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【第七卷·下】

绘画作品研究



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Research on The Great Series of **Badashanren**

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前言

八大山人（1626—1705），是中国艺术史上的顶尖艺术家，是对三百多年来中国绘画乃至整个中国艺术产生重要影响的人物。他的作品具有很高的艺术价值，其艺术所体现的思想也具有很高的人文价值和学术价值。

八大山人在世时，他的艺术就广有影响，郑板桥以“名满天下”来评之。清代中期以来，八大山人的艺术具有不容置疑的地位，并对近现代艺术产生了深远影响，如黄宾虹、齐白石、张大千等，都曾直接受到其智慧的影响。

近代以来，八大山人研究也渐成热门之学。以书画研究为主体，并旁及文学、哲学、美学、宗教等诸多领域。不仅在大陆和台港地区出现不少以研究八大山人名世的专家，在美国、日本、欧洲也有大量的研究作品问世，研究具有相当的深度。

这是一个复杂的研究对象。八大山人的作品素以内容的丰富性和晦涩难解而著称。他留下的文字也是如此。启功先生曾说：“八大题画的诗，几乎没有一首可以讲得清楚的。”（《我来谈谈诗书画的关系》）由于史料不足，他的生平过程也像谜一般。这样的特点，给研究者提供了很大的探索空间。

八大山人研究的诸多方面在中国艺术研究中具有典范性。中国历史上朝代更替频繁，遗民问题是艺术研究中的重要问题。八大山人是一位遗民艺术家，他的艺术带有强烈的遗民色彩，像《古梅图》之类的作品，明显存在怀念旧朝的情感。但如何把握他的遗民情怀问题，其实是一个八大山人研究中的焦点问题。如果过分强调八大山人遗民艺术家的身份，他的作品被涂上浓厚的反清复明色彩，他画中冰冷的感觉，只被解读为对清人不合作的态度，他画中鱼鸟等的古怪眼神，是对新朝的憎恨——这是一个真实的八大山人吗？

一个伟大的艺术家往往与他所处的时代有密切关系，如何恰当把握这样的关系，也是艺术史研究中会碰到的重要问题。如八大山人研究中有个“青云谱问题”。清初以来，八大山人可以说是整个江西艺术的代表，南昌青云谱，是清初建起的道观，它继承历史上道教“净明派”的思想，其营建之始，就带有反清复明的思想倾向。八大山人去世后，江西实际上存在着一个将其神化的倾向，八大山人甚至被称为“八大仙人”，他成了不少反清复明文人的思想领袖。大致从19世纪末期开始，青云谱开山道长朱道朗和八大山人被合而为一。八大山人研究界对此进行了长期热烈的讨论，这样的讨论推进了这方面研究向纵深发展。其中得失，对中国艺术史研究来说，具有重要参考价值。

作为一位文人画家，八大山人的书画创造活动具有一个宏阔的哲学宗教思想背景。

明亡以后，八大山人在寺院隐居 30 余年，大约在他 55 岁前后离开佛门，回到南昌，过着世俗生活。这里就有一个问题：八大山人对佛门的态度。这也直接涉及对其作品的理解。今天我们所见八大山人作品，大多创作于他离开佛门之后。有些论者认为，八大山人并不信奉佛学，他在佛门只是不得已的栖息。八大山人早期作品中很多内容被解释为对佛学的厌倦，中年后离开佛门被看成是实现了他的夙愿。他的很多作品被解释为抨击禅宗之作。而另有论者认为，八大山人终其一生都是一位禅宗艺术家，他的作品中体现出强烈的禅宗倾向，道禅哲学尤其是禅宗思想给他孤迥特立的艺术创造以智慧。这方面的深入探讨，为传统艺术的研究打开了一个新的天地。

一百多年来八大山人研究累积了丰厚的成果，不仅涉及对清初那个中国艺术发展重要时期的理解，也涉及对中国艺术精神的把握。八大山人虽然一生足不出江西，没有任何显赫的身份（只做过一个寺院不长时间的住持），一生生活于困窘之中，但作为艺术上的不世之才，他创造的艺术世界，包括对人生命存在价值的追寻、对艺术本质的理解，对人类文明特别是审美世界有重要影响。

我们编辑这套《八大山人研究大系》，希望汇集海内外八大山人的研究成果，全面反映八大山人的研究面貌，呈现八大山人的智慧创造，彰显本领域的研究得失，推动八大山人研究向纵深发展，并希望对中国艺术和传统文化的研究产生积极影响，从而对当今的艺术创造和文化建构产生正面作用。

江西美术出版社 2000 年曾经出版过广具影响的《八大山人全集》，该书主要呈现的是八大山人存世书画作品的面貌。十多年后，该社又组织力量，编辑出版这套《八大山人研究大系》，侧重展现八大山人研究的面貌。这两套书相伴而行，相互补充，以期给研究者和普通读者了解和研究这位伟大艺术家提供更方便的途径。尽管有此愿望，但编辑工作遇到的困难仍然不少，其中定然存在诸种不足，敬请多提宝贵意见，以完善此一工作。

本书为国家“十二五”重点出版规划图书，并列入国家出版基金的资助。在编纂过程中，得到了很多朋友的帮助，在此一并表示衷心的感谢。

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1.《八大山人研究大系》是全面反映近现代以来海内外八大山人研究状况的大型文献资料汇编，全书依研究内容分为12卷，共18册。

2.《大系》不是八大山人研究作品的全录，根据学术价值决定选入内容。个别作者论作因他故，暂不列入。

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7.收入的论作一般不会更改内容，对一些明显的错误和文字上的误植，加以修改。

8.《大系》选录研究作品的截止时间是2014年初。

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八大山人书画赏析

班宗华

1 Lotus (1665)

Bada Shanren probably began to paint during his youth as a young prince of the Yiyang branch of the Ming imperial clan in the family's traditional residence in Nanchang. His grandfather, his uncles, and his father were nearly all painters and poets. His earliest extant work, however, is the Flower Studies album in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, done during the winter of 1659-1660. By then he was a Buddhist priest living in hiding in a country ruled by the Manchus, who had destroyed his family's dynastic rule in 1644. Our knowledge of his art during the first fifty years of his life is fragmentary and scattered, but in general, throughout this period, Bada Shanren's poetry, while given to Chan illusions, is untroubled; and his paintings share the common tradition and practices of scholars from the sixteenth century into the seventeenth, especially the styles and subjects of the Suzhou area. There is some reason to think that he was familiar with the flourishing woodblock printed illustrations

of his time, which were another legacy of the late Ming period.^[1]

From the beginning, however, Bada Shanren reveals signs that he is not anyone but himself. In a leaf from the album of 1659-1660, for example, on which he painted two lumpy, mis-shaped melons, he wrote this poem:

无一无分别，

无二无二号。

吸尽西江来，

他能为汝道。

There isn't one that is not different,

There are no two that do not have two names.

If you drink up all of West River,

He can explain this to you.

(Translation by Wang Fangyu)

"He," in this case, is presumably the Buddha, Sakyamuni. The melon was a peculiar symbol of Bada Shanren's identity, for reasons that will become clear below, and his perfect awareness that the priestly robe he wore like all other monks in his order did not disguise his differences from them is surely one of the messages of his painting and poem. Elsewhere in the scattered early works we have today, Bada paints various other melons, the oddly-shaped citron known as Buddha's Hand, seed pods, and the round full moon, all images that we will learn to associate with the picture of himself he wished to convey to us. The lotus belongs to this early category of personal symbols.

The earliest and latest paintings in this exhibition, separated by forty years, are lotuses. In his later life Bada Shanren used seals and alternate names like Zaifu (In the Lotus), Heyuan (Lotus Garden), and Zaifu shanfang (Mountain Studio in the Lotus). Numerous paintings of lotus in this exhibition testify to the continuing appeal of the flower to the artist, and his poems on lotuses are among his most deeply reflective and revealing. What the lotus meant to Bada Shanren cannot be easily summarized, but undoubtedly, among the world of flowers and vegetables, small birds and animals, fish and rocks through which he defined himself lotus ponds and flowers are his special realm.

The lotus is above all a symbol of the Buddha, who sits on a lotus throne, and in whose paradise one is reborn through the petals of the lotus flower. For a man who spent thirty years of his life in hiding as a Buddhist priest and teacher, the lotus could only have been a permanent reminder of the Buddha. To be "in the lotus," as Bada Shanren liked to think of

himself was to be always within the spiritual realm of the Buddhist dharma.

Like most of the enduring symbols of Chinese culture, however, the lotus was also an emblem of Confucian thought and ideals. The Song philosopher Zhou Dunyi (1017-1073), especially, loved the lotus for both its natural and its symbolic beauty, and his essay “My Love for the Lotus” (Ailian shuo) became the standard tribute to the plant.^[2] Rising pristine and lovely from its broad, sheltering leaves, the lotus is rooted in the mud and filth of the pond, lifting itself up into the pure air. Later, in the autumn, battered by the wind, it sinks back into the water to begin anew the cycle of rebirth and growth. This journey, from filth to purity, is easily understood from both a Buddhist and a Confucian point of view, and may be said to be a metaphor of any spiritual, philosophical, or metaphysical life.

At the time he painted this album of lotuses, Bada Shanren was living within the sanctuary of the Buddhist Church, his true identity as a prince of the fallen Ming imperial house obscured. It is, in fact, a hidden image we see throughout the album, a few bits of blossoms, a flower seen from below, dark masses of shadowy leaves, clusters of form pulled toward the edges, seen partially, “as though someone had made a photograph while aiming the camera in slightly the wrong direction.”^[3]

The same features are seen elsewhere among Bada Shanren’s earliest extant works, painted while he was still a priest, most dramatically in the 1659-1660 album of flower studies. The two albums present a vivid picture of the former prince, now wearing a monk’s robe, living “in the lotus,” and beginning to find his way toward another identity, that of painter. If we try to read the life of the man in these images, we may sense that he is just beginning to emerge from hiding.

The present work is certainly among the earliest of Bada Shanren’s paintings that have survived. The names the artist uses are his Chan Buddhist name, Chuanqi, and his monk’s name, Fajue. The seals, Fajue, Ren’an, and shi Chuanqi yin, occur elsewhere on works dated 1659-1660, 1666 and 1674. The eight leaves have no obvious sequence, and may be fragmentary. We follow, for convenience, the sequence given by Suzuki.^[4] The first leaf is the most traditional, depicting a large flower growing strongly from a cluster of broad leaves and stalks, recalling the general tradition of Suzhou.^[5] The brushwork is immature, the inkwash soft and tentative. The second leaf suggests a preoccupation with the empty center, the third and the eighth an effort to balance large masses with lines across an empty center. The fourth, fifth, and sixth leaves explore the problems of finding a balance between irregular or disparate elements, bud and flower, water and lotus, willow and lotus. One leaf the seventh, which seems to depict a windswept scene like the autumnal end of the lotus cycle, may suggest that there originally was indeed a sequence.

Unusual in subject matter (we are unaware of any other album devoted to the lotus from any period in Chinese art),^[6] immature and unformed in technique, these leaves nonetheless suggest an artist beginning to seek in his art the capacity to convey those things most important to this life—memories, hopes, and emotions. The lotus will continue to appear in his art for the next forty years, and a glance ahead to the form the flower takes thirty years later will illustrate how Bada's personality emerged from the careful obscurity and half-hidden presence it reveals in the present album.

2 Poem by Qi Zhijia (1672)

During the 1670s, when he was still a priest, Bada Shanren was already engaged with secular life, and trying to confront the circumstances of his time. During that period he became a member of a literary society called the White Society, Baishe, whose other members included his young friend Qiu Lian (1644-1729), the son-in-law of the magistrate of Linchuan, Hu Yitang (died 1684), and the loyalist painter Qi Zhijia (1594-1676). The society's founder was a Ming loyalist named Feng Tuian.^[7] This poem was apparently composed by Qi Zhijia, and was written by Bada Shanren late in the winter of 1671-1672.^[8] The poem reads:

青山白社梦归时，
可但前身是画师。
记得西陵烟雨后，
最堪图取大苏诗。

In my dreams I return to the green hills, the White Society,
Perhaps in my previous life I was a painter after all.
I recall West Lake, after the clouds and rain,
The scenery would be perfect for illustrating the poems of Old Su [Su Shi].

The calligraphy is written in xingcao, or the cursive running manner, and is a remarkably close imitation of the style of Dong Qichang (1555-1636). Dong had been the preeminent calligrapher of the late Ming period, and his influence was enormous. Even the Manchu emperors emulated him. That Bada Shanren did so is not surprising, since Dong Qichang had close associations with the Ming imperial court and family. During the last several decades of his long life he had been appointed to several important ceremonial positions at court, and was advisor to two successive emperors. Those emperors were Bada Shanren's relatives, and

the Wanli emperor (1573-1620) was of the same imperial generation as Bada Shanren. Dong Qichang had been advisor to Wanli. Now he was teacher across time to the monk Chuanqi.

As Wang Fangyu has pointed out in his essay above, Bada Shanren's earliest calligraphy, beginning in the winter of 1659-1660 when we first encounter it, was done in emulation of the Tang masters, especially Ouyang Xun (557-641). In the early 1670s, however, he turned to Dong Qichang and became a master of the Dong style. Later in the seventies he began to study the Song master Huang Tingjian (1045-1105). In the late eighties, and for the remainder of his life, while exploring the cursive calligraphy of Huaisu (725-785) and other styles and masters, he went back to the great Six Dynasties calligraphers, Zhong You (151-230) and Wang Xizhi (307-365), and through transformation of them created his own distinctive style. Throughout his life Bada was a passionate student of calligraphy, studying the art and its history continuously until his death. He wrote skillfully in various forms, and assimilated much of the history of calligraphy into his own writing. His mature manner, seen in most of the later works included in this exhibition, is nonetheless totally idiosyncratic, original, and unmistakable.

Here, still early in life (at the age of about forty-six), he was just entering upon the second period of his evolution. The writing resembles not only that of Dong Qichang, but also the manner of any number of contemporaries, like Zha Shibiao (1615-1698), who also emulated Dong. It therefore possesses little individuality, but is skillful and assured. By the time Long Kebao met Bada Shanren, around 1689, he noted that, while Bada had once emulated Dong Qichang, he no longer did so.

This poem is one of the earliest examples we have of another practice of the artist that would continue through the remainder of his life, the custom of writing favorite poems (and other texts) by other writers. Qi Zhijia was an older contemporary, and a Ming loyalist, like Bada Shanren. Later Bada would copy the writing of another older Ming loyalist, Huang Daozhou (1585-1646). From the remote past he found poems and essays that reflected his own mind and life, and wrote them as if to reflect from within his own mind their content and associations. In this case, Qi Zhijia's poem, about the White Society to which Bada belonged, about writing poetry and painting, and about the green mountains and the wind and the rain of West Lake, seems inseparable from Bada's own experiences and memories.

What is most telling about the artist's life in hiding at this difficult time is that he used the calligraphic style of another calligrapher to write the poem of another poet.

3 Flowers and Insects (1683)

The three albums painted by Bada Shanren from 1683 to 1684, and now in the collections of The Art Museum, Princeton University, Kanaoka Yuzo, and Chen Wen Hsi, comprise a total of thirty paintings and twenty-five poems. They represent one of the most significant groups of works ever done by the artist, and one of the single largest groups of paintings and poems from any period in his life. They testify to the turmoil of his life, thought, and emotions in the period from 1680 to 1684. At the beginning of this period, Bada Shanren was still a Buddhist priest, as he had been for over thirty years; by the end of it he had left the priesthood and returned to secular life, had probably married, unhappily, and had assumed the name Bada Shanren, by which he would identify himself for the remainder of his life.

The Princeton album was dated by Wen Fong to 1681, but it bears some of the same names and seals as the Kanaoka album of 1683, which is probably close in date to the latter. As Fong has described it, in this collection of flower paintings Bada Shanren “satirizes the Kang-hsi emperor’s policy of recruiting scholars, mocks office-holders as prostitutes, and broods over his own fate.”^[9] That an album of traditional flower paintings could be used in so pointedly political a way is unprecedented, as is the barely suppressed satirical anger and mockery of the artist’s language. The technique of the paintings matches this tone, and is often harsh and raw.

The first leaf depicts magnolia flowers, dark vertical blossoms growing up from a horizontal branch painted with a torn and jagged line. The poem is concerned with success in the examination system:

是笔摇春思，
平明梦作花。
判官把（？）不定，
金马赋谁家。

This magnolia stirs thoughts of spring,
At dawn the dream becomes a flower.
The judge is unable to decide,
To whom shall the golden horse be given?^[10]

Golden Horse Gate had been a metaphor of a successful literary-official career since

the Han dynasty, when Dongfang Shuo (c. 161-187 B.C.) received appointment there from Emperor Wu (r. 141-187 B.C.). The golden horse may also be extended to refer to the prize of success in the examination system through which official careers began. Especially after the boxue hongci of 1679, many of Bada's friends and acquaintances were keenly hopeful of competing successfully in the examinations, and in 1681 Qiu Lian went to Beijing for that purpose (he failed). With the end of the Revolt of the Three Feudatories in 1681 and the occupation of Formosa in 1683, more Chinese resigned themselves to reality, and began to pursue thoughts of an official career. Both Bada Shanren and Qiu Lian belonged to a society, the White Society, that both sustained the old loyalists like Bada and helped younger scholars like Qiu Lian prepare for the examinations. Bada's position ranged from support of his friends to refusal to cooperate in any way with the Manchus.

A hydrangea bush, with three flower balls, is the subject of the second leaf. Again the poem refers to a successful career:

人打球来马打球，
年年二月百花洲。
百花二月春风暮，
谁共美人楼上头。

People playing ball, horses playing ball,
Year after year, in the second month, at the Isle of a Hundred Flowers.
At Hundred Flowers, in the second month, in the spring winds at evening,
Who will accompany the lovely lady up into her pavilion?

The Isle of a Hundred Flowers (*Baihuazhou*) was the site of the examination hall in Nanchang, which was rebuilt in 1681.^[11] It was also a public park, and an area for picnicking and playing games, like polo. A seventeenth-century porcelain dish illustrates exactly the scene set in the last two lines, as a successful young degree winner looks up from his horse at the numerous beauties who beckon him from their chambers.^[12]

Bada Shanren enters a note of typical humor by pairing the round balls of the hydrangea, called "embroidered ball flower" in Chinese, with the image of the ball-playing people and horses in spring, the season also of examinations.

An orchid pendant, *lan pei*, was a symbol of office in ancient China, and is referred to in the poem accompanying the painting of orchids on the third leaf: