, Tobey's "inner space" and Graves' "essence with which to verify the inner eye" refer to the *Chan*-ic 'Buddha-nature' that is inherent in all sentient beings.⁴⁷ In fact, every living creature or every

⁴²*Shanshui Chunquan Ji*, chap. 7, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 43.

⁴³*Kugua Heshang Huayu Lu*, chap. 1, *ibid.*, p. 146.

⁴⁴*Zhongguo Meishu Cidian*, op. cit., "Main Body", s.v. "Zhang Zao", p. 27.

⁴⁵Quoted in *Mark Tobey: Retrospective Exhibition (Paintings and Drawings 1925-1961)* [exhibition catalogue], preface by Bryan Robertson (London: Whitechapel Art Gallery, 1962), "Notes by Tobey", p. 15.

⁴⁶Quoted in Dorothy C. Miller, ed., *Americans 1942-1963: Six Group Exhibitions*, with statements by the artists & others (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1942; repr. ed., 1972), p. 51.

⁴⁷An account of Tobey's experience in *Chan* is given in *Mark Tobey*, op. cit., pp. 17-19.

non-living thing has its own Buddha-nature, or *Dao*, as Zhuang Zi put it, "[There's] no place [that *Dao* does] not exist; [it's] in ants, in panic grass, in tiles and shards, and in shit and piss."⁴⁸

Yi According to what Dong and Zhang Daqian had said earlier, the issuing of painting from *xin* is made possible when "[one has] read ten thousand volumes of books, travelled ten thousand miles," and when "famous mountains [and] great rivers have been familiarised in the *xin*". Zhang might have seen photographs, might have read many poems and historical gazetteers about Mount Lu. However, it is in combination with his rich stock of innumerable images of mountains and waters gathered over the years from his roam about thousands of miles of the country—'embraced in his chest'—that it is not difficult to see how Zhang invented *Lushan Tu* through a somewhat spontaneous outpour. Correspondingly, all the "image[s] of the woman . . . [gathered over the decades from his life with all his lovers, had been] imprinted deep within" Picasso.⁴⁹ It was just a matter of the same spontaneous outpour when he created *Reclining Nude with Necklace*. "There is a time in life after one has worked a great deal," Picasso said to Pierre Cabanne, "when forms come of their own accord."⁵⁰ In this sense, both *Lushan Tu* and *Reclining nude with Necklace* are indeed "images of the mind".⁵¹

Such "images of the mind" also represent Zhang and Picasso's inner vision—their *yi*. *Yi*, that literally means idea, has been a highly regarded concept in Chinese painting theory and has a lot to do with not only what a painter wishes to convey in his painting, but how the painting is composed and executed. Huang Xiufu (fl. ca. 1006), on *shen* [divine] painters, wrote:

. . . [Their] *Si* merges with [that of] *shen* [the divine], [they then] originate [their] *yi* [and] compose the structure, in a wonderful [synthesis]⁵²

⁴⁸Cited in my Chap. 7.3.1 & 7.3.3.

⁴⁹"Picasso 1953-1972: Painting as Model", op. cit., p. 78.

⁵⁰Quoted in Simon Wilson, *Tate Gallery*, op. cit., p. 209.

⁵¹Borrowed from the title of a chapter, "Images of the Mind", by Wen C. Fong, in *Images of the Mind: Selections from the Eduard L. Elliott Family and John B. Elliott Collections of Chinese Calligraphy and Painting at The Art Museum, Princeton University*, by Wen C. Fong et al. (Princeton: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1984).

⁵²Huang, *Yizhou Minghua Lu*, edited as *Si Ge* in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 405.

In this manner, *Lushan Tu* is a composition that represents Zhang's skilful additions and eliminations, depending on his *shen* impulses, executed by his *shen* method of *Po Mo Po Cai*. Such realisation of *yi* is indeed "the spiritual way of creativity and the creative way of spirit."⁵³ As Zhang himself put it:

The painter is to regard himself as God, endowed with the prerogative ability to create the ten thousand [myriad] things. In painting, . . . [if there is] a lack of a mountain peak here, then add a mountain peak; [if there is] a messy pile of rocks there that should be eliminated, then eliminate that messy pile of rocks In summary, a painter may create another heaven-and-earth [world] in painting. [Once decided on] how [he] wants to paint [it], go on to paint [it] accordingly. . . . [It] all depends on [his] own thoughts.⁵⁴

In this way, a somewhat perfect harmony in *jing* [artistic conception] is idealised through *yi*, rather than a realistic *jing* [sight] of a landscape of Mount Lu, though the painting is given the name *Lushan Tu*. However, one must keep in mind that such idealisation is possible only after "[the painter has] read ten thousand volumes of books, travelled ten thousand miles," and when "famous mountains [and] great rivers have been familiarised in the *xin*".

Similarly, *Reclining Nude with Necklace* is not a *jing* [sight] of a realistic naked Jacqueline, but a *jing* [artistic conception] of the nude body, idealised through Picasso's *yi*, realised by his distortions and rearrangements in Picassian *Bianyi*-and-*Kuangguai* style. As he himself said, "I want to *say* the nude; I don't just want to make a nude like a nude; I just want to *say* breast, to *say* foot, to *say* hand, belly—find a way to *say* it and that's enough."⁵⁵ This is certainly possible, for all the breast, foot, hand, belly had been familiarised in his *xin*.

8.3.3 *Pinghua Qiu Chang* (Liu's Merit 6) → *Toushi* [Chinese System of Perspectives]

Chang With *Pinghua Qiu Chang* as a merit to be striven for, the composition in Chinese landscape painting is usually governed by a system of three *chang* [depths]—foreground, middle distance and far distance—arranged with the

⁵³Borrowed from Ben Willis, *The Tao of Art*, op. cit., p. 1.

⁵⁴Zhang, "Hua Shuo", in *Zhang Daqian Xiansheng Shi Wen Ji*, op. cit., vol. 2, bk. 6, p. 120.

⁵⁵Quoted in "Picasso 1953-1972: Painting as Model", op. cit., p. 85.

foreground occupying the bottom section of the painting and the far distance in the upper section.

Traditionally, these three distances are separated by voids of space, as still observed in *Lushan Tu*, in the right of the middle section of the landscape, where the group of four trees in the bottom foreground is separated from the obscure mountains in the middle distance by an unpainted space (representing mist) and the obscure mountains are in turn separated from those in the far distance at the top by another void of space (representing clouds). In other parts of the painting, however, the voids of space are filled by blue and green splodges (representing mountain vegetation). These splodges of colour nevertheless serve a similar function as the voids—giving an illusion of three *chang*. Such illusion is further emphasised by the detailedly painted trees in the foreground, vaguely painted woods in the middle distance and untextured washes of mountains in the far distance.

Toushi With this system of three *chang*, Chinese landscape seems to be "an art of verticals".⁵⁶ This is not so, for the Chinese have also established *toushi* [Chinese system of perspectives], best illustrated in *Lushan Tu*, which is more of a horizontal panorama. Such *toushi*, unlike the 'bird's-eye view' by which the whole is organised continuously with a fixed point of vision under scientific perspective, involves a simultaneity of scattered points of view (or *sandian toushi*) and moving viewpoints (or *yidong shidian toushi*) developed from combinations of *liu yuan*, or the six 'points of view', namely *gaoyuan*, *shenyuan*, *pingyuan*, *kuoyuan*, *miyuan* and *youyuan* [literally, high distance, deep distance, level distance, broad distance, obscure distance and illusory distance respectively], which mean perspectives in height, in depth, on the level, when in broadness, when in obscureness and when in illusoriness respectively.⁵⁷ According to Zhang:

A painter may derive inspiration from every [possible] angle or from moving points of view. Under [the simultaneous incorporation of] several [of these] angles [of vision], [he can easily] create an artistic composition.⁵⁸

⁵⁶*Principles of Chinese Painting*, op. cit., p. 65.

⁵⁷The first three perspectives are coined by Guo Xi in *Lin Quan Gaozhi*, chap. 1; the remaining three came from Han Zhuo, *Shanshui Chunquan ji*, chap. 1.

⁵⁸"*Hua Shuo*", op. cit., vol. 2, bk. 6, pp. 118-19.

To "derive inspiration from every [possible] angle" and "from moving points of view" are precisely what Guo Xi (1023-ca. 1085) regarded as *mianmian kan* [viewing from all sides] and *bubu yi* [moving step by step] respectively. He wrote:

. . . [A mountain appears] different each time [when seen from] each [different] distance. [It] is said that the form of the mountain [needs to be observed by] *bubu yi*. . . [It also appears] different each time [when] seen from each different [angle]. [It] is said that the form of the mountain [needs to be observed by] *mianmian kan*.⁵⁹

In *Lushan Tu*, such *bubu yi* and *mianmian kan* result in all the *liu yuan* to be displayed in a single landscape. *Gaoyuan* can be observed from the trees at the bottom of the middle section, looking up towards the peaks of the steep mountains above, and beyond. *Shenyuan* is best illustrated by the unpainted space behind the cliff (with four trees) on the right of the middle section, and by the sheer drop of the cliffs into the lake on the far left of the painting. *Pingyuan* is represented by the view from the source of the cataract across the plateau with buildings and beyond into the woods behind. The vast area of unpainted space, that denotes the widespread water of the lake sweeping towards distant horizon, undoubtedly reveals *kuoyuan*. Out of the dense and massive mist covering the mountains with houses almost invisible, on the far right of the painting, *miyuan* emerges; and just next to it, where the scene is masked in vagueness, *youyuan* appears.

This principle of *sandian toushi* and *yidong shidian toushi* also manifests as the "Cubist simultaneity of point of view"⁶⁰ in *Reclining Nude with Necklace*. In the painting, Picasso remained faithful to a desire to offer all the parts of the voluminous nude to be viewed from all directions simultaneously, through *gaoyuan* in the right breast, right arm and right leg; *shenyuan* in the left breast, left arm and left leg; *pingyuan* in the face, stomach and pubes; *kuoyuan* behind the right leg; *miyuan* in the buttocks; and *youyuan* between the thighs. *Gaoyuan* in the right breast, for instance, not only produces an effect of grandeur in that breast that results in commanding an immediate attention, but also exerts an ascending force that lifts the viewer's attention towards the fondling fingers—in a similar way the soaring force engendered in the majestic peaks in the centre of *Lushan Tu* lifting one's attention towards the sky. As in the case of *Lushan Tu*, *youyuan* in *Reclining Nude with Necklace* absorbs the viewer into the most sensational and yet mysterious part of the picture.

⁵⁹Guo, *Lin Quan Gaozhi*, chap. 1, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 20.

⁶⁰Cited earlier in my Chap. 6.1.5.

Keyou With such *toushi* developed from *liu yuan*, the whole painting of *Lushan Tu* or *Reclining Nude with Necklace* is open to the viewer, inviting him to 'tour' around. Guo wrote, on landscapes:

. . . there are those that are *kewang* [that you may just look at], there are those that are *keyou* [those through which you may tour] All paintings arriving at these [stages] are to be regarded wonderful. But . . . [those that are] *kewang* are not as complete as . . . [those that are] *keyou*.⁶¹

Zhang actually intended his *Lushan Tu* not just *kewang* but *keyou*. Not only that, one may begin and end his tour at any point of his choice each time he views the painting. One can choose to wander, for instance, among the trees (in the foreground of the middle section of the painting), trace a footpath leading to the pavilion (on the right), stop there to watch the small waterfall, go over the bridge, ascend the mountain to the woods, and finally arrive at the temple. To make another journey, one might descend from the peak of a mountain (in the far distance of the last section of the painting), track through the woods, pass the houses, approach a cliff to watch the cataract, descend to the base of the cliff in the direction of the flow of the water, and finally rest under a tree to listen to the sound of the splashing water. Each tour and numerous other alternatives provide different experiences within each painting. Such *keyou* landscape resulted from *toushi* does not make *Lushan Tu* unnatural. In fact, it is this very *toushi* that makes the landscape "look more like the thing than the real thing."⁶²

Analogously, Picasso also intended his *Reclining Nude with Necklace* not just to be looked at but to be 'toured'. In the painting, one can wander among the hair by the left of the neck, trace the necklace leading to the base of right breast and move round it towards the nipple, stop at the fingers to caress the nipple, go over the arm, pass the stomach, approach the pubes, and finally rest on the left thigh to watch the outpour of glandular secretions. *Toushi* may make the nude body appear "dislocated, abused, with all its parts topsy-turvy,"⁶³ twisted and bent, in a triumphant disregard for anatomy, as Picasso himself said:

You know, it's like being a peddler. "You want two breasts? Well, here you are—two breasts."⁶⁴

⁶¹*Lin Quan Gaozhi*, chap. 1, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 17.

⁶²Borrowed from Sarat Maharaj, "Framing Roy Lichtenstein: A Mickey Mimesis Mimicked, also Mimed?", in *Roy Lichtenstein* [exhibition catalogue] (Liverpool: Tate Gallery Liverpool, 1993), p. 14.

⁶³"Picasso 1953-1972: Painting as Model", op. cit., pp. 79-80.

⁶⁴Cited earlier in epigraph at the beginning of my Chap. 6.

To him, "What is required is for the man looking at the picture to have at hand all the things he needs, and these things have to be given to him. Then he will put them in their place himself with his own eyes."⁶⁵ However, despite all these remarks, the *keyou* nude—like the *keyou* landscape in *Lushan Tu*—nevertheless remains intact, and "look[s] more like the thing than the real thing."

8.3.4 'Nature' and Oneness

Nature Nature has always been the predominant preoccupation of Chinese painting, and painters have been expressing this by concentrating on natural landscapes. Zong Bing (A.D. 375-443) wrote:

Now, sages model after *Dao* through *shen*, and the virtuous comprehend [this]. Landscapes manifest the beauty of *Dao* through *xing*, and the noble [painters] delight [in this]. Are these not the same?⁶⁶

The landscapes thus offer the fullest possible expression of nature. In landscape painting, nature also acquired new meaning, for everything is produced by *Dao* and thus partakes the mystery of *Dao*. Mountains to a painter are not inert or inanimate, but must be living, since *Dao* "fosters them, makes them grow, develops them, harbours them, shelters them, nurtures them, [and] protects them".⁶⁷ While seemingly depicting the natural, his mind wanders towards the mysterious *Dao* that is beyond the natural. Such conception inspires the painter to achieve perfect harmony and Oneness with nature, the gist of Lao-Zhuang philosophy and the ultimate aim of the painter's visual expression.

Shitao, who himself painted by seeking inspiration and instruction from seemingly unattractive but untouched natural landscapes, spoke on this:

. . . [I have] never ignored the mountains [and] rivers, and [could not] let the mountains [and] rivers keep their secrets. Mountains, [and] rivers let me speak for them. They have emerged from me, [and] I have emerged from them. . . .

⁶⁵Jean Leymarie, *Picasso: The Artist of the Century*, op. cit., p. 67.

⁶⁶Zong, *Hua Shanshui Xu*, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., p. 1.

⁶⁷Cited earlier in my Chap. 2.1.2.

[In this way], the mountains, the rivers and I meet through *shen* [at a spiritual level] and [achieve Oneness] without trace.⁶⁸

Such statements certainly best describe Zhang who had spent his lifetime visiting mountains and waters and excelled in painting landscapes that are not only *kewang* but *keyou*. Analogously, Picasso also had never got bored of women and spent almost his entire life living with and painting them. Through 'Oneness with the woman', he succeeded "in unveiling the feminine universe in all the complexity of its real and fantasy life."⁶⁹

Wangwo In such Oneness with mountains-and-waters or Oneness with the woman, 'nature'⁷⁰ no more stands apart from the painter. They meet on equal terms. 'Nature' exists within the painter, and the painter within 'nature', as modern painter-writer Wucius Wong wrote:

As the artist becomes the subject, the artist is objectified. As the subject becomes the artist, the subject is personified.⁷¹

Such Oneness has also been exemplified by Zhuang Zi (ca. 369-286 B.C.) when he talked about his dream in which he transformed himself into a happy butterfly.

Zhuang Zi says:

Once upon a time, Zhuang Zhou [Zhuang Zi] dreamt that [he] was a butterfly—a butterfly fluttering around, happy with himself [and] enjoying as he pleased. [He] did not know that [he was] Zhou. Suddenly [he] woke up, and unmistakably, [he was] Zhou. [But he] did not know [whether it was] Zhou who had dreamt that [he] was a butterfly, [or] the butterfly dreaming that [he] was Zhou. . . . This is called *wuhua* [the transformation of things].⁷²

In Xiaoshan Huapu [Xiaoshan's Painting Manual], Zou Yigui (1688-1772) also gave another story:

Song [Dynasty painter] Zeng Yunchao, [also known as] Wuyi, was good at painting insects. [He] became [even] better [at it] as [he] grew older. When asked who taught him, Wuyi said laughingly, ". . . When I was young, [I used

⁶⁸Kugua Heshang Huayu Lu, chap. 8, in Hualun Congkan, op. cit., p. 151.

⁶⁹Cited earlier in my Chap. 6.2.2.

⁷⁰'Nature' within single quotation marks stands for mountains-and-waters for Zhang, woman for Picasso.

⁷¹Wong, The Tao of Chinese Landscape Painting, op. cit., p. 106.

⁷²Zhuang Zi, Zhuang Zi 2:14, in Xinyi Zhuang Zi Duben, annotated & interpreted by Huang Jinhong, op. cit., p. 67.

to] catch grass insects and looked at them [through] a cage without [ever] getting tired [of them] over days [and] nights. Then, afraid that their *shen* was not complete, [I] began to observe them in the grass and finally managed to capture their *tian* [inner nature]. When I use my brush [to paint an insect], [I] could not tell whether I was the insect or the insect was me. . . . Is there [and is that] a method that can be handed down?"⁷³

This Oneness of Zhuang Zi and the butterfly, or the Oneness of Zeng and the insect, is possible because Zhuang Zi or Zeng was able to "*wangwo* [forget himself]"—a term Xu Fuguan used for explaining Zhuang Zi's conception of "*wuhua*".⁷⁴

These stories, however, should not be analogised with Wassily Kandinsky (1866-1944)'s discourse on the subject of 'new realism' where he thought it necessary to move "everyday reality into the neighborhood of the dream", although he further stated:

. . . but this movement is interpreted not as a movement away from reality but towards it. Reality becomes like a dream precisely when our ordinary ways of dealing with it are bracketed. Only such a bracketing furnishes the distance necessary if man is really to look at what is before him.⁷⁵

The stories actually imply a criterion necessary for the successful performance of a task rather than suggesting a type of end-result of the task. It is the spirit of *wangwo* in the painter that guides him through the whole process of creating when forms and ideas are transformed to achieve their purposes in painting.

It is also with this spirit of *wangwo* that Zhang and Picasso painted their *Lushan Tu* and *Reclining Nude with Necklace* respectively. Like Zeng who "observe[d] them [the insects] in the grass", Zhang climbed the peaks of almost all the main mountains in China, and Picasso lived with all the women he loved and painted. Thus, when beginning to make a painting, each of Zhang and Picasso was first able to become the subject—landscape for Zhang and nude for Picasso—he aspired to paint by transforming himself into the subject itself, a process referred to as "*wuhua*" by Zhuang Zi. Through this Oneness, he was then able to feel the *Dao* that gave the same life to both him and the subject, so that when he ultimately began to paint, it was as if the subject was making its own picture.

⁷³Zou, *Xiaoshan Huapu*, bk. 2, in *Hualun Congkan*, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 802. For a brief biography of Zou, see my App. 3.2.2.

⁷⁴Xu, *Zhongguo Yishu Jingshen*, op. cit., pp. 97-98 & 109-111. '*Wangwo*' is similar to the Taoist term '*wangji*' and the Chan-ic term '*wuwo*', both have been mentioned in my Chap. 6.2.3.

⁷⁵Karsten Harries, *The Meaning of Modern Art*, op. cit., p. 136.

In this manner, Zhang managed to reveal his feeling of "although old, he was not aged" through the landscape in *Lushan Tu*. Picasso also succeeded in "convey[ing] very powerfully the feelings of a great artist, acutely aware of approaching death but refusing to accept it," by "defiantly affirming [his] life" through the nude in *Reclining Nude with Necklace* that is itself "emblematic of the will [his will] to live".⁷⁶ One is now left to wonder—or rather, wonders no more—whether Zhang was the landscape or the landscape was Zhang; whether Picasso was the nude or the nude was Picasso.

⁷⁶Cited earlier in introduction to my Pt. II, Sec. B.

CONCLUSION: FINDINGS → FURTHER RESEARCH

I can hardly understand the importance given to the word *research* in connection with modern painting. In my opinion to search means nothing in painting. To find, is the thing. . . . The one who finds something no matter what it might be, even if his intention were not to search for it, at least arouses our curiosity, if not our admiration.

Pablo Picasso (1881-1973),
Part of the statement he made to Marius de Zayas in 1923¹

Findings

Xin My exploration of the Chinese cultural thought, through the Chinese brush as a fundamental instrument of Chinese culture and through the use of *Wenfang Si Bao* for painting, has established not only the link between Chinese-brush painting and the past Chinese culture, but also painting as a form of culmination of Chinese

¹As reproduced in Alfred H. Barr, Jr., Picasso: Fifty Years of His Art, op. cit., p. 270.

culture. In the words of Deng Chun, "Painting is the acme of culture."² Zhang Yanyuan elaborated:

Now, painting is that which promotes culture, [and] strengthens social relationships. . . . [Its] merit is the same as that of the Six Classics . . . [and it] may be enjoyed within the famous teachings [of philosophy of Chinese life].³

Thus, Chinese-brush painting also represents a unique historical continuity in Chinese thoughts and an outgrowth of philosophies of living,⁴ the root of which is the Principle of *Yin Yang*.

The idea of *Yin Yang* as the root of Chinese cultural thought—penetrating *Yi Jing*, Chinese cuisine, Chinese medicine, *Shi'er Shengxiao*, *shanshui*, etc.—has also provided a basis for Taoism, Confucianism and *Chan*-ism. Lao Zi believed that "the ten thousand things carry *Yin* and embrace *Yang*"; Kong Zi regarded "*Qian*" and "*Kun*" as *yang* and *yin* respectively and considered them as "the gateway to changes"; and Huineng saw delusion and enlightenment in the same sense as *yin* and *yang*.⁵ Lao Zi's belief has led to an emphasis to regard man as ideally living in perfect harmony with nature, with no dividing line between them, for all arise from the same source that he called *Dao*. Kong Zi's idea has led to the cultivation of an ideal man who practises the *Dao* of *junzi*, recognising a division between man and things and regarding man and his relationship with other men as central importance. Huineng's conception has led to an insistence on sanction of individual soul by seeing his own self-nature and attaining *Dao*, developing personal significance and isolating from other men and things.

As revealed by the findings of my survey, all three—the Taoists, the Confucianists and the *Chan*-ists—are concerned with man's Oneness with *Dao*, the

²Deng, *Hua Ji*, bk. 9, as translated in Robert J. Maeda, Two Sung Texts on Chinese Painting and the Landscape Styles of the 11th and 12th Centuries, A Garland Series: Outstanding Dissertations in the Fines Arts (New York: Garland Publishing, 1978), p. 85.

³Zhang, *Lidai Minghua Ji*, bk. 1, in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, ed. Yu Kun, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 27 & 29. "Six Classics" are usually designated as *Yue Ji* [The Record of Music] and *Wu Jing* [The Five Classics] (see my App. 3.1.3).

⁴Painting is, in fact, more closely integrated with the life of the Chinese than it is in the West. The different rooms in the house of the well-to-do Chinese, for instance, call for paintings of different subjects. Some are kept to ward off evil spirits; some are hung to bring luck to the family. As their easy movability permits, the Chinese also like to change the paintings around the house, according to the various seasons of the year. Spring, for example, may call for a painting of peonies; summer, a painting of lotuses; autumn, chrysanthemum flowers; and winter, plum-blossoms.

⁵Huineng, in *Liuzu Tanjing* 35, in The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch, by Philip B. Yampolsky, op. cit., pp. [230-31], also regarded the evil and the Buddha in the same sense as *yin* and *yang*.

eternal goodness that ensures concord and happiness. While Lao Zi and Zhuang Zi advocated a way of living effortlessly through natural action without struggle by *Wuwei* and *Ziran*, Kong Zi and Meng Zi advocated a way of living correctly through disciplinary action with striving by *Ren* and *Li*, and Huineng and Shenhui advocated a way of living spontaneously through absence of thoughts and action by *Dunwu* and *Wunian*. Each of the three groups thus has its own view on the cultivation of human personality, the nature of which has been posited as containing original goodness (in the case of the Taoists and Confucianists as illustrated by the use of the 'baby' metaphor by Lao Zi and Meng Zi) or as existing in a state of intrinsic purity (in the case of *Chan*-ists as illustrated by Huineng's 'dust-free-ness'). The goal of the Taoists is to return naturally to goodness by removing all badness; that of the Confucianists is to preserve consciously all goodness; and the *Chan*-ists, to maintain spontaneously the purity.

Through Lao-Zhuang Taoism, Kong-Meng Confucianism, and the *Chan*-ism of Huineng and Shenhui, the profound tenets have been made acceptable to the Chinese and have since influenced the Chinese cultural life and the outlook of the painter, for the Chinese tradition demands that a painter should be able to translate the thoughts not only into his own way of life, but in turn to influence his painting theory and his philosophy of art. When asked to list the qualities to be desired in a painter, for instance, Shen Zongqian combined Taoist, Confucian and *Chan*-ic virtues in formulating the following:

- (1) Cleanse [your] heart so as to remove vulgar worries;
- (2) Read wisely so as to comprehend *lijing* [the realm of the principles];
- (3) Abandon past reputation so as to be far-reaching; [and]
- (4) Mingle with the cultured [people] so as to refine [your] style.⁶

The first way is akin to the Taoist practice of *jingxin*; the second and fourth are actually part of the Confucian pursuit of *Dao* of *junzi*; and the third is comparable to *Chan*-ic attainment of *Dunwu* through *Wunian*.

Many great masters of painting, apart from their technical proficiency, have also managed to combine these philosophical virtues to contribute to their "infinite resourcefulness, courage, and creativity, and their abiding faith in their tradition and in themselves."⁷ Confucianism provides the disciplined training of the practical and observant mind, and establishes the proper working mood of the painter; Taoism and

⁶Shen, *Jiezhou Xuehua Bian*, bk. 2, chap. 6, in *Hualun Congkan*, ed. Yu Anlan, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 356.

⁷Wen C. Fong, "Images of the Mind", chap. I of *Images of the Mind*, op. cit., p. 2.

Chan-ism provide the ground for intuitive communication between external representational reality and internal spiritual self-expression, leading to creativity through imagination and spontaneity. Such combination can be thought of as *yin yang* harmony, for Taoism and *Chan*-ism are *yin* and Confucianism is *yang*. By this combined approach, the resultant painting is certainly an expression of the harmonious interaction of *yin* and *yang*—rejecting Michael Sullivan's view that regards *yin yang* as "conflict . . . between the Confucian in him and the Taoist".

Ben Willis once wrote, "Taoism explains art and art explains Taoism."⁸ This statement is only partially true, for Taoism is not all. In fact, all three "philosophical currents"⁹ of Taoism, Confucianism and *Chan*-ism flow through Chinese-brush painting; all their concepts intermingle to underlie the fundamental principles of the Chinese brushwork and their embodiment in painting is in turn an expression of all these philosophical ideals. They contribute to the whole beauty of painting and determine what makes it Chinese. It can be said that Chinese-brush painting has been the pictorial image of their *Dao*—"the cornerstone on which the Chinese based their painting and their theories of painting."¹⁰

Shou The vividness of the alliance of philosophy and painting can be clearly illustrated by the manifestations of *Dao*, and all related philosophical concepts, in Chinese-brush painting—in its creative imagination and in the philosophical interpretations expressed through painting treatises—as revealed by the result of my examination of Xie He's *Liu Fa*, Jing Hao's *Liu Yao*, Liu Daochun's *Liu Yao Liu Chang*, Wang Yu's *Liu Chang*, and Shitao's Principle of *Yihua*.¹¹ Among these principles of painting, *Qiyun Shengdong*—the foremost of the six canons of *Liu Fa*—has been regarded by Xie, and subsequently by almost all, as the first object of an artist's painting. Like *Dao*, it remained the basic and indispensable principle. It has

⁸Willis, *The Tao of Art*, op. cit., p. 20.

⁹In "Introduction" to *Chinese Painting*, by Michel Courtois, op. cit., pp. 7-8, Raoul-Jean Moulin wrote the following:

Confucianism [as a "philosophical current"] is founded on a system of rational thought, a discipline that is moral, edifying and exemplary. Taoism [as another "current"] substitutes, on the contrary, intuition for reason, arouses independence and individualism and implies poesy and mystique. . . . [*Chan* "philosophical current"], by contemplation and spontaneity, elaborate[s] an intuitive, synthetic and complete vision of the universe.

¹⁰George Rowley, *Principles of Chinese Painting*, op. cit., p. 8. Rowley was referring to only the Taoist *Dao*; to me, *Dao* here stands for not just Taoist *Dao*, but Confucian and *Chan*-ic *Dao* as well, collectively.

¹¹The connections between the various principles of Chinese painting are summarised in a chart in my App. 2.1, and the manifestation of philosophical concepts in these principles is illustrated in the charts in my App. 2.2.

been the centre of attention for many centuries in Chinese painting history and it is this pivot round which all discussions of the succeeding generations of aestheticists have revolved.

