

CHINESE FIGURE PAINTING







禮部侍郎致仕王溪九十歲



Portrait of Wang Huan

Chinese Figure Painting

By
THOMAS LAWTON



Freer Gallery of Art
Smithsonian Institution

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This catalogue was made possible through a gift in memory of Agnes E. Meyer by her children, Mrs. Ruth Epstein, Mrs. Katharine Graham, Mrs. Elizabeth Lorentz and Dr. Eugene Meyer.

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FOREWORD

Fifty years ago the Freer Gallery of Art of the Smithsonian Institution was opened in Washington, D.C. From the outset the avowed purpose of the Gallery was the promotion of the finest ideals of beauty as seen in the civilizations of the East. The means by which this purpose was to be maintained and safeguarded were clearly set forth by the donor, Charles Lang Freer. It would be difficult to exaggerate his foresight and perseverance in focussing attention on that vital area of the world which was then only slightly known in the United States. Equally important was the emphasis Mr. Freer placed on continuing research to further increase our understanding of the cultures of the East.

Mr. Freer's magnanimous gift was one of the first major presentations of art to the people of the United States. It is fitting that the museum that bears his name is situated in the Nation's capital, for during subsequent years the Freer Gallery of Art has come to assume a leading role in every aspect of Oriental art. The collections, research programs, publications, and public services of the Gallery all have continued to expand so that they are recognized and respected both at home and abroad.

A series of special exhibitions and symposia have been planned to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Gallery. This catalogue of a special exhibition of Chinese figure painting in the collection is the second publication of the anniversary celebration. It is the first major exhibition devoted to this theme ever held in an American museum.

China, the most populous nation in the world, has always been blessed by its people—a magnificent resource. The Chinese of past generations have left behind a great legacy of art which has immensely enriched the cultures and civilizations of all people.

Man is but an element of the cosmos and the place of the human within the organization of an harmonious world has often overshadowed his true importance. In China man's place was defined and nature and the elements dominate him. With no intention of upsetting the delicate balance, this exhibition and the catalogue prepared by Thomas Lawton and Hin-cheung Lovell examine the human manifestation in the Chinese painting tradition.

A true friend of Charles Freer and the Gallery he founded was Agnes E. Meyer, who pioneered in Chinese painting studies. Her work on Li Kung-lin was one of the first monographs in a Western language seriously devoted to a Chinese artist. The present catalogue is dedicated to her memory through a grant made by her children, Mrs. Ruth Epstein, Mrs. Katharine Graham, Mrs. Elizabeth Lorentz and Dr. Eugene Meyer.

Freer Gallery of Art
September, 1973

HAROLD P. STERN
Director

PREFACE

Figure painting had attained the status of a fully developed genre in China long before landscape was regarded as an independent subject. In spite of the chronological precedence enjoyed by figure painting, no major exhibition relating solely to that subject has ever been held by a Western museum, although there have been a number of special exhibitions dealing with various aspects of landscape painting.

There are several reasons for the relative lack of attention given to Chinese figure painting. Perhaps the most obvious one is the scarcity of original examples of early work. It is no exaggeration to say that no genuine examples of paintings by the great traditional masters of figure painting are still extant. Nonetheless, on the basis of later copies of their work and from those paintings executed by later artists in the acknowledged style of the early masters, it is still possible to reconstruct the contributions made by the early artists and to discuss their stylistic innovations. In recent months, some newly unearthed, precisely datable, archaeological material has further supplemented our understanding of early developments in figure painting.

Another problem hampering research on the subject is that later Chinese artists and theoreticians generally preferred to place figure painting on a considerably lower artistic level than landscape. While there is an historical basis for the gradual decline of figure painting from its pinnacle during the T'ang dynasty, the theories of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555-1636) were particularly influential in the emergence of the condescending attitude toward figure painting that has prevailed in China from the seventeenth century to the present. Consequently, paintings of such subjects as landscape, bamboo, plum, and pine were generally regarded as being the products of artists, in contrast to artisans and, therefore, of a higher order. The same general attitude continues to the present day.

Understandably then, there is a corresponding lack of literature on Chinese figure painting from those periods when the most informative catalogues were compiled. Aside from the biographies of individual artists in standard Chinese biographical dictionaries, and some brief pamphlets, there are no basic studies of Chinese figure painting available in Chinese, Japanese, or Western languages. In recent years, several doctoral dissertations have explored themes that relate to Chinese figure painting, usually constructed around a particularly important painting and taking into account an assemblage of lesser satellite paintings. Among these are Richard Barnhart's *Li Kung-lin's Hsiao-ching t'u (Illustrations of the Classic of Filial Piety)*, Princeton, 1969; Ellen J. Laing's *Scholars and Sages: A Study in Chinese Figure Painting*, University of Michigan, 1967; and Robert A. Rorex's *Eighteen Songs of a Nomad Flute: The Story of Ts'ai Wen-chi*, Princeton, 1973.

A comprehensive history of Chinese figure painting remains to be written. Such a history should include precise discussions of the great masters, their contributions to the development of the genre, and detailed analyses of those paintings currently attributed to them. This catalogue makes no claim to be such a history. It is presented, rather, as but one step toward such a comprehensive study. The introduction of the catalogue presents a brief discussion of basic developments in the history of Chinese figure painting from the late neolithic period to the Ch'ing dynasty. The paintings discussed in greater detail in the body of the

catalogue are in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art. Catalogue entries are arranged in a basically chronological sequence within the four general categories: narrative, Buddhist and Taoist, portraits, and genre. Inevitably, some paintings have defied precise categorization and minor adjustments had to be made. Some of the paintings are of extraordinarily high quality, others less so. In making the selection, an effort was made to choose paintings that would be representative of the various schools in the development of Chinese figure painting. Some decisions may seem arbitrary and, quite honestly, some selections or omissions were made on a purely subjective basis. But for the most part, the paintings do provide as well balanced a development as is possible under the circumstances.

The length of individual catalogue entries varies considerably, according to the importance of the particular painting and to the relevant material available. Inevitably, a number of problems remain to be solved. Some questions have been overlooked, while others have not been examined for the simple reason that both knowledge and time were lacking. Whenever possible, citations to Chinese texts and catalogues refer to the most recent reprints, so that those who use the catalogue would be able to locate the original references with relative ease.

The enormity of the task of preparing the catalogue became increasingly apparent as the work progressed. Throughout the work, the assistance provided by the information in the folder sheets at the Freer Gallery has been eloquent proof of the research carried on by staff members during the past fifty years. Dr. Richard Barnhart, of Yale University, has been a constant source of encouragement, just as his writings on Chinese figure painting have been a guide for literary style and scholarly accuracy. Dr. Robert J. Maeda, of Brandeis University, offered valuable advice and suggestions during discussions of individual paintings. Moritaka Matsumoto of the University of British Columbia, generously furnished references that were essential in writing entry 17. Mrs. Alyson Waley graciously granted permission to quote the translation of the *Lo-shen fu* from Arthur Waley's *Introduction to Chinese Painting*.

Raymond Schwartz, Ursula Pariser, and James Hayden, of the Freer Photographic Department responded with good humor to seemingly endless requests for photographs. Lloyd Langford saw the manuscript through the printing and helped correct a number of inconsistencies of spelling and layout. Joseph M. Upton read the entire manuscript with meticulous care and clarified sentences that might otherwise have defied understanding. The index was prepared by Celia Hu with characteristic cheerful thoroughness.

During every phase of the preparation of the catalogue, Hin-cheung Lovell has provided corrections of faltering translations, pointed out instances of dubious reasoning and helped untangle contorted English. Only her steadfast refusal prevented her name being listed as co-author of the catalogue. I should point out, however, that all responsibility for shortcomings or error is my own.

Freer Gallery of Art
September, 1973

THOMAS LAWTON
Assistant Director

CHINESE FIGURE PAINTING

The earliest representations of man in China appear on late neolithic painted pottery, that is to say, at the very outset of art itself, since no artifact made in China before that time can seriously be described as art. Occasionally stick-like figures were painted on neolithic urns of the type usually classified as transitional between the Pan-shan and Ma-ch'ang cultures.¹ More striking are the three-dimensional heads in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm, which possibly served as covers for the large painted funerary urns.²

With the advent of bronze casting during the Shang dynasty, pottery was relegated to a secondary position. Throughout Shang and Western Chou, representations of man on bronze ritual vessels and weapons are relatively few.³ In these instances, the human face, which is the most characteristic feature, is emphasized, while the body is reduced to a schematic design or simply fused with animal claws or serpent coils. Whenever man is depicted, he is overshadowed by the hybrid creatures that have thus far defied precise interpretation.

The slow, rather unsystematic development of representations of the human figure during Shang and Western Chou intensified during Eastern Chou. While earlier artists appear to have had but a passing interest in depicting man, the artists of Eastern Chou approached the problem with new vigor.⁴ This may have been a reflection of what was, to use Arthur Waley's phrase, "a gradual inward turning of Chinese thought and its preoccupation with self and the perfection of self."⁵

The earliest extant examples of Chinese figure painting on silk also date from late Eastern Chou. A painting now preserved in the Hunan Provincial Museum was unearthed at Ch'en-chia ta-shan near Ch'ang-sha, Hunan province, in 1949.⁶ The human figure is represented in profile, in a conceptual rather than a perceptual way. The close relationship between sculpture and painting during this period is apparent when the painted figure is compared with the small wooden human figures that were also found at Ch'ang-sha.⁷

More problematical is the so-called "Ch'u silk manuscript," which was unearthed at Ch'ang-sha in the 1930's and is now in the Arthur Sackler collection.⁸ The twelve figures drawn around the edges of the manuscript apparently depict mythical creatures that were endowed with divine powers; each one seems to have presided over a month of the year. In depicting these creatures, the artist made only oblique reference to the human form, demonstrating the fantasy that characterizes so much of the art from the state of Ch'u.

The change from purely ideographic representations of the human figure to images that actually seem capable of movement and emotion apparently had its beginnings in the Western Han dynasty. Examples from the period are admittedly rare, but a few firmly datable monuments have survived. One of the most extraordinary examples of Han dynasty figure painting was unearthed in a tomb at Ma-wang-tui, on the outskirts of Ch'ang-sha, in 1972.⁹ On the basis of impressed seal inscriptions the tomb has been dated to the second century B.C. Of particular interest in the development of Chinese figure painting is the group in the center register of the funerary shroud found atop the innermost sarcophagus. All six figures are shown in profile and their facial features are essentially the same. Attention focuses on the central figure whose larger size and sumptuous clothing indicate higher social status. The figure

stoops slightly and leans on a walking stick. Apparently the artist intended the bent posture as an indication of age. This is the first known instance of what is to become a standard feature in Chinese figure painting—a dependence upon characteristic stance and gesture rather than on individualized facial details to achieve a dramatic effect.

An important Eastern Han example is the so-called “painted basket,” which was excavated in 1932 at Lo-lang, Korea¹⁰ and can be dated to the late first or early second century A.D. The ninety-four figures enframed by the abstract designs represent paragons of filial piety, historical figures and early emperors. Careful study of the figures reveals a number of significant features. The artist differentiates between young and old; some figures are drawn frontally, others in three-quarter view and still others are shown in poses that suggest careful observation of nature. Faces and hands are outlined with thin lines, while the draperies are defined with much heavier brush strokes. The figures are related to each other as they turn their heads and gesticulate. Although the figures are drawn on a single plane beneath swags of textile and with only an occasional prop, such as a diagonal screen, their twisting and turning is sufficient to indicate spatial depth. Particularly notable are the standing figures in the four corners, which are imbued with remarkable energy.

Some of the most famous examples of early Chinese figure paintings are found on the tiles which make up the pediment and lintel in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.¹¹ The paintings are damaged and some areas are so defaced as to be almost irrecognizable. Consequently, a number of different opinions have been expressed about their original character. One recent study places the Boston tiles in the first century A.D.¹² This is based on a comparison of the tiles with a series of wall paintings showing many similar features in a Han tomb near the old city of Loyang excavated in 1957.¹³

The well-known reliefs on the stone offering shrines of the Wu family bear inscribed dates ranging from 147 to 167 A.D.¹⁴ As Alexander Soper has pointed out, the Wu family cemetery is located in southwestern Shantung province, approximately 50 miles west of the site of the famous Ling-kuang Hall, which was constructed in the middle of the second century B.C. by Liu Yü, Prince Kung of Lu and son of Han Ching-ti (reigned 156-141 B.C.).¹⁵ It is possible that the illustrative scheme of the carved reliefs on the Wu family shrines may have been based on, or at least influenced by, the painted mural decorations of the Ling-kuang Hall. In a society guided by Confucian thought, the didactic nature of the various subjects must have made them ideal decorations for either a palace or a family shrine.

A broad range of scenes is depicted in the Wu family shrines; some compositions, such as the miraculous feat of the archer I and the attempted assassination of Ch'in Shih-huang-ti, are repeated several times. A difference in the sophistication of compositional organization and in narrative techniques can be detected in the various scenes. Perhaps the most archaic one is that portraying the youthful King Ch'eng being attended by the Duke of Chou and other courtiers.¹⁶ In contrast, the panel representing Ching K'o attempting to assassinate Ch'in Shih-huang-ti shows considerable technical advance.¹⁷ In spite of the complexity of the scene, the artist succeeded in organizing the numerous figures in a readily understandable composition.

In recent years, excavations in many parts of China have brought to light examples of Han dynasty funerary reliefs.¹⁸ Many of the motifs that decorate these tiles are identical with those at the Wu Liang tz'u.

Individual details are so close as to suggest that sketches or copy books were available to artists in different parts of the country. Comparison of the formalized, restrained images from Shantung and the dynamic, yet astonishingly realistic, representations from Szechwan indicates that the concern for naturalism apparently developed earlier in the south than in the north. The innovative tendencies of artists working in south China were to be characteristic of Chinese figure painting throughout its formative period.

It was during the Han dynasty that individual artists began to emerge from the anonymity of mere artisanship and to be mentioned by name in texts. The man who executed the figures on the Wu Liang tz'u shrines recorded his achievement with obvious pride, "the able artisan Wei Kai carved the designs." Throughout the subsequent history of Chinese painting, artists were recorded in surprising detail, with attention given to their stylistic idiosyncracies as well as their personal foibles.

Chinese texts treating of figure painting invariably cite the names of and titles of paintings by such classical masters as Ku K'ai-chih (ca. 344-ca. 406), Lu T'an-wei (active ca. 465-472), Chang Seng-yu (active ca. 500-550), Yen Li-te (died 656), Yen Li-pen (died 673), Wu Tao-tzu (active ca. 720-762), Chang Hsüan (active 713-741) and Chou Fang (active 780-810). Yet not one genuine work from the hand of any one of these masters has survived. To determine what their paintings were like and what their individual contributions might have been, one must turn to works bearing traditional attributions and to copies by later artists.

The man universally acclaimed as being the greatest of the early figure painters was Ku K'ai-chih.¹⁹ Two paintings are usually referred to as providing some indication of his artistic achievement: the *Admonitions of the Imperial Instructress* and the *Nymph of the Lo River*. While recognizing the importance of these paintings, it is prudent to begin any discussion of them by pointing out that they were not associated with Ku K'ai-chih in Chinese texts until the Sung dynasty and by emphasizing their tenuous relationship to him.

The *Admonitions* handscroll in the British Museum²⁰ illustrates a text by Chang Hua (A.D. 232-300), and like so many early Chinese figure paintings, is infused with the Confucian concern for moral edification. The attenuated elegance of the female figures, with their elongated faces, is typical of what is often described as the "Six Dynasties style." Although there is a token interplay of the figures, it is the vitality of the swirling draperies, rather than any physical gestures, that conveys an impression of movement. The abstract patterns of those drapery streamers, depicted as if caught in the wind, are an outgrowth of Han traditions, where forms are a subtle union of purely abstract ornamentation and naturalistically rendered details. Fine, even brush strokes define the rounded drapery forms and the carefully closed contours. Occasionally some areas are heavily shaded. The combination of line, forms and color is at once restrained, decorous and graceful. Judging from the style of the calligraphy and the information provided by the seals and colophons, it is reasonable to date the handscroll to the late T'ang dynasty.

Two versions of the *Nymph of the Lo River* are discussed at length in the catalogue (*Nos. 1 and 2*). In contrast to the representation of figures with a minimum or complete absence of setting in the *Admonitions* scroll, the figures in the *Nymph of the Lo River* are shown in landscapes with some attempt made by the artist to achieve a convincing

relationship in the scale of figures and background.

Two recent archaeological finds furnish corroborative material for the paintings traditionally attributed to Ku K'ai-chih and are important for an understanding of developments during this initial period. In 1960, two large figure panels were unearthed in an early Six Dynasties brick tomb at Hsi-shan-ch'iao, near Nanking.²¹ They depict the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove and Jung Ch'i-ch'i, one of the legendary contemporaries of Confucius. The composition was apparently first painted, then subdivided and carved with raised lines on a series of wooden blocks each of which was then stamped into wet clay. The bricks were subsequently numbered, fired and reassembled. In 1965, fragments of a painted lacquer screen were recovered from the tomb of Ssu-na Chin-lung (died 484) near Ta-t'ung, Shansi province.²² The figures on the screen are of virtuous women and paragons of filial piety, arranged in registers with identifying inscriptions in cartouches. The Nanking panels, the lacquer screen, as well as the *Admonitions* and the *Nymph of the Lo River* handscrolls are governed by the same artistic conventions, such as the coiling, involuted linear rhythms of ribbons, rounded skirts and garment hems, which can be described as the "Six Dynasties style." Throughout the history of Chinese figure painting, these same conventions appear whenever artists allude to the Six Dynasties style.

The stone *Sarcophagus of Filial Piety* in the Nelson Gallery, Kansas City, has been convincingly dated ca. 525 on the basis of stylistic comparison with dated Buddhist reliefs and stelae.²³ While the figures in the sarcophagus reliefs are still closely related to styles that were current at the beginning of the fifth century, the relationship between the figures and the landscape details shows remarkable change. There is still relatively little feeling of depth, but the proportion of the figures to the rocks and trees has become much more naturalistic. In each of the scenes on the sarcophagus, the figures are presented with new insight into their psychological relationship. This is especially apparent in the story of the filial son, Tung Yung, where the ungainly angularity of the youth is certainly an attempt to indicate his uneasiness on meeting the Spinning Maiden, who is shown as poised and elegant.²⁴

The refined linear technique traditionally associated with Ku K'ai-chih continued to dominate Chinese figure painting into the early years of the T'ang dynasty.²⁵ The role of the line in this style is essentially to *define* form. Individual variations in line are subordinated and never allowed to intrude. The most famous T'ang artist working in that conservative tradition was Yen Li-pen.²⁶ He and his brother, Yen Li-te, designed the fourteen standing stone images of foreigners which lined the entrance way of Chao-ling, the mausoleum of T'ang T'ai-tsung (reigned 627-649). According to Chang Yen-yüan, the drawings for the stone images were still extant in 818;²⁷ but neither the drawings nor the stone images have survived.

Still remaining from Chao-ling are the six bas-reliefs of the various chargers ridden by T'ai-tsung during his important military campaigns, which are traditionally said to be the work of Yen Li-pen.²⁸ Only one of the six compositions includes a human figure. Although the forms are carved in relief, it is the artist's use of taut, curving lines to define muscles, reins and drapery folds that imparts a dynamic sense of tension between man and horse. Set within shallow recessed borders, these bas-reliefs are actually paintings recorded in stone. The six compositions provide the most reliable examples of Yen Li-pen's work now extant.

In 642 Yen Li-pen painted the portraits of twenty-four meritorious

officials in the Ling-yen Hall in Ch'ang-an. Although the paintings themselves have long since vanished, the compositions were copied in stone in 1090. Even in rubbings taken from the eleventh-century engravings, without the bright color that must have added considerably to the effectiveness of the original paintings, it is still possible to visualize the penetrating portraits and admire the subtle descriptiveness of Yen Li-pen's brushwork.²⁹

In addition to the fragments of Yen Li-pen's work preserved in stone, there are a number of paintings attributed to him. Perhaps the finest of these is the handscroll, *Scholars of Northern Ch'i Collating Texts*, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.³⁰ The fine, precise lines which are evident in the rubbings of portraits from the Ling-yen Hall are also present in the *Scholars* handscroll. In addition, the artist used color to organize patterns and to suggest transparent fabrics. Although the present composition is incomplete, the group of scholars is shown as a self-contained unit. The Boston handscroll is probably a tenth-century copy of an early T'ang composition having close affiliations with the Yen Li-pen tradition.

A second handscroll in the Museum of Fine Arts, traditionally attributed to Yen Li-pen, is the famous *Thirteen Emperors* scroll depicting Han, Six Dynasties and Sui rulers.³¹ The Yen Li-pen attribution does not seem to date earlier than the eleventh century, but the painting style certainly reflects early T'ang achievements. The servant girls attending Emperor Wen-ti of the Ch'en dynasty are related to figural styles seen in those scrolls attributed to Ku K'ai-chih. The animation of the attendants forms a contrast with the relative immobility of the emperors, and the artist skilfully utilized that contrast to avoid monotony. One girl turns to smile coquettishly at the male retainers in the preceding portrait. This lends a sense of continuity to the handscroll and avoids the staccato effect inherent in a series of separate portraits.

A composition similar to those in the *Emperors* handscroll occurs in another painting attributed to Yen Li-pen, the *Imperial Palanquin* now in the Palace Museum, Peking.³² Painted in ink and color on silk, the scroll depicts T'ang T'ai-tsung seated on a palanquin attended by a group of court ladies receiving Lu-tung-tsan, an envoy of the King of Turfan. The slender figure of the envoy, dressed in an elaborately ornate robe, stands between two Chinese court officials. According to a careful study of the painting, the work is an early Northern Sung copy of a painting by Yen Li-pen.³³

Yen Li-pen's paintings of foreigners, as seen in the Peking scroll, are frequently mentioned in Chinese texts. Another painting, entitled *Szechien t'u (Admonishing in Chains)*, is recorded in Chang Yen-yüan's *Li-tai ming-hua chi* (cf. *Cat. No. 10*).³⁴ The painting illustrates the meritorious official Ch'en Yüan-ta admonishing Liu Ts'ung. Once again the subject is historical and in this instance illustrates the civilizing effects of Chinese culture on Turkic barbarians.

The introduction of Buddhism to China from India and Central Asia brought a host of new ideas and images. No doubt many artists from the areas along the route from India to China were responsible for transmitting those new ideas, but few are recorded. One Chinese artist whose work was influenced by Western traditions is Chang Seng-yu (ca. 480-ca. 548) of the Liang dynasty.³⁵ He is said to have employed a form of shading in his paintings of Buddhist subjects to give them a sense of physical bulk, and his figures are described as rather fleshy. The only painting having even the remotest relationship with Chang Seng-yu is

the *Five Planets and Twenty-four Constellations* handscroll now in the Osaka City Museum.³⁶ The artist used shading to render the figures, several of whom are corpulent and have a foreign cast. In spite of the similarity of the painting with descriptions of Chang Seng-yu's work, varying opinions have been expressed about the authorship of the painting, which does not appear to date earlier than the Yüan dynasty.³⁷

The painting of *Vaiśravaṇa, Guardian of the North*, in the Freer Gallery (*Cat. No. 25*) bears a traditional attribution to Wei-ch'ih I-seng (late 7th-early 8th century), a Central Asian painter who appears to have worked most of his life in China.³⁸ The musicians and dancer in the lower section of the Freer painting are virtually identical with figures in a handscroll in the Berenson collection also attributed to Wei-ch'ih I-seng.³⁹ No doubt the attribution of both paintings was in part based on the fact that the subject matter is Central Asian in origin. But equally distinctive is the curious curling treatment of drapery patterns that is associated with the Wei-ch'ih I-seng tradition. The convention may well be derived from a rendering of Indian drapery forms that was transmitted through sketches to Central Asia and China.⁴⁰

Some further indication of experiments in modeling form that are usually associated with Central Asian influence is provided by a scroll in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, which is signed Ch'ên Yung-chih.⁴¹ The artist was a prominent academician in the Jen-tsung era (1023-63), and is mentioned in a number of texts as a specialist in Buddhist and Taoist subjects. The most unusual feature of the Boston painting of *Sakyamuni Under the Mango Tree* is the way brilliant mineral pigment was piled up in layers on the silk so that the modeling was in fact executed in three dimensions.

For the Chinese, experiments in the use of shading, or of actual pigment to create the illusion of light and shade, or of three-dimensional bulk, did not appear to have been acceptable. Probably a major factor was an unwillingness to obscure the basic linear calligraphic tradition which, even at the beginning of the Tang dynasty, was already time-honored in China. Artists sought other solutions that would enable them to describe form without abandoning the calligraphic line. Although some tentative attempts to solve the problem had been made earlier, it remained for the extraordinary Wu Tao-tzu to provide a solution.⁴² Significantly, Wu Tao-tzu began his career as a student of a sculptor named Chang Hsiao-shih. That early training may help to explain his achievement of a painting style that broke through the earlier tradition and permitted him to use line to describe form.⁴³

Although Wu Tao-tzu is one of the most celebrated Chinese artists, not one of his innumerable Buddhist and Taoist wall paintings mentioned in literature has survived. Only a few rubbings of compositions that are said to have been by him and were later carved on stone remain to help visualize what his achievement might have been. A rubbing of a demon figure from an engraving on the wall of the terrace in front of the Tung-yüeh Temple in Ch'ü-yang, Hopei province, is especially important.⁴⁴ Every muscle of the demon's body is contorted and its mouth is opened in a grotesque cry. Even the shock of hair bristles. In contrast to early figure paintings dominated by the Ku K'ai-chih and Yen Li-pen traditions, in which forms were defined with lines of even width, Wu Tao-tzu used uneven thick and thin lines that do not always fully enclose the forms. By frequently breaking the outlines he described form and thereby added to the visual impression of dynamic movement. The artist's choice of such dramatic subject matter as the demon further

enabled him to display his technical virtuosity.

While the single demon figure provides a tantalizing glimpse of Wu Tao-tzu's figural style, it only hints at the complexity of his many wall paintings depicting Buddhist and Taoist pantheons. A clearer understanding of that aspect of Wu Tao-tzu's achievement can be gained from a handscroll of the *Five Heavenly Rulers*, attributed to Wu Tsung-yüan (died 1050), one of the artists who followed his tradition.⁴⁵ The influence of Wu Tao-tzu's style in the handscroll is so pronounced that the painting has at times served as an example of his style. The composition is incomplete, and it has been suggested that it is part of a reduced sketch of a large composition that originally covered four walls.⁴⁶ The artist used thin lines for the faces of the figures while representing the drapery with blunt, darker lines. This contrast emphasizes the pattern of abstract shapes and it is the pattern of lines and forms rather than any concern for structural, logical space that dominates the handscroll. In that sense, Wu Tsung-yüan is working in an extremely old-fashioned style.

At the same time that Wu Tao-tzu was covering temple walls with Buddhist and Taoist spectacles, other artists were portraying the quieter activities of court life. In recent years, a series of T'ang dynasty imperial tombs has been excavated. The wall paintings and designs preserved in stone reveal the extraordinarily high level of figure painting. Perhaps the most impressive of those tombs is that of Princess Yung-t'ai (685-701), completed in 706.⁴⁷ The wall paintings were all composed with little concern for space. The artist constructed linear harmonics and surface patterns by repeating parallel lines and by the simple juxtaposition of forms. The figures on the wall paintings and stone engravings in the tomb are of plump ladies having full faces and elaborate headdresses, a type usually associated with Yang Kuei-fei, the concubine of T'ang Ming-huang (reigned 713-756). However, Yang Kuei-fei died in 756, half a century after the tomb of Yung-t'ai was built. This indicates that the plump figure style was already in vogue at least a generation earlier.

While the name of the artist who painted the murals in the tomb of Princess Yung-t'ai is not recorded, several T'ang dynasty artists who specialized in painting court scenes are documented. But once again, only a glimpse of their accomplishments is possible. Chang Hsüan (active 713-741) was one of the most famous of those court painters.⁴⁸ A Sung copy of one of his compositions is in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.⁴⁹ The painting, attributed to Sung Hui-tsung (reigned 1101-26) in an inscription by Chin Chang-tsung (reigned 1190-1208), depicts court ladies preparing silk, and appears to be a faithful copy of Chang Hsüan's original composition, so much so that it tells a great deal about eighth-century court painting and remarkably little about the painting style of Hui-tsung. Individual forms are characterized by a meticulous neatness that inhibited any of the spontaneity that is evident in the wall paintings of the tomb of Princess Yung-t'ai. Nonetheless, the painting reveals Chang Hsüan to have been a master of quiet, psychological drama. Much of the effectiveness of the Boston painting depends upon the artist's ability to emphasize particularly characteristic gestures, since the faces of the figures are devoid of expression. Each group is organized as a separately enclosed and complete composition. Another composition attributed to Chang Hsüan, with the forms arranged in two separate groups, depicts *Lady Kuo-kuo and Her Sisters on a Spring Outing*. It is preserved in several later copies, also alleged to be by Sung Hui-tsung.⁵⁰

Chou Fang (active 780-810) is the best-known follower of Chang Hsüan.⁵¹ In addition to painting court ladies, he is also said to have executed Buddhist subjects with a less austere, more Chinese flavor. He is traditionally regarded as being the first artist to depict the Bodhisattva Kuan-yin in the informal pose usually referred to as Kuan-yin of the Water Moon (cf. *Cat. No. 16*). A number of texts also record erotic paintings by Chou Fang.⁵²

Of the many figure paintings attributed to Chou Fang, the handscrolls entitled *Drinking Tea and Tuning the Lute* in the Nelson Gallery, Kansas City,⁵³ the *Women Embroidering* in the Palace Museum, Peking,⁵⁴ the *Ladies with Flowers in their Hair* in the Liaoning Museum,⁵⁵ and the *Ladies Playing Double Sixes* in the Freer Gallery (*Cat. No. 51*) give the most convincing indication of the quiet, slightly melancholic air that is characteristic of his work.

With the decline of the T'ang dynasty, the center of figure painting moved from Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang to the court of Southern T'ang at Nanking. Until Southern T'ang was absorbed by the Sung in 975, an important group of artists carried on T'ang figure painting traditions and developed even further a concern for realism in genre painting that was ended by changes during the Northern Sung.

One of the most famous of the artists who served as a painter-in-attendance at the Southern T'ang court was Ku Hung-chung (active 943-960).⁵⁶ The well-known handscroll entitled the *Night Revels of Han Hsi-tsai* in the Palace Museum, Peking, is the one work still seriously associated with his name.⁵⁷ In its present form, the handscroll consists of five sections, fewer than recorded versions which included erotic scenes. The slender proportions of the women and the flowing lines of the gowns, as well as the complicated drawing of drapery folds with angular turns and hooks, are still descriptive and logical. No doubt the extraordinary realism of the various interiors preserves the sophisticated genre tradition that attained such a high point during the tenth century. However, such details as the screen paintings that occur in the handscroll indicate that it is a twelfth-century copy. This painting provides the best indication now available of the degree of realism that occupied artists of the Southern T'ang court. It is the culmination of a tradition that began centuries earlier in late Eastern Chou.

A fellow painter-in-attendance of Ku Hung-chung at the court of Li Hou-chu was Chou Wen-chü (active 961-975).⁵⁸ Two album leaves in the Freer Gallery (*Cat. Nos. 52 and 53*) are traditionally attributed to him. What is lacking in those paintings, however, is any indication of the use of *chan-pi*, or "tremulous brush strokes," that is always noted in Chinese texts as a conspicuous characteristic of Chou Wen-chü's painting style. In fact, Mi Fei (1051-1107) states that this is the only feature which distinguishes the work of Chou Wen-chü from that of Chou Fang.⁵⁹ No doubt the use of "tremulous brush strokes" developed as one more refinement in realism, for in those paintings reflecting tenth-century traditions (*Cat. Nos. 3, 12 and 14*) the irregular, slightly animated strokes lend a degree of naturalism to the rendering of the folds of fabric. Chou Wen-chü is supposed to have borrowed the tremulous brush strokes from the calligraphy of Li Yü, the emperor whom he served. In the hands of later artists, this descriptive brush technique became a mere mannerism.

Chou Wen-chü's direct borrowing of Li Yü's idiosyncratic tremulous calligraphic line for figure painting is an example of the unusually close relationship between calligraphy and figure painting. Other instances

are more subtle and equally significant. This relationship is an essential aspect of Chinese figure painting which remains to be more fully explored.

Important for the understanding of Chou Wen-chü's contribution to Chinese figure painting are the fragments of a handscroll depicting *Court Ladies*, now dispersed in the Fogg Museum, the Pennsylvania University Museum, the Berenson collection, and the collection of Mrs. John D. Riddell, London.⁶⁰ The painting is on silk and the figures are rendered in *pai-miao* with slight touches of vermilion and ink wash. The forms are defined by a sharp, thin line that varies only slightly when the artist introduces tremulous brush strokes. Although attributed to Chou Wen-chü, the scroll apparently was executed by an anonymous Northern Sung artist sometime before 1140.

While discussing Chou Wen-chü and Southern T'ang painting, note should be taken of the short handscroll depicting the *Parting of Su Wu and Li Ling*, now in the National Palace Museum, Taiwan.⁶¹ The Chou Wen-chü signature on the painting is obviously a later addition. Further, the theme and style of the scroll appear to be more closely related to Liao traditions, an area of Chinese painting that remains as yet relatively unexplored.⁶² The scroll is of special importance because it raises the question of the representation of emotion in Chinese painting. Nowhere in the history of Chinese painting is there anything comparable to the powerful psychological dramas that characterize some of the greatest works by such Western artists as Rembrandt and Rubens. Admittedly, some Chinese themes, such as the *Parting of Su Wu and Li Ling* and *Lady Wen-chü's Return to China* do evoke a mood of sadness and melancholy. But there is a minimum of emotion visible in representations of those themes. A simple gesture or specific juxtaposition of figures was sufficient to identify the story. Such understatement was possible when themes were so familiar and because any additional details considered important by the artist could be provided more easily in his inscription or in colophons added by others. It is precisely in the artist's inscriptions or in the colophons of contemporaries that the full expression of emotion is to be found.

The emotional restraint that informs Chinese figure painting throughout its history may, in large part, be a legacy from its didactic beginnings. The Confucian preoccupation with moral teaching placed a premium on decorum and emotional control. At the same time, those paintings commissioned by lay Buddhists or by temples also tended to be formal and hieratic. Occasionally there were some satirical or secular touches, but they were usually relegated to the background. Similarly, those artists who worked at court were expected to depict an ideal existence. Any touches of irony or melancholy were the exception rather than the rule. Never was any overt expression of unhappiness allowed to breach the harmony of court life.

Chinese figure painting developed and enjoyed its greatest period under Confucian, Buddhist and imperial patronage. At first, Chinese artists were concerned with telling a story that embodied a moral, or in depicting legendary rulers, meritorious officials or paragons of filial piety. Once these themes had become a standard part of the Chinese cultural tradition, it was possible for later artists to depict them, either in their entirety or in part, in a kind of art-historical shorthand without fear of confusion. For later avant-garde artists, however, the original significance or implications of the themes were no longer a primary concern. Ancient themes were important to them only in so far as they could be

reinterpreted as meaningful statements about contemporary society.

The first significant change in attitude toward ancient themes in Chinese figure painting was made by Li Kung-lin (ca. 1049-1106). The frequent references to him in the various entries of this catalogue indicate his profound influence on later Chinese figure painting. He emerges as a pivotal figure marking the change from the earlier period when themes and styles were used in a straightforward manner to the later period when they were usually employed obliquely as allusions.

Records mention an extremely wide range of subjects depicted by Li Kung-lin,⁶³ but only two scrolls generally agreed to have been painted by him have survived to the twentieth century. The *Five Horses* handscroll was part of the Ch'ing imperial collection.⁶⁴ Later the painting was taken to Japan where purportedly it was destroyed during World War II. The painting, which depicts five horses that were presented as tribute to the Emperor between 1086 and 1089, is neither signed nor dated. Huang T'ing-chien (1045-1105), who wrote the first colophon, discusses the painting as a work of Li Kung-lin; in the following colophon dated 1131, Tseng Yu (1073-1135) stated that he had seen the painting forty years earlier. Consequently, the scroll must have been executed some time between 1089 and 1090. Both the horses and the grooms that accompany them are outstanding examples of late Northern Sung realism. Although Li Kung-lin is noted for his antiquarian interests and for his studies of the noted T'ang horse painter Han Kan (active 742-756), his horses and figures have a subtlety that is quite foreign to those paintings now associated with the T'ang master. The representation of the horses and grooms is much more indebted to the achievements of Ku K'ai-chih and Yen Li-pen, while the realism develops from that of Southern T'ang artists.

In the *Classic of Filial Piety* now in the Princeton University Museum, landscape details, buildings and human figures are combined in a series of illustrations.⁶⁵ As in the *Five Horses* scroll, Li Kung-lin displays a characteristic vocabulary for rendering drapery that owes something to such earlier artists as Ku K'ai-chih and Yen Li-pen. But the pronounced angularity is new and of special significance in the context of techniques that were subsequently evolved by Southern Sung academy painters.

Many Sung literati were serious students of Ch'an Buddhism and it is not surprising that some artists turned anew to such subjects as Sakyamuni and Lohan, or created totally new images (*Cat. Nos. 21-23*). Li Kung-lin continued the sinification of some Ch'an Buddhist images: in painting Lohan he is said to have evolved a more Chinese and, incidentally, a more secular type (cf. *Cat. No. 20*) that replaced the formidable foreign images of the Kuan-hsiu tradition. He is also credited with having introduced completely new, informal representations of Kuan-yin. The more gentle, introspective Buddhist images painted by Li Kung-lin contrasted sharply with those of the Wu Tao-tzu tradition which had dominated Chinese figure painting for nearly four centuries.

Some indication of the Li Kung-lin tradition is also evident in the well known set of 500 Lohan originally in the Daitokuji (*Cat. Nos. 18 and 19*). Because the paintings can be dated precisely in the Southern Sung period, they provide a particularly important summary of Buddhist painting after Li Kung-lin. During the late Southern Sung and early Yüan dynasty, Lu Hsin-chung (13th century) continued that tradition, adding, as his own innovation, an even greater emphasis on facial individuality.⁶⁶

Because of Li Kung-lin's subsequent position as one of the founders

of the literati tradition, his painting style and the subjects he chose to paint were extraordinarily influential. Calligraphy and figure painting were joined in intimate relationship in his work. His fondness for rendering forms in *pai-miao*, a painting technique that merges almost indistinguishably with calligraphy, bestowed totally new connotations on the technique. No longer was *pai-miao* merely one of the modes available to an artist. It became, instead, the technique most favored by literati painters.

Some conservative artists perpetuated Li Kung-lin's style with relatively little change (*Cat. No. 34*). Among his more creative followers during Southern Sung was Chia Shih-ku (active ca. 1130-60), who in turn transmitted Li's influence to Liang K'ai (died after 1246).⁶⁷ Liang K'ai's paintings of Buddhist subjects are characterized by broad, bold brushwork and are among the most impressive examples of thirteenth-century figure painting still extant. His portrait of the T'ang dynasty poet Li Po in the Tokyo National Museum is astonishingly simple.⁶⁸ It is difficult to imagine how such simplicity could have been achieved without the *pai-miao* paintings of Li Kung-lin.

Many artists working in the imperial painting academy at Hangchow were influenced by the flamboyant brushwork associated with Wu Tao-zu. So important were the various types of brush strokes used by Southern Sung artists that a wide variety of descriptive terms were developed to describe the individual variations. Among the most famous of those artists was Ma Ho-chih (active ca. 1131-62).⁶⁹ The humiliating circumstances of the fall of Northern Sung and the ensuing flight to the south made it understandable that themes of melancholy, longing and return would often be painted by court artists. On a number of occasions, Ma Ho-chih painted illustrations of poems from the *Shih-ching* (cf. *Cat. No. 6*) by the emperor Kao-tsung (reigned 1127-62). Although Ma's characteristic "orchid leaf" line is ultimately derived from the Wu Tao-zu tradition, it is considerably more subdued.

Important for developments during the Yüan dynasty and indeed for the remainder of Chinese figure painting history were Ch'ien Hsüan (ca. 1239-after 1300)⁷⁰ and Chao Meng-fu (1254-1322).⁷¹ Once again the achievements of both men must be seen in relationship to their indebtedness to Li Kung-lin. Ch'ien Hsüan's figure paintings have already been examined.⁷² In his depiction of *Yang Kuei-wei Mourning a Horse* (*Cat. No. 43*), the complexity of Yüan painting is apparent. Ch'ien Hsüan's debt to T'ang achievements and to those of Li Kung-lin are visible in his composition and use of line. The subject itself refers to the T'ang dynasty. But the satirical implications in the artist's inscription lend the painting a political interpretation that is quite new. By choosing to couch his discontent in a seemingly harmless, time-honored theme, the artist was able to be perilously outspoken, although admittedly his message was understood by relatively few like-minded men.

In Chao Meng-fu's representation of a *Sheep and Goat*, a similar complexity has been admirably unraveled by Chu-ting Li.⁷³ Some stress should be placed on the importance of inscriptions and colophons for an understanding of the "correct" interpretation of the many-layered meaning of themes in later Chinese painting. Style itself does not impart subtle ironies or biting criticism. For those implications, the written characters were essential. An important example of this dependence on inscriptions and colophons for understanding the import of a scroll is Kung K'ai's (1222-ca. 1304) representation of *Chung K'uei Traveling* (*Cat. No. 35*).

During the early years of the Ming dynasty, court painters were content to produce portraits of rulers and to decorate palaces with didactic narrative paintings.⁷⁴ When the Hsüan-te emperor (reigned 1426-35) ascended the throne, court painting acquired an important patron and soon began to develop in quite new directions. Hsüan-te was a practising artist who assembled a group of painters at his court. For the most part, the artists developed eclectic styles that were strongly influenced by those of the Southern Sung academy. It was ultimately the influence of the Wu Tao-tzu tradition as interpreted by Southern Sung artists that was further reinterpreted by the Ming dynasty court artists and those men who followed them. Characteristic of the school, known as the Che school,⁷⁵ was the emphasis on brush technique. The Che school artists exploited bold washes of ink and strong outlines in reworking traditional themes on a scale that went far beyond the moderate size of Southern Sung. Display of technical virtuosity had been important in Southern Sung, but never did it reach the degree seen in paintings of the fifteenth and sixteenth century, when form was often sacrificed to technical display. In subject matter genre scenes became prominent, second to landscape, and in these a kind of earthy humor played an important part (*Cat. No. 59*). Among the Che school artists represented in the catalogue are Chang Lu (1464-1538) (*Cat. No. 29*) and Cheng Tien-hsien (active late 15th-early 16th century) (*Cat. No. 40*).

Partially as a reaction to the inordinate emphasis on technical virtuosity that characterized Che school painting, artists such as Shen Chou (1427-1509)⁷⁶ and Wen Cheng-ming (1470-1559),⁷⁷ the best known of those literati artists to be included in the Wu school, turned to the structural achievements of the great Yüan masters. Understandably, the emphasis in the Wu school was on landscape. When Wu school artists did paint figures, they were investigating a traditional style rather than indulging in political or social innuendo. Two of Wen Cheng-ming's paintings illustrate the themes of *Chung K'uei*⁷⁸ and the *Lady and Mistress of the Hsiang River*.⁷⁹ In the former, a theme traditionally first associated with Wu Tao-tzu and subsequently reinterpreted by Kung K'ai, the influence of Wu Tao-tzu is obvious. In the latter, the curving lines that define the Lady and Mistress of the Hsiang River stem ultimately from the Ku K'ai-chih tradition. There is no indication in his inscriptions on the two paintings that Wen Cheng-ming was concerned with anything more than interpreting two ancient themes in the painting styles traditionally associated with them. Here the images carry none of the satirical or political overtones that were discussed in the work of Ch'ien Hsüan and Chao Meng-fu. The paintings should be seen as exercises in art historical investigation.

Chou Ch'en (ca. 1450-after 1535),⁸⁰ an artist who was associated neither with the court nor with the literati, painted some studies of street people in which physical deformities are unflinchingly represented.⁸¹ Realism of this type is not common in Chinese figure painting, although some precedent can be found in details of Buddhist works.⁸²

Both T'ang Yin (1470-1523)⁸³ and Ch'iu Ying (ca. 1510-ca. 1552)⁸⁴ had close contact with Chou Ch'en early in their careers and their technical skill certainly reveals indebtedness to him. T'ang Yin's fictionalized dissolute behavior has made him something of a folk hero and his paintings of romantic encounters are particularly well known. His controlled, precise depictions of well-bred ladies (*Cat. No. 48*) and the bold ink studies of individual figures provide further indications of the varied aspects of his *oeuvre*. The technical skill of Ch'iu Ying and his ability to

render faithful copies of traditional compositions are features that are always mentioned in evaluations of his work. But Ch'iu Ying's intimate contact with Ming literati leaders and his mastery of the terse *pai-niao* style are clearly demonstrated by his illustrations for six famous calligraphic studies (*Cat. No. 9*).

During the late Ming dynasty, two masters, Ch'en Hung-shou (1599-1652)⁸⁵ and Ts'ui Tzu-chung (died 1644),⁸⁶ were noted for the archaistic tendencies that characterize their paintings. Both men were keenly aware of past traditions in evolving their own styles. Ch'en's forms are defined with precise curving outlines (*Cat. Nos. 31 and 49*); whereas Ts'ui utilized tremulous brush strokes and more gentle color (*Cat. No. 30*).

During the Ch'ing dynasty, a number of literati and court artists devoted part of their energies to depicting the human figure. Some are powerfully moving statements, others are merely playful dabbling. One of the finest examples of Ch'ing figure painting is the self-portrait of Tao-chi (1641-1714), dated 1674 when the artist was 33 years old;⁸⁷ it is equal to the best figure painting from any period. By contrast, the sketches by artists on the fringes of the literati tradition are little more than caricatures.

Two contemporaneous works in the catalogue give some idea of the varying attitudes towards tradition that prevailed during the eighteenth century. Huang Shen's (1687-ca. 1768)⁸⁸ sketchy painting of an *Old Gentleman Gazing at Magnolias* (*Cat. No. 50*) is characteristic of the individualistic expression of the eccentric artists of the Yangchou school who sought to free themselves of any indebtedness to tradition. The second example shows the meticulous representations of a scene from the *Romance of Western Chamber* (*Cat. No. 15*) by an anonymous eighteenth-century artist, and it demonstrates the persistence of the tradition that began in the Six Dynasties. As is customary with such late academic paintings, the technical skill is impressive, but the quickening touch of human emotion is totally absent.

The two paintings represent opposing extremes in attitude toward Chinese figure painting tradition. However, it should be pointed out that during the Ch'ing dynasty, as with most periods of Chinese painting, there were artists who cannot be neatly characterized as either conservative or avant-garde, yet whose work was clearly influenced by both traditions.

All of the traditions discussed briefly have been perpetuated to the present day. Chinese artists continue to work in a wide variety of figural styles and to proudly proclaim their debt to the great masters of the past. The number of traditional themes is remarkably small and, as was noted in the discussion of Wen Cheng-ming, a particular style is often associated with a certain theme. Inscriptions and colophons still invoke the names of such traditional masters as Ku K'ai-chih, Lu T'an-wei, Wu Tao-tzu and Li Kung-lin. Understandably, the precise differentiation between the various traditions has tended to blur somewhat with time, but regardless of how transformed by the interpretations of later artists, some vestige of the original master remains. The extraordinary continuity of Chinese figure painting allows the discerning viewer to identify the various intervening contributions and to arrive finally at the artist's own statement. This cumulative fusing of imagery, style and the written word lends Chinese figure painting an artistic and intellectual depth that is unique.

NOTES

¹ Nils Palmgren, *Kansu Mortuary Urns of the Pan-shan and Ma-ch'ang Groups* (Peking, 1934), pl. XIII, nos. 2 and 3.

² Two of these heads (*Ibid.*, pl. XIX, nos. 7 and 8) were acquired by J. G. Andersson in China and the third (*Ibid.*, no. 9) was purchased in Paris. It is reasonable to assume that all three came originally from the Pan-shan area of Kansu province. Another human head, modeled with the same spontaneity, occurs on the outer surface of a fragment of red pottery found at Fu-feng, Shensi, in 1959 and linked with the Yang-shao tradition. See: *Kaogu*, 1959, no. 11, pl. VIII-1, p. 589.

³ Some of the most notable examples are: a mask from An-yang, now in the Academia Sinica, Taiwan (Cheng Te-k'un, *Archaeology in China*, vol. II, *Ssang China*, Toronto, 1960, pl. XXXVIII, a); a *fang-t'ing* with a human mask on each side, said to have been found at Ning-hsiang, Hunan (*Sekai bijutsu taikai*, Tokyo, 1963, vol. I, p. 49, pl. 45); the *Ssu-mu fang-t'ing* (*Ibid.*, p. 36, pl. 9); a *bu* in the Cernuschi Museum (Alfred Salmony, *Asiatische Kunst Ausstellung Köln*, 1926, Munich, 1929, pls. 26-29), a *bo* in the Freer Gallery of Art (*The Freer Chinese Bronzes*, vol. I, no. 39, pl. 39, p. 225, fig. 33, p. 227); on weapons (Max Loehr, *Chinese Bronze Age Weapons*, Ann Arbor, 1956, figs. 96-97, pl. XXXV, no. 80, 85).

⁴ Ludwig Bachhofer, "Bronze Figures of the Late Chou Period," *Art Bulletin*, vol. XXIII, no. 4 (December, 1941), pp. 317-331.

⁵ Arthur Waley, *The Way and Its Power* (New York, 1958), p. 43.

⁶ A copy of the painting is reproduced in *Arts of China, Recent Discoveries* (Tokyo, 1968), pl. 200.

⁷ *Ch'ang-sha Ma-wang-tui i-bao Hau nu fa-ch'ieh chien-pao* (Peking, 1972), pls. 14-15.

⁸ Problems relating to the manuscript are discussed by Noel Barnard, "The Ch'u Silk Manuscript and Other Archaeological Documents," *Early Chinese Art and Its Possible Influence in the Pacific Basin* (New York, 1972), vol. I, pp. 77-82.

⁹ *Ch'ang-sha Ma-wang-tui* . . . , pls. 1-2.

¹⁰ *The Tomb of the Painted Basket of Lo-laung* (Keijō, 1934), pls. 41-50.

¹¹ Kōjirō Tomita, *Portfolio of Chinese Painting in the Museum: Han to Sung Periods* (Boston, 1938), pls. 1-8.

¹² Jonathan Chaves, "A Han Painted Tomb at Loyang," *Artibus Asiae*, vol. XXX, no. 1 (1968), pp. 5-27.

¹³ *K'ao-ku hsieh-pao*, 1964, no. 2, pp. 107-125 and appended plates; and *Wen-wu ching-hua*, III, 1964, p. 2 and plates.

¹⁴ Édouard Chavannes, *Mission archéologique dans la Chine septentrionale* (Paris, 1913), pls. XXXII-LXXVI.

¹⁵ Alexander C. Soper, "Life Motion and the Sense of Space in Early Chinese Representational Art," *Art Bulletin*, vol. XXX, no. 3 (September, 1948), p. 174.

¹⁶ Chavannes, *op. cit.*, pl. LXIV.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. LX.

¹⁸ Hsio-yen Shih, "I-nan and Related Tombs," *Artibus Asiae*, vol. XXII, no. 4 (1959), pp. 277-313; and Richard Rudolph and Wen Yü, *Han Tomb of West China* (Berkeley, 1951).

¹⁹ A great deal has been written about Ku K'ai-chih. Arthur Waley's chapter in his *Introduction to the Study of Chinese Painting*, pp. 45-66, provides an excellent summary. Ku's biography from the *Chin shu* has been translated by Ch'en Shih-hsiang, *Biography of Ku K'ai-chih* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1953). Recent studies of his paintings include P'an T'ien-shou, *Ku K'ai-chih* (Shanghai, 1958); Ma Ts'ai, *Ku K'ai-chih yen-chiu* (Shanghai, 1958); and Yü Chien-hua, *Lo Shu-tzu and Wen Chao-t'ung, Ku K'ai-chih yen-chiu tzu-liao* (Peking, 1962).

²⁰ A color facsimile of the scroll was published by the British Museum in 1966, with a booklet by Basil Gray in which an account of the history of the painting is presented. Kohara Hironobu has examined the scroll in his study, "Jōshishin zukan," *Kokka*, no. 908 (November, 1967), pp. 17-33 and no. 909 (December, 1967), pp. 13-27.

²¹ "Nan-ching Hsi-shan-ch'iao Nan-ch'ao mu chi ch'i chuan-k'o pi-hua," *Wen-wu*, 1960, nos. 8-9, pp. 37-42. See also, Alexander C. Soper, "A New Chinese Tomb Discovery: the Earliest Representation of a Famous Literary Theme," *Artibus Asiae*, vol. XXIV, no. 2 (1961), pp. 79-86; and Nagahiro Toshio, "Shinso

kan no chikurin Shichiken to Eikeiki no gazu," *Kokka*, no. 857 (August, 1963), pp. 15-21.

²² "Ta-t'ung Pei Wei Ssu-na Chin-lung mu," *Wen-wu*, 1972, no. 1, p. 83, pl. 13; and "Shan-hsi Ta-t'ung Shib-chia-tsai Pei Wei Ssu-na Chin-lung mu," *Wen-wu*, 1972, no. 3, pp. 20-29, pls. 12-13.

²³ Osvald Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*, vol. III, pls. 24-28. Laurence Sickman has proposed a date of ca. 525 for the sarcophagus in *Art and Architecture of China* (Harmondsworth, 1968), p. 68.

²⁴ Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters . . .*, vol. III, pl. 28.

²⁵ For a discussion of the role of the Ku K'ai-chih tradition in later Chinese figure painting, see Richard Barnhart, "Survivals, Revivals, and the Classical Tradition of Chinese Figure Painting," *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Chinese Painting* (Taipei, 1972), pp. 143-250.

²⁶ A convenient summary of the information regarding Yen Li-pen and his paintings is provided in *T'ang Sung hua-chia jen-niung tzu-tien* (Peking, 1958), pp. 363-366.

²⁷ Chang Yen-yüan, *Li-tai niung-hua chi, chüan 9*.

²⁸ Chavannes, *op. cit.*, pls. 440-445.

²⁹ Chin Wei-no, "Pu-nien t'u yü Ling-yen-ko kung ch'eu t'u," *Wen-wu*, 1962, no. 10, pp. 15-16.

³⁰ Kojiro Tomita, "Scholars of the Northern Ch'i Dynasty Collating the Classics," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, vol. XXIX, no. 174 (August, 1931), pp. 58-63.

³¹ Kojiro Tomita, "Portraits of the Emperors, a Chinese Scroll Painting Attributed to Yen Li-pen," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, vol. XXX, no. 177 (February, 1932), pp. 1-8.

³² *Ku-kung po-wu-yüan ts'ang-hua*, vol. II, Sui-T'ang, pls. 5-8.

³³ Chin Wei-no, *op. cit.*

³⁴ Chang Yen-yüan, *op. cit.*, chüan 9.

³⁵ Wu Shih-ch'ü, *Chang Seng-yu* (Shanghai, 1963).

³⁶ *Sōraikan kinsbō* (Osaka, 1930), vol. II, pls. 1-17.

³⁷ Some indication of the varying opinions on the authorship of the scroll can be seen from the final section of An Ch'i's entry in *Mo-yüan hui-kuan* (preface 1742), painting supplement: "After [the painting] on paper, there are two colophons by Tung Ssu-pai [Tung Ch'i-ch'ang] and Ch'ên Mei-kung [Ch'ên Ch'i-ju]. One considers the painting to be by Wu Tao-tzu, the other by Yen Li-pen. Both are wrong. The painting is more like a copy by a T'ang dynasty artist. If not, then it was done by [Liang] Ling-tsan."

³⁸ Toshio Nagahiro, "On Wei-ch'ih I-seng, a Painter of the Early T'ang Dynasty," *Oriental Art*, NS, vol. 1, no. 2 (Summer, 1956), pp. 70-74; Osvald Sirén, "Central Asian Influence in Chinese Painting of the T'ang Dynasty," *Art Asiatiques*, vol. III, no. 1 (1956), pp. 3-21.

³⁹ Sirén, "Central Asian Influence . . .," figs. 2-3.

⁴⁰ Eiichi Matsumoto, *Tonkō-ga no kenkyū*, vol. II, pl. 128. See also, Benjamin Rowland, "Indian Images in Chinese Sculpture," *Artibus Asiae*, vol. X (1947), pp. 5-20.

⁴¹ *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1969), pl. 73.

⁴² Wang Po-min, *Wu Tao-tzu* (Shanghai, 1958).

⁴³ A particularly informative statement on the brushwork of Ku K'ai-chih, Lu T'an-wci, Chang Seng-yu and Wu Tao-tzu, from *Li-tai niung-hua chi*, has been translated by William Acker in his *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts on Chinese Painting* (Leiden, 1954), pp. 177-184. Acker renders the terms *mi* and *shu* as "detailed" and "free." A clearer rendering of those key terms might be "defining" and "describing." Benjamin Rowland, "A Note on Wu Tao-tzu," *Art Quarterly*, vol. XVII, no. 2 (Summer, 1954), points out a sketch of a Bodhisattva painted in ink on coarse cloth, preserved in the Shōsōin, that he suggests as preserving some indication of Wu Tao-tzu's painting style. The *Birth and Presentation of the Buddha* handscroll in the Osaka Municipal Museum (reproduced, *Sōraikan kinsbō*, vol. II, pls. 18-21), is probably a copy dating no earlier than the Ming dynasty.

⁴⁴ Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters . . .*, vol. III, pl. 88.

⁴⁵ Different details from the handscroll have been reproduced by: Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters . . .*, vol. I, facing p. 160; Sherman E. Lee, *A History of Far Eastern Art* (New York, 1964), p. 267; *Chung-kuo ku-tai hui-hua hsüan chi* (Peking, 1963), pl. 31; *T'ang-tai jen-wu hua* (Peking, 1958), p. 25;

and *Wen-wu*, 1956, no. 22, pp. 54-55.

⁴⁶ Hsü Pang-ta, "Tsung pi-hua fu-pen hsiao-yang shuo tao liang chüan Sung hua, Chao yüan hsien chang t'u," *Wen-wu ts'an-k'ao tzu-liao*, 1956, no. 2, pp. 57-58.

⁴⁷ Tang Yung-t'ai *kung-chu-mu pi-hua chi* (Peking, 1963); "T'ang Yung-t'ai *kung-chu-mu fa-chüeh chien chi*," *Wen-wu*, 1964, no. 1, pp. 7-33.

⁴⁸ A concise presentation of the information concerning Chang Hsüan and his work is provided in *T'ang Sung hua-chia jen-ming tzu-tien* (Peking, 1958), pp. 241-242.

⁴⁹ Tomita, *Portfolio of Chinese Paintings . . .*, pl. 46a.

⁵⁰ One painting is in the collection of the National Palace Museum, Taiwan (a detail is reproduced by James F. Cahill, *Chinese Painting* [Ascona, 1960], p. 20). The second version is in the Liaoning Museum (reproduced, *Liao-ning sheng po-wu-kuan ts'ang hua chi* [Peking, 1962], vol. I, pls. 36-38). The Liaoning version is discussed by Chang An-chih, "Kuo-kuo fua-jen yü-ch'ün t'u," *Wen-wu*, 1961, no. 12, pp. 67-68.

⁵¹ Wang Po-min, *Chou Fang* (Shanghai, 1958).

⁵² A painting entitled *Ch'ün-hsiao pi-hsi t'u* is included in the painting supplement of An Ch'i's *Mo-yüan hui-kuan*. A similar painting recorded in Wu Ch'i-chen's *Shu-hua chi* (ca. 1677) caused the work to be banned during the Ch'ien-lung literary inquisition.

⁵³ Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters . . .*, vol. III, pl. 110. A later version of the same composition is in the Freer collection (accession number 16.231).

⁵⁴ *Ku-kung po-wu-yüan ts'ang-hua chi* (Peking, 1962), pls. 9-15.

⁵⁵ *Liao-ning . . .*, vol. I, pls. 13-15.

⁵⁶ A summary concerning Ku Hung-chung and his work is provided in *T'ang Sung hua-chia jen-ming tzu-tien*, pp. 399-400.

⁵⁷ *Chung-kuo hua*, vol. XVI, pls. 6-7, 10-13, 16-17, 19; vol. XVII, pls. 8, 10-11. See also, Kohara Hironobu, "Kan Kitai Yaenzu ko," *Kokka*, no. 884 (November, 1965), pp. 5-10; no. 888 (March, 1966), pp. 5-12.

⁵⁸ A summary of the information concerning Chou Wen-chü and his work is provided in *T'ang Sung hua-chia jen-ming tzu-tien*, pp. 130-141.

⁵⁹ Mi Fei, *Hua-shih*. See, Nicole Vandier-Nicolas, *Le Houa-che de Mi Fou* (Paris, 1964), p. 108, entry 115.

⁶⁰ The various fragments of the painting have been discussed in several articles by Yashiro Yukio in *Bijutsu kenkyü*: "So mo Shu Bunkyo kyüchü zai" (January, 1934), no. 25, pp. 1-12, pls. 1-2, 7-8; "So mo Shu Bunkyo kyüchü zai no shindanpei" (August, 1936), no. 16, pp. 313-316, pls. 3-4; "Saisetsu So mo Shu Bunkyo kyüchü zai" (May, 1952), no. 169, pp. 157-162, pls. 1-4.

⁶¹ *Ku-kung ming hua* (Taipei, 1966), vol. II, pl. 14.

⁶² The most impressive groups of Liao paintings are those found on the walls of the imperial mausolea at Ch'ing-ling, in Eastern Mongolia (reproduced, Tamura Jitsuzo and Kobayashi Yukio, *Tombs and Mural Paintings of Ch'ing-ling* [Kyoto, 1952]). Several other paintings that can be considered in the Liao category are the two hanging scrolls depicting deer in an autumn forest (reproduced, *Ku-kung san-pai chung*, pls. 58-59), and two album leaves attributed to Hu Huai (reproduced, *Chinese Art Treasures*, entries 7-8).

⁶³ James F. Cahill, in *Encyclopedia of World Art*, vol. IX, columns 247-252; Richard Barnhart, *Li Kung-lin's Hsiao-ching t'u (Illustrations of the Classic of Filial Piety)*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1967; Chou Wu, *Li Kung-lin* (Shanghai, 1959).

⁶⁴ Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters . . .*, vol. III, pls. 191-192.

⁶⁵ Kohara Hironobu, "Shikyōzu to Kōkyōzu (Illustrations of the *Shih-ching* and *Hsiao-ching*)," *Bijutsushi* (March, 1969), vol. XVIII, no. 4, pp. 109-126.

⁶⁶ A number of examples of Lu Hsin-chung's paintings are still extant. Fifteen paintings of Lohan are in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Tomita, *Portfolio . . .*, pls. 110-124). Other examples of his work are illustrated in the following numbers of *Kokka*: 175, 255, 322, 459 and 878.

⁶⁷ Liang Kai's life and paintings are discussed by Sherman E. Lee in *Encyclopedia of World Art*, vol. III, columns 230-244.

⁶⁸ Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters . . .*, vol. III, pls. 330-331.

⁶⁹ A concise presentation of the information concerning Ma Ho-chih and his work is provided in *T'ang Sung hua-chia jen-ming tzu-tien*, pp. 177-179.

⁷⁰ Several articles discussing Ch'ien Hsüan and various aspects of his work are

available: Richard Edwards, "Ch'ien Hsüan and 'Early Autumn,'" *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*, vol. VII (1953), pp. 71-83; James F. Cahill, "Ch'ien Hsüan and His Figure Paintings," *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*, vol. XIII (1958), pp. 11-29; Wen Fong, "The Problem of Ch'ien Hsüan," *Art Bulletin*, vol. XLII (September, 1960), pp. 173-189.

⁷¹ A concise presentation of information concerning Chao Meng-fu and his work is provided by Chu-ting Li, *The Autumn Colors on the Ch'iao and Hua Mountains* (Ascona, 1965).

⁷² James F. Cahill, "Ch'ien Hsüan and His Figure Paintings," *op. cit.*

⁷³ Chu-ting Li, "The Freer *Sheep and Goat* and Chao Meng-fu's Horse Paintings," *Artibus Asiae*, vol. XXX, no. 4 (1968), pp. 279-326.

⁷⁴ An excellent discussion of problems relating to early Ming court painting is provided by Harrie Vanderstappen, "Painters at the early Ming court (1368-1435) and the problem of a Ming painting academy," *Monumenta Serica*, vol. XV, fasc. 2 (1956), pp. 259-302; vol. XVI, fasc. 1-2 (1957), pp. 315-346.

⁷⁵ The best study of the origins and development of the Che school is Suzuki Kei's *Mindai kaiga-shi kenkyū sekiba* (Tokyo, 1968).

⁷⁶ Richard Edwards, *The Field of Stones; a Study of the Art of Shen Chou* (1427-1509) (Washington, 1962). Cheng Ping-shan, *Shen Shih-t'ien* (Shanghai, 1958).

⁷⁷ Chang An-chih, *Wen Cheng-ming* (Shanghai, 1959). Chiang Chao-shen discusses Wen Cheng-ming and the Suchou school in a series of articles in *Ku-kuang chi-k'an*, vol. V, no. 4, pp. 39-88; vol. VI, no. 1, pp. 31-80; vol. VI, no. 2, pp. 45-75; vol. VI, no. 3, pp. 49-80; vol. VI, no. 4, pp. 67-104; vol. VII, no. 1, pp. 75-108.

⁷⁸ *Arts of China: Paintings in Chinese Museums* (Tokyo, 1970), frontispiece in color and pl. 76.

⁷⁹ *Ku-kuang san-pai chung*, pl. 240.

⁸⁰ Thomas Lawton, "Scholar and Servants," *National Palace Museum Bulletin*, vol. 1, no. 5 (November, 1966), pp. 8-11.

⁸¹ The paintings were mounted as a handscroll and now have been separated into two sections. One section is in the Honolulu Academy of Arts, the other is in the Cleveland Museum of Art. Reproduced, Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters . . .*, vol. VI, pl. 234; *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, vol. LIII, no. 1 (January, 1966), pp. 6-9; and Gustav Ecke, *Chinese Painting in Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1965), pl. LX.

⁸² A particularly close comparison is provided by the figures in the lower section of a Lohan painting in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Tomita, *Portfolio . . .*, pl. 79.

⁸³ Chiang Chao-shen has studied T'ang Yin and his paintings in a series of articles in *Ku-kuang chi-k'an*, vol. II, no. 4, pp. 15-32; vol. III, no. 1, pp. 33-60; vol. III, no. 2, pp. 31-71; vol. III, no. 3, pp. 35-79.

⁸⁴ Martie Wing Young, *The Paintings of Ch'iu Ying: A Preliminary Study*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1961.

⁸⁵ Huang Yung-ch'uan, *Ch'en Hung-shou* (Shanghai, 1958).

⁸⁶ Both Ch'en Hung-shou and Ts'ui Tzu-chung are discussed by Wai-kam Ho, "Nan Ch'en Pei Ts'ui," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, vol. XLIX, no. 1 (January, 1962), pp. 2-11.

⁸⁷ Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters . . .*, vol. VI, pl. 388a. A number of problems relating to various versions of the portrait are discussed by Wen Fong, "A Letter from Shih-t'ao to Pa-ta-shan-jen and the Problem of Shih-t'ao's Chronology," *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*, vol. XIII (1959), p. 46.

⁸⁸ A summary of information concerning Huang Shen and his painting is included in Ku Lin-wen's *Yang-chou pa-chia shih-liao* (Shanghai, 1962), pp. 12-23.



Section 2

- 1** *Nymph of the Lo River* 14.53
Sung dynasty, 12th-13th century
Handscroll; ink and color on silk
Height: 24.0 cm. (9 7/16 in.); length: 310.0 cm. (122 1/16 in.)

The juxtaposition of human figures with those of semi-human and those of totally bizarre creatures immediately introduces an element of fantasy that is one of the dominant themes of the painting. Throughout the handscroll, the narrative develops in a series of tableaux which blend the human world with that of the supernatural.

The figures, whether human or supernatural, are drawn with the same fine, even-width lines that enclose the curvilinear forms. Light washes of color, with some occasional shading, are confined within these outlines. It is the particular stance of the individual figures in the painting rather than any subtlety of facial expression that conveys their mood, emotion or role. Any indication of action is implied by the linear patterns of billowing scarves and ribbons, or by the flowing sleeves and hems.

The proportion of the figures to the landscape has still not been successfully resolved. But there is little doubt from the care with which the landscape is presented that the artist was feeling his way toward a more satisfying representation of nature. At this stage in the development of Chinese landscape painting, artists were still experimenting with various ways to depict trees, mountains and clouds. The graceful fragility of these two-dimensional forms reveals a dependence upon the abstract designs evolved during the late Chou and the Han periods. More than five centuries would elapse before Chinese artists could formulate an artistic vocabulary that would enable them to depict massive mountain peaks and sturdy trees. By the time that development had been completed, landscape had replaced figures as the principal theme in the repertoire of *avant-garde* artists.

Entitled the *Lo-shen fu*, usually translated as the *Nymph of the Lo River*, the handscroll is a pictorial illustration of a famous prose-poem, the *Lo-shen fu*. The *fu* was written in A.D. 222 by Ts'ao Chih (192-



Section 1

232), the third son of Ts'ao Ts'ao (155-220) and the younger brother of Ts'ao P'ei (188-227), who, on the father's death in A.D. 220, had declared himself emperor of the Kingdom of Wei in the Three Kingdoms Period. In a number of early surveys of Chinese painting, writers had some difficulty identifying the story narrated in the Freer painting, although some of them did relate it to Ts'ao Chih's *fu*. Arthur Waley was the first to study the *fu* in connection with the painting, and he gives a partial translation of it in his characteristic, inimitably elegant English (*An Introduction to the Study of Chinese Painting*, London, 1923, pp. 60-62).

