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**饒宗頤書畫的古意**  
**Archaism in Jao Tsung-i's**  
**Painting and Calligraphy**

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2018年2月6日，饒宗頤教授（1917-2018，以下簡稱饒公）於香港溘然辭世，這不僅是學術界的損失，亦是書畫界的憾事。饒公被譽為國學大師，其研究領域涉及甲骨學、簡帛學、經學、宗教學、史學、敦煌學、潮學、目錄學、文學等，學術成就之高，早有定論。<sup>1</sup> 學術之外，饒公亦醉心書法繪畫，並曾以「學藝雙攜」四字自述，道出其學術與藝術乃是齊頭並進、相互兼通。<sup>2</sup> 可以說，饒公書畫作品的學術內涵，乃是其價值之所在。因此，本文試以「古意」為主題，以管窺饒公書畫的特色，蓋饒公作品中的古意，正是源自其淵博的學問與識見。

### 貴有古意

早於元代初年，趙孟頫（1254-1322）已論畫曰：「作畫貴有古意，若無古意，雖工無益」，以古意為評畫高下的標準。<sup>3</sup> 這種主張的根本精神，是重視歷史，尊重傳統，故師法古人，是學畫之正道，亦是自立成家的重要依據。趙孟頫之後，歷代文人亦多以古意評畫，例如明代文徵明（1470-1559）曾稱趙孟頫所繪的湘君、湘夫人「行筆設色，皆極高古」，但時人所繪者，「雖極精工而古意略盡。」<sup>4</sup> 在重視古意之下，晚明的董其昌（1555-1636）更回溯畫史，提出其著名的南北宗畫論，並以南宗為繪畫正宗，其後更衍生出風靡整個清代的仿古風尚。<sup>5</sup>

在中國傳統文化之中，崇尚古意並非等同泥古不化；相反而言，是以古開今，體現出傳承與變化並重的特色。要有古意，畫家須通曉畫史源流、掌握古人筆墨，並能古為今用，故畫家的畫史識見、筆墨技巧，缺一不可。書法藝術亦是如此。自古以來，臨池學書無不以觀帖、臨帖為不二法門。通過觀帖、臨帖，書家可領略傳統法度，可得古人筆法，從而下筆皆有所本。然而書家學古，固然不可任意塗寫，但亦不可成為書奴，故須參悟，以求不受前人束縛。故書法中的古意，貴在與古人有著似與不似的微妙契合。即使是晚清書壇出現了碑學的變革，不少書家不取古代大師書蹟為範本，改而以無名氏的殘碑斷碣為臨寫對象，但崇尚古意的原則並沒有絲毫改變。不同之處，只是其追求古意的源頭，由晉唐轉為北魏甚至先秦兩漢而已。

能有古意，需要深諳書畫源流，掌握古人筆法，領略各家各派的特色，並有「通古今之變」的能力。在當今社會，能以深厚學識體現「古意」這種傳統價值的書畫家，已是鳳毛麟角。「學藝雙攜」的饒公，無疑是罕見之例。

### 書法：須事臨摹

饒公曾自述學書經過，指出所學者包括唐碑、魏碑、法帖、漢碑、漢簡等，並謂「書之體態繁曠，須事臨摹，以增益多師，而骨力必由己出。」<sup>6</sup> 可知其學書以臨摹為法，並求其廣博。此種臨池之法，自古皆然，而所謂臨摹，不僅是學習古人的手段，更是自我參悟的過程，若悟得其法，則可縱橫馳騁，變古出新。

On the sad day of February 6, 2018, Professor Jao Tsung-i (1917-2018) passed away in Hong Kong, which is a bereavement to not just academia but also the world of painting and calligraphy. The esteemed doyen of Chinese studies contributed widely and immensely to the fields of oracle bones, manuscripts on bamboo slips and silk, Chinese classics, religious studies, historiography, Dunhuangology, Chaozhou studies, bibliography, Chinese literature, etc.<sup>1</sup> Scholar aside, he was also a passionate painter and calligrapher who believed in what he called the “mutuality between art and learning” and personally evinced it by espousing the dual importance of art and scholarship all his life.<sup>2</sup> As a matter of fact, the intrinsic value of his painting and calligraphy lies in the learning embedded. In light of this, this essay aims to conduct a general survey of the characteristics of his art with special reference to archaism, which originates from his profound knowledge and scholarship.

### Archaism as essentials of painting

As early as the infancy of the Yuan dynasty, Zhao Mengfu (1254-1322) asserted archaism as the touchstone of a good painting, saying that a painting however fine is worthless if it lacks archaism.<sup>3</sup> The fundament of this assertion is the importance of history and tradition. It follows that modelling on past masters is not only the proper approach to learning painting but also the basis for building one's individuality. From then on, archaism was looked upon by literati as a yardstick for measuring a painting. Wen Zhengming (1470-1559) of the Ming period, for instance, lauded Zhao Mengfu's *Nymphs of the Xiang River* for its exceptionally archaistic palette and brushwork while chided those by his contemporaries for being fine yet lacking in archaism.<sup>4</sup> In re-examining the history of Chinese painting, Dong Qichang (1555-1636) of the late Ming put forward his famous theory of the Southern and Northern Lineages to revere the former as orthodox, generating in time a passion for revivalism that was to consume the entire Qing dynasty.<sup>5</sup>

Much as it is encouraged, embracing the past does not mean being enslaved by it as far as Chinese tradition and culture are concerned. On the contrary, it acts as a key for unlocking the future so that tradition and innovation can conjoin. To achieve archaism, a painter must be conversant with not only the development of ancient painting but also the brush and ink techniques of ancient masters, and be able to apply them for his own use. The same goes for calligraphy. Since ancient times, studying and copying model-calligraphies have always been a matter of course for any learner and practitioner of the art. The aim is to ground one's calligraphy firmly in traditional rules and ancient brush methods. Slavishness is as undesirable as defiance, however, and it is imperative to gain considered insights from the past so as not to be shackled by it. Thus, archaism in calligraphy consists in identifying with the ancients through subtly mediating likeness and unlikeness. This guiding principle remained more or less unchanged even when calligraphers began copying fragmented steles instead of works by established masters in the late Qing under the influence of the Stele

1 饒公的學術著作，見《饒宗頤二十世紀學術文集》（臺北：新文豐出版股份有限公司，2003）。

2 《學藝雙攜——饒宗頤藝術天地》（香港：香港國際創價學會，2002），序。

3 見《佩文齋書畫譜》（《中國基本古籍庫》清文淵閣四庫全書本；北京：北京愛如生數字化技術研究中心，2009），卷十六論畫六，頁350。

4 見文徵明《湘君湘夫人》題識。該畫現藏北京故宮博物院。

5 由趙孟頫至清代的復古風尚，可參石守謙：〈「恨古人不見我也」：古典的延續與再生——從趙孟頫到董其昌與王原祁〉，《書與畫》，2019年第3期（總第318期），頁32至37。

6 饒宗頤的學書自述見《翰逸神飛》（《饒宗頤藝術創作匯編·IX·各體書法》；香港：香港大學饒宗頤學術館，2006），頁68。

1 For Prof. Jao's academic works, see *Rao Zongyi Ershi Shiji Xueshu Wenji* (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gufen youxiangongsi, 2003).

2 *Xueyi Shuangxie: Rao Zongyi Yishu Tiandi* (Hong Kong: Xianggang guoji chuangjia xuehui, 2002), Preface.

3 See *Peiwenxhai Shuhuapu (Zhongguo Jiben Guji Ku: Wenyuange Siku Quanshu version*; Beijing: Airusheng shuzihua jishu yanjiu zhongxin, 2009), *juan 16, lunhua 6*, 350.

4 See the inscription of Wen Zhengming's *Nymphs of the Xiang River* collected in The Palace Museum, Beijing.

5 For a discussion of the revivalism from Zhao Mengfu to the Qing dynasty, see Shih Shou-ch'ien, "Heng Guren Bujianwo Ye': Gudian de Yanxu yu Zaisheng: Cong Zhao Mengfu dao Dong Qichang yu Wang Yuanqi," *Shu yu Hua*, no. 3 (2019): 32-37.

