向　達：明清之際中國美術所受西洋之影響

European Influences on Chinese Art in the Later Ming and Early Ch'ing Period†

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Plate 91 MAP OF CHINA, 1626. Colored Engraving by John Speede. Reproduced from *THE CHATER COLLECTION, Pictures Relating to China, Hongkong, Macao, 1655-1860*, by James Orange. Published by Thornton Butterworth Ltd., London, 1924.

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I Introduction

AFTER THE ARRIVAL of Matteo Ricci (利馬竇 1552-1610), there was a period when Western learning was continuously introduced into China. The study of astronomy and mathematics, physical sciences and philosophy then flourished, reaching a climax at the time of Emperor K'ang-hsi and declining only in the reign of Emperor Ch'ien-lung. Early in the seventeenth century, the Jesuit mission had brought to Peking a collection of Western books of more than 7000 volumes[1] which can be compared unequivocally both in quality and quantity with Hsuan-tsang's celebrated collection of Buddhist works from India in the early T'ang dynasty. Though most of these books are no longer known today,* the magnitude of the contribution was obviously considerable. Many modern scholars, in fact, have devoted their energies to an exposition of the transmission of Western scholarship to China in the later Ming and early Ch'ing period, but few have done this with respect to fine arts. Based on the results of earlier studies by Chinese and overseas scholars, this article aims to elucidate the possible relationship between Chinese and Western art and its vicissitudes during the 200 years from the beginning of the reign of the Ming Emperor Wan-li to the end of the reign of the Ch'ing Emperor Ch'ien-lung.

[1]It was mentioned in Wang Cheng's *Ch'i-ch'i T'u-shu Lu-tsui* (王徵, 奇器圖說錄最) and Li Chih-tsao's "K'e Chih-fang Wai-chi Hsü" (李之藻, 刻職方外記序), "Shih Huan-yu-ch'uan Hsü" (釋寰有詮序) and "K'e Tien-hsueh Chu-han T'i-t'zu" (刻天學, 初函題辭). Both Wang and Li flourished in the late Ming period. Li also indicated that it was the French Jesuit Nicolas Trigault (金尼閣) who brought to China this collection of books.

*According to a study by Fang Hao (方豪), there were 757 titles in 629 volumes of the original collection still in existence in the library of the Pei T'ang (北堂 North Church) in Peking in 1940's. See Fang Hao "Pei T'ang T'u-shu kuan Ts'ang-shu Chih" (北堂圖書館藏書志), in *Fang Hao Liu-shih Tsu-ting Kao* (方豪六十自定稿), Vol. II, pp. 1840-46. Taipei, 1969.

II Traffic between East and West in the Late Ming and Early Ch'ing Period

IN THE FIFTEENTH and sixteenth centuries, both the East and the West made great efforts to try to communicate with each other. On China's side there were Cheng Ho's Seven Expeditions into the "Western Seas", reaching as far as Somaliland on the east coast of Africa and bringing the Chinese hegemony to a height which had never been reached in former times. On the part of Europe, Christopher Columbus reached America in 1492; Bartholomew Diaz discovered the Cape of Good Hope in 1486; Pedro de Caviiham discovered the Indian Ocean in 1487; Vasco da Gama arrived at Calicut on the southwestern coast of India in 1496. From that time on more and more Europeans came in succession and colonized the islands in the Indian Ocean and the territories along the coast of the subcontinent of India.

In 1514, a Portuguese named Jorge Alvares arrived at Shang-ch'uan Island in Kwangtung; in 1517, another Portuguese Rafaël Perestrello also arrived in Kwangtung; and in 1520, yet another Portuguese reached Canton and brought in his ship an envoy from the Portuguese Governor of Malacca to be sent to the Imperial Court in Peking. The coming of the Europeans to China, interrupted after the fall of the Yuan dynasty, was now resumed.[2] In the wake of the Portuguese came the Dutch, the Spanish, the English and the French, one after another. They chiefly assembled in Macao in the Hsiang-shan District of Kwangtung, but also appeared at coastal places such as Chang-chou, Ch'uan-chou, Ning-po, etc. In Kwangtung where most foreigners landed, a profitable foreign trade existed, and even the monthly emoluments of the provincial civil and military officials were partly

[2]Henri Cordier, Histoire Generale de la Chine, tom. III, Chaps. X-XIX.

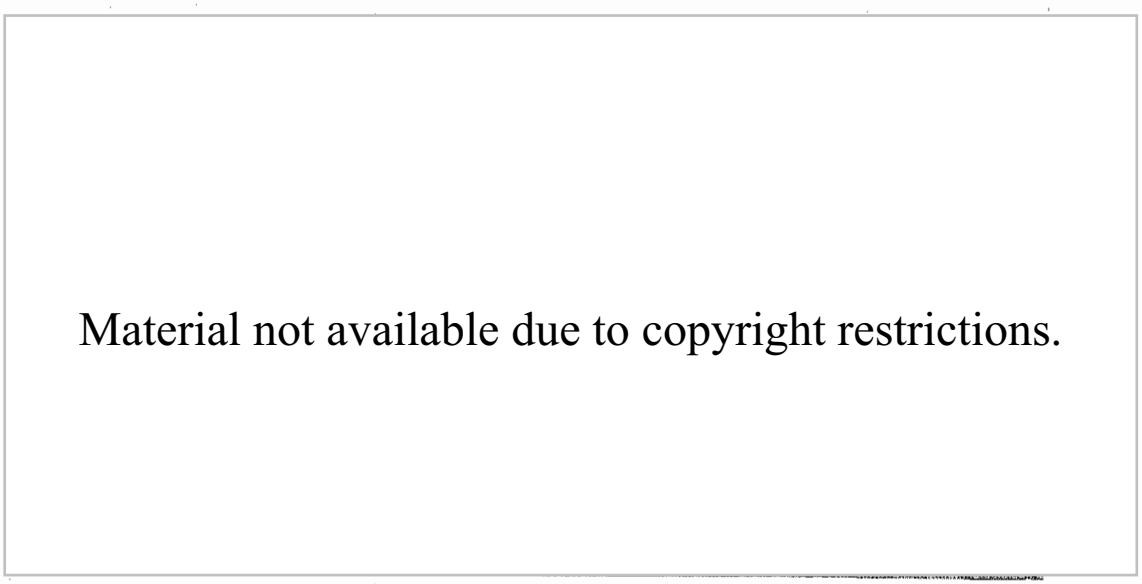

Plate 92 VIEW OF CANTON c. 1780. Engraving. From *THE CHATER COLLECTION.*

paid with exotic goods. Under the reign of the Ming Emperor Chia-ching (1522-66) the trade was prohibited and, as a result, hardly any foreign ships arrived, which caused financial difficulties in both local government and private life. In 1535, the Portuguese were officially permitted to live in Macao (Ao-Ching in *Ming Shih*) where, in time, rows of high and spacious buildings were erected in exotic styles. Fukien as well as Kwangtung merchants crowded into Macao to do business with the Portuguese. Later on, more and more merchants from overseas came to Canton to trade and, henceforth, there was the rise of the "Thirteen *Kung-hang*" (Co-hongs) in Canton to carry out transactions with foreign traders. As the Hong merchants had a monopoly of foreign trade, they became very rich. A description was given by Ch'ü Ta-chün, a Cantonese scholar of the seventeenth century, in one of his well-known folk songs (*Kuang-chou Chu-Chi Tz'u*)[3] as follows:

> *In a rush the seafaring ships of government-enrolled merchants*
> *Sail through the Cross Gate straight to the two Oceans East and West.*
> *Out-going are the fine Kwang satins of five and eight threads;*
> *The Thirteen Hongs are heaped to the full with silver coins.*

P'eng Yü-ling also said:[4]

> *Before the reign of Hsien-feng (1851-61), no other port was open to overseas trade, and foreign merchants crowded into Canton. There, many businessmen became very rich through skillful purchases and investments. For example, the Thirteen* Kung Hong, *which had a monopoly of the trade, accumulated an enormous wealth and were admired throughout the country. When there was a need to ask for subscriptions, millions would be raised in a moment.*

What Peng described concerns the period immediately preceding the reign of Hsien-feng, but there was probably no great difference in the early Ch'ing period as can be seen in Ch'ü Ta-chun's folk song quoted above. At that time, the Thirteen Hongs were not only known for their unrivalled wealth, but also widely admired for the architecture of their buildings which resembled those seen in Western paintings.[5] Western countries such as Denmark, Spain, France, the United States,

[3] Ch'ü Ta-chün, *Kwang-tung Hsin-yü* (廣東新語), Vol. XV, Article "Sha Tuan" (紗緞).

[4] P'eng Yü-ling, *P'eng Kang-chih Kung Tsou-kao* (彭剛直公奏稿), Vol. IV, "Hui-tsou Kwang-tung T'uan-lien Chüen-shu Shih-i Che" (會奏廣東團練捐輸事宜摺).

[5] Shen Fu (沈復), *Fu-sheng Liu-chi* (浮生六記, *Six Chapters of a Floating Life*), Vol. IV, "Lang-yu Chi-k'uai" (浪遊記快).

Sweden, Holland and Great Britain also built their factories in Canton.[6]

In the seventeenth century, Western missionaries also enthusiastically reported their discoveries in China when they returned to Europe. Chinese Classics, such as *The Great Learning* (*Ta Hsueh*) and *The Doctrine of the Mean* (*Chung Yung*), were translated into Western languages.[7]* It was not uncommon for Chinese converts to accompany Western missionaries to Europe. It has been said that Turgot's economic thought was deeply influenced by these Chinese whom he had met in Europe,[8] and that the doctrine of the European Physiocrats was also enriched with Chinese ideas.[9]

[6]H. F. MacNair, *Modern Chinese History: Selected Readings*, Chap. II, Section 5, "The Co-Hong and the Factories."

[7]A. Reichwein, *China and Europe*, p. 20. In Jules Aleni's (艾儒略) "Ta-hsi Li Hsien-sheng Hsin-chi" (大西利先生行蹟), it is said that "Matteo Ricci had translated the *Four Books* (四書) of the Chinese classics into Latin and sent back the manuscripts to his native land. It is owing to his effort that his countrymen, after reading his translations, know that the ancient Chinese classics could recognize the real source of life and never mistake superficials for essentials." Moverover, in *Mo-ching Chi* (墨井集), A. Pfister's (費賴之) *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques* is quoted as saying that, when Philippe Couplet (柏應理) was going back to Europe, "he arrived in Holland early in October, 1682, and thence went to Roma to present the four hundred books, which the Jesuits in China had translated from Chinese, to the Pope. The Pope was pleased and, by his order, the books were to be kept in the Papal Library as of great value."

*Of more recent studies related to the relevant subject, see Sueo Goto, *Chūgoku Shisō no Furansu Seizen* (後藤末雄, 中國思想のフランス西漸), new edition, 1969; Chu Ch'ien-chih, Chung-kuo Shih-hsian tui-yū Ou-chou Wen-hua Chih Ying-hsiang (朱謙之, 中國思想對於歐洲文化之影響), 1940; Wang Teh-chao, "Fu-erh-teh Chu-tso chung so-chieh chih chung-kuo," (王德昭, 伏爾德著作中所見之中國) *New Asia Journal* (新亞學報), Vol. IX, No. 2, 1970.

