

明季文人與繪畫

饒宗頤

(一) 引言

明季文人大都兼擅書畫。詩人吳梅村之為畫家（作《畫中九友歌》），人咸知之。至如竟陵鍾惺，亦是能手。嘗見其一幀密林疊嶂，自題：「天啓辛酉夏，戲做黃子久筆意。」載《神州大觀》第八冊。鄧實云：「鍾伯敬以詩名，不謂其能畫；仿大癡得蒼莽之象。晚明士大夫擅文藝者，多兼繪事，亦一時風習使然，董華亭（其昌）提倡之力也。」實則，元季明初，亦有此種現象。劉基為開國文豪，亦擅繪事，有《蜀川圖》留傳於丹陽孫氏；兼能寫梅，世有藏本。偶一為之，亦有可觀者；流風餘韻，下逮明之末葉。文人墨戲，初不求工，而自有奇趣，未必由華亭所影響也。

(二) 畫人眼中「畫士」、「士畫」流品之分野

顧凝遠《畫引》論列明代畫人姓氏，以董其昌崛起雲間，特別目之為「中興間氣」。其餘畫家，分為以下若干名目：

- (一) 士大夫名家宗匠（如沈、文、唐）；
- (二) 文士名家（如陳道復、陸治、徐渭）；
- (三) 畫名家（周臣四人）；
- (四) 今文士名家（李流芳、鍾惺五人）。

畫名家大概是指以畫為專業，非「文士」者流。所謂「文士名家」，即文人而兼擅繪畫者，而鍾惺亦在被稱述之列。

清初周亮工最喜歡蒐集同時人畫品，所作《讀畫錄》，月旦人物，獨具隻眼。（亮

工卒於康熙十一年，此書殆於康熙十二年，由其子在浚編集而成。）故宮博物院藏周亮工《集名家山水冊》，見《石渠三編》著錄。所收畫蹟其中有石溪，而無石濤、八大，可見在周亮工集畫時期，此二位畫僧尚未成名，不為人注意。又該冊中有龔賢題記（圖一），論清初畫壇云：

今日畫家以江南爲盛；江南十四郡，以首郡爲盛。郡中著名者且數十輩，但能吮筆者，奚啻千人？然名流復有二派，有三品：曰能品、曰神品、曰逸品。能品爲上，餘無論焉。神品者，能品中之莫可測識者也。神品在能品之上，而逸品又在神品之上，逸品殆不可言語形容矣。是以能品、神品爲一派，曰正派；逸品爲別派。能品稱畫師，神品爲畫祖。逸品散聖，無位可居，反不得不謂之畫士。今賞鑑家，見高超筆墨，則曰有士氣。而凡夫俗子，於稱揚之詞，寓譏諷之意，亦曰此士大夫畫耳。明乎畫非士大夫事，而士大夫非畫家者流，不知閻立本乃李唐宰相，王維亦尚書右丞，何嘗非士大夫耶？若定以高超筆墨爲士大夫畫，而倪、黃、董、巨，亦可嘗在搢紳列耶？自吾論之，能品不得非逸品，猶之乎別派不可少正派也。使世皆別派，是國中惟高僧羽流，而無衣冠文物也。使畫止能品，是王斗、顏瀾，皆可役而爲阜隸；巢父、許由，皆可驅而爲牧圉耳。金陵畫家，能品最夥，而神品、逸品，亦各有數人。然逸品則首推二谿：曰石谿、曰青谿。石谿，殘道人也；青谿，程侍郎也，皆寓公。殘道人畫，羸服亂頭，如王孟津書法。程侍郎畫，冰肌玉骨，如董華亭書法。百年來論書法，則王董二公應不讓；若論畫筆，則今日兩谿，又奚肯多讓乎哉！

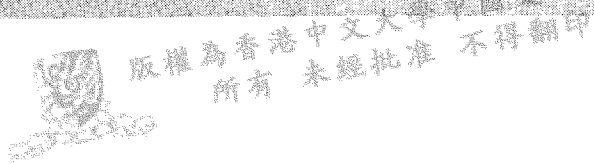
龔氏又論：

畫有六法，此南齊謝赫（赫）之言。自余論之，有四要而無六法耳。一曰筆，二曰墨，三曰丘壑，四曰氣韻。筆法宜老，墨氣宜潤，丘壑宜穩，三者得而氣韻在其中矣。筆法欲秀而老，若徒老而不秀，枯矣。墨言潤，明其非濕也。丘壑者，位置之總名；位置宜安，然必奇而安，不奇無貴於安；安而不奇，庸手也；奇而不安，生手也。今有作家、士大夫家二派：作家畫安而不奇，士大夫畫，奇而不安；與其號爲庸手，何若生手之爲高乎？倘能愈老愈秀，愈秀愈潤，愈潤愈奇，愈奇愈安，此畫之上品，由於天姿高而功力深也。宜其中有詩意，有文理，有道氣。噫！豈小技哉！余不能畫而能談，安得與酷好者談三年而未竟也，當今

今月畫師以江皖為盛江南十四部以香都為盛者中亦有
 且數十輩但傳述筆有實密人按各派漢有二派有三品四品
 曰神品五品神品為上品神品為神品神品神品神品神品
 是神品神品為一派曰神品神品神品神品神品神品神品
 祖述品教聖位自金文不必不謂之聖士金背銀象已愈趨筆墨
 則曰有士氣而充之倚子拉極揚一掃而空之意也四品五品
 身於子畫非士大夫事而士大夫非畫家有派不知識者乃有
 宰相畫者畫在四品非士大夫事而士大夫非畫家有派不知
 文字而德方畫三品四品皆在四品神品神品神品神品神品
 稱之子別派不少亦派也便世皆別派是國中佳處何須派
 冠文物已使盡止好品是也斗須能可後亦為中講筆文辭西
 多流而為牧園中會諸品品神品神品神品神品神品神品
 邊品則有推二魏曰魏曰魏曰魏曰魏曰魏曰魏曰魏曰魏曰
 富氣殘透入魚畫惟各尺如五津畫者佳從情即畫水則公昔
 如畫畢學畫者十年來編書信列畫二公之公深君編書畢
 例公也四魏三吳有夢孫子戒詩入園標園出畫者畫神品
 士徒讀畫樓魏易軸十相屏主白編凡畫者以畫畫者測也
 風墨流電激惟恐凌五而忘先以畫品神品神品神品神品
 止如十三怪士又林宗在千卷茂先三十年寫斯樓巴墨不家返
 至鑿然眼目何已先生出對冊也示余緒詞有心有神品神品
 其中文在程侍郎二帽因誌數洋年筆筆應去不拉皇笑沙
 拉何矣時



記題賢賢中《冊水山家名集》工亮周 一圖



豈無其人耶？因紀此而請與相見。（《虛齋名畫續錄》卷三龔半千《山水冊》）

此二篇為極重要文字。其論逸品極嚴，清初入選者只二溪而已，不若後來《桐陰論畫》，動輒譽人為逸品也。又減六法為四法，以位置居四者之一；可見今人論畫，喜言構圖，在龔氏眼中，極不重要，因尚有筆、墨與氣韻三條件，絕不能忽視也。且構圖位置，不在求安，而在求奇。安而不奇是庸手，作家畫是也；奇而不安是生手，士大夫畫是也。與其取庸手，不如生手之為高，奇與安二者之間，安不如奇。惟士大夫畫始能出奇翻新，作家不易辦到，是無異謂「畫士」不如「士畫」。

又其論四法之關聯性：筆欲老而墨欲潤，丘壑欲穩而奇，三者得則氣韻自生。故氣韻乃一綜合體，離開筆與墨無所謂氣韻，故非筆與墨無以表現氣韻。筆與墨初為二途，然筆、墨交融之後，即在畫面呈顯氣韻矣。故筆欲老，愈老而愈秀，秀即筆之有神有力處，不秀則疲沓乏神采，不老則稚弱無氣概，何能出奇？秀而且潤，則筆與墨交會，由秀而生潤，益見筆之高妙及墨之光彩；加之構圖之奇而且穩，「氣韻」自然迴絕。畫之上品，捨此何求？八個「愈」字，充分說明四法之相生相養。故龔氏四法之說，竊以為視謝赫尤中肯綮也。

龔氏區別清初畫人有三品兩派之說：能品、神品為正派，逸品為別派。能品稱畫師，神品為畫祖，逸品則為散聖。於逸品推許二谿（石溪、青溪）；能品、神品為畫士，逸品則為士畫。是說方亨咸（邵村）有進一步之討論，其與周亮工論畫云：

半千「畫士」、「士畫」之論詳矣，確不可易。覺謝赫《畫品》猶有漏焉。但伸逸品於神品之上，似尚未當。蓋神也者，心手兩忘，筆墨俱化，氣韻規矩，皆不可端倪，仁者見仁，知者見知，所謂一而不可知之謂神也。逸者軼也，軼於尋常範圍之外，如天馬行空，不事羈絡為也。亦自有堂構窈窕，禪家所謂教外別傳，又曰別峯相見者也。神品是如來地位，能則辟支二乘果。如兵法，神品是孫、吳，能則刁斗聲嚴之程不識，逸則解鞍縱臥之李將軍；能之至始神，神非一端可執也。是神品在能與逸之上，不可概論，況可抑之哉！半千之所謂神者，抑能事之純熟者乎？總之，繪事，清事也，韻事也。胸中無幾卷書，筆下有一點塵，便窮年累歲，刻劃鏤研，終一匠作，了何用乎？此真賞者所以有雅俗之辨也。豈士人之畫，盡逸品哉？（《讀畫錄》卷二）

邵村訓神為筆墨俱化，訓逸為軼于尋常範圍之外，而以士人之畫，不盡為逸品。又主神

品宜在能品、逸品之上，與半千以逸品居能、神之上，大異其趣。此由於對「神」字解釋之不同，故品次亦復不同。

方以智則分畫筆有匠筆、文筆二途，而皆未合中道。其言曰：

世之目匠筆者，以其爲法所礙，其目文筆者，則又爲無礙所礙；此中關捩子，原須一一透過，然後青山白雲，得大自在。（《讀畫錄》卷三張爾唯《傳》）

匠筆爲法所囿，文筆又以法不大具足爲其所累。明季畫人對此二者間之軒輊，持論各有不同，而其輕「匠」重「文」，則所見一致，因畫人多爲文士故也。

石濤於康熙甲戌（三十三年，1694）秋爲鳴六寫枯樹冊題記云：

此道從入者，不是家珍，而以名振一時，得不難哉！高古之如白禿、青溪、道山諸君輩，清逸之如梅壑、漸江二老；乾瘦之如垢道人；淋漓奇古之如南昌八大山人；豪放之如梅瞿山、雪坪子，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？

此冊現藏美國洛杉磯（Los Angeles）。（圖見 *The Painting of Tao-chi*, p. 108. 安那堡印）石濤品題之同時畫家，白禿指石谿、清溪爲程正揆、道山即陳舒（見《讀畫錄》；舒自松江移居金陵），風格屬於高古；查士標（梅壑）、漸江，妙在清逸；程邃（垢道人）長於乾筆，八大特色在淋漓奇古；梅清（瞿山）、梅庚（雪坪子），則以豪放見長。石濤所標揭者，僅此數子，可以代表其一種看法。石濤此文，作于康熙卅三年，與龔賢之爲周櫟園（亮工）題記作於康熙十年，蓋遲廿載，應屬後期之論，此時已不復較量畫士與士畫之分別矣。

（三）文人與畫家相兼之類型

（甲）散文家兼畫家

侯方域 四公子之一，以散文著名，爲陳貞慧之壻，寓居宜興。集中撰《倪雲林十萬圖記》，即貞慧藏品。論「雲林畫多得之氣象蕭疎，煙林清曠；此獨峯巒渾厚，勢狀雄強，其皴擦、勾斫、分披、糾合之法，無一不備，神至之筆。」可謂知言！畫頗罕見。《畫家人名辭典》不見其名。楊鍾義曾觀其畫，於所著《雪橋詩話》稱藏有朝宗畫山水，朝宗題句云：「江柳依依江草齊，亂山無語送斜暉，幽人夜把孤篷去，滿載一船