饒公作品中的《書郭店楚簡》，（圖一）是書寫湖北郭店出土楚簡中的《老子·乙篇》，雖短短兩行，但在題識之中，饒公先指出郭店楚簡的《老子》異文甚多，且較湖南馬王堆所出土的版本為古，再評書法云：「若論其書，起筆奇崛，字雖細小，而體勢渾重淳蓄，嶄絕多姿，尤足師法。」饒公是研究竹木簡的專家，故其評語自有學術成份，但同時對於楚簡的書法，亦有所領會。觀此書蹟，饒公將楚簡細小的文字放大而書，並演繹出奇特的用筆與結體。可以想見，饒公對於任何古代書蹟，都有兼收並蓄的興趣，這亦是他所謂「增益多師」的學書之法。

饒公的書法，各體皆備，其中以古文字書寫者，尤為矚目。例如圖二的「風前秦樹直，雨外楚山多」五言聯，是以甲骨文書寫，讓人聯想其甲骨學的研究。至於圖三的「堂響西山雨，石流東魯雲」隸書聯，則是集《三公山碑》字而成。《三公山碑》為東漢元初四年（117年）碑刻，於清乾隆三十九年（1774年）於河北省元氏縣發現。（圖四）此碑字體非篆非隸，造型古樸，甚為清代學者書家所愛。至於所謂「集字」，則是清人製作對聯時的一種方式，即是從古代碑帖集字而成，既表現文采，亦反映書家對某碑某帖的喜愛。<sup>7</sup> 饒公此聯從《三公山碑》集其中十字成聯，正是延續了清人集聯的嗜古之癖，同時於書風上，亦隱約保留了原碑古質樸茂的特色。可以說，此幀作品無論是聯文用字或是書風格調，都有著千年以上的歷史聯繫。

饒公的另一幀七言對聯，聯文為「襟懷似光風霽月，應接如流水行雲」，（圖五）亦堪玩味。此聯題識云：「冬心漆書，變規為矩，奇肆中自成馨逸，其句云：『華山片石是吾師。』板橋贈言謂『深山鑿出』，不獨詩為然，書亦為此。積健為雄，理無二致也。」可見此聯書風乃源自金農（1687-1763）的漆書，並經過饒公的領會，強調書法須「積健為雄」的道理。題識中更借用鄭燮（1693-1766）評金農詩有「深山鑿出」之語，以譽漆書的千錘百煉。<sup>8</sup> 細觀是聯十四字，似楷似隸，用筆勁直，結字方健，風格雄俊，頗有奇氣，正是饒公對漆書「奇肆中自成馨逸」的最佳演繹。饒公在不少書法題識中寄寓書學心得，其中不乏對古代書史或書家的精采點評。可以說，書法對饒公來說，不僅是筆墨之事，更是書學的體會與闡述，簡中的學問，實不言而喻。

饒公所書與〈青天歌〉相關的作品，亦頗堪留意。〈青天歌〉是宋末元初全真派道士丘處機（1148-1227）所作，內容與丹道修煉有關。1966年，署款徐渭（1521-1593）的《青天歌卷》墨蹟（圖六）於江蘇吳縣曹澄（十八世紀）墓出土，並於1978年於刊物發表，然其真偽問題即引起學者爭辯。<sup>9</sup> 饒公當時亦就此出土書蹟撰文，指出丘處機為〈青天歌〉的作者。<sup>10</sup> 對於書蹟的真偽，饒公同意徐邦達（1911-2012）的偽蹟說，並推測可能是明人偽作，但因覺其「筆勢奔放，波瀾起伏」，亦「信足振采」，故雖是偽蹟，亦可取法。<sup>11</sup> 從現存書蹟可見，饒公曾多次仿寫〈青天歌〉，對其書風可謂了然於心，故隨意揮灑，即有神似之妙。（圖七）此外，饒公更嘗以琴理

School. The only difference is the references they now drew from date from the Northern Wei or even the pre-Qin periods instead of the Jin and Tang.

Without a profound understanding of the history of painting and calligraphy, a remarkable mastery of the ancient masters' techniques, an accurate perception of the characteristics of various masters and schools, and an analytical ability to connect the past with the present, archaism can never be achieved. In our time and age, painters and calligraphers who are learned enough in this regard are few and far between. Dually proficient as a scholar and artist, Professor Jao is no doubt singularly unique.

### Calligraphy: The importance of copying the past

When recounting how he has modelled on Tang, Wei and Han steles, model-calligraphies, and Han bamboo slips, Professor Jao stresses that one can attain a vigour of one's own only after familiarizing oneself with diverse calligraphic forms through copying a multitude of masters.<sup>6</sup> In other words, he considered copying to be a gateway to breadth. Naturally, copying is nothing new. Throughout the ages, it has been a means to learn from the past and, more importantly, to contemplate for enlightenment. Once enlightenment is reached, innovation from the past knows no bounds.

Inspired by *Laozi (Version B)*, a bundle of inscribed bamboo slips excavated from a Chu tomb in Guodian, Hubei, Professor Jao created the work *Calligraphy after the Chu Bamboo Slips from Guodian* (Plate 1) in two short columns. In the inscription, the expert in inscribed bamboo and wooden slips shares his scholarly observation that there are quite some variant characters in the slips, which predate those unearthed from Mawangdui, Hunan, besides recommending the relic for calligraphic modelling for its unusual stroke beginnings and innate strength. The piece is a case in point that he practiced what he preached by copying the original text on an enlarged scale to explore its calligraphic peculiarities. Apparently, he was interested in all kinds of calligraphy that have survived the ravages of time and was all-encompassing in his choice of models.

Writing in a wide variety of script forms, the professor is most noted for his ancient ones. An example in oracle bone script is a five-character couplet, (Plate 2) which brings to mind his related researches. Regarding the clerical script, there is the couplet (Plate 3) with characters assembled from *Stele of Mount Sangong*, (Plate 4) which was carved in the 4<sup>th</sup> year of the Eastern Han reign of Yuanchu (117) and discovered in the Yuanshi county, Hebei, in the 39<sup>th</sup> year of the Qing reign of Qianlong (1774). Resembling neither the seal nor clerical script, the calligraphy of the stele was admired by Qing calligraphers for its quaint simplicity. As for assembling characters from surviving steles and model-books, it was a Qing mode for composing couplets to showcase one's poetic flair and one's affection for a certain calligraphic relic.<sup>7</sup> In perpetuating this Qing practice and retaining the unassuming character of the original stele, Professor Jao succeeded in connecting with history despite the lapse of more than a millennium.

7 有關碑帖集聯，可參莫家良：〈大字·集聯·酬應——樂常在軒藏聯選論〉，《中國文化研究所學報》第65期（2017年7月），頁215至247。

8 鄭燮〈贈金農〉：「亂髮團成字，深山鑿出詩。不須論骨髓，誰得學其皮。」見鄭燮：《板橋集·板橋詩鈔》（《中國基本古籍庫》清清暉書屋刻本），頁17。

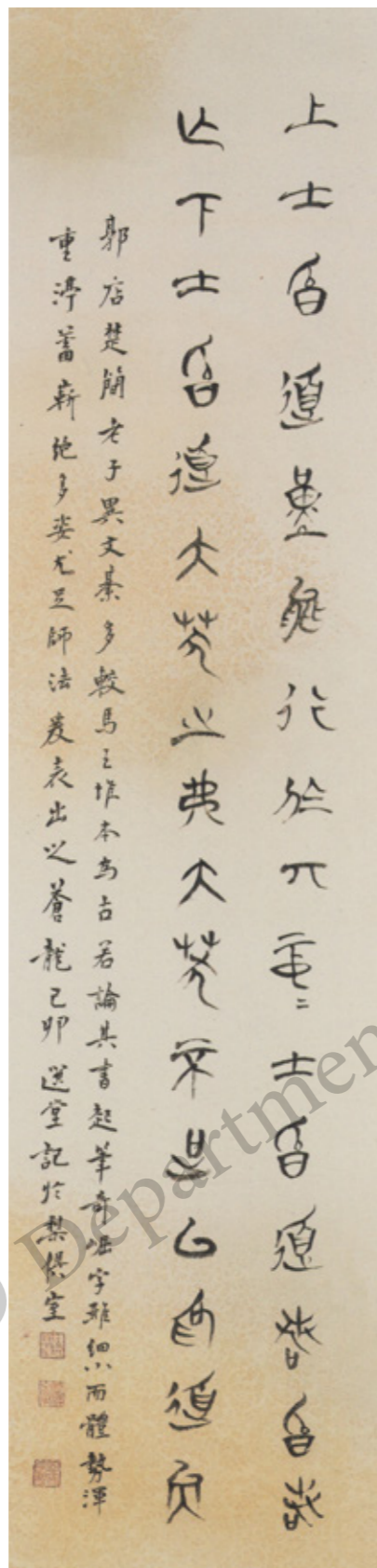
9 有關論辯，可參徐邦達：〈談古書畫鑒別〉，《故宮博物院院刊》1979年第2期，頁3至13；〈再論徐渭《青天歌卷》的真偽〉，《故宮博物院院刊》，1981年第4期，頁78至83；鄭為：〈徐渭《青天歌卷》的真偽問題〉，《文物》，1980年第12期，頁71至75。

10 饒宗頤：〈關於《青天歌》作者〉，載饒宗頤：《饒宗頤二十世紀學術文集》，第18冊，頁91至95。

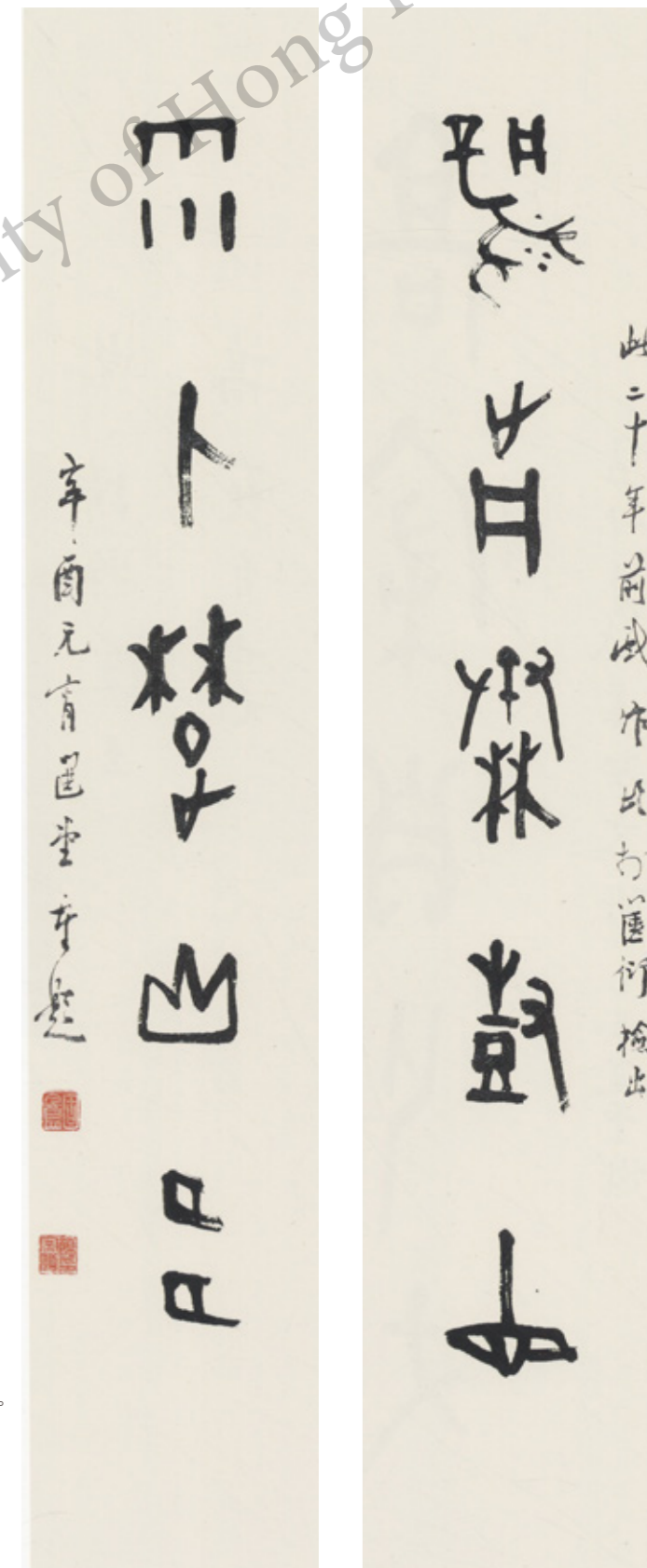
11 同上注，頁92；饒宗頤：〈論書次《青天歌》韻〉，《書譜》，1987年第6期，頁21。

6 Prof. Jao's self-discourse of calligraphy learning is recorded in *Collected Art Work of Jao Tsung-i Volume 9 Calligraphy* (Hong Kong: Jao Tsung-i Petite Ecole, The University of Hong Kong, 2006): 68.

7 For a discussion of assembling *bei* and *tie* characters for couplets, see Harold Mok, "Dazi, Jilian, Chouying: Lechangzai Xuan Canglian Xuanlun," *Journal of Chinese Studies*, no. 65 (July 2017): 215-247.



圖一 Plate 1  
 饒宗頤《書郭店楚簡》，1999，紙本，138 x 34釐米。香港大學饒宗頤學術館藏，圖片由香港大學饒宗頤學術館提供。  
 Jao Tsung-i, *Calligraphy after the Chu Bamboo Slips from Guodian*, 1999, ink on paper, 138 x 34 cm. Collection of Jao Tsung-I Petite Ecole, The University of Hong Kong.  
 Image provided by Jao Tsung-I Petite Ecole, The University of Hong Kong.



圖二 Plate 2  
 饒宗頤《風前雨外聯》，約1961，紙本，各114 x 23釐米。圖片由香港大學饒宗頤學術館提供。  
 Jao Tsung-i, *Five-character Couplet in Oracle-bone Script*, ca. 1961, ink on paper, 114 x 23 cm each.  
 Image provided by Jao Tsung-I Petite Ecole, The University of Hong Kong.



圖三 Plate 3  
 饒宗頤《堂響石流聯》，1984，  
 紙本，各135 x 35釐米，精進閣藏。  
 圖片由香港大學饒宗頤學術館提供。  
 Jao Tsung-i, *Five-character Couplet  
 in Seal Script*, 1984, ink on paper,  
 135 x 35 cm each. Collection of  
*Jingjing*. Image provided by Jao  
 Tsung-I Petite Ecole, The University  
 of Hong Kong.



圖四 Plate 4  
 (東漢)《三公山碑》(局部)，  
 拓本，117年立。  
*Stele of Mount  
 Sangong (detail)*, Eastern Han  
 dynasty, ink rubbing, stone  
 erected in 117.



圖五 Plate 5  
饒宗頤《襟懷應接聯》，1995，  
紙本，各137 x 35釐米。圖片由  
香港大學饒宗頤學術館提供。  
Jao Tsung-i, *Seven-character  
Couplet in Regular Script*, 1995,  
ink on paper, 137 x 35 cm each.  
Image provided by Jao Tsung-i  
Petite Ecole, The University of  
Hong Kong.

There is yet another noteworthy couplet, with seven-character lines this time. (Plate 5) In a form midway between the regular and clerical scripts, the fourteen characters that make up the couplet are enchantingly blocky and vigorous and stand out with their steely strokes. From the self-inscription, it can be learned that the style is derived from the lacquer script created by Jin Nong (1687-1763) on the basis of stone carvings and likened complimentarily by Zheng Xie (1693-1766) to have been carved from rocks in the remotest mountains, and that it owes its charm to its departure from existing norms and rules and goes from strength to strength to culminate in robustness.<sup>8</sup> Once again, the inscription contains the professor's observations and elucidations in relation to calligraphy. It goes without saying that calligraphy was much more than a brush-and-ink pursuit in his eyes.

