

THE GRAND TREASURE SERIES OF NANJING MUSEUM

南京博物院珍藏大系

# 清代扬州绘画

南京博物院 编著

江苏凤凰美术出版社

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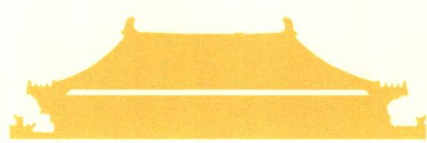
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责任编辑 毛晓剑  
郭 渊  
王 煦  
装帧设计 王 俊  
无 我  
审 读 倪培翔  
责任校对 吕猛进  
责任监印 贲 炜  
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## 总序

坐落于紫金山南麓的南京博物院，前身是1933年4月由蔡元培先生（1868—1940）倡议成立的国立中央博物院筹备处。经过几代博物馆人的艰苦努力，南京博物院如今已收藏文物42万余件，藏品的征集和保护形成制度，藏品的研究和利用彰显成效，服务公众的手段和能力有了长足的发展，业已成为享誉海内外的知名博物馆。

### 一

1933年10月5日，时国民政府中央政治会议第377次会议决议，将原藏于奉天、热河行宫，后归内政部所属古物陈列所的南迁文物，全部划给中央博物院作为基本藏品，这是中央博物院筹备处成立后入藏的第一批文物。鉴于当时中央博物院院舍尚未落成，行政院令故宫博物院代为保存。其后，中央博物院又购进福建闽侯何叙甫（1887—1968）“绘园”、广东东莞容庚（1894—1983）“颂斋”、安徽庐江刘晦之（1879—1962）“善斋”等古物2000余件。在购进的同时，还接收了瑞典人斯文·赫定（1865—1952）、国立中央研究院动植物研究所的大宗文物和标本。1936年，原属中央研究院的北平历史博物馆连同其收藏的文物一同并入中央博物院。至此，中央博物院的藏品已初具规模。

早在1931年“九一八”事变后，北方局势动荡，国民政府即谋文物南迁对策。1933年2月至5月，将北平国立故宫博物院、古物陈列所以及国子监、颐和园等处的重要文物南迁，暂存上海。1936年8月，南京朝天宫库房建成，12月南迁文物自上海转运至南京朝天宫保存。1937年“七七”事变后，南京告急，保存在南京的故宫南迁文物和中央博物院院藏文物奉命西迁（又称内迁），分三批向后方疏散，中央博物院的王文林、尹焕章（1909—1969）等人参与其中，其间辗转万里，历时两年，经皖、赣、鄂、陕、湘、桂、滇、黔、川数省，将文物安全保存在四川的乐山、李庄、峨眉，贵州的安顺等地。在这颠沛流离的艰辛过程中，中央博物院同仁突破千难万阻，历经千辛万苦，无私忘我地奉献，圆满地完成了保护国宝的任务。

在烽火弥漫的抗战岁月，中央博物院的前辈们在异常艰苦的条件下仍不忘自己的职责，进行着卓有成效的工作，通过考古发掘、民族调查等多种途径征集文物。李济（1896—1979）、吴金鼎（1901—1948）、曾昭燏（1909—1964）、夏鼐（1910—1985）、陈明达（1914—1997）、赵青芳（1912—1994）等人发掘了四川彭山崖墓，获得了大批汉代文物；中央博物院与中央研究院史语所等联合组建了西北科学考察团，在敦煌、玉门关等地进行科学考察，发掘了甘肃宁定阳洼湾齐家文化墓地等；以马长寿（1907—1971）、凌纯声（1902—1981）为团长的川康民族考察团在西南地区进行了历史遗迹、民族民俗、语言文字、民间手工业等的调查，并征集了苗族服饰、纳西族东巴经、藏族唐卡等大量的民族文物，成为如今南京博物院最有特色的藏品之一。

抗战胜利后，国民政府还都南京。1946年10月29日，行政院第765次会议再次重申“古物陈列所文物之已经移至南京者仍照中央政治会议成案拨交中央博物院”。12月，中央博物院筹备处将西迁于四川的文物全部安全运回南京，至此，在外避难长达10年之久的文物终于“回家”。

1947年1月，时断时续、开工已11年的中央博物院建筑工程按原设计进行。1948年底，第一期工程基本完工——这就是如今的南京博物院历史陈列馆。国立中央博物院进入了自成立以来的第一个相对稳定的发展阶段，在文物的收藏



方面也取得了较好成果，不仅购买了大量的珍贵文物和图书，还接收了中央研究院史语所安阳殷墟考古学标本、上海和平博物馆藏品和汪精卫（1883—1944）等汉奸寓所文物等。特别值得一提的是，当时国立中央博物院还接受了许多政府和社会捐赠，如著名的司母戊大方鼎、毛公鼎、徐王义楚解等珍贵文物都是那个时期入藏的。

1948 年秋，国内战争形势发生重大变化，国民政府决定精选文物珍品运往台湾，年底，第一批文物箱件由海军载运驶离南京，次年，第二、三批文物亦运抵台湾。运台文物中，国立中央博物院筹备处文物计有 852 箱，多为精品，其中包括大量的殷墟卜辞和大名鼎鼎的毛公鼎。1949 年后，保存于南京朝天宫库房的大部分故宫南迁文物分三次运返北京，其余部分仍庋藏于南京博物院。

## 二

南京解放不久的 1949 年 5 月 7 日，南京军事管制委员会接管国立中央博物院筹备处。1950 年 3 月 9 日，国立中央博物院筹备处依中华人民共和国文化部令更名为国立南京博物院，属文化部文物事业管理局管理。1952 年 7 月 27 日，南京博物院琉璃瓦建筑工程竣工，真正展现出历史陈列馆的雄伟风貌。之后，尽管南京博物院的隶属关系、性质和任务不断发生变化，但在其指导下的藏品建设始终作为一项重要工作开展，并取得了不菲的业绩。

作为国立中央博物院的传承者，南京博物院除承接上述中央博物院征集文物，北平古物陈列所拨交宫廷文物，北平历史博物馆归并文物，前辈学人在西南、西北、中原等地的考古发掘品和民族学考察所得文物外，自 1959 年 3 月与江苏省博物馆合署办公后，还接收了民国时期位于苏州的江苏省博物馆的丰富馆藏。从 20 世纪 50 年代始，南京博物院也曾先后奉令调拨、借调给故宫博物院、中国历史博物馆等大量的珍贵文物。

回顾建院 70 余年，南京博物院的文物故事大致分为前后两个阶段。中央博物院的 17 年可以说是以保护、收藏国宝为主的典藏阶段，而中华人民共和国成立后的 60 年则进入发挥其学术、教育、文化功能的发展阶段。在充分发挥文物价值的原则下，南京博物院的文物藏品不断充实、丰富。

新中国成立 60 年来，南京博物院的文物主要来源于以下几个方面：

### （一）考古发掘

60 年来，南京博物院在江苏境内乃至华东地区进行了大量的考古发掘，入藏了一大批具有地域特色的出土文物精品，极大地丰富了南京博物院的馆藏。建国初期，南京博物院主持了南唐二陵发掘、六朝陵墓调查，以及山东沂南汉画像墓、安徽寿县春秋时代蔡侯墓等考古发掘工作，还奉命派人到郑州协助发掘商代城址，都取得了良好成果。之后在江苏境内发掘了淮安青莲岗、无锡仙蠡墩、南京北阴阳营、邳县刘林和大墩子等重要遗址，发掘了丹徒烟墩山宜侯矢簋墓、南京东晋砖印“竹林七贤及荣启期”壁画墓、东晋王氏家族墓地王兴之与王献之墓等重要墓葬。通过考古发掘，南京博物院得到的旧石器时代文物主要有马陵山脉、宁镇山脉、太湖地区的旧石器及动物化石；新石器时代文物有马家浜文化、崧泽文化、北阴阳营文化、良渚文化、青莲岗文化、大汶口文化和龙山文化的石器、玉器、陶器、骨角器等；商周时期文物有吴越青铜器等。而汉代玉器、六朝青瓷、明清瓷器均不乏精品。