春色歸。」（《晚晴簃詩匯》195 弘智條）

王思任 季重好爲古文詞。粵人何吾騶之《元氣堂詩集》卷前即有王思任序。或稱其寫山水林屋，皴染滃鬱，超然筆墨之外。其評天台山云：「恍惚幽玄，不記何代；片時坐對，人化爲碧。」觀此數語，季重之畫不遠矣。（《無聲詩史》語）可見其對山水體會之深。季重畫，至樂樓藏一軸，胎息子久，爛漫可喜。

（乙）詩人兼畫家

鍾惺 伯敬與譚友夏並以詩鳴，其畫論者謂「得之於詩，從荒寒一境入，故神趣冷逸，無一毫暄熱氣。」（《桐陰論畫》）

金陵八家之葉榮木（欣），評者謂其畫近竟陵之詩：「竟陵之詩淡遠又淡遠，淡遠以至於無。榮木畫似之。每見其所作，斷草荒烟，孤城古渡，令人動秦月漢關之思。」此以詩喻畫，尤覺新穎可喜。

程嘉燧 孟陽詩有《松圓》、《浪淘》等集，錢牧齋譽其照見古人心髓，于汗青漫漶、丹粉凋殘之後；合轍古人，後生一開心眼，諡之曰松圓詩老。（《列朝詩集》丁集下，頁五七六）朱彝尊則譏其格調卑、才氣弱。漁洋謂孟陽七律，於明末爲一派；舉其警句如「夢裏楚江昏似墨，畫中湖雨白於絲。」「迴峯凍雨皆成雪，出霧危巒半是雲。」均可入畫。孟陽畫入逸品，深靜枯淡，意趣閒逸，如其詩之娟秀絕塵，不以氣勢取勝。惟挹之令人掃除町畦，不得以卑弱爲病。（漁洋《精華錄》五云：「偶得松圓老人畫，愛其風格不減雲林，因用雲林自題：『蕭蕭風雨麥秋寒』一首韻題之。」孟陽畫構圖學倪者甚多，宜漁洋之傾倒也。孟陽於崇禎十六年十二月卒於新安，年七十九，雖不得目爲遺民，然以詩人而爲畫家，如孟陽者，不數數觀。）

（丙）曲家兼畫家

祁豸佳 止祥最工戲曲，周亮工稱其「常自爲新劇，按紅牙，教諸童子；或自度曲，或令度曲，自倚洞簫和之，借以抒其憤鬱。嘗于維揚舟中爲作山水花卉四十葉。」張岱謂其「有書畫癖，有蹴鞠癖，有鼓鉞癖，有鬼戲癖，有梨園癖。」又稱其「精音律，咬釘嚼鐵，一字百磨，口口親授。」（《陶庵夢憶》卷四祁止祥癖條）。祁氏一家富藏書，復盡購徐迎慶家藏詞曲書，故於曲藝特精。（參《遠山堂曲品劇品校錄》）止祥山水做石田，氣勢淋漓，筆力挺拔，有一種不可羈勒之概。或譏其欠靜趣，豈爲曲家叫囂之習所累耶？

(丁) 畫家兼為詩人

程邃 穆情尚氣節，錢牧齋贈序，稱其「蕭森老蒼，眉宇深古，處亂不易方」，以異人目之。（《有學集》二十二）詩不多見，或謂其學杜，五律警句如：「黃河冰腹厚，白草馬蹄新。」（《清詩匯》十六《過萬年少隰西草堂》）一唱三歎。黃賓虹云：「今觀其畫，沉鬱荒涼，澀老生辣之味，俱從身世感慨中出，在在非可磨滅。」洵為知言。余謂穆情精篆刻，（安徽圖書館藏有其《古螭篆居印述》，道光四年鈐印四冊。）畫復蒼勁古樸，富金石味。多收藏。朱彝尊記漸江僧藏題吳道子繪之《光武帝燎衣圖》，後即歸之穆情云。（《曝書亭集》五四）

胡宗仁 錢牧齋稱其「有詩二千餘首，鍾伯敬為論定，見其手稿，每自誇其『寒星徹夜疎，明月為我至』，以為神來之句，亦可見其清意。」（《列朝詩集》丁集上，頁四六七）鍾惺《隱秀軒集》謂其有王、孟之致，幽澹蕭遠，多人外之趣。《讀畫錄》摘其佳句「諸雲乍去猶拖水，山月初生不過林。」皆詩中畫也，惜其集無力板行。

惲格 南田一代畸人，詩畫俱臻妙境，錄其題楊柳一絕：「數點昏煙月一潭，綠陰桑火過春蠶；從今移入圖中看，不必攀條憶漢南。」情韻不置，詩如其畫。故錢飲光（澄之）言：「南田題畫云：筆端點點，俱通元氣，可謂良工心苦。」「故知南田畫者，當與讀南田之詩。」明季畫人，幾無不能詩者，求如南田之工者鮮矣。

吳歷 漁山詩集曰《墨井集》。嘗學詩于錢謙益，錢序其《桃溪詩彙》稱：「漁山不獨善畫，其于詩尤工，思清格老，命筆造微，蓋亦以其畫為之。」（《有學集》四八）其句云：「江邊春去詩情在，塞外鴻飛雪意寒。」以寄其冥漠之思，亦頗有畫意。

姜實節 鶴澗畫樵雲林，筆意超雋。張雲章《樸庵集》稱「其所居曰藝圃，清流演漾，古木叢茂。……求其畫者，必得其題句以為重。雖不識者，見其畫與詩，意其遺世獨立，不讓古之遺民焉。」石濤為其弟子洪正治寫蘭冊，實節於甲申夏（康熙四十三年，1704）亦為之題句。

(戊) 書家兼為畫家

邢侗 邢氏（子愿）築來禽館於古犁丘，刻《來禽館帖》。晚歲書名益重，喜作荆草拳石，古秀煙潤，（《圖書寶鑑續纂》）獨具一格，以書入畫，自有蒼莽逸趣。《神州大觀》五收其辛亥（萬曆三十九年）作蒲石一幅。