More than just one, quite a number of the professor's works are inspired by *Qingtian Ge* (*Song of the Blue Heaven*) in the Daoist canon. This exposition on the principles of inner elixir and refinement was composed by Qiu Chuji (1148-1227), an adept of the Daoist Quanzhen School in the late Song and early Yuan. A namesake calligraphy (Plate 6) signed by Xu Wei (1521-1593) was unearthed from Cao Cheng's (18<sup>th</sup> century) tomb in Wuxian, Jiangsu, in 1966, and later published in 1978 but its authenticity became a bone of contention in the scholarly community.<sup>9</sup> At the time, Professor Jao ascribed the song to Qiu Chuji in an essay about the then newly discovered artefact.<sup>10</sup> And, although he agreed with Xu Bangda (1911-2012) that it was a fake and further suggested that it probably dated from the Ming dynasty, he deemed it to be a worthy model because of its unimpeded and dynamic brush strokes.<sup>11</sup> A survey of his extant works has found that the professor has made quite some copies of the song. His familiarity with its style has allowed him to achieve vivid resemblance without any stiltedness. (Plate 7) Besides copying it, he adopted the rhymes of the song to compose a poem to compare the ink, brushwork, composition and resonance of the suspected fake against rules governing *qin-zither* playing in his belief that the underlying principles are common to both.<sup>12</sup> This rhyme-matching poem features in quite a number of the professor's calligraphic works, including the one dated 1993. (Plate 8) The robustness and spontaneity exuding from the unevenly sized characters rival those in the purportedly Xu Wei's piece. In short, instead of discrediting *Song of the Blue Heaven* for its dubious authorship, Professor Jao drew from it insights and inspiration, and in turn centered his discussions and creations of calligraphy on it. All this could not have been possible without vision, open-mindedness and scholarship.

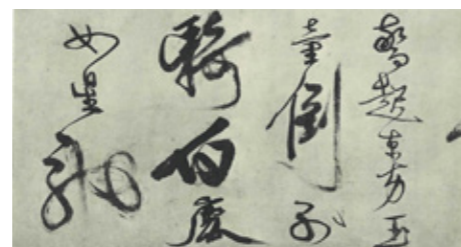
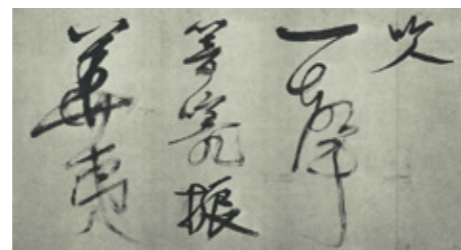
8 The relevant poem by Zheng Xie is recorded in Zheng Xie, *Banqiao Ji Banqiao Shichao* (*Zhongguo Jiben Gujiku: Qing Qinghui Shuwu carved version*), 17.

9 For the debates, see Xu Bangda, "Tan Gushuhua Jianbie," *Gugong Bowuyuan Yuankan*, no. 2 (1979): 3-13; "Zailun Xu Wei Qingtiange Juan de zhenwei," *Gugong Bowuyuan Yuankan*, no. 4 (1981): 78-83; Zheng Wei, "Xu Wei Qingtiange Juan de Zhengwei Wenti," *Wenwu*, no. 12 (1980): 71-75.

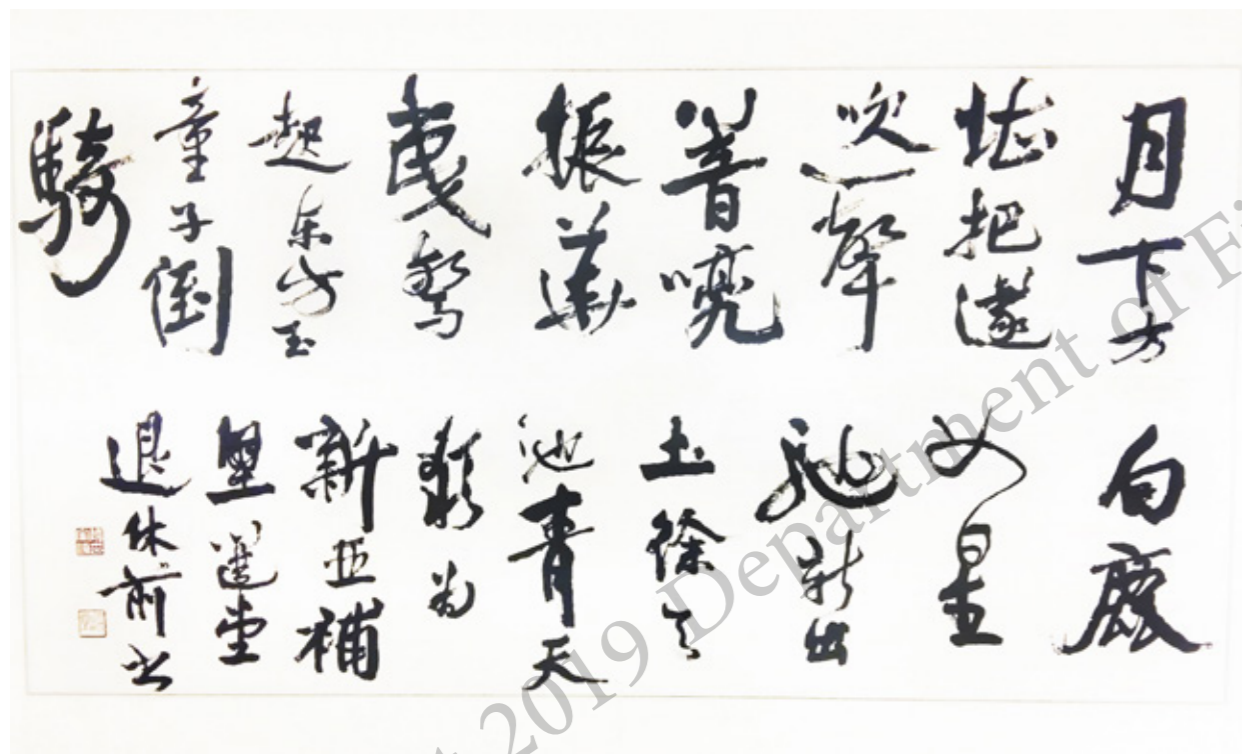
10 Jao Tsung-i, "Guanyu Qingtiange Zuozhe," in Jao Tsung-i, *Rao Zongyi Ershi Shiji Xueshu Wenji*, vol. 18, 91-95.

11 Ibid; Jao Tsung-i, "Lunshu ci Qingtiange Yun," *Shupu*, no. 6 (1987): 21.

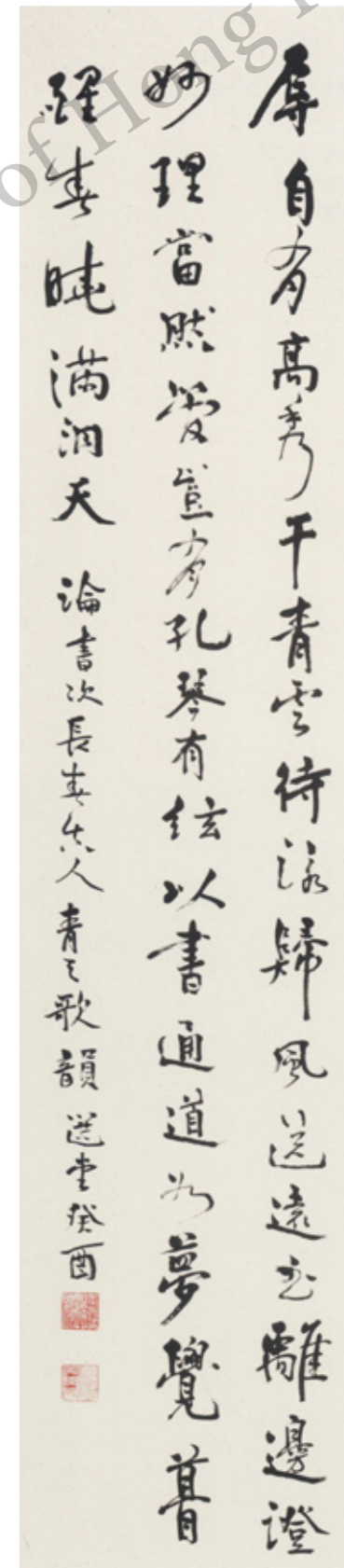
12 Jao Tsung-i, "Lunshu ci Qingtiange Yun," *Shupu*, no. 6 (1987): 21.



