

香港大學博物館館刊

扶林

The University of Hong Kong
Museum
Journal

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扶林 香港大學博物館館刊
The University of Hong Kong Museum Journal

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Publisher

University Museum and Art Gallery

The University of Hong Kong

www.hku.hk/hkumag

出版

香港大學美術博物館

Edition

September 2002

版次

二零零二年九月

Printing

Oak Promotion and Marketing Co.

印刷

Oak Promotion and Marketing Co.

ISBN 962-8038-45-1

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國際書號 962-8038-45-1

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中國歷史年代表

Chinese Periods and Dynasties

新石器時代	Neolithic Period	c. 6500 — 1500 B.C.	隋	Sui Dynasty	581 — 618
裴李崗文化	Peiligang Culture	c. 6500 — 5000 B.C.	唐	Tang Dynasty	618 — 907
仰韶文化	Yangshao Culture	c. 5000 — 1500 B.C.	五代	Five Dynasties	907 — 960
河姆渡文化	Hemudu Culture	c. 5000 — 3000 B.C.	遼	Liao Dynasty	907 — 1125
大溪文化	Daxi Culture	c. 5000 — 3000 B.C.	宋	Song Dynasty	960 — 1279
馬家浜文化	Majiabang Culture	c. 5000 — 3500 B.C.	北宋	Northern Song	960 — 1127
大汶口文化	Dawenkou Culture	c. 4300 — 2400 B.C.	南宋	Southern Song	1127 — 1279
崧澤文化	Songze Culture	c. 4000 — 2500 B.C.	金	Jin Dynasty	1115 — 1234
紅山文化	Hongshan Culture	c. 3800 — 2700 B.C.	元	Yuan Dynasty	1271 — 1368
良渚文化	Liangzhu Culture	c. 3300 — 2250 B.C.	明	Ming Dynasty	1368 — 1644
龍山文化	Longshan Culture	c. 3000 — 1700 B.C.	洪武	Hongwu	1368 — 1398
齊家文化	Qijia Culture	c. 2250 — 1900 B.C.	建文	Jianwen	1399 — 1402
夏	Xia Dynasty	c. 2100 — c. 1600 B.C.	永樂	Yongle	1403 — 1424
商	Shang Dynasty	c. 1600 — c. 1050 B.C.	洪熙	Hongxi	1425
周	Zhou Dynasty	c. 1050 — 221 B.C.	宣德	Xuande	1426 — 1435
西周	Western Zhou	c. 1050 — 771 B.C.	正統	Zhengtong	1436 — 1449
東周	Eastern Zhou	770 — 256 B.C.	景泰	Jingtai	1450 — 1456
春秋	Spring and Autumn	770 — 476 B.C.	天順	Tianshun	1457 — 1464
戰國	Warring States	475 — 221 B.C.	成化	Chenghua	1465 — 1487
秦	Qin Dynasty	221 — 206 B.C.	弘治	Hongzhi	1488 — 1505
漢	Han Dynasty	206 B.C. — A.D. 220	正德	Zhengde	1506 — 1521
西漢	Western Han	206 B.C. — A.D. 8	嘉靖	Jiajing	1522 — 1566
新朝	Xin Dynasty	9 — 23	隆慶	Longqing	1567 — 1572
東漢	Eastern Han	25 — 220	萬曆	Wanli	1573 — 1620
三國	Three Kingdoms	220 — 280	泰昌	Taichang	1620
魏	Wei Kingdom	220 — 265	天啟	Tianqi	1621 — 1627
蜀	Shu Kingdom	221 — 263	崇禎	Chongzhen	1628 — 1644
吳	Wu Kingdom	222 — 280	清	Qing Dynasty	1644 — 1911
晉	Jin Dynasty	265 — 420	順治	Shunzhi	1644 — 1661
西晉	Western Jin	265 — 317	康熙	Kangxi	1662 — 1722
東晉	Eastern Jin	317 — 420	雍正	Yongzheng	1723 — 1735
南北朝	Northern & Southern Dynasties	420 — 589	乾隆	Qianlong	1736 — 1795
北朝		386 — 581	嘉慶	Jiaqing	1796 — 1820
北魏	Northern Wei	386 — 534	道光	Daoguang	1821 — 1850
東魏	Eastern Wei	534 — 550	咸豐	Xianfeng	1851 — 1861
西魏	Western Wei	535 — 557	同治	Tongzhi	1862 — 1874
北齊	Northern Qi	550 — 577	光緒	Guangxu	1875 — 1908
北周	Northern Zhou	557 — 581	宣統	Xuantong	1909 — 1911
南朝	Southern Dynasties	420 — 589			
劉宋	Liu-Song	420 — 479			
南齊	Southern Qi	479 — 502			
梁	Liang	502 — 557			
陳	Chen	557 — 589			

A museum exists to disseminate knowledge. The basis of any museum is its collections. This is conserved, catalogued, stored, and finally, following study, research, and the creation of a story or concept, displayed and exhibited to the public as a vehicle by which to introduce knowledge. When a museum does not have a strong collection, it has to rely on collectors or other museums to aid in its mission.

Exhibitions are ephemeral in nature, but their messages should reverberate beyond their lifetime. Museum publications help to serve this purpose. Not only do they publish research results, they also reveal different approaches. So while the work of a museum may seem to be exhibition-based, it is actually very much connected to collecting, research, teaching and publishing.

The University Museum and Art Gallery has evolved from its origins as the Fung Ping Shan Museum, founded in 1953. Over nearly fifty years, we have tried to contribute to our field and continue to persevere in achieving our goals.

Our latest challenge is to produce a bilingual museum journal which aims to gather together the research of scholars in the fields of Chinese art history, early Hong Kong culture, and museology, in a single volume.

The University Museum and Art Gallery is grateful to its friends, students and public for their continuing support and looks forward to contributing to the world of knowledge through *The University of Hong Kong Museum Journal*.

YEUNG Chun-tong

Director

University Museum and Art Gallery

前言

Foreword

我們在博物館，做的是資訊傳播的工作。首先收集文物藝術品，將這些學習的資料儲存起來。然後研究和展出藏品，把它們蘊含的知識介紹給觀眾。若收藏不足，我們便須做借展的工作了。

展覽不會是永久陳列的，我們必要將展覽的訊息留傳下來。因此，博物館便把研究展品的心得編成圖冊，或將這些研究向觀眾講授，或向觀眾演繹研究得來的技法。凡此種種，博物館的資訊傳播看來以展覽為主導，而實際上包含了收藏、研究、展覽、講學和出版等多面體。

香港大學美術博物館的前身是馮平山博物館，成立於1953年，至今快五十歲了。在這數十寒暑裡面，我們做了很少工作，但我們有能力去做的工作也顯然很少。不過，我們是希望努力下去的。

這博物館學刊便是我們的新挑戰。我們嘗試將專家學者的研究，以書刊形式展覽出來，內容大概有中國美術史，香港早期文化和博物館學等三個重點。

今天，經過多方努力，它終於面世了。我們感謝您們的支持，也等待您們給予更多力量，讓我們有能力把它延生下去，去做更多值得去做的事情。

香港大學位於香港薄扶林區，我們將館刊定名“扶林”，表示它屬於香港大學的一本刊物；這刊物也是屬於博物館的，我們希望它能引起各方朋友，去扶助文化藝術之林。

這園林千姿百態，叫人心醉，也覓人開發。我誠摯地，邀請您們一起參與扶林。

香港大學美術博物館

總監 楊春棠

In this first issue of The University of Hong Kong Museum Journal we begin where we hope to continue with articles on museological issues, Chinese art history, the history and archaeology of Hong Kong, and articles reflecting our recent exhibition activities. As a bilingual publication, the aim is to provide a forum for dialogue between Chinese and Western scholars.

Barbara Isaac's paper discusses cultural preservation, an issue that concerns museum workers, archaeologists, anthropologists and art historians, among others. Museums preserve objects through conservation, and by presenting them for study, research and education. But what happens when objects in museums occupy iconic or mythic status within the culture that they were made? Should they then be returned to their place of origin? Isaac presents a number of case studies from North America, principally of Native American cultures, where items of cultural patrimony, or objects defined as sacred, housed in museums, have been 'repatriated'. Most museums accept the ethical arguments for returning items of great cultural importance to their place of origin, particularly as many were acquired under dubious circumstances, yet many fear that to do so would "open the floodgates". One prominent example is the annual request from the Greek government to the British Museum for the return of the Parthenon marbles.

However, Isaac's article is instructive in that following the implementation of the 1990 North American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, the number of objects for which repatriation has been sought fall far short of floodgate-opening numbers.

How can these North American case studies inform us in thinking about Chinese antiquities in museums? The Chinese government is a signatory to the 1970 UNESCO convention outlawing the illicit import, export, and transfer of cultural property, and has been gently negotiating for the return of looted artworks since the 1950s. Some museums have voluntarily arranged for the return of artworks to China,¹ while others have decided to consider objects in their collections as long-term loans from China.² Hong Kong complies with the international convention on national treasures, but only in the event of war, and is not governed by national legislation under the Basic Law.

There have been some discomfiting signs of nationalism surrounding the return of other antiquities returning to China, even when by market means. In May 2000, the Beijing-based commercial arm of the People's Liberation Army (PLA), known as the Poly Group, purchased three bronze animal heads originally used as architectural fittings on a fountain at the Yuanming Yuan.

序言

Introduction

Before the auction took place in Hong Kong, the Chinese government requested that the international auctioneers, Christie's and Sotheby's, cancel the sales, and return the objects to China. The request was rejected. Many considered the return of the heads of great national importance and ugly scenes ensued outside the auction venues between the police and members of the April 5th Action Group, demanding the return of the objects.

The heads were originally taken from the Yuanming Yuan by Anglo-French forces in 1860 before they systematically destroyed it. Ironically, the heads were made by the Italian Jesuit, Father Giuseppe Castiglione (1688-1766), who also designed the fountain on which they were fitted. Castiglione trained as a painter and architect, and went to China as a missionary at the age of 27, where he was summoned to the palace as a court painter. Since their return to Beijing, the heads have been exhibited at the Poly Art Museum in Poly Plaza.

Regardless of whether China will make overt requests for the repatriation of artworks, such as that made by the Greek government, museums and other bodies would benefit from a culturally sensitive definition of objects central to the national or cultural life of a country. This would give clear guidance to museums as to which objects may be governed by that definition, and advise in the purchasing of objects, as well as in the ethics of accepting donations that cannot demonstrate provenance.

The Yuanming Yuan is also the subject of Cary Y. Liu's detailed account of the emergence of architects as professional, and holistic, building designers in China. The Yuanming Yuan was important in defining a new architectural typology, that of the "garden-palace". The garden was given to the future Yongzheng emperor by the Kangxi emperor in 1709 who expanded it to become his main residence when he ascended to the throne. Kangxi's tour of southern China and his subsequent interest in garden design influenced imperial gardens in focusing less upon buildings, and more upon gardens. The Yuanming Yuan continued to grow during the Qianlong reign, with the addition of Western style palaces, built by Jesuits, such as Giuseppe Castiglione.

Liu is associate curator at one of the most impressive university museums in the United States, the Princeton Art Museum.³ University museums are the subject of Stacey Pierson's article on the institutional framing of collections of Chinese art. How art is displayed does not just affect how it is perceived but, in the case of the art of other cultures, reflects how that culture is perceived and so re-presented to the public. Pierson discusses different approaches to China and her art in the displays of British institutions, with a particular emphasis on university museums.

As part of educational establishments, university museums, more perhaps than others, are regarded as having a strong educational mission, and are particularly sensitive to public perception. Often university museums specialise in a particular field or discipline, leading sometimes to the assumption that they are open only to scholars or students. Among some of the best examples are, the Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art in London, and the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford. Others such as the Princeton Art Museum have extensive collections that encompass ancient and contemporary art from regions around the world. All serve a dual purpose in being open to the public as well as fulfilling their educational function. This usually includes using the collections in teaching, allowing students to work on the collections as part of their studies, and presenting the results of collections-based research.

In some institutions, the roles of curators and art educators occasionally overlap, as educators are encouraged to use museum collections, and curators become educators, which has enriched both fields enormously.⁴ Many university museums serve their institutions well, often being its only public face, and so an immediate and obvious contribution to their communities. In Hong Kong, there are two university museums, The Art Museum of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, and the University Museum and Art Gallery at The University of Hong Kong. Regardless of the quality or content of their exhibitions, both are perceived as being more serious than their government counterparts, and difficult to find, considerations that affect visitor numbers. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that since Hong Kong has grown from being a city with a single university, to one with eight, that each higher education institution has a gallery, or at least an area in which it can display exhibitions.

Unlike national institutions that are funded by government, university museums are funded by their parent institutions. Increasingly, however, they also depend on private and in some case corporate sponsors. With the financial, and in some cases ethical, difficulties of building up a good collection of artworks, it has become important for museums that do not have strong collections, to develop relationships with private collectors who are usually happy to show objects from their collections in exchange for the research that museums can offer in the process of mounting an exhibition of scholarly or educational value.

The University Museum and Art Gallery once held an important collection of early stamped pottery finds excavated by Father Daniel Finn in Hong Kong during the 1930s. These have since

been transferred to the Hong Kong Museum of History but are the focus of Yeung Chun-tong's paper on the motifs used on pottery found in Hong Kong, from the Neolithic period through to the Han dynasty. While to the untrained eye, many of the motifs are geometric or abstract decorative designs, Yeung argues that they are expressions of the primary concerns of the day. These include the male and female order of the world (*yin-yang* cosmology) the worship of totems, and wonder at the miracle of procreation. Many of the motifs are recognisable transformations of those used by the cultural systems of southern China and the Central Plains, thus linking the early culture of Hong Kong to that of greater China.

Each year the University Museum and Art Gallery endeavours to present at least one major exhibition where it holds a symposium to share the researches of invited scholars. In 2001, we held an exhibition of Ming and Qing figure paintings from the Shanghai Museum. The articles included here by Hou-mei Sung and Shan Guolin were presented at a symposium to accompany that exhibition.⁵ Shan's paper is a general survey of the developments in Ming and Qing figure painting while Sung's concentrates on three artists of the mid-Ming period. Sung discusses how the works of these artists show how the language of figure painting transformed from one of historical realism, to one in which the Confucian values of the Ming period were conveyed.

In 2003 the Museum celebrates its 50th anniversary with two large exhibitions in the spring. The first will be on Taoist Art from the Shanxi Provincial Museum, and the second will focus on the China Trade and Chinese Export Art. We look forward to presenting papers from those activities in the second University of Hong Kong Museum Journal.

Notes

- 1 Isaac cites the example of the National Gallery of Canada.
- 2 The private Miho Museum on the outskirts of Kyoto now considers a sixth century bodhisattva in its collection to be on long term loan from China.
- 3 See www.princetonartmuseum.org.
- 4 See for example Wu Hung's recent exhibitions at the University of Chicago's Smart Museum of Art, which are not of ancient Chinese art or architecture, which is a field he has published extensively in, but in experimental Chinese art. See www.smartmuseum.uchicago.edu for past exhibitions entitled "Cancelled" and "Transience" presented in 2000/ 2001 and 1999 respectively.
- 5 See the catalogue, *Ancients in Profile: Ming and Qing Figure Paintings from the Shanghai Museum*. University Museum and Art Gallery, The University of Hong Kong, 2001.

香港大學美術博物館創立館刊《扶林》，目的是發表博物館學、中國美術史、香港歷史，以及博物館展覽等有關論文，希望這本中英文的雙語刊物，成為東西方學者交流的地方。

芭芭拉伊薩撰寫的文章論述文化保存，這是博物館工作者、考古學家、人類學家和藝術史學家一向關注的題目。博物館修補文物以作保存，展出文物以達到學習、研究和教育的目的。然而藏品若蘊含宗主國膜拜的聖像或神話意義時，是否應該把它歸還原地呢？伊薩列舉若干北美洲的例子，一些藏品被發現是美洲土著文化的祖傳文物或聖物後，結果都物歸原主。大多數博物館基於良知，同意把附有重大文化意義的物品，尤其是來歷不明的，歸還原地。但另一方面，博物館界同時憂慮申索文物的先例一開，會觸發“一發不可收拾”的局面。譬如希臘政府每年都向英國重提舊事，討回巴特龍大理石雕柱。

伊薩指出，美國於1990年頒發美洲土著墓穴保護及歸還法案，規範了文物或其他文化物品的歸還守則，真正提出的申索卻畢竟有限。

依據北美洲的個案，我們應如何處理博物館藏中國古物的問題？聯合國教育、科學及文化組織於1970年制訂非法進口、出口和轉讓文化財產的協議，中國成為締約國。從1950年代起，中國已陸續交涉討回被盜的藝術品，一些博物館自願歸還，¹也有同意將物品列為中國長期借展的文物。²目前香港遵守關於戰時處理國寶的國際規例，但根據基本法，這是不在中國法律的管轄範圍。

中國文物的歸國，無可避免會招來不快的事件，連商業交易也不例外。2000年5月，隸屬中華人民共和國解放軍部的保利集團購得三件動物的銅首，原來它們是圓明園中裝飾噴泉用的建築配件。

在香港的拍賣會舉行以前，中國政府已要求蘇富比和佳士得兩間國際拍賣行取消拍賣，並把文物歸還，可惜不獲接納。不少人認為歸還銅首涉及國家尊嚴，會場外更發生聲討歸還文物的組織與警方衝突起來。

1860年英法聯軍徹底破壞圓明園以前，掠奪了銅首而致流失海外。諷刺的地方是，銅首原本由意大利傳教士郎世寧（1688—1766）鑄造，他亦是水池的設計師。郎世寧出身畫家和建築師，二十七歲時來到中國傳道，後奉召入朝廷當宮廷畫師。銅首送返北京後，一直存放在保利大廈內保利藝術博物館展出。

無論中國會否如希臘政府一樣追討文物，若能以文化層面定義，去處理對國家和文化生活具重大意義的物品，博物館和其他團體都能得益。博物館既得指引去辨別或合法採購這些重要文物；在面對來歷不明文物的捐贈時，亦有道德守則可依循。

劉怡瑋的圓明園文章，敘述中國建築師的冒起，後來發展成專業的房屋設計師。他指出圓明園的建造引出“皇家宮苑”這個新建築類型。圓明園是康熙皇帝於1709年賞賜給當時還未登基的雍正。雍正即位後，把圓明園擴張成他的主要行宮。康熙南巡後對庭園設計產生興趣，繼而影響後來皇家庭園的設計由建築物主導變成庭園主導。圓明園到乾隆年間還經過擴建，加入了郎世寧等傳教士設計的西洋宮殿。

劉是普林斯頓大學美術博物館³的副館長，該館是美國境內著名的大學博物館。畢宗陶便以大學博物館作為文章的焦點，論述這些機構收藏中國藝術品的陳列模式。藝術品的展出方式，不單影響物品本身給人的印象，亦影響人們對物品所屬之外國文化的觀感。畢分析了英國一些大學博物館展示中國和其藝術品的不同手法。

大學博物館作為教育機構的一部份，一向被視為肩負強烈的教育使命，並受公眾廣泛關注。由於大學博物館的展品較為專門，往往被誤為只對學者和學生開放。這方面的翹楚，有倫敦的大維德中國藝術基金會，牛津的皮特河博物館，而普林斯頓美術館亦收集了世界各地的古代和現代藝術。這些大學博物館一向鼓勵借出館藏用於教學、學習和研究等方面，既面向公眾，又達到教育的目的。

大學機構的館長和藝術教育工作者，在身份上很多時是重複的，因為從事教育工作的專家獲鼓勵去多利用館藏，而館長則兼顧教育的工作，因而擴展了雙方的工作領域。⁴很多大學博物館都為所屬的學術機構服務，它們亦是大學唯一的開放部門，同時是回饋社會的最直接途徑。香港有兩間大學博物館：中文大學的文物館和香港大學的美術博物館，無論舉辦任何展覽，總給人嚴肅、高調的感覺，加上位置偏遠，因此影響參觀者的數目。香港原來只有一間大學，現已擴展到八間大學。每間學府不是有自己的展覽廳，也至少有陳列展品的空間。

大學博物館並非國立機構，沒有政府的直接資助，只靠所屬大學撥款，愈來愈須要尋求私人或外間公司的捐款。由於涉及教育性質，大學博物館尋找公司贊助並不容易；加上經費或政策方面的限制，一般很難建立良好的收藏。缺乏藏品的大學博物館需要與私人收藏家建立關係，而收藏家都願意借出藏品，讓博物館在籌劃學術或教育展覽時，同時對物品進行研究，提供報告作為回報。

香港大學美術博物館在建館後的五十年代，收集了1930年代芬神父在香港發現的早期印紋陶器，這批陶器已移交香港歷史博物館收藏。楊春棠對這批藏品的紋飾進行研究，歸納整理香港發現的新石器時代至漢代陶器上常見的圖案。對外行人來說，那些紋飾只是一些幾何或抽象裝飾圖案，楊卻認為它們與先民的原始概念有關，如陰陽宇宙觀、崇拜圖騰，以及生育的奧秘，很多圖案顯然

由中國南方和中原地區使用的圖案轉化過來，是聯繫香港早期文化與大中國文明的橋樑。

香港大學美術博物館每年舉辦至少一個大型展覽，並附設研討會，廣邀學者交流研究成果。2001年，舉行了上海博物館藏明清人物畫的展覽⁵。在研討會上，宋后楣和單國霖發表的論文，也收錄在本館刊內。單國霖的文章論述明清時期人物畫的發展，宋后楣則以另一角度探討這段時期的藝術史，集中討論明代中期的三位畫家，如何將人物畫由寫實的手法轉成表達明代盛行的儒家思想。

明年上半年本館將舉辦兩項大型展覽，慶祝建館五十周年。首先是山西省博物館的道教文物展，其次是中國貿易畫展。第二期的《扶林》館刊將刊登相關的論文。

註釋

- 1 加拿大國家畫廊。
- 2 日本京都郊區的私人機構“美秀美術館”，同意館藏的一尊六世紀菩薩立像成為中國長期借出的文物。
- 3 見 www.princetonartmuseum.org。
- 4 巫鴻在芝加哥大學Smart博物館舉行的最新展覽，內容竟不是他擅長研究的中國古代藝術或建築，而是中國實驗藝術。見 www.smartmuseum.uchicago.edu，關於1999年舉行的“Transience”和2000/2001年的“Cancelled”兩個展覽資料。
- 5 見香港大學美術博物館：《華容世貌—上海博物館藏明清人物畫》展覽圖錄（香港，2001）。

Cultural Patrimony: Case Studies in Repatriation

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Possession and control over human remains and important cultural objects has become a matter for increasing public debate. From skeletal material obtained by anthropologists to artworks taken by the Nazis, museum collections are being subjected to a high level of scrutiny as to how they were originally acquired. This is resulting in changing standards of responses to claims for repatriation, as well as the actual return of culturally important objects and human remains, appropriated without the permission of those most closely related to them. This short article will limit the discussion of repatriation to those objects often referred to either as cultural patrimony or sacred, or those that sometimes fall into both categories. It is these that have been subject to repatriation particularly within the United States, Canada and Australia.

It should be noted here that repatriation in the United States as well as elsewhere is not understood as a geographic relocation so much as a return to a lineal descendant or a people (who are recognisable as a culturally-affiliated political entity) of culturally important objects. Thus repatriation may take place both across international borders, or within national boundaries, as it does in the United States to federally recognised Native American tribes, many of whom no longer inhabit their aboriginal or native territories. Within national boundaries, repatriation may be legislated. This is the case in the United States, where it is seen as a human rights issue. Or it may be recommended in professional museum practise, as it is in Canada and Australia. International repatriation has proved more difficult to regulate, given the problems associated with the drafting and signing of treaties between national governments.

Integral to the concept of repatriation is the recognition that the objects under consideration were inappropriately removed from their place of origin, that is, the context which gave them their original meaning and value. They have also been taken without the permission of those who had created them or who, by traditional law or custom, acquired, owned or had control over them (Echo-Hawk 1986). Thus under the 1990 Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), an object that can be demonstrated to be cultural patrimony by a federally recognized Native American group is not considered to be in the rightful possession of an institution unless that institution can show that the people affiliated gave their consensual permission for removal.

Since I am best acquainted with the process of repatriation within the United States, I will concentrate my remarks on what has happened there and then look briefly elsewhere. Even before legislation, artefacts had already been returned to Native American tribes. There are two outstanding examples: the Zuni Pueblo of New Mexico who succeeded in reclaiming many of their Ahayu:da (war gods) from several institutions, and the Omaha of Nebraska who persuaded the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard to return their Sacred Pole. In each case, there had been long, steady but polite pressure exerted by the tribe, with the implicit expectation that the institutions would respond at the highest ethical level. The Zuni first contacted the Denver Art Museum and the Smithsonian Institution about the Ahayu:da in their possession in 1978. It took the Denver Art Museum two years, and the Smithsonian nine to return the artefacts - a delay which probably reflects the weight of bureaucracy in the larger, national institution. By the end of 1989, twenty-six Ahayu:da had been returned by 14 institutions (Merrill et al 1993). The authors write that "Zuni leaders decided to pursue the recovery of the images in a culturally appropriate manner by phrasing their requests in nonconfrontational terms and relying on moral and religious arguments to persuade others to comply with their requests."

The Omaha tribe had approached the Peabody Museum and the Harvard authorities with similar respect and commitment: in 1988, tribal officials and elders visited the museum to open discussions on ownership and to hold a ceremony for their Sacred Pole. The Pole together with other sacred objects, had been transferred to the Peabody in 1888, ostensibly for safe-keeping after the death of the last keeper, and after the disappearance of the buffalo which had sustained the religious and economic life of the Plains Indians. However, contrary to expectations, at the end of the twentieth century, the Omaha had not vanished as had the buffalo, and in 1988 it became of primary importance for the spiritual life of the tribe that the sacred objects be returned. It took the museum and tribal officials over a year to work out a solution, but eventually the Pole was returned to Nebraska to become once more central to the religious life of the Omaha (Ridington 1997).

Successful requests such as these, as well as the shocking discovery that the Smithsonian Institution held Native American human remains collected during military campaigns set the stage for legislation. The statute was signed into law in November, 1990, and was seen as a compromise between the interests of Native American tribes and those scholars who wanted to continue to have access to collections for study purposes (Kintigh 1999). Regulations clarifying the statute were not issued until 1995 (43 CFR Part 10) and in some sections remain incomplete, much exploratory discussion followed. Arguing that the definitions of sacred objects and cultural patrimony were ambiguous and vague, both the institutions and tribes feared that claims would

end up in court, with expensive litigation. A National Review Committee, appointed to review and advise on disputes did little to clarify the language used. Yet, contrary to widespread fears, only two legal cases between institutions and tribes - *The City of Providence vs. Hui Malama Na Kupuna O Hawai'i Nei*, and *The American Museum of Natural History vs. The Grande Ronde* - have so far ensued, each of which have been settled out of court. Generally a steady series of claims has resulted with an increasingly sophisticated approach to implementation, particularly at institutions where staff members are trained as ethnographers, who are knowledgeable about material culture and skilled in communicating with different peoples.

The process used at the Peabody Museum hinged on our interpretation of "sacred" as defined in the statute: a sacred object being "evoted" (i.e. exclusively dedicated) to a religious ceremony or ritual. It was therefore necessary to gain some understanding of the role played by the object claimed when it was still a part of the religious life of the tribe. This involved discussion with spiritual leaders, and a sympathetic exploration of the knowledge made available to us, without intruding too far into esoteric matters. This is a difficult balancing act which requires trust and respect on both sides. To date, the Peabody has returned a Zuni Ahayu:da, a Beaver Bundle to the Blackfeet, a cache of wooden sunflowers to the Flute Society of Walpi, in Hopi, Arizona, and dance regalia to the Hupa of northern California (Fig. 1). The last two claims were the most difficult to assess and serve to highlight some of the limitation of legislation and challenges posed by each individual case. The Flute Society jealously guards the secret knowledge associated with its ceremonies and two years were spent in discussion and with visits between the Pueblo and the museum for consultation before the museum reached a decision. The situation of the Hupa regalia, was complicated in that many of them had been sold by their owners to dealers acting on behalf of the museum, thus giving the museum right of possession under the law. However, a close examination of Hupa creation stories revealed that a number of the items claimed should not only be regarded as sacred, but also as cultural patrimony. This is defined as an item or items of ongoing historical, traditional or cultural importance, that could only be transferred by permission of the group to which they belonged. In the case of the Hupa this permission, even if they were willingly sold by their owners, had not been given, and as a result 15 items were returned to the tribe in 1997. It is clear that the Hupa will continue to claim more items and that there will be ongoing discussions with them and other Californian tribes about which objects qualify as cultural patrimony. Under the rubric of cultural patrimony, the museum has only returned one item, a Tlingit memorial pole, and has refused a claim for other objects, as their specific history could not be demonstrated. In the case of the memorial pole, it was removed without permission from a village no longer inhabited (Fig. 2), but within the traditional territory of the original makers who

today are represented by the Alaskan Native Cape Fox Corporation (Fig. 3).

During the eleven years of interaction between the Peabody Museum and native American tribes, the most significant problem encountered is that, of a more practical nature. As in all museums with collections made in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, various pesticides were applied in unknown amounts to objects during storage in the museum. Now that the objects are to be handled much more intensively, potential deleterious health effects are being investigated. This issue is being taken extremely seriously by all parties involved at a nation-wide level.

Ultimately the success of legislated repatriation in the United States will be judged by whether its intent has been achieved. In all of the returns made by the Peabody mentioned above, the objects have been reincorporated into the cultural and spiritual life of the tribe.

NAGPRA (Section 12) does not set a precedent for the return of objects to entities outside the United States. Nonetheless the standards that it sets, the objects that are affected, and the ethics implicit in its writing echo developments in the wider arena. In Australia, ancestral human remains have been returned to the aboriginal inhabitants. Sacred objects are often kept in tribal cultural centres, or in state museums, such as Museum Victoria in Melbourne, from which they are taken by elders when needed for ceremonies, and to which they are returned after use for safekeeping. While they are under the control of the elders, they are housed in the museum. In Canada, repatriation from museums to the First Peoples is a standard practise. In the United Kingdom in 1996, the Queen and her ministers decided to return the Stone of Scone to Scotland from where it had been taken in 1296 by Edward the First.

These repatriations have all taken place within national borders and honour the special relationships and common law that exist therein. As other national minorities become more active, their claims are more likely to be heard by their own governments. However, in cases involving more than one country, the return of artefacts is more arbitrary, depending either on international treaty, where both parties are signatory, and the objects concerned have been acquired under certain prescribed conditions. Or if they were acquired in the more distant past, claims appeal to the ethical code of the present possessor. The present UNESCO convention applies to objects illegally obtained from archaeological sites if they have been looted and traded after the originating country passed its own legislation outlawing such activities. In 1991, a British court ruled that a twelfth century south Indian bronze image of Siva, had been stolen, and the image was returned to its homeland (Davis 1997). In a recent court case in the United States, the collector of a hammered gold Sicilian platter looted from an excavation in 1994 argued that it need not be returned to Italy as he had bought it in good faith, even though Italian antiquity protection laws prohibit export. The judges however ruled that the platter should be returned.

The United States has enacted temporary property agreements with Bolivia, Cambodia, Canada, Cyprus, El Salvador, Guatemala, Italy, Mali, Nicaragua and Peru. These agreements address the matter of proper title, rather than repatriation, and are directed towards preventing further illegal removal, rather than the repatriation of objects removed in the more ancient past. Although beyond the scope of this paper, it would be informative to follow more closely the development of these particular arrangements.

But what of those objects, important enough to be regarded as cultural patrimony, that were appropriated in the years of imperial expansion and opportunism? In 1998 the Glasgow City Council allowed the Hunterian Museum to give back a shirt collected from Wounded Knee in 1890 to the Lakota Sioux; in 2000, the Australian Museum returned historic cultural objects collected by a missionary to the city of Chennai, India; and the National Gallery of Canada in 2001 returned “for ethical reasons” an eighth century Tang dynasty cave sculpture to China. However, the British Museum steadfastly refuses to return the Parthenon marbles, also known as the Elgin marbles, to Greece, arguing that the sculptures are now as much a part of British history as they are of Greece’s. In this, the British Parliament so far agrees. The matter however will remain an ongoing debate particularly with the Greek authorities exerting greater pressure prior to the 2004 Olympic Games to be held in Athens. All the objects mentioned above were acquired before the development of international treaties protecting against looting and theft. They were therefore not covered by such agreements, and it seems unlikely that any comprehensive agreements will be developed given the complex cross cultural nature of the collections in the great museums of the world. Moreover to return everything to its place of origin would be a *reductio ad absurdum*. Is there a solution? The British Government’s response to the claim for the Elgin Marbles is instructive. To return them, it is argued, would open the floodgates, and set a precedent for innumerable requests and repatriations. Yet if we look at the effect of the law in the United States, only Notices of Intent to Repatriate objects of cultural patrimony to more than 500 tribes have been published. The definition is self-limiting as there are only so many objects of ongoing historical, traditional and cultural importance that are central to any one group or nation. These are effectively objects of an iconic or mythic status that relate to the genesis of the identity of a people, or that endow a ruler or government with legitimacy, or the absence of which are a continual and abrasive reminder of former subjugation. Such objects are often qualitatively different from those that instruct the museum visitor in the richness of cultural life across the world.

In a 1978 ICOM study report, it was noted that “The legality of a claim is not necessarily determinative. In order to accept this premise, it must be accepted that certain important elements of a nation’s cultural heritage belong with that nation, whether or not the object in question left

the country or its people legally.” The implication of this recommendation is that there are ethical expectations that are higher than and therefore not met by present legal standards. If each nation were asked to draw up a shortlist of patrimony that fell within a carefully crafted definition, then the fears of major institutions and governments might be allayed, rather as the fears of American museums have decreased as NAGPRA has been implemented. For instance, what objects of primary importance would China consider so integral to its history that their lack of presence within the nation lessens its sense of identity? One possibility comes to mind: the seventh century bas-reliefs of two horses originally placed with 4 others at the sacrificial altar of the tomb of the Tang dynasty Emperor Taizong, that were illegally removed in the early twentieth century (Xiuqin 2001) and are now in a museum in the United States.

I will end where I began, with the example of Zuni Pueblo: the Zuni have so far limited their repatriation requests to one type of object, the Ahayu:da; and although they have intimated that there may be a few other kinds of items that they would like to see returned, no requests have been made, to my present knowledge. Their approaches were conducted with the utmost restraint, diplomacy and persistence, creating a model process which endowed the institutions rendering up the war gods in their possession with a sense of enhanced ethical standards and practical magnanimity. Furthermore, future relationships and transactions between the tribe and the institution, such as loans and co-curated exhibits have become more likely, to the benefit of all.

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物歸原主

巴巴拉伊薩

哈佛大學皮博迪考古與民俗博物館前助理總監

公眾對人體遺骨和重要文物的擁有和控制權，愈來愈多爭議。在博物館的藏品中，無論是民俗學學者研究的骨骼，或納粹黨褫奪的藝術品，有關搜集它們的途徑一直受到密切注視。受這些情況影響，對申索文物，或切實送回未經有關人士同意而得來的重要文物和骸骨，回應的標準也不斷轉變。本文章旨在探討祖傳文物或聖物，或兼屬兩類文物的歸還問題，尤其在美國、加拿大和澳洲，全涉及這幾類藏品。

無論在美國或以外的地方，歸還的意義並非指從一處遷移到另一處地方，而是送還重要文物的直系後人或人民（即文化上相關的政體）。歸還文物可分為跨國性和境內性兩類別。值得注意的是，美國所提出的聯邦認可美洲土著，大部份已不住在原居地。屬於境內性的歸還文物，可以立例規管。這便是美國的情況，也屬人權問題。而在加拿大和澳洲，就交由博物館作專業推薦。至於跨國性的歸還文物，因涉及各國政府之間草擬和簽訂條約的問題，顯然較難監管。

歸還文物的立法前提，是承認文物從原地無故失去，離開了賦予原來意義和價值的環境，並且未經原創者或傳統法律和風俗的授權而獲得，未得擁有或監管人的同意而擅自取走（Echo-Hawk 1986）。因此，根據1990年美洲土著墓穴保護及歸還法案，屬於聯邦認可的祖傳土著文物，除非經有關人士批准，任何機構均不能合法擁有。

本人較熟悉美國境內有關歸還文物的情況。早在立法以前，美洲土著獲歸還文物已有先例。其中有兩個眾所周知的例子：新墨西哥州的印第安土著Zuni族（Zuni Pueblo）成功地從若干機構取回多尊Ahayu:da（戰神）像；內布拉斯加州的Omaha族也游說了哈佛大學的皮博迪考古與民俗博物館（Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology）歸還神聖之柱。各族經過漫長交涉，持續以友善態度向有關機構施壓，期盼對方也本著道德和良知去回應。首先於1978年，Zuni聯絡丹佛美術館（Denver Art Museum）和史密森博物館（Smithsonian Institution），詢問兩館所藏的Ahayu:da像。丹佛美術館在兩年以後才物歸原主，史密森博物館則須花去九年時間才達成協議。後者是大型的國立機構，工作進度的延誤反映官僚作風在大機構更趨肆虐。截至1989年末，已有十四個機構歸還了共二十六尊Ahayu:da像（Merrill et al 1993）。Merrill書中的作者指出：“Zuni首領以合乎情理的態度去追討神像，他們採取分段式步驟而不是對峙手段，希望對方依從道德和宗教規範，答允他們的請求。”

Omaha也懷著同樣敬意和使命去聯絡皮博迪博物館和哈佛當局。1988年，族中人員和長老拜訪博物館，展開討論有關神聖之柱的擁有權，並為神柱舉行儀式。1888年，在印第安土著Plains Indians的信仰和經濟生活支柱“水牛”消失後，而最後一位保管人亦逝世，所以表面上基於保管理

由，神柱和其他聖物轉而給皮博迪博物館收管。然而，二十世紀末Omaha族人出乎意料地沒有隨著“水牛”而消失。終於1988年，聖物回歸，這對Omaha族的精神生活變得非常重要，博物館與族代表花了逾一年時間才達成方案，最後神柱被送還內布拉斯加州的Omaha，再次成為族人信仰生活的中心（Ridington 1977）。

上述的成功例子，以及發現在史密森博物館於軍事行動時得來的美洲土著骸骨，引致政府推行立法程序。1990年11月，美洲土著墓穴保護及歸還法案正式成為法律，因此協調了土著與追求研究藏品的學者之間的利益（Kintigh 1999）。至1995年，有關釋法的條例才開始訂定（43 CFR Part 10），不過若干章節還在草擬中，有待進一步討論。關於祖傳文物或聖物的定義，是有不少爭議的。各機構和土著部落因此擔心申索文物，最終引致對簿公堂，負起昂貴的訴訟費。國民檢討委員會雖然負責檢討和監管這類糾紛，卻未能定下清晰立場。然而，對峙的情況不是想像這麼嚴重的，至今只發生兩法庭案件：普羅維登斯市對 Hui Malama Na Kupuna O Hawai'i Nei，以及美國自然歷史博物館對 The Grande Ronde。兩次都能庭外和解。事實上，愈多提出申索，愈能激發出周密的處理方法，特別是一些機構培訓職員成為民俗學專家，職員既對物質文化有豐富知識，又擅長與不同土著溝通。

皮博迪博物館在交涉過程中，便參照法案對“神聖”一詞的定義：神聖物件必須是在宗教儀式或典禮中奉用（絕對性專用）的。這些文物在部落信仰生活中的原本功能，於是須弄得清楚。他們可透過與精神領袖討論，細心研究現有的知識，但不宜涉及機密資料。在探究和揭秘之間取得平衡，雙方必須互相信任和尊重。直至今日，皮博迪博物館已歸還了Ahayu:da像給Zuni族；河狸紮包（Beaver Bundle）給Blackfeet族；木製太陽花給亞利桑那州Hopi族的長笛會（Flute Society of Walpi）；跳舞衣飾（圖一）給加利福尼亞州北部的Hupa族。最難裁決的是Flute Society of Walpi與Hupa的申索案，兩案面對的是不同法律限制和挑戰，可作借鑒。Flute Society of Walpi不願意公開相關儀式的秘密資料，結果該族和皮博迪博物館經過兩年的不斷討論、互訪協商，博物館才作出決定。至於Hupa衣飾，案中情況更複雜；它們多是由物主賣給博物館授權的交易商，依法博物館應是這些衣飾的合法擁有人。不過，若深入研究Hupa的發源故事，便發現它們不但是聖物，更是祖傳文物，在歷史和文化方面都意義深遠，除非得到原來族人同意，否則不得外流。這些衣飾雖由物主自願賣出，但卻未經族人批准。結果，Hupa於1997年共獲歸還15件衣飾。Hupa曾聲明會申索更多文物。關於該族和其他加利福尼亞州部落的祖傳文物應如何定義，看來還會有不斷爭論。依祖傳文物的指引，博物館只歸還了一枝Tlingit族紀念柱。至於其他物件，由於來歷不明，便沒有送回。Tlingit紀念柱是在未經批准的情況下，從一處荒廢村落取得的（圖二）。該村落是在原來創造者的屬地內，現由阿拉斯加州土著Cape Fox Corporation（圖三）管轄。

皮博迪博物館經過十一年與各美洲土著交涉，發現最棘手問題竟然發生在日常工作上。凡博物館在十九、二十世紀初製造的藏品，都曾採用不明份量的各式殺蟲藥來儲存。現時接觸這些物件愈加頻繁，殺蟲藥危害健康也愈須監察，這個問題已引起全國的廣泛注意。

美國立例管制文物歸還，它的成敗須視能否達成目的。上列提出向皮博迪博物館歸還的各種文物，現已重投所屬部落的文化和精神生活。

美洲土著墓穴保護及歸還法案（第12節）並沒有涵蓋歸還文物給美國以外的團體。但法案訂立的標準，影響所及的文物，以及法案文字間包含的道德規範，與美國以外地方的有關發展顯然是步伐一致的。在澳洲，先人的骸骨大多歸還土著居民，其他聖物一般存放於部落的文化中心或墨爾本的維多利亞博物館等國立單位，到舉行儀式時，族中長老會前去取物，使用完畢後便放回原處保管。長老雖掌控制權，但博物館是存放地。在加拿大，文物歸還原居民已是順理成章的事。在英國，1996年女皇和大臣們決定把愛德華一世於1296年取得的斯康爾刻石（Stone of Scone）送回蘇格蘭。

上述的文物歸還都在國境內進行，並遵守相關的特別關係和普通法。在其他國家，各民族的要求也日趨活躍，所屬政府不能漠視他們的申索。但跨國性的文物歸還，判決標準還是不明顯的。每次須視乎情況而定，例如交涉雙方都是國際協議的締約國，而文物是在規定的情況下流失_或者文物在早年失去，只能以道德規範呼籲目前的收藏者歸還。現時聯合國教科文組織協議的範圍，包括在文物流失以前，宗主國已通過法規禁止盜賣考古遺址文物。1991年，英國法庭裁定一尊十二世紀南印度濕婆神（Siva）銅像是贓物，必須歸還物主（Davis 1997）。近期有美國法庭案涉及一件1994年西西里島出土的鍍金大盤被盜賣，依意大利的古物保護法例是禁止出口的，但收藏家聲稱是合法購藏，而拒絕歸還，結果法官裁定收藏家敗訴。

美國與玻利維亞、柬埔寨、加拿大、賽浦路斯、薩爾瓦多、危地馬拉、意大利、馬里、尼加拉瓜和秘魯等多個國家簽訂了臨時產權協議，這些協議只涵蓋擁有權，而不是文物歸還；目的為遏止非法的文物褫奪，而不是討回早年失去的物件。這方面雖不在本章討論範圍，但這些協議的最新發展，還是有參考價值的。

至於帝國擴張和機會主義時期失去的祖傳文物又該如何處理呢？1998年，英國格拉斯哥市議會批准 Hunterian Museum 歸還於1890年從 Wounded Knee 取得的襯衣給 Lakota Sioux；2000年，澳洲博物館歸還傳教會收集的一批歷史文物給印度 Chennai 市；2001年，加拿大國立美術館依“道德原因”把一尊八世紀唐代石窟雕像送還中國。然而，大英博物館堅決拒絕歸還巴特龍大理石雕柱（又名 Elgin Marbles）給希臘，宣稱雕柱不但屬於希臘，亦是英國歷史的一部份。英國國會基本上通過這決定，但爭議仍是持續的，加上2004年奧運會將在雅典舉行，希臘政府必定加緊索還文物。上列提出的物品，都是在防止搶掠和盜竊文物的國際協議生效以前失去的，因此並不受現行法律保護。而且又涉及國際性大博物館、民族與民族之間的複雜關係，申索能圓滿解決的可能性不大。至於把文物悉數歸還原來的主人，也是不合理的假設。究竟還有解決的辦法嗎？英國政府對申索巴特龍大理石雕柱的回應，是值得借鏡的。假如歸還雕柱，恐怕先例一開，會惹起其他無數的申索問題。美國的法案實施後，只有歸還文物的意向通知書簽署，送回祖傳文物給五百多個部落。看來法案的範疇很有局限性，畢竟每個團體或國家能流傳帶有深遠歷史、傳統和文化意義的文物，實在數目有限，它們不外是膜拜的聖像或帶神話意義。這些器物象徵一個民族的誕生，或賦予該國領袖或政府權力，或者失去文物會勾起過去被征服的不快事實。若與博物館展出的各國文化藝術精品來比較，這些物件在質素方面自然不能相提並論。

1978年國際博物館議會（ICOM）的研究報告提出：“並非任何申索只要合法就可成立。在合法性以外，還須承認文化遺產中的若干重要元素是屬該民族擁有，與是否合法離開該國或人民無關。”這顯示某些道德規範凌駕於現行的法律標準，這是目前法律未能涵蓋的。假如每個民族都能精確地列出該族祖傳文物的清單，一些大機構和政府的恐懼可能紓緩下來，像美洲土著墓穴保護及歸還法實施後，美國博物館的憂慮的確減少了。顯然地，一些中國文物具有重大歷史價值，若流失了會影響國家地位，其中例子便是七世紀唐太宗陵墓前的高浮雕“昭陵六駿”，當中兩匹是於十二世紀初被盜去的（Xiuqin 2001），現藏於美國一間博物館。

回到本文開始時引用的 Zuni Pueblo 作總結。Zuni 要求歸還的只限於 Ahayu:da 一類神像，雖然他們也恫嚇會申索其他類別，但據我所知，至今還沒有正式提出。Zuni 以極度自律、圓滑而堅定的態度進行交涉，最終能建立一個模範，就是機構本著崇高的道德和器量，放棄所藏，令 Ahayu:da 像物歸原主。至於日後，部落和收藏機構可建立良好關係，互惠互利，雙方以借展或合辦形式舉行展覽，這情形相信是指日可待的。

參考書目（見頁 21）

Chinese Art and the Institutional Framing of University Collections

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The interpretation of museum collections has been the subject of much scholarly activity in the past ten to fifteen years. Studies such as *Museums, Objects and Collections* by Susan Pearce (1992) or *Civilising Rituals: inside public art museums* by Carol Duncan (1995), have raised issues about how objects in museums are presented and contained and further how the museum environment provides a framework for those objects which engages the visitor. By virtue of their existence, all museums frame their collections; that is, they both contain and present them within a designated space that imparts meaning.¹ However this framework can be both physical and intellectual. The physical framework, the museum architecture, is invariably different for each museum but the intellectual framework tends to reflect the history of the museum and its collections, its location, as well as the categorisation of the museum facility. In this respect, large national museums are rather different from local authority (municipal) or university museums although all three are usually publicly funded. A national museum represents the art belonging to a country or a state and is there to present these objects to the general public. A local authority museum will usually present the art or artefacts of a particular area or region and tries to reflect the interests of the local community. A university museum, on the other hand, very often puts internal audiences first: students, academics and researchers, and its collections may not be available to the general public at all.

In practice this can mean that national museums place a greater emphasis on access and interpretation than those university museums that are open to the public as well as students and researchers. By virtue of their association with higher education, university museums attract specialists and their collections are often very specialised, sometimes focusing on perhaps one type of object or the material culture of one country. The intellectual framework of these museums is therefore very different from that of the nationals and the ways in which they present art objects to visitors is both a function of their often narrow focus and their identity as part of a larger institution.

The differences between the framing of collections in national museums and university museums is worth examining closely, particularly when, as in the case of London, similar collections are presented in very different ways that are imparting different meanings to similar

objects. In London this is particularly notable with Chinese art collections. Here one can see important Chinese art in two national museums, the Victoria & Albert Museum (V&A) and the British Museum, and one university museum, the Percival David Foundation (PDF) at the University of London. Both the national museums have special galleries devoted to the presentation of Chinese art in a thematic manner. In the V&A one can see displays devoted to Burial, Food and Drink and Ritual, among others. In the British Museum, there are cases which show the development of Chinese writing, objects for the export market and Buddhist artefacts. In contrast, in the Percival David Foundation only one type of Chinese art is represented, Chinese ceramics, and these are displayed simply by type and in chronological order. The thematic display in the V&A's Tsui Gallery of Chinese art reflects the overall presentation of the museum as the national museum for art and design. The catalogue of the Tsui Gallery is titled, *Chinese Art and Design*,² and in presenting their Chinese collections, the focus is therefore on material, form, decoration and function.

At the British Museum, the display of Chinese art in the Hotung Gallery is somewhat different in that it is generally chronological, but is categorised in a way similar to the V&A. Generally, the British Museum displays are limited to one type of material such as ceramics or metalwork, although some displays are mixed. For example, there is a case with the theme of the "Neolithic" in which jade, ceramics and stone artefacts are displayed together. Further on in the gallery there is a display of "Collecting" with bronzes, porcelain and jades. In the V&A, however, most of the displays show objects from different media together. For example, in the "Ruling" section, one can see furniture, textiles, paintings and decorative arts which together give an impression of a ruler's living space.

In both national museums, Chinese art is separated from the other museum collections both physically and by culture. In the British Museum, this conforms to a general display policy for the whole museum where galleries are devoted to single cultures, such as Japan or Africa, whereas the V&A has a mixture of culturally specific galleries as well as galleries devoted to one time period or material including the Glass Galleries and The Renaissance in Italy. The presentation of Chinese objects is therefore framed somewhat ethnographically in both institutions. Visitors are encouraged to engage with "China" as well as "Chinese art". This is taken a step further in the V&A where the architecture of the gallery is in Chinese style thus creating an architectural framework for a mixture of objects which are seen to represent China.

At the Percival David Foundation, the collection is limited to Chinese ceramics which are presented simply in chronological and typological order. For example, the ceramics on the first floor represent wares dating from the 10th–14th centuries and each display case houses a single

type of ware. Here only one aspect of Chinese culture is presented and there is no attempt to present the collection as representative of Chinese material culture. Instead, the name of the museum tells the visitor that it is associated with a person and didactic materials present the history of the collector as well as the “story” of Chinese ceramic technology, thus reinforcing the narrow focus of this museum. With such a specialised collection, the museum attracts specialist visitors but it is also a teaching institution and the collection is “used” by numerous students and researchers. General visitors to the Foundation who are not familiar with the collection may be surprised to find that only ceramics are represented since the name of the museum is Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art. Sir Percival David had originally intended to give his other Chinese objects as well as the ceramics to the University but due to limited space, this proved to be impractical. The name of the museum was not then changed because its current facility was seen as temporary and when a larger space could be found or built, other Chinese objects such as paintings or lacquer would then be acquired. The use of the word “Foundation” in the name of the museum instead of gallery, as at the V&A and the British Museum, or even “museum”, can further be misleading for visitors as “foundation” is not synonymous with “museum”. Some visitors are surprised that the Foundation is open to the public at all.

All three museums, the V&A, the British Museum and the Percival David Foundation thus provide a physical and conceptual framework for their Chinese collections which is manifested and experienced differently by their visitors. In practical terms, their respective displays present a localised view of China and Chinese things which is removed from their original context. These are Chinese things displayed in Britain and as such reflect a British view of how such things should be displayed and interpreted. There is also a temporal element here in that these things are displayed in 21st century Britain and thus they are also a reflection of late 20th to early 21st century ideals. “Museums embody and shape public perceptions of what is valuable and important at each period of their existence.”³ They also reflect changing intellectual currents in art history. In Chinese art, as in other related fields, linear progression is no longer the paradigm for the presentation of Chinese art history. Today the approach is broader and less formalist and the importance of other non-Han cultures within the Chinese geographical region is recognized, for example the Chu culture of the Warring States period. Thus Chinese art is now studied as “Art in China”.⁴

In this respect, the Percival David Foundation is typical of many smaller university museums in that its collections are so specialised that it would be difficult to participate fully in this new approach to art history. The nature of the collection therefore somewhat dictates the approach to presentation in the museum. Without borrowing from other institutions, it would be impossible

to present general thematic displays in this museum. The PDF is not unique in this respect however. Small university museums often tend to specialise in a particular culture or type of object because they originated as collections of teaching material. The Petrie Museum at University College London has a wide range of objects that relate to Egyptology, for example and the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford is a museum of Anthropology. Both museums were formed from teaching collections that were acquired by archaeologists and anthropologists working in the field. In general terms, the PDF is therefore closer to the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford and its approach to presentation and display than the Chinese galleries of the large national museums in London.⁵ At the Pitt Rivers, the exhibits are also arranged typographically, by material, and both the PDF and Pitt Rivers collections are used extensively for teaching. This is important because, in many respects, a typographical display is ideal for teaching as this is the way in which most teaching of art and material culture is organised. When studying the history of Chinese ceramics, for example, a lecture might be given on Longquan wares or Jun wares and this can be reinforced by single case displays of these wares. A lecture on the role of ceramics in Chinese culture might be more difficult to pursue at the PDF whilst the displays in the British Museum would be more instructive. By framing its collections in this manner, the David Foundation presents to the visitor a linear view of objects which is very much contrary to the modern “thematic” display trend in local authority and national museums but appropriate for the history of Chinese ceramics which is based on traditional Chinese methods of connoisseurship.

Architecturally, the Pitt Rivers Museum and the Percival David Foundation are also both separate, free standing facilities which can be visited without recourse to the host institution. In this they are similar to the other major University of London museum, the Courtauld Galleries, which are the public face of the Courtauld Institute, Britain’s foremost institute for the study of art history.⁶ All three museum collections are used for teaching but the visiting public is not generally aware of this as the collections are presented in facilities that are museums in their own right. The museums can therefore function as public spaces separate from universities but their display policies still reflect the needs of the host institution. One exception to this can be found in the new “Marvels of China” gallery at the Oriental Museum, Durham University.⁷ This museum actively participates in the teaching of Chinese art at the University through its MA in Chinese Art and Archaeology but its new gallery also appears to be aimed at the general public, rather than students and researchers. Its displays are themed and divided into four sections: Contemporary Society, Ancient Civilisation; Imperial Decorative Arts; The Emperor and His Court; and Exploring the Silk Route. This themed approach is similar to that of the V&A and the gallery has been designed to “look” Chinese, with red walls and strategically placed Chinese furniture.

But this is a museum with British collections of Chinese art so, like the V&A and the British Museum there is a distinct colonial flavour to the objects presented. The view of China in each case is constructed around the objects available and thus cannot be a true representation of China, however that is defined. In spite of its very contemporary display policy, as a university museum, the Oriental Museum, like many others, is somewhat constrained by its association with a larger institution. In physical terms, the entrance to the building is difficult to find and intellectually, there is resistance from the public to university collections in general which are seen as inaccessible.

This public perception is a particular problem for university art museums and is a direct result of framing, both physically and intellectually. Physically, many university collections are not separately housed from the college to which they are attached and thus they are associated with the university in the first instance. A good example is the Petrie Museum at University College London. Here the name suggests a separate facility but in fact it is very difficult to find the Petrie as its galleries are housed within a main college building.⁸ At present, the museum's objects are displayed together in a rather confusing jumble. A visitor with little or no knowledge of the objects would be disappointed. As this museum is not accessible from the street, it receives relatively few visits from passers by and is therefore visited by specialists or those who already know of its existence. In order to find the museum, one would have to know where University College London is located and then in which building the museum can be found. In this it is typical of many university museums that are perceived as inaccessible and unwelcoming.⁹

This inaccessibility often means that University staff and students who study these collections will be familiar with them but the general public is not aware of their existence. The close association with the educational establishment can also be a problem with freestanding university museums whose identity is not separate from the university in the museum sphere. The Sainsbury Centre for the Visual Arts at the University of East Anglia, for example, is housed in a Norman Foster designed building and is a fully functioning public museum. However, one must visit the campus to see the museum and the museum name suggests that it is a department of the university, rather than a freestanding museum.

It should be noted that many university museums do not see the lack of a separate identity as a problem. University collections and museums will have varying remits depending on such factors as funding, accessibility, use for teaching and the terms of the original gift of the objects. The problem arises with those collections that are also open to the general public as these museums will need to satisfy the needs of both the university and the public. These two audiences often have very different needs and many university museums struggle with the reconciliation of these needs. One of the main problems in this respect is staffing. University museum curators often

have teaching duties and thus cannot devote the time necessary to such areas as outreach or social inclusion. In Britain, there is also pressure on university museum staff to regularly publish scholarly work but often this conflicts with the need to produce accessible information about collections and exhibitions. In some cases, university collections are not managed by curators at all, but academics, who may not have the necessary knowledge or training in collections management to provide for the long term care of objects or their interpretation for a wider audience. A final problem which is perhaps most noticeable to visitors is the fact that few university museums have design or exhibitions departments, as are commonly found in large national museums, and thus university museum exhibitions are often scholarly but not presented in a visually exciting manner. When funding can be found for this, the results are worthwhile as can be seen in the Chinese gallery at the Oriental Museum, Durham.

In a recent study of the collections of the University of London, Kate Arnold-Forster highlighted some of the problems inherent in the presentation of university museums and collections, "The existence of the majority of these collections is hardly recognized beyond those who are directly involved with their care and use, even within the colleges and schools to which they belong or among those responsible for the administration of the University. Few of the collections are known by other academic institutions to whom they may be of interest or significance, even fewer among the wider museum community of public collections."¹⁰ In a statement issued by the Museums Association in 1987, three key limiting factors of university collections were identified including the lack of knowledge by universities of their holdings, the lack of understanding by staff and administrators and, crucially, the lack of resources available for the care of these collections.¹¹ Funding is often the deciding factor in determining whether a university collection has a public profile or not. University museums and collections in the UK are funded in various different ways. Some are entirely funded by their host institution. Others are funded publicly. The Barlow Collection of Chinese art, at the University of Sussex, for example, has a gallery which is open to the public two days per week and is located in the campus library building. It receives no external funding and is entirely reliant upon the generosity of the University. At present, the collection is used for teaching but as a Chinese art collection, its uses are limited unless there is teaching in the subject. In contrast, the Percival David Foundation has a separate facility in Bloomsbury and is almost entirely funded through public grants from the Arts and Humanities Research Board (AHRB). As long as it fulfils the terms of this grant, the Foundation will remain open to the public and to students five days per week and the funding, at least in some part, will continue.

The limitations and problems associated with university museums have been discussed above but it should be noted that there are distinct benefits to this type of institutional framing of works of art that are not always appreciated by those who work in such museums or their users. The primary benefit of university museums is their role in teaching. Whether they are open to the public or not, university collections play a strong part in shaping the views of today's students. Another less obvious benefit is ironically related to funding. Whilst publicly funded university museums in the UK must now meet performance indicators set by a research and teaching body, these museums are lucky to have access to such funding as it is much less dependent on the whims of government ideology than the funding for national museums. By extension, university museums also have access to grants limited to higher education institutions which other museums cannot utilise. Finally, for those university museums that are also open to the public, the teaching activities of their staff ensure that the public is presented with the latest research and developments in critical approaches to art history and other disciplines. The Chinese gallery in the Oriental Museum is a perfect example of this. My own knowledge of critical theory and Chinese art history has enhanced my ability to present to visitors more diverse ways of seeing the objects at the Percival David Foundation.