倪元璐 倪氏（鴻寶）行書，從章草取態，或稱其「如番錦離奇，另一機軸，間寫文石，以水墨生暈，蒼潤古雅，頗具別致，文心之餘緒也。」（《無聲詩史》）陶元藻

謂「鴻寶畫幅，山皆峻嶒兀冪，林木則蒼莽鬱葱，皴法喜用大小劈斧，不屑描頭畫角，取媚於人。」（《越畫見聞》）所作松石，氣宇軒昂，以雄心高渾，見其魄力，但多露圭角，習用方筆，畫法與字法，正出一轍。

黃道周「石齋善畫，人初不知也。臨難前作水墨大畫二幅，長松怪石，極磊落。」（《五石瓠》）書法運筆多轉折，每從大處落墨。其詩句自云「閱物不至細」是也。山水如《雁宕》等幅，構圖奇特。大潑墨山水，尤覺淋漓盡致。今觀其畫亦如其書，洩天地之奇觀，雖工力非深，亦足令人驚嘆。

明季文人，多兼擅詩文書畫詞曲，惟致力有淺深，故造詣亦異。本文稱之為詩人兼畫家者，以其主要成就在詩，而畫僅為副業而已；稱之為畫家兼詩人者，以其成就在畫且復工詩，餘可類推。

（四）詩格與畫風之對應關係

明季畫人，幾乎無不能詩，而真詩人之工畫者，更難指數。詩寫情性，由於性分有殊，因習乖異，故詩之為狀，亦復各具面目。性由天定，習因人力；人之才氣，本乎情性，至於學習則出乎陶染。風力有剛柔之分，體式由研習而得。括而論之，不外先天之性，與後天之習二者而已。詩格之形成如此，畫風亦何獨不然？故畫格之表現，與其詩格之風範，每每有相應之處；無他，由於性分、嗜好、傾向之相同故耳。

此時之畫家，不能一一論述，茲就至樂樓藏品中之畫家，大約區為三大類論之：

- 一、為才人之畫：作畫不專，而才氣橫溢，偶有著筆，爽氣逼人；或構圖奇特，毫無輕媚習氣，如楊龍友、張大風、黃向堅、傅山、查繼佐之儔是也。
- 二、為能手之畫：術有專攻，工力深至。雖體貌各殊，而為真正畫家之畫，陳洪綬、藍瑛、蕭雲從、顧符稷、文點之儔是也。
- 三、為縉流之畫：禪機所觸，不求甚似，發乎性靈，以成自家鼻孔。無可、擔當、髡殘、漸江、石濤、八大之儔是也。

由於學有淺深，習復相異，丘壑殊觀，筆墨異采，綜其畫格，可有八體：

- 一曰繁縟：峯嶺縱橫，解衣磅礴，吳彬、龔賢是也。
- 二曰疎簡：蕭寥數筆，斷絕塵襟，程嘉燾、八大是也。

三日乾渴：乾皴渴擦，神理自足，程邃、戴本孝是也。

四日濕潤：風雨不來，青障猶溼，查士標、笪重光是也。

五日穠麗：工緻精絕，六法全備，藍瑛、王鑑是也。

六日閒澹：掃除蹊徑，獨出幽異，邵僧彌、沈顛是也。

七日圓勁：行草中鋒，別有真趣，鄒之麟、程正揆是也。

八日險側：不立隊伍，無堅不摧，黃道周、倪元璐是也。

劉勰《文心雕龍》論文分八體（《體性篇》），茲畧仿其意，非謂畫風止盡于此八種，亦非謂每一畫人僅各獨具一體，茲但從大畧言之。明季畫人之成就，石濤花樣，最為繁出，其他多各握其一端（*extreme*），而發揮盡致，大都不喜中庸之道，而危側趣詭，故能標新格。

試觀各家之詩，正可因畫風而闕其體性，沿根討葉，求其會通。李流芳之畫，「畧加點染，靈曠欲絕。」（《庚子消夏記》）而詩亦「信筆輸寫，天真爛然。」（《列朝詩集》）鍾惺詩幽深孤峭，畫亦如之。李日華小詩跌宕風流，畫亦仗詩以發其妙，錢牧齋謂其「詩以畫壽，非以畫掩。」二者相得而益彰。徐枋畫用筆整飭，詩亦髣髴，絕無恣肆。漸江畫極枯瘦，寒石生罅，詩偈亦如香雪，沁入肺肝。傅山詩字，脫盡羈縛，不可響邇，其畫亦如狂士。八大詩如謎語，畫亦時寓寄託，有同諧謔。故知畫人之詩，與其畫正沆瀣一氣，各由天資，摹體成性。詩與畫互為表裏，舉一可以反三，不遑縷舉。

（五）詩意圖舉例

此時期之畫人，均喜寫「詩意圖」，蓋上承宋明人傳統。（元王惲《秋澗集》卷七三有趙大年畫摩詰詩意；式古堂著錄有《摩詰句圖》、《明人詩意圖冊》。）間以古人詩句入畫，試舉數例如次：

（一）戴本孝：《杜詩山水冊》

凡十二幅，引首吳雲題「秦山吳水」。用杜詩《白鹽崖》、《再過吳氏》、《夜宴左莊》、《東柯谷》、《瞿唐崖》、《麥積山寺》、《仇池》、《東屯》等為題材，每詩後附有跋語，自云：「近于六法，惟綆汲於陶、杜句中，每為真鑒者首肯。」時在庚午（康熙廿九年，1690），鷹阿年七十，蓋晚年之作。吳雲題記云：「其詩中之畫，畫中之詩，合而為一。」「此不是詩，不是畫，即其人耳。」

陸氏《續穰梨》十一著錄。

(二) 傅山：《李商隱詩意軸》

題李商隱《晚晴詩》。字有小異，首句「夾城」作「邨城」，第五句「併添」作「併臨」，取「天意憐幽草，人間重晚晴」兩句意，緞本水墨，《續穰梨》十一著錄。

(三) 邵彌：《唐人詩意冊》

共十頁，設色，題王維：「空山不見人，但聞（聞）人語響。」柳宗元：「黃葉復溪橋，荒村惟古木。」孟浩然：「松月生夜涼，風泉滿清聽」等句。自跋云：「爲暑所苦，松月生涼之境，令人夢想，故復寫此，不厭其重出。」《穰梨》二十九著錄。

