

明清之際的渴筆勾勒風尚與石濤的早期作品

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(一) 引言：明遺民畫家與遺民畫

我們研究明遺民畫，主要的目的是在分析朝代的改換與異族的(以當時的觀點而言)入主中國，對於當時的畫家以及他們的畫風究竟產生了些什麼因果關係？

實際上，在所謂的「明遺民畫家」之中，其構成的質素和份子是很複雜的，因此在討論時，所包括的畫家也常會有出入。譬如說，有只做了短短幾年的遺民就去世了的；有出世才幾年就遭亂世而做了一輩子遺民的；有因宗室身份而佯狂避世的；也有避入空門以宗教來掩護的；也有在明清兩代均以職業畫家為身份的等等；因此，他們的遺民意識，有種種程度上的不同，其所表現在繪畫上的也就因人而異。

在明清之際，至少有以下三類的畫家，不太受朝代改換的影響：

(一) 所謂正統派的畫家，不論是仕明不仕於清的遺民畫家王時敏和王鑑，或仕清的非遺民畫家王翬和王原祁，他們以承啓畫學的正統自居，走的是因襲傳統的形式主義，所以朝代的變遷對他們的畫風並無直接重大的影響，若明代不亡，他們仍然可能畫出同樣的畫。因此，在遺民的老二王與非遺民的小二王之間，並無顯著的時代意識上的分別。

(二) 近於職業性的畫家，走的是比較近於裝飾的形式主義，這一類的畫家如藍瑛，其作品表現於明亡前後直至老死，也並沒有顯著的不同。

(三) 畫比較寫實，並將宋人技法與當時西洋畫影響結合的畫家，他們有興趣的是新興的表現技法，這一類的畫家如金陵派的樊圻等等，也不太受政權改變的影響。

那末，什麼樣的畫家和什麼樣的畫才比較能夠代表遺民畫的特色呢？若就畫家來說，應當有強烈的遺民意識，如陳洪綬自號悔遲、萬壽祺領兵抗清、朱耷的哭之笑之、

石溪責熊開元不對明孝陵行禮等等。若就他們的繪畫作品而言，由於清初屢興文字獄，所以畫家們也都不得不在表現上力求含蓄，而不能逞意露骨地表達他們的思想，他們所走的，大抵是以下兩條途徑：

(一) 題材內容上的象徵或暗示手法，如：

1. 以諸葛亮畫像為題材，如張風屢畫之，並題云：「先帝知臣謹慎！」藉此暗示他對前朝的忠貞。

2. 「隱」是中國文人的老觀念，隨時隨地均可有之，但唯獨明清之際更盛。其慣用的手法是通過陶淵明來表達：他們畫陶淵明的像，畫他的詩意，畫他種種的隱居生活，如陳洪綬、石濤等是。再進一步，他們畫陶淵明幻想式的樂園：「桃花源」，查士標、石濤等均畫之。

3. 以顏色暗示他對朱明的懷念，如項聖謨以朱色為其畫像作背景山水。

但以上這些手法，只限於題材、內容或色彩，而無關於風格，如項氏也只偶一為之，並不是在明亡之後全畫朱色山水。

(二) 風格形式上的表現手法，特別是通過山水畫，以乾枯的用筆，沉重地勾勒出他們「風景不殊，舉目有山河之異」的那種蕭條淡泊、寂寞荒遠的意境。本文的目的就是專來討論明遺民畫的此一特色。

(二) 從石濤的《空山小語》說起

在一九六七年的石濤大展中，不少與會的鑒賞家和美術史家，對石濤的一件小掛軸《空山小語》(圖一)表示疑問，這反映在密歇根大學美術史研究所艾瑞慈教授(Prof. Richard Edwards)發表的《石濤大展後記》("The Painting of Tao-chi, Postscript to an Exhibition")¹一文中。他述及與會專家學者對此畫的某些觀感：

(意譯) 雖然對於此畫極有靈性的筆觸頗多讚許之詞，但是有一些意見——特別是日本學者，認為此畫的款印是後加的。根據此一看法，此畫很可能是一幅十七世紀的作品；如果將此畫當作是另外一位畫家的作品是更為合理的，有人曾提議是查士標。

¹ *Oriental Art*, Vol. 14 (Winter, 1968), p. 270.

其實，不只是日本學者，其他中西學者對此畫表示懷疑的，也大有人在，有的意見認為是戴本孝畫的。

讓我們再來回頭看一看這一幅《空山小語》(The Echo)。² 這是尺幅，但裝裱成小掛軸；畫的筆墨，如果不走近凝神細視的話，除了山頂和右方山石以及題識印章有一些形象之外，其他的畫面是乾乾淡淡的，如煙如霧的；由寥寥數筆勾出的山石和白雲，都在若有若無之間。危峯一座，在畫面左方突起水面，好像倒懸一般，小而平的山頂聳起雲中，在運用渴筆皴擦之後，再用極細而顫動的筆觸畫了一些枯林。畫面右方，以粗重的乾筆勾勒出幾層山石，組成一個水口，又以若斷還連的顫筆，勾出一座小橋，再孤零零地加了幾株小樹。一種荒涼、靜寂、而又永恒不變的情調充滿了畫面。兩行小字是：

小語輒響答，空山白雲驚。子瞻碧落洞詩。

特別是最後六字，用筆極細而乾，在有無之間，却與山頂的枯林細枝，相互呼應，恐怕只有用同一枝毛筆，才會產生如此相近的筆調！那末，怎樣能說這兩行字是後加的呢？

有人說是查士標，但查氏用筆偏正兼施，造型方折多稜；戴本孝下筆重實，無此輕靈；也許程邃的簡筆渴墨勾勒法與此畫更接近吧？但是他喜用渴點，而此畫全不着一點……那末，究竟是誰畫的呢？

當我們對這樣的一幅十七世紀的小畫，有了作者問題（包括真偽問題）的時候，這就牽涉到十七世紀畫家的共同作風。也就是說這種渴筆勾勒風尚，就是十七世紀中期前後的主要時代風格之一，當時的許多文人畫家，都或多或少地與這一風格有關，不只是上面提到的查士標、戴本孝和程邃而已，以下就是對這一風格作一個初步的探討。

（三）渴筆勾勒風尚的傳統與理論

董其昌論畫曾說：「李成惜墨如金，王洽潑墨瀋成畫。」³ 李成的畫風，我們只有一個模糊的印象；何謂「惜墨」，也沒有共同的定義；但是董其昌在此處是將李成與王洽的潑墨作對比，顯然指的是李成偏於乾墨的用筆。

² 圖片見 Marilyn and Shen Fu, *Studies in Connoisseurship* (Princeton, 1973), p. 169.

³ 董其昌《畫旨》。

郭熙在他的名著《林泉高致》中說：

或曰：墨之用何如？答曰：用焦墨、用退墨、用埃墨，不一而足。⁴

郭氏所謂的焦墨，是墨之至濃者，故用筆時近渴；宿墨是隔夜了的墨，亦因水分蒸發而近焦濃。他又說：

有時而用淡墨，有時而用濃墨，有時而用厨中埃墨，而取青紫雜墨水而用之……⁵

可見中國畫發展到郭熙的時代，用墨的技巧已經非常成熟，難怪他的名作《早春圖》的墨色是如此豐富，神明變化，使後人難以超越。但他是淡墨、濃墨、焦墨並用的，這也可以從許道寧的山水卷（Nelson Gallery）中清楚地看出。

李公麟是白描人物畫的聖手，在此之前，人物畫多在畫壁或畫絹上，而李氏好用澄心堂紙作畫，易絹為紙，又好作白描，如傳世《五馬圖卷》的用筆都較唐人為乾。此後趙孟頫繼承了他的白描人馬一派，作《二羊圖》，甚至山水畫如《鵲華秋色卷》等，其輪廓勾勒，披麻皴、解索皴等，都以乾筆為主。降至元末，山水大家如黃公望、倪瓚、王蒙等的山水畫就多以乾筆皴擦為主了。所以唐岱在他的《繪事發微》一書中說：

古人畫山水多濕筆，故曰「水暈墨章」，興乎唐代，迄宋猶然，殆元四家，始用乾墨。⁶

此話大體不錯，不過元季四大家中的吳鎮，實以濕筆為主；而且元季乾墨之風，已見於吳興。不過，此一風格的確要到元季才蔚為大國，發展成熟。蓋當時的名家如周砥、徐賁、陸廣等都是這種風格。以上就是明清兩代乾筆風尚的前趨。

一、倪黃在渴筆勾勒畫風上的關鍵

在上節中述及此一風格至元季才發展成熟，而元季諸家中，對明清之際的文人畫家影響最深遠的，自然要數倪黃兩位。兩人的影響孰重，很難有定論；黃公望年長於倪雲林，但畫史上常稱「倪黃」而不稱「黃倪」，並不是有重倪輕黃的意思，主要是因為在

⁴ 郭熙《林泉高致》，頁23。《美術叢書》第2集第7輯，或《藝術叢編》第1集第10冊。

⁵ 同上。

⁶ 唐岱生於1673年，八十餘歲始卒，《繪事發微》一書成於1716年。此段轉引傅抱石《中國繪畫理論》，頁134。

發音上方便而響亮的關係（「黃倪」音促，而且與「黃泥」諧音相混），現在仍以時間為序，先論黃公望。

黃公望在元四家中的地位始終沒有動搖的，因為他不僅是意境高、筆墨好，而且在章法上起伏開闢，有大家之風。特別是由於明末董其昌的大力推崇，他的地位更是大為提高，被尊為元季四大家之首：

元季四大家以黃公望為冠，而王蒙、倪瓚、吳仲圭與之對壘……。⁷

而董其昌對黃公望所以如此推崇，可以從下引二則中看出：

黃大痴九十而貌如童頑……蓋畫中煙雲供養也。⁸

黃子久……大壺……；仇（英）與趙（子昂）雖品格不同，皆習者之流，非以畫為寄，以畫為樂者也。寄樂於畫，自黃公望始開此門庭耳。⁹

這是在特別強調文人業餘畫家的創作態度，應該是一種自我寄興、自我表現的境界，這在明清之際有極大的影響。

其次是他的畫論：《畫山水訣》的影響，元代文人畫大家，除了散見於詩文題跋中的零星畫論之外，並無專篇的畫論著作，而黃公望獨有之，後代畫人多受其影響，董其昌就是一例。

畫家的影響力，與其品格往往有密切的關係；但是人品高不一定影響就廣，而後代流傳的經過了渲染或神話化的故事往往更有影響力。黃公望的人品高尚曠逸，如鍾嗣成的《錄鬼簿》中說他「棄人間事」，陳善《杭州府志》說他「放浪江湖」，¹⁰也就是李日華所云的：

陳郡丞嘗謂余曰：「黃子久終日只在荒山亂石、叢木深篠中坐，意態忽忽，人莫測其所為；又居柳中通海處，看激流轟浪，風雨驟至，雖水怪悲詔，亦不顧。」噫！此大痴之筆，所以沉郁變化，幾爭造化神奇。¹¹

⁷ 《畫禪室隨筆·畫源》，頁40，世界書局《藝術叢編》本。

⁸ 《畫旨》第32條，《畫眼》第34條。

⁹ 《畫說》第10條；《畫禪室隨筆·畫源》，《畫旨》，《畫眼》。

¹⁰ 以上二則轉錄《黃公望史料》（溫肇桐編），頁35、37。

¹¹ 同上，頁45。

而更有黃公望飛昇成仙的故事流傳，所以孫承澤說：

元季高人不願出仕……，大約皆負才之士，不屑隱忍以就功名者也。人傳子久于武林虎跑石上飛升，其入住世已仙矣，豈待飛升而後知其仙哉！¹²

連憚南田也說：

董文敏所謂烟雲供養，以至於壽而仙者，吾以為黃一峯外無他人也。¹³

黃公望的人品，有了這些故事的渲染流傳，自然地吸引了更多的人學他的畫了。

倪瓚，在元四家中的地位是比較不穩固的，有些明末的畫論，如王世貞的《藝苑卮言》就不以倪瓚列入元四家，而是以趙孟頫來代替的。¹⁴不過，自從董其昌的同鄉先輩畫評家何良俊受了文徵明的影響，正式將倪瓚列入元四家後，特別是經董其昌的一再推崇，使他在元四家中的地位永固不移；¹⁵而他的影響力，也可以從他的人品、作品、畫論三方面來看：

（一）人品高潔不俗，且多義行。除了他不仕元朝之外，關於雲林不諧流俗的奇行異舉，流傳至廣，明末顧元慶編有《雲林遺事》一書，其中有關潔癖的故事，較之北宋的米顛（芾）尤有過之；又因香癖而被捕，因憎俗而於被杖時不出一聲；斥不知品茶的友人為俗物等等。雖然他如此不同流俗，但是他對師友多有義行，如奉養其師終老，為陳惟允作《傲屋疏》等等，¹⁶凡此種種，均使後人以高士目之。

（二）作品高雅簡潔，章法簡單，山石林木不繁，且又不作人物，成為後代文人畫家護短的法門，都樂於以雲林畫風為他們的入手途徑，故效之者特眾。

（三）畫論的影響，雲林雖不似黃公望有畫學專著發表，但他是宋代蘇東坡一派的文人畫論的繼承者，蘇軾有名句云：「論畫以形似，見與兒童鄰」，而倪瓚也說：

¹² 同上，頁38。

¹³ 《南田畫跋》，頁61，世界書局《藝術叢編》本。此段亦見《玉几山房外錄》卷下，然在憚南名下。

¹⁴ 《藝苑卮言》。

¹⁵ 《中國畫家小叢書：倪瓚》的作者，也曾述及倪瓚在元四家中地位的問題，但是他認為是董其昌開始將倪列入元四家中，他不知道何良俊已有此說在先了；而何氏也似是受了文徵明的影響。

¹⁶ 有關倪瓚的奇行異舉，見王季遷氏《倪雲林生平及其詩文》（《故宮季刊》一卷二期）及《中國畫家小叢書：倪瓚》一書。

僕之所謂畫者，不過逸筆草草，不求形似，聊以自娛耳。¹⁷

余之竹，聊以寫胸中逸氣耳，豈復較其似與非，葉之繁與疏，枝之斜與直哉。¹⁸

倪瓚的「聊以自娛」和「聊寫胸中逸氣」，也是與上述黃公望的「以畫為寄，以畫為樂」的態度是完全一致的。這使後代的文人有了一個理論根據，使繪畫成了極端自由的一種自我表興的工具，對於業餘畫家們產生了極大的鼓勵作用，這些也都是與明清之際畫家數量的增加有直接關係的。

倪黃二人都生活在元代異族的統治之下，一痴一迂，特別是倪瓚在易代前後，遭受到流離顛沛之苦，使明清之際的畫人感同身受，人人以雲林來自況，而倪之畫風更簡，因此，他的畫風一度比黃公望更為普遍，這可以從董其昌所說的：「雲林畫，江南士大夫家以有無論清俗。」¹⁹一語中清楚地看出的。

二、有關渴筆勾勒的理論

「渴筆」與乾筆、枯筆、焦墨等都是大同小異的，在以下的討論中，可以看出它在墨色中的地位。

在唐岱的《繪事發微》中，曾說到「乾」為六彩之一：

何謂六彩？黑、白、乾、濕、濃、淡是也。²⁰

在華琳的《南宗抉秘》中也曾以「乾墨」為五墨之一：

前人曰五墨……乾墨固據一彩，不煩言而解。²¹

又張庚在《圖畫精意識》中云：

墨不論濃淡乾濕，要不帶半點烟火食氣，斯為極致。²²

¹⁷ 《中國畫家小叢書》香港影印合訂本，頁821。

¹⁸ 《倪雲林先生詩集·附錄》，頁83，《書畫竹》，《四部叢刊》初編縮本。

¹⁹ 《畫禪室隨筆》，頁60，題雲林畫。「江南士大夫家」或作「江東人」，此據《小中現大冊》董氏真跡，見《故宮書畫錄》卷6，頁75，第21幅。

²⁰ 《繪事發微》墨法條，頁32，世界書局《藝術叢編》本，第1集第14冊。

²¹ 傅抱石《中國繪畫理論》，頁149。

²² 《圖畫精意識畫論》，頁105論墨條，世界書局《藝術叢編》本，第1集第14冊。

方薰在《山靜居畫論》中也說：

作一畫，墨之濃淡焦濕無不備。²³

從這些意見裏，可以看出乾墨或焦墨為基本墨色之一。至於為什麼有些畫家特別喜歡用乾筆渴墨呢？在盛大士的畫論中曾以為這種筆墨的效用是：

古大家荒率蒼莽之氣，皆從乾筆皴擦中得來，不可不知。

所以他又說：「善用乾筆，則畫之能事思過半矣。」²⁴乾墨不但有這種長處，而且在技巧上還是一種藏拙的手段，如唐岱云：

蓋濕筆難工，乾筆多好；濕筆易流於薄，乾筆易見於厚；濕筆渲染費工，乾筆點曳便捷；此所以爭趨之也……，反以濕筆為俗工而棄之。²⁵

華琳在《南宗抉秘》中亦云：

後人腕力本弱，乃曰乾筆易老，彼但以乾筆着紙，無論若何柔弱，終不致有浮煙漲墨溢於紙上；若一用濕墨，則滿紙臃腫，筆筆拋荒，未及加皴，已自痿痺不起，是以藉乾淡自匿其短。²⁶

在技巧上，濕墨是更難控制的，這也是一般文人捨難就易而用乾筆的原因，並且用乾筆作畫時，行筆一定要比較遲重，可以免去用濕筆而生的流滑之病。

「勾勒」在此處指山石林木的畫法，以線條勾勒輪廓為主，而皴擦則可有可無的一種技法，在此處與簡筆或減筆為同義詞。文人畫家重意不重技巧，故筆墨可簡而境界不可簡，程正揆題龔半千畫云：

畫有繁減乃論筆墨，非論境界也。北宋人，千叢萬壑無一筆不減，元人枯枝瘦石，無一筆不繁，通此解者，其半千乎。²⁷

²³ 方薰《山靜居畫論》，頁134，《藝術叢編》第1集第15冊。

²⁴ 盛大士《溪山臥遊錄》，頁92，《藝術叢編》第1集第16冊。

²⁵ 傅抱石輯《中國繪畫理論》，頁134。

²⁶ 同上書，頁150。

²⁷ 周亮工《讀畫錄》卷2，頁23，世界書局《藝術叢編》第1集第14冊。

而惲道生之論是以簡為上的：

畫家以簡潔為上。簡者，簡於象而非簡於意；簡之至者，縉之至也；而或者以筆之寡少為簡，非也。²⁸

雖是以簡為上，但是徒求筆簡而不在意上着力，則不是他求簡的本意。至於龔半千則更在簡筆畫的追求中劃清了南北的界限：

減筆畫最忌北派，今收藏家笥中有北派一軸，則羣畫皆為之落色，此不可不辨。要之三吳無北派。²⁹

龔氏作畫雖然常作重山疊嶂，但是在他一生中，仍然不斷地追求減筆畫的境界。

三、明清之際渴筆勾勒風尚的形成

（一）在繪畫風格發展的本身上，自元末倪黃以來，就有這一種自然簡化的傾向，而這種傾向多少與元代畫論中強調以書法的用筆來作畫的理論有關。以下將董其昌以前受倪瓚、黃公望畫風影響的明代畫家與作品略作介紹，以顯示此一風格的傳承。

王紱（1362—1416）是元四家的傳承者，雖以王蒙為主，但是各家兼擅，程琦先生收藏的仿倪山水，³⁰形神兼到。

沈周（1427—1509）繼王紱之後繼承元四家，雖然他的老師趙同魯評他學倪的畫用力太過，實際上這正是他的特色。沈周力大，不僅學倪是如此，學其他各家也是如此，唯其力大，故能簡化，明清之際的畫家學倪黃，有很多是通過沈周去學的。其學黃公望的山水如《上海博物館藏畫集》中的一幅，學倪的作品如Nelson Gallery 藏的山水軸，³¹以及普林斯頓大學美術館收藏的山水卷等。

文徵明（1470—1559）繼承沈周，然風格較為細膩，用筆較為尖銳，然亦時作簡筆粗放的山水。自文徵明以下，吳派畫家中如陸治、陳淳等多喜作簡筆山水。

總之，倪黃畫風日趨書法化和簡化，乃是畫史上已經存在的事實。

²⁸ 陳撰《玉几山房外錄》卷下，頁146，同上冊。

²⁹ 龔半千山水小冊自題，原冊藏普林斯頓大學美術館（The Art Museum, Princeton University）。

³⁰ 王紱仿倪山水見 Osvald Siren, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles* (London, 1956-58), Vol. VI, Pl. 129.