Qiyun alone has been subjected to numerous interpretations. It has been interpreted as the individual creative quality of the painter. According to Guo Ruoxu and Li Rihua, such *Qiyun* "is something innate in the painter". Zhang Yanyuan linked it with *guqi* and claimed that, "From ancient [times], those who painted well were none other than high officials [or] the cultivated, [with characters of those great] scholars or nobleman".¹² Zhang Geng, however, regarded *Qiyun* as "*tianji* that is suddenly disclosed" (comparable to attainment of *Dao* through *Dunwu*) and claimed that "only those who are [capable of] *jing* [in the sense of *Wunian*] can comprehend it". *Qiyun* has also been interpreted as the spiritual vitality of the subject captured in painting. In this sense, Yang Weizhen regarded '*chuanshen*' as *Qiyun*, and Gu Ningyuan claimed that *Qiyun* "may be grasped in the four seasonal aspects, [in] coldness [or in] warmth, [in a] fine [day or in the] rain, [in] darkness [or in] brightness".

Qiyun has also been split into *Qi* and *Yun* by Jing Hao. Similarly, Jing offered two kinds of *Qi*—the first refers to the distinctive force of the painter's creative resources; the second, the vital energy of the subject captured in painting. With both *Qi* as important harmonising agents providing the essential life and animating pulsations with underlying unity between both the painter and his painting, the painting can then achieve *Yun*. Technically, both *Qi* constitute the *yang* aspect, providing the structural brushwork and giving rise to an impetuous *shi* that hits upon the viewer. *Yun*, on the other hand, constitutes the *yin* aspect in a painting through the use of ink for effects that absorb the viewer into the painting, providing him with transcendental satisfaction. The balancing of *Qi* and *Yun* creates a *yin yang* harmony in the painting.

Wang Yu expanded Jing's *Qi* and *Yun* into *Qigu Gu Ya* and *Shenyun Xiu Yi*. Wang used *Qigu* to describe the attribute of the painting that engenders a sense of "antiquity [and] classic elegance", thus emphasising adherence to the traditional painting principles. Shitao, however, advocated escape from the tradition, or rather, escape from the enslavement to it, particularly at the later phase, when one is expected to work with the Method of *Wufa*. Technically, Shitao's *Wufa* represents an approach of painting that breaks free from the restraint of traditional rules and endless copying

¹²Zhang, *Lidai Minghua Ji*, bk. 1, chap. 4, in *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 33.

of ancient models, but does not flee from contemplation in nature so as to be able to penetrate its *li* [natural principles] and to achieve Oneness with it. Such is the idea behind his Principle of *Yihua*.

Yihua has since influenced all creative endeavour in the development of Chinese painting. Together with *Liu Fa*, and its various forms of reinterpretation and modification, that Shitao definitely did not reject outright, they constitute the *Dao* of painting, **in all schools and centuries**, refuting James Cahill's claim that "there are no universal principles behind Chinese painting accepted in all schools and centuries".¹³ Not only that, the principles may have been borrowed by Western painters to justify their own artistic adventures, for Herbert Read once declared that "Western artists [in the 1950's] have reached the limits of painting, and . . . they have every reason now to look to their Eastern predecessors";¹⁴ and Roger Goepper also alleged that "many painters [such as Tobey] representative of the . . . [mid-twentieth-century] Western art call upon the creative and formal principles of Chinese painting in support of their own practices."¹⁵ Moreover, Sullivan wrote:

So striking seems the accord, in aims and methods, between Oriental painting [especially Chinese painting] and certain key movements in modern art [such as Expressionism and Abstract Expressionism] that it is natural to assume that these revolutionary Western developments have been to some extent at least inspired by Far Eastern art and thought [such as Xie's *Qiyun Shengdong* and Shitao's Principle of *Yihua*].¹⁶

De Xin Ying Shou With the completion of my investigation of the Chinese culturo-philosophical thoughts (*xin*) and the examination of the principles of Chinese painting (*shou*), we have arrived at '*de xin ying shou*'—the harmonious co-ordination of heart and hand. The findings made clear the previously obscure and ambiguous ideas of the traditional Chinese aesthetics embodied in Chinese painting. In the course

¹³Cahill, *Chinese Paintings, XI-XIV Centuries* (New York: Crown Publishers, [1960]), p. 2.

¹⁴Quoted in Theodore Bowie, "Confrontation and Far-Eastern Anticipations", chap. II of *East-West in Art: Patterns of Cultural & Aesthetic Relationships*, by Theodore Bowie in collaboration with J. Leroy Davidson et al., introduction by Rudolf Wittkover (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966), p. 44.

¹⁵Goepper, *The Essence of Chinese Painting*, op. cit., p. 7.

¹⁶Sullivan, *The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art*, op. cit., p. 240. After making such introductory remarks, he attempted to establish his foundation on pp. 240-254. Among the numerous parallels enumerated, he compared Kandinsky's concept of the "inner resonance" of the object (that Kandinsky said constituted the "material of art"), and Breton's "rhythmic unity" (that Breton saw as the aim of painting), to the first of Xie's *Liu Fa* (on pp. 242-43); he also compared Pollock's "ecstatic losing of oneself in the creative act" to Shitao's Principle of *Yihua* (on p. 245).

of investigating and examining, divergent and contradictory opinions of the Western authorities have been clarified; misconceptions, misunderstandings and errors I found in both the interpretations of Chinese concepts and the translations of early Chinese texts by these scholars are also verified.

My own translation,¹⁷ of the early Chinese philosophical texts and painting treatises, as a secondary contribution of the thesis, is useful to the West, for despite the availability of substantial amount of critical and historical writing in Chinese to the Western readers, the ignorance of the language used hinders the flow of Eastern ideas into the West. The translation also represents a contribution from a **Chinese** Chinese-painting artist who has referred to the primary Chinese sources on Chinese philosophy and painting treatises and who has the qualified ability to compare the experience as an artist and the knowledge gained from the Chinese sources with what has been written in the West.

Dong During the Tang Dynasty, Chinese landscape painting entered its flowering season and underwent important changes that "began with Wu [Daozi], [and] was completed by *Er Li* [i.e., Li Sixun and Li Zhaodao]." On referring to their styles of painting, Zhang Yanyuan mentioned that "[in] painting, there are two styles: *shu, mi*"—the former referring to the *xieyi* style of Wu; and the latter, *gongbi* of the Li's. While *gongbi* provides order and stability (so does the Confucian *Li*), *xieyi* proposes unrestrainedness and spontaneity (so does the *Chan-ic Wunian*). The more academic and gradual approach of the *gongbi*, with precise and analytical control over linear and tonal expression, in pursuit of *Xiqiao Qiu Li*, can also be regarded as *yang*; and the freer and livelier style of brushwork of the *xieyi*, with rhythmic dots and lines in nothing but ink, in pursuit of *Culu Qiu Bi*, *yin*.

Wu's *xieyi* tradition was continued by Wang Wei who invented *pomo* and established *Chan-ic shuimo hua*—achieving '*mo fen wu se*' without resorting to the use of actual colours. (Rejection of colour is best explained by the Taoist attitude of prizing detachment from worldly things and the stilling of emotions.) This painting tradition was further developed by Wang Qia who created *po mo*—characterised by a speedy and instantaneous manner of creation, at moments of ecstasy, comparable to *Dunwu*. With the introduction of Su Shi's *wenren* idea, evolved from the pursuit of *Dao* of *junzi*, *shuimo hua* reached its climax in the *shuimo shanshui* of the *wenren*-painters of the Song Dynasty. This tradition continued into the Ming Dynasty and

¹⁷See my App. 1 for notes on Romanisation of Chinese characters and translation of Chinese phrases.

towards the end of it, landscape painting began to be divided into *Nan Bei Zong Shanshui Hua*, first put forward by Dong Qichang, modelled after the division of *Chan-ism* into Huineng's *Nan Zong* and Shenxiu's *Bei Zong*. Accordingly, *Dunwu* was extended to apply to the 'sudden' and free approach to painting of the Southern School exalted by Dong, and *Jianwu* to the 'gradual' and more formalistic intellectual approach of the Northern School.

The Southern School of Landscape Painting had come to represent the mainstream of landscape painting well into the Qing Dynasty, during which Shitao's *Yihua* painting in the style of *Pise Qiu Cai* brought *xieyi shanshui* to even greater heights and set the tone of *chuantong* painting of the twentieth century. This century has also seen the development of the painting stream of *chuangxin*, catalysed by the European ideas and techniques of painting, thus imposing the choice of upholding tradition or striving for innovation on the Chinese painters, though many tread the precarious path in between and some look for *chuangxin* within *chuantong*. Zhang Daqian is both the last great traditionalist in Chinese painting history and an internationally acclaimed modernist in the twentieth century. A master of both *chuantong* and *chuangxin*, he is "a lion among painters".

The development of Zhang's landscape painting can be divided into two major periods, namely, before and after his self-imposed 'exile'. Before he left his native land, he was engaged mainly in the study and understanding of traditions, with a Confucian attitude of *Li*. He had spent much time in copying Shitao and many other landscape masters of the past, in the manner of literally *Chuanmo Yixie* as well as *Shixue She Duan*. His art then went into constant transformations that tended to accelerate with more years of his expatriation. He had worked from Shitao's Method of *Wufa*, but was finally able to develop his own unique style of *Po Mo Po Cai*. With this style, his landscapes "look like the spontaneous outpouring of authentic feeling",¹⁸ characterised by simplicity, directness, immediacy and untrammelledness. Through these, Zhang achieved what Shitao wrote of as "expressing from [one's own] lungs [and other] entrails, [and] displaying [one's own] beards [and] eyebrows."

Xi The female nude in the Western tradition began with the Venetian *colore* technique of oil painting. The Venetians were not keen on *disegno Gufa Yongbi* and *Chuanmo Yixie* as the Florentines and the Romans did, but rather placed a greater

¹⁸Borrowed from Sarat Maharaj, "Framing Roy Lichtenstein: A Mickey Mimesis Mimicked, also Mimed?", in *Roy Lichtenstein*, op. cit., p. 14.

emphasis on *Sui Lei Fu Cai*. Through the works of masters such as Giorgione and Titian, the female nude reached its most sensual expression in painting. The theme of the reclining nude was also first developed by them through their portrayal of the reclining Venus. Subsequently, it has become a stereotype of European painting.

The erotic character of Titian's nudes was explored further by the Baroque painters such as Rubens. Cultivated, scholarly educated and well travelled, he can be said of possessing *Dao of Junzi*. His followers—the *Rubénistes*—not only explicitly claimed that the *colore Sui Lei Fu Cai* was the utmost concern in painting, but went further to aim at *Caihui You Ze*. By the end of the sixteenth century, the genre of the erotic female nude was firmly established throughout Europe and continued into the Rococo period marked by the lighter but more decorative style of *Shese Gao Hua*. Through the works of painters such as Boucher, French Rococo painting "is almost by definition erotic".¹⁹

Meanwhile, *disegno* was advocated by the French Baroque-Classicalists best represented by Poussin. Since the seventeenth century, painters were divided into two camps—the *Rubénistes* and the *Poussinistes*—interestingly around the same time when Chinese landscape painting was divided into *Nan Bei Zong Shanshui Hua*. Although by the end of that century the *Rubénistes* had been setting the tone, *Poussinisme* was 're-emphasised' in the next century. Once again, painters attempted to grasp the world by an attitude similar to Shitao's quest for *li*, emphasised *Ying Wu Xie Xing*, and tended to return to the antiquity. It was this latter aim at *Qigu Gu Ya* that gave the new trend the name 'Neoclassicism', best epitomised by Ingres—a superior master of *Gufa Yongbi*.

The second half of nineteenth century is best marked by the emergence of *plein-air* painting, from the period of Realism to Impressionism. Realism, that aimed to capture *shi* [reality] reached its peak with *junzi*-painter Courbet. The Impressionists demanded that nature be depicted as it is observed, not as it is known to be, and aimed to capture the momentarily visual impression of a scene *en plein air*. Manet and Renoir, however, devoted as much time to the figure. The latter aimed to project an image of oneness of his nude bather with nature, and captured the *shen* of the bather as well, thus achieving *Shengdong*.

¹⁹Simon Wilson, "Short History of Western Erotic Art", in *Erotic Art of the West*, by Robert Melville (London: George Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1973), p. 21.

The twentieth-century European paintings, evolved within an environment of tension created by the dichotomy between figurative and abstract art, are best characterised as *Bianyi* and *Kuangguai*—the former originated by Gauguin; and the latter, Cézanne. While Gauguin (adopting the Taoist attitude) escaped to the South Seas in search of the archaic and the primal and attempted at a symbolic use of line and colour in his painting, Cézanne aimed at a more disciplined and rational (Confucian) analysis of the real world by reducing nature to "the cylinder, the sphere, the cone", and basing his pictorial arrangements on the intrinsic use of colour. Kirchner is one of the masters of *Bianyi* nude painters; and Matisse, one of the masters of *Kuangguai*. As for Picasso, he is the great master of *Bianyi*-and-*Kuangguai*, with the following as his motto: "You can try anything in painting. Provided you never do it again."²⁰

Picasso was as eccentric and rebellious as Shitao. Whereas Shitao strove for *Wufa*, Picasso aimed "to get to the stage where nobody can tell how a picture of mine [his] is done."²¹ However, their paintings were never intended to be an abstract art, for they had always sought for *li*. While Shitao sought *li* in mountains and rivers, Picasso found *li* in women. Picasso's women were his greatest source of inspiration and the most lasting source of energy for his creation. Marie-Thérèse, for instance, had inspired a chain of constant transformations from a head with "two-in-one face" to a whole body depicted with the "Cubist simultaneity of point of view". With this style, coupled with his long, intense and sexually passionate liaison with her, Picasso injected a strong sense of eroticism in his images of her, in the form of a series of sleeping nudes. This opened a new form of sensual expression in his art that predominated his paintings even until his last years, when Picasso created the reclining nude series of Jacqueline.

Dong meets Xi Like Zhuang Zi's cook who "met [the ox] by [his] *shen*", Zhang Daqian did not force things unnaturally (practising *Wuwei*), but responded spontaneously (in a state of *Ziran*); he "walked without [leaving any] track". It was in this manner that he painted *Shanyu Yu Lai*; achieving *Shibi Wuhen*, *Qu Lai Ziran* and *Shenyun Xiu Yi*. Such 'purposeless spontaneity' engendered in the painting is only possible through a mind of *Xu*, attainable only by *jingxin*—getting rid of all feelings and emotions through the Taoist *Wu*, and freeing the mind of all attachments through

²⁰Hiro Clark, ed., *Picasso: In His Words*, op. cit., p. 29.

²¹Quoted in *Picasso: Fifty Years of His Art*, op. cit., p. 272.

the *Chan-ic Wunian*. With *Xu*, Zhang painted with "the heart following along [and guiding] the movement of the brush, without hesitating in getting images." This is Jing Hao's definition of *Qi* in painter and such is Zhang's *Qi*. The same *Xu* also describes Picasso's mind. On his "instinctive and effortless"²² approach in painting, Read wrote, "There is no deliberation, no anxiety: merely a hand that moves as naturally as a bird in flight."²³ This is the exact equivalent to Jing's definition and such is precisely Picasso's *Qi*. With *Qi* in them, painting to Zhang and Picasso was as voluntary—or rather, involuntary—as breathing.

With *Wu*, *Xu* is the boundless state, in which lies 'emptiness and yet inexhaustible plentifulness'; with *Wunian*, *Xu* is the pure state, in which one succeeds in 'seeing his own nature' in the 'absence of all'. It was at this boundless and pure state of the mind that Zhang and Picasso created *Lushan Tu* and *Reclining Nude with Necklace* respectively. Zhang never personally visited the site of Mount Lu (thus 'emptiness'); it was with a rich stock of images of mountains and waters 'embraced in his chest' (thus 'inexhaustible plentifulness') that he issued the landscape from his *xin*, through a somewhat spontaneous outpour. Analogously, Picasso also never painted nude Jacqueline from life; it was with a rich visual memory of "image[s] of the woman . . . imprinted deep within him" that "forms come of their own accord." With a method comparable to Shitao's Method of *Wufa* (thus in the 'absence of all'), he employed his unique style of *Bianyi-and-Kuangguai* (thus 'seeing his own nature') "to say the nude; . . . to say breast, to say foot, to say hand, belly". Both the paintings are indeed "images of the mind", representing Zhang and Picasso's inner vision—their *yi*.

Wu as 'emptiness and yet inexhaustible plentifulness', besides referring to the *Xu* mind, also manifests itself visually as *Wumo Qiu Ran* in *Shanyu Yu Lai*—in the unpainted area—conveying the idea of '*yi dao bi budao*'. To Zhang, this 'empty' space is filled with *Qi*, just as *Qi* is in the brush (as *biqu*), in ink (as *moqi*), in colour (as *seqi*), in everywhere. As such, Zhang had indeed captured the *Qi* of the brewing storm. A similar kind of *Qi*—the *Qi* of Marie-Thérèse—is also captured in *Nude in a Garden*. Through *xie shen* and *chuan shen*, not only the literal *qi*—her deep breathing (or snore)—is captured, but also the *Qi* of her wholeness and compactness (captured ironically by the scattering of bodily parts), wholesomeness and voluptuousness (ironically by distortion of bodily form and colour), and overt eroticism (by the very closed eyes). With this *chuanshen Qi*, the painting is filled with *Qiyun Shengdong* and

²²Herbert Read, *A Concise History of Modern Painting*, op. cit., p. 152.

²³Ibid.

Shenyun Xiu Yi, for "*Qiyun [Shengdong]* is *Shenyun [Xiu Yi]*, [which] is also *chuanshen*."

Such *Qi* in *Shanyu Yu Lai* and *Nude in a Garden* reveals that Zhang and Picasso must have delved into the secrets of 'nature'²⁴—exploring and understanding the mysterious processes of *Dao* in 'nature'. Since Zhuang Zi said that "[there is] no place [that *Dao* is] not present", each of the forest, mountains, thunderclouds, hair, face, breasts, buttocks, pubes, etc., has its own *Dao* and thus *Qi*. In conveying *Qi* of each of the forms individually in the paintings, Zhang and Picasso arrived at expressing the *Dao* that pervades the whole. It is also this conveyance of *Qi* through *Dao* that gives the paintings their *Buju Bianhua*, in terms of *Yin Yang* and *Zong Heng*; every element of 'nature' becomes a pictorial mark of individual *Qi* that contributes to the overall pictorial rhythm of whole *Qi*, representing an expression of the painters' experience with *Dao*. In this way, both the paintings not only depicted the *jing* [sight] but created a *jing* [artistic conception] of 'nature'; they are indeed '*you jing you jing*'.

In *Shanyu Yu Lai*, Zhang achieved '*you jing you jing*' by employing "an art of extreme elimination, simplification and suggestion", through *Shibi Wuhen*, *Wumo Qiu Ran* and '*yi dao bi budao*' of his *Caihui You Ze* method of *Po Mo Po Cai*; in *Nude in a Garden*, Picasso did it by "a sum of destructions", distortions and rearrangements, through "Cubist simultaneity of point of view", '*yixing xie shen*' and '*chuan xing chuan shen*' of his method of *Bianyi (Heli)-and-Kuangguai (Qiu Li)*. It is also the very quality of *wumo* and yet *ran*, *bi budao* and yet *yi dao*, *xie xing* and yet *chuan shen*, *Bianyi* and yet *heli*, or *Kuangguai* and yet without losing *li*, that reveals the characteristics of *Pise* in the paintings and yet ironically gives rise to the quality of *cai*—a quality of "in between likeness and unlikeness". Both the paintings are indeed also *Pise Qiu Cai*.

While *Shanyu Yu Lai* and *Nude in a Garden* display *Pise Qiu Cai*, *Bianyi Heli* and *Kuangguai Qiu Li*, *Lushan Tu* and *Reclining Nude with Necklace* are more of *Culu Qiu Bi* and *Xiqiao Qiu Li*. *Li*—as observed in the brush lines such as those depicting the luxuriant trees with their elaborated branches and leaves, in the calligraphy of Zhang's inscription, and in Picasso's tiny but powerful signature—reveals the strength within the brush strokes themselves, the sureness of brush touching the painting surface, and the firmness of the line made on it. *Bi*—with all the qualities of *Jin*, *Rou*, *Gu* and *Qi*—as illustrated by Picasso's energetic *Bianyi-and-Kuangguai* calligraphic lines, gives the painting its quality of *youbi*. With the

²⁴'Nature' is forest, mountains, thunderclouds, etc., for Zhang; and the woman, for Picasso.

triumphal *bifa*, Picasso succeeded in painting by drawing. "What has to happen, when you finally look at it," wrote Hélène Parmelin, "is that drawing and colour are the same thing."²⁵ In this sense, whereas *Lushan Tu* is ascribed the credits of '*youbi youmo*', *Yongmo Jingcai* and *Shese Gao* (but not) *Hua*, Reclining Nude with Necklace is certainly '*youbi youse*', with *se* attaining *Hua*.

The traditional idea of Chinese painting *toushi*—involving *sandian toushi* and *yidong shidian toushi* developed from combinations of *liu yuan*—is also manifested in *Lushan Tu* and Reclining Nude with Necklace, giving the paintings a sense of *keyouness*. Besides *toushi*, the *Jingying Weizhi* of *Lushan Tu* is also conceived in conformation to *Gezhi Ju Lao*—that gives the painting its *Gigu Gu Ya* through a revealment of animated humanness in the mountains and waterfalls—all in the spirit of Confucian respect of *Li* and love of *Ren*. The traditional principles of *Kai He* and *Qi Fu* are also evident in the painting, from right to left. In the painting, one can also sense the *Qi* weaving through the entire panorama, forming a powerful web knitted across the whole surface and giving an overall magnificent portrayal of *shi*. This is the *longmai* of the painting. With the same exposition of *Kai He* and *Qi Fu*, Reclining Nude with Necklace also displays a powerful web of *longmai* woven ingeniously across the whole painting, giving a strong sense of *Qi* that flows uninterruptedly through the entire body, from head to toes, and a same kind of *shi* that gives the painting its *Qiyun Jian Li*.

With *shi* in *Lushan Tu*, Zhang managed to reveal his feeling of "although old, he was not aged" through the landscape; with *shi* in Reclining Nude with Necklace, Picasso succeeded in "convey[ing] very powerfully the feelings of a great artist, acutely aware of approaching death but refusing to accept it," by "defiantly affirming [his] life" through the nude that is itself "emblematic of [his] will to live". The landscape is no more just a landscape, it represents Zhang; the nude is no more just a nude, it represents Picasso. Such is possible only through the attainment of a state of *wangwo*—a state of Oneness with 'nature'. Like Zhuang Zi who "did not know [whether it was] Zhou who had dreamt that [he] was a butterfly, [or] the butterfly dreaming that [he] was Zhou", it is certain that Zhang could not tell whether he was the landscape or the landscape was him, and Picasso could not tell whether he was the nude or the nude was him.

²⁵Quoted in Marie-Laure Bernadac, "Picasso 1953-1972: Painting as Model", in Late Picasso, op. cit., p. 85.

Zhou You Dong Xi With '*de xin ying shou*', an art historical analysis of the Chinese landscape painting (*Dong*) and European female-nude painting (*Xi*), and a comparative scrutiny of two landscapes of Zhang and two female nudes of Picasso had been carried out. The completion of my study signals the arrival at '*zhou you Dong Xi*'. By offering a reassessment of Zhang's landscapes, the findings showed that both the Chinese culturo-philosophical thoughts and traditional painting principles continue to be revealed in his *Po Mo Po Cai* paintings, signifying the importance of the continuation of *chuantong* in the era of *chuangxin*, and at the same time representing an innovation within tradition. Borrowing the words of H. W. and Dora Jane Janson, "Without tradition . . . no originality would be possible; it provides, as it were, the firm platform from which the artist makes his leap of imagination."²⁶

By offering a fresh look at Picasso's female nudes from a cross-cultural perspective, the findings represent a new and significant contribution to the West, for in spite of the large amount of documentation that have emerged around Picasso and his work, nothing about him has been written from an Eastern perspective.²⁷ When the two sets of paintings were brought together for comparison, the findings verified that the paintings of Zhang and Picasso indeed share many common points of reference.²⁸ My comparison of Zhang's landscapes and Picasso's female nudes not only represent one of the pioneer contributions to the area of comparative inquiry into twentieth-century Chinese painting and European painting, but the outcomes of which establish a ground for more comparative studies of a similar nature, in the future.

Further Research

De Xin Ying Shou To cover a full spectrum of the Chinese culture and philosophy of Chinese life in a short span of time is unattainable, for they are so rich and multifaceted; in fact, it would take more than a lifetime to acquire knowledge of all of their forms and to appreciate the splendour and wisdom within them. On tradition, with reference to Chinese painting, Li Keran wrote, "Since ancient times, in

²⁶H. W. & Dora Jane Janson, *History of Art*, op. cit., "Introduction", p. 15.

²⁷All the known books, essays and articles on Picasso written in the East in Chinese represent either translations of Western works or views from Western perspectives.

²⁸A summary of the comparisons is also given in the form of charts in my App. 2.2.

our country [China], there are **so many** gifted artists who have . . . explored for **thousands of years**, accumulated rich artistic experiences, [and] constituted the splendid tradition of Chinese painting."²⁹ Complete investigation of all Chinese culturo-philosophical thoughts and thorough examination of all principles of Chinese painting are thus impossible.

However, Li also said, "Whoever discards the tradition is the biggest fool."³⁰ Therefore, it is hoped that the limited contribution of Part I of my thesis would stimulate further study in these areas, as the Chinese idiom says, '*pao zhuan yin yu*'—literally, throw [out a piece of] brick [to] attract [a piece of] jade—or equivalently 'throw out a minnow to catch a whale'.³¹ Since errors in the interpretations of concepts in early Chinese texts are still abundant in the works made accessible to Western students, more translations of high accuracy—not only from the art-historian's point of view, but more from the viewpoint of the Chinese painting artist himself—are necessary, to ensure more flow of accurate Eastern ideas into the West. Zhuang Zi once said, "Our lives are limited, but knowledge is unlimited; [thus,] to pursue the unlimited with the limited is tiring."³² However, I think it is worthwhile.

Zhou You Dong Xi Looking at landscape paintings and figure paintings by all twentieth-century artists is again neither feasible over a short period of time nor desirable for me then. It is thus my sincere belief that the comparison of Zhang's landscapes and Picasso's female nudes in Part II of my thesis would act as a catalyst for further writings not only to refine and amplify my findings, but with new results from more case studies drawn from a wider scope, involving equally significant Chinese painting and Western painting artists who may or may not embrace both traditional and modern ideas about art, but share some common ideas or some kind of mutual influence. Much talk has been concentrating on the influence of Western ideas on Chinese painting. However, from Picasso onwards, Western art has since found ways of conveying thoughts and feelings that are, in some ways, very close to—if not influenced by—those of the Chinese. To borrow Sullivan's words once again:

²⁹Wang Zuo, ed., *Li Keran Hualun*, op. cit., chap. 2, p. 31; bold emphasis mine.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹*Han Ying Zonghe Cidian*, op. cit., s.v. "*pao* [throw]", p. 669.

³²Zhuang Zi, *Zhuang Zi* 3:1, in *Xinyi Zhuang Zi Duben*, annotated & interpreted by Huang Jinhong, op. cit., p. 77; translation with reference to the interpretation on p. 79.

Much of modern Western art is concerned not with solid objects in space but with space itself; . . . with movement, energy, rhythm, and the mysterious forces that animate matter—concepts expressed in such terms as . . . the Chinese *ch'i-yün* [*qiyun*]. We cannot say that Chinese and Western art now speak the same language But having arrived at this point . . . they have at least begun a dialogue, and can say to each other "I think I see what you mean."³³

Although such statements were written almost twenty years ago, until this time not many studies have been carried out to contribute to the "dialogue", and scholarly works on whether Western painting has been influenced by Eastern concepts are extremely rare. This seems to verify the efficacy of what Lao Zi said, that, "Those who know do not speak; those who speak do not know."³⁴ Let's hope that this is not true.

Challenging studies of East-West comparative nature in the visual arts are eminently worth the while, for it has long been recognised that, "They [the visual arts] offer a readily appreciated bridge between the worlds of the imagination and of cultural belief systems and provide tactile proof of this relationship."³⁵ They are perhaps even essential for us to understand each other better, especially now when the interaction between the East and the West has become more intense with an increasing number of ideas being exchanged. We are fast approaching the twenty-first century; there is no turning back. "We are no longer purely Western or purely Eastern. We are all of us hybrids," wrote Robert E. Allinson. "As in the metaphor of the *yin* and the *yang*, East and West require each other for their own existence, and future development depends not on one system of thought replacing the other, but on an integrated growth which maintains and expands both tendencies [in a *yin yang* harmony]."³⁶ With that in mind, it is my modest wish that the thesis could contribute, at least, as "an interesting footnote in the realm of"³⁷ this *yin yang*.

³³Sullivan, *Symbols of Eternity*, op. cit., p. 6.

³⁴Lao Zi, *Dao De Jing* 56, in *Xinyi Lao Zi Duben*, annotated & interpreted by Yu Peilin, op. cit., p. 92.

³⁵Nick Stanley, "On Not Liking What One Sees: Anthropology and the Visual Arts", *Journal of Art & Design Education* 5, nos. 1 & 2 (1986), p. 173.

³⁶Allinson, "An Overview of the Chinese Mind", in *Understanding the Chinese Mind*, op. cit., p. 23.

³⁷Borrowed from Peter Cresswell, "'On the Island—Off the Island': A Question of Orientation", *Third Text: Third World Perspectives on Contemporary Art & Culture*, no. 27 (summer 1994), p. 101.