(四) 高簡：《陶潛詩意冊》

至樂樓藏絹本八開，寫陶公詩小冊，如《讀山海經》句，簡淡可愛。

(五) 葉欣：《百陶詩》

葉爲金陵八家之一，嘗爲周亮工摘陶句作小景百幅，周爲作百陶舫藏之，事見《讀畫錄》。

(六) 查士標：《書畫合璧冊》

八對幅，題曰「士標畫邵邨先生詩意。」寫方亨咸詩句。《故宮書畫錄》卷六著錄。

所謂「詩意」不特寫前人佳句，亦寫時人詩句。明末清初，此風甚盛，如至樂樓藏石濤寫《黃硯旅詩冊》，其尤著者也。

(六) 投贈、題詠詩什與畫史資料

各家文集及總集中，作者與畫家交往投贈題詠之什，不少爲畫史重要資料，涉覽所及，畧述其概：

丁雲鵬 吳江俞安期有《丁南羽畫維摩說法圖長句》云：「更兼秘本久不傳，丁生創出遙齊肩；神手疑懸造化力，慧眼應破天人權。」（《明詩紀事》庚籤卷二五，《萬有

文庫》本，頁二五五四）詹景鳳有《丁南羽畫山水歌》云：「丁生傲兀思離奇，登樓十日衆不知。科頭獨坐青松古，坦腹空山白日遲。興來大噉忽高踞，援筆燦赫生風雨，千里移來屋壁看，江山杳靄知何處？」（《明詩紀事》庚籤卷七下，頁二二四三）詹氏工書畫，具眼睥睨一世，獨推丁生，自非同于尋常之阿好。

魏學濂 子一論畫，屢爲方以智所稱引。黃宗羲撰《子一魏先生墓志銘》云：「加之旁通藝事，章草之書、倪黃之畫、陽冰之篆，孤姿絕狀，觸毫而出，無非詩書之所融結，學侶挹其精微，詞宗稱其妙絕，一時盛名無出其右。」惜其早世，未獲大成，亦明季畫人之具風骨者。

黃道周 漳浦於獄中寫《孝經》百卷，夫人蔡氏寫《心經》百卷配之。蔡夫人亦工畫，全祖望記仁和小山堂趙氏有葉子一冊，末題曰：「石道人命蔡氏石澗寫雜花凡十種，時崇禎丙子（九年，1636）」，鈐以「玉卿私印」，夫人之字也，「石耕」則石齋先生之章也。全氏記此畫卷并錄其詞，載《鮚埼亭詩集》卷二，爲明季畫史，增一故實。

楊龍友 錢牧齋《有學集》卷五有《爲（趙）友沂題楊龍友畫冊》，邢昉《石臼集》有《觀楊龍友畫山水冊子董宗伯書跋作歌》，及《題楊曰補所藏楊龍友畫雲山圖》二長古，可爲研究楊畫之助。龍友自題畫云：「胸中自寫塊壘氣，筆底何妨斧鑿斑。生卷老雲皴白石，不將媚骨點青山。」（《明詩紀事》辛籤卷六上，頁二七七六）真能自道其甘苦者。

陳洪綬 老蓮畫《水滸葉子》，流行于代。彭孫貽《茗齋集》有七古題其《水滸葉子》云：「吳後千年有陳子，更開生面尤絕倫。觀其下手萬象變，神鬼觸案窺纖新。離奇衣紋古面貌，愈拙愈秀無前人。」（《明詩紀事》辛籤卷十二，頁二九〇五），可供參證。

惲格 太倉沈受弘有《贈毘陵惲正叔一百韻》（《清詩紀事》卷三，頁四〇五）記惲格早歲經歷，有關隆武史事，極爲重要。

顧符稹 王士禛有昭陽顧符稹《畫棧道圖畫歌》云：「顧生畫學李思訓，尤工棧道兼驂網。丹青金碧妙銖黍，近形遠勢窮毫芒。」（《精華錄》卷二，頁二〇）可見顧氏畫以金碧工細見長。《畫家辭典》誤其名，稹字作禛，宜據正。

蕭尺木 桐城方授（子留）贈蕭尺木一律云：「眼枯未忍望鍾陵，早見鍾山梅下僧。四海有情空入畫，千秋何事欲傳燈。敢當倒屣憐貧病，聊與科頭數廢興。我夢不離靈谷樹，欲隨君住白雲層。」（《明詩紀事》辛籤卷十六，頁三〇一二）子留明亡後逃之四明山，悵鬱而死，年才二十七，與尺木同抱滄桑之痛。王漁洋有《蕭尺木楚詞圖畫

歌長古》句云：「蕭梁王孫筆侷僑，攀挈顧陸提僧繇。丹黹粉黹寫此本，墨花怒捲湘江潮。」（《精華錄》卷一）可作蕭氏《離騷圖》解題讀也。

程邃 惲南田有《醉歌吟贈黃海程穆倩》，自注稱程君爲（楊）機部，黃石齋門下士。曹溶與程遇於維揚，作長歌以贈。富平李因篤有《高歌行寄程穆倩》，句云：「君有長歌二千字，兩京板蕩須臾事。」（《清詩匯》四一，頁一〇）詩中頗有關晚明史事。

漸江 湯燕生（岩夫）詩皆唐音，篆書古淡入妙，《訪漸江大師朔園》一律，有「藥欄秋興閉今古，留客聽泉蔓草坡」之句。（《明詩紀事》辛籤卷三一，頁三三三八）知漸江所居，有朔園一處。燕生又題漸江丁酉寫岑嘉州逸句，贊云：「偶然落筆，標格奇至。梧樹挺森，峰巖峭邃。中有高齋，亢爽孤寄。」謂此畫彷彿有清閔閣困學齋遺意。圖見《神州大觀》第三冊。

沈顥 朗倩畫以小幅爲佳。錢牧齋有題石天《石厓秋柳小景》云：「刻露巉巖山骨愁，兩株風柳曳殘秋；分明一段荒寒景，今日鍾山古石頭。」（《有學集》卷一，頁一九）王漁洋有和作，其爲文士所重如此。