圖六 Plate 6  
 (傳) (明) 徐渭《青天歌》(局部)，蘇州博物館藏。  
 Attributed to Xu Wei, *Song of Blue Heaven* (detail), Ming dynasty.  
 Collection of Suzhou Museum.



圖七 Plate 7  
 饒宗頤《節書〈青天歌〉》，約1978，紙本，136 x 71釐米。香港中文大學新亞書院藏。圖片由香港中文大學新亞書院提供。  
 Jao Tsung-i, *Excerpt from Song of Blue Heaven*, ca. 1978, ink on paper, 136 x 71 cm. Collection of New Asia College, The Chinese University of Hong Kong. Image provided by New Asia College, The Chinese University of Hong Kong.



圖八 Plate 8  
 饒宗頤《論書步青天歌韻四屏》(局部)，1993，紙本，各138 x 50釐米。載鄧偉雄主編《饒宗頤書道創作匯集第三冊·晉唐風致》(香港：香港大學饒宗頤學術館，2012)，圖版八十五，頁111。  
 Jao Tsung-i, *On Calligraphy with Rhymes Matching Song of the Blue Heaven in Running-cursive Script* (detail), 1993, ink on paper, 138 x 50 cm each. Image taken from Tang Wai-hung ed., *Collected Calligraphic Works of Jao Tsung-i (Volume 3)* (Hong Kong: Jao Tsung-I Petite Ecole, The University of Hong Kong, 2012), Plate 85, 111.

與書理相通之故，以琴理為喻，次韻論《青天歌卷》的墨法、筆法、章法、氣韻等，並更多次揮毫書寫。<sup>12</sup> 圖八的《行草論書次〈青天歌〉韻》是饒公1993年所書，全卷行筆勁健，字形大小錯落，放逸之態與《青天歌卷》原蹟的狂放可謂相互輝映。由此可見，《青天歌卷》的出土對饒公來說實有著不一般的意義。即使該卷書法不是徐渭真蹟，但饒公仍從中有所體會、取法，更衍生出個人的書論及書法作品，其識見、胸襟、學問，無疑都是成就其書法的重要因素。

### 繪畫：究源通變

饒公曾自述其畫學云：「余正以治學之方治畫，於畫派則究源通變，於畫法則窮高極深，以植基深厚為先務，而後轉益多師。」<sup>13</sup> 可見在饒公眼中，治畫與治學並無兩樣，都是需要尋根究柢、靈活通變、不斷鑽研。毋庸置疑，饒公是典型的學者畫家，其國學研究為其繪畫提供了用之不盡的創作靈感，故其畫作中的古意，都與其治學相關。

《金描如來》（圖九）是饒公於1992年所製，畫心繪釋迦立佛一尊，畫面上方以行書錄寫《般若波羅蜜多心經》。據左側題款可知，此幀佛像乃摹自大英博物館所藏的織繡釋迦像。（圖十）在敦煌學的研究中，大英博物館的藏品是必不可少的重要參考，饒公此畫正是從其敦煌研究衍生而成。在該件彩色織繡的原蹟上，釋迦佛身處中央位置，上有華蓋，下有蓮座，身旁兩側有菩薩弟子，左右上方有飛天，最下方處還有供養人。然而饒公只摹寫釋迦佛，並以金色描寫，將原蹟的華麗色彩改為平淡簡潔，且更著重骨法用筆的效果；加上畫面上方的行書《心經》，書畫結合，為此佛畫加注文人氣息。饒公筆下的釋迦，不僅可溯源至唐代的敦煌畫像，更經過匠心獨運的處理，成為既古且今的畫作。

饒公的《五牛圖》（圖十一）是另一借用敦煌材料的佳例。眾所周知，唐代韓滉（723-787）有《五牛圖》（圖十二）傳世，該畫背景空白，由右至左分列五牛，姿態各異，生動傳神，是後世領略唐代古法的重要畫蹟。<sup>14</sup> 例如趙孟頫便曾收藏此畫，並於跋中稱為「神氣磊落」，為「稀世名筆」。<sup>15</sup> 饒公一生所臨摹的眾多古畫，亦包括韓滉《五牛圖》，故對該唐代名蹟想必相當推崇。<sup>16</sup> 然而，雖然饒公創作《五牛圖》或有向韓滉致敬之意，但從其題識可知，此創作靈感亦來自其天竺的遊歷，因見「人與牛駢肩閒步過市」，知該地奉牛如神靈，故有感而寄意於丹青，並借用敦煌壁畫中的牛畫形象，重新繪製「五牛圖」。此圖亦如韓滉之畫，橫列五牛，惟在各牛左方，分別題寫出處，包括敦煌莫高窟第249窟、榆林第25窟、莫高窟第360窟、榆林第3窟、莫高窟第61窟。由此可知，饒公的《五牛圖》除了遠接唐代韓滉，更反映出其對敦煌壁畫的興趣與掌握。

12 饒宗頤：〈論書次《青天歌》韻〉，同上注。

13 饒宗頤的學畫自述見《翰逸神飛》，頁86。

14 韓滉《五牛圖》現藏北京故宮博物院。

15 見趙孟頫於韓滉《五牛圖》後的題跋。

16 饒公臨摹韓滉《五牛圖》，見《采英掇華》（《饒宗頤藝術創作匯集·I·臨摹擬古》；香港：香港大學饒宗頤學術館，2006），頁3至4。

### Painting: The importance of a developmental perspective

According to the Professor himself, he undertook painting with the same attitude as he did studying: in the case of painting schools, their origins and development must be thoroughly traced; in the case of painting methods, they must be explored to the fullest. Building a deep and solid foundation is a prerequisite for modelling on past masters, he added.<sup>13</sup> In other words, what underpins both painting and studying is a resolution to uncover the beginnings, to strive for reinvention and to investigate assiduously. Undisputedly a typical scholar-painter, Professor Jao informed his painting with his scholarship in Chinese studies such that the archaism of his painting is inseparable from his researches.

Dated 1992, *Tathāgata Outlined in Gold* (Plate 9) is an image of Shakyamuni beneath an inscription of the *Heart Sutra*. From the inscription on the left, it is learned that the image is a copy of *Śākyamuni Preaching on the Vulture Peak* (Plate 10) an embroidery in color housed in the British Museum, which is a depository of research materials of paramount importance in Dunhuangology. In fact, the painting is derivative of the painter's Dunhuangological research. In the original embroidery and flanked by two disciples and two Bodhisattvas on each side, Śākyamuni stands on a lotus pedestal in the center underneath a canopy. At the top of the hanging on either side are apsaras whereas the bottom, donors. In singling out the Buddha for outlining in gold, the painter has substituted simplicity for the opulence of the original to emphasize the bone method of the brushwork. The inclusion of the *Heart Sutra* in running script serves to unite painting and calligraphy into one, adding a literary flavor to the Buddhist theme. Thus, Professor Jao has ingeniously bridged the Dunhuang murals datable to the Tang dynasty with the present.