Appendix 1

Notes on Romanisation of Chinese Characters and Translation of Chinese Phrases

Romanisation In the nineteenth century, Thomas Wade established a system of Romanisation of Chinese words phonetically. It was further developed around 1912 by Herbert Giles and since then the Wade-Giles system has been widely used in Britain. In the late 1950's, however, Mao Zedong (1893-1976) introduced the *Hanyu Pinyin* system, that was improved further in the late 1980's. This system now proves to be more accurate and less complicated, using fewer letters per sound and avoiding the Wade-Giles' extensive use of apostrophes. With the Wade-Giles, we have, for instance, the Chou dynasty (ca. 1122-256 B.C.), the Ch'in Dynasty (221-207 B.C.), the Chin Dynasty (A.D. 266-420) and the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1912)—confusing and difficult to keep them apart. In *Hanyu Pinyin*, however, they are known as the Zhou, Qin, Jin and Qing respectively. *Pinyin* is of course not perfect; as in all other systems, the sounds of some letters used do not necessarily correspond to those in the English usage. There are, after all, Chinese sounds that do not exist in English, such as 'zh' as in 'Zhou' and 'q' in 'Qin'.

Hanyu Pinyin has since been regarded as the most effective system for transliterating Chinese and has increasingly gained popularity; major Western publications such as The New York Times have all subscribed to this system. I have also used this system, with some modification, throughout my thesis, except for direct quotations. The *Pinyin* words appear in italic and in some cases, household words such as Confucius are also given, as in Kong Zi [Confucius], in which case adjectives such as Confucian are not *Pinyin*-ised, to avoid complication and too many unnecessary italicised terms. For simplicity, I have also omitted the tone marks placed over the vowels of the *Pinyin* words, that are used to aid pronunciation and differentiating between words. Ambiguity is compensated, however, by means such as literal rendering of the meaning of the words, e.g., the four different words of *shi* pronounced in four different tones are represented as *shi* [wet], *shi* [reality], *shi* [history] and *shi* [momentum].¹

¹A list of Chinese terms, short phrases, and titles of Chinese texts, in *Hanyu Pinyin*, and their equivalents in other systems of Romanisation, their English translations, interpretations, or substitutes, are given in my Glossary.

Names of people, places and dynasties in *Hanyu Pinyin* are not italicised. Chinese names follow the traditional order of surname first, then the given name, e.g., Zhang Daqian. Exceptions occur for Chinese individuals who use a Western given name or who have Romanised their original name, e.g., Wucius Wong. In my text and footnotes, Chinese artists are generally referred to by their popular names, which are either their original names, their *zi* [styles or names taken at the age of twenty] or their *hao* [nicknames], e.g., Shitao instead of Zhu Ruoji. Life dates or approximate dates of activity are also provided when an individual is first mentioned in each of my numbered chapters.

Translation Written Chinese has remained ideographic for more than three thousand years; it has no alphabet but uses individual characters to stand for syllables or whole words. In the early 1950's, the government of the People's Republic of China started to introduce a somewhat simplified form of writing for two-thousand-odd Chinese characters. Some characters can be dissected for a meaningful analysis while some disyllabic words cannot be split in the process of translation. The simplified character '*bi*'—for the Chinese brush—for instance, can be seen as consisting a top component made up of a radical *zhu* [bamboo] and a bottom component *mao* [hair], reflecting that the handle of the brush is made from bamboo and the tip from hair. The disyllabic word '*guqi*',² however, is to be translated as something like 'strength of individual character of a person', instead of separately as '*gu*' for 'bone' and '*qi*' for 'breath', that would make '*guqi*' meaningless. Many translators have often committed mistakes such as that.

Chinese has no active or passive voice, no singular or plural, and, especially in the early texts, nearly every word can be used as any part of speech. These make the early writings obscure and paradoxical. The noun and the verb are also often interchangeable, e.g., "*Dao* [*tao*] that can be *dao* [told], is not the eternal *Dao* [*Tao*]". Chinese is also exceptionally rich in homophones,³ that there was a tendency in the early texts to use one character with the sense that actually belonged to another of the same sound but in different form, e.g. Jing Hao (ca. A.D. 870-930) said, "That which is *hua* [to paint], is *hua* [ornamentation, decorative beauty and splendour]." The situation is made even complicated with each character having several different meanings, e.g., *se* for colour, beauty, lewdness or passion. In fact, some Chinese terms are so complicated in meaning that it is extremely difficult if not impossible to find English translations or equivalents for them. They therefore remained transliterated in my thesis, e.g., the Chinese *Yin Yang*, Lao Zi's *Dao* and Xie He's *Qiyun Shengdong*. I have, however, attempted to keep these transliterations to a minimum.

Other terms or phrases call for interpretation rather than a literal translation, for there often are instances when the literal rendering of a Chinese phrase leads to only a meaningless string of English words, e.g. *Hua Yan*, that tempts a literal translation of Painting Eye or The Eye of Painting, can actually be correctly interpreted as The Key Points on the Study and Methods of Painting (based on the content of the text, rather than going out of its way for a brilliant interpretation). At other times, certain phrases demand English equivalents, e.g., '*pao zhuan yin yu*', that literally means 'throw out [a piece of] brick to attract [a piece of] jade', is given the equivalent 'throw out a minnow to catch a whale'.

The Chinese language itself is more suggestive and evocative than any other Western languages; the way it is commonly used also usually leaves a large room for

²Throughout my thesis, all disyllables are given in joined form, e.g. *guqi* instead of *gu qi*.

³Cf. English 'rite', 'write', 'right', and 'Wright'.

individual imagination and interpretation. Some early philosophical texts such as *Dao De Jing*, for instance, were even written in a metaphorical style that resembled poetry at times. A more serious problem is the different ways of punctuating the texts that produce many ambiguous readings that are substantially different, and give rise to many versions. All these make definitive interpretation and translation extremely frustrating, as also experienced by many scholars. Such problems also exist in early painting treatises characterised by not only a seemingly vague and cryptic character but an overwhelming richness in aesthetic terminology that at times taken from the associated arts of poetry and calligraphy, or at other times borrowed from philosophical sources. As such, a term may have two different kinds of meaning—one mundane and the other mystical, e.g., *qi* can stand for 'breath' or 'spirit'.

It is true of all philosophical writings and early painting treatises that it is even more difficult for anyone to grasp a complete understanding and to attain full appreciation of their virtues and wisdom if he cannot read them in the original language. Furthermore, understanding these writings is not merely a question of language, but also requires a consideration of the Chinese systems of cultural and philosophical thoughts, and interpretations of perception from the Chinese-painting artist's point of view. In view of all these, I have chosen the best possible case for the most accurate transmission of the intent of the work, so as to explicate the Chinese concepts of art, to the Western audience, especially. Arthur Waley once wrote:

The ideal writer would know both Chinese and Japanese [for the Japanese had been collecting Chinese-brush paintings for more than a thousand years], . . . he must possess both the means and the leisure for extensive travel and prolonged residence in the East; he will require, if after successive rebuffs he is at last to get sight of closely guarded treasures, a certain degree of *aplomb* and social persistency . . . [and] he should be a person in whose life art plays an important part; otherwise, however great his scholarship, it will be impossible for him to sift to any intelligent purpose the vast mass of documentary material at his disposal. Finally, he must be able to write.⁴

Although I do not possess all the qualifications described above, I certainly have acquired most of them. With an extra advantage of being a Chinese-painting artist myself, my translation aimed at a balance between reproducing the literal meaning of the text and making an accurate artistic sense out of it,⁵ without becoming too unreadable or unintelligible in English, and without departing from its original meaning.

⁴Arthur Waley, *An Introduction to the Study of Chinese Painting* (London: Ernest Benn, [1923]), p. 8.

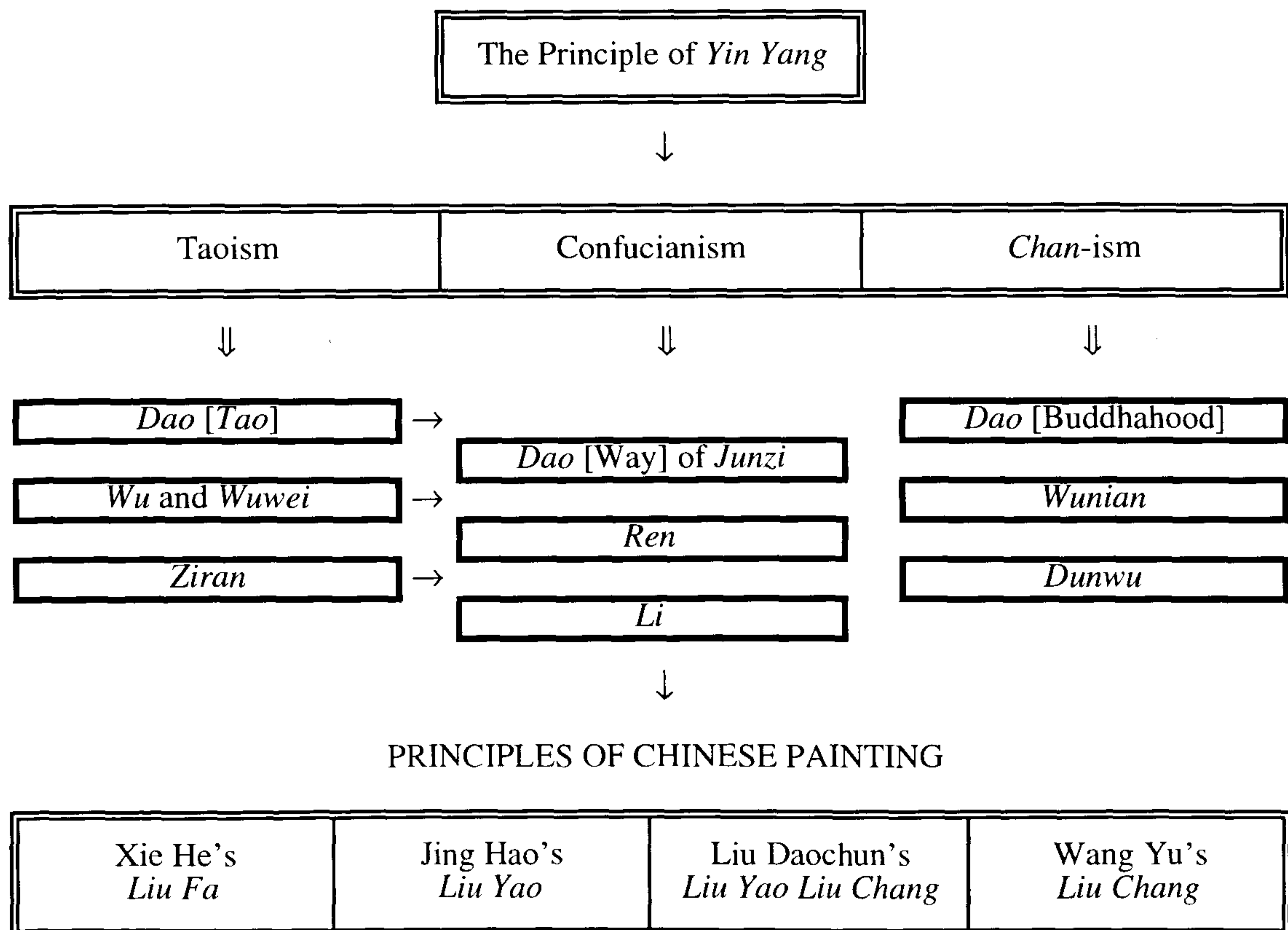
⁵For certain technical terms in Chinese painting, for instance, I have provided brief explanations, e.g., *gongbi*—laboured-brush, literally, a Chinese painting technique characterised by fine and compact brushwork, and close attention to detail.

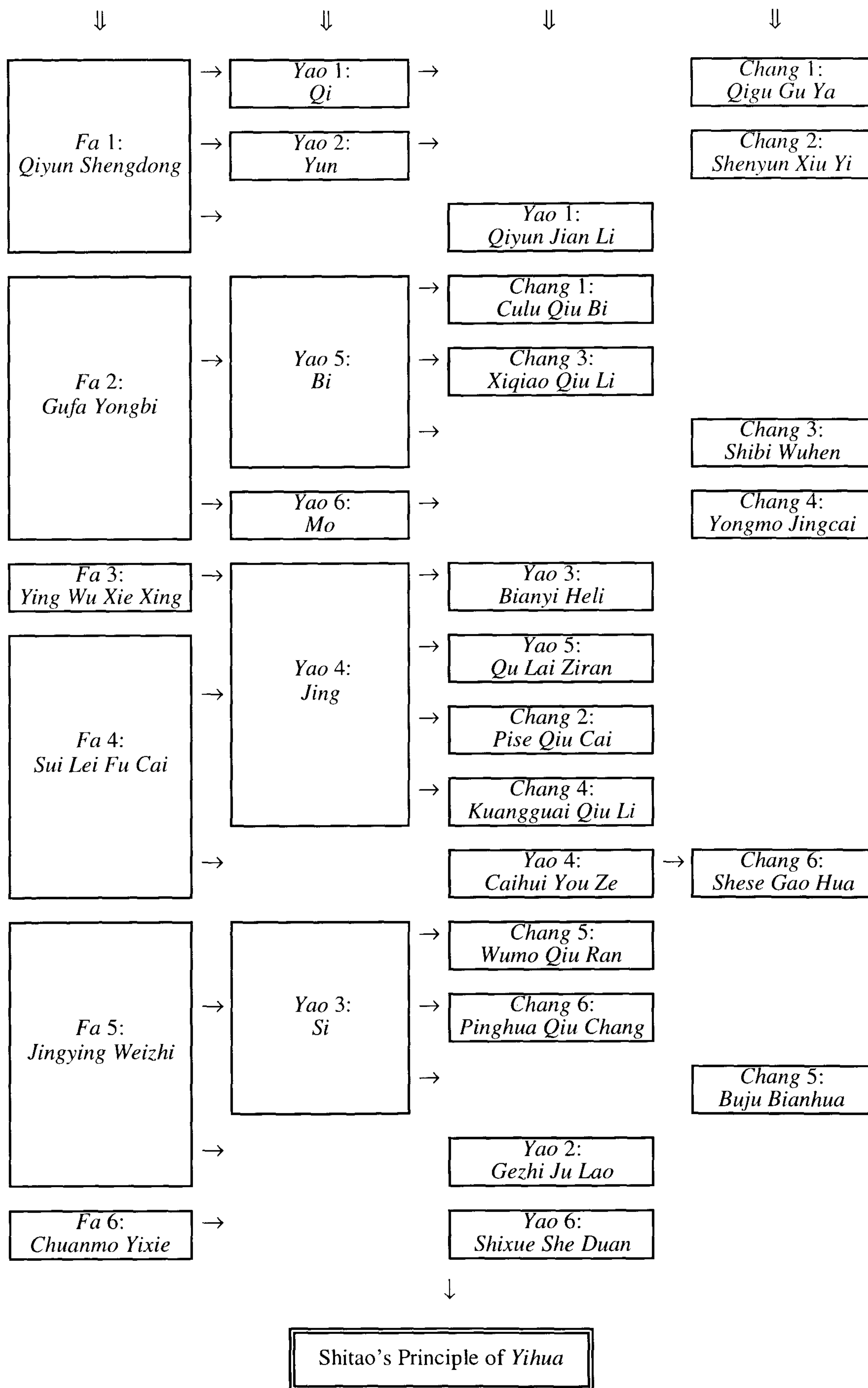
Appendix 2

Charts of Chinese Culturo-Philosophical Thoughts and Principles of Chinese Painting

2.1 An Overall Summary Chart

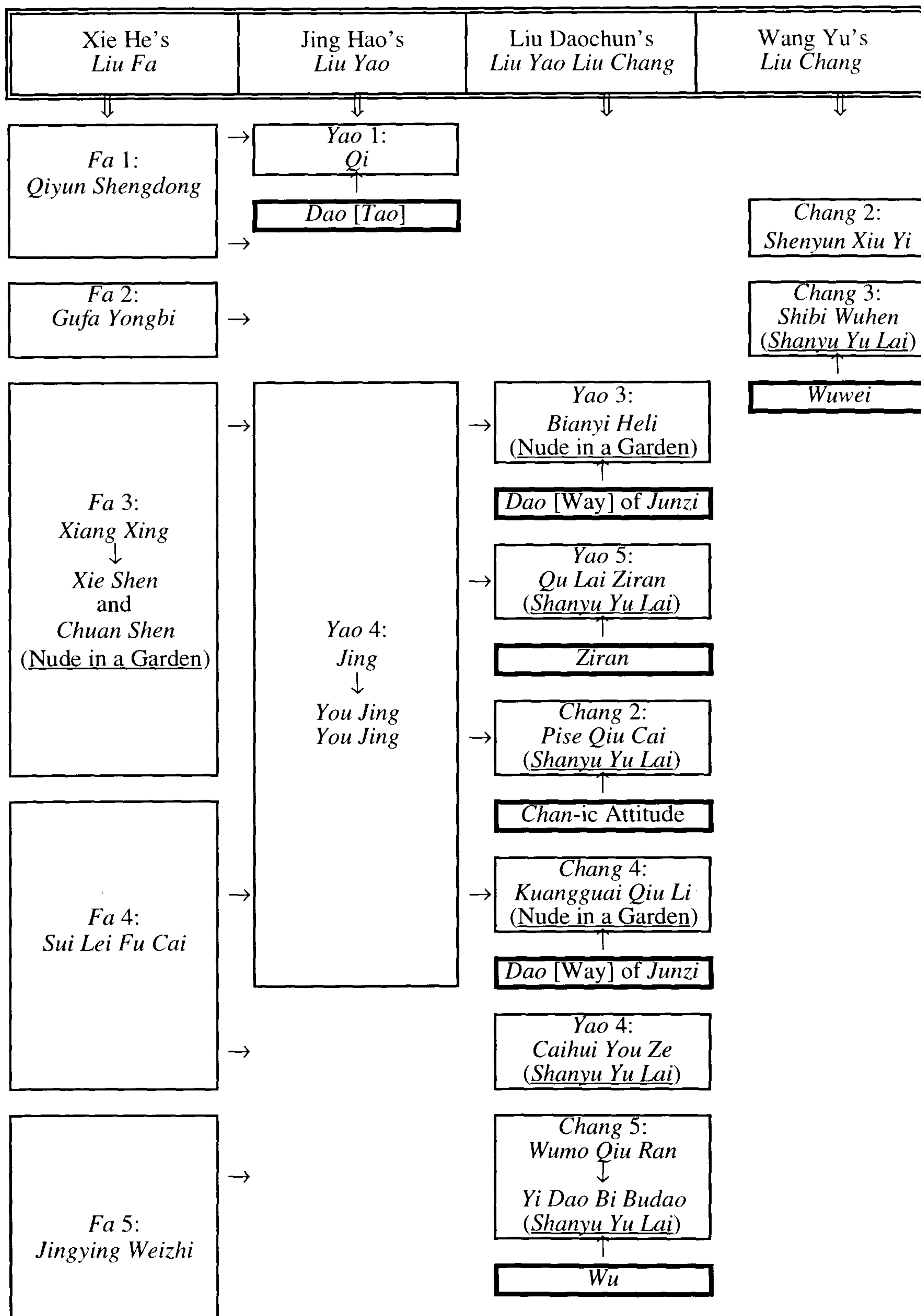
CHINESE CULTURO-PHILOSOPHICAL THOUGHTS

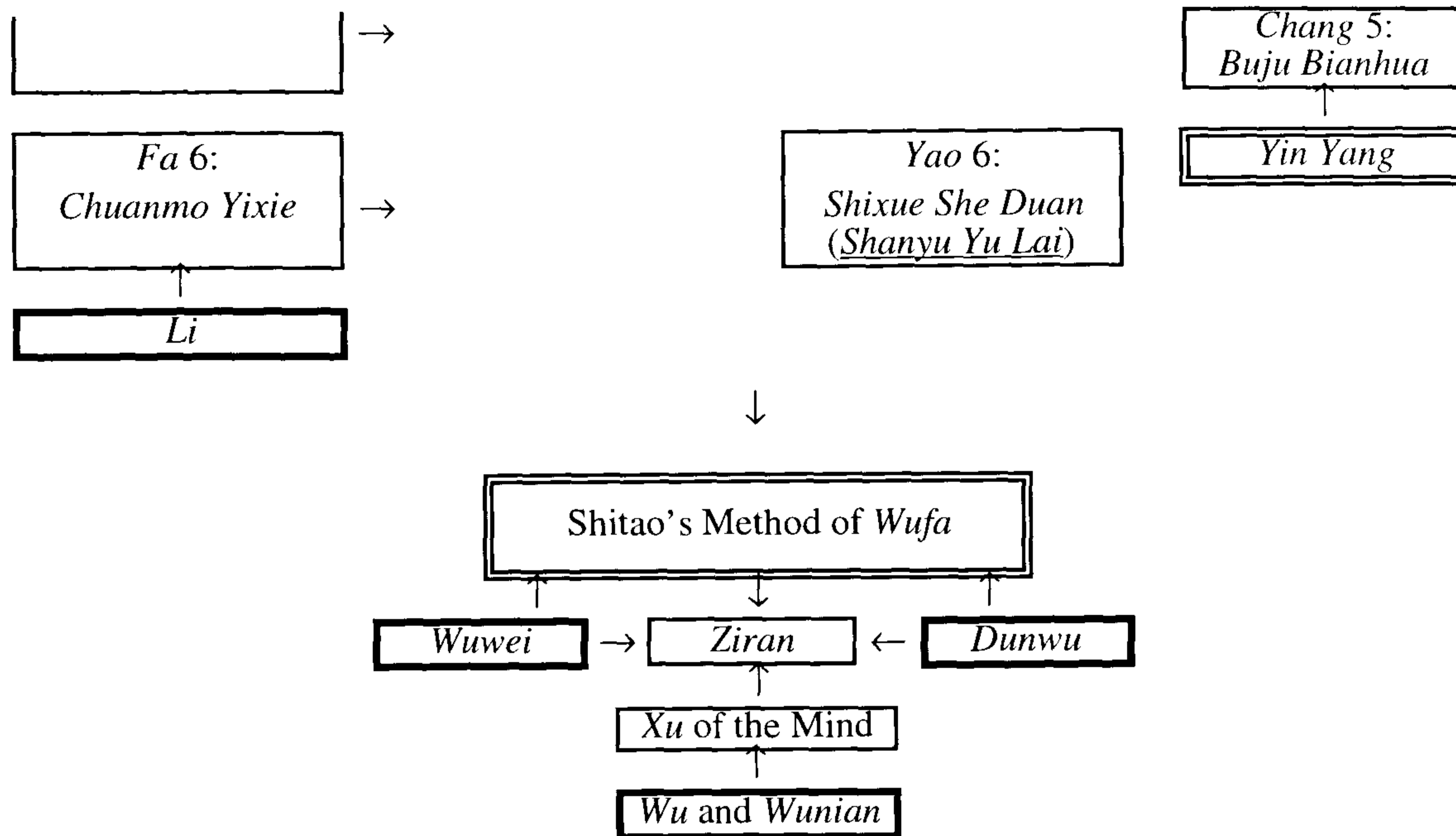




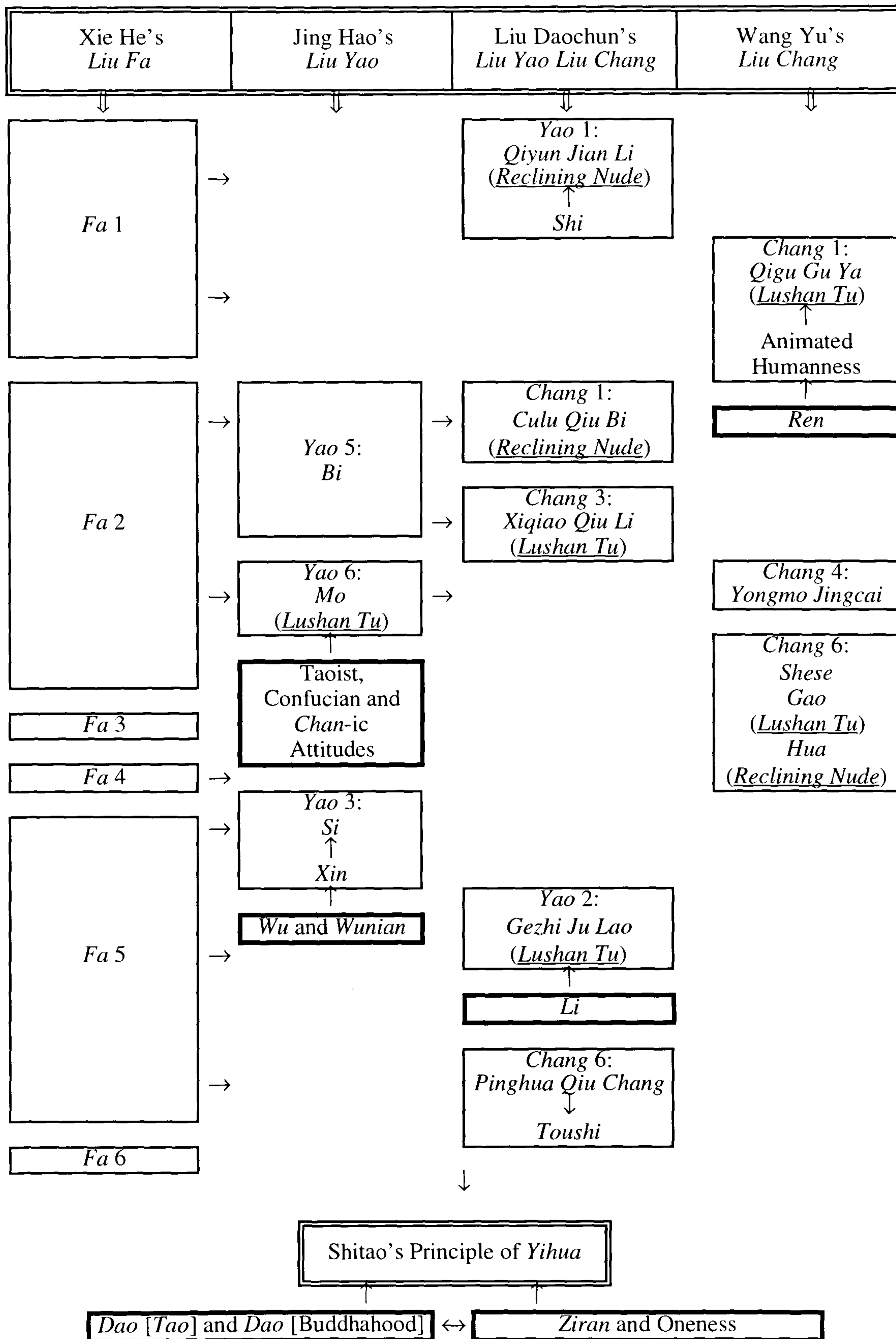
2.2 Summary Charts of the Comparison of Paintings

2.2.1 *Shanyu Yu Lai* and *Nude in a Garden*





2.2.2 Lushan Tu and Reclining Nude with Necklace



Appendix 3

Brief Biographies

3.1 The Chinese Philosophers

3.1.1 Lao Zi and Dao De Jing [The Classic of Tao and Its Power]

Lao Zi (ca. 604-531 B.C.) The character '*lao*' literally means 'old' and '*zi*' means 'master'; and thus the name Lao Zi can be taken literally to mean the 'Old Master'. This may suggest a legendary personage and leads to some doubt as to whether he existed at all. According to the Grand Historian of China, Sima Qian (ca. 145-86 B.C.), who recorded the legend of Lao Zi in Shi Ji [The Historical Records]¹, Lao Zi did exist. The following is my adaptation from Shi Ji:

Lao Zi's original surname was Li, given name Er and *zi* [a style or name taken at the age of twenty] Dan. He was born [in 604 B.C.] in Ku district in the state of Chu [which is now called Henan Province]. Although brought up in a poor home, he rose to become an archivist of the Imperial Court at Luoyang [in the same province, then the Zhou Dynasty capital] where he lived to an advanced age. [Towards the end of his life, he experienced a time of political unrest. His world was divided into hundreds of separate provinces, each with its own laws and leaders, competing for hostile political supremacy.]

¹Shi Ji is the first comprehensive dynastic history of China attributed to Sima Qian who was the Imperial Recorder and Grand Astrologer during the reign of [Han] Wu Di (140-87 B.C.), an appointment he inherited from his father who may have begun the task of writing Shi Ji. It is complete with treatises on scientific subjects, and biographies of notable persons, as well as historical records up to Sima Qian's lifetime. For a version of the original Chinese text, see Ma Chiyang, annotator, Shi Ji Jizhu, 6 ce [The New Annotation of Shi Ji, 6 vols.] (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu Yinshuguan Gufen Youxian Gongsi, 1979; 4th ed., 1991).