[8]Li Yung-lin, "Ching-chi Hsueh-che Tu-erh-k'e yū Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien Hsueh-che chih Kuan-hsi," (李永霖, 經濟學者杜爾克與中國青年學者之關係), *Pei-ching Ta-hsueh She-hui Ko-hsueh Chi-kan* (北京大學社會科學季刊), Vol. I, No. 1. In it are also mentioned other Chinese christians who visited Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

[9]A. Reichwein, *China and Europe*, pp. 101-109, "The Phsiocrats."

III The Appearance of Western Missionaries and Western Art in China

ST. FRANCIS XAVIER, the Bishop of Goa, arrived at Shang-ch'uan Island and died there without fulfilling his wish to preach the Gospel in China. Three years after his death, Dominicans, Augustinians and Franciscans came to Canton or Fukien occasionally to preach, but, as a rule, were soon expelled. In 1579, the Jesuit Michael Ruggieri arrived in Canton;[10] and two years later, Matteo Ricci came to China. It is from that time on that Catholicism began to take root in China and, as a result, the introduction of Western learning ensued. In fact, it was Matteo Ricci who first introduced Western arts into China. In his memorial to Emperor Wan-li in 1600, Matteo Ricci wrote:

> *Your Majesty, I herewith humbly present before your Royal Presence one portrait of our Heavenly Lord, two portraits of our Holy Mother, one copy of the Bible, one cross inlaid with pearls, two clocks, one copy of the World Atlas, and one clavichord. These are all things of little value. We present them only because they have been brought to China from the Far West, which makes them a little different from other things.*

The portraits which Matteo Ricci presented are, therefore, the first Western artistic works ever known to have been introduced into China. The French sinologist P. Pilliot, judging from a description in Chiang Shao-wen [shu]'s *Wu-sheng Shih Shih* (姜紹聞[書], 無聲詩史,* History of Speechless Poetry), considered that this was the only provable occasion of Matteo Ricci's present-

[10]Hsiao Jo-se, *Tien-chu Chiao Ch'uan-hsin Chung-kuo Kao* (蕭若瑟, 天主教傳行中國號), Vol. I, pp. 103-112.

*The author made a mistake in the designation of the author of *Wu-sheng Shih Shih* (無聲詩史). It is Chiang Shao-shu (姜紹書), not Chiang Shao-wen (姜紹聞).

ation of portraits. Chiang's description is as follows:[11]

> *The Portrait of the Heavenly Lord of the Western countries, which Matteo Ricci brought to China with him, depicts a woman carrying a child in her arms. The facial features and the lines of clothing look like images of real things in a mirror, vividly alive. The dignity and elegance of the figures are beyond the technical capability of Chinese painters to produce.*

What Chiang designated as the portrait of the Heavenly Lord is in fact a portrait of the Holy Mother. The confusion was due to his lack of knowledge of the Christian tradition. Also in the reign of Wan-li, Ku Ch'i-yuan (顧起元) had a chance to see the portraits brought by Matteo Ricci. Ku said:[12]

> *Matteo Ricci, a European, with fair skin and curly beard and deep eyes coloured yellow like a cat's, came to Nanking and is now living in a barrack west of the Cheng-yang Gate. Ricci knows Chinese. He said that his countrymen worship a Heavenly Lord who is the Creator of the universe and all things in it. The Heavenly Lord is presented in pictures as a little child carried in the arms of a woman called the Heavenly Mother. The pictures are painted in five colors on copper plates. The features are lifelike; the bodies, arms and hands seem to protrude tangibly from the picture. The concavities and convexities of the face are visually no different from a living person's. When people asked how this was achieved, he replied: "Chinese painting depicts the lights (*Yang*) but not the shades (*Yin*). Therefore, when you look at it, people's faces and bodies seem to be flat, without concavities and convexities. Painting in our country is executed with a combination of shades and lights, so faces are presented with high and low lights, and hands and arms all look round. A person's face, when it faces the light straight on, will be all bright and white. When it turns sideways, then the side which faces the light will be white, and on the other side which does not face the light, the recessed parts of the eyes, ears, nose and mouth will all have dark shadows. Because the portrait painters of our country know this method and use it, they can make their portraits indistinguishable from the living person." Ricci brought with him a great number of books in which every leaf of white paper is printed on both sides, with words all running horizontally. The paper is thick and strong like our Yunnan rag paper and the printing as well as the ink used is very fine. There are incidentally illustrations [engravings] in which figures and buildings are exquisitely executed in lines as fine as thread or human hair....*

Ku's description was not only more detailed than that in *Wu-sheng Shih Shih*, but also gave an illustration of the Western principle of using chiaroscuro to represent light and shade in painting. (*Kuo-ch'ao Hua-cheng Lu* 國朝畫徵錄, Eminent Painters of the Imperial [Ch'ing] Dynasty, also referred to the same incident but not in accounts as detailed as Ku's. See a reference in the concluding part of this article.) Western paintings and the Western principles of painting were, therefore, all first introduced into China by Matteo Ricci. Also, from Ku's description, we know that upon Ricci's arrival in China, he had brought with him works of art which included not only portraits of Jesus and the Virgin Mary, but also Western engravings, which also became known to the Chinese literati. The engravings represented a variety of topics including human beings and buildings. In addition, Ku said:[13]

> *Later the priest Joao da Rocha* [羅儒望], *a junior of Matteo Ricci's, came to Nanking. In intelligence Rocha could not compare with Ricci, but the objects he brought with him were similar to Ricci's.*

[11] P. Pelliot, "La Peinture et le Gravure Européenne en Chine au temps de Mathieu Ricci" (*T'oung Pao*, 1922, pp. 1-18).

[12] Ku Ch'i-yuan, *K'o-tso Chui-yü* (顧起元, 客座贅語), Vol. VI, "Li-ma-tou" (利馬竇傳).

[13] Ibid.

Therefore we know that, in general, the missionaries who arrived in China after Ricci and made Nanking their working base often brought with them Western paintings. As the fashion spread, it is reasonable to suppose that Chinese painters would be impressed and would respond to its influence.

Little is known now about the engravings brought in by Matteo Ricci. However, in Ch'eng Ta-yueh's work, *Mo Yuan* (程大約, 墨苑, Elect Specimens of Ink), four Western religious pictures were included, which may be the earliest existing Western artistic works brought in by the missionaries in the Ming period, and still known to us. The four engravings are: (1) Christ and St. Peter, (2) Christ and the Disciples on the Road to Emmaus, (3) the Destruction of Sodom, and (4) Christ in the Arms of the Holy Mother. Interpretations in Chinese and Romanized script are attached to the first three pictures. All four engravings were given to Ch'eng Ta-yueh by Matteo Ricci and then incorporated by Ch'eng into his *Mo Yuan*. Very probably, these were the kind of engravings carved in the illustrated books which Ku Ch'i-yuan described. *Mo Yuan*'s four engravings were lately reprinted in collotype and published by Ch'en Yuan (陳垣) in 1927, with the title *Ming-chi chih Ou-hua Mei-shu chi Lo-ma-tzŭ Chu-yin* 明季之歐化美術及羅馬字注音 (Westernized Arts and the Romanization of Chinese in the Later Ming Period). Ch'en wrote a colophon at the end of the collotype copy, of which the following is a summary:

> *The above four Western religious pictures and three texts appear in* Ch'eng-shih Mo Yuan (程氏墨苑), *following page 35, Vol. VIb, but without page numbers, because they were added after the book had already been printed. There is also a goodwill address from Matteo Ricci in Vol. III, separately paginated for the same reason. Among the existing copies of* Mo Yuan *known to us,*

Plate 93 CHRIST AND ST. PETER, with interpretations in Chinese and Romanized script. From the *Ch'eng-shih Mo Yuan*, by Ch'eng Ta-yueh.

Plate 94 CHRIST AND THE DISCIPLES ON THE ROAD TO EMMAUS. From the *Ch'eng-shih Mo Yuan.*

some have the pictures but no text and some have neither. The expurgation must have been made at times when an anti-Christian movement was rife. The present copy is the treasure of the Ming-hui Lu (鳴晦廬) *collection of the Wang family in T'ung-hsien, rare indeed for having both pictures and texts intact.* Mo Yuan *is composed of six parts, namely: Heaven, Earth, Personages, Precious Things, Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism. The denominative term* Tzu-huang *(緇黃, black and yellow robes) on the book margin means that Buddhism and Taoism are combined into one part, with Catholicism at the end of this part. When* Mo Yuan *was compiled, Matteo Ricci had been in China for only five or six years, yet in the eyes of the Chinese literati, Catholicism had already won a status comparable with both Buddhism and Taoism. From this one can imagine the popular trust Ricci had won. It is not surprising that Western paintings appeared in China in the later Ming period, but this must be the only occasion in which Western paintings were accepted by Chinese artists, adapted on stationery, and incorporated into a book. The use of romanization to respell the Chinese explanatory notes is also new. When Nicolas Trigault* (金尼閣) *wrote his* Hsi-ju Erh-mu Tzu *(西儒耳目資, Phonological and Morphological Aids for Western Scholars to Learn Chinese), he followed the same method, which was believed at that time to be the easiest way to learn Chinese characters . . . .*

As Ch'en's colophon was mainly a piece of scholarly writing on source criticism with few comments on the four pictures themselves, Hsu Ching-hsien (徐景賢) followed up at a later time with an article entitled "明季之歐化美術及羅馬字注音考釋" (Exegesis to Ch'en Yuan's Westernized Arts and the Romanization of Chinese in the Later Ming Period),[14] in which he gave a compendious trans-

[14] Hsu's article was published in the monthly *Hsin Yueh* (新月), Vol. I, No. 7.

lation of the Latin words on the four religious pictures in *Mo Yuan* and suggested that the Madonna which Matteo Ricci had presented to the Ming Emperor and the one on which Hsu Kuang-ch'i (徐光啟) had contributed an encomium[15] were the same picture as that incorporated into *Mo Yuan*. According to Ku Ch'i-yuan's account, this suggestion is groundless. The Madonna Hsu Kuang-ch'i had seen in Nanking must be the one Ku had seen in the same city, but the picture presented to the royal court could not be such a very modest engraving. Moreover, as Ricci said clearly in his memorial, that picture was brought to China all the way from the West, while the engraving in *Mo Yuan* was in fact produced in the East (see below). One can see, therefore, that the two could not be the same.

Both Ch'en's colophon and Hsu's exegesis made no effort to trace the origin of the four pictures. As we know, B. Laufer has discussed the Western religious pictures in *Mo Yuan* in his article "Christian Arts in China", and in 1922 P. Pelliot wrote an article on the introduction of Western paintings and engravings into China in the time of Matteo Ricci.[16] The latter ascribes the original of the picture which Ricci gave to Ch'eng Ta-yueh to the authorship of Jean Nicolao, a Jesuit missionary in Japan. Nicolao, an Italian Jesuit, arrived in Japan in 1592. He taught painting to Japanese youths and later worked in the Seminaire des Peintures established by the Jesuits in Nagasaki. At the bottom of the Madonna in *Mo Yuan*, there is a line of Latin which reads *in Sem Japo 1597*. Here, *Sem* is an abbreviation of *Seminaire*, and *Japo*, *Japon*. In 1597 Nicolao was still working in Japan. The picture, therefore, must be an engraving made in 1597 by another Jesuit, based on the original work of Nicolao. It fell by chance into Ricci's hands and the latter gave it to Ch'eng. This hypothesis made by P. Pelliot is a very likely one, and a useful supplement to both Ch'en's and Hsu's expositions.

