

## Some Recent Studies on Pa-ta-shan-jên and Shih-t'ao in Japan

TAKEHIRO SHINDO 新藤武弘

A detailed and comprehensive study on Pa-ta-shan-jên's 八大山人 biography was done by Prof. Hachiro Nakayama 中山八郎 and published in his two articles, 1967 and 70.<sup>1</sup> Based upon his study, Prof. Yonezawa Yoshiho 米澤嘉圃 reconstructed history of Pa-ta's art.<sup>2</sup> Prof. Wang Fang-yu's 王方宇 study on Pa-ta's early works with his name Chüan-ch'i 傳綦<sup>3</sup> is also well known to Japanese scholars.

Most of Japanese scholars do not agree to a Taoist career in Ch'ing-yün-p'u 青雲譜 during Pa-ta's early years, which was proposed by Chinese scholars in the Mainland<sup>4</sup> and has been accepted in the United States of America<sup>5</sup> and Taiwan.<sup>6</sup> This theory will inevitably fall into the following contradiction. Pa-ta from his age of forty to sixty had a double face; i.e., he was a successful Buddhist priest named Chüan-ch'i or Ko-shan 个山, who was later confined by the local magistrate Hu I-t'ang 胡亦堂, and on the other hand, he was a Taoist monk with the name Chu Tao-lang 朱道朗, who built and expanded Ch'ing-yün-p'u, bought a huge land for his offspring, and so on. The most critical is *Ch'ing-yün-p'u-chih* 青雲譜志,

<sup>1</sup> 中山八郎《八大山人の出自と名號》，《人文研究》18卷3號，大阪市立大學文學會，1967年3月。又《八大山人の生涯と別號》，《人文研究》21卷7號，大阪市立大學文學部，1970年3月。

<sup>2</sup> 米澤嘉圃《八大山人と花卉雜畫冊》，《八大山人花卉雜畫冊·別冊》，東京筑摩書房，1971年。

<sup>3</sup> 王方宇《故宮傳綦寫生冊與八大山人早期作品》，故宮博物院中國古畫討論會用論文，台北，1970年。

<sup>4</sup> 謝稚柳《朱牽》，中國畫家叢書，上海美術出版社，1958年。李旦《八大山人叢考及牛石慧考》，《文物》1960年第7期。郭味蕓《明遺民畫家八大山人》，《文物》1961年第6期，頁35—37。

<sup>5</sup> Wen Fong, "Reply to Professor Soper's Comments on Tao-chi's Letter to Chu Ta," *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. xxix (1967), p. 352. Vito Giacalone, *Chu Ta, a Selection of Painting and Calligraphy*, a catalogue for the exhibitions at Vassar College Art Gallery, December 2, 1972 to January 28, 1973, and at New York Cultural Center, February 21, 1973 to March 25, 1973.

<sup>6</sup> 周士心《八大山人及其藝術》，《華岡學報》第6期，1970年2月，頁257—258。

the only early document supporting the theory. Its colophone was allegedly written by Pa-ta in person and signed by his name Pa-ta-shan-jên, not by Chu Tao-lang. In 1681, however, he was mentally most unstable and actually dumb, since in the preceding year he escaped from Hu I-t'ang's prolonged confinement, and also there were still four years before the name Pa-ta-shan-jên appeared first on his painting. Hence, this book is not trustworthy. It seems that Pa-ta was connected with Ch'ing-yün-p'u in some later years and it became a local legend.<sup>7</sup>

In the stylistic development of Pa-ta-shan-jên's art, the year 1694, when he was in his sixty-ninth year, seems to have been a turning point. From summer to fall of this year, the main portion of his masterpiece *An-wan* 安晚 album was executed. On its last leaf, his signature following the colophone dated May 6th shows the first character *pa* 丩 composed of two angular strokes, which featured the works of his sixties, while in the postscript on the same page, dated several weeks later, he signed with the same character in a different way; the *pa* 丩 was here written in two elongated dots by very light touches of brush, which was in turn a characteristic of the later years.<sup>8</sup>

The significance of this change in his signature is well known to everybody who studies Pa-ta-shan-jên. The sharp and direct expression of passion or madness in his earlier years was some how softened and became a kind of metaphor with a tint of humour. It does not, however, mean a retreat from his artistic assertion, since his brush work reached a climax around this year. At the same time, he widened his repertory; in addition to his well-worn subjects of flowers, vegetables, fishes, and birds, he started drawing landscapes, in which the stylistic influence from Tung Ch'i-ch'ang 董其昌 was conspicuous.<sup>9</sup>

The person to whom Pa-ta dedicated the *An-wan* album, T'ui-wêng 退翁, was identified as a Ming loyalist Li Hung-ch'u 李洪儲, whose clerical name was Ling-yen Chi-ch'i 靈嚴繼起 or popularly called Chi-kung 繼公.<sup>10</sup> He died in 1662 at his age of sixty-six. Why was Pa-ta commissioned, as he wrote, by this person who had been dead for twenty years? We are not sure even whether Pa-ta met him. Nonetheless, he devoted himself to this senior *i-min* 遺民 monk and dedicated this masterpiece to him long after his death.