³¹ 沈周仿倪山水軸見上書 pl. 174. 又同書 pl. 178, 「米不米，黃不黃」，亦是他減筆山水的代表作。

(二) 此一風格之所以能在明末清初有特殊的發展，則是由於明清之際士大夫業餘畫家數量大增的關係。明代長期的安定，促成文化水準的普遍提高，造成了大量的失業文人，一部分文人轉向書畫藝術上去發展。特別是在明清交替時期，許多文人和士大夫由於親身的經歷，有很深切的亡國之思，於是更多的文人藉山水畫來宣達他們的情思。

(三) 簡化的倪黃風格，荒率蕭條的意境，以及「以畫爲寄」和「聊寫胸中逸氣」的畫論，最能適合大批業餘文人畫家的要求。在技巧上最易爲他們作爲入手門徑；在思想意識上，倪黃在異族統治下，不諧流俗的性格、高潔的人品、流離的境遇，最易爲他們引爲同調。

有了這些因素，在明清之際的畫壇上，就自然出現了一個與時代配合的，以荒率蒼莽、蕭條淡泊爲意境的渴筆勾勒風尚來。

(四) 明清之際渴筆勾勒風尚的畫家與作品

以下從董其昌起，讓我們對這一時期有關的畫家和作品作一個巡視，以期對此一風尚有一個較爲全面的認識。

(一) 董其昌(1555—1636)：唐岱曾云：「至明董宗伯，合倪黃兩家法則，純以枯筆乾墨，……今人便之，遂爲藝林絕品而爭趨焉。」³²但是誠如唐氏所云：「此亦晚年偶爾率應，非其所專。」所以在董其昌的作品中，不全是乾筆作品，如學董、巨、王洽、二米，更是以濕筆爲主，可見他是兩體兼善的。他一生中所見所藏倪黃兩家的作品甚多，³³倪黃兩家的地位和影響力，也與董其昌的推崇有直接的關係。他的乾筆勾勒作品如：

- 一、倣倪瓚山陰丘壑圖軸，台北故宮博物院藏，無紀年。³⁴
- 二、庚午(1630)六月山水冊，普林斯頓大學博物館藏。
- 三、倣倪高士筆意山水軸，無紀年，J. Crawford, Jr. 收藏。
- 四、畫稿冊，無紀年，波士頓博物館收藏。(圖二)

³² 傅抱石輯《中國繪畫理論》，頁134。

³³ 傅申《〈畫說〉作者問題的研究》，中文本，頁28、31。

³⁴ 《故宮書畫錄》卷5，頁462。

(二) 王時敏(1592—1680)：王氏親受董玄宰的教益，而《小中現大冊》的作者，一般比較近似的說法，是王時敏所作。由於有董氏真跡題跋，此冊不能晚於董氏卒年（一六三六年），或可定於一六三〇年左右。此冊中縮臨倪瓚的作品甚多，足見當時雲林的存世作品不少，對王時敏和同時代的畫家都很有影響。而王時敏的本色畫，則是以黃公望畫風為主的。

(三) 程嘉燧（1565—1643）：在龔賢的一幅山水卷中，曾論及程氏為天都一派的開創者：

孟陽開天都一派，至周生始氣足力大。孟陽似雲林，周生似石田傲雲林。孟陽程姓，名嘉燧；周生李姓，名永昌，俱天都人。後來方式玉、王尊素、僧漸江、吳岱觀、汪無瑞、孫無益、程穆倩、查二瞻，又皆學此二人者也，諸君子並皆天都人，故曰天都派。³⁵

由此畫論，可知三點：一、在龔半千的時代，有此天都派的名稱；二、天都一派，與倪瓚畫風有極密切的關係；三、龔賢所謂的天都派，即是後人所稱的黃山派，但包括的畫家，與我們今天畧有不同。程氏雖為天都人，但他流寓嘉定，他的畫風還是屬於吳派的流變，並未受到黃山景觀的影響，所以與弘仁、孫逸等很不相似。李周生的作品傳世極少，其他黃山派的主角如梅清與石濤，到龔氏晚年才崛起畫壇，故未及列入。

不過，程氏的簡筆勾勒畫風，清健的用筆，瘦削的造型也多少與黃山派有相通之處。其作品如：

- 一、一六二七年山水軸，收藏不明，筆墨較晚年作品為柔潤。
- 二、一六三九年畫山水冊，³⁶為其七五高齡的作品，格調瘦健清拔。（圖三）

(四) 李流芳（1575—1629）：較程嘉燧年輕十歲，本來也是歙人，僑居嘉定，對程氏極為傾倒，嘗語人曰：「精舍輕舟，晴窗淨几，看孟陽吟詩作畫，此吾生平第一快事。」³⁷所以他的畫也必然受其影響，不過在用墨上較喜用濕筆，與我們討論的渴筆畧有不同，然在晚期以簡筆為主，多草草勾勒，也與這一時期的共同風尚有相近之處的。

³⁵ 見普林斯頓大學美術考古研究所藏照片，原畫藏哈佛大學 Fogg 美術館。

³⁶ 《故宮書畫錄》卷6，頁76。

³⁷ 周亮工《讀畫錄》卷1，頁4，李長蘅條，《藝術叢編》第1集第14冊。

(五) 藍瑛(1585—1664)：一般都以藍瑛為浙派的殿軍，但是他與吳派畫家一樣地學元四家和董、巨、高、米，也受董其昌的影響，所以他雖是浙人，但與戴進、吳偉一派的浙派已經大異其趣，稱其為浙派，實不甚恰當。³⁸藍氏筆法純熟，時有簡筆的傾向，特別是仿倪黃的作品，多以乾筆勾勒為主，如：

- 一、一六四三年仿古山水冊中仿倪的一頁。
- 二、一六四二年仿宋元人山水冊(Arthur M. Sackler 收藏)。³⁹

(六) 萬壽祺(1603—1652)：是標準的遺民畫家，⁴⁰其作品亦為標準的渴筆法，但在勾勒之後，又以渴筆略施皴擦，畫面充滿了一種蕭條淡泊的氣氛。其結構謹嚴，章法穩妥，作品如：

- 一、何氏至樂樓收藏萬氏無紀年山水三圖合卷。(圖四)
- 二、一六四六年山水軸，日本橋本氏收藏。⁴¹
- 三、一六五〇年山水花卉法書冊(紐約 Arthur M. Sackler 收藏)。

(七) 張風(act. 1636—1662)：張氏簡筆勾勒與細筆密皴的作品兼而有之，甚至如大和文華館所收的《賞楓圖軸》(1660年作)，更兼用北宗一系浙派的簡筆風格。⁴²其簡筆勾勒作品如：一六四〇年之山水小冊，普林斯頓大學美術館收藏，此冊中山水，繁簡俱備，其中有一頁題云：「余苦不能淡，至此其亟力摹擬，然終是筆繁。」可見簡淡的境界，是他一生極力追求的。而此冊中如仿倪、古木寒鴉等各頁都是淡然欲無，技巧精能，風格高騫。此外如劉作籌氏所藏《為炯伯社師作山水人物卷》，則以濕筆勾勒出之，用筆如龍蛇生動。⁴³至樂樓的《煙雨歸漁圖》逸筆勾勒，淡墨渲染，荒率蒼茫之至。(圖五)

(八) 陳洪綬(1599—1652)：雖為人物畫大家，但兼善山水和花鳥，其紙本小冊常以渴筆勾勒出之，如台北故宮收藏的一六五一年隱居十六觀以及雜畫冊，皆是此一風

³⁸ 參閱 Marilyn and Shen Fu, *Studies in Connoisseurship*, pp. 106-113。

³⁹ 圖片見上書，頁 108。

⁴⁰ 萬壽祺曾實際領兵抗清，與一般泛稱的遺民畫家如石濤、八大等不同。參閱註 38 拙著。

⁴¹ 見《明清の繪畫》。

⁴² 米澤嘉圃《張風とその藝術》，《大和文華》18號。

⁴³ 見1970年香港大會堂《明清繪畫展覽目錄》42號。

格的佳作。⁴⁴

(九) 鄒之麟 (c. 1585—1654)：專學黃公望一家，在何氏至樂樓所藏的一幅山水軸的自題中，自許為黃公望後身：

每得子久畫，輒摩挲愛好，如頭目腦髓，恨不見其新時，又恐此後日損日少，直欲為渠作一後身，度此一派，此幅擬議，略覺有合。崇禎乙亥（1635）。⁴⁵（圖六）

他的畫，愈到晚年似有愈趨簡略的傾向，在他一六五一年臨黃公望《富春山居圖卷》時（圖七），⁴⁶就將原卷簡化了不少；又如紐約翁萬戈氏所藏山水冊（圖八），⁴⁷更將這一種渴筆勾勒的畫風發展到最簡化的極致，使後學者難乎為繼。

(十) 惲向（1586—1655）：與鄒之麟同為此一風格的代表作家，曾題已作《江山蕭索》山水軸云：

古人所謂羅羅清疎者，無乃是耶！……天申索筆，不忍辭，寫意云耳。然世人誤認省筆為寫意，非也。意非省筆之所能寫也。⁴⁸

他一再地糾正一般人的錯誤觀念，以為「省筆」就是「寫意」，其實是兩回事，這也是在他自己辯護，在說明他的省筆可學，而他的寫意不可學。不過他的確是不主張工細畫的：

世人所謂工者，描金畫匠耳！子久一日，何必減李思訓十日！⁴⁹

這是他推崇黃公望的簡筆寫意，此畫是他乾筆的代表作。他對「寫」和「意」的重視，也可從至樂樓所藏的《擬巨然山水圖軸》（圖九）的題跋中看出，他說：

⁴⁴ 《故宮書畫錄》卷6，頁87、88。

⁴⁵ 《至樂樓書畫錄》明遺民之部，頁68。

⁴⁶ 見1970年香港大會堂《明清繪畫展覽目錄》圖24。

⁴⁷ James Cahill, *The Restless Landscape* (Berkeley, 1971), pl. 61.

⁴⁸ 見惲向自題《江山蕭索圖軸》，收藏不明。見普林斯頓大學美術考古研究所照片。

⁴⁹ 同上註。

或有索畫於余者，不敢求工，寫意可也。曰：不曰畫而曰寫，不曰象而曰意；工易，寫意難耳。曰：子欲為家人裹綿子，強為其難者。

此畫雖多濕筆，仍以勾勒為主。此外，他對自己仿倪瓚風格的作品，也是很自許的：

吳竹嶼之為雲林也，吾惡其太秀；藍田叔之為雲林也，吾惡其太老；秀而老，乃真老也；老而嫩，乃真秀也，此是倪瓚真面目。⁵⁰

惲向善論畫，重逸品，⁵¹其論其畫均為當時畫壇所尊重，如王猷定（于一）云：

香山如老將橫刀砍陣，筆墨所到，山不暇樹，雲不暇懶，沈啓南（周）後一人也。⁵²

所以他的影響也很廣，特別是對早期的龔賢。⁵³

（十一）龔賢（c. 1617—1689）：大約就在惲向六十餘歲的晚期，正當二三十歲青年時期的龔賢，就開始受惲向的影響。鄧實曾收錄龔賢寫給惲向的一封信：「繪事家多為筆墨使，道生是使筆墨者。」⁵⁴又曾說過：「勝國畫家，學大癡者，鄒衣白僅能入門，而惲道生則登堂入室矣。」⁵⁵這也許能說明為什麼早期的龔賢作品是以綫條勾勒為主，而很少皴擦的。高居翰氏（James Cahill）在研究早期龔賢作品時，對這一關係的觀察和解釋是深得我心的。他所舉出的若干龔賢早期作品，都與惲向有相當程度的關係。在龔氏早期的《樹木山石畫法冊》⁵⁶中，曾特別將這種勾勒不皴的畫法歸入於文人畫中，

⁵⁰ 《故宮書畫錄》卷5，頁514。吳竹嶼即吳振，萬曆天啓間人。

⁵¹ 陳撰《玉几山房外錄》卷下所錄惲向題跋中，常見其推崇逸品，世界書局《藝術叢編》第1集第14冊。

⁵² 同上書卷上，頁98。

⁵³ 參閱 James Cahill, "The Early Styles of Kung Hsien," *Oriental Art*, Vol. 16 (Spring, 1970), pp. 51-71.

⁵⁴ 鄧實《談藝錄》，頁281，世界書局《藝術叢編》第1集第29冊。

⁵⁵ 此段筆者未見原文，引自 Cahill, "The Early Styles of Kung Hsien" 一文 footnote 16 英譯浙江資料集中一段再以中文意譯者，與龔賢原文必有出入也。並附 Cahill 英譯於下：

"Of the Ming masters who imitate Ta-ch'ih (HKW), Tsou I-po entered his (ground floor) chamber, but Yun Tao-sheng (Hsiang) ascended into his upper storey."

⁵⁶ 在上引 Cahill 一文，以及 William Wu, "Kung Hsien's Style and His Sketchbooks," *Oriental Art*, Vol. 16 (Spring, 1970), pp. 72-80，二文中，均提到這一向傳為奚岡的畫法冊，認為雖合於龔賢風格，但並不是龔賢真跡。然筆者從此冊書畫的用筆看，認為是龔賢真跡不疑。

並且對這種畫法作過方法上的指導：

文人之畫，有不皴者，惟重勾一遍而已。重勾筆稍乾，即似皴矣。（圖一〇）
輪廓重勾三四遍，則不用皴矣；即皴，亦不過一二小積陰處耳。⁵⁷（圖一一）

這些畫論並沒有再出現在他晚期的授徒畫稿⁵⁸中，但是減筆畫仍是他一生中繼續追求的一種畫風，在他大約是一六七〇年前後的山水小冊中曾自題云：「少少許勝多多許，畫家之進境也。」又云：「惟恐有畫，是謂能畫。」⁵⁹而在他一六八〇年代的授徒畫稿冊中，也曾對倪黃合作的畫法作了一個示範，他說：

此謂之倪黃合作，用倪之減、黃之鬆，要倪中帶黃、黃中有倪，筆始老、始秀，墨始厚、始潤。⁶⁰

當他談到用筆的「老」與「秀」，又令人想起了前面所引惲向的畫論及其語氣了。

（十二）程邃（1605—1691）：也是渴筆枯墨的代表畫家，他的作品如一六五七年的山水橫幅（大和文華館收藏）。⁶¹在渴墨簡筆勾勒之後，不加皴擦，只用許多渴墨的苔點以增加山石的重量。又何氏至樂樓所藏八十四高齡（1688）所作的《讀書秋樹根圖軸》，⁶²以顫抖的老腕，運以禿筆，勾畫出一些痙攣性的顫筆，如蟲蝕木一般，不加皴染。（圖一二）

（十三）方以智（c. 1607—1671）：為安徽桐城人，與冒襄、陳貞慧、侯方域合稱為明末四公子，入清為僧，著述宏富。所作書畫，筆法沉着，特有風骨，而筆少意多，正是渴筆勾勒風尚的能手，雖不以書畫名世，但其筆法章法之老到，正不亞於專門名家如惲向、鄒之麟輩也。作品傳世不多，香港有其二。何氏至樂樓藏山水軸題云：「截斷

⁵⁷ 上引二段均見 J. Cahill 及 W. Wu 二文附圖，原圖見《奚鐵生·樹木山石畫法冊》（按當為龔賢真跡，參上註），1970年上海中華書局，第七版。

⁵⁸ 龔賢授徒畫稿見《支那南畫大成》續集三，內分兩部分，前半小幅為早期作品，後半大幅為晚期作品。

⁵⁹ 此冊為普林斯頓大學美術館收藏。

⁶⁰ 見《支那南畫大成》續集三，頁262。

⁶¹ *Studies in Connoisseurship*, p. 170, 圖3。

⁶² 《至樂樓書畫錄》明遺民之部，頁69。

紅塵石萬尋，衝開碧落松千尺，特地爲中峯拈出，拈箇甚麼，可惜可惜。』⁶³（圖一三）又香港北山堂藏山水軸題云：「未發居士屬拈樹石，草草成此，聊以發未發之笑。」⁶⁴（圖一四）其題語多寓禪意，甚饒餘味。

（十四）程正揆（act. 1625—1674）：一生喜作江山臥遊圖，立志作五百卷，周亮工作《讀畫錄》前十年，已見其作三百幅，克里夫蘭美術博物館（Cleveland Museum of Art）所藏卷作於一六五八年，爲其第九十幅（圖一五），可能是他中期的作品，⁶⁵畫法純師當時流傳的黃公望《江山勝覽圖卷》，雖有皴擦點染，仍以勾勒爲主。

（十五）蕭雲從（1596—1673）：雖然是一位老畫師，但他的個人風格不甚顯著，長於弘仁十四歲，有一些作品也與弘仁的造型和結構相近，其相互間關係的真相，還待進一步研究。⁶⁶一般來說，他的作品多屬乾筆風格，但仍有較多的乾筆皴擦。（圖一六）

（十六）汪之瑞（act. 1649—1653）：與孫逸、弘仁、查士標合稱爲海陽四大家，作品流傳極少，造型結構上也並無特出之處，但却是屬於渴筆勾勒風尚。⁶⁷

（十七）孫逸（act. 1643—1657）：他的作品流傳亦極少，其作於一六五七年的山水軸，⁶⁸與弘仁的創作時期相近，風格也相似，可能是受了弘仁的影響。

（十八）弘仁（1610—1663）：不但有顯著的個人風格，而且筆墨清雅，格調甚高，無愧爲明清之際的大家。一般較大的山水軸，除了勾勒之外，又多畧加皴擦，如何氏至樂樓所藏《松巖蕭寺》（圖一七）、《雲根丹室》二軸。⁶⁹至於最能代表他的渴筆勾勒風格的，還是以小幅爲主，如紐約沙可樂所藏的山水小冊，作於一六六〇年，其中仿倪、黃諸幅，逸筆草草，極有雅韻。⁷⁰

⁶³ 同上書，頁47，即《無可和尚截斷紅塵圖軸》。

⁶⁴ 見香港大會堂1970年《明清繪畫展覽目錄》圖29。

⁶⁵ 圖片見 Sherman E. Lee, *Chinese Landscape Painting* (Cleveland, 1962), pl. 71.