Besides the portraits of Christ and the Holy Mother presented to the imperial court by Matteo Ricci and the four religious pictures given by Ricci and printed in *Mo Yuan*, pictures and statues were also presented to the imperial court by Joannes Adam Schall von Bell (湯若望). In Huang Po-lu's (黃伯祿) *Cheng-chiao Feng-pao* (正教奉褒, The Holy Religion Praise) there is an account of that occasion, which reads as follows:

> *In the 13th year of Ch'ung-chen* 崇禎 *[1640], in November, Adam Schall presented to the royal court a fine sheepskin album of colored pictures illustrating the life of Christ and a set of colored statues cast in plaster, depicting Christ and the Adoration of the Kings. These were gifts from the Prince of Bavaria [Germany], who sent them to China and asked Adam Schall to present them to the Ming Emperor. Adam Schall, after adding in neat Chinese characters an annotation to each of the holy stories in the pictures, took them to the court himself and presented them to the Emperor respectfully.*

These pictures presented by Adam Schall were later engraved and published, but it is not known whether there are still copies in existence. In Yang Kuang-hsien's collected anti-Christian work, *Pu-te-i Shu* (不得已書, I Cannot Do Otherwise), there is an article entitled "Lin T'ang Jo-wang Chin-ch'eng Tu-hsiang Shu" (臨湯若望進呈圖像說, An Explanatory Note to the Copies of the Pictures Presented by Adam Schall). In the introduction to this article, Yang wrote:

> *After my letter to Mr. Hsü [Chih-chien,* 許之漸*] had been sent out, I regretted that, when my* P'i-hsieh Lun *(闢邪論, Writings to Expose the Evils) was written, I failed to put the pictures printed by Adam Schall at the head of the treatise. The pictures depict how the Hebrews applauded Jesus and how Jesus was nailed to death by law. These pictures would make all people in the world know that Jesus was put to death as a convicted criminal, so that not only would scholar-officials not write prefaces for their [Chris-*

[15] In "Hsu Wen-t'ing Kung Hsin-shih" (徐文定公行實) it is said that, "in the autumn of 1603, the Honourable [Hsu Kuang-chi, 徐光啟] was again in Nanking. As he had friendship with Matteo Ricci, he went over to the latter's place to pay a visit. Ricci was not in, but [Hsu], when he entered Ricci's house, saw a portrait of the Madonna. His spirit seemed suddenly to soar to the supernatural and was unconsciously converted."

[16] See Note 11.

tian] writings, but people of the lower classes would also be ashamed to believe in that kind of faith. The album Adam Schall presented to the imperial court is composed of 64 leaves of writings and 48 pictures; an annotation was put on the left side of every picture. Being unable to reproduce all the pictures, I copy only three pictures and their respective annotations for the present moment. They are the people applauding Jesus, Jesus being nailed on the cross, and Jesus on the cross. This will show all the world that Jesus was not an orderly and law-abiding person, but a subversive rebel leader, who was convicted and executed. The annotations are put to the left of the pictures.

The three pictures are copied from the original Nos. XXVIII "The Triumphal Entry", XLII "The Crucifixion" and XLIII "Jesus on the Cross." Since Adam Schall's original pictures have now disappeared, it is only in these copies in *Pu-te-i* that one can still gain some idea of their appearance. But on close examination, it can be seen that the presentation of facial features, and especially also the lance and halberd in picture XLII and the sword in picture XLIII, have all been sinicized and lost their original European characteristics, unlike the four pictures in *Mo Yuan*, which still keep intact the main features of the original. However, it is also understandable that, as *Mo Yuan*'s illustrations were the work of the painter Ting Yun-p'eng (丁雲鵬) and the sculptor Huang Lin (黃鏻), both great masters of the time, and as the work itself purported to be an artistic object designed for the adornment of a scholar's studio, the pictures therefore must be refined and enjoyable. On the other hand, *Pu-te-i*, being compiled in a hurry for the purpose of propaganda, was bound to be far inferior to *Mo Yuan* in quality. But as the main features of some of Adam Schall's pictures are known to us only through these copies in *Pu-te-i*, the fragments thus preserved are therefore still invaluable.

Western paintings brought into China in the later Ming period are mostly religious paintings, because the missionaries knew that the Chinese people in general were fond of paintings and thus made use of paintings to propagate their religion. In both Matteo Ricci's Latin work *The Christian Expedition into China (De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas)* published by Trigault in 1615, and Franciscus Sambias (畢方濟)'s Chinese work *M'eng-ta Hua-ta** (夢答畫答, Discourses on Dream and Painting) written in 1629, it is related that the use of Western paintings and engravings was very helpful in propagating Christianity in China. The same indication is also seen in a letter sent to Europe by Nicolaus Longobardi (龍華民) in 1598, in which Longobardi made a request for more pictorial books, explaining that the Chinese people were very fond of Western paintings because the very

Plate 95 The Triumphal Entry

FROM THE PU-TE-I SHU, by Yang Kuang-hsien:

*The two discourses are mutually complemental and were co-published in a book. See Hsu Tsung-tse, *Ming-ch'ing Chien Yeh-su-hui Shih I-chu T'i-yao* (徐宗澤, 明清間耶穌會士譯著提要), pp. 340-341, reprint, 1958.

Plate 96 Jesus on the Cross

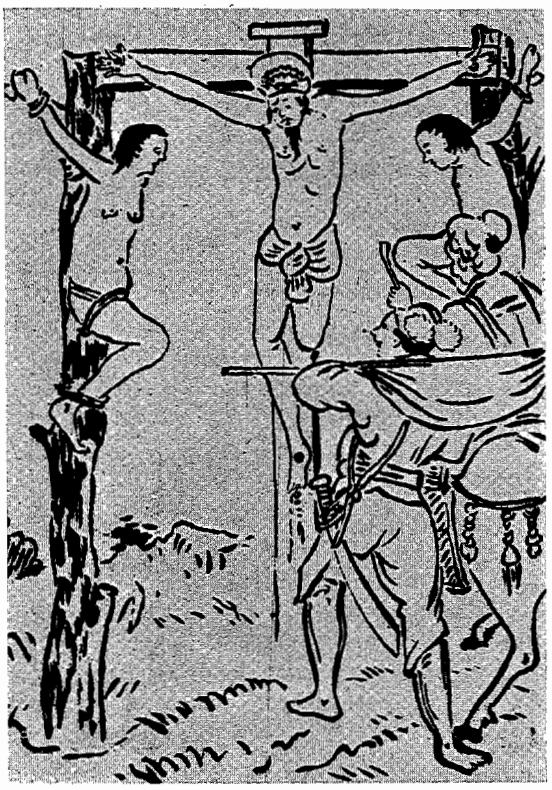

Plate 97 The Crucifixion

Copies of three engravings originally presented to the court by Johannes Adam Schall von Bell.

life-like presentation of lights and shades in Western paintings was lacking in Chinese painting.[17]

In the later Ming period the number of Western paintings brought into China must have been considerable but no missionary who was also skilled in painting was known to have taught painting to Chinese artists.[18] Not until the early Ch'ing period did the Imperial Studio begin to have Western missionaries serving in it, among whom the most famous were Joseph Castiglione (郎世寧) and Ignatius Sickelparth (艾啟蒙). Castiglione, whose family had made painting a profession for generations, was an Italian. He came to Peking in the 54th year of the reign of Emperor K'ang-hsi (1715) and was immediately called to the service of the palace; he died in the 31st year of the reign of Emperor Ch'ien-lung [1766].[19] One of his

[17] Ibid.

[18] Seigai Omura (大村西崖) wrote in his *Shina Bijutsu Shi* (支那美術史) that, "in the year of 1582, Matteo Ricci, an Italian Jesuit, arrived in China. He was also versed in painting and capable of portraying Madonnas." (Ch'en Pin-ho tr. *Chung-kuo Mei-shu Shih* 陳彬龢譯, 中國美術史, p. 196). It is not known on what evidence did Omura make this statement, as no sources known to the author [Hsiang Ta] have ever mentioned that Ricci was also able in painting.

[19] In Huang Po-lu's *Cheng-chiao Feng-pao* (黃伯祿, 正教奉褒), it is recorded that J. Castiglione died in 1764. But, according to P. Pelliot's "Les Conquêtes de l'Empereur de la Chine" (*T'oung Pao*, 1920-1922, pp. 183-274), as late as in July, 1765, Castiglione had still a letter sent to Europe, instructing how the "Triumph over the Dzungars and the Hui-pu" should be engraved. The date given in *Cheng-chiao Feng-pao*, therefore, must be wrong.

Plate 98 THE IMPERIAL ARMY SURPRISES TA QUA TSI, 1755. Engraving from "Triumph over the Dzungars and the Hui-pu". Hong Kong Museum of Art.

commentators said that he "is skilled in painting flowers, birds and animals, executed in Western methods." Again, "Castiglione's painting is rooted in Western techniques, complemented with Chinese methods. He can give his flowers a very life-like air, which makes him so much greater than other mediocre Western painters who can only adhere to traditional standards." In the Ch'ing palace catalogue *Shih-ch'ü Pao-chi* (石渠寶笈), 56 of Castiglione's works were recorded, of which most were paintings of flowers, birds and animals, with horses as the most favored subject. Among the 56 works, two hand scrolls depicting scenes on the battlefield represented a part of the great composition "Triumph over the Dzungars and the Hui-pu (回部, Moslem tribes)".[20] The hand scrolls were produced in the 20th (1755) and the 24th (1795) year of the reign of Emperor Ch'ien-lung respectively. It was in the 30th year of Ch'ien-lung (1765), after the conquest of the Dzungars and the Hui-pu, that the Emperor selected a number of Western missionaries from those serving in the Imperial Academy to record the important battles in painting, with the purpose of making his military achievements remembered forever. The paintings were sent to France to be engraved. The French scholar Henri Cordier describes the matter as follows:[21]

> *There are altogether four paintings depicting the conquest of Dzungaria. Three of them were first commissioned from Joseph Castiglione, Ignatius Sickelparth and Jean Denis Attiret* (王致誠), *all Jesuit missionaries serving in the Imperial Academy. Later, as they proceeded too slowly with their work, another Italian, Giuseppe Panzi* (潘廷璋), *was added to the team. The fourth was commissioned from an Augustinian missionary, Jean Damascène* (安德義). *When the paintings were completed, Emperor Ch'ien-lung, demanding perfection, wanted them to be engraved in Europe. He decreed that the Governor-General of Kwangtung handle the matter. At first the Governor-General planned to send the paintings to England, but the Bishop of Kwangtung, J. Louis le Febvre,*

[20] Hu Ching, *Kuo-ch'ao Yuan-hua Lu* (胡敬, 國朝院畫錄), Vol. I.