In conformity with the literary convention of the *fu*, the work opens with a prose preface explaining the circumstances under which the *fu* was composed. "In the third year of the reign of Huang-ch'u [A.D. 222], I visited the capital [at Loyang], and on returning had to cross the Lo River. It had been said by the ancients that the goddess of this river was Fu-fei. Remembering Sung Yü's [4th century B.C.] *fu* on the encounter of the King [Hsiang] of the Ch'u with a river goddess, I was moved to compose the following *fu*." In the *fu* proper, the poet tells how, after a long day of wearisome travel, he and his party were about to camp at sunset by the shore of the Lo River when suddenly he saw the figure of a woman moving along the edge of the cliff. Waley's translation picks up the story at this point.

"Who could she be, so fair a lady in so desolate a place? 'They say,' said his charioteer, 'that there is a goddess of this river whose name is the Lady Fu. Perhaps it is she whom my lord sees. But tell me first what face and form are hers, and I will tell you if she is the goddess or no.' Then I said, 'She moves lightly as a bird on the wing; delicately as the rain-elves at their play; she is more radiant than the sun-flowers of autumn, more verdurous than the pine-woods of the spring. Dimly I see her, like a light cloud that lies across the moon; fitfully as swirls a snow-wreath in the straying wind.'

"Now far away, she glimmers like sunshine peeping through the morning mist. Now near, she glistens like a young lotus, a bud new-risen above the waters of the lake. . . .



Section 4

“Her shoulders are as chiselled statuary; her waist is like a bundle of silk. Her body is anointed not with perfumes, nor is her face dabbed with powder. The coils of her hair are like cloud-heaps stacked in the air. Her long eyebrows join their slim curves. . . .

“I was enamoured of her beauty; my heart was shaking and would not rest. There was no matchmaker to lead us to our joy; so to the little waves of the stream I gave a message for her ear. After that I might forthwith give a pledge of kindness, I took a pendant from my girdle and cast it to her.

“She sighed acceptance of my vows, of my gift and my fair words. With jasper she requited me and with the milk-white Stone of Truth; she pointed into the river depths in token that there she would meet me. Then I was afraid, for I thought, ‘Should I be joined in amity with her, then might this Goddess despoil and delude me.’ For I remembered how Chiao-fu [Cheng Chiao-fu] once was deceived. I was cunningly forearmed and wary as a fox. I hardened my heart, I looked sternly upon her, I held her back from me.

“Then the Lady of the River was ashamed; piteously she havered. The flames of her godhead glimmered fitfully; on tiptoe she stood, tense as a bird that in a minute will have flown away. At last, as she turned to go, she uttered a cry of sorrow so fierce and desolate that at the sound of her voice all the Spirits of the river came flocking down the stream, some splashing in the clear waves, some winging through the haunted islands. One stooped to pluck from the waters a many-coloured stone; another, to cull a halcyon-feather from the shore. Then, to move the stranger’s heart, they sang the doleful song of the Ladle-star that knows no mate, and the ballad of the Herdboy’s lonely place. . . .

“The Lady of the River raised the silken flutterings of her light mantle, covered her long sleeves, and for a moment paused. Then, swift as a hawk in flight, again a Goddess, she sped upon her way; and as she skimmed the waters, wave-spray like a fine dust flecked her damask shoes. . . .

“The Storm-god lulled the winds to rest; the Lord of Waters



Section 3

stilled the waves. P'ing-i beat his drum; the fairy Nü-wo sang with shrill, clear voice. She summoned the Fish King from the depths and bade him guard the Lady's flight; she called upon the Jade Phoenix to flutter by the Lady's side.

"Then dragons, six abreast in flawless line, were harnessed to her chariot of cloud. The whale and the dolphin gambolled at her wheel-side. Water-fowl lent winged escort to her train.

"She has crossed the Northern Rivulet, passed over the Southern Mound . . . and now she turns her white neck, gazes back with clear brow. Moves her red lips, speaks quietly; speaks of Love and the Great Chain that binds men heart to heart; 'Alas that between men and gods no converse can endure! Alas that they are vanished, those lusty days of mortal youth!'. . .

"Suddenly I could not see her; her bright divinity was changed to darkness and all that radiant vision folded up in night."

Waley's translation stops here, but that is not the end of the poem.

"She raised her silken sleeve to cover her tears; copiously they flowed upon her lapel as she lamented the end of the encounter and mourned for those who died in strange lands. As a small token of her love she sent her jade carriages, saying, 'Though I dwell in eternal darkness, my heart is forever with my lord. Pray comprehend what it costs me to forsake you, for my sorrow is such that it shrouds me from light.'

"Then, turning my back on Ling-kao, I departed, leaving behind my nymph, for I was rapt in thoughts on love lost and all my longings were suffused with sadness. Hoping that her ethereal form might again assume bodily shape I sailed the boat upstream. The farther I sailed the more my thoughts dwelt on that vision. The night was long and unyielding, and sleep eluded me as dawn brought its abundant dew. I summoned the driver and mounted the carriage, for the return route stretched to the east. Gathering the reins I desisted from making a decision as hesitation overcame me and I could not depart."



Section 5

On the simplest level, the *Lo-shen fu* describes an encounter between a man of high position with a bewitching river goddess who first overwhelms him with her beauty and then eludes him. The theme was first explored in Sung Yü's *Shen-nü fu*, and in the preface to the *Lo-shen fu*, Ts'ao Chih acknowledges that as the source of his inspiration. But unlike the *Shen-nü fu*, which is no more than an attempt to captivate the reader with a mildly erotic catalogue of feminine charms, the *Lo-shen fu* is incomparably richer in texture, and embodies several levels of meaning. As a love story with an unhappy ending, it is told in beautifully modulated musical movements. The poet's startled joy at the sight of the goddess is followed by a lyrical descriptive passage of her charms and beauty. This leads to the poet's inevitable declaration of love, the goddess' acceptance of it and her proposal for an assignation in the watery depths. The proposal marks the turning out of the story. Doubt and suspicion swiftly set in, followed by the poet's rejection of the goddess. Bitterly disillusioned, she disappears with her retinue of fantastic beasts and attendants. The drama spent, the poet is left with remorse and a deep sense of loss, and the ending is extremely moving in its poignancy.

On another level, some readers may see the story as a moral tale. The poet's loss was the result of his suspicion and his lack of trust. On yet another level, the story becomes a tragedy because the poet and the goddess are of different worlds, the one earth-bound and terrestrial, the other a creature of the watery depths. "Alas that between men and gods no converse can endure."

In addition, there are autobiographical implications in the *fu*. Ts'ao Chih had from an early age suffered from sibling rivalry with his older brother Ts'ao P'ei. Their relationship did not improve with age. In his youth Ts'ao Chih had fallen in love with a daughter of Chen I, a magistrate of the Shang-ts'ai District in Honan province. The lady was subsequently married to Yüan Hsi, a son of Yüan Chao, a general in the Eastern Han army. After Yüan Chao was defeated in battle by Ts'ao Ts'ao, the lady was taken as wife by Ts'ao P'ei, and received the title of Empress Chen when Ts'ai P'ei became Wei Wen-ti in A.D. 220. She bore the emperor two children, a son who was to succeed to the throne



內府所藏大抵無前人讀法蓋進御
時書多恐有同字故不書作莊璠
德軍并來我軍因西方紛以代官奉
者奏首有自愧之語神聖行日展轉
云予任夫；乃李伯仲家范先主池
所也其秋河朔也 勝去原畫海內惟
此其真蹟也 女史篇 真名畫 天臨
去少也 卷五 王右軍



此卷盈之萬者不特詩歌韻七言家人遊
談者先所發自地也余者張懷瓘盈萬
所載屈頭盈仍三子通各各神國最著其
負觀公私立史所載十七卷之全之宜和也
諸所載九卷者女史卷之五此國之宜則
者先所指內府在唐宋而言五加負觀五
史印者有明主各神賦國出今各各
明者不致傳為傳頭那卷首有某卷
錄遊載五指為撰；後入國各備與載
矣 天倫 丁未三月宜翁稿于蘇

Colophons

as Wei Ming-ti in A.D. 227, and a daughter, the Princess Tung-hsiang. After falling from favor Empress Chen was executed in A.D. 221.

While visiting the capital in the year 222, Ts'ao Chih was given by the emperor the jewelry which had belonged to the empress, an event which must have caused the poet considerable anguish. The writing of the *Lo-shen fu*, which in essence was the story of his own unhappy love affair, impersonalized and transformed into an allegory, was probably an act of exorcism. In the preface of the *fu*, Ts'ao Chih did not reveal the whole truth, doubtless because it was too horrible for him to do so. According to the annotation in *Wen-hsüan* (*chüan* 19), the *fu* was originally entitled the *Kan Chen fu* and it was Wei Ming-ti, the son of Wei Wen-ti and the Empress Chen, who had the title changed to *Lo-shen fu*.

In any discussion of Chinese figure painting, Ku K'ai-chih (ca. 344-ca. 406) is cited as one of the great early innovators. Two handscrolls, the *Nymph of the Lo River* in the Freer Gallery and the *Admonitions of the Imperial Instructress* in the British Museum, are invariably referred to as providing the best indication of Ku's painting style. Although both paintings are faithful early copies of compositions that may well date from the time when Ku K'ai-chih lived, it should be stressed that his name is not specifically associated with the subject of either scroll in Chinese texts until the Sung dynasty.

The Freer *Nymph of the Lo River* is incomplete, comprising probably slightly less than one half its original length. In the present beginning of the scroll, the story has already reached a climax. The poet has rejected the goddess and with a shrill cry she summons her diverse helpers to come and accompany her on her dramatic departure. In the last section of the scroll, the poet is seated on a dais in a landscape setting, and beside him are a pair of lighted candles, indicating that the time is night.

Comparison of the Freer scroll with other versions of the story reveals exactly how much has been lost. The composition of the missing first half of the story, which depicts the poet's encounter with the goddess and follows the story up to the scene where he pledges his love by giving her a jade pendant, is preserved in a *pai-miao* version on paper,

光緒二十三年二月三日翁同龢觀

明治庚申三月某日觀
日本伯口大寺觀

明治四十二年將發時
西村牛舟打觀
小田切萬壽之助敬觀
曾相寺觀之同觀

宣統二年二月三日翁同龢觀

Colophons

also in the Freer Gallery (*Cat. No. 2*), and in one of the Peking versions (reproduced: Ma Ts'ai, *Kn K'ai-chih yen chiu* [Shanghai, 1958]). That Peking version appears to be the most complete rendition extant, preserving, with one minor lacunae, not only the first sections of the story but also the three terminal tableaux as narrated in the *fu*. These are: (1) the poet sailing on the river searching for the goddess, (2) the poet seated disconsolate by candlelight, and (3) the poet eventually returning home in his carriage. It is evident that the ultimate section is missing from the Freer silk scroll and the penultimate section is missing from the Freer *pai-miao* scroll on paper.

The earliest extant colophon on the Freer silk scroll is by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555-1636). "Most of the paintings in the imperial collection have no inscriptions or colophons by earlier people for they were cut off when they entered the palace lest they contained seditious material and disrespectful sentiments. This painting was given in lieu of official salary by the emperor at the time the Chu family set up the [Ming] dynasty. At the beginning of the painting there was a title reading 'The *Lo-shen t'u* by Ku K'ai-chih,' but it had been lost by the time the painting got to me. The painting had been in the collection of Li Po-shih [Li Kung-lin ca. 1049-1106]. The seals *Hsi-yü-ch'ih* and *Lung-hsi* can be detected. Of Ku Ch'ang-k'ang's [Ku K'ai-chih's] paintings, only this and the *Nü-shih chen* [The *Admonitions* Scroll] in the collection of Hsiang [Yüan-pien] are extant. They are indeed a pair of treasures. Inscribed by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang."

The second colophon reads, "The loftiness and antiquity of this painting are so obvious that there is no need to pause and praise it. The reason given by Hsiang-kuang [Tung Ch'i-ch'ang] to account for the absence of inscriptions and colophons is not false. However, I checked Chang Huai-kuan's *Hua-tuan*, and among thirty or so paintings by Hu-t'ou [Ku K'ai-chih] there is no *Lo-shen t'u*. P'ei Hsiao-yüan's *Chen-kuan kung-su hua-shih* [preface dated 639] records seventeen paintings [by Ku K'ai-chih] and again there is no such work. Among the nine paintings [by Ku] recorded in *Hsüan-bo hua-p'u* [1120] is the *Nü-shih chen t'u* but no *Lo-shen t'u*. Yet when Hsiang-kuang stated that the paint-

ing was in the imperial collection, he indicated the imperial collection of the T'ang and Sung dynasties as well. In *Chen-kuan hua-shih* there is a record of a *Lo-shen fu t'u* by Chin Ming-ti. Can it be that the composition was originally by him and attributed [in error] to Hu-r'ou? The title by Liang Chiao-lin [Liang Ch'ing-piao] at the beginning of the painting also attributes the painting to Ku so that people coming after him [Liang] could not come up with a different opinion. Third month, *ting-wei* year in the reign of Kuang-hsü [1907], Yang Shou-ching of I-tu." Yang Shou-ching was the famous bibliophile who served in the Chinese Embassy in Japan from 1880 to 1884.

The remaining colophons are brief statements to the effect that the painting was seen by Li Pao-hsün on a day corresponding to December 16, 1907; by Inukai Tsuyoshi (1855-1932) on a day between November 28 and December 28, 1907; by Nonomura Kinsaku, Odagiri Masunosuke (1868-1934), and Jissoji Sadahiko in 1910; and by Huang I-lin on a day between December 22, 1909 and January 19, 1910.

In his colophon Tung Ch'i-ch'ang stated by implication that the seals *Hsi-yü-ch'ih* and *Lung-hsi* were seals of Li Kung-lin. The present dating of the painting to the twelfth or thirteenth century, based in part on the style of the small hanging scroll in the boat near the end of the composition, is rather too late to accommodate convincingly seals of Li Kung-lin, who died in 1106. But there is a tradition that Li Kung-lin painted a copy of the *Lo-shen t'u*, presumably in the *pai-miao* technique which he so favored.

As Yang Shou-ching pointed out in his colophon of 1907, Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's unqualified acceptance of the painting as being from the hand of Ku K'ai-chih is arrived at without reference to textual sources. The association of a painting entitled *Lo-shen t'u* with Ku K'ai-chih in texts is not as early as is generally supposed and it cannot be emphasized too strongly that there is little early textual evidence for such an attribution. There is no extant record of such a painting by that specific title by Ku K'ai-chih in any text earlier than the thirteenth century, 900 years after Ku K'ai-chih lived. The only possible earlier reference to such a painting occurs in *Li-tai ming hua chi* (completed 847), *chüan* 5, in which a scroll illustrating Ch'en Ssu-wang's poem is listed as having been painted by Ku K'ai-chih. Ts'ao Chih was enfeoffed as Ch'en Ssu-wang in 232, and it is conceivable that the poem in question may have been his *Lo-shen fu*, but in no edition of *Li-tai ming hua chi* is the character *shih* replaced by *fu*, so that it is impossible to make any definite statement concerning the subject of that painting.

The earliest textual reference definitely linking Ku K'ai-chih and the *Lo-shen t'u* occurs in *Shen hua mu lu* compiled by Wang Yün (1227-1307), with a preface dated 1276. This work is a list of the paintings and calligraphy in the Yüan imperial collection seen by Wang Yün. The



Detail of section 1

next record in which Ku K'ai-chih's name is associated with the painting is T'ang Hou's *Hua chien*, a text which can be dated by internal evidence to ca. 1350. From the seventeenth century onwards, records of a painting entitled the *Lo-sheu t'u* firmly attributed to Ku K'ai-chih became increasingly frequent.

While there is a considerable amount of information available about Ku K'ai-chih, his life and personality, there is no reason to attribute paintings to him when no support for these attributions can be found in Chinese texts. Consequently, instead of being designated as "after a 4th or 5th century design attributed to Ku K'ai-chih," paintings of the *Nymph of the Lo River* should be described as "after a 4th century design." As for the Freer version specifically, instead of "in the style of Ku K'ai-chih," it should be labelled "in the style of the Chin dynasty."

As pointed out by Yang Shou-ching, it is more than likely that Ssu-ma Chao (A.D. 299-325) was the first artist to have painted a *Lo-sheu t'u*. Ssu-ma Chao reigned as Ming-ti of the Chin dynasty from 322 to 325, and therefore preceded Ku K'ai-chih by several decades. Tradition avers that Ssu-ma Chao studied painting under Wang I, and the titles of his paintings in early texts indicate that he painted Buddhist subjects, human figures and narrative scrolls. Both *Chen-kuan kung-ssu hua-shih* and *Li-tai ming hua chi* list a *Lo-sheu t'u* under his name.

Ssu-ma Chao lived only one century after Ts'ao Chih when the *Lo-sheu fu* was probably still considered quite new and evocative. For a Chin dynasty artist, it must have been an extraordinary challenge to illustrate the groups of human figures, various mythical creatures and changing landscape settings that are part of the complex imagery of the *fu*. Regardless of who created the original composition, its influence was so powerful that practically every detail was faithfully repeated by generations of artists with surprisingly few changes.

A number of early versions of the *Lo-sheu t'u* are still extant, and it seems appropriate to review them briefly. A handscroll in the Palace Museum, Peking, has already been cited. This painting is recorded in *Sib-ch'ü pao-chi*, p. 1075, where it is attributed to Ku K'ai-chih. According to the entry, there are four seals of Chin Chang-tsung (reigned 1190-1288) affixed to the handscroll. The five colophons are by Chao Meng-fu (1254-1322), dated 1299; by Li K'an (1245-1320), dated 1307; by Shen Tu (1357-1434), dated 1417; by Wu K'uan (1435-1504), dated 1470; and by the Ch'ien-lung emperor (reigned 1736-95), dated 1741. The painting is executed in ink and color on silk, and measures 25.5 cm. high and 541.5 cm. long. Except for one missing section, the composition of this painting is intact. The missing section is the scene where the poet declares his love to the goddess by giving her a jade pendant. The loss is confirmed by an abrupt break in the composition visible on plate 5 in Ma Ts'ai's book.



Detail of section 5

Another version in the Palace Museum, Peking, is recorded in *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi*, p. 1060; it is also painted in ink and color on silk, and measures 45.4 cm. high and 1091.0 cm. long. Each section is accompanied by a passage from the *Lo-shen fu*. The editors of *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi* list the painting as "*Lo-shen chüan-t'u* by an anonymous T'ang artist." The painting is mentioned by P'an T'ien-shou in his book, *Ku K'ai-chih* (Shanghai, 1958), p. 28.

There is yet another version in the Liaoning Museum (reproduced: *Liao-ning sheng po-wen-kuan ts'ang hua chi*, pls. 1-12). The scroll is recorded in *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi hsü-pien*, pp. 320-324, as a "Sung copy of Ku K'ai-chih's *Lo-shen t'u*." The painting is in ink and color on silk, and measures 24.2 cm. high and 606.0 cm. long. The composition is arranged in 22 sections, each accompanied by a passage from the *Lo-shen fu*. One short section is missing at the beginning of the scroll and another just before the poet rejects the nymph's proposal of a descent into the depths of the river. A colophon by Wang To (1592-1652) is dated 1643, and is followed by two of his seals. There are also colophons by the Ch'ien-lung emperor, dated 1786, and by the compilers of *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi hsü-pien*. The title slip of the Liaoning scroll, written by Liang Ch'ing-piao (1620-91), states that the painting was by Ku K'ai-chih and the calligraphy by Wang Hsien-chih (344-388). *Hsüan-ho* and *Sbao-hsing* seals are affixed to the scroll; these are considered to be spurious by the editors of the Liaoning catalogue. Also affixed to the scroll are the seals of Hsiang Yüan-pien (1525-90), Yeh K'o and Liang Ch'ing-piao.

A version illustrated in *Bunjin gasen*, compiled by Omura Seiga (1921-22), II/3-4, is there described as being "in the collection of Wan-yüan Ching-hsien of Peking." Omura states that the painting is a "T'ang copy of the *Lo-shen T'u*" and in very poor condition. Only three fragments are reproduced in *Chügoku meigashü* (1935), I/1-3.

There are also fragments of the *Lo-shen t'u* composition in the National Palace Museum (reproduced: *Ku-kung ming-hua san-pai chung*, pls. 33 and 176) and in private collections. A late version in the British Museum has not been published.



Section 2

- 2 *Nymph of the Lo River* 68.12 and 68.22
 Ming dynasty, 16th century
 Handscroll; ink on paper
 Height: 24.1 cm. (9 1/2 in.); length: 527.4 cm. (207 1/2 in.)
 Gift of Eugene and Agnes E. Meyer

Among those recorded paintings by Li Kung-lin (ca. 1049-1106) based on older prototypes, the title of *Lo-shen t'u* occurs a number of times. In some texts, the copy is specifically identified as having been based on a work by Ku K'ai-chih. In the preceding entry the problems relating to the *Lo-shen t'u* and Ku K'ai-chih have already been discussed.

Unfortunately, no extant version of the *Lo-shen t'u* can be seriously considered as from the hand of Li Kung-lin. The figures in those few paintings that do appear to be original works (reproduced: Osvald Sirén, *Chinese Paintings: Leading Masters and Principles*, vol. III, pls. 191-192; and Kohara Hironobu, "Shikyōzu to Kōkyōzu," *Bijutsushi*, vol. 18, no. 4 [March, 1969], pp. 109-126) provide some basis for distinguishing a figure painting style that can be associated with Li Kung-lin, a style which continued to exert an extraordinary influence on figure paintings by literati artists throughout history.

The figures in this *pai-miao* handscroll of the *Lo-shen t'u* belong to the Li Kung-lin tradition, albeit separated from Northern Sung prototypes by several centuries. The gradual transformation of the austere, unadorned Northern Sung *pai-miao* figure painting tradition towards an increasingly more relaxed, ornamental interpretation may be traced in such works as the handscroll of the *Lady and Mistress of the Hsiang River* attributed to Chang Tun-li (active 13th century) in Boston (reproduced: *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, October, 1937, pp. 60-68), the handscroll by Mou I (1178-after 1240) in the National



Section 1

Palace Museum (reproduced: *Ku-kung ming-hua san-pai chung*, pl. 119), the *Nine Songs* handscroll by Chang Wu (active 1335-65) in the Cleveland Museum (reproduced: Sherman E. Lee and Wai-kam Ho, *Chinese Art Under the Mongols*, Cleveland, 1968, entry 187), and the *Nymph of the Lo River* by Wei Chiu-ting (active 14th century) in the National Palace Museum (reproduced: *Ku-kung ming-hua san-pai chung*, pl. 176).

In the Freer *pai-miao* handscroll the figures are drawn with a greater interest in emphasizing linear rhythms than in simply delineating the individual forms. This interest is apparent in such details as the scalloped hems of the robes and modulated brush strokes of the twisting streamers, as well as in the curling ginkgo leaves, clouds and waves. A comparison of the two versions of the *Lo-shen t'u* in the Freer Gallery also shows that the artist of the *pai-miao* handscroll was remarkably sophisticated in his application of *ts'un*, or texture strokes, on the rocks and tree trunks. In addition, he portrayed the various fantastic creatures surrounding the nymph's boat with an unexpected sleekness. Gone is the archaic awkwardness that is so obvious a feature of the Sung version. Although the Ming artist certainly was copying an earlier composition, he was unable to refrain from "improving" some forms so that they would have more appeal to his contemporaries.