⁶⁶ 高居翰教授 (J. Cahill) 正在研究弘仁的早期作風 (The Early Style of Hung-jen)，相信對這一問題會有所解答。

⁶⁷ 汪之瑞的山水畫見《支那南畫大成》卷10，頁37。

⁶⁸ 孫逸《山水軸》見 *Studies in Connoisseurship*, p. 150, 爲艾瑞慈 (R. Edwards) 收藏。

⁶⁹ 《至樂樓書畫錄》明遺民之部，頁43、44。

⁷⁰ 見 *Studies in Connoisseurship*, pp. 142-145.

(十九) 查士標 (1615—1698)：在本文開頭述及有人以為《空山小語》是查氏的作品，然查氏用筆多逸筆草草，又喜用濕筆，筆畫較為偏扁，轉折較多稜角，其造型與用筆，都與《空山小語》的遲重圓轉有所分別，所以查氏實在不可能是此畫的作者。查氏的乾筆作品亦有之，如台北故宮所藏一六七二年作《書畫合璧冊》，⁷¹及京都某氏所藏山水冊中《秋林賞月》一頁等，細觀其筆性，與《空山小語》仍然是有距離的。附圖是至樂樓所藏，此畫用筆較細緻，筆性與造型較近弘仁。(圖一八)

(二十) 王鑑 (1598—1677)：在清初正統派畫家之中，除了前述的王時敏，其他的畫家如王翬、惲南田都喜仿倪瓚，特別是王原祁善用渴筆，以作品甚多，不一一列舉。王鑑仿倪，也是能做到形神俱似的。

(二一) 髡殘 (石谿, 1612—c. 1685)：以造景繁複幽奧見稱，但是細看他的用筆還是乾、鬆一路，如克里夫蘭美術博物館所藏一六六六年的山水卷即是。⁷²

(二二) 查繼佐 (1601—1677)：他的作品流傳不多，亦不甚以畫名世，然何氏至樂樓所藏山水十圖合卷(圖一九)，⁷³足可為此一風尚之代表作品，勾勒而外，畧加渴筆皴擦，其造型與結構均不落常蹊，書法亦夭矯奇倔，自成高格。

(二三) 戴本孝 (1621—1691)：也是前面所說《空山小語》的候選人之一。戴本孝長石濤二十歲，石濤在南京時期是常與他往來的。但是戴氏的畫法，如何氏至樂樓所藏的《擬倪瓚十萬圖》(圖二〇)，⁷⁴雖是仿倪作品，但是山岳崇深，自題云：「頗不似贗鼎之過為枯率也。」可見他對用筆和構圖枯簡的仿倪作品是不贊同的。又翁萬戈氏所藏山水冊，⁷⁵用筆雖甚乾，然均在勾勒之後以乾筆皴擦，更不常用一些平行的勾勒綫條；在造型和章法上也比較平穩，從不作《空山小語》那樣一峯特起，而下半部如瓜一般的山脚虛懸在水面上的，所以戴氏實不可能為《空山小語》的作者。

⁷¹ 《故宮書畫錄》卷6，頁103。

⁷² James Cahill, *Fantastics and Eccentrics in Chinese Painting* (New York, 1967), pl. 20.

⁷³ 《至樂樓書畫錄》明遺民之部，頁60至62。圖片見1970年香港大會堂《明清繪畫展覽目錄》，圖33。

⁷⁴ 《至樂樓書畫錄》，頁69、70。

⁷⁵ 翁氏所藏《戴本孝山水冊》之一頁，見 J. Cahill 上引書，pl. 16A。

(二四)梅清(1623—1697)：也是石濤的畫友，在宣城時期有較多的來往。也喜用渴筆勾勒法，有些樹石畫法與石濤極為相近，而其相互間影響的關係，却是很難加以明確說明的。一般地說，梅清的用筆比較纖柔，雖亦有比較豪放近吳鎮、沈周的風格，但又多方折的稜角，與《空山小語》的粗重而婉轉如篆書的用筆不同，更不作枯枝與小橋的顫筆似點的畫法。(圖二一、二二)

(二五)吳山濤(1624—c. 1710)是鄒之麟的崇拜者，他在一幅無紀年的簡筆山水卷(普林斯頓大學美術館藏)後題云：

畫家齊宗黃一峯，不知其源出於北苑也，近代惟鄒臣虎先輩能得其神妙處，正不在多耳。余畫《秋江圖》畧得鄒之簡，於宋元仍未入室耶。

前述鄒氏是此一風尚中最簡化的一家，現在吳山濤專在簡上着力，此卷用筆更簡於鄒氏，雖從鄒法學黃，但無鄒、黃二家之腴，却參以倪之瘦，所以他的畫只剩下山石的軀殼。渴筆勾勒畫法，發展到這一地步，已經無法再簡再瘦，無法再往前進一步了。

(二六)朱耷(1626—1705)：與石濤同為明代宗室，同為清初四大畫僧，雖然以花鳥蟲魚為主，但其山水將董其昌、黃公望一路的畫法加以簡化，不但以渴筆勾勒為主，而且在林木的造型上獨創一格，如顧洛阜氏所藏一六九九年山水冊(圖二三)，⁷⁶就是他簡筆山水的極致；甚至於他仿郭忠恕的大山水軸，⁷⁷也是以簡筆勾勒為主，何氏至樂樓所藏山水頁亦屬此一風格；至於《為黃硯旅畫山水冊》，⁷⁸則是勾勒與皴染兼施的作品。

(二七)姜實節(1646—1709)：較石濤年輕五歲，對石濤極為傾倒，亦常題石濤作品。其畫從弘仁學倪瓚，書法則逼似倪法。其畫如一七〇七年《堯峯勝景圖》，⁷⁹亦屬簡筆勾勒畫風。

從上列畫家及其作品的簡述中，我們得出兩個結論：

⁷⁶ 圖片見 *Chinese Calligraphy and Painting in the Collection of John M. Crawford, Jr.* (New York, 1962), pl. 48.

⁷⁷ Sherman Lee, *Chinese Landscape Painting*, pl. 92.

⁷⁸ 《至樂樓書畫錄》明遺民之部，頁47—52。

⁷⁹ Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.，圖片見 *Studies in Connoisseurship*, p. 291.

- (一) 渴筆勾勒畫風是明清之際許多文人畫家的共同風尚；
- (二) 《空山小語》確是此一渴筆勾勒風尚下產生的作品，但是還沒有一位畫家可以被斷定為《空山小語》的作者。

因此，《空山小語》的作者問題還有待進一步的澄清。

(五) 石濤的渴筆勾勒畫風與《空山小語》圖

既然我們不能在其他十七世紀的畫家中解決《空山小語》的作者問題，還是讓我們再回頭看看石濤的渴筆勾勒的畫風及其作品。

石濤在洛杉磯市立美術博物館 (Los Angeles County Museum) 收藏的一六九四年的山水冊⁸⁰中，有一頁的題識曾對他所尊敬的當時畫家，有所評論：

此道從門入者，不是家珍，而以名振一時，得不難哉？高古之如白禿（石谿）、青谿（程正揆）、道山（陳舒）諸君輩，清逸之如梅壑（查士標）、漸江（弘仁）二老，乾瘦之如垢道人（程邃），淋漓奇古之如南昌八大山人（朱耷），豪放之如梅瞿山（梅清）、雪坪子（梅庚），皆一代之解人也。吾獨不解此意，故其空空洞洞，木木默默之如此。問訊鳴六先生，予之評訂，其旨若斯，具眼者得不絕倒乎！（圖二四）

以上大部分的畫家我們都已有作品介紹，而他所提出的各種風格境界如：高古、清逸、乾瘦、淋漓、奇古、豪放等，實在正是他自己所追求的具體境界，其中有「乾瘦」一種，正是我們討論的渴筆勾勒畫風，而這一風格，又與高古、清逸、奇古等風格有極密切的相關性。

在石濤的畫論中，也曾提到「渴筆」這一名詞，他說：

或云東坡成戈字，多用病筆，如腕着而筆臥，故左秀而右枯，是畫家側筆、渴筆說也。⁸¹

此外，在他一六八二年作的《渴筆人物山水冊》中，有一頁題云：

⁸⁰ *The Painting of Tao-chi*, 1. VIIA-H, pp. 106-109; *Studies in Connoisseurship*, p. 53.

⁸¹ 《大滌子題畫詩跋》。

筆枯則秀，筆濕則俗，今雲間筆墨，多有此病。⁸²（圖二五）

這是批評董其昌的追隨者雲間一派的濕筆法。從以上這些畫論，我們知道石濤對渴筆、枯筆的觀念，並且可以看出他對於這種畫風是有充分的自覺的；因此，石濤亦曾是此一渴筆風尚的畫家之一，是並不出乎意料之外的。以下再來從他的實際作品中去。

如果我們借用他的生活地點來作為他的作品分期標準，約可分為三期：（一）宣城時期（1680以前）；（二）南京時期（1680—1686）；（三）揚州前後期（自1687後。至1690—1692之間會有北京之行，直至1707尚在揚州）。其中揚州期為最長，傳世作品亦以此期為多，亦最有代表性，可以說是他的大成時期；南京時期或可稱為中期，宣城期則為他的早期。

石濤的渴筆勾勒畫風，雖然是貫穿在他的一生作品之中，從沒有放棄，但是依比例來論，則以早期為最多，中期次之，晚期較少。（可是因揚州期的流傳作品較多，故在數量上，這一期的渴筆勾勒作品仍不在少數。）由於傳世石濤畫真跡，在數量上極為可觀，勢不能細論他一生中有關此一畫風的全部作品，以下只是選擇地介紹與《空山小語》有關的作品。

（一）《黃山圖軸》（1667）：收藏不明，或在中國大陸。⁸³此畫是大軸，結構布景雖然比較複雜，但是山石的皴法則以渴筆勾勒為主，其主峯脈紋的勾勒法，與《空山》圖的主山極為相近；且近景倒懸如瓜的巨石，也正是石濤原有的手法。

（二）《十六羅漢圖卷》（1667）（圖二六）：⁸⁴這是繼承所謂李公麟一派的白描法，其山石則純以渴筆勾勒，常以許多平行的綫條來顯示山石的體積與紋理；又以粗重的山石，配合極為細緻的人物；這些都與《空山》圖在基本上有其相同性的。

（三）山水冊（1673）：⁸⁵這一冊山水大多是勾勒與濕筆渲染並用，勾勒的綫條比較尖銳，用筆也不甚乾；但是如《山從人面起》一頁，其雲中山頂與《空山》圖用意相同；白雲與山石的勾勒法亦近似：《月夜登臨》一頁之秋林出枝法，與《空山》圖山頂小樹，很容易看出是同一手筆的。

⁸² 全冊影本見《大風堂名跡》，此頁亦見 *Studies in Connoisseurship*, p. 54.

⁸³ 《石濤畫集》圖68。 *Studies in Connoisseurship*, p. 56.

⁸⁴ 此卷未見影印，亦不知收藏。

⁸⁵ 此冊見《石濤畫集》，圖8—12，或云今藏上海。

(四) 山水散頁(1678)：⁸⁶此冊已經拆散，有兩頁在紐約顧洛阜氏處。此頁在渴筆勾勒之後又加渲染，但其山石的禿筆勾勒與《空山》圖相似，在章法上，除去近峯及人物，其對岸的崖石流泉，與截去山頂的《空山小語》是大同小異的。

(五) 一六七九年(己未)作於秦淮懷謝樓，後來加上款「飛濤先生」的山水軸(王季遷氏藏)(圖二七)：題語中有「渴驥奔泉……沉着痛快」之句，此畫此題，均足為渴筆風格寫照。

(六) 《渴筆人物山水冊》(1682)：⁸⁷其中一頁題云：「必定畫沙，然後成字。」(圖二八)畫沙在此似有二義：一是指傳統書法上的中鋒法，二是以渴筆慢運，在視覺上有畫沙的感覺。此畫用較多的綫條勾勒，與《空山》圖疏宕的綫條不同，但是在章法上，其基本的結構是相同的，也與上述山水散頁近似。

(七) 在無紀年的為禹老道兄所作山水冊(王季遷氏藏)中，潑墨與乾筆兼而有之，附圖(圖二九)一頁亦是他乾筆勾勒的代表作品。

(八) 《黃山八景冊》，與下列的《廬山圖軸》、《黃山圖卷》，為日本住友氏所藏石濤三名跡，亦是米澤嘉圃氏所謂的三件石濤基準作。⁸⁸此冊雖然設色細膩，但仍然以渴筆勾勒為骨幹(圖三〇)，⁸⁹無紀年，約作於一六八〇年代中期。

(九) 《廬山圖軸》：這一設色的濕筆巨軸，雖然與《空山》圖不成比例，但是那方頭的雲中山頂，畫面右方中央突然斜伸出來的奇石，以及白雲的勾勒法，仍然可以看出它們之間的相關性，⁹⁰此畫可能作於一六九〇年代的中期。

(十) 《黃山圖卷》(1699)：全卷以渴筆勾勒皴擦為主，是比較寫實的作品，其白雲勾勒法與《空山》圖是極為相近的。⁹¹

(十一) 在此之後，這種渴筆勾勒法仍時有出現，如一七〇〇年所作《道濟畫冊》，今藏北京故宮博物院，全冊山水花卉都以渴筆為主，⁹²即畫米家山亦然，其中《此如魯

⁸⁶ 藏普林斯頓大學美術館。

⁸⁷ 《大風堂名跡》清湘老人專集。

⁸⁸ 見米澤嘉圃氏《書法上かちみた石濤畫の基準作》，《國華》913期，1968。

⁸⁹ 《黃山八景冊》為石濤作品中最常刊印的作品之一，亦刊印於 *The Painting of Tao-chi*, pp. 96-99.

⁹⁰ 同上書，頁151。

⁹¹ 《明清の繪畫》。

⁹² 《道濟畫冊》，1960年文物出版社。

公書》(圖三一)與《兩行秦樹直》(圖三二)二幅則均為標準的渴筆勾勒法。波士頓美術館所藏一七〇三年所作的山水冊，其渴筆作品較多皴擦，然《古人未立法之先》大設色一幅，則以勾勒為主。⁹³

大體來說，石濤的畫風，從早期奇異的紙上造型，有愈趨平淡自然的寫實傾向，其發展的路向與龔賢有某種程度的相似處，他們都是從明末以來愈趨簡化的倪黃風尚走向紙上造型的途徑，但至其中晚期，特別是北京之行以後，因所見北宋大家的作品漸多，而有轉向宋人雄偉構圖的傾向，《廬山圖軸》則是此一傾向的代表作。至其晚年，由於對山川自然的領悟愈來愈深切，所以在絢爛之後，復歸平淡，所畫皆是平常目見之景，如波士頓山水冊等是。到了一七〇七年的《金陵冊》，⁹⁴則隨着年齡的老邁、體力的衰弱，而自然地產生了一種返朴歸真的生拙之趣。

從上面舉出的石濤各時期的作品中，都或多或少地能反映出《空山小語》的風格；若從石濤一生的發展來看，《空山小語》應當是屬於石濤的早期作品。而這一假設，可以在以下與石濤的《蘇東坡詩意冊》的比較中得到證實。

《蘇東坡詩意冊》，⁹⁵香港黃秉章氏藏，作於康熙丁巳十二月，約當西曆一六七七年的十二月至一六七八年的一月之間。全冊有山水、人物、花卉，而以山水為主，均以東坡詩意為題。風格上，除了少數幾開有濕筆渲染之外，全是渴筆勾勒風格，今舉數頁與《空山小語》比較：

第四開《藍溪白石》(圖三三)，⁹⁶其坡石以粗重的渴筆勾勒，遠處的林木，用筆極為纖細，都與《空山小語》圖神似；沙嘴的乾筆皴擦，也與《空山》圖的山頂畫法相同；兩行用筆極細的小字，更是形神俱似，如細較兩者都有的「空」、「山」、「白」三字，不難看出是同一個人的手筆。

第七開《寄臥虛堂》(圖三四)，⁹⁷其山頭和坡石的用筆以及書法都與《空山》圖極為神似，而且那一個長方形的白文印章「老濤」，與《空山小語》圖上完全相同。

⁹³ *The Painting of Tao-chi*, p. 166, "Retreat under a cliff." 或見《波士頓美術館藏元明清畫帖》第137圖。

⁹⁴ *Studies in Connoisseurship*, pp. 303-307.

⁹⁵ 香港大會堂1970年《明清繪畫展覽目錄》，圖46。

⁹⁶ 同上，圖46(4)。

⁹⁷ 同上，圖46(7)。

此冊末頁為白描仕女，⁹⁸ 其人物衣紋的用筆與波士頓美術館所藏的《鬼子母天卷》⁹⁹ 同出一手；其倚樹的姿態章法，也與《十六羅漢卷》中有一個羅漢相同；此冊第一頁《高巖下赤日》，也與住友氏所藏的《黃山圖冊》極為神似；凡此種種，足證此冊為石濤真蹟，那末，《空山小語》應當也是石濤真蹟無疑。不但如此，據仕女幅上自題云：

康熙丁巳十二月，燈下偶塗十二冊，總用坡公語。

但是黃秉章氏今天所藏的此冊只剩下九開，足見有三開已經散失；《空山小語》所用的是「子瞻碧落洞詩」，以此頓悟此一裝裱成小掛軸的《空山小語》原來就是這十二開中的一開，經比對尺寸、紙張、印色無不相合，並且東坡詩意冊每頁中央都有摺痕，雖經平裱，其痕不泯，細觀《空山》圖中央也有一道摺痕。因此，由以上種種證據，足以證明《空山小語》正是石濤在康熙丁巳十二月為「彥老道翁」所作十二幅中的一幅，此不但證明了這是石濤真蹟，而且他作畫的時間和對象，都得到了解答。

(六) 結 語

以上由《空山小語》圖的真偽和作者問題為出發，討論了明清之際渴筆勾勒風尚的淵源、畫家、及其作品，說明該圖非為其他同時畫家的作品，最後對石濤的渴筆勾勒風格及其他有關作品作了一個簡單的巡視，看出《空山小語》還是合於石濤的畫風，更因石濤《東坡詩意冊》的出現，找出了此畫原來的歸屬、以及作畫的時間和對象，證明了這是石濤三十七歲的真蹟。

⁹⁸ 同上，圖46(9)。

⁹⁹ *The Painting of Tao-chi*, p. 102.

圖版目錄

- 圖一 石濤：《空山小語》。紙本水墨冊頁，沙可樂收藏。現存普林斯頓大學美術館。
- 圖二 董其昌：畫稿。紙本水墨冊，波士頓美術博物館藏。
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- 圖四 萬壽祺：《歸來圖》（三圖合卷之一）（1651）。紙本水墨長卷，何氏至樂樓藏。
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An Aspect of Mid-seventeenth Century Chinese Painting: The "Dry Linear" Style and the Early Work of Tao-chi*

(A Summary)

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I. Introduction: I-min painters and i-min painting

One purpose in studying *i-min* 遺民 painting is to investigate the effects of dynastic change from Han-Chinese to non-Han Chinese rule on the painting styles of painters who survived from the previous Ming dynasty into the Ch'ing. Among the so-called *i-min* painters, the individual personalities and circumstances of each are actually quite complex. That is one reason, for instance, different modern scholars choose to include such different *i-min* painters in their separate discussions. This complexity of individual circumstances of the *i-min* has much to do with differences in age and degree of involvement in the government before the change of dynasty. Some painters, for example, became *i-min* only in the last few years of their life; conversely, some became *i-min* just a few years after they were born. Some served as officials during the Ming dynasty, and then retired under the new government; some actually led an armed defense against the Manchu invaders. Some became monks to avoid persecution, and one even pretended to be mad as a form of social protection, because he was a descendant of the Ming royal family. Some painters never served either government in an official capacity, and some were professional painters under both dynasties. Therefore, the consciousness of a surviving painter about his position as an *i-min*, and any reflection of this consciousness through his painting differs widely.

There were at least three types of painters whose painting styles were *not* very much influenced by the dynastic change. (1) Painters of the orthodox school. Those painters who belonged to the so-called orthodox school were mainly interested in the revival of certain older styles and schools through the great masters of the past. Thus their primary energies were centered not on the present—the Ming dynasty and its political downfall—but rather on the artistic past and what essential elements and new inspiration that the past could provide for their own art. The two elder Wangs, Wang Shih-min (1592–1680) and Wang Chien (1598–1677), for example, are often included among the *i-min* painters. But the painting styles of these two Wangs did not undergo any significant changes as a result of Manchu over-rule. Even if we compare their styles with those of the two younger Wangs, Wang Hui (1632–1717) and Wang Yuan-ch'i (1642–1715), who basically continued their work, we also see no real signs of

*Based on a talk delivered at the Symposium on Painting and Calligraphy by Ming *I-min*; see Chinese text for full citations.

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stylistic change in their art caused by the dynastic upheaval. (2) Professional painters. The works of painters, such as Lan Ying, who were relatively more professional and whose styles were more decorative show no signs of being affected by the political change. (3) Painters interested in new forms of expression or techniques. Painters who were working in the new trends of realism and who painted in relatively detailed styles—in some way related to Western influence—were not fundamentally affected by the dynastic change. Among these were some of the painters of the Chin-ling school, such as Fan Ch'i.

Generally speaking, then, painters who were involved in *artistic* problems, such as mastering the expression of a new technique, or the synthesis of ancient styles, had goals to guide them which were primarily artistic in nature. Their paintings were non-political in content, and their styles did not reflect political changes, because for the most part, their intellectual interests and emotional concerns did not lie in the political sphere.

There were, however, painters who *were* deeply affected by the dynastic change. The most significant examples were those who happened to be members of the former imperial family. Whether they were politically oriented or not, they inevitably became involved in the fact of dynastic change. Nonetheless, once the Ch'ing government took control, the strict censorship in the early years of the dynasty prohibited the overt display of any loyalty to the Ming at the risk of one's safety. Thus, even those painters who had deep loyalist sentiments could not express them openly. If they did, there were two possible ways of expression. One was through subject matter in painting. The real content in a painting could express the inner feelings of the painter and also be "hidden" in a way which could be understood by those who could read it. Two such examples may be given. Chang Feng, for example, liked to paint the portrait of Chu-ko Liang 諸葛亮, the famous strategist and minister of Shu in the Three Kingdoms period. One of Chang's inscriptions on a painting reads, "The former emperor knew how trustworthy I was." This statement contains the meaning that the painter's loyalty was to the previous dynasty, but the words appear to come from the mouth of the portrait subject. Chu-ko as subject was unique to Chang Feng, however. A more popular subject became the ideal of the hermit's life. This was actually an old theme which could have been used by any painter at any time without an *i-min* connotation. Nonetheless, it is undeniable that during this time, many more painters chose to paint paintings related to this subject. There were two favorite themes within this category, both of which centered on the archetypal hermit, T'ao Ch'ien (365–427). One was T'ao's portrait and/or portraits of him in different activities of his hermit's life. Two *i-min* painters especially fond of this subject were Ch'en Hung-shou (1599–1652) and Tao-chi (1641–c.1710). A second aspect were depictions of the famous description of an idealized land, the "Peach-blossom Spring," composed by T'ao Ch'ien; this subject could represent a form of spiritual refuge or escape for these painters.

Beyond subject matter another specific means of expressing *i-min* sentiments was through the application of color in painting. Hsiang Sheng-mo (1597–1658), for example, painted a landscape background to a self-portrait in which he used only red pigment. In Chinese, "red" is pronounced "*chu* 朱" which can mean both "red color" and "the surname of the Ming royal family." Through such a device, the painter could express his loyalty to the Ming and also escape censorship.

These several means to express loyalty are related to subject matter and to a painter's technical devices; they have little to do with style. Yet we cannot deny that there did arise during the time of dynastic change a landscape style which captured and expressed many *i-min* sentiments. This style was related to the kind of scenery depicted and the kind of brush-work used for depiction. The style expressed a certain plainness, a melancholy and often bleak

and lonely feeling; it is this style which I have chosen to focus on in my discussion here.

II. "The Echo" as point of departure

At the 1967 Michigan Exhibition of Tao-chi's painting, several scholars and connoisseurs showed some doubt about a Tao-chi painting titled *The Echo* (空山小語). This doubt was reflected in Professor Richard Edwards' report on the show, "Postscript to an Exhibition": "Although much admired for its sensitive touch, some opinions—particularly among Japanese scholars—saw signature and seal as interpolations. While according to this view it could well be a seventeenth century painting, it would be more just to associate it with a different artist. Ch'a Shih-piao was suggested."¹

Not only Japanese scholars but Western and Eastern scholars and connoisseurs doubted it; some even thought that it might have been painted by Tai Pen-hsiao (1611–1691?) or Ch'eng Sui (1605–1691). Since there were so many doubts, it deserves a closer examination. The painting is small—less than a foot square—and is now mounted as a hanging scroll. The brushwork is not clearly visible from a distance. Seen close up, the ink is not pale, but dark and extremely dry. The most visible parts of the landscape are the mountain top, the upper right corner, and the two lines of inscription with painter's seal (Fig. 1).

The mountain is described with long, almost parallel strokes. The brushtip is centered, *chung-feng* 中鋒, and it turns and twists making lines which suggest full volume. The mountain base is rounded and appears to hang above the water. The mountaintop is flat-headed and is made by rubbing strokes of dry dark ink. The white cloud encircling it is outlined with a few wavy brush strokes. A very fine brush and a trembling outline are used to add a few bare trees. In the upper right section, the painter used the same heavy dry ink strokes as the mountainhead to outline and model the layers of riverbank around the mouth of the stream. Then he used his fine brush again to draw the bridge, finally adding more bare, lonely trees. Here is the inscription: "An echo returns with a whisper/ And startles the white cloud on the empty mountain." In the last six characters of the inscription, which identifies the couplet by Su Shih, the painter used a fine brushtip with very dry ink, so that the writing appears quite faint. But the lines of the calligraphy are strikingly similar to the distant trees on the mountaintop and near the bridge. They are not only similar, but it is quite clear that the calligraphy and the trees were drawn with the same hand and the same brush. The calligraphy, therefore, was not added later, as some scholars suggest.

Could Cha Shih-piao, Tai Pen-hsiao, Ch'eng Sui or even someone else have painted this landscape? If so many names can be suggested as authors, then there is indeed confusion about styles of painters from this period. This confusion can be cleared up once we recognize that during the mid-seventeenth century there were many scholar-painters who were painting in a manner seen in *The Echo* which can be described as being "dry" or "parched" and "linear" (*k'o-pi kou-lo* 渴筆勾勒). In this light, the problem of the authorship of *The Echo* involves an important issue of period style. The purpose of this study is to focus on the mid-seventeenth century "dry linear" style: to first identify it as one of the major periods styles of late Ming-early Ch'ing painting, and then, to confirm *The Echo* as a work from the period and as a genuine Tao-chi, further clarifying his early style.

¹ *Oriental Art*, Vol. 14 (Winter 1968), p. 270.

III. The tradition and theoretical background to the "dry linear style"

A. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The dry linear style has a tradition and theory behind it.² Scholar-painters of the Sung and Yuan such as Li Kung-lin (c. 1049–1106?) and Chao Meng-fu (1254–1322), followed by the late Yuan masters, Ni Tsan (1301–1374), Huang Kung-wang (1269–1354), and Wang Meng, each developed their own distinctive linear style, bringing this tradition to a high point of development.

In art theory, dry ink was recognized as one of the five or six colors of ink. In mid-seventeenth century art criticism a certain mood and feeling of desolation and melancholy was specifically associated with dry brushwork and rubbed texture strokes as best expressing the feeling of the artists of the time. By the Ch'ing period it was said that a painter who could master the dry brush technique was more than half-competent. Besides that, dry brushwork had several technical advantages for the amateur painter: it was easier to control than wet, it required less time in completing a painting, and it made a painter's style look older and more mature.

The second aspect of the dry linear style was the "linear" or "outline" method, *kou-lo*, which is close in concept to "simplified" 簡筆 or "eliminated" brushwork 減筆. But simplification itself was not the final goal of the painter; if the brushwork was simplified, it was done in order to convey certain ideas and feelings. Among the late Yuan masters, Ni Tsan and Huang Kung-wang were the most crucial artists in the development and influence of this expressive aspect of the dry linear style. The continuity of the tradition they established can be seen through the persistent imitation and adaptation of the Ni-Huang styles on into the early and middle Ming.

B. THE IMPORTANCE OF NI TSAN AND HUANG KUNG-WANG TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE "DRY LINEAR STYLE"

After Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555–1636), Huang Kung-wang's position among the Four Great Yuan masters was solidified.³ Tung Ch'i-ch'ang admired Huang Kung-wang and said he was the first to *chi-lo yü-hua* 寄樂於畫: "lodge joy in painting." Moreover Huang Kung-wang was able to *i-hua wei-chi* 以畫爲寄 "to express himself through painting." This idea of creativity—to take pleasure in painting as a form of self-expression—was one of the most influential attitudes among literati painters in the 17th century. Huang Kung-wang's notes on painting, *Hua shan-shui-chueh*, were also influential to the same painters. The element of spontaneous, direct participation in nature is reflected in Huang Kung-wang's energetic brushwork, which consists essentially of dry linear *ts'un* in long parallels, supplemented by rubbed textures and touches of wet ink.

Ni Tsan's position among the Four Yuan masters was not as stable as Huang Kung-wang's historically, but the influence of his personal and artistic image was even greater.⁴ Ni Tsan did not serve the Mongols, but his suffering during the political unrest at the close of the Yuan,

² The Chinese text to this paper contains a preliminary study to this subject which will not be detailed here. Please see nn. 3–6, 20–29 of the Chinese text for source references.

³ See nn. 7–13 of Chinese text for references to Huang Kung-wang.

⁴ See nn. 14–19 of Chinese text for references to Ni Tsan.

and the reflection of his pure spirit and love of cleanliness in the quality of his painting made Ni Tsan and his situation the ideal for the late Ming *i-min* artists to adopt as a model.

Stylistically, the simplicity of Ni's landscape forms also suited these amateur painters: a few sparse trees, two or three layers of riverbank and an occasional pavilion were easily borrowed motifs, and the absence of human figures suited many amateur painters because they could not paint figures. Ni Tsan did not leave an essay on painting like that of Huang Kung-wang, but it is clear from his comments that he followed the scholar-amateur theories of the Sung painters, especially Su Shih: Ni Tsan painted for amusement and to express himself and his ideas; physical resemblance to nature was not his goal.

IV. Ming-Ch'ing painters of the dry linear style and their works

The continuity of the Ni-Huang styles before the late Ming can be seen in the works of several important painters. The general tendency in their styles was toward simplification. As an early Ming painter, Wang Fu (1362-1416) came closest in spirit and form to Ni Tsan of any of the masters before late Ming. His painting dated 1401 in the Ch'eng Ch'i collection, Tokyo, is the earliest exact imitation of Ni's style.

In the middle Ming, Shen Chou (1427-1509) could be considered one of the best interpreters of Ni Tsan, even though his teacher Chao T'ung-lu 趙同魯 criticized his work as being heavy-handed and over-done. But precisely because his brushwork was so strong and direct, Shen Chou could simplify form and still have a forceful statement. He therefore played a key role in the trend toward simplification. In addition many late Ming painters learned the Ni and Huang styles through him.

Shen Chou's follower Wen Cheng-ming (1470-1559) usually painted in a finer style than Shen Chou, but Wen also used a dry linear style. Several of Wen's descendants and followers, such as Lu Chih, Wen Tien, and others, carried on this trend toward dry brushwork and simplified form into the late Ming early Ch'ing.

With the seventeenth century and Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, Chinese painting came to a turning point. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang did paint in a wet style after the Tung-Chü and Mi-Kao 米高 traditions, but one critic noted that much of Tung's influence came from his dry-style works after Ni and Huang. For example, a work after Ni Tsan (which Tung mentions in his inscription on the painting) in the John Crawford collection, New York, is painted almost entirely with dry ink lines, even though the rocks look like Wang Meng. In an album by him in The Art Museum, Princeton University, Tung was so proud of two leaves after Ni that in his inscription he called them the "bonemarrow" of Ni Tsan's paintings. Quite important in Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's relation to Ni Tsan is an instructional manual by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Fig. 2). The renderings show Tung's most simplified style. Actually, since they were demonstrations for students, they are unfinished works, close to *fen-pen* 粉本 or rough drafts. Later painters liked this incomplete, sketchy idea and adopted it as a finished style. The simple, linear *fen-pen* style found in this album, plus the influence of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang as a theorist, contributed in large part to the formation of the dry linear style.

The *Hsiao-chung hsien-ta* 小中現大 album of reduced copies in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, now generally accepted to be by Wang Shih-min, was also an influential work at the time. Wang Shih-min was a direct link from the artistic legacy of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. This album of reduced copies contains a large proportion of works in Ni Tsan and Huang Kung-wang style, testifying to the numerous paintings by them extant in collections in the Wu area. All of the paintings were highly influential to contemporaries, especially those of the

orthodox school beginning with the Four Wangs. In one of his inscriptions to the album, Tung Ch'i-ch'ang says how scholars in the Chiangnan area judged someone's refinement or vulgarity on the basis of whether he owned a Ni Tsan painting or not. This observation shows how popular and exclusive a symbol the Ni Tsan image had become.

Ch'eng Chia-sui (1565-1643), a younger contemporary of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and one of his "Nine Friends of Painting," was praised by Kung Hsien in the inscription to one of Kung's own handscrolls. Kung says that Ch'eng was the founder of the T'ien-tu 天都, or Huang-shan 黃山, school of painting, and that Ch'eng's works are close to Ni Tsan, while Li Yung-ch'ang's 李永昌 works look like Shen Chou imitating Ni Tsan; later painters like Hung-jen 弘仁, Wu Shan-t'ao 吳山濤, Wang Chih-jui 汪之瑞, Sun I 孫逸, Ch'eng Sui 程邃, and Cha Shih-piao 查士標 all learned painting from Ch'eng and Li.⁵ This description of the Huang-shan school by Kung Hsien is slightly different from our present concept of the school, but it shows how important Ch'eng Chia-sui was at the time. From this we also see that the origin of the Huang-shan school was in Ni Tsan (Fig. 3).

Li Liu-fang (1575-1629) was ten years younger than Ch'eng, and also one of the "Nine Friends." Some of their paintings are quite similar, probably because Li admired Ch'eng and used to watch him paint.⁶ Li Liu-fang's style is wetter, but it is still basically linear and founded on Ni Tsan's image.

Lan Ying (1585-c. 1664) was a versatile painter and on occasion painted in a dry linear style. His follower Ch'en Hung-shou was a typically linear painter, and when he worked on paper, he used a dry technique with both his figure and landscape styles. This technique was also continued by his son Ch'en Tzu (see the latter's album in the Chih-lo-lou collection).

Wan Shou-ch'i (1603-1652) was one of the few *i-min* painters who actively resisted the Manchus. A true loyalist, he later became a Buddhist monk after the fall of the dynasty. His painting is most representative of the dry linear style and the *i-min* sentiment it is possible to convey without any overt symbolism. Wan's compositions are tightly constructed, and his ink line is often of a single tonality with little additional use of wash. His style is severe with an introspective, lonely feeling. The handscroll in three sections in the Chih-lo-lou collection (Fig. 4) expresses in most sensitive terms the withdrawn, dejected feeling of the *i-min*.

Chang Feng (active 1636-1662) had two styles; both depended on line to build form (Fig. 5). In his inscription to an album in Princeton, Chang Feng said that he was afraid his brushwork was not pale enough, and that although he tried his best, his brushwork was still too dense.

Tsou Chih-lin (c. 1585-1654) concentrated on re-interpreting Huang Kung-wang's style in the late Ming and early Ch'ing, and in fact hoped to be his reincarnation. In a colophon to a work in the Chih-lo-lou collection (Fig. 6), Tsou says that every time he obtained one of Huang Kung-wang's paintings, he treasured it like the eyes of his head and the marrow of his brain; he strived hard to be Huang Kung-wang's reincarnation in order to rescue his school from oblivion. In his copy of the Fu-ch'un handscroll in the P. C. Wong collection, Hong Kong, Tsou simplified form to a skeletal outline (Fig. 7), and in his album in the Wango Weng collection, New York (Fig. 8), he developed the style to an extreme of dry outlines punctuated by dots. Few could surpass Tsou Chih-lin in this kind of simplification. It is quite possible also that the tendency toward simplification seen in works like this was intensified by the fact that many amateur painters were influenced by linear wood-block illustrations in printed books.

⁵ For the original text to this inscription, see Chinese text preceding n. 35. The collection and whereabouts of the handscroll are not known; photo from the Far Eastern Seminar Photographic Archives, Princeton University. [Editor's note: The handscroll is said to be in the collection of the Fogg Art Museum.]

⁶ See n. 36 of Chinese text.

Yün Hsiang (1586–1655) was praised by contemporary critics as being the best painter after Shen Chou. Yün often wrote critical comments on his own paintings. In one work (Fig. 9), he says that people commonly confuse simplification with *hsieh-i*—but an idea cannot be expressed only by simplified brushwork. This comment reflects the trend at the time: many painters must have been painting simplified works and calling them *hsieh-i*; this irritated a painter like Yün Hsiang who could offer something more. In another leaf, Yün Hsiang says that what people commonly consider *kung* or fine work, is really the work of decorative craftsmen working in gold. He says wisely that Huang Kung-wang's painting finished in a day is not inferior to Li Ssu-hsun's ten-day effort.⁷

The early work of Kung Hsien (c. 1617–1689), as Professor James Cahill's excellent article suggests, was strongly influenced by Yün Hsiang's theory and work.⁸ In a leaf from Kung's early *Manual of Painting* (Fig. 10), he uses dry parallel ink strokes to suggest bulky rock formations. Kung said, if one redraws the outline several times, one does not need texture strokes; if one still wants them, then one need only add strokes in one or two places where the form does not get the light. Kung also said (Fig. 11) that painting by scholars does not need to have modeling strokes—only redrawing the outline was sufficient; if the second outline is drier, then it will look like *ts'un*. (From these leaves, there is a strong possibility that this early style of Kung Hsien influenced the young Tao-chi, an observation which deserves further study.) Kung Hsien presented a strong theoretical position to support the dry linear style. In several inscriptions to a small album of landscapes in The Art Museum, Princeton, Kung said that "Less is better than more, which is the advanced stage of a painter," and "Only if one is afraid of producing a painting which is too obvious is one competent as a painter."

Ch'eng Sui (1605–1691) was one of the major exponents of the dry linear style, expanding it with the addition of dry dots. The painting in the Chih-lo-lou collection (Fig. 12) was painted in his mid-eighties. The trembling old-age brushwork shows lines which have become almost dots, without the use of texture strokes. With Ch'eng's style in mind, we should recall the suggestion of Ch'eng as the author of *The Echo*. As we can see, however, Ch'eng Sui's compositions are quite stable, his mountain forms have ordinary shapes and usually fill the whole picture area, and he uses the same brush throughout without contrasting fine and heavy strokes. Ch'eng Sui could not have been the author of *The Echo*.

Fang I-chih (c. 1607–1671) became a monk at the fall of the Ming. His style is characterized by firm solid brushwork, and he is one of the strong exponents of the dry linear style. He was not very well known as a painter, but his work is certainly not inferior. Two paintings (Figs. 13 and 14) contain interesting inscriptions related to *Ch'an* Buddhism.

Wang Chih-jui (active 1649–1653) and Sun I (active 1643–1657) were counted with Cha Shih-piao and Hung-jen as the Four Masters of Hai-yang. Both painters' works are quite rare. Wang Chih-jui's compositions are not outstanding, but he does represent a typical painter of the dry linear style. Sun I, like Wang Chih-jui, was also mentioned by Kung Hsien as belonging to the Huang-shan school. A painting dated 1657 in the Richard Edwards collection, Ann Arbor, shows how close both his painting and calligraphy style were to Hung-jen.

Hung-jen (1610–1663) was one of the major painters of the period who developed a distinctive personal style. In his larger scrolls he used dry rubbing strokes as well as outline; but, in smaller works, the dry, suggestive outline dominates. Hung-jen's compositions were varied, inventive, and architecturally constructed. He painted in both Ni and Huang styles and could convey a monumental feeling in the space of a small scroll (Fig. 17).

⁷ For the original text to this inscription, see Chinese text preceding n. 49.

⁸ For source references, see Chinese text and nn. 54–60.

Works by Cha Shih-piao (1615–1698) (Fig. 18) may be different in scale and show two distinct aspects of his brushwork. Cha often uses a simple composition of the Ni Tsan-type, but modifies it with wet ink and casual sweeping brushwork; his brush tip is usually slanted. Cha Shih-piao was suggested as the author of *The Echo*, but with his broad, wet and careless style, he could not have been the painter. Cha did have a dry style, but the brushwork is still entirely different from *The Echo*: the line is flatter, with less emphasis on its linearity and more on its texture; the compositions are still more frontal and stable, unlike the rounded and bulky shapes of *The Echo*. Cha Shih-piao could not be the author of *The Echo* either.

K'un-ts'an (1612–c. 1685) also painted in a manner related to the dry linear style. The brushwork and composition of his works are invariably full and dense, but the approach is basically linear, using mostly dry ink.

Cha Chi-tso (1601–1677) was a rare and interesting artist (Fig. 19). His compositions show original thought, with a slanted groundplane and an unusual massing of the landscape elements. The rocks are shaped basically by outlines and dry texture strokes on the edges of the forms.

Tai Pen-hsiao (1612–1691) was also suggested as the possible author of *The Echo*. Tai was a good friend of Tao-chi, and they saw each other in Nanking quite often; it is indeed possible that there was some mutual influence in their painting styles. According to Tai's inscription on a work in the Chih-lo-lou collection (Fig. 20), he painted it after a Ni Tsan work he saw with a "full" composition. Tai was also suggested as the author of *The Echo*, but Tai stresses flat, dry rubbing strokes on the edges of the forms, not the rounded parallel strokes of *The Echo*. Even though the mountains in Tai's paintings are often slanted, his rock forms tend to be angular and built up on a fundamentally stable composition. Tai Pen-hsiao could not be the author of *The Echo*.

Mei Ch'ing (1623–1697) was Tao-chi's close older friend during his period in Hsuan-ch'eng before the 1680s, and between them there was probably also some mutual influence. In details from two album leaves (Figs. 21, 22), we see the dry, parallel texture strokes Tao-chi liked to use, but Mei Ch'ing's strokes have a softer feeling.

In a scroll by Wu Shan-t'ao (1624–c. 1710) in The Art Museum, Princeton University (unpublished), Wu says that most painters who paint after Huang Kung-wang do not know that Huang's own source was Tung Yuan; only Tsou Chih-lin captured his subtle and divine aspects. In painting this, Wu says he felt he captured some of Tsou's simplicity, but he still could not enter the inner chamber of the Sung and Yuan. Wu Shan-t'ao admired Tsou Chih-lin and went beyond him in simplifying form. What is left is really only a skeleton, and represents the extreme of the dry linear tradition. As Professor Wen Fong said, this was an artistic "dead end."

In an album of landscape leaves such as those in the Crawford Collection, New York (Fig. 23), Chu Ta (1626–1705) followed Huang Kung-wang's style through Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, but simplified his means further and developed his own landscape shapes and balance of elements. Chu Ta could simplify without loss of content, and he does so almost to the point of abstraction. Chu Ta painted in both wet and dry styles, but the brushwork in his landscapes was usually on the dry side—supplemented by washes.

The painters mentioned above were older than Tao-chi, but the last painter in our discussion, Chiang Shih-chieh (1646–1709), was five years younger. Chiang admired Tao-chi and inscribed several of his paintings; he learned the art of Ni Tsan's landscapes mainly through the work of Hung-jen, and in his calligraphy he also followed Ni Tsan.

In retrospect the formation of the dry linear style was a result of several different factors present in late Ming–early Ch'ing society and art. Simplification of form was inherent in the dry linear style, and it developed as a natural internal course in the history of painting. Begun

by Sung scholar-amateur painters with Ni Tsan and Huang Kung-wang playing a key role, the dry linear style came to be practised by so many artists by the mid-seventeenth century partly because of the increase in amateur painters in general in the late Ming, and partly because the political change of dynasty from Ming to Ch'ing caused large numbers of *i-min* to turn to painting and other forms of art as a means of personal expression and as a vehicle for loyalist sentiments. The dry linear style became an important expression of loyalty to the fallen dynasty. In addition, Huang Kung-wang and Ni Tsan became the embodiments of those painters' artistic ideals, and their painting styles likewise became a natural vehicle for personal feelings of despair at the disruption of society by Manchu over-rule. Many of these painters also subscribed to the amateur theory of painting, where training in calligraphy formed the basis of their painting style, and where painting was done mainly to express personal feelings among friends and not to decorate the homes of the common rich.

From this brief study we can come to the following conclusions which relate to *The Echo*: the dry linear style was a common feature of scholar-amateur painting in the late Ming-early Ch'ing, and *The Echo* can be seen to be a product of this period. But we have not yet found the appropriate author for it.

V. Tao-chi's dry linear style and "The Echo"

If we return to *The Echo* and compare it to other works by Tao-chi in the dry linear style, we will come to a firmer conclusion. From Tao-chi's various comments, we know he was aware of the dry brush technique. In an inscription to one of the leaves from an album in Los Angeles, dated 1694 (Fig. 24), Tao-chi mentions many of the painters we have just discussed. He also notes their special expressive qualities and brush techniques, such as *kao-ku*, *ch'i-ku*, *ch'ing-i*, *kan-shou*, *lin-li*, and *hao-fang*. Such qualities as *kao-ku* ("lofty antiquity"), *ch'i-ku* ("extraordinary antiquity"), and *ch'ing-i* ("pure elusiveness") are related to *kan-shou* ("dry leanness"). These were qualities which Tao-chi himself sought in his painting. In addition to *kan-shou*, Tao-chi also mentioned *k'o-pi*, "parched brushwork."

Tao-chi associated distinct qualities with wet and dry brushwork in his early period. In a leaf to an album dated 1682 (Fig. 25), he says that when the brushwork is dry, it is refined; when wet, it is ordinary. In another inscription from the same 1682 album (Fig. 28), Tao-chi says that in order to write good calligraphy, one has to use the brush the way one "writes in the sand." "Writing in the sand" (*hua-sha*) has two related meanings: one is the use of the centered brushtip, which produces a rounded stroke; the other is the use of a dry heavy brushline, the kind of brushwork which he himself demonstrates in the leaf he inscribes. From these inscriptions, it is clear that Tao-chi was fully aware of the expressive range and technical possibilities of dry brushwork.

If we compare this latter leaf (Fig. 28) with *The Echo*, we can see the same artistic mentality: the composition with the overhanging rock dominates the space, and there is the same small mouth of the stream; the space is slightly tilted, and the bulk of the form is built up by dry parallel strokes. Comparing the rounded "hanging" form in the foreground, for example, with two even earlier works of Tao-chi, his hanging scroll depicting Huang-shan and his handscroll of *Sixteen Lohans*, both dated 1667 (Fig. 26), we see the similarly-shaped boulders composed of dry parallel strokes. Tao-chi's method of building form by means of long interior and exterior texture strokes is related in certain ways to the early work of Kung Hsien. Another important painting to compare with *The Echo* is the dated 1673 *Eight-leaf*

Album,⁹ which shows several of the same elements: the contrasting use of wet and dry linear brushwork, the idea of encircling a mountain peak in clouds, and the same flat-topped peaks with sparse bare trees. The well-known work in the Sumitomo collection, *Eight Scenic Views of Huang-shan*, datable to about 1680 (Fig. 30), contains several leaves which demonstrate the same linear build-up of the form with dry brushwork and the addition of color wash. The large hanging scroll from the same collection, *Mount Lu*, can also be compared. It shows Tao-chi's favorite use of the flat-headed mountaintop with encircling clouds.

Toward the end of his career Tao-chi continued to paint similar forms in the dry linear style, and significant comparisons can be easily found in many of his late albums to further verify this early interest as more than a mere stage in the development of his style. From this brief review of his works mainly in the dry linear style, we can see that within his range of "wet" and "dry," "full" and "empty" landscapes, there are common features of mountain forms and compositional concepts. Combined with the similarity in the brushwork method, these features establish a common hand. We can see such a hand in the individual elements of sparse trees and calligraphy in *The Echo*, all of which should be sufficient reason to assume the authorship of *The Echo* as by Tao-chi.

Fortunately this assumption can be confirmed by further evidence in the form of the small album depicting the poems of Su Shih in the P. C. Wong collection, Hong Kong. This album was shown five years ago in the City Art Museum, Hong Kong, and is dated by its final leaf to late in 1677. It contains seven landscapes, one figure and one flower depiction. In leaf 4 from the album (Fig. 33), the rock forms are rounded and drawn with heavy strokes of dry ink. The composition slants upward from the left, and the distant trees are drawn with a thin fine brush. All elements are very close in concept to *The Echo*. In addition, the two lines of calligraphy on the left edge are identical in appearance to the two lines on *The Echo*. The same three characters, *k'ung* 空, *shan* 山, and *pai* 白, are found in both leaves and are written in almost an identical manner. They are clearly from the same hand.

In leaf 7 (Fig. 34) from the same album, the brushwork in the mountaintop, the edges of the rocks, and the calligraphy also are very close to *The Echo*. The seal on this leaf, *L'ao-t'ao*, is identical with the seal found on *The Echo*. In other leaves from the album, we see how Tao-chi not only liked to introduce abrupt hanging shapes, but also to contrast heavy and thick strokes on mountains and rocks with light and fine strokes on trees.

The inscription on the final leaf of the album states that in the 12th moon of the 16th year of the K'ang-hsi era (1677/78) Tao-chi painted these twelve leaves under lamplight, each using Su Tung-p'o's words. Presently the P. C. Wong collection has nine leaves, so that three leaves have been missing from the original set of twelve. Now the poem on *The Echo* is also Su Tung-p'o's, and the physical aspects of measurements, paper, painter's seal, seal ink, and the central crease in the paper, in addition to the painting style and calligraphy all match those in the P. C. Wong collection. Therefore, from this evidence, there is sufficient reason to conclude that *The Echo* was originally one of the twelve leaves identified in Tao-chi's own colophon.

VI. Conclusion

Starting with the "problem" painting, *The Echo*, we conducted a study of its painting and calligraphy style in the context of works by painters contemporary with Tao-chi. This study

⁹ Said to be in the Shanghai Museum; see *Shih-t'ao hua-chi* (Peking, 1960), for illustration.

led to an identification of the "dry linear" style as one of the major styles of the late Ming-early Ch'ing period and one which could also be related to certain preferences of *i-min* painters. The suggested authors of *The Echo* were disproved, and then several of Tao-chi's early works were compared with *The Echo*. In this way we were able to confirm not only that *The Echo* was also one of Tao-chi's early works, but that it belonged to a dated album which he painted late in the year when he was thirty-seven *sui*.

* * *

Author's comments on some questions raised during the discussion:

The author was aware of the many possible categories of dry brushwork used by the various painters when these paintings were being studied. But it was decided that since the important point was to discuss their similarity as a *period style*, that it would not help to differentiate them into too many categories at the start.

Another difficulty with differentiating the dry styles too closely is that within the range of a single painter's works, the degree of dryness or linearity could differ from painting to painting. Tao-chi's works are an example. This particular task may be left for future art historians.

It has also been suggested that the *fei-pai* 飛白 technique could have been a source of this style. It is true that it is a type of "dry" style, and when used in painting (as opposed to calligraphy), it was popular with scholar-painters during the late-Northern Sung and Yuan periods. But it was seldom used in the Ming and Ch'ing, so I did not mention it as a possible source.

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- FIGURE 28. Same as Figure 25.
- FIGURE 29. Tao-chi, *Album for Yü-lao*. Ink and occasional color on paper. C. C. Wang collection.
- FIGURE 30. Tao-chi, *Eight Scenic Views of Huang-shan*, about 1680s. Album. Ink and color on paper. Sumitomo collection.
- FIGURE 31. Tao-chi, *Landscape in Yen Lu-kung's Brush Style*, from an album dated 1700. Ink on paper. Palace Museum, Peking.
- FIGURE 32. Same as Figure 31.
- FIGURE 33. Tao-chi, leaf 4 from an album depicting the poems of Su Shih, dated 1677/78. Ink on paper. P. C. Wong collection.
- FIGURE 34. Same as Figure 33, leaf 7.