[21] Henri Cordier, op. cit., Tom. III, pp. 349-350, and P. Pelliot, "Les Conquêtes de l'Empereur de la Chine."

persuaded him to send them to France, maintaining that French art was supreme in Europe and that people there were very competent in this work. On 26th, the Fifth Month of the 30th Year of Ch'ien-lung (July 13, 1765), the paintings were sent to France with the permission of the Emperor. After their arrival, the Director of the Royal Academy of Painting, Marquis de Marigney, commissioned the work from Charles Nicolas Cochin and recruited a group of well-known engravers, such as Le Bas, Saint Aubin, B.L. Prevot, Aliamet, Masqulier, Née and Choffard, to work under him. The whole set of engravings was completed and sent back to China in 1774. When they were presented, the Emperor, on seeing them, spoke highly in their praise.

One of Castiglione's paintings still in existence is the *Scroll of 100 Horses*. In this painting, the horses are presented in all kinds of motions and postures, crouching, stretching, bending, leaning, and the use of a combination of lights and shades is completely in the Western style. In *Shih-ch'ü Pao-chi*, nine paintings by Sickelparth are recorded. It is said in Chinese writings that Sickelparth was at his best in painting birds and animals.[22]

At the time of K'ang-hsi and Ch'ien-lung, there was a considerable number of Western missionaries serving in the Imperial Studio and the Imperial Observatory. Under their influence there emerged artists such as Chiao Ping-chen (焦秉貞) who successfully combined the Eastern and Western traditions in pictorial art, initiated a new school of Ch'ing court painting and became its first master.

When a British embassy was sent to the Ch'ing court at the time of Ch'ien-lung, among the presents it brought were fourteen French tapestries of cut silk, of which four are still in existence. The designs on these tapestries illustrate European figures in color. This is another example of Western works of art introduced into China in the early Ch'ing period whose history can be traced.

[22] See *Kuo-ch'ao Yuan-hua Lu*, Vol. II. There are eight scrolls of horses painted by Sickelparth still kept in the Ku-wu Ch'en-lieh So (古物陳列所, Gallery of Antiquities) in Peking. He also painted in 1771 a picture entitled "Hsiang-shan Chiu-lao Tu" (香山九老圖, Nine Elders in the Mount Fragrant). There were in it Nine Military Elders, Nine Civil Elders, and Nine Retired Elders. The celebrated painter Tsou I-kuei (鄒一桂) was one of the Nine Retired Elders. See Wu Chang-yuan, *Ch'en-yuan Chih-lüeh* (吳長元, 宸垣識略), Vol. XI.

Plate 99 THE IMPERIAL ARMY FOUGHT TA QUA TSI ON THE BANK OF THE RIVER D'ELY, 1755. Engraving from "Triumph over the Dzungars and the Hui-pu". Hong Kong Museum of Art.

IV Western Portraiture in Later Ming and Early Ch'ing Painting

AS WE KNOW, in later Ming and early Ch'ing, Western churchmen who came to China as missionaries often made use of religious paintings as a medium of conversion, catering to the known tastes of the Chinese people. Quite a few Western missionaries who came to the East were versed in painting,[23] and, in the early Ch'ing period, a considerable number of them served in the Imperial studio. Moreover, churches everywhere set up holy images for religious worship, and among the Chinese converts there were numerous good painters. All these factors made Western influence in Chinese art certain and inevitable. It is first seen in portrait painting and, according to the opinion of modern scholars, the first painter who adopted Western techniques in painting portraits was Tseng Ching (曾鯨), a Fukienese of the later Ming period. Chiang Shao-wen [shu] wrote of Tseng as follows:[24]

> *Tseng Ching, courtesy-named Po-ch'en* (波臣), *was a native of P'ut'ien* (莆田), *Fukien, but took up residence in Nanking. He was a man of neat and handsome looks, and of noble appearance. Everywhere he went, he always made his abode a pleasant residence, with graceful verandas and rooms built on an elegant and magnificent plan. The portraits he painted were all like images reflected in a mirror, with the expressions of the models skillfully captured. His use of color was splendid, and he could make the eyes of his figures look very vivid, so that their every look or glance, smile or frown, though only on paper or silk, showed full of true life. His skill was such that not even Chou Fang* (周昉)*'s portrait of Chao Tsung* (趙縱) *could surpass it. Whether the subject were a dignitary or a recluse, a beauty or a religious man, every inch of beauty or ugliness in his portraiture resembled the real person. When he was face to face with his subject, he would always concentrate his whole attention on it until the self and the subject would become interpenetrated. Every time a portrait was being painted, he would never tire of adding washes and shades, often tens of times, until he achieved real artistry. It is therefore not without reason that Tseng Ching was unequalled among contemporary artists and was famous far and wide. He died at the age of eighty-three.*

In his *Kuo-ch'ao Hua-cheng Lu*, Chang Keng (張庚) also wrote:[25]

> *There are two schools of portraiture: one puts more emphasis on brush strokes; only after the structure has been worked out in lines of ink are colors applied to represent different sensuous qualities in the subject, while the spirit of the portrait has already been manifested in the brush strokes. This is the school of the Fukienese painter Tseng Ching. Another school uses at first a little light ink to make out a rough sketch of the main features of the subject, but finishes wholly with color washes. This is the method*

[23] According to Yin Kuang-jen and Chang Ju-lin's *Ao-meng Chi-lüeh*, (印光任, 張汝霖著, 澳門記略), Vol. II, there was a world atlas in the St. Paul's in Macao. (In Section "Ao Fan" 澳番, Foreigners in Macao.) The same atlas was also mentioned in Ch'ü Ta-chün's *Kwang-tung Hsin-yü*, Vol. II. It has been said above that in the church in Nanking, there were portraits of Christ and the Holy Mother. The following description is found in Chao I's *Yen-pao Tsa-chi* (趙翼, 簷曝雜記), Vol. II: "The Catholic Church is situated inside the Hsüan-wu Gate (宣武門). The portrait of Christ worshipped in the church looks like a handsome youth. His name is Yeh-su, and he is the holy one of his countrymen. The portrait was painted on the wall, but looks like a round body protruding from the wall. (In the article describing Western telescopes and music instruments.) A similar description can be seen in the same author's rhyme "Inspect Western Music Instruments with Friends" in *Ou-pei Shih-ch'ao* (甌北詩鈔). In Wu Chang-yuan's *Ch'en-yuan Chih-lüeh*, Vol. VII, it was also said that "people worship in church the portrait of Christ, which, though it is a painting, looks like a statue, with its ears and nose protruding as if they were parts of a living body."

[24] Chiang Shao-wen [shu], op. cit., Vol. IV, "Tseng Ching".

[25] Chang Keng, *Kuo-ch'ao Hua-cheng Lu* (張庚, 國朝畫徵錄), Vol. II, biographies of Ku Ming (顧銘) et al.

> *which painters in Kiangnan* (江南) *have taught for generations; and in it Tseng Ching was also well versed. I have seen a portrait of Hsiang Yuan-pien* (項元汴) *painted in ink by Tseng Ching, the spirit of which shows the same qualities of any painting in color. We can understand, therefore, why in painting brush strokes are to be emphasized.*

Hence in Ch'en Heng-k'o (陳衡恪)'s opinion, "With Tseng Ching's work, a new approach was initiated in the tradition of spiritual rendition [in Chinese painting]. Tseng put more emphasis on brush strokes than on color, and applied washes and shades, which shows that he was influenced by Western painting."[26] Seigai Omura (大村西崖), a Japanese historian, also said:

> *In the 10th year of the reign of Wan-li [1582], Matteo Ricci, an Italian Jesuit missionary, came to China. He was versed in painting, and adept in the portraiture of the Holy Mother of Jesus. Tseng Ching adapted Ricci's method of painting portraits and inaugurated the so-called Kiangnan* (江南) *school of portraiture.*[27]

Matteo Ricci arrived in China at the time when Tseng Ching was living in Nanking. The Western-styled portraits of Christ and the Holy Mother, which were set up in the church in Nanking and seen by Ku Ch'i-yuan and Hsu Kuang-ch'i, would also have been seen by Tseng Ching. Tseng's usual practice of applying washes and shades, often tens of times, in painting a portrait, as Chiang Shao-wen [shu] tells us, was a method which Chinese painters had never known before. Tseng had abruptly initiated a new school of portraiture, whose method was more or less close to Western painting. Accordingly, we can believe what Ch'en Heng-k'o and Omura had said, that Tseng had successfully combined the Chinese and Western elements in his art to make it his own. But Omura was obviously mistaken in asserting that Matteo Ricci came to the East in 1582 and that Tseng's art pertained to the Kiangnan school. As regards the question whether Ricci was also versed in painting or not, since no positive written proofs have ever been found and the evidence on which Omura made his assertion is not known, we can only leave the matter unresolved.

Tseng Ching's art had a great number of followers, among whom Hsieh Pin (謝彬), Kuo Kung (郭鞏), Hsu I (徐易), Shen Shao (沈韶), Liu Hsiang-sheng (劉祥生), Chang Ch'i (張琦), Chang Yuan (張遠), Shen Chi (沈紀) are the most well-known. Hsu Yao-p'u (徐瑤圃) was rightly rated as a talented pupil of Shen Chi: not only did his portraits closely resemble the real persons, but also in them the brush strokes, the ink and the washes merged completely into a whole.[28] In the time of K'ang-hsi and Ch'ien-lung, the school of Tseng Ching undoubtedly occupied a leading position in portraiture. When Shang-kuan Chou (上官周)'s "Wan-hsiao T'ang Hua-chuan" (晚笑堂畫傳, Illustrated Biographies from the Wan-hsiao Hall) appeared in the time of Ch'ien-lung, the consummation of Tseng Ching's art had been achieved.

As has been said above, the school of Tseng Ching put more emphasis on brush strokes than on color and applied washes and shades. When a picture was being worked out, tens of layers of washing and shading were often used. Nevertheless, it was still essentially a Chinese approach with engrafted Western methods. When we come into the early Ch'ing period, the importation of Western art grew more and more in scope, and there then began to appear painters who used purely Western methods to do portraits. The primary representatives of this school were Man Ku-li (莽鵠立), Ting Yün-tai (丁允泰) and the latter's daughter Ting Yü (丁瑜). In *Hua-cheng Lu* it was said:

> *Mang Ku-li, courtesy-named Cho-jan* (卓然), *a Manchu, Director of Salt Administration of the Ch'ang-lu* (長蘆) *Area, was skilled in portraiture. His method was essentially Western oriented, which, without giving first a structure by brush strokes, used only washes, shades and surface lines to make a picture. His portrait painting always closely resembled the real person and one who saw the picture*

[26] Ch'en Heng-k'o, *Chung-kuo Hui-hua Shih* (中國繪畫史), p. 39.

[27] Seigai Omura, op. cit. (Ch'en's translation), p. 196.

[28] Chang Keng, op. cit., Vol. II, biographies of Pien Yün (卞允) et al.

could easily tell whom it was depicting. He had a student named Chin Chieh (金玠), *courtesy-named Chieh-yü* (介玉), *a native of Chuki* (諸暨) *of Chekiang province.*[29]

It was again said in *Hua-cheng Lu:*[30]

Ting Yü, courtesy-named Huai-chin (懷瑾), *was a native of Ch'ient'ang* (錢塘, *Hangchow). Her father Yün-tai was skilled in portraiture, following entirely the Western method in using washes and shades. Yü inherited his art and specialized in figure painting, being very adept in representing figures in their every possible attitude of looking up, bending down, leaning sideways.*

These painters adopted a new approach which was known to follow the Western principles entirely. It was different from that of Tseng Ching, which was characterized by a combination of both Chinese and Western elements. But, besides Mang, Chin and the two Ting, no other painters of the school were wellknown. It can be inferred, therefore, that the school was not much welcomed by the artistic circles of the time.