The *pai-miao* handscroll, formerly in the Meyer collection, is composed of two parts, accessioned separately as 68.12 and 68.22, which had been mounted as a handscroll and a hanging scroll respectively. The paintings bore different titles but both were attributed to the T'ang dynasty artist Lu T'an-wei (active late 5th century). On examination, they were found to be parts of the same painting and in January, 1971, they were incorporated into one handscroll with a space left between the two parts to indicate that a section is still missing. This is the section



Section 4

which depicts the penultimate scene in the story of the *Lo-shen fu* where the poet is seated in a landscape setting at night, a scene which is preserved in the early Freer version. The final section of the *pai-miao* handscroll is considerably darker than the rest of the painting because it was subjected to longer exposure due to its format as a hanging scroll after its severance from the rest of the painting. This rejoined painting is of particular interest in that, as it now stands, the composition is very nearly complete.

The Freer *pai-miao* version of the *Lo-shen fu* does not appear to be recorded in any catalogue. There are two labels, one title, three colophons and forty-six seals on the component accessioned 68.12. The colophons are by Wei Chi (1374-1471), dated 1434; by Sung Lo (1634-1713); and by Liu Yung (1720-1805), the famous Ch'ing dynasty calligrapher. Liu Yung's *tsu* was Shih-an, and one of the three seals on the short component accessioned 68.22 reads *Shih-an chien-shang chih yin*, which furnishes a further link between the two parts of the handscroll. Wei Chi's colophon, which identifies the painting as being an illustration of the *Chiu-ko* ("The Nine Songs") without any attribution to artist, probably once belonged to another painting. In her book, *Chinese Painting as Reflected in the Thought and Art of Li Lung-mien* (New York, 1923), p. 298, Agnes Meyer raises a question regarding the subject matter of the Freer Gallery *Lo-shen fu* (*Cat. No. 1*). Her doubts were probably caused by the misidentification of the subject matter of her handscroll as an illustration of the *Chiu-ko*. Sung Lo's colophon is decidedly spurious because it relates that he purchased the painting on a day in the seventh month in the fifty-third year in the reign of K'ang-hsi, corresponding with a day in the period August 10-September 8, 1714. Sung Lo had died on November 3, 1713. The colophon has no bearing at all on the painting,



Section 3

and is couched in such general terms that it could be attached to any work. Liu Yung attributes the painting to Lu T'an-wei, and the labels, probably written after Liu's colophon, follow this erroneous attribution.

Because of the presence of the seal *Sbib-an chien-shang chih yin* on 68.22, we may be reasonably certain that the cut along the present left edge of 68.12 occurred sometime after Liu Yung's ownership of the painting. This renders suspect all the seals along that edge which purport to antedate Liu Yung. These include the *T'ien-li* seal, an official Yüan dynasty seal of the *men-bao* (1329-30) used by both Ming-tsung and Wen-ti; a Wen Cheng-ming (1470-1559) seal; and two Hsiang Yüan-pien (1525-1590) seals. By extension, all the other Hsiang Yüan-pien seals on the painting, of which there are six, become equally questionable. The style of the painting points to a Ming date of execution, probably in the sixteenth century. Apart from its intrinsic interest, the painting is an invaluable document in the study of the problem of the *Lo-shen t'u* and it complements admirably the other *Nymph of the Lo River* in the Freer collection.



3 *Southern T'ang Emperor Playing Wei-ch'i* 11.195
 Sung dynasty, 11th century
 Handscroll; ink and color on silk
 Height: 31.3 cm. (12 5/16 in.); length: 50.0 cm. (19 11/16 in.)

Four men are seated on a low couch in the center of the composition; two are playing *wei-ch'i* while the other two watch. A servant stands at the right. On the couch behind the men is a narrow-necked vase with arrows used for the game of "pitch pot." Painted on the large screen in the upper left of the composition is a domestic scene in which an old gentleman is attended by four women; all of the figures are enframed by a large tripartite screen decorated with landscapes.

The furniture and appurtenances are indicated by brush strokes of even width, while some variation in the different surfaces is suggested by textures and shading. The drapery folds are rendered with a *chan-pi*, or "tremulous brush," that gives the garments a characteristically restless appearance. The artist's interest in illusionism is apparent in the rendering of the gauze hats worn by the four central figures.

The first colophon, dated September 29, 1503, bears the signature of Wu K'uan (1435-1504), but the calligraphy is not altogether convincing. According to the colophon, the painting is exactly like one Wu K'uan had seen as a youth attributed to the Southern T'ang artist Chou Wen-chü (active 961-975) and said to depict Li Yü (reigned



Detail of 11.195

961-976), the last ruler of the Southern T'ang dynasty, watching a game of *wei-ch'i*. On the basis of the similarity between the two paintings, Wu K'uan assigned the same title to the scroll now in the Freer Gallery and attributed it to Chou Wen-chü.

A different opinion is provided by Lu Hsin-yüan (1834-94), who composed the third colophon on the Freer painting, dated November 19-December 18, 1892. The colophon was written by Li Yen-shih between September 18 and October 17, 1906. Lu Hsin-yüan identifies the central figure as Li Ying (reigned 943-961), the father of Li Yü. The other three men are brothers of Li Ying. Lu based his identification on comments made by Wang Ming-ch'ing (1127-1214) in *Hui-ch'ien san lu*, *chüan* 3:17a-b. Wang speaks of having seen the same composition mounted as a hanging scroll with a poem by Po Chü-i written at the top of the painting by the Sung emperor Hui-tsung (reigned 1101-26). Po Chü-i's poem can be rendered:

"Placing my wine cup on my writing desk,
I pillow my head on my arm before the brazier.
In my old age I am fond of pondering sleep,
So indolently I am constantly nodding.
My wife urges me to take off my black hat,
And the servant girls spread the green coverlet.
Then the scene is like that on a screen,
Why take the trouble to paint an ancient sage?"

The scene depicted on the screen in the Freer scroll apparently illustrates Po Chü-i's poem. When Lu Hsin-yüan was recording the painting in his catalogue, *Jang-li-kuan kuo-yen lu* (completed 1892), supplement *chüan* 1:5, he rejected the title suggested by Wu K'uan and retained the original title *Ch'ung-p'ing t'u* ("The Double Screen").

In addition to the colophons by Wu K'uan and Lu Hsin-yüan is one by Sa-ying-a (*chü-jen* 1808) in which he records having seen the painting in 1842.

Affixed to the handscroll are seals of the Sung emperor Kao-tsung (reigned 1131-62), K'ö Chiu-ssu (1312-65), Wu K'uan, Lu Shu-sheng (1509-1605), Hsiang Yüan-pien (1525-90), Chu Chih-ch'ih, Wang Li-heng, Wang Shih-chen (1634-1711), Sa-ying-a and Li Yen-shih (late 19th-early 20th century).

A painting very similar to the Freer version is in the Palace Museum, Peking (reproduced: *Chung-kuo hua*, 1959, no. 4, p. 41). Although the two paintings are virtually identical in composition, there are a number of minor differences in detail. In the Freer version, a warming vessel encircles the ewer by the reclining figure, and the couch at the right has a mat covering. The screen within a screen has a larger right panel, and the landscapes on the panels are perfunctorily painted. Most significantly, the "tremulous brush" technique in which the four principal figures are executed is less mannered, suggesting that the Freer version is the earlier work.

The Peking painting was in the Ch'ing imperial collection and is

recorded in *Shih-ch'ü pao-chih san-pien* (completed 1816), p. 476, and in Hu Ching's *Hsi Ch'ing cha chi* (completed 1816), pp. 251-253. Its loss from the Imperial collection is recorded in *Ku-kung i-i shu-chi shu hua mu-lu ssu-chung* (Peking, 1934), p. 10a. Appended to the Peking version are colophons by Shen Tu (1357-1434), dated 1431, and by Wen Cheng-ming (1470-1559), dated 1518.

Another version of the composition is recorded in the 1841 catalogue *Hsin-ch'ou hsiao-hsia chi* by Wu Jung-kuang (1773-1843), pp. 207-209. That painting was a hanging scroll on silk. Three colophons are transcribed. The first, written on the *shih-t'ang*, is by Chuang Hu-sun. He attributes the painting to Chou Wen-chü and goes on to describe the composition, making it clear that the work is much the same as the Freer and the Peking versions. He also cites the same literary references as Lu Hsin-yüan in his colophon on the Freer painting. Chuang adds, "In the *ting-hai* year of the Shun-chih period [1647], my late father the *kung-chan* [the chief education supervisor of the Heir Apparent] was promoted to a position in the Hanlin Academy; hence he acquired this painting at the capital. He stored it in his luggage and it accompanied him on his many trips. It has been 50 years since I inherited it. On good days in the spring and autumn I would burn some incense and look at the painting; it is one of my pleasures in life. For generations the family has produced scholars and has no worldly possessions except for several paintings and specimens of calligraphy. It is hoped that sons and grandsons will treasure it. Inscribed by Chuang Hu-sun on Buddha's Bath Day in the *chi-mao* year [May 7, 1699]."

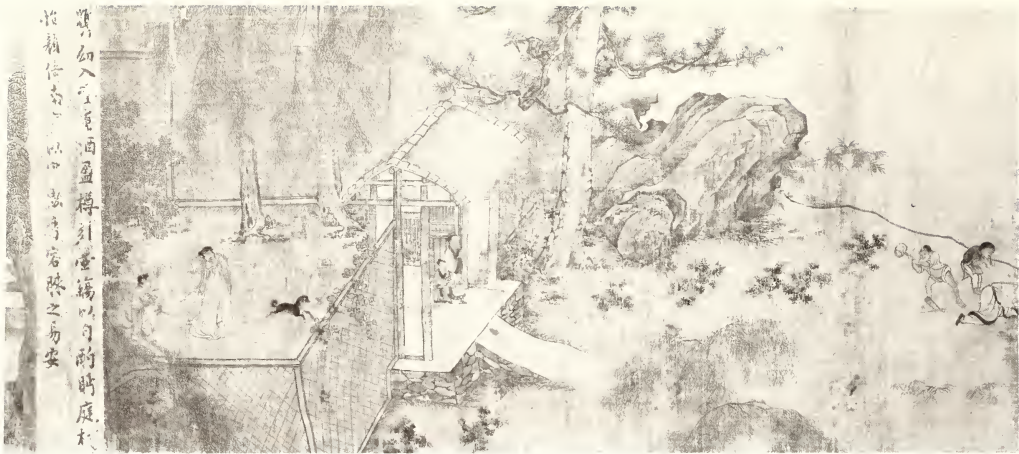
The second colophon begins with the usual praise for the painting, and goes on, "Mr. Lu Shu-ch'eng of Chin-ling [Nanking] purchased this painting for me, and it is the best among the figure paintings in my collection. Inscribed by Hsia I-chü, Feng-huang shan-ch'iao, at the Shen-su-chai in the 6th month of the *ting-wei* year in the reign of Yung-cheng [July 19-August 16, 1727]."

The last colophon is by Wu Jung-kuang himself. "On the screen is written in small seal-script characters:

'Look not at what is contrary to propriety;
 Listen not to what is contrary to propriety;
 Speak not what is contrary to propriety;
 Make no movement which is contrary to propriety'

[Legge, *Analects*, XII, 1, 2, xiii], so faint as to be hardly decipherable. The painting is a copy, done by a Sung artist."

Apart from some seals of Chuang Hu-sun and Hsia I-chü, there are seals of Pi Lung, the eighteenth-century scholar. The present whereabouts of the painting is unknown.



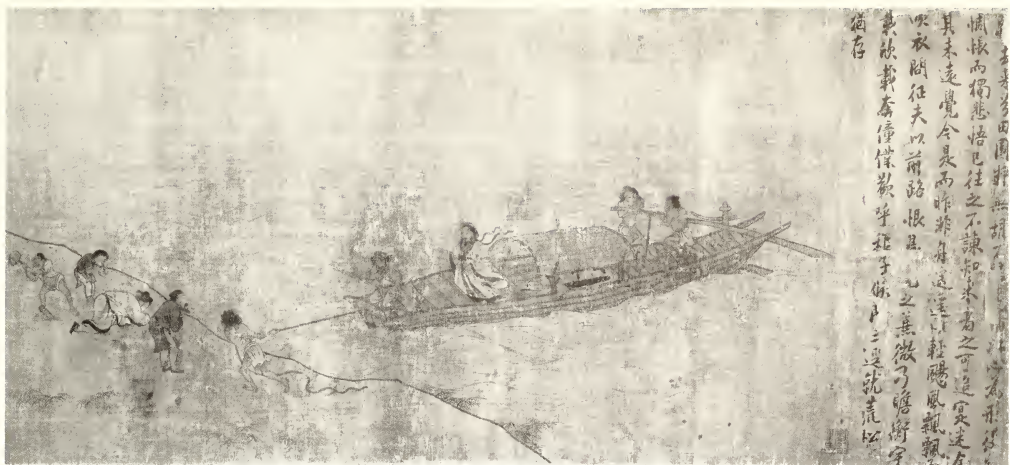
Section 2

4 *T'ao Yüan-ming Returning to Seclusion* 19.119
 Sung dynasty, 12th century
 Handscroll; ink and color on silk
 Height: 37.0 cm. (14 9/16 in.); length 518.5 cm. (204 3/16 in.)

In the year 406, after serving as magistrate of P'eng-tse in Kiangsi province for 80 days, T'ao Yüan-ming (365-427) retired from public office and returned to his home. His poem *Kuei-ch'ü-lai* is a moving record of his thoughts and emotions on his return, his sense of release from the petty frustrations of official life and the joys of the pastoral life of the cultivated scholar recluse. Beloved of every literate Chinese, the poem has been used by innumerable painters and calligraphers throughout the succeeding centuries.

The present composition, reassembled in 1926, combines the paintings, texts and colophons of two handscrolls acquired by Charles Lang Freer in 1919. In its present form, which was also the original form, the complete text of the *Kuei-ch'ü-lai* poem is divided into seven sections, each followed by an appropriate pictorial illustration. Before the reassembly, one handscroll had consisted of the title and one section of text and one illustration, and the other handscroll had consisted of six sections of text and six illustrations, as well as the colophons.

The calligraphy of the *Kuei-ch'ü-lai* text bears a strong resemblance to that of the first colophon, signed by Li P'eng and dated in correspondence with March 26, 1110. It is tempting to suggest that they were from the same hand. However, Li P'eng does not mention having transcribed the text of *Kuei-ch'ü-lai* onto the handscroll. The colophon reads: "Once, in the home of Shan-ku [Huang T'ing-chien, 1050-1110] I saw a small screen by Li Po-shih illustrating the *Kuei-ch'ü-lai*. Its touch was light but its flavor subtle, and it is quite similar to this painting. . . . Wang Hsing, a gentleman of Ju-yin, showed me this painting. Seeing



Section 1

the pleasures of fields and garden, I feel that this old gentleman [T'ao Yüan-ming] is not far removed. The fifth day of the third month, fourth year of Ta-kuan. Li P'eng, Shang-lao, of Nan-shan."

Li's colophon is written on silk different from that of the illustrations, and this has caused some scholars to suggest that the colophon was not originally part of the Freer handscroll. However, the similarity in the style of the calligraphy in the colophon and the text justifies extending the early twelfth century date to the text, even if it is not possible to suggest that both were written by Li P'eng.

The traditional attribution of the Freer handscroll to Li Kung-lin must remain open to further study. Comparison of the figures with those in the well-known *Five Horses* handscroll (reproduced: Oswald Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*, vol. III, pls. 191-192) or with the figures, architecture and landscape details in the *Hsiao-ching* handscroll in the Princeton University Museum (partially reproduced by Kohara Hironobu, "Shikyōzu to Kōkyōzu," *Biijutsushi*, vol. XVIII [March, 1969], pp. 109-26), does not support the assumption that all three works are by the same hand. However the drawing of individual figures in these paintings, in short angular brush strokes, is sufficiently similar to support a contemporaneous date. The representation of trees and rocks in the Freer handscroll is varied, with some of the forms being modelled in unusual detail. Landscape details in the Princeton scroll are more austere handled. Other paintings that might be compared with these twelfth-century scrolls are the three sections of *Lady Wen-chi's Capture and Return to China* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (reproduced: Kojiro Tomita, *Portfolio of Chinese Paintings in the Museum: Han to Sung Periods*, Cambridge, 1933, pls. 61-64).

The five-character title on the Freer scroll, *Yüan-ming kuei-yin t'u* ("T'ao Yüan-ming Returning to Seclusion"), was written by the Ch'ing dynasty collector and connoisseur, Weng Fang-kang (1733-



Section 3

1818). The calligraphy at the beginning of the first illustration is followed by a seal *T'ieh-ti wai-shih*. In the lower left corner of the illustration are seals of the nineteenth-century collector, Tai Chih. Following each of the inscriptions are affixed two seals, variously reading *Hsi-shih chih pao*, *T'ieh-ti wai-shih* and *Yün-hsi lao-jen*. In the lower left corner of the last illustration are affixed the seals of Hsiang Yüan-pien (1525-90) and Liang Chang-chü (1775-1849). Liang Chang-chü's seals also appear on the silk mounting following the last illustration together with three unidentified seals reading, *Hsü Ch'iu-ch'a shang chien yin*, *Shui-ch'ing liang-shan-fang chen-ts'ang* and ? *cho chih yin*. On another piece of silk mounting, immediately following, is a short inscription by Weng Fang-kang, with a statement about the calligraphy of Li P'eng.

Also appended to the Freer handscroll is the complete text of the *Kuei-ch'ü-lai* poem with the signature of Shen Hao (active mid-17th century), as well as colophons bearing the signatures of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555-1636) and Wang Shih-hung (1658-1723). The transcription and both colophons appear to be spurious.

Another version of this composition is in a private American collection.

因日涉以成趣門雖設而常關策杖老以流想去
 猶有而遊觀畫無心而生山鳥倦飛而知還景臨
 爾以將入撫孤松而盤桓

振去來兮請息交以絕遊世與我而相道復駕
 兮馬求悅親戚之情話樂琴書以消憂度人生
 以暮春將有事乎西疇



Section 4

振去來兮請息交以絕遊世與我而相道復駕
 兮馬求悅親戚之情話樂琴書以消憂度人生
 以暮春將有事乎西疇

或命巾車或棹孤舟既窈窕以尋壑亦峭峒而
 經丘木欣欣以向榮泉涓涓而始流善萬物之
 得時感吾生之行休



Section 5

此畫由補船等改訂也水上下應開此風未收中已甘
 有佳一後舉也相馬也居尚行濯脚也不言校
 先先飲香之解穢也也極可得不可得也先養
 英之則日臨臨即林也守養也英不先



沛公西逃為陽謀各共黨也門曰讀此畫則
 皆多矣視沛公大度乃不見沛公沛公方臨林
 使兩女子洗髮生不詳長傳曰是下必欲謀無道
 春不至雖見是會於是沛公起獨衣關之從上生



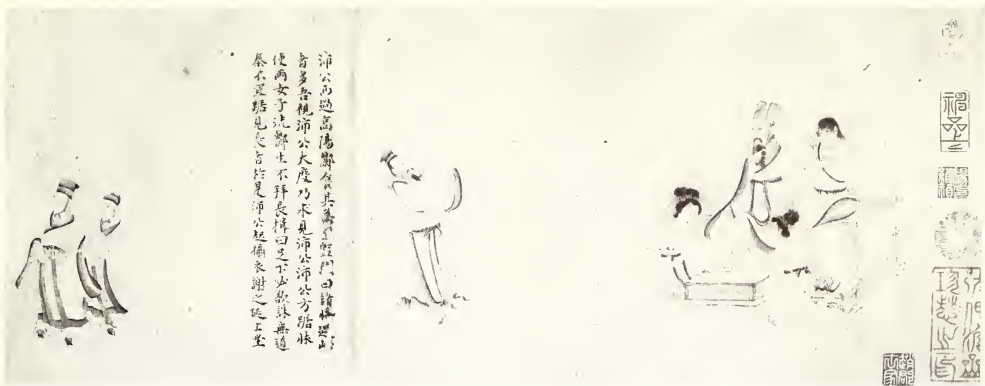
Section 2

5 *Illustrated Stories of Former Emperors and Their Subjects* 70-37
 Ch'ing dynasty, 17th century
 Handscroll; ink on paper
 Height: 24.1 cm. (9 1/2 in.); length: 299.4 cm. (117 3/4 in.)
 Gift of Eugene and Agnes E. Meyer

Among the titles of paintings listed in Chinese catalogues under the name of the Northern Sung dynasty artist Li Kung-lin (ca. 1049-1106) is the *Ch'ien-tai ch'iu-ch'eu ku-shih i'u*, or *Illustrated Stories of Former Emperors and their Subjects*. There is some variation in records regarding the sequence of the individual illustrations, the artist's signature, and the colophons, which indicates the existence of more than one version. The most complete version was formerly in the Ch'ing dynasty imperial collection and is recorded in *Shih-ch'ii pao-chi san-pien*, pp. 1437-39. According to Ch'en Jen-t'ao in his *Ku-kung i-i shu hua mu chiao-chu*, that painting is now in the Liaoning Museum.

The Liaoning version was discussed in detail by Agnes E. Meyer as early as 1923 in her book entitled *Chinese Painting as Reflected in the Thought and Art of Li Lung-nien*, pp. 275-281. Comparison of the Freer handscroll with the *san-pien* record of the Liaoning version shows the former to be missing two of the eight illustrations. Mrs. Meyer's evaluation of the Freer painting, which she then owned, is given in a single sentence at the close of her discussion, "A fine copy (not an original) of this [i.e. the Liaoning] scroll with pictures 1, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 preserved, and corresponding to the above descriptions, is now in the Meyer collection."

The tradition of illustrating historical events or stories which demonstrate the humanizing force of Confucianism goes back to the very beginnings of Chinese figure painting. Since Li Kung-lin concerned himself with the achievements of earlier artists, it is not surprising that he became famous for such time-honored, didactic themes. Although this handscroll is somewhat damaged and incomplete, the arrangement of individual figures compositions and the fine, tautly handled brush



Section 1

strokes still retain some vestige of the original. Until such time as the Liaoning version is published, the Freer handscroll provides an invaluable record of Li Kung-lin's compositions.

The first illustration depicts the famous encounter between Kao-tsu (reigned 202-195 B.C.), first emperor of the Han dynasty, and his Confucian strategist Li I-chi. The story is recorded in the official biography of Kao-tsu in the *Shih-chi*, *chüan* 8: 12a-b, and in the *Ch'ien Han-shu*, *chüan* 43: 1b-2a. The pertinent section of Kao-tsu's biography has been translated by Édouard Chavannes, *Les Mémoires historiques*, vol. II, pp. 344-345; and by Burton Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China*, vol. I, pp. 86-87. The following translation of the inscription on the Meyer painting, as well as those of the other five inscriptions, are taken, with a few minor changes, from Agnes E. Meyer's book on Li Kung-lin.