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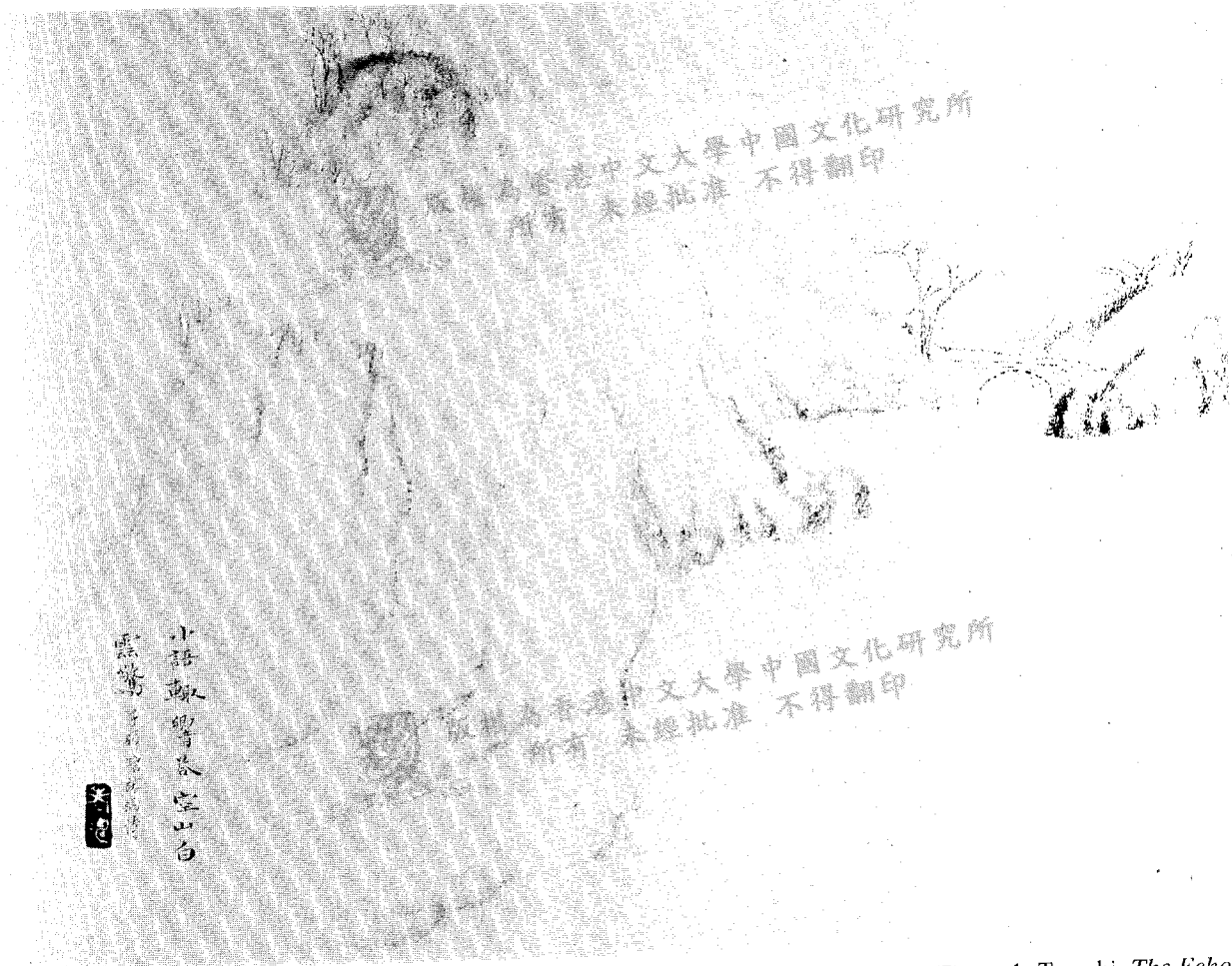


圖 - 石濤：《空山小語》。

Figure 1. Tao-chi, *The Echo*.

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圖二 董其昌：畫稿。

Figure 2. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, *Album of Sketches*.



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圖三 程嘉燧：山水册。

Figure 3. Ch'eng Chia-sui, *Album of Landscapes*.

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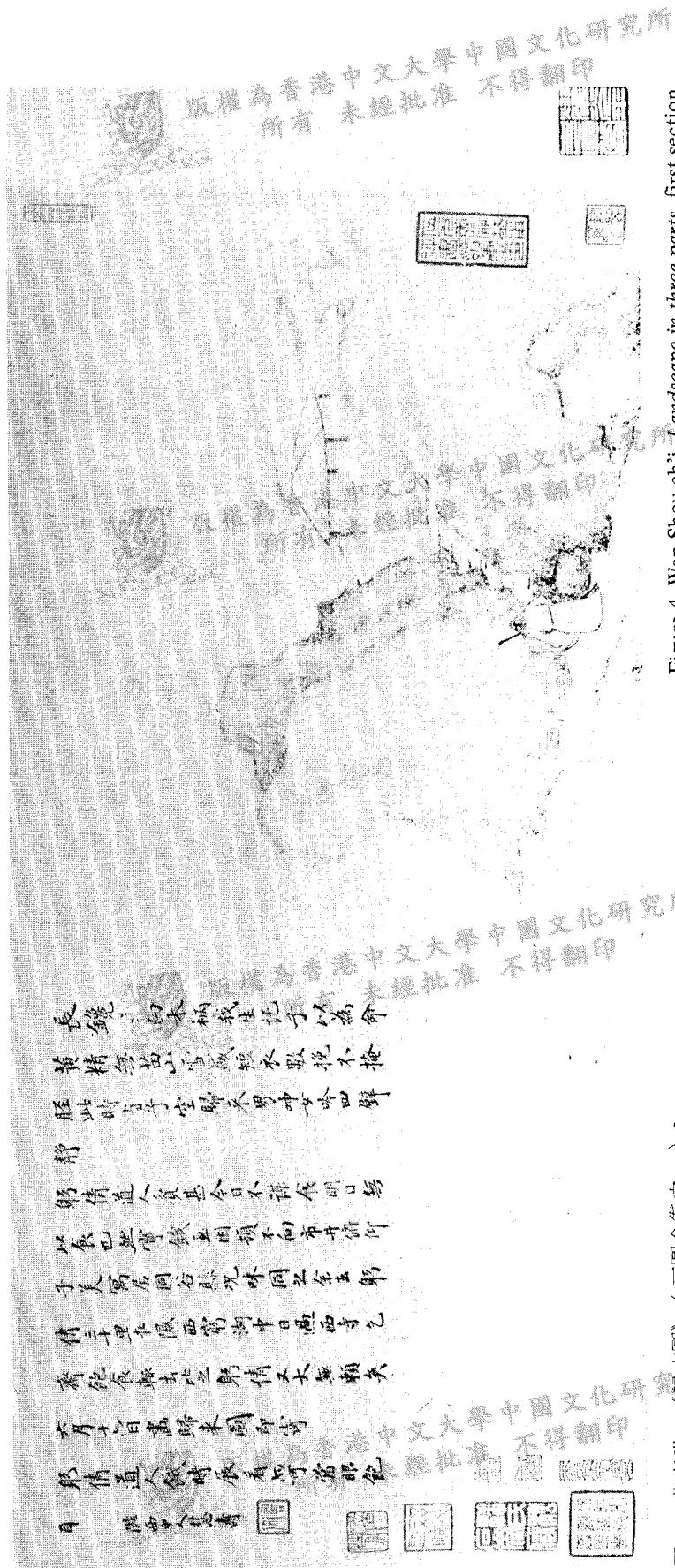


Figure 4. Wan Shou-ch'i, *Landscape in three parts, first section*.

長鏡山白木柄我生托子以為命
 養精每出山宮欲經水數挽不捨
 睡此時子空歸來男女吟四聲
 靜
 躬倩道人負甚今日不祥辰明日
 以衣已然管欽出因損不向市井誰所
 子美寓居同石縣况味同之在玉第
 倩三里在隈西窈湖中日照西寺乞
 齋飽食歸去此之躬倩又大無賴矣
 六月十六日畫歸來圖印寄
 躬倩道人負甚今日不祥辰明日
 日 陝西人畫

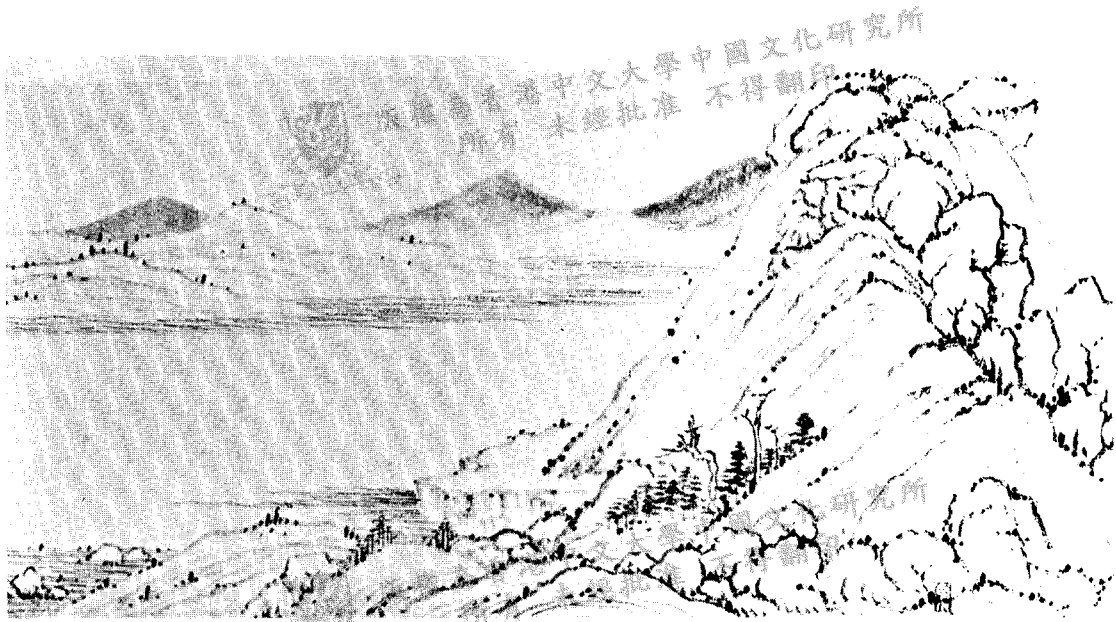
圖四 萬壽祺：《歸來圖》（三圖合卷之一）。



圖五 張風：《煙雨歸漁圖》。
Figure 5. Chang Feng, *Landscape*.



圖六 鄒之麟：《擬人癡山水圖》。
Figure 6. Tsou Chih-lin, *Landscape after Huang Kung-wang*



圖七 鄒之麟：臨大痴《富春山居圖卷》（局部）。

Figure 7. Tsou Chih-lin, Copy of 'Dwelling in the Fu-ch'un Mountains by Huang Kung-wang'.



圖八 鄒之麟：山水。

Figure 8.
Tsou Chih-lin, *Album
of Landscapes*.



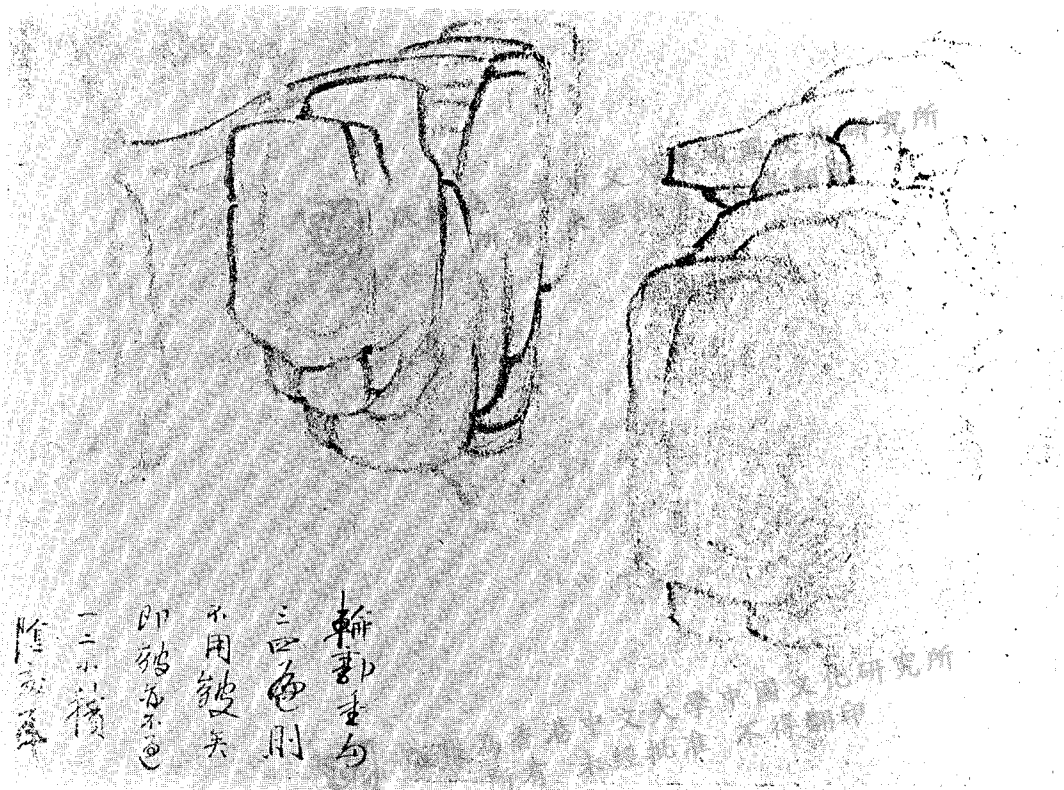
圖九 惲向：《擬巨然山水圖》。

Figure 9. Yün Hsiang, *Landscape after Chü-jan*.



圖一〇 龔賢：《樹木山石畫法冊》之一。

Figure 10. Kung Hsien, *Painting Manual*.



圖一一 龔賢：《樹木山石畫法冊》之二。

Figure 11. Same as Figure 10.



圖一二 程邃：《讀書秋樹根圖》。

Figure 12. Ch'eng Sui, *Landscape*.

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截斷紅塵在多少
開石松千尺特地
為中峰 指上枯可甚
危一塔

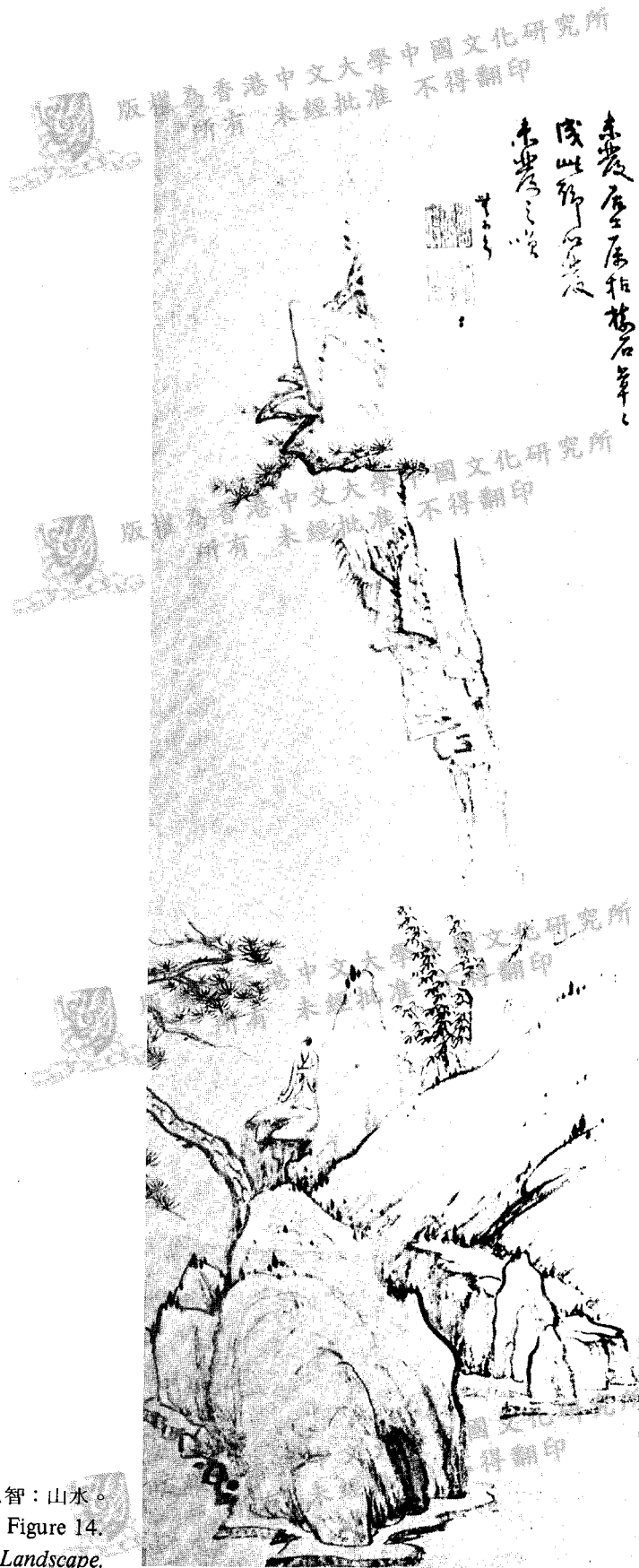
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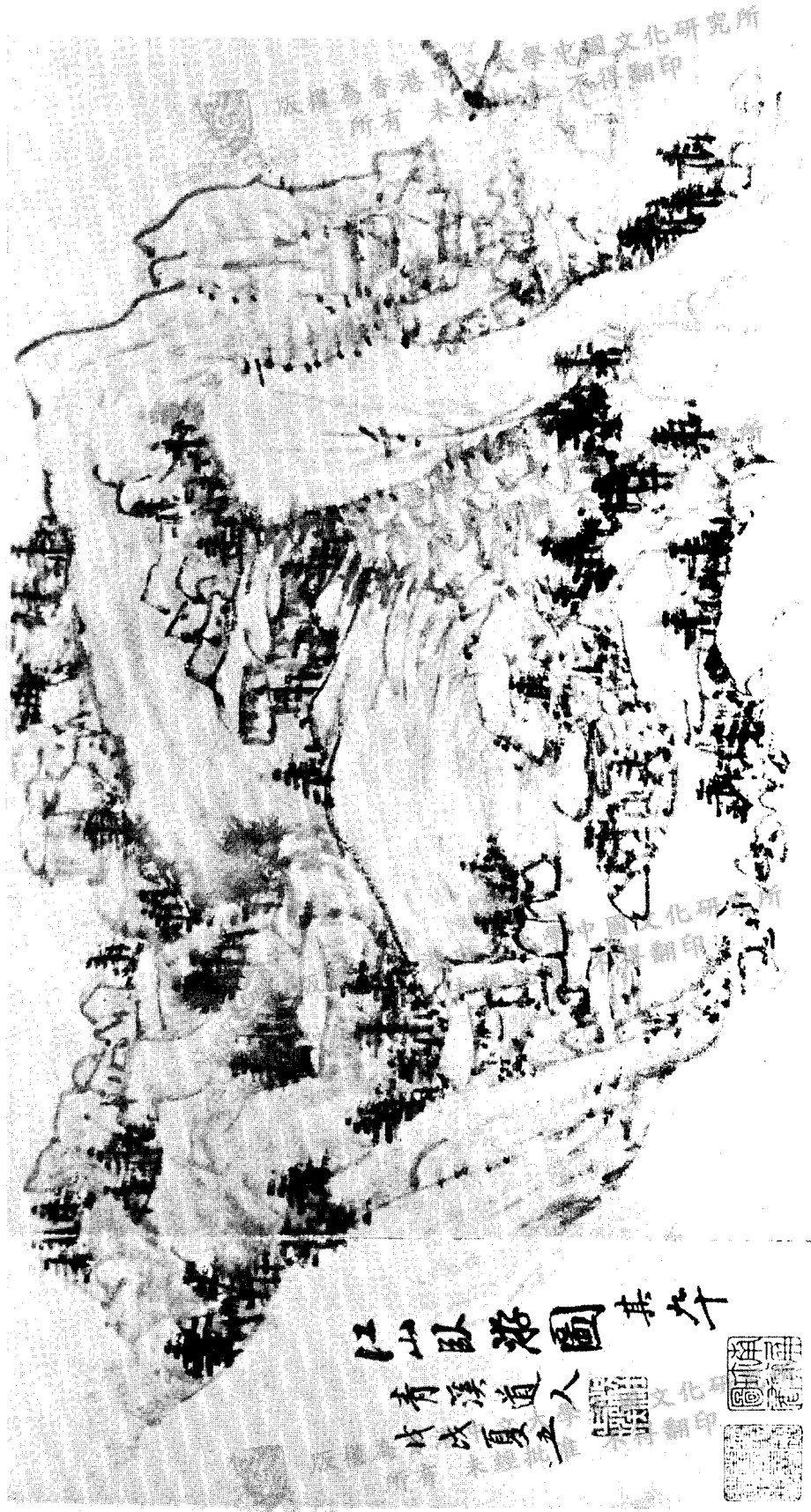
先叔祖文忠公諱以智字宏之邦
受公前明崇禎庚辰及選書的見負成
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諸公皆以解氣名節相推尚拜稱
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疏請代上樹其孝究明白中中
齊仇悲樹國逐流離嶺表出此外
皆被繫塚以白刃終不屈屍乃遊
迹至廣青原間從遊于稱無可大
師史鄉榮地登達志能以父自
如卒于萬安歸葬浮波所著
有通雅乾菴物理小識蕩蕩浮
山詩文集數千種行世公志
江子長先生嘗稱為四真子云
甚謂負孝子真忠法真子子真
御社也此獨乃為瑞學家以由
雲先生作也草其高古絕倫藏
之名山得與香粉六年吳敬
康熙五年秋日
張孫范謹誌