[29]Chang Keng, *Kuo-ch'ao Hua-cheng Hsü-lu* (畫徵續錄), Vol. I, biography of Man Ku-li.

[30]Ibid., Vol. II, biography of Ting Yü.

V The Imperial Studio in Early Ch'ing and Westernization in Chinese Painting

ACCORDING TO Ch'ing custom, no official rank was given to painters who served at the Inner Court. The Emperor set up a studio called Ju-i Kuan (如意館) in the south of the courtyard known as Ch'i-hsiang Kung (啟祥宮), and there painting, copying, jade-carving, scroll-mounting, book-binding, etc. were being carried on. At first only artisans were recruited, but gradually literati, either recommended by high officials or recommended by their own talents, were also assigned work there. But the status of the latter was still different from that of literary courtiers.[31] In K'ang-hsi's time, Western missionaries served at the Inner Court as painters, and in the Imperial Observatory they filled most of the leading posts. Their Chinese colleagues grew familiar with their ideas, absorbed their art in painting, and were influenced by them unconsciously. Beginning with Chiao Ping-chen, the western orientation almost became a fashion in the Imperial Studio, and quite a few Chinese painters emerged as distinguished masters in the new fashion. In the later years of Ch'ien-lung, however, when Christianity was prohibited, the number of Western missionaries working in the Imperial Observatory dwindled, and the new tendency in Chinese painting towards an eclectic art was abruptly stopped.

In his *Hua-cheng Lu* Chang Keng wrote:[32]

Chiao Ping-chen, a native of Tsining (濟寧) *[of Shantung Province], was a high officer of the Imperial Observatory. He was skilled in figure painting. In his paintings, figures far and near, big and small, were represented with an exactitude devoid of the slightest mistake. This was accomplished by applying the Western method.*

A more detailed description was given in Hu Ching (胡敬)'s *Kuo-ch'ao Yuan-hua Lu* (國朝院畫錄, Court Paintings in the Imperial Ch'ing Dynasty) as follows:[33]

Chiao Ping-chen, skilled in painting figures, landscapes and palatial buildings, complemented his art with the Western method. His Late Majesty K'ang-hsi once copied Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (董其昌)*'s calligraphy* Ch'ih-shang P'ien (池上篇) *by his own imperial hand, and left a remark on the copy which reads: "In the spring of the 28th year of K'ang-hsi [1689], I once copied Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's calligraphy* Ch'ih-shang P'ien, *and instructed Chiao Ping-chen, an officer in our Ob-*

[31]*Ch'ing Shih Kao* (清史稿), "I-shu Chuan" (藝術傳) III, biography of T'ang Tai (唐岱).

[32]*Kuo-ch'ao Hua-cheng Lu*, Vol. II.

[33]*Kuo-ch'ao Yuan-hua Lu*, Vol. I.

servatoay, to work out a painting representing what Tung's writing had described. When people of the past commended paintings, they conferred, time and time again, the same praises, such as 'out of a single brush touch a fly,' 'man in an inch and horse in the size of a bean,' 'like the four saints in painting,' 'like Ku K'ai-chih* (顧愷之)*'s two excellences,'** etc. Chiao Ping-chen as a painter is unique. As he has long been versed in the measurement of the latitudes of the heavenly bodies and the topographical differences of the earth, he can show, within the space of a single foot in his paintings, layer upon layer of mountains and high peaks which represent distances as far as ten thousands of* li. *This is even more than what one [like Chang Tsao* (張璪)*], who could simultaneously manage two brushes, can do. I, therefore, write these few lines to record the occasion." In my humble opinion, the Western method excels in painting shades. It dissects the picture into minute parts to distinguish* yin *and* yang, *front and back, slanting and upstanding, long and short, and applies colours either heavy or light, bright or dark, according to the distribution of shades. Therefore, viewed at a distance, figures, animals, plants and houses all seem to stand out and look rounded. In addition, the casting of daylight, the spread of mist and cloud, and every depth and extremity [in nature] are represented distinctly on a small piece of paper or silk. Chiao had worked in the Imperial Observatory and was versed in the science of survey and mathematics. This helped him appreciate the Western method and adapt it to his own painting. His Late Majesty K'ang-hsi's commendation of his painting is accordingly also a commendation of his scholarship in mathematics.*

*It is not known to whom did the "four saints in painting" actually refer. Most probably it referred to Ku K'ai-chih (顧愷之, c. 344-406), Lu T'an-wei (陸探微, fl. c. 475), Chang Sheng-yu (張僧繇, fl. c. 530), and Wu Tao-yuan (吳道玄, fl. c. 725).

**It has been said that Ku K'ai-chih had three excellences (Hu-t'ou San-chüeh, 虎頭三絕): One in talent, one in painting, and one in naïvetê.

In *Shih-chü Pao-chi*, six of Chiao Ping-chen's paintings are entered, of which the most famous is *Keng-chih T'u* (耕織圖, Illustrations of Grain and Seri-Culture). Chiao was already in service at the Inner Court before the 28th year of K'ang-hsi (1689). Castiglione arrived at Peking only in the 54th year of K'ang-hsi (1715), Sickelparth was called to service at Ju-i Kuan in the 10th year of Ch'ien-lung (1745), and both Panzi and Attiret were also taken into the service of the Court in the time of Ch'ien-lung. Therefore, it is likely that Chiao acquired his new method in painting from the missionaries who were working with him concurrently in the Imperial Observatory, and not from Castiglione, Attiret or any other known missionary painters.

After Chiao, men like Leng Mei (冷枚), T'ang Tai (唐岱), Ch'en Mei (陳枚) and Lo Fu-min (羅福旻) were all wellknown for their adoption of Western methods in painting.[34] In Feng Ching-po (馮金伯)'s *Kuo-ch'ao Hua-chih* (國朝畫識, Notes on Paintings of the Imperial Dynasty), an account of Ch'en Mei was quoted from *Lou-hsien Chih* (婁縣志, History of Lou County) as follows:

> *Ch'en Mei's painting first followed the Sung masters, but it was tinged with the style of T'ang Yin* (唐寅) *and complemented furthermore with the Western method. He could present multiple ranges of mountains and valleys on a small piece of paper or silk, and if one looks with the help of a magnifying glass, one can find on it hills and woods, houses and bridges, people moving to and fro, and all other imaginable things, painted with a finesse comparable to what one*

[34]There is a biography of Leng Mei in *Kuo-ch'ao Hua-cheng Lu*, Vol. II and *Kuo-ch'ao Yuan-hua Lu*, Vol. I; A biography of Ch'en Mei in *Kuo-ch'ao Hua Chih* (國朝畫識), Vol. XI and *Kuo-ch'ao Yuan-hua Lu*, Vol. I; another biography of T'ang Tai in *Kuo-ch'ao Yuan-hua Lu*, Vol. II; and a biography of Lo Fu-min in the same work. There is also a biography of Leng Mei in *Tao-Kuang Chiao-chou Chih* (道光膠州志), Vol. XXX. According to the latter, "Leng was formerly a disciple of Chiao Ping-chen and became a painter as well-known as Chiao himself. Leng was skilled especially in figure-painting, which was incomparable in his time. He served at the Inner Court during the reign of K'ang-hsi. When Chiao was committed to paint a *Keng-chih T'u* at the royal order, Leng helped him in producing the work."

Plate 100
SECOND HARROWING
From Chiao Ping-chen's
Keng-chih T'u,
Ch'ing period.

could expect from a big painting. In the 4th year of Yung-cheng (雍正, 1726), Ch'en was awarded a Fourth Grade official title in Nei Wu-fu (內務府, Office of the Imperial Household) for his worthy service at the Inner Court, and given special leave to return home to get married. The generous royal favour bestowed on him was considered in the arts circle as a rare honor.

As Ch'en painted with a knowledge of perspective, the precipitous peaks and mountain ranges that appear in his paintings can show, within the compass of a foot's length, a distance of thousands of miles. Compared with the traditional Chinese method of *p'ing-yuan* (平遠, level distance) or that of *kao-yuan* (高遠, high distance), Ch'en's method certainly yielded more distinctive levels and a more realistic presentation of space.

During the period from K'ang Hsi to Ch'ien-lung, Chiao Ping-chen's initial adoption of the Western method gave rise to a new fashion among the Ch'ing court painters. The most representative production of this new school is Chiao's *Keng-chih T'u*. So far as we know, there was an earlier *Keng-chih T'u* painted by Lou Tao (樓璹)* in the time of the Southern Sung (南宋), and it was in the 35th year of K'ang-hsi that the Emperor ordered Chiao to prepare a new work along the lines of the older work. From *Yuan-hua Lu* we know that, in the time of Ch'ien-lung, both Leng Mei, and Ch'en Mei were each ordered again to paint an album of

*The Romanization of 樓璹 was given in Osvald Siren's *Chinese Painting* (Vol. V, p. 91) as Lou Ch'ou.

Keng-chi T'u.[35] It is not known whether the works of Leng and Ch'en have ever been engraved, but Chiao's work, in a series of forty-six leaves, was carved on wooden blocks, printed and distributed among officials as a royal favor. It was re-engraved several times later, and altogether more than ten editions, including the original and its reproductions, are now in existence. From this we can see how the Imperial Studio flourished in times past.

The Sung edition of Lou Tao's *Keng-chih T'u* has long been lost, but there exists a Japanese reproduction, copied by Eiinou Kano (狩野永納) in 1676 from a Ming edition of the time of T'ien-shun (天順, 1457-1464), in which one can see a miniature of the Sung original. Scholars like B. Laufer in his "Discovery of a Lost Book" and F. Hirth in his *Ueber Fremde Einflüsse in der Chinesischen Kunst* (Foreign influences in Chinese Art) and "Scraps from a Collector's Note Book";[36] have done comparative studies of the two sets of *Keng-chih T'u* by Lou and Chiao. Based on the findings of Laufer and Hirth, the Japanese scholar Kyushiro Nakamura (中村久四郎) wrote his "Popular Customs in the Time of Sung and the Influence of Western Painting Seen in *Keng-chih T'u*",[37] which made further contributions to the study of the subject. The following is a summary of these three studies.

In comparing Chiao Ping-chen's *Keng-chih T'u* with that of Lou Tao, three differences can be detected.

First, in Lou's work there are 21 pictures illus-

[35] According to the account in *Kuo-ch'ao Yuan-hua Lu*, Vol. I, Leng Mei and Ch'en Mei had each painted an album of *Keng-chih T'u* of 46 pictures. A list of the contents of Ch'en's album can still be seen in *Yuan-hua Lu*, of which the titles and the order of the pictures are different from the works of both Lou Tao and Chiao Ping-chen. But, in *Chiao-chou Chih*, it has only mentioned that Leng helped Chiao produce the work, not that he produced a work of his own. It is not known which of the two accounts is correct.