Sensing the hopelessness of the era and since his native state was breaking up, he left. At the provincial border at the mountain pass, the warden Yin Xi managed to persuade him to forego his reluctance and to record the principles of his philosophy. Lao Zi thus condensed his ideas into a book [which is known to us today as *Dao De Jing*], in two parts, in something over five thousand characters. Then he went away westwards [riding on the back of a black ox] into the mountains beyond [to become a recluse]. No one knew what became of him and where he died.²

Sima believed that Lao Zi was the same person as Li Er and Lao Dan. However, most contemporary scholars and historians still hold that Lao Zi was a legendary figure. Feng, for instance, insisted that Lao Zi was mistakenly identified by Sima with Li Er of the third century B.C.³ and questioned whether, historically, there ever was the person Lao Dan,⁴ despite the fact that Lao Dan is used throughout *Zhuang Zi* [The Book of Zhuang Zi] to mean Lao Zi.⁵ Feng, and Fan Wenlan, went further to argue that *Dao De Jing* was written in the Warring States Period (403-221 B.C.) and they maintained that it was probably compiled by more than one author.⁶

Dao De Jing During the Han Dynasty (202 B.C.-A.D. 220), several emperors, looking for good ways of governing, turned to *Dao De Jing*. Among them are [Han] Wen Di (reigned during 179-157 B.C.) and his son [Han] Jing Di (reigned during 156-140 B.C.). Jing Di gave the book the title *Dao De Jing* by which it has been known in China ever since. Besides containing advice on government and management of human affairs, the book also contains all major tenets of Taoism. According to modern scholar-translator Lin Yutang, "It is one of the profoundest books in the world's philosophy."⁷ It is thus no wonder that it "is [also] one of the most widely printed books in world history, second only to the Bible."⁸

Dao De Jing appears, however, as a combination of philosophical speculation and mystical reflection written in a metaphorical style that resembled poetry at times, with little appeals to reason and no scholarly exposition. Many forceful and gripping ideas are being put across in a manner that often seems more suggested than spoken. Since the Han Dynasty, there have been more than five hundred interpretations of the

²My extraction (with some adaptation) from *Shi Ji*, chap. 63, in *Shi Ji Jinzhu*, *ibid.*, vol. 4, pp. 2185-86.

³Fung Yu-lan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, 2 vols., trans. Derk Bodde (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1952), vol. I, p. 171.

⁴Feng Youlan, *Zhongguo Zhhexueshi Xinbian* [A New History of Chinese Philosophy, 2 vols.] (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1962), vol. 1, pp. 249-256.

⁵See, for instance, *Zhuang Zi* 3:5, 7:4, 11:2, 12:9, 14:6-7, 21:4, 22:5 & 23:1.

⁶See Fan Wenlan, *Zhongguo Tongshi Jianbian* [A Concise General History of China] (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1964), vol. I; and Feng Youlan, *Zhongguo Zhhexueshi Xinbian*, *op. cit.* See also Fung Yu-lan, *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, ed. Derk Bodde (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948; 4th pr., 1958), pp. 93-94. For my study, I took *Dao De Jing* to contain the original sayings of Lao Zi (be it a legendary figure or a group of authors).

⁷Lin Yutang, trans., "Laotse, the Book of Tao", in *The Wisdom of China*, ed. Lin Yutang ([London]: Michael Joseph Ltd., 1944; Four Square ed., London: The New English Library Ltd., 1963), "Introduction", p. 25.

⁸Ben Willis, *The Tao of Art: The Inner Meaning of Chinese Art and Philosophy* (London: Century Hutchinson Ltd., 1987), p. xiv.

text, of which more than two hundred are still available in China today. One of the oldest and best in existence is *Lao Zi Dao De Jing Zhu* [Annotation of Lao Zi's Classic of *Tao* and Its Power] by Wang Bi (A.D. 226-249)—a Taoist enthusiast (though died at early age) and once a minister in the Wei government during the Three Kingdoms Era (A.D. 220-280). Countless of translations and annotations of the book into foreign languages have also appeared. These vary widely in a comprehensive grasp of the philosophical thoughts in the original *Dao De Jing*.

It was translated into Sanskrit by Buddhist monk Xuanzang (A.D. 596-664) who brought it along with him when he, not being satisfied with the conflicting Buddhist doctrines of his time, travelled to India in A.D. 629 and for sixteen years studied and debated with the greatest Indian scholars. Translated into Latin in 1788, it was rendered into English more than one hundred years ago.⁹ To date, more than forty English translations of it have been published, other than at least nine German versions and one or more translations into Manchu, Japanese, Russian, Turkish, Polish, Italian and French.¹⁰ It is indeed the most widely translated of all Chinese philosophical classics.

Arthur Waley and Lin Yutang are among the scholarly men of letters who produced good English translations of *Dao De Jing*.¹¹ However, according to Witter Bynner who produced his own version around ten years later,¹² Waley's translation is "culpably dull and, to a Westerner, unintelligible".¹³ Bynner, himself without any knowledge of the original Chinese words of *Dao De Jing*,¹⁴ also passed a prejudicial comment that Lin's translation is "feeble" and a failed attempt at improvement on equally "poor" predecessors.¹⁵ He also described Lin's translation as something "dry and stiff, pompous and obscure."¹⁶ Waley, with whom Bynner had corresponded for twenty years, was apparently disappointed that Bynner had not appreciated his scholarly findings. On Bynner's version, *The Way of Life According to Laotzu: An American Version*, Waley's response was:

I confess when I saw it was an 'American version' I thought it would be in the highly-coloured and vigorous idiom that now pervades our streets and villages, a speech to which we have become deeply attached. I find much in your version that is not in the original, but nothing that would seem to be

⁹See, for instance, James Legge, trans. & annotator, "The Tao Te Ching of Lao Tzu", in *The Texts of Taoism: Part I*, vol. XXXIX of *The Sacred Books of the East*, ed. F. Max Müller (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1891; New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1962).

¹⁰For a partial list of the translations, see Yan Lingfeng, *Zhong Wai Lao Zi Zhushu Mulu* [An Index to Works on Lao Zi in China and Abroad] (Taipei: Zhonghua Congshu Weiyuanhui, 1957).

¹¹See Arthur Waley, *The Way and Its Power: The Tao Tê Ching and Its Place in Chinese Thought* (New York: Grove Press Inc., 1933; 18th pr., 1982); and Lin, trans., "Laotse, the Book of Tao", op. cit., pp. 31-71.

¹²See Witter Bynner, *The Way of Life According to Laotzu: An American Version* ([New York]: Witter Bynner, 1944), which is later collected in id., *The Chinese Translations*, pp. 329-388, vol. 3 of *The Works of Witter Bynner* [5 vols.], ed. James Kraft (New York: The Witter Bynner Foundation, 1978).

¹³It is quoted by David Lattimore in his "Introduction to The Way of Life According to Laotzu", in *The Chinese Translations*, ibid., p. 318.

¹⁴Bynner himself admitted his ignorance of the language in his preface to his version, "The Way of Life According to Laotzu: An American Version", ibid. On p. 340, he wrote that, ". . . I [Bynner] cannot read Chinese".

¹⁵Quoted in "Introduction to The Way of Life According to Laotzu", op. cit., p. 318.

¹⁶Bynner, "The Way of Life According to Laotzu: An American Version", op. cit., p. 340.

American. My general criticism would be that your version is flat, easy and smooth. It does not startle or jolt one as the original does.¹⁷

It is interesting that they gave almost similar reasons for criticising each other's version: Waley's translation was "dull" to Bynner, and Bynner's version "flat" to Waley. I personally prefer Waley's translation to Bynner's version—most of which was based on the interpretations of commentators in earlier English versions.¹⁸ Bynner used 'existence' in place of '*Dao*' when the foremost term deserves a better treatment. As a result, his version reads neither like *Dao De Jing* nor a translation. To a certain degree, his version is more of a creation, of another book of wisdom, by an English poet.

Lin presented his translation in the form of two books, under the given names of "Book I: The Principles of Tao"—covering the first thirty-seven chapters of *Dao De Jing*; and "Book II: The Application of Tao"—covering the remaining forty-four chapters. This was probably done simply to confirm the statement in Sima's biography of Lao Zi that "Lao Zi condensed his ideas into a book, in two parts". Man-Ho Kwok, Martin Palmer and Jay Ramsay, in their *Tao Te Ching: The New Translation*,¹⁹ also divided the text into two main sections but they believed that the original second section ended at Chapter 70. The last eleven chapters are treated by them as a coda. Their edition is one of the better later versions, though freer in rendition, for they have updated it based on contemporary Chinese research and commentaries on the text.

On the whole, besides Chapters 70 and 71 consisting of statements about Lao Zi himself and about the understanding of his doctrines, the rest of the content of *Dao De Jing* can be divided into two roughly equal portions. One of them discusses the major doctrines of Taoism and the other contains advice on ways of governing and on management of human affairs. The first twenty-eight chapters, and Chapters 32-37 and 50-56, fall into the first portion. In this portion, the general character of *Dao* is described in Chapters 1-10; the models of *Dao* are spoken in Chapters 21-28; and the doctrine of *Wuwei* is developed in Chapters 11-20. Chapters 32-37 talks about the rhythm of life, and Chapters 50-56 have something to do with the preservation of life. The second portion contains warnings against the use of force in Chapters 29-31; emphasises the use of gentleness, simplicity and quietude in Chapters 38-49; gives definite advice on government and management of human affairs in Chapters 57-67; touches upon war and camouflage in Chapters 68 and 69; mentions crime and punishment in Chapters 72-75; and issues some general advice on the strength of weakness in Chapters 76-81.²⁰

¹⁷Quoted in "Introduction to The Way of Life According to Laotzu", op. cit., pp. 325-26.

¹⁸In his preface to "The Way of Life According to Laotzu: An American Version", op. cit., p. 340, he confessed that his version was based on "various and varying English versions of the *Tao Teh Ching*".

¹⁹See Man-Ho Kwok, Martin Palmer & Jay Ramsay, trans., *Tao Te Ching: The New Translation*, Element Classic Editions (Shaftesbury: Element Books Ltd., 1994). A version of the Chinese text of *Dao De Jing* is also included.

²⁰For this analysis, reference is made to "Laotse, the Book of Tao", op. cit., pp. 26-27.

3.1.2 Zhuang Zi and Zhuang Zi [The Book of Zhuang Zi]

Zhuang Zi (ca. 369-286 B.C.) Zhuang Zi is the most celebrated Taoist philosopher who shares the honour with Lao Zi for the founding of Taoism. It has been customary to speak of Lao Zi and Zhuang Zi together as Lao-Zhuang and the impact of their philosophy on the life of the Chinese, and later in the development of *Chan*-ism, has been tremendous. Unlike the legendary Lao Zi, the existence of this historical figure Zhuang Zi is not in question. The following is my adaptation of the brief biographical note from Shi Ji of Sima, the first biographer of Zhuang Zi:

Zhuang Zi's original name was Zhou. He was a native of Meng District [in the present Henan Province] and lived during the reigns of [Liang] Hui Wang [370-319 B.C.] and [Qi] Xuan Wang [319-301 B.C.]. He once served as a small official there [and he declined several offers to take up important positions in order to retain his freedom of private life.] There was nothing upon which his learning did not touch, and he was a master of language and gifted with poetic imagination. His philosophical thoughts, however, were derived from the sayings of Lao Zi. In his book [which is known today as Zhuang Zi] of more than a hundred thousand characters, which is mainly made up of fables, he criticised the Confucianists and glorified Lao Zi's wisdom.²¹

Zhuang Zi lived during a time known as the Warring States Period, in which rival nations battled constantly for more land and greater power, causing widespread death and destruction. He must have been deeply saddened by this chaos and suffering that he projected his mystic vision of freedom as assurances that death is as much to be desired as life, as expounded in his work, Zhuang Zi.

Zhuang Zi Zhuang Zi's reputation as the most influential Taoist philosopher rests on the text Zhuang Zi. Giving a fuller picture of the Taoist thoughts than the one painted by the aphorisms of Dao De Jing, the book Zhuang Zi is undoubtedly the longest of the classics of Taoism, written with an extensive use of symbols in a poetic language and a metaphoric style. Xu Fuguan pointed out that the book not only exemplifies in the person of Zhuang Zi, but is itself a work of art that leads to the beginning of the whole development of the spirit of Chinese aesthetic culture.²² It is not surprising that Waley described it as "one of the most entertaining as well as one of the profoundest books in the world".²³

Like Wang who annotated Dao De Jing, Guo Xiang (d. ca. A.D. 312)—a high government official during the Western Jin Dynasty (A.D. 266-316) and another enthusiast for Taoism—commented on Zhuang Zi. The book as we know it today—composed of three main divisions, namely, *Nei Pian* [Inner Writings] consisting of seven chapters, *Wai Pian* [Outer Writings] fifteen chapters, and *Za Pian* [Miscellaneous Writings] eleven—dates from his version and his commentary is the oldest now in existence. Although there is no doubt that Zhuang Zi existed, the book shows evidence of multiple authorship. Waley, in his discussion of the authorship of Zhuang Zi, remarked that "some parts [of the text] are by a splendid poet, others by a

²¹My extraction (with some adaptation) from Shi Ji, chap. 63, in Shi Ji Jinzhu, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 2188.

²²Xu Fuguan, Zhongguo Yishu Jingshen [The Spirit of Chinese Art], Xinya Yanjiusuo Congkan [Series of Publication of Xinya Research Centre] (Taipei: Taiwan Xuesheng Shuju, 1966; 11th pr., 1992), p. 47.

²³Arthur Waley, Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1939), p. 163. Note that a similar phrase is also used by Lin Yutang to describe Dao De Jing.

feeble scribbler."²⁴ To him, the inner writings seem to form a reasonably coherent whole, while the outer and miscellaneous writings contain passages that often contradict with the general line of thought of the inner writings. Most contemporary scholars have accepted the traditional attribution of the inner writings of *Zhuang Zi* to Zhuang Zi, and the outer and miscellaneous writings to his disciples or later Taoist, into the Han dynasty. To a certain degree, the outer and miscellaneous writings may fairly be said to represent the thought of Zhuang Zi and his school, for some passages may well be Zhuang Zi's own words. However, most later writers have been selective in what they took from it.

There are several complete English translations of *Zhuang Zi*. James Legge's translation is one of them. It is now collected, among others, in *The Texts of Taoism*.²⁵ In this version, Legge took great labour to reproduce the literal meaning of the text and at the same time, tried to make common sense out of Zhuang Zi's paradox and fantasy. In the process of doing so, he seemed to miss quite often what appears to me the original point of Zhuang Zi. An earlier translation by Herbert A. Giles,²⁶ though also literal, appeared to be slightly better in grasping the real meaning of the text. Although the work is complete, it is not as good as that of Burton Watson,²⁷ one of the best translators of Chinese Classics of his generations. Watson drew from a variety of interpretations, including those in Chinese and Japanese. A recent complete translation with an introduction, commentaries and a useful glossary is that by Victor H. Mair.²⁸ Mair has gathered scores of traditional and modern commentaries before referring directly to the Chinese text. His version also represents the only complete translation that renders the poetic portions of the text as verses in English. Furthermore, each chapter of the text is divided into numbered sections for easy reference.

Among the partial translation of *Zhuang Zi*, Feng's translation of the inner writings is more intellectual.²⁹ He inclined to neglect the literary aspect of the text, considering it as mere decoration of the ideas. One of the best available partial translations, in my opinion, is that of Lin,³⁰ who also rendered *Dao De Jing* well. A relatively recent version, which indeed has "items which are delightful and illuminating at first reading", is that translated by A. C. Graham.³¹ He not only

²⁴Ibid., p. 255.

²⁵See James Legge, trans. & annotator, "The Writings of Chuang Tzu (Books I-XVII)", in *The Texts of Taoism: Part I*, op. cit.; and James Legge, trans. & annotator, "The Writings of Chuang Tzu (Books XVIII-XXXIII)", in *The Texts of Taoism: Part II*, vol. XL of *The Sacred Books of the East*, op. cit.

²⁶See Herbert A. Giles, trans., *Chuang Tzu: Taoist Philosopher and Chinese Mystic* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1889; 2d rev. ed., 1926; repr., 1961).

²⁷Burton Watson, trans., *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies LXXX (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968).

²⁸See Victor H. Mair, trans., *Wandering on the Way: Early Taoist Tales and Parables of Chuang Tzu* (New York: Bantam Books, 1994).

²⁹Yu-lan Fung, trans., *Chuang Tzu: A New Selected Translation with an Exposition of the Philosophy of Kuo Hsiang* (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1931; Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1989).

³⁰His version of Chs. 1-6, 8-11 & 17 appeared in Lin Yutang, trans., "Chuangtse", in *The Wisdom of China*, op. cit., pp. 77-143. His translation of Ch. 33 is collected in Lin Yutang, *The Wisdom of Laotse* (New York: The Modern Library, 1948).

³¹See A. C. Graham, trans., *Chuang-Tzu: The Inner Chapters* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1981; Harper Collins Publishers, 1986, Mandala, 1991). The quotation is taken from p. 32. The textual notes to

presented a complete translation of the first seven chapters, but also included those passages from *Zhuang Zi* that he thought related to the inner writings. A large part of Graham's book also offers translations of selections from the outer and miscellaneous writings of the text, grouped as essays of the 'Primitivist', the 'Yangist' and the 'Syncretist', which he considered as homogeneous blocks clearly distinguishable in ideas and style.

According to Graham, *Zhuang Zi* represents "the philosophy which expresses the side of Chinese civilisation which is spontaneous, intuitive, private, unconventional."³² An analysis of the text, the inner writings in particular, naturally reveals such central theme that may be summed up by one word: "freedom",³³ as used by Watson. In fact, the title of the very first chapter, "*Xiaoyao You*", literally means a sort of 'wandering' (*you*) that is completely 'free and unfettered' (*xiaoyao*). As an exposition of the whole work, this chapter suggests, through many amusing fables and anecdotes (where one finds in animals and trees as much importance as in man), an unbound freedom not just for the physical self—what Graham referred to as "the joy of soaring above the realm of conventional judgements and practical concerns",³⁴ but also for the mind—which is a kind of "transcendent freedom".³⁵

The remaining chapters of the inner writings, with a three-character title each, are homogeneous in thought and style as the first. Although some may appear as discontinuous episodes grouped round the chapter titles, they continue generally to gear towards inducing the same perspective of life as in the first chapter. Chapters 3 and 4, for instance, contains more anecdotes and fables (in which one finds, for instance, a cook with an unusual skill, a mantis with extra-ordinary strength, and a freak seen quite without pity) describing the knack of living spontaneously and giving advice on how to live in this world. Besides this main theme, Chapter 2 (in which one finds Zhuang Zi dreamed that he turned into a butterfly) also criticises the notion of 'analytic thinking' in terms of right and wrong alternatives; Chapter 5 (where one finds anecdotes in which the handicapped is seen with as much interest and respect as the sage) evaluates the 'power' in a man without regard for conventional opinion; Chapter 6 discusses reconciliation with the loss of individual identity in death; and Chapter 7 gives principles of governing the empire.³⁶

3.1.3 Kong Zi and *Lun Yu* [The Analects of Confucius]

Kong Zi [Confucius] (ca. 551-479 B.C.) 'Confucius' is the Latinized name that the West made of the Chinese characters 'Kong Zi' or 'Kong Fuzi', which

Graham's translation are published separately in id., *Chuang-Tzu: Textural Notes to A Partial Translation* (London: School of Oriental & African Studies, 1981).

³²*Chuang-Tzu: The Inner Chapters*, *ibid.*, p. 3.

³³*The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

³⁴*Chuang-Tzu: The Inner Chapters*, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

³⁵Lao Sze-kwang (Lao Yung-wei), "On Understanding Chinese Philosophy: An Inquiry and A Proposal", in *Understanding the Chinese Mind: The Philosophical Roots*, ed. Robert E. Allinson (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 278.

³⁶For this analysis, reference is also made to *Chuang-Tzu: The Inner Chapters*, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

means literally 'Master Kong' or 'Kong, the Master'. Kong Zi is now believed to have been a contemporary of Lao Zi, although Lao Zi had done his major work while Kong Zi was still a young man. The source that is considered most reliable for a biographical account of Kong Zi is that recorded by Sima in his *Shi Ji*. This detailed account is also the earliest extant biography. Nearly all subsequent accounts of the life of Kong Zi are based on this standard biography. The following is my adaptation from *Shi Ji*:

Kong Zi was born in 551 B.C., in Changping District in the state of Lu [in modern Shandong Province]. He was given the name Qiu, and took the *zi* Zhongni. His father died soon after his birth. He was a descendant of a noble but fairly poor family. In his younger years he had served as minor officials in Lu. He was later recommended for the studies of the rites, in the state of Zhou where he met Lao Zi. On his return, he began to teach and his disciples soon grew in number. Not long after he was thirty-five, revolts broke out in Lu and he left for the adjoining state of Qi where he studied music. The people of Qi thought highly of him. The ministers of Qi, however, conspired to frame him. Learning of their plot, he left and returned to Lu at around the age of forty-two. With no intention to serve the government then, he concentrated on the study of the ancient materials of *Shi [Jing]*, *Shu [Jing]*, *Li [Ji]* and *Yue [Ji]*.

At the age of fifty, he finally took up the post of the magistrate of Zhongdu District. He was later promoted to the rank of minister of public works followed by that of chief justice. At fifty-six, finding his superiors uninterested in his policies, he set out with some of his disciples to travel to various states in a desperate attempt at political and social reform by spreading his philosophy. Eventually disappointed, he returned, at the age of sixty-eight, to his native state to teach and edit *Shi Jing* and *Shu Jing*, compiled *Li Ji* and *Yue Ji*, preserved *Yi Jing*, and wrote *Chun Qiu*. He had three thousand disciples, seventy-two of whom mastered *Liu Yi*. After his death at seventy-two, his sayings were recorded in *Lun Yu*.³⁷

Yi Jing has been discussed in my Chapter 1. *Shu Jing* contains one hundred historical documents of early dynasties and covered a period extending from the reign of legendary Emperor Yao (ca. 2350-2250 B.C.) to the eighth century B.C. Kong Zi arranged these documents chronologically and wrote prefaces to them. Of these, only twenty-eight are in existence. *Shi Jing* contains Kong Zi's selection of three hundred and five out of more than three thousand ancient poems and folk songs dating back from the eleventh to sixth century B.C. These pieces comprised the basic instruction Kong Zi offered his students in poetry. Kong Zi also arranged a musical setting for each of these pieces, either revising the old tunes or composing new ones, in *Yue Ji*. Most of this music has been lost. The remains now form one of the books in *Li Ji*—a collection of interpretations on ceremonial etiquette practised on public and private occasions. *Chun Qiu*—generally regarded as probably the only work that is authored by Kong Zi—lists a chronicle of chief events during the Spring and Autumn Period (722-481 B.C.) that occurred in his native state of Lu. *Yi Jing*, *Shu Jing*, *Shi Jing*, *Li Ji* and *Chun Qiu* are collectively known now as *Wu Jing* [The Five Classics].

³⁷My extraction (with some adaptation) from *Shi Ji*, chap. 47, in *Shi Ji Jinzhu*, op. cit., vol. 4, pp. 1952-2000. *Shi Jing* is translated as *The Classic of Poetry*, which is also known as *The Book of Songs* or *The Book of Odes*; *Shu Jing* is *The Classic of History*, which is also known as *The Book of Historical Documents*; *Li Ji* is *The Record of Rites*; *Yue Ji* is *The Record of Music*; *Yi Jing* is *The Classic of Changes*; and *Chun Qiu* is *The Spring and Autumn Annals*. 'Liu Yi' here is understood to mean 'The Six Arts'—which are *Shi Jing*, *Shu Jing*, *Li Ji*, *Yue Ji*, *Yi Jing* and *Chun Qiu*. However, it can also refer to 'The Six Artstries'.

Lun Yu *Lun Yu* is a rich collection of sayings of Kong Zi and some of his immediate disciples, recorded mainly in the style of conversations between the master and the disciples. The whole text is made up of about twelve thousand Chinese characters. Although the material "is unsystematic, in a few cases repetitive, and in some cases historically inaccurate",³⁸ the book is generally accepted as the most authentic source of Confucian doctrines. Its main aim is to tell people what they should do and should not do. It also covers a wide range of themes, including politics, philosophy, arts and literature, education, and moral cultivation.

Probably compiled and edited by his disciples around 450 B.C., the book acquired the name Lun Yu only during the second century B.C. At that time there were three versions of it, two from the state of Lu and the third one from Qi. One of the Lu versions had been in circulation then but the other one was discovered around 150 B.C. from the wall of the house where Kong Zi once lived. The latter was written, however, in *Kedou Wenzi* ['Tadpole' Characters]—the most ancient form of the Chinese characters. This version is now lost. Between the circulated version from Lu and the Qi version, there were considerable variations. Later, it was Zheng Xuan (A.D. 127-200)—one of the prominent Confucian commentators—who published a new edition with a commentary based on the circulated Lu version, but compared the text with that of the other Lu version and that of Qi version. Although Zheng's version and the circulated Lu version are still in existence, a vast amount of commentaries and new versions have been published since then.

Lun Yu now consists of twenty chapters, each of which is divided into numerous sections. All the chapters have a two-character title each, which is mere label, formed by the first two characters of the first sentence in each chapter. The text has been translated widely with various interpretations into foreign languages, as early as the seventeenth century when a Latin version appeared in Paris in 1687. Among the earliest English renditions is that by James Legge,³⁹ who also provided critical and exegetical notes, prolegomena and copious indexes. The translation of the text itself, however, is very literal. Nevertheless, it is a good reference, for the translation is arranged alongside with the Chinese text. A freer rendition is given by Lin Yutang.⁴⁰ He later took some selections from his translated text of Lun Yu and published in The Wisdom of China as "The Aphorisms of Confucius".⁴¹ In the latter, he made a few minor revisions of the former translation, classified the selections by rearranging them and gave headings of his own. He also added some selections from Li Ji for illustration.

A recent complete translation of Lun Yu is that by Cai Xiqin (who converted the text in ancient Chinese into modern Chinese), Lai Bo and Xia Yuhe (who then translated the modern text into English).⁴² A free approach is adopted by them and as

³⁸Wing-tsit Chan, trans. & comp., A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 19.

³⁹James Legge, trans., "Confucian Analects", in Confucian Analects, The Great Learning, and The Doctrine of the Mean, vol. I of The Chinese Classics with a Translation, Critical and Exegetical Notes, Prolegomena, and Copious Indexes, by James Legge (London: Trübner & Co., 1861 in 7 vols.; rev. ed., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893; repr., Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc., 1983, 1991, 1994 in 5 vols).

⁴⁰Lin Yutang, ed. & trans., The Wisdom of Confucius (New York: The Modern Library, 1938).

⁴¹See Lin Yutang, trans., "The Aphorisms of Confucius", in The Wisdom of China, op. cit., pp. 275-305.

⁴²Cai Xiqin, Lai Bo & Xia Yuhe, interpreters, annotators & trans., Han Ying Duizhao Lun Yu [Chinese-English Analects of Confucius] (Beijing: Sinolingua, 1994).

a result, the translation differs apparently from the traditional literal rendition. Their version, however, does not depart from the original meaning of the text, for reference to many interpretations by authoritative scholars have been made.

3.1.4 Meng Zi and Meng Zi [The Book of Mencius]

Meng Zi [Mencius] (ca. 372-289 B.C.) Lao Zi was followed by Zhuang Zi, and Kong Zi by Meng Zi. One similarity is that the first was the originator of philosophical school who wrote very little, and the second the transmitter of doctrinal thoughts who wrote long and profound discourses. Meng Zi is regarded as the true transmitter of Kong Zi's teachings, largely through the efforts of Zhu Xi (1130-1200). Since then, Kong Zi and Meng Zi are linked as 'Kong-Meng' in the discussion of Confucian thought. Meng Zi and Zhuang Zi are often regarded as contemporaries, but evidently they were not aware of each other. The life of Meng Zi, however, was amazingly similar to that of Kong Zi. The following is a brief biography of Meng Zi adapted from Sima's Shi Ji:

Meng Zi was born [in 372 B.C.] with given name Ke. He was a native of the State of Zou [in modern Shandong Province]. [He lost his father when he was only three years old and was brought up by his mother.] Having completed his studies under a disciple of Zisi [Kong Zi's grandson], he first offered his service to [Qi] Xuan Wang [who reigned during 319-301 B.C.] but was not accepted. With a strong sense of mission, he then continued to tour other states to sought to give advice to the rulers, during a period of political struggle, moral chaos and intellectual conflicts. However, none took him seriously. Eventually disappointed, he retired with Wanzhang [one of his immediate disciples] and some other disciples to write a preface to Shi Jing and Shu Jing. He continued to transmit the teaching of Kong Zi and, together with his disciples, wrote Meng Zi in seven books.⁴³

Some scholars said that Meng Zi was actually Zisi's immediate disciple.⁴⁴ The Interpretative and Annotative Group of the Chinese Department of Lanzhou University, however, mentioned Meng Zi as a follower of the Zisi's School of Confucianism, instead of pinning him down as an immediate disciple of Zisi.⁴⁵

Meng Zi As recorded in Sima's biography, Meng Zi wrote and supervised the compilation of Meng Zi with his disciples after his retirement. In contrast to Zhuang Zi's approach, Meng Zi relied on assertions, claims and arguments. He explored Kong Zi's ideas, with particular regard to human nature. While recording the current activities of his time, he also listed the rules of righteous government and the qualities of a good ruler, appealing to the authority of various sage-rulers such as Yao (a legendary ruler of the third millennium B.C.) and Shun (Yao's successor). Meng Zi

⁴³My extraction (with some adaptation) from Shi Ji, chap. 74, in Shi Ji Jinzhu, op. cit., vol. 5, p. 2364.

⁴⁴See, for instance, Zhongguo Tongshi Jianbian, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 263.

⁴⁵See Yang Bojun, interpreter & annotator, Meng Zi Yizhu [*quan er ce*] [Interpretation and Annotation of The Book of Mencius, 2 vols.], rev. Lanzhou Daxue Zhongwenxi Meng Zi Yizhu Xiaozu [The Interpretative and Annotative Group of the Chinese Department of Lanzhou University] (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1960; 6th pr., 1984), vol. 1, "Daoyan [Introduction]", pp. 1-10. The introduction also contains a useful information on the dating, reliability and authenticity of Meng Zi.

also contains Meng Zi's various academic exchanges and discourses, and his debates with other schools. In these, Meng Zi displayed his deep conviction for truth and his firmness with his principles.

As in the case of *Lun Yu*, numerous interpretations and commentaries have been written on it, and countless versions of English translation of *Meng Zi* have been published. The one by James Legge is among the earliest, published more than a hundred years ago.⁴⁶ Although it remains a good reference, numerous passages certainly needed to be updated in view of the enormous progress that has been made in Chinese studies over the years. According to Arthur Waley, there are many passages where Legge's translation is certainly wrong.⁴⁷ A relatively recent translation of the complete text of *Meng Zi* is that by D. C. Lau,⁴⁸ in which he also gave a dating of events in the life of Meng Zi, and a discussion of the text.

The text of *Meng Zi* consists of about thirty-five thousand characters in seven books, each of which is divided into two parts. Each part is further divided into numerous chapters. Legge has also divided each chapter into sections for easy reference. On the whole, Part 1 of Book 6—of which Chapters 1-6 are entirely devoted to the subject of human nature—is the most important work, for Meng Zi is popularly regarded as the father of the theory of 'the original goodness of human nature'. As Wing-tsit Chan puts it, "While Kong Zi no more than implied that human nature *is* good, Meng Zi declared definitely that it is *originally* good."⁴⁹ Xun Zi (fl. 298-238 B.C.) ridiculed, however, Meng Zi's declaration by regarding 'human nature as basically bad'. In his essay, "That the Nature [of Man] is Evil", he began by saying that, "The nature of man is evil; the good which it shows is factitious."⁵⁰ In ancient China, Confucianists had been split since then between the two divergent tendencies—Xun Zi representing naturalistic Confucianism and Meng Zi representing idealistic Confucianism. However, Meng Zi is ultimately regarded as in the direct line of transmission from Kong Zi.

Zhu later grouped *Meng Zi* together with *Lun Yu*, and two other books taken from *Li Ji*, to form *Si Shu* [The Four Books]—an abbreviation for *Si Zi zhi Shu* [The Books of the Four Philosophers]. The two books taken from *Li Ji* are *Da Xue* [The Great Learning or The Study] and *Zhong Yong* [The Doctrine of the Mean or The State of Equilibrium and Harmony]. Although collated in ca. 200 B.C., the original material of *Da Xue* is attributed to Zeng Shen (ca. 505-436 B.C.)—known as Zeng Zi in *Lun Yu*—an immediate disciple of Kong Zi. *Zhong Yong* is, according to Sima's *Shi Ji*, ascribed to Kong Zi's grandson—Kong Ji (popularly known by his *zi* as

⁴⁶See James Legge, trans., "The Works of Mencius", in *The Works of Mencius*, vol. II of *The Chinese Classics with a Translation, Critical and Exegetical Notes, Prolegomena, and Copious Indexes*, op. cit.

⁴⁷See Arthur Waley, "Notes on Mencius", *Asia Major*, n.s. 1, pt. 1 (1949), pp. 99-108.

⁴⁸See D. C. Lau, trans., *Mencius* (Penguin Classics. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1970).

⁴⁹*A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, op. cit., pp. 49-50.

⁵⁰Xun Zi, originally called Xun Qing, was a native of Zhao District (in modern Shansi Province). His life is being recorded briefly by Sima in the same chapter as the biography of Meng Zi; see *Shi Ji*, chap. 74, in *Shi Ji Jinzhu*, op. cit., vol. 5, pp. 2370. His work *Xun Zi* is made up of thirty-two chapters of self-contained essays on various subjects. Very few commentaries, however, were written on the book and its influence has been slight. "That the Nature [of Man] is Evil" is chap. 23 of the work, which is appended in James Legge, trans., "That the Nature is Evil", app. I of "Mencius and His Disciples", chap. II of "The Prolegomena", in *The Works of Mencius*, op. cit., pp. 79-88. The cited sentence is taken from p. 79.

Zisi),⁵¹ although it is later regarded that the work was compiled by his disciples in ca. 300 B.C.

Da Xue gives Kong Zi's politico-moral philosophy for a ruler, and is generally rational in tone. *Zhong Yong* is a discourse on two subjects, namely, *zhong* [which literally means what is central] referring to human nature, and *yong* [which literally means what is universal and harmonious] referring to the relation of human nature with the universe. It develops Confucian thought and philosophy with particular regard to human behaviour, and is sometimes psychological and mystical. From the fourth to the eleventh century, *Zhong Yong*'s subtle doctrines had a strong appeal to both Taoists and Buddhists who wrote some commentaries on it. Greater interest in both the works, however, arose during the Northern Song Dynasty (A.D. 960-1126). During that period, Sima Guang (1019-86)—a prominent scholar and statesman—wrote a commentary on each of the works. Zhu later divided *Da Xue* into one text and ten chapters of commentary,⁵² and contended that the former was Kong Zi's own words handed down by Zeng Zi and that the latter were the views of Zeng Zi recorded by his disciples. Zhu also divided *Zhong Yong* into thirty-three chapters without altering the order of the text.⁵³

Collectively, *Si Shu* represent the works of Kong Zi's followers, in the form of records of Kong Zi's sayings, their development and interpretation of his thoughts.⁵⁴ Besides *Da Xue* and *Zhong Yong*, Zhu also wrote commentaries on *Lun Yu* and *Meng Zi*. He offered new interpretations to all the four books and made them the foundation of his own philosophy.⁵⁵ During 1313-1905, these four books and Zhu's commentaries served as the basis for civil service examinations.⁵⁶ Together with *Wu Jing* (the body of knowledge that was edited, taught and handed down by Kong Zi himself), they are known as the Confucian Classics that later formed the body of traditional Chinese education.

⁵¹This is recorded towards the end of the biography of Kong Zi in *Shi Ji*, chap. 47, in *Shi Ji Jinzhu*, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 1997.

⁵²Zhu's version was used in the English translations of *Da Xue* by James Legge, in "The Great Learning", in *Confucian Analects, The Great Learning, and The Doctrine of the Mean*, op. cit.; and by Lin Yutang, in "The Great Learning", in *The Wisdom of Confucius*, op. cit., pp. 135-152.

⁵³Zhu's version was again used in the English translations of *Zhong Yong* by James Legge, in "The Doctrine of the Mean", in *Confucian Analects, The Great Learning, and The Doctrine of the Mean*, ibid.; and by Ku Hung Ming, in "Central Harmony", in *The Wisdom of Confucius*, ibid., pp. 104-34.

⁵⁴In ancient times, the Chinese compared educating a person with constructing a building by saying that *Da Xue* is the blueprint of a construction project, *Zhong Yong* is the foundation, *Lun Yu* and *Meng Zi* are the high-quality building materials; but the building materials are scattered all over the ground, and it requires the architects and engineers to sort them out and assemble into a building.

⁵⁵No one did more than Zhu to re-establish Confucianism in China. The present version of Confucianism, which gained general acceptance after his death, is due very much to his prolific writings and commentaries on *Si Shu*.

⁵⁶*A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, op. cit., p. 51.

3.1.5 Huineng and Liuzu Tanjing [The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch]

Huineng (A.D. 638-713) Huineng is regarded as the most important personage and the most revered figure in the history of Chinese Buddhism.⁵⁷ Well versed in Indian Buddhist doctrines and in Chinese philosophy, he can rightly be looked upon as the true founder of *Chan*-ism as we know it today. Among the numerous sources for the biography of Huineng, the first and the most reliable is "*Lüe Xu* [Brief Preface]" to Liuzu Tanjing.⁵⁸ The preface is attributed to Fahai, one of the immediate disciples of Huineng, who is best-known as the compiler of Liuzu Tanjing. The following is my extraction, with slight adaptation, from the translation of Philip B. Yampolsky:

Huineng was born into the Lu family in A.D. 638 [in Xinzhou District in Lingnan County (in modern Guangdong Province)]. The first character of his name, 'Hui', means 'to bestow beneficence on sentient beings'; and the second character 'Neng' means 'the capacity to carry out the affairs of the Buddha'. When he was twenty-four years of age he heard a *sutra* and was awakened. Going to [Mt. Fengmu in] Huangmei [a county at the eastern end of modern Hubei Province], he sought sanction for his understanding. The Fifth Patriarch, recognising his ability, bestowed to him the *jiasha* [patriarchal robe] and the *Dharma* [a Sanskrit term often rendered as *Fa* in Chinese, which means the Law] and made him his heir. This was in the year A.D. 661. He returned to the South, where he remained in hiding for sixteen years. In A.D. 676, before a gathering of the whole assemblage [at Faxing Monastery (the name was later changed to Guangxiao Monastery and to Zhizhi Monastery) at Mt. Caoxi in Lingnan County (in modern Guangdong Province)], Huineng had his head shaven. Later, various illustrious priests gathered and ordained him. The following year he took leave of the assembly to go to Baolin Monastery, also at Mt. Caoxi. Realising that the monastery buildings were too small for the assembly, Huineng wanted to enlarge them. Eventually thirteen buildings were erected at various scenic spots within the monastery precincts. [He remained there and taught until his death in A.D. 713. His teaching was later compiled as Liuzu Tanjing.]⁵⁹

From Liuzu Tanjing, we also learned that Huineng's father died while he was still a child, and that he and his mother suffered extreme poverty after that, resorting

⁵⁷In southern Chinese dialect, Huineng was pronounced as Weilang, which is the name used in Wong Mou-lam, trans., The Sutra of Wei Lang (or Hui Neng), foreword to new edition by Christmas Humphreys (Shanghai: Yu Ching Press, 1930; new ed., [London]: Luzac & Co., 1944). In Japanese, his name is read as Eno, as in Kakuzo Okakura, The Book of Tea, introduction [& afterword] to new edition by Everett F. Bleiler (N.p.: Fox, Duffield & Company, 1906; Edinburgh: T. N. Foulis, 1919; new ed., New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1964), p. 26.

⁵⁸Wing-tsit Chan, trans., The Platform Scripture: The Basic Classic of Zen Buddhism (New York: St. John's University Press, 1963), p. 158. There, Chan also dated the preface at around A.D. 714.

⁵⁹Philip B. Yampolsky gave a discussion of the biography of Huineng under "The Birth of a Patriarch: Biography of Hui-neng", chap. II of The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch: The Text of the Tun-Huang Manuscript with Translation, Introduction, and Notes, Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies, no. LXXVI. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967). The translation of Fahai's preface is given on pp. 60-63.

to selling fuel-wood in the market place for a living.⁶⁰ Elsewhere in *Liuzu Tanjing*, Huineng also told us that he was illiterate.⁶¹ It is amazing that Hongren, who was courageous enough, had picked him as his successor. Although Huineng was a man of little learning, Hongren regarded him as the one with great character and intuition and he was convinced that Huineng was thoroughly enlightened. He also realised that it would be difficult to expect his disciples to submit to the leadership of this new Sixth Patriarch, for Huineng appeared to them uncouth and untrained in *Chan*, working all his time as an ordinary labourer at the monastery. Hongren thus decided to send Huineng off secretly and advised him to live a hidden life in his native place in the South until a time was ripe for him to enter upon as patriarch. There is no record of how he spent the next fifteen years.

Liuzu Tanjing The character 'jing' in *Liuzu Tanjing* is the Chinese rendition of the Sanskrit word 'sutra'. In China, all *sutras* are translations, from the Indian languages into Chinese, and worked their way into the Chinese society. The sole exception is *Liuzu Tanjing*, traditionally ascribed to Huineng, though compiled by Fahai.⁶² It is regarded as the only and the greatest Buddhist sacred text of Chinese authorship.

According to a survey done by Yampolsky, it seems almost impossible to overcome the problem of placing *Liuzu Tanjing* chronologically.⁶³ In any case, the oldest version of the *sutra* was discovered in a Dunhuang cave in 1900. Seven years later, adventurer Sir Marc Aurel Stein (1862-1942) brought it to the British Museum. This version contains about eleven-thousand Chinese characters, with many mistakes. A corrected text, divided into fifty-seven sections, is now given in Yampolsky's *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, where he also provided an annotated translation.⁶⁴ He dated this Dunhuang version between A.D. 830 and 860, believing that it represented only a copy of an earlier version.⁶⁵

The materials contained in this Dunhuang text may be classified roughly into five categories: (1) Sections 2-11 recording the autobiography of Huineng; (2) Sections 12-31 and 34-37 containing the doctrines supposedly advocated by Huineng; (3) Sections 37, 39-41 and 48-49 (and some from the autobiography and doctrines sections) representing the material designed (probably during A.D. 780-800) to condemn Northern School of *Chan* and elevate the Southern School; (4) Sections 1,

⁶⁰*Liuzu Tanjing* 2. This early life of Huineng is remarkably similar to that of Kong Zi and Meng Zi who also lost their fathers in their childhood and were brought up by their mothers in poverty.

⁶¹*Liuzu Tanjing* 8 & 42.

⁶²*Liuzu Tanjing* 55 states that the *sutra* was compiled by Fahai, who was then *shangzuo* [the head monk] under Huineng. Fahai must have followed Huineng, recording all the things the latter said when the latter was teaching.

⁶³See Philip B. Yampolsky, "The Making of a Book: *The Platform Sutra*", chap. III of *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, op. cit., pp. 89-110.

⁶⁴Another complete translation and a lengthy discussion of the Dunhuang text is also given in Wing-tsit Chan, trans., *The Platform Scripture: The Basic Classic of Zen Buddhism* (New York: St. John's University Press, 1963). In the latter, the sectioning follows the collated edition by Daisetsu Teitaro Suzuki & Kuda Rentaro, in *Tonko Shutsudo Rokuso Dankyo* [*The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch Uncovered at Dunhuang*] (Tokyo, 1934).

⁶⁵"The Making of a Book: *The Platform Sutra*", op. cit., p. 98. There, he also suggested that some of the materials in the earlier version dates around A.D. 780. Chan—in *The Platform Scripture*, *ibid.*, p. 158—would probably go for even earlier dates, for he dated Fahai's preface to the *sutra* at around A.D. 714.

32, 38, 47 and 55-57 relating to Fahai and his disciples, and emphasising that the *sutra* was a transmitted text; and (5) the remaining Sections 33, 42-46 and 50-54 constituting verses, stories and other miscellaneous additions (probably a later accretion).⁶⁶

Since the Dunhuang version, there have been many editions with many changes. The next similar version, but is not in existence now, is an edition of A.D. 967, compiled by Huixin.⁶⁷ This edition apparently gave rise to two greatly refined Northern Song Dynasty (A.D. 960-1126) editions of 1116 and 1153. Just before the Northern Song editions, another version by Qisong (1007-72), that is also no longer extant,⁶⁸ appeared and later purported to be one of the sources that gave rise to two greatly expanded Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368) editions of 1290 and 1291. The two Yuan editions, published independently, and apparently without reference to each other, are very similar; both divide the text into ten chapters. The edition dated 1291 is later included in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) editions of the Buddhist Canon of 1420-1440 and is called the Ming Canon version. Since then, an even greater number of editions and printings are circulated, especially during the Qing Dynasty (1644-1912). Due to elaboration and interpolation, the later versions are at least twice as long as the Dunhuang text.⁶⁹

3.1.6 Shenhui and Shenhui Yulu [The Recorded Sayings of Shenhui]

Shenhui (A.D. 670-762) Shenhui was one of the most outstanding immediate disciples of Huineng.⁷⁰ An excellent biographical study of Shenhui was taken up by Chinese philosopher and historian Hu Shi (1891-1962)—a student of John Dewey (1859-1952). Hu was so fascinated with the life and career of Shenhui that he, towards the end of his life, returned to the study of Shenhui. This generated a considerable amount of materials about Shenhui, produced by Hu himself and other

⁶⁶For the analysis, reference is made to "Content Analysis", chap. IV of The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch, op. cit., pp. 111-121.

⁶⁷This edition is mentioned in "The Making of a Book: *The Platform Sutra*", op. cit., p. 99, quoting the source from Daisetsu Teitaro Suzuki & Kuda Rentaro, ed., Koshoji Bon Rokuso Dankyo [The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch from Xingsheng Monastery] (Tokyo, 1934), "preface", p. 90. Nothing is known of Huixin except that he was a priest.

⁶⁸See Hu Shi, "Tanjing Kao zi Er" [An Investigation into the Platform Sutra, Pt. 2], originally published in vol. 2 of series 4 of Hu Shi Wencun, now collected in Shenhui Heshang Zhuan [Biography of Priest Shenhui], Hu Shi Zuopin Ji [Collected Works of Hu Shi], bk. 16, published by Wang Rongwen (Taipei: Yuanliu Chuban Shiyue Gufen Youxian Gongsi, 1986; 5th pr., 1994), pp. 173-192.

⁶⁹For a good English translation where the *sutra* is arranged into ten chapters, see The Sixth Patriarch's Dharma Jewel Platform Sutra, commentary by Tripitaka Master Hua (Hong Kong: n.p., 1971; 2d ed., San Francisco: The Sino-American Buddhist Association, 1977), collectively prepared by the Buddhists of the Buddhist text Translation Society of the Sino-American Buddhist Association. Each of its members, many of whom hold Master's and Doctor's degrees, have read the manuscript with care over a period of several years to insure its accuracy. Another translation is given by Lu K'uan Yü (Charles Luk), "The Altar Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch", pt. I of vol. 3 of Ch'an and Zen Teaching, 3 vols. (Maine: Samuel Weiser Inc., 1993), pp. 19-102; where the "Preface by Ch'an Master Fa Hai" is also given, on pp. 15-18.

⁷⁰In Japanese, Shenhui's name is Katakū Jinne, according to Ernest Wood, Zen Dictionary (New York: Penguin Books, 1957; repr., 1984), s.v. "Shen-hui", p. 95.

scholars in Japan and the West. The following is my extraction (with adaptation) from Hu's biographical study of Shenhui:

Shenhui's surname was Gao. He was born in A.D. 670 in Xiangyang County [in modern Hubei Province]. During his early years, he studied Taoist and Confucian classics before he became aware of Buddhist doctrines. He then entered a monastery near his home. When he was about forty years of age, he left for Mt. Caoxi to be the disciple of Huineng. He stayed until Huineng's death. He then travelled about, not only spreading Huineng's teachings, but also intending to build a new sect of his own. He became very popular and gained many followers since he took up residence in Heze Monastery in Luoyang [in modern North Henan Province]. In A.D. 753, however, he was banished to Jiangxi Province for being too exuberant in his public teaching and because he was accused of "gathering large crowds of people around him and might be suspected of some conspiracy injuries to the interests of the State." A few years later, under a new emperor, he became restored to favour. He remained active until his death in A.D. 762.⁷¹

Shenhui is actually best-known for his successful attack upon the Northern School of *Chan* set up by Shenxiu (to be discussed later), and for his effective protest against the listing of Shenxiu as the succeeding Sixth Patriarch, after Hongren. Later, the name of Huineng was restored to that position, and Shenhui was made the Seventh Patriarch.⁷²

Shenhui Yulu *Chan* under Huineng began to depart from the studying, reciting and expounding of doctrinal *sutras*. It focused, instead, upon the words and deeds of daily human activities. These words and deeds exceeded the confines of traditional Buddhist scripture; gradually demanding a new form of expression to match the new content. Finally, around the time of Shenhui, the use of the term '*yulu*' as a name for the record of sayings of a *Chan*-ic priest emerged, and assumed the status of *sutras*. *Yulu* may take the form of dialogues between the priest and his disciples; may contain oral instructions given by the priest when he had *shangtang* [literally, entered the hall]; or may include poems or short essays written by the priest or his disciples, with or without criticism. As such, *yulu* are very concise and effective in teaching. As Yanagida Seizan put it, "Such a record would constitute a 'handle' by which its readers could grasp the truth."⁷³

The *yulu* of Shenhui are contained in numerous manuscripts unearthed from the Dunhuang Caves. Many of these are now lost. Several, however, were re-

⁷¹My extraction and translation are based on Hu Shi, "Heze Dashi Shenhui Zhuan" [Biography of Shenhui—Master of Heze Monastery], originally published in vol. 2 of series 4 of *Hu Shi Wencun*, now collected in *Shenhui Heshang Zhuan*, op. cit., pp. 109-156; and on Hu Shi, ed., *Shenhui Heshang Yiji* [Surviving Works of Priest Shenhui] (Shanghai: Yadong Tushuguan, 1930); pp. 1-90. The date of Shenhui's death is variously given. Hu Shi had finally established the correct date as A.D. 762, in his "Xinjiaoding de Dunhuang Xieben Shenhui Heshang Yizhu Liangzhong" [Two Newly Edited Texts of Ch'an Master Shen-hui from the Pelliot Collection of tun-huang Manuscript at the bibliothèque nationale in Paris], *Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Lishi Yuyan Yanjiusuo Jikan* [Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology (Academia Sinica)] XXIX, pt. 2 (November 1958), p. 875. (Translated titles are original.)

⁷²Hu Shih [Hu Shi], "Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism in China: Its History and Method", *Philosophy East and West: A Journal of Oriental and Comparative Thought* III, no. 1 (April 1953), pp. 9 & 11. See also Hu Shih, "Development of Zen Buddhism in China", *The Chinese Social and Political Science Review* XV, no. 4 (January, 1932), p. 700.

⁷³Yanagida Seizan, "The 'Recorded Sayings' Texts of Chinese Ch'an Buddhism", trans. John R. McRae, in *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet*, ed. Whalen Lai & Lewis R. Lancaster, Buddhist Studies Series 5 (Berkeley: University of California, 1983), p. 189.

discovered by Hu among the Dunhuang documents collected at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and the British Museum in London.⁷⁴ He first published his findings in *Shenhui Heshang Yiji* [Surviving Works of Priest Shenhui], in which contains four fragmentary texts under the title *Shenhui Yulu*. Hu's collection was later completely translated into French, and certain selections were rendered into English.⁷⁵ A series of Japanese versions followed. Hu later collated further, based on new findings, and published "Xinjiaoding de Dunhuang Xieben Shenhui Heshang Yizhu Liangzhong" [Two Newly Verified Versions of the Dunhuang Manuscripts of Surviving Texts of Priest Shenhui] and "Shenhui Heshang Yulu de Disange Dunhuang Xieben" [A Third Dunhuang Manuscript of Recorded Sayings of Priest Shenhui].⁷⁶

In examining *Shenhui Yulu*, it is ironic to find that Shenhui's criticism of the Northern School and the conflict initiated by him to appear less prominent than those in *Liuzu Tanjing*.⁷⁷ It is also easy to reveal that there are obvious similarities in thought and concepts as in the doctrines found in *Liuzu Tanjing*. The wording used in the identification of *ding* [literally calmness, which can be taken to mean concentration] and *hui* [wisdom, as a Chinese interpretation of the Sanskrit term *prajna*] in *Shenhui Yulu*, for instance, is almost identical as that in *Liuzu Tanjing*.⁷⁸ The passage illustrating the relationship between the two concepts of *ding* and *hui* is also almost identical in both works.⁷⁹ Elsewhere in *Shenhui Yulu*, on the concept of *sanmei* [Chinese phonetic rendering of the Sanskrit term *samadhi*, which can be taken to mean contemplation], some passages are almost identical with those in *Liuzu Tanjing*.⁸⁰ Furthermore, in *Shenhui Yulu*, a passage regarding the arising of *nian* [thoughts] from *xing* [self-nature],⁸¹ and another on Buddha and sentient being,⁸² are very similar, though the wording differs, to those in *Liuzu Tanjing*. A verse in *Shenhui Yulu* beginning with the comparison of the concepts of *shuotong* [proficiency in advocating] and *zongtong* [proficiency in the doctrine] to *yue* [the moon] and *xukong* [empty space], is also similar to that in *Liuzu Tanjing*, where *shuotong* and *xintong*

⁷⁴Hu Shi, "Hawai Dushu Zaji" [Miscellanies Jotted while Studying Overseas], originally published in vol. 4 of series 3 of *Hu Shi Wencun*, now collected in *Hawai Dushu Zaji* [Miscellanies Jotted while Studying Overseas], *Hu Shi Zuopin Ji* [Collected Works of Hu Shi], bk. 12, published by Wang Rongwen (Taipei: Yuanliu Chuban Shiyue Gufen Youxian Gongsi, 1986; 4th pr., 1994), p. 533.

⁷⁵For the partial English translation, see Wing-tsit Chan, trans. & comp., "The Zen (Ch'an) School of Sudden Enlightenment", chap. 26 of *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, op. cit., pp. 440-44.

⁷⁶See "Xinjiaoding de Dunhuang Xieben Shenhui Heshang Yizhu Liangzhong", op. cit.; and Hu Shi, ed., "Shenhui Heshang Yulu de Disange Dunhuang Xieben" [A Third Tun-huang Text of the Discourses of the Monk Shen-hui with its Original Title "Nanyang Ho-shang Wen-ta Tsa Cheng I" Collected by Liu Ch'eng], *Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Lishi Yuyan Yanjiusuo Jikan*, op. cit., outer vol. 4, no. 1 (July 1960), pp. 1-31.

⁷⁷Shen Hui's criticisms of the Northern School are found almost everywhere in *Shenhui Heshang Yiji*, op. cit. Places where the criticism is especially strong are found in pp. 133-4, 137, 288 & 289. Cf. *Liuzu Tanjing* 5-11, 14, 16-18, 24-25, 37, 39-41 & 48-49.

⁷⁸Ibid., pp. 128-29 & 138, and "Xinjiaoding de Dunhuang Xieben Shenhui Heshang Yizhu Liangzhong", op. cit., p. 833; cf. *Liuzu Tanjing* 13.

⁷⁹See "Xinjiaoding de Dunhuang Xieben Shenhui Heshang Yizhu Liangzhong", ibid., p. 833; cf. *Liuzu Tanjing* 15.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 852, and *Shenhui Heshang Yiji*, op. cit., pp. 97 & 117; cf. *Liuzu Tanjing* 14.

⁸¹See *Shenhui Heshang Yiji*, ibid., p. 130; cf. *Liuzu Tanjing* 17.

⁸²Ibid., p. 124; cf. *Liuzu Tanjing* 30.

[proficiency of the mind] are used and compared to *ri* [the sun] and *xukong*.⁸³ In the passage on *Mahaprajna Paramita [Sutra]*, concepts are expressed in almost identical wording as that in *Liuzu Tanjing*.⁸⁴ The story on the meeting of Bodhidharma and [Liang] Wu Di in *Shenhui Yulu* also appeared in *Liuzu Tanjing*.⁸⁵

Due to these similarities, Hu initially believed that Shenhui was the author of *Liuzu Tanjing*.⁸⁶ He later modified his opinion to suggest that it was composed by a follower of Shenhui's school,⁸⁷ in contrary to the earlier belief that it was composed by Fahai (one of Huineng's immediate disciples). Nevertheless, *Liuzu Tanjing* remained to be interpreted as representing the true sayings of Huineng during the course of its many editions.

⁸³Ibid., p. 158; cf. *Liuzu Tanjing* 36.

⁸⁴Ibid., pp. 180-81; cf. *Liuzu Tanjing* 26.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 160; cf. *Liuzu Tanjing* 34.

⁸⁶"*Heze Dashi Shenhui Zhuan*", op. cit., p. 149. On pp. 149-156, he gave some evidences to support his claim.

⁸⁷"Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism in China, Its History and Method", op. cit., p. 11.

3.2 Shitao and Others

3.2.1 Shitao and Kugua Heshang Huayu Lu [The Record of Monk Bitter-Gourd's Discourse on Painting]

Shitao (1642-ca. 1718) Born in Guilin in Guangxi Province, Shitao's original name was Zhu Ruoji, indicating his descent from the imperial Zhu family of the Ming Dynasty. When he was just five years old, he was made a *Chan*-ic monk, with given name Yuanji (which can be taken to mean 'the Beginning of Salvation')—that was passed down as Daoji (which means 'the *Dao* [Way] of Salvation'), a respectful form of address from his followers. He adopted Shitao, which means 'Stone Wave' literally, as his *zi*.⁸⁸ Shitao later became his best-known epithet, though he also had more than twenty *hao* [nicknames]. At around fifty years old, he discarded his *Chan*-ic robe and assumed the role of a Taoist priest. He took Dadizi [The Thoroughly Cleansed] as his *hao* to signify purification of all the accumulated filth of worldliness from the political embroilment with which *Chan*-ism had become associated.⁸⁹ He spent his late years in Yangzhou in Jiangsu Province and called himself Xiazunzhe [The Blind Abbot]. When asked why he considered himself 'blind' although he still had good eyesight, he replied, "This pair of eyes cannot see money when it is there, which everybody sees clearly. Am I not blind?"⁹⁰ He also called himself Kugua Heshang [Monk Bitter-Gourd], which he used as a literary name.

Kugua Heshang Huayu Lu Besides being an outstanding individualist painter, Shitao was also a revolutionary art theoretician. His best-known writing is an essay entitled Kugua Heshang Huayu Lu, that is generally believed to have been written around 1700.⁹¹ Lin Yutang called it "An Expressionist Credo" and regarded it as "the best and deepest essay on art written by a revolutionary artist."⁹² He wrote, "It is completely original and shows a psychological insight into the process of artistic creation not found elsewhere in Chinese literature . . . [and] of all Chinese essays on art, this is the most profound ever written, both as regards content and style."⁹³ This essay—divided into eighteen chapters—is indeed one of the most extraordinary contributions to the discussions of the theory and practice of painting.⁹⁴

⁸⁸Zhongguo Meishu Cidian [Dictionary of Chinese Fine Arts], 1987 ed., s.v. "Yuanji", p. 96.

⁸⁹Earle Jerome Coleman, Philosophy of Painting by Shih-T'ao: A Translation and Exposition of His Hua-P'u (Treatise on the Philosophy of Painting) (The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1978), p. 28. There, Coleman translated Dadizi as "the Pure One".

⁹⁰Quoted in Lin Yutang, The Chinese Theory of Art: Translations from the Masters of Chinese Art (London: William Heinemann, 1967), p. 139.

⁹¹Philosophy of Painting by Shih-T'ao, op. cit., p. 29. Lin—*ibid.*, p. 140—however, dated it around 1600; and Tao Mingjun—in Zhongguo Hualun Cidian [Dictionary of Chinese Painting Theory] (Changsha: Hunan Chubanshe, 1993), p. 305—dated it around 1660.

⁹²The Chinese Theory of Art, op. cit., p. 137.

⁹³*Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁹⁴Kugua Heshang Huayu Lu has been collected in Yu Anlan, ed., Hualun Congkan, shang xia liang juan [Series of Publications on Theory of Painting, 2 vols.] ([Beijing: Renmin Meishu Chubanshe, 1937 in 1 vol.;

Kugua Heshang Huayu Lu is written in terms that result in evasive problems of interpretation and translation. As Lin put it, "In style, it is archaically beautiful, terse and taut with meaning, and very difficult to render into English."⁹⁵ As early as 1936, however, Osvald Sirén had attempted to translate it partially.⁹⁶ Part of this material was revised by him twenty years later.⁹⁷ Unfortunately, his translations are incomplete, with more than half of Shitao's original essay omitted. Lin, who regarded the omitted portion as "quite significant",⁹⁸ offered a complete translation a decade later.⁹⁹ Philosophy scholar Earle Jerome Coleman, who labelled Sirén's translation as "highly literal" and that of Lin "highly literary", provided yet another rendition and exposition but based on another version of the much more widely circulated *Huayu Lu*. Coleman based on *Huapu* [*Treatise on Painting*], which is a shorter edition (but not a condensed version) dated 1710, characterised by the omission of redundant passages.¹⁰⁰ Coleman has also supplied a chapter by chapter analysis and commentary.

1960 in 2 vols.; repr., 1989]; Taipei: Huazheng Shuju, 1984), vol. 1, pp. 146-158; and in Yu Kun, ed., *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian, shang juan, xia juan* [*The Theory of Chinese Painting by Categories*, 2 vols.] ([Beijing: Zhongguo Gudian Yishu Chubanshe, 1957]; Taipei: Huazheng Shuju, 1984), vol. 1, pp. 147-162.

⁹⁵*The Chinese Theory of Art*, op. cit., p. 140.

⁹⁶See Sirén, *The Chinese on the Art of Painting: Translations and Comments* ([Beijing]: Henri Vetch, 1936; New York: Schocken Books, 1963; 4th pr., 1971), pp. 182-192.

⁹⁷See Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*, 7 vols. (London: Lund, Humphries, 1956-58; New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1958), vol. V, pp. 171-72.

⁹⁸*The Chinese Theory of Art*, op. cit., p. 149.

⁹⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 140-156.

¹⁰⁰*Huapu* was discovered as a hand-written version (believed to be by Shitao's own hand) engraved at Dadi Tang [The Hall of Dadizi], Shitao's home.

3.2.2 Other Chinese Painters, Calligraphers, Critics and Authors of Treatises on Chinese Painting

Key

HC

Yu Anlan, ed., *Hualun Congkan, shang xia liang juan* [Series of Publications on Theory of Painting, 2 vols.] ([Beijing: Renmin Meishu Chubanshe, 1937 in 1 vol.; 1960 in 2 vols.; repr., 1989]; Taipei: Huazheng Shuju Youxian Gongsi, 1984).

MC

Huang Binhong and Deng Shi, comps., *Meishu Congshu, 3 ce* [Series of Books on Fine Art, 3 vols.] (Shanghai: Shenzhou Guoguang She, 1911-36 in 4 vols., 160 bks.; rev. ed., 1947; Jiangsu Guji Chubanshe, 1986 in 3 vols.).

ZHL

Yu Kun [Yu Jianhua], ed., *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian, shang juan, xia juan* [The Theory of Chinese Painting by Categories, 2 vols.] ([Beijing: Zhongguo Gudian Yishu Chubanshe, 1957]; Taipei: Huazheng Shuju Youxian Gongsi, 1984).

Brief Biographies¹⁰¹

Deng Chun (fl. ca. 1167). He is the author of *Hua Ji* [The Continuation of Guo Ruoxu's *Tuhua Jianwen Zhi*] in 10 *juan* [bks.], containing the biographies of artists active from 1075 to 1167 and paintings of that period arranged by divisions of social status and subject matter, as well as anecdotes about the past state of the art. *Hua Ji* has been reprinted in Huang Miaozi, ed., *Hua Ji, Hua Ji Buyi* [*Hua Ji* and A Supplement to *Hua Ji*], *Zhongguo Meishu Lunzhu Congkan* [Series of Publications on Art Treatises of China] (Beijing: Renmin Meishu Chubanshe, 1963; repr., 1983). Part of the text has also been edited in ZHL, vol. 1, pp. 75-83. For an English translation of bks. 9 and 10 of *Hua Ji*, with original texts included, see Robert J. Maeda, *Two Sung Texts on Chinese Painting and the Landscape Styles of the 11th and 12th Centuries*, A Garland Series: Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1978), pp. 85-118.

Ding Bai (fl. ca. 1800). He was an expert in portrait painting during the Qing Dynasty. He is attributed to be the author of *Xiezhen Mijue* [The Secrets of Portrait Painting], which has been edited in ZHL, vol. 1, pp. 544-69.

Dong Qichang (1555-1637). He was a highly celebrated calligrapher, a landscape painter, writer and connoisseur of art during the Ming Dynasty. He was considered as the greatest authority in questions of art, a distinction evidently based on his wide learning and technical virtuosity rather than on original creative genius. Writings attributed to him include *Hua Zhi* [The Decree on Painting], *Hua Yan* [The Key Points on the Study and Methods of Painting] and *Huachan Shi Suibi* [Some Casual Writings from Huachan Room]. The latter contains not only notes on painting but also special chapters on calligraphy, travels, Chan-ism [Zen Buddhism] and other subjects treated both in prose and poetry. Dong's own contributions to these writings are

¹⁰¹Edited and compiled from various sources including: (1) 'Zuojia Shilüe' [Brief Biography of Authors], in HC, vol. 1, pp. 1-24; (2) ZHL; (3) *Zhongguo Meishu Cidian*, op. cit.; and (4) 'Biographies of Painters, Critics, and Calligraphers', in Susan Bush & Hsio-yen Shih, eds. & comps., *Early Chinese Texts on Painting* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), pp. 291-351. All the entries have been referred to in the text or footnotes of my thesis.

mainly colophons, written in praise of paintings and artists, and technical observations or professional advice to students of painting. The rest are made up of textual loans from other writers such as Zhao Xigu (q.v.), Mo Shilong (1539-87) and Chen Jiru (1558-1639). Because of this mess, it is sometimes immaterial which of the publications is chosen as a source for Dong's main utterances on painting. *Hua Zhi*, *Hua Yan* and *Huachan Shi Suibi* have all been edited in ZHL, vol. 2, pp. 720-731. *Hua Yan* has also been reprinted in MC, vol. 1, pp. 126-135; and *Hua Zhi* collected in HC, vol. 1, pp. 70-105.

Fang Xun (1736-99). A poet and landscape painter, he turned to painting plum-blossom flowers, bamboos, pines and rocks in his later year. He is also a voluminous writer and is attributed to be the author of *Shanjingju Hualun* [Theory of Painting from the Abode of the Quiet Mountains] in 2 *juan* [bks.]. It has been collected in HC, vol. 2, pp. 433-466; and edited in ZHL, vol. 1, pp. 229-244, 540-41; vol. 2, pp. 912-16, 1185-89.

Gu Kaizhi (ca. A.D. 345-406). He was the best-known painter of the Six Dynasties period. His reputation was partially based on the anecdotes recorded of him in early literature, as well as on the paintings and texts attributed to him, including *Lun Hua* [A Discussion on Painting], *Wei Jin Shengliu Hua Zan* [The Eulogies on Famous Paintings of the Wei and Jin Dynasties] and *Hua Yuntaishan Ji* [The Record of Painting Mount Yuntai]. All these texts are subsequently quoted in Zhang Yanyuan (q.v.), ed., *Lidai Minghua Ji* [The Record of Famous Paintings of the Successive Dynasties]; and collected in Yu Jianhua and Luo Shuzi, ed., *Gu Kaizhi Yanjiu Ziliao* [Research Materials for the Study of Gu Kaizhi] (Beijing: Renmin Meishu Chubanshe, 1962). *Wei Jin Shengliu Hua Zan* and *Hua Yuntaishan Ji* have also been edited in ZHL, vol. 1, pp. 347-350, 581-82 respectively. For some English translation and discussion, see Alexander [Coburn] Soper, "Some Technical Terms in the Early Literature of Chinese Painting", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 11 (1948), pp. 167-186.

Gu Ningyuan (1582-1645). He was a landscape painter of the Ming period. He is the author of *Hua Yin* [A Guide to Painting] in 3 *juan* [bks.] which has been reprinted in MC, vol. 1, pp. 194-95; collected in HC, vol. 1, pp. 141-45; and edited in ZHL, vol. 1, pp. 118-120.

Guo Ruoxu (fl. ca. 1070-80). He was one of the famous artist-scholar-critics of the Song Dynasty. He is best known as the author of *Tuhua Jianwen Zhi* [The Record of Things Seen and Heard about Chinese Paintings] that records in 6 *juan* [bks.] incidents and biographies of artist from A.D. 841 through 1074. The text has been collected in Huang Miaozi, ed., *Tuhua Jianwen Zhi, Zhongguo Meishu Lunzhu Congkan* [Series of Publications on Art Treatises of China] (Beijing: Renmin Meishu Chubanshe, 1963; repr., 1983); and bk. 1 is edited in ZHL, vol. 1, pp. 52-63. For an English translation of the whole text, with detailed notes and a version of the complete Chinese text, see Alexander Coburn Soper, trans. and annotator, *Kuo Jo-Hsü's Experiences in Painting (T'u-Hua Chien-Wên Chih): An Eleventh Century History of Chinese Painting, Together with the Chinese Text in Facsimile*, American Council of Learned Societies: Studies in Chinese and Related Civilizations, no. 6 (Washington: American Council of Learned Societies, 1951).

Guo Xi (1023-ca. 1085). He is known for his large-scale screens and murals in palace halls and temples. He adopted a Taoist approach to nature when he wrote some notes on painting, that were edited and compiled into a painting manual, entitled *Lin Quan Gaozhi* [High Inspiration in the Woods and the Springs], by his son Guo Si (fl. ca. 1110-17). It consists of landscape and painting techniques in 6 *pian* [chaps.]; the second and fourth with Guo Si's comments, the fifth and sixth added by Guo Si. The whole work has been collected in HC, vol. 1, pp. 16-32; edited in ZHL, vol. 1, pp. 631-650; and later in Zhang Anzhi, ed., *Guo Xi* (Shanghai: Renmin Meishu

Chubanshe, 1963). For an English translation, see Shio Sakanishi, trans., Lin Ch'üan Kao Chih: An Essay on Landscape Painting (London: John Murray, 1959).

Han Zhuo (fl. ca. 1095-1125). He is the author of Shanshui Chunquan Ji [Chunquan's Collection on Landscape], the title of which is named after his *zi* [a style or name taken at the age of twenty], which is Chunquan. This is a piece of treatise on landscape painting that is dated to 1121. It has been reprinted in MC, vol. 2, pp. 1123-30; collected in HC, vol. 1, pp. 33-51; and edited in ZHL, vol. 2, pp. 659-683. For an English translation, see Robert J. Maeda, Two Sung Texts on Chinese Painting and the Landscape Styles of the 11th and 12th Centuries, A Garland Series: Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1978), pp. 9-71.

Hua Lin (fl. ca. 1840). As a painter, he left behind no painting, for he destroyed them all. However, his Nanzong Juemi, [The Secrets of the Southern School of Landscape Painting], a work discussing the methods of painting landscape (mostly in the usage of the brush and ink) of the Southern School of Landscape Painting, has been passed down. It is now edited in ZHL, vol. 1, pp. 290-303.

Huang Gongwang (1269-1354). He was a leading *wenren shanshui* [literati landscape] painter. As one of Yuan Si Jia [The Four Master Painters of the Yuan Dynasty] along with Wu Zhen (1280-1354), Ni Zan (1306-74) and Wang Meng (ca. 1308-85), he is usually honoured as the father of landscape painting of the Ming and Qing Dynasties. His paintings are characterised by the use of dry brush, depicting scenes of smooth, rockless mountains with simplified and straightforward brushwork. He later interested in syncretic Chinese philosophy. Although by temperament a recluse, he had disciples and associated with several well-known poets and painters. His notes on painting technique were published as Xie Shanshui Jue [The Secrets of Painting Landscape]. It has been collected in HC, vol. 1, pp. 55-58; and edited in ZHL, vol. 2, pp. 696-701.

Huang Tingjian (1045-1105). He was a poet and calligrapher of the Northern Song Dynasty. He is best known as one of Song Si Jia [The Four Great Calligraphers of Song Dynasty] along with Su Shi (q.v.), Cai Xiang (1012-67) and Mi Fei (1051-1107). Huang is noted for his *caoshu* [a style of Chinese calligraphy that can be considered as the Chinese equivalent to cursive hand and tachygraphy]. His poetic principles have a modern cast, since he emphasised the creative reworking of earlier literary materials. As a connoisseur of painting, he wrote many poems and colophons on his friends' scrolls of painting. He was also very interested in *Chan-ism* [Zen Buddhism].

Huang Xiufu (fl. ca. 1006). He travelled much, studied Taoist alchemy and pharmacology, and was good at calligraphy. A painter himself who painted in the manner of Gu Kaizhi (q.v.) and Lu Tanwei (q.v.), he recorded his impressions of the painters of Shu, active from A.D. 758 to ca. 965, in Yizhou Minghua Lu [The Record of Famous Paintings of Yizhou], published around 1006. Part of it is edited as Si Ge [The Four Classes of Painters] in ZHL, vol. 1, pp. 405-7.

Jing Hao (ca. A.D. 870-930). He was the most famous landscape painter as well as a Confucian scholar of the early Five Dynasties period. He described his approach to painting pines in Bifa Ji [Some Notes on the Art of the Brush], alternatively entitled Hua Shanshui Lu [The Record of Painting Landscape], that appeared as supplement to his Hua Shanshui Fu [Poems on Painting Landscape]. In Bifa Ji, he set forth his *Liu Yao* [The Six Important Fundamentals] in painting. The work was probably put together in the 11th century and it consists partly of description of certain grand mountain sceneries and old pine-trees, and partly of a dialogue between an old sage and a young painter who takes the role of the writer of the book. The text has been collected in HC, vol. 1, pp. 6-12; and edited in ZHL, vol. 1, pp. 605-15. For an English translation, see Kiyohiko Munakata, "Ching Hao's 'Pi-fa chi': A Note on the

Art of the Brush", *Artibus Asiae*, Supplementum 31 (1974).

Li Cheng (A.D. 919-967). He is said to have had a classical education and to have been an able musician and writer. He later turned to landscape painting. Together with Guo Xi (q.v.), their tradition of landscape painting later came to be known as the Li-Guo tradition—associated with the depiction of the harsh and arid landscape north of Yangzi River. He is attributed to be the author of *Shanshui Jue* [*The Secrets of Landscape*] that consists of a discussion of the layout of landscape elements and of proper application of brushwork and ink wash, and a series of disjointed notes characterising individual motifs in concrete terms. The work has been collected in HC, vol. 1, pp. 13-15; and edited in ZHL, vol. 1, pp. 616-19.

Li Chengsou (b. ca. 1150). Information about his life comes from *Hua Shanshui Jue* [*The Secrets of Painting Landscape*] for which he wrote at least the preface and the epilogue, dated 1221. It has been reprinted in MC, vol. 2, pp. 1847-49; and edited in ZHL, vol. 1, pp. 620-24.

Li Keran (1907-89). He is particularly noted for his landscape paintings and the paintings of buffaloes. He has been regarded as "the reformer of Chinese landscape painting" by Zhang Ding in "Shanshui Hua de Gexinjia—Li Keran" [Li Keran—the Reformer of Chinese Landscape Painting], *Renmin Huabao* [People's Pictorial], no. 10 (1979). Li's work has also been recognised, in *Meishu* [Art Monthly], no. 10 (1990), p. 4, as a milestone in the history of twentieth-century Chinese painting. His theory on painting and art has been collected in Wang Zuo, ed., *Li Keran Hualun* [Li Keran's Theory on Painting] (Guangdong: Gaodeng Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 1992); and in *Zhongguo Hua Yanjiuyuan* [The Research Institute of Chinese Painting], ed., *Li Keran Lun Yishu* [Li Keran on Art] (Beijing: Renmin Meishu Chubanshe, 1990).

Li Rihua (1565-1635). He was a famous writer and painter in the Ming period. His writings include *Zhulan Huaying* [*Zhulan's Poetry on Paintings*] in 2 *juan* [bks.], entitled after his Taoist name, Zhulan. This work contains mostly poetic colophons composed for paintings by Yuan and Ming Painters (collected by Li's son). *Zhulan Huaying* has been reprinted in MC, vol. 1, pp. 746-772.

Liu Daochun (fl. ca. 1059). He is attributed to be the author of *Songchao Minghua Ping* [*The Critique of Famous Paintings of the Song Dynasty*] in 3 *juan* [bks.] where he set forth his *Liu Yao Liu Chang* [The Six Essentials and the Six Merits] in painting. Originally known as *Shengchao Minghua Ping* [*The Critique of Famous Paintings of the Imperial Dynasty*], the treatise also includes one hundred and ten entries of Northern Song painters, divided into six categories of subject matter, each with three classifications representing three grades. It has been edited in ZHL, vol. 1, pp. 408-19.

Lu Tanwei (d. ca. A.D. 485). He was one of the most celebrated pre-Tang painters who is said to have adapted Wang Xianzhi (q.v.)'s *yibi* [one-brush-stroke, literally] method of calligraphy to producing *yibi hua* [Chinese paintings in the manner of *yibi*].

Ma Yuan (fl. ca. 1190-1225). He was the most famous painter of his family. Together with Xia Gui (ca. 1180-1230), they co-founded the so-called Ma-Xia School of Landscape Painting. They were both born in Jiangnan—the area near the mouth of the Yangzi River where the scenery is usually veiled in clouds and mist. They felt that the previous painting techniques of the northern Li-Guo tradition, originated by Li Cheng (q.v.) and Guo Xi (q.v.), were inappropriate for the natural scenery of Jiangnan. Therefore in addition to Li-Guo brushwork, they also utilised the ink work of Dong Yuan (fl. ca. 937-962), Juran (fl. ca. 960-980) and Mi Fei (1051-1107). Their compositional design also changed. They painted only in one corner and on the half side, resulting in asymmetrical compositions, so much so that they are popularly known as *Ma Yijiao* [One-corner Ma] and *Xia Banbian* [Half-side Xia] respectively.

Rao Ziran (fl. ca. 1340). He is the author of *Huizong Shi'er Ji* [The Twelve Things to Avoid in Painting Tradition], on techniques of landscape painting in 1 *juan* [bk.]. Although formulated from a negative point of view and devoted particularly to the faults of painting, the essay conveys an idea of what was considered as the greatest importance to a Chinese painting artist. The text has been collected in Deng Yizhi, ed., *Huizong Shi'er Ji* (Beijing: Renmin Meishu Chubanshe, 1959); in HC, vol. 1, pp. 52-54; and edited in ZHL, vol. 2, pp. 691-95. The list of the twelve things to be avoided can also be found in Wang Gai (q.v.), Wang Shi and Wang Nie, eds. and comps., *Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan* [The Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting]. For an English translation and a discussion of the list, see Osvald Sirén, *The Chinese on the Art of Painting: Translations and Comments* (New York: Schocken Books Inc., 1963; 4th pr., 1971), pp. 114-18.

Shen Gua (1031-95). He was a noted Song scientist who was also interested in astronomy, topography, the calendar, divination, music and the arts of calligraphy and painting. Between 1086 and 1093, he wrote *Mengxi Bitan* [Some Casual Writings from Mengxi Garden] in 26 *juan* [bks.] that covers a variety of topics including observations on painting. Mengxi was the name of the garden of his retreat. Part of the text has been edited in ZHL, vol. 1, pp. 43-44; and the whole text has also later been edited with annotation in Hu Daojing, ed., *Xinjiaozheng Mengxi Bitan, 2 ji* [The New Version of *Mengxi Bitan*, 2 vols.] (Beijing: Zhonghua Chubanshe, 1959).

Shen Hao (b. 1586). During his early years, he devoted himself to the study of Buddhism and lived for some years in retirement as a monk. This free mode of living outside official circles contributed to make him little known and esteemed by his contemporaries in spite of his gift as a poet, calligrapher and painter. However, he is known for his works devoted to the history of painting; one of which is *Hua Chen* [The Dust of Painting] in 13 *mu* [chaps.]. In ch. 11, the much propounded question of 'copying' is tersely dismissed with the remark that copies should not be reproductions of pictures in front of the painter but renderings of their ideas. The whole treatise has been collected in HC, vol. 1, pp. 134-140; and edited in ZHL, vol. 2, pp. 770-76.

Shen Zongqian (fl. ca. 1781). He was a painter and connoisseur of art in the Qing period. One of his *hao* [nicknames] is Jiezhou and he is well known for his treatise *Jiezhou Xuehua Bian* [A Compilation Based on Jiezhou's Study of Painting] in 4 *juan* [bks.] with preface dated 1781. This work is the result of his thirty years of study of painting which gives not only the most explicit instructions on technique of painting, but also deals with the problems of form and style and the psychology of art. The whole treatise has been collected in HC, vol. 1, pp. 322-394. Parts of it have also been edited in ZHL, vol. 1, pp. 512-539; and vol. 2, pp. 865-911.

Su Shi (1037-1101). He was the greatest Song poet and is now considered as one of *Song Si Jia* [The Four Great Calligraphers of Song Dynasty] along with Cai Xiang (1012-67), Huang Tingjian (q.v.) and Mi Fei (1051-1107). Noted for his exuberant personality and his philosophical detachment, he became a literary model for later generations. His friendship with his cousin Wen Tong (1018-79), a specialist in painting bamboos in Chinese ink, ultimately raised this genre of painting to a literati art with the status of poetry and calligraphy. Some of his writings have been edited as *Dongbo Lun Hua* [Dongbo's Discussion on Painting] in ZHL, vol. 1, pp. 47-51. Dongbo is part of Su's *hao* [nickname], which is *Dongbo Jushi* [Dongbo the Lay Devotee].

Tang Dai (1673-1752). He was a poet-painter of the Qing Dynasty, specialising in landscape painting. He is also well known for his painting theory. The treatise *Huishi Fawei* [Insignificant Utterance on the Art of Painting] is attributed to him. It has been collected in HC, vol. 1, pp. 235-57; and edited in ZHL, vol. 2, pp. 842-64.

Tang Hou (fl. ca. 1322-29). He is attributed to be the author of two texts on art, *Hua*

Jian [The Appraisal on Paintings] that consists of criticism of the paintings of past artists from the Three Kingdoms period to the Yuan Dynasty, and *Gujin Hua Jian* [The Appraisal on Paintings of the Past and Present] that consists of discussion of painting in general. But it is likely that both were originally part of the same book. It refers to Zhao Mengfu (q.v.) and to discussions with Ke Jiusi (1290-1343), which must have taken place in Beijing around 1328. Hence, the book was probably composed about 1320-29. *Gujin Hua Jian* has been reprinted in MC, vol. 2, pp. 1380-90. Another treatise attributed to him is *Hualun* [The Theory of Paintings] that consists of 23 entries on miscellaneous matters of connoisseurship. It has also been reprinted in MC, pp. 1706-9; and collected in HC, vol. 1, pp. 59-64.

Tang Zhiqi (b. 1565). He is attributed to be the author of *Huishi Weiyuan* [A Humble Statement on the Art of Painting] in 4 *juan* [bks.], although only the first book is by him and the rest is actually made up of quotations from earlier writers. Parts of *Huishi Weiyuan* have been reprinted in Wang Yanqi, Sun Yuepan, Song Junye, Wu Rijing and Wang Jinquan, comps., *Peiwen Zhai Shuhua Pu*, 100 *juan* [The Encyclopaedia on Calligraphy and Painting Commissioned by Emperor Kang Xi, 100 vols.], vols. 14 and 16 (n.p., [ca. 1708]; repr., Shanghai: Shaoye Shanfang, 1919). *Huishi Weiyuan* has also been collected in HC, vol. 1, pp. 106-33; and part of it has also been edited in ZHL, vol. 2, pp. 731-749.

Wang Gai (1645-ca. 1710), Wang Shi (d. 1737) and Wang Nie (fl. ca. 1701). They are best known as the editors and compilers of the manual *Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan* [The Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting] that was originally prepared from 1679 to 1701. The complete work consists of 13 *juan* [bks.] arranged in 3 *ji* [vols.], covering landscape, flowers and birds. *Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan* received its title from the name of a small property in Nanjing—the home of the publisher of the manual. Li Yu (1611-80)—an essayist and playwright—who wrote the foreword to vol. 1, apparently acquired a piece of property near the South Gate in Nanjing, a few years before vol. 1 was compiled and published. He built a house and bookstore on it, and called the place Jiezi Yuan [The Mustard Seed Garden]. Vol. 1 was edited and compiled by Wang Gai (1645-ca. 1710) and consisted of 5 bks.—The Fundamentals of Painting; On Trees; On Rocks; On People and Things for Landscape Scene; and 1 bk. of additional plates of examples of landscape painting. This work first appeared in 1679, and constituted the first edition—the original [Emperor] Kang Xi edition. Li Yu, however, contributed only the foreword to this edition. His son-in-law, Shen Xinyou (fl. ca. 1701), who seemed to have been in charge of Jiezi Yuan and who made the arrangements for the manual, may be described as the publisher. In 1701 he reissued vol. 1 along with vols. 2 and 3. Vol. 2 consisted of 4 bks.—On Orchid; On Bamboo; On Plum [Blossom]; and On Chrysanthemum; and vol. 3 consisted of 4 bks.—On Flowering Plants, Grasses and Insects; On Flowering Plants and Feathers-and-Fur [Birds]; and 2 bks. of additional examples. Together, they made up the first complete edition, edited and compiled by Wang Gai and his brothers Wang Shi and Wang Nie. The manual was reprinted later as the [Emperor] Qian Long edition in 1782 and as [Emperor] Jia Qing edition in 1800. In 1818, a short work on figures appeared, purporting to be the last part of the manual. The popularity of the original manual is attested by the large number of its editions and of its innumerable lithographic reprints. The manual has also been translated into Japanese, such as *Zenyaku Kaishien Gaden* by Kosugi Hoan and Koda Rentaro (Tokyo: Atorie-sha, 1935-36) that is a complete translation based on the Kang Xi and Qian Long editions; and into Western language such as French and English. For an English translation, see Mai-mai Sze, ed. and trans. [from the Chinese], *The Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting: Chieh Tzu Yüan Hua Chuan, 1679-1701*, Bollingen Series (New York: Bollingen Foundation Inc., 1956; new hard cover ed., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963; paperback pr., 1977; 8th pr., 1992). Sze's translation is based on the Shanghai edition (1887-88) that is considered to be the earliest edition printed by a lithographic process. This edition and its reprints have been the best copies of the manual available in China in recent years, and thus may be presumed to have been the most widely

used nowadays. For a reprint, see Wang Gai, Wang Shi and Wang Nie, eds. and comps., *Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan*, 3 ji (Beijing: Zhongguo Shudian, 1982; 4th pr., 1986).

Wang Qia (d. A.D. 804). He excelled in splashing ink to paint landscapes, and hence he was popularly known by Wang Mo [or Wang the Ink]—his *hao* [nickname]. Whenever he wished to paint, he would first drink, and when he was drunk, he would splash ink over the silk, kick at it, rub it, sweep it and scrub it, sometimes he also took ink on his hair and tossed it upon the silk, but he would finally make mountains and rocks, clouds and water, according to the forms thus produced.

Wang Wei (A.D. 415-453). His *zi* [a style or name taken at the age of twenty] is Jingxuan. He was famous for his talents in literary composition, music, medicine, geomancy and mathematics, and also noted for his calligraphy and painting. Unfortunately, no painting by him remains. *Xu Hua* [*A Recountal on Painting*], one of his writings, is extant in Zhang Yanyuan (q.v.), ed., *Lidai Minghua Ji* [*The Record of Famous Paintings of the Successive Dynasties*], bk. 2. It has also been edited in ZHL, vol. 1, pp. 585-86; and interpreted in English in Shio Sakanishi, trans., *The Spirit of the Brush: Being the Outlook of Chinese Painters on Nature from Eastern Chin to Five Dynasties A.D. 317-960*, The Wisdom of the East Series, ed. L. Cranmer-Byng and Alan W. Watts (London: John Murray, 1939), pp. 43-45.