圖一三 方以智：《截斷紅塵圖》。

Figure 13. Fang I-chih, *Landscape*.

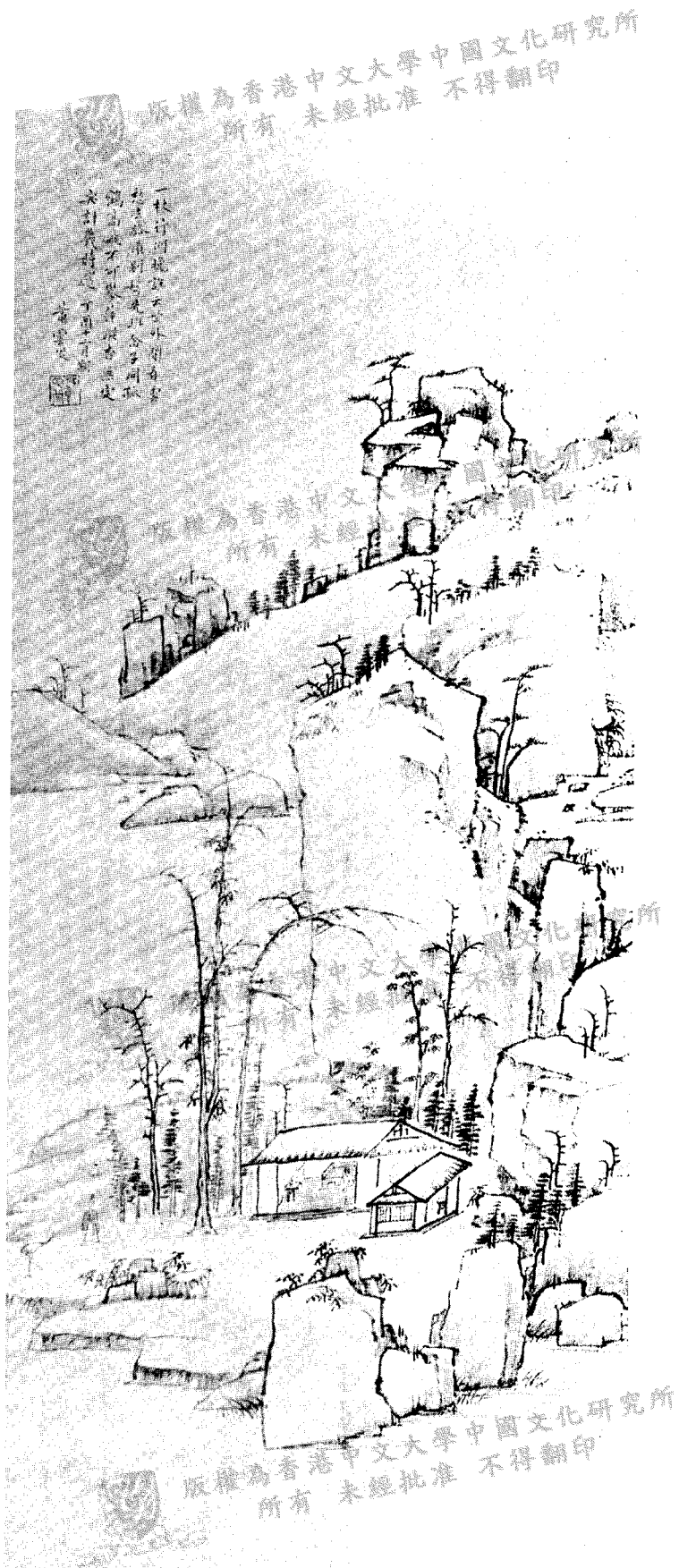


圖一四 方以智：山水。
Figure 14
Fang I-chih, *Landscape*.



圖一五 程正揆：《江山臥遊圖》（局部）。

Figure 15. Ch'eng Cheng-k'uei, *Imaginary Journeys among Mountains and Rivers*.



圖一六 蕭雲從：山水。
Figure 16. Hsiao Yun-ts'ung, *Landscape*.



圖一七 弘仁：《松巖蕭寺圖》。
Figure 17. Hung-jen, *Landscape*.

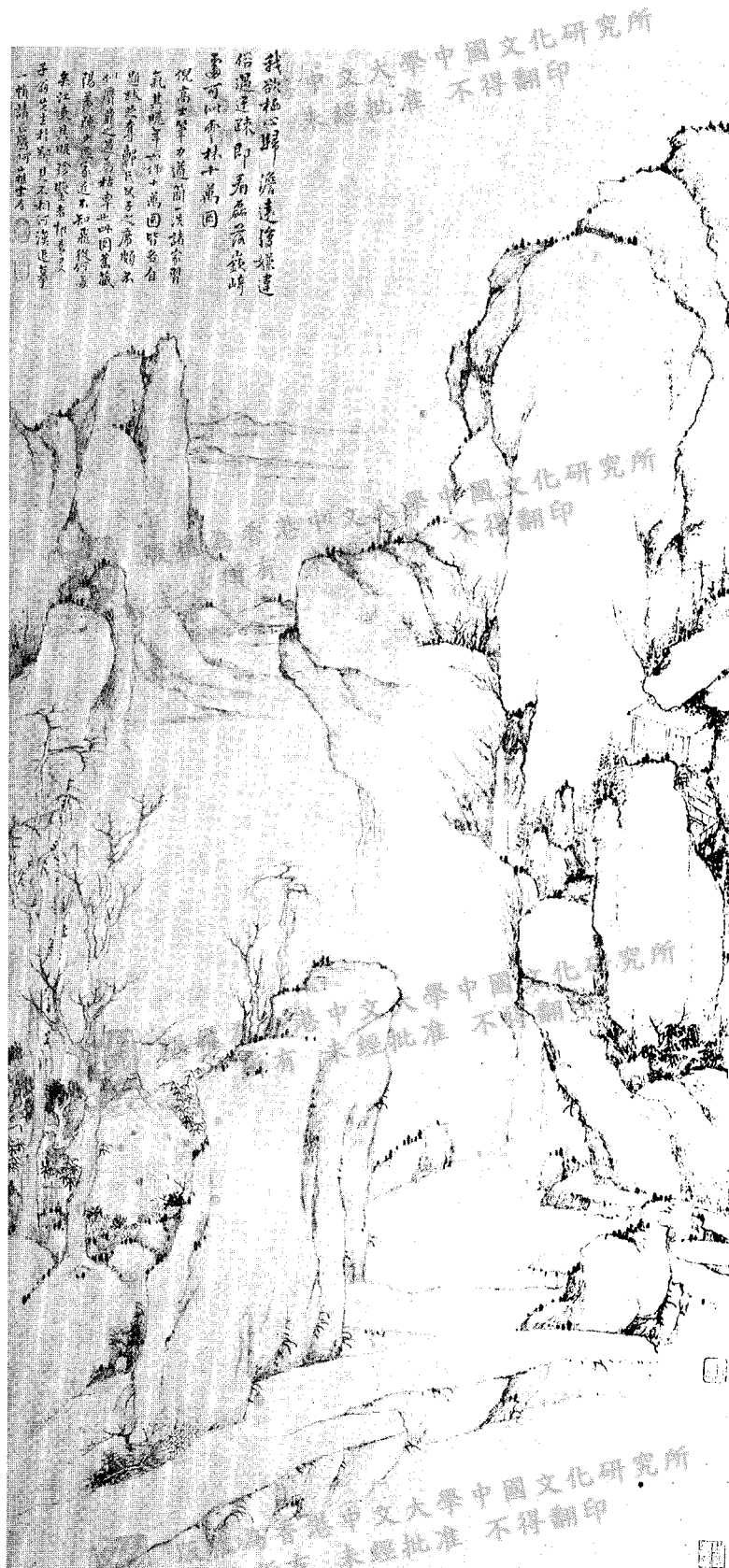


圖一八 查上標：《平林曠壑圖》。
Figure 18. Cha Shih-piao, *Landscape*.

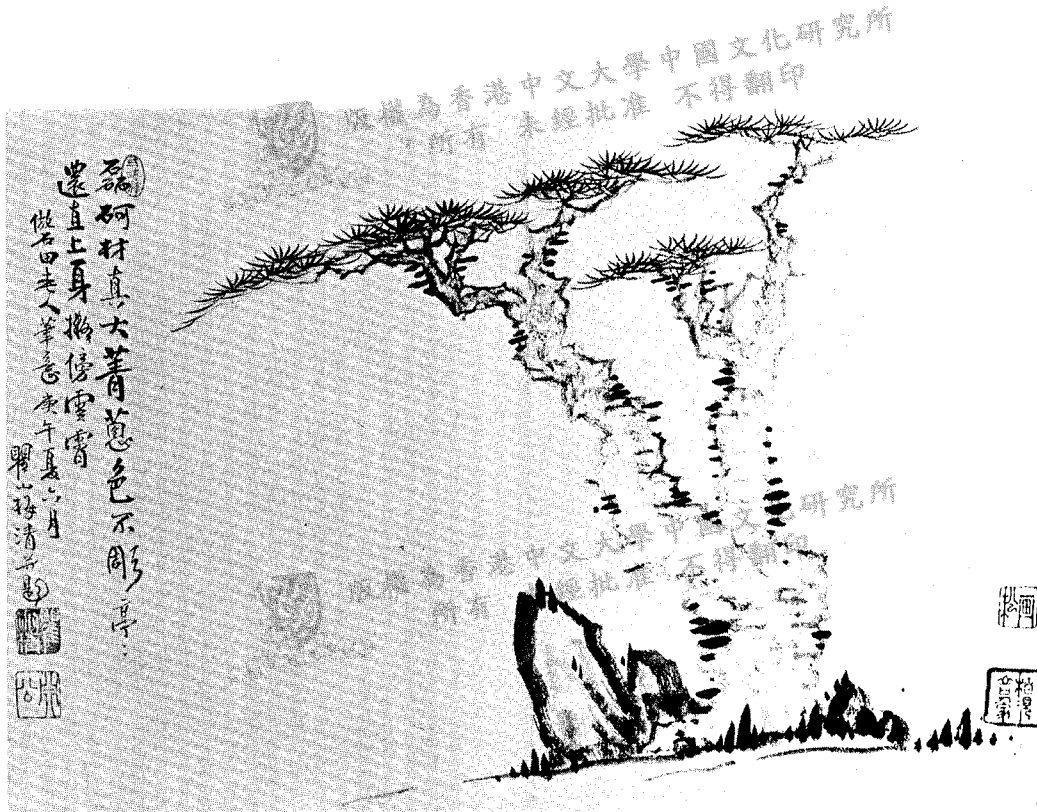


Figure 19. Cha Chi-iso, *Landscape in ten parts, a section*.

圖一九 查繼佐：山水十圖之一。

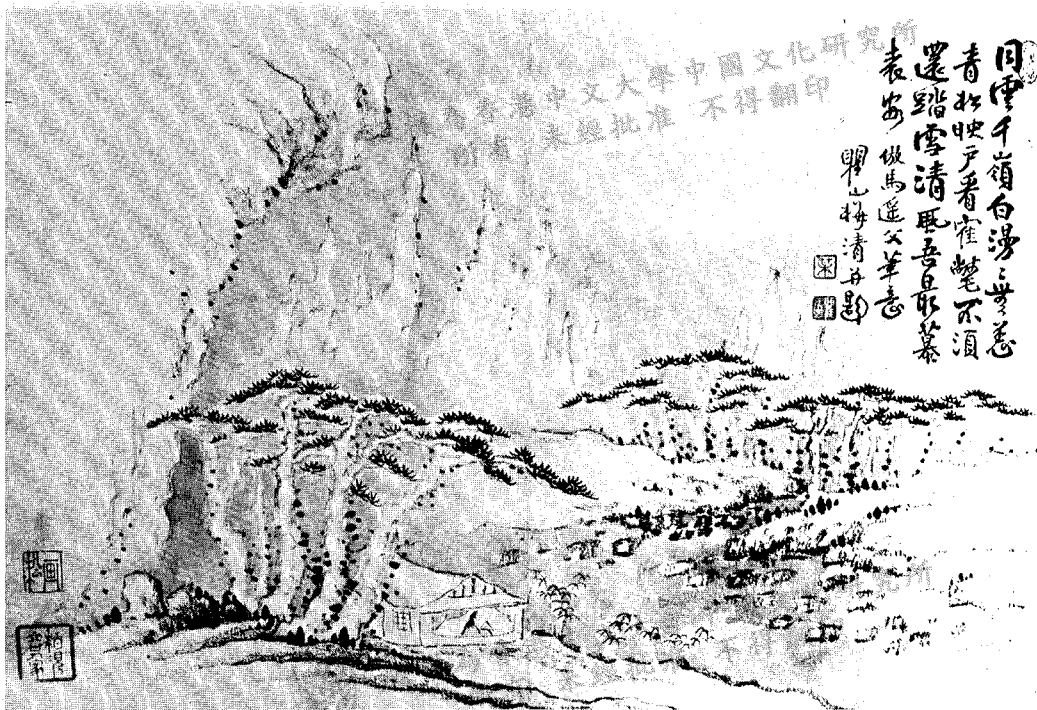


圖二〇 戴本孝：《擬倪瓚十萬圖》。
Figure 20. Tai Pen-hsiao, *Landscape after Ni Tsan*.



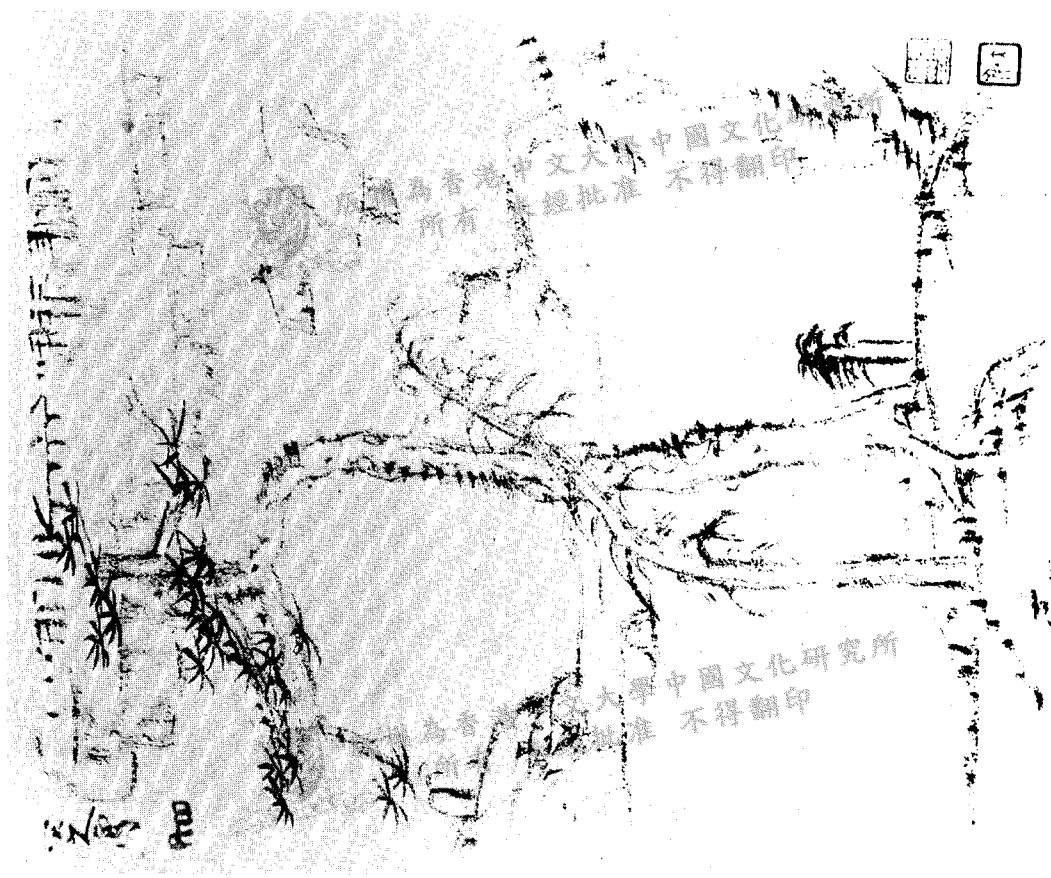
圖二一 梅清：《擬沈周松石》。

Figure 21. Mei Ch'ing, *Pine and Rock after Shen Chou*, leaf from an album after old masters.



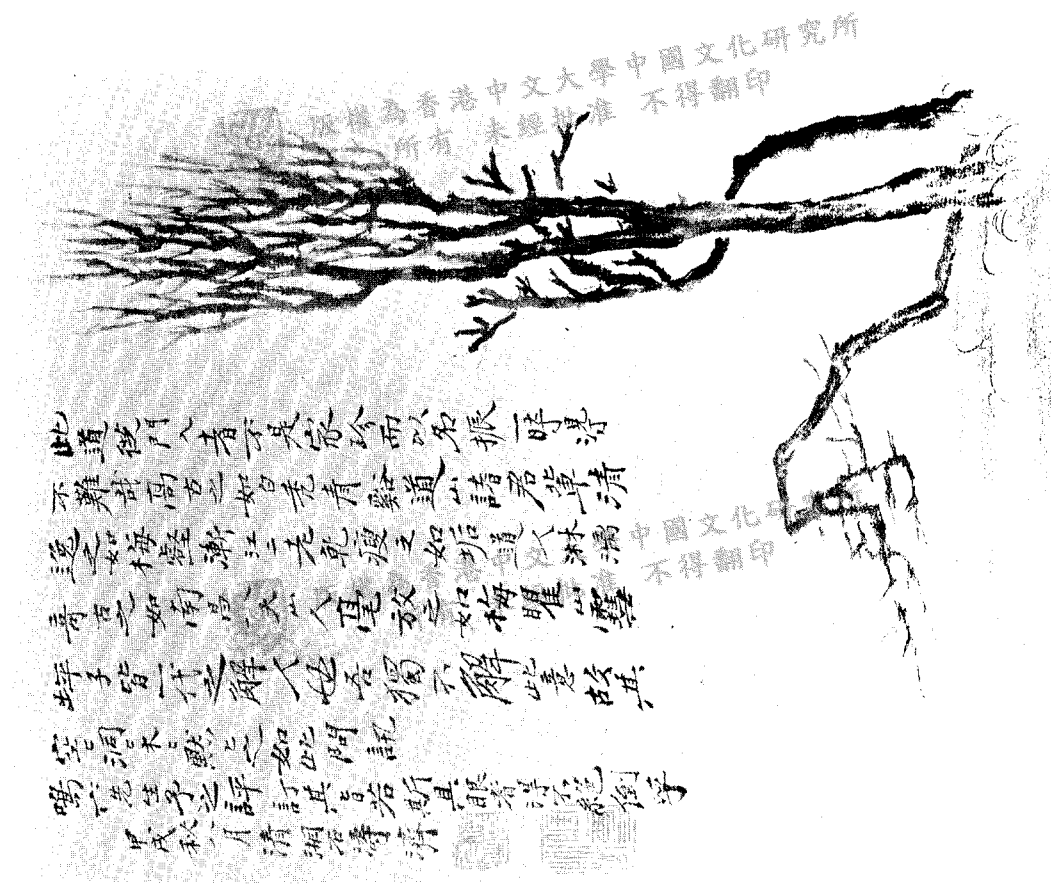
圖二二 梅清：《傲馬遙父筆意》。

Figure 22. Mei Ch'ing, leaf from an album after old masters.



圖二三 朱沅：山水册。

Figure 23. Chu Ta, *Album of Landscapes*.



圖二四 石濤：山水册。

Figure 24. Tao-chi, *Album of Landscapes*.

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圖二五 石濤：《渴筆人物山水冊》之一。
Figure 25. Tao-chi, *Album in dry-brush style*.



Figure 26. Tao-chi, Sixteen Lotans.

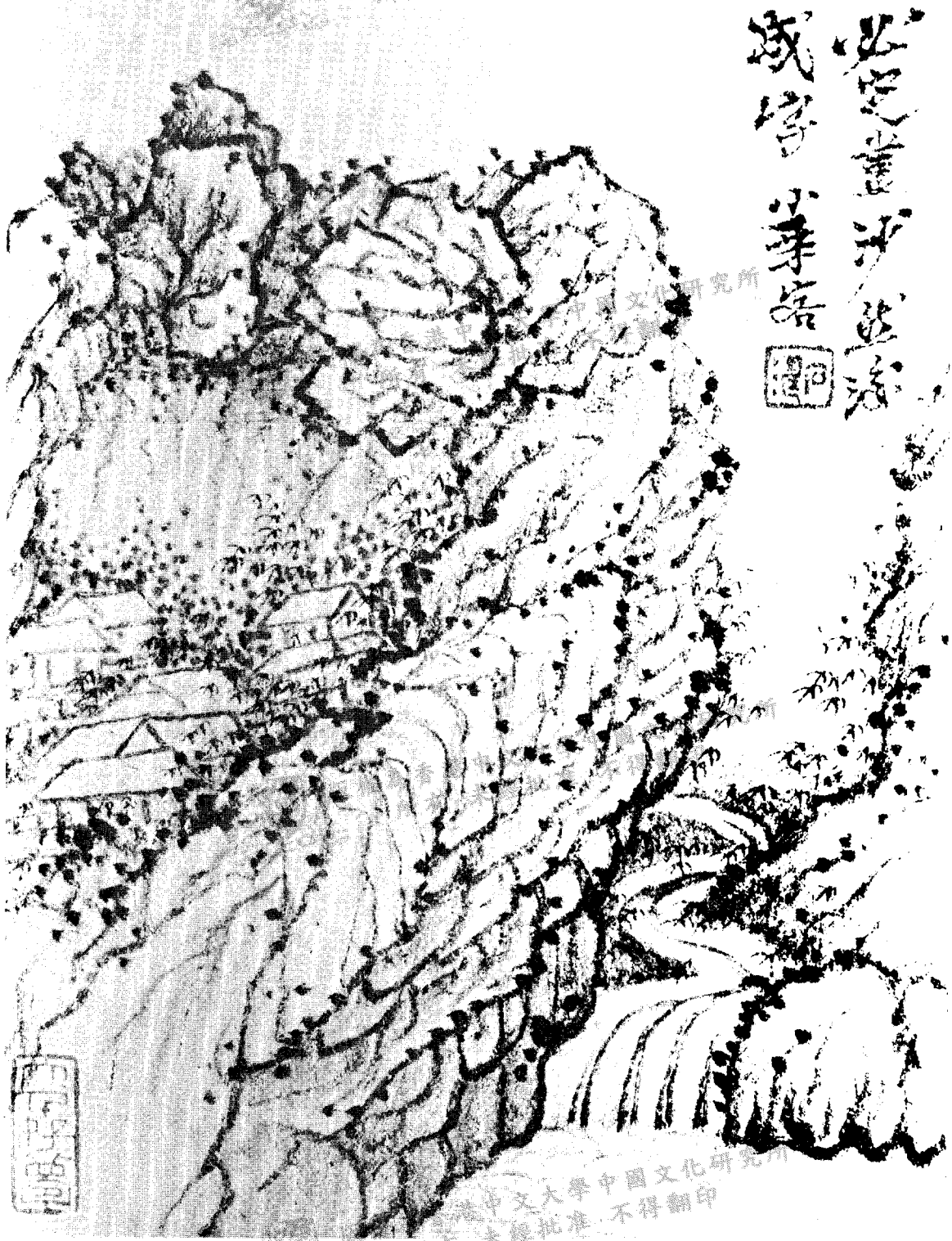
圖二六 石濤：《十六羅漢圖》（局部）。

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圖二七 石濤：渴筆山水。
Figure 27. Tao-chi, *Landscape in dry-brush style*.

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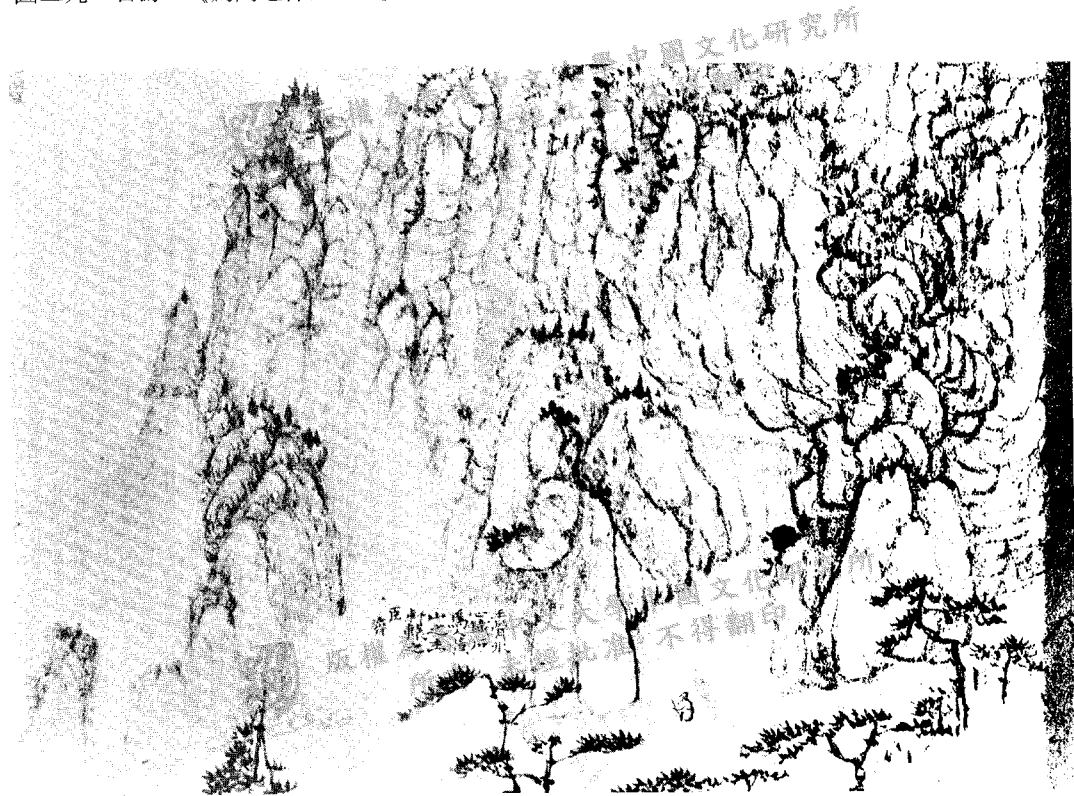
圖二八 石濤：《渴筆人物山水册》之二。

Figure 28. Same as Figure 25.



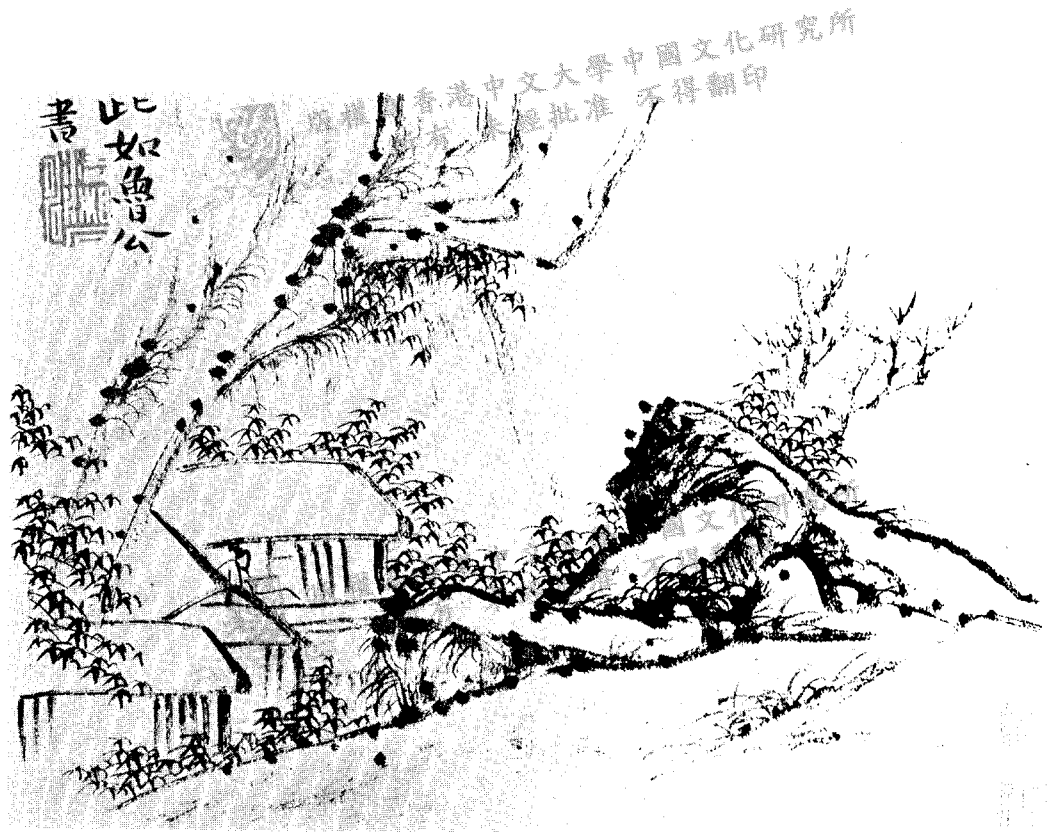
圖二九 石濤：《爲禹老作山水册》之一。

Figure 29. Tai-chi, *Album for Yü-lao*.



圖三〇 石濤：《黃山八景册》之一（局部）。

Figure 30. Tao-chi, *Eight Scenic Views of Huang-shan*.



圖三一 石濤：《魯公筆意》。

Figure 31. Tao-chi, *Landscape in Yen Lu-kung's brush style*.



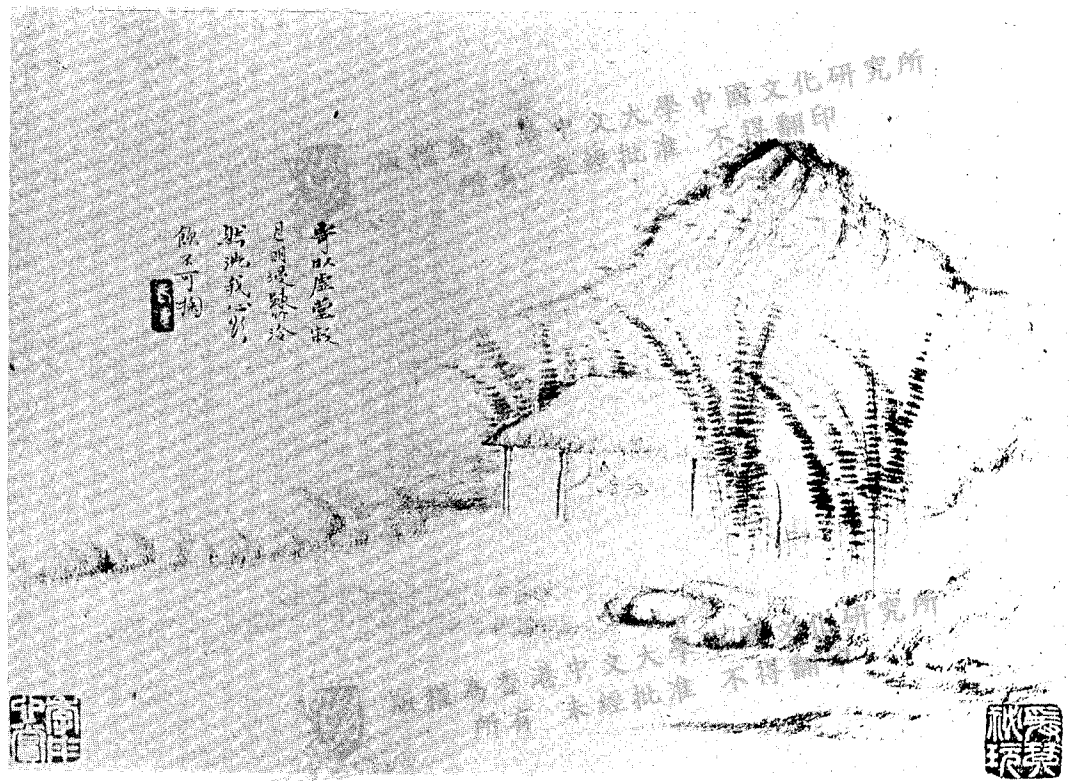
圖三二 石濤：《蜀山秦樹》。

Figure 32. Same as Figure 31.



圖三三 石濤：《藍溪白石》（《東坡詩意冊》之一）。

Figure 33. Tao-chi, leaf 4 from an album depicting the poems of Su Shih.



圖三四 石濤：《寄卧虛堂》（《東坡詩意冊》之二）。

Figure 34. Same as Figure 33, leaf 7.