[36] B. Laufer, "The Discovery of a Lost Book" (*T'oung Pao*, 1912, pp. 97-106). F. Hirth's "Scraps from a Collector's Note Book" was also published in *T'oung Pao*, but the author [Hsiang Ta] has not yet seen his other work indicated herewith.

[37] Kyushiro Nakamura, "Kōshito ni mieru Sōtai no fūzoku to seiyōga no eikiyo" (耕織圖に見える宋代の風俗と西洋畫の影響), *Shigaku Zasshi* (史學雜誌), Vol. XXII, No. 11, pp. 17-39.

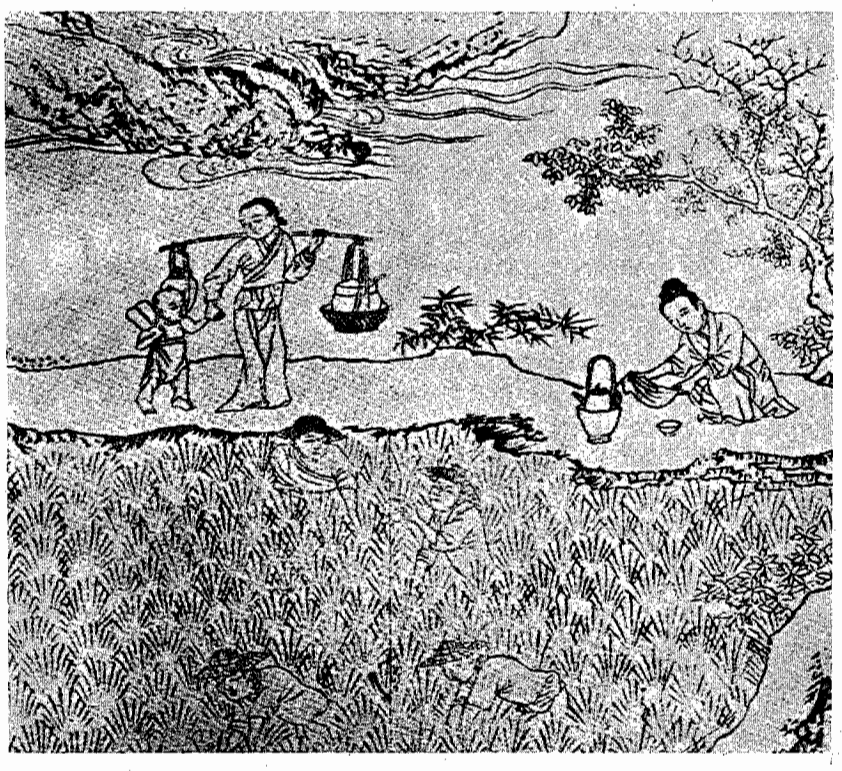

Plate 101
SECOND HARROWING
From Lou Tao's *Keng-chih T'u*,
Sung period.

trating grain-culture: soaking seeds, ploughing, second ploughing, third ploughing, rolling, planting seeds, shadowing, thinning young plants, transplanting, first harrowing, second harrowing, third harrowing, irrigation, scything, grounding, beating grains, winnowing, hulling, pounding, sifting, storing; and 24 pictures illustrating seri-culture: bathing of silk-worm egg papers, taking down egg papers for storage, feeding, first moulting, second moulting, third moulting, screening, picking mulberry leaves, final emerging from moulting, catching the mature silk-worms, transferring the silk-worms to the straw cocks on the screens, warming the screens, gathering of cocoons, sorting the cocoons, holding the cocoons in trays, reeling the silk fibers, silk-moths, thanksgiving, spooling silk, warping, spinning silk fibers into weft yarns, weaving, figure weaving, polishing. In Chiao's work, both grain-culture and seri-culture each consists of 23 pictures. The section on grain-culture contains two other pictures which Lou's work does not have: one illustrating first shoots and another illustrating thanksgiving. The section on seri-culture omitted three pictures from Lou's selection, viz., taking down egg papers for storage, feeding and first moulting, but added two others: one on dyeing and another on tailoring. The order of the pictures in the two works is also somewhat different. From this comparison one can see the change of practices in grain- and seri-culture from Sung to Ch'ing times.

Secondly, pictures in Lou's work are generally simple and plain, while those in Chiao's are fine and luxuriant. Taking the illustration of the second weeding as an example: the structure of the two pictures is mainly alike, both showing four farmers who are weeding, and two women on the field path, one of whom is leading a child by the hand. But in Lou's picture, besides the woman who is carrying a load of tea and food on her shoulder and leading a child, the other woman is portrayed as squatting and fanning a fire in a brazier, while in Chiao's picture this second woman is drawn walking in front of the other woman, not squatting, but carrying a basket in one hand and pointing to a remote place with her other hand. In Lou's picture, the four farmers, each with a bamboo hat on his head and clothes wrapped up, appear to be very busy pulling up weeds. In Chiao's picture, however, palm-leaf fans are added to the scene: an old man, chest bare, is cooling himself with a fan, and another farmer has a fan stuck in the waist of his trousers behind his back; both men appear to be easy and relaxed. In Lou's picture, the four farmers occupied in weeding are put in the front of the picture, but in Chiao's picture they are placed in the left corner, against a background of fields, trees and bamboo groves. In Lou's picture, the women are short and round-faced, and the child, naked above the waist, holds a palm-leaf fan in his hand. In Chiao's picture, however, the women have slender bodies and slim waists and are depicted in charming and graceful postures, and the child, naked below the waits, holds a whirligig in his hand. (The whirligig was also a popular toy in Italy. It is possible that Chiao chose to put it in his picture because he was influenced by the Italian missionaries of the time.) In other words, Lou's picture presents mainly a view of toil and is true to life, while Chiao's picture, exquisitely and decoratively executed, presents a view of peacefulness and leisure, as if the artist, idling in the calmness of nature and envisioning the life of the countryside, took Lou's work as a blueprint, and used his painter's imagination to limn his own picture, without realizing that he has rendered the scene much more delicately and, in doing so, made it fall short of reality.

Chiao's work was in the main worked out on the plan of Lou's, but after being modified and embellished, the atmosphere of the picture was greatly changed and savored of peace and relaxation. But the greatest difference was that Chiao applied the Western method of perspective in his work. Chang Keng's description that in his paintings "figures far and near, big and small, were represented with an exactitude devoid of the slightest mistake" can be discerned in each of these 46 pictures. Though the woods, houses, figures and landscape were still executed in the traditional style, the presentation of spatial feeling followed the Western method. This way of complementing Chinese painting with Western perspective brought into being a new school of painting that mingled Chinese and Western characteristics. Unfortunately the literati of the time did not welcome it, therefore, when the patronage of the royal court was lost, this style soon disappeared

as well.

In the time of Ch'ien-lung, another court painter named Men Ying-chao (門應兆) also adopted Western methods to a great extent in his painting. In the year 1778, on the instruction of Ch'ien-lung, the *Hsi-ch'ing Yen P'u* (西清硯譜, *Ink Slabs in the Royal Collection*) was compiled. The collators of the work were Yu Min-chung (于敏中) and Liang Kuo-chih (梁國治), and the illustrator was Men. In this work, the entire palace collection of ink-slabs was recorded, and a picture was made of each item. Using a purely Western method in presenting light and shade, Men produced real-looking pictures that faithfully depicted the slabs with all their curvatures, indentations and exposed and hidden faces. Early in the time of Wan-li of the Ming dynasty, when Li Chih-tsao (李之藻) wrote his *Pan-kung Li Yo Shu* (泮宮禮樂疏, *On State Rites and Music*), the ceremonial vessels and music instruments therein recorded were already meticulously illustrated by pictures executed partly in the Western style. Also, at the end of the Ming dynasty, Wang Cheng (王徵)'s translation of *Ch'i-ch'i T'u-shuo* (奇器圖說, *Illustrated Western Mechanical Engineering*) and the Jesuit Ferdinand Verbiest (南懷仁)'s writing of the *Ling-t'ai I-hsiang Chih* (靈臺儀象志, *On the Astronomical Instruments in the Royal Observatory*) both copied their illustrations directly from Western books, and therefore the objects depicted have a three-dimensional appearance, with relevant light and dark, distinct and obscure presentations. It is possible that Men Ying-chao's art was influenced by these earlier works.[38]

[38] Ibid.

VI Western Art and Painters Outside the Court

WESTERN ART enjoyed a certain vogue in the later Ming and early Ch'ing period as the result of royal patronage, but this, naturally, was mainly confined to the court. Outside, among the common people, it had only minimal influence. In Chu K'un-t'ien's *Ti-yü Hsiao-kao* (笛漁小稿, Mélanges) it is mentioned:

> *Chang Seng-yao* (張僧繇)*'s flower paintings appear to have three-dimensional depth when viewed from afar, but, viewed closely, look flat. This way of presentation was well understood by Ts'ao Chung* (曹重), *courtesy-named Shih-ching* (十經).

This must mean that Ts'ao adopted Western methods in his paintings.

In Li To (李斗)'s *Yang-chou Hua-fang Lu* (揚州畫舫錄, Roaming in Yangchou in a Boat),[39] it is also noted:

> *Chang Shu* (張恕), *courtesy-named Chin-jen* (近仁), *was skilled in the Western style of painting. All that he painted fitted the rules of perspective down to the last detail, and not even Westerners could surpass him.*

Ts'ao and Chang were followers of the Western style among Chinese painters outside the Court. In the *Hua Cheng Lu*'s Biography of Ts'iu Wei (崔嵬),[40] it is said:

> *Ts'iu Wei, courtesy-named Hsiang-chou* (象州), *a native of Korea* (三韓), *is a veteran artist skilled in the painting of figures and female portraits. He is a follower of Chiao Ping-chen's painting style. His portraits are cleanly and beautifully colored and are very charming and elegant. Though not great enough to be ranked equally with the ancient masters, he is justifiably one of the foremost painters of his time. His plumblossom paintings, executed in plain ink, are also fine in style. He is now a prefecture magistrate.*

These men all worked outside the Court and can be grouped as painters among the common people. The painter K'ung Yen-shih (孔衍栻) was also one

[39] *Yang-chou Hua-fang Lu*, Vol. II, "Ts'ao-ho Lu" (草河錄).

[40] *Kuo-ch'ao Hua-cheng Lu*, Vol. III, biography of Ts'ui Wei.

of them. He was active in the early years of K'ang-hsi, and was the author of *Shih-ts'un Hua Chueh* (石村畫訣, Shih-ts'un On How to Paint). He invented the method of shadowing with a semi-dry brush, a slight deviation from the methods of the four masters of the Yuan period. It seems that the invention was inspired by the influence of Western painting, but the hypothesis still awaits the judgement of experts.[41]

The painters mentioned so far in this chapter were mainly eclectics who sought to combine and modify the styles of Chinese and Western painting, and in doing so had initiated a new school of painting, but it is not known whether any of them also admired and penetrated into other aspects of Western culture. The first to convert to the Western style was Wu Li (吳歷), courtesy-named Yü-shan (漁山) and style-named Mo-ching (墨井). Wu was a native of Ch'ang-shu (常熟) of Kiangsu province. Known as one of the six masters of early Ch'ing painting, ranking together with Wang Shih-min (王時敏), Wang Chien (王鑑), Wang Hui (王翬), Wang Yuan-ch'ih (王原祁) and Yün Ke (惲格), he was even rated above Wang Hui by Wang Shih-min. Sketches of Wu's life can be found in both *Hua-cheng Lu* and *Mo-ching Chi* (墨井集, Collected Writings of Wu Li).

