

What follows are two papers written long ago by Susan Bush, presumably for presentation at some conferences or symposia. They were never published, and in recent correspondence she wrote me that she had no intention of publishing them, at least without extensive rewriting. But she wrote that I am welcome to put them on my website for users to read, as I am doing now. Susan and I were together again last March at the meeting of the Association for Asian Studies in Honolulu; she is still well and active, much more so than myself, at age 78 (as I wrote her, a mere youngster.) As a member of the 1977 Chinese Old Painting delegation that I headed, she was the one who was always climbing--towers, rock formations, whatever--and having to be called back down. The two papers that follow are from old copies that I used to make accessible, over many years, to my classes on Song painting. Unfortunately, I do not have copies of the old illustrations to her "Landscape as Subject Matter" article, so readers will have to imagine them or find them in old books.

James Cahill, October 2011.

Art works are the primary source material for art historians, who generally consider information about an artist's status or artistic education as a necessary background that provides a fuller understanding of the work in context. This paper will first chart developments in Sung landscape style, focusing on twelfth-century Academy landscape; then it will discuss the changes that occurred in Hui-tsung's Bureau of Painting, analyzing the status of artists and their literary training. Finally it will touch on the relationship between poetry and Academy landscape from the late eleventh through the early thirteenth centuries. These three strands of development will be treated separately, but links between them will also be emphasized in the light of the assumption that they are parallel and interconnected.

Any sequence of slides covering the evolution of Sung landscape painting will underline the central importance of Academy art by the late eleventh century. The high point of the monumental ink landscape tradition comes at the beginning of Northern Sung with Fan K'uan's "Traveling Among Streams and Mountains" of the early eleventh century. Continuing Five Dynasties practice, Fan lived in Taoist temples and studied the rugged scenery of mountains like T'ai-hua. A somewhat later work in his tradition is the "Buddhist Temple in the Hills," close to Fan K'uan in the hierarchially centralized mountain peak and the strongly outlined rock forms textured with "rain drop" or "sesame seed" strokes. By 1072, in Kuo Hsi's "Early Spring," an interrupted S-curved range, a side pocket of level distance recession, a convincing effect of atmosphere and dramatic shading all combine to energize Kuo's new type of seasonal landscape in which the viewer's eye roams without limits. Kuo Hsi was a court artist, a chih-hou or Artist-in-Waiting in the Yü-shu yüan or Imperial Bureau of Calligraphy. In the next generation, fantastic monumental peaks give way to recognizable scenery where ground planes extend to distant hills and atmospheric perspective is highly evolved. This style appears to have been developed by members of the imperial family, such as Wang Shen and Chao Ling-jiang. It appears in the opening and conclusion of the Cleveland handscroll "Streams and Mountains Without End," which was probably painted by a court landscapist in the 1100s.

Towards the end of Northern Sung, in Li T'ang's "Whispering Pines in the Gorges" of 1124, Academy landscape sought inspiration in earlier models like Fan K'uan's monumental cliffs or the T'ang "blue-and-green" style of needle-sharp peaks as known in "Ming-huang's Journey to Shu." At the same time, as James Cahill has argued, a new realism is evident in the more naturally scaled scenery and the depiction of rock masses, where three-dimensionality is sug-

gested by diagonal positioning and relatively consistent shading or coloring while surface texture is indicated by the small axe-chip stroke. Li T'ang was a tai-chao or Painter-in-Attendance in the Han-lin T'u-hua ch'ü or court Bureau of Painting under Hui-tsung (r. 1101-1126) and later after 1138 under Kao-tsung (r. 1127-1162). It is the Li T'ang tradition that dominates early Southern Sung Academy landscape as can be seen in a well-known round fan by a follower of Li and in a rectangular album leaf by Yen Tz'u-yü of the next generation, a Painter-in-Waiting in the court Bureau of Painting in the 1160s. In both works, the green coloring and the rock, tree and cloud motifs are obviously derived from Li T'ang. The small-scale treatment and the diagonal compositions indicate a new approach. In the succeeding generation the most influential artist was Ma Yüan, whose one-corner compositions were tied together by echoing forms in a manner that stressed surface design. In his works, Li T'ang motifs were abbreviated to bare essentials through the use of wiry outlines, large axe-chip strokes, and graded washes and light coloring. Ma's minimal yet atmospheric style was of course further developed by a slightly later contemporary Hsia Kuei, and both artists served as Painters-in-Attendance in the court Bureau of Painting.

Thus Sung landscape evolves from monumental to small-scale works and the developing Northern Sung concern for realistic effects in composition, atmosphere, and rock surfaces seems to be gradually eroded by the Southern Sung Academy focus on telling details. Usually art historians simply describe these shifts as a kind of self-propelled organic development. The geographical move of the capital from the region of K'ai-feng to that of Hangchow is noted as background, and the potential influence of the misty landscape of the West Lake is minimized if it is mentioned. However, in the aftermath of trips to mainland China, teachers now tend to include tourist slides of Hangchow in their lectures, thus forcibly impressing on their students the potential effect of the site on Southern Sung landscapists. And if the slides themselves are in a Ma Yüan mode, there also remains the question of whether Hangchow garden art influenced Ma's type of bent-wire branches or vice-versa. Are there other kinds of factors, political, religious, or social, that should be taken into account in connection with his art?

For Ming critics, Ma's "one-crover" designs which featured floating remnants of land were reminiscent of the partial control of Chinese territory under the weakened Southern Sung. Hence such compositions were not appropriate models for Ming court landscapists. So far, and no doubt rightly, modern Western art historians have not taken this political interpretation of Southern Sung Academy art seriously. There is also the question of possible Ch'an Buddhist influence in the encroaching mist or void in Ma style works, particularly those collected in

Japan. Still Ch'an references seem far more in evidence in works given to literati or monk painters such as Mi Yu-jen or Yü-chien. On the level of social context, the current scholarly climate is probably quite favorable for investigations of court patronage and its possible influence on subject matter, format, and medium. For example, there are the questions of why so many Ma-Hsia style landscapes were painted on round fans, and for whom were they intended, and how such compositions were designed in conjunction with poetic inscriptions or titles. On a more general level, one might ask whether there were any social factors in later Northern or early Southern Sung of relevance to the evolution of the "lyrical" Ma-Hsia landscapes. "Lyrical" is Sherman Lee's label for this style of abbreviated rendering of minimal forms veiled in atmosphere. Since the Ma-Hsia style is suitable for poetic illustrations and is often accompanied by inscriptions, it certainly seems appropriate to term it "lyrical." Again, in a broader perspective, this definition might raise the question of potential influence from literati art and theory. It is certainly true that to some extent Academy painters must have stemmed from the same culture and shared the same values as scholar artists and critics like Su Shih. Still certain distinctions should also be indicated. Hence it is necessary to summarize briefly what is known of the social status of artists in the so-called "Academy of Painting" in Sung times, and to look at the available evidence for the links between poetry or literature and Academy landscape in Northern Sung. It is precisely the "lyrical" quality of the Ma-Hsia style that poses questions for interpretation and suggests the need for an historical overview of background factors.

There are several different kinds of source material available for this investigation. The first, of long-standing use, is contemporary art historical records: that is, the passages on Hui-tsung and the court Bureau of Painting in Teng Ch'un's Hua-chi of 1167, as well as a few descriptions in literary collections and later series of biographies of painters. The second type consists of Sung government documents such as memorials submitted to emperors as recorded in the Sung hui-yao, a loose compilation first made widely available in 1937. Certain key documents relating to the Sung Bureau of Painting and Hui-tsung's School of Painting have been transcribed in the appendix to a recent anthology by Ch'en Kao-hua, and are thus more likely to be used in the future. A third category is information given in signatures or seals on contemporary paintings or works purporting to be of Sung date. Art historians are inclined to deal with this material, but it often raises questions of authenticity. Secondary sources include introductions to Hui-tsung's Academy and School of Painting in

English by Tseng Yu-ho Ecke and Wai-kam Ho as well as several articles in Chinese and Japanese where information was often presented in charts that could be compared with profit (see bibliography and appendix below). For example, an article in Mei-shu yen-chiu of 1982 by Ling Hu-piao summarizes the known facts about Sung Academy painters in short space and simplified characters (Fig. 1). However, on the minus side, Ling's criteria for inclusion in the so-called "Painting Academy" seem too broad, and he does not make distinctions about problematic artists such as Kuo Hsi and Han Cho, whose affiliations were mainly with the court Bureau of Calligraphy. (Parenthetically the term "Academy of Painting" as used hereafter in this paper refers to the Sung court Bureau of Painting.)

The most sophisticated of these articles and the chief source for a long-range perspective on the status of court artists is Shimada Hidemasa's essay, "On Hui-tsung's School of Painting," in the festschrift for his professor, Suzuki Kei, who had written an introductory article on the topic. It seems that in accordance with T'ang and Five Dynasties usage, certain early Sung calligraphers and painters held the title han-lin tai-chao indicating a duty assignment as a specialist in the arts in personal attendance on the emperor. The early Sung Han-lin yüan, or Court of Han-lin (Attendants) was initially staffed with different types of specialists such as astrologers, calligraphers, painters, and physicians. In 977 the Yü-shu yüan, or Imperial Bureau of Calligraphy, was established in a separate location, and seven master calligraphers with the title of han-lin tai-chao concurrently held the post of chih-hou in this bureau. They were also granted the privilege of wearing the dark red silk robes of grade five civil officials along with the silver embroidered pouch for the fish ornament worn hanging from the belt, and received quite high ranking titular offices or salary office titles, although these may have been without extra benefits. A decree of 1017 indicates that after ten years of service in a bureau post, calligraphers became part of the regular official hierarchy. The T'u-hua yüan, or Bureau of Painting, was set up as an off-shoot of the Bureau of Calligraphy in 984, and formally organized with four positions for painters (tai-chao, i-hst'eh, chih-hou, and hst'eh-sheng, the latter students without official standing). Some early Sung painters were granted honors but they did not receive as high titles as the calligraphers. (For this information presented chronologically in charts, see Figs. 2, 3.) According to Shimada's chart ranking early Sung Han-lin technicians as indicated by the reforms of the early 1080s (Fig. 4), the painter Huang Ch'üan's honorary position is only in the Upper 8<sub>b</sub> group and his son Huang Chü-ts'ai's title is equivalent to Lower 8<sub>b</sub>. For the most part, the higher ranks are filled with calligraphers. The bureaus were moved several times in this period and the

Bureau of painting was eventually located outside one of the palace gates possibly in conjunction with other workshops. By the end of the tenth century limitations began to be placed on the careers of technical specialists, a trend that intensified in the 1020s under Jen-tsung (r. 1022-1063). In 996 technicians were placed in the secondary category of capital officials rather than court officials; by 1013 they could not wear the fish pouch if granted dark red or purple robes; in 1022 they were restricted from changing specializations by lateral movement within the bureaucracy; and by 1028 a specialist in a Han-lin Bureau who held a position in the regular bureaucracy could only be granted a military title.

According to Shimada at the end of the reign of Shen-tsung (r. 1067-1085) in 1082 or 1085, the bureaus of calligraphy and painting were reintegrated into the Han-lin yüan in the palace under eunuch control. Their names were then changed to the Han-lin shu-i chü and the Han-lin t'u-hua chü. However, despite the move of the Bureau of Painting back into the palace, the status of technical officials like painters continued to be low in comparison with civil officials. Note that it was during this time that literati critics expressed their influential opinions on professionals' art. Under Hui-tsung (r. 1101-1126) the situation changed with the establishment of the so-called "four institutes" (the professional schools of medicine, mathematics, calligraphy and painting) as part of the state educational system in accordance with the Reform Party's educational program. The School of Medicine was founded in 1103 to recruit students of high caliber who would eventually serve as officials, and the other institutes were established in the following year to promote a competitive excellence in various arts. In the edict of 1104, the justification for the founding of a School of Calligraphy was that calligraphy is wen, or literature; as for the School of Painting (Hua hshieh), again considered as an offshoot, the idea stressed was that painting is basically calligraphy. At these state schools commoners were admitted as well as students of scholar-class ancestry, and the course of training in the school system, where one progressed through three levels after successive testing, was supposed to produce potential officials with a competency equivalent to those selected through the civil service examinations.

The rise and fall of the four institutes was closely linked to the fortunes of the minister Ts'ai Ching and the Reform Party, as has been discussed by Thomas H. C. Lee (see Fig. 5b). When all institutes were abolished in 1106, the schools of calligraphy and painting were incorporated into the National University (Kuo-tzu chien) and their regulations were published. By 1107, literacy tests were administered to student candidates, and those in the School of painting, initially thirty students, were divided into two classes, those of scholarly background

and commoners. These two types of students were separately housed and studied a different curriculum. In general, the School of Painting's curriculum was modeled on that of the School of Calligraphy. It included a study of the etymology of characters and different script types in early dictionaries such as the Erh ya. While scholars were responsible for two major Confucian classics (the Analects and Mencius) commoners were tested on over thirty characters each from three minor classics. On another day both types of students were briefly tested on the practical aspects of painting. As part of the testing process, illustrations of poetic couplets were judged by their evidence of literary sensibility. Only half of the candidates or less passed the tests that promoted students from the lowest level of studies. (According to the Sung shih version, the distinction between students of scholarly background and commoners occurred on admission to the School of Painting. Class distinctions of this sort are only mentioned in connection with the School of Painting, and with the temporarily reconstituted School of Calligraphy under a different title in the last years of Northern Sung, a fact omitted from Lee's chart: Fig. 5b.) Reestablished in 1107, the institutes were again abolished in 1110 and reabsorbed into the respective court bureaus of medicine, mathematics, calligraphy and painting. However, the first two institutes were restored from 1113 to 1120, and only the School of Painting was not reestablished again in the state educational system.

A fairly clear picture of the institutional line-up of the state system is given in Chart VI. of Betty Ecke's dissertation on "Emperor Hui Tsung: the Artist" (see Fig. 6a; cf. Fig. 5a). She places the Emperor at the top of a chain of command and has all the Schools (or Colleges) under the Kuo-tzu chien as was the case for Painting and Calligraphy by 1106. The Hsü-lin Bureau of Academicians, the pick of the civil officials, is quite separate (cf. Fig. 5a). The schools of calligraphy, painting, Tz'u poetry studies and Tao studies, which are all presented on one line, promoted subjects that directly reflected Hui-tsung's aesthetic and religious interests, and none of these schools continued to be part of the state educational system after Hui-tsung's death. Ecke's Chart VII (Fig. 6b) places the Bureaus (or Courts) of Painting and Calligraphy under eunuch control in the Nei-shih sheng as was the situation after 1095, or 1082 according to Shimada, and links these bureaus to the state institutes that they absorbed after 1110. There is no indication what course of training was followed at the court Bureau of Painting, but it seems likely that some of the practices of the School of Painting were carried on there after 1110. Li T'ang is said to have been tested for promotion in the court bureau through illustrating the concept of a poetic couplet. This type of testing had been introduced in the School of Painting when Sung Tzu-fang was Dean (or Professor) around 1106. Some of the

students from the School of Painting who entered the court bureau may have been allowed to continue their literary studies. Moreover, Ch'en Yao-ch'en, a chin-shih degree graduate of 1119, served as a hua-hstleh-cheng, or Disciplinarian of Painting. Although his title is that of an educational official under the Directorate of Education, he was presumably attached to the court Bureau of Painting because of the date of his degree. (For this position, see one of the She Ch'eng charts discussed in the appendix: Fig. 7.)

In Shimada Hidemasa's opinion, Hui-tsung's chief innovations in the treatment of artists were the establishment of the School of Painting, where painting studies were part of the state educational system for a short time; the testing of an artist's ability to illustrate poetic lines or topics in order to gauge the same sort of literary sensibility tested in the chin-shih examinations; and the policy of allowing court artists to study scrolls brought out for their benefit from the imperial collection. Shimada's concluding argument is that the absorption of some thirty or forty students from the state School of Painting into the court Bureau of Painting must have had an impact on the status of court artists in the last fifteen years of Hui-tsung's reign. Teng Ch'un's account in the Hua-chi of 1167 of court painters' status should thus be read in the light of this background information:

According to the earlier regulations of the present court, none who entered in the arts could wear the fish pouch, although they could wear the dark red and purple silks [of grades 6 and 4 and above respectively]. After 1110, some members of the Bureaus of Calligraphy and Painting with official standing (ch'u chih) were allowed to wear the fish pouch as an exceptional distinction. Further, when the officials-in-attendance (tai-chao) lined up according to rank, the Bureau of Calligraphy was at the head with the Bureau of Painting next, while the Bureau of music and all the artisans such as the carvers of chess-pieces or jade were ranked below. Moreover, in the Bureau of Painting those with student status (chu-sheng) were permitted to study, and whenever anyone who was registered [as such] committed a misdemeanor, he was allowed to merely pay a fine [rather than submit to corporal punishment]. If the crime was serious, he could appeal to the Emperor for a decision. In addition, the daily compensation of artisans in other bureaus was called "food money," whereas only that of the two Bureaus [of Calligraphy and Painting] was called "salaries." If one compares the monetary payments made elsewhere, [calligraphers and painters] were not treated like the majority of artisans. (cf. ECTP, pp. 137-138; WSHY ed.)



Shimada underlines the fact that these changes took place after 1110, when students from the state schools had entered the court bureaus. Note that it was members with registered student status who were exempt from physical punishment and could simply pay fines instead. This group must surely have included those of scholarly background in the School of Painting, after 1106 a part of the National University where students had a privileged status. Members of the two court bureaus were also granted salaries, as indicated by their military titles, rather than the wages of artisans.

Were there any long-term effects from Hui-tsung's educational reforms in painting throughout the twelfth century? After 1110 some of the curriculum and testing practices of the state school system may have been available for certain students in the court Bureau of Painting. Court artists with official standing do not seem to have risen beyond the standard grade nine under Hui-tsung, nor is there any record of a painter allowed to wear the fish pouch ornament with official robes. However, under Kao-tsung in early Southern Sung, two artists with the position of tai-chao were granted civil titles with the rank of 8b. At the same time, senior members of the Bureau of Painting began to receive the distinction of wearing the gold belt as a mark of official status. These points are effectively underlined in charts on the Sung painting academy by Ling Hupiao and She Ch'eng (Figs. 7-10). The best-known twelfth-century tai-chao, such as Li T'ang, Li Ti, and Li An-chung received the military title of ch'eng-chung-lang (grade 9a). In all but two cases, the recorded titles rank 9a or b. The two exceptions are those of Li Tsung-hsün and Yen Chung, both tai-chao under Hui-tsung who were reappointed under Kao-tsung with civil titles of cheng-chih-lang (grade 8b). It is of interest that another civil title, that of cheng-wu-lang ranked grade 9a or b was awarded to court artists of specific families under Kao-tsung and Hsiao-tsung: Yen Chung's son, Yen Tz'u-yü, and Ma Yüan's uncle and father, Ma Kung-hsien and Ma Shih-jung. The lowest civil title of grade 9b was awarded to another of Yen Chung's sons, Yen Tz'u-p'ing, as well as to Chu Jui, a landscapist who followed Wang Wei, and Hsiao Chao, the former bandit and eventual son-in-law of Li T'ang. It is significant that both civil and military titles were granted to court painters under Kao-tsung and Hsiao-tsung up through the 1160s. Such distinctions may stem from the two classes of students in the School of Painting, those of scholarly background and commoners, and from the separate course of study pursued by registered students in the court Bureau of Painting after 1110. Of prime importance here is the fact that civil titles were given to key figures in the transition between the late Northern Sung landscape style of Li T'ang and the Southern Sung Academy landscape tradition of Ma

Yüan and Hsia Kuei. Is it possible that intermediary Li T'ang followers such as Hsiao Chao and the five members of the influential Yen and Ma families were considered to be painters of scholarly background with a high level of literacy? Could that have been the reason for awarding them these civil titles as opposed to the military titles decreed for technical specialists? If so, the "lyrical" aspect of the Ma landscape style, its minimalism, its focus on a few specific objects and its explicit links with poetry, may have had a distant origin in the stress on literary learning and poetic illustration in the curriculum for artists in Hui-tsung's short-lived School of Painting.