Pa-ta's spiritual relation to Chi-kung will be an exponent of the enigmatic aspect in his art. At the same time, while tracing back their hieratic lineage, we shall come across a few facts which will shed light onto unclear spots in the relationship between Pa-ta and his kinsman Shih-t'ao 石濤. Thier hieratic pedigree was clarified by Prof. Hsü Fu-kuan 徐復觀 as follows:<sup>11</sup>

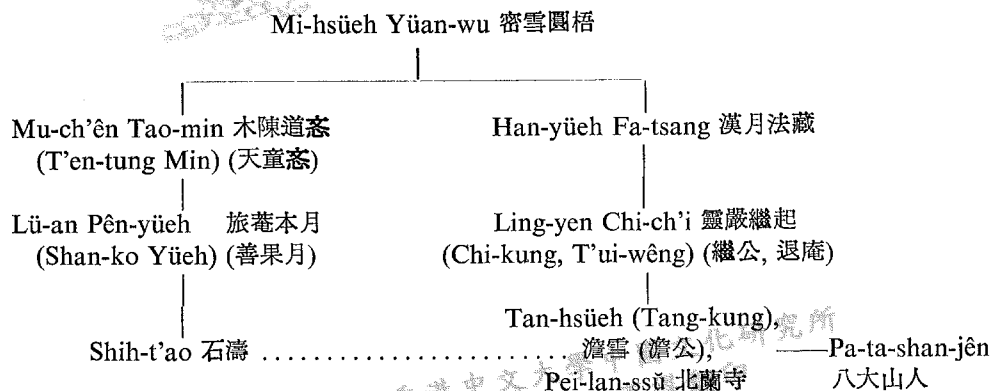
<sup>7</sup> This legend was mentioned in 佐久間貞次郎《支那風俗春秋》(京都立命出版部, 1932年), 頁310—315, 「末路王孫」; and also by a native of Nanchang, Fu Pao-shih, as a memory of his childhood 傅抱石《苦瓜和尚石濤年表》, 《美之園》1935年3月, 頁38。

<sup>8</sup> There are more detailed discussions in 米澤嘉圃, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10 and 14-19, and in 王方宇, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>9</sup> James Cahill, *Fantastics and Eccentrics in Chinese Painting* (The Asia Society, 1967), pp. 70-82, 米澤嘉圃, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-31.

<sup>10</sup> This identification was first made by a late-Ch'ing connoisseur Ku Wên-pin 顧文彬 in 《過雲樓書畫記》卷五。

<sup>11</sup> 徐復觀《石濤晚年棄僧入道若干問題》, 《增補石濤之一研究》所收, 台北, 台灣學生書局, 1973年。



The person who is a link between Pa-ta and Chi-kung is Tan-hsüeh 澹雪 (popularly called Tan-kung 澹公) of Pei-lan-ssü 北蘭寺 in Nanchang 南昌.<sup>12</sup> Through Tan-hsüeh's introduction, the author of *Pa-ta-shan-jên chüan* 八大山人傳, Shao Ch'ang-hêng 邵長蘅 could interview this a phasic artist on a stormy day. According to this biography, Tan-hsüeh seems to have been Pa-ta's confidant almost like his spiritual patron. It is also mentioned that Tan-hsüeh, a native of Hangchow 杭州, became Chi-kung's eminent student at Ling-yen-ssü 靈巖寺. Like his teacher, Tan-hsüeh was an ardent loyalist. Later he was persecuted and killed by the local magistrate Fang Ê 方峨, by the ostensive reason of his craziness and illegality.<sup>13</sup> Thus, Pa-ta was told by Tan-hsüeh all about Chi-kung, and respected Chi-kung as an ideal figure of *i-min*. On some leaves of the *An-wan* album, Pa-ta wrote poems as if he was talking to him with enigmatic terms.<sup>14</sup>

In 1670, Tan-hsüeh met Shih-t'ao who was then in Hsüan-ch'êng 宣城, Anhui 安徽, with his clerical brother Ho-t'ao 渴濤. Shih-t'ao's friend, Mei Ch'ing 梅清, witnessed this meeting and composed a poem, saying "The *Ch'an* 禪 monks escaped into painting, and spent half a day leisurely, but I truly realised this life is laborious." (禪於畫裏逃, 山樓閒半日, 真覺此生勞。)<sup>15</sup> Tan-hsüeh and Shih-t'ao, even though they derived from the same hieratic origin, were separated to the two opposite factions. Shih-t'ao's teachers, Mu-ch'ên Tao-min 木陳道忞 and Lü-an Pên-yüeh 旅庵本月, were in favour with Ch'ing Emperors, criticising the anti-Ch'ing movement even within their own circle. The leader of the latter group was Chi-kung, i.e., Tan-hsüeh's teacher. In later years, Shih-t'ao met Emperor K'ang-hsi 康熙帝 twice and had contact with dignitaries in Peking. Those opportunities were arranged on his

<sup>12</sup> 李葉霜《八大山人的僧友澹公》，《東方雜誌》復刊第4卷第7期，台北，1961年；徐復觀，*op. cit.*, p. 99.