Wang Wei (A.D. 701-61). He was admired as a poet, musician and painter from an early age. After the death of his wife he remained single and became a devout Buddhist and adopted Mojie as his *zi* [a style or name taken at the age of twenty]. He was known for landscape in the style of *pomo* [broken-ink, literally] or *shuimo* [water-and-ink], and he also did portraits, pines and rocks, and trees. He was later regarded by Dong Qichang (q.v.) as the founder of the *Nan Zong Shanshui Hua* [Southern School of Landscape Painting]. He is now attributed to be the author of *Huaxue Mijue* [*The Secrets of the Study of Painting*] that deals mainly with landscape painting in 3 pts. The last part is being separated into an independent title as *Shanshui Lun* [*A Discussion on Landscape*]. Both have been collected in *Wang Shi Shuhua Yuan*, 20 juan [*Wang's Selection on Calligraphy and Painting*, 20 vols.], compiled by Wang Shizhen and printed in the Ming Dynasty's Jiaqing reign (1522-67). They have also been collected in Wang Yanqi, Sun Yuepan, Song Junye, Wu Rijing and Wang Jinquan, comps., *Peiwen Zhai Shuhua Pu*, 100 juan [*The Encyclopaedia on Calligraphy and Painting Commissioned by Emperor Kang Xi*, 100 vols.] (N.p., [ca. 1708]; repr., Shanghai: Shaoye Shanfang, 1919), vols. 14 and 16; and in Wang Senran, ed., *Shanshui Jue, Shanshui Lun* [*The Secrets of Landscape, A Discussion on Landscape*] (Beijing: Renmin Meishu Chubanshe, 1959). *Shanshui Lun* has also been edited in ZHL, vol. 1, pp. 596-602.

Wang Xianzhi (A.D. 344-388). He is known for his *caoshu* [a style of Chinese calligraphy that can be considered as the Chinese equivalent to cursive hand and tachygraphy] and *kaishu* [a style of Chinese calligraphy generally referred to as regular script], although in calligraphy, he never equalled his father Wang Xizhi (A.D. 309-ca. 365), who is one of the best-known Chinese calligraphers. Wang Xianzhi is also known for his *yibi shu* [*caoshu* in *yibi* manner, which is done with a continuous stroke without a break or separation between the columns, and usually, the first word of a column connects with the last of the previous column].

Wang Yu (1714-48). He adopted many *hao* [nicknames]; one of which is Dongzhuang. He is the author of *Dongzhuang Lun Hua* [*Dongzhuang's Discussion on Painting*] where he set forth his *Liu Chang* [The Six Credits] in painting. This treatise has been collected in HC, vol. 1, pp. 258-262; and edited in ZHL, vol. 1, pp. 187-191.

Wang Yuanqi (ca. 1642-1715). He was the grandson of Wang Shimin (1592-1680), and together with Wang Jian (1598-1677) and Wang Hui (1632-1717), they are known as *Si Wang* [The Four Wang's] of Qing painters. Wang Yuanqi was a

landscape painter and art theoretician. Unlike many of his contemporaries, he never slavishly imitated earlier masters but tried to introduce a greater realism into his landscape studies. Some of his writings were later compiled by some of his followers into a short essay entitled *Yuchuang Manbi* [Scattered Notes at a Rainy Window] in 1 *juan* [bk.]. It has been collected in HC, vol. 1, pp. 206-9; and edited in ZHL, vol. 1, pp. 169-173.

Wu Daozi (ca. A.D. 685-758). Acclaimed by later generations as *Huasheng* [The Sage-Painter], he was the most famous muralist of the Tang Dynasty, particularly noted for his calligraphic treatment of Buddhist and Taoist subjects. He is also known as the founder of *xieyi hua* [Chinese painting done in the style of *xieyi*].

Wu Guanzhong (b. 1919). He is recognised as the leader of modern Chinese painting both in theory and in practice. To many young artists, he is their leader who appeared virtually as the only one who could bridge the gap between the traditional ideas in China and the new trends in Europe and America, when the end of Cultural Revolution in 1976 brought new freedom and contemporary artistic ideas from the West. In painting, although he is never interested in pure abstraction, he certainly does not neglect the latent potentialities of European ideas of abstract sublime and uses them to the most successful extent in his line brushwork governed by his philosophy of '*fengzheng bu duan xian* [literally, kite with unbroken string]'. His philosophy has also been implicitly explained in his book, *Fengzheng Bu Duan Xian* [Kite with Unbroken String] (Chengdu: Sichuan Meishu Chubanshe, 1985); and in Chen Ruixian, ed., *Yitu Chunqiu: Wu Guanzhong Wenxuan* [Years in Art Journey: A Selection of Wu Guanzhong's Writings] (New Jersey: Global Publishing Co. Inc., 1992), pp. 17-20.

Wu Li (1632-1718). A student of Wang Jian (1598-1677)—Wang Yuanqi (q.v.)'s nephew, he was a landscape painter who was the best known among all the Chinese artists of the seventeenth century who came in contact with the European culture. A native of Zhejiang Province, he grew up in scholarly circles where the French Jesuits had a mission. He got to know them well and he must certainly have seen many European paintings and engravings in the Jesuit mission churches and libraries.

Xia Wenyan (fl. ca. 1365). He was versed in painting and edited a collection of essays compiled from earlier writings on paintings, with his addition of information on contemporary painters, in *Tuhui Baojian* [The Precious Appraisal of Pictures], in 5 *juan* [bks.] with an additional book and supplement by Han Ang in 1519. *Tuhui Baojian* has been collected in Wang Yunwu, ed., *Tuhui Baojian, Renren Wenku* [Library for Everybody] (Taipei [Taipei]: Taiwan Shangwu Yinshuguan Gufen Youxian Gongsi, 1970).

Xie He (fl. ca. A.D. 500-535). He was a fashionable portrait painter. He is now known for his *Gu Huapin Lu* [The Record of the Classification of Ancient Paintings] in which *Liu Fa* [The Six Canons] in painting were first set forth. Its earliest known independent version in 1 *juan* [vol.] appears in a collection called *Wang Shi Shuhua Yuan*, 20 *juan* [Wang's Selection on Calligraphy and Painting, 20 vols.] compiled by Wang Shizhen and printed in the Ming Dynasty's Jiaqing reign (1522-67). It has later been collected in Wang Bomin, ed., *Gu Huapin Lu; Xu Huapin* [Gu Huapin Lu; The Continuation of Gu Huapin Lu] (Beijing: Renmin Meishu Chubanshe, 1959); and edited in ZHL, vol. 1, pp. 355-367. For an English translation, see William Acker, trans., *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts on Chinese Painting*, 2 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954 & 1974), where the original text is also included; or Osvald Sirén, *The Chinese on the Art of Painting: Translations and Comments* (New York: Schocken Books Inc., 1963; 4th pr., 1971), "Appendix I", pp. 219-220.

Yang Weizhen (1296-1370). He was a noted late Yuan poet from a literary family who was later known for his calligraphy and painting. He wrote a *xu* [preface] to Xia

Wenyan (q.v.)'s *Tuhui Baojian* [The Precious Appraisal of Pictures], dated to 1365. Yang's *xu* has been edited in ZHL, vol. 1, pp. 93-94.

Yun Shouping (1633-90). He is known as one of *Qing Liu Jia* [The Six Great Painters of the Qing Dynasty], along with Wu Li (q.v.) and *Si Wang* [The Four Wang's]—Wang Shimin (1592-1680), Wang Jian (1598-1677), Wang Hui (1632-1717) and Wang Yuanqi (q.v.). Prominent as a painter of landscapes and flowers, he wrote many interesting colophones, some of which were collected as *Nantian Huaba* [Nantian's Colophons on Painting]. Nantian is Yun's *hao* [nickname]. The work has been collected in HC, vol. 1, pp. 175-205.

Zhang Geng (1685-1760). He held a more important place as a writer than as a painter in the Qing period. He is best known as author of *Guochao Huazheng Lu* [The Record of A Journey through Paintings of the Dynasty]—a work containing biographies and critical remarks on the Qing painters prior to the Qian Long period—in 5 *juan* [bks.] completed in 1735. He also composed a theoretical essay, *Pushan Lun Hua* [Pushan on Painting]—entitled after his *zi* [a style or name taken at the age of twenty] which is Pushan—in which he briefly epitomised the evolution since the Ming period and discussed the principal aesthetic and technical requirements of the art of painting. *Pushan Lun Hua* has been collected in HC, vol. 1, pp. 269-274; and edited in ZHL, vol. 1, pp. 223-28. For an English translation, see Oswald Sirén, *The Chinese on the Art of Painting: Translations and Comments* (New York: Schocken Books Inc., 1963; 4th pr., 1971), pp. 212-18.

Zhang Shi (fl. ca. 1840). He believed in copying of ancient masters and upheld the advocacy that calligraphy and painting are interlinked. He is attributed to be the author of *Hua Tan* [Talks on Painting] in 1 *juan* [bk.]. It has been collected in HC, vol. 1, pp. 424-432; and edited in ZHL, vol. 1, pp. 304-8; vol. 2, pp. 988-89, 1301.

Zhang Yanyuan (ca. A.D. 815-875). He was the most famous Tang art historian and critic. He is also best known as the editor of *Lidai Minghua Ji* [The Record of Famous Paintings of the Successive Dynasties] in 10 *juan* [bks.] completed in A.D. 847. This work has been collected in Yu Jianhua, ed., *Lidai Minghua Ji* (Shanghai: Renmin Meishu Chubanshe, 1963); and extracts of bks. 1-3 are edited in ZHL, vol. 1, pp. 27-40. For an English translation in part, see William Acker, trans., *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts on Chinese Painting*, 2 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954 & 1974); or Oswald Sirén, *The Chinese on the Art of Painting: Translations and Comments* (New York: Schocken Books Inc., 1963; 4th pr., 1971), "Appendix III", pp. 224-233.

Zhang Zao (fl. ca. A.D. 782). He was the most prominent follower of Wang Wei (A.D. 701-61) (q.v.). He was skillful in his handling of the brush, sometimes painting by holding a (blunt) brush in each hand and using both simultaneously.

Zhao Mengfu (1254-1322). As the foremost representative of conservative traditionalism, he became the most famous calligrapher and painter of the early Yuan Dynasty. His brilliance as a calligrapher is particularly evident in paintings of bamboos and rocks. Some of his writings have been edited as *Songxue Lun Hua* [Songxue's Discussion on Painting] in ZHL, vol. 1, p. 92. Songxue is part of Zhao's *hao* [nickname], which is *songxue Daoren* [Songxue the Taoist].

Zhao Xigu (fl. ca. 1195-1242). He is attributed to be the author of the connoisseur's manual entitled *Dongtian Qinglu Ji* [The Compilation of Pure Earnings in the Realm of Immortals] in 1 *juan* [bk.], on how to appreciate ancient lutes, ancient tools and materials for writing and painting, ancient calligraphy and painting, and other antiquities. The work is believed to be written around 1242 in his retirement. The section on how to appreciate ancient paintings has been edited in ZHL, vol. 1, pp. 86-88.

Zhao Zhi (1082-1135). He reigned as Emperor [Song] Huizong (1101-26) towards the end of the Northern Song Dynasty. He was skilled in both calligraphy and painting. He gave his patronage to men of talent, and his painting academy produced many excellent painters. He was attributed to be the writer of *Yuzhi Xu* [Emperor's Preface] (dated 1120) to *Xuanhe Huapu* [Catalogue of Paintings in the Xuanhe Collection], Xuanhe being the *nianhao* [reign title] adopted in the year 1119. The text of *Xuanhe Huapu* was probably composed by officials of his painting academy. In 20 *juan* [bks.], it is about six thousand three hundred and ninety-six pieces of works in the imperial collection. Two hundred and thirty-one painters are recorded under ten sections on different genres of painting, with social rankings within categories. Part of the text has been edited in ZHL, vol. 2, pp. 658, 1036-39.

Zhao Zuo (fl. ca. 1611-16). He was popular as a landscape painter of the Ming Dynasty and is attributed to be the author of *Wendu Lun Hua* [Wendu's Discussion on Painting], which has been edited in ZHL, vol. 2, pp. 759-760. Wendu is Zhao's *zi* [a style or name taken at the age of twenty].

Zhu Jingxuan (fl. ca. A.D. 840-846). He is the author of *Tangchao Minghua Lu* [The Record of Famous Paintings of the Tang Dynasty], composed around A.D. 840. In the work, he classified one hundred and twenty-four painters of the Tang Dynasty into four classes. The preface has been edited in ZHL, vol. 1, pp. 22-24.

Zong Bing (A.D. 375-443). Towards the end of his life, he is reported to have painted landscapes to be viewed in his room as a substitute for roaming in natural scenery. His *Hua Shanshui Xu* [The Introduction to Painting Landscape] is best preserved in Zhang Yanyuan (q.v.), ed., *Lidai Minghua Ji* [The Record of Famous Paintings of the Successive Dynasties]. It has also been collected in HC, vol. 1, p. 1; and edited in ZHL, vol. 1, pp. 583-84. For an English translation and some comments, see Leon Hurvitz, "Tsong Ping's Comments on Landscape Painting", *Artibus Asiae* XXXII, no. 1 (1970), pp. 146-156; or Susan Bush, "Tsong Ping's Essay on Painting Landscape and the 'Landscape Buddhism' of Mount Lu", in *Theories of the Arts in China*, ed. Susan Bush and Christian Murck (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 132-163.

Zou Yigui (1688-1772). He was best known as a flower painter in the style of *gongbi* [that is characterised by fine brushwork and close attention to detail]. He adopted a *hao* [nickname], Xiaoshan, that he used as part of the title of the treatise he produced. This treatise, *Xiaoshan Huapu* [Xiaoshan's Painting Manual], consists of 2 *juan* [bks.], on almost everything about flower and flower painting, with preface dated 1757. It has been collected in HC, vol. 2, pp. 748-820; and edited in ZHL, vol. 2, pp. 1164-71.

Key

Items under index indicate the locations in the text of the thesis where each entry is referred to.

I:	INTRODUCTION
IA, IB:	Introduction to Part I Section A, B respectively
IIA, IIB:	Introduction to Part II Section A, B respectively
E1, E3, E4, E5, E7, E8:	Epigraph at the beginning of Chapter 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8 respectively
Numbers:	Section number of chapter
C:	CONCLUSION

Hanyu Pinyin	Other Systems of Romanisation or English Translation / Interpretation / Substitute	Index
<i>bai</i>	white	1.2
<i>Bai Jia</i>	Hundred [Philosophical] Schools [of Thoughts]	IA
<i>ban</i>	printing plate, [literally, which can be taken to mean] platelike	3.3
<i>Banruo</i>	[a Chinese transliteration of the Sanskrit term] <i>Prajna</i>	2.3
<i>bao luo wan xiang</i>	all-embracing	IA

<i>Bei</i>	The Northern [School]	5.1
<i>Bei Zong</i>	The Northern School	2.3, 5.1, C
<i>bi</i>	[Chinese] brush	1.1, 4.1, 8.3
<i>Bi</i>	[Refer to Chap. 4.1.1]	4.1, 8.3, C
<i>bianhua</i>	transformation	4.1, 7.3
<i>Bianyi</i>	Variation, [literally; refer to Chap. 4.1.2 for interpretation]	6.1, 6.2, IIB, 7.3, 8.2, 8.3, C
<i>Bianyi Heli</i>	[Refer to Chap. 4.1.2]	4.1, 7.3, C
<i>bifa</i>	the art of the [Chinese] brush	8.1, 8.3, C
<i><u>Bifa Ji</u></i>	<u>Some Notes on the Art of the [Chinese] Brush</u>	3.4, 4.1
<i>bin</i>	guest	3.6, 6.1, 7.3
<i>Bin Zhu</i>	[The Principle of] Guest-Host	3.6, 6.1, 7.3
<i>biqu</i>	<i>Qi</i> in the brush, [literally, which can be interpreted as] individual character or style of brush strokes	3.2, 4.1, 7.1, C
<i>bubu yi</i>	moving step by step	8.3
<i>Buju Bianhua</i>	[Refer to Chap. 4.1.3]	4.1, 6.1, 7.3, C
<i>Bu li wenzi</i>	Not reliant upon the written words	2.3
<i>cai</i>	refinement	7.3, C
<i>cai</i>	colour, [literally, which can also refer to] the gradations of ink tones	1.2
<i>Caihui You Ze</i>	[Refer to Chap. 4.1.2]	3.5, 4.1, 5.2, 6.1, 8.1, C
<i>caimo hua</i>	colour-and-ink [Chinese] painting	3.5
<i><u>Cengyan Congshu Tu</u></i>	<u>Picture of Steep Mountains [and] Deep Forest</u>	5.1
<i>chan</i>	meditation	2.3

<i>Chan</i>	<i>Zen</i>	I, IA, 2.3, 3.2, 3.5, 4.1, IIA, 5.1, 6.1, 6.2, 7.3, 8.3, C
<i>chang</i>	long, [literally, which can be interpreted as] depth	8.3
<i>Cheng</i>	Sincerity	2.3
<i>chuan</i>	to transmit	3.2, 4.1, 7.2, 7.3, 8.3
<i>chuangxin</i>	innovation	5.1, 5.2, IIB, C
<i>Chuanmo</i>	[Refer to Chap. 3.7]	3.7
<i>Chuanmo Yixie</i>	[Refer to Chap. 3.7]	E3, 3.7, 4.1, 5.1, 5.2, 6.1, C
<i>chuan shen</i>	transmitting the [inner] spirit	3.2, 7.2, 7.3, 8.2, C
<i>chuanshen</i>	[when inner spirit is transmitted or captured]	3.2, 7.2, 7.3, C
<i>chuantong</i>	tradition	5.1, 5.2, IIB, C
<i>Culu Qiu Bi</i>	[Refer to Chap. 4.1.2]	4.1, 8.3, C
<i>Da</i>	The Great	2.1
<i>dan</i>	red [colour]	3.5, 4.1, 8.1
<i>dan</i>	light	1.2, 3.5
<i>danqing</i>	painting, [or] to paint	3.5
<i>danse hua</i>	ink-monochrome [Chinese] painting	3.5, 5.1
<i>dao</i>	tell, [which also means] way, principle, [or] <i>tao</i>	2.1, 3.6
<i>Dao</i>	<i>Tao</i> [in Taoist terms], Way [in Confucian terms], Buddhahood [in <i>Chan</i> -ic terms]; [refer to Chap. 2 for interpretation]	1.2, 2.1, 2.2, IB, 3.2, 3.3, 4.1, 4.2, IIA, 5.1, 6.1, 7.1-7.3, 8.1, 8.3, C
<i><u>Dao De Jing</u></i>	<u>The Classic of <i>Tao</i> and Its Power</u>	1.2, 2.1, 4.2, 7.3
<i>Daojia</i>	The Taoist School	IA, 2.1

<i>Daojiao</i>	The Taoist Religion	IA, 2.1
<i>Daoshi</i>	Taoist	2.1
<i>Daqian Shijie</i>	Boundless Universe	5.2
<i>Da Xiao Li Jiangjun</i>	Senior and Junior Generals Li, [referring to Li Sixun (A.D. 653-718) and his son Zhaodao (fl. ca. A.D. 670-730)]	5.1
<i>dazhangfu</i>	the true great man	2.2
<i>De</i>	Perfect Virtue	2.2, 6.1
<i>de xin ying shou</i>	wish at heart comes to hand, [or] heart and hand in accord, [literally, which is almost equivalent to] as clay in the hands of the potter	I, 1.1, 3.3, IIB, C
<i>ding</i>	[a Chinese character that can be taken to mean] 'T-shaped'	E1
<i>Dong</i>	the East	I, IIA, IIB, C
<u><i>Dongzhuang Lun Hua</i></u>	<u>Dongzhuang's Discussion on [Chinese] Painting</u>	3.3, 3.6, 4.1
<i>dun jian</i>	sudden, gradual	2.3
<i>Dunwu</i>	Sudden Enlightenment, [literally; refer to Chap. 2.3.2 for interpretation]	2.3, 3.2, 5.1, 7.1, 7.3, C
<i>er</i>	two	2.2
<i>Er Li</i>	The Two Li's, [referring to Li Sixun (A.D. 653-718) and his son Zhaodao (fl. ca. A.D. 670-730)]	5.1, C
<u><i>Erya</i></u>	[a Chinese lexicon of synonyms compiled between 5th and 4th century B.C.]	3.4
<i>Er Yi</i>	The Two Forms [of <i>Yin</i> and <i>Yang</i>]	E1
<i>fa</i>	method, [literally, which can be taken to mean] canon	IB, 3.1-3.7, 4.1, 7.3
<u><i>Fahua Jing</i></u>	<u><i>Saddharmapundarika Sutra</i></u> , [known in the West as] <u>Lotus Sutra</u>	2.3
<i>fang</i>	to copy [a painting] with own interpretation	3.7
<i>fantou</i>	alum head	8.2

<i>fen</i>	separate	3.6
<i>Fo</i>	Buddha	2.3
<i>Fodao</i>	<i>Dao</i> of <i>Fo</i> , [literally, which can be taken to mean] Buddhahood	2.3
<i>fu</i>	secondary	8.1
<i>fu chen kan jing</i>	whisking away dust to view purity	2.3
<i>fulao</i>	carrying the old on the back	8.2
<i>futu</i>	half-covered with earth	8.2
<i>Gailiang Zhuyi</i>	Reformism	5.1
<i>gan</i>	dry	1.2, 3.5, 4.1, 8.1
<i>gao</i>	high, [literally, which can be interpreted as] loftiness	7.1
<i>gaoyuan</i>	high distance, [literally, which means perspective in height]	8.3
<i>ge</i>	unit	3.6
<i>Gezhi Ju Lao</i>	[Refer to Chap. 4.1.2]	4.1, 6.1, 8.1, C
<i>gongbi</i>	laboured-brush, [literally, a Chinese painting technique characterised by fine and compact brushwork and close attention to detail]	3.5, 4.1, 5.1, 5.2, IIB, C
<i>gongbi hua</i>	[Chinese] painting done in <i>gongbi</i> style, [an opposing style to <i>xieyi</i>]	3.5, 5.1
<i>gu</i>	bone, [literally, and can be used to mean] structural brushwork [in Chinese painting]	3.3
<i>gu</i>	antiquity	4.1
<i>Gu</i>	[literally,] Bones	8.3, C
<i>gua</i>	hang, [literally, and can also signifies] to place upon or overlay	3.4
<u><i>Guangya</i></u>	[a lexicon of synonyms compiled in the third century A.D.]	3.4
<i>Gufa</i>	[Refer to Chap. 3.3]	3.3, 6.1
<i>Gufa Yongbi</i>	[Refer to Chap. 3.3]	E3, 3.2, 3.3, 4.1, 6.1, 8.3, C

<u><i>Gu Huapin Lu</i></u>	<u>The Record of the Classification of Ancient [Chinese] Paintings</u>	E3, 3.1, 3.2, 4.1
<i>Guo Jie</i>	[The Principle of] Pass-Receive	3.6, 4.1
<i>guqi</i>	strength of individual character	1.2, 3.2
<i>Gu zi shi mu</i>	While caring for the child, the mother is neglected	3.6, 8.1
<i>Hai Pai</i>	The Shanghai School of [Chinese] Painting	5.1, 7.3
<i>Haishang Huapai</i>	The Shanghai School of [Chinese] Painting	5.1
<i>hao</i>	nickname	5.2
<i>Haoran zi Qi</i>	the noble spirit, [literally; refer to Chap. 2.2.2 for a Confucian interpretation]	2.2, 5.1, 7.3
<i>he</i>	join	3.6
<i>hei</i>	black, dark	1.2, 3.5, 4.1, 8.1
<i>heli</i>	rational	C
<i>hua</i>	floweriness	3.4
<i>hua</i>	ornamentation, decorative beauty and splendour	3.4
<i>hua</i>	painting, [which can also function as a verb] to paint	1.1, 3.4, 3.5
<i>hua</i>	change, [or] transformation	7.3
<u><i>Hua Ji</i></u>	<u>The Continuation of Guo Ruoxu's <i>Tuhua Jianwen Zhi</i></u>	7.2
<i>huaniao hua</i>	[Chinese] flower-and-bird painting	3.5
<u><i>Hua Shanshui Xu</i></u>	<u>The Introduction to Painting [Chinese] Landscape [Paintings]</u>	5.1
<i>Huasheng</i>	The Sage-Painter	5.1
<u><i>Huizong Shi-er Ji</i></u>	<u>The Twelve Things to Avoid in [Chinese] Painting Tradition</u>	7.3
<i>huo</i>	fire	3.5
<i>ji</i>	the mysterious secret	7.3

<i>ji</i>	volume	E1
<i>jian dun</i>	gradual, sudden	2.3
<i>Jianwu</i>	Gradual Enlightenment	2.3, C
<u><i>Jianxi Jiuyou</i></u>	<u>Reminiscence of Jian River</u>	5.1
<i>Jian xing cheng Fo</i>	Seeing his own nature and becoming a Buddha	2.3, 8.3
<i>Jiao wai biechuan</i>	A special transmission separate from the doctrinal teaching	2.3
<i>jie</i>	knottedness	3.3
<i>jie</i>	be situated between	3.6
<i>jie hua</i>	[Chinese] painting done with [the aid of] a ruler	3.3
<i>jie yi banbo</i>	taking off clothes and sitting with legs splayed	2.1, 3.7
<u><i>Jiezi Yuan Huazhuan</i></u>	<u>The Mustard Seed Garden Manual of [Chinese] Painting</u>	E1, 3.3, 4.1, 4.2, 6.2, 8.1, 8.2
<i>jin</i>	metal	3.5
<i>Jin</i>	[literally,] Tendons	8.3, C
<i>jinbi</i>	gold-and-green	5.1
<i>jing</i>	scene, [or] sight	4.1, 7.3, 8.2, 8.3, C
<i>jing</i>	realm of artistic conception	3.2, 7.3, 8.3, C
<i>jing</i>	calmness	3.2, C
<i>Jing</i>	[Refer to Chap. 4.1.1]	4.1, 7.3
<u><i>Jingang Jing</i></u>	<u>Vajracchedika Sutra</u> , [known in the West as] <u>Diamond Sutra</u>	2.3
<i>jingcai</i>	brilliant	4.1
<i>Jingcai</i>	[Refer to Chap. 4.1.3]	8.1
<i>jingxin</i>	[literally,] stilling the heart	7.1, 8.3, C
<i>Jingying Weizhi</i>	[Refer to Chap. 3.6]	E3, 3.6, 4.1, 8.1, C

<i>Jinshi Pai</i>	The Bronze-and-Stone School, [literally, or] The School of Calligraphic [Chinese] Painting	5.1
<i>jiu</i>	a long time	8.1
<i>ju</i>	chrysanthemum	8.1
<i>juan</i>	book, [or] volume	E1
<i>jue</i>	rhymed formula	3.6
<i>Ju Lao</i>	[Refer to Chap. 4.1.2]	4.1, 8.1
<i>junzi</i>	[originally referring to] the ruler, [but came to acquire the meaning of] the noble gentleman, [or] the morally superior man	2.2, 3.5, 3.6, 4.1, 4.2, IIA, 5.1, 5.2, 6.1, 7.3, 8.1, C
<i>kai</i>	open	3.6
<i>Kai He</i>	[The Principle of] Open-Join	3.6, 4.1, 8.1, 8.2, C
<i>ke</i>	carving	3.3
<i><u>Keji Jingyuan</u></i>	<u>The Mirror of Scientific Discovery</u>	3.5
<i>kewang</i>	may be looked at	8.3
<i>keyou</i>	may be toured	8.3, C
<i>kong</i>	empty space, [or] emptiness [as a Chinese rendition of the Sanskrit term <i>shunyata</i>]	3.6, 7.1
<i>Kongjiao</i>	The Confucian Religion	2.2
<i>Kuangguai</i>	Wild-and-queer-ness, [literally; refer to Chap. 4.1.2 for interpretation]	4.1, 6.1, 6.2, IIB, 7.3, 8.2, 8.3, C
<i>Kuangguai Qiu Li</i>	[Refer to Chap. 4.1.2]	4.1, 7.3, C
<i><u>Kugua Heshang</u></i> <i><u>Huayu Lu</u></i>	<u>The Record of Monk Bitter-Gourd's Discourse on [Chinese] Painting</u>	4.2, 8.1
<i>Kun</i>	the Receptive	1.2, C
<i>kuoyuan</i>	broad distance, [literally, which means perspective when in broadness]	8.3
<i>lanshu</i>	[literally,] overcooked	4.2
<i>lei</i>	kind or type, [literally, which can also assume the meaning of] resemble or cause to resemble	3.4, 3.5

<i>Lengjia jing</i>	<i>Lankavatara Sutra</i>	2.3
<i>li</i>	rite, [or] ritual	1.1
<i>li</i>	[natural] principle, [which can also be interpreted as] inner nature	4.1, 4.2, 7.3, 8.2, C
<i>li</i>	strength, power, [or] structural strength	3.3, 6.1, 8.3
<i>Li</i>	Propriety, [literally; refer to Chap. 2.2.4 for interpretation]	2.2, IB, 4.1, 4.2, 5.1, 5.2, 6.1, 8.1, C
<i>lian dan</i>	the alchemical brewing and distilling of immortality elixirs	3.5
<i>Lidai Minghua Ji</i>	<u>The Record of Famous [Chinese] Paintings of the Successive Dynasties [up to late Tang (ca. A.D. 847)]</u>	3.2, 3.4, 3.5, 7.1
<i>Li Ji</i>	<u>The Record of Rites</u>	1.2
<i>lijing</i>	the realm of the principles	C
<i>lin</i>	to reproduce [a painting] by making a faithful copy from the original [painting] placed before the artist	3.7
<i>ling</i>	soul, [or] spirit	4.1
<i>lingfu</i>	the recesses of the soul	3.2
<i>lingmian</i>	water-chestnut top	8.2
<i>Linian</i>	Detachment-from-Thought	2.3, 4.2, 7.1
<i>Lin Quan Gaozhi</i>	<u>High Inspiration in the Woods and the Springs</u>	IIB
<i>Li Shu</i>	The Book of Calendar	IA
<i>liu</i>	six	1.2, IB
<i>liu cai</i>	six colours	1.2
<i>Liu Chang</i>	The Six Credits [in Chinese Painting]	IB, 3.5, 4.1, C
<i>Liu Fa</i>	The Six Canons [in Chinese Painting]	I, IB, E3, 3.1-3.5, 3.7, E4, 4.1, C
<i>Liu Xiao</i>	The Six Lines [of <i>Yi Jing</i> Hexagrams]	E1

<i>Liu Yao</i>	The Six Important Fundamentals [in Chinese Painting]	IB, 3.2, 3.5, 4.1, C
<i>Liu Yao Liu Chang</i>	The Six Essentials and the Six Merits [in Chinese Painting]	IB, 3.5, 4.1, C
<i>Liu Yi</i>	The Six Artistries	1.1
<i>liu yuan</i>	the six points of view	8.3, C
<i><u>Liuzu Tanjing</u></i>	<u>Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch</u>	2.3
<i>longmai</i>	[literally,] the dragon vein	3.6, 8.1-8.3, C
<i><u>Lun Yu</u></i>	<u>The Analects [of Confucius]</u>	2.2, E5, 8.1
<i><u>Lushan Tu</u></i>	<u>Picture of Mount Lu</u>	IIB, E8, 8.1-8.3, C
<i>mao</i>	hair	1.1
<i>Ma Yijiao</i>	One-corner Ma, [referring to Ma Yuan (fl. ca. 1190-1225)]	4.1
<i><u>Meng Zi</u></i>	<u>[The Book of] Mencius</u>	2.2
<i>mi</i>	meticulous	5.1, C
<i>mianmian kan</i>	viewing from all sides	8.3
<i>miao</i>	to copy [a painting] by tracing	3.7
<i>Mi dian</i>	Mi dots, [referring to the clusters of large and small, dark and light ink dots that Mi Fei (1051-1107) and his son Youren (1074-1153) used in their Chinese landscape painting, not just to depict the leaves of trees and the vegetation covering mountains, but to build up the form of mountains as well]	5.1
<i>ming</i>	destiny	2.2
<i><u>Minghuang Xin Shu Tu</u></i>	<u>Picture of Emperor Tang Xuanzong (A.D. 712-756)'s Journey to Shu [now Sichuan Province]</u>	5.1
<i>Ming Si Jia</i>	The Four Master Painters of the Ming [Dynasty (1368-1644)]	5.1
<i>miyuan</i>	obscure distance, [literally, which means perspective when in obscurity]	8.3

<i>mo</i>	[Chinese] ink, [which also refers to] ink-stick	1.1, 4.1, 8.1
<i>Mo</i>	[Refer to Chap. 4.1.1]	4.1, 8.1
<i>mo fen wu se</i>	[Chinese] ink can be separated into five colours	3.5, 4.1, 5.1, 8.1, C
<i>mogu</i>	submerged-bone, [literally, a Chinese painting technique where calligraphic brush lines are being subdued or hidden]	3.5
<i>mogu hua</i>	[Chinese] painting done in <i>mogu</i> style	3.5
<i>moqi</i>	[literally,] <i>Qi</i> in the ink	3.2, 7.1, 7.3, C
<i>mo xi</i>	ink play	3.5
<i>mu</i>	mother	8.1
<i>mu</i>	wood	3.5
<i>Nan</i>	The Southern [School]	5.1
<i>Nan Bei Zong</i>	The Northern and Southern Schools	5.1
<i>Nan Bei Zong Shanshui Hua</i>	The Northern and Southern Schools of [Chinese] Landscape Painting	5.1, C
<i>Nan Dun Bei Jian</i>	South Sudden, North Gradual	2.3
<i>Nan Neng Bei Xiu</i>	In the South, Neng; in the North, Xiu	2.3, 5.1
<i>Nan Zhang Bei Qi</i>	In the South, Zhang [Daqian (1899-1983)]; in the North, Qi [Baishi (1864-1957)]	5.2
<i>Nan Zong</i>	The Southern School	2.3, 5.1, C
<i>nong</i>	thick	1.2, 3.5, 4.1, 8.1
<i>Nong Li</i>	The Farmers' Calendar	IA
<i>pao zhuan yin yu</i>	throw [out a piece of] brick [to] attract [a piece of] jade, [literally, which is equivalent to] throw out a minnow to catch a whale	C
<i>pian</i>	chapter	IIB
<i>Pinghua Qiu Chang</i>	[Refer to Chap. 4.1.2]	4.1, 8.3

<i>pingyuan</i>	level distance, [literally, which means perspective on the level]	8.3
<i>Pise</i>	[Refer to Chap. 4.1.2]	7.3, C
<i>Pise Qiu Cai</i>	[Refer to Chap. 4.1.2]	4.1, 5.1, 7.3, C
<i>po cai</i>	[literally,] splash-colour	IIB
<i>po mo</i>	splash-ink, [literally, a Chinese painting technique first used by Tang artist Wang Qia (d. A.D. 804) to achieve lively tone and unexpected but natural composition through partially controlled ink-splashing]	4.1, 5.1, 5.2, IIB, 8.1, C
<i>pomo</i>	break-ink, [literally, a Chinese painting technique used to achieve liveliness through the effects of moistness and freshness by permeation of thick and light ink or through graded ink washes]	4.1, 5.1, 8.1, C
<i>Po Mo Po Cai</i>	[Zhang Daqian (1899-1983)'s painting style of] Splashed-Ink-and-Colour	5.2, IIB, 7.1, 7.3, 8.1, 8.3, C
<i>Pu</i>	[Etymologically referring to a piece of unhewn or uncarved wood, now taken to stand for] Simplicity, [or] a state of natural simplicity	2.2, 4.2, 5.1
<i>Puti</i>	[a Chinese transliteration of the Sanskrit term] <i>Bodhi</i>	2.3
<i>qi</i>	chess	1.1
<i>qi</i>	breath, [literally, which can also be taken to mean] force, [or] the spirit	1.1, 1.2, 2.2, 3.3, 4.1, 7.3, C
<i>Qi</i>	[Refer to Chap. 4.1.1]	3.2, 3.4, 3.6, 4.1, 5.1, 6.2, 7.1-7.3, 8.1- 8.3, C
<i>Qian</i>	the Creative	1.2, C
<i>qidu</i>	[literally,] <i>Qi</i> in the intensity of strength	3.2
<i>Qi Fu</i>	[The Principle of] Rise-Fall	3.6, 4.1, 8.1, 8.2, C
<i>Qigu</i>	[Refer to Chap. 4.1.3]	4.1, C

<i>Qigu Gu Ya</i>	[Refer to Chap. 4.1.3]	4.1, 6.1, 8.1, C
<i>qiji</i>	[literally,] <i>Qi</i> in the mysterious secret of heaven	3.2
<i>qimai</i>	the spiritual pulse	3.3, 5.3
<i>qin</i>	lute	1.1, 5.1
<i>qing</i>	blue [colour]	3.5
<i>qing</i>	clear, [literally, which can be interpreted as] sublimity	7.1
<i>Qingchu Si Gaoseng</i>	The Four Eminent Monks of Early Qing [Dynasty (1644-1912)]	5.1
<i>qinglü</i>	blue-and-green	5.1, IIB
<i>qishi</i>	[literally,] <i>Qi</i> in momentum	3.2
<i>qixiang</i>	the atmosphere	3.6
<i>Qiyun</i>	[Refer to Chap. 3.2]	3.2-3.4, 3.7, 4.1, C
<i>Qiyun Jian Li</i>	[Refer to Chap. 4.1.2]	4.1, 8.2, 8.3, C
<i>Qiyun Shengdong</i>	[Refer to Chap. 3.2]	E3, 3.2- 3.4, 5.2, 6.1, 7.2, 7.3, 8.1, C
<i>Qi Zheng</i>	The Seven Planets, [referring to the first five discovered planets, the sun and the moon]	E1
<i>qu</i>	wonderful delights	4.1
<i>Qu Lai Ziran</i>	[Refer to Chap. 4.1.2]	4.1, 7.1, 7.3, C
<i>ren</i>	people, [or] man	2.2, 8.1
<i>Ren</i>	Humanity, [literally; refer to Chap. 2.2.3 for interpretation]	2.2, E5, 6.1, 8.1, C
<i>Ren zhi chu, xing ben shan</i>	Human nature is originally good	IA
<i>Rou</i>	[literally,] Flesh	8.3, C
<i>Ru</i>	The Literati	2.2
<i>Rujia</i>	The Confucian School	IA, 2.2
<i>Rujiao</i>	The Confucian Religion	IA, 2.2

<i>run</i>	moistness	3.2
<i>rushen</i>	to be entranced while in a state of complete absorption	3.7
<i>san bing</i>	three faults	3.3
<i>San Cai</i>	The Trinity [of Heaven, Earth and Man]	E1
<i>San Cai zhe, Tian Di Ren</i>	The Trinity refers to Heaven, Earth and Man	IA
<i>sandian toushi</i>	scattered points of view	8.3, C
<u><i>San Zi Jing</i></u>	<u>The Three-Character Classic</u>	IA
<i>se</i>	colour, beauty, lewdness, passion, pornography, [or] salacity	3.5, C
<i>seqi</i>	[literally,] <i>Qi</i> in the colour	3.2, 7.1, 7.3, C
<i>shan</i>	mountain	1.2, 3.6
<u><i>Shan Gao Shui Chang</i></u>	<u>Soaring Mountains and Endless River</u>	5.1
<i>shanshui</i>	landscape, [or] Chinese landscape painting	1.2, IIA, 5.1, C
<i>shanshui hua</i>	[Chinese] landscape painting	1.2
<u><i>Shanyu Yu Lai</i></u>	<u>Approach of a Mountain Storm</u>	IIB, E7, 7.1, 7.3, 8.1, 8.3, C
<i>she</i>	archery	1.1
<i>She Duan</i>	[Refer to Chap. 4.1.2]	4.1
<i>shen</i>	spirit, inner spirit, [or] divine, [which can also be taken to mean intuition]	2.1, 3.2-3.4, 4.1, 4.2, IIA, 6.1, 7.1-7.3, 8.2, 8.3, C
<i>shencai</i>	spiritual expression, [or] characteristic personal expression	4.1, IIB
<i>sheng</i>	rawness, [literally, which can also be interpreted as] freshness	4.2
<i>Shengdong</i>	[Refer to Chap. 3.2]	3.2, 4.1, 6.1, 6.2, 7.3, 8.2, C
<i>shengqi</i>	vigour, [or] vitality	3.2
<i>shengren</i>	the holy sage	2.2, IB
<i>shengyi</i>	living thoughts	3.2

<i>shenhui</i>	spiritual communion	3.2, 3.3, 3.7, 4.1, 5.2
<u><i>Shenhui Yulu</i></u>	<u>Recorded Sayings of Shenhui</u>	2.3
<i>shenqi</i>	vital expression	3.2, 4.1, 7.3
<i>shensi</i>	spiritual likeness, [literally,] when <i>shen</i> is captured [in a painting, for example]	3.4
<i>shenyuan</i>	deep distance, [literally, which means perspective in depth]	8.3
<i>Shenyun</i>	[Refer to Chap. 4.1.3]	4.1, 6.1, 7.3
<i>Shenyun Xiu Yi</i>	[Refer to Chap. 4.1.3]	4.1, 7.3, C
<i>shese</i>	to apply colours	4.1
<i>Shese Gao Hua</i>	[Refer to Chap. 4.1.3]	3.5, 4.1, 5.2, 6.1, 8.1, C
<i>shi</i>	wet	1.2, 3.5, 4.1, 8.1
<i>shi</i>	solid, [literally, which can mean] real, [or] reality	1.2, 3.4, 6.1, 6.2, C
<i>shi</i>	power, momentum, [or] the powerful impact	3.6, 4.1, 8.1-8.3, C
<i>shi</i>	to be	3.2
<i>Shibi Wuhen</i>	[Refer to Chap. 4.1.3]	4.1, 7.1, 7.3, C
<i>shi chang she duan</i>	to learn from [the masters'] strong points, [but] avoid [their] shortcomings	4.1
<i>Shi'er Ji</i>	The Twelve Things to Avoid	3.5
<i>Shi'er Shengxiao</i>	The Twelve-Animal Symbols	1.2, C
<u><i>Shi Jing</i></u>	<u>The Classic of Poetry</u> , [which is also known as] <u>The Book of Songs</u> , [or] <u>The Book of Odes</u>	1.2
<u><i>Shiming</i></u>	[a dictionary compiled in A.D. 100 that attempted to explore the relations of different words by their similarity in pronunciation]	3.4

<i>shi mo</i>	stone ink, [literally, produced from graphite (black lead)]	1.1
<i>Shixue She Duan</i>	[Refer to Chap. 4.1.2]	4.1, 5.1, 5.2, 6.1, C
<i>shiye</i>	thus it is	3.2
<i>shou</i>	hand	I, IB, C
<i>shu</i>	loose	5.1. C
<i>shu</i>	book, [which can also refer to] calligraphy	1.1
<i>shu</i>	cookedness, [literally, which can be interpreted as] skilledness, [or] mastery	4.2
<i>shu</i>	calculation	1.1
<i>shu</i>	method, technique, [or] tactics	1.1
<i>Shu</i>	Altruism	2.2
<i>shui</i>	water	1.2, 3.5
<i>shuimo</i>	water-and-[Chinese] ink	5.1, IIB
<i>shuimo hua</i>	water-and-[Chinese] ink painting, [or] ink-monochrome painting	3.5, 4.1, 5.1, C
<i>shuimo shanshui</i>	water-and-ink [Chinese] landscape [painting]	5.1, C
<u><i>Shuowen</i></u>	[the first Chinese etymological dictionary compiled in A.D. 121]	3.4
<i>si</i>	thought	4.1, 4.2, 8.3
<i>si</i>	likeness	3.4, 4.1, 6.2, 7.2, 7.3
<i>Si</i>	[Refer to Chap. 4.1.1]	4.1, 8.3
<i>Si Junzi</i>	The Four Superior Men	8.1
<i>Si Shu</i>	The Four Books [of Confucian Classics]	2.2
<i>Si Wang</i>	The Four Wang's [of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1912)]	5.1
<i>Si You</i>	The Four Friends [of <i>bi</i> , <i>mo</i> , <i>yan</i> and <i>zhi</i>]	1.1
<u><i>Songchao Minghua Ping</i></u>	<u>The Critique of Famous [Chinese] Paintings of the Song Dynasty</u>	4.1

<i>songyan mo</i>	pine-soot ink	1.1
<i>su</i>	vulgarity	3.3, 4.1, 7.3
<i>Su</i>	Plainness	2.2, 5.1
<i>Sui Han San You</i>	The Tree Friends of the Cold Season	8.1
<i>Sui Lei Fu Cai</i>	[Refer to Chap. 3.5]	E3, 3.5, 4.1, 6.1, C
<i>Suo Jie</i>	[The Principle of] Lock-Knit	3.6, 4.1
<i>Taiji</i>	Supreme Ultimate, [literally, which is variously rendered as] The Absolute, The Primal Beginning, The Great Root, The Ridgepole of the Universe, [etc.]	E1, 1.2
<i>taiquan</i>	source of a spring	8.2
<i><u>Tang Shi Sanbaishou</u></i>	<u>Three Hundred Poems of the Tang [Dynasty (A.D. 618-907)]</u>	E7, E8
<i>tian</i>	heaven, [literally, which can also be interpreted as] inner nature	2.2, 8.3
<i>tianji</i>	the mysterious secret of heaven	3.2, C
<i><u>Tong Shu</u></i>	<u>The Book of Myriad Things</u>	IA
<i>toushi</i>	[the Chinese system of] perspectives [in Chinese painting]	8.3, C
<i>tu</i>	earth	3.5
<i>tuhua</i>	painting	1.1
<i><u>Tuhua Jianwen Zhi</u></i>	<u>The Record of Things Seen and Heard about [Chinese] Paintings</u>	3.3, 3.4
<i><u>Tuhui Baojian</u></i>	<u>The Precious Appraisal of [Chinese] Pictures</u>	3.2
<i>wangji</i>	[a Taoist state of] forgetting everything	6.2
<i>wangwo</i>	forgetting oneself	8.3, C
<i>Wei</i>	The Intangible	2.1
<i>Weixin Zhuyi</i>	Reformism	5.1
<i>Weizhi</i>	[Refer to Chap. 3.6]	3.6
<i>Wenfang Si Bao</i>	The Four Treasures of the Study [consisting of <i>bi</i> , <i>mo</i> , <i>yan</i> and <i>zhi</i>]	1.1, 1.2, 8.3, C

<i>Wenfang Si You</i>	The Four Friends of the Study	8.1
<i>wenren</i>	literati	5.1, 7.3, C
<i>wenren hua</i>	literati painting	5.1
<i>Wu</i>	Non-Existence, Nothingness, [which can be interpreted as] emptiness or empty space; [refer to Chap. 2.1.3 for more interpretations]	2.1, 4.1, 4.2, 7.1, 7.3, 8.3, C
<i>Wu</i>	[a Chinese rendition of the Sanskrit term] <i>Bodhi</i> , [which means] Enlightenment	2.3
<i>wubi</i>	showing no brush	8.3
<i>Wu Chang</i>	The Five Confucian Virtues	2.2
<i>Wufa</i>	[The Method of] No-Method, [literally refer to Chap. 4.2.4 for interpretation]	4.2, 5.2, 7.1, C
<i>wuhua</i>	the transformation of things	8.3
<i>Wumen Pai</i>	The Wu School of [Chinese] Painting	5.1
<i>wumo</i>	showing no ink	7.3, 8.3, C
<i>Wumo Qiu Ran</i>	[Refer to Chap. 4.1.2]	4.1, 7.1, 7.3, C
<i>Wunian</i>	No-Thought, [literally; refer to Chap. 2.3.3 for interpretation]	2.3, 3.2, 4.2, 5.1, 7.1, 7.3, 8.3, C
<i>Wu Pai</i>	The Wu School of [Chinese] Painting	5.1
<i>Wu Qi</i>	The Five Atmospheric Influences [of rain, sunshine, heat, cold and wind]	3.5, 7.3
<i>Wu Qing</i>	The Five Pure Friends	8.1
<i>wuwei</i>	do nothing	2.1
<i>Wuwei</i>	No-Action, [literally; refer to Chap. 2.1.3 for interpretation]	2.1, 2.2, 4.1, 4.2, 7.1, 7.3, C
<i>wuwei er wu buwei</i>	take no action, and yet nothing is left undone	2.1, 2.2, 3.2
<i>wuwo</i>	[a <i>Chan</i> -ic state of] no-self	6.2
<i>wuxin</i>	mindlessness	2.3

<i>Wu Xing</i>	The Five Elements [of <i>shui</i> , <i>huo</i> , <i>mu</i> , <i>jin</i> and <i>tu</i>]	E1, 3.5
<i>Xi</i>	the West	I, IIA, IIB, C
<i>Xi</i>	The Inaudible	2.1
<i>Xia Banbian</i>	Half-side Xia, [referring to Xia Gui (ca. 1180-1230)]	4.1
<i>xiang</i>	form	4.2
<i>xiang bei</i>	facing the front or back	8.1
<i>Xiang Bei</i>	[The Principle of] Support-Oppose	3.6, 4.1, 8.1
<i>xiang xing</i>	to obtain formal resemblance	3.4, 7.2
<i>Xiao</i>	The Small	2.1
<u><i>Xiaoshan Huapu</i></u>	<u>Xiaoshan's [Chinese] Painting Manual</u>	8.3
<i>xiaoxiang hua</i>	[Chinese] portrait painting	3.5
<u><i>Xiao Xiang Qiguan Tu</i></u>	<u>Picture of the Wonderful View of [the Place where] the Rivers Xiao and Xiang [Meet]</u>	5.1
<i>xie</i>	to write	3.4, 3.5
<i>xie shen</i>	to portray the inner spirit, [literally; refer to Chap. 3.4 for interpretation]	6.1, 7.2, 7.3, 8.2, C
<i>xie xing</i>	to depict form, [literally; refer to Chap. 3.4 for interpretation]	3.4, 6.1, C
<i>xieyi</i>	write-idea, [literally, a Chinese painting technique characterised by sparing, swift and bold brushwork produced in a simplified manner]	4.1, 5.1, 5.2, IIB, C
<i>xieyi hua</i>	[Chinese] painting done in <i>xieyi</i> style, [an opposing style to <i>gongbi</i>]	4.1, 5.1
<i>xieyi shanshui</i>	[Chinese] landscape painting done in <i>xieyi</i> style	C
<u><i>Xieyi Shanshui</i></u>	<u>Landscape in Xieyi Style</u>	5.1
<i>xieyou</i>	taking the young by the hand	8.2

<i>xin</i>	heart [literally, which can also refer to the mind]	I, IA, 2.3, 4.1, 5.2, 8.3, C
<i>Xin</i>	Thrustworthiness	2.2
<i>xing</i>	form, [which can also mean] to give form	3.2-3.4, 4.1, 4.2, 6.2, 7.2, 7.3, 8.3, C
<i>xing</i>	human nature	2.2
<i>xingsi</i>	likeness in respect of form, [or] formal likeness, [which can also mean] verisimilitude [in painting]	1.2, 3.2, 3.4, 3.7, 4.1, IIA
<i>xin guohua</i>	new Chinese Painting	5.1
<i>Xing xiang jin, Xi xiang yuan</i>	[All men are nearly] alike by nature; [but their] differences [become more and more] apparent through [different] practice [and in different environment]	IA
<i>xinsi</i>	thought or idea	3.7
<i>Xiqiao Qiu Li</i>	[Refer to Chap. 4.1.2]	4.1, 6.1, 8.3, C
<i>xiu</i>	elegance, [or] excellence	6.1, 7.3
<i>xiudao</i>	cultivation for attaining Buddhahood	2.3
<i>xiuyang</i>	self-cultivation	2.3
<i>xu</i>	void, [or] emptiness, [literally, which can be taken to mean] imaginary	1.2
<i>xu</i>	preface	E3
<i>Xu</i>	[a state of the mind characterised by] Vacuity	7.1, 7.3, 8.3, C
<i>Xuan</i>	The Profound	2.1
<i><u>Xuanhe Huapu</u></i>	<u>Catalogue of [Chinese] Paintings in the Xuanhe Collection</u>	8.1
<i>ya</i>	classic elegance	4.1
<i>yan</i>	mist, [or] vapour	3.2
<i>yan</i>	ink-slab	1.1

<i>yang</i>	positive	E1, 1.2, 3.5, 5.1, 5.2, 7.3, C
<i>Yang</i>	Positive	E1, 1.2, 7.3, C
<i>Yang Dai</i>	[The Principle of] Echo-Counterpoise	3.6, 4.1, 6.1
<i>Yangzhou Ba Guai</i>	The Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou	5.1
<i>yao</i>	important fundamental	4.1, 7.3, 8.1, 8.3
<i>ye</i>	thus	3.2
<i>yi</i>	the first	3.2
<i>yi</i>	idea	3.7, 8.3, C
<i>yi</i>	change	1.2
<i>yi</i>	untrammelled, [or] untrammelledness	IIA, 6.2, 7.3
<i>yi</i>	skill	1.1
<i>Yi</i>	The One, [literally, which can be taken to mean] Unity, [or] Oneness	2.2, 4.2
<i>Yi</i>	The Invisible	2.1
<i>Yi</i>	Righteousness	2.2, 8.1
<i>Yi</i>	The Six Artistries	5.1, 6.1
<i>yibi</i>	one-brush-stroke, [literally, that describes the interrelated and uninterrupted flow of the Chinese brush from the beginning to the end through the responsiveness of the brush and without a break in the beating of <i>qimai</i> or in the transfer of thoughts and sentiments of the painter]	3.3
<i>yi dao bi budao</i>	idea is expressed [even] in the absence of brush[work]	7.1, 7.3, C
<i>yidong shidian toushi</i>	moving viewpoints	8.3, C
<i>Yihua</i>	[The Principle of] One-Stroke, [literally; refer to Chap. 4.2 for interpretation]	IB, E4, 4.2, 6.2, IIB, 7.3, 8.2, C
<i><u>Yi Jing</u></i>	<u>The Classic of Changes</u>	E1, 1.2, 3.5, 7.3, C

<i>Yimin Huajia</i>	The Survivor-Painters	5.1
<i>Yi mo wei zhu, yi se wei fu</i>	Take ink as primary, take colour as secondary	8.1
<i>yin</i>	negative	E1, 1.2, 3.5, 5.1, 5.2, 7.3, C
<i>Yin</i>	Negative	E1, 1.2, 7.3, C
<i>Ying Wu Xie Xing</i>	[Refer to Chap. 3.4]	E3, 3.4, 4.1, 6.1, 7.2, C
<i>Yin Li</i>	The Lunar Calendar	IA
<i>yin yang</i>	negative-positive	1.2, 5.1, 7.3, 8.1, 8.2, C
<i>Yin Yang</i>	[The Principle of] Negative-Positive, [literally; refer to Chap. 1.2 for interpretation]	I, IA, 1.2, 3.5, 3.6, 4.1, 5.1, 6.2, 7.3, C
<i>yise mao se</i>	to use colours [to capture appropriately] the colours [when delineating] the looks [or appearances]	4.1
<i>yishu</i>	arts	1.1
<i>Yishu Gexin Huodong</i>	Reformist Movement in the Arts	5.1
<i>Yixie</i>	[Refer to Chap. 3.7]	3.7
<i>yixing xie shen</i>	to portray the inner spirit through depicting the outer form	3.2, 3.4, 6.1, 7.2, 7.3, C
<i>yixing xie xing</i>	to use form to depict form	4.1
<i>Yizhe San You</i>	The Tree Types of Good Friends	8.1
<u><i>Yizhou Minghua Lu</i></u>	<u>The Record of the Famous [Chinese] Paintings of Yizhou</u>	7.3
<i>yong</i>	forever	1.1
<i>Yong</i>	Courage	2.2
<i>yongbi</i>	brush usage	8.3
<i>yongmo</i>	ink usage	8.1
<i>Yongmo Jingcai</i>	[Refer to Chap. 4.1.3]	4.1, 5.1, 8.1, C
<i>You</i>	Existence	2.1, 4.2, 7.1

<i>youbi</i>	[literally,] having brush	8.3, C
<i>youbi youmo</i>	[literally,] having brush and having ink	8.3, C
<i>youbi youse</i>	[literally,] having brush and having colour	8.3, C
<i>you jing you jing</i>	there's sight, [and] there's artistic conception	7.3, C
<i>youmo</i>	[literally,] having ink	8.3
<i>youyan</i>	oil-soot, [literally, which is] lampblack obtained from burning oil	1.1
<i>youyuan</i>	illusory distance, [literally, which means perspective when in illusoriness]	8.3
<i>yu</i>	rain	IIB
<i>yu</i>	charioteering	1.1
<i>Yuanchen</i>	State of without Obstructions	4.2
<i>yuanshu</i>	[literally,] satisfactory cooked	4.2
<i>Yuan Si Jia</i>	The Four Master Painters of the Yuan [Dynasty (1279-1368)]	5.1, 5.2
<i>yuanti</i>	court-style, [literally, a Chinese painting style of the Southern Song Court (1127-1279) painting academy]	5.1
<i>yue</i>	music	1.1
<i>yun</i>	cloud	IIB
<i>yun</i>	rhyme or charm, [can assume the meaning of] rhythm, [and, in Chinese painting, can be interpreted as] tone	4.1
<i>Yun</i>	[Refer to Chap. 4.1.1]	3.2, 4.1, 7.3, C
<i>yunnyu</i>	[metaphorically referring to] sexual union	IIB
<i>zhen</i>	true essence	3.4, 4.1, 6.2, 7.2, 7.3
<i>zhi</i>	paper	1.1
<i>zhi</i>	matter	3.4, 4.1, 6.2, 7.2, 7.3
<i>Zhi</i>	Wisdom	2.2, E5, 8.1
<i>Zhizhi renxin</i>	Pointing directly at one's mind	2.3, 8.3

<i>Zhong</i>	Conscientiousness	2.2
<i>zhongsheng</i>	all living beings	2.3
<u><i>Zhong Yong</i></u>	<u>[The Doctrine of] the Mean, [or] The State of Equilibrium and Harmony</u>	2.2, 2.3
<i>zhou you Dong Xi</i>	travelling round the East and the West	I, C
<i>zhu</i>	bamboo	1.1
<i>zhu</i>	host, [or] primary	3.6, 6.1, 7.3, 8.1
<u><i>Zhuang Zi</i></u>	<u>[The Book of] Zhuang Zi</u>	2.1, IB, E4, 4.2, 8.3
<i>zhuo</i>	unskilful, [literally, which can be interpreted as] to reject, to discard, [or] not reliant on	7.3
<i>zhusha</i>	vermilion	3.5
<i>Ziran</i>	Spontaneity, [literally; refer to Chap. 2.1.4 for interpretation]	2.1, 4.1, 6.2, 7.1-7.3, C
<i>Zong Heng</i>	[The Principle of] Verticality-Horizontality	3.6, 4.1, 7.3, C
<i>zuo</i>	sitting	2.3
<i>zuochan</i>	sitting in meditation	2.3, 7.1
<i>zuo you</i>	left or right	8.1
<i>zuozu</i>	head monk	2.3

Bibliography

Key

Items within { } brackets under each entry of the bibliography indicate the locations in the text of thesis where the entry is referred to.

I:	INTRODUCTION
IA, IB:	Introduction to Part I Section A, B respectively
IIA, IIB:	Introduction to Part II Section A, B respectively
E1, E2, E3, E4, E5, E6, E7, E8:	Epigraph at the beginning of Chapter 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 respectively
Numbers within { } brackets:	Section number of chapter
C:	CONCLUSION

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This is not the end. It is not even the beginning of the end. But it is, perhaps, the end of the beginning.

Winston Churchill (1874-1965),
Speech, Mansion House, 10 November 1942