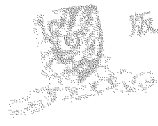
戴本孝 務旃遊華山，漁洋贈詩云：「捫蝨雄談事等閒，餘情盤薄寫孱顏；洛陽貨畚無人識，五月騎驢入華山。」（《精華錄》頁七九）粵程周量《海日堂集》有《送戴務旃遊西岳》五古四首，又《送本孝之蘭州》云：「去年送君華山去，一杖冥冥入烟霧。自寫真圖篋底歸，今來又指蘭州路。歎君馬首何太頻，天都白石情相親。即今大雪滿天地，猶作騎驢行路人。」秦隴之行，亦畫苑之佳話。

大汕 其《離六堂集》，世頗罕觀。集中有《乞高望公畫詩》七絕，自題畫之作甚多，又題王石谷、高澹遊畫、題白水（鏡）、石谿、高謨園畫冊、龔半千畫冊，均有裨畫史。

瀏覽所及，偶舉一二以示例，其他資料，有待同好之鈎索研討耳。

（七）結語

明季文人，不作匠筆，貴爲士畫，而恥爲畫士，大都以山水爲園林，以翰墨爲娛戲，以文章爲心腑，而以畫幅爲酬酢。信手拈來，朋友之間，以藝互相感召，題句者蓋以詩答畫，贈畫者實以畫代詩。得其人之畫與詩，可慰相思之飢渴。王士禛記畫家宋珏一絕句云：「來時梅瘦未成花，別後垂楊金作芽；他日相思如見畫，板橋西望是吾家。」見畫如見人，畫之爲用，駕乎友情之上。故畫之至佳者，往往爲贈與至交之作。

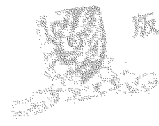


版權為香港中文大學中國文化研究所
所有 未經批准 不得翻印

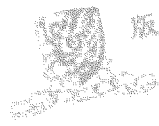
如至交而兼為畫人者，則其畫必更佳，而其意義為更深，以其為真正知音故也。（程邃為查士標作畫題云：「我梅壑乃畫中之得禪者也，想必有以教我。」非相知之深，孰肯為此言乎？）「音實難知，知更難逢，逢其知音，千載其一。」（《文心雕龍》語）明人作畫題詩，非以沽利釣名，但求知音之賞，此張怡所云「乃能於中得解」、「於此道大有神會」者（周亮工《讀畫錄》序），正謂此耳。



版權為香港中文大學中國文化研究所
所有 未經批准 不得翻印



版權為香港中文大學中國文化研究所
所有 未經批准 不得翻印



版權為香港中文大學中國文化研究所
所有 未經批准 不得翻印

Painting and the Literati in the Late Ming

JAO TSUNG-I

Abridged Translation

by J.C.Y. WATT and T. C. LAI

1. Introduction

Literati of the Ming period were mostly skilled in painting and calligraphy. It has for some time been assumed that the practice of painting and calligraphy among the literati became prevalent in late Ming times. Têng Shih 鄧實, for example, attributes the beginning of the fashion to the example of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. However, many literary figures at the beginning of the dynasty, such as Liu Chi 劉基, were well versed in the art of painting.

2. The categories of "hua-shih" 畫士 and "shih-hua" 士畫 according to the painters

From late Ming times, various artists and critics have attempted to group painters into categories. Ku Ying-yuan in his *Hua-yin* singled out Tung Ch'i-ch'ang as the grand innovator. The rest were categorised as: (1) scholarly master painters, such as Shen Chou, Wen Cheng-ming, and T'ang Yin; (2) Literati painters, such as Ch'ên Ch'un, Lu Chih, and Hsü Wei; (3) Painterly painters (Chou Ch'ên is one of four in this category); (4) "Contemporary" literati painters (Li Liu-fang and Chung Hsing are among the five in this category). "Painterly painters" (*hau ming-chia*) probably referred to professional painters as opposed to the literati.

In the album of paintings by contemporary painters dedicated to Chou Liang-kung (recorded in the *Shih-ch'ü san-pian*) is a long colophon by Kung Hsien on the painters of the early Ch'ing. In it he divided the painters of his time into two streams and three classes. The three classes were: the "masterly" 能, the "inspired" 神 and the "sublime" 逸, in ascending order of merit. The masterly and the inspired were grouped in the "main stream" and the sublime was regarded as the "other stream." (Then he went on to qualify his statements by saying that) the sublime class of painters, because they were really beyond classification, should really be called true masters of painting 畫士. He also warned against a too strict division of painters into the literati and painterly schools, and criticised the habit of connoisseurs of calling any painting of high artistic merit as "literary painting" and also the practice among the less discerning of using the term "scholarly painting" as a form of damning praise. Of the painters of Nanking, Kung Hsien regarded K'un-ts'an and Ch'êng Chêng-kuei as the two leaders among the few who belonging to the sublime class. Again, only a few belonged to the inspired class, and the rest were seen as masterly.

In the inscription in an album of landscapes recorded in the *Hsü-chai ming-hua hsü-lu*, Kung Hsien discussed the rules 法 of painting: "According to Hsieh Ho of Nan-ch'i there are six rules in painting. In my opinion, there are only four essentials (*yao* 要). The first is the brush (*pi* 筆), the second is ink (*mo* 墨), the third 'mountains and valleys' (*ch'iu-huo* 丘壑), and the fourth is 'life' (*ch'i-yün* 氣韻). The brush should be handled with authority, the ink should be rich, the mountains and valleys should be stable. If these qualities are all present, there is life in the painting. The authoritative brush should be tempered with delicacy. If it is wielded with strength and no delicacy, the painting is withered. Richness of ink does not imply a wet brush. Mountains and valleys are just another way of saying 'composition'; the composition should be balanced, but then it must have elements of the unexpected without which the balance achieves nothing. Mere balance is the characteristic of the non-gifted painter, while the unbalanced painting is produced by the hand of an amateur. Now there are two streams of painting, the professional and the scholarly. The professional painting is balanced and the scholarly painting lacks balance. It is surely better to be amateurish than to be uninspired. If one combines strength and delicacy, delicacy with richness, richness with the unbalanced, and the unbalanced with the balanced, then one would reach the highest peak of achievement in painting. And who can accomplish this but the supremely gifted who is skilled through dedicated study. In a painting by such an artist is poetry and order, and the vibrancy of life. Truly, painting is no mean art."

