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## 明遺民書畫研討會 會議紀錄

### 第一次會議：「文學與繪畫」

主席：何惠鑑先生  
論文：(1)饒宗頤教授：《明季文人與繪畫》  
(2)Ellen Johnston Laing 教授：《文點與金俊明》  
日期：一九七五年八月三十一日  
時間：下午二時半至四時半

#### (1) 饒宗頤：《明季文人與繪畫》

何惠鑑：這是我剛才聽的時候想起的：顧凝遠的畫引有沒有可能是——他分類的方法，有沒有可能是學鍾嗣成的《錄鬼簿》？

饒宗頤：也可能！我想也可能。

何惠鑑：這個分類的問題是一個十分重要的問題，不止在中國美術史上如此，在文學史上也一樣。譬如有時代的分類、內容的分類、成就的分類，以及題材的分類，這些都是畫史上跟文學史上很重要的問題。

饒宗頤：事實上只有三類。這四類事實上是三類，一個是現代(modern)的。

何惠鑑：我覺得就是那個現代的，有點——就是鍾嗣成的辦法。

饒宗頤：是，是鍾嗣成的辦法。

王方宇：我有一個請求。饒教授的論文我拜讀過，我感到有興趣的是饒先生提到這「八體」。我的請求是什麼呢？就是這八點好像是專門對人對畫來說的。我想繪畫藝術跟文學藝術應當有共同之點，可以把繪畫的分類跟文學的分類交融起來，要能夠抽象而又把要點抓住，不完全在形式上着眼的話，對於我們的學習，我想就會更順利，我希望饒先生將來能夠在這方面有……。

饒宗頤：不敢當。這是剛開始。以前沒有注意這樣的分類，現在這樣的分類，只是一個起點。小著是根據明末一些人的說法來講。如果把它同文學連起來講，裏頭有同的，有異的，又是一種不同的講法，恐怕不太簡單。這應該是大家共同努力的事情，不是一個人能夠做到的，這個問題太大了。

鄭德坤：我們很感激饒教授給我們這篇論文。他提出畫中有很多題跋，這些題跋不單要從畫來看，也要從文學來看。他引了很多書本上的材料。我有一個請求，就是我們這次的展覽——何先生的收藏當中——也有許多這類的材料，我們希望饒先生可以舉出幾條，讓我們回去仔細的讀讀，仔細學學文學跟繪畫的關係。

饒宗頤：不敢！不敢！這回展覽當中，像方以智的作品，便是一個很標準的禪機畫的例子。高簡的《陶潛詩意冊》，雖然是很小的冊子，但是他用非常淡雅的手法來表現陶公的詩意，這個也很值得注意。另外我特別感興趣的，是查伊璜的卷子，查伊璜的作品向來不易見到，那麼這幾張畫真是了不起！他到過廣東，可惜這幾張畫的題識上沒有時間，到底是那個時候寫的？我們沒有辦法研究。我們知道查氏是一個歷史家，他著有很大部的歷史書（《罪惟錄》）。我們也知道查氏本身是一個文學家，他的著作收入《古書叢刊》，他到廣東亦寫了很多詩，可是不知道他寫畫的功力原來那末深。我在這裏請大家注意，畫史上普通都捧那幾個人人知道的大畫家，其實漏網之魚太多了，像查伊璜就是其中的一個。他不但有非常了不起的畫論我曾經引用過，以前我看方以智講莊子的《藥地炮莊》一書中講到他，他說「寫畫可用做夢的辦法來寫」，非常有趣的。他有那種了不起的思想，才能寫這種特別的畫，可見我們遺漏的資料是很多的。我們希望能注意那些被人忽畧的畫家，以後在這方面多寫一點文章。

曾幼荷：我因為正在研究書藝史，關於「分體」與「分品」的資料很多。你的論文中言及體、品、風格，其中與藝人的性情，藝術品的性格有關。

書法中的「體」簡單，與藝術品的性格（即是「品」）有密切關係，但是兩種不同的論點。書中八體是實質的，如篆、隸、正、草等。你論文中所講的畫體，似近於抽象的風格，與古人論書品的語論相近。在書藝中「品」與「體」分論，我覺得其中有互相檢討的成分。

在我看來，古人論書品分析得很詳細（如清逸、豪放、高古……），畫品上只有神、逸、妙、能四品。饒先生的論文中，有風格八體，如繁、疎、乾、濕、穠、閒、圓、險，以筆墨分類，各有錯綜複雜之處。不知你的意見以簡單為是？以複雜為是？

饒宗頤：曾教授是講書法的問題？

曾幼荷：書法跟畫法的關係很密切。

饒宗頤：我覺得中國文化史上，很多東西可以互相借用，尤其是藝術方面。這就是說，把文學的東西移到畫；或者把畫的理論移到書法；或者又借用到別的地方去，即是所謂旁通。可是我們如果很廣濶地來講，到底是不是完全吻合，這也是要研究的。比如，你剛才說是有人利用繪畫的材料移到書法上去，也可以把書法的理論移植到畫裏來。這種旁推交通的事情非常有趣味，很值得研究。你剛才問到複雜的好還是簡單的好？這個問題，我的意見是兩者都可以的，要看你怎樣講。當然可以從簡單講到很複雜，但是最好能夠從複雜再化為簡單，能夠簡單化，那末人家就得到要領了。從複雜化為簡單這是更重要的，曾先生不知道意思如何？書法的問題，我想我們明天再講，今天還有文點另一個題目要等着討論呢。

鄭德坤：可以不可以再讓我講幾句話？饒先生剛才提到那個題跋，說裏頭有許多好的文章，有許多畫學的理論。我覺得那個題跋裏頭還有兩樣很值得我們注意的要義。第一就是剛才饒先生說到的友誼。用題跋來表達友誼的很多，同時在友誼裏頭也可以

看見文學方面、畫學方面各種的理論。第二是題跋裏有許多畫史方面的新材料值得我們注意。剛才饒先生提到程邃（垢道人）用乾筆，乾到幾不成畫。我們在展覽裏頭就是有一張垢道人的山水，真是乾到不成畫。可是假如你們仔細讀他的題跋，你們就可以知道這張畫不單可以代表乾筆、代表用空的作品，而最重要的是它本身的畫史。我們研究程邃的畫史，幾乎到了一六八〇年就完了，因為他到一六八〇年以後就不再有什麼作品可考。可是在這題跋裏，他自己說他已經有十幾年沒有畫畫，忽然間已快九十歲了。「望九老人」忽然起了童心，所以才畫這張山水，這是他八十四歲寫的。所以這張作品你們假使仔細看看，不但可以看出垢道人的一個很特別的面目，同時可以把垢道人的歷史往後推至少有十年。所以這是在畫史上很重要，很值得我們注意的一張作品。不知道饒先生以為怎樣？

饒宗頤：題跋和作者的時代有密切關係。研究每一個人如果作仔細分析，有時候可分為幾期來講，像早年和晚年，這是畫風上所謂「變」的問題。一個畫家「成」以後，還要「變」，他的「變」，往往是不止一次的「變」，可能有幾次的「變」。這個問題，假如題跋上記有時間的話，我們就可以知道他是在什麼時候「變」，和他怎麼地「變」。一個人可以無窮地變，越聰明越有辦法的人，他「變」得越多花樣。每一個畫家他不僅是一個面孔，好些面孔當然要看時間、空間的關係，這就靠題跋來做我們研究的基本線索。假如題跋題上時間，是最能夠幫我們解決問題。這當然是很重要的。

何惠鑑：也許我可以說說一點感想。方才饒先生提到龔賢的那一段很重要的題跋，就是關於「安」與「奇」跟「位置」的關係。這個我忽然想起陳世驥先生寫過一篇文章，在《中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊》的，叫《論姿》（“On Gesture”），他所論的是文學上的「姿」（gesture），當然是用西方文學的觀念。我看了那篇文章以後，我覺得還有「未安」之點，主要原因是我覺得這是文學跟藝術史密切連帶關係的一個例。我覺得陳先生所以還未能把文學上的「姿」的重要性說出來，主要是因為他沒有利用繪畫史上相同的觀念，所以，這個第一就引到「位」的問題。「位」的問題我覺得好像是謝赫「六法」中很重要的觀念（concept）。事實上，從漢到六朝，我看這個「位」的問題也是一個很重要的觀念。比如說，現在我們提到「經營位置」這一句話，我向來都是覺得錯的，這個不用討論下去。總而言之，可以說南宋曾慥的《類說》跟日本五山版的《黃山谷詩集》任淵註裏面所用的「六法」，跟我們現在提到的不同，它不是「經營位置」，是「經營置位」。雖然我們現在是引到這個「位」的問題，這個「位」的問題在《文心雕龍》中跟六朝其他的文學批評裏面，都是一個非常普遍的觀念。「位」可以說即是「靜」（static），任何的動作，比如所謂「姿勢」，一定來自靜態，來自一個固定的「位置」，沒有「位置」，就不會有動作，所以先有「位」，然後從這個「靜」，才有所謂動作。第二個出來的東西，就是董其昌跟其他文學史家常常用的一個名詞——「勢」，就是「姿勢」的「勢」，所謂「咫尺有千里之勢」的「勢」，用英文勉強來說是“positional momentum”，是從一個「位」（position）所引起的一種勢能（potential）。先有「位」，才有「勢」，有「勢」以後才可以有「置」，最後才有「姿」。回到「安」跟「奇」的問題，「安」跟「位」是連帶的，是一個靜態均衡的原理（static-balance law），是一個「位」的問題，「奇」就是跟着的兩個觀念，即是「勢」跟「姿」連起來，就有「奇」的觀念。我提出的是一個很粗淺的感想，不過，我覺得龔賢這段關於「安」與「奇」的問題，是講中國繪畫史上構圖（composition）這個問題裏面，一個

非常好的見解。他用這兩個字——「安」跟「奇」，牽涉的問題很大。這是剛才饒先生解釋時我偶爾想到的一個意見，諸位還有什麼高見？

饒宗頤：我現在補充一下。這個問題就是跟剛才曾教授提到的問題有連帶關係。這個「勢」字的意思，好像《世說》上所說，「江山寥落居然有萬里之勢」。「勢」這個觀念，我想開始是從書法而來的，後來再用到繪畫方面。

何惠鑑：當然！當然！

饒宗頤：何以開始是書法的觀念？因為書法裏頭講的不管是篆是隸，都要論「勢」。這個「勢」的觀念，第一是用於書法上，後來又施用於文學上面去，所以《文心雕龍》有《定勢篇》；後來又跑到畫裏去。所以，你剛才講一個觀念可以通到幾種不同的地方。

何惠鑑：文學跟繪畫是息息相關的。

饒宗頤：你把這個「勢」字來解釋「奇」的意義，是很對的。尤其是「勢」這個字在古文方面亦很重要。中國人講散文，尤其是古文，全是要講「勢」的，沒有「勢」，這篇文章可以丟到字紙簍去。但它開始時主要是書法上的觀念，我不知道曾先生的意思如何？當然，在最早先秦的時候可能是法家、兵家的觀念，所以從兵家運用到書法上面，後又運用到文學、繪畫種種，可見這個觀念是這樣旁通多種藝事的。

何惠鑑（英語複述討論重點）：I don't know whether I remember all the points in the discussions. I think we discussed very briefly about the problem of classification and I asked Professor Jao the problem if the classification system used by Ku Ning-yüan is based on the classification of drama at the end of the Yuan dynasty especially in the book by Chung Ssu-ch'êng 鍾嗣成 in *Lu Kuei Pu* 錄鬼簿. And he seemed to agree. I think in the history of literature of the Ming dynasty one of the high point was at the beginning of the dynasty when Kao Ch'eng-li raised this whole problem of "early, high, and late T'ang" 初、盛、晚唐 in T'ang poetry. At the same time he also used the *Ch'an-an Shih-hua* 禪安詩話, the relationship between literature and *Ch'an* Buddhism. I think this started the whole process of argument and reaction all the way in the seventeenth century, at the end of the Ming dynasty. But this is out of the question and not in the scope of today's discussion. Next is an extremely momentous question raised in Kung Hsien's colophon—the problem of the relation between composition and the concept of *an* 安 and *ch'i* 奇. I mentioned when I read this passage and listened to Professor Jao, I suddenly remembered an article by Professor Ch'en Shih-hsiang 陳世驥 in the *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica*. The title of his article is called "On Gesture." It is a concept I think he borrowed from Western literature, but he tried to use it to explain a parallel concept in Chinese literary criticism, especially that of the Six Dynasties. I expressed my personal doubt about the conclusion of this article and I said that one of the main reasons why he failed to reach a conclusive thesis about this concept is because of his failure to utilize similar material, and much more abundant material, available in the history of art. So we come to the concept of *wei* 位. I briefly mentioned also my own doubt about the Hsieh Hê's 謝赫 six laws. This is number three among his six laws. I tried to use two sources: one is Tsêng Tsao 曾慥, a Southern Sung scholar, in one of the more recently publication in the Mainland, the *collectanea*, *Miscellaneous Notes*, by Tsêng Tsao—*Lei Shuo* 類說. In this book his quotation of the six laws, especially this particular one *ching ying wei chih* 經營位置 is completely different from what we know today.

Today we said *ching ying wei chih*, but his quotation is *ching ying chih wei*. Now this quotation from a Sung publication is verified by another very dependable publication, that is Jen Yüan's 任淵 commentary on Huang Shan-ku's 黃山谷 poetry published in Japan, what we called the *Wu Shan* 五山 edition (or the Goshan edition) of Huang T'ing-chien's 黃庭堅 poetry. In this case, Jen Yüan also quoted Hsieh Hê's six laws, he also said *ching ying chih wei* not *ching ying wei chih*. There is a few other evidence I can cite but we don't have the time to do that. But anyway this established that it is the concept of *wei* not *wei chih* which is figured so prominently both in the literary criticism and art criticism from the Han to Six Dynasties. And this leads to Kung Hsien's colophon. That's the relationship between composition *wei chih* and the concept of *an* and *ch'i*. I think Prof. Jao agreed that all these three are very closely related. Then I raised the problem if we may say that the concept of *wei* came first. *Wei* is like a static law (this is just a term I used at the moment) from which all movement projected, any movement has to come from a static and balanced law. So first, we have the position and then we have the second concept, that is what I called "positional momentum." This is another extremely popular and significant term used in the Chinese history of calligraphy, in literature, and in art especially in the later period by critics like Tung Ch'i-ch'ang 董其昌. Professor Jao pointed out that, the word *shih* 勢 originally came from *ping-chia* 兵家 (military strategists) and *fa-chia* 法家 (legalists) and then later on was used in calligraphy and only finally was it borrowed as a term in art criticism, especially in the history of painting. Only from this concept *shih* we can arrive at the last concept, that is what Professor Ch'en Shih-hsiang discussed in his article i.e. the idea of gesture. As I understand it, at the moment when I read Professor Jao's article, I think the idea of *an* is related to the idea of *wei* (position), and then the idea of *ch'i* is derived from the combination of *shih* and *chih*. This is just one interpretation and there could be many others. It's just a fleeting thought, it's not developed at all.

## (2) Ellen Johnston Laing: "Wen Tien and Chin Chün-ming"

CAHILL: It's an extremely interesting paper. I think the stylistic observation are extremely sharp and convincing. What you said about the characteristic, qualities of Wen Tien's brush work I think are very much to the point. It thus seemed to be among the salient characteristic of his painting. I wonder if you find this, you didn't say so in your paper, but you could find it related to a more general slight dissolution of standard brush work disciplines in the early seventeenth century, and I find for instance some resemblances in brush work with people like Chao Tso and other Suchou painters. So the same thing is happening in Suchou painting. Does it strike you that way or not?

LAING: No, it is definitely as being, if anything, closer to people like Ch'ien Ku.

CAHILL: You think then he was keeping up something that goes back all the way to the sixteenth century without too much affect from anything it would have been in it?

LAING: Yes, because in addition to doing Tang Yin style... (tape not audible) and I think indeed he is quite narrow in his painting.

LI: Since the major scrolls were done before 1644, there was of course no intention on his part to express his feeling for the country, as indicated by Professor Jao. Rather, it was mainly his own desire to follow the foot-steps of the ancient poets to live a hermit's

life as his personal aspiration. But with the great changes of 1644 and 1645 which affected his own personal life deeply, what was more or less a personal theme was transformed into a cultural one. True, there was no explicit indication of rebellion or anti-Manchu in the paintings and poems after 1644 (for circumstances then did not seem to permit him to do so), but there seems to be a new sense of identity in his later works. Thus the expression of sorrow and the sense of loss was more than a mere personal one, but one of much broader implication. This can best be seen in his 1644 painting of himself against a red (referring to Chu of Ming dynasty) landscape.

LAING: Well, he had painted very few landscapes and the one that I really know of is part of an album which is dated after 1644. As far as I can find out, none of his plum blossoms were done before 1644. So all these paintings were done after 1644, which in itself is interesting because it may have been a sort of catalyst which turned him to painting, since he had already been doing calligraphy.

FONG: Where is that first album—album of plum blossoms?

LAING: Chin Chün-ming?

FONG: Yes, the one dated 1670.

LAING: That's in the Vannotti collection.

HO: When did Chin Chün-ming begin to use that seal "yüeh-ch'üan hsi-shê chih chien" 月泉沙社之間, also after the collapse of the Ming?

LAING: This is the only instance of that seal that I know of. That's why I tried to introduce an element of hesitation because it is not convincing that is entirely his, although its placement would have lead us to believe that it is his.

HO: And the date of the painting is . . . ?

LAING: The date of the painting is 1658.

CAHILL: I want to raise a point that relates to this morning's discussion, but also to your Wen Tien paper. Professor Jao Tsung-i's formulation of the distinction between *hua-shih* 畫士 and *shih-hua* 士畫, along with the quotations from Kung Hsien and Huang Shang-chien, and what you quoted from Wen Tien's friend about how, although he was forced to sell paintings for a living, he kept up the form of refusing to paint on demand, expressing a high-minded indignation toward people who thought they could get his paintings simply by paying money for them—all this raises an important problem. Even granting the inadequacy of our evidence, when we use the Chinese formulation of this matter we are accepting an artificial dichotomy of which we should be wary. When Kung Hsien speaks of "professionals vs. artisans" (*hua-shih* vs. *shih-hua*) it's a distinction based on a situation that was once partly true to reality, but becomes less and less so as time passes. It makes an opposition between learned, educated amateurs on one hand and uneducated artisan-painters on the other. In fact, all amateurs need not be educated, nor all professionals uneducated. With four elements there should be four possible combinations, but the Chinese usually admit only two of them. There are lots of cases in Yüan and Ming times of educated men who are forced to paint for a living—Wu Chen in the Yüan is a case I had to deal with, and there are quite a few in Ming, who receive a standard education in preparation for an official career, but fail in it and turn to painting instead. Some of the Yangchou masters offer eighteenth century examples. On the other side, there should (for symmetry) be painters who are uneducated amateurs—someone with a different vocation, perhaps a merchant, who paints. I can't think of an example, however. (Later: What about I Hai, or I Fu-chiu, the early eighteenth century merchant who was hailed as an important painter by the Japanese?)

Professor Jao suggested that by the time of Tao-chi this issue was no longer much discussed. I would suppose that Tao-chi himself felt in a peculiar position, in his late years, as a highly cultured man who became more a professional artist than he probably started out to be.

This is a simple and straightforward observation, but one we should keep in mind as we proceed, to avoid operating with a false dichotomy.

LAING: Well, there is also the question of whether the biographer is simply following standard, biographical formula since the biography is very carefully balanced as to what sort of information is presented about Wen Tien, whether the biographer just followed the formula saying that Wen Tien was poverty-stricken when in reality he wasn't—this really must be taken with a grain of salt, but not perhaps as absolute evidence of fact.

CAHILL: I would like to make one last point, since time permits. One might suggest, and Wen Tien may be an example, that soon after any amateur painting style became popular, the demand for it created an opportunity for commercial exploitation. I am not saying positively that that was Wen Tien's situation, but there were certainly other Suchou painters of whom that was true. At that point one has to be wary of making clear correlations between social status and style, because there are, for instance, quite good painters even in the early to middle sixteenth century who obviously are capitalizing on the demand for Wen Cheng-ming style paintings, and doing very nicely at it.

I am not suggesting that there isn't a correlation between educational level and style—general culture, the exposure to more paintings and ideas about paintings, increased sensitivities and sensibilities, all made one a different kind of person who would paint in a different way. Of course there is also a correlation between amateurism or professionalism and style—we might say, for instance, that Tao-chi in his late years was affected by his shift into a more professional status in painting too much, through necessity, and slipping into the qualitative decline that we all know affected his later works. I don't know whether or not Wen Tien fits that pattern.

LAING: It was not my intention to stress or to focus or to draw a correlation between a gentry family and a particular style. Wen Tien is so totally encompassed by the ancestral tradition that I think one would be quite astounded if he did something radically different from that style or from the sixteenth century styles. And the reverse, it is not my intention to suggest that Chin Chün-ming, because he made his livelihood as a calligrapher and writer, was working in a more professional style.

WATT: Just one more point. Is not the question partly one of patronage? It's so much easier to be non-commercial when you have an official position, i.e. if the court is the patron then it is very much easier for you to be officially an amateur. But if a merchant is the patron, or a rich man is the patron, then you are no longer an amateur, however amateurish you are. I think the Yangchou artists represented the ultimate meeting of the two currents, and Cheng Hsieh's way of resolving the problem is by putting this notice in front of his door saying that, "I have no time for conversation on finer matters, but here is the price list." A man who might otherwise have some idealistic ambitions, that is to say Shih-tao, perhaps is the first man to recognize this problem, Professor Cahill's comments reminds one of Huang Pin-hung's remark about Shih-tao being the first of the *chiang-hu* school, i.e. the commercial school, the people who sell their art as opposed to those who paint for friends. I think perhaps he was instrumental in starting the whole Yangchou situation.

## 第二次會議：「參攷資料」

主席：方聞教授

論文：(1) 鄭德坤教授：《木屨藏明遺民畫二十家》

(2) 汪宗衍先生：《明清之際廣東書畫家》  
(李棪教授代宣讀)

日期：一九七五年九月一日

時間：上午九時半至下午十二時半

## (1) 鄭德坤：《木屨藏明遺民畫二十家》

方聞：鄭教授剛才講了許多非常重要的材料，現在，我們有沒有什麼意見？

Some are really very wonderful things there! Any comments?

鄭德坤：我們這回的展覽討論會，重心是遺民的材料。展覽陳列了很多材料，今天所提到的是作為參攷資料，希望下午有空的時候，再上去看看，以作比較，特別是我提到的二十家。當然，大家都是專家，都知道那張是好，那張是值得注意。

The purpose of this symposium and the exhibition is to study the *i-min* painters and their backgrounds. We have here a very fine selection from the Chih-lo-lou collection. And now I have the privilege to introduce to you twenty more painters from the Mu-fei collection in Cambridge. It is hoped that in your spare time, you may be able to compare some of these paintings and try to see what the important positions some of these painters would stand in the history of the Chinese art.

FONG: Professor Cheng, is that Ch'a Shih-piao 查士標 dated? The album is a very nice one. Is it middle or earlier?

CHENG: Let me see . . . . He was eighty, 1694, very late.

FONG: And that Mei Ch'ing 梅清 was also dated, wasn't it?

CHENG: Yes, also dated 1694.

FONG: That Chiang Shih-chieh 姜實節 album is also very unusual. That's not dated?

CHENG: No, that's not dated.

FONG: All of a sudden we have so much interesting Fong I-chih 方以智! I think that Fong I-chih album is very good. Are there any comments?

屈志仁：我有一個問題提出要請教各位的。昨天我們講到分類的問題。我們這討論會的主題是明遺民，「遺民」這個觀念，當然不是從美術史出來的，而是從歷史、從儒家出來的。所以，我想藝術史家就是借用其他學問的名稱而已。那麼，在美術史



上，我們有沒有理由把遺民獨立成爲研究的對象，就視乎他們有沒有一種特別的風格。如果我們決定可以，即假定除了遺民以外，就沒有這種繪畫風格。比方我們剛才講到梅清，他的風格看起來就是一個極清高，至少比石濤更清冷的風格。不過，以他的品格來看，我們能不能把他當作遺民，還是成問題。

We are talking about classification yesterday and Professor Cahill also mentioned the question of deciding between the amateur and the artisan. And of course the subject of our symposium is on *i-min* painters. This is a concept borrowed from traditional historical and Confucian concepts. The question is whether from a purely artistic point of view we can establish a special class of painting which is peculiar to the loyalist of any dynasty. For example, the question of Mei Ch'ing I think is very interesting because from a purely stylistic point of view he is as bleak, as cold and as dry as any other loyalist painter you can imagine. On the other hand it is very questionable from his life and from his views on life, whether he can be classified as such. And Shih-tao is even a more border-line case!

方聞：我覺得這是一個非常重要的問題。昨天 Professor Cahill 和饒教授也稍爲講到這個問題；昨天下午饒教授的材料是非常重要的，我們講及三個要點：一個是畫史的，一個是批評史；假如我們從傳統的講法，就是講「畫士」、「士畫」，還是品格的問題。我們再從這方面講批評的話，也就變成了第三個東西「批評的批評」。我們這次開會的意義很重大。這方面的工作，我們外國的同學、外國的朋友，以至我自己在海外也做得很少。這次我們從海外回來，找到很多新的材料，如木扉的收藏；等一下我們會聽到有關廣東畫家的討論，材料是越來越多。不過，有了材料以後，就是我們怎樣把它揀出來。

I think our problem right now is really getting more material and how to conceptualize them and I think yesterday we are talking about art theories and art history. But I have a feeling that if we go on using the traditional terms and terminology we are also talking about criticism of criticism or the critical appraisal of critical systems. And this is perhaps one of the major function of the purpose of a meeting like this. As more material turns up, somehow we have to learn to conceptualize and put things together again.

CAHILL: The question that Mr. Watt raises is an extremely important and interesting one. This classification *i-min* seems to have implications that we don't stop and consider in each individual case, as you say. On just what does it depend? The suggestion was once made by Werner Speiser that the question of whether the fall of the Ming and the Manchu conquest affected an artist's painting depended on his age at the time it happened—whether, that is, he was at an impressionable age. This was an interesting idea. Obviously, we decide on whether or not someone is to be considered an *i-min* artist according to his activities in the early Ch'ing; if he takes the stance of a loyalist or expresses loyalist sentiments about the Ming, or even if he expresses his feeling by “negative action,” i.e. by becoming a drop-out or recluse, we admit him to the *i-min* company. Obviously also, we don't normally consider Wang Shih-min an *i-min*, even though he is there in the exhibition. Properly, we should consider each case; among the twenty that Professor Cheng has mentioned, there are some, I suspect, who wouldn't qualify, strictly speaking. But it is obvious also that we can't stop and examine the *i-min* credentials of each artist who is mentioned in a symposium such as this. Studies of particular artists, such as the two that will be presented tomorrow on Hsiang Sheng-mo and Kung Hsien,

are exactly what will allow us in the end—somewhat subjectively still, to be sure—to decide whether they are properly *i-min* painters or not. But short of that, short of having investigated just how their political feelings are manifested in their works, we are not going to be able to make useful classifications according to any simple definitions or sets of criteria that we could decide on now. So we can't hope for a grand all-over solution to the problem; but to raise the questions and answer them for a few cases is nonetheless a real step forward.

FONG: It seems to me there are two important problems here, at least in my mind. One of them is what everybody has made very clear since yesterday and that's something which has been in our minds for quite a long time. When we come to the late Ming and early Ch'ing period and especially in the studies of *i-min*, when there is a problem of poetry and loyalist sentiments and then we talked about painting as an expression of feelings, and what are these feelings, that we can no longer look at paintings just as purely formal problems. They are expressive problems, and obviously (I think our Acting Vice-Chancellor yesterday hinted at this) provides an opportunity to go over the rigid disciplinary border line. There is a possibility of going across into intellectual history. But the second problem also interests me very much. I think this is, again as Professor Cahill just mentioned, that when we study for instance Kung Hsien or Hsiang Sheng-mo today and the thought also crossed my mind yesterday when Professor Laing was showing Wen Tien for instance, and that is somehow across all the border lines, boundaries of different schools, there is something definitely emerging that clearly separates the early Ch'ing from the late Ming. And if you are thinking of some kind of conceptional relation or periodic relation then perhaps some of the older traditional concepts have to be given up or reconsidered, that is to say when, let's say, an amateur painter, a literati painter, by force or circumstance whether willingly or unwillingly will be forced to sell paintings or really if not just merely selling paintings, but really spending most of his time on painting and as we all know as you become really a practitioner painter you spend all your energy on painting you cannot help but improve on your art. And you know there is something about these amateur painters, certainly after 1650, let's say 1640, before, they wanted to become official, examinations and now they couldn't do these things and is on forced exile or retirement and there we are—and certainly things were in the air and there were certain parallel movements.

我用中文稍為講一講，這裏有兩個很重要的問題；第一，我們先在弄晚明跟早清的東西，即是講「遺民」的東西，也就是昨天饒教授講的，跟詩的方面大有關係。遺民畫家在畫上的表現出一種感情，那感情是怎麼樣的感情，我們應該講清楚。在這方面講起來的畫史，就不一定是畫史，畫史便變成了文化史。第二，就是文點。可以說，他從前本來是文人畫家，可是到了清朝以後，他不能做官，不能致試，他只有做一個畫家，那麼，他賣畫不賣畫，根本是不太重要的一回事。他既然每天畫畫，石濤也是每天畫畫，八大也是每天畫畫，那個「士畫」便成一個專門畫畫的畫家。你不能講他是「畫士」，不過他也是專門的藝術家。到了早清，我想另有一種面目，明清之間如要斷代的話，也有另一種看法。

周法高：我以外行的資格來講這個問題。我覺得這問題實在很有意思。通常我們把四王連在一起，到現在四王就拆散了，像王鑑，本來不在遺民之列，但他與四王的畫風一貫，那麼是不是王時敏跟王鑑應該分開——因為一個是遺民，一個不是遺民？所以，我覺得這是一個值得攷慮的問題。

方聞：這是早清的畫壇問題。

周法高：我們是否把一個人有沒有在清朝做官，來界定他是不是遺民？

鄭德坤：讓我們對着屈先生提出的問題：怎樣來給遺民下一個定義，說幾句話。這次討論會直到現在，已經給我們確定了一條路線，我們可以這個大綱來討論。第一點，我們要知道這個時代的背景；第二點，我們要知道每個畫家，他們的生活是怎麼樣？第三，我們要看這些畫家的畫意是怎麼樣？當然，最重要的還是臨摹，臨摹不過是一個工具而已；第四才是畫的意境。所以，假如我們從這四方面着想，每方面來下一個定義之後，然後再進一步把每一個畫家作個別的討論，或者可以把他們結合起來成爲一個集團。我們給他們一個名字，叫做「遺民」，關於這些方面，饒先生在圖錄的引言裏已經說得很清楚。他開始的時候就提到畫家各方面：政治上、社會上、畫意上的問題。到了最後，他來了一個結論，說遺民的特質有五點，這些我們已經談過了。所以，假如我們以饒先生所下的定義來做一個出發點，從這出發點來研究，研究完了，再來看看有什麼應該刪掉的，有什麼應該加上去的，或者我們可以得到一個比較切實的概念。這是下定義的基本工作。

方聞：我想我們應該休息了，因爲這個問題還須要仔細討論。

## (2) 汪宗衍：明清之際廣東書畫家

(李棧代讀)

(放映幻燈片之際，曾論及深度與石濤之關係。以下爲主席之英文撮要。)

FONG: This is a question raised by Professor Li Yeh-hsiang 李葉霜 in his publication *The World of Shih-t'ao* 石濤的世界 published in Taiwan. And there is a theory that Tao-chi in his early days studies with Shen-tu 深度. Shen-tu's date of course is not clear. The piece upstairs is dated 4th year of Shun-chih 順治 (1648) and of course they look at this. The other interesting question is: what are the origins of this painting?

李錡晉: I just want to know if there are any paintings by Ch'ü Ta-chün 屈大均, I found one in San Francisco, a painting after Ni Tsan's 倪瓚 style, not long ago in a private collection.

我最近在一個私人藏品裏頭看到一張屈大均的仿倪雲林的畫，所以，我想問問大家在香港有沒有別的屈大均的畫，以後可以放在一起研究。

饒宗頤：我覺得研究廣東畫，假如是逐個人去研究，好像不容易有什麼系統。我們要找幾個重點來講，或者從宗派來看問題；譬如書法，天然和尚便可以成爲一派，就是所謂「海雲書派」，因爲天然在粵北地位很高，帶起了許多人，他在書法上的確是一位大家。今釋是他的門徒，還有今無等等。他的書法是可以成爲一個系統的，可稱爲「海雲書派」。在畫方面，如《五山志林》裏面提到的「寒塘畫派」（梁寒塘），香港有一個朋友便有梁氏的畫。「寒塘」是代表順德地區的。高儼，我想是應該屬於同一個系統 (group) 的。另外，還有一個和尚，就是跡刪 (成鸞)。他本來是一個畫家，這幾個人都有連帶關係，因爲這幾個人，不單是寫畫、寫詩，在當時還作反清的工作。這些遺民都是實際行動者，他們往往成一個系統，好像寒塘畫派

和陳恭尹是一個系統，陳恭尹不寫畫，可是他和這些人時時互相投贈，當時號為「北田五子」，何耀光先生最近印行何不借《不去廬集》，他即是「北田五子」的代表人物。我個人認為研究廣東書畫，應該把這個畫派、書派標出來成為一個系統來研究，不能作一個一個的、零星地處理，這樣就始終不能找到系統，不知道對不對？

方聞：謝謝饒先生。這個是十分好的提議。

常宗豪：我想提出一個問題請教諸位，就是一般我們在香港聽說批評廣東畫有一種「土氣」或者是「土味」，可是，我們看明遺民的畫，像高望公、深度，我們找不到這種「土氣」，不知道這個原因何在？

方聞：什麼時候有土氣？

常宗豪：在清朝初年，比如說黎二樵，我們覺得他雖然畫得很好，似乎也有一點土氣。

FONG: It's an interesting question. In the Ch'ing period there is a feeling that Canton painting is a bit *t'u-ch'i* 土氣, I think politely can be translated as "something of provincial taste," but in this group I think Mr. Ch'ang is quite correct that no one detects any provinciality. Now, is there any reason to account for that? 土氣跟那個「西風漸來」有沒有關係？

常宗豪：我不曉得。

徐伯郊：土氣是不是廣東氣？

屈志仁：新安派也有新安派的「土氣」。

徐伯郊：土氣是不是地方性的意思？

常宗豪：是有地方性的意思，可是好像我們在晚明的廣東作品裏頭找不到這種土氣，不知道諸位有沒有這種感覺？我個人覺得像深度、澹歸、高儼都沒有這種土氣。

方聞：反面講起來，就是這一組，在明末清初的時候，有一個特質，即使我們從前不清楚廣東畫的人看起來，都覺得簡直就是標準明末清初的作品。那麼另外一個問題，就是這是從什麼地方來的？在明末清初以前，比如講「字」吧，我當然知道太少，跟陳白沙有沒有關係？

常宗豪：我想沒有關係。

方聞：那麼，這個時候就是人突然多了——又回到遺民這個主題去了。

饒宗頤：我剛看完何耀光先生這些晚明廣東作品，據此來說，廣東人同北方人的關係很密切。

常宗豪：可以說沒有什麼大的分別。既然他們在風格上跟中原的作家差不多的話，那麼這段時期的廣東畫是不能在外省畫家之外獨樹一幟了。

饒宗頤：廣東人也有到過北方的，如屈大均，北方人也有到廣東的，如方以智。還有剛才提到的許多所謂廣東人，其實原來並不是廣東籍的，澹歸就不是廣東人。

FONG: Professor Jao's point here is in the late Ming period, the Canton and the Peking people were very close, there is a great deal of backward force. I think this is quite well pointed out.

鄭德坤：我們要知道「土氣」這二個字是怎麼來的？是誰說的？是什麼時候開始說的？還是市面上這樣說？還是有學者作這樣的批評？

常宗豪：這只是一般人口頭上說的，相信此地書畫界都默認這種說法。

鄭德坤：口頭上就不算數啦！是廣東人自己說的？還是外省人說的？

屈志仁：我想也是廣東人自己說的。我們自己承認有點土氣，不過問題是我們有點自貶。我想饒先生說得對，因為在明末清初，廣東文人在外地來的多，而且廣東人，比方屈翁山，他也到全國各地旅行，他跟北方的人交遊很廣。但到了乾隆以後就不同，比方我們剛才講到黎簡，雖然他跟北方文人也有書信交往，不過他個人沒有出過廣東，大概他一直留在廣東，可能他見到的畫家不多，跟北方接觸不多。以後還有一些小名家，比如蘇六朋、蘇仁山，他們都是鄉下的畫家，他們根本不住在城市裏面，所以廣東的地方氣味更濃厚，這是少不免的。

FONG: I just asked Professor Jao how much do we know about pre-end of Ming Kwangtung painters and calligraphers, other than Ch'en Hsien-chang 陳獻章 these obvious names.

饒宗頤：陳獻章是比較突出的。故宮藏品裏頭就有不少廣東人的題跋，證明那些書畫在明中葉和廣東人有些關係的，這些資料不妨把它整理出來。

江兆申：我對廣東書畫家知道得非常少，可以說到昨天才知道有天然禪師。此次展出他和他的學生的字，對我來說可以說是面目很新的。我想不僅是藝術品，就是一般東西如果接觸少，看了總會有些不大習慣。昨天我們看得很匆忙，我的感覺是，鄺露的字跟北方的書家比起來，並不弱于邢侗。天然禪師的作品我曾看過二件，在此地看到一件，昨天晚上在朋友家裏又看到一件，我覺得他本身本領很高，學生的本領也很大。至於黎二樵，我自己個人收藏有一個扇面，構圖很簡單，墨筆非常接近石濤的細筆山水。所以我感覺到剛才饒先生提出的問題非常重要，就是廣東書畫家的確不少在品質上非常之高，所以不能為大家普遍接受，主要是現在還沒有系統的作一個介紹。假如我們對這些書畫家的東西大家都看見過了，這一種新奇的感覺或者土氣什麼的，慢慢就會沒有了。關於饒先生講到故宮裏頭有許多東西有廣東人不少的題跋，在過去，我們的確沒有注意到這個問題。通常我們看一件東西，只注意到它本身好到什麼程度，至於什麼地方人寫的，就擺在第二，我想以後，我們可以注意到這個問題。這是聽到各位高論以後，我自己的一種感想。

FONG: Mr. Chiang is saying that he too being a new comer to Canton art found that the level of calligraphy is extremely high, and in paintings there is really evidence of similarity with Tao-chi's early works. So in other words what seems to be appearing here is that, with these newly discovered objects, it is quite on the contrary not a question of *t'u-ch'i* or not *t'u-ch'i* or even local propaganda. We are discovering or stumbling on something extremely important. And again coming back to Professor Jao's point here, Mr. Chiang pointed out that with a new collection, with new material, the most important thing now is to work out some kind of systematic development or outline of the Canton painters or artists of this period. And again the question of provincial quality, to go back to Mr. Ch'ang and in defence of Mr. Ch'ang's comment, I think there may be even some comments aboard, the feeling that late Ch'ing Chinese painting as a whole is a bit *t'u-ch'i*. I remember a very distinguished scholar in America used to joke about the Manchu taste. Now whatever that means, I think we should leave it at this point and adjourn for lunch here. Thank you very much.

### 第三次會議：「書法」

主 席：饒宗頤教授

論 文：(1) 曾幼荷教授：《十七世紀的書論》  
(2) 王方宇教授：《八大山人的書法》

日 期：一九七五年九月一日

時 間：下午二時至四時

#### (1) 曾幼荷：《十七世紀的書論》

饒宗頤：曾教授的標題是遺民書論，好像是跟遺民畫相比對的。這個題目能不能成立，我們似乎還要加以研究，還要大家討論。不過她舉出來的幾位遺民，她特別強調陳洪綬的字、龔賢的字等等，他們都有另外一種特別的風格。我們看曾教授的意見，好像注重他們的社會地位這方面來講問題，好像說這個人是大官的，大官的有一種寫法，遺民的和不出仕的亦有一種寫法。這種分法，我們也不能說不對，自然，也是一種很有趣的辦法。從這篇文章來講，我想提出幾點來請教，我不敢說是批評。第一點就是曾教授用阮元的南北宗之說來講十七世紀的書法家，到底是不是可能的？因為阮元所講的南北宗是碑帖兩系，我們要問這個時代有沒有一個人用碑的辦法來寫字，好像剛才我們看的這些圖片，我倒看不出碑的成分在裏面。也許Ecke教授認為那些用偏鋒的是從北宗來，不過我認為這可能性很低。簡單地說，就是我個人認為阮元的這個南北宗的理論不能適用於這個時期，它可以講十八世紀以後的，但不必拿來引用講這個時期的書法。第二點在強調每一個書家的人格同書法的連帶關係的問題。這一點到底是不是公道？我們今天認為張瑞圖、王覺斯這些書家好像是有問題的人物，這可能也非常難說。關於王覺斯，我也知道有人替他辯護過，入清的時候，他只有很短一段時間出仕，但是他的書法已經老早有非常偉大的成就。怎樣證明他有偉大的成就？我們假使稍為讀到錢牧齋的文集，他寫王覺斯那篇墓表，就把他捧上天了，他講他幾乎是書法上全能的人物，他在書法上的成就早在清兵未到以前，所以我們不應該因為他後來很短時間的貳臣而抹煞他的藝術上的成就。第三點就是如何把書法來分類？清朝人用「方圓」兩方面來分別用筆方法，用方筆的，用圓筆的，我想這倒還可以採取，比如倪元璐、黃道周、張瑞圖他們是用方筆的，八大他是用圓筆的，像這種方圓的分類，我們應該可以從用筆方面加以分析，這是第三點。第四點就是書體，有些書家是專門寫隸書、寫篆書、寫行書、寫草書，各種各樣的不同，成就也不一樣，所以應該分開討論，某一個人有他在某一方面的成就。好像隸書是明朝末年通常大家都不甚用力的，所謂「分書」，不但是王時敏一個人會寫，其他很多都會寫，朱彝尊也是寫分書，廣東陳恭尹也寫分書。有許多能夠替人家專題「引首」，今天可以看到的，如至樂樓藏品裏頭有很多引首，有些書家名字很冷僻，好像顧苓便是一例。這些材料也該提出來講。我們也不能光看幾個大家平時的作品，那些偏僻的我們亦要看他們成就在那方面，

也應該提出來談談。這是我的第四點。至於用筆的乾濕的問題——我想同寫畫一樣，不論用乾的或者濕的來作書畫，都有同樣的道理，每個人都有個人的性格和嗜好。

曾幼荷：我舉阮元的南北宗論，並不是用以解釋十七世紀的書法，而是用阮元的觀點作為十七與十八世紀作風的分析標準。十八、十九世紀時碑學特別得到重視，阮元將碑學附於有地域性的「北宗」。以碑學為尚的風氣在十七世紀時已有，但不顯著，十六世紀時書法絕對是帖學系統的。

I think Professor Jao was saying, one should not use Juan Yüan's 阮元 division of Northern and Southern Schools, which is an eighteenth century critical view, to analyze seventeenth century art of calligraphy.

I am sorry I made such an impression. Actually I was using Juan Yüan's concept as the point of departure, a convenient way to distinguish the differences between the calligraphic art of the seventeenth century and eighteenth century. As far as the sixteenth century is concerned, I feel the principle influence was *T'ieh-hsüeh*—the manuscript style of Wang Hsi-chih. It was classified by Juan Yüan as Southern School. In the eighteenth and nineteenth century, the studies of *Chin-shih-hsüeh* 金石學 prevailed, the influences of *Pei-hsüeh* 碑學 was evident, which Juan Yüan classified as Northern School. While the calligraphers of the seventeenth century were aware of the "stele style," the concept not well formulated. Should Professor Jao feel that the square and round brushes make a more justified basis for division, one may use it for analysis too.

何惠鑑：我們說到書法上南北宗的問題，方才饒教授說到用阮元的南北書派來解釋十七世紀的書法恐怕不容易，這一點我非常同意。有一個問題想請教一下——我覺得書法上說南北宗最早的大概是元好問，他說「北宗草書才九人」，這句話我從來不懂，他還說「顧陸二王筆實筆虛之論」，這大概跟他的北宗是相對的理論。金末于南都一帶，元好問和「密國公」完顏壘他們這班人整天談的大概是金末元初的一種在書法上的南北宗的理論。這一點，請問他所謂「北宗草書才九人」這個「北宗」的意思是怎樣？比如他說：「顧陸二王筆實筆虛之說」，好像跟他的北宗對立，這個意思又怎樣？跟你後來講到十七世紀時用南北之說來解釋又有沒有關係？

曾幼荷：按情形說，對北碑有研究的書家可能很早，金石家如歐陽修、黃庭堅、宋徽宗，他們用筆有硬拙之處，可以猜想是來源碑版。寫隸體書家都須有碑版知識，但隸書專家在宋元明之間不多。阮元在十八世紀時持南北宗之說，但並不是碑學的始祖。為了簡便，我用它來作分析的手段，但碑帖對書法的影響已是早有的了。

我認為書文基本用途性質的不同，影響到書體的藝術成就各異。立碑文字是為紀念昭彰，大型宏壯，與建築有關；帖本小型，信札手卷，詩文親近，專為書法摹勒。兩系筆法軟硬確為不同。我論文中所用的南北宗之見，只限明末以至清代，並沒有沿及整個書史。

何惠鑑：我看金末元初時他們說南北宗——這個恐怕跟碑沒有關係，所以我看要另外找一種解釋的方法。

傅申：剛才何惠鑑先生提到南北宗的事。對於元好問所提到的南北，我想他是指南北方，因為這正是金元之際，所以很可能是與地方性有關，不知對不對？另外曾教授剛才所放的幻燈片，作品的選擇大致很嚴謹，尤其是有些不常見的作品。不過其中有一兩件，比如說王覺斯的手卷，不知是誰的收藏？我認為是不對的。另外一件是

上海博物館藏的石濤書軸（高居翰教授照的幻燈片）——因為我近來研究張大千的作品，所以對我來說，這一件石濤的作品很明顯的是張大千寫的。請問，王覺斯的手卷是那裏收藏的？

曾幼荷：（藏地名稱）

傅申：對不起。（按：向收藏者致歉！）

方聞：曾教授，我還是要講回到十七世紀來。剛才饒先生講分書的問題，在明朝當然是分書很多，明初又是章草很多，我想到明末清初的時候有一種——好像是有一種特別對於書體不同方面都有興趣的樣子。每一個人都有意寫不同的書體，尤其是分書、章草，當然講起來，正楷還是正途一路，這裏邊像石濤當然是很明顯的一個例子。在台灣故宮，早年的像王翬也是，王翬最早的一件東西就是一六五〇年時候，他的題款就是章草、正楷、跟行書，這方面你有沒有什麼意見？

曾幼荷：以南北宗講整個書史，未免太簡單。因為我們是明遺民討論會，我的論文僅講遺民「態度」，不是論十七世紀每個書家的作風。如果每個藝人分析起來，成份繁細，與畫的藝術一樣，各有古人來源，個人新韻，如鄭板橋說他自己的書體是六分半體——一分半分都是可以較量的。

方聞：鄭板橋寫出來還是鄭板橋的感覺，像明末清初的時候，他們就是有意寫得不同，好像是集大成的樣子。像畫畫的時候，就是同畫董源也好，宋元的樣子就不同。寫字的時候就是有意的把它混起來，比如剛才講傅山，就是從正楷到行書，到草書，再不就是草隸或是草篆的樣子，就是書面也有點構圖的意思，我想這也是一個好題目。

王方宇：我想針對饒先生剛才提到的人品跟書品的問題，再說一點請各位指教。在我看，這個問題我們應當分成兩個層次來看：一個是純粹美術的層次。在這個層次之下，就是不管這個人是什麼人，我們就看他的作品的好形式是好，是不好，是美，是不美，假使我們有了原則以後，在我的看法，將來是可以用機器告訴我們的，就是計算機（computer）就可以說啦！關於人品的問題，則是另外一個層次。這個層次是甚麼呢？是人的欣賞的層次。譬如說一張字，某一位先生看到這張字，他欣賞不欣賞，都會有很多的聯想。這是一個「人」的問題，欣賞便成了「人」的問題而不是純粹客觀美學上的問題。在欣賞的時候他的聯想可能很多，他看到這張畫或字，他可聯想這個人的人品，如果他覺得這個人不好，他討厭這個人，他就可能覺得這張字也不好。同時，對於這個人是好還是不好，假設王鐸或者是張瑞圖，也有很多人替他們翻案，說是張瑞圖並沒有那麼壞，王鐸雖是二臣，也並不是什麼了不得的事情，那末這樣一個聯想的時候，也可能轉換他的欣賞的態度，這是一點。關於傅先生說到真偽的問題，我是向來不辯（辨）真偽的。我這個「辨（辯）」有兩個「辨（辯）」，一個是「辨別」的「辨」，一個是「辯論」的「辯」。我不能「辨別」真偽，也不可能跟別人「辯論」什麼真偽。不過，曾教授提到的八大山人有一張冊頁，我就提供你一點意見：這張冊頁有兩張完全一樣的，你這一張是從張萬里的《八大山人書畫集》裏面翻出來的；另外一張是在一本叫做《八大山人書畫真蹟》裏，這個恐怕不容易買到啦，這書是吳昌碩先生題的簽，從前是阮性山先生的收藏。這兩件東西放在一塊比一比就知道那個好一點，那個壞一點，我只是供給你一樣材料，我也不能說那個是真？那個是偽？我想真偽的問題還得請高明大家來討論。



江兆申：我有一個意見可以說是離開本題，回到上午饒宗頤先生說法上去。他認為文學、書法、畫這些東西有密切的關係。那末像晚明的畫相當怪，字也相當怪，另外還有一件事相當怪，晚明人寫的小品文很奇怪，可見在這段時候，它有一種原因，使得它不願循正軌去走。至於什麼原因？在這裏我們不必細談，總之是有這末一種現象：不僅是書法寫得很怪，也不僅是畫寫得很怪，寫的文章也奇怪。那末，當我們今天做研究的時候，就有一個困難問題，就是下「界說」的問題——南派北派。我們不一定要指定這個問題來說，但當我們形容一種形象的美，說出我們的看法，我們把它取一個名字也未嘗不可以。那末我們自己下個界說，也不一定要借古人的，為什麼呢？因為古人的說法，如何惠鑑先生剛才講北方的草書若干人，他現在沒有讀通——古書有時候是不可懂，也不一定懂，也許古人寫的時候，他有一個臨時原因，他想到這末一個字眼，就下了這末一個字，如果我們一定要把它讀懂，有些時候只有吃力不討好。當然我只是懶人懶話，記得跟饒先生在前一兩年見面，我一再向他說明，我這個人絕不讀書，何惠鑑先生卻是一談到問題，馬上就得引書，我說我簡直受不了你！有些時候我擔任課，第一次上堂我就告訴學生說，尤其是美術理論這些書，你們最好是不要讀，什麼道理呢？因為作者說的意思跟他所想的在文字上總有若干距離，你了解他的文字，跟他原本的意思也有若干的距離，但如果我們直接從美術品上欣賞，或者會是一條比較直接的路徑。尤其是有些古書，對時間性不太重視，關於一個畫家的理論，可以從他題跋中抄出來，那末他二十歲的意見跟六十歲的意見可能先後顛倒，如果你相信他們的篇次，要找出他的理論的線索來，便大有可能走到岔路上去。當然，我並不是強調一定不讀書！只因為讀書常常讀不懂，為了原諒自己，便常常作這麼一個解釋，也同時替我的不讀書作一個掩飾。這可以說是題外的。

饒宗頤：我們很多謝各位先生發表這許多有價值的言論。我想最後我歸納一點，就是好像方聞教授同江先生他們所提的，最要緊的就是一個人他想自成家數，無論一個書家也好，一個畫家也好，他達到相當的修養，他一定要把自己鑄造一個自己的面目，這即是所謂「語不驚人死不休」，寫字寫畫也要驚人的，他始終是要自己打出一條新路，這個才是他的創造。因此，各人的面貌不一樣，誰也不想抄襲誰的，因為彼此不相抄襲，所以不管小品文也好，書法也好，都是自己願意創造出一個新的東西。這一點我看在晚明特別有意思，那個時候非常自由，沒有什麼限制，所以彼此互相競爭，構成好像一個萬花筒的——各種不同的面目，這是最有意思的，所以我們對於這一段時期的藝術，不管是書法也好，繪畫也好，覺得特別有價值，我認為就在這一點，在清十八世紀以後就沒有啦！

## (2) 王方宇：《八大山人的書法》

FONG: I believe Professor Kohara left a note with Professor Cahill, I think this would be the right time to bring out, yes, please.

CAHILL: It is a small point of a couple of corrections in the reading of Pa-ta's calligraphy in Professor Jao's paper. I'll give them as best as I can by translating the Japanese note that Professor Kohara left me. In the paper having to do with the *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü*

世說新語, p. 6, line 11 from the top: in a poem by Pa-ta-shan-jên there is a line which is read there as “mo shuo yo kai chin ma ch’un” 木芍藥開金馬春, in this line Professor Kohara maintains that the *mo* 木 character meaning “tree” is actually a misreading for the character *teng* 等 meaning “and so forth” or whatever. He says that in the Sumitomo album, the *An-wan* 安晚 album, this character *teng* is written in the way that he has here transcribed it, which can also easily be misread as *mo*. And he says this probably led to what he considers to be a misreading in this case. He says that no publication so far has read it properly. He says also that in forgeries of Pa-ta-shan-jên writings, they often misread this *teng* character as *mo*. And this can be a clue to distinguishing true and false. This is what he has written. I am sorry that he isn't here to discuss the problem.

FONG: I think Professor Kohara should be here to defend himself, because this is going to get a big reaction by the way.

CAHILL: Maybe we'd better let that go, then, and leave it for Professor Kohara and Professor Jao later on to work it out among themselves. He also notes that in the *An-wan* album there are five quotations from the *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü*. There is also another case, which however I won't go on to interpret, of a line read one way by Professor Jao and another way by himself. I think we had better leave this for these two specialists to deal with and solve.

余斌：我有一個小問題。剛才王教授講到《臨河叙》的時候，講他看到趙孟頫一個本子，他說「此本當時是弁山寶物」——王教授意思是不是講這個可能是趙孟頫？我懷疑「弁山」是周密。原來是周密的東西，後來被趙孟頫得到。當然這個得查查周密的著作。是不是八大看過他著作裏面記載有這末一個《臨河叙》？

王方宇：我是根據《北道》這首詩，找到這句詩，後來我見到饒先生，他提醒我這句詩就是「飲酒登樓看弁山」。這個我想請饒教授看看怎樣？「弁山」可能不可能是周密？

饒宗頤：這個「弁山」，我看就是「青弁隱居」的「弁」，因為他往往是拿地名來代表人，所以「弁山」可以代替趙孟頫。

余斌：但是弁山可以代表周密的，周密也隱居在弁山。我懷疑在周密的著作裏有《臨河叙》，八大看過，所以他懷疑這《臨河叙》原來是周密的東西，後來歸趙孟頫。

饒宗頤：是，也可說是周公瑾。

余斌：因為周密隱居在弁山，一般都講周弁山周草窗，這個大概要查一查。這是我提出的一個疑問。

饒宗頤：我覺得這個是《青弁隱居圖》，「青弁」的「弁」也就是這個「弁」，因為這個「弁山」是吳興的一個地方，萬先生您知道這個問題嗎？

萬一鵬：弁山在浙江湖州跟長興的中間。

傅申：我想余先生提出這個問題可能是正確的，因為我曾經看過周密寫的字，款上寫著「弁山周密」，我想可能是周密比較確當。

方聞：這是很好的提議！

李錡晉：周密在宋亡以前就在弁山隱居。

饒宗頤：我想另外一個問題就是關於「北道」這兩個字的意思。王先生釋為趙孟頫降元北上的這個講法，恐怕需要斟酌。

王方宇：在第幾頁？

饒宗頤：在第十頁。

王方宇：對，經過你們幾位的建議，我再查一查「弁山」的問題。我覺得有一點說得不對的，就是「所謂子昂北道有兩層意思」這個可能不對，我就把那「兩層意思」中的第二層意思給取消，請諸位把它劃掉就是。「子昂北道」是趙孟頫跋《蘭亭》的時候，是在北上的船中。那是一三一〇年（元至大三年）九月初五日到十月初七日，一共題了十三次。第十二跋說：「余北行三十四二日（他把四字點了，他算錯了日子，他先寫了『四』字，想是錯了，便把『四』字點去，再寫了一個『二』字），秋冬之間，而多南風，船窗晴暖，時對《蘭亭》，信可樂也，七日書。」下面一段，就是另外一層意思，請諸位把這一段劃掉。這一段我說他藐視趙孟頫，這是錯的，因為我在台灣又發現了新材料！那不單是沒有藐視，而且很推崇趙孟頫，所以這一點請諸位劃掉就是。我附帶再提出一點，就是一個——也不是有趣味的——就是一個很奇怪的東西，今天我收到了台灣發表的一篇文章，是在我來港以前寫的。既然我們現在討論八大山人，那末這個題目也跟八大山人有關係。這篇文章在香港也會發表，一兩天之內諸位也許會看見，這是個很奇怪的題目——《電子計算機和八大山人》“The computer and Pa-ta Shan-jen”。

方聞：這是王先生的另一專長。方宇兄我有兩個小問題，你講篆書所舉的兩個例子，就是——他打的花押算不算篆書呢？

王方宇：從筆法上看，我看不是。

方聞：這個「三月十九日」不是很像篆書？

王方宇：我想，從筆法上看還是草書的筆法。

方聞：不過，那是篆字形——草也有篆的意思。

王方宇：字形是有篆書的字形。

方聞：還有那個「天心區茲」的問題，您唸「忝區茲」，怎麼講？

王方宇：「忝」就是不敢當的意思。

方聞：那「區茲」怎麼講？

王方宇：「區茲」我想再查一查，剛才有一位先生提醒我，「區茲」好像出自《莊子》，還是《列子》？

方聞：《列子》，那麼頭兩個字好像是「天心」是講得通的。

王方宇：這個「忝」也是講得通，就是我不敢當，我還不到那個程度。

饒宗頤：王先生的意思關鍵是在字形構造上的問題，它是兩個字，還是一個字？

王方宇：在圖章上是三個字。我看在圖章上像是三個字，不像是四個字。

## 第四次會議：「遺民書畫家研究」

主席：高居翰教授 (Prof. James Cahill)

論文：(1) 李鑄晉教授：《項聖謨與甲申之變》  
 (2) Jerome Silbergeld 教授：《龔賢之詩畫與政治》  
 (3) 新藤武弘先生：《近年來日本學人對石濤及八大之研究》

日期：一九七五年九月二日

時間：上午九時半至下午二時半

## (1) 李鑄晉：《項聖謨與甲申之變》

饒宗頤：謝謝李鑄晉教授使我們看到項聖謨最好的精品。我本人有一個看法要請教，關於項聖謨這幾卷《招隱圖》，我們也討論這個主題 (theme) 的問題，這個主題同遺民的關係是怎樣的問題？我的看法是所謂「招隱」觀念的出現是非常早的，而且我們看他寫畫的時間是在甲申之前，這幾卷《招隱圖》多數是在甲申以前完成的。這個時候清人尚未入關。中國人關於隱的觀念是要另外研究的。這個問題我們可以追蹤到《楚辭》裏，從淮南小山那篇「招隱士」開始，一直到晉朝有些詩人寫着招隱詩。但也有人寫反面的文章，作「反招隱」的詩，這在《昭明文選》可以找到。那末項氏用這個觀念，擺在圖畫裏頭，這個意思我看同「甲申之變」的關係恐怕比較少一點。這個招隱的觀念，可能就是他自己不願意出仕，表示不出來做事，但剛剛他寫這三隱圖的時候，不久就碰到國變了。所以，他的題跋表現許多悲哀的情緒，這是另外一樁事情。我們好像不大好說項氏這一「招隱」題材是同甲申國變有密切的關係呢？我很想請教李先生。

LI: There is no question that the idea of calling the hermits go back to the remote past, as Professor Jao has pointed out and as I have indicated also in my paper. In working on this paper, I have tried to bring out not only the poetic tradition connected with this theme but also the pictorial tradition. So I said that there were two traditions that Hsiang Sheng-mo was trying to follow in his early scrolls, and of course I emphasized the fact that to look at his pictures alone was not enough, for one had also to read all his poems. In Hsiang Sheng-mo's inscriptions he referred back to a whole tradition of the *chao-yin* 招隱 theme. The earliest inscription connected with this theme is in that painting in the British Museum dated 1623. Actually he already said something in that scroll about this poetic tradition, but the major idea about it seems to be set down in his first major handscroll on this subject, which is now in the Los Angeles County Museum. That is on page 7, in the lower section, about 2/3 down the inscription.

「我固知世人皆非隱者也。皆思隱而未能者也。噫嘻哉！其必有先我而隱之者矣。曰：招我隱可也。曰：自我招隱可也。即曰：自招亦無不可也。我將隱朝市，而不得；隱陵藪，而不得；將隱於詩畫，而詩畫已散落人間，又不得收拾姓字矣。亟懷此以善藏，以俟失同志也。」

This is one of the main passages that I want to bring out to reflect on his intentions. Of course the tradition that he refers to actually came from Lu Chi's poem and Tso Ssu's poem which talked about *chao-yin*. In that case he was trying to follow that long poetic tradition in order to bring out the whole pictorial expression.

SULLIVAN: There is one point that might be made about his realism. It has been suggested that in some of his later scrolls it was an expression of the fact that he was forced by political circumstances to accept reality. I am wondering whether this is possibly something a little too apt to do: to interpret some element of style in the light of the predicament of the artist, and that Hsiang Sheng-mo's realism may possibly be due chiefly to the fact that he lived in Nanking. One sees in some of these scrolls similarities to the style of Fan Ch'i for instance. The particular kind of realism in Fan Ch'i's work seems to be a Nanking characteristic. I hesitate to raise the question of Western influence, but possibly in the remote background of the Nanking school as a whole, there are very slight possibilities that some of these artists such as Fan Ch'i had seen European engravings. But that is not the main point I want to make. The important point is to suggest that a degree of realism was a characteristic of this school as a whole rather than particularly of a psychological attitude of Hsiang Sheng-mo.

LI: I think that's quite an interesting question. Of course there is always the problem of Western influence on the late Ming and I think you have done more than anyone else to develop this point. And for you Hsiang Sheng-mo's contact with the Nanking group, I think this is well known especially in the Chou Liang-kung album some of which included some of his paintings. This is one point that I feel could be explored some more. And I'll try to take your points into further consideration.

傅申：我對李鑄晉教授的講法大致贊成，但是饒先生剛才的說法也正是我想提出的，就是這種前後的演變，究竟是個人畫風的獨立發展，還是時代風氣的影響？或者是純政治關係的影響？還是畫風本身的自然發展？或是畫家個人已經有這種發展的趨向，同時又不可避免地受時代的影響？比方說，當時受西洋畫的影響，就與中國本土明清之際的政治變遷無關，如果我們以為當時畫風的演變，全是受明清之際的本土政治影響，或是忽視了畫風本身的發展，我想這是太片面了一點。這是我個人對一般人講這種「象徵」說法的意見。（我對龔半千的那一篇論文有同樣的看法。）

LI: Well, some of the symbolism is quite obvious. The self-portrait in red colour, I think, is really very strong. In the *Red Trees in Autumn Mountains* (秋山紅樹), the next one in which he was looking at the trees and the red leaves and so on, the inscription also reflects the symbolism quite well. I don't think there is any problem of symbolism in those paintings, as indications of his very strict and strong symbolic approach. As for the later ones, we can relate some of these to other compositions in some of his albums. One set of slides I did not show, those are those of the album leaves in the Palace Museum in Taipei depicting very ordinary objects, flowers and trees and so on. But in the inscriptions, he refers to this type of things. So I think that seems to be always in his mind, but literati painting already has a very strong symbolic tradition. So on the one hand he can simply continued this kind of symbolism but on the other hand he

can develop further, gradually, but eventually loses his force, so that later on, a sort of very simple compositions may still have some links with that kind of thinking. This is somewhat speculative since as I indicated in the text his volume of poetry seems to be no longer available. But if we collect all the inscriptions from his works and through some kind of thorough study, we can still come up with some interesting aspects. In poetry it's always quite symbolic, but in the paintings some of them are not very obvious. The 1644 event seems to have made them more emphatic in the symbolic overtone. Then they gradually seem to have disappeared.

黃君璧：剛才李鑄晉先生所提出的項聖謨一生的作品，甚為清楚，不過關於作品方面，我有一點點意見提出來參攷一下。項聖謨的山水很多，作品流傳下來有不少，但是每一張山水，我覺得有松樹最多。有些是單獨以松樹畫一張畫，這個屏幅，完全只是松樹，每一張姿態都相當美。我們在畫刊裏，或在歷史博物館裏也可以看到，同時，最近我在利榮森先生處看到許多收藏，其中有許多松樹，都是非常優美的，剛才照出來有一卷《松濤散仙圖》，其中有一部分松樹的結構並不是隨隨便便畫的，許多都是寫出來的，故此我認為他在松樹方面有特別的愛好，我特別提出來，不曉得對不對？

LI: Professor Huang suggested that in many of Hsiang Sheng-mo's paintings, the pine tree is one of the most important motifs and is in many of them. And he felt that there is special significance about the pine motif and he referred also to the early painting by Hsiang Sheng-mo . . . the long handscroll called the *Soughing Pines*. This is his question.

黃教授，我對你的意見很贊成。項聖謨的畫裏是有很多松樹的，早年晚年都相當多，而且他常常把自己畫在松樹下，這方面是很重要的。松樹在中國文人畫裏頭，從宋元下來一直是很重要的。在元畫裏頭，松樹尤見重要。所以在這方面，項聖謨是接受了這傳統。項聖謨尤其在他畫裏頭愛好松樹，也就有這個意思。

I feel that the pine tree was a very persistent symbol of literati painting. Especially in the Yüan dynasty there are many pine trees which are actually symbols of the old enduring spirit of the literati. And so in Hsiang Sheng-mo's paintings there are many pines and some of them actually depicted Hsiang Sheng-mo himself under the pine tree, which I feel also have some kind of autobiographical value and in this I am in agreement with Professor Huang's comment. Thank you.

## (2) Jerome Silbergeld: "The Political Landscapes of Kung Hsien, in Painting and Poetry"

JAO: Footnote no. 9, quotation of Pan Chien, I think the original source is from *Mencius* (五百年必有王者興).

CAHILL: Before going on to deeper questions, I suppose one of the basic ones would be the degree of literalness with which we can interpret this symbolism. Some of Mr. Silbergeld's interpretations seem convincing, but beside others I have written a question mark in the margin, and I suspect that others have done the same. In the "Yen-tzu Jetty" poem, what

appears to be fairly conventional imagery, established in poetry over the centuries, is given a rather forced reading, as when “the river and sky have suddenly merged together” is seen to “reveal a confusion in the fundamental order of nature . . . clearly symbolizing a nation in chaos.” The evening sun becomes the Ming emperor, the distant peaks the Chinese scholar class, and so forth—is this *really* what Kung Hsien is writing about, or is he expressing a more general sense of poetic loneliness, even desolation—which might, to be sure, be caused in part by political factors, but is scarcely expressed in metaphor of such specific reference? The elimination of the sky in the great Drenowatz landscape, similarly, is a powerful expressive device, and to relate the effect of oppressiveness to the emotional state of the artist, occasioned in part by political circumstances, is fine; but to say that “the elimination of the sky would indicate that Heaven has withheld its imperial mandate, that China has no rightful ruler” goes too far, reduces the painting to the status of a puzzle containing a cryptic political tract. (Do all the other Kung Hsien paintings *with* sky then indicate that China *has* a rightful ruler?)

You voice a warning at the end that “the pursuit of such interpretations should not lead us beyond the artist’s real intention,” but I suspect that at some points it has. Your treatment of the motif of willows, on the other hand, is quite persuasive, especially in conjunction with the quotations you offer from his inscriptions and other writings.

SULLIVAN: I have a question and that is, this very intense symbolism which you get in the works of his middle years. Is there a slackening of tension in his old age and a lessening of the symbolic force? And if so how would you interpret this?

屈志仁：剛才蘇利文教授的問題是：在龔賢晚年的作品之中，是否有隱喻的部分？就是比方以無根的蘭花隱喻遺民的孤芳自賞，這種表現在他晚年是否比較減少一點？若是，那末原因何在？

SILBERGELD: I think that this is quite an important issue, one which I have not attempted to deal with in my paper and one for which I have no firm answer. I know of no textual evidence that bears on this problem, as most of the available written sources are undated. Only his dated paintings and inscriptions could provide a basis for judgment. It is quite apparent that the explosive tension of Kung Hsien’s earlier works is not to be found in his later years, and the personality expressed in the Drenowatz *Thousand Peaks and Myriad Ravines* would seem to be quite a different, more volatile one than that seen in the 1689 Honolulu hanging scroll, executed in his final year. The latter, while it might be described as brooding or melancholic, displays none of the fervor or passion of the former and might even indicate some inner, psychological resolution. Whether this has any political bearing or not is questionable, and I would hesitate to equate mere artistic energy with political zeal. This change might really be more of an artistic indicator than a political one, judging from his colophons. These indicate that in the mid-1670s he felt he had finally attained his goals as a painter and, as a result, the artist’s struggle gave way to an easy mastery of his art. It is in the early-to-mid-1670s that we first can sense this ease entering into his style.

On the other hand, we know that he remained a stubborn personality to his final moments, which brought him to a somewhat premature death, an event which perhaps carried political overtones. So it is really not possible to draw any firm conclusions. Only parenthetically would I note that if there were some correspondence between his developing a sense of artistic fulfillment, the softening of his painting style, and some possible mellowing of his political posture, it would have come prior to the important

events of the late 1670s, when the elimination of Wu San-kuei and the last remnants of overt resistance to the Ch'ing provided a concrete basis for the *i-min* to finally abandon their posture of resistance.

(Short conversation in Japanese, between Cahill and Kawakami.)

SILBERGELD: Since our concern here is with the *i-min*, or loyalist, qualities of the early Ch'ing painters, I would like to add a tentative suggestion regarding two passages by Kung Hsien which were referred to earlier in the conference by Professor Jao. This relates to how Kung Hsien's situation as an *i-min*, a political outcast forced to become a professional artist, might have affected his theoretical writings as well as his painting.

In the first of these passages, Kung Hsien wrote: "Isn't it clear that painting is not a matter of becoming a scholar-official and that the scholar-officials do not constitute a particular category of painters? Do you not know that Yen Li-pen was Li of the T'ang's (T'ang Kao-tsu's) prime minister, and that Wang Wei was deputy minister in the Shang-shu Secretariat? Were they not then scholar-officials? But if you decide to equate lofty and far-reaching brush-and-ink with the painting of the scholar-officials, then what of Ni Tsan, Huang Kung-wang, Tung Yüan, and Chü-jan, for what had they to do with the category of high court officials?" 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。若定以高超筆墨為士大夫畫，而倪黃董巨亦何嘗在搢紳列耶。Kung Hsien was clearly dissatisfied with the use of the term "scholar-official's painting," used since the time of Su Shih to describe the literati, as opposed to professional or academic, artists. He recommended instead the use of the terms "orthodox" to describe lesser quality artists and "heterodox" to describe the truly unusual, highest quality artists, two classes that should tolerate rather than contend with each other. I sense that Kung Hsien's dissatisfaction with the term "scholar-official's painting" stems from its inappropriateness to an age when, he felt, it was the moral duty of the scholar to withdraw, as Ni Tsan, Huang Kung-wang, and others in similarly chaotic periods of the past had withdrawn from the ranks of the officials.

In the second passage, Kung Hsien wrote: "A composition should be stable. But it must be interesting as well as stable, for if it is not interesting then there is no value in its stability. Stability without interest is the mark of the artisan, interesting but unstable the mark of the amateur." 位置宜安，然奇而安，不奇無貴於安。安而無奇，庸手也。奇而不安，生手也。The work of the artisan, he claimed, could never measure up to that of the amateur, but the highest caliber of artist transcended the distinction, blending the better qualities of each, being "both antique and luxuriant, both luxuriant and rich, both rich and imaginative, both imaginative and stable. This, then, is the highest class of painting. . . ." 愈老愈秀，愈秀愈潤，愈潤愈奇，愈奇愈安，此畫之上品. . . In an age where the literati theorist had no praise for the professional artisan, Kung Hsien—himself an admitted professional—was an exception, suggesting a middle way, a culling of the finer qualities of each.

In both of these examples, I would suggest that Kung Hsien as a theorist was making way for the unusual social conditions of his time, a time in which the *i-min* had left the ranks of the scholar-officials and, quite often, had thus been forced to join the ranks of the professional artist.

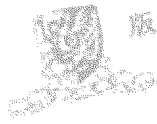
WATT: May I just add one more comment to this morning's discussions. I think we really have to be very careful in reading symbolism in poetry or painting. In very specific cases like Hsiang Sheng-mo's painting of a black figure against a red background,



there is no doubt that a symbolic meaning is intended. And in Professor Jao's interpretation of some of Chu Ta's obscure poetry, where references have been located to specific passages in classical literature, I think we must admit there must be some intended symbolism in the poetry. On the other hand, in Kung Hsien's poetry I personally feel very much that he just uses the general vocabulary which has been established by the T'ang poets. We must not forget that he was a great scholar in T'ang poetry, and I think there is very little in his poetry which is outside the general vocabulary of T'ang poetry. Most of the elements in Kung Hsien's poetry as enumerated by Dr. Silbergeld, such as "frontier passes," were really T'ang devices and this travelling, or the loneliness of the traveller, is a theme in many T'ang poems.

### (3) Takehiro Shindo: "Some Recent Studies on Pa-ta-shan-jên and Shih-t'ao in Japan"

WANG: I think I'll limit my comment to a certain point only. It's about the *Ch'ing-yün p'u* 青雲譜. As far as I know, this material has never been seen by anybody (I don't think in Japan or anywhere else) and only in mainland China does a complete edition of *Ch'ing-yün p'u* exist. Is there anyone who has seen it here? Have you? No? O.K. I was fortunate, it was about more than twenty years ago, Mr. Herbert Franke was kind enough to send me several sheets, pages of *Ch'ing-yün p'u chih* 青雲譜誌. At the time he wrote me, he told me not to publish it because he got them from Miss Contag and he had an agreement with Miss Contag that cannot be published. I still own them and I have the same kind of suspicious about it as Mr. Shindo. I doubt about it and the whole thing about Tao-chi being both a monk and a Taoist. However, there are several points which make me think that we cannot disprove what Li Tan 李旦 did in his article in *Wen Wu* 文物. The several pages of *Ch'ing-yün p'u chih* which I own now is a hand-written copy. Very obviously it is copied from a later edition, may be sometime in the nineteenth or twentieth century. It includes three parts which are interesting. One part is the preface. The preface was written by Chou T'i-kuan 周體觀 who was a contemporary with Pa-ta-shan-jên. He got his *chin-shih* 進士 in the second year of Shun Chih (1645). Another document is *Ch'ing-yün p'u pei-chi* 青雲譜碑記, i.e. the monument of *Ch'ing-yün p'u* which was written by Tai Yu-chi 戴有祺 a little later, in the twentieth year of K'ang-hsi (1691) when he got his *chin-shih*. Another interesting document is the *Ch'ing-yün p'u chih pa* 青雲譜誌跋 which was written by Pa-ta-shan-jên himself according to the document. When I suspected this, I went through Chou T'i-kuan's materials and Tai Yu-chi and also the style of writing in the Colophon of Pa-ta-shan-jên 八大山人跋. I couldn't fault it. I couldn't point to anything which is wrong, but on the other hand I have some points which may support Li Tan's point. In the first place, the place where connected Pa-ta-shan-jên and Chu Tao-lang 朱道朗 is in Chou T'i-kuan's preface. There Chou T'i-kuan said: Chu Tao-lang built the *Ch'ing-yün p'u* and then became Pa-ta-shan-jên (即八大山人也). It said that Chu Tao-lang is Pa-ta-shan-jên, and also in the *Ch'ing-yün p'u chih pa*, there are several points which indicate the writer is Pa-ta-shan-jên as it is signed by "Pa-ta-shan-jên." That doesn't mean anything, just as Mr. Shindo said, it is quite possible a later addition. However, on the Taoist way of thinking we found his Taoist saying and



Taoist thoughts in his poems quite a few times. That doesn't mean anything either, because by that time the Chinese are influenced by not only one school of thought but many different kinds of schools of thoughts. The point which matters most is the style of writing of the *Ch'ing-yün p'u chih pa*. I noticed that in the Palace Museum's Ch'uan Ch'i 傳紫 album, there is a long colophon and I can point out two things about the style of writing. (1) He used three characters in a line and made the three characters as a couplet. (2) Not only he used very rare stories like those allusion 典故 and those remote quotation 僻典. Those very rare stories, very few people know about, except Professor Jao may be and he also used the very colloquial expressions in his articles like 驢揀濕處尿. Thus in the Kukung album he wanted to say "I repeated what I do" and he used a very colloquial expression saying by "donkey passes water on the wet places," that is a way of saying it. And I found out in the *Ch'ing-yün p'u chih pa* he also show this kind of style: three characters couplets, and some of the rare story expressions and this colloquial expressions also. Of course the people who constructed it to make a forgery could probably copy that style. I just want to present my own studies in the connection and say that I couldn't decide either way whether the Chu Tao-lang of Ch'ing-yün p'u is Ch'uan Ch'i or not. And one footnote, that is his real monk name, the original monk name is not Ch'uan Ch'i. His original name is Fa-k'u 法掘, and there are several of his schoolmates who have the simliar names, Fa this, Fa that. In the Freer Gallery they have some colophons written by Fa-i 法翊, I suspect that this Fa-i is with him when they were monks. Thank you.

傅中：對新藤先生提出的新證據，我覺得很有趣；不過我有幾點說明：（1）我覺得從文字上去解釋，不但各人的解釋不統一，而且新資料又會產生新解釋，過去石濤生年辯中，時常在這一方面浪費時間和精神，現在又來重襲前些年中國學者在此一辯論中的覆轍。這是很可惜的。（2）在拙著 *Studies in Connoisseurship* 裏，對於那封石濤寫給八大的信，我用大家公認的 Sumitomo 收藏三件石濤作品去比較其風格和筆法，又收集其他石濤的書札，證明 Sackler 本的形式、習慣以及筆法都與其他真蹟相符，而永原本則否，所以肯定 Sackler 本為真跡。如果現在又要說這是假的，那麼 Sumitomo 的那三件名跡是不是也都是假的呢？（3）張大千先生已經承認日本永原收藏的一本是他做的，年齡的差別，是他有意為之。（4）永原氏收藏的《大滌草堂圖》，並不像新藤先生說的是「臨本」。張大千先生的確會收藏八大山人畫的《大滌草堂圖》真本，但永原本的構圖並非完全臨自真跡，這也是他自己說的。（5）新藤先生提出另一幅《大滌草堂圖》，與永原本的構圖完全一樣，所以認為這是八大山人原來的構圖，實際上也不是的。當張大千先生製造永原本時，當然是要經營一番的，經營好了，畫個兩三張相同的假畫，也是很平常的事，不足為奇；而且，這兩幅從畫法、書法上都不難看出同是張大千先生的習慣和筆法，所以這一幅畫的出現並不能說明問題，相反的，更能證明永原本不是真跡而是張大千的手筆。

MRS. FU: May I just summarize the points my husband made. (1) First, we thank Mr. Shindo for calling our attention to the new materials. But the content of any document may be disputable due to subjective interpretation. It is dangerous to base one's argument only on literary evidence, because there is still much literary evidence which has not yet turned up. That is why we have tried to use the style of actual works as evidence. (2) In the case of the Nagahara "Letter to Pa-ta" and the Sackler "Letter," we tried to prove that the Sackler "Letter" was original and the Nagahara "Letter" a forgery by means

of stylistic comparison. In our book *Studies in Connoisseurship* we used the three “universally accepted” works by Tao-chi in the Sumitomo collection, as well as other genuine letters by Tao-chi, and pointed out similarities of letter format and habits of brushwork. We also used samples of Chang Ta-ch’ien’s handwriting and compared it with the Nagahara forgery. It should be clear to those who understand calligraphy that the style in the Sackler letter is identical with the Sumitomo Tao-chi works. From this if we don’t accept the Sackler letter, we have to reject the Sumitomo paintings, too. (3) Chang Ta-ch’ien himself has admitted to have forged the Nagahara “Letter” and the date of Tao-chi’s age found in it. (4) The *Ta-ti ts’ao-t’ang t’u* in the Nagahara collection has also been admitted by Chang Ta-ch’ien to have been an invention of his own. He had the original painting in his collection and was able to transcribe the colophon by Shih-t’ao onto his version. He also mentioned that the composition of his version, now in the Nagahara collection, is different from the original. (5) The second *Ta-ti ts’ao-t’ang t’u* that Mr. Shindo showed on the screen is obviously from the same hand as the Nagahara painting. The appearance of this new version does not support the theory that the original painting by Pa-ta had the same composition.

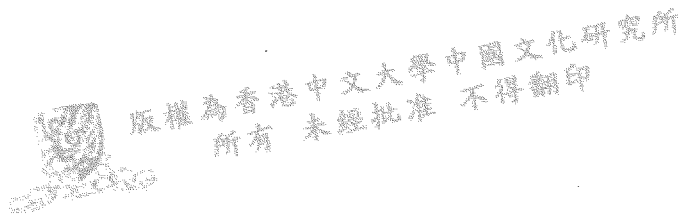
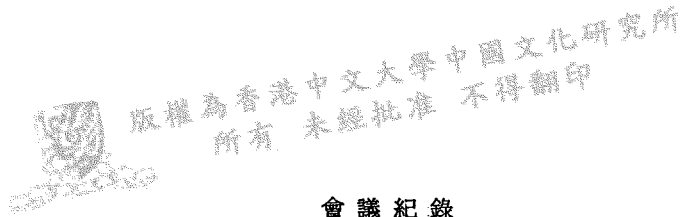
SHINDO: I did not hear clearly as I am sitting on the back of Mrs. Fu, but anyway I answer as far as I know. Their second point . . . I know their, Mr. and Mrs. Fu’s, methodology was first developed by Mr. Yonezawa using the material only in these three pieces in the Sumitomo collection. Professor Yonezawa was surprised when afterwards he found that this method was largely expanded. He found that it was applicable to other cases, wider cases. Anyway, what I want to say is a point already made clear by Professor Kohara. In case of Shih-tao the forger’s ability is better than the art historian. That’s the biggest problem. So which one is from the forger’s brush? Because we are just taking the same course as the forgers take. So forgers may know what the character is in the second half of the *Lu-shan* inscription, that is a running script 行書, and then which character and which character are alike. So what Professor Yonezawa developed and Mr. and Mrs. Fu have expanded was already known to Chang Ta-ch’ien himself. This is what I want to say.

FU SHEN: What Mr. Shindo just said sounds correct, only if we really cannot tell the difference between the Sumitomo Tao-chi’s and the Tao-chi forgeries by Chang Ta-ch’ien. Fortunately, if we really understand Chang Ta-ch’ien’s style, we have no difficulty telling the difference between the genuine Tao-chi’s and Chang Ta-ch’ien’s forgeries, just as it is possible to distinguish the same hand in the many other forged Tao-chi’s and the other version of the “Letter to Pa-ta” in the Nagahara collection. So, I sincerely hope that Mr. Shindo will not stop here, but will try to understand Chang Ta-ch’ien’s work more deeply. Otherwise, the more opinions that are expressed, the more confused the case will become.

FONG: I am very grateful for Mr. Shindo’s new information of this new article by . . . [inaudible] of 1923. I have to ask Mr. Shindo if I may have a copy of that. This is reference to his first description of having two illegible characters later on expanded to several, or may be more than ten, very interesting on that—ambiguity at least at all level and all times—but I should like to view the article soon. I think beyond that there have been so much argument over and over, and now it is late for lunch. I’d just like to make one observation and it has something to do with this matter of whether we should start with documents or with painting. The last picture on the right, the overview, the picture now in the Palace Museum, that to me anyway is definitely not Tao-chi.

KAWAKAMI: Mr. Shindo, if you have any idea about the date of death of Pa-ta, and the date of birth and death of Shih-t'ao. Would you tell me as an example of recent study in Japan?

SHINDO: Shih-t'ao's year of birth at least is a most problematic issue. As long as the authenticity of the letter and the manuscript in the Shanghai Museum are not confirmed, it will remain an open question, just a simple open question, we don't know anything about the date. But we have an idea of his contact with Pa-ta, that's all. And concerning Pa-ta's year of birth, we know that in the year of Ming's fall, he was *ch'u kuan* 初冠, that means he was in his twenties, but Professor Nakayama Hachiro 中山八郎 pointed out that there are some small discrepancies. Opinions differ as to the year, (whether it was) 1624, 1625 or 1626. Professor Nakayama took 1626 because he regarded this 國變, fall of the state, meant the invasion of Ch'ing troops to the city of Ch'ang An 長安. That took place in the year following Ming's fall. So he takes 1626 as the birth date of Pa-ta-shan-jên. And the dates of the deaths of Shih-t'ao and Pa-ta-shan-jen are not known to me. I am sorry.



第五次會議：「畫論及畫法」

主 席：鄭德坤教授

論 文：(1) 傅 申 先生：《明清之際的渴筆勾勒風  
尚與石濤的早期作品》

(2) 高美慶博士：《石濤畫論》

(3) 常宗豪先生：《論筆墨及氣韻》

日 期：一九七五年九月二日

時 間：下午二時至五時

(1) 傅申：《明清之際的渴筆勾勒風尚與石濤的早期作品》

CHENG: Mr. Fu has presented a very interesting problem quite within his studies in connoisseurship. But he has dealt with the problem in the most scholarly fashion tracing the dry linear style back to the Yüan dynasty. The style continued in the works of the Ming scholars from Wang Fu 王綏 to at least 27 artists that he has quoted. It is a very interesting problem and with these as material he has tried to re-establish this *Small Talk in Empty Mountains* (空山小語) problem. May we have the *Small Talk in Empty Mountains* slide again? There is a technical problem there... 最後一張，這一張很特別，為甚麼會有這條線？Why is there a vertical line down the centre of the album leaf?

傅申：畫面中央的一條垂直線，是因為這一本冊頁原來的裝裱法是對摺裝，那條中央垂直線是改成平裱以後留下的摺痕。

方聞：我要報告的是現在我們可能找到這冊頁的第十一張。We've found the number eleven of the same album.

鄭德坤：It is very convincing. But I would like to know what kind of criteria that you use to compare the ink. 墨色很相像，筆法很相像，這個標準在那裏？我們這些不是專家，請你用專家眼光的說法來告訴我們，開開我們的眼界。

傅申：這個很難，只是一種感覺，看得多了，大體上應該沒有問題。如果對着原作，就容易解說，幻燈片是有距離的。

鄭德坤：比方這一張的墨色，跟剛才的畫的墨色，你說兩個是相同，是同一個筆出來的。相同的標準在那裏？

傅申：這並不是經過科學方法去鑑定的（至少目前用科學化驗的方法來斷定書畫真偽還辦不到），我想只要將原作放在一起比較，就不難分辨。能不能看出墨色、紙張、印色的不同，經驗是很重要的。

WANG: I think this paper is quite clear to me. I can understand quite a bit of it. The method of course is very clearly one to show what Mr. Fu has seen and he in turn has shown it to us. I cannot help but think on the process of research on Chinese paintings. I am tempted to make a daring comparison of the studies of Chinese paintings and linguistics.

Since Professor Chou Fa-kao is here, I think I would like to ask his permission to let me say something about the study of linguistics. I think in the early days, the linguistic studies are concentrated probably mostly on the vocabulary. They made a word list. That is early of course, and later on they break down into phonetics and phonemes. I think Mr. Fu's presentation is very convincing and although he admitted that it is not a scientific method yet, he did make some scientific points. He has not reached to the break down into phoneme forms yet. He is still on the level of vocabulary, on even larger segments than vocabulary. It is on the composition of the whole paintings rather than a sentence or vocabulary or breaking down into phonetics or the phonemes. Whenever you can break down into phonemes, that is the stroke forms, you can break down into different types of stroke forms and to compare not only by saying that the parallel lines or the dry brushes, but what kind of dry brushes, what kind of stroke forms in the calligraphy or what kind of stroke forms in the paintings. Break all that you can, break all of this down, then you are coming down to phonetics. If you read to the level of phonetics you cannot help but feel that there are so many problems that you had to group them together into phonemes. Then you will see the similar stroke forms and similar formations and the similar compositions. Then you can build it up later on. It will take a little time for us to reach that point, but Mr. Fu certainly has made a very advanced step in that direction.

ECHE: Relating to Professor Wang and Professor Cheng's opinion, I have a similar reaction. I would like to add some experiences of a painter which may be relevant here.

The use of brush and ink, *pi-mo* 筆墨, are two separate skills. To a painter, brush is the line-brush action, ink is the tonality that involves with liquid contains in a tuff that produces wet and dry lines, dark and light blackness.

*K'o-pi* 渴筆, *kuo-lao* 勾勒, *ts'un-ts'a* 皴擦 are different categories of brush technique. *Kan-pi* 乾筆 is a dry brush, but *k'o-pi* is more than dry. It gives the viewer the feeling of thirst, longing to add liquid. A lonely and descriptive term, which is suitable for the beautiful painting by Shih-t'ao.

When discussing the outline, *lun-k'ao* 輪廓, where sometimes *ts'e-pi* 側筆 and *yüan-pi* 圓筆 are used. I should like to point out that sometimes the brush line appears dry but the tuff actually holds quite an amount of liquid in it.

Since you began the use of dry technique with the Yüan masters, beside Ni Tsan 倪瓚 and Huang Kung-wang 黃公望, I would like to quote Chao Meng-fu 趙孟頫 who wrote these words on his own painting: *Shih ju fei-pai mo ju chou* 石如飛白木如籀. *Fei-pai* 飛白, flying-white, is a brush technique said to have been created by Ts'ai Yung 蔡邕. On Shu-hua yüan 書畫院 of Northern Sung, Teng Chuang 鄧椿 recorded flying-white is one of the required "six technical skills" to the court artists. Flying-white is done by one stroke with the brush-tuff opened which produces a line with white reserves in it. It may appear like a dry brush, but actually has quite amount of liquid in the tuff.

*Ts'un-ts'a* 皴擦 is a rubbing action, not done by one single stroke but built up by many small side-tip actions. It is shown on the screen in the works of Chang Feng 張風, Tai Pen-hsiao 戴本孝, Mei Ch'ing 梅清, but in the case of Chou Chih-lin 鄒之麟 and Kung Hsien 龔賢, they both use a full round brush tip with considerable amount of liquid in it. In use of fast movement the flying-white element went in, creating a dry brush effect, the same way as handling a brush work as one writes the cursive style 狂草. An artist with mastership of his brush can produce flying-white effect slowly as well as fast.

Another way of dry brush technique is used as shown on screen in the work of Hung-jen 弘仁. We may call it “拖曳”. The brush while moving is twisting and dragging, a dry effect can also appear.

In Shih-t'ao's paintings, he used 擦搨 which is really a slow process, built up by small strokes that give the dry-straw look. In the example of Yun Hsiang 惲向, his brush is wet. It produced an appearance of dryness through fast action.

Huang Kung-wang 黃公望 has a different dryness from that of Ni Tsan 倪瓚. It is interesting to compare the varied *kan-pi* 乾筆 and *k'o-pi* 渴筆 of different artists.

FU SHEN: [Editor's note: For Mr. Fu's reply, see the note at the end of the English summary to his article.]

KOHARA: I cannot say definitely because I have not seen *The Echo* yet, but for me its calligraphy looks to be very close with the Sumitomo's Album *Eight Scenes of Huang-shan* 黃山八勝, the inscription of which is one of the best standard pieces as Fu Shan mentioned. I mean it may be almost the same especially with the letters in the 6th scene of T'ang Ch'ih 湯池. I do not understand why Japanese scholars so doubted.

沈以正：剛才談到乾筆、渴筆、禿筆和焦墨的問題，我想這是一個層次上的關係，乾筆本身發展的時間比較早些，這乾筆是和濕筆相對來說的。渴筆的用墨程度可能比乾筆來得少一點，在表現筆觸方面，可能更不清楚一點，而用的次數則可能更多一點。另外一個問題就是關於歷史發展方面：為什麼在明末會發展這種繪畫？當然，剛才傅先生把元朝發展的經過說得非常清楚，就是說，主要是浙派對繪畫方面用筆不用墨特別過分，這「過分」引起了明末其他畫家一種相反的發展，這種相反的發展的早期，比如說沈周，或者文徵明，我們可以看出文徵明對乾筆的用法比沈周更透徹一點，這個發展是一步進一步的。而且，一個根本的問題是這發展與文人畫是相關的，文徵明說：「人品不高，用墨無法。」用墨如果用得不好，與人品是發生關係的。乾筆甚至枯筆能代表一個人的人格，與後來的繪畫發展有很密切的關係。因為後來「枯」同「淡」都混在一起來講，筆墨假如能夠淡雅的話，這個畫家的品格是來得比較高的，這對後來為什麼在這方面發展，我想也有關係。此外，最重要的是紙和絹的問題，早期濕筆是用絹畫的，等到用紙以後，這乾筆的技巧是越來越好，這是我個人請教大家的地方。

CHENG: The speaker has traced two problems, one is the distinction between ink and brush. He maintains that *kan-pi* started first for the development of the entire process. And the second point he tries to bring out is that because of the unusual political development, literati painting created the most important tradition in the art of this period. With this as its background the dry brush technique had been greatly developed.

## (2) 高美慶：《石濤〈畫語錄〉探源——自我觀念在藝術與自然中之凸顯》

CHENG: 高美慶博士是本校藝術系的講師，她對於畫論的研究，從這篇論文中可清楚得見。畫論本來是哲學性的東西，她分析得明確精細，從這篇論文可見。Tao-chi's art theories are well known and there is no doubt that he was a genius. But his work, theories as well as

practice can readily be understood only from the long tradition that existed before him. Dr. Kao has tried to trace it back to the T'ang period. She has illustrated to us that the central idea is *i-hua* 一畫 which can still be traced to the pre-Ch'in period. His achievement lies in the great synthesis of traditional values and the insistence on the ultimate goal of self-realization in nature and art. We have only a few minutes left, any discussions on this paper?

KOHARA: Thank you very much, Dr. Kao. I am very much interested in your study from your new point of view, but I still have some questions and I ask Mr. Shindo to translate my remarks.

SHINDO: Well, Dr. Kohara said there is a problem that Dr. Kao tried to interpret *Hua-yü-lu* 畫語錄 by limiting its source within the traditional course of Chinese art treatises. Shih-t'ao mentioned in the third chapter of the *Hua-yü-lu* that he strongly opposed to imitating old masters without discrimination. And also he mentioned in the first chapter he tried to explain the origin of painting by the traditional philosophy such as *I-ching* 易經, the Book of Changes or Lao Chuang 老莊, the "Taoist way of thinking." This is quite unique and different, exceptional from the traditional way of thinking in Chinese art treatises such as *Li-tai ming-hua chi* 歷代名畫記, in which the author tried to explain the origin of painting by the Chinese mythology. At the same time there are many difficult terms in the *Hua-yü-lu* which cannot be explained by the terminology of ordinary traditional Chinese art treatises. That can only be explained by the quotations from the Chinese classics. For instance, the eighteenth chapter of *Hua-yü-lu*, its construction is just try to copy after the *Hsiao ching* 孝經, the Book of Filial Piety. Page 6 of Dr. Kao's paper, there is the word *shen-yü* 神遇 derived from *Chuang-tzu* 莊子 (in the chapter "Yang-sheng-chu" 養生主篇) and also *chi-hua* 迹化 from *Chuang-tzu* (in the chapter "Ch'i-wu-lun" 齊物論篇). *T'o-t'ai-huan-ku* 脫胎換骨 is a word of Huang T'ing-chien (in *Leng-chai yeh-hua* 冷齋夜話 by Monk Wei-hung 釋惠洪). On p. 8, *ts'an t'ien-ti chih hua-yü* 參天地之化育 comes from *Chung-yung* 中庸, the Middle Way. On p. 11, 規矩者, 方圓之極限也, are the words of Mencius. On p. 13, *meng yang* 蒙養 is derived from *I-ching* 易經, the Book of Changes. In the period when Shih-t'ao was active, the late Ming and early Ch'ing, we can see the integration of the three philosophies—Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism—that is the concurrence of the three philosophies. His teacher, 木陳道忞 and 旅菴本月 also took the same course. The *Tao* which Shih-t'ao mentioned as the main thought of pictorial art at the Confucian way of their . . . I don't translate everything. They are all classics, I'll just skip it. His question is how Dr. Kao can explain this very convincing and persuasive treatise and connect it with the actual practice of the painting? And that's his question. That's all.

KAO: Thank you Mr. Shindo and Professor Kohara. Well, I believe that this can be separated into two problems, isn't it? The first is a comment and the second is a question. As for the first part, the philosophical basis of Tao-chi's thought has actually been extensively studied by Chinese scholars, tracing the origin or the source for Tao-chi's art theories in Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism. And this I tend to agree with Mr. and Mrs. Fu Shen in their opinion that we should also consider this treatise from the point of view of art theory, that is to reflect the development of art theory at this age and it is a continuation of the tradition. That's the reason for my attempting to explain this treatise from this angle. Whereas I thank Professor Kohara for his very erudite commentary on the sources of the terminology, I believe I mentioned in my paper that I do not wish



to be bogged down by exact terminology but to go to the spirit or the essence of the theories contained in this treatise. Thank you. As for the second question, in this meeting or in this session, I can hardly be qualified as an specialist on Tao-chi's paintings. I believe there are much better qualified scholars on hand. May I ask their opinion on this: the relationship between the paintings of Tao-chi and his art theory?

CHENG: It is rather late now. May we just limit to one comment please.

KOHARA: My manuscript is so coarse that Mr. Shindo has lost some of my comments. I hope Dr. Kao would refer to Tokyo University Professor, Fukunage's Translation. I think it is the best translation and notes of Tao-chi's *Hua-yü-lu*. I also hope that if you would like to see my short article, I'll be very happy. And I also hope that you would use some older edition, instead of modern edition. For example you quoted often from *Chung-kuo hua-lun lei-pien* edited by Yü Chien-hua 俞劍華編：中國畫論類編, that book is very useful but should not be reliable. Thank you very much.

### (3) 常宗豪：《論筆墨及氣韻》

鄭德坤：因為時間關係常先生把他這篇文章簡縮，讓我們知道他要講的要義。他用許多幻燈片來表達他的意見。諸位有甚麼可以討論的？

饒宗頤：剛才常先生所談的問題還是同傅先生一樣的。傅先生所講的可能別人還有一些意見，可能江先生亦有新的意見，請江先講一講。

江兆申：這個意見很難表示。我本來打算二點鐘以前趕回來，結果醫生拖了時間很久，我趕到的時候，剛好傅先生演講完了，他講什麼沒聽見。

鄭德坤：時間已經很晚了，大家有沒有興趣繼續討論下去？不過我們底下還要舉辦閉幕儀式。