In his *Ou-pei Yü-hua* (鷗陂漁話, Fisherman's Words on Crane Beach), the scholar Yeh T'ing-kuan (葉廷琯) wrote the following of Wu Li:

> *The master had long been converted to the [Western] religion, and had twice visited Europe. Therefore in his later years he loved to apply Western methods in his painting.*[42]

Adopting Yeh's information, the Biography of Wu Li in the *Ch'ing Shih Kao* (清史稿, Draft History of the Ch'ing Dynasty) also said:

> *In his old age Wu left his family and was converted to Catholicism. He visited Europe twice. He often employed Western methods in painting. The clouds and atmosphere [in his landscapes] extend to a great distance and height, which is very different from the style of his former days.*[43]

Both sources say that Wu had travelled to Europe twice, and that in his later years he complemented his painting with Western methods. But the fact is that Wu Li planned to go to Europe in the 19th year of K'ang-hsi (1680), in the company of the Belgian priest, Philippe Couplet (1624-1692), a Jesuit father in China at that time who had received his Society's orders to return to Rome. In the 20th year of K'ang-hsi they were on their way. However, when they arrived in Macau and took up lodgings at St. Paul's Cathedral (now known in Chinese as *San-pa Sze* 三巴寺), Wu Li decided to stay there to become a novice. In the 21st year of K'ang-hsi he entered the Jesuit Order. His *San-pa Chi* (三巴集, The San-pa Collection) was written during his stay in Macau. In it there is this poem, member 29 in his *Au Chung Tsa Yung* (墺中雜詠, Miscellaneous Poems Written in Macau):

> *My Westward venture was unaccomplished.*
> *What should I do?*
> *I have stayed in Macau for two seasons,*
> *winter and spring.*
> *When tomorrow, at Hsiang-shan, I ask people*
> *again how to cross the ocean.*
> *They say: it's a long, long voyage, beyond*
> *the hills lined with plum-trees.*
>
> —Written on my failure to accompany Father Couplet to Europe[44]

The poem proves that Wu Li never went to Europe. It is only because, after joining the Jesuit Order, he was wholeheartedly devoted to spiritual studies and rarely communicated with the secular world, that it was mistakenly reported that he had left China for Europe. As regards the story of his adoption of Western methods in his later paintings,

[41] K'ung's description of his method of shading with a semi-dry brush in *Shih-ts'un Hua Chüeh* can also be seen in a quotation in the Hsien-feng Edition of *Chi-ning Chou Chih* (咸豐濟寧州志).

[42] Quoted in Yao Ta-jung, "Pien Hua-cheng Lu Chi Wang Shih-ku yü Wu Yü-shan Chüeh-chiao Shih chih Wu" (姚大榮, 辯畫徵錄記王石谷與吳漁山絕交事之誣), *Tung-fang Tsa-chih* (東方雜誌), Vol. XXIII, No. 21.

[43] *Ch'ing Shih Kao*, "I-shu Chuan" III, biography of Wang Hui.

[44] Li Wen-yü (ed.), *Mo-ching Chi* (李問漁編墨井集), Vol. III, *San-pa Chi* (三巴集).

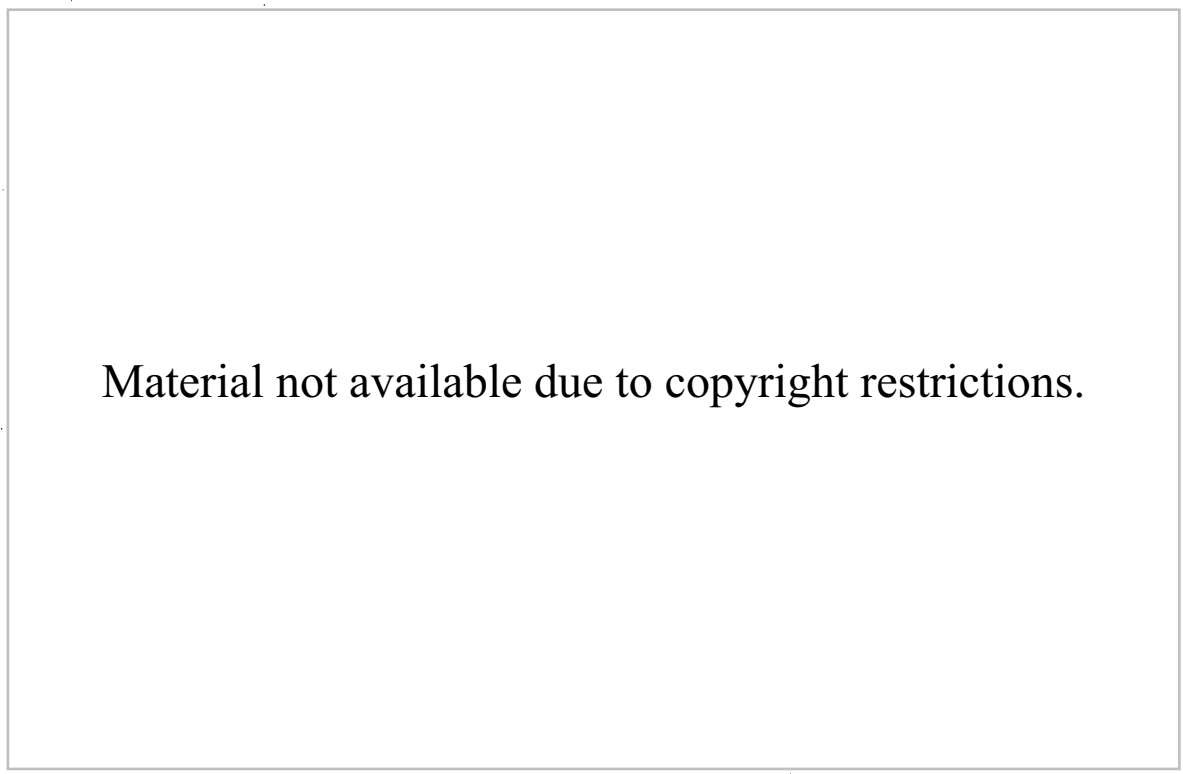

Plate 102 MACAO c. 1655. Engraving by J. Nieuhoff. From *THE CHATER COLLECTION.*

it could also have been exaggerated. Wu did make some comparisons between Chinese and Western customs, writing and painting. He once said:

> *The town of Macau, also called Hao-ching* (濠鏡), *is not far from the county city of Hsiang-shan. It is a place where fashions of the Greater and Lesser West prevail. Popular rites and customs are the exact opposite of those practised in our own country here. For example, at home when one sees a guest, one always tidies one's own clothes and hat. Here, however, one simply accosts a guest by taking off one's hat. There is also a difference in writing and painting. In our own writing, characters are formed with dots and strokes, then sounds are given to them. In their writing, the sound exists before the written word, and the script is made up of curves and strokes spread out in horizontal lines. In painting, we do not aim at the resemblance to outward forms, nor prize the rigid adherence to formal presentation, and we call this spiritual excellence. On the other hand, their painting is entirely devoted to the portraying of* yin *and* yang, *front and back, and the capturing of outward forms. With regard to colophons and signatures, our painters always place them on the top of the painting, while their painters always put them at the bottom. The ways of using the brush are different too. There are so many differences that I cannot describe them all.*[45]

But in one of Wu's colophons to his own paintings, he said:

> *In ancient times, people who could write well did not ask for recommendations, and those who could paint well did not ask for material awards. They said, "We write to impart the thoughts of our hearts; we paint to make ourselves happy." They ate and*

[45] *Mo-ching Chi*, Vol. IV, "Mo-ching Hua-pa" (墨井畫跋).

dressed most plainly, and never accomodated themselves to other people. Not even princes and nobles could order them about, because honours and humiliations meant nothing to them. Only such men who have attained spiritual enlightenment can excel in the art of the brush.

Painters without a basic study of the works of Sung and Yuan masters are like chess-players who have only an empty chess-board, but no chess-pieces to play their game with. A painter whose vision is broad and whose thoughts are free will naturally manifest Nature's charm with every brushstroke. In painting, the brush should be given free rein, and the imagination allowed to soar. Tung Yuan (董源) *and Chu Jan* (巨然) *are to painting as T'ao Ch'ien* (陶潛) *and Hsieh Ling-yun* (謝靈運) *are to poetry.*

This shows that Wu Li attached great importance to the work of imagination in painting, and belittled the mastering of the outward resemblance of forms. Judging from his extant works, we do not see how "the clouds and atmosphere extand to a great distance and heights". Only one painting, entitled *Spring on the Lake*, seems to show some employment of Western perspective, being also somewhat close to the style of Castiglione in the depicting of trees and rocks. All his other paintings, however, are in the old tradition. Thus the saying the Wu Li liked to apply Western methods in his painting in his old age is nothing but a piece of unfounded hearsay.

Plate 103 HORSE: Pi Li Shang, by Giuseppe Castiglione. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

VII Conclusion

IN THE EARLIER sections of this essay, under the titles "The Appearance of Western Missionaries and Western Art in China", "Westernized Portraiture in Later Ming and Early Ch'ing Painting", "The Imperial Studio in Early Ch'ing and Westernization in Chinese Painting", "Western Art and Painters outside the Court", a brief analysis has been made of the influence of the West on Chinese art in the two centuries between the early years of the Ming Emperor Wan-li and the last years of the Ch'ing Emperor Ch'ien-lung. Now we may ask why it is that, after having flourished for two hundred years, Westernized art came to a premature end in China. The reason for this can be traced back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when France and Portugal competed for the right to preach Christianity in the East. As French missionaries were inflexibly opposed to the practice of ancestor worship and other similar rites by the Chinese christians, Catholic evangelism in China lost much of its success with the arrival of Cardinal de Tournon. In the last years of Emperor Ch'ien-lung, the prohibition of Christianity became more and more severe, dealing a fatal blow to the spread of Western culture, and this has also been the explanation given for the dwindling of Westernized art. However, there were also factors in the so-called Westernized art of the time itself which were responsible for the failure of its further development.