通过 60 年来的调查、发掘，南京博物院获得的文物不仅丰富了馆藏，还有其重要意义：第一，对江苏地区的文化面貌及其与邻近省区古代文化的相互关系，提供了可靠的材料，也提出了若干论断；第二，为重现古代江苏历史提供了丰富的物质文化资料，补充了以往历史科学研究中的空白点；第三，近年来一些有目的的抢救性征集和系统性征集对保护、保存一些重要的物质文明资料产生了不可忽视的作用。

### （二）收购

历年来，南京博物院利用国家下拨的专款通过各种途径收购文物，一是收集散落民间的文物，由收藏者提供或江苏省文物总店收购后捐赠移交；二是从民间藏家的收藏中批量征集，主要是成套的组合文物；三是从全国各文物商店协调收购，特别注重文物在某一专题下的配套组合；四是从拍卖公司购进精品文物，拾遗补阙。收购的文物，既有出土品，也有传世品；既有古代文物，也有近现代文物，还包括大量的民俗文物和少数民族文物。近年来随着改革开放的深入以



及文物艺术品市场的逐步放开，南京博物院开始通过市场主动出击，征购亟待补充的文物。

### （三）社会捐赠

公民个人积极向博物馆捐赠文物，可视为是对社会的有益贡献和文物的最好归宿。60 年来，接受社会捐赠成为除考古发掘、移交、收购之外，南京博物院入藏文物的又一重要途径。

20 世纪 90 年代以前，是以接受大量的无偿捐赠为主。在南京博物院文物收藏史上，永远铭记着庞元济（1864—1949）家属、陈之佛（1898—1962）家属、傅抱石（1904—1965）家属、吴湖帆（1894—1968）、魏今非（1903—1983）、吴白匋（1906—1992）、钱镜塘（1910—1983）、荣毅仁（1916—2005）等一系列捐赠者的名字。正是他们的拳拳报国之心，才成就了南京博物院今天的丰富馆藏。近年来，在服务公众理念的支撑下，我们大力提倡、鼓励捐赠，精心做好收藏、研究、展览、出版等相关服务，同时亦以联合办展的方法来收藏作品，使藏品原所有者和博物院在社会影响、社会效益方面获得双赢。2007 年 1 月，傅抱石先生子女将珍藏的一批傅抱石写生画稿、著述手稿、自用印章等文物捐献给国家，入藏南京博物院。这批作品无论是艺术价值还是文献价值，都极其珍贵，它们连同 1979 年罗时慧女士捐献的 365 件傅氏画作，组成了南京博物院最具特色的专题藏品之一。南京博物院由此成为国内外收藏傅抱石作品最多的单位，傅抱石捐赠作品专题展览也成为社会各界向往的重要展览。为此，南京博物院设立专题展馆，分专题定期展出傅抱石作品，提供服务社会的精神文化产品，发挥其应有的社会效益。

## 三

目前，南京博物院院藏文物资源不仅数量众多，而且独具特色，既有全国性的，又有江苏地域性的；既有宫廷传世品，又有考古发掘品。这 42 万件文物，可以说是一座巨大的中华民族文化艺术宝库，历朝历代，均有珍品佳作。其文物品类一应俱全，青铜、玉石、陶瓷、金银器皿、竹木牙角、漆器、丝织刺绣、书画、印玺、碑刻造像等等，每一品种，又自成历史系列，成为数千年中华文明历史发展最为直接的见证。这批藏品既是我们从事学术研究的前提条件，也是文化服务的物质基础，是南京博物院巨大的文化资源和文化资产。

2001 年，国际博物馆协会第 20 次大会在西班牙巴塞罗那通过章程，认为“博物馆是以研究、展示、欣赏为目的并征集、保护、研究、传播和展出人类环境的物证的，为社会及其发展服务的、向大众开放的、非盈利的永久性（固定性）机构”，大会强调了博物馆服务社会与公众的目的。所以，随着新时期博物馆服务社会公众宗旨认识的深化，南京博物院及时提出了服务公众与科学研究的长远目标和工作方向，把文物藏品的研究、利用以及如何为社会公众服务，当作当前的主要任务。

如果将文物束之高阁，人们就无法了解文物的社会价值、欣赏文物的美，博物馆也无法充分地综合利用文物资源。为了更好地与世人共享这批文化珍宝，更好地服务社会公众，我们在近年展览实践的基础上，开始酝酿比较全面而系统地介绍南京博物院院藏文物的出版工程，积极实施创意文化产品的计划，并称其为“南京博物院文物珍藏大系”。“珍藏大系”采取精选法，将那些最具典型性、代表性的文物集中起来，以专题的形式对藏品资源进行整合，使其集学术性、资料性和观赏性于一体。“珍藏大系”的编辑与出版，一则为社会公众提供合适的文化产品，二则为学术界提供第一手的研究材料，将更充分地发挥南京博物院院藏文物资源的应有价值，期望能在弘扬民族文化、推广社会教育方面发挥积极作用。

我们相信，打造值得推广的系列文化产品，直观地向社会公众介绍南京博物院的文物资源是一项有意义的工作。它意味着，我们不仅将前辈学人历尽艰辛保存征集的文化遗存承接下来，还将认真地研究、有效地利用，这是我们这代人义不容辞的责任与义务。相信它不仅能为服务公众与加强科研增添实际内容，也必将为南京博物院的长远发展提供推动力！

南京博物院院长 龚 良

2009 年 11 月



# The Grand Treasure Series of Nanjing Museum Preface

Situated at the southern foot of the Zijin Mountain, Nanjing Museum could be traced back to the Preparatory Office of the State Central Museum set up in April 1933 at the instance of Mr. Cai Yuanpei (1868-1940). Thanks to the strenuous efforts by generations of museum staff members, Nanjing Museum has evolved into a highly-regarded museum with domestic and world renown, housing more than 420,000 cultural relics. The collection and preservation of relics has been institutionalized and tremendous progress made in the research and utilization of these artifacts with the museum's capacity and means of serving the public being markedly improved.

## I

On Oct.5 1933, a decision was reached at the 377th meeting of the Central Political Conference, whereby all the cultural relics relocated to south China (previously housed in palace compounds at Fengtian and Rehe before being moved to the Exhibition Center for Cultural Relics under the Ministry of the Interior) were handed over to the Central Museum. As the first arrivals at the Preparatory Office of the Central Museum following its establishment, these cultural relics helped lay the cornerstone of its collections. Since construction of the facilities of the Central Museum was not yet complete, these cultural relics were temporarily placed under the care of the Palace Museum on the orders of the Executive Yuan. Later, the Central Museum further enriched its collections by purchasing upwards of 2000 cultural relics from the "Hui Garden"(situated at Minhou, Fujian and owned by He Xufu 1887-1968), the "Songzhai Library"(situated at Dongguan, Guangdong and owned by Rong Geng 1894-1983) and the "Shanzhai Library"(situated at Lujiang, Anhui and owned by Liu Huizhi 1879-1962). Besides, the museum also took over large quantities of cultural relics as well as specimens, which used to be the collections of Sven Hedin, a Swedish national (1865-1952), and the Research Institute of Fauna and Flora under the State Central Research Academy. The year of 1936 witnessed the Historical Museum of Peiping and its collections (previously under the Central Research Academy) being incorporated into the Central Museum, which had by then built a sizable treasure house.

As north China was plunged into a shambles following the 9/18 Incident in 1931, the southward relocation of cultural relics was put on the agenda of the nationalist government. From February to May of 1933, major relics housed at the Palace Museum, the Exhibition Center for Cultural Relics, the Imperial Academy and the Summer Palace had been moved southward and found temporary shelter in Shanghai. These collections were later shipped to the Chaotian Palace in Nanjing in December 1936 after storage facilities there were completed in August. In the wake of the 7/7 Incident in 1937, Nanjing was thrown into a precarious situation and the collections of the Palace Museum and the Central Museum were evacuated in three installments to west China (the Chinese hinterland away from the frontline). Wang Wenlin, Yin Huanzhang (1909-1969) and their colleagues at the Central Museum were involved in the two-year relocation efforts, covering around ten thousand miles through Anhui, Jiangxi, Hubei, Shanxi, Hunan, Guangxi, Yunnan, Guizhou and Sichuan before escorting the cultural relics safely to their final destinations of Leshan, Lizhuang and Emei in Sichuan and Anshun in Guizhou. Throughout the tortuous and miserable journey, the staff of the Central Museum made selfless sacrifices and overcame all sorts of difficulties and hardships, bringing their mission of protecting the national treasures to a complete success.