From the passages quoted, it can be seen that Kung Hsien rated the sublime as the highest category in painting and named only two artists worthy of a place in this class. He also regarded the element of the unexpected in a painting as the mark of creativity and rated innovation above technical competence.

In the opinion of the author, Kung Hsien's theory of the four rules of painting represent an advance on the six rules theory of Hsieh Ho. It points out the inter-relationship of the different aspects of artistic creation.

Chou Liang-kung records Fang Heng-hsien's comments on Kung Hsien's theory: "Pan-ch'ien's discussion on scholarly paintings and professional painters is both true and well argued. It makes one feel that Hsieh Ho's theory is incomplete. My only comment is that it is perhaps not right to rate the sublime above the inspired. For the inspired painter the hand perfectly reflects the movements of the mind, brush and ink becomes one, and the whole work defies analysis. The painting is individual and completely unified in its every aspect. The sublime on the other hand transcends and is removed from the world of common convention. It is unfettered like the heavenly horse galloping in the sky. It also has its place in the order of things. The *Ch'an* masters would call it the divine tradition outside orthodoxy or 'the meeting on the other peak.' The inspired is in the state of a Tathāgata and the masterly is but a pratyeka Buddha. In the military world, Sun-tzū and Wu Ch'i were the inspired and Ch'eng Pu-shih, who commanded with absolute discipline, was the masterly, while the relaxed General Li Kuang was the sublime. The inspired is the ultimate of the masterly and there is no single way to achieve it. Therefore, the inspired is in a class above the masterly and the sublime. It should not be discussed on the same level as the others, far less being considered as inferior to any. Perhaps for Kung Hsien the inspired represents only the complete mastery of rules. In any case, painting is a (rarified) and cultured activity. If one is not well read and is unrefined, one will always remain an artisan however much time and effort one puts into the practice of painting. This is why the discerning differentiates between the refined and the vulgar. There is surely no cause for us to consider all paintings by scholars sublime."

Thus Fang Heng-hsien's point of view is markedly different from that of Kung Hsien and the difference depends on interpretations of the term "inspired."

According to Fang I-chih, the division is between the "artisan's brush" and the "scholar's brush," neither of which is the middle way. He says: "According to the world's opinion, the artisan's brush is impeded by rules, and the scholar's brush is impeded by the lack of impediment. This dilemma must be resolved before the natural process of creation can run its course."

There is thus considerable difference in the views of late Ming painters on the relative merits of the three classes of painting, but there is general agreement on the superiority of the "literary" over the "artisan."

Tao-chi wrote in an album of old trees painted for Ming-liu and dated 1694 (reproduced in *The Paintings of Tao-chi*, p. 108): "To paint from the fundamentals, without inheriting it from the family. Noble painters such as Pai-t'u (K'un-ts'an), Ch'ing-ch'i (Ch'êng Chêng-k'uei), and Tao-shan (Ch'en Shu), elegant painters like Mei-huo (Cha Shih-piao) and Chien-chiang (Hung-jên), dry and lean painters like Kou Tao-jen (Ch'êng Sui), eloquent painters like Pa-ta Shan-jen (Chu Ta) of Nan Ch'ang, expressive painters like Mei Ch'ü-shan (Mei Ch'ing) and Hsüeh-ping-tzu (Mei Kêng), are all painters of our generation who have understood. I alone have failed, and so my paintings are clumsy and devoid of meaning. . . . Those who know would simply laugh."

This passage was written in the thirty-third year of K'ang-hsi, twenty years after Kung Hsien's colophon quoted above. It can be sure that by this time, the question of the literary and the artisan was no longer considered crucial.

3. Painters and writers

(This section contains biographical notes on various painters classified according to their literary talents.)

- (1) Essayists who painted: Hou Fang-yü, Wang Ssu-jen.
- (2) Poets who painted: Chung Hsing, Ch'êng Chia-sui.
- (3) Dramatist who painted: Ch'i Chih-chia.
- (4) Painters who wrote poetry: Ch'êng Sui, Hu Tsung-jen, Yün Kê, Wu Li, Chiang Shih-chieh.
- (5) Calligraphers who painted: Hsing T'ung, Ni Yüan-lu, Huang Tao-chou.

4. The relation between style in poetry and in painting

Few painters in the Ming dynasty failed to have a number of poems to their credit; the number of true poets who showed virtuosity in painting is legion. Poetry being an expression of a person's nature and temperament, differences in these two aspects coupled with tradition and practice must eventually give different identities to the poems written. Every person is born with a different temperament, which is accentuated with indulgence; nature and temperament together form the basis of his talents, but they in turn are tempered by outside influences. An artist's overall stylistic impact may be either "vigorous" or "delicate"; the artistic form he adopts is the result of study and practice. In sum, what a person finally writes must be the result of the interaction between pre-natal temperament and post-natal practice. Style in painting is formed in a similar way. Thus an artist's expressions in painting and poetry affect us similarly, as they are derivatives of the same temperaments, affinities, and tendencies.

I do not intend here to deal with all the painters of the period. I will confine myself to paintings in the Chih-lo Lou Collection which may be categorised as follows:

(1) Paintings by the naturally gifted: the artists were non-specialists but nevertheless geniuses; their brushwork is refreshing, their compositions often startling and untinted by frivolity or vulgarity: e.g. Yang Lung-yu (Wên-ts'ung), Chang Ta-fêng, Huang Hsiang-chien, Fu Shan, Cha Chi-tso,

(2) Paintings by the masterly: the artists were specialists of consummate skill. Their paintings show considerable diversity in style and subject matter. These artists are the true professionals: e.g. Ch'ên Hung-shou, Lan Ying, Hsiao Yun-ts'ung, Ku Fu-chên, Wen Tien.

(3) Paintings by Buddhists: prompted by impulses of *Ch'an* enlightenment, the artists did not aim at superficial likeness but achieved their individual identities by way of spontaneity rather than effort: Wu-k'o (Fang I-chih), Tan-tang, K'un-ts'an, Chien-chiang (Hung-jên), Shih-t'ao (Tao-chi), Pa-ta (Chu Ta).