The inscription to the left of the first illustration reads:

"The Governor of P'ei went westward by way of Kao-yang. Li I-chi, the village gatekeeper, remarked, 'Many have been the generals passing by here, but I see that the Governor of P'ei is the most liberal and open-minded of these.' So he sought to have an audience with the Governor. When admitted, he found the Governor sitting on a couch, having his feet bathed by two girls. Master Li would not salute him with a profound obeisance, but simply bowed to him, saying, 'If you desire to punish and bring to an end the inhuman and unprincipled Ch'in dynasty, you should not receive an elderly gentleman sitting.' With this the Governor arose and after having set his dress in order, offered his apologies. Then Li was invited to take the seat of honor."

The second section of the handscroll depicts an incident from the life of Ho Kuang (died 68 B.C.), younger half-brother of the celebrated Han dynasty general Ho Ch'ü-ping (145-117 B.C.). The inscription to the left of the illustration, based on the entry in the *Ch'ien Han-shu*, *chüan* 68: 3a, reads:

唐明皇嘗引獵然不察左右曰自當飲入相德下無一
日無何曰成之不遠去之帝曰吾輕處天下禮矣



晉王猛字玄瑛瑯琊諸葛人也行兵善戰是晉廷
是以浮華之士咸往而從之猛感然曰濟公以馬勝沈
既于華陰山據世之左以復作時能取也而後物經
流入關後被物而指之高談當世之事則費而苦言
若無八風亦而異之獨後事馬耳而官者雖請其佩
亦徒還山

Section 4

“When Ho Kuang first assisted the Emperor Chao-ti [reigned 86-74 B.C.] in ruling the country, he took it upon himself, to the astonishment of the empire, to direct the government. For some time there had been a supernatural appearance in the palace. One night the officers on duty were stricken with sudden terror. Ho Kuang sent to the Keeper of the Royal Seal demanding the seal, which, however, the Keeper refused to surrender to him. Kuang was about to have the seal forcibly taken from him when the keeper drew his sword and protested, saying, ‘My head you may take, but not the seal.’ Ho Kuang was lost in admiration of the officer and the next day an imperial edict was issued that the Keeper of the Royal Seal be promoted to a rank two grades higher. For this act all the people gave Ho Kuang much credit.”

In the third section of the scroll the hermit Wang Meng (A.D. 325-375) is depicted squashing lice. The inscription, based on the entry in the *Chin-shu, chüan* 114:23b-24a, reads:

“Wang Meng of the Chin dynasty, whose *tzu* was Ching-lüeh, was very noble and prepossessing in appearance. A man of broad learning, he was particularly fond of studying books on war. Being great in nature and lofty in ambition, he was held in contempt and laughed at by all those gentlemen who give more attention to superficial glory and splendor. However, he was quite self-contented and never bothered his mind about such trifles. He lived a secluded life on Hua-yin Mountain. Although he cherished the desire to render help in the world, he was only waiting for the proper moment to make a move. Consequently, when Huan Wen [A.D. 312-373] entered the Pass, Wang Meng, in a rustic coat of coarse clothes, came to see him. While pouring forth torrents of words in a discussion of the world situation, Wang kept on mashing lice with one hand under his coat, as if he were alone. This caused Huan Wen to find him unusual, and so he presented to Wang carriages and horses,



實之補腦膏以己出天下想聞其風采假中官
 有佳一夜夢中相驚此君尚持重解之不肯校
 先先致守之解按四口臣煩可得重不可得也死者
 共之明日歸歸即休之手學樂其多死



晉王猛嘗乘疾安鴛鴦博戲于行兵書私笑余生
 是以得事之也然而不失之機也其時不以爲然流
 雁于華山陳世之天欲使臣時使風去而後切地
 渡入關張以獨高臨之向於而世之爭則無而三言
 看無入流安而共之移後事爲非者有禮請於此
 亦後遊山

Section 3

and offered him appointments of high rank, with the request that Wang go away with him to the south. However, Wang Meng went back to the mountain.”

The fourth section of the handscroll depicts the story of the T'ang dynasty emperor, Ming-huang (reigned A.D. 715-756) looking into a mirror. The inscription to the left of the illustration, taken from the *Hsin T'ang-shu, chüan* 126:21a, reads:

“Emperor Ming-huang of T'ang fell silent and became very unhappy after looking at himself in a mirror. His attendant said, ‘Your majesty has not passed a single happy day since Han Hsiu [A.D. 673-740] came to the court. Why does not your majesty free yourself of such worries by sending him away?’ The emperor replied, ‘Although I have become thin, the empire is getting fat.’”

The fifth section of the handscroll illustrates the drunken revelry of Shan Chien (A.D. 253-312), son of the celebrated official Shan T'ao (A.D. 205-283). The inscription at the left of the illustration, taken from the official biography of Shan Chien in the *Chin-shu, chüan* 43:7b, reads:

“During the Chin dynasty, in the third year of Yung-chia [A.D. 309], Shan Chien was at Hsiang-yang. At the time the empire was rife with revolts and other disturbances. However, Shan Chien passed his time in a leisurely and pleasant manner. He did nothing but give himself up to the wine-cup. The most prominent family, named Hsi, had many gardens with ponds in the Ching-ch'u region. When Shan Chien went out for recreation, he would go to one of these ponds, then he would call for wine and drink until he was half intoxicated. He called the pond the ‘Kao-yang Pond.’ At that time there was a children’s ditty that went,

Where is Sire Shan going?
 He is going to the Kao-yang Pond.



Section 2

- 6 *Illustrations of the Odes of Pin* 19.172
 Sung dynasty, 13th century
 Handscroll; ink on paper
 Height: 28.7 cm. (11 5/16 in.); length: 48.4 cm. (19 3/16 in.)

During the Sung dynasty, all the Classics were thoroughly re-examined and were given proper Confucian political interpretations in the new commentaries. Each of the eight sections in the handscroll illustrates a selection from the *Pin-feng* ("Odes of Pin"), which describe the occupations of the seasons of the year. The Odes of Pin are part of the *Shih-ching*, one of the Five Classics and the earliest Chinese poems extant. Such illustrations were meant to serve as moral precepts and to bring the peasants into the strata of Confucian order.

Stanzas from the Odes are written at the right of each illustration on a separate piece of heavier paper. According to the colophon by Wang Chih-teng (1535-1612), the stanzas were written by the Sung emperor Kao-tsung (reigned 1127-62). A number of scrolls in which the Emperor added his calligraphy to illustrations of classical poetry do exist, and more are recorded in Chinese catalogues. However, the calligraphy on this scroll differs from those examples firmly attributable to him (reproduced: *Shodō zenshū*, Tokyo, 1955, Sung, vol. II, pls. 1-25).

The artist exhibits varying degrees of success in his representation of elements in the composition. The drawing of the figures tends to be awkward and characterless, the description of architectural details is handled with considerable skill, while the landscapes have both strength and quality. The illustrations are traditionally attributed to Ma Ho-chih (active 1131-62), who did execute illustrations for the Odes of Pin



Section 1

that bore the calligraphy of Sung Kao-tsung. However, the figures in this scroll are drawn in fine *pai-miao* with a touch of naivete often associated with figure paintings of the Li Kung-lin school. There is no indication in the figures of the fluctuating lineament, the so-called "orchid-leaf strokes" that Ma Ho-chih used to enliven his forms in his standard works. Those paintings that are generally accepted as being from Ma Ho-chih's hand include the illustrations of the Twelve Odes of T'ang in the Ta-ya section of the *Shih-ching* in Japan (reproduced: *Yurin taikan*, I, pls. 51-52), and the illustrations of six of the Odes of P'ei in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (reproduced: Osvald Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*, vol III, pls. 275-278).

Only eight illustrations are preserved in the handscroll, although it is conceivable that there may originally have been others. The text passages do not precisely follow the order of the *Pin-feng*, and may have been interchanged accidentally in a subsequent remounting. The passages selected for illustration are:

- (1) In the days of the third month they plough;
 In the days of the fourth month I step forth,
 Along with my wife and children,
 Carrying food to the southern acre.
 The surveyor of the fields comes and is glad.
- (2) In the days of the first month the frosts are sharp;
 In the days of the second month the wind is cold.



Section 4

- Without coats, without woolen clothes,
How can we finish the year?
- (3) In the seventh month the shrike is heard;
In the eighth month they begin to spin.
They make dark threads and yellow.
Their red dye is very brilliant,
It is for the robes of the young princes.
- (4) In the days of the first month they go after badgers,
And take foxes and wild cats,
To make furs for the young princes.
In the days of the second month they hold a general hunt,
And practise the exercises of war.
The one-year-old boars are for themselves;
The three-year-olds are for the prince.
- (5) In the fifth month the locust moves its legs;
In the sixth month the grasshopper shakes its wings.
In the seventh month in the fields;
In the eighth month at the farm;
In the ninth month at the door;
In the tenth month the cricket goes under the beds.
- (6) Chinks are filled up and rats are smoked out;
Windows are stopped up,
And doors are plastered over.
“Come wife and children,
The change of the year is at hand,
Enter and dwell in this house.”
- (7) In the daytime gather the thatch-reeds,



Section 3

- And in the evening twist them into ropes;
Then get up quickly onto the roofs.
(8) In the days of the second month they cut the ice with harmonious
blows;
In the days of the third month they bring it to the icthouse,
In the days of the fourth month, early in the morning,
They offer a sacrifice of lamb and garlic.

As Chang Hsi-keng (1801-61) points out in his colophon, dated Spring of 1856, the present illustration for section (2) has no relation to the passage from the *Pin-feng* that is written to the right. Chang suggests that the illustration might be based on the lines:

In the silkworm month they strip the mulberry branches of
their leaves,
And take their axes and hatchets,
To lop off those branches that are distant and high;
Only stripping the trees of their tender leaves.

The four-character seal-script title, *Pin-feng chiu-kuan* ("Antique renderings of the Odes of Pin"), is followed by the signature and seals of Wen Cheng-ming (1470-1559). The characters are very poorly written and it seems unlikely that they are from the hand of the Ming dynasty calligrapher. However, there is a colophon by Wen Cheng-ming, dated Spring of 1555, appended to the handscroll that appears genuine.

Two seals are affixed on each of the junctures between the right edges of the illustrations and the left edges of the paper on which the stanzas are written: *Hsi-chib hou-i* and *Tzu-tzu sun-sun yung pao yung hsiang*. The wording of the seals indicates that the owner was a descendent of



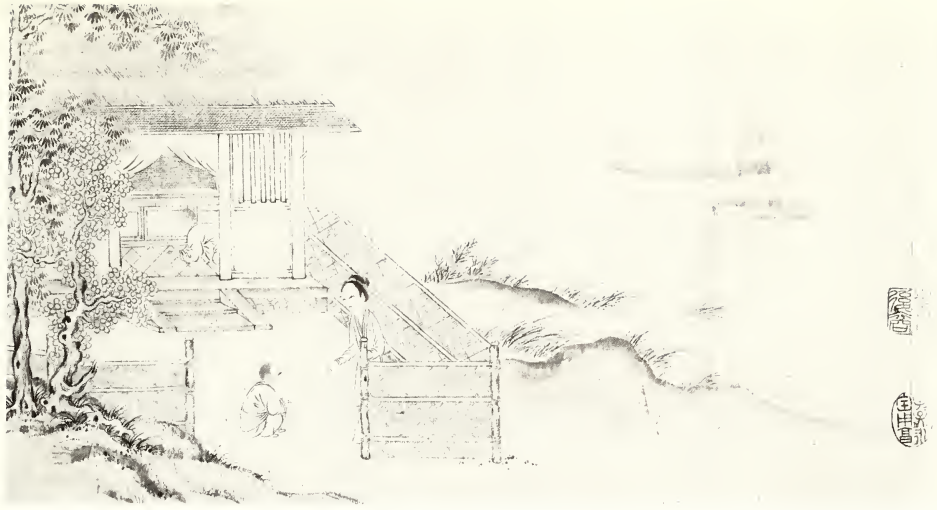
Section 6



Section 8

the noted calligrapher Wang Hsi-chih (307-365), but he has not been identified. On the last juncture is an oval seal reading *Chün-yü chung-pi*, a seal of the Chin emperor Chang-tsung (reigned 1190-1209). If genuine, it would indicate that the scroll had been in the Chin imperial collection.

五月新嘗勅水六月新羅秋七月在於八月在字九月在夕十月
於野八武床下



Section 5

一日望水冲中二之日釣于凌陰四之日其祭蘇美祭註



Section 7

三之日... 四之日... 五之日... 六之日... 七之日... 八之日... 九之日... 十之日...



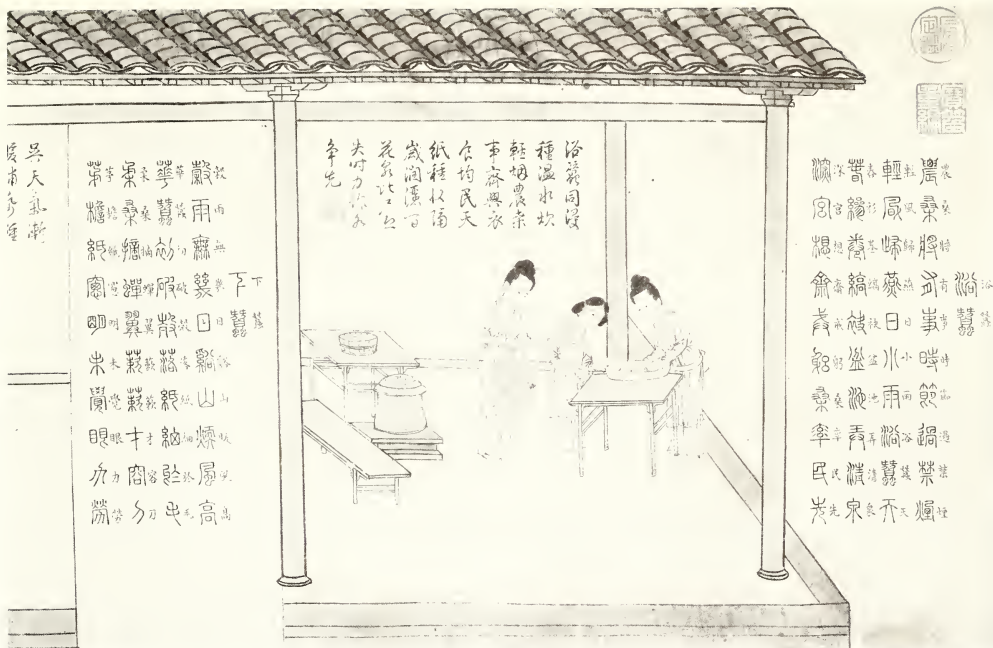
Section 5, 54.20

- 7** *Keng t'u*, "Rice Culture" 54.21
 By Ch'eng Ch'i (active 13th century)
 Yüan dynasty
 Handscroll; ink and color on paper
 Height: 32.6 cm. (12 13/16 in.); length: 1034 (407 1/8 in.)

- 8** *Chih t'u*, "Sericulture" 54.20
 By Ch'eng Ch'i (active 13th century)
 Yüan dynasty
 Handscroll; ink and color on paper
 Height: 31.9 cm. (12 9/16 in.); length: 1249.3 cm. (492 in.)

The pair of handscrolls depict two of the activities basic to the livelihood of the Chinese people. This type of painting stems ultimately from illustrations of the occupations of the different seasons of the year as described in the *Shih-ching*. As is customary, these illustrations describe none of the physical hardships attendant upon the production of food and clothing; rather, the stress, in both the illustrations and inscriptions, is upon the role of the farmer in a well-ordered Confucian society.

In the Freer examples, the twenty-one paintings illustrating rice cul-



Section 4, 54.20

ture and the twenty-four illustrating sericulture are mounted in handscroll form. The titles of the various activities in the rice culture handscroll are: (1) soaking seeds, (2) ploughing, (3) raking, (4) harrowing, (5) rolling, (6) sowing, (7) fertilizing, (8) uprooting, (9) transplanting, (10) initial weeding, (11) second weeding, (12) third weeding, (13) irrigating, (14) harvesting, (15) stacking, (16) threshing, (17) winnowing, (18) hulling, (19) grinding, (20) sifting and (21) storing. The titles of the individual activities in the sericulture handscroll are: (1) washing the silkworm eggs, (2) setting the eggs, (3) feeding the eggs, (4) first moulting period, (5) second moulting period, (6) third moulting period, (7) division of the screens, (8) gathering mulberry leaves, (9) awakening, (10) arranging the screens, (11) preparing trellises, (12) heating the screens, (13) removing the eggs from the trellises, (14) selecting cocoons, (15) covering the cocoons, (16) reeling off the cocoons, (17) silkworm moths, (18) offering thanks, (19) reeling silk, (20) preparing the warp, (21) preparing the weft, (22) weaving silk, (23) weaving ornate designs and (24) cutting lengths of silk.

Each of the forty-five paintings is accompanied by a five-character line poem, written in seal script with smaller characters in regular script written at the side. The poems and paintings by the little-known Yüan dynasty artist Ch'eng Ch'i are based on an earlier work by Lou Shu, who was active during the reign of the Southern Sung emperor Kao-tsung



Section 9, 54.21

ings must have been separated sometime earlier. At the end of the *Keng t'u* handscroll is an inscription by Hsiang Yüan-pien, "The *Keng-nou t'u* with twenty-one illustrations by Liu Sung-nien, was in the Sung imperial collection. Hsiang Yüan-pien, *hao* Mo-lin shan-jen, of the Ming dynasty truly appreciates it. The price was 120 taels." There is no coding character of the kind usually found with Hsiang Yüan-pien's colophons.

The Ch'ien-lung emperor had the reunited handscrolls placed together in the same box and stored in the To-chia-hsüan in the Imperial Palace. Both handscrolls are recorded in *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi hsiu-pien* (completed 1793), pp. 3881-87. Appended to the *Keng t'u* handscroll are colophons by Chao Meng-yü, Yao Shih, Ch'iu Yüan, Nieh Ch'ü-hsiu (dated 1325), Ch'en Huan, Wu I and Fan Ch'ü. The colophons on the *Chih t'u* handscroll were written by Chao Meng-yü, Fan Ch'ü, Ch'iu Yüan, Nieh Ch'ü-hsiu (dated 1325), Ch'en Huan and Wu I.

In his inscription of 1769 the Ch'ien-lung emperor refers to versions of the *Keng-chih t'u* that had been engraved on stone and printed by his grandfather, the Yung-cheng emperor (reigned 1723-35). Paul Pelliot has published a study of the various editions of *Keng-chih t'u* entitled "A Propos du *Keng tche t'ou*" in *Mémoires concernant l'Asie orientale*, Tome I (1913), pp. 65-122.



Illustration 1

9 *Illustrations of Traditional Texts Written by Six
Ming Dynasty Calligraphers* 72.1

By Ch'iu Ying (ca. 1510-ca. 1552)

Ming dynasty

Handscroll; ink on paper

Height: 23.0 cm. (9 in.); length: 482.4 cm. (190 in.)

The handscroll is of particular importance in Ch'iu Ying's *oeuvre* because the six illustrations are among the last works from his hand, and because the information in P'eng Nien's (1505-66) colophon is essential in determining the approximate date of the artist's death. Equally important for a proper understanding of Ch'iu Ying's position among the artists living and working in sixteenth-century Suchou is the fact that these illustrations are so clearly related to literati traditions. From descriptions of Ch'iu Ying's paintings in texts and from information in colophons on extant paintings, there is no doubt that throughout his life the artist was on extremely close terms with the most famous literati personalities of the period. The same sources demonstrate that several of the themes that Ch'iu Ying illustrates in this handscroll were already part of his repertoire. The simplicity with which the individual figures are rendered here bespeaks great familiarity with *pai-miao* traditions and a willingness to eliminate all but the most essential details. In all probability the artist purposely chose to execute the figures in *pai-miao* because the literati associations of that painting style were especially compatible with the historical connotations of the individual texts.

The title slip mounted before the paintings was written by Weng Fang-kang (1733-1818) in 1791, at the same time he wrote his colophon at the end of the scroll. The title reads, "Handscroll of fine *k'ai-shu* calligraphy by six masters and painted illustrations assembled by Chou Kung-hsia, *hao* Liu-chih chü-shih [Chou T'ien-ch'iu, 1514-95]." According to Weng Fang-kang's colophon, the calligraphy and illustrations were originally mounted as an album, but were remounted in handscroll form by the Ch'ing dynasty artist Lo P'ing (1733-99).

The single figure in the first illustration is probably meant to represent the Taoist sage Lao-tzu. Ch'iu Ying's seal, *Shih-fu*, is affixed in the lower left corner of the painting. A smaller seal, *Chien-ting*, appears in the lower right. The same two seals appear on all six illustrations. Following the painting is the *Huang-t'ing-ching*, a Taoist text dealing with immortality, transcribed in small *k'ai-shu* calligraphy by Chu Yün-ming (1460-1526). At the end of the text, the calligrapher added, "Written on February 26, 1500, by Chu Yün-ming of Ch'ang-chou."

Identification of the figure in Ch'iu Ying's illustration as Lao-tzu is made almost certain by an entry in *Yü-yü-t'ang shu hua chi* (preface dated 1851), *chüan* 3:1a, in which the author, Han T'ai-hua (active second quarter of the 19th century), records a hanging scroll by Ch'iu Ying that depicts Lao-tzu. Above the scroll Chu Yün-ming added the text of the *Huang-t'ing-ching*, and noted that in 1525 he and Ch'iu Ying had collaborated on the scroll after having seen a work of the same subject by Chao Meng-fu (1254-1322) in which the Yüan master had combined figure painting and calligraphy.



Illustration 2



The second illustration depicts Hsiao I and the hapless monk Pien-ts'ai. A detailed discussion of the circumstances under which Hsiao I was said to have obtained the manuscript of the Lan-t'ing Preface for the T'ang emperor T'ai-tsung (reigned 627-649) is provided by Han Chuang (John Hay) in "Hsiao I Gets the Lan-t'ing Manuscript by a Confidence Trick," *National Palace Museum Bulletin*, vol. V, no. 3

(July-August, 1970), and no. 6 (January-February, 1971).

At least one other version of Hsiao I obtaining the Lan-t'ing manuscript is attributed to Ch'iu Ying (reproduced: *Kōhansha shūna meiga senshū*, Kyoto, 1927, vol. II, pl. 13). This version is considerably more elaborate and includes an additional servant, while in the Freer painting, Ch'iu Ying has retained little more than the gestures of the two main figures.

Following the illustration is the text of the Lan-t'ing Preface with calligraphy by Wen Cheng-ming (1470-1559). The calligrapher notes, "At leisure before my window, with nothing to do, I playfully wrote on this paper. Now Kung-hsia [Chou T'ien-ch'iu] has had it mounted as an album. It really is laughable. On September 26, 1545, Cheng-ming wrote at 76 *sui*."

In the third illustration, the filial daughter Ts'ao O wanders along a riverbank. Ts'ao O lived during the Later Han dynasty. Her father, Ts'ao Hsü, accidentally drowned in A.D. 143 when Ts'ao O was only 14 *sui*. For 17 days the girl wandered on the banks of the river near Shao-hsing, Chekiang province, calling her father's name, hoping to recover the body. Finally, she threw herself into the river. Five days later her body rose to the surface with the body of her father clasped in its arms. The river subsequently was called the Ts'ao O Chiang.

The tomb of Ts'ao O is located beside the Ts'ao O River in eastern Shao-hsing Hsien. A shrine to Ts'ao O is located near the tomb. The text for her funerary stele was composed by Han-tan Shun on the order of the District Magistrate, Tu Shang (A.D. 117-166). An entry in *Ku-wen yüan*, which is quoting *Kuei-chi tien-lu*, states that Tu Shang first asked Wei Lang to compose a text for the stele. When Wei Lang had completed his text, but had not yet submitted it to Tu Shang, Han-tan Shun wrote a text that so impressed Wei Lang that he destroyed his own draft.

The noted calligrapher Ts'ai Yung (A.D. 132-192) heard of the stele and went to see it. The night was dark, and so he "read" the text by tracing the incised characters with his fingers. Then he had eight characters carved on the side of the stele as a riddle: *huang-chüan yu-fu wai-sun chi-chiu*. The riddle consists of four pairs of characters, which can be deciphered as follows. *Huang* and *chüan*, literally "yellow silk," refer to the character *chüeh*, "extremely." *Yu* and *fu*, meaning "young girl," suggest that character *miao*, "marvelous." *Wai* and *sun*, literally "daughter's son," yield the character *hao*, "good." *Chi* and *chiu*, "a vessel to receive bitter things," provide the character *tz'u*, "poem." Hence the solution to the riddle is *chüeh miao hao tz'u*, or "extremely marvelous and good poem."

Following the illustration is the text of Ts'ao O's stele inscription with calligraphy by Wang Ch'ung (1494-1533). Wang Ch'ung dates his



Illustration 3

calligraphy in correspondence with April 1, 1533.

The fourth illustration depicts the *Hsiang chün* ("Princess of the Hsiang") and the *Hsiang fu-jen* ("Lady of the Hsiang"). Both figures are described in the *Nine Songs*, the chants of an ancient shamanistic cult. According to one tradition, the two spirits of the Hsiang River

were O-huang and Nü-ying, wives of the legendary ruler Shun. When Shun died in Hunan province, the two wives jumped into the Hsiang River and became river spirits. In Ch'iu Ying's illustration, the two women are shown clothed in the swirling scarves and draperies usually associated with Six Dynasties figure painting.

A painting depicting the same two figures by Wen Cheng-ming is now in the Palace Museum, Peking (reproduced: Chang An-chih, *Wen Cheng-ming*, Shanghai, 1959, pl. 1). Above the figures Wen Cheng-ming added the two relevant sections from the *Nine Songs* and the date 1517. In another inscription in the lower left corner of the scroll, Wen notes that he saw a painting in color of the ladies by Chao Meng-fu and was asked to make a copy of it by Shen Chou (1427-1509). Wen Cheng-ming recognized the antique flavor of Chao's work and suggests that it probably resulted from the influence of his teacher, Ch'ien Hsüan (ca. 1235-after 1300). According to Wang Chih-teng (1535-1612), who added a colophon in the lower right corner of Wen's painting, Wen Cheng-ming had asked Ch'iu Ying to add color to the figures for him, but was dissatisfied with the result and so did it again himself.

The information contained in Wen Cheng-ming's painting provides a link between Ch'iu Ying's *pai-miao* illustration and the work of Yüan masters such as Chao Meng-fu and Ch'ien Hsüan. The unbroken continuity of painting styles and specific themes by literati artists is a unique aspect of Chinese figure painting.

Following Ch'iu Ying's illustration are the two sections from the *Nine Songs* written by Ts'ai Yü (died 1541). Ts'ai added the note, "April 28, 1537, Ts'ai Yü, *hao* Lin-wu shan-jen, wrote this for his worthy friend Kung-hsia in the Hsüan-hsiu-lou."

The fifth illustration depicts Ma Ku, a female deity, presenting a gourd containing the elixir of immortality to a suppliant while another immortal stands by her side. Ma Ku, who lived during the second century A.D., was the sister of Wang Yüan, and like her brother, is said to have possessed supernatural powers.

Mounted after the illustration is the text of the memorial to Ma Ku on Ma Ku Shan, with calligraphy by Lu Shih-tao (ca. 1510-70). The first half of the text gives the story of the female immortal Ma Ku as it appears in *Shen-hsien chüan* by Ko Hung (284-363). The second half describes her at the shrine of the immortals on Ma Ku Shan. Ma Ku enjoyed great favor among the common people during the T'ang and Sung dynasties. Since some additions were made to the *Shen-hsien chüan* during the T'ang dynasty, it is uncertain whether the text as it now stands is exactly as written by Ko Hung. Some passages of the text are extremely difficult to comprehend.

Lu Shih-tao added the following note to his inscription, "By nature I am weak and inferior, so that I have not been able to achieve any of



Illustration 4



those worthwhile goals that I have sought to attain. One of those goals is the study of calligraphy. When I first saw [a version] of this [*Ma Ku chi*] manuscript at the home of Mr. Yu-shih [Wang Ku-hsiang, 1501-68], I was still young. I then returned home and have been copying it

ever since. That was sixteen years ago. Yet I still have not attained an iota of resemblance. I am really ashamed. Now Kung-hsia has advised me to write [the text] in reduced characters, which only increases its ugliness. What is one to do? On November 6, 1545, Lu Shih-tao inscribes."

In the last illustration, Ch'iu Ying depicted the nymph of the Lo River and two retainers. Complete details of the poem and iconography of that theme are given in the first entry of the catalogue.

Following the illustration is the full text of the *Lo-shen fu* with calligraphy by P'eng Nien. P'eng added an important comment to his calligraphy. "Kung-hsia obtained the Lan-t'ing Preface written in small characters by Heng-weng [Wen Cheng-ming] and Lu Li-pu wrote the *Ma Ku T'an chi* next. And then [Kung-hsia] took and ordered me to write this on a piece of blank paper. It really is an example of the worst kept for last. I am fearful. August, 8, 1551, P'eng Nien records."

P'eng Nien's inscription is important in determining the approximate date of Ch'iu Ying's death. In his study of Ch'iu Ying in his book *Ming-tai ssu ta-hua-chia* (Hong Kong, 1960), Wen Chao-t'ung concludes that Ch'iu Ying was born in 1494 and died in 1561. Writing in *Chung-kuo hua*, no. 1 (November, 1957), pp. 64-65, Hsü Pang-ta mentioned P'eng Nien's colophon on the Freer handscroll and points out that since Ch'iu Ying completed the illustrations only after the texts had been written and since P'eng Nien's colophon is dated August 8, 1551, Ch'iu Ying must still have been alive at that time. Hsü Pang-ta cites another colophon by P'eng Nien, the one dated December 16, 1552-January 13, 1553, and written on Ch'iu Ying's painting *Chu-i chih-kung t'u*. In this colophon, P'eng Nien states, ". . . for twenty years he [Ch'iu Ying] had been supreme in the Chiang-nan area, but now one can no longer obtain examples of his work." The clear implication of this is that Ch'iu Ying had already died. Consequently, Hsü concludes that the artist died sometime between August 8, 1551 and December 16, 1552-January 13, 1553.

The inscription by Chou T'ien-ch'iu can be rendered:

"In Suchou the rules of calligraphy have been transmitted from of old. Formerly among those who followed the rules, people such as Hsü Yu-chen [1407-72] the Earl of Wu-kung, Liu Ch'ieh [1410-72] the *ta-ts'an*, Li Ying-chen [1431-93] the *t'ai-ch'ing*, could be called famous masters. Chu Ching-chao [Chu Yün-ming], Wen T'ai-shih [Wen Cheng-ming] and Wang Lü-chi [Wang Ch'ung] began the movement of using the work of the two Wang [Wang Hsi-chih and Wang Hsien-chih] as models. In their pursuit of beauty and learning, they were students of calligraphy for all time. The most refined group of calligraphers developed from [study of] the distinguished works of the two Wang, which really have illuminated the dynasties.



Illustration 5

“The T'ai-shih [Wen Cheng-ming] is fond of me, and from the time I was a child has treated me as a young friend and has been willing to teach me. Mr. Lin-shih [Ts'ai Yü] also has let me stay at his home. Consequently, in their leisure time, when they hap-

pened to write they gave me the special products among which are these examples of the Lan-t'ing and the Chiu-ko. Because I moved, I lost the case in which they were kept, so I kept the two pieces of paper and had them mounted in a small album, supplemented afterwards by the work of Lu Hsi-ch'ing [Lu Shih-tao] and P'eng the *cheng-chün* [P'eng Nien]. I recently also obtained the *Huang-t'ing-ching* by Chu Ching-chao and the *Ts'ao O Stele* text by Wang Lü-chi from the monks of Pai-ch'üeh-ssu.

"For twenty years I have been hoping [to augment these examples] but have only obtained the [work of these] few calligraphers, but even that can be termed difficult. And so I asked Ch'iu Shih-fu to paint an illustration for each example. P'eng T'ai-p'u the *po-shih* agreed to write an inscription from the *Wen-hsüan* [i.e. the *Lo-shen fu*]. Wang Ku-hsiang, Yüan Chiung [active during the Chia-ching period], Huang Chi-shui [1509-74] and Yüan Tsun-ni [1565 *chin-shih*] all have the same attitude as I do. So they put the calligraphy in order and have asked me to write something to fill the covers [of the album]. I stumbled in my efforts and had not completed the task before I felt regret at having begun. January 23-February 20, 1574. Chou T'ien-ch'iu records."

The last colophon on the handscroll is that written by Weng Fang-kang. It can be rendered:

"The six sections of calligraphy and painting by Ming dynasty masters at the right were collected by Chou Kung-hsia of Ch'ang-chou. At first, Kung-hsia obtained the miniature version of the *Lan-t'ing* Preface with calligraphy by Wen Heng-shan and the *Hsiang chün* and *Hsiang fu-jen*, two sections from the *Nine Songs*, with calligraphy by Ts'ai Chiu-k'üci, and so had them mounted as an album. Following these are the miniature version of the *Ma Ku hsien tan chi* written for the album by Lu Tzu-ch'uan and the *Lo-shen fu* written for the album by P'eng K'ung-chia. There is also a copy of the *Huang-t'ing* written by Chu Ching-chao and Wang Ya-i's copy of the *Ts'ao O Stele*, which were obtained from the monks of Pai-ch'üeh-ssu, altogether forming six sections. Ch'iu Shih-fu painted the figures for the beginning of each section. All the calligraphy is written in minute *k'ai-shu* on small pieces of paper. Both the *Huang-t'ing* and *Ts'ao O hsien tan* were written in fine *k'ai-shu* and the other examples were written in even smaller script. Thus the handscroll could be termed a work by calligraphers who were able to write in most minute *k'ai-shu*.

"Among these examples, the *Huang-t'ing* was written by Chu Ching-chao when he was 41 *sui*, 30 years before Wang Ya-i stayed at the Pai-ch'üeh-ssu. Ya-i studied with Ts'ai Chiu-k'üci, stayed at



Illustration 6



Lake Tung-t'ing for three years, and then studied on Lake Shih for twenty years. In 1532 and 1533 he spent a year at Pai-ch'üeh-ssu, where he stayed until he died on May 23. This copy of Ts'ao O's stele may be his last work. It is fitting that the monks of the temple appreciated Wang Ch'ung's calligraphy, together with the

calligraphy that Chu Yün-ming had written thirty years earlier, and gave them to Kung-hsia, who greatly treasured them.

"Chiu-k'uei wrote his calligraphy in 1537, four years after Ya-i had died. Lu Tzu-ch'uan wrote his calligraphy in 1545 and P'eng K'ung-chia wrote in 1551, several years after Chiu-k'uei had died. Heng-shan alone was still alive and well when Lu and P'eng added their calligraphy.

"When Wen Heng-shan wrote his miniature version of the *Lan-ling* preface, he was already 76 *sui*, but the harmony and excellence of his calligraphy are both identical with his other calligraphy.

"It is said that after Heng-shan died, all the many stelae and large plaques in Suchou were written by Kung-hsia. Consequently, Kung-hsia can be called Heng-shan's calligraphic descendant.

"This colophon by Kung-hsia was written in 1574, the second year of the Ming emperor Shen-tsung, already two years after the death of Wen's oldest son, Shou-ch'eng [Wen P'eng]. The several calligraphers whom Chou Kung-hsia mentions at the end of his inscription lived just before or after Wen Heng-shan, and were closely related to him. Even the calligraphy of the Five Worthies of Shih-hu and the paintings of the Six Residents of Shuang-wu would not add anything to the scroll. Anyone doing research on the former masters of Suchou will have to come to this scroll many times for material. And this is not only because of the genuine examples of minute *k'ai-shu*.

"Years ago I wrote a colophon in an album of fine *k'ai-shu* calligraphy by Chu and Wen, and now I again inscribe on this handscroll. The paths of these two crossed on the desk of Liang-feng tao-jen [Lo P'ing]. Now as a present for having inscribed this handscroll, Liang-feng presents me with a Sung rubbing of *Tu-jeu ching* written by Ch'u Ho-nan [Ch'u Sui-liang] from the *Yüeh-chou Shih shih* edition. May 25, 1791. Written in the Eastern Chamber of the Shih-mo-shu-lou. Weng Fang-kang of Pei-p'ing."

Weng's colophon, with some minor changes and additions, appears in *Fu-ch'u-chai wen-chi, chüan* 32: 11b-13a.

In addition to the seals of the various calligraphers and those of the writers of colophons, there are affixed to the scroll seals of three modern Chinese collectors: Wu Hu-fan, Ma Chi-tso and Chiang Ku-sun.

The handscroll is recorded by Lu Hsin-yüan (1834-94) in his catalogue, *Jang-li-kuan kuo-yen lu* (1891), *chüan* 19: 5b-9b.



Section 2

10 *Admonishing in Chains* 11.235

Ming dynasty, 15th century

Handscroll; ink and color on silk

Height: 36.9 cm. (14 1/2 in.); length: 207.9 cm. (81 7/8 in.)

Narrative handscrolls depicting the exploits of meritorious ministers, loyal generals and paragons of filial piety, reflect the influence of the Confucian tradition. This painting represents a well-known historical incident dating from the fourth century A.D. in which the minister, Ch'en Yüan-ta, chained himself to a tree and admonished Liu Ts'ung (reigned 310-318), the Turkic ruler of the State of Han, for his extravagant plans to increase the buildings in the palace. Liu Ts'ung was so outraged at Ch'en's temerity that he ordered guards to take him away for execution. Only the courageous intervention of Liu Ts'ung's Chinese wife, Liu O, saved Ch'en Yüan-ta's life.

Liu Ts'ung was the fourth son of Liu Yüan (reigned 304-310), the first ruler of the State of Former Chao, one of the sixteen petty kingdoms which together were roughly contemporaneous with the Eastern Chin dynasty (317-419). Until 319 the kingdom was called Han because Kao-tsu (reigned 206-195 B.C.), the first emperor of the Han dynasty, had given a Chinese girl in marriage to the Turkic ancestor of Liu Yüan who in gratitude had taken the surname Liu after Han Kao-tsu. Liu Ts'ung succeeded his father in 310 through the simple expediency of assassinating his older brother, Liu Ho. Liu Ts'ung has been described as "the Attila of Chinese history," and his eight-year reign was marked by almost constant warfare. Nonetheless, he still found time to establish a formidable reputation for debauchery.

Ch'en Yüan-ta came from humble origins and led a life of seclusion until the age of 40, when he entered the service of Liu Yüan. During



Section 1

the reign of Liu Ts'ung, Ch'en was extremely friendly with Liu I, the Prime Minister, who provided him with protection in carrying out his duties as a Censor. Shortly after the death of Liu I, Ch'en committed suicide, believing that he could no longer remonstrate effectively with the emperor.

The composition of the painting is divided into three sections, each of which is characterized by quite different degrees of action. The artist was a consummate dramatist, and he wisely chose to illustrate the moment when Ch'en Yüan-ta made his accusation, but Liu Ts'ung's reaction to it. All of the figures in the first section are in violent motion. Ch'en Yüan-ta is clutching the tree as two guards try to remove his chains. Meanwhile two officials have prostrated themselves and are pleading that Ch'en be spared. Liu Ts'ung dominates the somewhat calmer central section of the composition. Slightly larger than the other figures, he is seated on a low broad stool and turns to look angrily toward the offending minister. Some indication of his pent-up rage is expressed in his glowering expression and his clenched left fist. And finally, in the serene third section, Liu Ts'ung's Chinese wife and her handmaidens move elegantly onto the scene. With tactful patience the queen points out that according to Confucian tradition, it is the duty of a meritorious minister to admonish his ruler, just as it is the duty of a ruler to heed such an admonition. To complete the handscroll, the artist added a group of rocks and shrubs. The modelling of the tree, shrubs and rock is quite similar to that in the handscroll attributed to Sun Wei (active late 9th century) in the Shanghai Museum (reproduced: Osvald Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*, vol. III, pls. 124-125).

Details such as the figures that open and close the composition as an elaborate tableau are familiar. A series of diagonals is used to relate the



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three principal persons who are the focal points of each sequence of the drama, but the total unity of the composition also depends upon both the gestures and glances of the individual figures. Such sophisticated, calculated handling of space goes far beyond the linear harmonies and simple juxtaposition of forms used by T'ang artists, or the more structural, logical space seen in Sung compositions. Later too, is the handling of brushwork in the drapery folds, which lacks the orderly, descriptive character of Sung.

There are two colophons appended at the end of the handscroll. The first, by Wang Chih-teng (1535-1612), can be rendered:

"There is recorded in the *T'ang-ch'ao ming-hua chi* [*sic.*] by Chang Yen-yüan, a painting entitled *So-chien t'u* by Yen Li-pen. Not until today when Mr. [Wu] K'ang-yü and his son brought it to the studio had I set eyes on the painting. Liu Ts'ung is of northern [Turkic] origin, and that is why he, the ministers, generals and aides in the painting have a rough countenance. The outlines are like bent wires, the colors quiet and archaistic, indicative of the legacy of Ku K'ai-chih. The painting is a rarity. Liu . . . a thick garment . . . is obstinately refusing to listen [to Ch'en Yüan-ra]. Ch'en Shu-ta [*sic.*] states his case with eloquence, not flinching from the swords which are being brandished before him. [The scene is] to some extent reminiscent of the story of Chu Yün breaking the balustrade [reproduced: *Ku-kung ming-hua san-pai chung*, no. 134]. Now the land is afflicted with ills and anxiety weighs heavily on the country, [one wonders if] the statesmen dare remonstrate with the emperor, as does the person in the painting. Signed Wang Chih-teng, master of the Kuang-ch'ang-an."

The second colophon, by Han Feng-hsi, can be rendered:

“This scroll was obtained from my good friend Wu K’ang-yü at the Yin-t’ai office in the old capital [Nanking] on the 13th day of the 8th month in the *kuei-ch’ou* year in the reign of Wan-li [September 26, 1613]. On that day those who viewed the painting with me were Chu Lan-yü, Yu Hsien-chang, Ts’ao Ming-tou and Ting Kung-ch’i. Signed Han Feng-hsi.”

The earliest seal affixed to the handscroll, the double *Cheng-ho* seal of Hui-tsung (reigned 1101-25) which appears on the left, is a later addition. A black seal, partially cut off, appears at the top left hand corner of the scroll. Unfortunately, the significant portions of the seal are missing. Also affixed on the handscroll are the seals of Wang Chih-teng, Han Feng-hsi, Chu Chih-ch’ih (late 16th-early 17th century), Liang Ch’ing-piao (1620-91), and the imperial seals of the Ch’ien-lung (reigned 1736-95) and Chia-ch’ing (reigned 1796-1820) emperors.

The handscroll bears a traditional attribution to Yen Li-pen. A painting of this title by Yen Li-pen is mentioned in various texts by title only: *T’u-hua chien-wen chih* (compiled in the 1070’s), *chüan* 1:5b; *Shan-hu-wang hua lu* (preface dated 1643), *chüan* 23:20b; *Shih-ku-t’ang shu-hua hui-k’ao* (completed 1682), p. 192; *P’ei-wen-chai shu-hua p’u* (published 1708), *chüan* 97:13a; *Chu-chia ts’ang-hua pu* (preface dated 1778), *chüan* 8:9b; and *San-yü-t’ang shu-hua mu* (late 19th century), *chüan* 2:1a. Since these texts provide no information other than the title, it is impossible to be certain that the painting referred to is the Freer handscroll or a different version.

More detailed information concerning a handscroll that appears to be the Freer version is in *Shu-hua chi* (completed ca. 1677), *chüan* 1:48. The author, Wu Ch’i-chen, notes that he had seen the painting in an antique shop in Suchou, in the possession of one Lu Erh-ch’üan. Somewhat more information is given in *P’ing-sheng chuang-kuan* (1692), *chüan* 6:15. The compiler, Ku Fu, points out that a painting entitled *So-chien t’u* is listed among the works of Ch’ang Ts’an in *Hsüan-ho hua-p’u* (1120), *chüan* 2:81. He goes on to say that although Wang Chih-teng’s colophon emphatically states that the painting is the work of Yen Li-pen, it does not have the spirit consonance of a T’ang dynasty artist. Nonetheless, Ku Fu was unwilling to reattribute the painting to Ch’ang Ts’an. Rather, he follows the attribution provided by Wang Chih-teng and lists the painting under Yen Li-pen’s name to await the opinion of others.

Exactly when the Freer handscroll became part of the Ch’ing imperial collection is difficult to determine, but it is recorded in *Shih-ch’ü pao-chi san-pien* (1816), pp. 1353-1354. The information provided by the entry corresponds in every detail with the Freer painting. Hu Ching saw the handscroll on July 11, 1815, while taking part in the compilation of *san-pien*, and he mentions the painting in his *Hsi Ch’ing cha chi*, p. 110.



Section 2

- 11** *Seven Scholars Going Through the Pass* 16.184
 Ming dynasty, 15th century
 Handscroll; ink and color on silk
 Height: 25.7 cm. (10 1/8 in.); length: 170.0 cm. (66 15/16 in.)

A group of seven men and their retainers casually wends its way through a wintry landscape along a river bank. The men ride mules, horses and an ox. They turn to talk with each other, some gesticulating for emphasis. There is no sense of urgency in their manner, and the bundles of scrolls, umbrellas and food utensils carried by the retainers suggest the men are on an outing.

Six of the seven men are dressed in white scholar's robes and wear large rectangular hats over dark shoulder-length hoods. The second equestrian figure is dressed in gray and wears a small black cap. He is accompanied by a servant who carries a large hat similar to those worn by the other six men.

Throughout the scroll the drawing is rigidly controlled and lacking in spontaneity. All of the figures are delineated with care, but the repetition of similar rounded strokes suggests that, instead of painting an original work, the artist was painstakingly copying a composition in which every detail had already been worked out. A similar competent blandness is evident in the texture strokes of the trees, rocks and shrubs.

The five-character title, written in seal-script and signed by Ch'eng Nan-yün (active early 15th century), can be rendered, *Seven Scholars Going Through the Pass*. Appended to the scroll are colophons by Chin Wen (dated 1429) and Lang T'ing-chi (dated 1705) in both of which the equestrian figures are identified as the seven scholars of the Chien-an period (A.D. 196-208). These well-known literati are Ts'ao Chih (192-232), Ch'en Lin (died 217), Wang Ts'an (177-217), Hsü Kan (171-218), Yüan Yü (died 212), Ying Yang (died 217) and Liu Chen (died 217).

Chin Wen's colophon discusses at length the question of the proper identification of the seven scholars. He states that 30 years previously, he had seen a similar painting which had a colophon by K'o Chiu-ssu (1312-65) identifying the figures as the seven scholars of Chien-an, a



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conclusion not contradicted by Chin Wen's own subsequent research.

Another version of this composition is in the National Palace Museum, Taiwan. In *Sbib-ch'ü pao-chi hsü-pien*, pp. 950-951, the Taiwan version is attributed to Li T'ang (ca. 1050-after 1130) and has a long colophon by K'o Chiu-ssu in which he mentions that earlier examples of the same theme were painted by Huang Ch'üan (ca. 900-965) and Li Kung-lin (ca. 1049-1106). In *Ku-kung shu-hua lu (chüan 8:34)*, the handscroll is among the *chien-mu* paintings.

Yet another example of the composition, this one attributed to the T'ang dynasty painter Han Huang (723-787), is recorded in *Sbib-ch'ü pao-chi hsü-pien*, pp. 2636-38. According to *Ku-kung i-i shu-chi shu-hua mu-lu ssu-chung* (Peking, 1934), p. 7a, the painting was taken from the Imperial Palace in 1921; its present whereabouts is unknown. The entry in *hsü-pien* describes a composition similar to that of the Freer handscroll, with the exception that there are no landscape details. Five of the figures on the scroll are identified as being the T'ang dynasty literati Sung Chih-wen (died ca. 713), Ts'ui Hao (died 754), Shih Pai, Li Po (699-762), and Kao Shih (died 765). In a colophon added to the scroll, the Ch'ien-lung emperor (reigned 1736-95) suggested that the two unidentified figures might be Wang Wei (699-759) and Ts'en Shen (active ca. 760). Some question still remains as to the identity of the seven men. The editors of *hsü-pien* present a number of possibilities without making any decision as to which one is the most plausible.

A painting entitled *Seven Scholars* is listed after Han Huang's biography in *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u* (preface 1120), *chüan 6*, and it is possible that Han was one of the first artists to depict this particular theme. It is worthy of note that the composition was so well-known that it continued to be copied by later artists even though the precise identification of the seven scholars was uncertain.

Like the version attributed to Han Huang, the composition of the National Palace Museum handscroll consists only of the seven scholars and their servants, with no indication of landscape. Comparison of the painting styles and the colophons of the Freer and the Palace Museum paintings suggests that the latter is a late sixteenth-century copy of an



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early composition. The Chin Wen colophon on the Freer handscroll, which appears to be genuine, provides a *terminus ante quem* for the execution of the scroll, a date that is consistent with the style of the figures and the landscape details.



12 *Hsiao I Obtaining the Lan-t'ing Manuscript by Trickery* 10.6
 Ming dynasty, 16th century
 Handscroll; ink and color on paper
 Height: 24.6 cm. (9 11/16 in.); length: 77.1 cm. (30 3/8 in.)

The story of Hsiao I obtaining the Lan-t'ing manuscript from the monk Pien-ts'ai is so well known that it is not surprising that the subject has often been depicted in painting. One of the earliest compositions still extant is a handscroll in the National Palace Museum, Taiwan, attributed to the T'ang artist Yen Li-pen (died 673). That painting has been discussed at length by Han Chuang (John Hay) in his article, "Hsiao I Gets the Lan-t'ing Manuscript by a Confidence Trick," *National Palace Museum Bulletin*, Part I, vol. V, no. 3 (July-August, 1970), pp. 1-13; Part II, vol. V, no. 6 (January-February, 1971), pp. 1-17.

Two versions closely related to the Freer handscroll are known. One of these, attributed to Chao Lin (mid 14th century), is in the Drenowatz collection, Zurich (reproduced: Chu-ting Li, "Orientalia Helvetica: Chinese Paintings in the Charles A. Drenowatz Collection," *Asiatische Studien*, vol. XXI [1967], pl. 1. The other, attributed to Chao Meng-fu (1254-1322), was formerly in the Ting Nien-sheng collection, Taiwan (reproduced: *Hsin-i-lin*, vol. I, no. 2).

At the end of the Freer handscroll, in the lower corner, is a seal reading *Shun-chü*. On the basis of that seal the painting has traditionally been attributed to Ch'ien Hsüan (ca. 1235-after 1300). The seal is a later addition and there is no reason to accept the Ch'ien Hsüan attribution. The brushwork suggests that the painting is actually a Ming dynasty work.

Appended to the end of the Freer handscroll is the text of the Lan-t'ing preface written by Wen Cheng-ming (1470-1559), dated in correspondence with 1553. There is also an inscription by Wang Wan (1624-91), dated 1671. According to the information in this inscription, the painting had previously been in the collection of Mao K'un (1512-1601) and of Chi Tung (1625-76). A year before his death, Wang Wan added a second colophon dated 1690.

Affixed to the scroll are seals of the Ch'ing dynasty collector, Liu Shu (1759-1816).



13 *Man Cleaning His Ear* 11.486
Ming dynasty (1368-1644)
Handscroll; ink and color on silk
Height: 31.5 cm. (12 3/8 in.); length: 42.3 cm. (16 5/8 in.)

A scholar is seated behind a marble-topped table on which are laid brush, ink, inkstone, paper and books. He pauses in his work to clean his ear and to glance at the servant who enters the composition at the extreme right. Books, a stringed instrument, zither and tripods, one of which is filled with peaches, are arranged on two tables at the left. The background is completely filled by a large standing screen on which is painted a landscape. The hooked accents of the rectilinear mountain forms in the landscape are characteristic of landscapes of the Che school. The drapery folds in the robes of the scholar and servant are drawn with considerable skill, but the total effect of the painting is that of a later, careful copy of an early composition. There are no seals or colophons attached to the handscroll.

Some questions concerning the correct title of the Freer painting re-

main. In his *Ni-ku lu* (ca. 1635; *I-shu ts'ung-pien* edition, no. 253, p. 208) Ch'en Chi-ju (1558-1639) mentions a similar composition by Li Kung-lin (ca. 1049-1106). That entry reads, "Han [Shih-neng, 1528-98] the *T'ai-shih* has a painting by Li Po-shih in which a man is shown picking his ear. On the screen [in the scroll] is a fine landscape [painted] in the style of Wang Wei. Following the painting there are colophons by Tzu-yu [Su Che, 1039-1112], Tung-p'o [Su Shih, 1036-1101] and Wang Shen [second half of the 11th century]. The figure in the painting represents Chin-ch'ing [Wang Shen], who suddenly had an ear ache. Consequently, Tung-p'o wrote a poem making fun of him and Lung-mien painted this as an illustration. All of this is found in *Tung-p'o chi* [Su Tung-p'o *ch'uan chi*, *chüan* 17, pp. 234-35]. Hui-tsung inscribed the title of the painting as *K'au-shu t'u* ["Collating Texts"], but that is erroneous. Ku Hu-t'ou [Ku K'ai-chih] is traditionally said to have painted a *K'an-shu t'u*. Tung Kuang-ch'uan [Tung Yu, active late 11th-early 12th century] regarded it highly, as can be learned from [his] colophon on the painting."

Tung Yu's colophon on the version of *K'an-shu t'u* attributed to Ku K'ai-chih is recorded in his *Kuang-ch'uan hua pa* (*Wang shih shu-hua yüan* edition, *chüan* 3:48a-49a).

Further details of Su Tung-p'o's poem are given by Chao Ling-chih (1051-1107) in his *Hou-cheung lu* (*Chih-pu-tsu-chai tsung-shu* edition, *chüan* 3:7b). "Once Wang Chin-ch'ing suddenly had an ear ache. When the pain became unbearable, he appealed to me for a prescription [to relieve it]. I replied, 'You are the descendent of a general and even if your head were severed or your breast pierced, you should not mind. How then could two ears be of such importance that you cannot part with them? If in three days the pain is not gone you may cut off my ears.' Chin-ch'ing understood me in an instant. In three days the pain was cured and so I wrote a poem:

With the anxious heart of an old woman, I was urgently exhorted,
Under strict orders, I obtained only three days' grace.
But my ears were not hacked off by the perspicacious Sire,
And now happily the two of us are on good terms."

A painting of the same subject as the Freer handscroll but entitled *K'an-shu t'u* is mentioned in a number of Chinese texts. A similar composition, attributed to Wang Ch'i-han (active 10th century) of the Southern T'ang, is reproduced in *T'ang Sung Yüan Ming Ch'ing hua hsüan* (Canton, 1963), pl. 2, and in *Wen-wu*, 1960, no. 10, p. 61. Han Ko, the author of the *Wen-wu* article, accepts the painting as a genuine work by Wang Ch'i-han and reports that it is in the collection of the Nanking University Library.

The Nanking version has a title, *K'an-shu t'u*, and the attribution,

Wang Ch'i-ban miao pi, written in "slender gold" script and bears imperial seals of the Nan T'ang and of Sung Hui-tsong. There is a colophon by Su Che, dated in correspondence with February 1, 1091, and one by Su Shih, dated June 21, 1091, that is virtually identical with the one recorded by Chao Ling-chih in *Hou-cheng lu*. There are also colophons by Wang Shen, Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555-1636) and Wen Chen-meng (1574-1636). Recent owners of the painting were Tuan-fang (1861-1911) and John C. Ferguson (1866-1945), who describes it in his book, *Chinese Painting*, p. 82.

Max Loehr has discussed some problems relating to various versions of this composition in his article, "Chinese Paintings with Sung Dated Inscriptions," *Ars Orientalis*, vol. IV (1961), pp. 235-36.



14 *Literary Gathering* 16.183
 Ch'ing dynasty, 17th century
 Handscroll; ink and color on silk
 Height: 31.4 cm. (12 3/8 in.); length: 53.7 cm. (21 1/8 in.)

Four scholars and a servant are depicted in a garden, engaged in literary activities. Drapery folds, rocks and trees are defined with mannered, undulating brush strokes of the type usually referred to as *chan-pi*, or "tremulous brush," traditionally associated with Li Yü (reigned 961-976), the last ruler of Southern T'ang, and with his court painter, Chou Wen-chü (active 961-975). By leaving a narrow border of plain silk between the ink outline and the wash, and by slightly darkening the tone of the wash along those edges, the artist increased the two-dimensional effect of the drapery.

The composition of the Freer scroll is closely related to that of a painting in the Palace Museum, Peking (reproduced: Oswald Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*, vol. III, pl. 102). The Peking version is attributed to Han Huang (723-787), and bears the imperial seals of Southern T'ang, of Sung Hui-tsung (reigned 1101-26) and of Sung Kao-tsung (reigned 1127-62). There is an inscription on the Peking painting written in "slender gold" script, "The *Literary Gathering* by Han Huang, *ting-hai* year [1107], imperial calligraphy," followed by an imperial cypher. However, the painting is not recorded in *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u* (preface dated 1120).

The first record of a painting by Han Huang with the title *Literary*

Gathering appears to be the one in *Sung Chung-hsing-kuan-ko ch'u-t's'ang t'u-bua chi*, a catalogue of the Southern Sung imperial collection compiled in 1199. This record is quoted in *P'ei-wen-chai shu-bua p'u* (1708), *chüan* 97:6a.

Chan Ching-feng (16th century), in his *Tung-t'u hsiian-lan pien*, pp. 43-44, records seeing two versions of the painting: "A figure painting in the collection of Kuo Heng-chih of Szechwan. Hui-tsung had written the title *Literary Gathering* before the painting, and at the end he had inscribed 'by Han Huang of the T'ang dynasty.' Looking at the painting, I realized that it depicted the story of the gathering of Ch'ien Chung-wen [Ch'ien Ch'i], Liu Ch'ang-ch'ing [both prominent literary figures active in the mid 8th century], and others at the Liu-li Hall. Presumably Han Huang painted the event at the time. Li Po-shih's painting of the *Elegant Gathering at the Western Garden* must have been an imitation of this. The paper of the painting is in good condition, without damage, as though it were a product of the last ten or twenty years. It is indeed a treasure . . . [here follows a description of the painting which makes it clear that it is a short version containing only four scholars]. . . Heng-chih's name is Ch'ü-chieh. He is generous in spirit and knowledgeable. Most of the things in his collection are good. He is among the exceptional people in Szechwan. Two years later, I saw another painting at the home of Mr. Kuan the *Hui-shih* in my home district. Its composition is identical to this one, and the brushwork is even finer. It is on silk, and its condition is equally good. It is unsigned, and those who wrote the colophons did not know who the artist was. There was a six-character title, *Liu-li t'ang wen-yüan t'u* ['Literary Gathering at Liu-li Hall'] at the beginning."

It should be noted that the first painting described by Chan Ching-feng, the one in Kuo Ch'ü-chieh's collection, was done on paper. The Peking version is on silk, but it also bears two seals purporting to be those of Kuo Ch'ü-chieh. Thus, there were at least two paintings, one on paper and the other on silk, bearing the same inscription purporting to be from Sung Hui-tsung's hand, as well as the same seals.

The Peking version was originally in the Ch'ien-lung emperor's collection where it was mounted as an album leaf. Apparently it was missing from that collection and was subsequently secured by the Hui-hua-kuan and is now mounted as a handscroll.

T'ao Liang's catalogue, *Hung-tou-shu-kuan shu-bua chi* (preface 1836), records a painting on silk by Han Huang which appears to be the same as the Peking version. However, it does not record any seals of Kuo Ch'ü-chieh. T'ao Liang states that a painting entitled *Seven Scholars* by Han Huang is mentioned by Sung Lien (1310-81) in his *Ch'ien-ch'i chi*.

All of this information supports the impression that both the Freer

and Peking versions are incomplete. The original composition, depicting seven scholars, a monk and three servants in an outdoor setting, is preserved in a painting in the collection of Mrs. John D. Riddell, London (reproduced: Ti P'ing-tzu, *Chung-kuo ming-hua chi*, Shanghai, 1909; and partially reproduced in color in *Encyclopedia of World Art*, New York, 1960, vol. III, pl. 268). That painting, entitled *Figures in the Liu-li Hall*, is attributed to Chou Wen-chü (active 10th century). A painting by that title attributed to Chou Wen-chü is recorded in *Hsüan-bo hua-p'u* (preface 1120). Precise identification of the literary figures, whose gathering at the Liu-li Hall these paintings are supposed to depict, is not yet possible.



15 *A Scene from the Romance of the Western Chamber* 16.517
Ch'ing dynasty, 18th century

Hanging scroll; ink and color on silk

Height: 198.5 cm. (78 1/8 in.); width: 130.6 cm. (51 1/2 in.)

The painting depicts the main characters from the Yüan dynasty drama *Hsi-hsiang chi* ("The Romance of the Western Chamber"). Ts'ui Ying-ying, the heroine of the drama, leans on a black and gold lacquer table and turns to receive the flower offered by Chang Chün-jui, to whom she is secretly betrothed. Chang Chün-jui is seated with one knee casually hanging over the arm of an elaborately wrought bamboo chair. At the right of the composition stands Hung Niang, the faithful maid and matchmaker.

The white oval faces, small mouths and elaborate coiffures of the two women belong to a conservative, academic tradition of Chinese figure painting that began as early as the Tang dynasty. The tradition has been continued right up the present day by a number of artists who, by training or by inclination, preferred to work in the technically demanding genre. Figure paintings of this type provide a sharp contrast with contemporary literati traditions.

To the left, behind the foreground plane occupied by the three figures, a large circular window opens into a richly furnished room. The porcelain objects and the furniture shown in the foreground and in the room beyond are mostly in the elaborate and intricate style usually associated with the K'ang-hsi (1662-1722) and Yung-cheng (1723-35) periods. Consequently, the painting is dated to the eighteenth century. By a curious bit of chronological *leger-de-main* the painting was at one time attributed to the tenth-century master Chou Wen-chü.

As is typical of later Chinese figure painting, the textile designs are meticulously rendered, but shown as if they were flat planes. On top of the designs the artist subsequently added lines which suggest rather than actually define drapery folds. The various textures of the other objects in the painting, bamboo, lacquer, jade and bronze, are all carefully presented.

Although the focus of the painting is meant to be the poignant exchange between the young lovers, the gesture is overshadowed by the painstaking detail with which the artist has represented every element in the composition. Consequently, the gesture of the two figures has become mannered, even theatrical, and their faces vacant of expression. Technically the painting is of an extremely high order, but the figures are totally devoid of emotion. After all, it was not emotion but technical dexterity that was uppermost in the artist's mind.

It should be noted that figure paintings of this type, which were based on popular dramas or novels, were closely related to woodblock illustrations. All of the details represented in the painting could have been

translated onto woodblocks for printing. Conversely, the painting might conceivably have been enlarged from a book illustration. Even though the story of *Hsi-hsiang chi* was originally set in the T'ang dynasty, the figure styles, costumes and household furnishing are typical of the Ch'ing dynasty.



Detail of 16.517

大悲救苦水月觀音菩薩



持花供養菩薩



Vertical column of Chinese text, likely a prayer or inscription.



Sung dynasty, dated 968

Hanging scroll; ink and color on silk

Height: 107.1 cm. (42 3/16 in.); width: 59.1 cm. (23 1/4 in.)

The inscription in the upper left corner of the painting reads, "In adoration of the greatly compassionate deliverer from misery, Kuan-yin Bodhisattva of the Water Moon." Kuan-yin is depicted seated in a lotus throne beneath a floral baldachin. Clothed in richly colored garments and wearing ornate jewelry, he holds a *kalasa* flask in his pendant left hand and a willow branch in his right. There is an image of Amitabha in his headdress. Two worshipping Bodhisattvas flank the low altar beneath Kuan-yin. The inscription above each of the Bodhisattva is, "Bodhisattva holding flowers and worshipping." The bright mineral pigment of the halos and the draperies of all three figures is characteristic of that found on Buddhist icons of the period. The bold bands of color on the drapery reflect the influence of Central Asian techniques.

In the lower register, the donors and beneficiaries of the pious offering are depicted on either side of the central inscription. The inscriptions that identify each of the four figures are badly defaced, making it impossible to decipher them in their entirety. However, it is clear that the two women kneeling on the left were both surnamed Yin; the smaller standing to the right of the inscription was a concubine. The elaborate headdresses worn by the women, their whitened faces and brilliantly colored beauty patches provide a faithful record of tenth-century feminine fashions.

The long inscription in the center of the lower register is also much defaced and, to a considerable extent, obliterated; but the date remains legible and can be rendered, "*yü shih K'ai-pao yüan-nien sui-tz'u wu-ch'eu wu-yüeh kuei-wu suo shih-wu jih ting-yu t'i-chi*," which corresponds with June 13, 968.

A description of the Water Moon Kuan-yin first appears in the Hua-yen Sūtra. According to tradition, the Tang dynasty artist Chou Fang (active ca. 780-810) is said to have painted the first images of this type of Kuan-yin. *Li-tai ming-hua chi* (completed 847), *chüan* 3, records that Chou Fang painted a Kuan-yin of the Water Moon in the Sheng-kuang temple at Ch'ang-an. The terse description given in *Li-tai ming-hua chi* states only that the Kuan-yin was seated before a halo and that some bamboo was included in the composition.

None of Chou Fang's works has survived. However, four examples of the Kuan-yin, generally dated to the ninth century, were found at Tun-huang and seem to be the earliest examples extant. Two of the paintings are in the British Museum, the other two in the Musée Guimet. The Freer version is also said to have come from Tun-huang, a prove-

nance supported by stylistic comparisons and chemical analysis of the pigments. At the same time, it should be pointed out that the Freer Kuan-yin is shown frontally, in an extremely hieratic pose, with no hint of the informality that characterizes the four earlier versions. The hieratic arrangement was to become even more apparent in later representations.



17 *Illustration of a Buddhist Sūtra* 26.1

Sung dynasty, 12th century

Handscroll; ink, color and gold on paper

Height: 28.0 cm. (11 in.); length: 52.4 cm. (20 5/8 in.)

The handscroll depicts a Buddhist assembly on a raised platform defined by balustrades and a flight of steps. Sakyamuni, with hands in *abhaya* and *varamudrā*, is seated on a lotus throne before a flaming halo. From behind the elaborate halo, bands of light radiate in all directions. Apsaras flank either side of the elaborate baldachin, their trailing scarves as well as the stylized clouds merging with the blossoms and foliage of four background trees. The Buddha is attended on the left by a young monk (Ananda?), and there appears to have been another monk (Kasyapa?) on the right, although that part of the painting is badly damaged. Kneeling in adoration before the small altar is the richly-clad figure of Yamaraja (Chinese: Yen-lo wang). Standing in attendance on the Buddha are a host of Bodhisattvas and the four Guardian Kings. A peacock strolls in the foreground, while two cranes fly in the distance beyond the balustrade. A range of mountains and a crescent moon are sketched in an indefinite space. In the foreground at opposite ends of the composition are pairs of figures, slightly smaller than the members of the Buddhist assembly. They are rendered in outline only, in contrast to the rich gold of the celestial figures. The man and woman at the beginning of the composition may represent the donors mentioned in the label at the right; the two attendants, each holding a long-handled fan and standing at the foot of the steps leading to the altar, may have been added merely to balance the composition.

Although the inscription to the left of the illustration reads: *Nan-mu mieh-cheng-pao Shib-chia-mo-ni fo-hui* ("Assembly for the Adoration of Sakyamuni Buddha who Nullified Direct Retribution"), the traditional title of the Freer scroll is *The Buddha Addressing Yamaraja at Kusinagara*. The latter title is based on the *sūtra Yü-hsiu shih-wang sheng-ch'i ching* (Mochizuki Shinjō, *Bukkyō daijiten*, Tokyo, 1936, pp. 4939-40), which describes Yamaraja's meeting with Sakyamuni at Kusinagara shortly before the Nirvana. A fragment of the same *sūtra* in the British Museum is illustrated by Matsumoto Eiichi in *Tonkō-ga no kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1937), pl. 114; a complete version of the *sūtra* in the Hōjuin, on Koyasan, is reproduced in *Taishō Shinsbū Daizōkyō Zurō* (Tokyo, 1933), vol. 7, *chüan* 7.

The opening passages from the *Yü-hsiu shih-wang sheng-ch'i ching* are mounted on end papers following the illustration. The fourth line of the text provides the name of Ts'ang-ch'uan, a monk who is considered to have been the author of the *sūtra*. Little is known about Ts'ang-ch'uan other than that he is supposed to have lived during the T'ang dynasty and was attached to the Ta-tz'u Temple in Ch'eng-tu, Szechwan. Because the Ta-tz'u Temple was erected during the Chih-te period (756-757), a number of the later writers whose colophons are appended to the Freer handscroll have suggested that the painting might be a late T'ang dynasty work. Although the painting is not signed, the possibility was raised that the illustration might have been executed by Chu Yu, a late T'ang master who specialized in Buddhist and Taoist themes. However, comparison of the Freer scroll with the long handscroll of Buddhist images in the National Palace Museum, Taiwan, supports a twelfth-century date for both works. This relationship was suggested almost forty years ago by Helen B. Chapin in her study of the Palace Museum painting. Her original text has been revised by Alexander C. Soper and published by Artibus Asiae as *A Long Roll of Buddhist Images* (Ascona, 1972). The calligraphy of the inscriptions and in the initial section of the *sūtra* on the Freer scroll is extremely close to that found on sections of the Palace Museum scroll. Equally similar are such details on the two paintings as the individual figures, the distant mountains and the trees. These similarities support a twelfth-century date for the Freer scroll and raise the distinct possibility that it may also have been painted in the Ta-li Kingdom, which was located in Yunnan province.

Following the painting are colophons by a number of late Ch'ing dynasty connoisseurs: Weng Fang-kang (1733-1818); Wu Chao, dated October 20, 1800; