

元末閩浙畫風與明初浙派之形成（一）

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明代繪畫以吳浙二派爲主流。明初（洪武至宣德）乃此二派地域畫風之孕育成長階段。然而畫史著述對此一時期之繪畫發展均未述及。其實，明初畫風之轉變與發展皆與此時期之政治、社會變遷有極密切的關係，如洪武時期之集權改制與永樂時期大學士之興起，均直接影響至此時畫家的地位與活動。

有關吳派的興起及其歷史背景，筆者已於「明初南京畫家與吳派之形成」（*Early Ming Painters in Nanking and the Formation of the Wu School, Ars Orientalis, Vol. XVII, 1987*）一文討論。此文將專注於明初浙派之形成與其歷史及地理之背景。

一般畫史，論及浙派都以戴進爲創始者。而對戴進以前此一畫風之淵源發展不作討論。筆者以爲浙派畫風，實淵源於元末閩浙一帶之地域畫風。此畫風在永樂初由謝環導入宮廷畫院。至宣德時期形成畫院之主流。因此，明初閩浙畫風在南京的發展，實爲研究浙派形成不可忽視的關鍵。

吳浙二派以地域爲畫風之分界。因此論其發展，不得不對此二地區之地理發展作一介紹。吳指蘇州及其鄰近的無錫、常熟、崑山、吳口等地。浙指浙江，但浙江在元代及明初仍沿襲宋代之劃分，分爲浙東、浙西二部分。浙西包括杭州、嘉興、湖州等地區。浙東包括溫州、慶元、婺州、處州等地。在元代之行省制下，吳、浙二地實同屬於江浙行省。此行省之範圍，包括現代之浙江、福建二省全境，及江蘇、安徽及江西之一部分（見圖一）。江浙行省爲元代全國之經濟、文化重心。但是就繪畫之發展來看，吳浙二地自元代已形成不同的趨勢。

李鑄晉教授曾指出，元初繪畫以浙西之杭州、吳興爲盛。杭州爲南宋院畫所在，仍保留著深厚的院畫與禪畫傳統。吳興則有錢選、趙孟頫之提倡復古，及唐棣、吳鎮、盛懋等畫家之相繼發展，形成元代文人畫之新趨勢。但元末文人畫進一步之發展，則以蘇州爲中心。這一帶的畫家如黃公望、倪瓚、朱德潤、陳汝言、徐賁、陸廣等均在蘇州一帶以詩畫相往來。至一

三六〇年前後，張士誠據平江路時期，此地區更形成江南鼎盛的文苑中心。當地的雅集、文會更吸引了各地畫家。如來自吳興的王蒙，及來自杭州的張舜咨。此一盛況，至洪武中期告終。由於洪武帝對江南經濟、文苑的壓抑，以及洪武十三年之廢相改制，都直接、間接影響到蘇州畫壇之蕭條。

代蘇州而興起的文藝中心是明初的京師、南京。南京自永樂以來，由於成祖以學術招攬文人。文人、畫家聚集於此，形成新的文化中心。此外，永樂初內閣大學士漸參與政事，並形成宮中文苑的有力支持者。大學士如楊岐、楊榮、胡廣、黃淮及胡儼等人，均好文藝，並薦引了許多文人與畫家入宮。這些大學士，既無元末隱居文人對南宋院畫的成見，又多來自江西及閩浙一帶。因此，對閩浙畫家多所提携。其中以來自之浙東永嘉的黃淮，對宮中畫家的影響最大。黃淮在永樂朝任武英殿大學士，他不但負責監督任中書舍人的文人畫家研習書法，也直接監督在武英殿以繪事任職的宮廷畫家。黃淮來自浙東永嘉，對浙東畫家特別提拔。如他曾協助來自浙東天台的陳宗淵脫離匠籍，加入中書舍人之列並與王紱習畫。又如下述他對永嘉陳叔起及謝環的提携，均直接促成閩浙畫風之興起及此畫風之導入畫院。

如上所述，閩浙並稱之流行於元代及明初，實與元末閩、浙二省同屬於江浙行省有關。明初閩浙雖分，而二省在畫風上仍保持著密切的關係。尤其浙東與福建相接，往來更近。元末這一帶畫風雖較吳一帶保守。但畫風也深受浙西文人畫家如趙孟頫、唐棣、吳鎮、盛懋的影響。至於元末明初畫風之發展及其在明初導入宮廷畫院之緣起。筆者將舉三位以師生相承的閩浙畫家來作討論，這三位畫家是元末張舜咨及明初的陳叔起與謝環。

張舜咨（字師夔，號樸里、義上、輒醉翁），浙江杭州人，為張元甫之子。張氏元末在江浙一帶任地方官，晚年定居福建龍溪。他出仕的經歷如下：張氏早年任宣城教授及行省宣使，後改休寧主簿，晚年遷居福建，任龍溪縣令二十餘年。張氏之生平年代雖無記載，據筆者考證，當生於一二八〇年間，卒於一三六〇年以後，年八十餘。

張氏畫跡，目前可見的有四件：古木飛泉（一三四七年作）、樹石圖（一三四九年作）、鷹檜圖及梧竹蒼鷹（圖二、八、九、十）。由此諸作品之畫風來看，張氏深受元代浙西當地畫家，趙孟頫、唐棣、吳鎮等人之影響。尤其張氏之樹石，注重水墨暈染與濃淡變化的特色，均與此輩浙西畫家對李郭畫風之研習發展有直接的關係。而張氏畫鷹之技巧亦反映出他對當

地傳統花鳥畫的吸收。

張舜咨畫風的主要繼承者，是他的弟子陳叔起。陳氏原籍福建三山（福州），晚年移居浙東之永嘉。陳叔起在現代畫史雖然默默無聞，但在明初畫壇，他却是兩浙聞名的大師。陳氏在當代的聲譽實有賴於武英殿大學士黃淮的提携。黃淮與其父黃性為永嘉望族，與陳叔起為故交。黃性經常邀請陳氏至其家居留作畫，陳氏現存唯一作品——瀟湘秋意圖（圖十一），就是為黃性畫的。但此卷陳氏未畫完，就因病去世了。黃性乃於一四一二年持此卷往南京，請翰林院中任中書舍人的王紱補完。又有關此圖之畫題與構想，依黃性在卷後題跋中記載：

「三山陳公叔起……間嘗論及古公畫品。余曰之瀟湘八景，實湖南佳勝。世以為美談。每見畫者，景自為圖，不足以觀瀟湘之大，欲令而為一。所謂夜雨、秋月，暮雪三景，又未免相戾。莫若但取其可相入者圖之，命之曰瀟湘秋意。」

于公以為如何，公欣然曰：子言有胸吞雲夢氣象，深足以發吾浩然之興。遂索紙持歸，次第成之……」。

據現存畫跡看，仍可辨明此連續之五景為：山市晴嵐，漁村夕照，煙寺晚鐘，平沙落雁與遠浦歸帆。前三景為陳叔起作。後二景為王紱所補。由陳氏三段畫風來看，他深習米氏雲山點染的繪畫傳統。但在山石之皴擦，濃淡之調配上，仍可看出他師承張舜咨的痕跡。

陳叔起與其他元末明初閩浙畫家亦有往來。如活動於福州一帶並以畫墨蘭知名的枯林上人及來自浙東紹興的墨桃畫家陳憲章，都與陳氏有詩文書畫的交往。但陳氏在繪畫上的成就，幸而由其得意門生謝環之作承得以繼續發揚光大。謝環不但繼承了此一元末明初的閩浙畫風，並將之導入永樂畫院，形成宣德畫院之主流。

編者案：宋后楣入元末閩浙畫風與明初浙派之形成V一文，是以英文撰寫，此為其中文摘譯。

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From the Min-Che Tradition to the Che School

(Part 1) the Late Yuan Min-Che Tradition:

Chang Shun-Tze and Ch'en Shu-Ch'i

by Hou-mei Sung

Recent studies of 14th Century Chinese painting have revealed much new information concerning this transitional period from the late Yuan dynasty literati tradition to the formation of the Wu and Che schools. Especially significant are painters from these two regions who contributed a great deal to the shaping of the following trend, yet were often underestimated. This situation arose partially because of the predominating *wen-jen hua* theories formulated in the late Ming period by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and others. Since Tung's theory emphasized the polarization of the scholar painters vis-a-vis court painters, it tended to overlook the parallel development in the early stages of these two trends.

First of all, it is necessary to point out the significant changes of early Ming that marked this new era and influenced the painters' status and activities. The most dramatic turning point in the evolution of the Ming government occurred in 1380. In this year, the Hung-wu emperor abolished the office of the Prime Minister and the whole superstructure of the Secretariat (*Chung-shu sheng*).¹ This eventually caused the rise in political power of the Grand Secretaries (*Ta-hsueh shih*) in the Yung-lo era (1403-1424).² This increase in prestige affected the painters' status and their styles, since these same Grand Secretaries acted as important patrons for both scholar and court painters serving at the court.³

Geographically, the Wu region had suffered a sharp decline in artistic pursuits as a result of imperial hostility in the Hung-wu era (1368-1398). The constructive and scholastic environment in the Yung-lo court attracted both scholars and professional painters to serve or to stay active in Nanking, which became the new cultural and political center.⁴ The patronage of the Grand

Secretaries created a wider range of tastes and more open attitude toward the past traditions. Although the late Yuan tradition was centered in the Wu area and continued to be the major trend, there was less prejudice among scholar painters against the Southern Sung Academic style, which had a strong hold in the so called Min-Che area.

Before further discussion of this regional tradition, it is necessary to explain the term *Min-Che* and its historical background. *Min-Che* literally means the two provinces of Fukien and Chekiang. Yet it must be stressed why the term was used. During the Yuan dynasty, the provincial district called *Chiang-Che hsing-sheng* (see fig. 1) was composed of the two provinces of Chekiang (Che) and Fukien (Min), together with the lower Yangtzu region of Chiangsu, Anhui and a small portion of Chiangsi. This explains the close relationship of the two provinces in the 14th century and the continuing use of the term *Min-Che* in the early Ming, when the two provinces were again separated into two provincial districts. During the Yuan dynasty, this *Chiang-che* district was known for both its wealth and cultural activities. Major art centers such as Hangchou, Wu Hsing, Suchou and Sungchiang are all within this provincial district. However, while the Wu area (the region surrounding Suchou) developed into a leading art center in the late Yuan and attracted most art historians' attention, the development in the rest of the Chiang-che province was often ignored. Actually, it is during this time that the more conservative trend, originated in Hangchou, spread and formed the regional style in Che-tung (eastern Chekiang) with Yungchia as its center, and Fukien with Fuchou as its center. This is what many Ming scholars called the Min-Che tradition of painting. It is a tradition based on the Southern Sung Academic styles, and enriched by the new trends of Yuan painting, with more symbolic themes and expressive brushwork. Especially popular were the subjects of rocks and trees (*shu-shih*) and its variants.

The term *Min-Che* was first mentioned by Liu Sung (1321-1381) in an inscription on the landscape by Lin Shen, a painter from Ch'ingchiang, Chianghsi. Liu stated: "Who were the masters of landscape from Ch'ingchiang? Hsi-ts'un

had no successor and Chih-ch'uan (Lo Chih-ch'uan) died. The Currant master Lin is more lofty and untrammelled. His style is based on that of the Min-Che masters.....".⁵ Judging from this, the Min-Che tradition had also spread to the neighborign Chianghsi area.

There were two groups of painters at the Yung-lo court, the scholar painters, who often served as Secretariat Drafters (*Chung-shu she-jen*),⁶ and the court painters. These two groups of painters established unusually close relationships because of their common patrons, the Grand Secretaries.⁷ Yet in spite of this, their paintings clearly reflected their different backgrounds. Scholar painters from the Wu area, such as Wang Fu, Hsia Ch'ang, Chin Wen-ting and Hsieh Chin, continued the late Yuan trend as followed in the Wu area. Court painters, such as Ch'en Shu-ch'i, Hsieh Huan, Kuo Wen-t'ung (from Yungchia, Chekiang) and Pien Wen-chin, Shang-kuan Po-ta, Fang Ch'ang-ling, Chu Meng-yaun (from Fukien) succeeded in bringing the regional style of Min-Che into the court, thus forming the major stylistic source, not only for the court painters, but also for the later Che school. A full discussion of the formation of the early stage of the Wu school has already been discussed in another article.⁸ Here the discussion will focus on: (1) how the late Yuan dynasty Min-Che tradition was developed into a major trend in the early Ming court as traced through three generations of teacher-student related painters: Chang Shun-tzu, Ch'en Shu-ch'i and Hsieh Huan. (2) how nativism played an active role in the patronage relationship between the Grand Secretaries and painters in court; and (3) how eventually the Min-Che court painters of Hsuan-te era formed the foundation of the Che school. (4) A reconstruction of Tai Chin's biography and his relationship to the early Ming Court.

The changes developed during the Yung-lo and Hsuan-te eras (1403-1434), especially the political, social and geographical changes are all crucial to our understanding of the development of painting during this period. For example, the rise of the Grand Secretaries and the move of the capital to Peking during the Yung-lo era had triggered a new course for the development of painting.

After the Hsuan-te era (1426-1434), the political power was gradually shifted from the Grand Secretaries to the eunuchs. Government corruption following this action discouraged most scholar painters from serving at the court. While they retired to the Wu area, the court painters continued to be dominated by the Min-Che regional style. This physical separation of the two groups of painters led eventually to the arbitrary division made between the Wu and Che schools. Yet as the discussion here indicates, the early development of the Che school was accomplished not by Tai Chin alone, as usually attributed, but by the group of Min-Che masters active in Nanking during the Yung-lo and Hsuan-te eras. This company of artists included Hsieh Huan, Kuo Wen-t'ung, Pien Wen-chin, Chu Meng-yuan and Shang-kuan Po-ta, Li Tsai, Shih Jui, Chou Wen-ching and Ni Tuan. Since Hsieh Huan was the first and most powerful artist who introduced the Min-Che tradition to the Yung-lo court, then formed the dominating group of Min-Che painters in the Hsuan-te court, it is only proper to focus first upon him and his painting lineage. Accordingly, we must begin with events of the late Yuan.

The late Yuan scholar painter Chang Shun-tzu was a native of Hangchou but later settled in southern Fukien. He best represents the Min-Che regional style. Not only did he divide his painting activities between Chekiang and Fukien, he also freely associated with other painters of these two regions. Furthermore, Chang's significance can be fully viewed through works by his followers, Ch'en Shu-ch'i and Hsieh Huan, who brought this tradition to the court.

As with many late 14th Century artists, very little is known of Chang. In Hsia Wen-yen's *T'u-hui pao-chien*, Chang was only briefly listed as a landscape painter.⁹ Chang's dubious status in the records was partly caused by the lack of biographical information. Yet after searching through the late Yuan written records, the writer found that Chang was a well known painter in the Min-Che region. It is, therefore, possible to reconstruct a brief account of Chang's official career and painting activities. The four paintings by Chang that have survived

today also reveal a quite distinct style, indicating his direct relationship to the late Yuan masters from this area.

Chang Shun-tzu (*Tzu*: Shih-k'uei, *hao*: Hsi-shang, Li-li and Tse-tsui wong)¹⁰ was a native of Hangchou, Chekiang. His father Chang Yuan-fu (died c. 1334)¹¹ was a low ranking scholar official (probably Magistrate of the Sheng District near Shaohsing, Chekiang).¹² Chang Shun-tzu started his career by being an Instructor (*Chiao-shou*) in Hsuan-ch'eng, Anhui.¹³ He then moved to the position of Courier of the Branch Secretariat (*hsing-sheng hsuan-shih*), and was later promoted to become the District Assistant Magistrate (*chu-pu*) of Hsiuning (Anhui),¹⁴ which is also within the Chiang-Che provincial district. The final position, which Chang held for over twenty years, was as the District Magistrate of Lungshi, in Fukien, where Chang stayed until his death.¹⁵

Besides his painting, Chang was also known for his calligraphy and classical learning. According to Lin Pi (1325-1381), Chang's calligraphy so impressed Chao Tsung-chi that this official of the censorate (*Yu-shih t'ai*) presented Chang with a piece of calligraphy by the famous Yuan calligrapher K'ang-li Tzu-shan (K'uei-k'uei).¹⁶ This incident must have happened before 1338, because Chao's official title was promoted in 1338 to a censor (*Yu-shih*)¹⁷ from his previous position as *Chien-hsien* (legal researcher), the title recorded by Lin Pi.

As for Chang's dates, an estimation can be made as approximately between the 1280's and the 1360's, based on the relevant evidence. First of all, his three close associates, Ch'en Lu (1287-1342),¹⁸ Chang Chu (1287-1368)¹⁹ and Wu Shih-tao (1283-1344),²⁰ were all born in the 1280's. The latest date related to Chang's activities was the inscription Chang wrote on his *The Desiccated Tree* (*K'u-mu t'u*), dated 1353, in which he referred to himself as the desiccated old tree.²¹ This painting was recorded by Lin Pi, who became a close associate of Chang when both served in Lungshi (Fukien) about this time.²² Lin mentioned also that it was a work done in Chang's late years. Furthermore, Yuan Hua's (1316-c.1370) inscription on Chang's *Travelling in the Mountain Pass* (*Kuan-shan hsing-lu*) mentioned that at that time Chang was eighty years

old and had been serving in Fukien for over twenty years.²³ All these make it reasonable to estimate Chang's birth in the 1280's. Yet the most important evidence that confirms this estimation is provided by Wu Shih-tao, who wrote an epitaph for Chang's father,²⁴ noting that it was written seven years after the death of Chang's father. Chang had then come to Nanking for his new official assignment, which, as Wu pointed out later in the same text, was the post of District Assistant Magistrate of Lunghsi. Although this epitaph was not dated, it is possible to narrow down the date as between 1341 and 1342, based on a statement by Wu. He remarked that he and two other friends of Chang, Ch'en Lu, currently serving as Proctor of the Directorate of Education (*Kuo-tzu chien-ch'eng*) and Chang Chu, serving as Instructor (*Chu-chiao*), were coincidentally in the National University (*Kuo-tzu hsueh*) at the time. Since Ch'en Lu was appointed to the position of *Kuo-tzu-chien-ch'eng* in 1341 and died in 1342,²⁵ the epitaph could only have been written within these two years. Based on these facts, Chang could only have been appointed to his last position in Lunghsi in 1341 or early 1342. Considering also that Chang served in Lunghsi for over twenty years, until he was over eighty years old, we must conclude that he was about eighty in the 1360's and was therefore born in the 1280's.