During the tumultuous years of the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression, our predecessors at the Central Museum faithfully fulfilled their responsibilities in defiance of the wretched conditions, collecting cultural relics by conducting archaeological excavations and ethnic surveys, which led to exceptional achievements. Concerted efforts by Li Ji (1896-1979), Wu Jinding (1901-1948), Zeng Zhaoyu (1909-1964), Xia Nai (1910-1985), Chen Mingda (1914-1997) and



Zhao Qingfang (1912-1994) culminated in the excavation of the cliff grave at Pengshan, which yielded a wealth of Han relics. The scientific research task force set up jointly by the Central Museum and the Institute of History and Philology under the Central Research Academy conducted extensive field research at Dunhuang, Yumen Pass, among other locations in northwest China, which brought to light Qijia Culture characterized by the graves at Yangwawan, Ningding County, Gansu. The Chuan-Kang Ethnic Research Contingent led by Ma Changshou (1907-1971) and Ling Chunsheng (1902-1981) carried out probes into historical relics, ethnic groups and customs, spoken and written languages and the folk handicraft industry in southwest China, where they managed to collect large quantities of ethnic artifacts and cultural relics, ranging from Miao costumes, the Dongba scripture of the Naxi nationals to Tibetan Thangkas. All these finds constitute the most intriguing and unique collections of Nanjing Museum.

Having won the war against the Japanese, the nationalist government returned to Nanjing. On Oct.29 1946, the 765th meeting of the Executive Yuan reaffirmed the decision to "hand over to the Central Museum the collections of the Exhibition Center for Cultural Relics relocated to Nanjing in accordance with the Central Political Conference resolution". In December of the same year, the Preparatory Office of the Central Museum brought back to Nanjing all the cultural relics which had been evacuated westward to Sichuan. With the cultural relics finally returning home and the restoration work completed, the ten-year history of shelter-seeking and displacement from their former havens drew to a close.

In January 1947, construction of the Central Museum which had continued on and off for eleven years was restarted based on the original design. By the end of 1948, the first phase of the project—today's History Exhibition Hall of Nanjing Museum—was completed, which marked the beginning of the first stage of stable development of the Central Museum since its establishment. Remarkable progress was made in the collection of cultural relics, ranging from large amounts of rare artifacts and books the museum had bought to archaeological specimens unearthed by the Institute of History and Philology at the Yin Ruins and the collections of Shanghai Museum for Peace and notorious traitors like Wang Jingwei (1883-1944). Noteworthy is that a considerable share of the Central Museum's collections were contributed by the public and private sectors, including the Simuwu Rectangle Ding, the Maogong Ding, the drinking vessel of King Yichu of Xu and other celebrated cultural treasures.

The situation of the civil war took a dramatic turn in the fall of 1948 and the nationalist government decided to ship cargoes of selected cultural relics to Taiwan. By the end of the year, the first shipment departed Nanjing on board naval yessels and the second and third installments arrived in Taiwan in the following year. Among them were 852 cases of cultural relics kept by the Preparatory Office of the Central Museum, most of which were the cream of its collections, including the Maogong Ding and large quantities of inscribed oracle bones excavated at the Yin Ruins. Since 1949, the majority of the cultural relics relocated from the Palace Museum to the Chaotian Palace in Nanjing were sent back to Beijing in three installments, with the remainder stored at Nanjing Museum.

## II

Shortly after the liberation of Nanjing, the military regulatory commission of Nanjing took over the Preparatory Office of the Central Museum on May 7 1949. On March 9 1950, the Preparatory Office was renamed Nanjing Museum by the Ministry of Culture of the PRC and placed under its Administration of Cultural Relics. With the laying of glazed tiles completed on July 27 1952, the History Exhibition Hall of Nanjing Museum took on a grandiose and stately splendor. Though the museum had since been placed under different authorities with its identity and missions being changed several times, collection-building has remained one of its top priorities all along and extraordinary achievements have been made in this regard.

As the successor to the Central Museum, Nanjing Museum took over all the cultural relics previously housed at the Central Museum, along with the court relics handed over by the Exhibition Center for Cultural Relics and those originally owned by the History Museum of Peiping. Besides, archaeological finds and relics collected by elder scholars over the course of archaeological excavations and ethnic surveys in the southwest, northwest and the Central Plains also made their way into Nanjing Museum. Following its merger with the Provincial Museum of Jiangsu (based in Nanjing during the ROC years) in March 1959, Nanjing Museum came into the latter's abundant collections. Since the 1950s, large amounts of precious relics have been loaned or transferred by Nanjing Museum on government orders to the Palace Museum and the Museum of Chinese History.

Looking back on the 70-plus years of history of Nanjing Museum, we may generally divide its course of development into two stages. The first stage spanning seventeen years was marked by the Central Museum's efforts in



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protecting and collecting national treasures. During the second stage, has been lasting sixty years since the founding of the PRC, the priority has been switched to turning the museum into a venue for academic research, public education and cultural enlightenment. The collections of Nanjing Museum have been continuously enriched and diversified as its workers staunchly commit themselves to bringing the values of cultural relics into full play.

Over the past sixty years since the founding of the New China, Nanjing Museum has been building its collections by the following means:

### **1. Conducting Archaeological Excavations**

The past sixty years have witnessed Nanjing Museum undertaking a great number of archaeological excavations in Jiangsu and east China at large, which yielded a wealth of fabulous cultural relics bearing features unique to their locations. These finds added significantly to the museum's collections. In the early days since the founding of the PRC, Nanjing Museum played a leading role in the excavation of the two mausoleums of the South Tang Dynasty, the survey of the tombs dating back to the Six Dynasties, the unearthing of tombs of the Han Dynasty containing stone sculptures at Yinan, Shandong, and the excavation of the tomb of Marquis Cai of the Spring and Autumn Period at Shouxiang County, Anhui. Besides, it dispatched some of its staff at the request of relevant authorities to Zhengzhou to help with the excavation of the city relics of the Shang Dynasty. All these activities produced impressive finds. Moreover, the museum was also credited with the unearthing of significant relics at Qingliangang of Huai'an, Xianlidun of Wuxi, Beiyinyangying of Nanjing, Liulin and Dadunzi of Pixian County, etc. Other excavations include the tomb of Marquis Yi at Yandun Mountain, Dantu (featuring a gui, a round-mouthed food vessel with two or four loop handles), the tomb of the North Jin Dynasty at Nanjing (containing the brick sculptures titled "the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove and Rong Qiqi), the graves of Wang Xingzhi and Wang Xianzhi in the cemetery of the Wangs of the North Jin Dynasty. Thanks to these archaeological excavations, extraordinary relics have been brought to light, including artifacts and animal fossils of the Paleolithic Age around the Maling Mountains, the Ningzhen Mountains and Taihu Lake, artifacts made of stone, jade, animal bones and horns and pottery characterizing Majiabang Culture, Songze Culture, Beiyinyangying Culture, Liangzhu Culture, Qingliangang Culture, Dawenkou Culture and Longshan Culture of the Neolithic Age, bronzeware of Wu and Yue (dating back to the Shang and Zhou dynasties), jade ware of the Han Dynasty, celadon ware of the Six Dynasties and ceramics of the Ming and Qing dynasties (many of which are of a dazzling fineness).

The archaeological surveys and excavations conducted by Nanjing Museum over the past sixty years not only contributed enormously to its collections but also proved of incalculable value in the following terms: First, they furnished reliable materials and evidence which shed light on the local culture of Jiangsu and its nexus with ancient cultures of the neighboring provinces and led to quite a few important academic findings. Second, these activities yielded an abundance of tangible cultural leads essential to reconstructing the ancient history of Jiangsu and filling the void in historical studies; Third, systematic efforts aimed at collecting and rescuing specific relics were of great value in protecting and preserving material cultural treasures of significance.

### **2. Making Purchases**

Thanks to the special funds allocated by the government, Nanjing Museum has been able to purchase cultural relics through a variety of channels over the years. Some relics in private possession were either donated by their collectors or bought by the Provincial Antique Store of Jiangsu (headquarters) and handed over to the museum. In some other instances, cultural relics, especially those making up a distinctive series, were collected from their private owners in a wholesale manner. The third approach involved making concerted efforts with antique stores nationwide to purchase cultural relics, with special attention being paid to those featuring a common theme. The fourth approach focused on the purchase of extraordinary cultural relics from auction houses to complement the museum's collections. Cultural relics obtained in this way range from unearthed artifacts to heirlooms handed down by the old generations. Some date back to ancient times while others are creations of modern and contemporary ages. Cultural relics purchased by Nanjing Museum also include large quantities of folk relics and those unique to ethnic minorities. With the deepening of the reform drive and the relaxation of controls on the market for cultural relics and artistic works, Nanjing Museum becomes more vigorous and market-oriented in its bid to select and purchase cultural relics urgently needed to enrich its collections.

### **3. Collecting Donations from the Private Sector**

By donating cultural relics to museums—the best caretakers of these treasures—individual citizens are making salutary contributions to the society. Sixty years have elapsed and cultural relics donated by their private owners have by far constituted a sizable share of Nanjing Museum's collections, which also encompass unearthed artifacts and those relics it purchased or took over from other sources.

Before the 1990s, donations were given to Nanjing Museum in large quantities. Donors including Wu Hufan (1894–1968), Wei Jinfei (1903–1983), Wu Baitao (1906–1992), Qian Jingtang (1910–1983), Rong Yiren (1916–2005) and the families of Pang Yuanji (1864–1949), Chen Zhifo (1898–1962), and Fu Baoshi (1904–1965) have gone down in the history



of the museum for their dedication to the service of the motherland. Without their contributions, the museum would never have built up such many and varied collections. In recent years, we've been vigorously promoting the notion of serving the general public and advocating for private donations. Great importance has been attached to the collection, research, exhibition of cultural relics and the publication work. In the meantime, joint exhibitions are being held with the original owners, which have produced a positive social effect and led to a win-win situation for both the museum and the owners in terms of social benefits. In January 2007, the offspring of Mr. Fu Baoshi donated to the state a collection of Mr. Fu's sketches, manuscripts and seals which they'd been holding dear. These donations, along with the 365 paintings by Fu contributed by his wife, Mrs. Luo Shihui, in 1979, are valued not only as artistic works but also as precious archives and became one of the most distinctive theme collections of Nanjing Museum. Now the museum boasts the largest collection of Fu's works home and abroad. An exhibition hall is devoted to these donations where displays are being held regularly of selected Fu's works in different series. As cultural products serving the spiritual needs of the public and important exhibitions admired by all quarters, they are making their due contributions to the social benefits.

### III

Today Nanjing Museum is home to large quantities of cultural relics with either national features or those unique to Jiangsu. Among them are not only heirlooms of the court but also relics uncovered in archaeological excavations. The 420,000 cultural relics housed here constitute an enormous treasure trove of the culture and art of the Chinese nation with each and every dynasty having its own defining works of exceptional fineness. The collections cover a great variety, ranging from bronzeware, jade ware, porcelain, silver and gold ware, lacquerware, artifacts made of bamboo, wood, ivory and horn to embroidered silk fabrics, calligraphic works, paintings, seals, sculptures and inscribed tablets. Every single category features a coherent historical lineage, a unique testament to the historical development of the Chinese civilization over thousands of years. As cultural resources and assets of an enormous size, these collections provide fertile ground for the academic research and prove an inexhaustible material source of cultural services.

In 2001, statutes were passed at the 20th meeting of the International Council of Museums (ICOM) held in Barcelona, which recognized the museum as "a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment". Museums were identified by the meeting as institutions in the service of society and the public. As the understanding of the purpose and functions of museums in the new era deepens, Nanjing Museum wasted no time in establishing the long-term goals and agenda for better serving the general public and conducting academic research, giving the top priority to the research and utilization of cultural relics for the public good.

Should access be denied to cultural relics, the public would be unable to recognize their social and aesthetic values and museums would find it hard to make full and integrated use of these resources. To better serve the society and introduce these cultural treasures to more of the general public, we've been working on publications designed to make a comprehensive and systematic presentation of our collections on the basis of those exhibitions held in recent years and vigorously pressing ahead with a program for the promotion of creative cultural products collectively known as the "Grand Treasure Series of Nanjing Museum". Cultural relics most characteristic of their categories were sorted out and assembled into different series, which is an integrated use of our collections facilitating the study and appreciation of the cultural heritage and may be kept as archives. The compilation and publication of the "Grand Treasure Series" would not only provide the public with a healthy cultural diet but also furnish the academic community with first-hand research materials. The values of the cultural relics housed at Nanjing Museum would therefore be brought into full play and it is hoped that these publications would play a positive role in promoting the national culture and social education.

We believe that it is a worthy cause to promote a series of cultural products and expose the general public to Nanjing Museum's collections of cultural relics which would be visually presented. These series of publications epitomize our efforts in carrying on the cultural heritage and material treasures acquired and well preserved by our predecessors as well as our commitment to the earnest research and effective utilization of them, which is seen as our unshirkable responsibilities. They would not only well serve the needs of the general public and give a strong boost to academic research but also act as a driving force for the long-term development of Nanjing Museum.

Mr. Gong Liang  
Curator of Nanjing Museum  
November, 2009



# 清代扬州绘画风格变迁综论

万新华

## 绪言

扬州，古称“邗”、“广陵”、“江都”等，唐武德八年（625）得享“扬州”专名。清初辖高邮、泰州、通州、江都、仪征、泰兴、兴化、宝应、如皋九邑，府治在江都。

自隋代大运河开通以来，扬州作为运河与长江的交汇处和漕粮、海盐等物资中转站，不断从交通的改良中获益，成为南北水陆交通要津，获得了作为商业凌驾于农业之上的声誉。随着时间的推移，它成了一个地区间乃至国际贸易的中心，吸引了来自亚洲腹地和西部的大量商人。盛唐时期，扬州雄富冠天下，时有“扬一益二”之称，至宋则享“淮左名都”之号。明中期以来，随着越来越多的徽商蜂拥而至，扬州城逐渐扩大，城市人口逐渐膨胀，商业经济不断繁荣，都市文艺日益兴盛。

所谓“故人西辞黄鹤楼，烟花三月下扬州”，所谓“天下三分明月夜，二分无赖是扬州”，扬州城到处充溢着文艺的气息，吸引着众多文人骚客、无数风雅俊才接踵而来。<sup>[1]</sup>唐代杜牧（803-852）有《遣怀》诗云：“落魄江南载酒行，楚腰肠断掌中轻。十年一觉扬州梦，赢得青楼薄幸名！”浪漫的扬州城为一大批才华横溢的文人名士提供了充分展示的人生舞台。他们歌着、舞着、癫狂着，以其独具魅力的表演充分展现着自己的才华。宋庆历八年（1048），欧阳修（1007-1072）知扬州，构筑平山堂，与友人诗酒雅集。由此，平山堂之美名传扬天下，成为扬州的城市文化名片。

明清易代，扬州成了文采风流与慷慨节烈并耀齐芳之地。顺治二年（1645）四月，清军围攻扬州，以督师大学士史可法（1601-1645）为首的南明军民进行了顽强的抵抗，繁华的扬州城遭遇了一次史无前例的劫难，扬州居民也付出了惨痛的代价。城破之际，许多文人士绅纷纷自杀殉节，更有画工、小贩甚至乞丐等庶民纷纷自刎、投河殉城。清军则对守城百姓进行了连续十天的报复性大掠杀，扬州成为清兵屠戮汉人的标志城市。作为商业城市的扬州在失陷之时，自明成化、弘治年间东南盐政制度之后所有的经济积累几乎被消耗殆尽，城市建筑也大都毁于战火，成了著名的“芜城”。<sup>[2]</sup>

清初，扬州代表着一段衰亡的历史、一个没落的王朝。清兵犯下的暴行使得这座城市成为一个政治象征。很多遗民布衣隐居于此，文人学士常常借用“芜城”来描写昔日热闹繁华、而今满目残芜的扬州来抒写心中的兴亡之感和家国之痛，他们将扬州双重的文化遗产巧妙地与明清鼎革的现实联系起来。在大多数人的心目中，城市昔日的繁华与今日的凋敝荒芜形成鲜明的对比，由此引发了强烈的共鸣。“这座对文人学士们来说本无特别意义的城市，在清初吸引了他们的注意。劫难之后，商业贸易中心和政治中心都成为文人学士丰富想象的空间。”<sup>[3]</sup>

顺治、康熙两朝的扬州，一切都处于重建或是初建的变动之中，包括商业经济和都市文化。江苏仪征人李斗（1749-1817）所著《扬州画舫录》中描写的大量豪华的城市景象，实际上几乎全部源于清初的重新建设。顺治四年（1647），毁灭后的扬州城依据晚明特殊时期的布局进行改建，同时，文化建设也开始缓慢复苏。

顺治二年（1645），前明官员周亮工（1612-1672）出任两淮盐运御史，为扬州城市的恢复做出了重要贡献。他不仅着眼于体恤民情、安抚创伤，政务之余，尤重文化复兴。《扬州府志》有关周亮工的传记叙述了其在扬州重建、恢复人口等方面的政绩，还详细记载了他当时在恢复盐业管理中起到的关键作用：“两淮底定，初设盐法道，即以先生任之。时广陵方罹兵燹，丘墟弥望。商家经屠剪后，喘息未苏。而积盐未彻日垣者，以商散亡，皆没于官。先生百计招徕，请以垣盐还商，俾失业者咸复其旧。又请捐旧饷，行新盐，商人鳞集，国课用裕；东南元气赖焉。”<sup>[4]</sup>顺治十七年（1660），少有诗名的王士禛（1634-1711）出任扬州推官，为官五载，主持风雅，将遗民、布衣、贰臣、新贵编织进了一个庞杂的网络。在王士禛周围，名士们往来交游，诗酒唱和，操持选政，议论品评，三度组织红桥修禊之会，使得扬州成了当时的文坛中心。其实，当时的盐商还未形成足够的影响力，17世纪晚期的扬州是文人精英们的活动舞台。在这段政治不稳、经济困难的时期，文人学士和官僚士大夫以文会友，进行社交活动，或甘为遗民创作怀旧诗文，或出仕清廷继续践行治国平天下之理念，用自身的形象塑造扬州文化的重建。



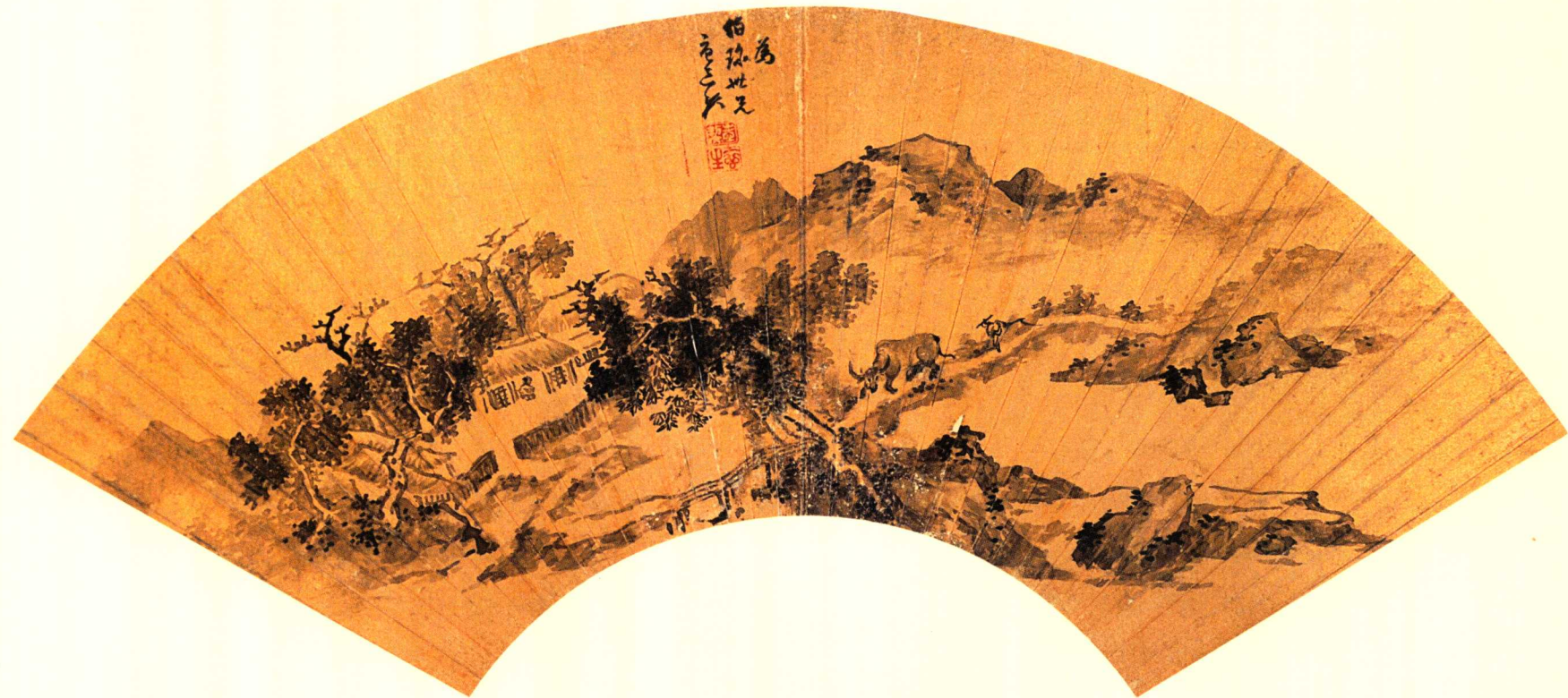
当然，扬州的文化地位和文化形象是在清初的重建中慢慢被发掘和重塑的。明清易祚，时局复杂，扬州成了政治上极为敏感的地区。众多遗民云集于此，以致清初扬州的文化氛围浓厚，艺事活跃。扬州作为东南都会所具有的吸引力与悠久的文化传统有关，特别是扬州十日后，又作为故国之象征，从心理上和精神上凝聚了一代遗民艺术家。

康熙元年（1662），随着南明政权的最终覆亡，大规模的反清斗争告一段落。如何稳定江南文士集团，实施全面统治，成为清廷文化政策的首要任务。开科取士、尊孔崇儒、征召有着消极态度的文人参与编纂图书等一系列文化政策的实施，成为清廷笼络汉族士人的重要手段，使汉族文人不再一味强调满汉之间的民族冲突，缓和了敌对情绪。康熙元年（1662），巡盐御史胡文学在府治东北隅的三元坊创建安定书院；康熙三年（1664），扬州知府雷应元遵照朝廷的治国方略，主持扬州文化重建工作，奉命纂修清代首部官修《扬州府志》。在满汉民族冲突的背景下，这可以说是扬州文化建设的重要举措，受到了本地文人的热烈拥护和响应。此后的20年间，《扬州府志》两度重修并刊行，无疑成为宣传曾经辉煌的扬州文化的一支助长剂。康熙十三年（1674），平山堂被修缮；康熙十四年（1675），法海寺再度重建；康熙二十二年（1683），敬亭书院、虹桥书院先后创建……表明扬州文化重新开始闪光。