The first factor was the disapproval of Westernized art felt by most Chinese painters of the time. Wu Li, for instance, compared Chinese and Western painting with an emphasis on the difference between what he called "spiritual excellence" and "outward resemblance of form", implying that the former was superior to the latter. (See *Section V*) The same view is even more obvious in the following words of Chang Keng (張庚):

> *In the Ming dynasty, Matteo Ricci, a European who knew Chinese, arrived in Nanking and took up residence in a barrack west of the Cheng-yang Gate. He painted their religious Master in the form of a little child called the Son of Heaven held in the arms of a woman. The portraits looked very spirited, and the colouring was fresh and lovely. He once said, "Chinese painting only shows the front side [of an object], and no concavity or convexity is depicted; but the painting of my native country shows both the back and the front [of an object], which makes it look full and rounded on all sides. In treating a human face, which as a rule is light on the front and dark on the back, we blacken the dark side slightly so as to make the front side stand out clear and bright. Chiao Ping-chen adopted this idea and modified it. But it does not meet the standards of real elegance, and is disapproved of by lovers of time-honored ways.* [46]

The painter Tsou I-kuei in his treatise on Western painting also said:

> *Western artists excel in sketching and drawing, thus when they depict light and shade and distance they are exact to the last detail. All human figures, houses and trees in their painting have shadows trailing behind them. The colours and brushes which they use are completely different from those used in China. When they paint a scene, the perspective is presented as from broad to narrow, calculated in the dimensions of a triangle. Their mural pictures depicting palaces look so real that people are almost tempted to walk into them. Students of art may benefit somewhat if they learn a few such knacks. However, being completely lacking in the mastery of the brush, such painting, though elaborate, is afterall nothing but craftsmanship, and is not recognized as*

[46] *Kuo-ch'ao Hua-cheng Lu*, Vol. II, biographies of Chiao Ping-chen et al. In a poem by Ch'ien-lung, entitled "Ming Chin T'ing-piao Fu Li Kung-lin Wu-ma-t'u Fa Hua Ai-wu-han Shih-chün (命金廷標撫李公麟五馬圖法畫愛烏罕四駿), a comment was made on Castiglione's painting, which is similar to Wu Li's opinion of painting quoted in the preceding section. For Ch'ien-lung's poem, see *Yü-chih Shih* (御製詩), Vol. III.

painting of quality.[47]

Himself a painter, Tsou examined the differences between Chinese and Western painting, and perceived the merits of the Western ways of perspective and chiaroscuro. While advocating that Chinese painters employ some of this art, he nevertheless rejected it from the ranks of painting for the reason that it is mere craftsmanship. Actually, in the early Ch'ing period, most painters followed the four masters of the later Yuan dynasty, imitating the time-honoured style, and it was rare for any painter to have as great a vision and as much originality as Shih-t'ao (石濤). It was not surprising, therefore, that Westernized painting was mocked at for not meeting the standards of real elegance and rejected from the ranks of painting.

The development of Western painting in China was impeded by another factor—Western people themselves did not like that new kind of nondescript painting produced by Western missionaries in China. In the reign of the Emperor Ch'ien-lung, the Englishman John Barrows went to Peking in the service of the British Ambassador, Lord Macartney, and set up astronomical apparatus in the imperial gardan Yuan-ming Yuan (圓明園). After he returned to England he wrote his *Travels in China* in which he recorded an occasion on which he saw two works by Castiglione:

> *At* Yuen-min-yuen *[Yuan-ming Yuan] I found two very large paintings of landscapes, which, as to the pencilling, were done with tolerable execution, but they were finished with a minuteness of shade, which give force and effect to a picture; none of the rules of perspective were observed, nor any attempt throw to the objects to their proper distances; yet I could not help fancying that I discovered in them the hand of an European.... Having turned over one of the volumes, I observed, on the last page, the name of* Castaglione *[Castiglione], which at once solved the riddle.... On enquiry, I found that Castaglione was a missionary in great repute at court, where he executed a number of paintings, but was expressly directed by the Emperor to paint all his subjects after the Chinese manner, and not like those of Europe, with broad masses of shade and the distant objects scarcely visible, observing to him, as one of the missionaries told me, that the imperfections of the eye afforded no reason why the objects of nature should also be copied as imperfect. This idea of the Emperor accords with a remark made by one of his ministers, who came to see the portrait of His Britannic Majesty, "that it was great pity it should have been spoiled by the dirt upon the face," pointing, at the same time, to the broad shade of the nose.*[48]

It is evident that Westerners of the time did not think highly of this kind of art which combined Chinese and Western styles but was actually neither Chinese nor Western in nature.

A third factor that hindered the development of Western art in China was the fact that even Western painters in the Imperial Studio were unhappy about their own works. In the reign of Ch'ien-lung, men like Attiret and Castiglione serving in the Court gained imperial recognition by their expertise in painting. Wishing to introduce Western methods of drawing, chiaroscuro, etc. to the Chinese, they at first executed portraits and still-lifes in pure Western manner. However, the Emperor disliked their way of presenting flesh tones, matching heavy and light colours and casting shades, and forced them to learn from Chinese painters and study the methods of Chinese painting. Knowing that the royal idea was wrong, they nevertheless had no choice but to obey. In a letter sent to Paris on November 1, 1743, Attiret told of this quandary:

[47] See Tsou I-kuei, *Hsiao-shan Hua-p'u* (小山畫譜), Vol. II. In the First Volume of the same work, Tsou discussed the methods and secrets of painting in a special article. One of the methods taught how to present rocks, in which Tsou advised that "white and black are used to represent light and dark, and blank and solidness to represent convexity and concavity." In the last chapter of J. C. Ferguson's *Chinese Painting* (1927), it is said that, as Tsou had been associated with the Jesuit painters Castiglione and Attiret, he knew quite well how to use Western techniques in painting. It is undoubtedly true as the afore-quoted saying shows.

[48] See John Barrows, *Travels in China*. pp. 324-325. 1806, T. Cadell & W. Davies, London.

> *The above account may sound as if I am casting away all that I have learnt to create a new style, in order to please His Majesty. But all that we painted were by order of His Majesty. At first we observed our own country's methods and the correct rules of painting, but when His Majesty saw our works he was not happy with them, and many times returned them to us, ordering changes. We dared not say whether the changes thus made were appropriate or not; we could only bend to His Majesty's will.*[49]

There are a number of entries in Hu Ching's *Yuan-hua Lu* (院畫錄), that bear testimony to Attiret's words, for example *Ma Chi T'u* (馬枝圖, A Herd of Horses) by Castiglione and Chang T'ing-yen (張廷彥); *Pin-feng* T'u (豳風圖, Illustration of the Poem "Pin-feng"), by Castiglione, T'ang Tai (唐岱) and Shen Yuan (沈源); and the *Ai-wu-han Ssu Chin T'u* (愛烏孚四駿圖, The Four Afghan Steeds), in which Castiglione was ordered by Ch'ien-lung to paint the horses, and Chin T'ing-piao (金廷標) painted the reins holders after the style of Li Po-shih (李伯時). In the last instance, the Emperor took pride in saying "Castiglione's style seems to match Li's, and together they have created an art of excellent quality." He was not aware that this style of painting was neither fish nor fowl.

From these three factors it can be seen that what was known as the new painting of later Ming and early Ch'ing, a mixture of Chinese and Western styles, was actually facing a very awkward situation. Not only was it regarded as vulgar by Chinese connoisseurs, and criticized by Westerners as ludicrous, but the painters themselves, who were forced to take to such a style, were also full of reluctance and regret. Therefore, it was quite predictable from the start that such a style would never establish itself in the Chinese art world and would come to an early end. The saying goes: "Previous happenings should be remembered as lessons for the future." The failure of Westernized art in China in the later Ming and early Ch'ing period challenges us to think about the future of Chinese art. Here, the opinions of two art experts, one Chinese and the other Western, are relevant.

Laurence Binyon, in his comparative study of Western and Eastern art, attributed the reason for the different developments in Western and Eastern painting to the rise of science.

> *I have sometimes thought that if our modern painting had developed continuously from the art of the Middle Ages, without the invasion of scientific conceptions which the Renaissance brought about, its course would appear to have run on very similar lines to that of the painting of the East, where the early religious art, so like in aim to that of the early Italian frescoes, flowered gradually into naturalism, always pervaded by a perfume of religious idealism.*[50]

According to Binyon, the presence or absence of the scientific mind was the basic factor which determined the difference of modern Western painting from Chinese painting. In his study of Chinese painting, K'ang Yu-wei (康有爲) showed deep concern for its many weaknesses, and said:

> *To rectify these faults, we should assert the importance of mastering the form and spirit [of objects], rather than the expression of*

[49] Tai Yao (戴嶽)'s translation of S. W. Bushell, *Chinese Art*, Vol. II, p. 196. A similar account can also be seen in J. C. Ferguson's *Chinese Painting*, pp. 180-182. Both Bushell and Ferguson based their accounts on Attiret's own letter published in *Lettres Edifiantes*. Ferguson wrote again in his book that, when Attiret first arrived at Peking, he was soon in Emperor Ch'ien-lung's favour because of his painting. He entered the Court's service a little later than Castiglione. But the Emperor did not like his oil painting and, therefore, the Board of Works was instructed to forward to him the following royal directive: "Attiret's painting, though well executed, is devoid of spirit and brilliance. Attiret should be told to make a change and learn to work on water-colour. A substantial improvement may thus be expected. When he is employed to paint portraits, he can be directed to work again on oils." Herein we can easily see how the Western painters serving at the Inner Court were inconsiderately restricted and conducted in their working. The paintings which they produced were mostly not what they themselves wanted to paint; and it is conceivable, therefore, that these paintings were not highly valued by both Chinese and Western connoisseurs.

[50] Laurence Binyon, *Painting in the Far East*, Chap. I, "The Art of the East and the Art of the West.", New York, Dover, 1959.

subjective thoughts. We should recognize rule-drawn colour painting as the major school of painting, and regard broad ink painting [only] as a minor school. Valuable as the spirit of the literati may be, the proper way of painting should still follow the style of the Imperial Studio. By this proposal I am seeking to redeem our past five centuries of erroneous art criticism, and to offer a way by which Chinese painting may be doctored and improved. [51]

He also said:

Entering the period of the present dynasty, Chinese painting became utterly lifeless. Worse than that, we do not hear of real painters anymore in the country. The two or three famous masters who still remain with us can only copy the worst of the four Wang's (Wang Shih-min 王時敏, *Wang Chien* 王鑑, *Wang Hui* 王翬 *and Wang Yuan-ch'i* 王原祁*) and the two Shih's (Shih-t'ao* 石濤 *and Shih-ch'i* 石谿*), making dry brushstrokes like blades of grass in an absolutely tasteless manner. How can such art be passed on and hope to vie with the art of today's Europe, America and Japan? The Wang's and the Shih's, though they inherited a little of the Yuan painters' fine brushwork, had already departed from the grand tradition of the T'ang and Sung periods, and were unquestionably much inferior to the Sung masters. Apart from Yün Ke and Chiang T'ing-hsi* (蔣廷錫), *whose lovely works have caught the spirit of the ancients, all our present day painters are uniformly uncommendable. Wu Li lacked disciples, as a result of which Castiglione's Western methods prevailed, so in future some great painter may yet rise who will succeed in combining Chinese art and Western art. Japan is already very enthusiastic about this, and Castiglione may well be regarded as an initiator. If Chinese painting continues to stick to old conventions and resists change, it well deserves to perish. Now is the time for our geniuses to rise and fuse the heritages of Chinese and Western art and usher in a new era in painting, an era to which I look forward.*

Disapproving of the romantic painting of the literati, K'ang Yu-wei advocated a return to the classical style of the Imperial Studio, whereby art could be inspired through the discipline of rules, and Chinese and Western qualities combined to open up new paths. While Binyon's words revealed the basic similarities and differences between Chinese and Western painting, K'ang Yu-wei's words indicate a direction which Chinese painting could take in the future. Both, of course, are greatly relevant to students of the history of Chinese painting.

[51] See *Wan-mu-ts'ao-t'ang Ts'ang-hua Mu* (萬目草堂藏畫目).