Notes

- 1 Saumarez Smith, in Vergo, P., ed., *The New Museology*, 1989, p. 6.
- 2 R. Kerr, ed., *Chinese Art and Design*, V&A, 1991.
- 3 Susan Pearce, *Museums, Objects and Collections*, 1992, p. 89.
- 4 One of the earliest publications to quantify this view is Craig Clunas', *Art in China*, 1997.
- 5 See *The Origin and Development of the Pitt Rivers Museum*, B. Blackwood (Revised and updated by S. Jones) 1991. The history of the museum and its role in the development of anthropology in Britain.
- 6 See www.courtauld.ac.uk for information.
- 7 See www.dur.ac.uk/oriental.museum.
- 8 See www.petrie.ucl.ac.uk for information.
- 9 UCL is currently fundraising for a new purpose built facility which would house its collections, including the Petrie, in modern state of the art displays and galleries.
- 10 K. Arnold-Forster, *The Collections of the University of London. A report and survey of the museums, teaching and research collections administered by the University of London*, London Museums Service, c. 1989, p. 3.
- 11 Ibid.

中國藝術與大學藏品的體系

畢宗陶

斐西瓦樂大維德中國藝術館館長

在過去的十至十五年，不少學者對博物館藏品的定義發表意見。例如蘇珊皮爾斯（Susan Pearce, *Museums, Objects and Collections*）和卡羅爾鄧肯（Carol Duncan, *Civilising Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums*）在她們的文章內，曾論述博物館的陳列方式和展品所引申的意義，並探討博物館如何為展品建立一個適合的體制去吸引觀眾。博物館須在特定場地中掌控藏品的意涵和陳列方式。¹ 這體制是建基於實體物象和知識範疇上。博物館的建築便是實體的物象，可是各博物館的建築外型似乎分別不大。相反地，知識上的差異卻取決於博物館的歷史、蒐藏、地理位置和設施的分佈。雖然國立博物館、市立博物館及大學博物館同樣地會公開籌募經費，但大型國立博物館所包含的知識範疇，卻與其他兩類的博物館有顯著差異。國立博物館的藏品是屬於國家或某個省份的財富，並公開讓公眾人士參觀。而市立博物館通常著重特定區域的文物及反映當地居民所關注的事物。至於大學博物館，則以校內學生、學者及研究人員為主要的服務對象，少量的大學藏品是對外開放的。

若與對外開放的大學博物館來比較，國立博物館確實是較著重藏品的理解和詮釋。由於大學博物館與高等教育學府有密切關係，自然地吸引專家去參觀展覽。而館內的藏品較具獨特性，集中收藏個別種類的文物或特定的國家文化遺產。所以這類型的博物館與國立博物館的知識範疇是截然不同的，大學博物館對藝術品的陳列方式，充份顯露出它們的獨特方向及屬於大學的身份形象。

國家博物館與大學博物館的藏品是有分別的，這方面應值得考究。以倫敦為例，性質相近的藏品在各式各樣的陳列方法下，會出現不同意義。最引人注目的是倫敦的中國藝術藏品。兩間國立博物館及倫敦大學的斐西瓦樂大維德基金會（Percival David Foundation, the University of London）便擁有深具影響力的中國藝術收藏。兩間國立博物館是維多利亞艾伯特博物館（Victoria and Albert Museum）與大英博物館（British Museum），它們均設獨立的展覽室來展出專題性的中國藝術品。維多利亞艾伯特博物館利用藏品，以中國的殉葬、飲食與祭典作為專題展覽。大英博物館以陳列櫃擺放中國書法文字的發展歷程、展示外銷市場文物及佛教藝術藏品。相反地，大維德基金會著重中國藝術中的陶瓷類別，以簡單的陳列手法分種類及年代排列出來。在藝術及設計上，維館的專題性陳列方式，能充份表達出這間國立博物館的整體概念，其中徐氏展覽室的圖錄便名為《中國藝術及設計》²，圖錄以徐氏藏品的質料、種類、裝飾及作用為主題。

在大英博物館的何東展覽室，中國藝術品的陳列方法不是以年代區分的。它們的陳列方式與維館的分類式相似。大英博物館通常展出特定種類的藏品，如陶瓷或金屬器物，也有混合不同種類的藏品。例如，館內一個陳列櫃以新石器時代為主題，便同時展出那時期的玉器、陶器及石器。

此外，一個以“收藏”為主題的展覽室會一併展出銅器、瓷器及玉器藏品。但在維館，大部份的展品是混合組成的。例如，在“統治階級”的展覽部份，便利用傢具、紡織品、繪畫及裝飾品，令觀眾置身於統治者的家居。

兩間國立博物館均將中國藝術品與其他藏品分開收藏，並以藏品的文化背景來分類。大英博物館的陳列手法是每展室只容納一種文化，例如日本或非洲。維館則將各種文化混合在展覽室中，並展出相同時代及相同類別的藏品，例如玻璃展覽室及意大利的文藝復興陳列。這兩間博物館均以充滿中國民族色彩的方式來展出中國藏品，讓觀眾體現到“中國”本身的文化與“中國的藝術”。在維館內的中國藝術展覽室，更揉合了中式建築與各類的中國藝術品，令參觀者如置身中國。

至於大維德中國藝術基金會，中國陶瓷藏品主要以年代及種類來排列。例如在一樓展廳的陶器，便屬於十至十四世紀，而每陳列櫃只放置同一類型的陶器。所以這裡只能表現中國文化的個別方向，而不能以藏品去代表中國整體的物質文化。這間博物館的名字令觀眾聯想到一位人物，所收的藏品是屬教學用途的，顯現出收藏家的歷史以及他對中國陶器技術的認識，因此令這博物館的狹隘方向孑然暴露。博物館若擁有獨特藏品，自然吸引到一批另類觀眾。加上它是一間教育機構，所以很多學生與研究生均會“利用”館內藏品來學習。不過，對不熟悉館內藏品的觀眾來說，他們會對這間用“大維德中國藝術基金會”為名，卻只收藏中國陶瓷的博物館而感到驚訝。大維德(Sir Percival David)最初是希望將其他的中國文物與陶瓷一併贈予大學的，但礙於場地有限，這建議最終不能達成。這博物館的名字現時仍沒有變更，因為館內的設施與空間均是暫時性的，若能尋找到或興建更大的展覽場地，博物館便可蒐集繪畫、漆器等的其他中國藝術品了。此外，採用“基金”而不以“博物館”作為名稱，會令觀眾對維多利亞艾伯特博物館、大英博物館甚至對博物館的意義有所誤解。事實上，“基金”跟“博物館”是絕不相同的。部份觀眾對“基金”能向公眾開放，感到萬分詫異。

維多利亞艾伯特博物館、大英博物館及大維德中國藝術基金會，各自利用本身的中國藏品，提供不同環境與概念，令觀眾產生不一樣的體驗與領悟。實際上，他們在個別展覽的形式上，往往抽離了中國藏品的本意，並表現出他們對中國的獨有看法。在英國展出的中國文物，便利用英式的陳列方法去詮釋這批中國藏品。現時剛踏入二十一世紀，這些陳列當然也能突顯了二十世紀晚期與二十一世紀的觀點。“博物館在不同時期向大眾展現不同的存在價值及重要性。”³ 它們並反映出知識份子對藝術史的看法是不斷改變的。中國藝術跟其他相關的範疇一樣，再不可用單一方向的陳列方法來詮釋中國藝術史，應以更廣闊的方向，並須關注到中國的其他重要民族，例如戰國時期的楚文化。因此，中國藝術現在稱為“中國地域的藝術”。⁴

大維德中國藝術基金會與很多小型的大學博物館一樣，藏品的類別是有局限性的，所以較難以全新方向去詮釋中國藝術史。由此可見，藏品的類別足以支配博物館的展覽形式。這類的博物館若不向其他機構租借展品，實難舉辦大型主題的展覽。不祇是大維德中國藝術基金會才出現這種情況，小型的大學博物館也希望徵集特定的文化或類別的文物，來作教學用途。例如，倫敦大學學院的皮特里博物館(Petrie Museum, University College London)便擁有大量有關埃及學的藏品。另外，

牛津的皮特河博物館（Pitt Rivers Museum）是一間以人類學為主題的博物館。兩間博物館的教育性藏品，均由考古學家及人類學家從遺跡裡發掘出來的。總括來說，相比於倫敦的其他大型國立博物館，大維德中國藝術基金會與牛津的皮特河博物館在收藏方向及陳列方面無疑是較相似的。⁵ 皮特河博物館是依展品的質料種類來陳列，大維德與皮特河的藏品均以教學用途為主，若以展品的種類為陳列方式，便可配合很多有關藝術與物質文化的教學課程。例如中國陶瓷的課程，在講師講解龍泉窯或鈞窯的時候，這批用專櫃展出的陶瓷藏品，便能有效地協助講師解說。相對於大英博物館充滿啟發性的展覽方法，大維德中國藝術基金會便較難以他們的陳列方式去講解陶瓷在中國文化中的角色。大維德中國藝術基金會的手法是向觀眾展現文物在個別方向的概況，適合以中國傳統的鑑賞方法去認識中國陶瓷歷史。這與市立及國立博物館不同，他們採用專題性的陳列方式。

在建築方面，皮特河與大維德均置在獨立的建築物，參觀人士不須進入所屬的大學而直達博物館。考陶爾德學院（Courtauld Institute）是研究藝術史著稱的，而考陶爾德美術館（Courtauld Galleries）則充份代表了這學院的公眾形象。在性質方面，這與倫敦的大學博物館是相近的。⁶ 雖然這三間博物館的藏品均用作教學用途，但參觀者卻不容易察覺到藏品所展出的真正意義。大學博物館不同於大學，他們是對外開放的，而展品的陳列方式卻須符合所屬大學的需求。但在德拉姆大學的東方博物館（Oriental Museum, Durham University），以“中國奇蹟”（“Marvels of China”）為主題的展覽則與一般大學博物館的手法有顯著分別。⁷ 為配合中國藝術及考古學碩士課程，這所博物館須協助中國藝術的教學工作。新的展覽室以普羅大眾為主要對象，重點不在吸引學生及研究生。博物館內有四個主題展覽，分別是現代與古代文明社會、皇室的裝飾藝術、皇帝與皇朝，以及絲綢之路的探索。這個專題性的方向與維多利亞艾伯特博物館的手法相似；展覽室利用紅牆及中國傢具，刻意營造充滿中國氣氛的環境。東方博物館與維館及大英博物館一樣屬於收藏中國藝術品的英式博物館，陳列方式也難免帶有濃厚的英國味道。館內每個陳列櫃的文物都是與中國有關係的，就算不能真正地展示中國主題，也有明確的意思。儘管這是一個十分時尚的陳列方式，但與其他的大學博物館一樣，東方博物館還是受制所屬大學。博物館的入口難尋；普羅大眾會認為大學藏品難於理解，而產生抗拒感。

博物館的地理位置及藏品的局限問題引致大眾對大學博物館產生偏見。從地理位置來看，大學博物館與校內的其他學院是沒有明顯分隔的。倫敦大學學院的皮特里博物館便是一個很好例子。雖然博物館的名稱顯示這所博物館與大學是兩個獨立的個體。實際上，皮特里的展覽場座落於隱蔽的大學主樓。⁸ 館內的陳列手法頗為混亂，若參觀人士對展品不熟悉，便感到失望。博物館與街道不接近，因路經博物館而進入參觀的人士也便相應減少，祇能吸引一批專家或對博物館有認識的人士前去參觀。此外，參觀者須先知道倫敦學院大學的位置，才可找到博物館在大學內的正確地點。這些都是導致大學博物館給人難以接近與不受歡迎的原因。⁹

對大學藏品較熟悉的人士，通常是參與藏品研究工作的大學職員及學生，公眾往往對藏品的存在價值一竅不通，才引致大學博物館給人難以理解的感覺。博物館與大學雖有緊密聯繫，但卻沒有把兩者作明確分界，這是大學博物館必須面對的問題。例如東安格尼亞大學的塞恩斯伯里視覺藝

術中心 (The Sainsbury Centre for the Visual Arts, the University of East Anglia) 便是一幢由諾曼福斯特 (Norman Foster) 設計的多功能公共博物館，可是公眾人士必須先訪尋大學的校園，然後才可到達。這所博物館的名稱令人想到是大學的一個部門，多於是一間獨立的博物館。

很多大學博物館並沒有面對獨立自主的問題。籌募經費、普及宣傳、教學研究，以及捐贈者條件等都是工作範圍，令大學藏品及博物館須負多種職能。由於對外開放的關係，大學博物館須同時迎合大學人士與公眾的需求。這兩批觀眾是截然不同的，所以迫使博物館要在兩者間作出協調和配合。職員的調配便是當中的主要問題。大學博物館館長經常負責教學工作，因此不能花太多時間對展覽作深入研究，並注入社會內容。在英國，大學博物館的職員除要定期出版學術書籍外，亦須為藏品及展覽編寫簡易說明。藏品的處理工作有時候不是由館長負責，而交由學者分擔的。外來學者通常對藏品管理缺乏實際經驗，因而導致藏品的保養出現問題，或在藏品的資料搜集上不能迎合大眾口味。最重大和觀眾最關注的問題，其實是在大學博物館的設計或展覽部門，他們罕有地能與大型國立博物館媲美。大學博物館的展覽通常深具學術意義，但展品的陳列方法往往忽略了視覺效果。不過，若在這方面獲得捐助，成績便會如德拉姆大學的東方博物館，他們的中國展覽室令人刮目相看。

在近期有關倫敦大學藏品的研究，阿諾德福斯特 (Kate Arnold-Foster) 便指出一些大學博物館中的陳列問題，“除博物館員能理解藏品的存在意義外，其他的校內人士與大學行政人員均感到難以認同。此外，對藏品感興趣的學者和對大學藏品有認識的博物館界人士，實在寥寥可數。¹⁰ 1987年，博物館學會曾發表聲明，指出大學藏品的三個主要問題：大學對本身擁有的藏品缺乏應有認識、大學職員及行政人員對藏品欠缺了解，及缺乏資源去保護藏品。¹¹ 大學的藏品能否向公眾建立正面的形象，往往是取決於博物館的經費問題。英國各大學博物館的經費是來自不同的途徑。一些由所屬大學全力資助，一些則向公眾籌募捐款。例如薩克斯大學的巴洛中國藝術館 (The Barlow Collection of Chinese Art, the University of Sussex)，他們是完全倚賴大學的慷慨捐助，並不接受外界捐款。巴洛的中國藝術藏品置於校園圖書館內的一個展覽室，每星期兩天讓公眾人士參觀。現在的藏品以教學用途為主，其中的中國藝術藏品只為特定科目提供教學材料，其他的用途實在是有限的。相反地，大維德中國藝術基金會便擁有一幢獨立建築物，大部份的經費來自公立的藝術及人文科學研究發展局 (Arts and Humanities Research Board)。只要符合資助的條件，基金會便可繼續獲得捐助，每星期有五天開放給公眾人士及學生參觀。

大學博物館須應付上述各種限制及問題。我們可理解這類型機構的優點，館員或參觀人士並不讚賞。大學博物館的最大優點是教學角色；無論是否公開開放，大學藏品對瞭解現今學生的看法無疑起著重要作用。另一個不甚顯著的優點是與捐助有關的。向公眾籌募經費的博物館，在研究及教學的表現，必須達到監察者的要求。大學博物館在這方面遠比國立博物館幸運，他們能避免政府奇特思想的影響。此外，在各類型的博物館中，只有大學博物館能獲得高等教育的撥款資助。最後一個優點是大學博物館的館員在教學活動中，能向公眾發表最新的研究，對藝術史及其他範疇發表評論。東方博物館的中國展覽室便是一個絕佳例子。我在理論分析和中國藝術史上所獲得的知識，使我對博物館展品的詮釋更有多元化發展。

註釋

- 1 Saumarez Smith, in Vergo, P., ed., *The New Museology*, 1989, p. 6.
- 2 R. Kerr, ed., *Chinese Art and Design*, V&A, 1991.
- 3 Susan Pearce, *Museums, Objects and Collections*, 1992, p. 89.
- 4 其中一本最早探索這觀點的書籍是 Craig Clunas, *Art in China*, 1997。
- 5 關於博物館的歷史及博物館在英國人類學發展上的角色，見 *The Origin and Development of the Pitt Rivers Museum*, B. Blackwood (Revised and updated by S. Jones), 1991。
- 6 有關資料見 www.courtauld.ac.uk。
- 7 見 www.dur.ac.uk/oriental.museum。
- 8 有關資料見 www.petrie.ucl.ac.uk。
- 9 倫敦大學現正為一幢新用途的建築籌募經費，新的建築將貯藏大學藏品，並包含皮特里博物館（Petrie Museums），表現新式的陳列手法及展覽室。
- 10 K. Arnold-Foster, *The Collections of the University of London. A report and survey of the museums, teaching and research collections administered by the University of London*, London Museums Service, c. 1989, p. 3.
- 11 同上。

Architects and Builders of the Qing Dynasty Yuanming Yuan Imperial Garden-Palace¹

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The emergence of the “architect” (*jianzhu shi*) as holistic designer, planner, and builder in China roughly coincides with the construction of the Qing dynasty Yuanming Yuan imperial garden-palace (*ligong xing huangjia yuanlin*),² in the outskirts of Beijing (Figs. 1-3). In the early Qing period, imperial building agencies were established on an *ad hoc* project-by-project basis under the supervision of the Ministry of Works (*Gong bu*), the Imperial Household Agency (*Neiwu fu*), or a combination of the two, depending on the scope of the project and financial expense. Prior to the Qing, as evidenced by the construction of the imperial palaces at Beijing during the Yuan and Ming dynasties, the building bureaucracy and building process were generally organized according to the three divisions of craftsmen, supervisors, and planners.³

Craftsmen determined built-form through a workshop system involving the trades of tile-workers, carpenters, and masons. This tripartite division of labor reflected the vertical divisions of Chinese buildings—roof, body, and foundation—and their cosmological correlation to heaven on top, man in the middle, and earth below—the Three Powers (*san cai*).⁴ The three-part organization probably derives from the division of the building trades in traditional wood-frame construction. The roof required the expertise of tile workers, carpenters erected the timbers and columns of the building proper, and the foundations involved stone and earth work. This specialization is also reflected in Northern Song building manuals such as Yu Hao’s *Mu jing* (Classic of Wood) and Li Jie’s *Yingzao fashi* (A Treatise on Architectural Methods), and various editions of the *Gongcheng zuofa zeli* (Examples of Engineering Rules) imperial manual in the Qing dynasty.⁵ In imperial building projects, master craftsmen operating in such trade workshops were only allowed a certain degree of latitude in the creative design of buildings. Their ability to affect the final appearance or form of a structure was mainly limited to construction techniques and methods, and they were severely restricted by the ritual, sumptuary, and financial parameters set by planners and imposed by supervisory officials.

Supervisors administered and coordinated the work of the various skilled craftsmen and unskilled laborers, and were sometimes promoted from the ranks of master craftsmen with building experience. More commonly, however, supervisors were chosen for their skills at labor management and financial administration. Military officials experienced in dealing with unskilled

conscript, convict, and military laborers on civil and hydraulic engineering projects were well trained to oversee labor management, while palace eunuchs, with their control of imperial household funds, were well suited to assume responsibilities for administering construction costs. The participation of military officials and palace eunuchs as supervisors in the construction of the imperial palaces at Beijing in the early Yuan and Ming dynasties is well documented.⁶ A major difference separating this supervisory group from craftsmen was literacy. It can be expected that it was the supervisors who used imperial building manuals such as the Song dynasty *Yingzao fashi* and the Qing dynasty *Gongcheng zuofa zeli* for the purposes of estimating labor requirements, construction budgets, and scheduling.

Planners, usually well-educated ministers or imperial advisors, were appointed to formulate the underlying ritual design of imperial buildings, palaces, gardens, and cities. Such planners, however, should not be viewed as “architects” in the modern sense; instead, their role was mainly limited to devising schematic or ideal plans that translated imperial demonstrations of political and dynastic legitimacy into building symbology,⁷ cosmology, numerology, and other ritual forms that often had roots in ancient models. For example, in the building of the Yuan capital of Dadu, parallels were drawn between 1) the plan of Dadu and the “Princely City” (*Wang cheng*) outlined in the “Kaogong ji” (Records of Works Examination) section of the *Zhou li* (Rites of Zhou), 2) between the Yuan rulers and those of the Zhou dynasty, and 3) between Liu Bingzhong (1216–1274), most probably the chief planner of Dadu, and the Duke of Shao (Shao Gong) who played a key role in building the Zhou capital.⁸ Actual building appearance and construction would have relied heavily on the craftsmen and supervisors following the ideal guidelines set by the planners in the name of the sovereign. In truth, imperial building was a ritual act of imperial legitimization where the chief planner can be tacitly understood to be the emperor himself.

The actual participation of Yuan and Ming emperors in imperial building varied from ruler to ruler, but during the early Qing dynasty, especially the Yongzheng and Qianlong reign periods, increased imperial attention resulted in changes to the standard three-division building process. During these periods, presentation plans, drawings, and models were regularly submitted to the emperor for review and approval. Such a mode of operation mirrors the Qianlong emperor’s personal involvement in other artistic and scholarly projects, such as in the production of court paintings where preliminary sketches were presented for approval, or in the compilation of the *Siku quanshu* (Complete Library in Four Divisions) imperial manuscript library where the emperor supposedly inspected and approved each volume. Although increased Qing imperial involvement may have influenced a greater use of presentation drawings and models in the preliminary design stage, there were more fundamental changes during this period that both affected the building

design process and altered the institutional structure of the imperial building bureaucracy. It is on these changes that I want to focus in a preliminary investigation of the architects and builders of the Yuanming Yuan imperial garden-palace.

The hypothesis I am proposing is that in the early Qing period, imperial building interests shifted from formal palaces in crowded cities to less formal garden-palaces in scenic rural settings. With this shift came changes in the building process that affected the institutional organization of the imperial building bureaucracy, and created the need for a group of professional building designers, or, what may loosely fall under the rubric, “architects.”

There was a preference on the part of the Manchu rulers to escape the noise and clamor of Chinese city palaces, and to reside in the quietude and scenery of outlying imperial garden-palaces. After his southern tours in the 1680s, the Kangxi emperor returned north and directed Ye Tao, a court landscape painter, to assist in building or designing the Changchun Yuan garden so as to imitate favorite southern sites encountered on his travels.⁹ From the sparse material that survives about this garden, it is extremely difficult to pinpoint what role Ye Tao may have actually played in building the Changchun Yuan. It is likely that he only painted impressions or views of the southern scenery to serve as visual guides for the planners, supervisors, and craftsmen. If this was indeed the case, then this represents an early instance where the final appearance of an architectural project was artistically visualized in advance of construction. As we will examine later, during the Kangxi reign period, informal design offices (*yang fang*), including that of the famous Lei family, were already employed in similar roles on imperial building projects. Alternatively, Ye Tao may only have been commissioned to paint scenic spots (*jing*) around the Changchun Yuan garden much like the 1744 paintings of forty scenic spots in the Yuanming Yuan painted by Shen Yuan and Tang Dai (Fig. 4).¹⁰

The Changchun Yuan occupied an eighty-hectare site located in the western outskirts of Beijing in a low-lying area long known for its abundant waters and scenic charm (Fig. 1). Since the Liao and Jin dynasties, many small private gardens had been built in this area, and in the early Qing period, several surviving private gardens were consolidated under the jurisdiction of the Imperial Household Agency. Subsequently, some gardens were bestowed on various imperial relatives, nobility, and high officials. One of the “bestowed gardens” (*si yuan*) was granted in 1709 to Yinzhen, the future Yongzheng emperor, and given the title “Yuanming” by the Kangxi emperor, who also wrote calligraphy for a title-board hung in the Yuanmingyuan Dian residence hall, built on an island in the princely garden. In the Kangxi period, the Yuanming Yuan occupied a square precinct covering roughly forty hectares. The central feature of this precinct was a large lake ringed by nine islands. The Yuanmingyuan Dian hall was located on the south center island, which was later named the

Jiuzhou Qingyan (Peace and Quietude in the Nine Divisions) (Figs. 4-6).

Very little is known about the builders of the princely Yuanming Yuan during the Kangxi period, or exactly how much may have survived from an earlier garden, or when it was built. About all that can be said for sure, was that it was essentially complete by 1709 when it was bestowed to Yinzhen. With Yinzhen's accession to the throne as the Yongzheng emperor in 1723, the new emperor decided to retain the Yuanming Yuan as his principle garden residence. The subsequent elevation of the Yuanming Yuan princely garden to imperial status had a serious impact on the future planning and building at the site. Imperial regulations during the Kangxi period stipulated that no garden could be larger than the emperor's Changchun Yuan garden of eighty hectares. At the time of Yongzheng's accession, the Yuanming Yuan was only about forty hectares. A determination was made to expand the garden. Work conducted from 1724 to 1725 added formal audience halls and administrative offices at the south end of the garden. Next, an L-shaped zone was added to the north and west sides of the early garden, followed by the excavation of the large Fu Hai lake and its scenic views to the east. The final enlargement in the Yongzheng period was the addition of a narrow walled strip across the north end of the garden (Figs. 2-3).

In 1725 when Yongzheng returned to take up residence in the Yuanming Yuan as emperor, newly constructed formal palaces and offices built by the southern gate formed an area for conducting state affairs. The need for such a duplicate palace was essential, since from this time forward the Qing rulers would spend the majority of each year in residence at Yuanming Yuan. This made the garden unique in Chinese architectural history. Granted, many imperial gardens and hunting parks had existed in earlier periods, but they were primarily viewed as attachments to palaces or temporary residences (*xing gong*) and never the chief residence or center of government. It can be argued that the Yuanming Yuan helped mark the beginning of a new architectural typology, that of a "garden-palace" (*ligong xing huangjia yuanlin*) with formal palace halls at the front, followed by a more informal imperial residence compound, and then the landscaped grounds of the garden at the rear. This same formula was followed at other roughly contemporary garden-palaces, such as the earlier Bishu Shanzhuang at Rehe, or later at the Yihe Yuan outside Beijing.

Besides their similar large size and organizational layouts, the new Qing garden-palaces also shared the need for a design concept worthy of their imperial residence and administrative functions. Here we need to return to the role of the planners in devising schematic or ideal plans that symbolized imperial authority and legitimacy. At the Yuanming Yuan the decisive moment came with the garden's transition from princely to imperial stature. The Rear Lake (Hou Hu) with

its nine islands formed the early nucleus of the garden, and provided the conceptual symbology (Figs. 2–3). The number nine identified the site with the emperor—“nine in the fifth place, a dragon flying in the heavens” (*jiu wu long fei zai tian*)—while the arrangement of nine islands around a lake referred to the Nine Divisions (*jiu zhou*) of all under heaven as outlined in the Great Plan (*hong fan*) outlined in the *Book of Documents* (*Shu jing*). This latter allusion to the Nine Divisions was made explicit at Yuanming Yuan with the naming of the main island as Jiuzhou Qingyan (Peace and Quietude in the Nine Divisions) (Figs. 4–6), and is clearly outlined in a 1724 report in the Imperial Household Agency archives on the geomantic features of the Yuanming Yuan.¹¹

The association of the nine islands with the Nine Divisions allowed the Yuanming Yuan to be perceived as a microcosm of the nation with the emperor in his palace residence surrounded by the garden grounds filled with a panoply of scenic spots inspired by legendary immortal realms, fanciful sites depicted in landscape paintings, and scenic views loosely copying famous locations from around the country. In essence, images of China in myth, story, and memory were re-built, or re-presented, within the garden-palace walls. This microcosm of all under heaven did not stop at the walls. When the Yuanming Yuan was elevated to imperial rank, eight bannerman garrisons were constructed around the garden-palace in a fan-shaped arrangement to the west, north, and east sides (Fig. 1).¹² Though ostensibly built for protection, the garrisons also had a symbolic purpose. Arranged in the directions of China’s frontiers, they could also be interpreted to represent Qing domination over its frontier foes. This interpretation finds agreement with a similar design at the Bishu Shanzhuang garden-palace at Rehe. There, China proper was again represented within the protective walls of the garden. Outside were the Eight Outer Temples (*Wai Ba Miao*) built in imitation of the architecture of different subjugated frontier peoples.¹³

Another shared characteristic between the Yuanming Yuan, Bishu shanzhuang, and Yihe Yuan garden-palaces, was their use of water as a central motif. Although architectural historians have tended to stress the infatuation of the Manchu rulers with the cultivated taste of southern garden planning with its abundant use of water, there may also have been a more ritual and symbolic reason. In Manchu foundation myths as studied by Pei Huang and Pamela Crossley, the element of water had special meaning to the Manchu rulers who interpreted their rise to dominance over the Ming dynasty as a suppression of elemental fire by water. This correlation is evidenced by their 1635 change in self-appellation from “Jurchen” (*Nüzhen*) to “Manchu” (*Manzhou*), and their 1636 selection of “Qing” (Pure) as a new dynastic title. The character “Ming” (Bright) contains the “sun” (*ri*) radical and is linked to fire, while the characters “Qing,” *man*, and *zhou* all have the “water” (*shui*) radical.¹⁴

In the case of the Yuanming Yuan, water may also have been important because of the name “Yuanming” chosen for the site by the Kangxi emperor, the chief planner. In a calligraphic couplet by the Kangxi emperor hung in the Yuanmingyuan Dian hall, the title “Yuanming” is associated with “heavenly benevolence” (*tian en*) and “divine virtue” (*di de*).¹⁵ After the elevation of the Yuanming Yuan to imperial status, the Yongzheng emperor composed additional hall couplets and a record (*ji*) for the garden in which divine benevolence and virtue are the qualities that enable the Son of Heaven to lead by example and empathize with the people.¹⁶ In its name, as in the garden layout, therefore, the Yuanming Yuan was seen as an ideal microcosm of the Chinese-Manchu world in total harmony. The name “Yuanming” also had certain poetic associations with water in the form of a dewdrop as a symbol of purity and unity.¹⁷ In the Qianlong period, a Divine Dew Terrace (Lushuishen Tai) was erected in the Wanchun Yuan garden section of the Yuanming Yuan. On the terrace stood a large bronze sculpture with its arms extended upwards holding a basin for collecting dew (*cheng lu tong ren*).

Here we must highlight that the Yuanming Yuan, like almost all gardens, was a dynamic entity that grew and changed over time. It developed from a princely to an imperial garden under the reign of the Yongzheng emperor, and in the Qianlong period four adjoining gardens were annexed. The added gardens were the Changchun Yuan (built 1749–1751), Qichun Yuan (built by 1772; name changed to Wanchun Yuan in the Tongzhi reign (1862–1874)), Xichun Yuan, and the Chunxi Yuan.¹⁸ Collectively, these five gardens were known as the “Yuanming Wu Yuan”, and were administered by the Imperial Household Agency. But essentially the Yuanming Yuan’s design symbology was set in the early Yongzheng period with the elevation of the site to become an imperial garden-palace. Afterwards, the addition of adjoining gardens, scenic spots (*jing*), and changes within the garden-palace grounds played on this theme. For example, in the Qianlong period, besides the continued expansion of the garden-palace, numerous scenic spots were built in imitation of famous locations and scenery that the emperor had taken a fancy to in the south and elsewhere. Granted such architectural copying had much earlier precedents, but never in such great numbers, or so explicitly. Copied were sites from southern gardens as well as famous landscapes like all ten scenic spots of the famed West Lake in Hangzhou. In so doing, the Qianlong emperor, as the imperial planner, transported sites from across the country, along with more generic scenes from everyday life, such as a market street and farm lands, and recreated them inside the garden-palace walls. This same imitative design strategy was also evident in the Qianlong-period building at Bishu Shanzhuang; and in both instances helped reinforce the symbolism of the garden-palaces as microcosms of the nation.

This imitative design strategy also signals a new attitude toward building design that began after imperial interests shifted from formal urban palaces to scenic garden-palaces. With this shift came changes to the building process that affected the institutional organization of the imperial building bureaucracy. The traditional construction of formal palace halls and ritual buildings was heavily regulated from the use of materials, bracketing (*dougong*), proportional module, size and decoration, as well as by many other factors determined by ritual or conventional interpretation. What little was left to the artistic imagination was primarily limited to variations in construction techniques and craftsmanship. Under these circumstances, the traditional relationship between planners, supervisors, and craftsmen was particularly well suited. Supervised craftsmen could be relied upon to build according to age-old practices transmitted generation by generation through a workshop system.

In contrast to formal palace construction, building work in the Qing imperial garden-palaces called for innovation and the construction of structures ranging from fanciful mountain and lakeside villas drawn from legend or myth, to foreign-styled halls and waterworks, as well as scenery and gardens the emperors' had encountered on their southern tours. Symbolic of this shift from a formal palace to a freer garden style was the omission of bracket sets (*dougong*) in most of the Yuanming Yuan structures, except for the main audience halls and ancestral temples.¹⁹ Moreover, the traditional tripartite division of planners, supervisors, and craftsmen was no longer adequate to provide for the freer and innovative building plans and landscaping that were now desired. Planners still controlled the overall design and symbology of the garden, but skilled craftsmen trained in workshop systems needed additional guidance in building structures with which they had no prior experience. For this purpose, the final appearance of a project had to be artistically visualized in advance of construction, and an apparatus for communicating with the craftsmen had to be devised. As discussed earlier in relation to the building of the Changchun Yuan garden by the Kangxi emperor, the landscape painter Ye Tao was commissioned to help in the design work, possibly painting views of the intended garden or scenery from actual sites to be copied. During the Qianlong emperor's southern tours, he was often accompanied by court painters who recorded scenic sites to serve as blueprints for imitation in the imperial garden-palaces. Additionally, the Qianlong emperor was known to have sent agents to survey famous buildings to provide measured blueprints and models for imperial buildings. In building the four northern imperial library halls to house the *Siku quanshu* encyclopedia, Yinzhu, an official in the Imperial Household Agency, was sent to investigate the Tianyi Ge private library hall in Ningbo. The Tianyi Ge was believed to be the oldest surviving wooden library structure, and, by imperial order, was to be emulated in the design of the Siku library halls. Yinzhu surveyed the Tianyi Ge hall and submitted models

and drawings with careful measurements that were supposed to reflect that hall's numerological efficacy against fire. The first of the Siku library halls, the Wenyuan Ge, was erected at the Yuanming Yuan.²⁰

Besides resorting to the use of court painters and officials to record and survey sites for imitation, a new bureaucratic apparatus was beginning to take shape from as early as the Kangxi period with the establishment of design offices (*yang fang* or *yang shi fang*). Using new design and planning methods that involved a systematic use of cut-away models and several stages of construction drawings, these design offices came to function as so-called "architects." The implications of this change in the building process can be examined from numerous surviving models and drawings for the Yuanming Yuan produced by the Lei Family Design Office (*Yang shi Lei* or *Yang fang Lei* or *Yang zi Lei*) (Figs. 3, 5–7).²¹ Starting in the Kangxi period, seven generations of the Lei family worked as imperial designers, and were involved in the planning for both the Chinese- and Western-style buildings in the Yuanming Yuan, as well as at other imperial sites. The Lei family was famous for its integrated use of drawings and models in the design process. An overall site plan was drawn with dimensions. Keyed to this base drawing, rough drawings (*cu tu*) were drafted, then revised to produce final presentation drawings (*jing tu*).²² This process allowed for both imperial review, and produced graphically understandable blueprints that could be followed by workmen.

While simple architectural plans like the Zhongshan Kingdom "Zhaoyu tu" bronze plaque from the Zhou period, or topographic drawings like those found in gazetteers or carved on stone stelae dating from the Tang period onwards, were used in earlier periods, the Lei family developed a system of detailed drawings and models all keyed to an overall site plan.²³ The drawings included area plans, raised-view projections similar to perspective renderings, and detail drawings. The building models were fabricated using a pressed or molded cardboard technique (*tang yang*) and were made so that they could be taken apart to reveal the interior rooms and construction (Figs. 6–7).

While most of the surviving Lei family drawings and models for the Yuanming Yuan date from after the Qianlong reign period (most date to the Tongzhi period reconstruction effort), similar drawings and models were being produced in the Yongzheng and Qianlong periods, and probably as early as the Kangxi period with the first generation of the Lei family at court.²⁴ As recorded in the *Qing shilu*, when Yinzhu surveyed the Tianyi Ge private library in Ningbo, he submitted measured drawings and models—to be specific, *tang yang* molded-cardboard models. Additionally, it is recorded that a 1737 presentation drawing of the overall site plan—the *Yuanmingyuan quan tu* produced by Shen Yuan, Tang Dai, Guisepppe Castiglione and others—was kept in the Qinghui Ge hall in the Yuanming Yuan, but was destroyed with parts of the garden in 1860.

There are many archival records and building manuals that relate to, or were produced by, the Lei Family Design Office. As research is only beginning on these materials, it is hoped that more details will be uncovered about the early workings of the design offices and their financial counterparts, the accounting offices (*suan fang*). Mention of the design offices in standard court records like the *Qing shilu* (Veritable Records of the Qing) or *Da Qing huidian* (A Collection of Laws and Decrees of the Qing) are rare. This was due to the *ad hoc* character of the building agencies, which were set up on a project-by-project basis under the supervision of the Ministry of Works, the Imperial Household Agency, or combination of both. The design offices were not included in the official bureaucratic statutes (*bu zai bian zhi*). Regardless of their official position, the building duties and operations of the design offices were fully entrenched by the Qianlong period, if not earlier. They served as intermediaries between the planners and supervisors on the one hand, and the craftsmen on the other. Through their system of drawings and models they provided an institutional apparatus by which new and innovative designs could be built by former workshop craftsmen. This apparatus was in place for the imitative and fanciful garden designs in the Qianlong period, as well as for the building of the Western-styled palaces at Yuanming Yuan, by the European Jesuits working at court from 1745–1759. A closer inspection may reveal that the design offices played an important role in the construction of the Western palaces. Indeed, records now indicate that Western-styled structures were already being built at the Yuanming Yuan from as early as the Yongzheng period when the Jesuits were out of favor at court.²⁵ Western architecture was already illustrated in the painting of “The Twelfth Month” in various sets of the *Activities of the Twelve Months* paintings, one in the collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei, and another in the Palace Museum, Beijing.²⁶ While each set shows slight discrepancies and are dated to the Yongzheng or Qianlong periods, it is likely that they were all modeled after a Yongzheng period composition. If this is the case, then the painting of “The Twelfth Month” may be a visual record of a Western-style building erected by Chinese builders in the Yuanming Yuan during the Yongzheng reign period (Fig. 8).

Conclusion

The scenario of the imperial building bureaucracy involved in the building of the Yuanming Yuan imperial garden-palace presented in this paper is preliminary and requires further research. Attempting to place this scenario within a larger historical context, it is possible to speculate that the development of a garden culture in southern China during the Ming dynasty led to a greater emphasis on the garden as a social and architectural unit, reversing the traditional relationship

between gardens and buildings. Whereas buildings had previously been the primary focus, and gardens secondary, with the rise of a garden culture in the Ming, gardens became the central unit of architectural design, and buildings located within the garden walls became subordinate. It is this architectural relationship that is envisaged in the eighteenth-century novel *Dream of the Red Chamber* (*Hong lou meng*) where the Daguan Yuan garden forms its own walled setting, a world within a world with its own time and place. Though a fictional account, this story reflects the pivotal role of gardens in the social fabric of the early Qing, and highlights the new role of gardens and garden-palaces, not buildings or palaces, as the focus of architecture.

It is this new conception of architectural gardens that may have caught the eye of the Qing emperors on their imperial southern tours as much as any aesthetic concern for picturesque views and idyllic scenery. When the Qianlong emperor copied scenery from around the nation and rebuilt them in the Yuanming Yuan and other imperial garden-palaces, he was not just imitating their outward appearance. Instead he was capturing self-contained worlds embodying geographical sites, different peoples, mythological lands, immortal realms, as well as sites of ritual, religious, and political power.

Notes

- 1 An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Association of Asian Studies annual conference, Washington DC., March 26, 1998.
- 2 This term may have been first coined in Zhou Weiquan, "Bishu Shanzhuang yu Yihe Yuan"; reprinted in *Zhongguo jianzhu shi lunwen xuanji*, vol. 2 (Taipei: Mingwen shu ju, 1984), p. 434.
- 3 See Cary Y. Liu, "The Yüan Dynasty Capital, Ta-tu: Imperial Building Program and Bureaucracy", *T'oung Pao* 78 (1992), pp. 264-301; and *ibid.*, "Ming Dynasty Peking Imperial Palaces: Government Agencies and Officials (1368-1441)" (seminar paper, Princeton University, 1988).
- 4 The Three Powers refer to the realms of heaven, man, and earth. See *Zhou yi zhengyi*, *Shisan jing zhushu* ed. (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1980), "Shuo gua", *juan* 9: 93-94.
- 5 Surviving fragments of the *Mu jing* recorded in Shen Gua, *Xin jiaozheng Mengxi bitan* (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1957); reprint ed. (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shu ju Xianggang fen ju, 1975), *juan* 18: 177-178 [no. 299], divide buildings into three sections: upper, middle, and lower parts (*shang fen*, *zhong fen*, *xia fen*). A similar tripartite scheme is echoed by the partition of the *Yingzao fashi* into stonework, woodwork, and tilework sections. On these three building manuals, see Klaas Ruitenbeek, *Carpentry & Building in Late Imperial*

- China: A Study of the Fifteenth-century Carpenter's Manual "Lu Ban Jing"* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1993), pp. 25-29. On Yu Hao and the *Mu jing*, also see Joseph Needham, et al., *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 4, part 3: *Civil Engineering and Nautics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 81-84, 128, 141; and Xia Nai, "Mengxi bitan zhong de Yu Hao Mu jing", *Kaogu*, no. 1 (1982), pp. 74-78, 73.
- 6 See note 3.
- 7 Symbology is the study or interpretation of a system of symbols. Although the Western-based Vitruvian categories of form, function, and structure are useful analytical tools, they are nevertheless inadequate for understanding Chinese architecture. Analysis of a building's symbology—including decoration, name, numerology, geomancy, calligraphy, ritual layout, and design models—is an additional lens through which to view Chinese architecture.
- 8 Liu, "Yüan Dynasty Capital", pp. 265-67, 299-300.
- 9 See Wang Wei, *Yuanming Yuan* (Beijing: Beijing chuban she, 1957), p. 2. On Ye Tao, see Yu Jianhua ed., *Zhongguo meishujia ren ming zidian* (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chuban she, 1981), p. 1217.
- 10 This imperial album of forty views of the Yuanming Yuan is in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and is reproduced in Che Bing Chiu, *Yuanming Yuan: Le jardin de la Clarté parfaite* (Besançon: Éditions de l'imprimeur, 2000), pp. 183-225. The album is discussed in John R. Finlay, "Forty Views of the Yuanming Yuan", paper presented at the Association of Asian Studies annual conference, Washington DC, March 26, 1998. For the date of the album, see *Yuanming Yuan*, ed. by Zhongguo diyi dang'an guan 2 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chuban she, 1991), "Xu Yan", p. 7, and p. 1301, no. 299.
- 11 See *Yuanming Yuan* (Shanghai, 1991), pp. 6-8.
- 12 Zhou Weiquan, "Yuanming Yuan: Yi zuo bei huihuai le de ming yuan sheng yuan", *Yuanming Yuan*, gen. ed. Qiao Yun (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Co Ltd, 1985), pp. 66-67, fig. 7.
- 13 On the Bishu Shanzhuang garden-palace, see *Chengde gu jianzhu*, edited by Tianjin daxue jianzhu xi and Chengde wenwu ju (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chuban she, 1982); and Yuan Senpo, "Qingdai kouwai xing gong de youlai yu Chengde Bishu Shanzhuang de fazhan guocheng", *Qing shi luncong* no. 2 (1980), pp. 286-319. On the Eight Outer Temples, also see Anne Chayet, *Les temples de Jehol et leurs modèles tibétains* (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1985).
- 14 This connection was earlier suggested in Fan Wenlan, gen. ed., *Zhongguo tong shi jian bian* (Shanghai: Xinzhi shu dian, 1947), p. 620. The etymology of the dynastic names have numerous interpretations and are discussed in Pei Huang, "New Light on the Origins of the Manchus", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 50, no. 1 (1990), pp. 272-282. For other discussions on the title change from Jin to Qing, also see Meng Sen, *Qing dai shi* (Taipei: Zhengzhong shu ju, 1960), pp. 108-109; and Frederic Wakeman, Jr., *The Great Enterprise* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), p. 206-207. Although this water-over-fire theory remains speculative, the early-Qing use of water analogies does intimate a pattern aimed at legitimization, see Pei Huang, "New Light", especially pp. 280-281. In this respect, the name "Manchu" may derive from early-Qing foundation myths, which over time were altered to satisfy the needs of different reigns. On the foundation myths, see Pei Huang, "New Light", pp. 243-246, 278; and Pamela Kyle Crossley, "An Introduction to the Qing Foundation Myth", *Late Imperial China*, 6, no. 2 (1985), pp. 13-24.
- Besides the connection to water, the Manchu's northern homeland also evoked strong correlations with the direction north, color black, numbers "one" and "six", and the northern deity—the Black Tortoise or Dark Warrior (Xuan Wu; renamed the True or Perfect Warrior [Zhen Wu] in the Song period). Imperial promotion of Dark Warrior worship began in the Song dynasty, and hinged on the deity's presumed prowess in bringing rain and insuring martial victory against northern invaders.
- 15 *Rixia jiuwen kao*, compiled by Yu Minzhong, et al. (1787), 8 vols. (Beijing: Beijing guji chuban she, 1981), *juan* 80: 1332.
- 16 *Rixia jiuwen kao*, *juan* 80: 1322, 1332.

- 17 See the Tang poem “Qiu ji hou” by Luo Yin, *Quan Tang shi*, 25 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1960), *juan* 660: 7576.
- 18 The latter two gardens were detached in the Jiaqing reign, and the title “Yuanming San Yuan” only began to be used in the Daoguang era. See *Yuanming Yuan* (Shanghai, 1991), “Xu yan”, pp. 1-2, 5-6.
- 19 The Qing building terms “major-style” (*da shi*) and “minor-style” (*xiao shi*), respectively, designate building construction with or without bracket sets. This distinction has precedents in the *Jingshi dadian xu lu*, *Yuan wen lei*, edited by Su Tianjue, 2 vols. (Beijing: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1938), “Gong dian zong xu, mu gong”, *juan* 42: 617; and Xie Jin et al., compilers, *Yongle dadian*, 100 vols. (Taipei: Shijie shu ju, 1962), “Ju, da mu xiao mu ju”, *juan* 19781: 14a-b. Also compare to the “Da mu zuo” and “Xiao mu zuo” sections of the Song dynasty *Yingzao fashi*.
- 20 On the Tianyi Ge and its connection to the Siku libraries, see Cary Y. Liu, “The Ch’ing Dynasty Wen-yüan-ko Imperial Library: Architecture and the Ordering of Knowledge” (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1997), pp. 134-154. On the Wenyuan Ge library at Yuanming Yuan, see *ibid.*, pp. 31-34.
- 21 On the Lei Family Design Office, see Zhu Qiqian, “Zhejiang lu”, *Zhongguo yingzao xueshe hui kan* 4, no. 1 (1933), pp. 84-89; Huang Ximing, and Tian Guisheng, “Tan tan ‘Yang shi Lei’ tang yang,” *Gugong bowuyuan yuan kan*, no. 4 (1984), pp. 91-94; Shan Shiyuan, “Gongting jianzhu qiao jiang—‘Yang shi Lei’”, *Yuanming Yuan ziliao ji*, edited by Shu Mu et al. (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chuban she, 1984), pp. 95-101; *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu jishu shi*, compiled by Zhongguo kexue yuan ziran kexue shi yanjiu suo (Beijing: Kexue chuban she, 1985), pp. 584-585; Wang Qiheng, and Xiang Huiquan, “‘Yang shi Lei’ shijia xin zheng”, *Gugong bowuyuan yuan kan*, no. 2 (1987), pp. 52-57.
- 22 On surviving Lei family drawings and models for the Yuanming Yuan, see Liu Dunzhen, “Tongzhi chong xiu Yuanming Yuan shi liao”, *Zhongguo yingzao xueshe hui kan* 4, no. 2 (1933), pp. 100-155; and Jin Xun, “Beiping tushuguan cang Yang shi Lei cang Yuanming Yuan ji nei ting lingqin fudi tuji zongmu”, *Guoli Beiping tushuguan guan kan* 7, nos. 3-4 (1933), pp. 127-146.
- 23 On the “Zhaoyu tu”, see Fu Xinian, “Zhanguo Zhongshan Wang Zuo mu chutu de ‘Zhao yu tu’ ji qi ling yuan guizhi de yanjiu”, *Kaogu xue bao*, no. 1 (1980), pp. 97-118; Yang Hongxun, “Zhanguo Zhongshan wang ling ji zhao yu tu yanjiu”, *Kaogu xue bao*, no. 1 (1980), pp. 119-137; and Wang Tao, “Know Your ‘Place’: The Plan of the Zhongshan King’s Graveyard”, paper presented at the 10th European Association of Chinese Studies conference, Prague, 1994.
- 24 Archival documents from the Yongzheng period record the use of such design models for building at the Yuanming Yuan. See *Yuanming Yuan* (Shanghai, 1991), pp. 1200, no. 69; and 1210, no. 90.
- 25 Western-style buildings and waterworks in the Yongzheng period were built at several Yuanming Yuan sites, including the Fengshan Shi studio at the Shuimu Mingse scenic spot. See *Yuanming Yuan* (Shanghai, 1991), “Xu yan”, p. 6.
- 26 The Taipei painting is discussed in Wu Wenbin, “Shier yue ling tu zhong shangyuan ji jing”, *Wenwu guanghua* vol. 5 (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1991), pp.178-181; and Wen C. Fong, et al., *Possessing the Past* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), pp. 554, 560-563. On the Beijing scroll, see Nie Chongzheng, general editor, *Qing dai gongting huihua* (Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1996), no. 20.12.

清代皇家宮苑圓明園的建築師和規劃師¹

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位於北京西郊的清代宮苑圓明園是“離宮型皇家園林”²（圖一至三），它的出現與冒起的一班身兼總體建設規劃的“建築師”息息相關。清初皇家工程是由工部或內務府，或兩者共同統籌的，根據個別項目的規模和財務開支來設立規劃機關。在從前的元明兩代，根據當時興建的北京故宮，便可見建築部門和程序一般是依工匠、總管和規劃人員三家來訂立的。³

首先，工匠依照作坊系統，去負責建築工作，由瓦工、木工和石工合作交易。這種分法反映了中國建築的三分：上分、中分和下分，以及宇宙的三才：天、地和人的關係。⁴ 它的起源相信是傳統木構建築的法則：瓦工鋪設樓頂、木工確立樓面和樑柱，樓底則需石工和泥工粉飾。這種專業分工早見於北宋的建築書籍，例如喻皓《木經》、李誠《營造法式》和清代皇家手冊《工程做法則例》。⁵ 在皇家的建築項目中，每一行當的總管沒有很大自由去參與整體建築創作，他們礙於監管官員在禮節、經費等各方面的限制，只能透過建築技巧和方法去影響建築的結構和外觀。

各大行當的總管負責統籌和調配熟練和新手工工人，當中一些總管是由富建築經驗的高級工匠提升的，不過普遍還是從擅長開源節流的工匠挑選。在人力資源方面，便由熟習在民事和水力工程中徵募新丁、處理罪犯和僱傭兵的軍機大臣來監管；而掌管皇室人員經費的宮中太監則負責建築費用的調配。有關軍機大臣和太監參與元初和明代北京故宮的建設，報導很多。⁶ 這些監督人員和工匠的最大差別是他們通曉文墨，可以查閱皇家建築手冊，包括宋代的《營造法式》和清代的《工程做法則例》，來估計所需人力、建設預算和施工日程。

至於籌建人員方面，大部分由飽讀詩書的官吏或皇家幕僚出任，確保名下設計的宮殿園林和都市合乎儀禮標準，但他們的身份和現代“建築師”不同；他們不可以隨意發揮，主要職責是把皇室的政治勢力和道統，通過建築的符號學⁷、宇宙學、數字學，以及其他合乎儀禮的傳統形象，銓釋成公式或虛擬的計劃。元代大都的建設便有以下的等同例子：（一）大都圖則和《周禮》“考工記”刻劃的王城，（二）元代君主和周代仁君，（三）大都的策劃人劉秉忠（1216—1274）和建立周代首都的召公。⁸ 工匠和總管雖然執行建築的外貌和設施，但必須依循皇室籌建人員定下的概念。事實上，負責整體規劃的籌建人員，一般被認為是君主的意見代表，而皇家建築則是皇室正統的儀範。

元明兩代君主參與皇家建築的方式，各有不同；但到了清初，尤其是雍正和乾隆兩朝，帝王更加重視皇室建設，因此出現中國建築的三分法。這時期的計劃書、繪圖和模型須定時呈遞給帝王查察批核。這套積極運作程式可從乾隆帝積極參與其他文化藝術項目反映出來，例如他核實宮廷繪畫的初稿，和審閱《四庫全書》。由於帝王的積極參與，在設計初期便上遞了很多計劃書、繪圖和

模型，使建築設計過程和皇家官僚組織產生了不少變遷。本文基於這些衍變，嘗試對皇家宮苑圓明園的建築師和規劃師作出初部探討。

清初時期，皇室的建築品味可能由繁榮都會的巍峨宮殿，轉向田園風味的避暑山莊。這種轉變影響了皇家官僚機關的組織，對專業劃則師，也就是坊間一般稱為“建築師”，急劇需求。

滿清帝王崇尚遠離都市的寧謐園林景色，造園風氣大盛。康熙在1680年代兩度南巡，回京以後，對江南的靈山秀水，產生很大興趣，即命當時宮廷山水畫家葉洮，在西郊設計並修建暢春園，作為他“避喧聽政”的地方。⁹ 現時倖存的零散資料，並不足以顯現葉洮參與暢春園的設計，只知道籌建人員、監督和工匠，都根據一些繪畫作品，作為建園的藍圖。若是如此，則一個建築項目的最後外貌，在施工前已首先在畫紙上表現出來。康熙年間的雷世家樣式，早已在皇家的建築項目中應用。另一方面，葉洮受命繪畫暢春園園“景”，和1744年沈源和唐岱所繪園明園的四十景圖詠（圖四）是相類的。¹⁰

暢春園佔地八十公頃，位於北京西郊海淀一處山清水秀的風景區（圖一）。自遼金以來，皇孫貴族便在這裡營建了許多行宮和私家園林。清代初年，內務府奉宸院把前朝修建的私園，增修建成皇家園林區，再分賜給皇宮成員和貴族官僚。其中1709年營建作為皇四子雍親王胤禛（後為雍正帝）的賜園，由康熙命名為圓明園。圓明園殿座落皇家園林南島上，殿額“圓明”是康熙親筆題字。康熙時圓明園方圓約達四十公頃，主題是九個小島環抱前後湖，形成景區，後稱“九洲清晏”（圖四至六）。

現存有關建造圓明園的規模和建造年代的資料，實在寥寥可數。唯一可以肯定的，是在1709年康熙把圓明園賞賜給雍親王胤禛（後為雍正帝）的時候，園林已基本落成。在1723年胤禛即位為雍正皇帝後，圓明園便成為京郊最主要的離宮。這個由賜園改為離宮型皇家園林的轉變，大大影響了圓明園日後的規劃和修築。按照清代皇家規制，賜園的規模不能超過康熙為帝時居住、面積達八十公頃的暢春園。到了雍正登基以後，圓明園方圓只有四十公頃，隨即進行擴建計劃。首先在1724至1725年施工，在園南建殿宇朝署值所，它是侍值臣員治事的地方，即宮廷區的“外朝”。同時前湖北岸以“九洲清晏”為主體建築群，與東西面幾組建築群連成“L”字形景區，屬於帝后嬪妃居住的地方，即宮廷區的“內寢”；繼在東面人工開挖大型“福海”和後湖等小水面，聯結成完整的河湖水系。雍正在位期間的最後擴建工程是在北面盡處，修築了一條狹長的宮牆地帶。

1725年雍正帝即位後，便定居圓明園，當時南門修建了新的宮殿及議政廳，形成一個商議國家大事的小朝廷。由這時期開始，歷代清帝每年都曾居住在圓明園，因此對這種多用途的“離宮型皇家園林”需求甚殷，確立了圓明園在中國建築史上獨特的地位。雖然前朝出現了不少御花園及打獵園林，可是它們都是被視為宮殿以外的附屬建築或行宮，從來不是帝王的主要居所和臨朝聽政中心。圓明園標誌著一種新的建築形式：“離宮型皇家園林”，前有正式宮殿，接以皇室寢宮，後有規模龐大的園林。這種形式在近代宮殿園林中普遍應用，包括早期的熱河避暑山莊和後期的北京市郊頤和園。

除了龐大面積和籌劃安排外，新置的清代宮殿園林須包含同時適合皇室居住和聽政的設計概念。籌建人員須兼顧皇家權力和正統的形像。圓明園的有趣工程是把太子府第改變成皇帝的園林規模。後湖的九島是園林的核心所在，帶有象徵的概念（圖二至三）。“九”這個數字把園址定為御用，所謂“九五龍飛在天”，而九島圍繞一湖的安排代表“九洲”，是《書經》中的洪範。圓明園的主島命名“九洲清晏”，清晰表明這個含義。1724年皇家檔案記載有關圓明園的地形特徵，也清楚指出這設計象徵。¹¹

九島與九洲的聯繫令圓明園被視為天下縮影：帝王在離宮中，被御花園中各地名勝縮影及山水畫中的神仙境界所包圍。中國傳統神話和傳說中的形像在這個離宮重新表現出來。這個天下的縮影更不受宮牆規範。當圓明園提升為帝王園林後，八旗部兵集結在園林的東、西和北面，安排成一個扇形的兵營（圖一）。¹²雖然表面上這些兵營是為防禦而設置的，其實還帶有象徵意義。它們被安排在中國疆界的不同方向，代表清室抵禦外敵。這種意念和熱河避暑山莊的園林宮殿布局大致相同，特別是後者，設計像中國國土再次由護國牆保護，外圍有仿效不同邊疆種族建築的“外八廟”。¹³

圓明園、避暑山莊和頤和園的另一共同特徵是運用水景作為中心裝飾。雖然一些建築學者強調清帝的靈感來自對南方優雅園林的迷戀，尤其大量運用水景設計，但當中還是有獨特的祭祀和象徵意義。Pei Huang和Pamela Crossley研究滿族的立國神話時，指出“水”對滿清皇室有特殊意義，因為滿族消滅明代，即代表五行的“水”滅“火”。這種聯繫由1635年清室把“女真”的稱號改為“滿洲”，以及1636年選擇“清”作為新國號，可見一斑。“明”字包含“日”字，帶“火”；而“清”、“滿”和“洲”全屬“水”部。¹⁴

圓明園“水”系突出，以水景聞名。主要策劃人康熙帝選用了“圓明”為名。根據圓明園殿堂上懸掛的康熙御筆詩聯，“圓明”和“天恩”、“帝德”有關。¹⁵當圓明園提升為皇家園林後，雍正帝再撰寫了不少對聯和園記，明示天恩和德行是天子以身作則，統治天下的條件。¹⁶所以圓明園的名稱和園林佈置可視為滿漢一體世界的縮影。“圓明”一詞也和帶有清純和統一寓意的露水有關：“圓明露點勻”。¹⁷到了乾隆年代，在圓明園中的萬春園，林中便設立一座露水神台，上有高舉雙臂持盤的承露銅人。

圓明園如其他園林一樣，歷代迭有發展和變遷。首先它由康熙的太子府第改為雍正帝的皇家園林，到了乾隆朝更把四個鄰近花園歸納其中，包括長春園（1749—1751年興建）、綺春園（1772年興建，同治年間易名萬春園）、熙春園和春熙園。¹⁸這五個園林總稱為“圓明五園”，由皇家內務府主理。圓明園基本的設計象徵，在雍正初年提升為皇宮後已經確立。隨後加上的園林、景物都是根據這些象徵意義而作出變遷的。例如在乾隆年間，除擴展園林的範圍外，不少新“景”是模仿皇帝南巡或遊覽時喜歡的著名勝境。雖然這種建築在前代已經出現，但從沒有這樣龐大的規模和成就。其中藍本顯然是南方的庭園和山水，例如著名的杭州西湖十景。作為策劃人的乾隆帝，將各省市集和農田等各種景觀，重新設置在皇家園林的圍牆內。相類的仿製模式，也運用在乾隆年代於避暑山莊興建的建築。這兩大園林設計正好說明這些離宮是象徵國家的縮影。

皇室的興趣由大內宮殿轉移到園林離宮，使建築設計受到重大影響，其中一種嶄新觀念是模仿江南風景與園林精華，並改變了皇家建築架構的組織。在建造傳統大殿和祭祀廟堂時，材料、斗拱、比例、尺寸和裝飾各方面都有準則，並受到禮儀和傳統法規所限制，唯一可發揮藝術想像力的是建造技巧和工藝的變化。在這種情況下，傳統籌劃人、總管和工匠的三層合作關係便最適合。這種關係主要透過類似作坊的系統，由總管監督工匠去採用古老相傳的手法，來進行營造工程。

不過，清代皇家園林和莊嚴宮殿的建造方式和以前是截然不同的。這種新的建造形式注重創意和各種結構的營造，包括神話傳說中的秀山麗水，以至帶有西洋色彩的殿宇和水景，並吸收皇帝南巡後大為欣賞的江南景致和園林，風格由莊嚴宮殿轉變為優雅的園林離宮。例如在圓明園的大部份建築，除主要大殿和祭祀廟堂外，都廢用斗拱這種營造方式，另行表達象徵意義。¹⁹ 此外，這種需要較大自由度和有創意的新興園林建築，並不適合傳統的三層分工法。規劃師仍掌管全盤策劃，並顧及園林的象徵意義。但傳統的工匠卻因不熟悉創新的建築結構部份，而須增加指引。為達到這個目的，每項建築工程在動工以前，先要用圖像表達出來，加強與工匠溝通的意念。上文提及康熙帝籌建暢春園期間，宮廷山水畫家葉洮奉旨參與設計工作，根據被仿效的各地勝景，來繪畫暢春園“景”。到了乾隆南巡時，不少宮廷畫家都隨侍在側，圖記各地勝景，作為皇家離宮園林仿效的藍本。此外，相傳乾隆帝曾派使者考察各地著名建築，為皇家建築提供有尺寸藍本和模型。為編製《四庫全書》而修建四個北御書房時，內務府大臣寅著便被派往寧波的天一閣考察。天一閣是現存最古老的書齋結構，敕令為編製四庫書齋的典範。寅著溜覽天一閣後，呈上有實際尺寸的模型和繪圖，顯示防火的數據分析。宮廷的第一所四庫書齋文源閣，便位於圓明園內。²⁰

除委派宮廷畫家和大臣去記錄和探察將被仿效的建築外，早在康熙年間，一種新的官僚架構正逐步衍生，這便是樣房或樣式房。在運用創新設計期間，便需要一些模型和不同階段的營造繪圖，這些設計樣房演變成“建築師”。在圓明園眾多現存由“樣式雷”、“樣房雷”或“樣子雷”所製作的模型和繪圖就是鮮明例子（圖三、五至七）。²¹ 自康熙年代開始，雷氏七代都擔任皇家設計師，曾參與規劃圓明園及其他內廷陵寢工程，包括中式和西式兩種風格的建築物。雷家擅長融合模型和描本。通常先設計一個有齊全尺寸的整體工程計劃，這個基本繪圖附上草擬粗圖，再修訂為精圖。²² 在過程中，可能經過皇家批改，最後製成地理明確的藍圖，令工匠容易理解。

周代的中山王國曾以青銅製成簡單的兆域圖。自唐代以來，在史冊或刻石碑上，則有文字繪圖；到了雷家，發展出一套仔細繪圖和整體工程建築模型的系統。²³ 他們繪出不同地區規劃、高遠透視和詳細的素描本，採用燙樣形式去製作建築模型，格外突顯內部的廳房結構（圖六至七）。

現存雷家的大部分圓明園繪圖和模型，多是在乾隆登基後製作的，其中大部份屬於同治年代。相類的繪圖和模型也有在雍正和乾隆時製作，甚至有早在康熙的雷家第一代作品。²⁴ 根據《清實錄》，寅著考察寧波的天一閣後，呈上有尺寸的繪圖和模型，就是燙樣。此外，根據1737年的記載，沈源、唐岱和郎世寧等宮廷畫家上呈的《圓明園全圖》，本是收藏在圓明園的清暉閣中，後於1860年圓明園被毀時散落。

現時出現很多和雷家樣作坊有關的文獻和建築史料。這些資料仍在初步研究階段，希望日後可得到更多關於早期作坊工作和理財的細節情況。由於這些作坊是由工部和內務部個別或一同分項批出的，因此《清實錄》或《大清會典》等宮廷史冊對它們的記述寥寥可數。這些設計作坊不在政府編制，雖然它們的政治地位不高，但在乾隆或更早時代，它們的建築工序和運作情況，已經根深蒂固，一方面成為規劃師和總管之間的中間人，另一方面則是規劃師和工匠的橋樑。這個負責繪圖和製作模型的企業管理機構，令那些新舊設計都可由作坊老手進行建築工程。這種架構在乾隆年代運行順利，可模仿秀麗園林，以及在 1745 至 1759 年建造歐洲傳教士為圓明園設計的西方風格樓宇。因此，這些作坊在建造西洋樓時佔有重要地位。事實上，早在雍正年代，當傳教士在宮中失寵時，圓明園中已修建了一些西洋風格的建築。²⁵ 台灣和北京故宮收藏的十二月令圖便繪畫了西洋建築物。²⁶ 這些月令圖每張都有少許差別，分別作於雍正或乾隆年代，但估計它們是以一幅雍正構圖為藍本的。如果真是這樣的話，月令圖可能是雍正年代中國建築師在圓明園營建西式建築的形像顯示（圖八）。

結論

本文只是初步論述圓明園離宮型園林興建時，採用皇家建築架構的方案，將來仍須進一步研究。若把這方案配合歷史背景來看，隨明代開始引入南方園林文化後，兼具交際和建築用途的園林日益重要，改變了傳統園林和建築之間的關係。在從前，建築物是焦點，園林居次，但自明代興起園林文化，園林成為中心部份，園林圍牆內的建築物反而居次。在十八世紀的著名小說《紅樓夢》中，自成一角的大觀園可以窺見這種建築關係。在清代初年社會中，園林起著重要作用，而離宮型園林取代了宮殿，成為建築的焦點。

這個新的園林建築概念，吸引了清代幾位皇帝南巡，去找尋湖光山色和園林美景。當乾隆皇帝把全國景色吸收在圓明園及其他皇家離宮時，他不單模仿它們的外貌，而是捕捉一個自足的世界，包含廣闊地域、不同人物、神仙勝境，同時又是一個禮儀、宗教和政治中心。

註釋

- 1 本文初稿於 1998 年 3 月 26 日在美國華盛頓亞洲研究協會的年會中發表。
- 2 此詞出於周維權“避暑山莊與頤和園”，見《中國建築史論文選輯》卷二（台北：明文書局，1984），頁 434。
- 3 Cary Y. Liu, "The Yuan Dynasty Capital, Ta-tu: Imperial Building Program and Bureaucracy," *T'oung Pao* 78 (1992), pp. 264-301; 作者同上, "Ming Dynasty Peking Imperial Palaces: Government Agencies and Officials (1368-1441)" (seminar paper, Princeton University, 1988)。
- 4 三才指天、地、人。見《十三經注疏》“周易正義”（北京：中華書局，1980）“說卦”卷九，頁 93—94。
- 5 《木經》的傳世殘稿見沈括《新校正夢溪筆談》（北京：中華書局，1957）；（香港：中華書局，1975），卷十八，頁 177—178（299 號），它把建築物劃分為上分、中分和下分三部份；《營造法式》也有類似的三分法：石工、木工和瓦工。關於這三部份的建築法則，見 Klaas Ruitenbeek, *Carpentry & Building in Late Imperial China: A Study of Fifteenth-century Carpenter's Manual "Lu Ban Jing"* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993), pp. 25-29。關於喻皓和《木經》，見 Joseph Needham, et al., *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 4, part 3: *Civil Engineering and Nautics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 81-84, 128, 141；夏鼐“夢溪筆談中的喻皓木經”，見《考古》1982:1，頁 74—78 及 73。
- 6 見註釋 3。
- 7 關於符號學研究和符號系統闡釋，雖然西方 Vitruvian 分類法簡單歸納為形式、功能和構造三方面，但這不足以了解中國建築。要認識中國建築，必須詳細分析所有中國建築符號：包括裝飾、名稱、數字命理、堪輿學、書法、祭祀陳列和模型設計等多方面研究。
- 8 見註釋 3，頁 265—267 及 299—300。
- 9 王威：《圓明園》（北京：北京出版社，1957），頁 2。關於葉洮，見俞劍華編：《中國美術家人名辭典》（上海：人民美術出版社，1981），頁 1217。
- 10 這本存有四十張圓明園舊照片的名冊原藏巴黎國家圖書館，重印版本見 Che Bing Chiu, *Yuanming Yuan: Le jardin de la Clarté parfaite* (Besançon: Éditions de l'imprimeur, 2000), pp. 183-225。1998 年 3 月 26 日在美國華盛頓亞洲研究協會的年會上，John R. Finlay 亦發表關於照片冊的論文 *Forty Views of the Yuanming Yuan*。關於照片冊的年代，見中國第一檔案館編：《圓明園》上下冊（上海：上海古籍出版社，1991）“序言”，頁 7 及 1301，第 299 號。
- 11 中國第一檔案館編：《圓明園》上下冊（上海：上海古籍出版社，1991）“序言”，頁 6—8。
- 12 周維權：“圓明園——一座被毀滅了的名園勝苑”，見喬勻主編：《圓明園》（香港：三聯書店，1985），卷二，頁 66—67，圖 7。
- 13 關於避暑山莊的庭院宮殿，見天津大學建築系與承德文物局合編：《承德古建築》（北京：中國建築工業出版社，1982）；袁森坡：“清代口外行宮的由來與承德避暑山莊的發展過程”，見《清史論叢》，卷二，（1980），頁 286—319。關於外八廟，見 Anne Chayet, *Les temples de Jehol et leurs modèles tibétains* (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1985)。
- 14 這個關係首見於范文瀾編《中國通史簡編》（上海：新知書店，1947），頁 620。關於朝代名稱的語源學有很多不同的詮釋，見 Pei Huang, "New Light on the Origins of the Manchus", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 50, no. 1 (1990), pp. 272-282。關於金改稱清，見孟森《清代史》（台北：正中書店，1960），頁 108—109。Frederic Wakeman, Jr., *The Great Enterprise* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 206-207。這個水滅火的理論仍然眾說紛紜，清初時流行這個水的比喻以求取得統一中國的合法性，見 Pei Huang, *Ibid.*, pp. 280-281。由此推測，“滿族”一詞可能來自清初立國的傳說，為符合各年號的需要，已經過多次修改。關於清初立國的傳說，見 Pei Huang, *Ibid.*, pp. 243-246, p. 278; Pamela Kyle

- Crossley, "An Introduction to the Qing Foundation Myth", *Late Imperial China*, 6, no. 2 (1985), pp. 13-24。滿族除了與“水”有關外，它在中國北方的發源地也與“北方”、“黑色”、數字“一”和“六”、北方之神“黑龜”或“黑武士”（玄武，宋代改稱“真武”）等概念相關。自宋代開始，皇帝尊崇“黑武士”，以祈求風調雨順，以及戰勝北方的外敵。
- 15 于敏中等編：《日下舊聞考》全八冊（北京：北京古籍出版社，1981），卷80：1332。
 - 16 同上，卷八十：1322及1332。
 - 17 羅隱詩“秋霽後”，見《全唐詩》二十五冊，（北京：中華書局，1960），卷660：7576。
 - 18 後面兩座花園在嘉慶年間拆除，“園明三園”自道光年間開始沿用，見《園明園》（上海，1991）“序言”，頁1—2及5—6。
 - 19 清代建築用詞“大式”和“小式”是指建築物有否使用托座，這個劃分法參閱“經世大典序錄”，見蘇天爵編：《元文類》共兩冊（北京：商務印書館，1938）；解縉等編：《工典總敘一木工》，卷42：617；《永樂大典》共一百冊，（台北：世界書局，1962）；《局一大木小木局》，卷19781：14a—b。
 - 20 關於天一閣與《四庫全書》的關係，見Cary Y. Liu, "The Ch'ing Dynasty Wen-yüan-ko Imperial Library: Architecture and the Ordering of Knowledge" (Ph. D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1997), pp. 134-154。關於圓明園內文源閣，見同文頁31—34。
 - 21 關於雷氏設計室，見朱啟鈐：“哲匠錄”，見《中國營造學社彙刊4》（1933），第一期，頁84—89；黃希明、田貴生：“談談樣式雷燙樣”，見《故宮博物院院刊》（1984），第四期，頁91—94；單士元：“宮廷建築巧匠一樣式雷”，見舒牧等編：《圓明園資料集》（北京：書目文獻出版社，1984），頁95—101；中國科學院自然科學史研究所：《中國古代建築技術史》（北京：科學出版社，1985），頁584—585；王其亨、項惠泉：“‘樣式雷’世家新正”，見《故宮博物院院刊》（1987），第二期，頁52—57。
 - 22 關於現存樣式雷的圓明園繪圖和模型，見劉敦楨：“同治重修圓明園史料”，載於《中國營造學社彙刊4》（1933），第二期，頁100—155；金勳：“北平圖書館藏樣式雷藏圓明園及內廷陵寢府第圖集總目”，載於《國立北平圖書館館刊7》（1933），第三至四期，頁127—146。
 - 23 關於“兆域圖”，見傅熹年：“戰國中山王釐墓出土的‘兆域圖’及其陵園規制的研究”，載於《考古學報》（1980），第一期，頁97—118；楊鴻勳：“戰國中山王陵及兆域圖研究”，載於《考古學報》（1980），第一期，頁119—137；Wang Tao, "Know Your 'Place': The Plan of the Zhongshan Kings Graveyard", paper presented at the 10th European Association of Chinese Studies Conference, Prague, 1994。
 - 24 雍正時代的檔案文件記錄了建築圓明園時使用這些設計模型，見《圓明園》（上海，1991），頁1200，第69號和頁1210，第90號。
 - 25 雍正時期，圓明園幾個地方建造了西洋式建築和水景，包括水木名瑟景點內的“風扇室”書齋，見《圓明園》（上海，1991）“序言”，頁6。
 - 26 這幅存於台北的畫作，見吳文彬：“十二月令圖中上元即景”，載於《文物光華》（台北：國立故宮博物院，1991），頁178—181；Wen Fong and James Watt, et al, *Possessing the Past* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), p. 554, pp. 560-563；至於北京的畫卷，見聶崇正主編：《清代宮廷繪畫》（香港：商務印書館，1996），第20.12號。

Glossary 詞彙表

Bishu Shanzhuang	避暑山莊
<i>bu zai bian zhi</i>	不在編制
Changchun Yuan	暢春園 (Kangxi period)
Changchun Yuan	長春園 (built 1749-1751)
<i>cheng lu tong ren</i>	承露銅人
Chunxi Yuan	春熙園
<i>cu tu</i>	粗圖
<i>da mu zuo</i>	大木作
<i>Da Qing huidian</i>	大清會典
<i>da shi</i>	大式
Dadu	大都
Daguan Yuan	大觀園
<i>di de</i>	帝德
<i>dougong</i>	斗拱
Fengshan Shi	風扇室
Fu Hai	福海
Gong bu	工部
<i>Gongcheng zuofa zeli</i>	工程做法則例
<i>hong fan</i>	洪範
<i>Hong lou meng</i>	紅樓夢
Hou Hu	後湖
<i>ji</i>	記
<i>jianzhu shi</i>	建築師
Qichun Yuan	綺春園
Jin	金
<i>jing</i>	景
<i>jing tu</i>	精圖
<i>jiu wu long fei zai tian</i>	九五龍飛在天
<i>jiu zhou</i>	九洲
Jiuzhou Qingyan	九洲清晏
<i>Kaogong ji</i>	考工記
<i>li gong xing huangjia yuanlin</i>	離宮型皇家園林

Li Jie	李誠
Liao	遼
Liu Bingzhong	劉秉忠
Luo Yin	羅隱
Lushui Shen Tai	露水神台
Manzhou	滿洲
Ming	明
<i>Mu jing</i>	木經
Neiwu fu	內務府
Nüzhen	女真
Qing	清
<i>Qing shilu</i>	清實錄
Qinghui Ge	清暉閣
Qinzheng Qinxian	勤政親賢
<i>Qiu ji hou</i>	秋霽後
Re He	熱河
<i>ri</i>	日
<i>san cai</i>	三才
<i>shang fen</i>	上分
Shao Gong	召公
Shen Yuan	沈源
<i>Shu jing</i>	書經
<i>shui</i>	水
<i>Shuimu Mingse</i>	水木明瑟
<i>si yuan</i>	賜園
<i>Siku quanshu</i>	四庫全書
<i>suan fang</i>	算房
Tang Dai	唐岱
<i>tang yang</i>	燙樣
<i>tian en</i>	天恩
Tianyi Ge	天一閣
Wai Ba Miao	外八廟
Wanchun Yuan	萬春園
<i>Wang cheng</i>	王城

Wenyuan Ge (in Beijing)	文淵閣
Wenyuan Ge (in Yuanming Yuan)	文源閣
<i>xia fen</i>	下分
<i>xiao mu zuo</i>	小木作
<i>xiao shi</i>	小式
Xichun Yuan	熙春園
<i>xing gong</i>	行宮
Xuan Wu	玄武
<i>yang fang</i>	樣房
<i>Yang fang Lei</i>	樣房雷
<i>yang shi fang</i>	樣式房
<i>Yang shi Lei</i>	樣式雷
<i>Yang zi Lei</i>	樣子雷
Ye Tao	葉洮
Yihe Yuan	頤和園
<i>Yingzao fashi</i>	營造法式
Yinzhen	胤禛
Yinzhu	寅著
Yu Hao	喻皓
Yuanming San Yuan	圓明三園
Yuanming Wu Yuan	圓明五園
Yuanming Yuan	圓明園
<i>Yuanming Yuan quan tu</i>	圓明園全圖
Yuanmingyuan Dian	圓明園殿
<i>Zhaoyu tu</i>	兆域圖
Zhen Wu	真武
<i>zhong fen</i>	中分
Zhongshan	中山
<i>Zhou li</i>	周禮

The Development of Figure Painting during the Ming and Qing Dynasties

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Chinese figure painting reached its peak during the Tang and Song dynasties, which saw several innovative painters establish their signature styles and, in the process, form the major technical principles of figure painting. In general, there are three main techniques: a meticulous style of painting using rich colours known as *gongbi*, line painting or *baimiao*, and a simplified freehand style of painting known as *xieyi*. This period is regarded as one in which there was great progress in Chinese figure painting, and many talented painters emerged.

During the 100-year rule of the Yuan dynasty figure painting declined. There were few significant innovations or achievements in either subject matter, technique, form or style. This was in marked contrast with the splendid developments in landscape painting at the time.

It was not until the 600-year period spanning the Ming and Qing dynasties that figure painting experienced a revival. There were several noteworthy developments such as the modification of traditional techniques; the enriching of literati painting in subject matter; the qualities of brush and ink; the emphasis on individual expression and spirit; and an appreciation of the visual impact and aesthetic functions of painting. These factors contributed in making this period one in which figure painting thrived.

The development of Ming and Qing figure painting can be divided into three stages. The first stage was during the mid-Ming period, between the Chenghua and Jiajing reigns (1465–1566), and is represented by artists such as Guo Xu, Du Jin, Tang Yin and Qiu Ying. These artists transformed the *gongbi* technique, popular during the Tang and Song dynasties, to depict the life of leisure of the literati and scholars. The style of painting shifted from the flamboyant to precise, and showed a literary inclination. The second stage occurred during the transition between the two dynasties, from the Ming Tianqi to Qing Shunzhi reigns (1621–1661). Representative painters were Ding Yunpeng, Wu Bin, Chen Hongshou and Cui Zizhong, who often painted figures with distorted forms to express greater individuality. It was a period of anarchy and disorder. Forms are decorative, in contrast with those of court and literati paintings, and reflect a move against tradition and towards self-expression. The third stage was during the late Qing period, which is represented by the artists Ren Xiong, Ren Xun, Ren Yi and Qian Huian. By exploring new themes in figure painting, from traditional historical events, myths and legends, and literary themes, to

scenes of ordinary life, and celebrations and greetings. This group of artists introduced representations of secular and civil themes. Innovations in painting techniques also occurred as the influences of anatomical correctness and Western watercolour painting techniques were absorbed. This style of figure painting is characterised by its striking visual effects.

1. A Combination of Court Painting and Literati Taste

During the early Ming period, court painters adhered to the Northern and Southern Song academic style of *gongbi* painting, and the schools led by Li Tang, Liu Songnian, Ma Yuan and Xia Gui. Representative works include paintings of the Xuande period, such as Ni Duan's *Ping Pong tu* (Employment of Pong), Shang Xi's *Guan Yu qinjiang tu* (Guan Yu Capturing a General), Liu Jun's *Xueye fangpu tu* (Visiting Pu on a Snowy Night), Li Zai's *Qin Gao chengli tu* (Qin Gao Riding on a Carp), and Xie Huan's *Xingyuan yaji tu* (Literati Gathering in the Apricot Orchard). The figures are meticulously painted, precise and fluent. The foreground of rich and bright colours contrasts with a background landscape depicted with carefree and expressive brushstrokes. This new interpretation of Northern and Southern Song court painting styles is known as the Ming academic painting style.

The mid-Ming period is generally taken to be between the Chenghua and early Jiajing reigns (1465–1545). During these decades, the Song academic style, and the Zhe School (Zhejiang school of painting that modelled itself on Southern Song Academy painters) declined in popularity. The Ming emperors Xianzong and Xiaozong considered the civil examinations to be very important, thus encouraging the rise of the literati Wu School. This led to a shift in taste in figure painting.

An early Wu School painter, Guo Xu (1456–after 1528), active during the Chenghua and Hongzhi reigns, was a native of Taihe in Jiangxi province, and travelled widely to Nanjing and Beijing. Using the line drawing technique of Li Gonglin and Yuan-style brushstrokes, Guo excelled in painting literati themes. His elegant style earned him a reputation comparable with that of his contemporaries, Du Jin and Wu Wei (Fig. 1). In the Ming publication, *Siyoushai cong suo* (Commentary on the Four Friends' Collection), by He Liangjun, he writes that "Du Jin's painting is too fine-looking and lacking in antiquity; Wu Wei's painting is expressive but poor in detailed drawing". By contrast, Guo Xu excelled in painting in both expressive and meticulous manners, as recorded in a colophon by Wu Yusheng in the back of Guo Xu's *Za hua ce* (Album of Miscellaneous Painting), "...the meticulous parts are not too delicate, the carefree parts are not wild and hasty, his painting is divine and spontaneous". A literary man talented in literature, Guo once served in court but found his unrestrained character incompatible with court conventions. He introduced

casual and carefree elements into his work, reflecting a subsequent shift in style in figure painting.

Guo's contemporary Du Jin, a native of Dantu, also lived in Beijing. He was knowledgeable in classical and historical texts, and accomplished in poetry and prose. He painted in the Southern Song academic style, which is close to that of court painting. His brushwork is strong and fluent, with a more gentle and lucid appearance than that of Liu Songnian and Li Tang, thus it was considered "delicate" by critics. His favourite themes were those depicting scholars and literati gathered together for cultural or literary appreciation (Fig. 2).

Tang Yin and Qiu Ying further perfected this combination of meticulousness and spontaneity after Guo Xu and Du Jin. Their teacher, Zhou Chen, had a solid and spontaneous style of figure painting which can still be regarded as a continuation of the Southern Song academic style. However, their students used a totally different language of painting. Tang Yin, a scholar of literature and calligraphy, was a student of Zhou Chen's but surpassed his master in painting. Tang's figure painting features the influence of the coloured *gongbi* style shuo of the Tang and Song periods. Among his works are *Tao Gu zengci tu* (Tao Gu Presenting Poems) and *Mengshu gongji tu* (Court Ladies of the Later Shu Kingdom). His line drawing is detailed and fine, with a literary flavour, using beautiful and elegant colours. Tang's figure paintings in ink were dynamic and carefree. By using a calligraphic style in these works he was able to convey his literary character. He was further able to express himself through paintings such as *Qiufeng wanshan tu* (Lady with a Fan in Autumn Wind) (Fig. 3), depicting a lady pensive at the abandoning of fans in autumn. This painting reveals the artist's sadness at having no opportunity to use his talents.

Qiu Ying was originally a lacquer painter. He only later learned to paint from Zhou Chen, thus his figure painting is linked to the Song academic painting system. When middle-aged, Qiu was an employee of the famous collector Xiang Yuanbian in Jiaxing. Qiu lived in Xiang's home copying his vast collection of Tang and Song paintings. This was a great opportunity for Qiu to study the works of the ancient masters and learn the skills of figurative painting. In the Ming publication, *Ming Hualu* (Paintings of the Ming Dynasty), by Xu Xin, Qiu was regarded as, "...excelling in painting figures, especially in depicting meticulous and graceful hair and garments. His skills are comparable to those of the ancient masters". "Even if Zhou Fang came back, he could not surpass Qiu". Qiu was able to depict complex narrative compositions, and large-scale scenes such as, *Hangong chunxiao tu juan* (The Han Court on a Spring Morning), *Zhigong tu juan* (Foreign Envoy Arriving with Tribute), and *Chunye yan taoliyuan tu* (Banquet in the Garden of Peach and Plum on a Spring Night). Qiu was also influenced by a group of literati in Suzhou, among whom were Wen Zhengming, Wen Jia, Peng Nian and Lu Shidao. In his old age, Qiu combined the dense composition popular during the Song, with the expressive brushwork of the

Yuan into a carefree and casual style, as seen in *Liuxia mianqin tu* (Sleeping with a Guqin under the Willow Tree) (Fig. 4), *Tongyin qinghua tu* (Chatting under the Shelter of a Firmiana) and *Jiaoyin jiexia tu* (Summertime under the Shade of Banana Leaves).

The ladies painted by Tang Yin and Qiu Ying are characteristically graceful and slender. They have heart-shaped faces, delicate eyes and rosebud lips, gently sloping shoulders and slender waists. The depiction of feminine beauty during the Ming showed a new appreciation of the female form differing from the full, rounded forms of the Tang period and the beautiful and refined Song standard. This influence continued into the Qing period with figure painters such as Yu Zhiding, Min Zhen, Gai Qi and Fei Danxu.

2. The “Distorted” Painting Style

During the late Ming period, a “distorted” style of figure painting was prevalent. Artists working in this style, including Ding Yunpeng, Wu Bin, Chen Hongshou and Cui Zizhong, distinguished themselves both from the nobility of court painting, and the literati style of the Wu School. Through their pursuit of exotic representations of the figural form and antiquarianism in the use of brush and ink, a technique of exaggeration was used to convey the spirit and character of figures, as well as of the artist himself. A wave of Rationalism during the late Ming period caused crisis in society by triggering the pursuit of individuality and personal development which may have influenced artists. The literati became more self-reflexive about tradition and the chaotic world around them.

Ding Yunpeng, a native of Xiuning in Anhui province, excelled in painting Taoist and Buddhist images. He adopted the techniques of Wu Daozi and Guanxiu in painting figures that are archaically elegant, unique and naïve, in strong and solid brushwork. His trees and rocks are richly decorative while his figure painting style contrasts with the gentler style of the Wu School. Ding transformed the ancient classical Tang tradition into a new style. He was a proud character whose innovations were before their time (Fig. 5).

Wu Bin was a native of Putian in Fujian province. He lived in Nanjing and was an official until he was dismissed for criticising a more senior official. Regarded as a virtuous figure, he excelled in painting Buddhist images, often with unusual expressions of obstinacy and intransigence. Wu painted with orderly and expressive brushwork emphasising line quality, in a style similar to that of Ding Yunpeng (Fig. 6).

Chen Hongshou, a native of Zhuji in Zhejiang province, was known for his “erratic behaviour”. He disdained power, and acted regardless of others’ opinions. A staunch supporter

of the Ming dynasty, he became grief-stricken and indignant when it fell to the Manchu Qing. Once a monk, Chen had the given name “regret being too late”. During the Southern Ming period (1644–1662), Emperor Lu and Emperor Tang wanted Chen to become an official but he declined. Proud and aloof, chaste and righteous, Chen’s fervent patriotism was explicit in his figure painting, often depicting themes such as Qu Yuan and Tao Yuanming. He was also adept at depicting the life of both the literati and ordinary people. He adopted the classical painting methods of the Tang and Song dynasties, especially the styles of Wu Daozi and Li Gonglin and also learned the techniques of painting wood-carvings in Zhejiang province.

Using strong and classical lines, Chen’s painting style is open and solid. His figures are vividly depicted in unusual forms with exaggerated body shapes to show a strong character, and can be regarded as exotic or ugly at times. This reflected his own character and position as a misfit in society. Chen emphasized the importance of line in representing form and strength. He contrasted square and round brushstrokes, strokes with distinct rising and falling tones, and alternated short abrupt strokes with curving lines. His brushwork is vigorous and graceful, combining strength and fluidity. Chen was also excellent in his use of colour, choosing rich and bright pigments to create profound, dense effects reminiscent of folk art. His resentment of the world in which he lived, and carefree character were realized in his classical, exotic, quiet and spontaneous painting style (Fig. 7).

Cui Zizhong, a native of Laiyang in Shandong province, was a successful candidate in the entry level civil service examinations under the Ming. He lived in Beijing. Cui was a strong but eccentric person who suffered great poverty and sorrow during his lifetime. He excelled in painting Buddhist images and figures but refused to paint for the wealthy who offered to pay him in gold and silk. After the fall of the Ming dynasty, he retreated to a secluded house and starved to death. The figures in his paintings were described as having “...exotic and classical faces, and garments depicted using lines in “iron-wire” strokes. However Cui’s style is not that of the Tang or Song periods, but unique in its own way”, as recorded in *Tuhui baojian xu zuan* (A Sequel to the Treasury of Diagrams and Drawings). Chen painted mainly Buddhist images and scenes of literati life. His style, characterized by the use of triggering strokes, followed that of Li Gonglin, Wu Daozi, and Zhou Wenju. His figures are monumental and elegant (Fig. 8).

The painting of distorted figures with tense, classical, strange and exotic features during the late Ming period heralded a new wave of individual expression. This new style showed an aloofness towards the world and was more decorative, suggesting a desire for greater secularization in art appreciation in contrast with the aesthetics of literati painting, which were superficially scholarly and refined, but fundamentally weak.

3. The Reformation of Figure Painting in the Late Qing period

In the mid-19th and early 20th century, Shanghai developed from a coastal town into an international financial centre and industrialized metropolitan city with a modern economic and cultural society. The new Shanghai attracted many painters to the city who earned a living by selling their paintings. The cultural atmosphere of Shanghai also spread to the nearby areas of Suzhou, Jiaxing and Hangzhou. A new trend towards the popularization and urbanization of art arose giving birth to a group of innovative painters known as the “Shanghai School”. Also known as the “Tong (Tongzhi) and Guang (Guangxu) School”, the Shanghai School, led by Ren Xiong, Ren Xun, Ren Yi and Qian Huian, peaked during the second half of the 19th century.

The influence of the Shanghai School led to the reformation of figure painting. This was first seen in subject matter, particularly in the work of the “Three Rens” which covered a wide range of topics. Besides historical events, myths and legends, and literature, everyday life was also depicted. More traditional themes were represented in a secular manner with greater simplicity in tone, and liveliness in the depiction of figures (Fig. 9). This trend encouraged the use of strong visual effects. Furthermore, the growing tendency towards secularization made blessings of fortune and wealth, and longevity and prosperity, such as those illustrated in “Three Stars of Happiness, Wealth and Longevity”, “A Female Immortal Presenting Longevity”, “Immortals Celebrating Longevity”, “A Surge of Good Luck”, “Zhong Kui” and “Zhao Gongmin”, popular themes.

Of the three Rens, Ren Yi was the most distinguished. At an early age, he studied the style of Fei Danxu. Between the ages of 25 and 30, he learned painting from Ren Xun who followed in the style of Chen Hongshou. From 30 to 40 years of age, Ren combined the sketchy style of Hua Yan with strong and fluid lines. Powerful square sketch lines were contrasted with fluent expressive lines. Ren’s figures are vivid and detailed in facial expression. He also adopted anatomical precision learned from western painting, to give a three-dimensional effect to the facial features of his figures. This is particularly noticeable in Ren’s portraiture and figural forms which are accurate, realistic and vivid (Fig. 10). It is also said that Ren even attended sketching classes at the Tushanwan Painting Workshop at Xujiahui Cathedral in Shanghai. By the time he was middle-aged, Ren had learned to use brush and ink in the style of Bada Shanren and Shitao, strengthening his combination of line and ink. Ren’s work during this period shows simpler and more precise forms, as well as more rhythmic and interesting brushwork. He also adopted watercolour painting techniques in his use of colour. By diffusing colour with water and white lead powder he was able to increase its transparency or brightness. This technique ensured that colour was neither too rich nor too plain as in literati painting, but crisp and intense. This style was in keeping with popular taste.

Qian Huian, a native of Shanghai, was a contemporary of Ren Yi's. He shared many similarities with Ren in his choice of subject matter and method of representation. However, Qian's line drawings are formal and less spontaneous. He tried to introduce three-dimensional modelling into the facial expressions and form of his figures. However, as Qian was not trained in anatomy, they appear stiff and unconvincing, thus affecting their vividness.

The transformation of figure painting is represented by the work of the Three Rens who made it more popular and secular. These artists were pioneers in transforming Chinese figure painting from a classical art form into a modern one by exploring new styles while at the same time using traditional elements. Their works heralded the dawn of modern figure painting in China.

明清人物畫的風格演進

單國霖

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中國人物畫的高潮期出現在唐宋時代，一批有原創性的畫家建立起各種風格類型的典範，大體形成了人物畫的主要技法樣式，即工筆重彩、白描、簡筆寫意這三大類型。這六百年可稱為人物畫高峰迭起、名家輩出的時期。

人物畫在元代一百年間處於低落期，無論是在主題開掘、技法語言和形式風格等方面，都無重要的突破和建樹，比起元代山水畫的輝煌成就顯得十分暗淡。

明清兩代六百年間，人物畫出現復興的局面，其突出的成就體現在幾個方面：繼承傳統並加以生發和變格；加強文人畫的意涵（包括主題和筆墨情趣）；強調個性的表現和重視繪畫的觀賞性及形式美感，從而形成了雖不輝煌但並非衰落的人物畫振興期。

明清時代人物畫先後有三次較大突破和革新，第一次變革發生在明中期成化至嘉靖年間（1465—1566），代表畫家有郭詡、杜堇、唐寅、仇英等人。他們將唐宋盛行的工筆重彩人物畫進行了改造，主題側重表現文人雅士的悠閒生活，藝術格調從唐宋的工謹艷麗變為清逸明潔，體現出一種文人化的趨向，第二次突破是在明末清初，明天啟至清順治年間（1621—1661），以丁雲鵬、吳彬、陳洪綬、崔子忠等人為代表。他們的人物造型誇張變形，注重人物神態性格的刻劃，形式上有濃重的裝飾意趣，形成與宮廷繪畫和文人繪畫品味迥異的藝術風格。反映在亂世時代，一種反叛傳統、追求抒發個人性靈的藝術思潮。第三次革新出現在清代晚期，以海上畫派中的任熊、任薰、任頤、錢慧安等人為代表。他們開拓人物畫的題材內容，除傳統的歷史故事、神話傳說和文學作品主題外，擴大到市井平民生活和吉慶祝福等題材，有明顯的世俗化、市民化的傾向。藝術手法又吸收西洋繪畫的解剖結構法和水彩畫的色彩方法，創造出帶有強烈視覺觀賞性的人物畫風格樣式。

一 宮廷繪畫和文人品味的揉合

明代前期，宮廷人物畫家主要繼承兩宋院體畫的遺規，以工筆重彩技法和南宋李唐、劉松年、馬遠、夏珪畫派為旨歸。如宣德時倪端的《聘龐圖》、商喜的《關羽擒將圖》、劉俊的《雪夜訪普圖》、李在的《琴高乘鯉圖》、謝環的《杏園雅集圖》等，他們刻劃形象精確工謹，筆法將工細縝密和剛勁流暢結合在一起，色彩濃麗，背景的山川樹石往往採用縱放酣肆的筆墨方法，構成融合北宋和南宋宮廷畫法的新體貌，史稱為明院體畫風格。

明中期大致從成化至嘉靖前期（1465—1545）數十年間，院體和浙派繪畫日漸衰微，憲宗、孝宗諸帝重視文治，以文人畫家為主體的吳門畫派逐漸興起，引起人物畫藝術品味的改變。較早的

有成化、弘治年間的郭翽，江西泰和人，曾在南京和北京等地遊歷，他擅畫文人雅士的題材，技法胎息李公麟的白描法，又吸取元人飄逸的筆法，氣格清潤雋逸。他與同時期的杜堇和吳偉齊名(圖一)，明何良俊《四友齋叢說》評述：“然杜則傷於秀媚，而乏古意；吳用寫法而描法亡矣。”郭翽能兼用寫法和描法，“細筆不落纖媚，粗筆不近狂率，神氣淵穆。”(郭翽《雜畫冊》後近人吳郁生題跋)郭翽富有文學才能，他雖然曾一度進入宮廷，然落拓不羈的性格使他脫出了宮廷院體的規範，注入文人灑脫清逸的情調，顯示出人物畫轉變的契機。

同時代的丹徒人杜堇，也曾寓居北京，通讀經史，工詩文，繪畫取法南宋院畫體格，接近宮廷畫風。筆法細勁暢利，但較劉李派來得柔和明潔，故有“秀媚”之評，他喜畫文人學士雅集、清玩等主題，透出一股優雅的氣度(圖二)。

繼郭、杜之後的唐寅和仇英，將人物畫推向精工和清逸結合得更為和諧的境界。如果說他們兩人的老師周臣的人物畫，尚恪守南宋院體勁健蒼潤的規矩，那麼他們卻突破師規，別出新調。唐寅本身是一個精通詩文和書法的名士，他從師周臣而超越老師。他的人物畫有一種嗣承唐宋工筆設色法，如《陶穀贈詞圖》、《孟蜀宮妓圖》等，線描精細工緻，並含有文秀清雋的意味，色彩艷雅明麗。還有一種水墨意筆人物，筆調靈動飄逸，有書法性筆意，透現出文人才子的俊逸氣格。同時，他還借人物畫寓意抒情，如《秋風紈扇圖》(圖三)，藉女子感傷秋天紈扇被收藏棄用的情態，來泄發自己懷才不遇的情緒，具有文人以畫托志的性質。

仇英出身於民間漆工，後又拜周臣為師，故而他的人物畫胎息於宋代院體畫系統。中年時期他受聘於嘉興著名收藏家項元汴，在其家臨摹大量唐宋名畫，於古法領悟至深，具備描繪物象高超專業技巧。明徐沁《明畫錄》評述：“尤工人物，其發翠豪金，絲丹縷素，精麗艷逸，無慚古人”，“周昉復起，亦未能過”。他善於構築故事情節繁複、場面宏大的畫幅，如《漢宮春曉圖卷》、《職貢圖卷》、《春夜宴桃李園圖》等，俱是精工艷麗的宏幅巨製。同時，仇英在蘇州結交一批名士，如文徵明、文嘉、彭年、陸師道等人，受到文人藝術品味的薰染，在其晚年，把宋人的周密造型和元人的放逸筆墨結合起來，建立一種疏放簡逸的風格。如《柳下眠琴圖》(圖四)、《桐陰清話圖》、《蕉陰結夏圖》等，流露出灑脫清逸的藝術氣格。

唐寅和仇英塑造的仕女形象，清秀文弱，瓜子臉龐，細目小口，削肩纖腰，既不同於唐代仕女的豐腴雍容，也異於宋代的端莊俊秀，建立新的仕女審美類型。這種典型一直影響到清代仕女畫家，如禹之鼎、閔貞、改琦、費丹旭等人。

二 變形主義的畫風

晚明時期，畫壇上出現變形傾向的人物畫風潮，代表畫家有丁雲鵬、吳彬、陳洪綬、崔子忠等人。他們與宮廷繪畫貴族化和吳門畫家文人式的人物畫拉開了距離，追求形象的奇譎怪誕和筆墨的高古樸拙，以誇張的手法凸現人物的精神氣質，帶有強烈的自我表現性。這是與晚明理學學說發生危機、追求個性發展的“性靈說”流行的社會思潮有著內在的聯繫，是一部分文人對傳統進行反

思和對混亂世道抗爭的一種思想覺醒的折射。

丁雲鵬，安徽休寧人，善畫道釋人物，得吳道子法，又學貫休，形象古俊奇拙，筆力偉，樹石有濃重的裝飾性。他的人物畫是對吳派溫雅柔媚人物畫審美觀念的一種反撥，他從更遠古的唐代傳統中獲取借鑒，並加以變化，以高古奇拙的藝術格調，表示出與時代格格不入的孤傲心態(圖五)。

吳彬，福建莆田人，居南京，曾擔任中書舍人，因批評魏忠賢擅權，被捕削職，被視為清流人物，他擅畫佛像，人物造型怪異，形象有拗執倔強之氣。筆法工整，重視線條的表現力，與丁雲鵬有相近的格調(圖六)。

陳洪綬，浙江諸暨人，“性行駭俗”，不畏強暴，蔑視權貴，我行我素。亡國之後，憂憤痛絕，一度出家為僧，號“悔遲”，入清為遺民畫家。南明王朝(1644—1662)時，魯王、唐王聘他為官，都堅辭不受。他的性格倔強孤傲，堅貞正直，故人物畫有強烈的民族情感，如畫了不少屈原、陶淵明的題材。同時也長於表現文人和市民生活。他在技法上回歸唐宋傳統，尤其對吳道子、李公麟用力至深。同時吸取浙江木刻版畫的技法，追求剛勁、古拙的線條表現效果。他塑造的人物形象個性特點鮮明，造型奇駭，形體誇張變形，不求俊美而是磊落厚實，有時甚至怪誕醜陋，以凸現人物的精神氣質，傳導出一股不從時流的叛逆精神。同時，他強調線條的造型性和力度，挺拔方硬的筆和圓渾暢利的筆結合在一起，頓挫分明的折筆、挑筆和圓轉的線條交相使用，使筆力既剛健又婀娜，兼具剛柔之美。他憑藉線條筆墨的運行泄發胸中鬱結之氣。此外，他長於設色，善用重色、艷色，但又不浮麗，沉厚濃烈，有民間藝術講求色彩鮮明的特色。他那種高古奇駭、靜穆宏深的風格體現出憤世嫉俗、倔強不羈的人格精神(圖七)。

崔子忠，山東萊陽人，諸生，僑居北京。性格剛強孤僻，一生窮途潦倒，擅畫佛像、人物。貴人以金帛相購，絕不能得。明亡後，入土室絕食而死。他的人物畫“面目奇古，衣紋鐵線，非唐非宋，自成其格”(《圖繪寶鑒續纂》)。他多畫佛像和文人生活，師承李公麟、吳道子，參用周文矩筆法，多用戰筆。形象奇偉，流露出一股高傲的清氣(圖八)。

明末變形主義人物畫潮流，開闢出一種抒發個性精神的風氣，他們倔強古質、奇崛怪偉的藝術氣格，衝破了文人式人物畫表面上儒雅而內質羸弱的美學情趣的格局，體現了一種高蹈精神，同時帶有濃重的裝飾意味，傾向於平民化的欣賞品味。

三 清末的人物畫變革

十九世紀中葉至二十世紀初，上海從一個濱海鄉鎮迅速發展成為國際性的金融中心和工商業發達的大都市，形成具有現代經濟和文化的社會。新興的上海都市吸引著大批畫家來此賣畫謀生，上海的文化氛圍也影響著鄰近的蘇州、嘉興、杭州等地，在畫壇興起了一股市民化、都市化的藝術思潮，湧現出一批有創新精神的畫家，畫史上稱之為“海上畫派”。海上畫派的興盛期是在十九世

紀下半葉，時稱“同（治）光（緒）畫派”，以任熊、任薰、任頤、錢慧安等人為骨幹人物。

人物畫變革首先反映在題材方面，三任作品的題材內容廣泛，除了歷史故事、神話傳說和文學題材外，還擴大到市井平民生活，即便是前者，也作了通俗化、大眾化的詮釋，力求情節通俗易懂，人物形象生動活潑，有較強的視覺觀賞性（圖九）。此外，為適應市民階層的需求，增加了大量祈求富貴壽祿和吉祥如意喜慶的主題。如福祿壽三星、麻姑獻壽、群仙祝壽、三陽開泰、鍾馗、趙公明等形象，有明顯的世俗化傾向。

三任中以任頤成就最為突出。他早年學習費丹旭，二十五歲至三十歲期間，拜任薰為師，追宗陳洪綬的畫法。三十多歲到四十歲間，他又吸收華新羅的疏筆人物畫技法，線描剛柔結合。挺拔、方勁的勾筆和靈動流暢的意筆交織一起，造型生動傳神，注意情態的刻劃。同時，他又學習西洋繪畫中的解剖結構法，人物面部的刻劃有凹凸立體感和光影感，尤其在肖像畫作品中更可看出他取資西洋畫法的形跡（圖十）。據傳他曾到徐家匯天主堂所辦的土山灣圖畫教習班去學過素描，這使他所畫的人物姿態和形貌具有準確、真實和生動的特點。中年以後，他又從八大山人、石濤等人的作品中領悟寫意的筆墨趣味，加強線條和水墨的結合，塑造形象更為簡練，增加筆墨的節奏感和趣味性。此外，任頤在色彩運用上適當地吸取水彩畫的方法，採用撞水、撞粉法，色澤明潔亮麗，頗有透明感。色調既不濃艷華貴，也不像文人畫那樣素靜，流露出熱烈明快的美感，更適應市民觀賞愉悅的要求。

與任頤同時的上海籍畫家錢慧安，在題材選擇和表現方法上和任頤有許多相似之處。然而，錢慧安的線描技法比較固定、刻板，抖擻氣太重，人物面部和形體的刻劃雖力求表現明暗立體感，但因不了解解剖結構，顯得生硬和不合理，形象的生動性大為遜色。

以三任為代表的人物畫，變革和改造傳統，朝著通俗化和大眾化的方向邁進。他們開拓出新的格調，同時又有深重的因襲傳統的因素，他們是中國人物畫從古典向現代藝術轉化過渡期的先導人物，他們的藝術透出了現代人物畫的曙光。

Glossary 詞彙表

Bada Shanren	八大山人	(1626–1706)
Chen Hongshou	陳洪綬	(1598–1652)
Cui Zizhong	崔子忠	(1574–1644)
Ding Yunpeng	丁雲鵬	(1547–1626)
Du Jin	杜堇	(15 th –early 16 th century)
Fei Danxu	費丹旭	(1801–1850)
Gai Qi	改琦	(1773–1828)
Guanxiu	貫休	(832–912)
Guo Xu	郭詡	(1456–after 1528)
He Liangjun	何良俊	(1506–1573)
Hua Yan	華岳	(1682–1756)
Li Gonglin	李公麟	(1049–1106)
Li Tang	李唐	(c. 1066–1150)
Li Zai	李在	(?–1431)
Liu Jun	劉俊	(15 th century)
Liu Songnian	劉松年	(c. 1155–1218)
Lu Shidao	陸師道	(1517–?)
Ma Yuan	馬遠	(c. 1170–1260)
Min Zhen	閔貞	(1730–after 1788)
Ni Duan	倪端	(15 th century)
Peng Nian	彭年	(1505–1566)
Qian Hui'an	錢慧安	(1833–1911)
Qiu Ying	仇英	(c. 1500–1552)
Qu Yuan	屈原	(c. 340 B.C.–278 B.C.)
Ren Xiong	任熊	(1823–1857)
Ren Xun	任薰	(1835–1893)
Ren Yi	任頤	(1840–1895)
Shang Xi	商喜	(15 th century)
Shitao	石濤	(1642–c. 1718)
Tang Yin	唐寅	(1470–1523)
Tao Yuanming	陶淵明	(365–427)
Wen Jia	文嘉	(1501–1583)

Wen Zhengming	文徵明	(1470–1559)
Wu Bin	吳彬	(1573–1620)
Wu Daozi	吳道子	(?–792)
Wu School	吳門畫派	(c. 1506–1620)
Wu Wei	吳偉	(1459–1508)
Wu Yusheng	吳郁生	(1854–1940)
Xia Gui	夏珪	(1195–1224)
Xiang Yuanbian	項元汴	(1525–1590)
Xie Huan	謝環	(14 th –mid 15 th century)
Xu Xin	徐沁	(late Ming–early Qing)
Yu Zhiding	禹之鼎	(1647–1716)
Zhe School	浙派	(1368–1566)
Zhou Chen	周臣	(15 th –16 th century)
Zhou Fang	周昉	(8 th –early 9 th century)
Zhou Wenju	周文矩	(c. 917– 975)

Chinese Figure Painting of the Mid-Ming Court

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In recent years, scholars have become increasingly conscious of the important contribution of Ming court painters to the development of Chinese painting. Studies reveal not only that the two leading landscape schools of the Wu and Zhe were rooted in the Ming court,¹ but also that major trends of flower-and-bird and figure paintings began there as well.² In this paper, I will focus my discussion on three mid-Ming court painters: Yin Shan, Liu Jun, and Zhu Duan, and how they transformed many historical didactic figure paintings from a realistic, and narrative depiction of the past, into new Confucian images of the Ming era.

Yin Shan (1410s–1460s)

Until recently Yin was a little known artist from Jiangning. No information was available concerning his dates or paintings. However, all this changed in 1982 with the discovery of a masterpiece by him in the early Ming tomb of Wang Zhen (1424–1495) in Huaian, Jiangsu.³ A great deal of progress was also made concerning Yin Shan's dates and career. In fact, Yin Shan's prominent career in court was succeeded by his son, Yin Xie and grandson, Yin Hong. A detailed discussion of the three generations of Yin masters has been published in another article.⁴ Here only Yin Shan's biography will be briefly introduced.

Yin Shan came from a military family registered in the imperial guard unit of *Fujun qianwei* (Front Guard Unit of the Imperial Garrison). His career very likely started in the Xuande (1425–1434) era. In 1452, he was promoted from the rank of *Qianhu* (Battalion Commander) to *Zhihui jianshi* (Assistant Commander). Yin's next recorded promotion occurred in 1459, when he was promoted from *Zhihui jianshi* to his final rank of *Zhihui tongzhi* (Vice Commander). He served only one year in this final rank because, in 1460, he requested that the emperor let his son, Xie, replace him and inherit his title. Despite protests from the Ministry of War and other officials, the emperor granted his wish. Based on the active dates for Yin Shan and those of both his son and grandson, he can be estimated to have lived between the late 1410s and 1460s.

The uncovered painting by Yin Shan is a short handscroll depicting *Zhong Kui chulie tu* (Zhong Kui's Hunting Excursion) (Fig. 1). Zhong Kui is the legendary god, who rules the underworld of

ghosts and helps to eliminate evil spirits. In order to fully appreciate Yin's innovative approach, it is necessary to trace briefly the historical evolution of the Zhong Kui theme.

Although portraits of Zhong Kui can be traced to Wu Daozi of the Tang dynasty (618–906), no extant example of Zhong Kui's hunting excursion can be traced to the pre-Yuan era. Recorded paintings of this theme reveal that the earliest depiction of Zhong Kui faithfully follows the legendary dream of the Tang Emperor Minghuang. It typically depicts Zhong Kui seizing the captured ghosts with his hands. This is indicated by the description of Wu Daozi's painting of Zhong Kui in *Tuhua jianwenzhi* (Experiences in Painting):

“Zhong Kui appears in a blue robe wearing only one boot, and is blind in one eye. With his official tablet on his waist, scarf on his head and disheveled hair, he uses his left hand to seize the ghost and his right to tear out one of its eyes.”⁵

Wu's design continued to be practiced by Wang Daoqiu of the Five Dynasties (907–960), as evidenced by Wang's *Xiagui Zhong Kui* (Zhong Kui Seizing the Ghost).⁶ Another theme evolved from the early image of Zhong Kui is *Wu Zhong Kui* (Dancing Zhong Kui). A painting of this theme by monk Zhiyun was presented to the ruler of Houzhou era (951–960).⁷ The image of a dancing Zhong Kui was inspired by his legendary dancing performance in Emperor Minghuang's dream, which warded off the evil spirit and cured the emperor's illness.

By the Five Dynasties, the depiction of Zhong Kui had elaborated to include a large entourage of ghosts and attendants. A number of themes featuring Zhong Kui's procession began to emerge. One of them was *Zhong Kui xiaomei tu* (Zhong Kui and His Younger Sister) depicting Zhong Kui accompanied by his younger sister. Despite its obscure origin,⁸ the theme can be traced to a recorded work by Zhou Wenju.⁹ Unfortunately, no information is available on how the theme was portrayed in the early stage. A later variation of the theme is *Zhong Kui yijia tu* or *Zhong Kui yigui yijia tu* (Zhong Kui Employing the Ghosts to Move His Household).¹⁰ One extant example evolving from this theme is Gong Kai's *Zhong Kui Travelling* in the Freer Gallery.¹¹

An even more elaborate pageant is Zhong Kui's *yuanye chuyou tu* (The New Year's Eve Excursion), which depicts Zhong Kui's exorcism of demons on New Year's Eve. As pointed out by Sherman Lee, the theme can be traced to the Southern Song dynasty.¹² A well-known example is Yan Hui's painting of this theme in the Cleveland Museum of Art (Fig. 2). Yan's demons brandishing exotic implements and performing acrobatic acts are clearly modeled after the parade and festivities featuring Zhong Kui on New Year's Eve. By the early 14th century, the demon or figure types of the various Zhong Kui themes were often mixed or combined, as evidenced by Yan Geng's *Drunken Zhong Kui and His Sister* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.¹³

A third variation of the Zhong Kui theme is the depiction of his hunting excursion. The most distinctive feature of paintings of this theme is the combination of Zhong Kui with a long procession, including the hunting animals of hawks, tigers, and dogs. The basic design of the hunting procession itself (without Zhong Kui) can be traced to the Han Dynasty as seen in a stone relief excavated from Weishan, Shandong (Fig. 8). Yet no extant paintings of Zhong Kui's hunting excursion can be dated prior to the Ming era. In the early Ming, other than Yin Shan's excavated painting which will be discussed shortly, two scrolls of *Guilie tu* (Ghost Hunting) were recorded by Ling Yunhan. One of the two is attributed to Yan Hui and has a detailed description by Ling. According to Ling, Yan was depicting a long parade of ghosts with their hand held weapons or implements (gong, axe, bow, swinging hammer, long knife, shield, etc) accompanied by hawks, a donkey, a dog, and a black tiger.¹⁴ Ling's description closely matches the design of the two extant paintings of this theme, one attributed to Yan Hui in the former Zhang Congyu collection,¹⁵ and the other, to Gu Hongzhong (active 943–960) in the National Palace Museum (Fig. 3).¹⁶ Except for a minor discrepancy in the sequence of ghosts, the two scrolls share an almost identical design, which incorporates part of the demonic procession of *Zhong Kui yuanye chuyou* (The New Year's Eve Excursion of Zhong Kui). Both handscrolls exhibit the hunting animals of three hawks, a tiger, and a dog. Although both are most likely Ming copies modeled after a work by Yan Hui, they did preserve the established design of this theme.

The conventional design seen in the two handscrolls apparently inspired Yin Shan's *Zhong Kui chulie tu*. However, instead of faithfully following the old design, Yin reduced the long procession of ghosts to only five and eliminated the tiger altogether. Holding a scroll and a brush, Zhong Kui appears ready to take an inventory of the captured demons. Each ghost is assigned a duty. The one next to Zhong Kui is carrying his sword, the following two are in charge of the hunting hawk and dog, and finally the two lagging behind are weighed down by the captured demons. The delineation of Yin's ghosts, marked with a distinct anatomic and muscular pattern, can be traced to that of the Tang Buddhist *tianwang* (Vaisravana) or the deva-kings, who guard the world against evil spirits. The Tang prototype is best represented by a mural found at the Foguangsi Temple in Shanxi (Fig. 9).

Yin also replaced the blank background of the conventional design with a full-scale landscape setting. All these changes transformed the conventional scene of the remote underworld into a mundane human world. Also bringing Zhong Kui closer to the real world is Yin's sensitive depiction of his individuality. In the past, Zhong Kui was portrayed with little distinction other than being a tall, dark figure dressed in an official robe and attended by ghosts. The conventional approach typically stresses the terrifying and non-human aspects of the ghosts and the underworld. Never before have Zhong Kui and his ghosts been depicted with such colorful personalities.

Here in Yin's scroll, Zhong Kui appears as a weathered old man whose face is touched with the hardship of dealing with wild and evil forces. At the same time, it is a face full of wisdom & humanity. The attending ghosts, despite their grotesque and crude features, also remind us of the suffering lower classes in the human realm. In fact, Yin's depiction of Zhong Kui's excursion here easily evokes the image of a Touring Censor (*Xunan Yushi*) of the Ming government, who tours the country to rid its people of corruption, suffering, and injustice.¹⁷ Considering the active and influential role of the Censorate in the mid-Ming government, both Yin's new image of Zhong Kui and the implied message are indeed true reflections of his time.

Liu Jun (1430s–1490s)

Liu Jun was a younger contemporary of Yin Shan. His career stretched from the Tianshun (1457–1464) to the Chenghua (1464–1487) eras. Liu was perhaps the single most innovative and influential figure painter of the mid-Ming court. Yet, in spite of his great achievements, he has been poorly represented in Ming painting history. Little information is available on either Liu's dates or his official status. Fortunately, on a few of his paintings, Liu signed his honorary military title, *Jinyi duzhihui* (Commander of the *Jinyiwei*).¹⁸ The title clearly indicates that Liu had reached the highest position available for a court painter.

After searching through official and unofficial records, I have found more detailed information on Liu's dates and career and reconstructed his biography. A full discussion on Liu and his paintings has been published in a recent article,¹⁹ so only a brief summary of Liu's biography will be included here.

Liu came from a military family registered in the *Jinwuwei* of the imperial guard unit. He probably started his career as a military artisan around the 1450s through the military merit earned by his father. By the early Chenghua era, Liu Jun had reached the rank of *Jinyiwei baihu* (Platoon Commander of the *Jinyiwei*). His first documented promotion was in 1477, when he was promoted from *Baihu* (Platoon Commander) to *Fuqianhu* (Vice Battalion Commander). In only three years (1480), he became *Zhengqianhu* (Battalion Commander). Within a year or so Liu must have gained the even higher rank of *Zhihui jianshi* (Assistant Commander), because in 1482 he was promoted from *Zhihui jianshi* to *Zhihui tongzhi* (Vice Commander). He received no further promotions during the Chenghua era. Therefore the title found on some of Liu's masterpieces, *Jinyi duzhihui*, must be a title he received during the early years of the Hongzhi era, most likely between 1488 and 1489 when Liu was due for promotion. Based on the above dates and information, it is reasonable to estimate Liu's career in court as between the 1460s and 1480s, and the dates of his life between the 1430s and 1490s.

The best-known historical painting by Liu Jun is *Xueye fangpu* (Visiting Pu on a Snowy Night) in the Beijing Palace Museum (Fig. 4). In the lower right corner, Liu signed both his name and his official title, *Jinyi duzhihui*. This indicates that the painting was completed after 1485, at the height of Liu's career. The superior quality of the brushwork, the formal signature, and the political and didactic nature of the theme all suggest that the painting was an official work made for the emperor, Xianzong.

Xueye fangpu depicts the legend of the first Song Emperor, Taizu (927–974) and his trusted Minister, Zhao Pu (922–992).²⁰ According to the legend, Emperor Taizu frequently sought Zhao's advice in the evening by visiting Zhao's home. So Zhao would not take off his official robe after returning home for fear of the emperor's unannounced visit. On a particular stormy winter night after a blizzard kept most people stranded indoors, Zhao decided that the emperor probably would not visit him that evening and changed into his casual clothes. Yet the emperor arrived as usual.

Here, we can see Liu placed the focal point of the painting in the mid-distance, where the emperor is seen sitting in the center of the room against a large screen of a misty landscape and engaged in conversation with Zhao. Despite the relaxed manner of the emperor, the frontal view, the larger size, the prominent features, and the outstanding brightness of the imperial white robe all contribute to the aura of the imperial presence. In contrast, Zhao, dressed in gray and diminished in size, is respectfully kneeling on the emperor's right and shown in profile. Half hidden behind a sliding door on the emperor's left is Zhao's wife, who keeps a pot of wine warm, ready to serve any moment. The chilly night is evident from the dark sky, the snow covered landscape, and the four attendants huddled around the imperial horse outside the front gate.

Liu's paintings encompass a wide range of subject matter including figure, flower-and-bird, horse, and landscape are well demonstrated here. But what truly distinguishes Liu from his peers is his ability to bring historical themes to life through innovative interpretations of the events. The meticulously defined facial features of Liu's figures reveal not only their personalities, but also the roles they played in the historical drama. The dignified and thoughtful emperor, the faithful and cautious minister, the respectful yet nervous wife, and the four shivering imperial guards and attendants all breathe life into this intimate scene.

What is the message conveyed here? Although portraits of the Song emperor Taizu must have been made earlier, the depiction of Taizu's visit to Zhao's residence was an unprecedented theme. Since the Song emperor Taizu was one of the most admired Chinese rulers and Zhao Pu, a meritorious Minister, the painting could be viewed as a complementary reference to the current ruler. But I believe that the theme was motivated by a more specific and urgent political need of

the Chenghua court and the message was more in the nature of admonition than flattery.

The Ming emperor, Xianzong, for whom this painting was created, was often criticized by historians for relying heavily on eunuchs as messengers or even advisors in the daily operations of court affairs. The eunuchs' abuse of their illegitimate power reached the most destructive stage when the notorious Wang Zhi gained control of the Western Depot (Xichang), a secret service agency in Beijing, from 1477 to 1481. Wang harshly persecuted any official who stood in his way and generated a great deal of outrage and protests from court officials. Yet the protest failed to impair the emperor's trust in Wang, who remained in power until his downfall in 1481.²¹ With this political setting in mind, one may then fully appreciate the carefully designed theme and message of Liu's *Xueye*.

The second historical painting introduced here is *Suojian tu* (Admonishing in Chains) (Fig. 5). It depicts the legend of Chen Yuanda, a courageous censor-in-chief in the court of Liu Cong, the Turkic ruler of the State of Han, in the early 4th century. In this historical incident, Chen chained himself to a tree in order to admonish the ruler's extravagant plans to expand the palace.²²

Once again, Liu sets the scene in the middle ground, where the emperor is seen seated in front of a landscape screen in the garden. An armed military official stands to the right of the screen and three escorts to the left. On the right and only a few steps away from the emperor is Chen Yuanda chained to the pine tree. While Chen is raising his official tablet high in front of him, a military guard is holding on to the chain around Chen's waist from behind. Meanwhile, two officials are pleading for Chen in front of the emperor.

According to written records, this theme was painted earlier by Yan Liben and Chang Can of the Tang dynasty.²³ One extant example, attributed to Yan, is in the Freer Gallery.²⁴ (Fig. 6) Although the Freer handscroll is probably a later copy, it provides us with invaluable information on the original design of the historical theme. In the Freer work, the handscroll format, the composition of carefully grouped figures against a blank background, and the realistic and narrative depiction of the event all reveal the typical characteristics of early Chinese historical figure painting.

A comparison between the Freer work and Liu's *Suojian tu* demonstrates how Liu succeeded in transforming the old theme into a new expression. Not only did he present the scene in a different format and style, but he also modified the perspective of the narration. In the Freer version, the depiction faithfully follows the original historical account, which describes the angry confrontation between the ruler and Chen and the later intervention and rescue of Chen by the empress.

In Liu Jun's painting, he presented the event in a totally different light. First of all, he eliminated the empress, who played a crucial role in the original incident. Instead, he accredited

the merit to the emperor, no longer the barbaric Liu Cong, but an idealized Confucian ruler - calm, wise, and patiently listening to the pleas of the two officials and the courageous censor. Liu's modification of the design to compliment the ruler is understandable considering that the painting was intended for the Ming emperor.

Yet, once again, Liu's painting alludes to the turbulent political power struggles in the late Chenghua court. While Liu's *Xueye* advocates the Confucian duty of a ruler to seek wise council from his ministers, his *Suojian tu* illustrates the equally important duty of court officials to admonish the ruler and the courage needed for carrying out such a duty.

Faced with widespread corruption, the Confucian virtues of the Ming court officials were constantly being put to the ultimate test. Thus Liu's depiction of the courageous censor and the ruler, who heeded the admonition, is indeed an inspiring and pertinent theme of his time.

Zhu Duan (active first half of the 16th century)

Zhu Duan, a native of Haiyan, Zhejiang, entered the court in 1501 during the late Hongzhi era. In the Zhengde era (1506–1521), he was honored with the high salary of a *Jinyi zhihui* and an official robe reserved for those of only the highest rank.²⁵

Like Yin and Liu, Zhu also employed a revived historical theme, *Duhu tu* (Tigers Crossing the River) (Fig. 7), to convey the Confucian message promoted in the mid-Ming court. This painting refers to the legend of the benevolent rule of Liu Kun, who served as the governor of Hongnong in the Han dynasty. It was recorded that, when Liu first came to Hongnong, life within the district was paralyzed by a large population of tigers roaming freely on major roads. After three years of Liu's good administration, many tigers were seen crossing the river and leaving the district. Later, when Liu became an official in court, the emperor, who was informed of Liu's reputation, asked him how he had achieved such an amazing feat. Liu answered that it was merely a coincidence. Everyone laughed at Liu's artless reply. But the emperor, impressed by Liu's modesty, said: "These are the words of a true leader" and ordered that Liu's legendary rule be recorded.²⁶

Although the legend of *Duhu* can be traced to the Han dynasty, its depiction in painting was unknown until the early 13th century. The earliest recorded example is *Sanhu duhe* (Three Tigers Crossing the River) by Li Yü of the Jin dynasty.²⁷ Zhu's *Duhu tu* is the only extant example of this theme.²⁸

Zhu also sets the focal scene in the middle ground where a tiger can be seen swimming across the river with a cub on its back. On the riverbank, an official on horseback and his three attendants are led by a villager to witness the exotic sight. Through Zhu's skillful arrangement of

the gathered figures and their focused attention as they follow the guide's gesture, the viewers are invited to participate in the same excitement. Even the swinging vines above point in this same direction enhancing the dramatic atmosphere.

The scene apparently refers to both the legend of Liu Kun and the didactic message which states that when a region is presided by a good ruler, even tigers learn to leave. The message perfectly suited the political climate of the mid-Ming court, when scholar officials enthusiastically pursued Confucian ideologies in their struggle against the increasing corruption in court as well as in local administrations. It is thus not difficult to imagine how Zhu's *Duhu tu* was used as a palace decoration to compliment the emperor's benevolent rule or to encourage a district official for good administration.

In conclusion, I believe the mid-Ming court painters played an especially important role in the development of Chinese figure painting. Stimulated by the political and social climate of their time, the mid-Ming court painters transformed many historical figure painting themes into new expressions. Whether it was Yin Shan's *Zhong Kui chulie tu*, Liu Jun's *Xueye fangpu* and *Suojian tu*, or Zhu Duan's *Tigers Crossing the River*, they are no longer depicting the historical realism of the past. At the core of each painting, there lies a message connected directly to the mid-Ming court. Despite the diversity of their individual styles, the three mid-Ming figure painters all created a rich and complex language through their figure painting. The new and unprecedented language articulates not only the rising trends of the Ming figure painting, but also the unique political and social aspects of the mid-Ming court.

Notes

- 1 See Hou-mei Sung, "Early Ming Painters in Nanking and the Formation of the Wu School", *Ars Orientalis*, vol. XVII (1987), pp. 73-115; "From the Min-Che Tradition to the Zhe School", *The National Palace Museum Research Quarterly*, vol. 6, no. 4 (1989) and vol. 7, no. 1 (1989) (quoted as "Min-Che").
- 2 For the development of early Ming flower-and-bird painting, see Hou-mei Sung, "Bian Wenjin and His Flower-and-bird Painting", *Oriental Art*, vol. XXXVIII, no. 3 (Autumn, 1992), pp. 154-164 and "The Eagle Painting Themes of the Ming Court", *Archives of Asian Art*, vol. XLVIII (1995), pp. 48-63. For the development of fish painting in the Ming court, see "Chinese Fish Painting of the Sung and Yuan Dynasties and Its Symbolic Meanings", *National Palace Museum Bulletin*, vol. XXX, no. 1 & 2 (May-June, 1995) and "Chinese Fish Painting of the Ming Dynasty and Its Symbolic Meanings", *National Palace Museum Bulletin*, vol. XXX, no. 3 & 4 (July-August, September-October, 1995). For the development of animal painting in the Ming court, see "Chinese Tiger Painting Themes and Their Symbolic Meanings, Part 1: Tiger Painting of the Sung Dynasty", *National Palace Museum Bulletin*, vol. XXXIII, no. 4 (September-October, 1998),

- pp. 1-17; and vol. XXXIII, no. 5, (November-December, 1998), pp. 17-33 and Part 2: "Tiger Painting of the Yuan and Ming Dynasties", *National Palace Museum Bulletin*, vol. XXXIII, no. 6 (January-February, 1999), pp. 33-45.
- 3 See "Huaian xian Mingdai Wang Zhen fufu hezang mu qingli jianbao", *Wenwu*, no. 3 (1987), pp. 1-15; Xu Bangda, "Huaian Mingmu chutu shuhua jianxi", *Wenwu*, no. 3 (1987), pp. 16-18; Yin Jinan, "Guanyu Huaian Wang Zhen mu chutu shuhua de chubu renshi", *Wenwu*, no. 1 (1988), pp. 65-72, and *Huaian Mingmu chutu shuhua* (Beijing, 1988).
 - 4 "The Three Yin Masters of the Ming Court: Yin Shan, Yin Xie, and Yin Hung", *Artibus Asiae*, vol. LVIII, no. 1/2 (1998), pp. 91-113.
 - 5 Guo Ruoxu, *Tuhua jianwenzhi* in the *Huashi congshu* series (Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1974), *juan* 6, pp. 90-91, "Zhong Kui yang". For a translation of the Guo Ruoxu's text, see Alexander Soper, *Experiences in Painting* (Washington, D.C.: American Council of learned Societies, 1951), p. 100.
 - 6 *Ibid.*, *juan* 2, pp. 24-25.
 - 7 *Ibid.*, *juan* 3, p. 32.
 - 8 According to Zhu Derun of the Yuan dynasty, the theme originates in the Huangyou era (1049-1054) when the epitaph of a noble lady revealed her name as Zhong Kui. However, since the name Zhong Kui can be traced back to the 6th century, the association seems a little far-fetched.
 - 9 See *Xuanhe huapu* (Taipei, 1974), *juan* 7, p. 70.
 - 10 The earliest recorded paintings of the theme of Zhong Kui's Moving (*Yijia tu*) found by the author are dated to the early Ming era. The theme's inclusion of Zhong Kui's sister is confirmed by many of the recorded descriptions. See Liu Ji's "Ti Zhong Kui yigui yijia tu", *Quan mingshi*, *juan* 55, p. 525 (Shanghai, 1993), Li Ye, "Ti Zhong Kui yijia tu", *Li Caoge shiji*, *juan* 2, p. 24.
 - 11 See Thomas Lawton, *Chinese Figure Painting* (Freer Gallery of Art, 1973), cat. no. 35, pp. 142-149.
 - 12 See Sherman Lee, "Yan Hui, Zhong Kuei, Demons and the New Year", *Artibus Asiae*, vol. LVI, 1/2 (1995). As Sherman Lee pointed out, a similar depiction of Zhong Kui's procession was found on the stone relief decorated on the base of the Liuheta (Six Harmonious Pagoda) in Hangzhou (reconstructed around 1163).
 - 13 The painting is reproduced and discussed in Sherman Lee, "Yan Hui, Zhong Kuei, Demons and the New Year", *Artibus Asiae*, vol. LVI, 1/2 (1995). The composition of the Metropolitan handscroll appears to be a combination of the procession of Zhong Kui's Night Excursion, Zhong Kui and His Sister, and Drunken Zhong Kui. It is likely a work created in the late 15th century.
 - 14 See Ling Yunhan, *Zexuanji* (Sikuquanshu ed.), *juan* 1, p. 26.
 - 15 For a reproduction of this painting, see Zhang Congyu, *Yunhuizhai cang Tang Song yilai minghuaqi* (Shanghai: Shanghai chubangongsi, 1947), pls. 14-25.
 - 16 See *Gugong shuhua tulu* (National Palace Museum, Taipei, 1995), vol. 15, p. 109.
 - 17 See Charles Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford, 1985), p. 253.
 - 18 Liu Jun signed this title on three extant paintings: *Xueye fangpu* in the Palace Museum, Beijing, *Chunzhao songbie* (location unknown) and *Liu haichan tu* in Shijiazhuang City Library.
 - 19 Hou-mei Sung, "Liu Jun, the Great Master of Figure Painting in the Ming Court", *Oriental Art*, vol. XLV, no. 3 (1999), pp. 65-78.

- 20 Zhao served under both Taizu and Taizong as the Grand Councillor (zaixiang), for his biography, see *Songren zhuanji ziliao soyin* (Taipei, 1987), vol. 4, p. 3340.
- 21 For biography of Wang Zhi, see L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, *Dictionary of Ming Biography* (Columbia University Press, 1976), vol. 2, pp. 1357-58.
- 22 See *suojian* in *Zhongwen dacidian* (Taipei, 1990), vol. 9, p. 806 and Chen Yuanda in vol. 9, p. 1118.
- 23 See Deng Chun, *Huaji* (Taipei, 1974), *juan 8*, p. 61; and *Xuanhe huapu*, *juan 2*, p. 20.
- 24 See Thomas Lawton, *Chinese Figure Painting* (Freer Gallery of Art, 1973), p. 70, cat. no. 10.
- 25 For a new biography of Zhu Duan, see Hou-mei Sung, *The World of the Ming Court Painters* (in press).
- 26 See “huduhe” in *Zhongwen dacidian*, vol. 8, p. 286.
- 27 See Li Yü’s “Sanhu duhe tu” (Three Tigers Crossing the River), Wang Yüxian, *Huishi beikao*, *juan 7*, p. 5.
- 28 Although *Duhu tu* does not have Zhu’s signature and seal, it is widely accepted as an authentic work by Zhu based on the consistent quality and brushwork. Zhu’s characteristic style is displayed in the intricately tangled textures of the bare branches, the densely packed foliage patterns of vibrant ink dabs, and a unique clarity of forms brought out by sharp contrasts of light and dark ink. The painting is comparable to many of Zhu’s masterpieces, including *Yanjiang yuantiao* (A View Beyond the Misty River), *Xünmei tu* (Looking for Plum Blossoms), and *Landscape in the Manner of Guo Xi*.

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- , "Liu Jun, the Great Master of Figure Painting in the Ming Court", *Oriental Art*, vol. XLV, no. 3 (1999), pp. 65-78.
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- , "Early Ming Painters in Nanking and the Formation of the Wu School", *Ars Orientalis*, vol. XVII (1987), pp. 73-115.
- , "The Three Yin Masters of the Ming Court: Yin Shan, Yin Xie, and Yin Hung", *Artibus Asiae*, vol. LVIII, no. 1/2 (1998), pp. 91-113.

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明代中期宮廷畫家的人物畫

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近年來，學者開始注意明代宮廷畫家在中國繪畫史上的重要性。他們的研究顯示，明代著名的吳浙畫派¹以及主流的花鳥和人物畫均是源於明代宮廷的。²這篇文章將集中討論三位明代中期的著名宮廷畫家：殷善、劉俊和朱端，以及他們如何把以歷史故事為題材的教誨人物畫，由過往的寫實及敘事手法改變為充滿儒家思想的明代風格。

殷善（1410年代至1460年代）

很少人知道殷善的名字；直至1982年，從江蘇淮安王鎮（1424—1495）的墓中發現他的一幅繪畫³，他的名字才不至被人遺忘。從此殷善的生平事蹟就受到廣泛注意。實際上，殷善在宮廷的職位最後由他的兒子殷偕及孫兒殷宏繼承，有關他們三代的詳細資料可參考另一篇文章。⁴而這篇文章只簡略地介紹殷善的生平。

殷善出生於軍人家庭，官職至府軍前衛。他的事業大概始於宣德（1425—1434）。1452年，他由千戶晉升為指揮檢事，1459年再晉升為指揮同知。做了一年指揮同知後，他請求皇帝讓他的兒子殷偕承繼他的職位。儘管兵部及其他大臣提出異議，皇帝最後還是允許了他的請求。根據殷善、他的兒子和孫兒的活躍年份，可以推斷殷善大約生存於1410年代後期至1460年代。

在淮安王鎮發現的殷善《鐘馗出獵圖》是一張短手卷（圖一）。鐘馗是傳說中負責管理地府及砍妖除魔的神祇。為了解殷善繪畫的創新風格，我們必須追溯以鐘馗為主題的繪畫在歷史上的演變。

儘管早在唐代（618—906），吳道子已繪畫鐘馗的肖像，但在傳世作品中，並沒有元代以前有關鐘馗出獵的繪畫。根據繪畫記錄，最早的鐘馗降小鬼繪畫是根據傳說中的唐明王夢境繪畫而成的，畫中鐘馗用雙手捉著小鬼。在《圖畫見聞誌》中，吳道子描繪的鐘馗是穿著藍色長袍和只穿了一隻靴，而他的一隻眼是瞎的。他攜著笏在腰間，頭上繫著圍巾和披著散亂的頭髮，左手捉著小鬼，右手正挖他的眼睛。⁵五代（907—960）王道求的《挾鬼鐘馗》便是參考了吳道子的繪畫。⁶此外，另一個由鐘馗演化出來的主題是舞鐘馗；僧人智蘊在後周（951—960）時，⁷就曾贈送《舞鐘馗》給當時的皇帝。舞鐘馗的形像亦是由唐明皇夢境中，鐘馗為皇帝驅趕小鬼及治病而得到啟發。

從五代開始，鐘馗的繪畫出現許多鬼怪及侍從。與此同時，許多不同的主題也開始出現。其中包括《鐘馗小妹圖》，描繪鐘馗與他的妹妹同行。這主題的起源雖然有待考據，⁸但仍可追溯至周文矩的繪畫。⁹然而在繪畫記錄中，卻沒有這主題的早期資料。另一個較後期出現的主題是《鐘馗移家圖》或稱為《鐘馗役鬼移家圖》。¹⁰傳世的作品有《鐘馗出遊圖》，現藏於弗利爾美術館。¹¹

此外，還有《元夜出遊圖》，它是描繪鐘馗在除夕驅趕鬼怪的情景。根據 Sherman Lee 的考據，這題材早在南宋時期已出現。¹² 其中一個例子是藏於克利夫蘭藝術博物館一幅顏輝的作品（圖二），畫中描繪鐘馗與鬼怪在除夕的各種詭態異狀。至十四世紀，畫家經常混合不同的鐘馗題材，如藏於大都會美術博物館的《酒醉鐘馗與他的妹妹》。¹³

第三個鐘馗題材是描繪出獵的情況。這些繪畫的最特別地方在於畫家繪畫了鷹、虎及狗等出獵動物。有關這題材的繪畫尚沒有早於明代，但山東微山縣出土的漢代石雕就刻劃了狩獵的情況（石雕上未有刻劃鍾馗）。明代早期，除了殷善的繪畫外，出土的鐘馗繪畫還有凌雲翰記載的兩卷《鬼獵圖》。其中一卷被認為是顏輝的繪畫，凌雲翰曾作出詳細記載。根據他的記載，顏輝描繪鬼怪巡遊，他們手上拿著武器或工具，如銅鑼、斧、弓、飛鏢、長刀和盾等，並攜帶鷹、驢、狗及黑虎。¹⁴ 凌雲翰所描繪的情景與傳世的兩幅繪畫的題材非常相似，其中一幅是張蔥玉藏的顏輝繪畫，¹⁵ 另外一幅是故宮博物院藏的顧閔中繪畫（圖三）。¹⁶ 除鬼怪的排列少許不同外，兩幅繪畫的佈局大致相同，均描繪了獵物，如三隻鷹、老虎及獵犬等，並混合了部份《鐘馗元夜出遊圖》的情景。儘管這兩幅繪畫均是明代畫家仿顏輝的作品，但它們仍保留了原來的設計。

殷善《鐘馗出獵圖》明顯地受以上兩幅繪畫所影響。然而殷善並沒有完全模仿它們，他把巡遊隊伍中的鬼怪減至五隻及刪除了老虎，而鐘馗拿著紙筆在記錄鬼怪的數目。五隻小鬼均有不同任務，在鐘馗身旁的小鬼替他拿劍，後面的兩隻負責看管獵鷹和獵犬，其餘的因背負眾多被捕的鬼怪而落後。殷善繪畫的鬼怪均具肌肉質感，這是受唐代天王形像的影響，例如山西佛光寺的天王鎮妖壁畫（圖九）。此外，殷善採用山水風景代替了原本空白的背景。這些改變均把以往荒涼的地府變得世俗化。傳統的繪畫把鐘馗描繪成一個高大、黑皮膚，穿著官袍及伴著小鬼的恐怖形像。而在殷善的筆下，鐘馗和他的鬼侍從均是性格鮮明的；鐘馗是一個飽歷蒼桑的老人，在他的臉上留下他與鬼怪博鬥的痕跡，同時又顯示出他的智慧和人性；而形像怪異的鬼侍從亦令我們聯想到受盡苦楚的低下階層。實際上，殷善繪畫的《出獵圖》令人想起明代的巡按御史；巡按御史的職責主要是防止貪污及處理不公平事件，¹⁷ 具很大影響力，殷善的鐘馗繪畫實際是隱喻及反映當時的社會狀況。

劉俊（1430 年代至 1490 年代）

劉俊是與殷善同時期的畫家，年紀較殷善小。他的事業發展於天順（1457—1464）至成化（1464—1487）年間。劉俊是明代中期其中一位最具創意及影響力的人物畫家，但在明代繪畫史上，記載他的篇幅很少，幸好他在數幅繪畫簽了自己的軍銜“錦衣都指揮”（錦衣衛的指揮）¹⁸，這稱號明確顯示出劉俊在宮廷畫家中具有崇高地位。經研究官方及非官方的紀錄後，我重新整理有關劉俊的生平資料，最近寫成一篇詳盡探討他的繪畫的文章¹⁹，因此在這文章中，我只略述他的生平概況。

劉俊出生於軍人家庭，官職達金吾衛。1450年代，他藉著父親的關係，在軍隊裡當工匠。成化初期，他晉升至錦衣衛百戶。1477年，文獻記載他第一次由百戶升為副千戶，1480年再升為正千戶，大概一年後他應該升為指揮檢事，因為在1482年他已由指揮檢事升為指揮同知。在成化期

間，他並沒有升級。因此他在作品稱錦衣都指揮，應該是在晉升後的弘治（1488—1489）期間。基於以上資料，我們可以估計劉俊活躍於1430年代至1490年代，而他在宮內工作的時間約為1460年代至1480年代。

劉俊最著名的歷史繪畫是《雪夜訪普圖》，現藏於北京故宮博物院（圖四）。在這幅畫的右下角，有劉俊的署名及官銜錦衣都指揮，證明它是在1485年，劉俊事業高峰時期完成的作品。從筆法、署名及以政治和教誨為題材等方面來看，顯示出這是為憲宗所作的宮廷畫。

《雪夜訪普圖》描繪的是宋太祖（927—974）及他的丞相趙普（922—992）²⁰的軼事。根據傳說，太祖經常夜訪趙普去徵詢他的意見，因此趙普在家的時候也不脫下朝服。在一個嚴寒的晚上，一場大風雪過後，趙普估計太祖應該不會到訪，便換上便服，怎料太祖突然出現。在畫中，劉俊把焦點放在中景，太祖坐在房中央與趙普談話，房外是薄霧朦朧的山水景色。劉俊描繪太祖的正面、較大的身軀、突出的輪廓、舒適優雅的舉止及光亮耀目的白袍，來顯出太祖的尊貴身份。至於趙普，劉俊只繪畫趙的側面，穿著灰衣，體形細小，尊敬地跪在太祖跟前。在屏風後，太祖的左邊是趙普妻子，她正在溫酒，屋外是黑漆寒冷的夜景，地上堆滿厚厚的積雪，四個侍從與馬匹瑟縮於正門外。

劉俊繪畫的題材包括人物、花鳥、馬及山水，他並採用創新的方式表達歷史題材。他以細緻筆法描繪人物的面部特徵，來表現他們的性格及在歷史舞台上扮演的角色。例如肅穆沉思的皇帝、忠心謹慎的丞相、謙恭及惴惴不安的妻子和四個顫抖的侍從均描繪得栩栩如生。

這幅畫究竟傳達什麼訊息？雖然宋太祖的肖像畫在較早時期已經出現，但這是第一幅描繪太祖訪趙普的作品。由於宋太祖趙匡胤是一個受敬仰的皇帝，而趙普是受褒賞的丞相，因此這幅畫便成為明代皇帝作為表揚賢君或賢臣的參考資料。但我相信在成化時，劉俊繪畫這主題的動機是基於更迫切的政治因素，目的是勸諫多於諷刺。

《雪夜訪普圖》是為明憲宗而作的繪畫。歷史學者批評明憲宗過份倚重宦官去處理宮廷事務。而宦官經常濫用權力，尤其是管理特務機構西廠（1477—1481）的汪直，他不斷排除異己，並迫害官吏，引起不少抗議及憤慨，但這並沒有影響皇帝對他的信任，直至1481年，他才失去勢力。²¹了解當時的政治狀況後，便明白到劉俊《雪夜訪普圖》的訊息了。

第二幅討論的繪畫是《鎖諫圖》（圖五），描繪陳元達的軼事。陳元達是在劉聰宮中英勇的廷尉，劉聰是公元四世紀漢國的皇帝。在這歷史事件中，陳元達把自己鎖在樹下，勸諫皇帝不可揮霍金錢，擴建宮殿。²²

在這幅繪畫，劉俊把主景放在中間；在花園裡皇帝坐在屏風的前面，一個士兵站在屏風右邊，另外三個侍從站在左邊。在右邊距皇帝不遠，陳元達被鎖在松樹下。陳正高舉他的笏，在陳的後面一個侍衛正拿著鎖鏈，鎖鏈繫在陳的腰間。兩個官吏正為陳求情。

根據文獻記載，唐代的閻立本和常粲均曾繪畫這些題材。²³其中一幅被認為是閻立本的手卷，現藏於弗利爾美術館（圖六）²⁴。雖然這手卷可能是後期的仿製品，但仍可以提供有關這題材的寶貴資料。這幅手卷的構圖、人物位置的鋪排、空白的背景及真實的敘事手法均是中國歷史人物畫的特色。

若以弗利爾美術館的手卷與劉俊的《鎖諫圖》作一比較，前者是根據歷史事實，描繪憲宗皇帝憤怒地與陳元達對峙，和後來皇后前來拯救陳的情況。劉俊成功地把這些舊的主題以嶄新意念表現出來。他不但採用新的形式和風格，而且改變了一貫寫實的敘事方法。他描繪的重點和內容與實際歷史有很大分別；首先他把原本扮演重要角色的皇后刪除，將榮譽歸功於皇帝而不是劉璉，他把皇帝描繪成一個理想的儒家統治者，表現冷靜及充滿智慧，耐心地聆聽兩位官員及監察官的懇求。劉俊把原本表揚劉璉的英勇行為改變成恭維明代皇帝，並暗示了成化晚期的動蕩政治，提醒官吏需要勇氣勸諫皇帝。他的《雪夜訪普圖》也是提倡儒家思想，並暗示統治者的責任是尋求賢能的丞相，聽取忠言。面對日趨嚴重的貪污狀況，明朝官吏的德行受到很大考驗。因此劉俊描繪勇於勸諫的監察官及接納忠言的皇帝，實在是具啟發性及切合當時社會狀況的題材。

朱端（活躍於十六世紀初）

朱端，浙江省海鹽人，於1501年弘治朝進入宮中。在正德（1506—1521）年間，他授以俸祿頗高的錦衣指揮的職銜及一件最高官階的官服。²⁵

像殷善及劉俊，朱端也採用歷史題材作畫。他的《渡虎圖》（圖七）主要宣揚明代對儒家思想的推崇。這幅畫描繪漢代忠厚的弘農太守劉昆。根據記載，劉昆初到弘農時，路上經常出現老虎，弄得人心惶惶，經過劉昆三年整治，老虎的蹤跡竟然消失了。後來劉昆到宮中工作，皇帝聽聞劉昆的功績便詢問他如何成功地擊退老虎。劉昆只說是巧合，人們均取笑他回答笨拙，但皇帝卻認為他人品謙虛，更認為他是忠厚長者，並命人記錄有關劉昆的事跡。²⁶雖然渡虎的傳說可追溯至漢代，但這題材一直至十三世紀初才被應用到繪畫上。最早的例子是在金代李遜的《三虎渡河》。²⁷而在傳世的作品中，就只有朱端的《渡虎圖》。²⁸

在作品中，朱端把主景置在中央，老虎正背著幼虎渡河，在岸邊一個村民領著一位騎在馬背上的官員及他的三個侍從觀看這奇景。朱端透過人物的舖排，及人物隨領隊指示觀看老虎的手法，來吸引觀賞者注意。在上方的葡萄藤就更增添戲劇性的效果。這幅畫明顯的與劉昆的教誨訊息有關，說明當一個地方由優秀的官員管理時，即使老虎也會離開。這訊息正好適合明代中期的政治氣候，當時的文官熱心追求儒家思想學說，去對抗日趨嚴重的貪污腐敗情況。因此朱端的《渡虎圖》，除作宮廷裝飾，亦對讚賞皇帝，以及鼓勵官員實施良策起著政治作用。

總括來說，明代中期的宮廷畫家在中國人物畫的發展過程中扮演著重要角色。他們受政治及社會氣候的刺激，把許多歷史人物繪畫的題材用新的表達方法表現出來。無論是殷善的《鐘馗出獵圖》、劉俊的《雪夜訪普圖》和《鎖諫圖》或朱端的《渡虎圖》，他們作畫的目的，都不以描繪歷史的真實性為主，而是透過歷史繪畫傳達有關明代中期宮廷的狀況。儘管三位畫家的繪畫各具不同風格，但他們創造出豐富複雜的繪畫語言，這種語言剛好與明代人物畫的潮流及當時獨特的政治及社會狀況互相配合。

註釋

- 1 Hou-mei Sung, "Early Ming Painters in Nanking and the formation of the Wu School", *Ars Orientalis*, vol. XVII (1987), pp. 73-115; "From the Min-Che Tradition to the Zhe School", *The National Palace Museum Research Quarterly*, vol. 6, no. 4 (1989); vol. 7, no. 1 (1989) (quoted as "Min-Che").
- 2 明代早期的花鳥畫發展，請參看 Hou-mei Sung, "Bian Wenjin and His Flower-and-bird Painting", *Oriental Art*, vol. XXXVIII, no. 3 (Autumn, 1992), pp. 154-164 及 "The Eagle Painting Themes of the Ming Court", *Archives of Asian Art*, XLVIII (1995), pp. 48-63。明代宮廷魚畫發展，請參看 "Chinese Fish Painting of the Sung and Yuan Dynasties and Its Symbolic Meanings", 見《故宮通訊》，vol. XXX, no. 1 & 2 (May-June, 1995) "Chinese Fish Painting of the Ming Dynasty and Its Symbolic Meanings", 見《故宮通訊》，vol. XXX, no. 3 & 4 (July-August, September-October, 1995)。明代宮廷動物畫發展，請參看 "Chinese Tiger Painting Themes and Their Symbolic Meanings, Part 1: Tiger Painting of the Sung Dynasty", 見《故宮通訊》，vol. XXXIII, no. 4 (September-October, 1998), pp. 1-17; and vol. XXXIII, no. 5, (November-December, 1998), pp. 17-33; Part 2: Tiger Painting of the Yuan and Ming Dynasties", 見《故宮通訊》，vol. XXXIII, no. 6 (January-February, 1999), pp. 33-45.
- 3 "淮安縣明代王鎮夫婦合葬墓清理簡報"，見《文物》(1987)，第三期，頁1—15。徐邦達："淮安明墓出土書畫簡析"，見《文物》(1987)，第三期，頁16—18；尹吉男："關於淮安王鎮墓出土書畫的初步認識"，見《文物》(1988)，第一期，頁65—72；"淮安明未出土書畫" (北京，1988)。
- 4 "The Three Yin Masters of the Ming Court: Yin Shan, Yin Hsieh, and Yin Hung", *Artibus Asiae*, vol. LVIII, no. 1/2 (1998), pp. 91-113.
- 5 敦若虛："鐘馗樣"，見《圖畫見聞誌》畫史叢書系列，(文史哲出版社，1974)，卷六，頁90—91。英文譯本，請參看 Alexander Soper, *Experiences in Painting* (Washington, D. C.: American Council of learned Societies, 1951), p. 100.
- 6 敦若虛：《圖畫見聞誌》，卷二，頁24—25。
- 7 同上，卷三，頁32。
- 8 根據元代朱德潤，鐘馗的名字是由王祐時期(1049—1054)開始出現，在一位女仕的墓誌銘上刻有她的名字鐘馗。但鐘馗的名字最早可追溯至六世紀，因此上述的推斷較為牽強。
- 9 《宣和畫譜》(台北，1974)，卷七，頁70。
- 10 有關《鐘馗移家圖》的記錄，最早出現於明初，而《鐘馗小妹圖》就有許多記載。請參看劉基："題鐘馗役鬼移家圖"，見《全明詩》(上海，1993)，卷五十五，頁525；李曄："題鐘馗移家圖"，見《李草閣詩集》，卷二，頁24。
- 11 Thomas Lawton, *Chinese Figure Painting* (Freer Gallery of Art, 1973), Cat. No. 35, pp. 142-149.
- 12 Sherman Lee, "Yan Hui, Zhong Kuei, Demons and the New Year", *Artibus Asiae*, vol. LVI, 1/2 (1995). Sherman Lee 指出在杭州六和塔底部的石浮雕圖案與鐘馗巡遊圖相似(六和塔於1163年重建)。
- 13 Sherman Lee 曾在他的文章討論這幅畫，請參看 "Yan Hui, Zhong Kuei, Demons and the New Year", *Artibus Asiae*, vol. LVI, 1/2 (1995) 大都會博物館藏的手卷，相信繪畫於十五世紀晚期，在構圖上結合了鐘馗巡遊、鐘馗與妹妹及鐘馗醉酒三幅繪畫。
- 14 柘軒集《四庫全書》，卷一，頁26。
- 15 關於這幅繪畫的複製品，見張惹玉《韞輝齋藏唐宋元明畫集》(上海：上海出版公司，1947)，圖14—25。
- 16 《故宮書畫圖錄》(台北：國立故宮博物院，1995)，第十五期，頁109。

- 17 Charles Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford, 1985), p. 253.
- 18 劉俊在三幅傳世的繪畫簽了這職銜，這三幅畫是藏於北京故宮的《雪夜訪普圖》、《春朝送別》及藏於石家莊市圖書館的《劉海蟾圖》。
- 19 Hou-mei Sung, "Yiu Jun, the Great Master of Figure Painting in the Ming", 見 *Oriental Art*, vol. XLV, no. 3 (1999), pp. 65-78.
- 20 趙普是宋太祖 (927—974) 及太宗的丞相。至於有關他的生平，參看宋人傳記資料索引 (台北，1987)，第四期，頁 3340。
- 21 關於汪直的生平，見 L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, *Dictionary of Ming Biography* (Columbia University Press, 1976), vol. 2, pp. 1357-1358.
- 22 關於“鎖諫”一詞，見《中文大字典》(台北，1990)，第九期，頁 806；有關陳元達，見第九期，頁 1118。
- 23 鄧椿：《畫繼》(台北，1974)，卷八，頁 61；《宣和畫譜》，卷二，頁 20。
- 24 Thomas Lawton, *Chinese Figure Painting* (Freer Gallery of Art, 1973), p. 70, cat. no. 10.
- 25 關於朱端的生平，參看 Hou-mei Sung, *The World of the Ming Court Painters* (in press).
- 26 參看“虎渡河”，《中文大字典》，第八期，頁 286。
- 27 李通：“三虎渡河”，見王毓賢：《繪事備考》，卷七，頁 5。
- 28 雖然《渡虎圖》並沒有朱端的簽名和蓋印，但一直被公認是他的真跡。朱端採用緊密糾纏的皴法描繪光禿樹枝，輕拍振動的筆法描繪生長茂盛的樹葉，及強烈深淺的筆墨對比創造出獨特的繪畫風格。這幅畫與《煙江遠眺圖》、《尋梅圖》及《仿郭熙山水》等朱端的作品很相似。

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Glossary 詞彙表

Chenghua	成化
Chen Yuanda	陳元達
Chang Can	常棨
<i>Duhu tu</i>	渡虎圖
Fujun qianwei	府軍前衛
Fuqianhu	副千戶
Haiyan	海鹽
Houzhou	後周
Huaian	淮安
Gu Hongzhong	顧閔中
<i>Guilie tu</i>	鬼獵圖
Hongnong	弘農
Jin	金
Jiangning	江寧
Jiangsu	江蘇
Jinyi duzhihui	錦衣都指揮
Jinwuwei	金吾衛
Jinyiwei baihu	錦衣衛百戶
Jinyi zhihui	錦衣指揮
Li Yü	李暹
Liu Cong	劉聰
Liu Jun	劉俊
Liu Kun	劉昆
Ling Yunhan	凌雲翰
Minghuang	明皇
Qianhu	千戶
<i>Sanhu duhe</i>	三虎渡河
<i>Suojian tu</i>	鎖諫圖
Taizu	太祖
Tianshun	天順
<i>Tuhua jianwenzhi</i>	圖畫見聞志
Wang Daoqiu	王道求

Wang Zhen	王鎮
Wang Zhi	汪直
Wu	吳
Wu Daozi	吳道子
Wu Zhong Kui	舞鍾馗
Xichang	西廠
<i>Xiagui Zhong Kui</i>	挾鬼鍾馗
Xianzong	憲宗
Xuande	宣德
<i>Xueye fangpu</i>	雪夜訪普
Xunan Yushi	巡按御史
Yan Hui	顏輝
Yan Geng	顏庚
Yan Liben	閻立本
Yin Hong	殷宏
Yin Shan	殷善
Yin Xie	殷偕
Zhang Congyu	張蔥玉
Zhao Pu	趙普
Zhe	浙
Zhejiang	浙江
Zhengqianhu	正千戶
Zhengde	正德
Zhihui jianshi	指揮檢事
Zhihui tongzhi	指揮同知
Zhiyun	智蘊
Zhong Kui	鍾馗
<i>Zhong Kui chulie tu</i>	鍾馗出獵圖
<i>Zhong Kui xiaomei tu</i>	鍾馗小妹圖
<i>Zhong Kui Yigui yijia tu</i>	鍾馗役鬼移家圖
<i>Zhong Kui Yijia tu</i>	鍾馗移家圖
<i>Zhong Kui's Yuanye chuyou tu</i>	鍾馗元夜出遊圖
Zhou Wenju	周文矩
Zhu Duan	朱端

Abstract Meanings: Stamped Pottery in Hong Kong and its Motifs

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Introduction

Seventy to eighty years ago scholars believed that the first Chinese peoples were active around the Yellow River region, the so called Central Plains, based upon the many archaeological finds from sites in the northern provinces of Shaanxi and Henan. However, in the last fifty years many Neolithic finds, such as pottery and stone and bone implements, from other regions of China indicate that Chinese culture is in fact, made up of diversified subcultures.

In southern China, encompassing the present-day provinces of Zhejiang, Jiangxi, Fujian, Hunan, Guangdong, Guangxi and Taiwan, there existed many ethnic minorities from the beginning of the Neolithic period onwards. These peoples were known collectively as the Yue culture and were further divided into Eastern, Southern and Western Yue tribes and were known as The Hundred Yue. They are characterised by their use of stepped adzes and double-shouldered axes, soft and hard pottery with impressed designs, rice cultivation, maritime skills and pottery pile-dwellings.

The powerful Eastern Yue tribe who lived along the south-eastern coastal areas of China were the core of The Hundred Yue. They were skilled ship builders and craftsmen of stamped hard pottery, bronze axes and swords. The Western Yue tribe were concentrated mostly in Guangxi province but were also active in the south-western region of China that includes present-day Yunnan, Guizhou, Hunan and the western part of Guangdong province. Subsequent developments saw them evolve into the present-day Zhuang tribe. They produced mainly bronzes, particularly drums, and some stamped pottery. The Southern Yue tribe, also known as the Yue of Lingnan were active mainly in Guangdong province. Their culture was influenced by the Eastern and Western Yue tribes. They were skilled in bronze casting and pottery making.

From the Northern and Southern Dynasties period onwards, China was politically, economically and culturally unstable. Northern China was constantly threatened by nomadic tribes known as the Five Barbarians (Xiongnu, Xianbei, Jie, Di, Qiang), causing many Han Chinese to migrate southwards. This had a tremendous social and cultural impact on southern China resulting in the loss of Yue regional characteristics through assimilation and population growth.

During the Han dynasty the centre of Southern Yue activities was Guangzhou, then known as Panyu. Hong Kong's proximity to Panyu meant that its inhabitants up to the Han dynasty were related to the Southern Yue. Stone adzes, stamped pottery, pile-dwellings, and other artefacts excavated at early sites in Hong Kong are Yue in style. Neolithic period skulls discovered at a site in Ma Wan Tung Wan Tsai in Hong Kong had their incisors extracted which is characteristic of the ancient Yue people.¹

Of all the archaeological finds, stamped pottery is by far the most important since its study can reveal the relationship between the early inhabitants of Hong Kong and the culture of southern China. Stamped pottery, in the form of potsherds and near complete vessels come mainly from the following sites in Hong Kong, Chek Lap Kok, Sha Lo Wan, Pak Mong, Shek Pik Tung Wan, Tai Long Wan, Man Kok Tsui, Penny's Bay and Hai Dei Wan on Lantau Island, Nam Wan, Sha Po Tsuen, Tai Wan, Lo So Shing, Yung Shue Wan and Sham Wan on Lamma Island, Yung Long, Lung

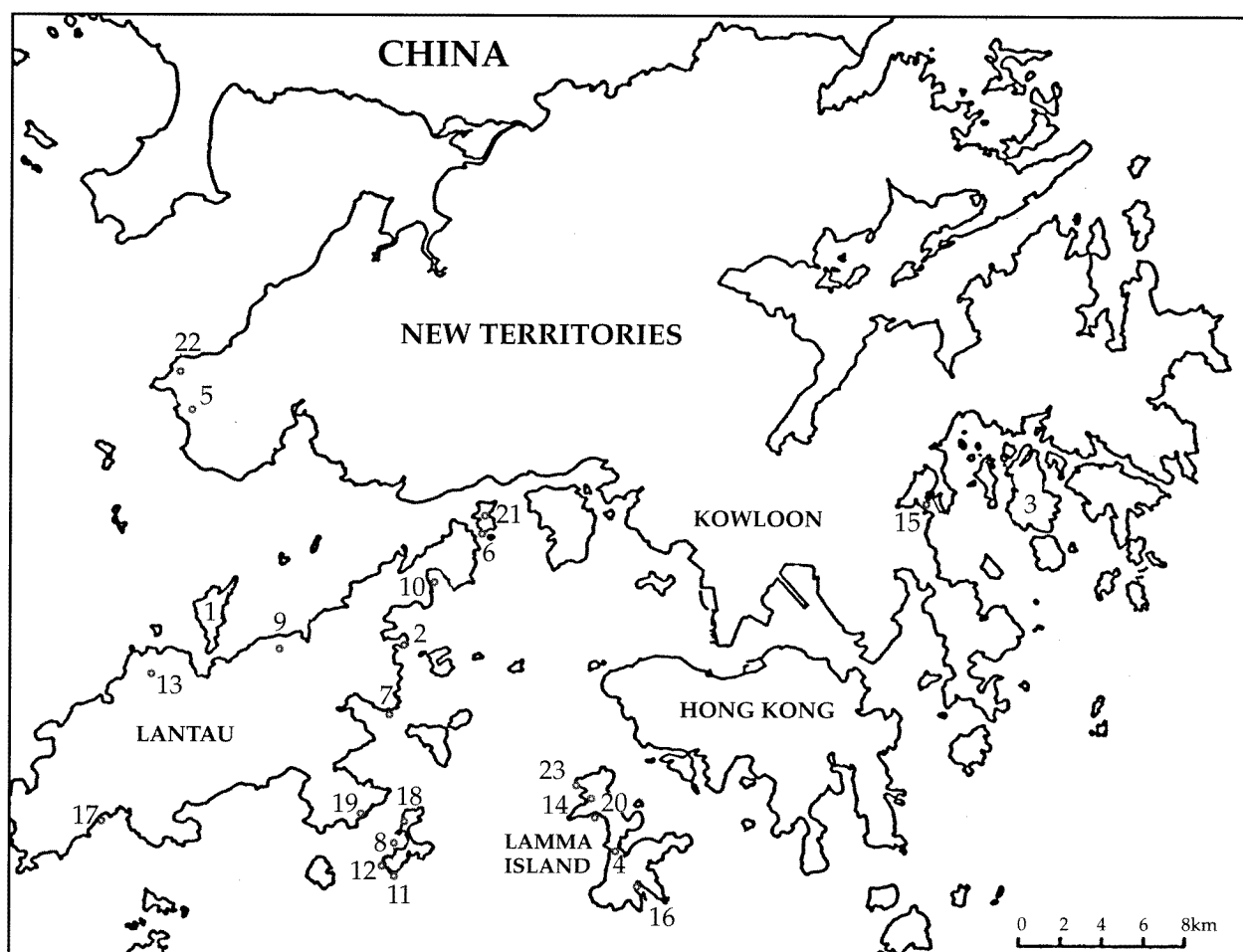


Fig. 1 Archaeological sites in Hong Kong with stamped pottery remains

- | | | | |
|------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Chek Lap Kok | 7. Man Kok Tsui | 13. Sha Lo Wan | 19. Tai Long Wan |
| 2. Hai Dei Wan | 8. Nam Wan | 14. Sha Po Tsuen | 20. Tai Wan |
| 3. Kau Sai Chau | 9. Pak Mong | 15. Sha Tsui | 21. Tung Wan Tsai |
| 4. Lo So Shing | 10. Penny's Bay | 16. Sham Wan | 22. Yung Long |
| 5. Lung Kwu Sheung Tan | 11. Po Yue Wan | 17. Shek Pik Tung Wan | 23. Yung Shue Wan |
| 6. Ma Wan | 12. Sai Wan | 18. Tai Kwai Wan | |

Kwu Sheung Tan, Sha Tsui in New Territories, Tai Kwai Wan, Po Yue Wan and Sai Wan in Cheung Chau, Kau Sai Chau and Ma Wan Tung Wan Tsai (Fig. 1). The early research by Reverend Fr. Daniel J. Finn S. J. (1886–1936) on the archaeology of Hong Kong is also an invaluable source of information.

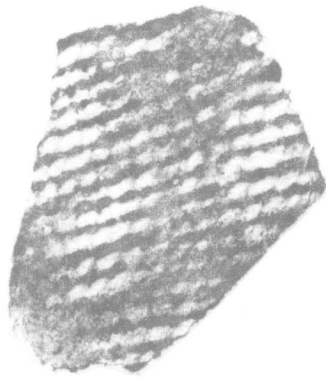
Impressed motifs

The development of early pottery in Hong Kong shows that there was cultural interaction between different regions of China. The decorative motifs used in Hong Kong reveal traits of southern Yue culture, itself influenced by the Central Plains culture of northern China. Consequently, the impressed decorations on early pottery in Hong Kong are, in many ways, similar to the designs on pottery in other parts of China. One of the main differences between these two major cultural systems is that painted pottery was popular in northern China, while in the south, stamped pottery was favoured.

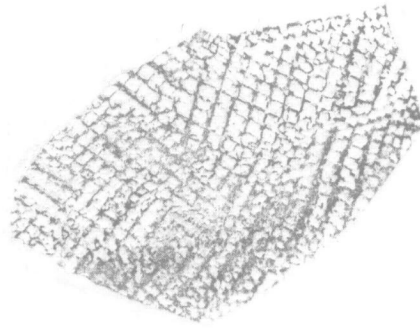
In ancient times, hand-building techniques of pottery making made it hard to produce a smooth-bodied vessel. By impressing motifs onto the vessel's surface, potters were able to decorate it with designs in relief. The textured surface also made tying with cord for carrying purposes more effective.

In addition to their decorative function, most Chinese motifs are also symbolic. Many abstract or geometric motifs are in fact representations of popularly-recognised themes that might include scenes from life, expressions of religious faith or auspicious wishes, and the meanings of which were retained in the transformed or abstracted motif. Through the study and analysis of stamped pottery motifs found in Hong Kong, the origins of these motifs can be traced to reveal the meanings underlying their creation.

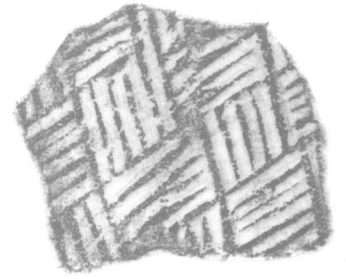
The stamped pottery found in Hong Kong shows the use of over twenty decorative motifs commonly seen on stamped pottery in southern China: cord, net or square, mat, chevron, rhombus, double-circle, whorl, multi-concentric circle, leaf-vein, double-f, seal, asterisk, dot, comb, triangle, rectangle, cloud-and-thunder, stripe, wave, basket, interlocking-hook, regular-meander, overlapping square-meander with intersecting diagonal, raised- and sunken-rhombus with stud, multi-layered grid, oblique-broken-stripe, and shell motifs (Fig. 2). Hong Kong and southern China must therefore have belonged to the same cultural system. Examples date from the early Neolithic period (c. 4500–4000 B.C.), the middle Neolithic period (c. 4000–2500 B.C.), the late Neolithic period (c. 2500–1500 B.C.), the Bronze Age (c. 1500–200 B.C.) to the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220). Southern Yue culture itself was not isolated from the influences of the Central



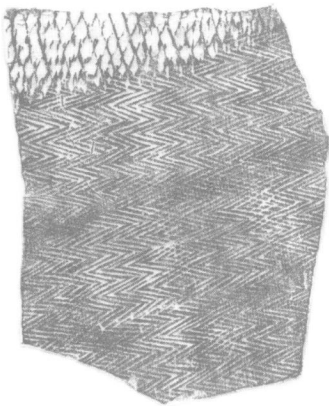
cord



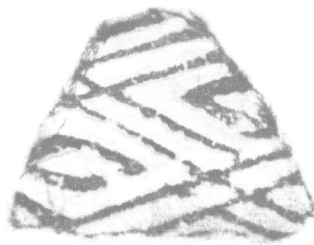
net or square



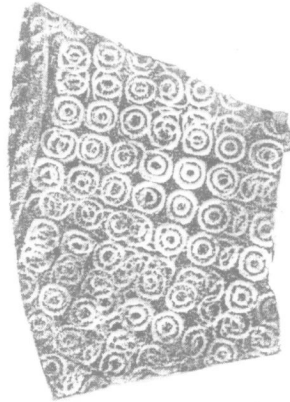
mat



chevron



rhombus



double-circle



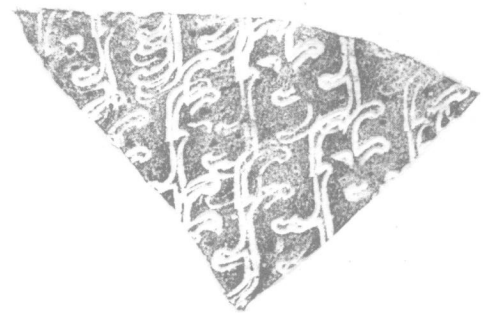
multi-concentric circle



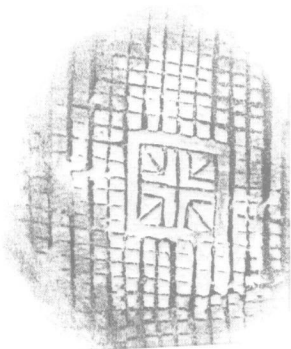
whorl



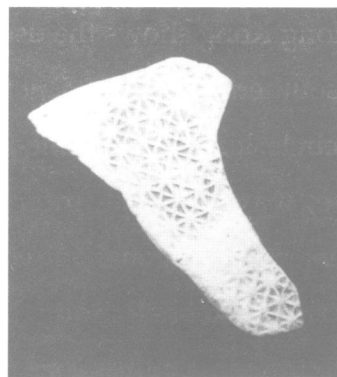
leaf-vein



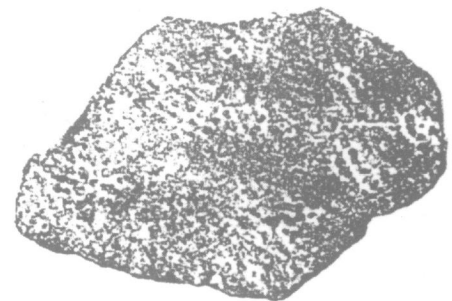
double-f



seal

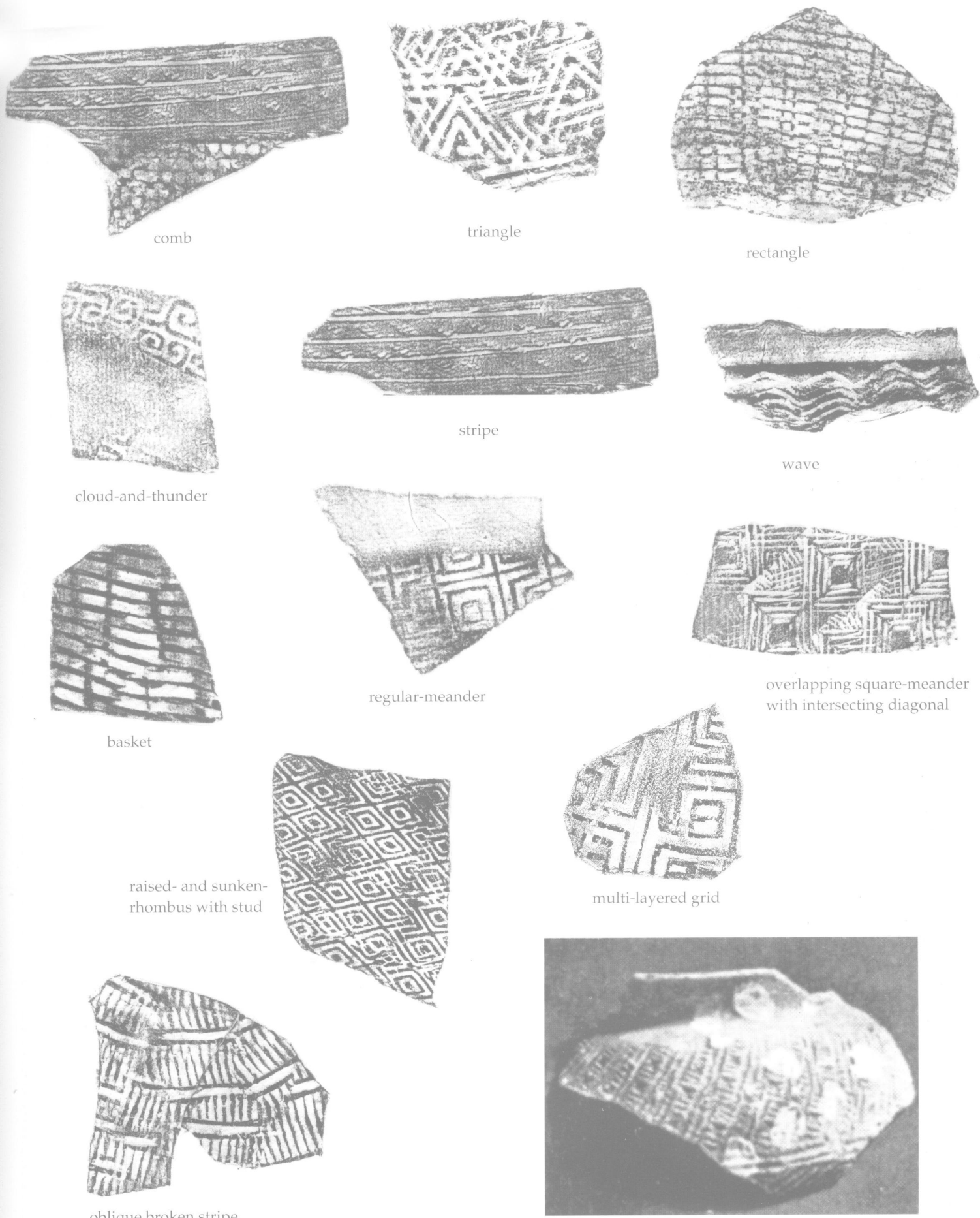


Asterisk (*Archaeological Investigations on Chek Lap Kok Island*, p. 240)



dot

Fig. 2 Stamped pottery motifs found in Hong Kong



comb

triangle

rectangle

cloud-and-thunder

stripe

wave

basket

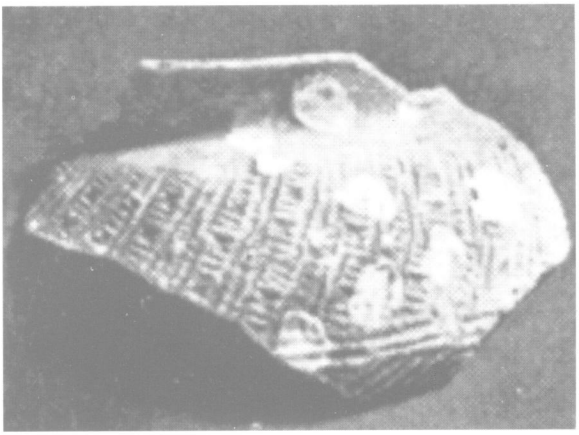
regular-meander

overlapping square-meander with intersecting diagonal

raised- and sunken-rhombus with stud

multi-layered grid

oblique broken stripe



shell (*Journal of the Hong Kong Archaeological Society*, v. V, p. 31)

Fig. 2 Stamped pottery motifs found in Hong Kong

Plains culture of northern China, thus the stamped pottery of Hong Kong also shares characteristics with other regions of China.

Stamped pottery found in Hong Kong can be classified into three categories by material: coarse tempered pottery, soft, and hard pottery. Low-fired coarse tempered pottery has a grey-black or brown body which is occasionally coated with slip on one or both sides. Despite being found in great numbers, the decorative motifs on coarse pottery are often difficult to determine because of the small size of the sherds and the loose brittle nature of the material making it susceptible to erosion. At present, the most common recognisable motif is the cord motif. Other frequently seen motifs are the net or square, leaf-vein, chevron, stripe, and mat motifs. Rare ones include the cloud-and-thunder, triangle, rhombus, multi-concentric circle and rectangle motifs. These coarse potsherds of the later Neolithic period are among the earliest examples of stamped pottery found in Hong Kong.

Soft pottery has been found at many sites, in smaller quantities than that of coarse pottery. It has a thin light body pale brown, pale red or grey in colour. With the exception of the triangle and dot motifs, all the impressed designs found on coarse pottery are also found on soft pottery. The rhombus motif is more often seen than the cord and mat motifs.

Hard pottery has a light grey body and has only been found in small quantities. No hard pottery has ever been found at the Sha Lo Wan and Shek Pik Tung Wan sites on Lantau Island nor at the Nam Wan, Tai Kwai Wan and Sai Wan sites on Cheung Chau. Hence the types of motifs known for hard pottery are quite limited. They include the net, double-f, rhombus, seal, and asterisk motifs. The seal motif has been found only in Kau Sai Chau, Ma Wan Tung Wan Tsai, Sha Po Tsuen on Lamma Island, and Pak Mong on Lantau Island. The double-f motif has been found only at Lo So Shing, Sham Wan, Po Yu Wan, Sha Po Tsuen and Tai Wan sites on Lamma Island; Hai Dei Wan, Pak Mong, Man Kok Tsui, Chek Lap Kok and Shek Pik Tung Wan sites on Lantau Island; Tai Kwai Wan site in Cheung Chau; and Lung Kwu Sheung Tan and Ma Wan Tung Wan Tsai sites in the New Territories. The asterisk motif has been found at Lung Kwu Sheung Tan site in the New Territories and Chek Lap Kok Sham Wan Tsuen site on Lantau Island. In addition to these, the chevron, leaf-vein, cloud-and-thunder, and comb motifs also occur on hard pottery.

Archaeological finds from the lower stratum at Hai Dei Wan, and the sites at Yung Long, Shek Pik Tung Wan, Lung Kwu Sheung Tan, Fu Tei Wan, and Kwo Lo Wan in Chek Lap Kok, all include early Neolithic painted pottery and coarse tempered pottery. While complete vessels have not been found, potsherds clearly show the cord motif. Early artefacts with impressed motifs have been found at all of the sites.

Middle Neolithic period stamped pottery has been found at the Fu Tei Wan site at Chek Lap

Kok, and the Sham Wan site on Lamma Island. In addition to the impressed cord motif, incised lines on the upper half of pottery vessels were also used. Occasionally a wave motif was incised inside of the mouth rim of vessels. During this period, it was common to use comb-like tools to create wave motifs on the shoulders of vessels. Other geometric decorations include the half-circle, circle-with-dot, and comb motifs. Generally horizontal grooves are incised around the vessel to separate each motif. The leaf-vein, multi-concentric circle, and dot motifs gradually became popular during the middle to late Neolithic period. The main vessel type is a soft pottery pot with a long straight neck and a short ringed foot, examples of which have been found at Yung Long, and Sha Lo Wan. In these cases, the body is impressed with the cord and dot motifs, while the neck is decorated with other motifs.

The late Neolithic period saw the emergence of other types of motifs on soft pottery. Vessels found at the Lo So Shing site are decorated with the net, leaf-vein, and chevron motifs. Those found at sites in Po Yue Wan, and Tai Kwai Wan, are decorated with the rhombus and cloud-and-thunder motifs.

The most unique impressed motif of the Bronze Age is the double-f motif. Other popular motifs include the chevron, rhombus, triangle, cloud-and-thunder, multi-concentric circle, and leaf-vein motifs. The double-f motif is often found in combination with the net motif. Hard pottery dates to this period, with vessels being found at sites in Sha Po Village, Tai Long Wan, Lo So Shing, and Tai Kwai Wan. Han period sites in Hong Kong have only yielded a few examples of stamped pottery, which are mostly decorated with the seal and asterisk motifs. At this stage, the production of stamped pottery began to decline, eventually ceasing altogether.

Complete vessels with stamped motifs excavated in Hong Kong are extremely rare, as are those that can be restored. Those that do exist are mainly pots with flared mouths, and can be dated according to their form and decoration. The scarcity of complete vessels makes the study and analysis of decorative motifs the only way in which their development can be revealed.

In ancient China, certain animals such as fish, birds, frogs, snakes and tortoises had a special significance. Fish, for their mastery of the sea; birds, for their ability to fly; and frogs, snakes, and tortoises for their ability to live both in water and on land. These animals were worshipped as *taotie* or totem, and gradually became defined as ancestral guardians. Each ethnic group had its own totems which depicted in abstract or symbolic form, the animals with which they identified. As ancestors, these animals were not killed unless sacrificial rituals stipulated it.

The worship of totems transformed images of animals and natural phenomena into mystic motifs, having auspicious connotations. When the worship of totems declined, their design became more and more abstract, finally becoming geometric forms.

The worship of totems is inseparable from the worship of procreation and the reproductive organs. From the beginning of the Neolithic period, male and female characteristics have been depicted in pictorial or symbolic form, appearing as decorative motifs on pottery and other handicrafts. Some motifs of animals or other natural phenomena may be interpreted as symbols of male and female, and their procreative power. The development of these motifs is similar to that of totemic motifs - from realism to abstraction. With the passing of time, their original forms have become unrecognisable.

Cord motif

Before the invention of writing, the Chinese knotted woven cord to record events and transmit messages. The cord motif is the most commonly impressed design used on pottery. It was used by many different ethnic groups and has been found at early sites throughout China.

Stamped pottery with the cord motif is, by far, the most numerous. Very often found on coarse tempered pottery, the motif, usually impressed to a depth of 1 to 2 mm, covers the whole body of the vessel, or the lower half leaving the mouth rim plain. On some vessels, the upper half of the body is decorated with horizontal or vertical arrays of the motif, while the bottom half is decorated with an irregular cord motif. The upper half of the vessel may also be decorated with a combination of the paddled cord and incised wave motif, and horizontal grooves. The cord motif may be arranged horizontally, vertically or overlapping. It has been found on pots, bowls and larger *fu*-shaped vessels with straight mouths, and flat, rounded bottoms.

Net motif

The net motif, like the cord motif, is commonly found on early Chinese pottery. Restored vessels with the motif have been found at sites at Man Kok Tsui, Sham Wan, and Hai Dei Wan while other sites have yielded only pottery sherds. It appears as the main motif, as well as in combination with others such as the double-f, rhombus, and comb motifs. Generally the motif is impressed onto the lower half of the vessel. It is usually vertically oriented but sometimes occurs diagonally at 45 degrees.

As the name implies, this motif resembles a fishing net, woven fish basket or the scales of a fish. The painted pottery of the late Neolithic period in northern China reveal many painted versions of the net design. The net motif may be taken as a simple decorative geometric design when used on pottery, however, it may also be understood as a transformation of the fish and

bird motifs, symbolizing the male and female, and fertility.

The totemic fish motif has been discovered on painted pottery at Banpo, Xi'an. Tracing the evolution of the motif at this site, the triangle, rhombus, net, large and small triangles, triangle-with-dot, and intersecting-oblique-line motifs are all abstractions of the head, eye or body of a fish (Fig. 3).

Li Dingzuo, in his commentary on the chapter on wells in the *Yi jing*, or Book of Changes, points out that fish belong to the category of feminine things. In the ancient *Shi jing* or Classic of Poetry, fish suggest the pleasure of sex. Section 935 of the *Taiping yulan*, quotes the *Huainanzi's* assertion that the moon is the quintessence of femininity; when it wanes, the brains of fish weaken. Furthermore, the triangular or rhombic outlines of fish resemble the female pubic area, and female fish carry large numbers of eggs, symbolizing fertility. These texts all suggest that the fish and the moon are symbols of the female or things feminine.

The ancients worshipped the sun and the moon. The net motif enclosed by a circle may symbolise the sun which represents the male gender or things masculine. According to the *Shan hai jing* or Classic of Mountains and Seas, each day the sun rises and sets on the back of a bird. In the chapter on *Jingshen* in the *Huainanzi* or Master in the Kingdom of Huainan, it also states that the *juan* bird resides in the sun. The *juan* bird is both a three-legged bird and the male penis. 'Three-legged' actually indicates the bird's two legs with male genitalia. Hence the bird symbolises the penis and the male gender. Furthermore, in his commentary, Wang Yi interprets the chapter on self pity in the *Chu ci* or Verses of Chu as meaning that the bird represents masculine things.

Neolithic painted pottery excavated at Miaodigou in Henan province is decorated with the three-legged, and other bird motifs (Fig. 4). When the motif becomes abstracted, the bird's body simplifies to an arc. In its abstract form, the bird motif resembles the petal, leaf-vein, and net motifs.

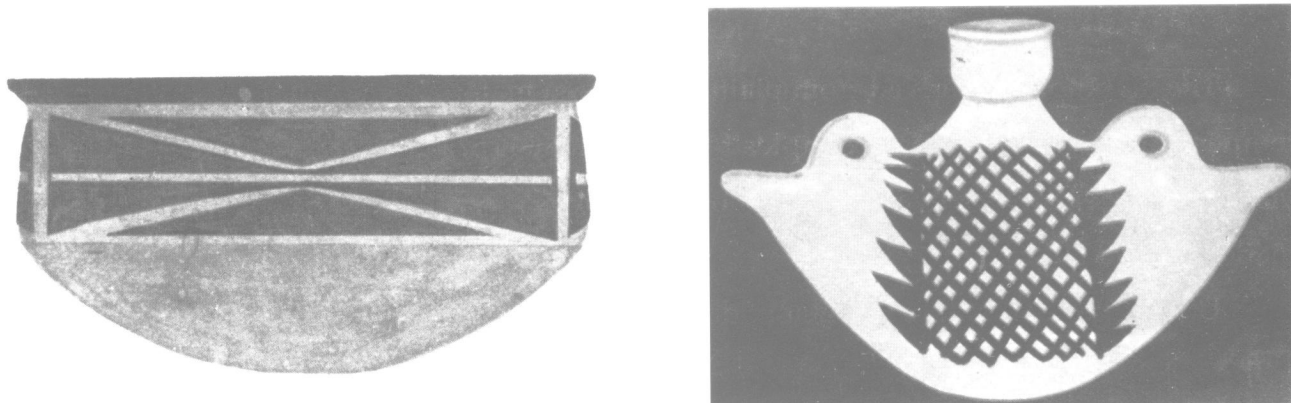


Fig. 3 Banpo type painted pottery bowl and jar
(Zheng Wei, *Zhongguo caitao yishu*, pp. 1, 5)



Fig. 4 Three-legged bird
(Wang Dai You, *Lungfung wenhua yuanliu*, p. 310)



Fig. 4 Bird design on painted pottery
(Gu Fang Song, *Fengniao tu'an yanjiu*, pl. 3)

Mat motif

The mat motif is derived from plaited or woven material. It was used mainly on coarse tempered pottery with most examples found at sites in Lo So Shing. Other sites have only yielded a few examples. In addition to pottery, woven fabric is one of the earliest handicrafts made by mankind.

Unlike the net motif, the mat motif does not explicitly symbolise male or female attributes. However, mats were used for sitting and sleeping upon, and as surfaces for sexual intercourse. The use of the mat motif is suggestive of many things, such as the desire for procreation, abundant harvest and domesticated animals.

The lines forming the mat motif may also be significant. The ancient symbols for *yin* and *yang* helped to inspire different line combinations. *Yin* is represented by two dotted lines, *yang* by a horizontal line. A chapter on topography in the classic *Huainanzi* mentions that the supreme *yin* generates femininity and the supreme *yang*, masculinity. The chapter on *Xici* in the *Yi Jing* or Book of Changes, states that *qian* represents things masculine, and *kun*, things feminine. "*Qian*, when reposing, is soft, when moving, is erect; *kun* when reposing, is closed; when moving, is open". The passage describes *qian* or the penis, becoming flaccid or erect and the vulva, *kun*, opening and closing, according to physiological conditions. A solid line represents the erect penis, and a dotted line, the vulva. *Xici* emphasizes that with the union of heaven and earth, and with copulation, all things reproduce.

When the impressed decoration of a vessel contains a set of parallel lines including solid and dotted components, the solid line symbolizes *yang* while the dotted line symbolizes *yin*. If the motif is a combination of only solid horizontal and vertical lines, then it is hard to determine *yin* and *yang*. It may be reasonable to suggest that the horizontal line represents *yin* and the vertical line *yang* because of the erect pictography for the penis. It may also be inferred that dotted lines composed of dots or small circles represent *yin*. A line whether it is horizontal or vertical, solid or dotted, suggests the union and procreative power of *yin* and *yang*, heaven and earth and man and woman.

Chevron motif

The chevron motif appears on pottery found at many sites but is less frequently seen than the net motif. It generally covers the body of the vessel in vertical arrangements and is seldom combined with other motifs. It is incised to a depth of about 3 to 5 mm and is relatively large in size. So far only one vessel at the Sham Wan site decorated with the chevron and cloud-and-thunder motifs exists.² The motif is rarely found on hard pottery. Another rare example is a soft pottery dish found at the Lo So Shing site, where only the inside of the dish is decorated with the motif while the outside of the dish has been left plain.³

The chevron motif is a transformation of the sun motif. Originally it consisted of zigzag lines, examples of which can be found on Banpo type painted pottery of the Neolithic period. Its precursor is the abstracted fish motif in the form of a triangle and zigzag lines. Viewing a chevron-decorated pot sideways, the motif resembles arrays of undulating curves. Viewing from above shows the circular plan of the mouth resembling the sun, and the chevron motif, its radiating rays. The star motif seen on the painted pottery of Miaodigou and Damenkou types is also clearly derivative of the sun motif (Fig. 5).

The chevron motif may also have derived from the frog motif. Recognisable frog motifs have been found on Majiayao type Neolithic painted pottery. The simplified frog motif found on the painted pottery of the Banshan and Machang types has a vertical line representing the frog's body with the limbs and feet transformed into a chevron motif. Further abstraction simplifies the frog's body and limbs into a zigzag line. The frog becomes an recognisable geometric motif of angled lines (Fig. 6).

The frog is symbolic of the vulva. In Chinese mythology, the Goddess Nuwa was the creator of mankind. The three interchangeable homonymic characters for "Wa" mean goddess, girl, and frog. Nuwa may also be understood as the personification of the frog god, and their worship is equivalent to the worship of female reproductive organs. The chevron motif may therefore symbolise the male (the sun) and female (the frog god).

Bronze drums, popular in the south-western region of China, are often decorated with a radiating sun and a frog motif in relief. These two motifs represent the harmonious union of *yin*



Fig. 5 Miaodiguo and Dawenkou type painted pottery (Zheng Wei, *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 171)

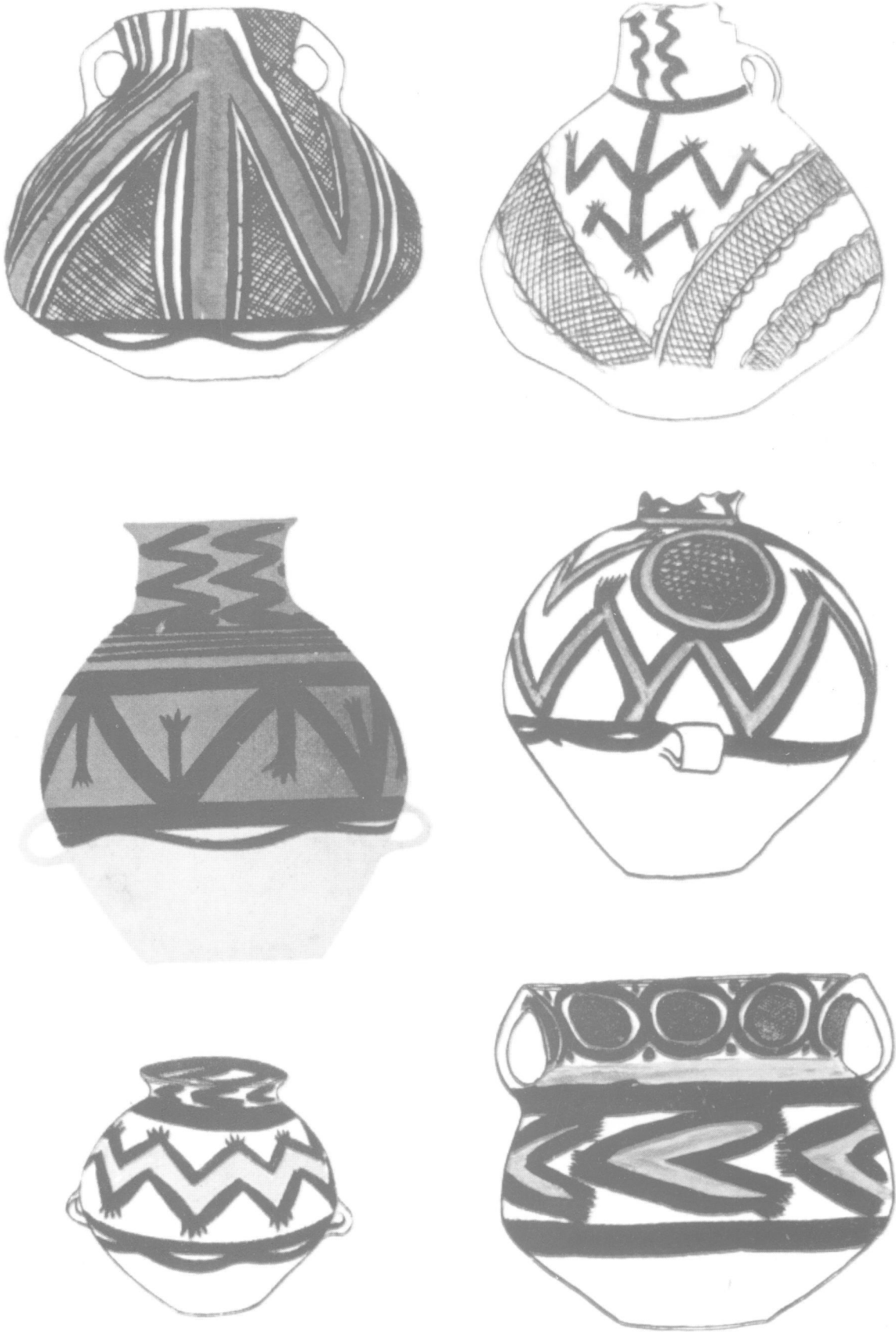


Fig. 6 Banshan and Machang type painted pottery jar
(Zheng Wei, *Ibid.*, pp. 111, 129)



Fig. 6 Banshan and Machang type painted pottery jar
(Zheng Wei, *Ibid.*, pp. 111, 129)

and *yang* and may be a pictorial prayer for rain and thus abundant harvest.

A modified form of the chevron is the wave motif which resembles moving waves. The mysterious world of water symbolises the joy of sex with the wave motif suggesting the energy of life.

Rhombus motif

The rhombus motif is often found on soft or hard pottery, usually as the main decorative motif. It can be arranged horizontally or vertically and can be further subdivided into four types: the single-, double-, triple- and quadruple-line rhombus motifs. The motif also appears in combination with the net and double-f motifs. Vessels with this combination have been found at sites in Ma Wan, Sha Chau and Sha Po Tsuen.⁴

The rhombus motif is actually a modified form of the net motif. Consequently, like the net motif, it also suggests the fish and bird, symbolizing *yin* and *yang*. However, the rhombus is also made up of two triangles in form. In bronze inscriptions the character *di* (▽) symbolizes the female vulva, with *zu* (⊕) symbolizing the penis. The female reproductive organs are the origin of life, consequently, the character *di* also means the supreme ruler of all things. The triangle motif resembling the female pubic area, also represents female sexual characteristics, as consequently does the rhombus motif. Combined with the net motif, it represents the harmony of *yin* and *yang*, and heaven and earth.

Whorl motif

The whorl consists of overlapping circles and is found on both soft and hard pottery, examples of which have been discovered at sites in Sham Wan⁵ and Po Yue Wan.⁶ Many motifs resemble the whorl motif. Besides the overlapping motif, variants include the spiral, cloud-and-thunder, meander, and interlocking-hook motifs.

The interlocking-hook and related motifs are abstractions of the frog motif where the limbs of the frog are transformed into horizontal and vertical lines. The spiral motif is also derived from the frog motif where its limbs are replaced by arcs. The whorl motif on Banshan type painted pottery is also a modified frog motif where each frog is joined together to form a wavy whorl motif which is a modified form of the chevron motif (Fig. 7). This transformation from recognisable images to geometric designs occurs over a long period of time. Although the frog image has lost its original form, it retains the symbolic shape of the vulva.



Fig. 7 Banshan type painted pottery jar, Neolithic period
(Zheng Wei, *Ibid.*, p. 93)

In contrast, on Majiayao type painted pottery, the whorl appears as a simplified bird with energetic swirling lines representing its wings and body. As above, the bird and frog represent the male and female respectively. The motif therefore strongly suggests the procreative power of nature.

Multi-concentric circle motif

This multi-concentric circle motif has been found on both soft and hard pottery vessels. Usually it consists of units of five to nine concentric circles applied overlappingly to form irregular designs. At present, restored vessels decorated with the multi-concentric circle motif have been found at sites in Tai Wan and Yung Long. Early examples show the motif arranged regularly, separated by lines. Single circle and double circle motifs all belong to this category. The motif also occurs combined with the net motif where it is usually decorates the upper half of a vessel with the net motif on the lower half .

The pictograph of *ri*, meaning day, is a circle with a large dot in the centre. The concentric circle motif not only resembles this pictograph but also looks like the female breast and is even

considered to symbolize the female genitals in many places. In particular the motif resembles the vulva. Neolithic painted pottery of the Machang type is decorated with a concentric oval design derived from floral origins which also suggest the shape of the vulva (Fig. 8).

The motif not only resembles a brilliant vibrant sun, it also implies worship of female reproductive abilities and thus, the continuing cycle of life.

Leaf-vein motif

The leaf-vein motif is not as popular as the chevron or net motifs. It was used on all types of pottery vessels but is seldom seen on hard pottery. The motif resembles the veins of a leaf but is derived from the bird motif which features heavily on Neolithic painted pottery of the Miaodigou type. The simplified bird motif resembles a petal composed of arcs and curves. When this is modified to a rectilinear motif, it has the appearance of the veins of a leaf (Fig. 9) or bird feathers. Both motifs are derived from the bird motif and so may also symbolize the sun, or male gender.

***Kui* or double-f motif**

As early as the 1930s, Father Finn had discovered pottery decorated with the *kui*,⁷ also known as the double-f motif in Hong Kong. Subsequently, pottery vessels and potsherds with this motif have been found at sites in Lo So Shing, Tai Long Wan, Sham Wan, Hai Dei Wan, Tung Wan Tsai, Tai Wan, Sha Lo Wan, Chek Lap Kok, and Man Kok Tsui. Nevertheless, examples of pottery found with the motif are rare in Hong Kong. It was used mainly on hard pottery, and dates to the Bronze Age. Few examples of coarse pottery with the double-f motif have been found at sites in Lo So Shing and Man Kok Tsui (Fig. 10), while complete vessels have been excavated at sites in Hai Dei Wan and Chek Lap Kok. These are mainly globular pots with a round bottom and collared mouth.

The double-f motif is often combined with the net and rhombus motif. Either the net motif is impressed on the lower half of the vessel, and the double-f motif on the upper half; or bands of the double-f, net, and rhombus motifs are used together, separated by incised horizontal lines (Fig. 11). The motif is most often found as an incised (*yin*) motif, or occasionally as a relief (*yang*) motif. Variations include the round-, point-, hook- or bead-headed f motifs.

At the Hai Dei Wan site, six complete pots and a partial vessel with double-f decoration have been found so far. The necks are decorated with a comb or net motif, and the base with a net motif. The body has four or five rows of the double-f motif which are indistinct because of overlapping impressions. The double-f motif found on these five examples incline mostly towards



Fig. 8 Machang painted pottery jar
(Zheng Wei, *Ibid.*, p. 139)

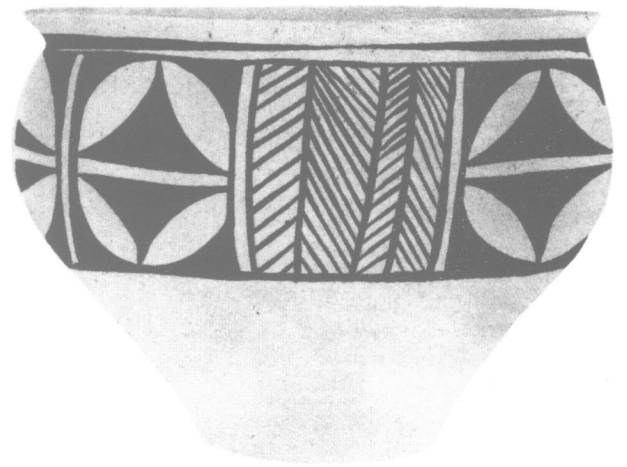


Fig. 9 Miaodiguo painted pottery
(Zheng Wei, *Ibid.*, p. 32)

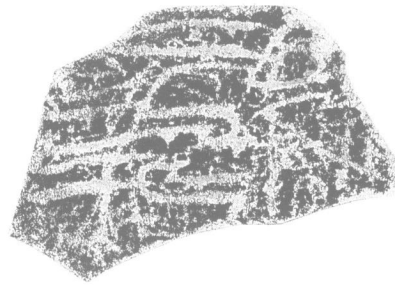


Fig. 10 Rubbings with double-f motif from sherds
excavated from Lo So Shing and Man Kok Tsui

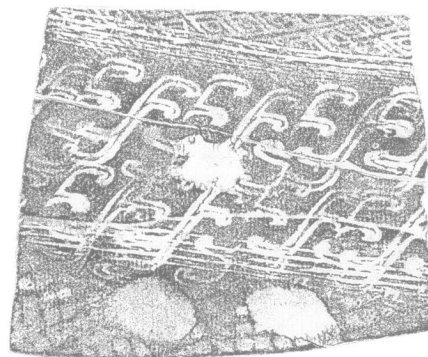


Fig. 11 Rubbings with double-f, net-and-rhombus
motifs from sherds excavated from Lo So Shing

the left with one example that inclines towards the right.


While no complete vessels with the double-f motif have been found at Lo So Shing, a large number of potsherds with the point-headed variation of the motif have been found. The motif inclines, and is found combined with the net and rhombus motifs. Similarly no complete vessels with the motif have been found at Tai Long Wan, where only a small number of hard pottery sherds have been found. The mouth rims of some sherds are decorated with a comb motif, below which is a band of the double-f and rhombus motifs.

Only a few potsherds with the double-f motif have been found at the Sham Wan site. One noteworthy example is composed of a single, not double, f. Only a few examples of the motif have been found at the Man Kok Tsui site, including a rare sherd where the motif is combined with two rows of angular gravel embedded in a net motif.

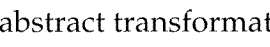
The *kui* motif derives its name from that used on bronzes of the Shang and Zhou dynasties. Examined carefully, however, the *kui* motif used on bronzes and the double-f motif used on stamped pottery do not completely correspond. *Kui* means, "a small one-footed dragon". The ancient Yue people worshipped the snake totem and called themselves "sons of the dragon". Legend has it that the dragon is a transformation of the snake. In the chapter on envoys in the *Shuo yuan* or Garden of Explanations by Liu Xiang, the Yue are described as people who tattooed their bodies to look dragon-like. The power of the dragon could thus protect them from the water god and other creatures.

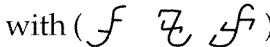


The chapter on *cong* in the *Shuo wen jie zi* or Analytical Dictionary of Characters by Xu Shen, describes the Man people, or barbarians of the south, as descendants of the snake. The totemic art of the Yue people included an adulterated dragon and snake design. Since the double-f motif resembles a small snake or worm, some scholars have called it the small dragon or *kui* motif. The Kui tribe of the pre-Qin Kui state, at the border of Sichuan and Hubei provinces, are unrelated to the double-f motif.

The snake is considered to possess mysterious powers because it can move freely both on land and in water, and sheds its skin to renew it. It has been worshipped since the beginning of the Neolithic period and has always been a popular motif. Its phallic form has made it a symbol for male genitalia. The dragon motif is derived from the snake, therefore it also represents the masculine principle. Ancient mythology describes the creation gods Fuxi and Nuwa as creatures having a human head and snake- or dragon-like bodies.

The ancient character for snake is "巳". The pictograph of "巳" has appeared on Dasikongcun type Neolithic painted pottery. These vessels are painted with the () motif (Fig. 12), resembling the penis and testicles. This type of snake motif is called the cloud scroll motif.

The double-f motif bears no likeness to the cloud scroll motif and is therefore not considered a snake motif.

In addition to worshipping the snake, the ancient Yue tribe also worshipped the bird totem. The ancient bird motif has many abstract transformations. For example (). All of these transformed motifs represent a bird flying with out-stretched wings. The *Wu yue bei shi* or History of Wu Yue mentions a *Loping* bird on whom the fortune of the Yue people depends. By treating it well, one will have good fortune; treat it badly and misfortune will ensue. Consequently, its likeness was worshipped. Moreover, chapter 40 of the *Shui jing zhu* or Commentary on the Classic of Rivers records that birds helped Yue farmers to cultivate their crops, weeding the fields, killing insects and rats, and fertilizing the soil. As a result, the county official prohibited harming birds, infringement of which incurred severe punishment. Birds were therefore worshipped and admired in addition to the snake.

Could the double-f motif with () designs represent a bird with two out-stretched wings (Fig. 13)? Or could it be that the modified forms of frog motif, the meander () (Fig. 14) or swastika () (Fig. 15), degenerated further during their development into the modified double-f motif?

The double-f motif resembles a creature with a head, a tail and two limbs. The snake has no limbs while the dragon has four. The *kui* has only one limb. It follows then that the double-f motif does not represent either the snake, dragon or *kui*, instead seeming to resemble a flying bird with two out-stretched wings. The bird, snake and dragon, all represent the male principle. Very often the double-f motif is combined with the rhombus or net motifs, both of which symbolise female sex organs. This is consistent with the union of *yin* and *yang* that results in procreation. This is why the double-f motif may be considered the *kui* bird motif.

Seal motif

The seal motif is mainly found on the pottery of southern China, especially Guangdong and Hunan provinces. Potsherds with the motif have been discovered on hard pottery vessels at sites in Pak Mong, Kau Sai Chau, and Tung Wan Tsai.⁸ It is usually square but occasionally occurs in rhombic or circular form. The rhombic and square versions found in Hong Kong are similar to those of Guangdong and Hunan provinces in style. No examples of the round version have been found in Hong Kong. There are nine or more variations of the seal motif (Fig. 16). It is mostly occurs on the upper half of hard pottery vessels, where the bottom half is left plain. No more than two variants of the motif appear on each vessel. It was not only used on pottery, but also on bronze

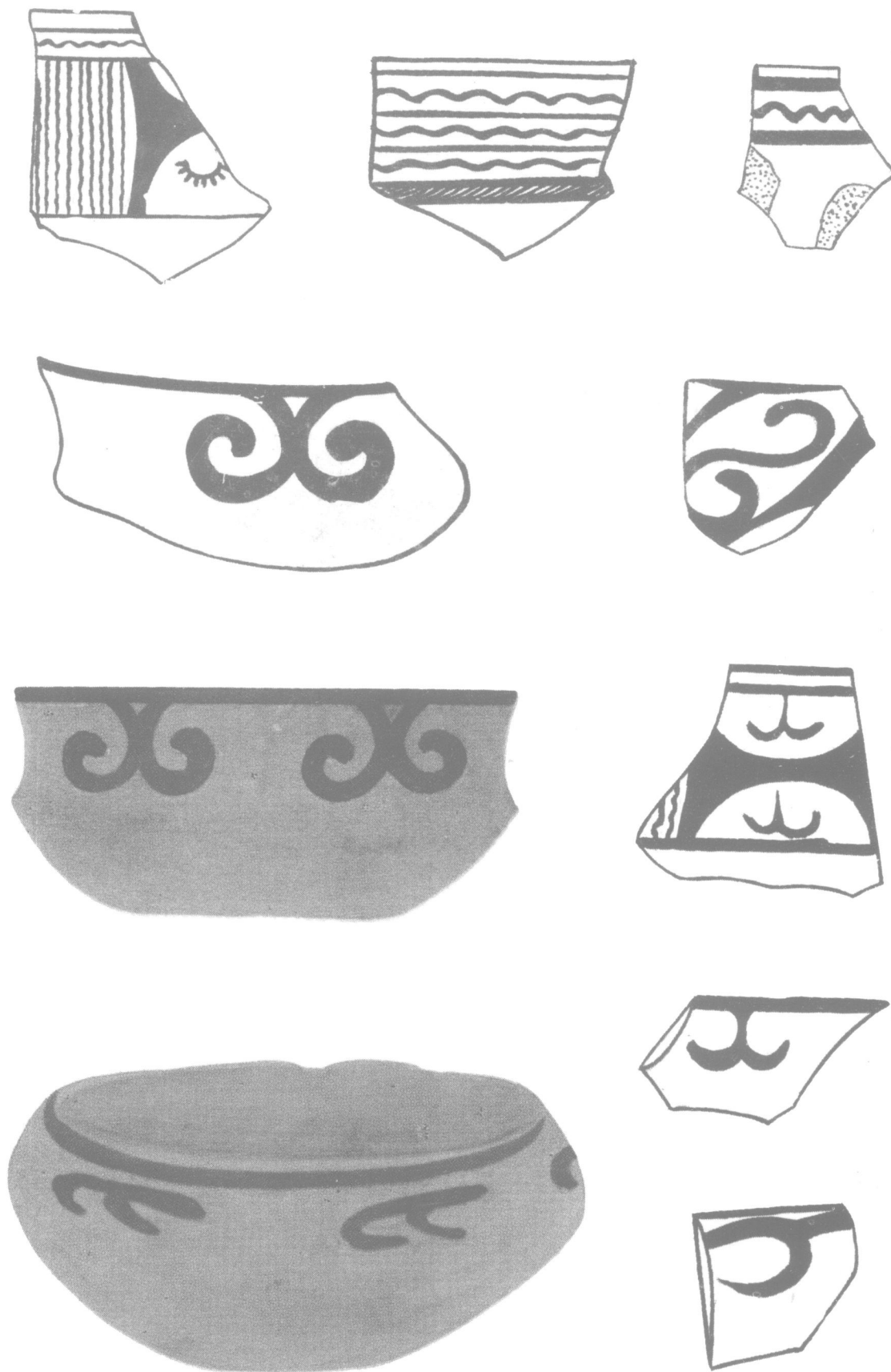


Fig. 12 Dasikongcun painted pottery
 (Zheng Wei, *Ibid.*, p. 44)

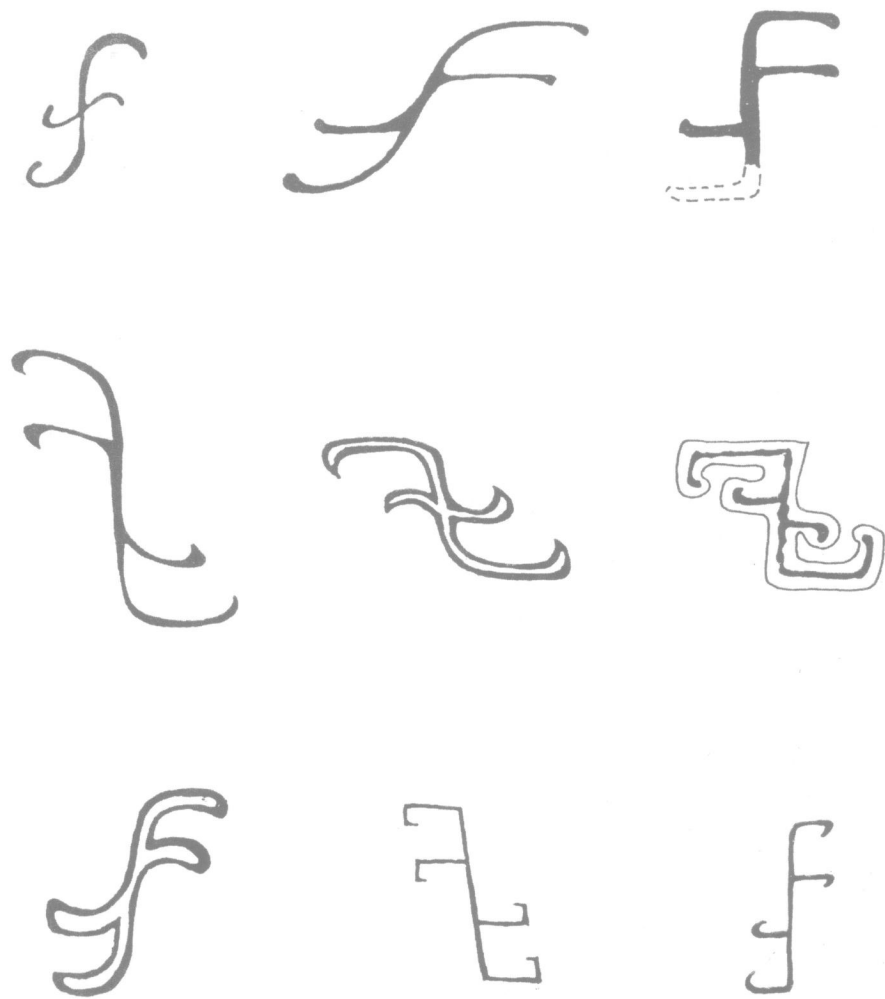


Fig. 13 Double-f motif on Hong Kong stamped pottery



Fig. 14 Machang painted pottery jar
(Zheng Wei, *Ibid.*, p. 154)



Fig. 15 Machang painted pottery jar
(Zheng Wei, *Ibid.*, p. 151)

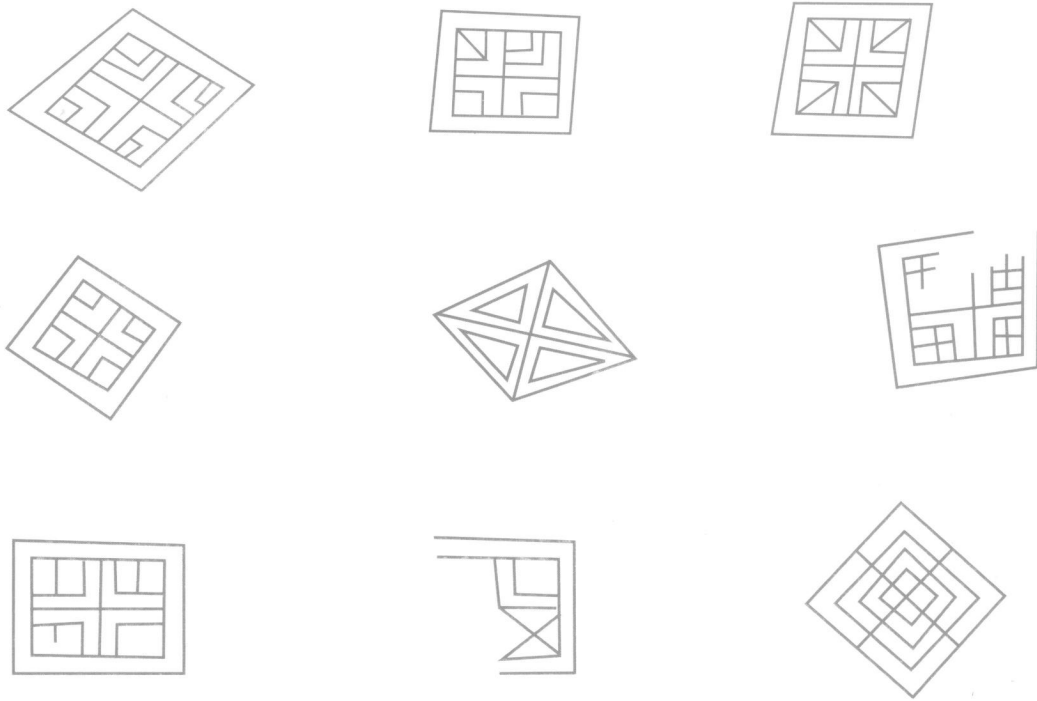


Fig. 16 Seal motif

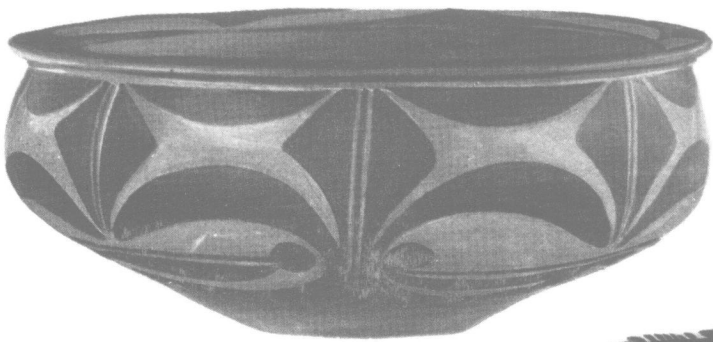
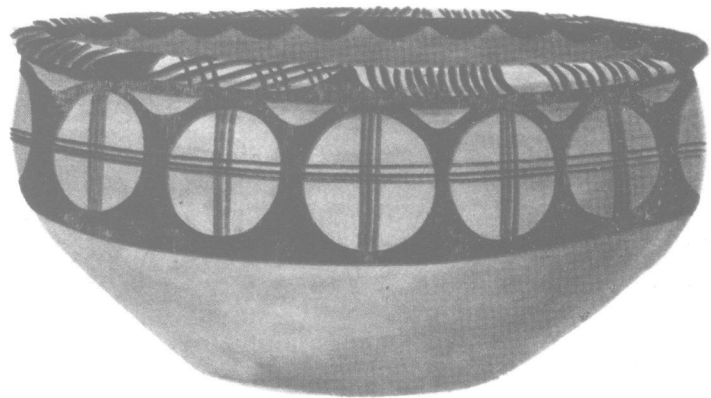


Fig. 17 Miaodiguo painted pottery
(Zheng Wei, *Ibid.*, p. 35)




vessels and mirrors. The motif was very popular during the Western Han dynasty, but had disappeared by the end of the Eastern Han dynasty.

While no complete pottery vessels with the seal motif have been found at the Pak Mong site, the Kau Sai Chau site has yielded 41 potsherds and 7 nearly complete vessels. These have a short neck, straight body, slightly flaring mouth, and a flat base. The decoration is usually concentrated on the upper part of vessels while the lower part is left plain. When combined with the rhombus and net motifs, the seal motif is often subsidiary. The motif found on potsherds at Tung Wan Tsai and Kau Sai Chau are similar.

Although there are many variations of the motif, they all suggest the *yin* and *yang* symbolism implied by the sun and the bird. The seal character represents brightness, with the centre of the seal motif representing the rays of the sun. However, the development of the bird motif on Neolithic painted pottery, suggests that these radiating designs are often a simplified bird motif (Fig. 17). During the Qin and Han dynasties, a large number of tile-ends were impressed with decorations similar to the seal motif. At the centre of the tile-end is a circle inside which are chevron, triangle, whorl, and leaf-vein motifs (Fig. 18). The outside of the circle is decorated with the cloud scroll or interlocking cloud motif. The cloud scroll motif is a variant of the snake form and so suggests male genitalia. The circle represents the sun. Other motifs used within a circle, such as bird, fish and frog, and their abstract transformations, all suggest *yin* and *yang*. Therefore, the decoration on the tile-ends represent heaven and earth, *yin* and *yang* and their implicit procreative power. The seal motif resembles a small tile-end which, when stamped onto pottery vessels, functions as an auspicious symbol.

Asterisk motif

In Hong Kong, potsherds found with the asterisk motif are rare with only two examples discovered in Lung Kwu Sheung Tan,⁹ and another at Sham Wan Tsuen in Chek Lap Kok.¹⁰ The asterisk and seal motifs mark the final stage of the development of stamped pottery decoration.

The asterisk is actually an abstracted bird motif (Fig. 19). In ancient mythology, the sun rises and sets on the back of a bird. The sun and bird are also among the most common decorative motifs. While a single bird may be abstracted to take the form of (, two birds can resemble a double-s, cross, petal or cloud scroll motif. If the asterisk motif is enclosed in a circle or square, it conveys the legend of the sun and the bird.

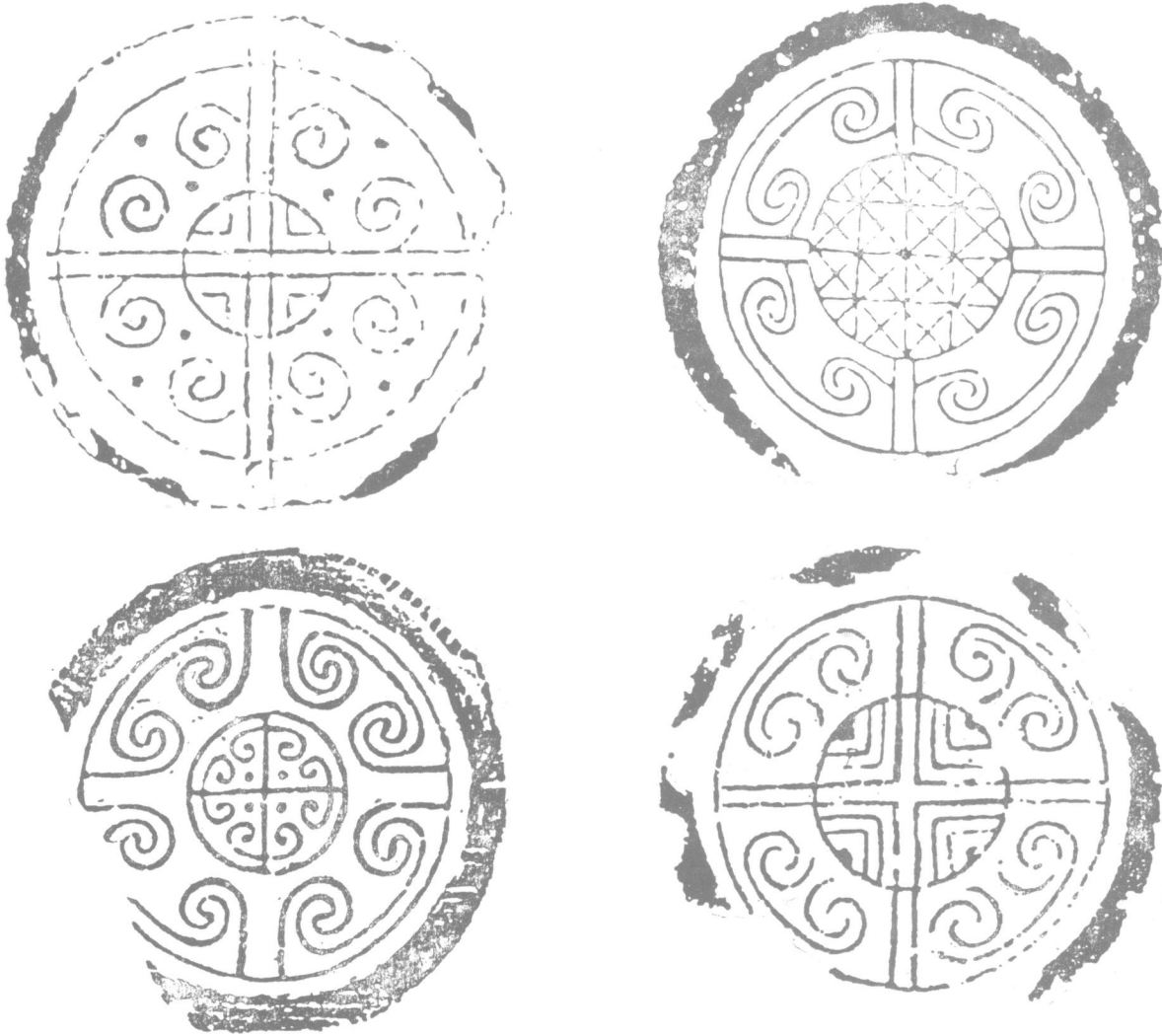


Fig. 18 Tile-end
(Xu Xi Tai et al., *Zhou Qin Han wadang*, pp. 72, 122, 134, 234)





Fig. 19 Machang painted pottery jar
(Zheng Wei, *ibid.*, p. 136)

Concluding Remarks

A large number of stamped pottery vessels dating from the Neolithic period to the Han dynasty have been found in southern China with each region developing its own distinctive characteristics. In Guangdong and Guangxi provinces, the chevron motif is the earliest motif used, developing through the double-f, to the asterisk motifs. In Fujian province, the regular meander motif (a modified form of the thunder motif) is the earliest, developing through the square and finally, the mat motifs. In Jiangxi province the net or square, chevron, circle-and-dot, and thunder motifs are used during the early period while later, the asterisk motif is introduced. Towards the end of the Warring States period and throughout the Qin and Han dynasties, China underwent a period of unification leading to the gradual assimilation of regional decorative styles used on stamped pottery.

Of all the motifs used, the cord motif has the longest history, and is the most common. It occurs in variants including coarse, fine and intersecting cord marks. These motifs clearly belong to a time when stamped pottery was first created, during the Neolithic period flourishing until the Shang and Zhou dynasties. The later decorative motifs also have a long history of development. The most popular is the net or square motif. Variants include the double-line lattice and double-line lattice with enclosed stud motifs. The basket motif, achieved by impressing fabric onto the vessels, is also considered a type of net motif. Towards the end of the Neolithic period, the chevron, rhombus, and leaf-vein motifs were introduced successively.

The period from the Western Zhou dynasty to the early Warring States period is the golden age of geometric motifs, and of the creation of the unique double-f motif. Although highly interesting, pottery finds with the double-f motif are rare in Hong Kong. Other popular motifs inspired by bronze motifs include the rhombus with central studs, square with studs, square-meander, and interlocking-hook motifs.

The final years of the Warring States period saw a gradual decline in the production of stamped pottery. The asterisk and seal motifs are typical of this period. With motifs becoming further simplified, the asterisk motif becomes a square with intersecting diagonals ( ), and the chevron of the early period becomes a wave motif.

The technique of impressing designs is well adapted for pottery produced by the mould method because it conceals the uneven surfaces of the vessels. From the Warring States period onwards, pottery production was made more efficient with the introduction of the wheel method and the replacement of shaft kilns with dragon kilns. The potters' wheel produces vessels with a smooth body which does not require decoration to hide its defects. The method of impressing

decorative motifs onto vessels was unable to meet the demands of large scale pottery production by the wheel. Instead simple decorations of incised groove and wave motifs were adopted so that by the end of the Han dynasty, ceramic innovations such as the introduction of green lead-glazed pottery and high-fired green feldspathic glazed stoneware, saw incised decoration replace impressed decoration altogether.

Stamped pottery found in Hong Kong clearly belongs to the regional cultural system of Guangdong province. Motifs belonging to different periods provide us with clues in the dating of the sites where they are found. Many stamped pottery kilns have been discovered in Guangdong province but none so far in Hong Kong. The question of whether the early people of Hong Kong were indigenous inhabitants or immigrants from southern China, and whether stamped pottery was made in Hong Kong or imported are topics for future research. However, it is clear that the early culture of Hong Kong shares regional cultural characteristics with Guangdong province.

Notes

- 1 Mo Jun-qing, pp. 306-323.
- 2 William Meacham, 1978, p. 152.
- 3 *Journal of the Hong Kong Archaeological Society*, vol. VII (1976-1978), p. 23.
- 4 William Meacham, 1978, p. 141.
- 5 *Journal of the Hong Kong Archaeological Society*, vol. IX (1980-1981), p. 18.
- 6 Daniel J. Finn, p. 180.
- 7 *Journal of the Hong Kong Archaeological Society*, vol. XII (1986-1988), p. 20.
- 8 *Journal of the Hong Kong Archaeological Society*, vol. XIII (1989-1992), p. 18.
- 9 William Meacham, 1994, p. 240.
- 10 Pamela Rumball Rogers, et al., p. 84.

(See references on p. 143)

(See illustrations on p. 185)

Acknowledgements are made to The Lord Wilson Heritage Trust for the support of this research project.

香港印紋陶的裝飾

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概說

中國的面積不算小。七、八十年前，不少學者認為中華民族的發源地位於黃河流域，俗稱“中原”，因為在陝西，河南等北方地區出土了數千年前遺物。但近五十年來，在中國各地發現不少新石器時代遺址，保存了很多陶器、石器和骨器等工藝品，使人認識到中華民族的文化是多方發展的。

中國南方地區便產生富有特色的“越文化”。自新石器時代開始，許多少數民族居住在這區域，包括浙江、江西、福建、湖南、廣東、廣西和台灣。這些土著被稱為越族，大致上可分東越、南越和西越，而一起通稱“百越”。他們具有一些共同的文化特點，例如使用有段石鏃和雙肩石斧，生產拍印繩紋和其他紋飾的軟陶和硬陶，種植水稻，善於用舟，以及居住在干欄式房屋。

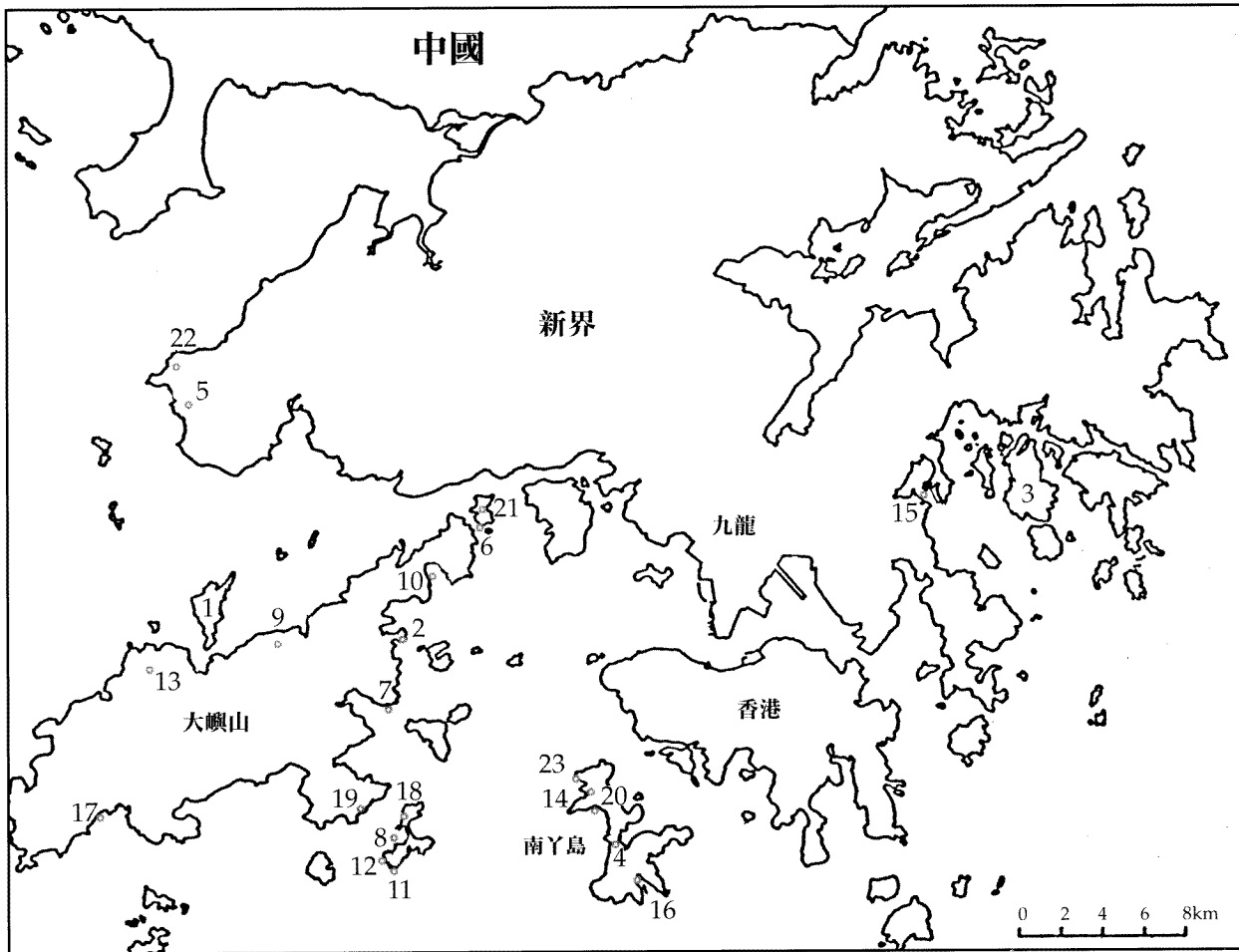
東越活躍於中國東南沿海地區，勢力龐大，成為“百越”民族的中心。他們擅長造船，製作印紋硬陶及銅鉞、銅劍等高水平的工藝品。西越居於中國西南區，包括雲南、貴州、湖南和廣東的西部，但以廣西為中心，後來發展成為今天的壯族，他們主要生產銅器，尤其是銅鼓，而印紋陶的產量較小。南越主要分佈在廣東，又被稱為嶺南越族，他們的文化受東越和西越影響，鑄銅和製陶業均十分發達。

自南北朝開始，中國社會動盪，北方被“五胡”游牧民族入侵，漢民族大舉遷徙。中國南方在政治、經濟、文化等方面均受到重大衝擊，民族同化，人口增加，越族的地方色彩因此愈來愈淡化了。

廣州是南越的中心，漢代稱“番禺”。香港鄰近番禺，自遠古至漢代住在這裡的土著顯然是一支嶺南越族，屬於廣東地區的越文化。香港的早期遺址便出土了石鏃、印紋陶器和干欄式陶屋等越族風格的文物。在香港馬灣東灣仔遺址，保存了新石器時代香港先民的頭骨；這些頭骨都有拔去一對上門齒的現象，拔牙就是古越人的習俗。¹

在眾多出土器物中，印紋陶無疑是香港的重要文化遺物。透過印紋陶研究，我們可以找出香港早期土著與華南文化的關係，有助重現香港的早期歷史面貌。這些拍印紋飾的陶器包括碎片和較完整器物，主要來自下列的香港地方：大嶼山的赤鱗角、沙螺灣、白芒、石壁東灣、大浪灣、萬角咀、竹篙灣和蟹地灣，南丫島的南灣、沙埔村、大灣、蘆鬚城、榕樹灣和深灣，新界的湧浪、龍鼓上灘、沙咀，長洲的大鬼灣、鮪魚灣和西灣，以及滘西洲、馬灣東灣仔等（圖一）。此外，芬神父（Father Daniel Finn）的藏品也是我們的參考範圍。

圖一 香港印紋陶出土遺址



- | | | | |
|---------|---------|----------|---------|
| 1. 赤鱸角 | 7. 萬角咀 | 13. 沙螺灣 | 19. 大浪灣 |
| 2. 蟹地灣 | 8. 南灣 | 14. 沙埔村 | 20. 大灣 |
| 3. 滘西州 | 9. 白芒 | 15. 沙咀 | 21. 東灣仔 |
| 4. 蘆鬚城 | 10. 竹篙灣 | 16. 深灣 | 22. 湧浪 |
| 5. 龍鼓上灘 | 11. 鮑魚灣 | 17. 石壁東灣 | 23. 榕樹灣 |
| 6. 馬灣 | 12. 西灣 | 18. 大鬼灣 | |

拍印紋飾

在遠古時代，雖然交通不發達，但我們從新石器時代的陶器發展，可以看到中國各地區在文化上是相互影響的，這些影響或薰陶可能需時幾百年或幾千年的冗長時間。根據考古資料來比較，香港印紋陶的紋飾是繼承嶺南越族的特色，而中國南方的越文化也會無疑地接受中國北方的中原文化。因此，香港早期陶器的印紋與中國其他地區的陶器花紋在很多方面是相近的。中國北方流行彩繪陶器，在南方則喜用印紋陶，這顯然是兩大文化系統的其中一個分野。

古代製陶方法落後，不易生產光滑胎身的器皿；若將繩子壓印在陶器上，使陶器留下凹凸紋理，不但祇方便繫繩攜帶，同時可美化器身。除裝飾外，中國的紋飾大多具有意義。我們目前看到的遠古紋飾絕大部份是抽象的，它們因此被稱做“幾何紋”。遠古陶匠顯然不會刻意去設計抽象圖案，他們應先將當時受歡迎的題材裝飾在陶器上，這些題材會是現實景象，也會是信仰表達，或是

吉祥的寓意。我們希望將香港印紋陶上的紋飾解剖出來，把它們的幾何形設計，帶回去原來的構想或真正的面貌。

香港印紋陶大致上有二十多種紋飾：繩紋、網紋或方格紋、蓆紋、曲折紋、菱格紋、重圈紋、漩渦紋、同心重圈紋、葉脈紋、夔紋、戳印紋、米字紋、麻點紋、篋紋、三角紋、長方格紋、雲雷紋、條紋、波浪紋、籃紋、回字紋、重回字對角十字紋、凹凸菱塊紋、多層窗格紋、間斷斜條紋和貝齒紋（圖二）。這些紋飾都是中國南方印紋陶的常見例子。香港早期陶器其實像中國南方地區一樣，也從新石器時代早期（約公元前4500—4000年）、新石器時代中期（約公元前4000—2500年）、新石器時代晚期（約公元前2500—1500年），發展至青銅器時代（約公元前1500—200年），最後下及漢代（公元前206—公元220年），充份反映出香港與華南地區在文化上是一脈相承的。

香港印紋陶可以分砂質粗陶、泥質軟陶和硬陶三大類，其中以粗陶佔最大量。粗陶的胎呈灰黑或赤褐色，部份陶片的內外面敷有陶衣，或祇見於一面。雖然出土的粗陶數量龐大，但它們的胎質鬆脆，容易磨損，況且碎片的體積細小，實在難以辨認器面上的紋飾，目前可以確認的絕大部份是繩紋，其次是網紋或方格紋，葉脈紋、曲折紋、條紋和蓆紋。雲雷紋、三角紋、菱格紋，同心重圈紋和長方格紋則較少。這些粗陶片屬於新石器時代後期，應該是香港最早期的印紋陶器。

軟陶見於很多遺址，出土的數量遠少於粗陶，胎身較輕和較薄，呈淺褐、淺紅或灰色。除三角紋和麻點紋外，粗陶上的印紋均出現於軟陶，但繩紋和蓆紋較少，菱格紋則佔多數。

硬陶的胎身多呈淺灰色，它們的出土數量最少。在大嶼山的沙螺灣和石壁東灣、長洲的南灣、大鬼灣和西灣等遺址找不到硬陶，或發現的硬陶片十分稀少。因此關係，硬陶上的印紋類別是有限的，它們是網紋、夔紋、菱格形、戳印紋和米字紋。戳印紋祇見於涠洲、馬灣東灣仔、南丫島的沙埔村和大嶼山的白芒。夔紋祇見於南丫島的蘆鬚城、深灣、鮪魚灣、沙埔村和大灣，大嶼山的蟹地灣、白芒、萬角咀、赤鱗角和石壁東灣，長洲的大鬼灣，以及新界的龍鼓上灘和馬灣的東灣仔。米字紋則見於新界龍鼓上灘和大嶼山赤鱗角的深灣村。除上述外，硬陶的紋飾還有曲折紋、葉脈紋、雲雷紋和篋紋。

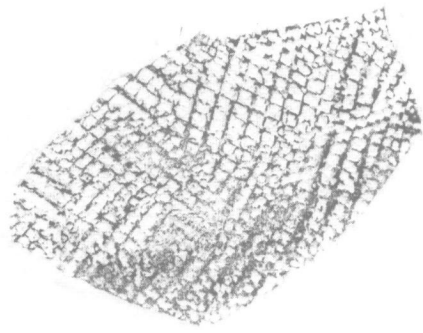
蟹地灣下層文化堆積、湧浪、石壁東灣、龍鼓上灘、赤鱗角的虎地灣和過路灣等遺址均出土了新石器時代早期的彩陶和低溫夾砂粗陶。雖然完整的陶器還未發現，但陶片上的繩紋是明顯可辨的，而每個遺址都有這類早期印紋遺物。

在赤鱗角虎地灣和南丫島深灣則找到常見於新石器時代中期的印紋陶器。這時期的陶器除拍印繩紋外，還在器身上部附刻紋飾，一些更在口沿內刻上波浪紋。利用篋形工具在肩部刻波浪紋其實是這時期的普遍現象。其他幾何紋有半圈紋，圓圈麻點紋和篋齒紋，大多以橫弦線分隔每行紋飾組合。發展至新石器時代中晚期，葉脈紋、同心重圈紋和麻點紋漸趨流行，器物主要是長直頸、矮圈足的泥質軟陶罐，它們的腹部拍印繩紋和麻點紋，頸部則刻有其他紋飾。這些陶器發現於湧浪和沙螺灣遺址。

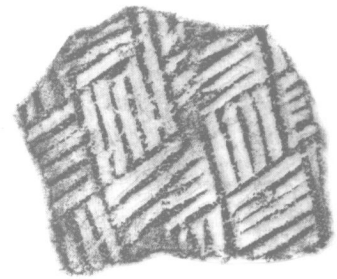
新石器時代晚期的泥質軟陶出現較多款式的印紋，例如蘆鬚城出土的陶器便有網紋、葉脈紋和曲折紋。鮪魚灣和大鬼灣遺址也有菱格紋和雲雷紋陶器。



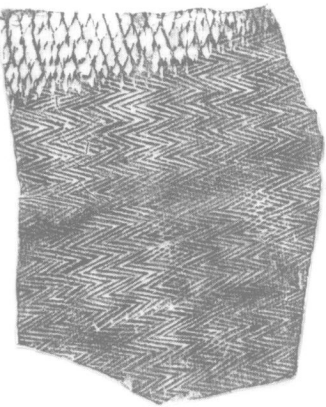
縲紋



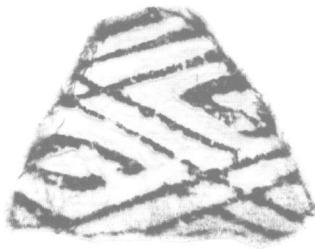
網紋或方格紋



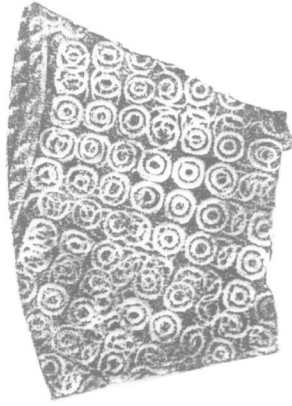
蓆紋



曲折紋



菱格紋



重圈紋



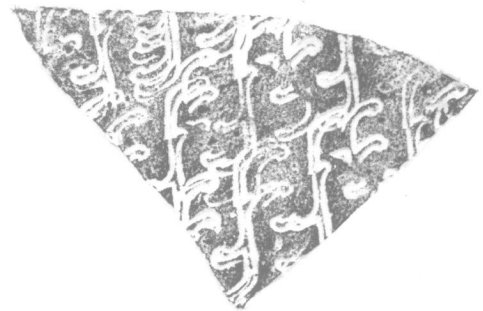
同心重圈紋



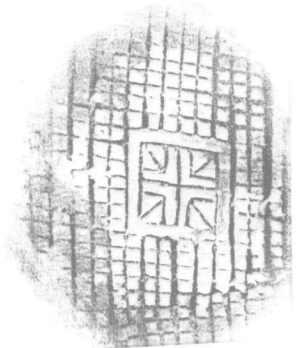
漩渦紋



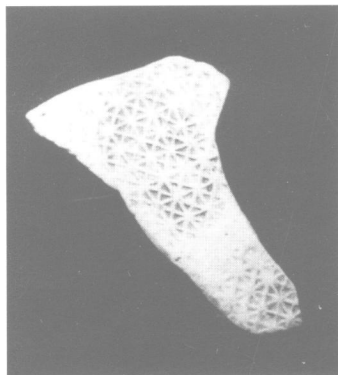
葉脈紋



夔紋



戳印紋

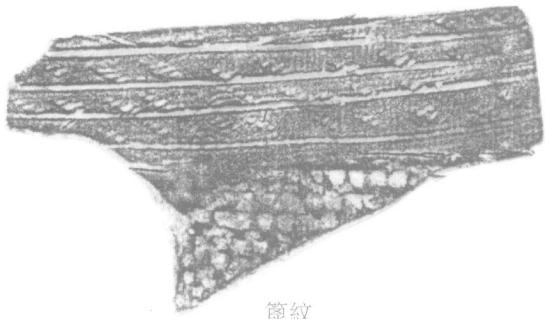


米字紋 (Archaeological Investigations on Chek Lap Kok Island, p. 240)

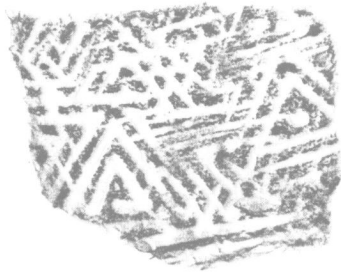


麻點紋

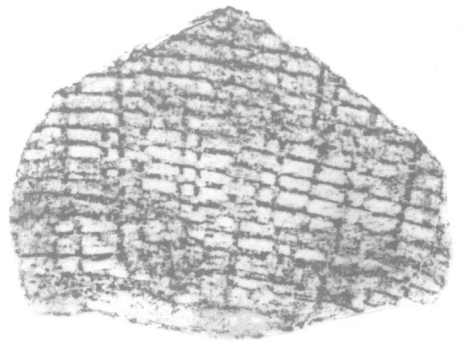
圖二 香港印紋陶器常見紋飾



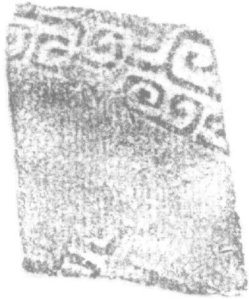
篾紋



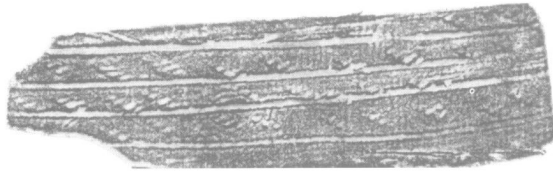
三角紋



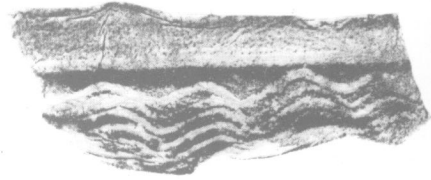
長方格紋



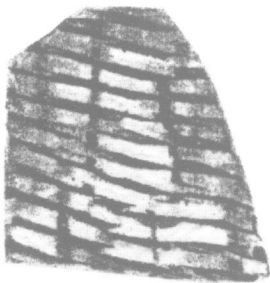
雲雷紋



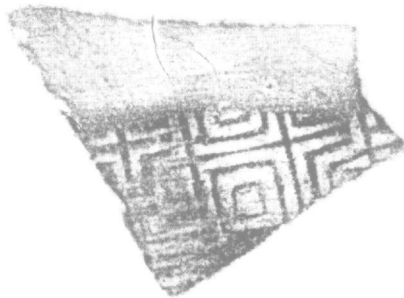
條紋



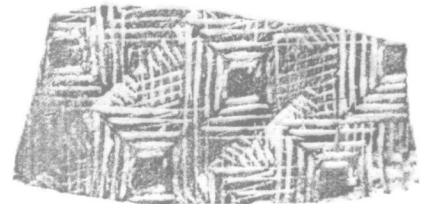
波浪紋



籃紋



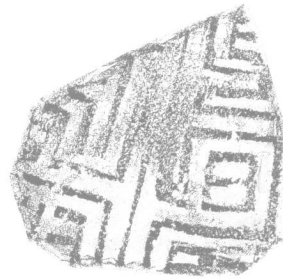
回字紋



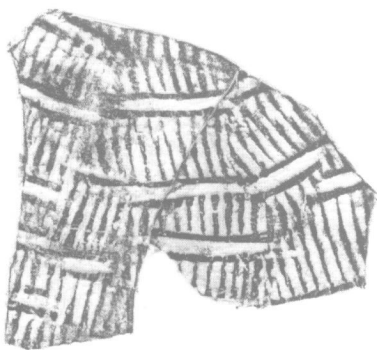
重回字對角十字紋



凹凸菱塊紋



多層窗格紋



間斷斜條紋



貝齒紋 (《香港考古學會會刊》，第五期，頁31)

圖二 香港印紋陶器常見紋飾

夔紋是青銅器時代最富特色的拍印紋飾，其他流行花紋是曲折紋、菱格紋、三角紋、雲雷紋、同心重圈紋和葉脈紋。硬陶是這時期的產品；在它們的幾何印紋中，夔紋和網紋常見組合一起。沙埔村、大浪灣、蘆鬚城、大鬼灣均發現這時期的器物。至於香港漢代遺址出土的印紋陶，數量很少，它們主要拍印戳印紋和米字紋。漢代以後，印紋陶差不多停止生產了。

根據目前資料，在香港發現的完整印紋陶器實在稀少，而可以復原的器物也是很少量的。它們主要是陶罐，敞口居多。從器形和紋飾可以探知陶器的年代，但由於缺乏完整器物，我們的研究祇可集中在紋飾方面，希望能從中了解到這些印紋的發展和真正意義。

遠古時候，中國人對魚、鳥、蛙、蛇、龜等動物產生崇拜。由於缺乏生物學知識，他們驚歎鳥能在天空飛翔；蛙、蛇、龜在水裡和地上均可生存；魚能夠主宰海洋世界。這些都是人類缺少的超自然力量，於是中國人將牠們奉為“圖騰”，這些崇拜物後來演變成保護神。各民族部落有他們個別的自然圖騰；在藝術上，他們將圖騰視作徽幟；這些徽幟可能是寫實的動物形象、抽象圖畫、又或者是刻劃符號和象形文字。由於古代民族信奉圖騰是他們的始祖，除非在特殊的祭祀場合，他們均不會殺害這些保護神。

在圖騰信仰下，不少自然景象和動物被設計成神秘的紋飾和圖案。這些圖騰藝術在古人心目中一直是具有吉祥意義的。在圖騰信仰衰落的時期，它們的形象會愈來愈抽象，而最終演變成幾何圖案。圖騰崇拜與生殖崇拜其實是分不開的。自新石器時代開始，男女的生殖器和乳房等性象徵便以藝術手法表達出來。它們會以象形、寓意、想像等形式出現在陶器等工藝品，所以一些動物形象或自然景象會被視作男女性的象徵，這些紋飾又像圖騰藝術一樣，由寫實演變為抽象幾何紋，而隨著時間的流逝，紋飾的寫實原貌已不易辨認出來。

繩紋

在文字還未出現的時候，中國人便利用編織的繩來結繩紀事或傳達訊息。繩紋是最常見的印紋，差不多發現於所有遺址，其中又以夾砂繩紋粗陶片最多。它們拍印在整個器身或祇局限在器身的下半部，留下素面口沿。在一些器物上，器身上半部是拍印橫或直排繩紋，而下半部則拍印不規則或交疊的繩紋。此外，拍印繩紋與刻劃的波浪紋和橫弦紋是常見組合；這些刻紋集中在器物的上半部以至口沿內部。普遍地飾於罐、鉢和釜等直口，圓底，無圈足的較大型器皿。

網紋

網紋或稱方格紋。它與繩紋一樣，出現在很多中國的早期陶器。目前復原的網紋陶器是來自萬角咀、深灣和蟹地灣，其他遺址均出土網紋陶片。它可以是主體花紋，又可陪襯其他紋飾，與夔紋、菱格紋或篋齒紋拼成組合。網紋或方格紋普遍拍印在器皿的下半部。它們不一定是垂直排列的，也會作四十五度斜排。

顧名思義，網紋的形狀完全像捕魚的網，或載魚的魚簍和魚身上的鱗片。我們在中國北方出土的新石器時代晚期彩陶器，便找到不少繪畫的網格圖案。它可能只是用來裝飾陶器，但另一方面也可能是魚鳥的變體，既象徵男，又象徵女，代表繁殖多產。

魚圖騰藝術曾經出現於西安半坡的彩陶文化。從半坡彩陶的魚紋演變，可以看出三角形、菱形、網格、大小三角、三角圓點、交叉斜線等，原來是抽象化或退化的魚頭、魚眼或魚身(圖三)。

魚是圖騰崇拜物，也是女性象徵。魚的三角形或菱形輪廓與女陰相似；魚腹多子，象徵強盛的生殖力。古籍《詩經》便借用魚去隱語兩性歡愛。《易·井》爻辭：“井谷射鮒。”李鼎祚集解指出“魚為陰物。”《太平御覽》卷九三五引《淮南子》：“月者，陰之宗也，是以月毀則魚腦滅。”這些記載指出“魚”、“月”是陰物的象徵，也就是象徵女性。

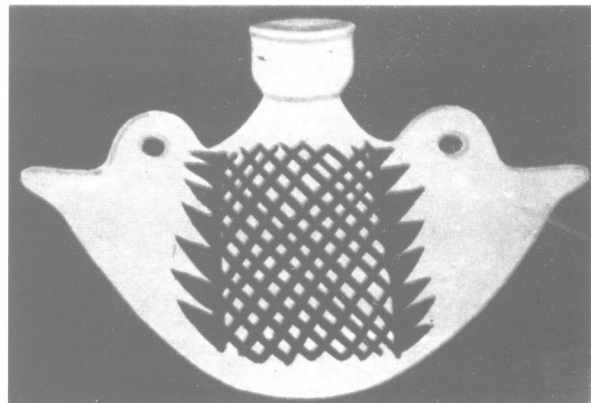
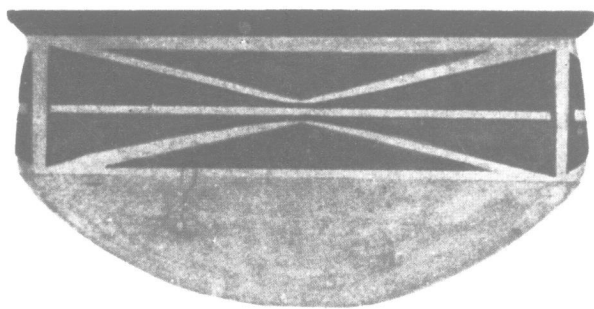
太陽和月亮是古人最普遍的崇拜對象。圓圈內的網紋有可能是象徵太陽。太陽代表男性、陽物。根據古代神話，太陽是由神鳥背負運行的。《山海經·大荒東經》：“一日方至，一日方出，皆載于鳥。”《淮南子·精神訓》又指出“日中有踞鳥。”“踞鳥”是三足鳥；一般理解是“踞”即“脰”，“脰”是男陽具，“三足”的意思便是鳥的兩足和一男生殖器。因此，鳥象徵陽具、男性。王逸解注：“鳥者，陽物也。”《楚辭·自悲》：“鳥獸驚而失群兮。”

河南廟底溝的新石器時代彩陶繪畫了形象鮮明的三足鳥和其他鳥紋(圖四)。這些鳥紋後來又演變至抽象圖案，鳥的身體簡化為弧形。而抽象的鳥紋又看似寫實的花瓣、樹葉和漁網。

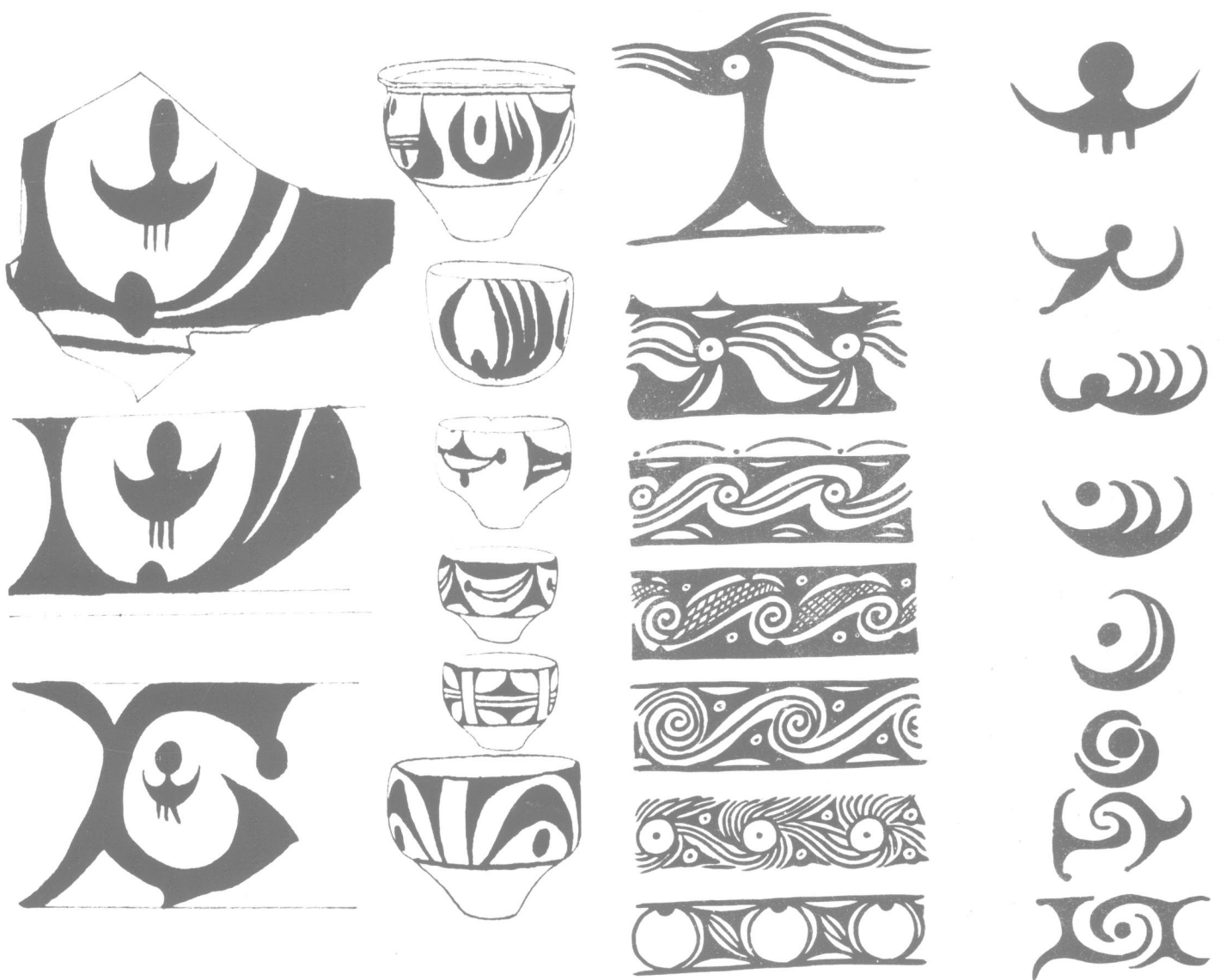
蓆紋

蓆紋是編織物圖案，編織物也是人類最早期的工藝品之一。在香港，除蘆鬚城出土較多的蓆紋夾砂粗陶片外，其他遺址祇出土數片。

蓆紋不像網紋，明顯地它沒有男女性徵的意義。不過若從蓆的用途來看，它是男女坐臥的地方，也是男女交媾的地方。這種用途便隱喻著人類對生育的要求。兩性的結合帶來生命，也帶來農業豐收、禽畜興旺的促進作用。



圖三 半坡類型彩陶碗及瓶
(鄭為：《中國彩陶藝術》，頁1、5)



圖四 三足鳥

(王大有：《龍鳳文化源流》，頁310)

圖四 彩陶鳥紋

(顧方松：《鳳鳥圖案研究》，圖版三)

實際上，古代代表“陰”“陽”的符號對線紋的組合是有啟發作用的。“陰”是兩虛橫線（--），
“陽”是一橫線（—）。《淮南子·地形訓》也說：“至陰生牝，至陽生牡。”《易·系辭下》認為“乾，陽物也；坤，陰物也。”《易·系辭上》進一步指出“夫乾，其靜也專（專），其動也直，是以大生焉。夫坤，其靜也翕（合），其動也辟（開），是以廣生焉。”“乾”是指男性生殖器，在不同情況下有下軟（專）和勃起（直）的生理現象。而“坤”是女性生殖器，也在不同情況下出現陰戶開和合的生理變化。因此橫線（—）代表勃起的陽具，虛線（--）象徵開辟的陰戶。《系辭》於是強調“天地姻媾，萬物化醇；男女構精，萬物化生。”

若陶器上的印紋是多條的平行線，包括橫實線和橫虛線，實線是象徵“陽”、虛線便代表“陰”。若紋飾是橫實線和直實線的組合，則“陰”“陽”的區別是較難分辨的，看來橫線大多是指“陰”，直線比喻“陽”，因為陽具的象形字是直立的。基於這些性徵的寓意，由小點或小圈組成的虛線紋便可能是“陰”的象徵了。因此關係，線條的橫直虛實便蘊含陰和陽、天和地、男和女等相交相生的意義。

曲折紋

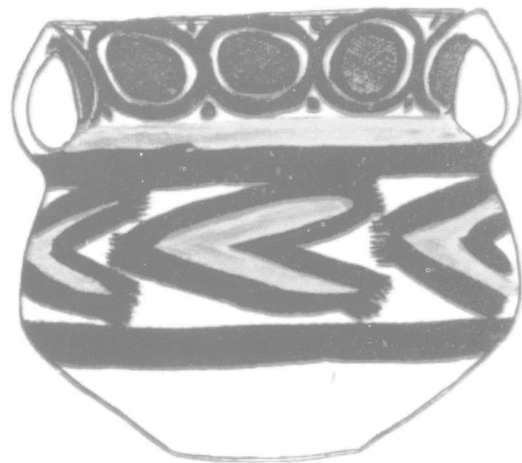
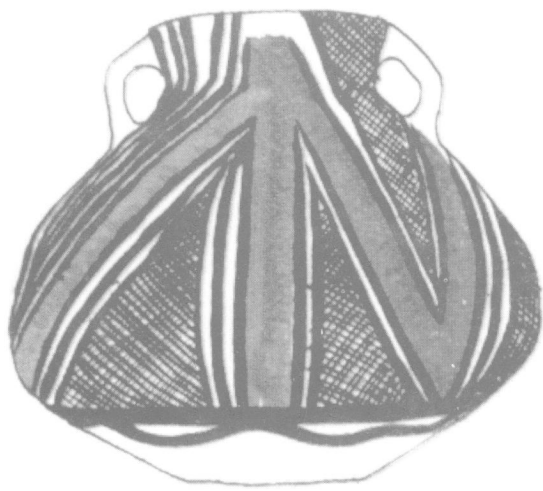
曲折紋出現於很多遺址的陶器，大多佈滿陶罐的器身，並多垂直排列，但它較少見於硬陶，而不及網紋那般流行；它也較少與其他紋飾組合，祇有一件在深灣出土的器物才飾曲折紋配雲雷紋。²其實深灣陶器的曲折紋是較深明的，深度約有3至5毫米，紋飾也較大。另一件罕見的例子是蘆鬚城出土的軟陶盤，器外素面，而內中央飾曲折紋。³

曲折紋是太陽紋的化身。它原本由連續的三角線組成；可見於新石器時代的半坡類型彩陶。這紋飾的前身是三角形魚紋，逐漸簡化成三角形和三角線條。曲折紋一般飾在陶罐器身；從側面去看陶罐，曲折紋像起伏有序的曲線；若從高處去看陶罐的口部和腹部，則圓形的口部好像太陽，曲折紋變成太陽的光芒。星狀花紋亦見於廟底溝和大汶口類型彩陶，它們的造型明顯地是太陽紋（圖五）。

在另一方面，曲折紋可能是蛙紋衍生出來的。新石器時代的馬家窯類型彩陶出現寫實的蛙紋，清楚地看到蛙的四肢和爪。半山和馬廠類型彩陶的蛙紋已開始簡化；垂直的線條象徵蛙的身體，蛙的四肢變成有爪的曲折紋。這種紋飾後來再進一步簡化，令到垂直線的蛙身消失了，餘留象徵蛙肢的三角形線條。這些曲線最後再沒有青蛙的形狀，而成為簡單的幾何圖形（圖六）。曲折紋帶有“陽”（太陽、男性徵）和“陰”（蛙神、女性徵）兩種富趣味性的含義。若將它獨立來看，它祇不過是裝飾性的幾何圖紋。



圖五 廟底溝及大汶口類型彩陶
（鄭為，同上，頁39、171）



圖六 半山及馬廠類型彩陶罐
(鄭為·同上·頁111、129)



圖六 半山及馬廠類型彩陶罐
(鄭為，同上，頁111、129)

蛙是女陰的象徵。古代傳說蟾蜍住於月亮，金烏飛於太陽。古代神話中的女媧，是創造人類的女神。“媧”與“娃”、“蛙”相通，因此女媧是人格化的蛙神，女媧和蛙神崇拜即是對女性生殖器的崇拜。在中國西南方流行的青銅鼓，鼓面的中央常鑄有光芒的太陽紋，鼓面邊沿則有浮雕蛙飾，兩者顯然象徵陰陽相合，表示祈求降雨、祈求豐收的懇切願望。

曲折紋的變體是波浪紋。波浪紋沒有尖角，形狀很像流動的水波。對古人來說，河水或海水的世界是神秘的，它是水產食物的來源。魚游於水中，“魚水之歡”象徵“男女歡愛”，波浪紋顯然也蘊含生命力量的意義。

菱格紋

菱格紋主要用於泥質軟陶和硬陶，有橫排和直排兩種，亦可分成四類別，即單線、雙線、三線和四線菱格紋。菱格紋可成獨立的紋飾，也可配網紋，或同時配網紋及夔紋。馬灣、沙洲和沙埔村均出土這類印紋陶罐。⁴

菱格紋是網紋的變體。網紋可能是簡化的魚體或鳥身。因此菱格紋也具有同樣的隱喻，象徵女性的魚或男性的鳥。不過嚴格來說，菱格紋是由兩個三角形組成的。在金文中▽是“帝”字。

𠂇（且）是“祖”字，象徵男性陽具；▽是“帝”字，也即“妣”，象徵女性陰戶。女性生殖器官是生命的始源；沒有女陰，不會誕生生命，所以“帝”字後來成為主宰天地萬物的領袖。三角紋是女性性徵，菱格紋是三角紋的組合，因此它也會是女陰的符號。它與網紋或夔紋一起，象徵陰陽和合，天地相交。

漩渦紋

漩渦紋見於軟陶和硬陶器，主要發現於深灣⁵和鮪魚灣。⁶它的形狀近似重圈紋。實際上，很多紋飾類似漩渦紋。除重圈紋外，還有螺旋紋、雲雷紋、回渦紋及鉤連紋。

不同形狀的鉤連紋來自抽象的蛙紋，當中的蛙肢變成橫直的線條。螺旋紋也是從退化的蛙紋產生的；這裡的蛙肢不是橫直線，而是盤轉的弧形。半山類型彩陶的漩渦紋似是蛙紋的變體；每個蛙紋連合起來，做成曲折紋，但蛙紋最後退化到四肢軀體不成形狀，曲折紋演變成波浪狀的漩渦紋，弧線是蛙肢的延續（圖七）。這些紋飾經過很長時間，由寫實圖像演化至幾何紋，雖然失去了原來面貌，但它們的女陰象徵還是存在的。

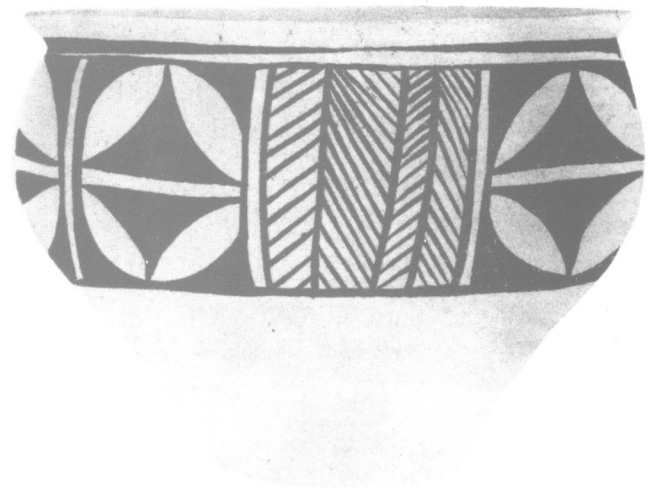
從馬家窯類型的彩陶來看，漩渦紋是來自簡化的鳥紋，充滿活力的渦線其實是羽毛狀的翅膀和鳥體。鳥和蛙的象徵意義截然不同；鳥表示男性，蛙代表女性。雖然漩渦紋的含義不明確，但它表達出生育繁殖的自然力量。



圖七 半山類型彩陶罐，新石器時代
(鄭為·同上·頁93)



圖八 馬廠類型彩陶罐
(鄭為·同上·頁139)



圖九 廟底溝類型彩陶
(鄭為·同上·頁32)

同心重圈紋

重圈紋拍印在軟陶和硬陶器上，有五至九條圈線，大多重疊，做成不規則樣貌。目前復原的重圈紋器皿是在大灣和湧浪出土的。早期的重圈紋行列整齊，由條紋分隔。圓圈紋和雙線圓圈紋都是這類別的幾何印紋；它們可配網紋，將網紋印在器底，而在上部的圓圈紋則排列有序。

“日”的象形字是圈線內加大圓點，它與重圈紋相似。⊙的圖形又像女性的乳房，實際上它在不少地方被視為女性生殖器官的符號，尤其是同心圈形更像女陰。新石器時代的馬廠型彩陶罐出現同心橢圓形圖案，它們是從花卉葉構思出來的，但很清楚地表現出女陰的形像（圖八）。

重圈紋看來像充滿光芒生命力的太陽，但也暗喻對女性生殖能力的崇拜。無論是太陽或女陰，它可能代表生生不息，萬物繁衍的吉祥理念。

葉脈紋

葉脈紋的流行程度不及曲折紋和網紋，同時甚少見於硬陶，但它的用途不局限於某類型陶器。這種印紋形似葉的紋理，所以通稱葉脈紋。鳥紋是新石器時代廟底溝類型彩陶的主要特徵。簡化了的鳥紋變成弧形和弧線的花瓣紋，又或隨意畫作斜直線條，近似葉紋（圖九）。這類線紋便好像葉脈紋，有些樣子更像鳥的羽毛。葉紋和羽毛紋均是由鳥紋演化出來的，因此它們可能與太陽或男性力量扯上關係。

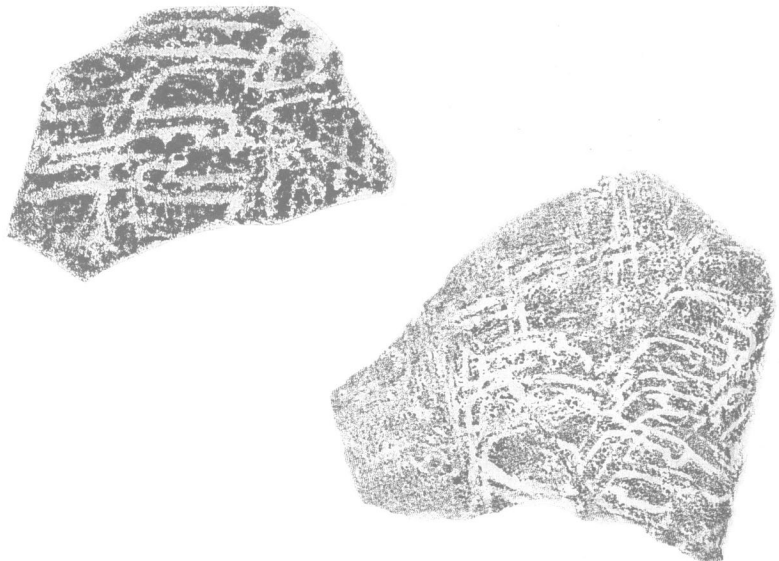
夔紋

早於一九三零年代，芬神父於南丫島發現夔紋陶器。⁷ 一直以來，外國學者稱這種獨特花紋為雙“f”紋。自此以後，蘆鬚城、大浪灣、深灣、蟹地灣、東灣仔、大灣、沙埔村、赤蠟角和萬角咀均出土拍印夔紋的陶器和陶片，然而出土的完整陶器則較少。夔紋主要用於硬陶，屬於青銅時代產品。根據記錄，祇在蘆鬚城和萬角咀發現極少量印夔紋粗陶（圖十）。完整的夔紋陶器出土於蟹地灣和赤蠟角，主要是直口鼓腹圓底罐。

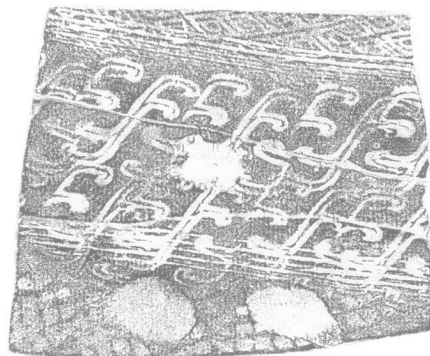
夔紋通常與網紋和菱格紋組合。網紋印在器皿的下半部，夔紋在器腹以上，也會混合菱格紋。在夔紋與網紋或菱格紋之間多印有幾條弦紋，作為分界線（圖十一）。在拍印技巧上，夔紋分陰紋（凹紋）和陽紋（凸紋）兩種，其中以陰紋最普遍。此外，夔紋的形狀有圓頭的，也有尖頭的；一些頭部造成鉤狀，一些則像圓珠形。

至今在蟹地灣共發現六件完整陶罐和半件陶罐是印上夔紋的，這些陶罐在頸部飾篋點紋或網紋，底部拍印網紋，腹部有四至五行夔紋。此外，這些夔紋出現疊印的情況，使到紋飾模糊不清。五件器皿的夔紋向左傾，一件則斜向右方。

蘆鬚城沒有出土完整夔紋器，但遺



圖十 夔紋夾砂陶片（拓本），出土於蘆鬚城和萬角咀



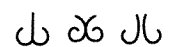
圖十一 夔紋、網紋和菱格紋陶片（拓本），出土於蘆鬚城


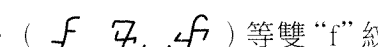
下了大量夔紋陶片。這裡的夔紋是尖角的，它與網紋、菱格紋組合一起。它本身是直立形狀，沒有向左右傾斜。大浪灣也沒有完整的夔紋器，祇發現少量夔紋硬陶片。在口沿飾有篋點，口沿以下是一行夔紋，然後印菱格紋。



在深灣遺址祇找到幾件夔紋陶片，其中一片是較特別的，因為它的夔紋像單“f”字母，而不是雙“f”。同樣地，萬角咀也發現幾件夔紋陶片，最罕有的是一件加嵌兩行碎石；三角形碎石嵌在網紋內，在網紋以下的部位是夔紋。

夔紋的名稱來自商周青銅器。若仔細地去看，銅器上的夔紋與印紋陶的夔紋是不完全相同的。夔是指“一足小龍”，古越族自稱“龍子”，他們一般信奉“蛇圖騰”。傳說中的龍其實是蛇的化身。劉向《說苑·奉使》記載：“（越人）翦髮文身，爛然成章，以象龍子者，將避水神也。”越人紋身的圖樣仿像龍身，借龍的威勢而不受蛟龍及其他動物傷害。許慎《說文解字·蟲部》對南方“蠻”族有以下解釋：“南蠻，蛇種”。越族的圖騰藝術因而夾雜龍蛇式樣。雙“f”紋的形狀似小蛇、小蟲，所以一些學者美稱雙“f”紋為小龍紋，即“夔紋”。先秦時代有“夔國”，這夔人不屬於越族，而是一支楚族，位於四川和湖北交界。因此夔族與印紋陶的夔紋沒有關係。

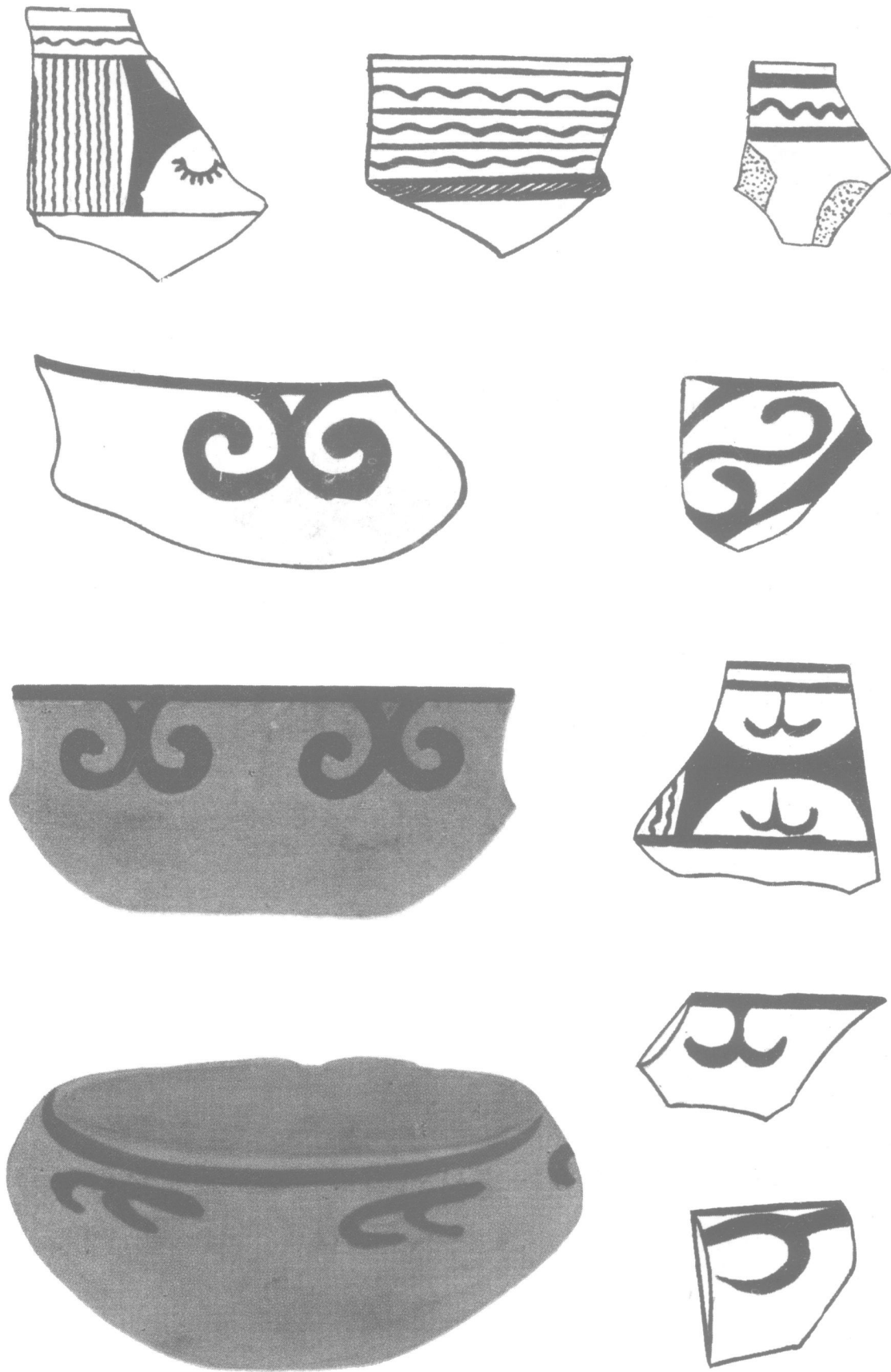
蛇是充滿神秘力量的動物。因為牠能在水陸自由活動，隨處生存；牠也能蛻皮自新，復原生命。自新石器時代開始，蛇已是受崇拜的對象。蛇的樣子像男性陽具，因此，它自然地成為男性生殖器崇拜的象徵。龍的設計源自蛇體，所以龍表示男性、陽物。古代神話便把女媧伏羲造成人首蛇身或龍軀，兩者交尾產生子孫。因此關係，蛇紋很容易成為廣泛流行的紋飾。

古代蛇字是“巳”，“巳”的象形早已在新石器時代大司空村類型的彩陶出現。這些器物上繪有  等符號或紋飾（圖十二），它們的形狀類似男性的陰莖和睪丸。這種象徵陽具的蛇紋後來稱為“卷雲紋”。雙“f”紋（夔紋）不像卷雲紋，因此它不可能是這種“蛇紋”。

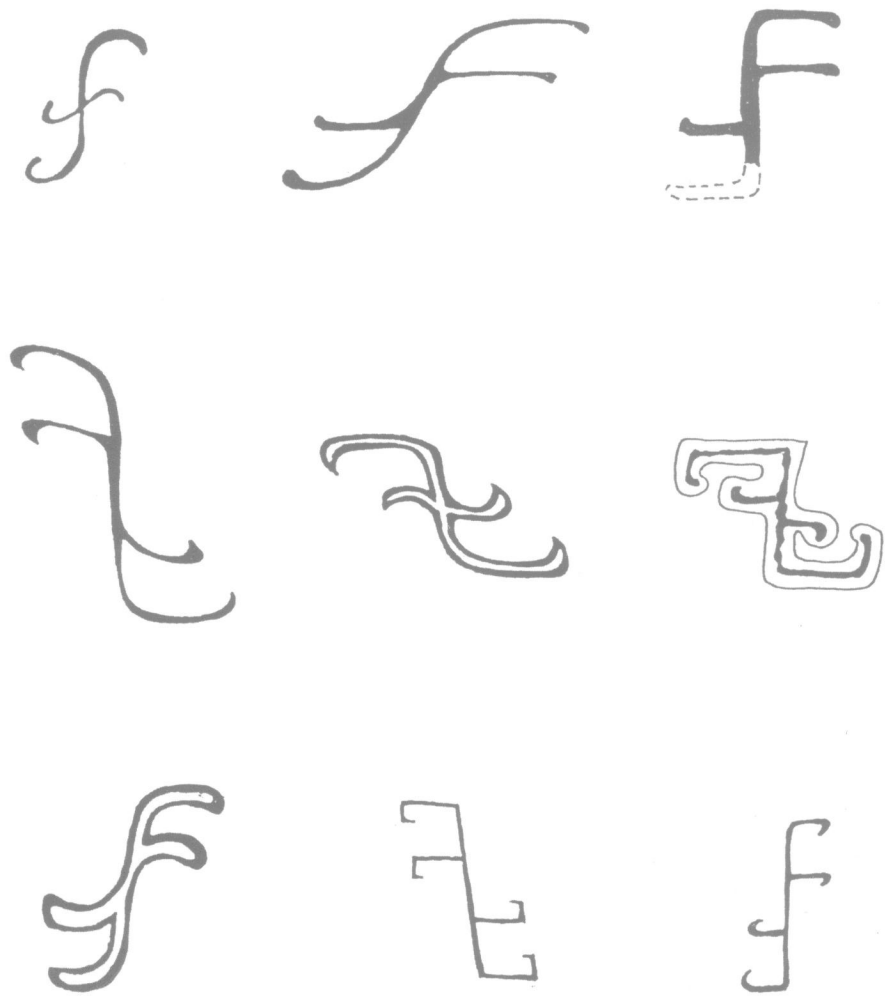
古越族除對蛇崇拜外，對鳥也有圖騰信仰。古代鳥紋有很多抽象變體，例如 , 這些變體均象徵展翅的飛鳥。《吳越備史》記載：“中和辰巳間，越中獸有聖經云，有羅平鳥主越人禍福，敬則福，慢則禍，于是民間悉圖其形以禱之。”《水經注》卷40記載：“有鳥來，為之耘，春拔草根，秋啄其穢，是以縣官禁民不得妄害此鳥，犯則刑無赦。”鳥能協助越人在田間除草、滅蟲、殺鼠和肥田。所以越人一方面崇拜蛇，另一方面喜愛鳥。（）等雙“f”紋是否象徵展開雙翅的鳥（圖十三）？

此外，蛙紋亦可發展成幾何形狀的回紋（）（圖十四），又可變做萬字紋（）（圖十五），象徵蛙的四肢。這些蛙紋可否再退化成像雙“f”紋的變體？

雙“f”紋看似一種有頭和尾部的兩肢動物。蛇沒有肢爪，龍有四肢，夔有一肢，因此雙“f”紋不明顯表示蛇、龍和夔的形象。驟眼來看，它較接近一隻展開雙翅的飛鳥。鳥、蛇、龍均代表男性性徵；雙“f”紋常與象徵陰性的菱格紋或網格紋一起，正符合陰陽相合的生殖意義。因此關係，這種雙“f”夔紋可以更貼切地稱做“夔鳥紋”。



圖十二 大司空村類型彩陶
 (鄭為·同上·頁44)



圖十三 香港印紋陶上的夔紋



圖十四 馬廠類型彩陶罐
(鄭為，同上，頁154)



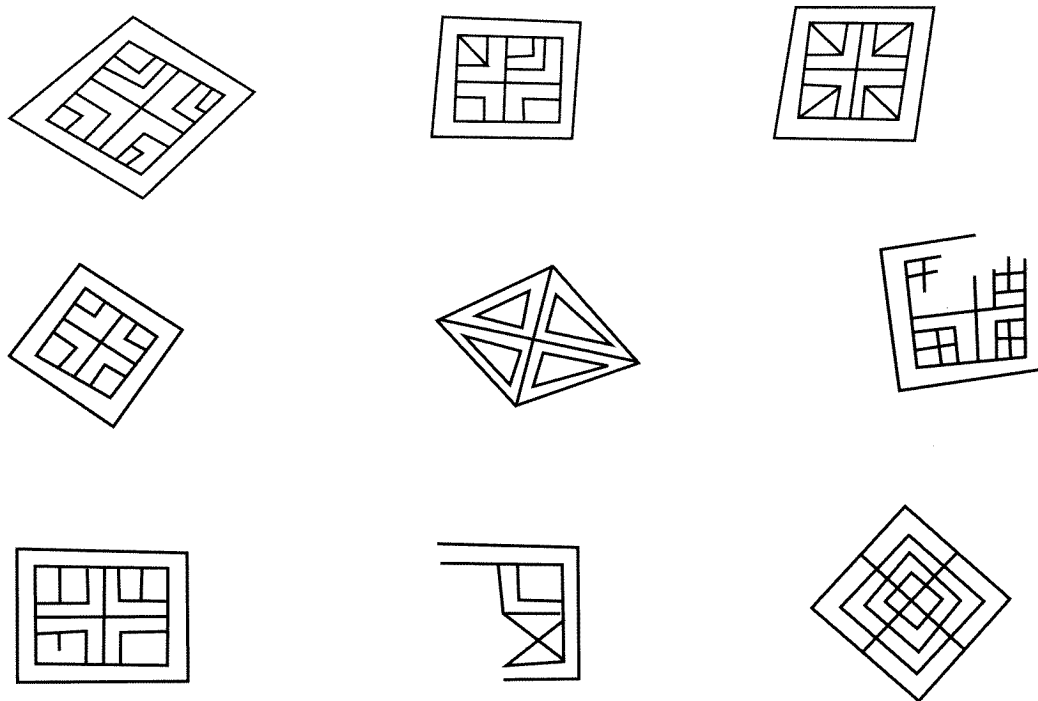
圖十五 馬廠類型彩陶罐
(鄭為，同上，頁151)

戳印紋

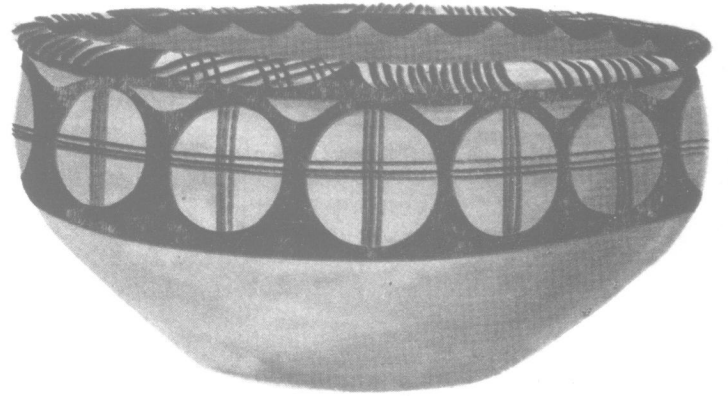
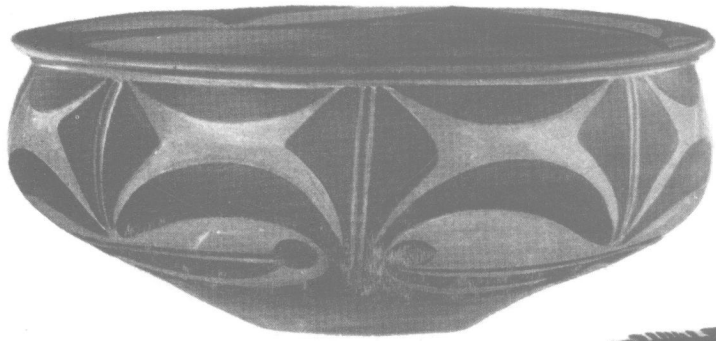
戳印紋主要見於中國南方地區的陶器，尤其是廣東和湖南。戳印紋硬陶器發現於白芒、潯西洲和東灣仔遺址。⁸ 這紋飾有方形、菱形和圓形。香港的菱形和方形戳印紋則是廣東湖南的風格，而圓戳印紋至今在香港還未有出土。戳印紋的款式多至九種（圖十六），主要印在硬陶器的上半部，而下半部是素面的；每件器皿不會印有兩款以上的戳印紋。

戳印紋不單祇用於陶器，並裝飾在銅器和銅鏡。它大抵流行於西漢，至東漢晚期便消失了。白芒遺址沒有出土完整的戳印紋陶器。在潯西洲則找到 41 件戳印紋陶片，以及 7 件較完整的陶器；這些陶器是短頸，直腹，微敞口，平底；紋飾集中在器身上部，器身下部素面無紋；主體紋飾是菱格紋或網紋，然後附加戳印紋。東灣仔和潯西洲的戳印紋是相近的。

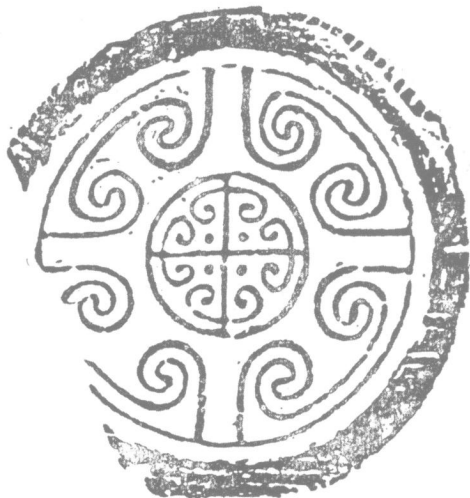
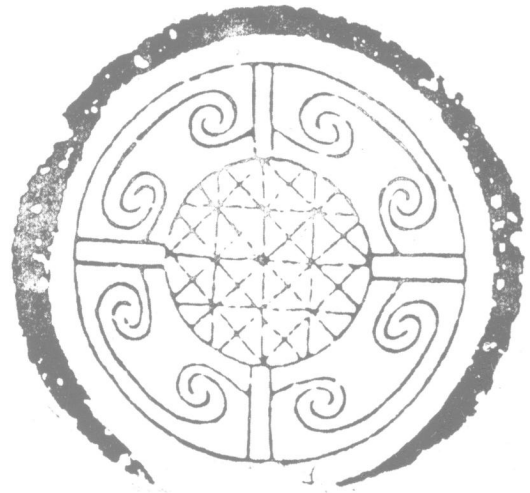
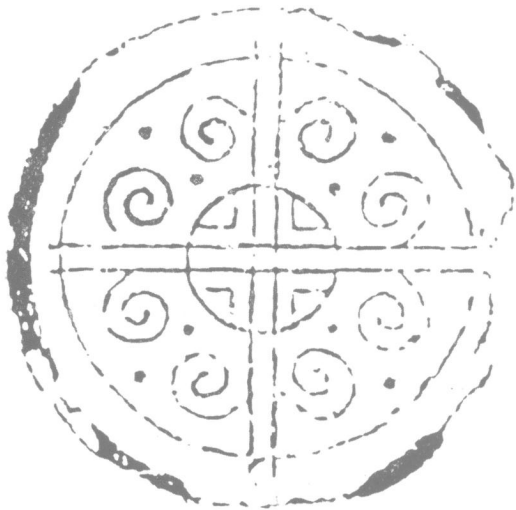
戳印紋雖然有多種款式，但它們離不開太陽和鳥的象徵意義。戳印紋基本上是“冏紋”；冏字表示光明，戳印紋內中央的線條或渦紋是比喻太陽的光芒。不過根據新石器時代彩陶的鳥紋演變，這些中央紋飾主要是退化的鳥紋變體（圖十七）。發展至秦漢時期，大量的瓦當印上類似戳印紋的裝飾；瓦當的中央是圓圈，圈內有曲折紋、三角紋、漩渦紋或葉脈紋（圖十八）；圓圈外一般裝飾卷雲紋或連雲紋。卷雲紋是蛇的象形，也是男性生殖器的象徵。圓圈表示太陽，圈內的各種紋理，如鳥紋、魚紋、蛙紋等變體，均隱喻陰陽。所以瓦當的整體紋飾代表天、地、陰、陽的生殖力量。戳印紋像是小型的瓦當，附印在陶器上，一方面提升裝飾效果，另一方面增加花紋的吉祥意義。



圖十六 戳印紋




(圖十七) 廟底溝類型彩陶
(鄭為，同上，頁 35)



圖十八 瓦當

(徐錫台：《周秦漢瓦當》，頁 72、122、134、234)

米字紋



米字紋在香港印紋陶是少有的；龍鼓上灘出土兩片，⁹在赤鱸角深灣村發現一片。¹⁰米字紋是屬於一種抽象鳥紋(圖十九)。在時間上，米字紋是印紋陶的最後發展階段，它晚於夔紋，而大概與戳印紋同一時期。古代神話指出太陽由鳥來負載運行，因此太陽與鳥成為最流行的裝飾題材。抽象化的鳥會變成  形，雙鳥會簡化至雙“s”形、十字形、花瓣形或卷雲形。若米字紋放於圓圈或方格內，正好表示太陽與鳥的神話。

結語

中國南方地區遺留大量印紋陶器，這些陶器的製作年代由數千年前新石器時代至二千年前的漢代。不同的南方地區在紋飾風格上也有本身的發展。廣東和廣西的印紋陶先由曲折紋，發展至夔紋，最後到米字紋。福建則從回紋(變體雷紋)，演變到方格紋，然後是蓆紋。江西的早期紋飾是網紋(方格紋)、曲折紋、圈點紋、雷紋，晚期出現米字紋。到了戰國晚期和秦漢時期，全國相繼統一，各地印紋陶的紋飾才趨向接近的風格。

繩紋是最普遍的印紋，也是歷史最長遠的。它的款式有粗繩紋、細繩紋和交錯繩紋，這些花紋顯然屬於印紋陶的初創時期，可遠溯至距今六千年的新石器時代，而一直流行至商周時期。隨後出現的紋飾也有一段長期的發展歷史，較流行的是網紋(方格紋)。方格紋的變化有雙線方格紋、雙線方格凸點紋。籃紋則屬於網紋的類別。此外，曲折紋、菱格紋、葉脈紋在新石器時代晚期亦相繼出現了。

到了西周晚期至戰國早期，這是幾何印紋的黃金階段，產生了富有特色的夔紋(雙“f”紋)，可惜香港發現的夔紋陶片並不豐富，其他流行紋飾有雲雷紋、菱形凸塊紋、方格凸塊紋、回字紋、鉤連紋等，它們的風格仿效青銅器花紋。

戰國晚期是印紋陶踏入衰落的階段。至漢代，產量逐漸減少，米字紋和戳印紋是這時候的代表紋飾，花紋愈趨簡化；米字紋會變成方格對角線紋  ，早期的曲折紋演化成水波紋。印紋陶的裝飾手法主要適合模製陶器，陶匠利用拍印花紋去

現的紋飾也有一段長期的發展歷史，較流行的是網紋(方格紋)。方格紋的變化有雙線方格紋、雙線方格凸點紋。籃紋則屬於網紋的類別。此外，曲折紋、菱格紋、葉脈紋在新石器時代晚期亦相繼出現了。



圖十九 馬廠類型彩陶罐
(鄭為，同上，頁136)

修飾不工整的器面。

自戰國時候開始，為增加產量，陶匠逐漸淘汰模製方法，改用輪製技術。輪製陶器的器身平滑，不需複雜紋飾去矯藏弱點。而利用陶印模去拍印花紋的方法，也不適用於大量生產的輪製陶器，簡單的劃弦紋、水波紋已足夠點綴這些製成品。在漢代後期，青瓷、綠釉陶漸趨流行，而刻劃紋亦取代印紋。印紋陶在東漢以後終於走上末路。

香港的印紋陶無疑地屬於廣東地區印紋陶系統，不同時代出現不同紋飾，因此拍印的花紋可以提供遺址年代的線索。不同紋飾代表不同意義，所以紋飾的個別意義給予我們研究香港先民生活的參考材料。

廣東已發現多個印紋陶窯址，而香港印紋陶的生產地在哪個地方，至今還沒法交出答案。無論香港先民是否原居民或外移民，無論香港印紋陶是否本地製造或從外輸入，香港早期文化都具有鮮明的廣東地區特色。

註釋

- 1 莫俊卿：“古代越人的拔牙習俗”，頁 306—323。
- 2 秦維廉：《南丫島深灣：考古遺址調查報告》，頁 152。
- 3 《香港考古學會會刊》，第七期（1976-1978），頁 23。
- 4 莫維廉：《南丫島深灣：考古遺址調查報告》，頁 141。
- 5 《香港考古學會會刊》，第九期（1980-1981），頁 18。
- 6 Finn, Daniel J., *Archaeological Finds on Lamma Island, near Hong Kong*, p. 180.
- 7 《香港考古學會會刊》，第十二期（1986-1988），頁 20。
- 8 《香港考古學會會刊》，第十三期（1989-1992），頁 18。
- 9 William Meacham, 1994, p. 240.
- 10 Pamela Rumball Rogers, et al., p. 84.

（圖版見頁 185）

衛奕信勳爵文物信託給予本研究計劃重大支持，謹此致謝。

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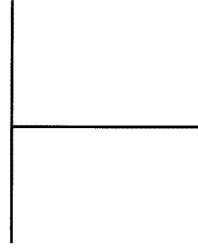
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圖版
Plates



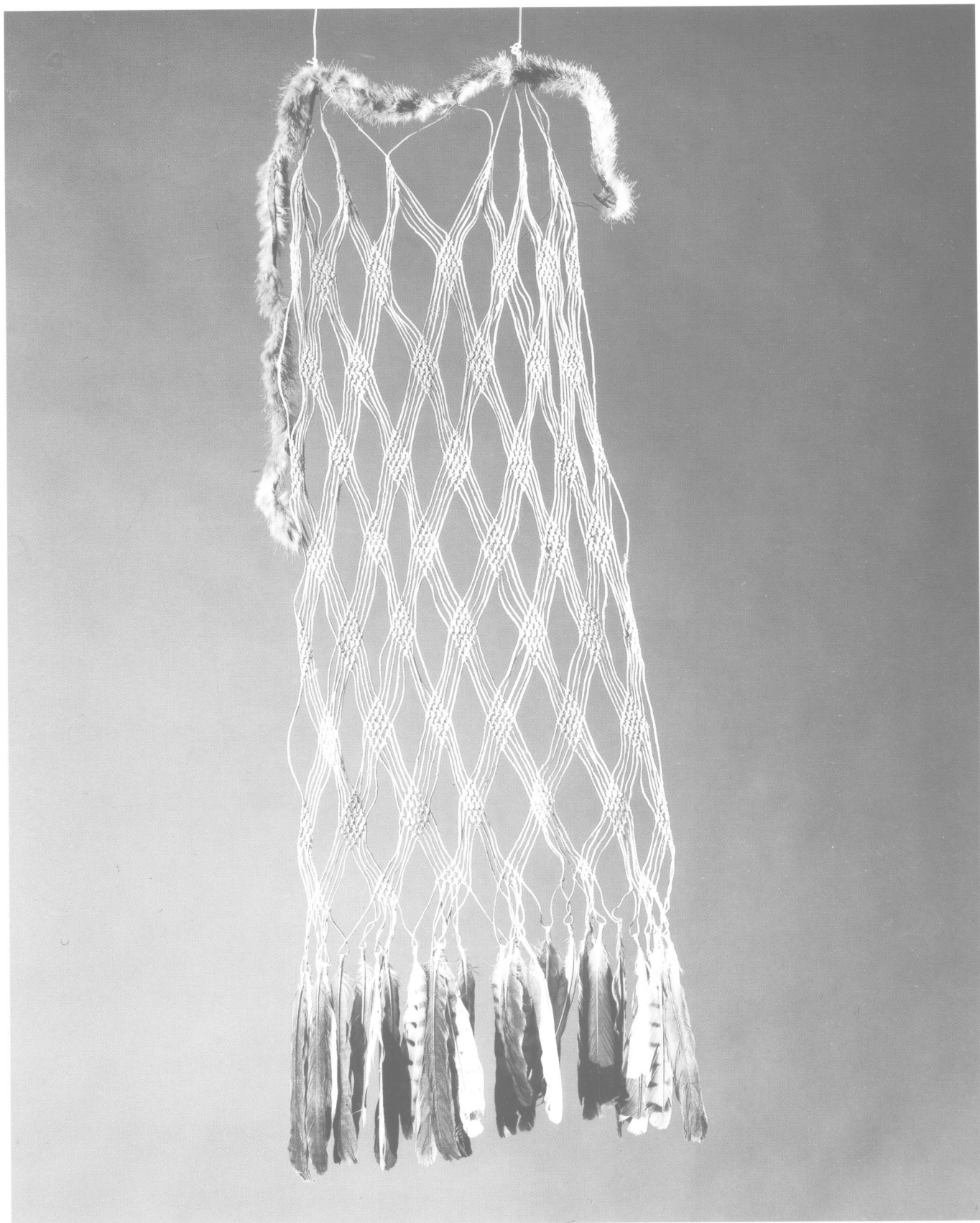


Fig. 1
Hupa regalia – open work headdress
(Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard
University)

圖一
Hupa 族跳舞衣飾
(哈佛大學皮博迪考古與民俗博物館)



Fig. 2
Photograph of Gash Village, Cape Fox, AK
(Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard
University)

圖二
阿拉斯加州土著 Cape Fox 族聚居的 Gash 村
(哈佛大學皮博迪考古與民俗博物館)



Fig. 3
Ceremony at Ketchikan to return Tlingit memorial pole in Civic Center
(Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University)

圖三
在市政中心 Ketchikan 舉行歸還 Tlingit 紀念柱的儀式
(哈佛大學皮博迪考古與民俗博物館)

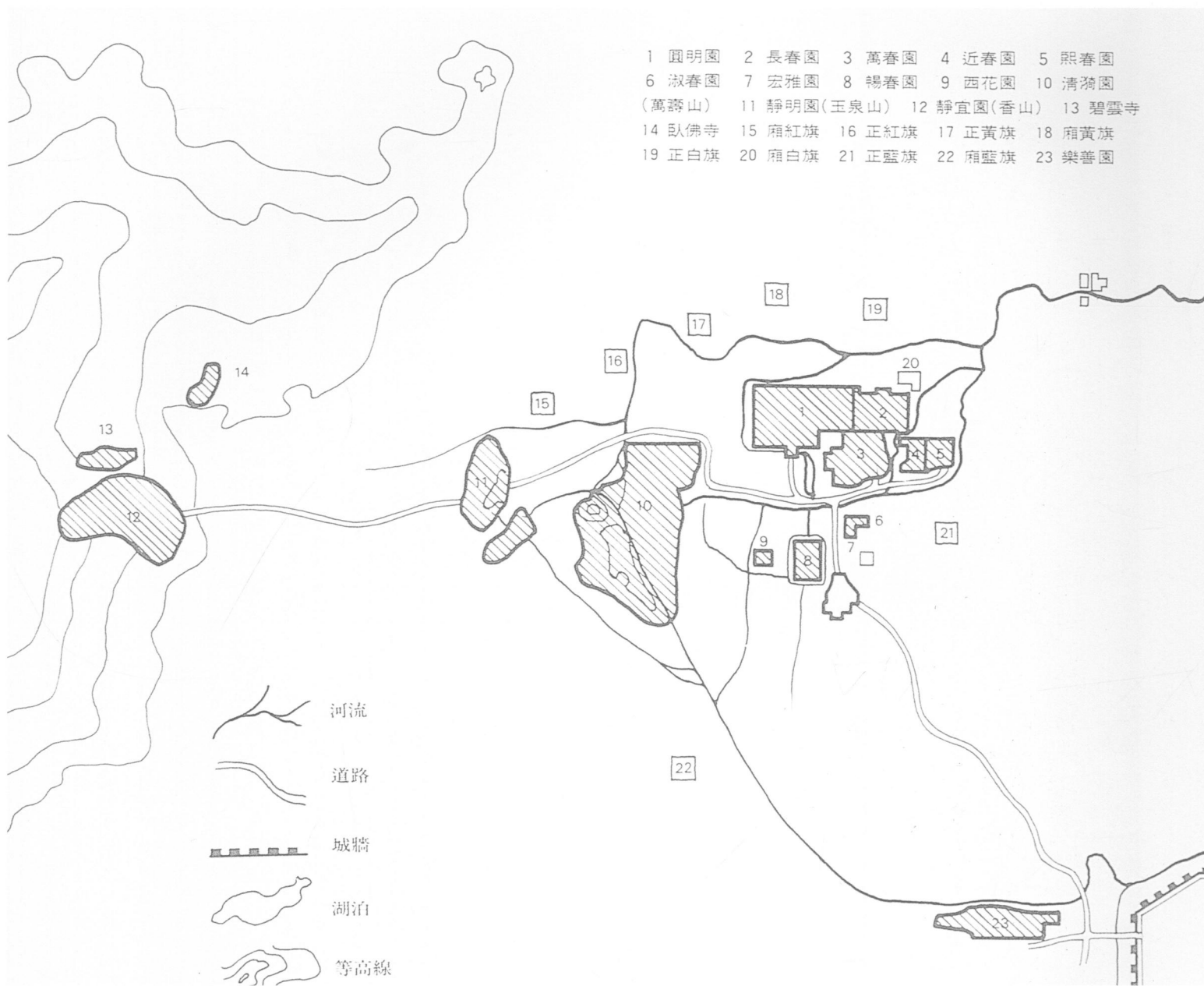


Fig. 1

Site map of the western outskirts of Beijing showing the mid-Qing period location of the Yuanming Yuan, eight bannerman garrisons, and area gardens (Yuanming Yuan, Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Co. Ltd., 1985, p. 67, fig. 7)

圖一

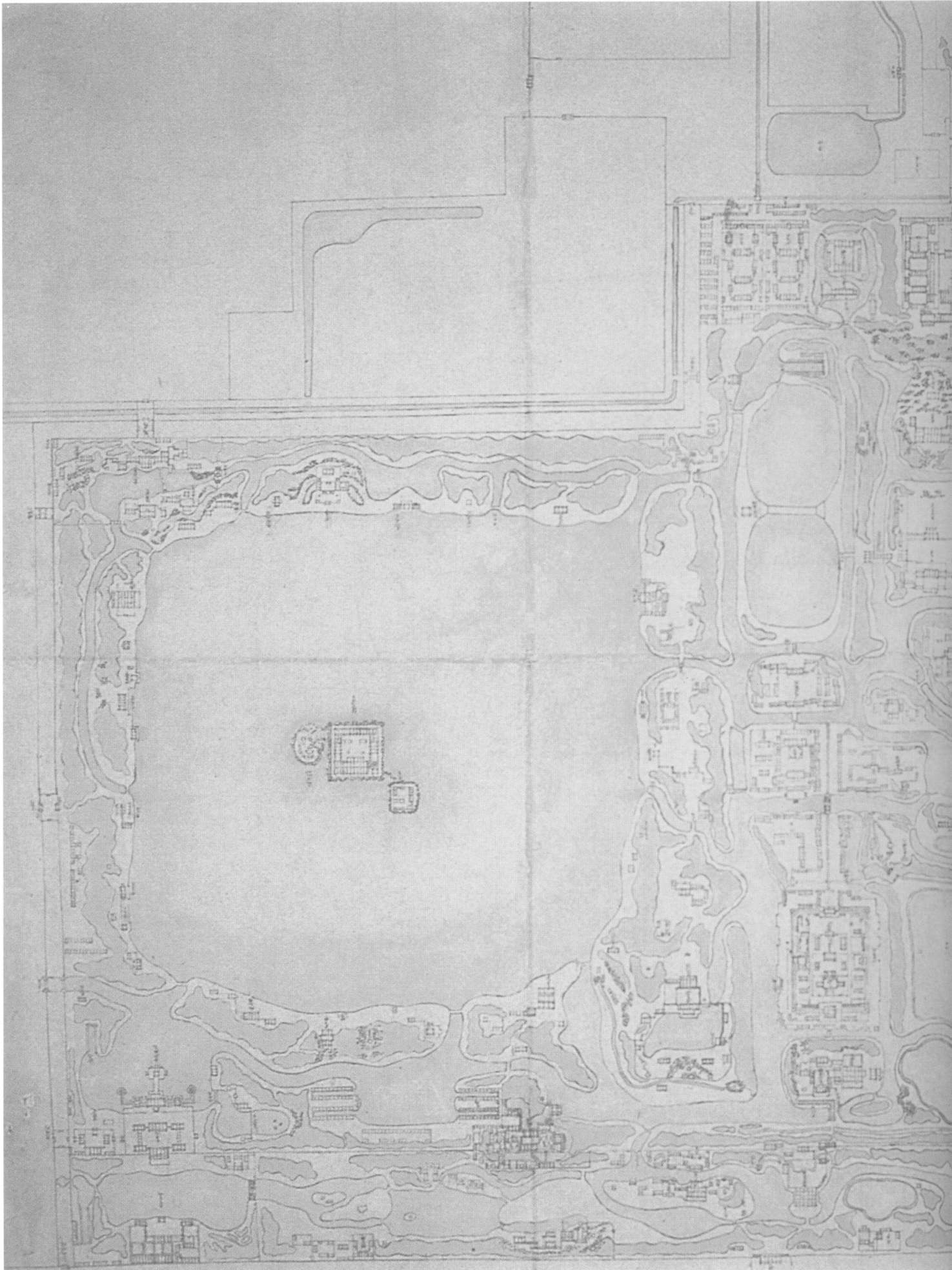
北京西郊地圖，顯示清代中期圓明園、八旗兵營和花園的位置 (《圓明園》，香港：三聯書店，1985，頁67，圖7)





Fig. 2
Yuanming Yuan. Plan drawing
(Michèle Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, gen. ed., *Le Yuanmingyuan: jeux d'eau et palais européens du XVIIIe siècle à la cour de Chine*, Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1987, p. 5)

圖二
圓明園藍圖
(參考書見英文標題)



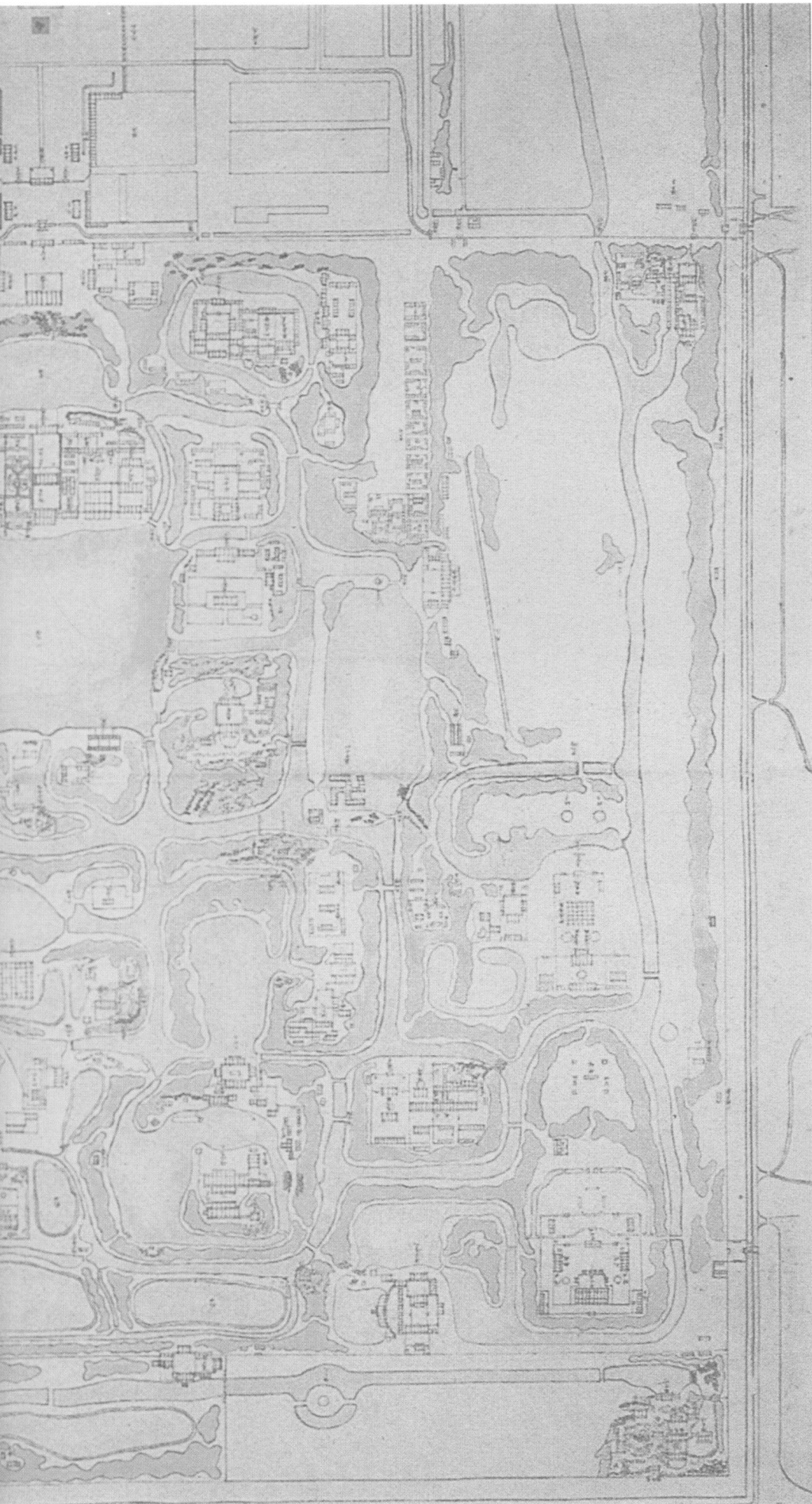


Fig. 3

Yuanming Yuan. Lei design office plan drawing, 1873

Ink and light colour on paper

134 x 182 cm

Musée Guimet, Paris

(Che Bing Chiu, *Yuanming Yuan: Le jardin de la Clarté parfaite* (Besançon: Éditions de l'imprimeur, 2000, p. 99)

圖三

1873 年樣式雷“圓明園藍圖”

紙本水墨設色

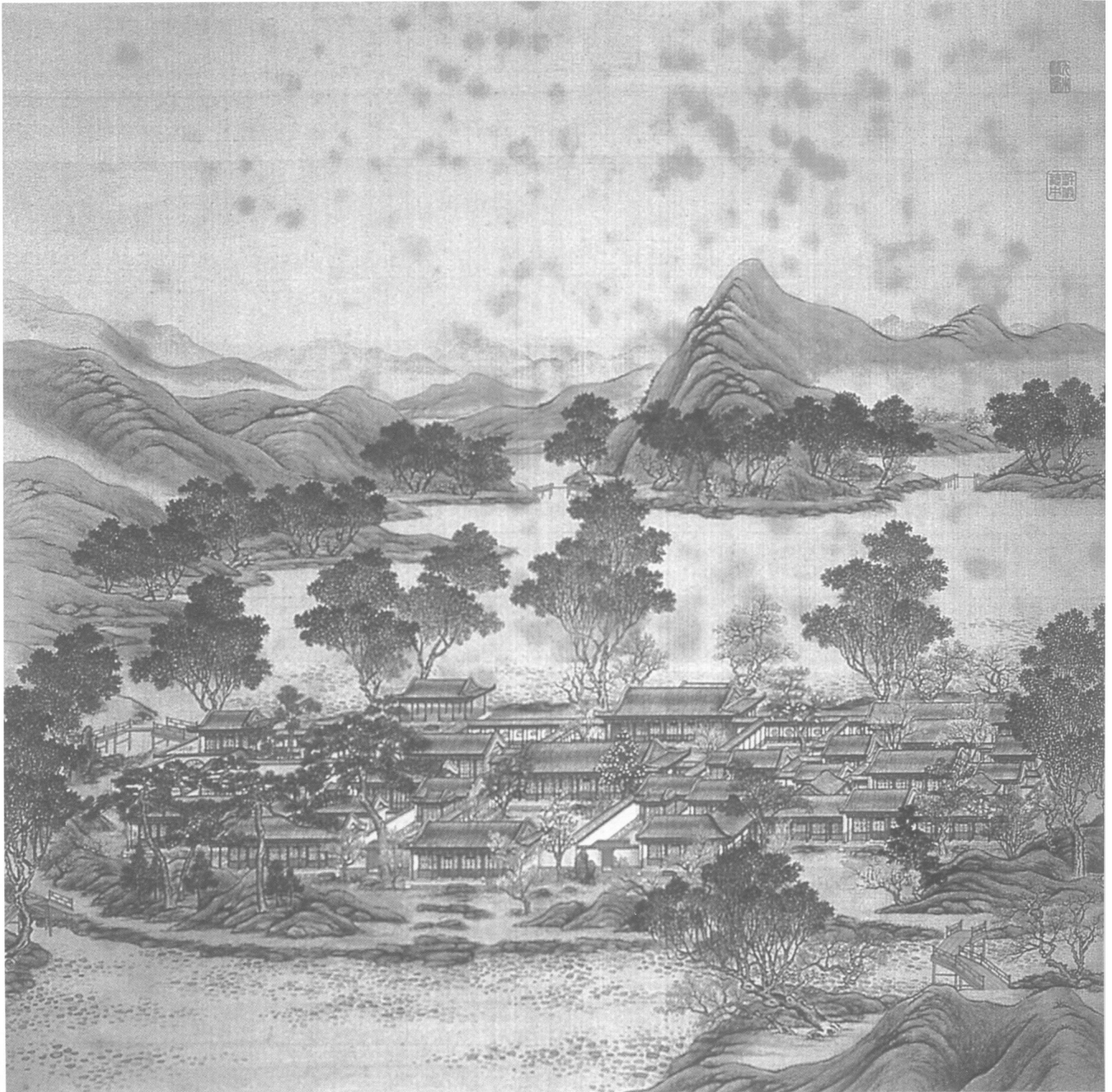
134 x 182 厘米

現藏巴黎奇美博物館

(參考書見英文標題)

Fig. 4
Shen Yuan (active 2nd half of 18th century) and Tang Dai (b. 1673)
“Scene of Jiuzhou Qingyan” in *Yuanming Yuan sishi jing tu*, 1744
Album leaf, ink and colour on silk
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
(Che Bing Chiu, *Ibid.*, p. 188)

圖四
沈源（活躍於十八世紀下半葉）與唐岱（生於 1673 年）
《九洲清晏》冊頁，載於 1744 年《圓明園四時精圖》畫冊
絹本水墨設色
現藏巴黎國立圖書館
（參考書見英文標題）



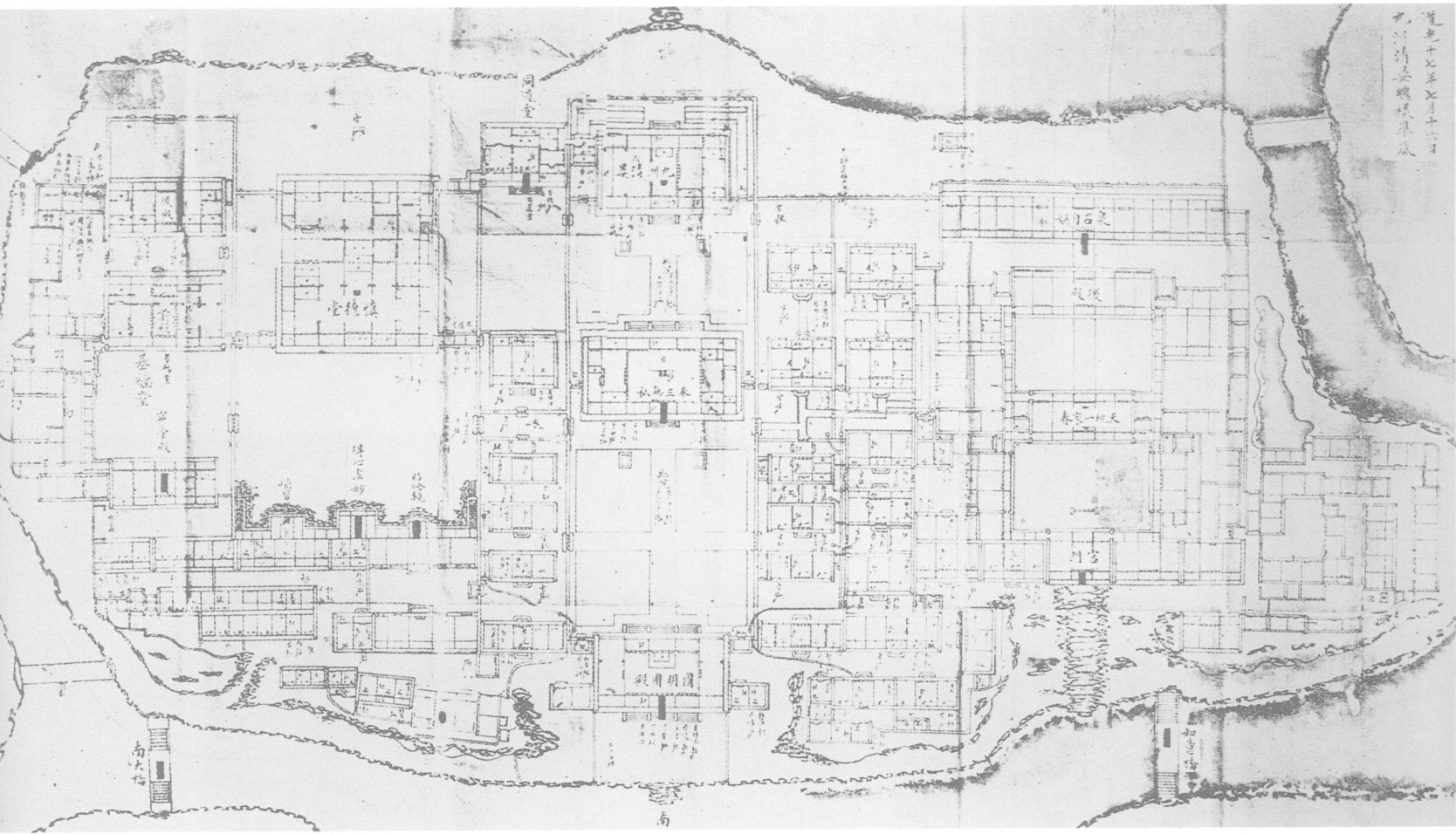


Fig. 5
Jiuzhou Qingyan island, Yuanming Yuan
Lei design office plan drawing, 1837
(Liu Dunzhen, "Tongzhi chong xiu Yuanming
Yuan shi liao", *Zhongguo yingzao xueshe hui kan* 4
no. 2 (1933), fig. 11)

圖五
1837年樣式雷《圓明園九洲清晏》藍圖
(劉敦楨：“同治重修圓明園史料”
《中國營造學社彙刊4》2期(1933)·圖11)

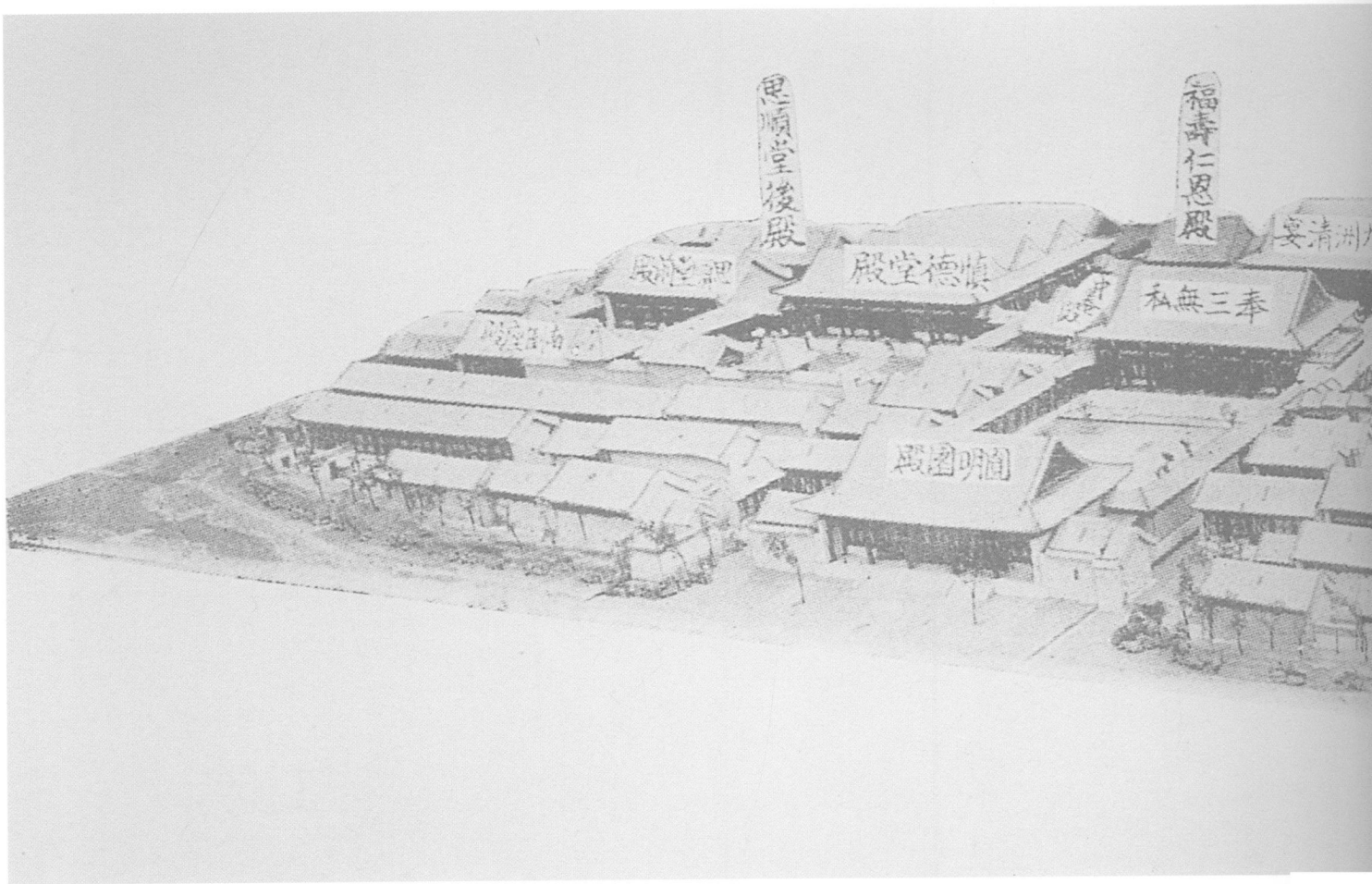




Fig. 6
Jiuzhou Qingyan island, Yuanming Yuan
Lei design office model, Tongzhi reign, Qing dynasty
(Liu Dunzhen, Ibid., fig. 15)

圖六
樣式雷《圓明園九洲清晏》模型
清代同治年間
(參考書同前)

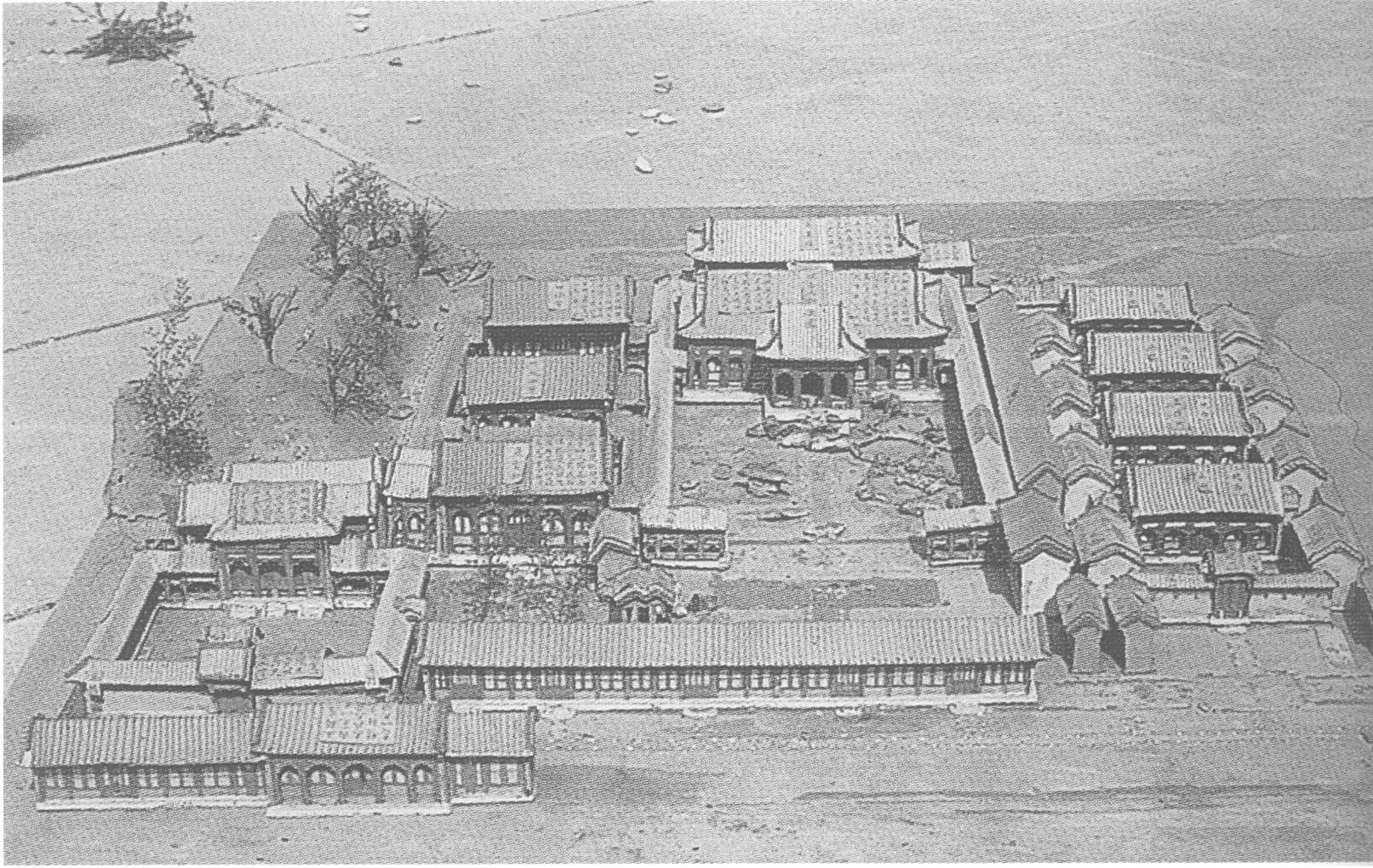


Fig. 7
Qizheng Qinxian halls, Yuanming Yuan
Lei design office model, 1873
Palace Museum, Beijing
(Che Bing Chiu, *Ibid.*, p. 98)

圖七
1873年樣式雷《圓明園“勤政親賢殿”》模型
現藏北京故宮博物院
(參考書同前)

Fig. 8

Anonymous, "Activities of the Twelve Months: The Twelfth Month" (detail)

Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk

Qianlong reign, Qing dynasty

175.8 x 96.7 cm

National Palace Museum, Taipei

(Wen Fong and James Watt, et al., *Possessing the Past*, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996, pl. 357)

圖八

佚名《月令圖軸（十二月）》軸（局部）

絹本水墨設色

清代乾隆年間

175.8 x 96.7 厘米

現藏台北故宮博物院

（參考書見英文標題）

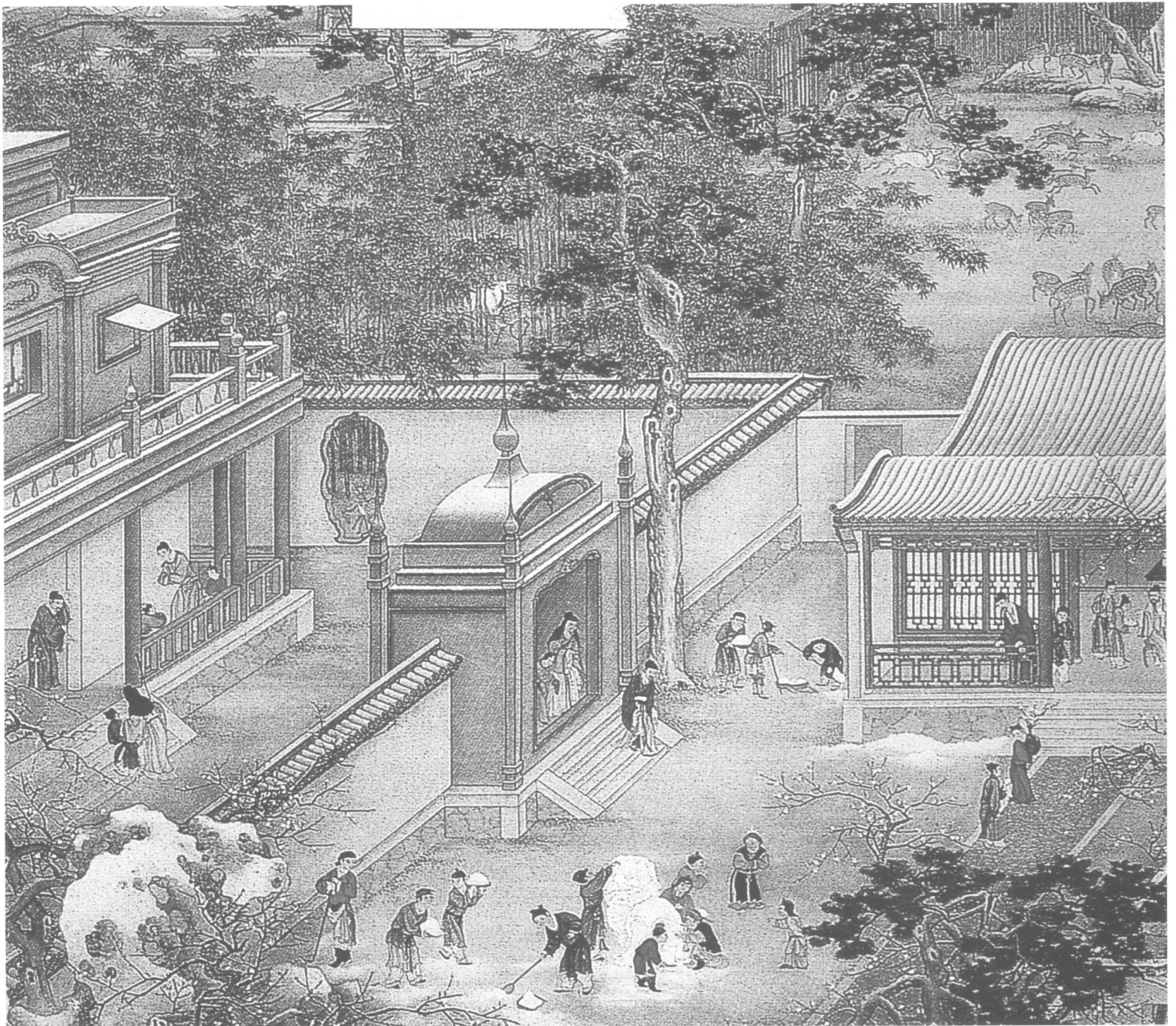




Fig. 1
Wu Wei (1459–1508)
Songxia guanbu tu
(Watching the Waterfall
under the Pine Tree)
Hanging scroll
Ink on silk
Ming dynasty
157 x 96 cm
Qingdao City Museum

圖一
吳偉（1459—1508）
《松下觀瀑圖》軸
絹本水墨
明代
157 x 96 厘米
現藏青島市博物館



Fig. 2
Du Jin (15th–early 16th century)
Shinu tu (Lady Figure)
Handscroll
Ink and colour on silk
Ming dynasty
30.5 x 168.9 cm
Shanghai Museum

圖二
杜堇（15世紀—16世紀初）
《仕女圖》卷
絹本水墨設色
明代
30.5 x 168.9 厘米
現藏上海博物館



Fig. 3
Tang Yin (1470–1523)
Qiufeng wanshan tu
(Lady with a Fan in Autumn Wind)
Hanging scroll
Ink on paper
Ming dynasty
77.1 x 39.3 cm
Shanghai Museum

圖三
唐寅（1470—1523）
《秋風紈扇圖》軸
紙本水墨
明代
77.1 x 39.3 厘米
現藏上海博物館

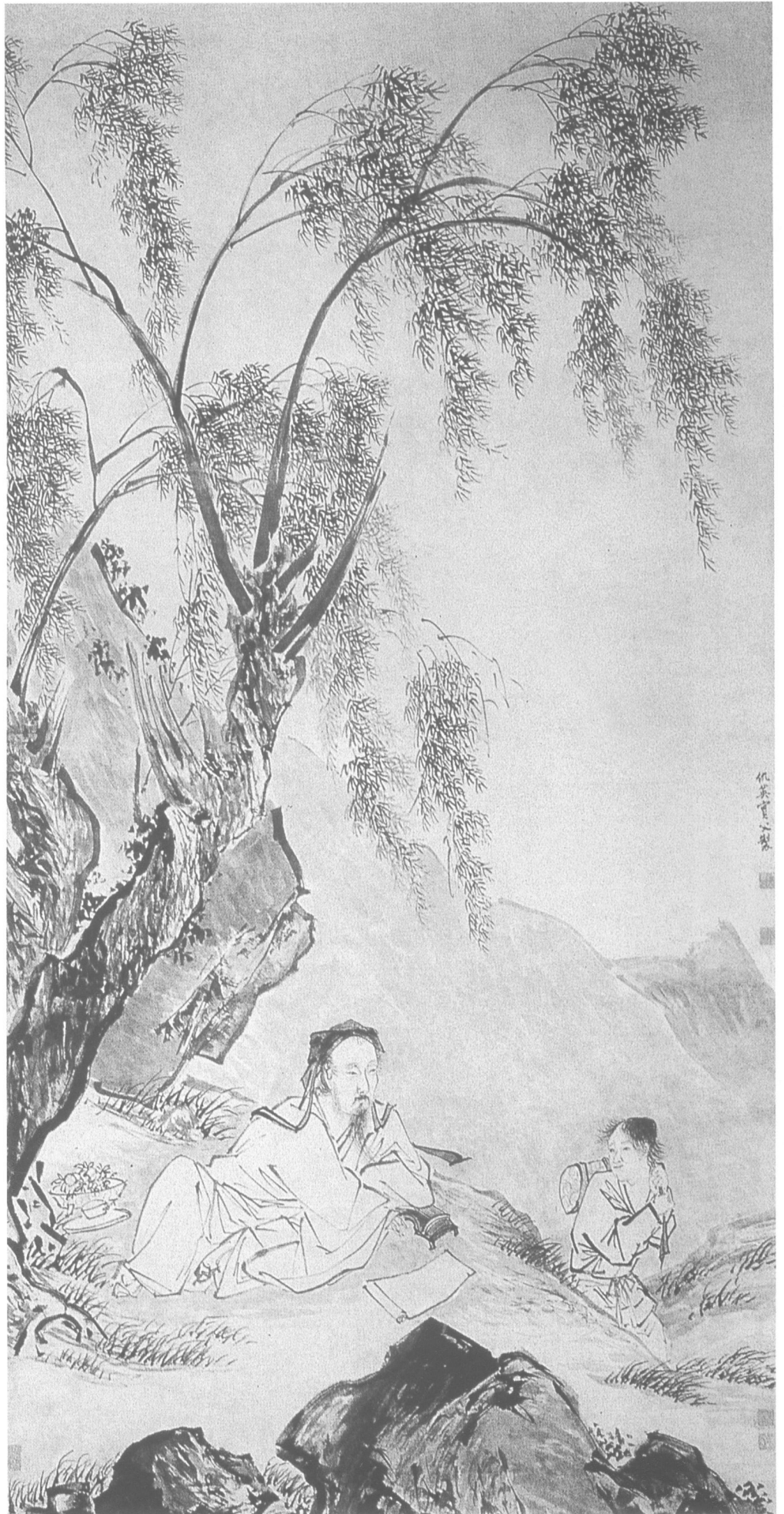


Fig. 4
Qiu Ying (c. 1500–1552)
Liuxia mianqin tu
(Sleeping with a *Guqin*
under the Willow Tree)
Hanging scroll
Ink on paper
Ming dynasty
176.2 x 89.3 cm
Shanghai Museum

圖四
仇英（約 1500—1552）
《柳下眠琴圖》軸
紙本水墨
明代
176.2 x 89.3 厘米
現藏上海博物館

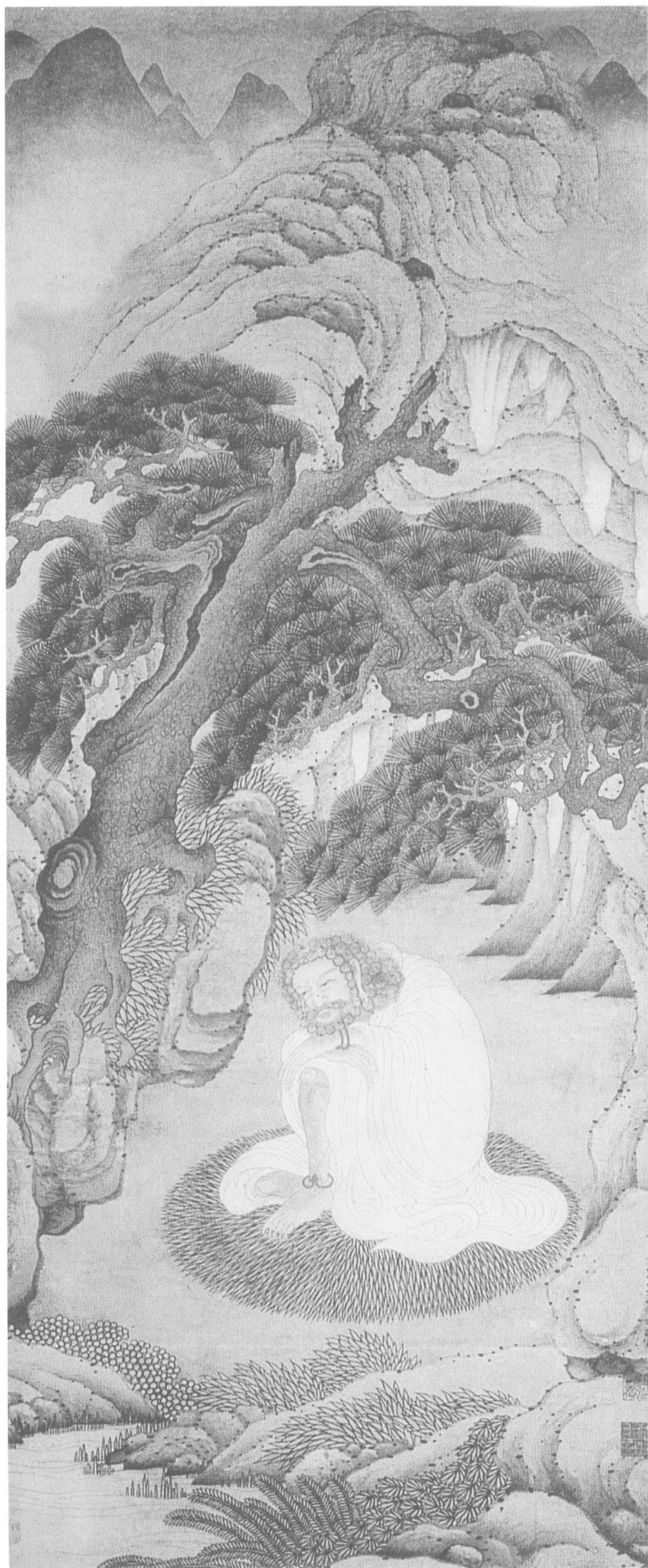


Fig. 5
Ding Yunpeng (1547–1626)
Shijiamouni xiang tu
(Sakyamuni)
Hanging scroll
Ink and colour on paper
Ming dynasty
140.7 x 58 cm
Tianjin City Art Museum

圖五
丁雲鵬（1547—1626）
《釋迦牟尼像圖》軸
紙本水墨設色
明代
140.7 x 58 厘米
現藏天津市藝術博物館

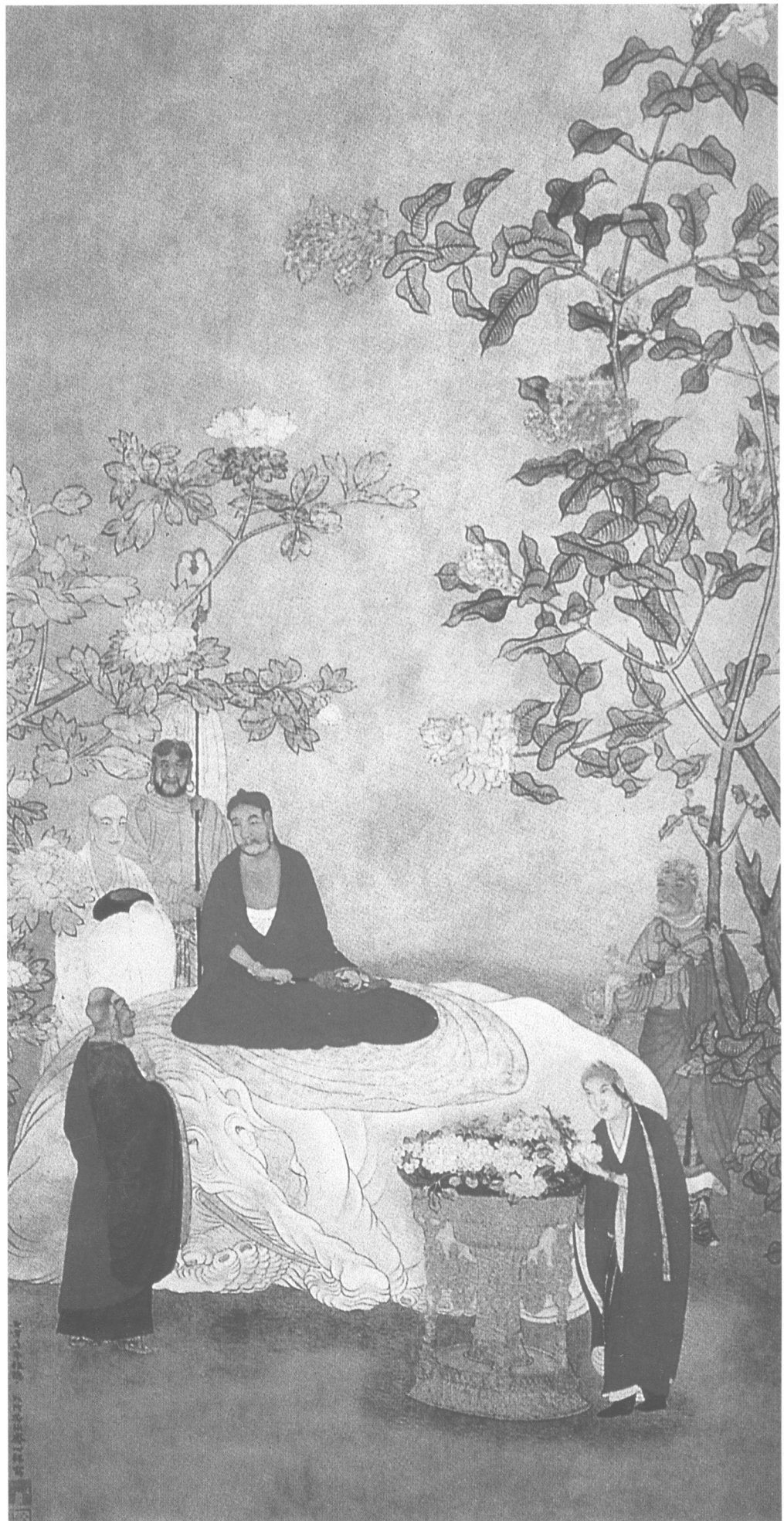


Fig. 6
Wu Bin (1573–1620)
Foxiang tu
(Buddhist Figures)
Hanging scroll
Ink and colour on paper
Ming dynasty
127.6 x 66 cm
Palace Museum, Beijing

圖六
吳彬 (1573 — 1620)
《佛像圖》軸
紙本水墨設色
明代
127.6 x 66 厘米
現藏北京故宮博物院



Fig. 7
Chen Hongshou (1598–1652)
Shinu foxiang tu
(Lady and Buddhist Figures)
Hanging scroll
Ming dynasty

圖七
陳洪綬（1598 — 1652）
《仕女佛像圖》軸
明代

Fig. 8
 Cui Zizhong (1574–1644)
Fusheng shoujing tu
 (Fu Sheng Teaching Sutras)
 Hanging scroll
 Ink and colour on silk
 Ming dynasty
 184.4 x 61.7 cm
 Shanghai Museum

圖八
 崔子忠（1574—1644）
 《伏生授經圖》軸
 絹本水墨設色
 明代
 184.4 x 61.7 厘米
 現藏上海博物館

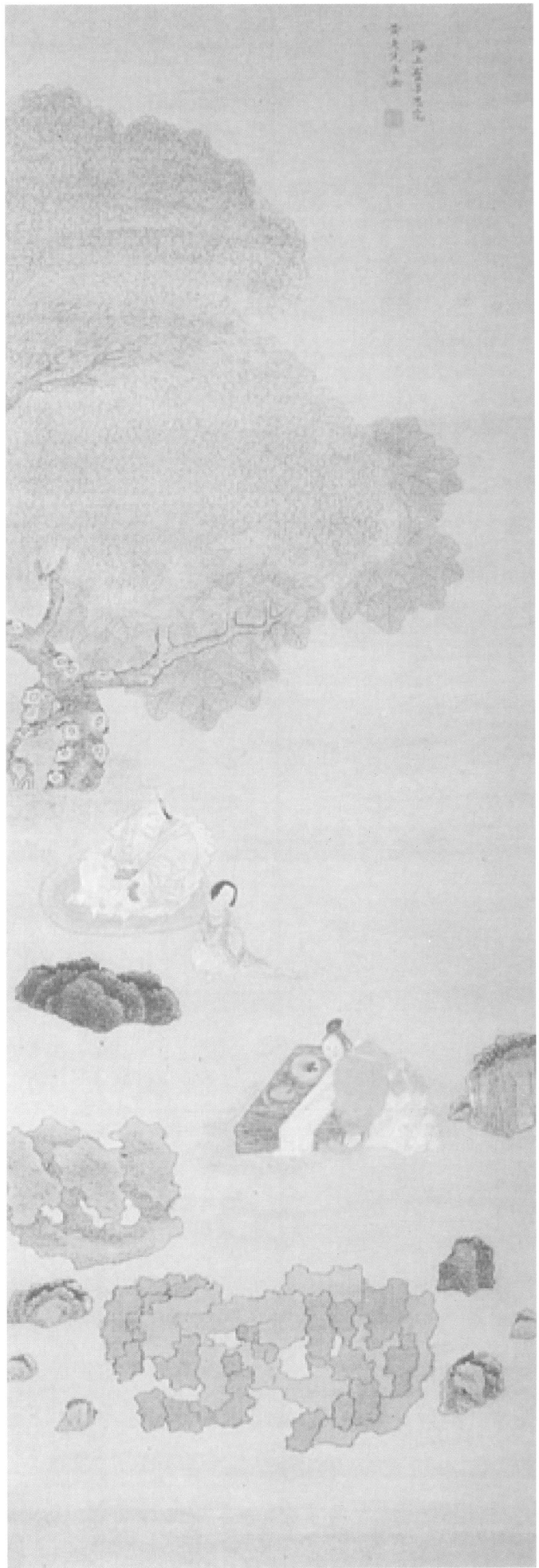




Fig. 9
Ren Xiong (1823–1857)
Yaogong qiushan tu
(Lady with a Fan)
Hanging scroll
Ink and colour on silk
Qing dynasty
85.2 x 33.5 cm
Shanghai Museum

圖九
任熊（1823—1857）
《瑤宮秋扇圖》軸
絹本水墨設色
清代
85.2 x 33.5 厘米
現藏上海博物館



Fig. 10
Ren Yi (1840–1895)
Gao Yongzhi xiaoxiang tu
(Portrait of Gao Yongzhi)
Hanging scroll
Ink and colour on paper
Qing dynasty
130.9 x 48.5 cm
Shanghai Museum

圖十
任頤（1840—1895）
《高邕之小像圖》軸
紙本水墨設色
清代
130.9 x 48.5 厘米
現藏上海博物館

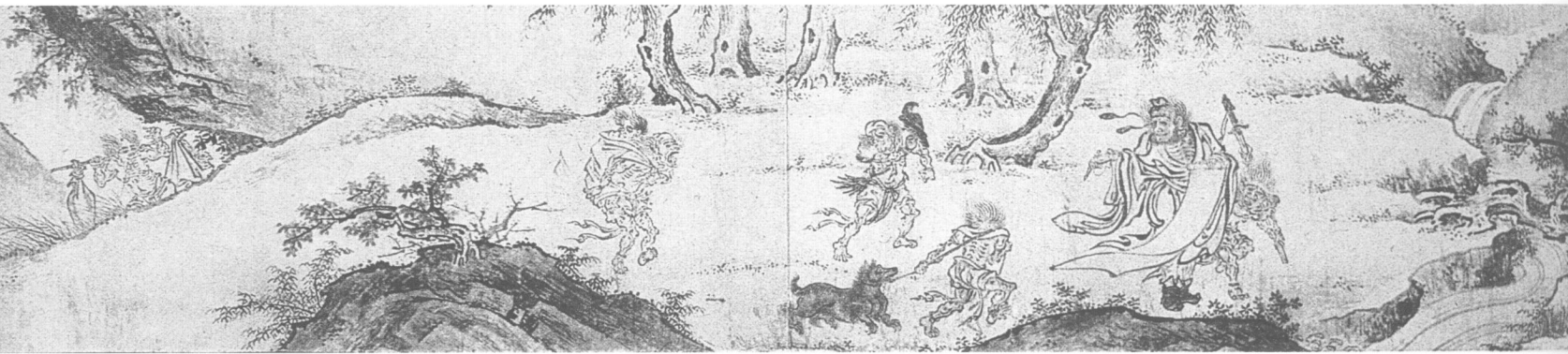


Fig. 1
Yin Shan (1410s–1460s)
Zhong Kui chulie tu (Zhong Kui's Hunting Excursion)
Handscroll
Ink and color on paper
Ming dynasty
24.2 x 112.8 cm
Museum of Huaian County, Jiangsu

圖一
殷善（1410年代—1460年代）
《鐘馗出獵圖》卷
紙本水墨設色
明代
24.2 x 112.8 厘米
現藏江蘇省淮安市博物館



Fig. 1 (Detail)
圖一(局部)

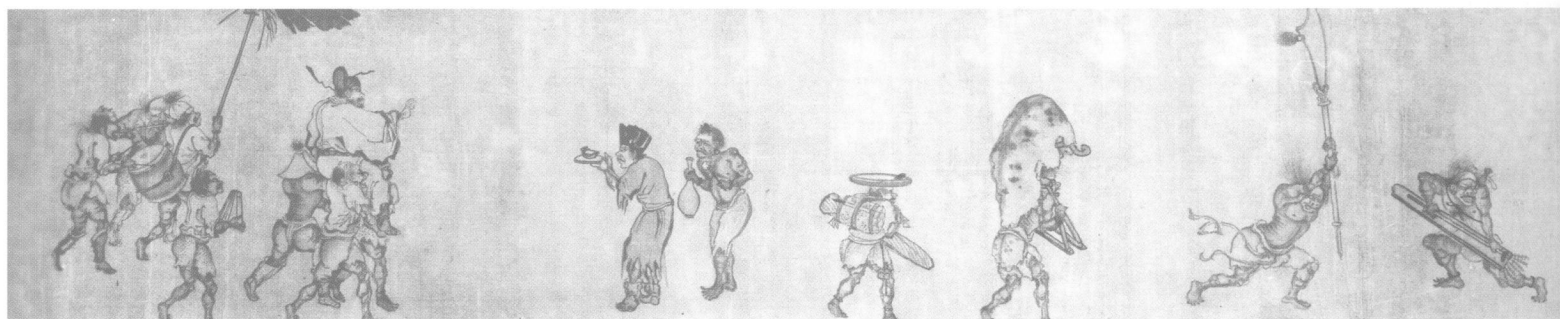


Fig. 2
Yan Hui
Zhong Kui's yuanye chuyou tu
(The New Year's Eve Excursion of Zhong Kui)
Handscroll, ink and slight colour on silk
Yuan dynasty, 24.8 x 240.3 cm
The Cleveland Museum of Art

圖二
顏輝
《元夜出遊圖》卷
絹本水墨淺設色
元代
24.8 x 240.3 厘米
現藏克利夫蘭藝術博物館

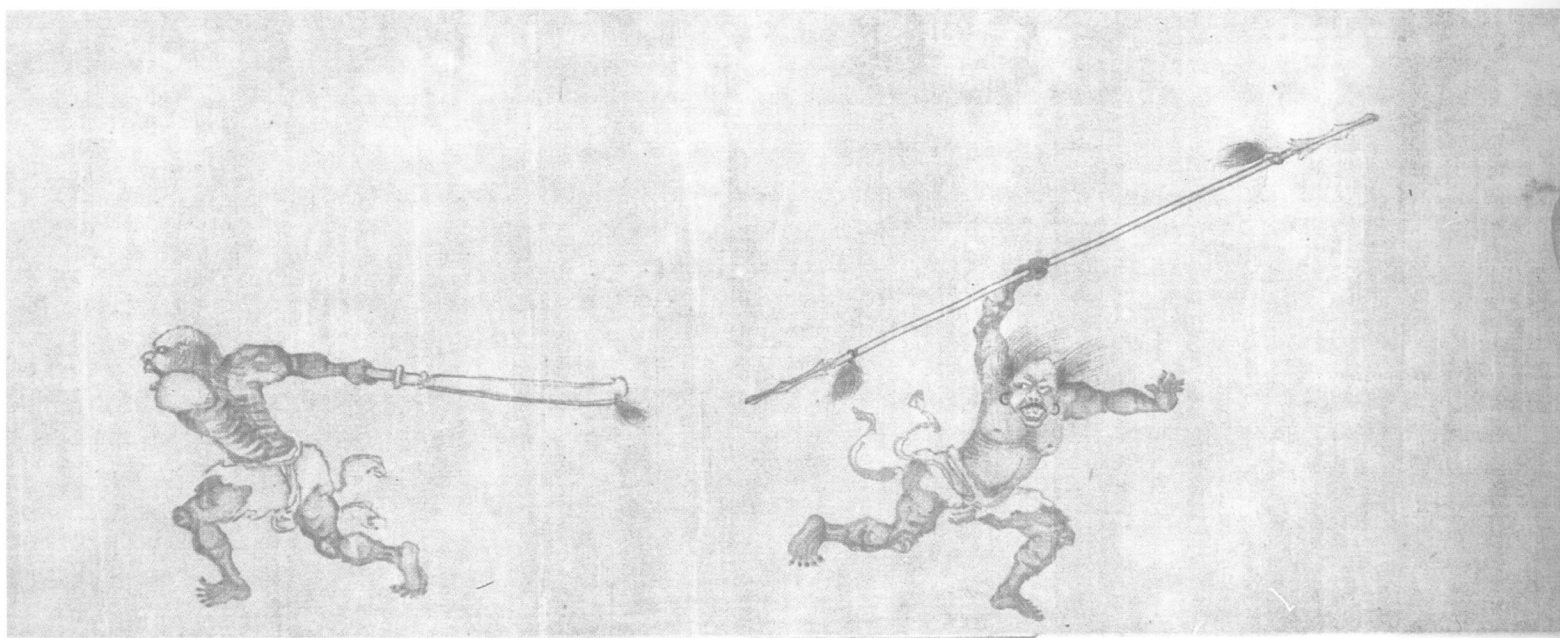
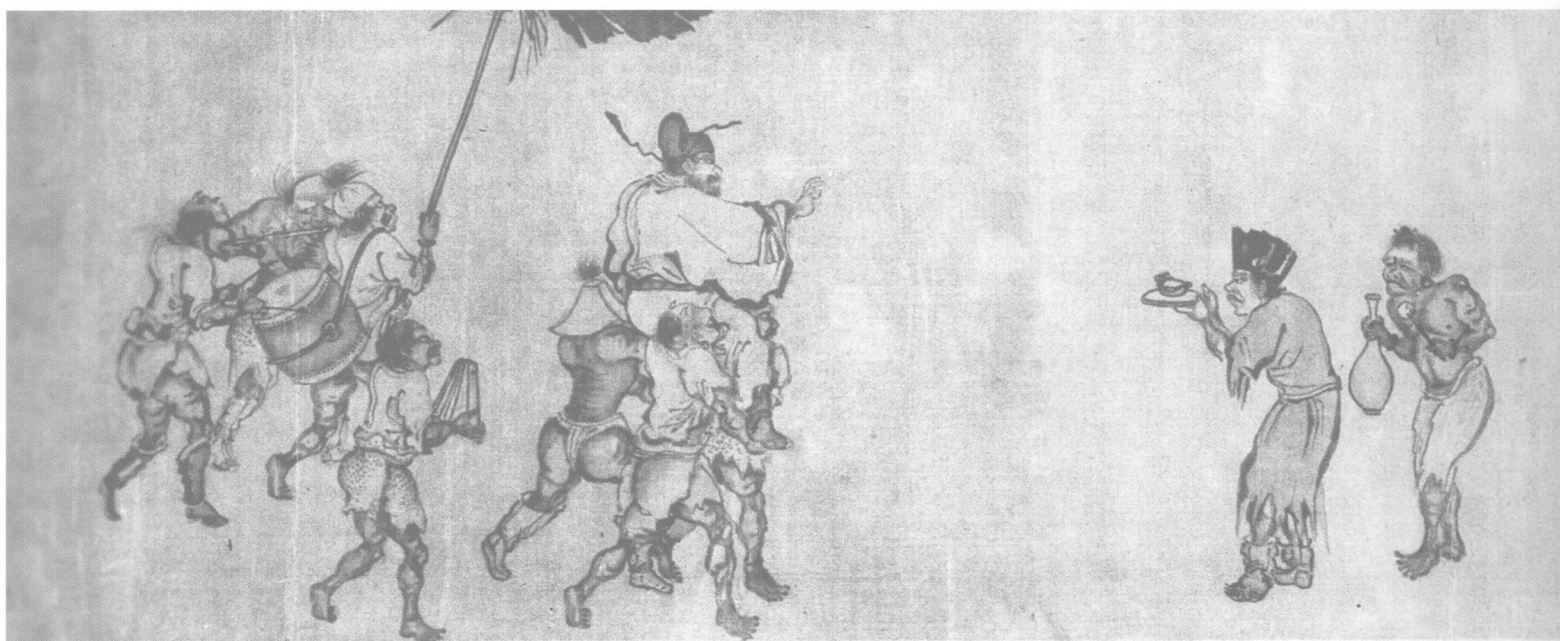
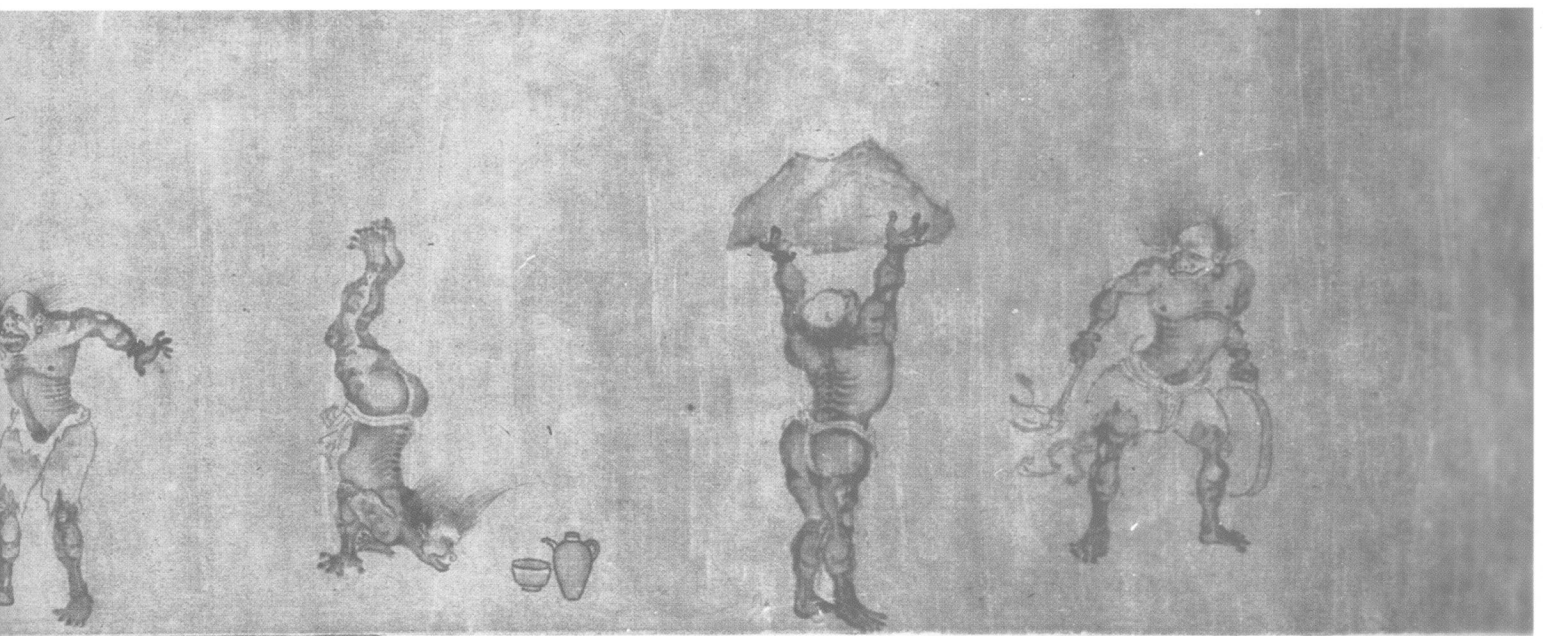
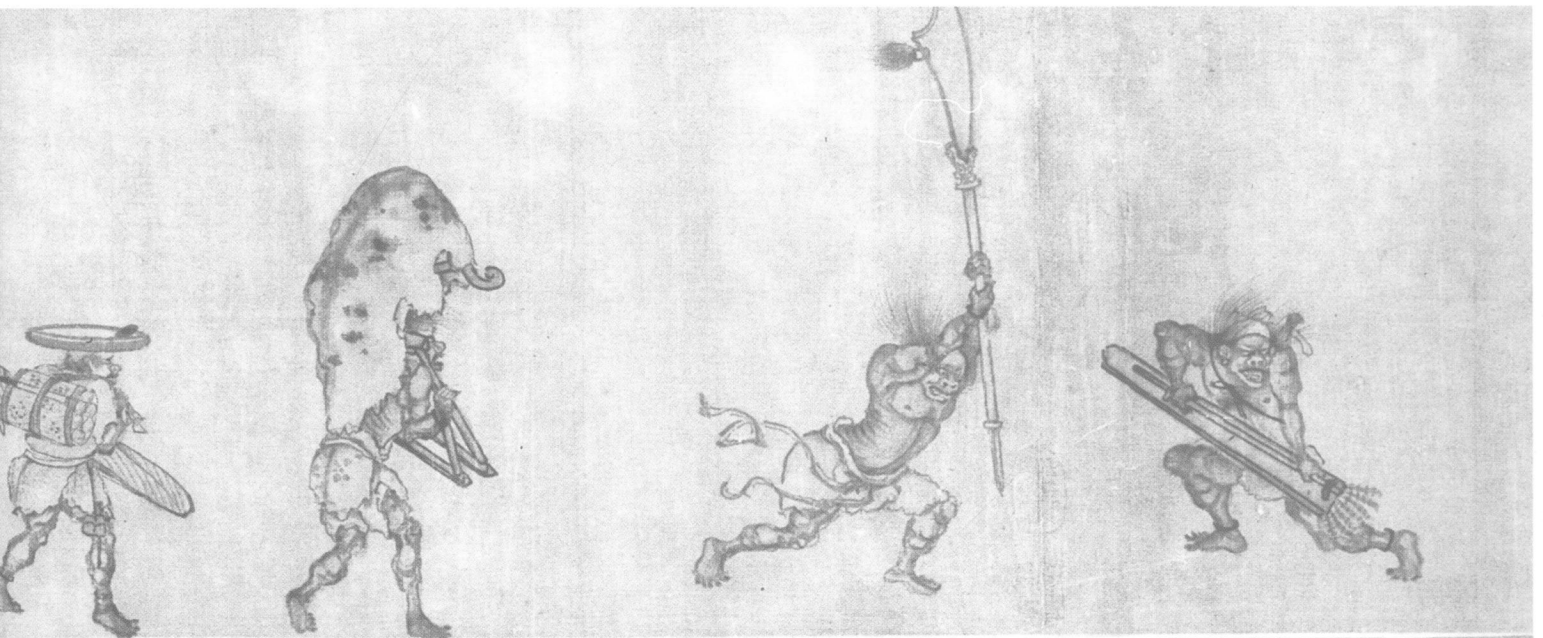
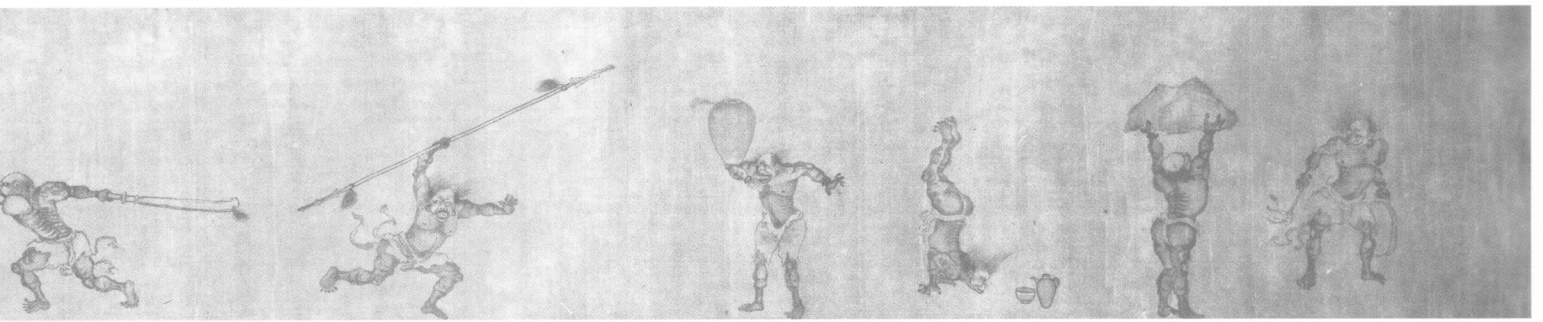


Fig. 2 (Detail)
圖二 (局部)



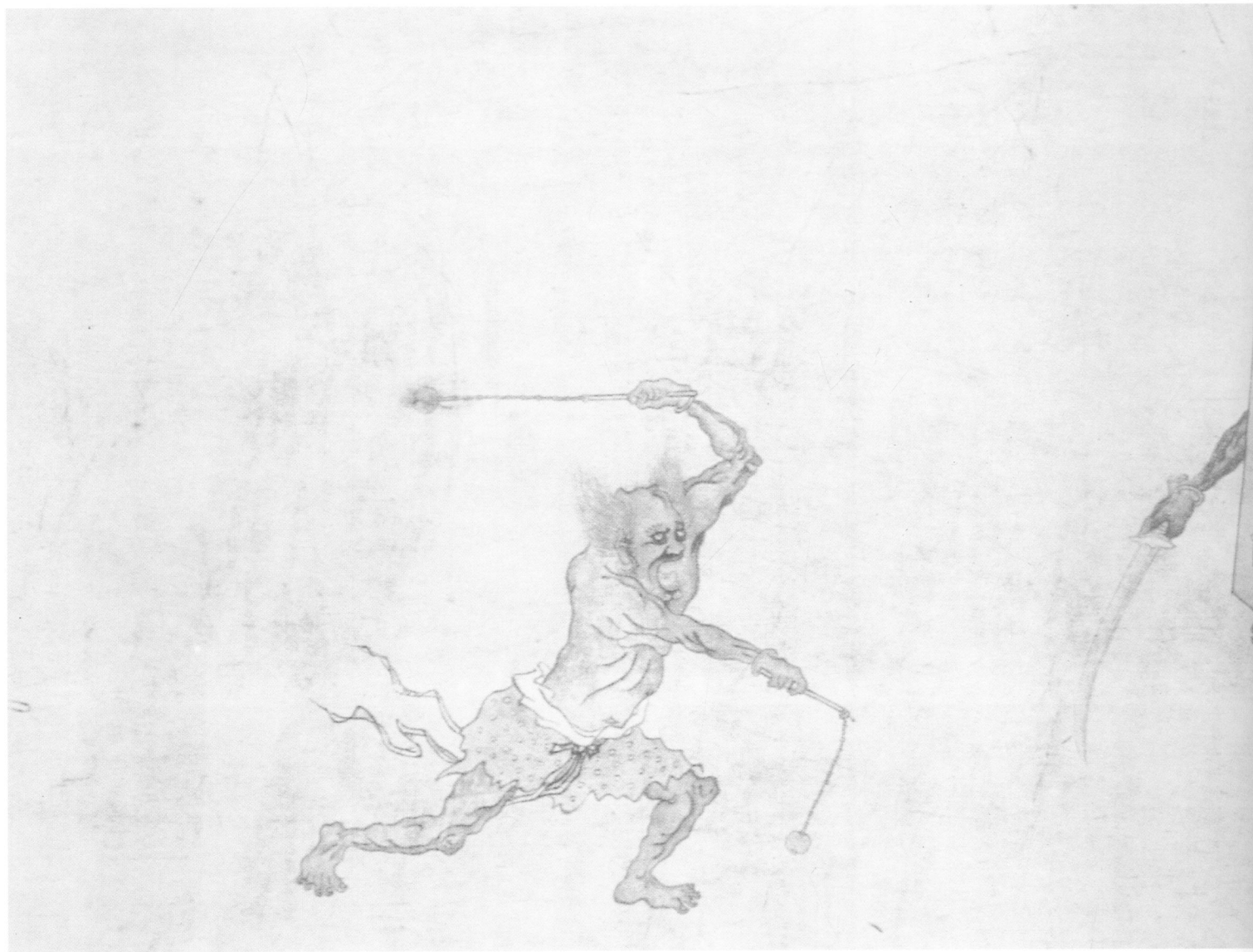
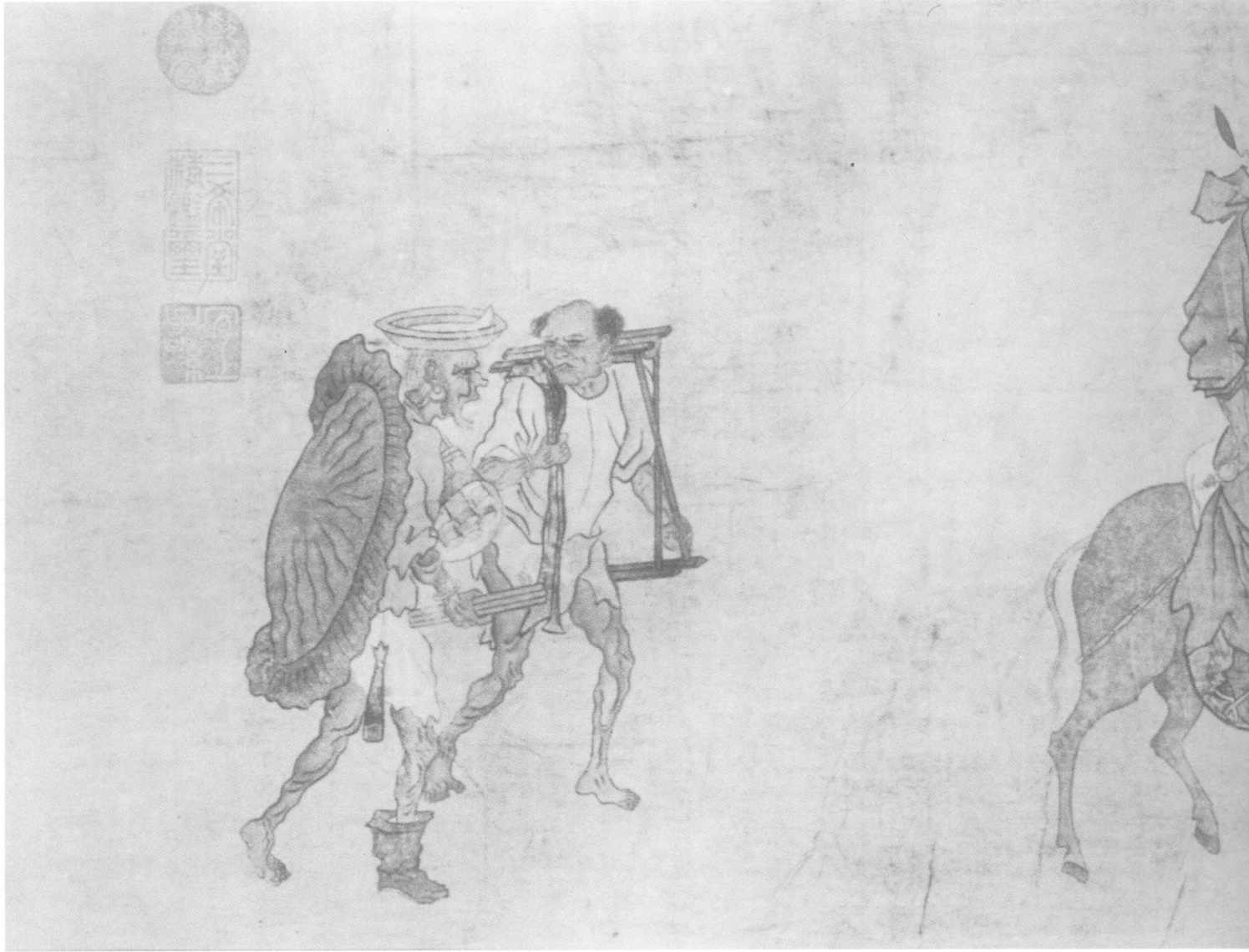


Fig. 3 (detail)
Gu Hongzhong (active 943–960) (attributed)
Zhong Kui chulie tu (Zhong Kui's Excursion)
Handscroll, ink and color on silk
Five Dynasties
28.7 x 372.1 cm
National Palace Museum, Taipei

圖三（局部）
顧闳中（傳）（活躍於 943—960）
《鍾馗出獵圖》卷
絹本水墨設色
五代
28.7 x 372.1 厘米
現藏台北國立故宮博物院







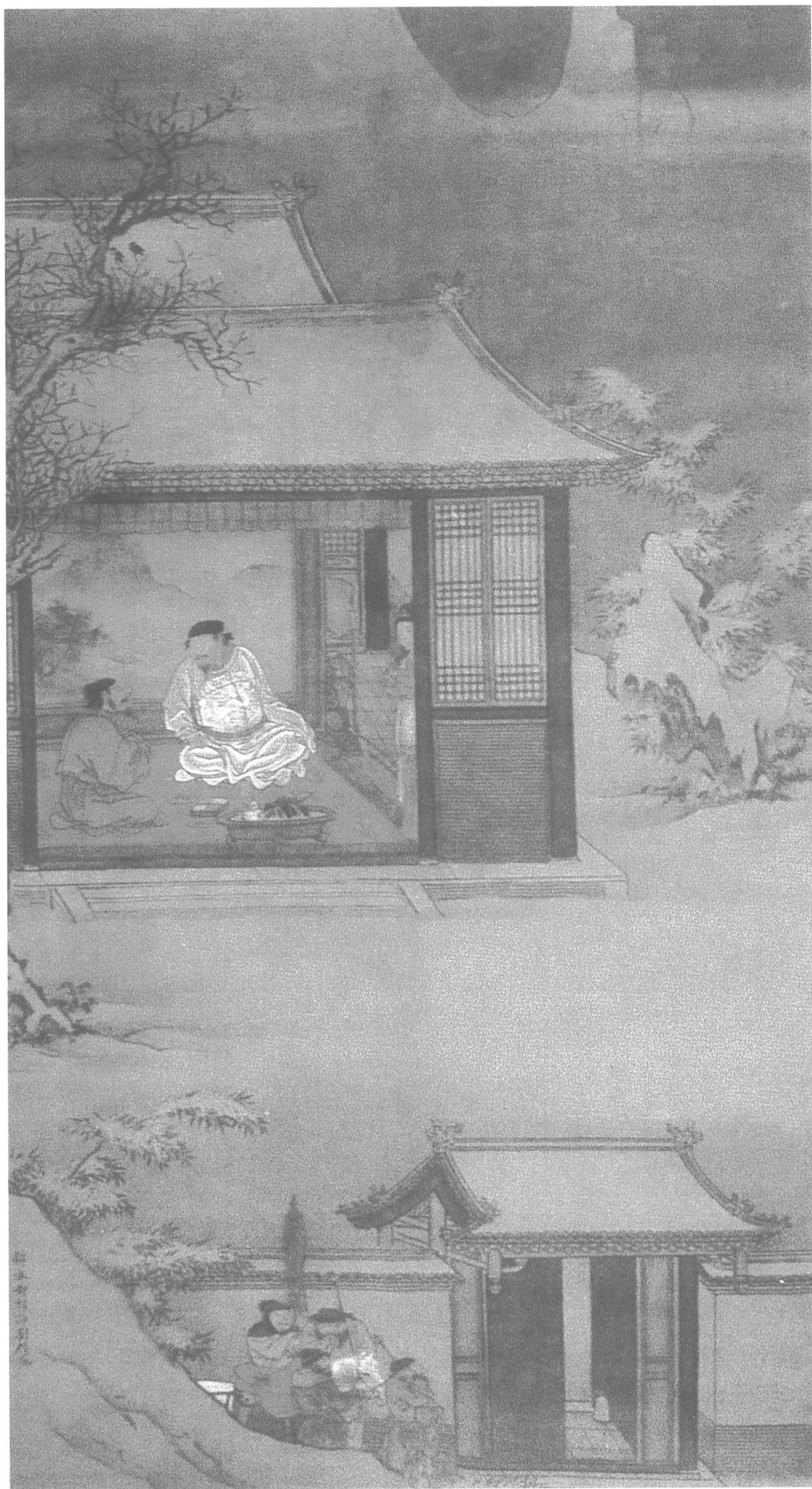


Fig. 4
Liu Jun (1430s–1490s)
Xueye fangpu tu (Visiting
Pu on a Snowy Night)
Hanging scroll
Ink and color on silk
Ming dynasty
143 x 75 cm
Palace Museum, Beijing

圖四
劉俊（1430年代—1490年代）
《雪夜訪普圖》軸
絹本水墨設色
明代
143 x 75 厘米
現藏北京故宮博物院



Fig. 5
Liu Jun (1430s–1490s)
Suojian tu (Admonishing
in Chains)
Hanging scroll
Ink and color on silk
Ming dynasty
165 x 106.5 cm
C. C. Wang collection

圖五
劉俊（1430年代—1490年代）
《鎖諫圖》軸
絹本水墨設色
明代
165 x 106.5 厘米
王己千藏

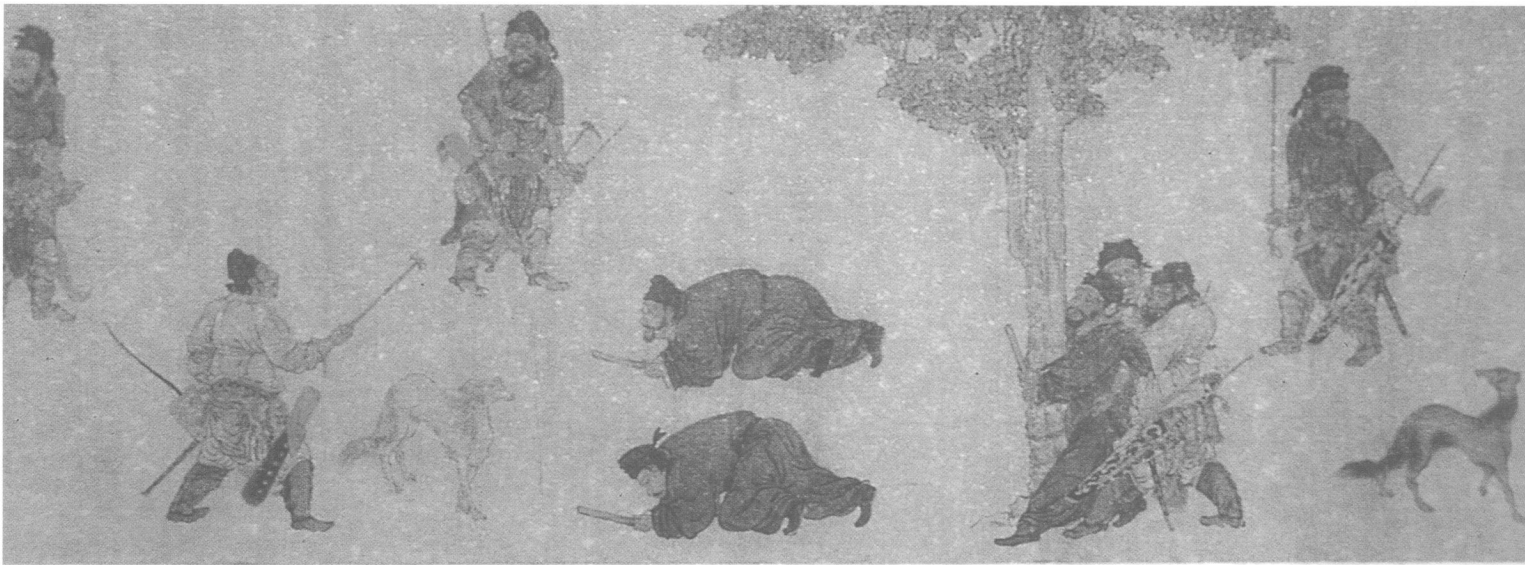


Fig. 6 (section 1)
Yan Liben (?-673) (attributed), *Suojian tu* (Admonishing in Chains), handscroll
Ink and color on silk, Tang dynasty, 36.9 x 207.9 cm, the Freer Gallery of Art

圖六（第一段）
閻立本（傳）（？—673）《鎖諫圖》卷，絹本水墨設色
唐代，36.9 x 207.9 厘米，現藏弗利爾美術館



Fig. 6 (section 2)
圖六（第二段）



Fig. 6 (section 3)
圖六（第三段）



Fig. 7
Zhu Duan
(active first half
of 16th century)
Duhu tu (Tigers
Crossing the River)
Hanging scroll
Ink and color on silk
Ming dynasty
174 x 113.3 cm
Palace Museum, Beijing

圖七
朱端（活躍於16世紀上半葉）
《渡虎圖》軸
絹本水墨設色
明代
174 x 113.3 厘米
現藏北京故宮博物院

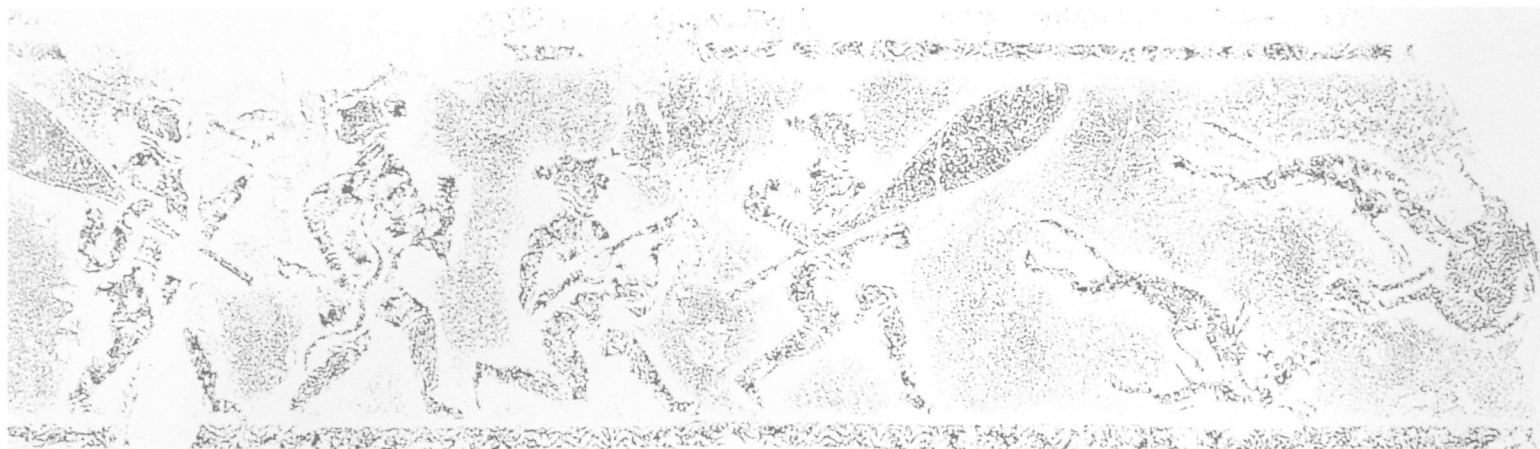


Fig. 8
Anonymous
Hunting Scene
Stone relief excavated from Weishan, Shandong
Eastern Han period
53.5 x 180 cm
Qufu Confucius Temple, Shandong

圖八
佚名
《狩獵》畫像石
東漢
53.5 x 180 厘米
出土於山東省曲阜微山縣孔廟



Fig. 9
Anonymous
Deva King Vaisravana painting on the pedestal of Buddha
Tang dynasty
Great Eastern Hall, Foguangsi Temple, Shanxi

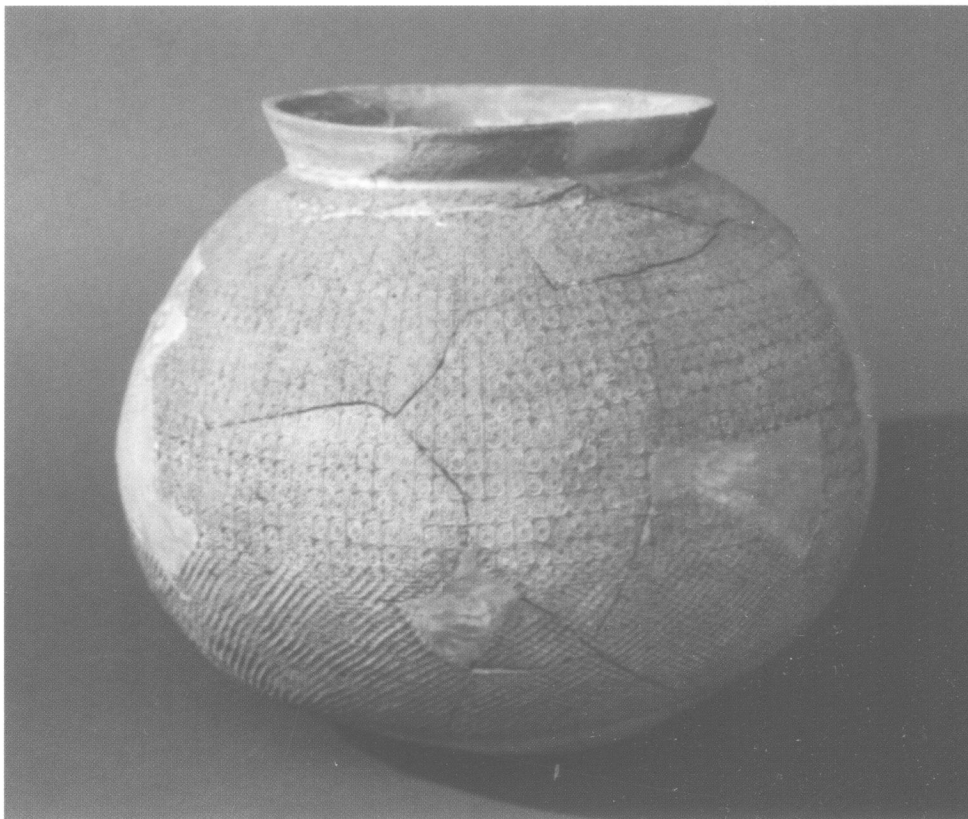
圖九
佚名
《天王鎮妖》佛座壁畫
唐代
山西省五台山佛光寺東大殿

Hard pottery pot with lozenge and raised dot pattern
 Bronze Age, c. 1500–500 B.C.
 Excavated from Sha Po Tsuen, Lamma Island
 Height: 24.5 cm Body diameter: 28 cm
 (*Collected Essays on the Culture of the Ancient Yue People in South China*
 Hong Kong Museum of History, 1993
 p. 221, fig. 166)

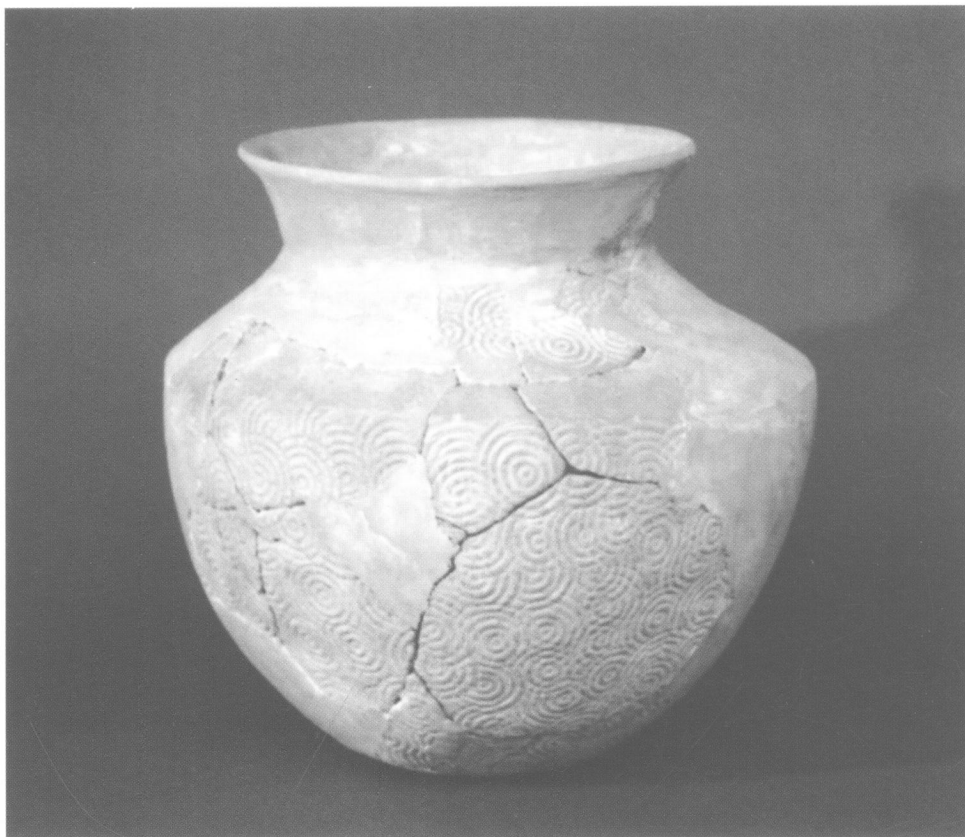


菱格凸點紋硬陶罐
 青銅時代，約公元前 1500—前 500 年
 南丫島沙埔村出土
 高：24.5 厘米 腹徑：28 厘米
 (《嶺南古越族文化論文集》
 香港博物館，1993
 頁 211，圖 166)

Hard pottery pot with concentric ring pattern
 Bronze Age, c. 1500–500 B.C.
 Excavated from Tung Wan, Lantau Island
 Height: 26 cm Body diameter: 49.7 cm
 (*Collected Essays on the Culture of the Ancient Yue People in South China*
 Hong Kong Museum of History, 1993
 p. 221, fig. 167)



重圈紋硬陶罐
 青銅時代，約公元前 1500—前 500 年
 大嶼山東灣出土
 高：26 厘米 腹徑：49.7 厘米
 (《嶺南古越族文化論文集》
 香港博物館，1993
 頁 211，圖 167)



Soft pottery jar with concentric ring pattern
Neolithic period, c. 2200–1500 B.C.
Excavated from Tai Wan, Lamma Island
Height: 26.8 cm Body diameter: 29.5 cm
(*Collected Essays on the Culture of
the Ancient Yue People in South China*
Hong Kong Museum of History, 1993
p. 210, fig. 130)

重圈紋折肩軟陶罐
新石器時代，約公元前 2200—前 1500 年
南丫島大灣出土
高：26.8 厘米 腹徑：29.5 厘米
(《嶺南古越族文化論文集》
香港博物館，1993
頁 210 · 圖 130)



Soft pottery pot with concentric rings pattern
Neolithic period, c. 2900–2200 B.C.
Excavated from Yung Long, Tuen Mun
Height: 13.6 cm Body diameter: 13.5 cm
(*Hong Kong Heritage: A History of
6,000 Years*, Hong Kong Antiquities and
Monuments Office, 1998)

重圈紋軟陶罐
新石器時代，約公元前 2900—前 2200 年
屯門湧浪出土
高：13.6 厘米 腹徑：13.5 厘米
(《香港文物六千年》
香港古物古蹟辦事處，1998)

Soft pottery pot with leaf-vein pattern
 Neolithic period, c. 2900–2200 B.C.
 Excavated from Yung Long, Tuen Mun
 Height: 23 cm Body diameter: 25 cm
 (*Collected Essays on the Culture of
 the Ancient Yue People in South China*
 Hong Kong Museum of History, 1993
 p. 198, fig. 92)

葉脈紋軟陶罐
 新石器時代，約公元前 2900—前 2200 年
 屯門湧浪出土
 高：23 厘米 腹徑：25 厘米
 (《嶺南古越族文化論文集》
 香港博物館，1993
 頁 198，圖 92)



Hard pottery pot with double-f pattern
 Bronze Age, c. 1500–500 B.C.
 Excavated from Hai Dei Wan, Lantau Island
 (*Hong Kong Heritage: A History of
 6,000 Years*, Hong Kong Antiquities and
 Monuments Office, 1998)

夔紋硬陶罐
 青銅時代，約公元前 1500—前 500 年
 大嶼山蟹地灣出土
 (《香港文物六千年》
 香港古物古蹟辦事處，1998)





Hard pottery pot with double-f pattern
Bronze Age, c. 1500–500 B.C.
Excavated from Kwo Lo Wan, Chek Lap Kok
Height: 21.5 cm Body diameter: 21 cm
(*Hong Kong Heritage: A History of 6,000 Years*
Hong Kong Antiquities and Monuments Office, 1998)

夔紋硬陶罐
青銅時代，約公元前1500—前500年
赤鱘角過路灣出土
高：21.5厘米 腹徑：21厘米
(《香港文物六千年》
香港古物古蹟辦事處，1998)



Hard pottery pot with seal pattern
Han dynasty
Excavated from Kau Sai Chau, Sai Kung
Height: 25.5 cm Body diameter: 26 cm
(*Hong Kong Heritage: A History of 6,000 Years*
Hong Kong Antiquities and Monuments Office, 1998)

戳印紋泥質硬陶罐
漢代
西貢潛西洲出土
高：25.5 厘米 腹徑：26 厘米
(《香港文物六千年》
香港古物古蹟辦事處，1998)

University Museum and Art Gallery Exhibitions 1976–2002
香港大學美術博物館展覽 1976–2002

		Dates 展期	Exhibitions 展覽
1976	1	30/11–19/12	Art '76 : Hong Kong Contemporary Art 藝展七六
1977	2	5/2–6/3	Ching Polychrome Porcelain 清代彩瓷
1978	3	18/3–31/5	Carved Porcelain and Other Carved Objects 雕瓷及其他雕刻工藝
	4	2/12–19/1/79	Art '78 : Hong Kong Contemporary Art 藝展七八
1979	5	5/10–19/12	Shiwan Wares 石灣陶藝
1980	6	11/7–6/8	Student Ceramic Art 學生陶藝
	7	18/10–12/11	Photographs of Chinese Gardens by Chung Wah-nan 中國園林攝影
1981	8	24/1–25/2	Art '81 : Hong Kong Contemporary Art 藝展八一
	9	10–30/6	Paintings by Pau Siu-yeu 鮑少游繪畫
	10	16/9–31/10	Ceramic Finds from Ancient Kilns in China 中國古窯址瓷片
	11	12/12–6/1/82	Paintings by Shao Yu 邵宇繪畫
1982	12	12/1–7/2	Contemporary Currents in American Art 現代美國畫潮
	13	30/3–19/4	Proverbs : Art Works by Yip Po-hoi 諺語：葉寶開藝術作品
	14	11/5–9/6	Paintings by Li Xiong-cai 黎雄才繪畫
	15	15/12–31/1/83	Students' Ceramic Art with Works by Teachers and Potters 學生陶藝：附教師及陶藝家作品
1983	16	12/3–30/4	Paintings by Four Masters of Lingnan School 嶺南畫藝
	17	27–29/10	Paintings by Chow Chian-chiu and Chow Leung Cheng-ying 周千秋 梁榮纓畫展
	18	29/11–30/12	Modern Sculpture 現代雕塑
1984	19	17/2–31/3	Art '84 : Hong Kong Contemporary Art 藝展八四

	20	23/3-31/5	Jingdezhen Wares : The Yuan Evolution 江西景德鎮元瓷的演變
1985	21	10/1-9/2	Canadian Painter : Alex Colville 加拿大畫家柯爾維爾繪畫
	22	6-8/3	Oil Painting of The Martyrs of Nagasaki 長崎的殉教徒油畫
	23	29/3-4/5	Hong Kong Ceramic Art '85 香港陶藝一九八五
	24	8/10-5/12	Ceramic Finds from Tang and Song Kilns in Guangdong 廣東唐宋窯址出土陶瓷
	25	8/10-13/12	Hong Kong in Ink Moods: Landscape Paintings by Lui Shou-kwan 香港墨韻：呂壽琨山水畫
1986	26	11/1-14/2	Hong Kong Sculpture '86 香港雕塑八六
	27	20/2-13/3	The Drawn Image : Facsimile Drawings from the Albertina Collection of Graphic Art, Vienna 畫像：維也納艾伯特宮所藏藝術品之複製畫
	28	8/4-17/5	University Art Collection 港大藏畫
	29	19-30/6	Tibet Through My Eyes : Photographs by Wang Miao 我眼中的西藏：王苗攝影
	30	8/7-7/8	Hong Kong Painting 1986 香港繪畫一九八六
	31	13/8-6/9	Chung Fung Art Club 春風畫會
	32	16/9-11/10	Paintings by Irene Chou 綠雲畫藝
	33	24/10-13/12	Arts from the Scholar Studio 文玩萃珍
	34	5/11-6/12	Science Applied to Art 科技與藝術
	35	18-31/12	Soul and Beauty : Photographs by Wong Yin-wah 靈與美：黃彥華攝影
1987	36	23/1-18/2	Paintings by Li Ku-chan 苦禪小品：李苦禪繪畫
	37	25/2-14/3	Contemporary Japanese Prints 現代日本版畫
	38	25/3-25/4	Visual Art '87 視覺藝術八七

	39	9-30/5	Contrasts : Works on Paper by Seven Artists from Northern Ireland 北愛爾蘭美術家七人作品
	40	9-27/6	Chinese and Korean Sutra Manuscripts 歷代佛教寫經
	41	24-30/9	Philippe Charriol Foundation : Modern Art Exhibition 1987 八七現代藝術
	42	10/10-7/11	German Graphics of the 70s 德國七十年代版畫
	43	17/11-5/12	Chinese Painting by Au Ho-nien 歐豪年繪畫
	44	15/12-9/1/88	Contemporary Prints from China 中國現代版畫
1988	45	19/1-29/2	Over and Yonder : Paintings by Hon Chi-fun 圓緣：韓志勳繪畫
	46	8/3-7/4	Chinese Painting : Lingnan School 嶺南國畫
	47	14/4-14/5	British Drawings 1961-1975 英國繪畫
	48	9/7-6/8	The Art of Qian Jun-tao 君匋藝術
	49	23/8-10/9	Graphic Works by Max Klinger 克林格爾版畫
	50	24/9-5/11	Paintings by Fang Zhao-ling 召麟畫藝
	51	15/11-7/1/89	East and West : Potters from Brazil, Britain, Japan, Sweden and U.S.A. 五國陶藝
1989	52	28/2-28/3	Australia Beyond the Mudane : Australian Contemporary Art 澳大利亞當代藝術
	53	3-23/11	Huang Po Chan / Obaku Zen Calligraphy and Painting 黃檗禪書畫
	54	5-22/12	Hong Kong Visual Arts Society Annual Exhibition 香港視覺藝術協會年展
1990	55	19/1-17/3	Seals by Qian Jun-tao 君匋篆刻
	56	25/5-30/6	Acrylic-Batik-Crayon Paintings by Janet Echelman 巴里彩染：魏高文繪畫
	57	17/10-13/12	Dehua Wares 德化瓷

	58	23/10–24/11	Chinese Snuff Bottles 中國鼻煙壺
1991	59	6/3–20/4	Works by 11 “Art Action” Artists “藝術行動”會員作品
	60	26/9–18/10	Painting and Calligraphy by Jao Tsung-I 饒宗頤書畫
	61	24/10–23/11	International Ex-Libris Exhibition 國際藏書票
	62	24/10–30/11	Paintings by Yank Wong 黃仁達繪畫
	63	6/12–15/1/92	Hong Kong Sculpture 香港雕塑
1992	64	19/2–24/3	Japanese Contemporary Clay Works 日本現代陶藝
	65	1–30/4	Chen Chi-kwan Retrospect 陳其寬七十回顧展
	66	8/4–19/6	Ceramic Finds from Jingdezhen 景德鎮五代至清初出土陶瓷
	67	7–30/5	Portuguese Decorative Tiles (17 th and 18 th Centuries) 葡萄牙十七至十八世紀瓷畫
	68	29/6–3/7	Graduation Art Exhibition of Northcote College of Education 薈思：羅富國教育學院美術與設計科畢業生作品
	69	7/7–28/8	Two-dimensional Works by Secondary School Students 中學生平面美術
	70	9/9–3/10	Art Works by Leung Kui-ting 梁巨廷畫藝
	71	10–31/10	Art Works by College Lecturers 教育學院美術講師作品
	72	11–28/11	The Earth Elements : an Installation by Tetsunori Kawana 川名哲紀裝置藝術
	73	4/12–10/12	Painting and Calligraphy by Fang Zhao-ling 方召麟書畫
	74	16/12–16/1/93	Hong Kong Visual Arts Society 19 th Annual Exhibition 香港視覺藝術協會第十九屆年展
1993	75	1/2–8/3	Japanese Dolls 日本公仔
	76	25/3–24/4	The Emerging Harmony of Forms : Paintings by Nancy Chu Woo 形象網縷：朱楚珠繪畫
	77	26/5–19/6	China in the Thirties : Photographs by Pierre Verger 十年代中國：維格爾攝影

	78	30/10–15/1/94	Green Wares from Zhejiang 浙江青瓷
	79	3/11–4/12	Paintings by Henry Wu Yue-kee 胡宇基繪畫
	80	6–22/12	Sand Mandala by Rv. Monks from Nepal 藏傳佛教沙製曼陀羅
1994	81	12–29/1	Clayworks by Hong Kong Contemporary Ceramics Society 香港當代陶藝協會首屆會員作品展
	82	2–22/2	Paintings and Sculpture by Norman Ko 高華文雕刻及繪畫
	83	19/3–14/5	Engaging Tradition : Violation 參與傳說：侵犯（裝置藝術）
	84	15/4–2/7	Traditional Wood Carving from Fujian 福建傳統木雕
	85	21/5–2/7	China in the Thirties : Photographs by Pierre Verger 三十年代中國：維格爾攝影
	86	9–23/7	Window on Singapore Art 獅城藝萃：新加坡繪畫
	87	6–9/9	Interaction of Science and Art 科技交流
	88	24/9–31/10	Graphic Works by M. C. Escher 埃適爾藝術
	89	11/11–10/12	Contemporary Chinese Oil Paintings 當代中國油畫
	90	16/12–21/1/95	Works by the Hong Kong Visual Arts Society and the Meeting Point Artists Association, Canada 香港視覺藝術協會及加拿大匯點畫會聯展
1995	91	11/2–18/3	Photographs of Ajanta Murals by Benoy Behi 阿旃陀壁畫攝影
	92	29/3–6/5	Chinese Snuff Bottles from the Collection of Mr. Yeung Tat-chi 楊達志所藏中國鼻煙壺
	93	18/5–30/6	French Contemporary Pottery 法國現代陶藝
	94	24/5–2/9	Hong Kong : A Micro Vision—Photographs by Sun-chang Lo 微觀香港：羅聖莊攝影
	95	12/9–5/10	Painting, Sculpture, Design and Architecture of Tao Ho 何弢藝術
	96	4/11–6/1/96	Chinese Folk Art 中國民間藝術

	97	6/12-6/2/96	Exquisite Jade Carving 玲瓏玉雕
1996	98	30/1-29/2	Engaging Tradition II : Relocation 中原歷代文物大觀 (裝置藝術)
	99	18/3-29/3	Japan Visual Art 日本視覺藝術
	100	9-30/4	Capital Works : Contemporary Art from The Australian National Capital 澳洲首都現代藝術
	101	11/5-1/6	The Architecture of Christian De Portzamparc
	102	26/6-23/8	Works by Art Teachers in Hong Kong 香港美術教師作品
	103	25/9-12/10	Hong Kong Visual Arts Society 23 th Annual Exhibition 香港視覺藝術協會第二十三屆年展
	104	23/10-16/11	Paintings and Calligraphy by Jao Tsung-I 饒宗頤八十回顧展
	105	9/11-25/1/97	Art Treasures from Shanghai and Hong Kong 滬港藏珍
	106	4/12-10/1/97	Paintings and Writing by Wan Qing-li 萬青力書畫
1997	107	15/1-15/2	Hong Kong : A Macro Vision - Drawings by Sun-chang Lo 白描香港：羅聖莊寫生作品展
	108	20/2-22/3	Oil Paintings by Li Zongjin 李宗津油畫
	109	26/2-15/3	Innovative Australian Architecture 奧地利創新建築
	110	15/3-24/5	Ceramic Finds from Henan 河南出土陶瓷
	111	9/4-15/5	Chinese Calligraphy by Delegates of the Chinese People Political Consultative Conference Beijing and Hong Kong Jiazi Society of Chinese Calligraphy 京港書法：北京市政協書畫家與香港甲子書畫學會作品聯展
	112	17/4-5/5	Mario Botta Architecture : a Photographic Retrospective by Pino Musi 1980-1995 馬里奧博塔的建築藝術
	113	10/5-24/5	The Way of Wood : French Sculptor Christian Renonciat 克諾斯亞：木的啟示
	114	23/5-14/6	Geometric Paintings by Aurelie Nemours 諾沐爾的幾何繪畫

	115	6/8-4/9	The Unending Path : Paintings by Harold Wong from 1957-1997 求索的路上：黃仲方四十年作品回顧展
	116	13/9-18/10	Mexican Prints 墨西哥版畫
	117	31/10-15/12	Heavenly Horses 千里馬
1998	118	6/2-5/3	The New Face of Hong Kong 香港新貌
	119	18/2-21/3	An Urban Experiment in Central Berlin : Planning Potsdamer Platz 在柏林中央的都市實驗：規劃波茨坦廣場
	120	25/2-23/5	Hunan Colours : Ancient Ceramics of Hunan Province 湘彩天下：湖南古代陶瓷
	121	18/3-29/4	Flow : Paintings by Joseph Lee 流水有意：李超鵬繪畫
	122	1/4-25/4	Elegant Beauties : Paintings by Annie Wong 美姿丹青：梁潔華繪畫
	123	7/5-6/6	Figuration Narrative 俗世風情：法國諷世畫
	124	24/6-1/8	Between the Sky and the Earth : 5 Contemporary Chinese Artists Around the World 天圓地方：海內外五位華裔藝術家
	125	4/7-22/8	Works by Art Teachers in Hong Kong 教藝兩全：香港美術教師作品
	126	15/8-18/9	25 Years of Hong Kong Visual Arts : Hong Kong Visual Arts Society Jubilee Anniversary Exhibition 香港視藝二十五載：香港視覺藝術協會銀禧展
	127	26/9-15/12	In the Footsteps of the Buddha 法相傳真：古代佛教藝術
	128	14/10-5/12	Gems of Ancient Chinese Zithers 古琴薈珍
	129	31/10-28/11	Design as Strategy : Works by Four Argentine Artists 謎樣形象：阿根廷藝術家四人作品展
	130	17/12-19/1/99	Artistic Boundaries : Paintings by Feng Yeh 天上人間：馮葉繪畫
	131	23/12-2/2/99	Paintings by Huang Yong-yu 流光五十年：黃永玉繪畫
1999	132	27/1-28/2	Chinese Calligraphy by Ambrose So 蘇樹輝書法

	133	12/2-14/3	16 Lessons in Lines : 50 th Anniversary Exhibition of Architecture Department 白描十六題：建築系五十週年展
	134	13/3-11/8	Adornment for the Body and Soul : Ancient Chinese Ornaments from the Mengdiexuan Collection 金翠流芳：夢蝶軒藏中國古代飾物
	135	24/3-1/5	Art Fashion : Originals by Famous Fashion Illustrators of the 20 th Century Zahm Collection 麗影流光：森氏藏二十世紀服裝繪畫
	136	19/5-13/6	Long March of the Jeans : Bronze and Ceramic Sculptures by Tomek 牛仔長征：杜麥克雕塑系列
	137	23/6-25/7	Lyrical Vision : Paintings by Liew Come-tong 緣生化境：劉欽棟繪畫
	138	31/7-26/9	Dreamscapes : Paintings and Calligraphy by T. C. Lai 江山臥遊：賴恬昌書畫
	139	16/8-28/11	Legacy of a Golden Age : Ceramics of Tang China from the Tsui Art Foundation 盛世唐風：徐氏藝術基金藏唐代陶瓷精品
	140	1/9-28/11	Heavenly Earth : Ceramics of Ancient China from the Tsui Art Foundation 皇天祐土：徐氏藝術基金藏中國古代陶瓷精品
	141	1/9-3/10	Fragrance of Ink and Vermillion : Calligraphy and Seal Carving by Hong Kong Artists 朱墨留香：香港書法篆刻藝術
	142	13/10-9/11	The Art of Gao Jianfu 高劍父繪畫
	143	23/10-21/11	Portraits of Feelings : Paintings by Chan Hoi-ying 彩筆存情：陳海鷹繪畫
	144	17/11-5/12	Reverie : the Art of Marina Pang 水雲山夢：彭蕙清藝術
	145	1/12-2/1/2000	Recent Journeys and Interludes : Paintings by Hon Chi-fun 近旅與幽居：韓志勳繪畫
	146	15/12-20/2/2000	Passion of Collecting : The Oriental Ceramic Society of Hong Kong 25 th Anniversary Exhibition 玩物傾心：香港東方陶瓷學會二十五週年紀念展
	147	18-21/12	Angkor : Photographs by Peter Yung 吳哥窟：翁維銓攝影
2000	148	19/1-12/3	Hong Kong Poster League Episode 1 : People 海道卷一：人

	149	22/3-20/4	Megacities Now ! Asian Vision 特大都市：亞洲前瞻
	150	8/4-30/7	Ming and Qing Bamboo from the Kwan Collection 虛心傲節：關氏藏明清竹刻
	151	5-28/5	Painting by Szeto Lap 靜之吹拂：司徒立繪畫
	152	1-4/6	Paintings and Calligraphy by Leong Weng-kee 梁榮基書畫
	153	16/6-23/7	Paintings by Shi Hu 石虎繪畫
	154	17/6-16/7	"All Is Well" 2000 Ju-I Exhibition 大家如意
	155	2/8-30/9	Paintings by Xu Xi 徐希繪畫
	156	16/11-30/12	The Art of Polish Posters 波蘭海報藝術
	157	22/11-7/1/2001	City Life : Paintings by Fong So 城市生活：方蘇繪畫
2001	158	10/1-18/2	Tradition and Innovation : Prints from Post-Independence India 印藝傳新：現代印度版畫
	159	17/1-6/3	A Life in Art : Paintings by Ng Po-wan 我畫一生：伍步雲繪畫
	160	14/2-13/5	Vitrified Colour : Chinese Glass through the Ages 瑩彩千暉：中國古代玻璃藝術
	161	24/3-10/6	Ancients in Profile : Ming and Qing Figure Paintings from the Shanghai Museum 華容世貌：上海博物館藏明清人物畫
	162	1/6-8/7	Enlightened Blackness : Ink Paintings by Yang Jiechang 玄妙玄實：楊詰蒼繪畫
	163	10/7-31/8	Bits of YOU, Bytes of ME and Echo Bits 01 裝置 01 迴響：香港理工大學設計學系師生展
	164	18/7-12/8	A Love of Ink : Works by HKU SPACE Chinese Art Lecturers 濡翰雅集：香港大學專業進修學院中國美術導師作品
	165	22/8-30/9	Octopus : The Hong Kong Visual Arts Society 28 th Annual Exhibition 異八爪魚：香港視覺藝術協會第二十八屆年展
	166	15/9-21/10	Paintings by Hu Zhenyu 胡振宇繪畫
	167	27/9-8/1/2002	The Musical Arts of Ancient China 古樂風流：中國傳統音樂文化

	168	1/11-31/12	Dreamscapes : Paintings by Antonio Saliola 意中意境：莎尼奧拿繪畫
	169	14/12-19/03/2002	Past Visions of the Future : Some Perspectives on the History of the University of Hong Kong 學府時光：香港大學的歷史面貌
2002	170	27/3-5/5	Carnival Shore : Paintings and Poems by Chung-hing 嘉年華彼岸：綠騎士詩畫
	171	27/3-5/5	Carefree Sojourns : Sculpture by Tong King-sum 隨意所之：唐景森雕塑
	172	12/4-3/7	Gems from the South : Traditional Crafts of Guangdong Province 南邦文物：廣東傳統工藝
	173	8/5-30/6	Building Images : Photographic Perspectives on HKU 映照扶林：香港大學校園攝影
	174	15/5-16/6	Images of South Africa : Photographs by Claude Ho 南非風情：何樂天攝影
	175	26/6-11/8	A Love of Art : Works by HKU SPACE Western Art Teachers 視藝集觀：香港大學專業進修學院西方美術導師作品
	176	25/7-15/9	Forest of Moods: Oil Paintings by Sun Yun-tai 山水悠悠：孫雲台油畫
	177	16/8-8/9	Calligraphy of Heart Sutra by Jao Tsung-I 心無罣礙：饒宗頤心經書法



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