<sup>13</sup> 《江西新建縣志》「方外僧」澹雪之項。

<sup>14</sup> On the thirteenth leaf of the *An-wan* album, Pa-ta depicted a pair of strange quails, and wrote the following poem:

Finally, we talked all day long.  
Our bosoms are like those of he- and she-birds.  
Brilliant Gold and Bright Sun,  
Both are against the Five Avairy Boys.

竟作一日談，胸懷若雄雌。黃金並白日，都負五坊兒。

Partly adopted from Mr. Hironobu Kohara's translation in 《八大山人花卉雜畫冊》（東京筑摩書房）釋文，but last line is not decipherable.

<sup>15</sup> 傅抱石《石濤上人年譜》，頁49—50。

teachers' recommendation. At the same time, it was not to his advantage. Similar to his teachers, he lost his reputation as an *i-min* in Chinese society in the South, and became a man of solitude.

As contemporary recorders mentioned, Shih-t'ao in his middle age was an inaccessible person.<sup>16</sup> Quite different was Pa-ta-shan-jên, who was a friend of the poor, marchants, butchers, and wine-sellers, and loved to drink wine with them.<sup>17</sup> Shih-t'ao was in a sense very arrogant. He was full of self-confidence, and to his own art, he was a theorist and the practitioner in one. Chinese writers use the word *ku-kao* 孤高 or lonely loftiness to describe this character. His lonely loftiness, however, was an important momentum to drive him to his endless journey, and also the chief impetus for his artistic creation. A lonely gentleman rambling in Nature and his encounter to the magnificence of landscape are the eternal subject in Shih-t'ao's art. In the hanging scroll of *Lu-shan-t'u* 廬山圖, we can see a climax of the artistic sublimation of his lonely attitude.

Towards his old age, i.e., since he settled down in Yangchow 揚州, we can witness in him a gradual change, which unlike that of Pa-ta's, we cannot date accurately. It seems to have coincided with the time that he started using a fresh *hao* Ta-ti-tzū 大滌子 (or the Great Cleansing One), that is, not later than February of 1697.<sup>18</sup> He stopped being solitary and began to have a humane interest. The memory of the friendship with pleasant people during his early days at Hsüan-ch'êng came back often to him, and we find him sometimes writing dedication on his painting to the persons who are otherwise unknown.

Around this time, Pa-ta-shan-jên sent several letters to Shih-t'ao. There is no way to know the contents of these letters, but we can assume that Pa-ta thought it necessary to adjust the way of thinking as *i-min*, which, as we have seen above, differed from each other. To those letters, Shih-t'ao wrote no response. In a later year, he wrote finally to Pa-ta and made an excuse by saying that he had been ill (總因病苦・拙於酬應). We know, however, that from the late 1690s to the early 1700s was Shih-t'ao's most prolific period. During this period, many masterpieces were executed. Why did he pretend to be sick? Was it so serious that he could not write not only to Pa-ta but to anybody else? Why did he think himself as a laughable person, if he was sick? After all, what did the illness mean in his case?

In the inscription for *Ta-ti-tsao-t'ang-t'u* 大滌草堂圖 sent from Pa-ta to Shih-t'ao in 1698, Shih-t'ao wrote: "His Excellency (Pa-ta) and I had fallen in on the same day; Barely born to this world, we found Heaven and Earth quaking." (公皆與我同日病・剛出世時天地震。) Hence, the illness was not a physical one. Because both Pa-ta and Shih-t'ao were born as royal scions, they could not escape from the dynastic tragedy, and they had been "ill" since the day of the Ming's fall. But now, just as Pa-ta passed a transmigration in 1694, Shih-t'ao must do the same by himself for his own emancipation. The main purpose of his letter was to inform Pa-ta of his own resolution, as the letter reads: "I want to purify everything from hereon." (向上一齊滌)

<sup>16</sup> 鄭拙廬《石濤研究》，頁9—10。陳鼎《瞿尊者傳》（《留溪外傳》所收）contains the following description about Shih-t'ao's personality: "He (Shih-t'ao) was a resolute and upright character and did not like bowing down before others. Sometimes he was boastful and overbearing, looking down upon everybody, sometimes very haughty and inaccessible. He would not condescend to anything impure and kept far away from the people (of the world) so as not to become defile." (Translated by O. Sirén, *Chinese Painting*, Vol. V, p. 159.)

<sup>17</sup> 邵長蘅《八大山人傳》（《青門旅稿》卷5所收）。

<sup>18</sup> A painting of Narcissus (Wang Fang-yu Collection) by Pa-ta-shan-jên. Shih-t'ao's second inscription was dated February of 1697. The name Ta-ti-tzū appeared in his first inscription.