As a painter, Chang was known for both large scale landscapes and small scenes of trees and rocks (*shu-shih*).²⁶ The most informative comment comes from his friend Lin Pi:

"Chang formed his distinctive style by learning extensively from many past masters. He successfully mastered skills for both large scale paintings and small scenes. His painting possesses qualities of the old and archaic (*ts'ang-ku*) without losing its purity and freshness (*ch'ing-jun*). As a result, when colored they do not become pretty and gentle; when not colored they do not appear dry and rough. The overall style and flavor (of Chang's paintings) are uniquely different from those of others, yet their techniques never depart from those of antiquity."²⁷

More information concerning Chang's landscape is provided by Chang Chu,

who wrote a colophon on Chang's *Colors of Mt. Chung-nan* (*Chung-nan shan-se*) stating that Chang's brushwork is comparable to that of Kuo Hsi.²⁸ Another early Ming scholar, Ling Yun-han, associated Chang's style in painting rocks with that of Li Ch'eng.²⁹ Yet, as indicated by Chang's extant works his stylistic link to the Li-Kuo tradition is not direct, but rather through the interpretation of the late Yuan painters of the Min-Che region, such as Chao Meng-fu, T'ang Ti, Wu Chen and Sheng Mou.

Selected paintings by Chang Shun-tzu will confirm his individual style of painting.

1. *Ancient Trees and Flying Cascades* (*Ku-mu fei-ch'uan*), dated 1347, hanging scroll, ink on silk, 146.3 x 89.6 cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei (fig. 2)

The artist's inscription on the left reads: "In the winter of the *ting-hai* year of the Chih-cheng reign (1347), Shih-k'uei painted this for Po-ya". This is followed by three of Chang's seals: Chang Shun-tzu yin, Chang Shih-k'uei yin, Lo-shan chih-yang. On the upper right corner is a poem inscription by Yen-ch'ang (Yang Yi) and two undecipherable seals. Other than the five Imperial seals of Ch'ing, there are also two seals of the Ch'ing collector, Liang Ch'ing-piao: Ts'ang-yen and Chiao-lin chu-shih.

Chang mentioned in his inscription that the painting was done for Po-ya. Although nothing is known about this individual, Po-ya, it is possible to identify him with Chao Po-ya, the person who also received from Chang the painting, *Trees and Rocks* (*K'o-shih t'u*) as recorded by Chen Ch'ien.³⁰ Since both Chang and Chen were serving in Fukien in the late Yuan, it is very likely that Chao was also living in the Fukien area at this time.

The painting is a simple composition of a river scene, with three wintry trees by a weathered rock in the foreground. A small cascade is half revealed behind the rock. Across the river rising above the misty shore are the distant hills. Although the theme was very common in the late Yuan, Chang's style is indeed rather unique and is derived from many sources. The ragged outlines of

the rocks covered with ink washes, the hooked strokes for the bare branches, and the clustered leaf-patterns appear to be derived from the styles of Chekiang artists Chao Meng-fu (fig. 3) and Wu Chen (fig. 4). However, the net-like wavy texture strokes on the rocks and, above all, the broad, wet washes and the sharp contrast of dark and light tones indicate a direct and closer relationship with the style of Sheng Mou (fig. 5 and 6). Although Sheng was overshadowed by Wu Chen after the middle Ming period, he proved to be the most influential artist in the early Ming, especially in the Min-Che region. This is probably because Sheng's extensive discipline in both the professional and literati traditions appealed the most to the conservative mood of the Min-Che region. Yet compared with Sheng, Chang's brushwork displays more discipline of calligraphy. For instance, the fluent and well controlled movement of the brush for the bare branches and outlines of the trees shows more influence from Chao Meng-fu (fig. 3). The texture strokes on the rocks also appear more calligraphic than those of Sheng Mou. It is quite natural for Chang to reflect such a strong literati trend, which was rooted in Chekiang by artists like Chao Meng-fu (fig. 3), Wu Chen (fig. 4) and T'ang Ti (fig. 7), who all painted the same subject of trees and rocks.

2. *Trees and Rocks (Shu-shih t'u)*, dated 1349, hanging scroll, ink on paper, 112.5 x 35 cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei (Fig. 8)

The artist's inscription reads: "Ch'en Hsi-ku's requests for my painting are so earnest, and the paper is just right. So gazing at the rain, I painted this *Shu-shih t'u* (Tree and Rock) for him. Written by Chang Shih-k'uei in summer, on the seventh day of the fifth month in the *chi-ch'ou* year of Chih-cheng (1349)."

There are also two inscriptions, written by Pien Wu and Chen K'eng.³¹ Both were painters active in Fukien at this time. Pien, a native of Ningpo³² was serving as a clerk (*ling-shih*) in the Headquarters of the Military Command in the Pacification Commission of Fukien (*Fu-chien Hsuan-wei-ssu tu yuan-shuai-fu*).³³ A third inscription was added by the Ch'ien-lung emperor.

The composition is typical of the late Yuan "tree and rock" painting with no landscape background. The style resembles closely the above *Ancient Trees and Flying Cascade* (fig. 2). All the characteristic features of Chang's works — the shape and texture of the layered rock, the slender, straight tree types, the familiar patterns for clustered leaves and the hooked strokes for dry branches — can be found here. There is, however, the slightly different effect of the ink and brush on paper instead of on silk. Especially in painting the rocks, Chang's brushwork is freer in movement and drier in touch. On the rocks Chang applied the "flying white" technique often used by Chao Meng-fu (fig. 3). The short, net-like texture strokes and wet washes seen in the previous painting are now combined with longer, wavy texture strokes and drier washes. All these produced a more subtle effect in the painting.

3. *An Eagle in a Juniper Tree* (*Ying-k'uei t'u*), hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 147.3 x 96.8 cm, Peking Palace Museum (fig. 9)

Chang's inscription at upper right reads: "Old Hsueh-chieh painted the eagle, Shih-k'uei painted the old Juniper. Mr? (the character was lost by damage) from T'ung-ch'eng (Fukien) desired this, so I gave it to him."

According to the inscription, the eagle was painted by someone named Hsueh-chieh. No artist with this name is known. Yet it is quite possible that this Hsueh-chieh was referring to Ch'ien Hsueh-chieh, a nephew of Chao Meng-fu. According to Chang I-ning (1301-1370), Ch'ien was serving as the Brigade Commander (*wan-hu*) in the late Yuan.³⁴ Although there is no information available concerning Ch'ien as a painter, the fact that Chang I-ning was a close associate of both Chang Shun-tzu and Ch'ien Hsueh-chieh suggests the friendship between the two.³⁵ The eagle, here painted in a precise and stiff manner, indicates that Hsueh-chieh was probably an amateur painter. Furthermore, compared with Chang Shun-tzu's eagle in *Eagle with Ferns and Bamboo* (fig. 10), which is done in the same manner yet with superior quality, it is possible that Ch'ien was a follower of Chang in this subject. The rocks and

juniper trees painted by Chang here resemble closely those in his two works discussed previously. The elaborately textured rocks and constantly moving and curving branches are especially close to those of *Ancient Trees and Flying Cascade* (fig. 2).

4. *Eagle with Fermiana and Bamboo* (*Wu-chu ts'ang-ying*), hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 146 x 93 cm, Shantung Provincial Museum (fig. 10).

Chang's inscription reads: "Chang Shun-tzu, Shih-k'uei, painted this for Te-ying". Two additional inscriptions are by Liu Tzu-chung and Sa Ta-tao.³⁶

The composition is almost a mirror image of *An Eagle in a Juniper Tree* discussed above, except that the juniper is replaced by the fermiana and bamboo. The structure and arrangement of the bamboo, and the calligraphic brushwork for the tree branches again show strong influence of Chao Meng-fu. Yet compared with Chao, Chang had stronger interest in the contrast of the ink tones and paid less attention to the spatial recession in the arrangement of his motifs. The eagle is painted in similar manner as the one by Hsueh-chieh in *An Eagle in a Juniper Tree* (fig. 9) but with more skill and vitality. Compared with the stiff pose of the eagle by Hsueh-chieh, here the twist of the neck, the alertness of the eyes and the realistic modelling of the soft and patterned feather are all more natural and realistic. Judging from this, Chang was quite proficient in this subject, and Hsueh-chieh was probably his student.

In general, all four paintings of Chang discussed above belong to the theme of "trees and rocks" (*shu-shih*) which also occupies a major portion of Chang's recorded works. The theme which can be traced to "pine and rock" or *sung-shih* of the T'ang dynasty is closely linked with the Li-Kuo tradition of wintry trees (*han-lin*). After the Sung Dynasty, the theme became a favorite subject for scholar painters. The variety of trees includes pine, juniper, bamboo and fermiana (*wu-t'ung*). As the extant paintings of Chang revealed, his style indicates a direct relationship with the Li-Kuo tradition revived by Chao Meng-fu, T'ang Ti, Wu Chen and Sheng Mou, who were all natives of Chekiang. Altho-

ugh none of Chang's large scale landscapes survived, records confirm that they followed the same Li-Kuo trend as his "tree and rock" paintings. Wu K'uan (1435-1504) once compared Chang's style with that of Chu Te-jun, another Yuan scholar painter who followed the Li-Kuo tradition.³⁷ From the above discussion, it is clear that the Li-Kuo mode played a dominant role in the Min-Che area during the late Yuan period.

Chang's active participation in the development of this regional style in the late Yuan is also verified by his close association with painters of the area, including Pien Wu, Po Tzu-t'ing³⁸ (both from Ningop) and Chen K'eng from Chianglo, Fukien. Chang was also a member of the well known literary gatherings, *ts'ao-t'ang ya-chi* (or *Yu-shan ya-chi*), held by Ku Ying (1310-1369) in K'un-shan.³⁹ Furthermore, Chang's achievement is carried on by his follower, Ch'en Shu-ch'i, and Ch'en's student, Hsieh Huan.

Among Chang's followers, Ch'en Shu-ch'i is the most important one. Ch'en was originally from Sanshan (Fuchou), Fukien, yet he moved and settled in Yungchia in his late years.⁴⁰ Although hardly known today, Ch'en was a well known master in eastern Chekiang in the early Ming. His career was clearly helped by his close association with Huang Hsing (1339-1431), father of the powerful Yung-lo Grand Secretary, Huang Huai. Ch'en's long and intimate friendship with Huang Hsing and his son was proved by Ch'en's only extant work, *Autumn Feelings at Hsiao and Hsiang* (*Hsiao-hsiang Ch'iu-i*) (fig. 11). The painting was done for Huang Hsing, yet Ch'en died before he could finish the long handscroll. By request of Huang Hsing, the second half was completed by Wang Fu. According to Huang Hsing's inscription on this work, Ch'en's often paid long visits to Huang's residence in Yungchia.

In the early Yung-lo era (1407), Huang Huai became the Grand Secretary of Wu-ying tien, a position that made him the most important patron for both scholar and court painters at court. In the early Ming, this palace building was where the court painters worked. As the Grand Secretary of Wu-ying tien, Huang was responsible for supervising the group of Drafters assigned to the

Secretariat (*nei ko chung-shu she-jen*) who were mostly scholar painters working as calligraphers for the Grand Secretaries. The group under Huang's supervision includes Chu K'ung-i, Wang Fu and Ch'en Tsung-yuan.⁴¹ He was also in charge of the court painters who worked in the Wu-ying tien. Although Ch'en Shu-ch'i was probably too old to serve as court painter during the Yung-lo era, the patronage he received from the two Huangs helped to establish his fame in Nanking. Huang Huai often presented Ch'en's paintings to other Grand Secretaries such as Yang Shih-ch'i.⁴² Besides, it is very likely that Ch'en's favorite student, Hsieh Huan, entered the court through the recommendation of Huang Huai. The friendship of Ch'en and Huang can be traced to their common childhood in Yungchia.⁴³ According to Yang Shih-ch'i, Hsieh entered the court as a painter in the early Yung-lo reign, the same time that Huang became the most influential patron for artists in court. It was also through Huang Huai's recommendation that Ch'en Tsung-yuan, a native of T'ient'ai, in eastern Chekiang, was advanced from artisan rank to join the group of Secretariat Drafters in the early Yung-lo era.⁴⁴

Attention should be drawn to the fact that the two leading court painters of the Yung-lo era, Hsieh Huan and Kuo Wen-t'ung, were both Huang's old friends from his hometown of Yungchia. In addition, more than half of the court painters known to be active around this time were from the Min-Che region. This certainly reflects the factor of regional preference in the patronage relationship between the scholar officials and painters. Two of the most powerful patrons for painters in the Yung-lo court were Huang Huai, from Yungchia, and Yang Jung, from Fukien. Kianghsi was also represented by a powerful group of high scholar officials.⁴⁵ Yet Huang Huai was directly in charge of the court painters of the Wu-ying tien and was certainly the most influential person. It is therefore not surprising to find the dominant Yungchia group led by Hsieh Huan and Kuo Wen-t'ung. Painters from Fukien, represented by Chu Meng-yuan and Pien Wen-chin, also received favorable patronage from Yang Jung. Chu painted *T'ao Yuan-ming's Home Coming* (*Kuei-t'ien t'u*)⁴⁶ for Yang and

literary *Gathering at Hsi-yuan* (*Hsi-yuan ya-chi*) for another Fukien official, Ch'en Teng.⁴⁷ Pien's *Flowers and Birds* (*Hua-mu ling-mao*) also carries an inscription by Yang Jung.⁴⁸

Ch'en Shu-ch'i's only extant painting, *Autumn Feelings on the Hsiao and Hsiang* (*Hsiao-hsiang ch'iu-i*), is now in the Peking Palace Museum (fig.11). According to Huang Hsing's inscription on this painting, dated 1429, Ch'en intended to integrate the eight views of Hsiao-hsiang into one continuous handscroll. In order to do this, Ch'en had to eliminate three views – the autumn moon (*ch'iu-yueh*), the night shower (*yeh-yu*) and the evening snow (*mu-hsueh*) - - because of the incompatible nature of the three. This is confirmed by the composition of the extant painting, in which the five views can be identified in the following sequence: (1) Mountain village in Mist (*Shan-shih ch'ing-lan*) (2) Fishing village in Evening Glow (*Yu-ts'un hsi-chao*) (3) Evening Bell in Misty Temple (*Yen-ssu wan-chung*) (4) Wild Geese Descending to Sandbars (*P'ing-sha lo-yen*) and (5) Boats Returning to Distant Shore (*Yuan-p'u kuei-fan*). Ch'en painted the first three views, and Wang Fu the last two scenes.

Ch'en's style, as shown on this last work, reveals a strong reference to the tradition of Mi Fei, as seen by the soft, rising clouds and distant trees. The triangular shaped trees on the mountains, and trees formed by horizontal dots with "boneless" trunks are typical features known to followers of the Mi style. The expanse of ink-washed shore and the shadowy trees are also linked to paintings of the *hsiao-hsiang* theme associated with Tung Yuan and Mi Fei. These stylistic sources are affirmed by two early Ming scholars, Sung Na (1311-1390) and Wang Ju-yu (1349-1415). Sung noted that Ch'en's landscape followed the styles of both Tung Yuan and Li-Kuo, and was comparable to that of the Yuan painter, T'ang Ti.⁴⁹ Wang recorded one of Ch'en's works painted in the style of Mi Fei.⁵⁰ On the other hand, the broad, varied outlines for the mountains and rocks, as well as the irregular texture lines that often form a net-like pattern, are clearly derived from those of his teacher, Chang Shun-tzu. The combination of dry and wet washes, the sharp contrast of light and dark

are also familiar feature of Chang. Like Chang, Ch'en was also recognized as a painter who used the calligraphic technique of "flying white" (*fei-pai*) for the subject of pine and rocks.⁵¹

Although Ch'en's dates are not known, according to Yang Shih-ch'i, he enjoyed great fame in Chekiang during the early Hung-wu era (1368-1397).⁵² The date of Ch'en's death can be more easily estimated as shortly before 1412, when Huang Hsing brought Ch'en's unfinished *Autumn Feelings on the Hsiao and Hsiang* to Nanking and asked Wang Fu to complete it. Ch'en's painting had reached maturity and brought him fame in the early Hung-wu era. This success probably occurred in the 1360's after the death of his teacher, Chang Shun-tzu. Ch'en should have been at least in his twenties then. Thus, Ch'en's life span can be estimated as approximately from the 1340's to shortly before 1412.

One of Ch'en's associates, also active in the Min-Che region, was K'u-lin shang-jen, a monk painter who specialized in orchids.⁵³ K'u-lin received from Ch'en the painting, *Farewell at Hai-k'ou* (*H'ai-k'ou sung-pieh*), when the two parted in Fuchou.⁵⁴ Ch'en Hsien-chang, an ink plum painter from Shaohsing, also obtained a painting by Ch'en.⁵⁵ Yet Ch'en's highest accomplishment was achieved through his follower Hsieh Huan, who not only surpassed his teacher in fame and influence, but succeeded in carrying this regional style to the early Ming court.

Footnote

1. Translations of the Yuan and Ming institutions or official titles in this paper follow those of Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, Stanford, CA, 1985.
2. Charles O. Hucker, "Governmental Organization of the Ming Dynasty", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 21:1-66 (1958).
3. Hou-mei Sung Ishida, "Wang Fu and the Formation of the Wu School", Ph.D. dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, 1974 (cited as Wang Fu), chapter 1, pp.7-31.
4. For a discussion of the evolution of the dual capitals of Nanking and Peking in the early Ming, see Edward L. Farmer, *Early Ming Government*, Cambridge, MA, 1970.
5. Liu Sung, *Ch'a-weng shih-chi* (Ssu-k'u ed., Taipei, 1972), ch. 4, pp.3-4.
6. For a detailed discussion of the official title *Chung-shu she-jen*, See Hou-mei Sung Ishida, "Early Ming Painters in Nanking and the Formation of the Wu School", *Ars Orientalis*, Vol. 17, 1987,

- pp. 73-115.
7. *Ibid.*
 8. *Ibid.*
 9. Hsia Wen-yen, *T'u-hui pao-chien* (Shanghai, 1936), ch. 5, p. 88.
 10. The hao of Chang as Tse-tsui wong was recorded by Lin Pi in *Lin Teng-chou chi* (Taipei, 1971), ch. 6, p. 10, p. 11.
 11. Wu Shih-tao, *Wu Cheng-ch'uan hsien-sheng wen-chi* (Taipei, 1960, cited as *Wu Cheng-ch'uan chi*), ch. 18, pp. 553-554. The date of Chang Yuan-fu's death can be estimated since this epitaph was written seven years after his death when Chang Shun-tzu went to the capital for his new assignment as the District Assistant Magistrate of Lunghsi which is in 1341 or early 1342 (see discussion in the following text).
 12. This is based on the biography of Chang Yuan-fu recorded briefly in *Shao-hsing fu-chih*. The two very likely referred to the same person. See *Yuan-jen chuan-chi tzu-liao so-yin* (Taipei, 1980, cited as *Yuan-jen*), p. 1112.
 13. Kung Su, *Ts'un-hui chai-chi* (sse-k'u ed.), hsu pu-i, p. 3.
 14. Ku Ying, *Ts'ao-t'ang ya-chi* (Taipei, 1972), ch. 6, p. 2.
 15. Wu Shih-tao, *Wu Cheng-ch'uan Chi*, ch. 18, pp. 553-554.
 16. Lin Pi, *Lin Teng-chou chi*, ch. 23, p. 15.
 17. *Yuan-jen*, p. 1744.
 18. *Ibid.*, p. 1278.
 19. *Ibid.*, p. 1094.
 20. *Ibid.*, pp. 401-404.
 21. Lin Pi, *Lin Teng-chou chi*, ch. 23, p. 12.
 22. *Ibid.*, see preface by T'ang Ch'en.
 23. Yuan Hua, *Keng-hsueh-chai shih-chi* (ssu-K'u ed.), ch. 6, p. 14.
 24. Wu Shih-tao, *Wu Cheng-ch'uan chi*, ch. 18, pp. 553-554.
 25. *Yuan-jen*, p. 1278.
 26. Lin Pi, *Lin Teng-chou chi*, ch. 23, p. 7.
 27. *Ibid.*
 28. Chang Chu, *T'ui-an chi* (ssu-K'u ed.), ch. 1, p. 23.
 29. Ling Yun-han, *Che hsuan chi* (ssu-k'u ed.), ch. 1, p. 5.
 30. Chen Ch'ien, *Shu-an lei-kao* (ssu-k'u ed.), ch. 1, p. 21.
 31. Chen K'eng (tzu: Tzu-sheng) was known as a poet, calligrapher and a painter from Chiang-lo, Fukien (*Yen-p'ing fu-chih*, ch. 31, p. 26).
 32. Pien Wu was sometimes listed as a native of Peking or Lunghsi (Kansu), yet Pien's own inscription on Chang Shun-tzu's *Shu-shih t'u* mentioned that he was a native of Yung-tung (Ningpo, chekiang).
 33. Pien probably received the low ranking position of *ling-shih* in Fukien sometime between 1340 and 1350. This estimation is based on one of Wang Mien's poems written for Pien before Pien's departure for Fukien (*Chu-chai shih-chi*, ch. 4, p. 14). In Wang's poem, he mentioned their common friend Tu Pen. Since Tu died in 1350, it is therefore clear that Pien must have left for Fukien before 1350. Also, according to Pien's inscription on a painting by Wang Yuan-chung, dated 1345, Pien wrote that Wang had died when Pien returned to ko-wu (western Chekinag) in March that year (*Shih-ch'u pao-chi*, ch'u-pien, p. 428). Judging from the above information, it is likely that Pien had moved to Fukien before 1345 and wrote this during this visit back to his home in Chekiang.
 34. Chang I-ning, *Ts'ui-p'ing chi* (ssu-k'u ed.), ch. 1, pp. 9-10.

35. *Ibid.*, ch. 1, pp. 33-34, "T'i Wu Tzu-ho shan-shui".
36. There is no information available for Liu Tzu-chung. As for Sa Ta-tao, according to Lin Pi, *Lin-teng-chou chi* (ch. 2, p. 10), Sa was born in the same year as Lin (in 1325).
37. Wu K'uan, *Pao-wong chia-ts'ang-chi*, ch. 3, p. 17.
38. Po Tzu-t'ing (1284-?) was a monk painter specialized in old trees and rocks. He was also a member of the *Ts'ao-t'ang* (or *Yu-shan*) literary gatherings held by Ku Ying at K'un-shan. Po's friendship with Chang Shun-tzu is indicated by Chang's poems written for Po recorded by Ku Ying in *Ts'ao-t'ang ya-chi* (ssu-k'u ed.), ch. 6, p. 3 and p. 4.
39. Ku Ying, *Ts'ao-t'ang ya-chi*, ch. 1, p. 15; ch. 6, p. 2; ch. 14, p. 2, and (*Yu-shan ming-sheng yai-chi* (ssu-k'u ed.), p. 5.
40. Yuan Piao, *Min-chung shih-tzu shih* (ssu-k'u ed.), ch. 9, 0. 1.
41. Hou-mei sung Ishida, Wang Fu, chapter 1, pp. 23-31.
42. Yang Shih-ch'i, *Tung-li wen-chi* (ssu-k'u ed.), ch. 5, p. 12; *Tung-li shih-chi*, ch. 1, p. 18.
43. Huang Huai, *Chieh-an chi* (ssu-k'u ed.), ch. 5, p. 35.
44. Liu Ch'ang, *Hsien-ssu so-t'an chai-ch'ao* (ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an ed.), p. 33.
45. Among the Grand Secretaries of the Yung-lo era, Yang Shih-ch'i, Chin Yu-tzu and Hu Yen are all from Chianghsi province.
46. Yang Jung, *Yang Wen-min kung chi* (ssu-k'u ed.), ch. 15, p. 3.
47. Yang Shih-ch'i, *Tung-li hsu-chi*, ch. 2, p. 11.
48. Yang Jung, *Yang Wen-min kung chi*, ch. 7, p. 11.
49. Sung Na, *Hsi-yin wen-kao* (ssu-k'u ed.), ch. 2, pp. 33-34.
50. Wang Ju-yu, *Ch'ing-ch'eng shan-jen chi* (ssu-k'u ed.), ch. 1, p. 12.
51. Ying Yun-han, *Che-hsuan chi*, ch. 2, p. 2.
52. Yang Shih-ch'i, *Tung-li wen-chi*, ch. 4, pp. 16-17.
53. see *Chung-kuo mei-shu chia jen-min tze-tien* (Shanghai 1981) and Liu Sung, *Ch'a-wong shih-chi*, ch. 7, p. 83.
54. Liu Sung, *Ch'a-wong shih-chi*, ch. 7, p. 82.
55. Huang Huai, *Chieh-an chi* (ssu-k'u ed.), ed. 4, p. 17.

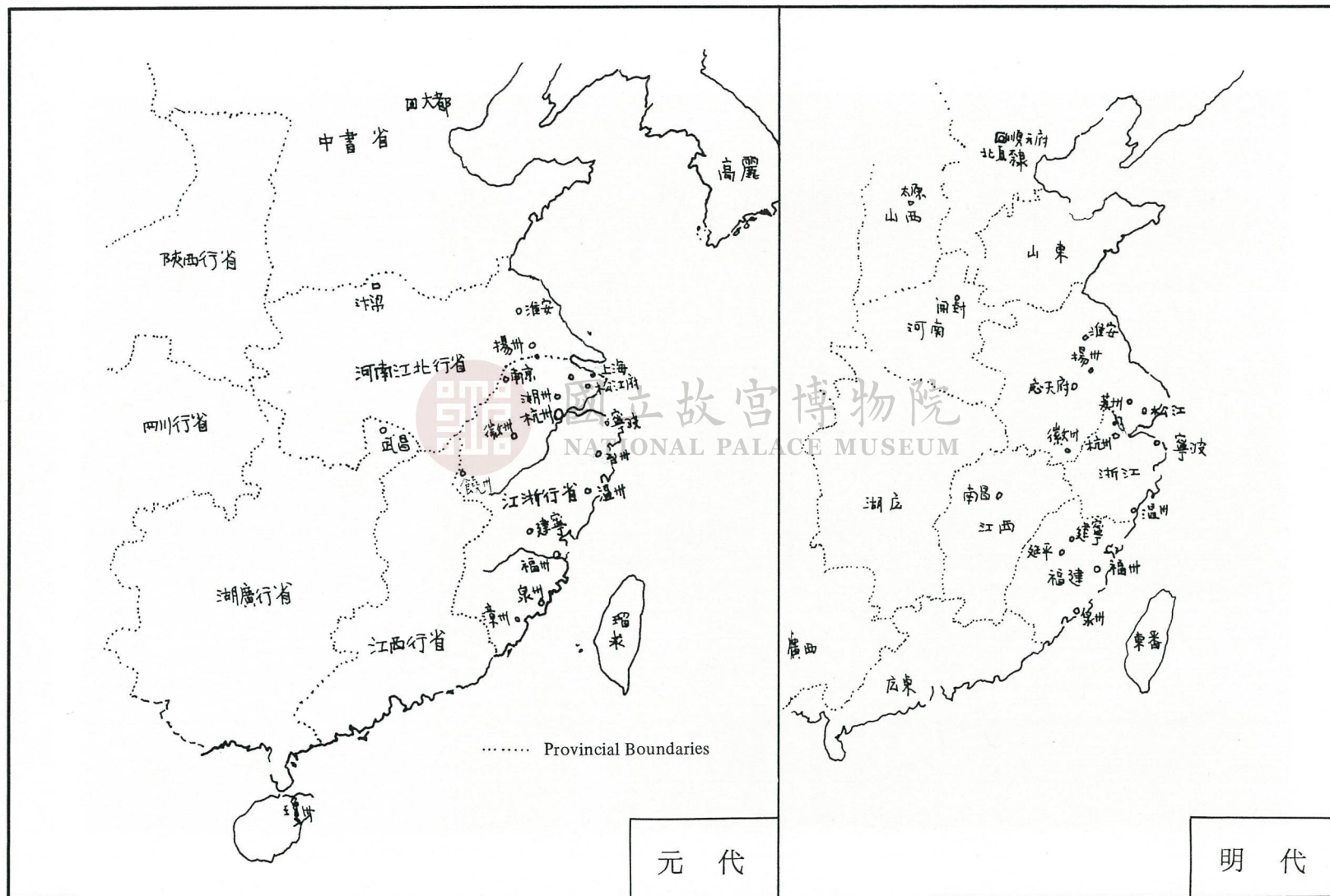


Fig. 1. Map (showing provincial boundaries) of the Southern Yangtzu river region in the Yuan and Ming Dynasties



Fig. 2. Chang Shun-tzu, *Ancient trees and Flying Cascades (Ku-mu fei-ch'uan)*, dated 1347, hanging scroll, ink on silk, 146.3 x 89.6 cm, National Palace Museum



Fig. 3. Chao Meng-fu, *Bamboo, Rock and Old Tree (Ku-mu chu-shih)*, hanging scroll, ink on paper, 99.4 x 48.2 cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei



Fig. 4. Wu Chen, *Two Pine Trees* (*Shuang-sung p'ing-yuan*), hanging scroll, ink on silk, 180.1 x 111.4 cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei



Fig. 5. Sheng Mou, *Wintry Trees (Han-lin t'u)*, hanging scroll, ink and light color on silk, 119.6 x 49.6 cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei



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Fig. 6. Sheng Mou, *A Hermit Seated under Autumn Trees* (Ch'iu-lin kao-shih), hanging scroll, ink and light color on silk, 135.3 x 59 cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei



Fig. 7. T'ang Ti, *Landscape in Manner of Kuo Hsi*, hanging scroll, ink and light collar on silk, 151.9 x 103.7 cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei



Fig. 8. Chang Shun-tzu, *Tree and Rock* (Shu-shih t'u), dated 1349, hanging scroll, ink on paper, 112.5 x 35 cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei



Fig. 9. Chang Shun-tzu, *An Eagle in a Juniper Tree* (*Ying-kuai t'u*) hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 147.3 x 96.8 cm, Peking Palace Museum



Fig. 10. Chang Shun-tzu, *Eagle with Fermiana and Bamboo* (Wu-chu ts'ang-ying), hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 146 x 93 cm, Shangtung Provincial Museum

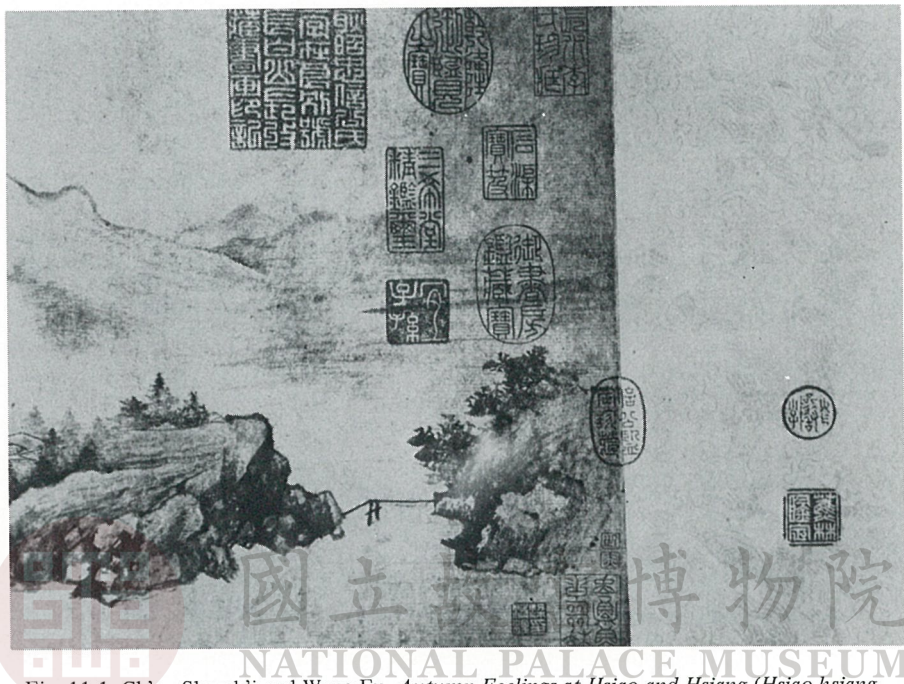


Fig. 11-1. Ch'en Shu-ch'i and Wang Fu, *Autumn Feelings at Hsiao and Hsiang (Hsiao-hsiang ch'iu-i)*, handscroll, ink on paper, Peking Palace Museum



Fig. 11-2

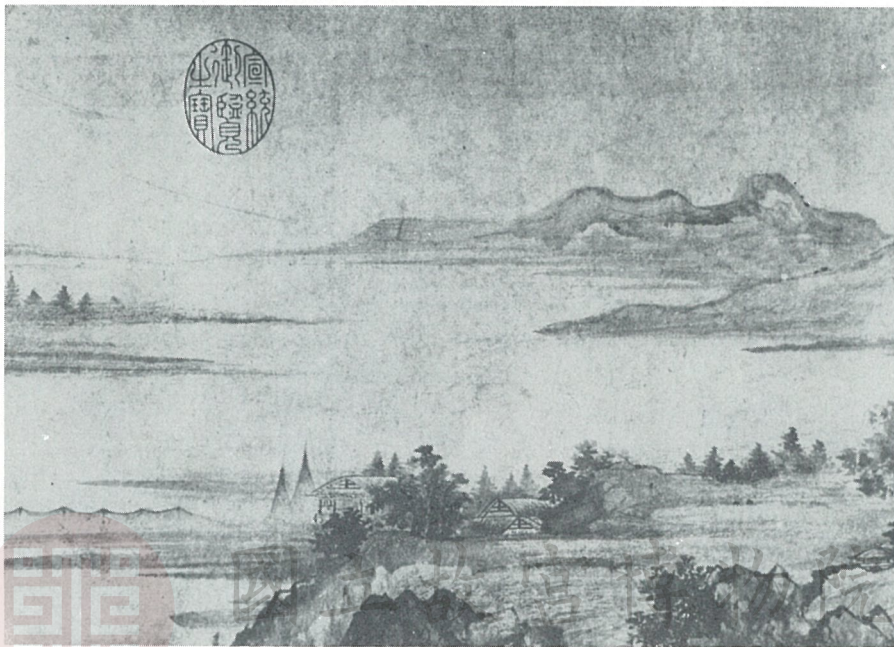


Fig. 11-3

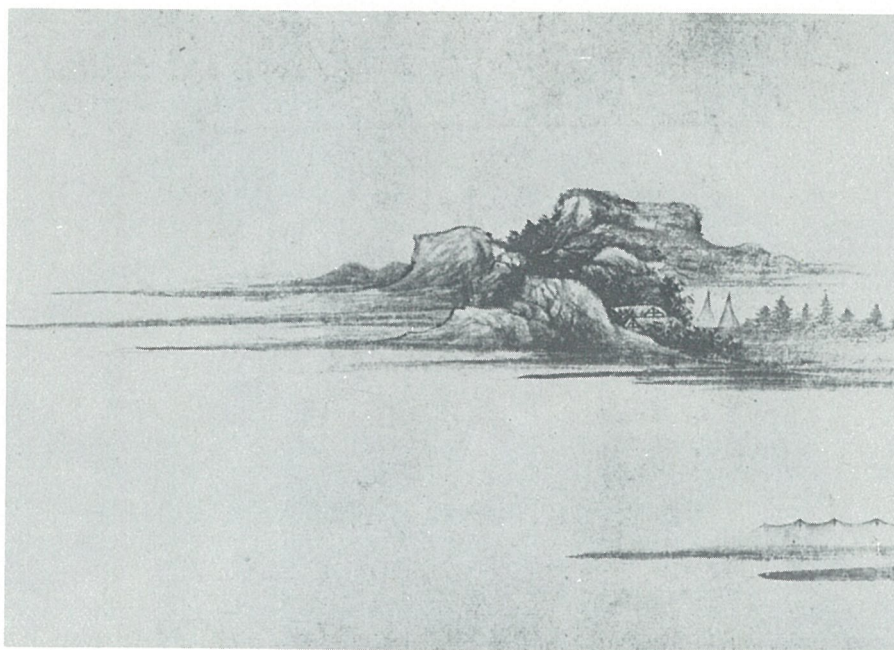


Fig. 11-4

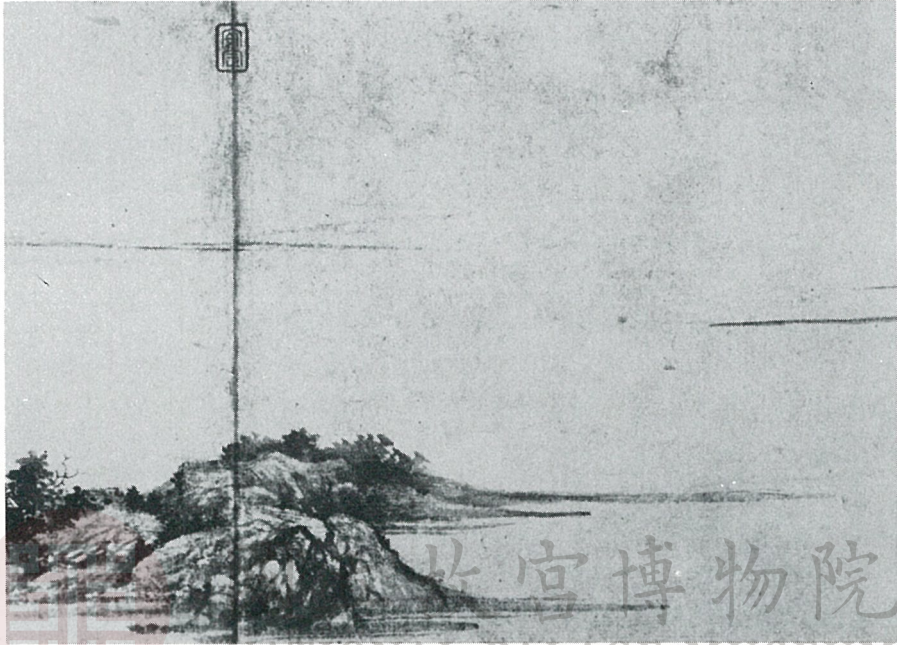


Fig. 11-5

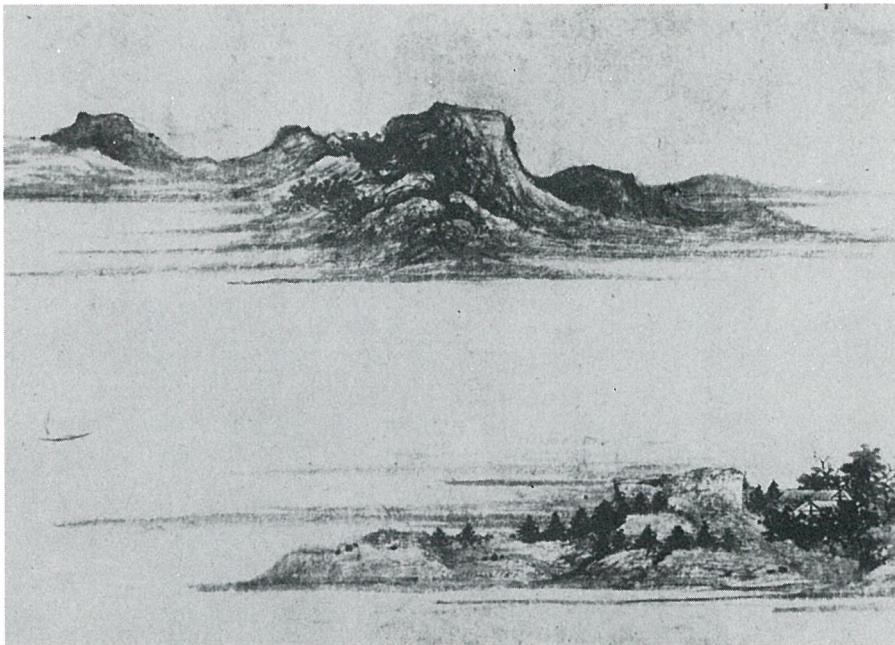


Fig. 11-6



Fig. 11-7

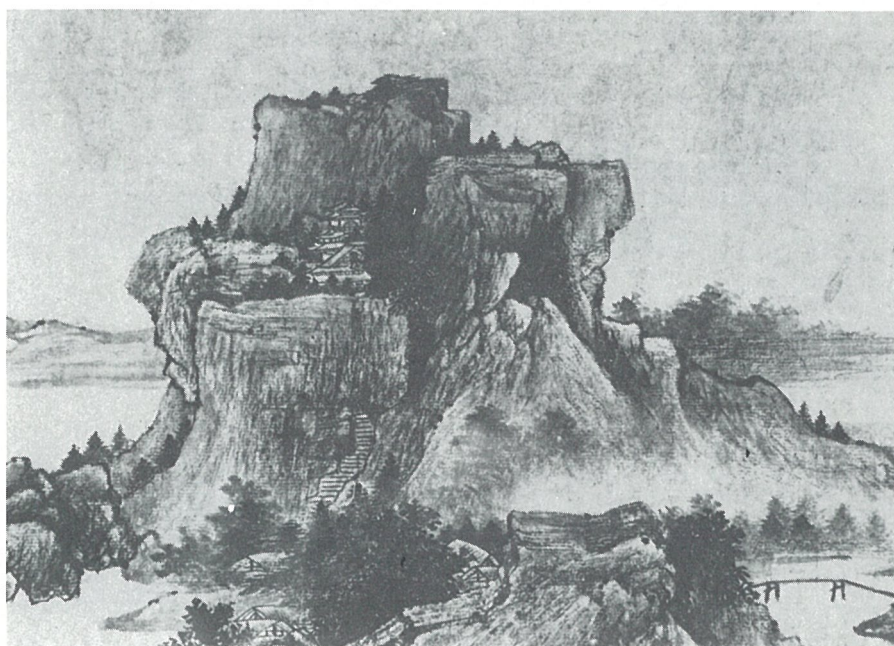


Fig. 11-8

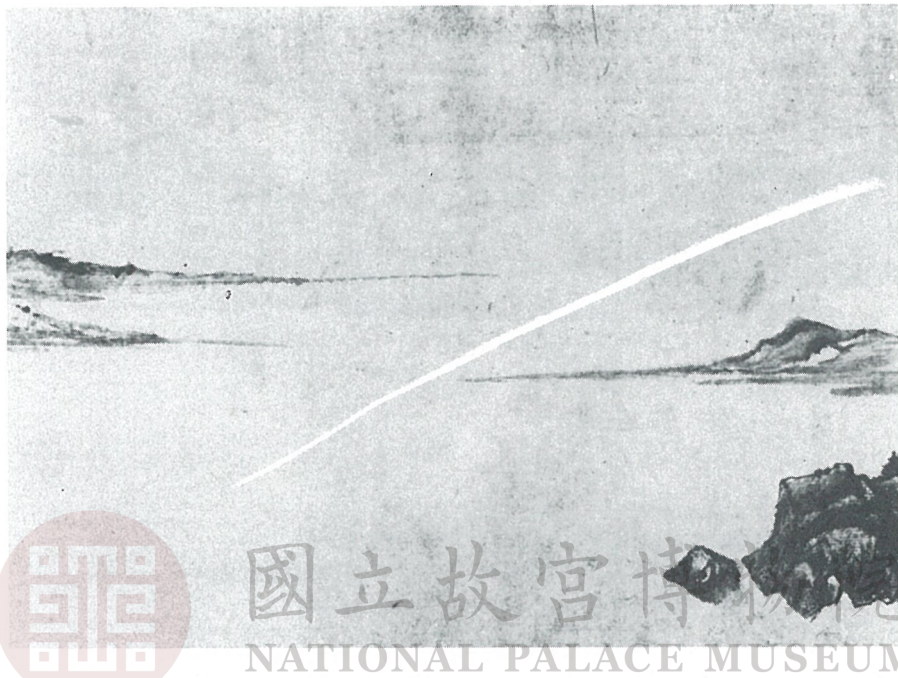


Fig. 11-9

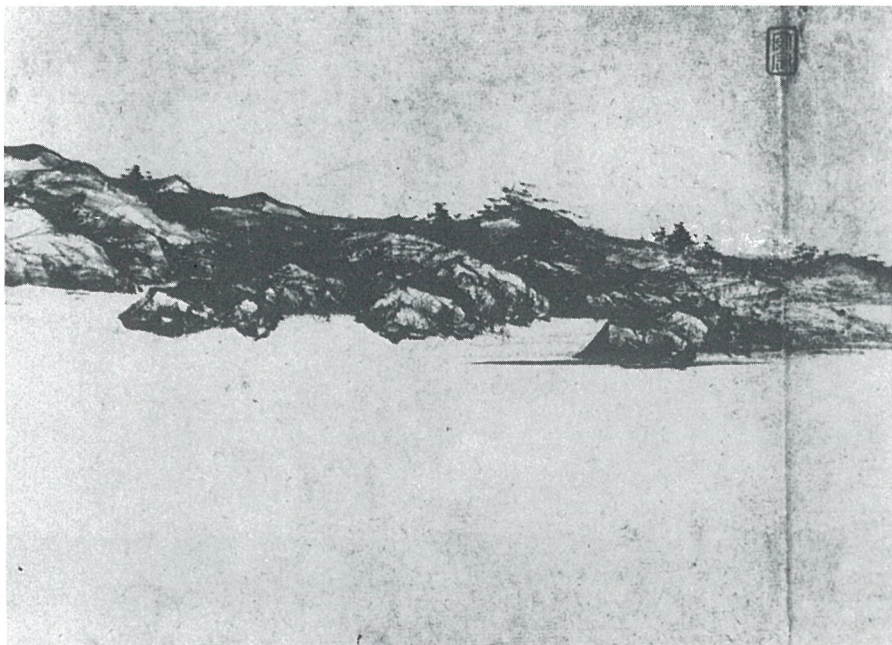


Fig. 11-10

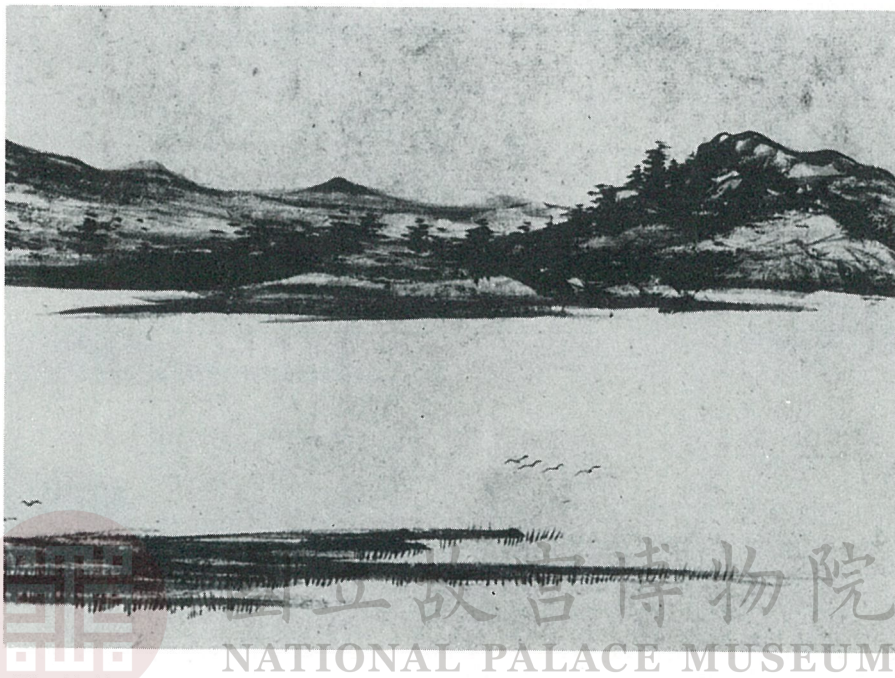


Fig. 11-11



Fig. 11-12

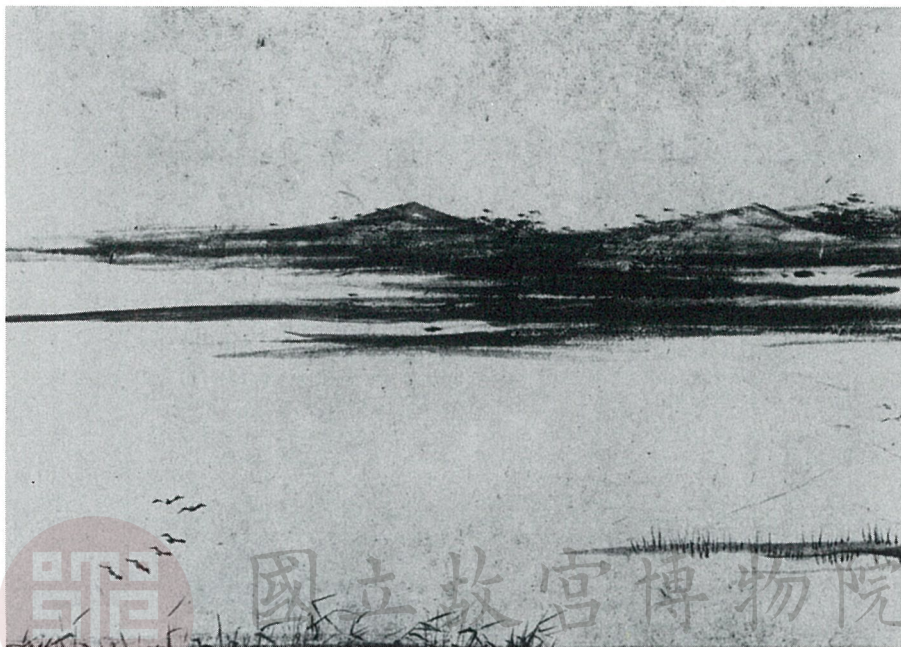


Fig. 11-13

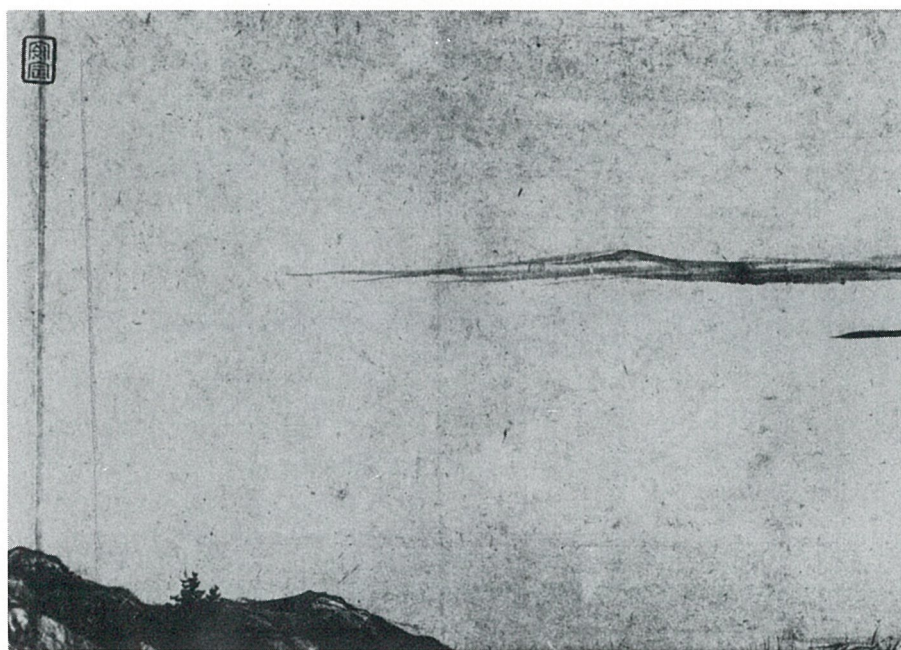


Fig. 11-14



Fig. 11-15

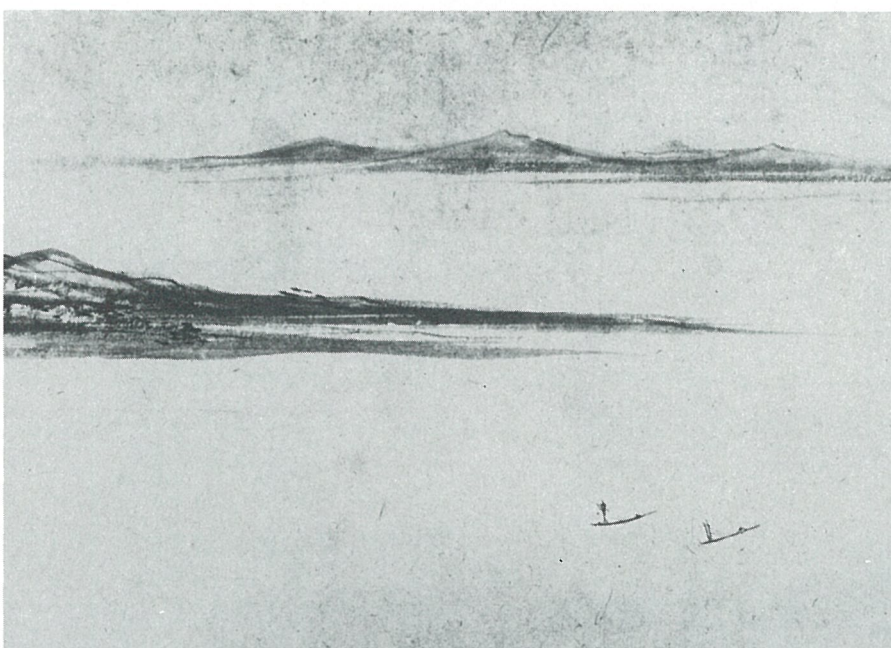


Fig. 11-16



Fig. 11-17

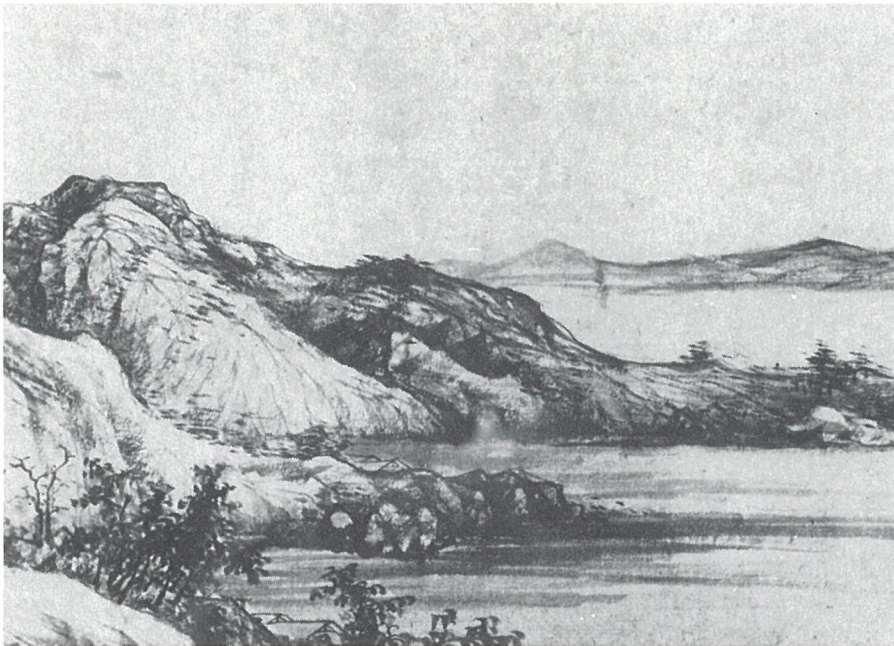


Fig. 11-18



Fig. 11-19

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