In view of the differences in their scholarly attainment, industry, personal vision, and skill with the brush and ink, their styles can be characterised by the following qualities:

(1) The variegated: their peaks and mountains give a feeling of diffused vastness; e.g. Wu Pin, Kung Hsien.

(2) The simple and sparse: a few simple strokes convey a sense of other-worldliness; e.g. Ch'êng Chia-sui, Pa-ta (Chu Ta).

(3) The dry: a few strokes made with the "dry" technique are sufficient to make the painting vibrant with life; e.g. Ch'êng Sui, Tai Pên-hsiao.

(4) The moist: the landscape seems to be full of moisture though there is no indication of rain or wind; e.g. Cha Shih-piao, Tan Chung-kuang.

(5) The rich and elegant: they evince exquisite skill and complete mastery of the six rules of painting; e.g. Lan Ying, Wang Chien.

(6) The quiet and leisurely: all conventions swept away, the painting emerges as if from a secluded spot; e.g. Shao Sêng-mi, Shên Hao.

(7) The full and round: using the vertical brush technique, the artist achieves a simple charm; e.g. Tsou Chih-lin, Ch'êng Chêng-k'uei.

(8) The precarious and oblique: using mostly the slanting brush technique, the expression is untidy and unorthodox but powerful; e.g. Huang Tao-chou, Ni Yüan-lu.

Liu Hsieh 劉勰 in his *Wen-hsin tiao-lung* 文心雕龍 discussed eight types of prose (Chapter 27). Here I merely use his method as a guide, not limiting styles of painting to eight categories and not implying that each artist can be neatly confined in a niche. Of the Ming artists, Shih-t'ao was the most versatile. Other artists mostly held to one extreme of the craft and developed their talents according to their potentials, shunning the golden mean. They achieved originality by infusing into their art elements of surprise.

If we examine the poetry and painting of various artists, we realise how the styles of the two art forms correspond.

It was said of the paintings of Li Liu-fang: "Only a few dots and a few spots of wash here and there and a breath-taking panorama of the spirit is revealed" (*Keng-tzū hsiao-hsia chi*). Of his poetry: "A few casual lines bring out all the qualities of his person" (*Lieh ch'ao shih chi*). Chung Hsing's poetry is profound and precipitous; these epithets also aptly describe his painting. Li Jih-hua's poetry is both uninhibited and "romantic" and the pleasure of looking at his paintings is enhanced by the poetic inscriptions, so that Ch'ien Ch'ien-i commended, "His paintings help to illuminate and perpetuate his poetry, not to overshadow it." Hsü

Fang's use of the brush was always proper and orderly and the same applies to his poetry which is never extravagant. Hung-jen's painting is "lean and emaciated," giving us a feeling of "a coolness in the crevices of rocks." His poetry is like "fragrant-snow" which "permeates into our very hearts." Fu Shan's painting and calligraphy are completely unbridled, unapproachable—his painting shows similar traits. Pa-ta's poetry is full of riddles and his painting is also allegorical, satirical, and ironic.

Thus it will be seen that an artist's poetry and painting, having the same origins and moulded by the same personal qualities, must naturally develop into what they are. In a sense, his painting and poetry must also complement each other. Illustrative examples are numerous but the ones given here will suffice.

5. Painting as poetic illustration—a few examples

Paintings illustrating poems were popular among artists of this period. At times, early poetry also provided the themes. The following are a few examples:

- (1) Tai Pên-hsiao: an album of landscapes on the poems of Tu Fu. (Lu Hsin-yüan, *Hsü Jang-li Kuan kuo-yen lu*)
- (2) Fu Shan: Painting on a poem by Li Shang-yin. (*Hsü Jang-li Kuan kuo-yen lu*)
- (3) Shao Mi: Album on T'ang poems. (*Jang-li Kuan kuo-yen lu*)
- (4) Kao Chien: Album on T'ao Ch'ien poems. (Chih-lo Lou Collection)
- (5) Yeh Hsin: One hundred paintings on poetic lines of T'ao Ch'ien. (*Tu-hua lu*)
- (6) Cha Shih-piao: Album of eight leaves illustrating poems by Fang Heng-hsien. (*Ku-kung shu-hua lu*)

Among the illustrations of contemporary verse, those by Tao-chi on the poems of Huang Yen-ssu (in the Chih-lo Lou Collection) are well known.

6. Literary writings as source material for art history

In the collected works of late Ming and early Ch'ing literati are often found poems and inscriptions addressed to contemporary artists. These writings provide valuable information for the history of painting.

(Examples are quoted from the writings of Ting Yün-p'êng, Wei Hsüeh-lien, Huang Tao-chou, Yang Wen-ts'ung, Ch'ên Hung-shou, Yün Kê, Ku Fu-chên, Hsiao Yün-ts'ung, Ch'êng Sui, Hung-jên, Shen Hao, Tai Pên-hsiao, and Ta-shan.)

7. Conclusion

Literati of the Ming period eschew the artisan's brush. They would be scholars who paint rather than masters of painting. To them, nature is their garden, brush and ink their diversion, literature their outpouring and painting the gift among friends. Artistic activity is the means of expression of friendship. He who inscribes repays the painting with a poem, and he who paints uses (substitutes) the painting for a poem. Painting and poetry assuage longing. Wang Shih-chen recorded a poem by the painter Sung Chueh: "When I came, the prunus was still lean and it was not yet time for the blossoms. After we parted the weeping willows spouting golden shoots.

Should you think of me, look at my painting, you will see that westwards beyond the plank bridge is where I live." To see the painting is to see the painter, and the use of the painting rises above common feeling of friendship. Thus the best of paintings are often painted for best friends, and if the best friend is himself a painter then the painting would be better still, and its meaning even more profound, because it is painted for someone who understands. Chêng Sui inscribed on a painting dedicated to Cha Shih-piao: "Could I but share the enlightenment of my Mei-huo, who has found it in painting." Such words are not lightly spoken even among friends. As it is said in *Wen-hsin tiao-lung*, "the message in music is hard to understand, and it is hard to meet someone who does. Perhaps it may be a thousand years before one finds such a person." The Ming scholar painted not for gain but for those who understood. This is what Chang I in his preface to Chou Liang-kung's *Tu-hua lu* meant when he talked of "finding meaning in it" and "the communion of spirits."