To support this argument, one must survey briefly the extant evidence for the relation between painting and literature, or poetry in particular in Sung court landscape. As noted above, Kuo Hsi, Shen-tsung's favorite landscapist, was attached as a chih-hou to the Imperial Bureau of Calligraphy, where he could paint in the emperor's presence. (At this time, in the late 1060s and the 1070s, the Bureau of Painting was located outside the palace. Kuo Hsi, said to have studied Taoist texts and traveled widely when young, was certainly literate, and Shen-tsung thought it appropriate for Kuo, whose son was studying for the examinations, to paint a screen for the Jade Hall, or Scholar's Pavilion, of the Han-lin Academy. It is hard to gauge the extent of Kuo Hsi's literacy, since this son, Kuo Ssu, who became a civil official, edited the Lin-ch'üan kao-chih, or Lofty Message of Forests and Streams, in 1117. However, at the end of the second section on "The Meaning of Painting" (hua i), Kuo Ssu included a selection of poetic couplets and poems selected for pictorial inspiration. The Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu manuscript version of the text, recently published by the National Palace Museum in Taipei, clearly indicates that the first nine selections were those of Kuo Hsi and that seven other selections were Kuo Ssu's later additions (Figs. 11, 12). The identified poets range in date from Wang Wei (701-761) to Wang An-shih (1021-1086), and the latter was presumably included by Kuo Hsi as the influential minister of the period associated with the Reform Party. The first of Kuo Hsi's selections are four complete poems on seasonal themes, spring, summer, autumn, and presumably winter, the last represented by a poem on a retired official fishing in southern waters. This choice may be indicative of Kuo Hsi's optimistic nature, and the theme of traveling and vigorous activity is stressed in other couplets, notably in the concluding selection by Wei Yeh (960-1019). Kuo Ssu's seven additions seem to reflect the atmospheric concerns of the turn of the century, evoking effects of fog and rain or light and shade or far-reaching distance, and conveying a more somber, static mood of

loneliness. In their way, these choices suggest the energetic dynamism of Kuo Hsi's "Early Spring" of 1072 with its endless routes to travel, and the uninhabited reaches and misty distances of the early twelfth century that open and conclude "Streams and Mountains Without End."

In 1124 when combining a knowledge of nature with the study of specific earlier models in "Whispering Pines in the Gorges," Li T'ang might almost have been following the advice given by Han Cho in his compilation on landscape, the shan-shui ch'un-ch'uan chi of 1121. Han Cho, from a scholarly family, held a position in the Bureau of Calligraphy in Hui-tsung's reign, and Han's text seems more "academic" than Kuo Hsi's, where nature was the primary model. The earliest landscape texts included a list of mountain formations, but Han's mountain types are defined as in the Ehr-ya, one of the early Chinese dictionaries studied in the curriculum of the schools of calligraphy and painting. Could this sort of literary education that stressed the memorizing of dictionary definitions have helped to condition painters to focus on type forms in landscape? Might they then combine an assortment of these forms in their compositions, just as Li T'ang blended the needle peaks of the "blue-and-green" style with the monochromatic cliff faces of Fan K'uan? These questions must remain on the level of suggestions here. However, extant descriptions of the testing of painters by set poetic themes do provide evidence of a special kind of literary conceptualization prized in early twelfth-century court painting. Here is a passage from Teng Ch'un's Hua-chi in a section on Hui-tsung and the School of Painting:

One of the topics set for the examination was: "Deserted waters, without men crossing;/An empty boat, horizontal the whole day." From the second best man on down, most attached an empty boat to the side of a bank, with perhaps a perching heron on the edge of the deck, or settling crows on top of the mat-roof. But the best candidate did nothing of this sort. He painted a boatman lying at the stern of the boat with a single flute placed "horizontally." His interpretation (i) was that it did not mean "without a boatman," just "without travelers." Therefore he showed the boatman in a state of total relaxation. Another topic was: "Mountains in confusion, hiding an ancient monastery." The winner painted barren mountains that filled the scroll with a Buddhist flag pole sticking out above to indicate the concept of "hiding." The rest of the men revealed the top of a pagoda or the eaves of a roof, and there were those who showed temple hall or shrine, in which case there was no longer any idea of "hiding." (HC1 ; ECTP, p. 135)

Similarly, in the 1110s Li T'ang is said to have been examined for promotion in the court Bureau of Painting on the line, "A wine shop by a bridge surrounded by bamboo," and to have come out in first place by painting a wine shop flag sticking out of a bamboo grove near a bridge, hence evoking the "enclosed" quality of the topic. Such examples indicate that artists were praised for painting the concepts implied in particular words in single lines. The literary sensibility developed in these tests involved a close reading of the poetic topics and the depiction of telling details.

As for Li T'ang's own poetry, one verse survives; it is a straightforward professional complaint written in Hangchow when he was without imperial patronage and forced to do popular paintings. In Ellen Laing's translation, it reads:

A misty village in the clouds, a landspit in the rain.

Looking at it, it seems easy, but painting it is difficult.

I already know that such scenes will not attract the eyes of today's people.

Most buy cosmetics and paint peonies.

After Li T'ang was recommended to Kao-tsung's Bureau of Painting in the early Southern Sung period, this refined, poetic subject matter became the staple of Sung Academy landscape style as seen in the signed album leaf by Yen Tz'u-yü or in later work attributed to Hsia Kuei. This brief survey of the relationship between poetry and Academy landscape from the time of Kuo Hsi to that of Li T'ang shows that there was a progressive narrowing of scope and increasing focus on details that may point towards the minimalism of the "lyrical" landscape tradition. There is no doubt that Li T'ang was a dominant influence on twelfth-century court landscape, and he had been trained to interpret poetic topics and appreciate mist-filled scenery. A study of Li T'ang's literary background underlines the potential significance in the fact that his prominent followers, Hsiao Chao and members of the Yen and Ma clans, were all awarded civil titles, presumably because of a relatively high level of literacy and some kind of scholarly background. Thus the so-called "lyrical" style of the Southern Sung Academy would seem to have been the product of artists with literary sensibility, granted the highest status available to court painters.

However, despite their titles and honors, these artists only reached the lowest official ranks far below those of the high civil officials (see appendix). Moreover, they produced their art for the emperor or members of his family in the role of imperial servants, rather than doing paintings as gifts for friends or potential equals as was the practice in scholars' art of Northern Sung. Here concrete evidence of inscriptions on paintings can provide a useful perspective on

the relatively low status of court artists. Although Li T'ang wrote poetry, when he inscribed a painting done at court, he limited himself like Kuo Hsi to the date, title and signature. Court artists did not write their own poems on their works, as did certain well-known scholar-officials or members of the imperial family, men who also began to write poetic titles on their landscapes. As Deborah Muller has pointed out, Li Kung-lin in the 1080s accompanied his farewell poem for a fellow official posted to the provinces with an innovative farewell painting. As the Emperor, Hui-tsung was important enough to add explanatory inscription and poetry to his painting, as on the large-scale album leaf of the "Five-Colored Parakeet," the auspicious visitor from the south that landed in the imperial gardens when Hui-tsung was entertaining his brothers. As for the practice of writing poetic titles on landscapes, the primary influence seems to have again come from the scholars although it was carried on later by members of the Sung imperial family. As Alfreda Murck has noted, in the 1070s the retired official Sung Ti painted the "Eight Views of the Hsiao and Hsiang Rivers," a set of dark, misty landscapes eventually inscribed with poetic titles. Inspired by this set, Hui-tsung seems to have composed his own versions of the "Eight Views" with titles, and this theme generated a great deal of poetry and painting in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Several works in the Ma-Hsia tradition have poetic titles or poems inscribed on them by members of the imperial family such as the Empress Yang or Yang Mei-tzu (1162-1233). Among them are works given to Ma Lin, Ma Y'uan's son, such as the well-known album leaf "Fragrant Spring, Clearing After Rain" in Taipei or the plum-blossom painting entitled "Layer on Layer of Icy Thin Silk" in Peking. Despite the striking details and poetic sensibility found in these works, one might argue that the artist was essentially collaborating on demand with the imperial calligrapher. Could this have affected the composition of such paintings? Were certain Ma-Hsi one-cornered designs deliberately left empty to one side to allow room for a member of the imperial family to inscribe them for a recipient? This suggestion may seem irreverent to those who look for Ch'an "emptiness" in such works, but it is not made facetiously. In my opinion, a consideration of all types of links between poetry and painting in the setting of the court Bureau of Painting is central to an understanding both of Southern Sung Academy artists' status and of their "lyrical" style.

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Addendum: Charts

Fig 7

A convenient guide to positions and salary titles plus salaries of painters in late Northern and early Southern Sung is provided by charts in She Ch'eng's article on the organization of the Northern Sung "Painting Academy." In one chart he lines up under official grades respective civil titles, military titles, "Painting Academy" positions and eunuch titles. The positions listed to the left are in the court Bureau of Painting. In my opinion, chih-ying, placed farthest to the left, is not a position but rather an informal title when applied to Ts'ui Po (Soper, Kuo Jo-hsi's Experiences, p. 66) and a misprint for chih-hou in T'u-hui pao-chien (ISTP ed., p. 57; cf. TSHCJMIT, p. 43: T'ien I-min), since chih-ying is not in contemporary lists of Bureau of Painting positions. Then come the posts of educational officials attached to the School of Painting (S), or in one case of Ch'en Yao-ch'en possibly attached to the Bureau of Painting (A) ("Academy") after 1119. The highest educational post under the Directorate of Education listed here is po-shih, Dean or Professor, in grade 8a. It was held by civil officials with chin-shih degrees such as Mi Fu (who had a civil title of grade 7b, hence his position was prefixed by hsing, "acting as": see Shimada, pp. 131-132). Mi Fu's merit title (grade 6b) and privilege of wearing dark red silk robes plus the silvered fish pouch ornament <sup>(grade 6 up)</sup> indicate honors far higher than those granted to officials in the Bureau of Painting. The last two posts to the right in the chart are administrative positions connected with the Bureau of Painting, and the equivalent grade ranks of 7a and 7b have been estimated by She. The highest post, that of kou-tang-kuan or Manager, was presumably held by a eunuch in the Directorate of Inner Palaces Services from the time that the T'u-hua-chü had been reintegrated into the Han-lin-yüan (1082 or 1095). As for fu-shih, Vice-Commissioner or Vice-Director, this was a position held as a commission (under that of shih, Commissioner or Director) in the early Sung I-kuan-yüan, or Bureau of Medicine, where it was a duty assignment given to a regular official. In the late twelfth century, Li Ti is recorded in THPC as having been a fu-shih at the Southern Sung court Bureau of Painting. Still, Li Ti is also said to have held the appropriate military title for a tai-chao in the Bureau, that of ch'eng-chung-lang (grade 9a, after 5 years in the post of tai-chao), a title held by such contemporaries as Li T'ang, Liu Tsung-ku and Li An-chung. If Li Ti did serve as fu-shih there is no indication that he received a higher rank than 9a. As for the military title of wu-ching-lang equivalent to grade 7b, She assumes that it was held by the tai-chao Li An-chung. The evidence for this is a fan painting of "Shrike and Bamboo" in the National Palace Museum that is signed with this title and Li An-chung's name. Questions of authenticity arise here, particularly since the signature is obtrusively placed and unusual for the period.\* Moreover, as mentioned above, Li An-chung is recorded as having received the standard ch'eng-chung-lang title

\* See also the holder Li T'ang who was also recorded as having held the title of fu-shih.

Addendum (Continued)

(THPG, p. 57). Thus it is doubtful that he ever held the title of wu-ching-lang.

*Fig 8*  
*Fig 9*

This point can be underlined statistically by comparing She's charts to those of Ling, mentioned first of all. There one should note the well-known twelfth-century tai-chao from Li T'ang on who were granted the military title of ch'eng-chung-lang. The lowest military title of grade 9b was granted to Su Han-ch'en. In all but two cases, the recorded titles both military and civil are in grades 9a and 9b. The two exceptions are Li Tsung-hsün and Yen Chung, both tai chao in the court Bureau of Painting under Hui-tsung and later under Kao-tsung (although initially in late Northern Sung Yen may not have been attached to the court bureau: note biography). These two men received the civil title of cheng-chih-lang (grade 8b)\*. Another civil title, that of cheng-wu-lang evidently ranked 9a or 9b, was awarded to several court artists of Kao-tsung and Hsiao-tsung's reigns, such as Yen Chung's son, Yen Tz'u-yü, and Ma-Yüan's uncle and father, Ma Kung-hsien and Ma Shih-jung. The lowest civil title of grade 9b was awarded to another of Yen Chung's sons, Yen Tz'u-p'ing, as well as to Chu Jui, who followed Wang Wei in landscape, and to Hsiao Chao, the former bandit and eventual son-in-law of Li T'ang. A majority of the artists granted titles were also given the privilege of wearing the gold belt or girdle as a mark of official status. It is significant that both civil and military titles were granted to court painters in Kao-tsung and Hsiao-tsung's reigns (none seem to be recorded for later than the 1160s). Such distinctions might have originated in the two classes of students in the School of Painting, those of scholarly background and commoners, and the separate course of study pursued by registered students in the court Bureau of Painting in the last fifteen years of Hui-tsung's reign. In any case, She and Ling's charts make it easy to spot distinctions of this sort and to analyze them statistically. (Other examples to be noted here in passing are that Han Cho is recorded as receiving the military title of ch'eng-hsün-lang that ranks as grade 9a but is not the standard title granted to tai-chao in the Bureau of Painting: Han may have remained associated with the Bureau of Calligraphy. Also Ma Ho-chih's recorded civil position of Vice-Director of the Board of Works is a grade 3b position, far too high for him to have been a member of the Sung court Bureau of Painting.)

\* And thus held the equivalent of Huang Chü-ts'ai's rank in early Sung.



Addendum (Continued)

Fig 10  
cf. Fig 4

She's second chart is of course primarily of interest because it indicates the salaries associated with certain titles and positions. Since he includes commodities and extra benefits in his calculations, his salary totals are presumably more believable than those of Shimada Hidemasa, who merely cites the basic salary in cash. In She's second chart, civil titles (C) and military titles (M) are side by side in the line-up, and it is evident that civil titles usually had higher benefits than military ones. Again, the wu-ching-lang title is suspect, and there is no reason to link it to the post of fu-shih said to have been held by Li Ti in the late twelfth century.

It is noteworthy that none of the positions and titles listed in She and Ling's charts are recorded for contemporary Chin court painters of the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, nor were Chin artists noted as having been privileged to wear court robes and golden belts. Thus there seem to have been no attempts to treat Chin painting specialists as officials. The Chin may to some extent have followed T'ang models in the organization of painters at court, basically attaching artists to separate institutions as needed. As a final perspective, the Chin example may serve to indicate that court painters did have a relatively high status, all things considered, under Hui-tsung and even more so under his early Southern Sung successors.

Draft: Do Not Cite

Fig 5a

CHART 1  
The System of Schools in the Sung

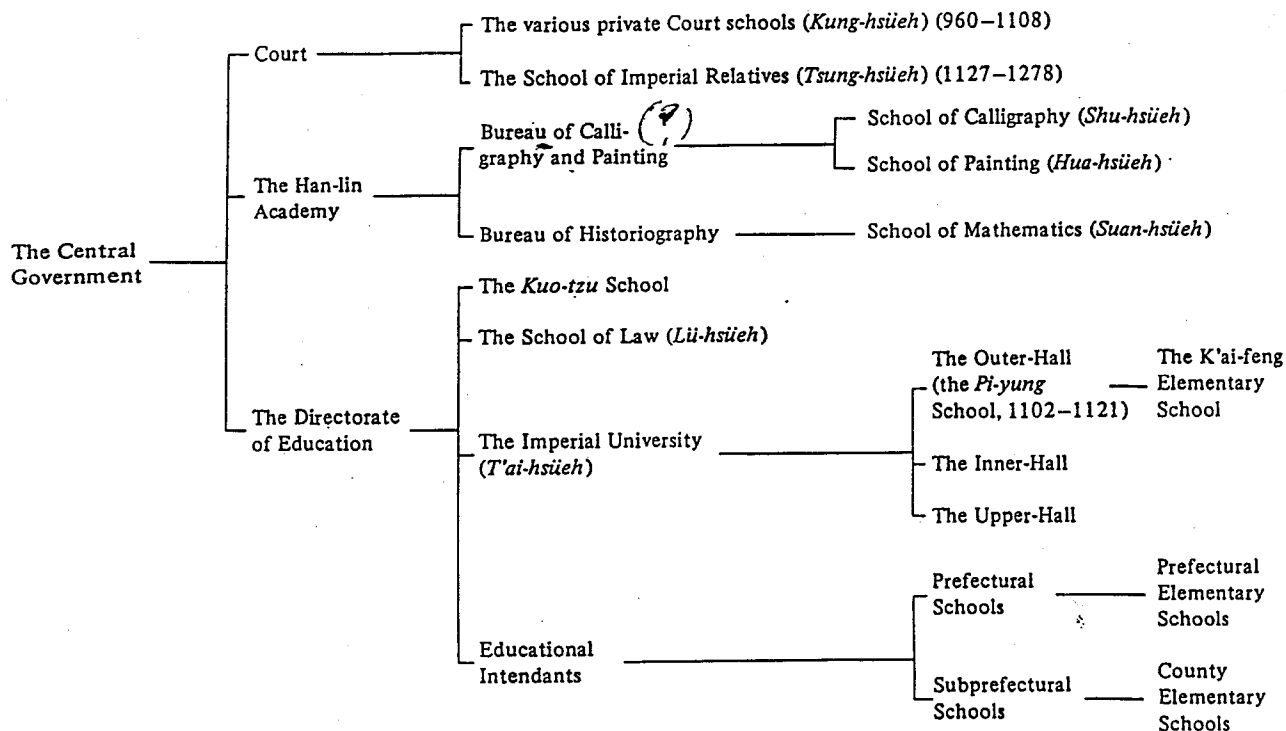


Fig 5b

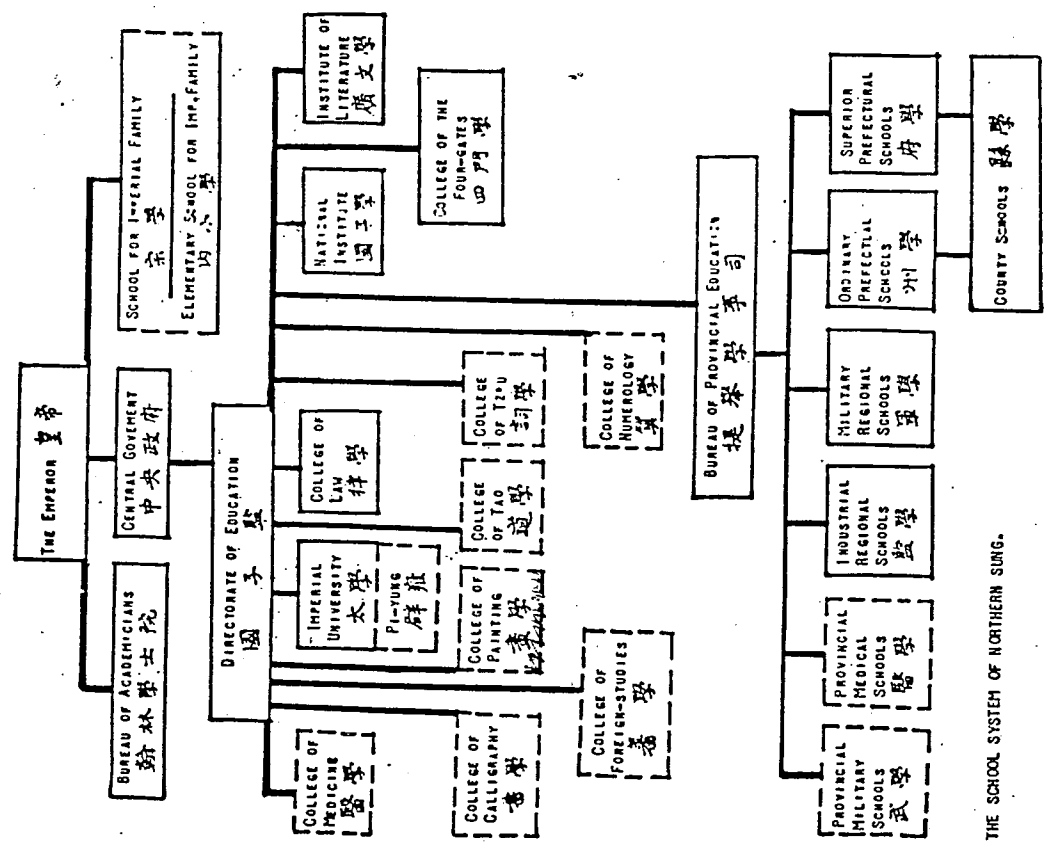
CHART 2  
Special Training Schools in Early Twelfth-century China

Year	Month	Major political events	Schools of			
			Medicine	Mathematics	Painting	Calligraphy
1100		anti-reformers in power				
1102	7	Ts'ai Ching in power				
1103	9		established			
1104				established	established	established
1106	2	anti-reform				
	4		abolished		abolished	abolished
	11			restored		
1107	1	Ts'ai Ching in power	restored			
	3				restored	restored
1109	6	anti-reform				
1110	3		abolished	abolished	abolished	abolished
1112	5	Ts'ai Ching in power				
1113	3			restored		
	4		restored			
1120	6	anti-reform				
	7		abolished	abolished		(?)
1124	12	Ts'ai Ching in power				

Source: See notes 4, 33, 53, 70, 71 and 82. See also HCPSP, 22/11a, 24/6a-7a, 26/7ab, 26/22b, 27/3a, 27/4b, 29/7a, 32/2b, 32/3b-4a, 41/10ab.

Ry 6 a-b

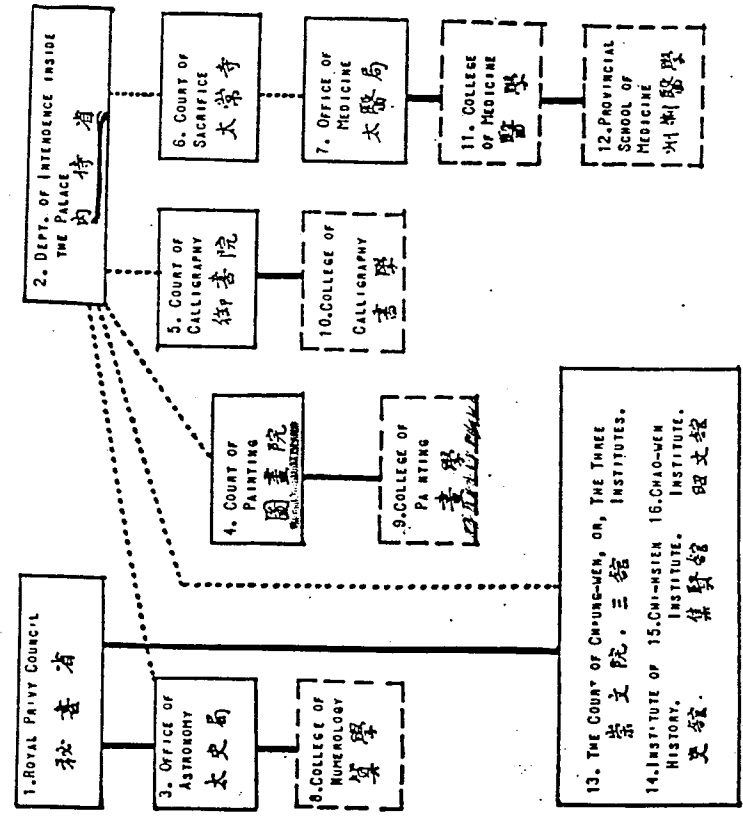
CHART VI.



THE SCHOOL SYSTEM OF NORTHERN SUNG.

--- LINES INDICATES THE NEW ADDITIONS OF EMPEROR HUI TSUNG.  
 --- LINES ON VERTICAL SIDES INDICATES INSIDE THE PALACE.

CHART VII.



--- LINES INDICATE AN INSTITUTE NEWLY CREATED BY EMPEROR HUI TSUNG.  
 ..... LINES INDICATE A LOCATION IN THE REACH OF THE EUNUCHS.

Betty Edle, "Emperor Hui Tsung, De Arbat"

從六品以上(從略)

正七品

朝請郎  
朝散郎  
朝奉郎

武功大夫  
武德大夫  
武顯大夫

勾當官

皇城以下諸使

從七品

承議郎

武略大夫  
武經大夫  
武義大夫  
武翼大夫

副使

皇城以下諸副使

正八品

奉議郎  
通直郎

訓武郎  
修武郎

博士

內殿承制

從八品

宣敎郎  
宣義郎  
承直郎  
儒林郎  
文林郎  
從事郎  
從政郎  
修職郎  
(原登仕郎)

從義郎  
秉義郎

供奉官

正九品

承事郎  
承奉郎  
承務郎

↓ 忠訓郎  
忠翊郎  
↓ 成忠郎  
修義郎

學正  
學諭  
待詔  
藝學

左班殿直  
右班殿直

從九品

承務郎  
↓ 迪功郎  
(原將仕郎)

承節郎  
↓ 承信郎  
下班祇應

祇候  
祇應

三班奉職  
三班借職

? A A A S { S? } A?

2

A?

Fig 8. Ling Hu-piao IB

刘宗古	徽宗朝画院待诏, 宣和间官至成忠郎, 高宗朝复旧职, 除提举车辂院。	人物佛道	郭照		开封	《画继》 《图绘宝笈》
杨士贤	徽宗朝宣和间画院待诏, 高宗朝复旧职, 赐金带。	山水、人物	郭照			同前
季迪	徽宗朝宣和画院授成忠郎, 高宗朝复职, 画院副使, 赐金带, 后历光、孝、宁朝。	花鸟、竹石、人物、山水、犬			河阳	《画继补遗》 《图绘宝笈》 《画史会要》
李安忠	徽宗朝宣和画院祇候官至成忠郎, 高宗朝复职, 赐金带。	花鸟、走兽、山水			钱塘	《画继补遗》 《图绘宝笈》
苏汉臣	徽宗朝宣和画院待诏, 高宗朝复旧职, 孝宗时补承信郎。	道释人物、婴孩	刘宗古		开封	《图绘宝笈》 《画继补遗》
朱锐	徽宗朝宣和画院待诏, 高宗时复职, 授迪功郎, 赐金带。	山水、人物、尤好雪猎盘车	王维		河北	同前
李端	徽宗朝宣和画院待诏, 高宗朝复官, 赐金带。	花鸟			开封	《画继》 《图绘宝笈》
张洙	同上	山水盘车、人物	郭照			《图绘宝笈》
阎仲	徽宗朝宣和画院待诏, 高宗朝复官, 补承直郎, 画院待诏, 赐金带。	人物、山水、牛、杂画				《画继补遗》 《图绘宝笈》
顾光	徽宗朝宣和画院待诏, 高宗朝复官, 赐金带。	山水、人物	郭照			《图绘宝笈》
李从训	徽宗朝宣和画院待诏, 高宗朝复官, 补承直郎, 赐金带。	道释人物、花鸟、杂画、鬼神				《画继补遗》 《图绘宝笈》
周仪	徽宗朝宣和画院待诏, 高宗朝复官, 赐金带。	人物				《图绘宝笈》
焦锡	徽宗朝画院宣和时人, 高宗朝待诏。	人物	石恪			同前
朱光普	随高宗驾南渡补入画院, 职位不详。	农家风俗、山水	左建			《画继补遗》 《图绘宝笈》
朱起	南宋初画院人, 职位不详。					据《云烟过眼录》 新考
吴泽	同上					同前
朱森	南宋初隶画院, 职位不详。	山水、人物		朱魏弟	河北	《南宋院画录》
李章	可能为南宋初隶画院, 职位不详。	人物、山水	家传	李从训之后	杭	同前
马和之	历高、孝两朝, 为“御前画院”之首, 官至工部侍郎。	山水、人物	吴道子			《武林旧事》 《南宋院画录》
马兴祖	高宗朝画院待诏	花鸟、杂画	家传	马贲之后	河中	《图绘宝笈》
刘思义	高宗朝待诏	山水				《图绘宝笈》 《南宋院画录》
肖照	随李唐南渡入画院为待诏, 补迪功郎, 赐金带。	山水、人物	李唐范宽		没译	《图绘宝笈》 《肖云从太平山水画谱》 《西湖志余》

X

Fig. 9. Ling. Hu-piao IC

马公显	高宗朝画院待诏, 授承务郎, 赐金带。	花鸟、人物、山水	家传	马兴祖子	河中	《因绘宝笈》
尹大夫	高宗朝画院待诏	墨竹				同上
林俊民	同上	山水	范宽			同上
贾师古	高宗朝画院祇候	道释人物	李公麟			同上
韩祐	同上	花鸟草虫、写生小景	花鸟草虫师林椿		开封	同上
陈善	高宗朝画院人, 职位不详。	禽鸟、花果、猿猴	易元吉		石城	《武林旧事》 《南宋院画录》
徐确	高宗朝供御前传写	写照				《画继》 《因绘宝笈》
马世荣	高宗朝画院待诏, 授承务郎, 赐金带。	花禽、人物、山水	家传	马兴祖子	河中	《因绘宝笈》
王训成	高宗朝画院待诏, 职位不详。	人物、山水			山东	同前
吴炳	高宗朝画院待诏, 赐金带。	花果、禽鸟			毗陵	《画继补遗》 《因绘宝笈》
林椿	高宗朝画院待诏, 赐金带。	翎毛花卉	赵昌		钱塘	《画继补遗》 《因绘宝笈》
王宗元	高宗朝画院人, 职位不详。	花鸟、池塘小景	惠崇		钱塘 石桥	据《画继补遗》 《因绘宝笈》新考
李瑛	高宗朝画院祇候迁待诏	花竹、禽兽	家传	李迪子	河阳	《画继补遗》 《因绘宝笈》
李璋	高宗朝画院祇候迁待诏	花竹、禽兽	家传	李迪子	河阳	同前
孙沅水	高宗朝画院待诏	人物、山水	郭熙			据《云烟过眼录》 新考
支恂	同前	人物、山水	郭熙			同前
苏焯	高、孝朝画院待诏	道释人物	家传	苏汉臣之子	开封	据《因绘宝笈》新考
李公茂	可能隶高、孝朝画院, 职位不详。	花鸟、走兽	家传	李安忠子	钱塘	《南宋院画录》
苏晋卿	同前	佛像	家传	苏汉臣子	开封	同前
徐诃	同前	人物	苏汉臣	苏汉臣婿		据《画继补遗》新考
毛益	孝宗朝画院待诏	翎毛花卉			昆山	《因绘宝笈》 《昆山志》
何世昌	孝宗朝画院人, 职位不详。	花鸟				《因绘宝笈》
阎次平	孝宗朝祇候补将仕郎, 赐金带。	山水、人物、牛	家传	阎仲子		《因绘宝笈》
阎次子	孝宗朝祇候补承务郎	山水、人物	家传	阎仲子		同前
阎次安	可能隶孝宗朝画院, 职位不详。	山水、石	家传	阎仲子		《南宋院画录》

Fig 1. Ling Hu-piao - I A  
(Composite Xerox to show categories)

友端、张纪、张训礼、杨公杰、徐珂等人。

笔者继承前人研究成果，并根据能接触到的材料，进行了肤浅的辨伪考证后，编撰《宋代画院画家简表》，共收画家226人。其中一些召入画院让而不就的，也列入表内，这样可以反映画院吸收画家的各种要求和艺术标准。“画学”虽然与画院有区别，但因“画学”培养的学生一般进入画院，大观四年(1110年)以后，又将“画学”并入“画院”进行教育管理，所以暂且把他们列入表内。

纵观宋代画院历三百余年，其间画家队伍庞大，人数众多，决不止笔者所收此数。这是因为：由于

过去绘画史籍多是私人撰写，其能见到的史料和画迹并非全面，所记载的只是耳闻目见的一小部分，许多画家便被历史长河淹没了；加之，著书的皆为文人学士，他们对民间画工出身的画院画家大多持鄙视轻蔑态度，往往不予记载，所以又将一大批画家付之烟海了；同时，我国古代正史、野史、笔记、诗文、小说、遗闻杂录等文化典籍，汗牛充栋，丰富浩瀚，穷个人之精力，仅能得沧海之一粟；许多尚未发现的材料，还有待继续清理挖掘。由于笔者学识浅陋，以及资料有限，考订论证难免有不少谬误，恳盼专家赐教。

宋代画院画家简表

name	period, post & titles	specialities	school	family	home	source
郭待诏	徽宗朝画院人，待诏，不记名。	界画			赵州	同前
韩拙	徽宗朝宣和年画院人，职位不详。	山水，著有《山水纯全集》			南阳	《绘事备考》 《佩文斋书画谱》
勾处士	徽宗朝宣和年待诏，不记名。	鉴赏				《画继》
张武翼	徽宗朝宣和年画院人，职位不详。	道释人物				据《图绘宝笈》 新考
何渊	徽宗朝画院人，职位不详。	佛道、人马、花鸟、鬼神、虫兽、楼观、山水	高克明			《画继》 《图绘宝笈》
张择端	徽宗朝画院人，职位不详。	界画、舟车、人物、市街			山东 青城	《清明上河图》 跋文
王希孟	徽宗朝画学生徒，后召入禁中文书库。	山水				《千里江山图》 跋文
赵林	徽宗朝宣和末画院人，职位不详。	人物、山水				据《云烟过眼录》及 《志雅堂杂抄》新考
李诞	徽宗朝宣和时画院人，职位不详。	竹			河间	据《画继》新考
周怡	同上	专摹唐画				据《画鉴》新考
陈德之	同上					据郑麟趾《高丽史》新考
田宗仁	同上					同前
赵守宗	同上					同前
周曾	同上					据《画鉴》《南宋画院画录》新考
胡舜臣	徽宗朝画院待诏	山水	郭熙			《绘事备考》
张著	徽宗朝画院待诏	山水	郭熙			同前
李唐	徽宗朝补入画院，职位不详，“靖康”后“建炎”中南渡，高宗朝被荐入画院为待诏，时年近八十，得幸高宗，赐金带，授成忠郎。	山水、人物、牛	山水初师李思训、荆浩关仝，树石类李公麟		河阳 三城	《画继》《画继补遗》《图绘宝笈》 《格古要论》《珊瑚网》《宝笈录》

## Figures

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- Fig. 10 She Ch'eng, Chart II



Fig 2 A  
Shimada Hide masa  
Chart I a

Date name Han-lin position Prestige Title → rank Salary rank (Titular office) 表 1

徳宗朝の書學について (嶋田)

〔朝代〕 年 號	年	月	人 名	翰林院等における職位	文 散 官	その官品	寄 祿 官
〔太祖〕 建 隆	1	2	苗 王	翰林院天文 翰林院醫官	銀青光祿大夫	從 3	光祿寺丞 都水監主簿
	3	3	米 趙 修	翰林院醫官 判司天監事	朝散大夫	從 5下	鴻臚寺丞
	1	3	王 處 訥 荃	(可天監?)			少府少監 太子左贊善大夫
開 寶	5	12	劉 孫 張	翰林院醫官→向藥奉御 翰林院待詔 翰林院待詔	中散大夫 朝議大夫	正 5上 正 5下	鴻臚寺丞→殿中丞 太僕寺丞 太子洗馬同正
	6	2	孫 仁 望	翰林院待詔	中散大夫	正 5上	行太僕寺丞
	7	10	孫 崇 望	翰林院待詔	朝議大夫	正 5上	寺 主 簿
	7	4	孫 崇 望	翰林院待詔	朝議大夫	正 7上	寺 主 簿
〔太宗〕 太平興國	2	4	馬 張 王 白 孫 楚 王 楚 馮 竣	(可天監主簿?) 翰林院待詔 史館直學→翰林院待詔 翰林院待詔 翰林院待詔 (判司天監事?) 判司天監事 翰林院天文 翰林院醫學 司天監丞翰林院天文院	正奉大夫 朝散大夫	正 4上 從 5下	太僕寺丞 太府少卿同正 衛尉寺丞→著作佐郎 少府監丞 國子博士 尚書工部員外郎 司農少卿
	1	11	張 符	翰林院丞			著作佐郎→左贊善大夫
	1	7	張 綽	翰林院待詔兼御書院祗候	將仕郎	從 9下	守將□□□□
		11	夏 侯 延 結	翰林院待詔			光祿寺丞
	1	12	何 允 元	翰林院書學			少府監主簿
		1	苗 守 眞	判司天監事			太子洗馬
	この頃	2	1	馮 文 智	翰林院醫學		少府監主簿
		2	2	吳 馮 文 智	翰林院待詔兼御書院祗候 翰林院醫學→翰林院醫官	將仕郎	從 9下
淳 化	2	4	文 苗 守 眞	翰林院待詔兼御書院祗候 權司天監事	朝奉郎	正 6上	秘書丞同正 殿 中 丞
	2	5	馮 文 智	翰林院醫官			光祿寺丞
	8	馮 文 智	翰林院待詔兼御書院祗候 翰林院書直兼御書院祗候	將仕郎 將仕郎	從 9下 從 9下	守少府監主簿	
〔眞宗〕 咸 平	3	7	元 馮 文 智	翰林院內供奉 尚藥奉御	朝散大夫	從 5下	
	この頃	3	王 熙 元	春官正			太子洗馬→殿中丞
景 徳	3		周 克 明	權判司天監事兼翰林院天文			太子洗馬→殿中丞
	大中祥符	2	2	尹 熙 古	翰林院待詔	朝奉郎	正 6上
7		7	裴 珣 古	翰林院待詔	朝散大夫	從 5下	國子博士同正
7		7	尹 熙 古	翰林院待詔	朝散大夫	從 5下	國子博士同正
11		11	"	"	"	"	"
この頃	3	6	盛 禿	御書待詔			光祿寺丞同正→秘書丞同正
	"	"	尹熙古・裴珣	翰林院待詔			國子博士同正→將作少監同正
	"	"	王 德 潤	翰林院書藝			→光祿寺主簿同正

Shimada Hidemasa  
chart Ib

Outy assignment Merit title → rank Honors Source of Information

差遣	勲階	その品	賜	出典
				「宋史」卷461 「長編」卷2 " 「宋史」卷461 "
				" 「聖朝名畫評」卷1
	柱國	從2		「長編」卷13, 「宋史」卷461 「金石續編」卷13大宋新修周康王廟碑 「金石續編」卷13大宋新修唐憲宗皇帝廟碑銘 「金石萃編」卷124大宋新修唐高祖神堯皇帝廟碑銘 " 大宋新修周武王廟碑銘, 大宋新修唐太宗廟碑銘 " 大宋新修商帝中宗廟碑銘
樂源縣主簿(貴州) 樂源縣主簿(貴州)	柱國	從2	賜五品服  賜緋魚	「宋史」卷461 「金石萃編」卷125重刊終南山上清太平宮碑銘 「會要」職官六翰林院, 「宋史」卷296, 「長編」卷23 「金石萃編」卷125 大宋重修袁州文宣王廟碑銘 「長編」卷24 「宋史」卷461 " " "
→ 廬州巢縣令(安徽) → 漢州綿竹縣令(四川)			賜緋魚袋  賜緋魚袋 賜紫金魚袋	「會要」職官36技術官 「金石萃編」卷125上清太平宮鐘記 「會要」職官36技術官 " 「宋史」卷461 " 「金石萃編」卷125大宋重修漢州龍興寺大悲像并閣碑銘 「宋史」卷461 「益州名畫錄」卷中
守高州樂原縣主簿(貴州)			賜□□□□ 賜金紫 賜緋 賜緋魚袋	「金石萃編」卷125大宋重修西京白馬寺記 「宋史」卷461 " 「金石續編」卷13大宋重修北嶽安天王廟碑銘 " "
			賜金紫	「會要」職官36技術官 「宋史」卷461 " "
振州延德縣主簿(廣東)→	騎都尉 騎都尉 騎都尉 "	從5 從5 從5 "	賜緋魚袋	「金石續編」卷14大宋開州真縣承天觀碑銘 「金石萃編」卷127大宋封祀壇頌 " 大宋封禪朝覲壇頌 " 大宋天貺殿碑銘 「會要」職官36技術官 " "

宗は咸平元年これを右掖門外に移し、待詔三人、藝學六人、學生四十人の定額を定めた。

この章では、まず英宗朝以前の翰林技術官に対する待遇に察し、次に神宗朝に於ける翰林院の改革について觸れることな  
なお論述の主たる目的が圖書院の畫家にあることは言うまで  
資料上の制約に依り、また徽宗朝の四學との關連上、必要な  
て他の翰林三院乃至その技術官についても觸れる。

1 眞宗朝以前

北宋時代の畫院畫家の拜した散官、寄祿官、差遣等につき  
のこれに言及するものは極めて稀少であり、實作品の落款、  
の記事等に依つてもたかたか數例を捕い得るに過ぎない。し  
院の畫家については、史書、金石資料等に依り、その正式の  
詳細に知り得る者が若干ある。これらを併せて年代順に排列  
が表1である。なお、翰林醫官、天文官については第一次的  
れに觸れるものが皆無に近いため、やむを得ず「宋史」卷四  
六二の方位列傳により補った。遺漏の少なからぬことが豫想  
るが、以て北宋前半期に於ける翰林院院人の到達し得た最高  
うことは可能であり、かつ、後述する如く翰林諸院の待詔は  
の待遇を受けていたことを示す資料があるので、この表を以  
鏡人に誤えられた官職の最上位を各名々推測することによ  
短以前に記す翰林待詔は、翰林學士院に直屬した寫書詔官と  
れを指すかも知れない。またそれ以後に於ても翰林待詔兼御  
と記す例が多く、これらは學士院の翰林待詔が御書院祇候を  
する史書の記述と一致するが、これらの問題については小川  
よる詳細な論考が近く發表される豫定であるので、それに讓  
表の内容を散官から見ると、その官品は、將仕郎(從九上  
銀青光祿大夫(從三品)に至り、翰林諸院に於ける職位と無  
なりの幅を示すが、おおむね從五品官前後が多く、殊に眞宗  
の邊が翰林諸技術官の到達し得る最高品であったようである  
宋初の寄祿官については、制度史を専門としない筆者とし  
崎市定氏「宋代官制序説——宋史職官志を如何に讀むべき  
佐伯富氏編『宋史職官志索引』所收)及び梅原郁氏「宋初の宰  
の周邊——宋代官制理解のために——」(『東方學報』京都第  
に全面的に依るしか方法がないが、梅原氏の作製された文官  
システムを示す諸表に、ここに見られる寄祿官名をあてはめ  
ら、就中書畫院院人は凡そ左の如く昇遷したことが知られ  
諸寺監主簿↓諸寺監丞↓太子諸官(中丸、左右贊善大夫  
馬)↓國子博士↓少卿監

しかし梅原氏論文によれば、同階の寄祿官が複數個存在す  
て官人の流品の高下を區別するためであるとされていること  
注意しなければならない。即ち表中の寄祿官名の大多數は

4	11	白尹	翰林	待詔	朝散大夫	從5上	守將作少監	中書省五品官	麟趾	從5	賜紫	「金石萃編」卷129、石保吉碑 「宋史」卷461 「金石萃編」卷130中嶽中崇聖帝碑 北嶽題告文 「宋史」卷461
7	9	白守	翰林	待詔	朝散大夫	正5下	守少府少卿	守靈州靈武縣主簿(山西)	賜紫	從4	賜紫	「會要」職官36技術官、「長編」卷91 「金石萃編」卷130中嶽題告文
8	2	白守	翰林	待詔	朝散大夫	正5上	守少府監	國州衙口縣主簿(四川?)	賜紫	正4	賜紫	「消谷居士集」卷45、「研北雜錄」卷上 「江山樓觀圖卷」(大阪市立美術館)
9	4	白守	翰林	待詔	朝散大夫	從8上	守少府監		賜紫		賜紫	「金石萃編」卷130大宋增修中嶽崇聖帝廟碑銘 「會要」職官36技術官、與服6魚袋、「長編」卷102、「宋史」 卷153 「會要」職官36技術官、「長編」卷104
9	9	周	翰林	待詔	朝散大夫		守少府監		賜紫		賜紫	「會要」職官11騎勅 「聖朝名畫評」卷2
2	2	尹	翰林	待詔	朝散大夫	正6上	守少府監	中書省五品官	賜紫		賜紫	「金石萃編」卷132大宋新修西京永安縣會聖宮碑銘 「宋史」卷462
3	9	白劉	翰林	待詔	朝散大夫	從9下	守少府監		賜紫		賜紫	「會要」職官36翰林院
この頃		沈	翰林	待詔	朝散大夫		守少府監		賜紫		賜紫	
この頃		燕	翰林	待詔	朝散大夫		守少府監		賜紫		賜紫	
(仁宗)	6	刑守	翰林	待詔	朝散大夫	從5下	守少府監		賜紫		賜紫	
乾興	10	王	翰林	待詔	朝散大夫		守少府監		賜紫		賜紫	
天聖	4	王	翰林	待詔	朝散大夫		守少府監		賜紫		賜紫	
この頃	6	尹	翰林	待詔	朝散大夫		守少府監		賜紫		賜紫	
景祐	9	高	翰林	待詔	朝散大夫		守少府監		賜紫		賜紫	
この頃	1	李	翰林	待詔	朝散大夫		守少府監		賜紫		賜紫	
景祐	9	許	翰林	待詔	朝散大夫		守少府監		賜紫		賜紫	
景祐	2	許	翰林	待詔	朝散大夫		守少府監		賜紫		賜紫	
(英宗)	7	時	翰林	待詔	朝散大夫		守少府監		賜紫		賜紫	
治平	1	君	翰林	待詔	朝散大夫		守少府監		賜紫		賜紫	

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Fig 4. Shimada Hidemasa  
Chart II

official rank    Salary office    Prestige title → rank    Honors    Salary    name    Date Era year    Count Bureau

元夏寄祿格による官品	寄祿官	文散官	官品	賜	俸祿	人名	年號	年	所屬
從 9 下	少府監主簿	將仕郎 承奉郎 將仕郎 將仕郎 朝請郎	從9下 從8上 從9下 從9下 正7上	賜緋魚袋 賜緋 賜紫 賜緋魚袋 賜緋魚袋	5貫 " " " " " " " " (#)	何允元	端拱	1	御書院
	都水監主簿					米瓊	建隆	2	醫官院
	守少府監主簿					黃仲英	淳化	2	御書院
	"					刑守元	大中祥符	9	"
	"					高克明	(仁宗朝)	"	圖書院
	□少府□主簿					吳鄂	端拱	2	御書院
	守將□□□□					張緯	端拱	1	"
	寺主簿					司徒儼	開寶	7	"
	光祿寺主簿同正					王德潤	大中祥符	3	"
	從 9 上					太常寺奉禮郎			
從 8 下	少府監丞	朝散大夫 中散大夫 " " 朝散大夫 朝請大夫	從5下 正5上 " " 從5下 從5上	賜紫金魚袋	13 " " " " " (#)	白崇矩	太平興國	8	"
	太僕寺丞					孫崇望	開寶	6	"
	行太僕寺丞					"	"	"	"
	光祿寺丞					夏侯延祐	端拱	1	圖書院
	"					王襲	建隆	2	醫官院
	鴻臚寺丞					劉翰	建隆-開寶	"	"
	寺丞					黃居寔	(太宗朝)	"	圖書院
光祿寺丞同正	盛花	大中祥符	3	御書院					
從 8 上	著作佐郎				14 "	張符著 王著	雍熙 太平興國	1 7	御書院
	"								
正 8 下	太子左贊善大夫	中散大夫 朝散大夫 朝議大夫	正5上 從5下 正5下	"	18 " " " " " (#)	黃筌	乾德	3	圖書院
	"					張符	雍熙	1	"
	太子右贊善大夫					尹熙古·裴瑋	天禧	2	御書院
	太子中舍					白憲	大中祥符	8	"
	太子洗馬					白憲	天禧	2	"
	太子中舍同正					刑守元	乾興	1	"
	"					王文度	天聖	2, 4	"
太子洗馬同正	張仁愿	開寶	6	"					
正 8 上	殿中丞	朝奉郎	正6上	賜□□□□	(#) (#) (#)	劉翰	開寶	5	醫官院
	秘書丞同正					文□□	淳化	2	御書院
	"					盛亮	大中祥符	3	"
守秘書丞同正	朝奉郎	正6上	賜緋魚袋	(#)	尹熙古	大中祥符	2	"	
從 7	國子博士	朝散大夫	從5下	"	20 " "	尹熙古	天聖	6	"
	"					孫景瑜	太平興國	8	"
	國子博士同正					尹熙古·裴瑋	大中祥符	2, 3	"
正 6	將作少監同正	朝請大夫 正奉大夫 朝散大夫 朝奉大夫	從5上 正4上 從5下 正5下	賜紫金魚袋	(35) " " " " "	尹熙古·裴瑋	大中祥符	3	"
	守將作少監□□					白憲	大中祥符	4	"
	司農少卿同正					尹熙古·裴瑋	天禧	2	"
	太府少卿同正					張振	太平興國	5	"
	"					白憲	天禧	2	"
	守太府少卿同正					尹熙古	大中祥符	4	"
	守□府少卿同正					白憲	大中祥符	7	"

Calligraphy  
Medicine  
Painting

徽宗朝の畫學について (嶋田)

Posts or Title

畫院官職名稱	奉 <i>Salary in Cash</i> 祿	職 <i>Salary Pay</i> 錢	料 <i>Extra Allowances</i> 錢	增給錢 <i>Increments</i>	合 Total 計
勾當官 (武經大夫相當)	二十五千; 另外加春多絹各十四、綿二十兩, 折錢為二十千八百文。合為四十五千八百文。		二十五千。	二十千。	九十千八百文。
副使 (武經郎相當)	二十千; 另加春絹五匹、冬七匹、綿二十兩, 折錢為十二千八百文。合為三十二千八百文。		二十千。	十五千。	六十七千八百文。
博士 (奉議郎相當)	二十千; 另春多絹各七匹、羅一匹、綿三十兩, 折錢為十六千二百文。合為三十六千二百文。	二十千。			五十六千二百文。
承直郎	二十五千; 另春多絹各六匹、綿十二兩半, 折錢為十二千四百八十文。合為三十七千四百八十文。		二十五千。		六十二千四百八十文。
畫學正 (承事郎相當)	十千; 另春多絹各五匹、綿十五兩, 折錢為十千六百文。合為二十千六百文。	(行) 十八千。			三十八千六百文。
畫學諭 (承奉郎相當)	八千。	(行) 十八千。			二十千六百文。
承務郎	七千。		七千。		十四千文。
成忠郎	七千; 另春多絹各四匹、冬綿十五兩, 折錢為八千六百文。合為十五千六百文。		八千六百文		二十四千二百文。
承信郎	四千; 另春多絹各三匹、錢二千, 折錢為八千文。合為十二千。		八千。		二十千文。
迪功郎 (原將仕郎)	十二千。		十二千。		二十四千。

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*The Meaning of Painting*

am responsive and at one with my surroundings and have achieved perfect co-ordination of mind and hand, then I start to paint freely and expertly, as the proper standard of art demands. Men of to-day, however, are swept away by their impulses and feelings, and rush to complete their work.

Therefore, I, Ssü, have set down the following poems, some of which my father was fond of reciting. He considered that some of them contained themes appropriate for painting. To them I have added others which I have sought out for myself. I list them below.

KUO HSI'S CHOICES

*Gazing at Mount Nu I*

On the peak of Mount Nu I the spring snow is gone.  
By the roadside apricot flowers begin to bud.  
Not knowing when I can fulfil my heart's desire to depart,  
In despair I turn back my carriage at the rustic bridge.

By YANG SHIH-E. (act. ca. 800)

*A Visit to a Mountain Retreat*

Alone I set out to visit a mountain retreat, now stopping,  
now proceeding again.  
Thatched cottages are linked behind the pine branches.  
Though the host hears my voice, the gate is not yet open;  
By the fence over the wild lettuce flutters a yellow butterfly.

By CH'ANG-SUN TSO-FU. (act. ca. 784)

*Some appropriate Themes*

[*Thoughts on My Brother*]

When will my brother, sojourning in the south, return?  
I only know he is among the Three Rivers and the Five Ranges.

Alone I stand at the Heng Gate and gaze over the immensity of the autumn waters wide;  
A lone raven starts away, and the sun sets behind the mountain.

(autumn) By TOU KUNG.

(ca. 762-821)  
After fishing I moor my lone boat among the reeds  
And open a new bottle of wine and undo a package of preserved fish.

Since I became a fisherman on the banks of the Kiang and the Ché,

For twenty and more years my hands have never been folded in salutation.

(winter?) ANON.

South of my house, north of my house, the spring is in flood;

Day after day I have seen only gulls . . .

By TU FU.  
(712-70)

Crossing the stream, my lame mule straightens his ears;  
Shunning the wind, my lean servant raises his shoulders.

By LU HSÜEH.(?)

I will walk till the stream ends  
And sit to watch the clouds rise.

(Wei)  
By WANG MO-CHI'.

### The Meaning of Painting

In the sixth month with a cane I come to a stony pass;  
In the noon-tide shade, I hear a murmuring stream.

By WANG CHIH-FU. (1021-86)  
(An-shih)

With a few creakings of the long oars,  
I depart from the shore;

With a few drippings of the water clock,  
I pass cities and mountains.

By WEI YEH. (960-1019)  
K'UO SSU'S ADDITIONS

Joining the sky, the distant water becomes crystal-like;  
Half hidden in the heavy fog, the lone city wall looks  
immense.

By TU FU. (712-70)

The dog sleeps under the shade of the flowers;  
The cow grazes in the pasture amidst the rain.

[ By LI HOU-TS'UN.] (?)

The bamboo thicket sieves the rain drops;  
The high peak holds the evening glow.

By HSIA-HOU SHU-CHEN. (?)

On the distant horizon an approaching goose appears small;  
On the vast waters a departing ship seems forlorn.

By YAO HO. (act. ca. 831)

Clouds wait brooding for snow and hang heavily over the  
earth;

The wail of autumn is uninterrupted as the wild geese  
sweep over the sky.

By CH'EN WEI-YEN. (act. ca. 1016)

### Appropriate Themes

Heavy with rain the spring flood rushes rapidly through the  
night;

Not a soul on the bank; a solitary ferry lies aslant the water.  
By WEI YING-WU.  
(ca. 735-ca. 835?)

Together we gazed on distant waters;  
Alone I sit in a lone boat.

By CHENG KU.  
(?-ca. 896)

古今精華亦可以思過半矣

先子嘗論可畫者

女凡山頭春雪消路傍仙杏發柔條心期欲去知何日惆悵回車下野橋唐李士諤望女  
凡山

獨訪山家歇還涉茅屋斜連隔松葉主人閒語未開門繞籬野菜飛黃蝶長係左輔山家  
南遊兄弟幾時還知在三湖五嶺間獨立衡門秋水闊寒鴉飛去日沉山賈島寄南遊

釣罷孤舟繫葦梢酒開新甕鮮開包自從江浙為漁父二十餘年手不交無名氏

南舍北皆春水但見群鷗日來老杜  
渡水寒鷗雙耳直避風竄僕一肩高寄詩  
行到水窮處坐看雲起時王摩詰

六月杖藜來石路午陰多處聽淅淅王介甫  
數聲離岸櫓幾點別州山魏野

思嘗助記

遠水兼天瀾孤城隱霧深老杜  
犬眠花影地牛牧雨聲陂李拱村舍

密竹滴殘雨高峯留夕陽夏侯叔簡  
天遙來鴈小江闊去帆孤映合

背意未成雲著地秋聲不斷鴈連天錢惟演  
春潮帶雨晚來急野渡無人舟自橫蘇應物

相看臨遠水獨自上孤舟鄭谷

畫訣

凡經營下筆必全天地何謂天地謂如一尺半幅之上上留天之地位下留地之地  
位中間方立意定景見世之初學遠把筆下去與不去半爾立意稱情塗抹滿幅看  
之頃寒人目已令人意不快那得取賞於滿瀝見情於高大哉  
山水先理會大山名爲主峯主峯意定方作以次近者遠者小者大者以其一境主  
之於此故曰主峯如君臣上下也又以次雜窠小芥女蘿碎石以其一山表之於此故  
曰家老如君下小人也

山有戴土山有戴石林木瘦篳石山戴土林木肥茂木有在山木有在水在山者土  
厚之處有千尺之松在水者土薄之處有數尺之藥水有流水石有盤石水有瀑布  
石有堆石瀑布練飛於林表旋石常踰於路隅雨有欲雨雪有欲雪雨有大雨雪有  
大雪雨有雨霽雪有雪霽風有急風風有歸雲風有大風雲有輕雲大風有吹沙走  
石之勢輕雲有薄羅引素之容  
唐書依溪不依水衝依溪以近水不依水衝以爲害或有依水衝者水雖衝之必無  
水害處也村落依陸不依山依陸以便耕不依山以爲耕遠或有依山者山之間必  
有耕處也

大松大石必畫於大坡大岸之上不可作於淺灘平渚之邊

一種使筆不可反爲筆使一種用墨不可反爲墨用筆與墨人之淺近事二物且不知  
所以操縱即馬得成妙絕也哉此亦非難近取諸學書正與此類故說者謂王右軍喜  
總意在取其轉項如人之執筆轉腕以結字此正與論畫用筆同故世人之多謂善畫  
者往往善書蓋由其轉腕用筆之不滯也或曰墨之用如何答曰用焦墨用宿墨用退  
墨用埃墨不一而足不一而得詳見下文說用石用瓦用盆用甕片墨用精墨而已不  
用東川與西山筆用尖者圓者粗者細者如針者如刷者運墨有時而用濃墨有時而  
用焦墨有時而用宿墨有時而用退墨有時而用厨中埃墨有時而取青黛澱墨水而  
用之用淡墨六七加而成深即墨色滋潤而不枯燥用濃墨焦墨欲特然取其境界非  
濃與焦則松稜石角不瞭然既以瞭然然後用青墨水重疊過之即墨色分潤常如露  
露中出也淡墨重疊旋旋而取之謂之幹淡以銳筆橫臥重重而取之謂之乾擦以水  
頭特下而指之謂之推以筆端而注之謂之點點施于人物亦施於木葉以筆引而去  
之謂之畫畫施於樓屋亦施於松針雪色用濃淡墨作濃淡但墨之色不一而染就烟  
色就樣素本色擦拂以淡水而痕之不可見筆墨迹風色用黃土或埃墨而得之土色  
用淡墨用埃墨而得之石色用青黛和墨而淺深取之瀑布用綠素本色但焦墨作其  
水旁以得之

色春綠夏碧秋清冬黑天色春晃夏蒼秋淡冬黯畫之處所須冬煖夏涼宏堂遠宇畫  
之致思須百慮不干神盤意豁老杜詩所謂五日畫一水十日畫一石能事不受相覽  
迫王宰始肯留真蹟斯言當矣

畫題

世說所載戴安道一事安道就陳留范宣學宣之讀書抄書安道皆學至於安道學畫  
宣乃以爲無用而不喜安道於是取南都賦爲宣畫其所賦內前代衣冠宮室人物鳥  
獸草木山川莫不畢具而一一有所證據有可徵考宣然後驕然從之曰畫之爲有益  
如是然後重畫然則自古帝王名公鉅儒相襲而畫皆有所爲而作也如今成都周公  
禮殿有西晉益州刺史張收畫三皇五帝三代至漢以來君臣賢聖人物粲然滿殿令  
人識萬古 樂故王右軍恨不克見而逮今爲士大夫之寶則世之俗士下隸矜矜細  
巧又豈知古人於畫事別有意旨哉中間吾爲試官出堯民擊壤題其間人物卻作今  
人中情此不學之弊不知古人學畫之本意也

思因纂錄先子畫題之下間以所聞注而出之蓋亦用先人之本訓也

一種畫春夏秋冬各有初中曉暮之類品意思物色便當分解況其間各有趣哉其他  
不消拘四時而經史諸子中故事即又當各從臨時所宜者爲可謂如春有早春春  
雪景早春雨景殘雪早春雪霽早春雨霽早春烟雨早春寒雲欲雨春雨春露早春  
景早春曉景上日春山春雲欲雨早春烟霧春雲出谷滿溪春溜遠溪春溜春雨春風  
作料風細雨春山明麗春雲如白鶴非多謂如鶴形也飛圖誌之類亦取自前諸君題也