康熙十七年（1678）正月，皇帝爱新觉罗·玄烨（1654—1722）诏曰：“一代之兴，必有博学鸿儒振起文运，阐发经史，以备顾问。朕万几余暇，思得博通之士，用资典学。其有学行兼优，文词卓越之士，勿论已仕未仕，中外臣工各举所知，朕将亲试焉。”<sup>[5]</sup>这次征召鸿博是江南文士集团与满洲政权可以说是全面合作的新开端。在“以宽大为治”的怀柔政策下，不少汉族贵族和知识分子逐渐转化并投靠新王朝，将去国怀旧的哀思逐渐投身于建设社会文化上去。

随着康熙社会的逐渐安定，“以盐为业”的扬州城市经济得以迅速恢复。来自徽州歙县、休宁一带的徽商们充分利用扬州和大运河的特殊优势，长期垄断官营盐业，获得巨额财富，形成一个盐商群体。康熙四十四年（1705），皇帝第四次南巡，当地盐商的接驾场面异常豪华。时任江苏巡抚宋荤（1634—1713）有《迎銮三集·康熙乙酉扈从恭纪七首》诗描述云“百姓列大鼎焚香迎驾，数里不绝”，两淮“众盐商预备御花园行宫”，演戏摆宴，夜晚“行宫宝塔上灯如龙，五色彩子铺陈，古董诗画无记其数，月夜如画”这样热闹铺张的排场。<sup>[6]</sup>扬州在短短的五六十年间由一片死寂的“芜城”变为一座无比繁华的城市，盐业经济和盐商的确功不可没。当然，盐商对清初扬州社会的稳定、文化的发展都起到了很大的作用。清初，盐商设粥厂、捐棉衣、修桥筑路、疏浚河道、建盐义仓，参与建置育婴堂、普济堂，建立书院、义学等，维护了社会稳定。同时，盐商的文化消费也有所抬头，园林建筑之盛以及由此而兴盛的诗文雅集，古董、书画收藏之风也逐渐兴盛，正如龚贤（1618—1689）所观察：“广陵多贾客，家藏巨镪者，其主人具鉴赏，必蓄名画。”<sup>[7]</sup>这些富裕盐商以及子弟，到了乾隆年间已晋身为社会的上层，他们的活动风尚，也成为扬州上层的流行文化。

众所周知，扬州的城市文化是自明代中叶以来东南地区新兴的徽州文化之表征，因为在明清商业经济高涨与资本主义萌芽的时期，徽州盐商在很大程度上左右了这个城市的发展。徽商挟集体的从商经验，以及世代的资本积累，已经是扬州盐商中不可忽视的重要族群。翻开有关扬州艺文活动的记载，不论是阮元（1764—1849）的《广陵诗事》、李斗的《艾塘曲录》和汪鋐（1816—？）的《扬州画苑录》，还是以扬州地理人物、风土人情为经，稗官野史为纬的《扬州画舫录》，来自安徽的人士比比皆是。他们不仅在书画、制墨、刻书和造园等活动中崭露头角，且是燕集诗会中领导风骚的闻人，是古董收藏、书画鉴赏的“好



唐志契 溪流归牧图 扇页 金笺 墨笔 16.2cm×48.6cm 南京博物院藏





程邃 野客茅茨图 页 纸本 墨笔 25.6cm×33.5cm 1672年 安徽省博物馆藏



吕潜 溪亭山色图 轴 纸本 墨笔  
305cm×71.5cm 故宫博物院藏

事者”，更是扬州一所所名园的主人。另一方面，来自全国各地的商人、学者、文人、画家、手工业者、遗民、士绅、权贵等汇集于此，也为这个文化古城注入了新的价值观与思想活力。康熙二十七年（1688），孔尚任（1648—1718）在致友人信札中评论过扬州对于文人精英的吸引力：“广陵为天下人士之大逆旅，凡怀才抱艺者，莫不寓居广陵，盖如百工之居肆焉。”<sup>[8]</sup>当时，具有全国性声誉的文人先后光顾扬州，促进了扬州的社交与文化活 动，这使得扬州成为文人学士及游宦们向往之所。正因为这些有才能的游客和暂居的旅人再造了扬州，使清初的扬州成为这一时期文人精英云集与高度流动性的一个城市。

### ——一、闲淡与激昂：以查士标、石涛为代表的遗民画风——

随着清朝政权入主中原后从原先军事征服逐步走向稳定统治，统治者通过继承汉族文化的做法来稳定秩序。然而，各地的反清活动仍在持续，汉族文人在思想文化上对满族政权的统治并未接受，明末以来盛行于文人士大夫之间的个性表现和自我意识与突出的民族矛盾结合在一起，形成这一时期文化思想界的主导潮流。在绘画方面，晚明绘画的风格特点在清初由明朝降臣组成的入世画家及明代遗民组成的避世画家继续顽强地保持和传承着。

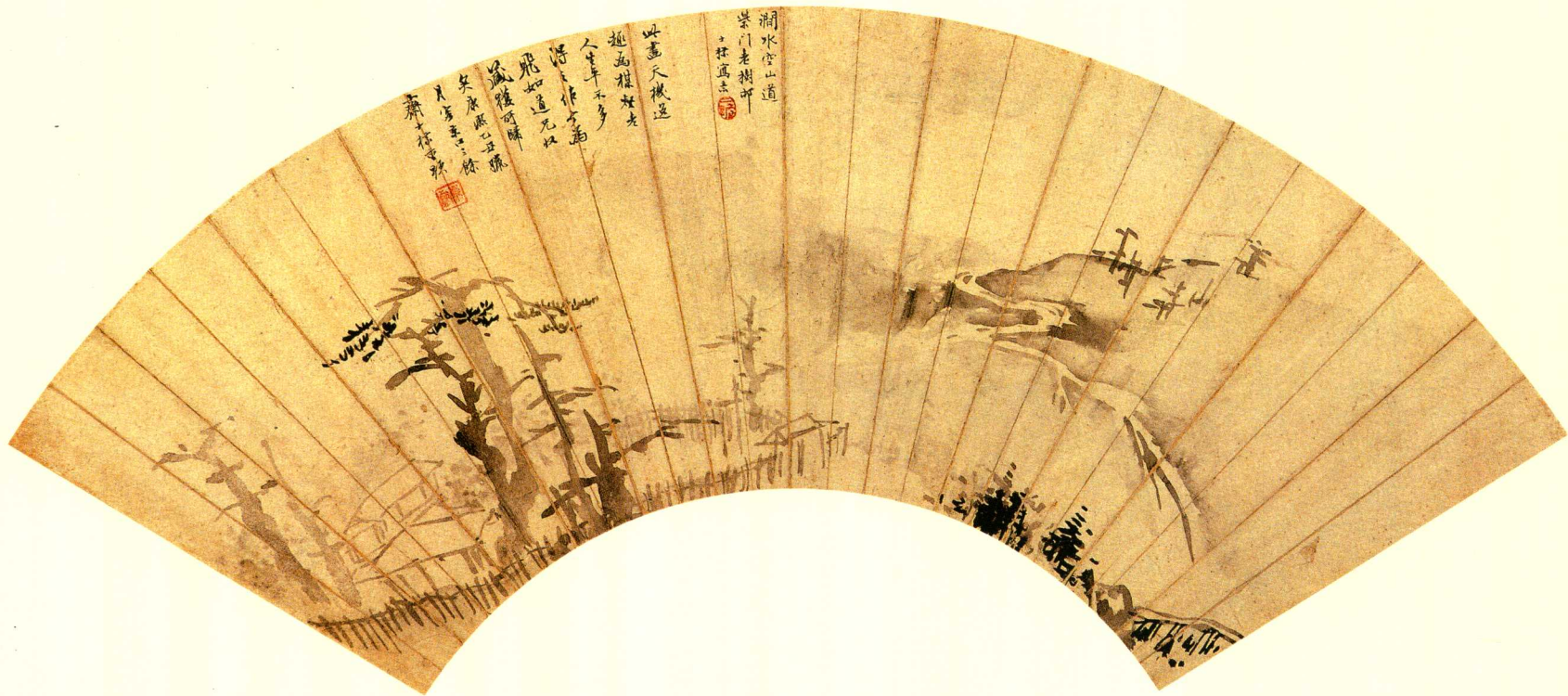
特别是相当一部分的遗民画家抱有强烈的民族感情，面对异族的统治，抗争既不能，帮凶又不屑，于是归隐民间。在关乎自身命运、现实生活、民族文化等方面，他们表现出一种无奈的选择。在被迫面临文化的抉择时，具有汉本位思想的遗民们毅然选择了儒家的文化传统，肩负起延续与发展汉文化的神圣

使命，通过保持和发扬文化传统来维持汉民族的自尊。他们从出于道德热情而狂热到因理性审视而冷漠，从极端的义愤到责任的承担再到汉本位文化的重建设，走向一条明智有效的选择之路。作为士群体表达思想、气节和寄托情感的诗文书画变得尤其价值和意义。

与金陵一样，扬州也是一个遗民集聚的城市。阎安的研究为人们勾勒出清初扬州的遗民生态，他列举出一连串的遗民画家名单，充分揭示出清初扬州的遗民画家创作之情形，其中不乏如唐志契（1579—1651）、唐志尹、宗灏、朱珏、桑多等本籍知名画家，当然更有松江程邃（1607—1692）、休宁查士标（1615—1698）、遂宁吕潜（1621—1706）、昆山龚贤等流寓扬州的外地著名画家，<sup>[9]</sup>特别是后者以其峭拔孤傲的人格力量和瑰丽奇异的艺术风格，直接展现出当时扬州的绘画创作状态。

程邃在明末时因议论朝廷而被流寓白门，入清后移居扬州四十多年，为人高古，学博思奇，工诗词，精篆刻，善书画，曾题画云：“性好丘壑，故镌刻之暇，随意挥洒，以泄胸中意态，非敢云能事者也。”<sup>[10]</sup>他深受倪瓒之影响，以渴笔作画，苍茫蓊郁，追求古拙荒寒之趣，将元人渴笔法推向了极致。然而，程邃在扬州主要以诗人、篆刻家的身份出现，绘画只是其消遣而已，所作多为朋友间的酬答馈赠之作。吕潜为明末名臣吕大器（1586—1649）之子，生逢乱世，江流离迁，往来扬州、湖州之间达四十余年，直至康熙二十四年（1685）回蜀。他生性旷达，常以诗画自遣，擅山水、花卉，用笔放纵而具法度，神气清朗，笔墨流畅，树石都以干、湿、深、浅相间，结合点、染、皴、擦，使画面浑然一体而又层次分明，富于情趣；布局起伏错落，疏密得宜，别具风格。尽管如此，程邃、吕潜两人一生作画不多，





查士标 洞水柴门图 扇页 纸本 墨笔 17cm×55.1cm 1685年 南京博物院藏

传世作品尤少，故对当时的扬州绘画影响不大。

康熙四年(1665)，业已成名的查士标离开金陵移居扬州，并直至去世前夕。尽管查士标自始至终都认为自己只是扬州的过客旅人，但繁华的扬州实质上成为他第二故乡。他在此论文作画、寻幽访胜、发展事业、扩展社交，相继结识了笪重光(1623-1692)、王翬(1632-1717)、宋荦、孔尚任等社会名流。在最后的二十年生命里，查士标完全自在地融入了扬州的生活。由于与扬州徽商之间的广泛交往和热络互动，查士标在扬州的艺文活动十分顺畅，绘画声名鹊起。

查士标的职业画家生涯对17世纪晚期的文人来说并非罕见，他仅是明亡以后文人大量进入职业绘画领域普遍现象中的一个例子，有研究者曾以“职业化文人”称之。他们擅长书画，把作为社会身份定义的文化知识技能用以谋生。“有些人半职业地工作，不将绘画奉为职志，只作为赖以生活的一种方式；然而大多数的人还是建立了绘画业务，无论四处奔走或在家中从业，又无论直接卖给顾客，或通过代理人、装裱店、书坊，都以定价出售画作。尽管并非大部分，他们当中许多是因应着不同环境以及人生不同时段而采取多样化的职业模式。这种适应力确保他们能继续以画家(及书家、篆刻家)身份作野逸或甚至遗民的主题，并足以维持即使微薄的生计。”<sup>[11]</sup>

扬州的社会精英，由若干比较突出的群体组成，其中最重要的是徽商、晋商和地方士绅，及少数握有权势的官员。世代居住在扬州的徽商家族多怀有强烈的乡土观念，常与同籍联姻。查士标与诸如潜口汪氏、岑山渡程氏、唐模许氏、江村江氏、丰南吴氏等徽商家族都保持着密切的交往。同时，他也是扬州地方士绅如宝应乔氏家族的常客，接触广泛，有的还引为知己。这些徽商、乡绅经过长时间的艺术熏染，文化和艺术消费已经成为他们生活的重要组成部分，从艺术消费再到书画创作，俨然成为徽商群体有意识的行为。查士标和他们成为君子之交，相

互间谈论艺术收藏，切磋书画创作，互动频繁。多年来，查士标在扬州的职业画家生涯深受这些群体影响，更精确地说是来自歙县的徽商家族的赞助。

从17世纪60年代到17世纪90年代，身在扬州的查士标俨然作为一个职业画家而活动着。在这段时间，他依不同赞助者的需求创作着扇面、手卷、册页和挂轴等各类作品。以一个职业画家来说，查士标无疑是相当成功的。乔迅在关于石涛的研究中，剖析清初扬州遗民绘画的流行程度，为理解查士标画作的传播提供了有力的注脚。在他看来，徽商及其地方士绅对野逸绘画，特别是遗民作品有着强烈的需求，由于他们普遍保守的儒家观念，衍生出对遗民的强烈同情，同时收藏画作乃是他们为脱离商人背景而做的附庸风雅的具体举措。<sup>[12]</sup>有目共睹的是，肇始于弘仁(1610-1664)的新安画派就是在具有浓郁乡土观念的徽商赞助之下兴盛的。新安画人以黄山为师，崇尚“米倪”之风，一反柔媚甜俗、奢靡华贵之气，开创了一代简淡高古、秀逸清雅之风，将中国山水无尽的情趣、韵味与品格生动地表现在尺幅之间。作为新安画家，查士标在扬州徽商之间广受欢迎，也就不足为奇了。

查士标早年服膺浙江，效仿浙江也从倪瓒入手，常自题“拟云林笔意”、“仿倪云林法”等，而其“懒标”之号亦从倪氏“懒瓚”之称而来，可谓风神遥接。查士标以山水见长，取材广泛，旁及枯木、竹石等。与倪画相比，其画清劲明爽而略显坚硬淹润，笔墨尖峭，风格枯寂生涩；中年后，摹吴镇、董其昌笔法，变得较为滋润放逸；晚年师法米氏父子，多画水墨云山，笔法荒率，渲染兼用枯淡墨色，融合了董其昌秀润高华的墨法，粗豪中显出爽逸。查士标在扬州生活了近四十年，将格调清雅、境界冷逸的新安山水带入扬州，并逐渐流行。

史料记载：“画品尤能以疏散淹润之笔，发舒倪黄意态，四方争购为屏障，光弼上巨室尤甚”。<sup>[13]</sup>可见其作品在扬州绘画



市场上的需求程度。《嘉庆重修扬州府志》所记一则材料弥足珍贵：“康熙初，维扬有士人查士瞻，工平远山水画及米家画，人得寸纸片缣以为重。又有江秋水者，以螺钿嵌器皿，最精巧工细，席间无不用之。时有一联云：‘杯盘处处江秋水；卷轴家家查士瞻’，亦可见一时习尚也。”<sup>[14]</sup>扬州人家有查士标画轴，足见他在当时扬州所受的推崇和欢迎。以元人倪、黄为本，远溯董、巨的南宗正统派山水，显然是康熙初年扬州人崇尚追求的品位，在扬州画坛具有主导地位。

当然，查士标在清初扬州画坛上的重要性是不言而喻的，成为后来盛行的“扬州八怪”风格的先驱。显而易见的是，“扬州八怪”简笔水墨的粗率画风在某种程度上就是从其风神懒散、气韵荒寒的笔墨中转变而来，他们创作时的标新立异，多少也受到查士标“生拙”、“荒率”笔法的影响。

康熙二十四年（1685），旅居金陵数年的石涛（1641—约1707）独自移居扬州，开始拓展自己的绘画事业。期间，他虽有短暂的北上之游，但自康熙三十二年（1693）南返后定居扬州，直至终老。当时，查士标在扬州已经声名赫赫，徽商们几乎以有无查画表明身份与品位，令人想起了倪瓒在明初吴门地区的影响力。康熙三十七年（1698），耄耋之年的查士标在扬州去世，为石涛留下了一个大展身手的市场。曾为宣城广教寺僧人的石涛巧妙地利用了前明皇室后裔和徽州画僧的两重身份，在扬州徽商之间游刃有余地行走，画名逐渐如日中天。

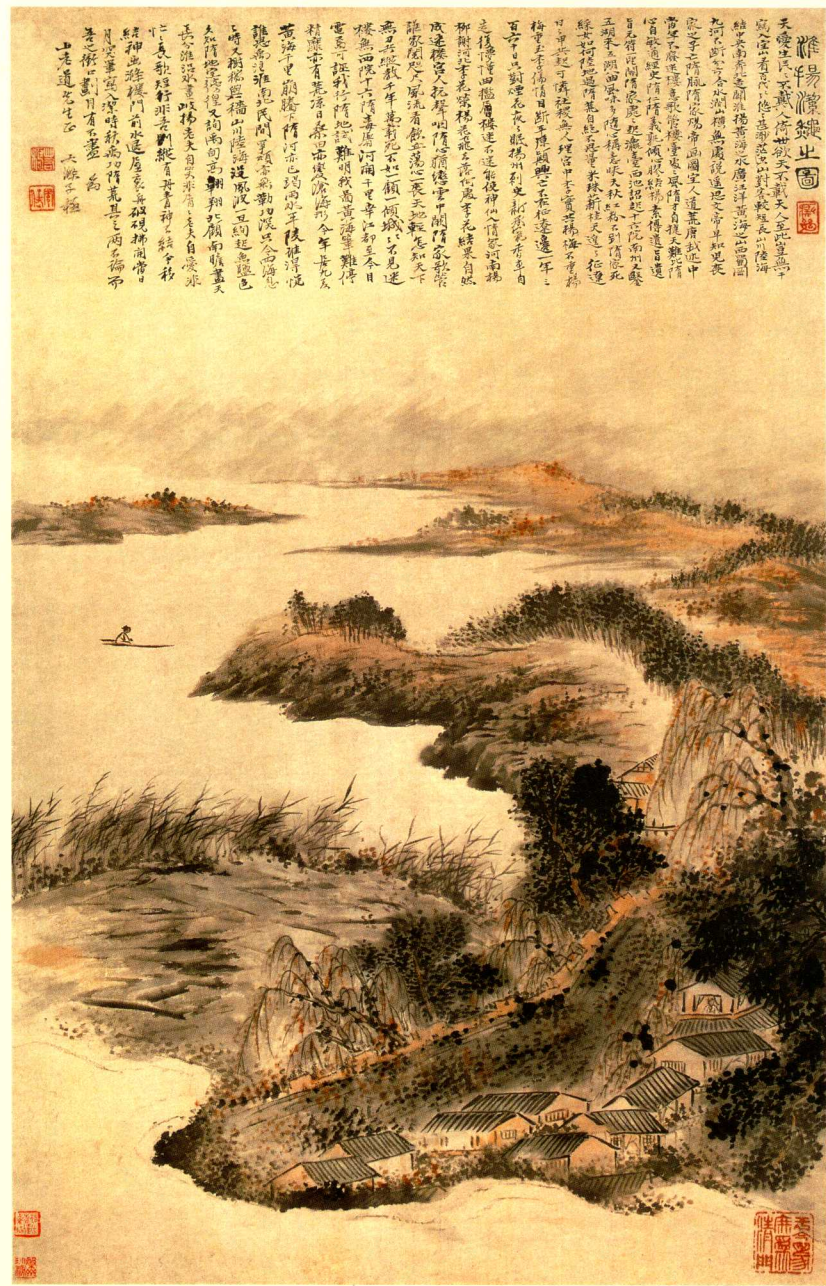
以往，研究者都较为注重石涛的遗民身份，从多种角度来阐释其绘画的抗清精神，这显然是有失偏颇的。身为皇室后裔的石涛的悲惨身份，其剃发为僧、家破人亡也与风起云涌的民族斗争并无太大的关联，而是来自于宗室后裔为争夺权力而发的同室操戈。因此，石涛在关乎民族命运的切肤之痛远没有朱耷（1626—约1705）来得深切，以致后来他在康熙南巡之时以明室后裔前来接驾，歌颂当时的海晏河清盛景。由此看来，石涛绘画应该是他自身的性情所致，当然，这不能说与他的离奇身世没有丝毫联系。

石涛从不避讳他的遗民身份，相反这个身份对他在扬州的绘画市场上培养自己的客户网络，树立自己的艺术形象有着十分重要的意义。因为石涛在扬州所销售的其实是自己的“遗民”身份，而客户主要是那些富有但受儒家思想影响的徽州商人。石涛从建立大涤堂之始，便成为职业的画家，有利于其行销的便是自己诗书画俱佳的遗民画家形象。用现在通俗的话说，这是他的艺术商标。对于石涛在扬州的绘画事业和经营，乔迅在《石涛：清初中国的绘画与现代性》中有着深入的描述和分析。他将石涛作品视为清初特殊文人圈内的一种载体，比如石涛是当时扬州徽商与喜欢李寅那类画匠画的市民阶层之间进行自我身份区分的方式。这一颇有启发性的观点，开拓了人们追索石涛绘画在扬州流行之因的视野。石涛在清高自许与不甘沉寂之间矛盾地度过了一生，巧妙地把这种矛盾发泄到他的画作之中。他不断地在职业画家和文化画家之间摆动，时而要开拓市场而发明新风格，时而又为市场和个性之间矛盾所困。尽管如此，他成

功地左右着当时徽商的绘画趣味，实现了自己绘画技巧的演进和绘画风格的突破。

石涛工诗文，善书画，山水广泛师法历代画家之长，将传统笔墨技法加以变化，又注重师法造化，主张“搜尽奇峰打草稿”，所作笔法纵横排募，灵活自由，或细笔勾勒，很少皴擦，或粗线勾斫，皴点并用，尤长于点苔，密密麻麻，丰富多彩，有时又多方拙之笔，方圆结合，秀拙相生；善用墨法，枯湿浓淡兼施并用，尤其喜欢用湿笔，通过水墨的渗化和笔墨的融和，表现出山川的氤氲气象和深厚之态，极尽变化。构图新奇，无论是黄山云烟、江南水墨，还是悬崖峭壁、枯树寒鸦，或全景式场面宏阔，或局部特写，景物突出，变幻无穷，尤其善用“截取法”以特写之景传达深邃之境，充满了动感与张力。其花鸟、兰竹，亦不拘成法，平中见奇，笔力深沉而灵巧，设色淡雅而不伤笔墨，又善于题跋，诗文中含画理，自抒胸臆，情深意远。

石涛一生求变创新，用情笔墨之中，放怀笔墨之外，横涂竖抹，笔随心运，淋漓酣畅，磊落风神，近乎明代徐渭式的宣泄状态。他将文人画自我意识阐释得最为鲜明、最为深刻，曾云：“我之为我，自有我在。古之须眉，不能生我之面目；古之肺腑，不能安人我之腹肠。我自发我之肺腑，揭我之须眉。纵有时触着某家，是某家就我也，非我故为某家也。”<sup>[15]</sup>清末邵松年（1848—1923）注意过石涛绘画中的感情成分：“清湘老人画，笔情纵恣，脱尽恒蹊，有时极平常之景，经老人画出，便觉古厚绝伦。有



石涛 淮扬洁秋图 轴 纸本 设色 89cm×57cm 1705年 南京博物院藏