*Five Oxen* (Plate 11) is another splendid example, which immediately brings to mind the namesake painting by Han Huang (723-787) of the Tang dynasty that strikingly portrays five oxen, in different poses, one next to another against a blank background, providing posterity with an important specimen for understanding the painting of the period.<sup>14</sup> (Plate 12) Described as lifelike and a rare masterpiece by Zhao Mengfu in his collector-colophon,<sup>15</sup> it was one of the many ancient paintings that the professor has copied.<sup>16</sup> In spite of a possible intention to pay a tribute to the Tang master, the inspiration of his own painting in fact arose from a visit to India, as told in the inscription. While he was there, he noticed that oxen were revered as deities and were allowed to stroll freely among men in the streets. So, he committed the impression to painting by borrowing from representations found in Dunhuang murals. Like Han Huang's painting, the oxen are laid out horizontally across the painting surface. Unlike it, to the left of each animal is an inscription giving the respective sources that include Mogao Grottoes Cave 249, Yulin Grottoes Cave 25, Mogao Grottoes Cave 360, Yulin Grottoes Cave 3, and Mogao Grottoes Cave 61. Thus, the painting is not only a tribute to Han Huang but also an indication of the professor's interest in and familiarity with Dunhuang murals.

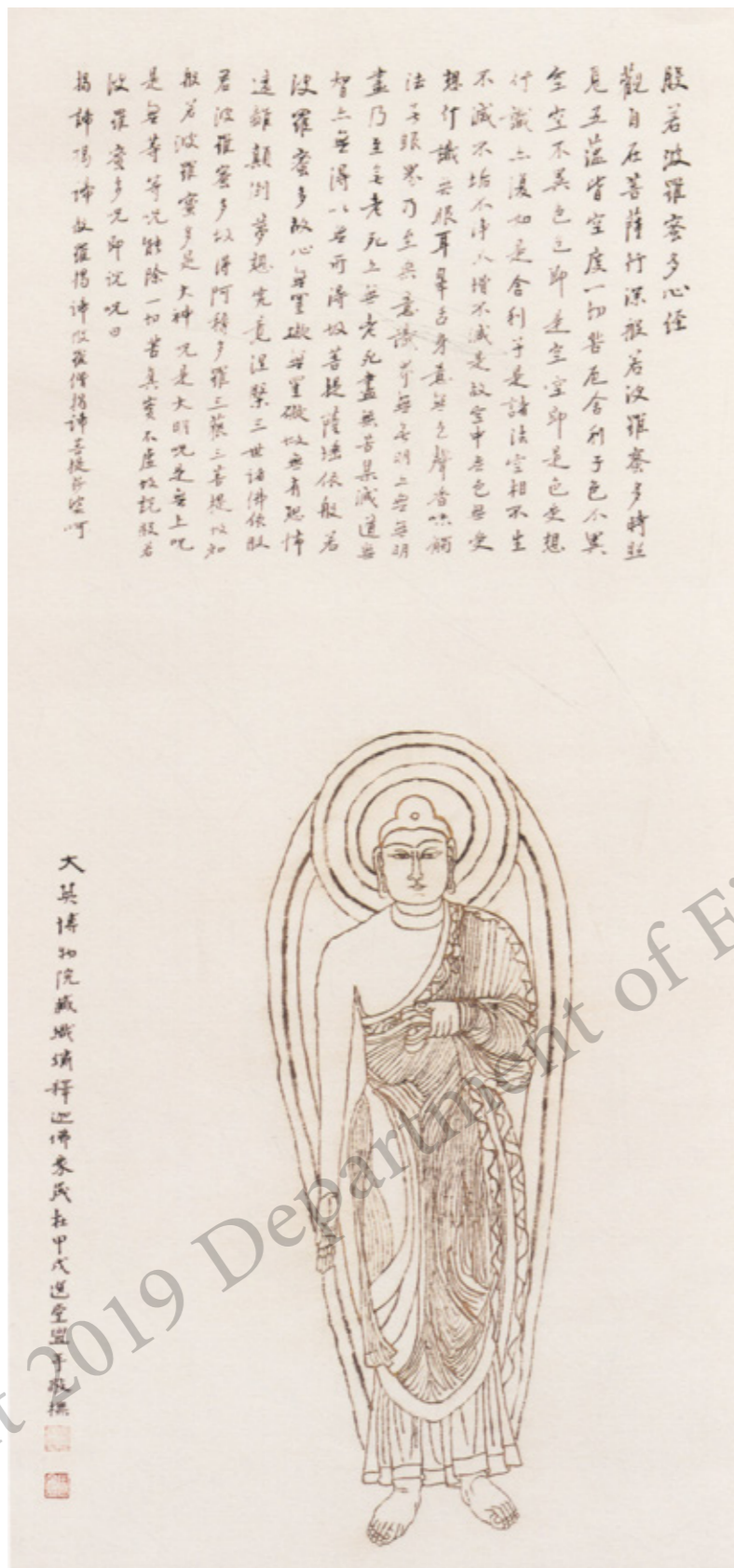
13 For Jao Tsung-i's self-discourse of learning painting, see Jao, *Collected Art Work of Jao Tsung-i Volume 9 Calligraphy*, 86.

14 Han Huang's *Five Oxen* is in the collection of The Palace Museum, Beijing.

15 See Zhao Mengfu's colophon on Han Huang's *Five Oxen*.

16 Jao Tsung-i's copy of Han Huang's painting can be found in *Collected Art Work of Jao Tsung-i Volume 1 Paintings in Ancient Style* (Hong Kong: Jao Tsung-i Petite Ecole, The University of Hong Kong, 2006), 3-4.





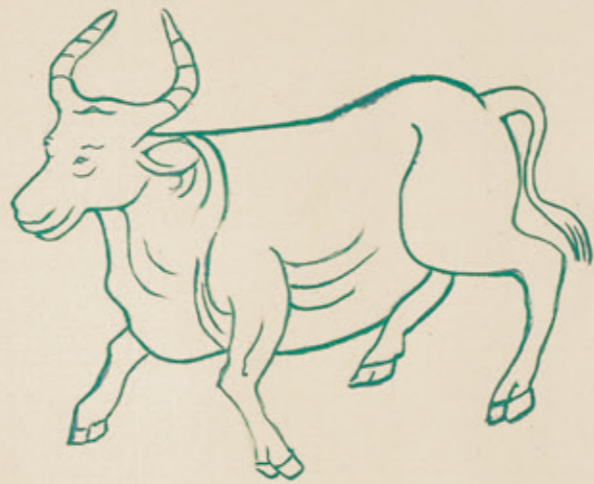
圖九 Plate 9  
饒宗頤《金描如來》，1994，絹本設色，  
177 x 85釐米。圖片由香港大學饒宗頤學術  
館提供。  
Jao Tsung-i, *Tathāgata Outlined in Gold*,  
1994, color on silk, 177 x 85 cm. Image  
provided by Jao Tsung-i Petite Ecole,  
The University of Hong Kong.



圖十 Plate 10  
(唐)釋迦說法像，刺繡，241 x 159釐米，大英博物館藏。圖片由大英博物館提供。  
*Śākyamuni Preaching on the Vulture Peak*, Tang dynasty, embroidery, 241 x 159 cm. Collection of  
British Museum. Image provided by British Museum.

柳子厚名牛賦之牛確有功於已何益而  
 韓偓圖之牛豈牛之服箱耕墾可齊  
 未騷跡全兼歲漫遊天且見牛與人駢肩  
 開步過市人皆奉如神梵書傳出雙鬪陀  
 摩者所造鬪陀則智觀則牛之奇譯也其  
 高榆林兩處以牛入畫者此皆是今極  
 最名陸為例主製五牛圖以備一格  
 歲吉甲申秋月蓮堂并記

右出莫高第廿一窟元代繪黃道十二  
 宮金牛宮



右出榆林第廿三窟在壁所繪耕牛最近韓偓  
 出西夏人之手



右出莫高三六〇窟大自在丁所騎白牛

右出莫高三六〇窟大自在丁所騎白牛



右出榆林第廿二中唐壁繪耕牛圖



右出燉煌莫高二〇九窟北魏圓經



圖十一 Plate 11  
 饒宗頤《五牛圖卷》，2004年，絹本設色，30 x 110釐米。  
 圖片由香港大學饒宗頤學術館提供。  
 Jao Tsung-i, *Five Oxen*, 2004, color on silk, 30 x 110 cm.  
 Image provided by Jao Tsung-I Petite Ecole, The University  
 of Hong Kong.



圖十二 Plate 12  
 (唐) 韓滉《五牛圖》，麻紙本設色，20.8 x 139.8 釐米，北京故宮博物院藏。  
 Han Huang, *Five Oxen*, Tang dynasty, color on hemp paper, 20.8 x 139.8 cm. Collection of The Palace Museum, Beijing.

在饒公的繪畫中，不乏富有趣味的小品，但即使是輕描淡寫之作，亦皆古意盎然。例如《懷素苦筍帖》，(圖十三)前方繪竹筍兩根，後置火爐，上有壺子，正在燒水。畫面上方題寫「苦筍及茗異常佳，乃可逕來」十一字，並落款云：「選堂書懷素帖并作圖。」傳世的《苦筍帖》藏於上海博物館，雖只有寥寥兩行字，但卻是唐代狂草僧懷素的稀世真蹟(圖十四)。饒公以半臨半寫之法，錄寫該帖，並為之製圖，重現了帖中提及的苦筍與茶茗之事。古代書蹟在饒公手上，遂轉化為趣味濃郁的畫作。若不諳古代書史，難免對饒公之畫，有摸不著頭腦之歎。

另如《葡萄》一畫，題識云：「日觀老句，雜青藤法寫之」，則見饒公另一擬古手法。(圖十五)溫日觀(?-1291後)為宋末元初畫僧，善繪葡萄，有《葡萄圖》傳世，(圖十六)筆墨簡拙，自題詩云：「香稻雨催熟，丹心老變灰。夕陽歸路近，魂夢日徘徊。」饒公頗愛此畫，曾經多次臨仿。<sup>17</sup>明代徐渭亦繪水墨葡萄，有真蹟傳世，筆墨淋漓，極具特色。<sup>18</sup>饒公此軸《葡萄》題寫溫日觀的葡萄詩，圖像造型亦稍與溫日觀原蹟近似，惟用徐渭大寫意之法縱筆揮灑，又改以設色沒骨法寫葉，擬古之餘，別具匠心。

饒公的《蒼崖古木》可進一步說明其擬古之妙。(圖十七)此幀立軸繪山崖一角，崖邊古樹倒掛，畫面左上方題寫五言詩，並識云：「擬漸江筆，配以板橋詩，益之冬心漆書，不失藝中三奇。」由此可知，畫中的詩、書、畫分別各有來源，包括清初畫僧漸江(1610-1664)的畫，以及揚州八怪中鄭燮的詩與金農的書法。細觀此畫，漸江式的山水景致、構圖，以及方折用筆，清晰可見；五言詩為鄭燮的〈山中夜坐再陪起上人作〉；而題詩書法則取法古拙方整的金農漆書。<sup>19</sup>饒公取三家合而為一，並非是任意湊合，而是因感三家之作甚「奇」，有共通之處。此種集古人特色而成的作品，若無深邃的學問與識見，實難以隨手拈來，化為己用。

<sup>17</sup> 臨仿一例見《采英掇華》，頁43。

<sup>18</sup> 徐渭《墨葡萄圖》現藏北京故宮博物院。

<sup>19</sup> 見鄭燮：《板橋集·板橋詩鈔》，頁76。

Archaism remains to be a defining attribute even if the painting is more light-hearted and smaller in size. An example is found in *Huaisu's Bitter Bamboo Shoots*, (Plate 13) the signature inscription of which divulges that Huaisu's calligraphic work is copied here with a painting. The eleven-character inscription that occupies the upper half of the painting is an excerpt from the rare masterpiece, (Plate 14) containing fourteen characters in total, by the Tang monk-calligrapher of the wild cursive script. In adding an illustration of two bamboo shoots in front of a kettle on the boil to the somewhat reinterpreted copy reading "Both the bitter bamboo shoots and tea are extraordinary. Better come right away," Professor Jao has turned an ancient masterpiece of calligraphy into a delightful painting. This secret message hidden in plain sight inevitably belies those who are untrained in the history of Chinese calligraphy.

Emulation of the past is manifested in a completely different fashion in *Grapes*, (Plate 15) which is declared in the inscription to have adopted Wen Riguan's (?-after 1291) poem and Xu Wei's style. The poem is the late Song and early Yuan monk-painter's self-inscription on an unembellished painting of the fruit, (Plate 16) which the Professor never grew tired of copying.<sup>17</sup> While the motifs are similar to Wen Riguan's, the greater expressive style is indebted to Xu Wei of the Ming dynasty, who has also left behind a painting of grapes in ink, which is distinguished by its splashy washes.<sup>18</sup> The Professor's reinvention of the past is further achieved by using color in place of ink for his boneless leaves.

Showing a partial view of a cliff with an old tree hanging down, the painting *Ancient Tree on a Cliff* (Plate 17) is a further case in point. It can be learned from the signature inscription that the poem preceding it was composed by Zheng Xie, one of the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou, that the calligraphic style is derived from Jin Nong's lacquer script, and that the painting style is borrowed from the early Qing monk-painter Jianjiang (1610-1664). Without a doubt, the inscribed poem corresponds to a known piece by Zheng Xie; the calligraphy to Jin Nong's quaint and blocky script; and the scene, composition and jaggy brushwork to Jianjiang's paintings.<sup>19</sup> The combination is by no means arbitrary. All three of them were unconventional for their time, in the professor's view. To avail oneself of ancient master's idiosyncrasies in art-making requires profound knowledge and insight, a feat that obviously evades anyone who is less initiated.

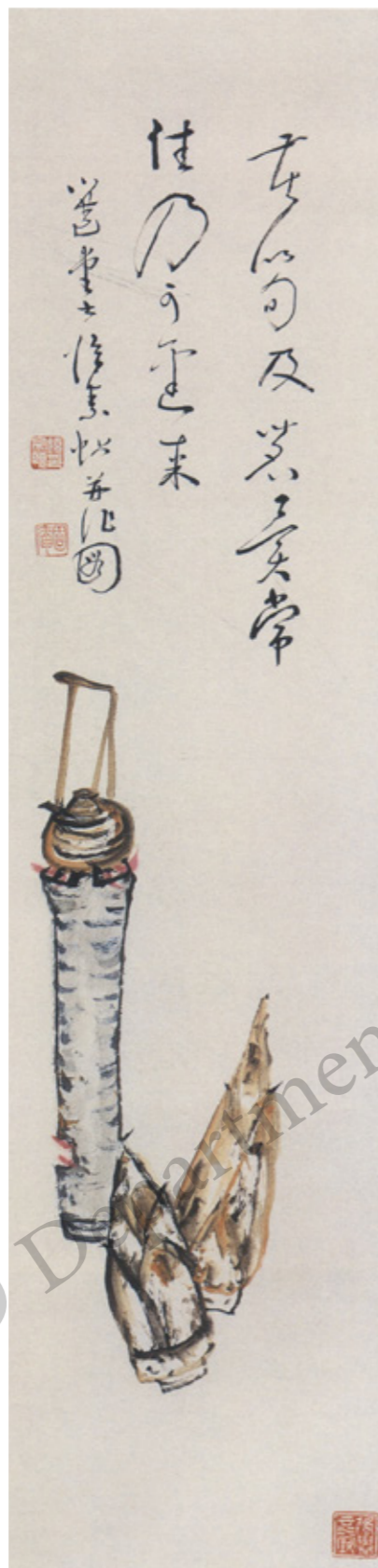
#### Supplementary observations

The traditional literati's penchant for embracing the past is ubiquitous in Professor Jao's paintings and calligraphies. From subjects and contents through brush and ink and style to spirit and aesthetics, there is always the presence of ancient masters and the tradition they expound but not without adaptation to suit the modern artist's purposes. Thus striking a subtle balance between absolute attachment and detachment, the works in fact bespeak the literati scholar's commitment to delving deep into history and to upholding what Chinese culture and tradition connote. Since the 20<sup>th</sup> century, western culture has had a pervasive influence on the development of Chinese art. Swept off their feet, many contemporary painters and calligraphers have preoccupied themselves with innovation to the extent of defying and subverting the tradition. They turn a blind eye to the facts that Chinese painting and calligraphy are steeped in history, and that revisiting the past and artistic reinvention are not mutually exclusive. Professor Jao's works have proven beyond doubt that reinterpreting the classic can lead to innovation while connecting with the past. Naturally, such archaism in art

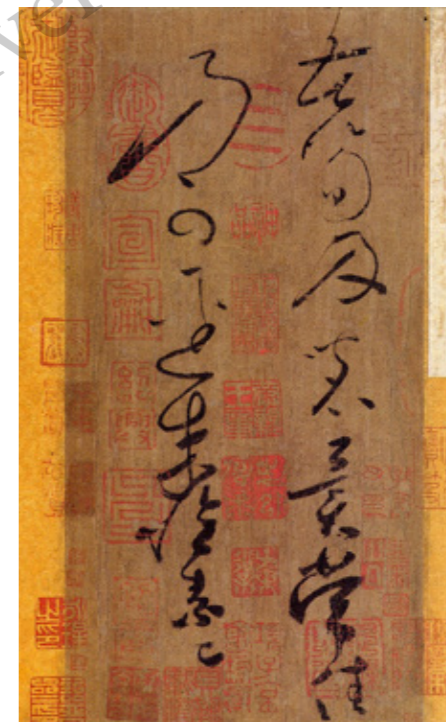
<sup>17</sup> An example can be found in Jao, *Collected Art Work of Jao Tsung-i Volume 1 Paintings in Ancient Style*, 43.

<sup>18</sup> Xu Wei's *Grapes* is in the collection of The Palace Museum, Beijing.

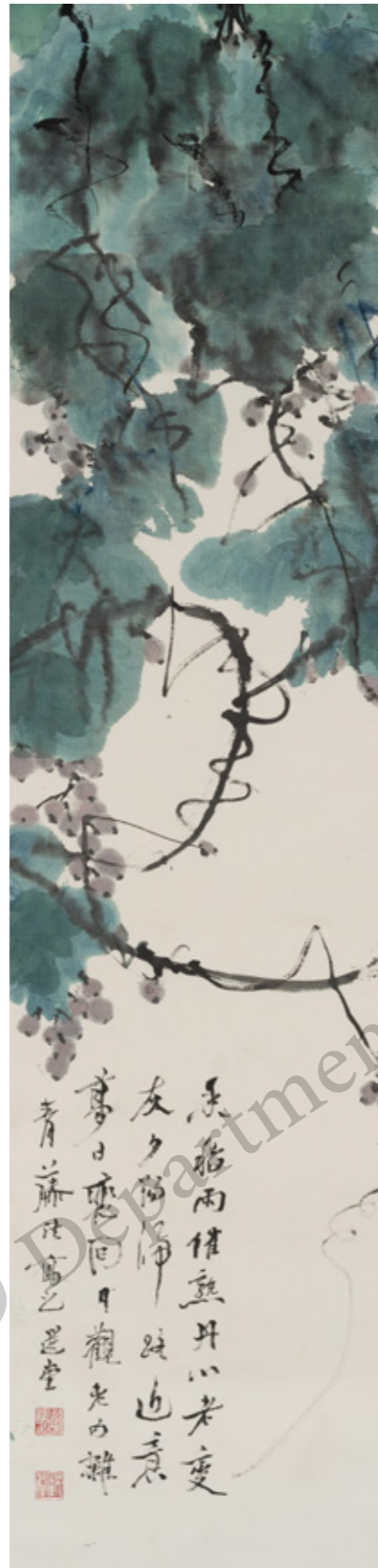
<sup>19</sup> See Zheng Xie, *Banqiao Ji Banqiao Shichao*, 76.



圖十三 Plate 13  
 饒宗頤《懷素苦筍帖》，1992，138 x 35釐米。圖片由香港大學饒宗頤學術館提供。  
 Jao Tsung-i, *Huaisu's Bitter Bamboo Shoots*, 1992, 138 x 35 cm. Image provided by Jao Tsung-I Petite Ecole, The University of Hong Kong.



圖十四 Plate 14  
 (唐) 懷素《苦筍帖》，絹本，25.1 x 12釐米，上海博物館藏。  
 Huaisu, *Bitter Bamboo Shoots*, Tang dynasty, ink on silk, 25.1 x 12 cm. Collection of Shanghai Museum.



圖十五 Plate 15  
饒宗頤《葡萄》，約1985-1986，水墨紙本設色立軸，  
138.5 x 34.5釐米，饒宗頤教授惠贈，香港中文大學文物館  
藏（藏品編號：1986.0035），圖片由香港中文大學文物館  
提供。

Plate 15 Jao Tsung-i, *Grapes*, ca. 1985-1986, hanging scroll,  
ink and color on paper. 138.5 x 34.5 cm. Gift of Prof.  
Jao Tsung-i. Collection of the Art Museum, The Chinese  
University of Hong Kong (Acc. no. 1986.0035). Image  
provided by the Art Museum of The Chinese University of  
Hong Kong.



圖十六 Plate 16  
(宋) 溫日觀《葡萄》，紙本，154 x 42釐米，私人收藏。  
Wen Riguan, *Grapes*, Song dynasty, ink on paper, 154 x 42 cm. Private collection.

requires an awareness of how history has taken its course as well as an aspiration to preserve and renew the tradition. To the greatly learned Professor, the past must have been an inexhaustible source of inspiration for creating paintings and calligraphies. From the few examples cited above, the materials available for evoking archaism are wide-ranging, including oracle bones, bronze inscriptions, bamboo slips, stele carvings, model-calligraphies, Dunhuang murals, literati paintings, and Chinese literature. Anyone who cares to thoroughly investigate his works will certainly marvel at the generous bounties the past and the tradition have bestowed on Chinese art. Traditional painting and calligraphy consist in modelling on the past before following one's heart. Modelling on the past leads to mastery of the methods, and following one's heart to transformation. It is from this perspective that the archaism in Professor Jao Tsung-i's painting and calligraphy should be viewed and understood.

Editor's note: Professor Jao Tsung-i passed away in Hong Kong in 2018. His contribution is hereby remembered.

## 餘論

饒公的書畫到處展現出傳統文人崇尚古意的特點。從題材、內容，到筆墨、風格，以至精神與品味，無不與古人相通，亦無不與傳統契合，但同時又通過變化，古為我用。這種與古代傳統有著離合之間的微妙關係，正是饒公以其文人學者的身分，重視歷史根源、講究文化傳承的最佳寫照。自二十世紀以來，西方文化以其強大的力量，一直影響著藝術的發展。不少當代書畫家遂汲汲於創新，甚至不惜以叛逆的方式，顛覆傳統，無視中國書畫源遠流長的歷史，更否定回望歷史與藝術創新並無矛盾的事實。饒公的書畫充份說明藝術不僅講求創新，更可以通過演繹經典，與歷史對話。當然，此種追求古意的藝術，還需要書畫家擁有貫通古今的識見，以及延續與更新傳統的抱負。對學問淵博的饒公來說，啟發書畫創作的古代材料，可謂俯拾皆是。單以上文所選談的寥寥數例可見，無論是甲骨、金文、竹簡、碑刻、書帖，或是敦煌佛畫、文人丹青、文學詩詞，饒公皆可隨手拈來，運於毫素，寫成充滿古意之作。若全面觀覽饒公的書畫，當會驚訝歷史傳統其實是珍貴的藝術寶庫，可以讓人取之不盡。傳統書畫，必先師古，繼而師心；師古可以得法，師心成就變化。饒公書畫的古意，亦應作如是觀。

編按：饒宗頤教授於2018年在香港逝世，謹以此文，以茲紀念。



圖十七 Plate 17

饒宗頤《蒼崖古木》，2004，設色水墨，138 x 68釐米。圖片由香港大學饒宗頤學術館提供。

Jao Tsung-i, *Ancient Tree on a Cliff*, 2004, ink and color on paper, 138 x 68 cm. Image provided by Jao Tsung-I Petite Ecole, The University of Hong Kong.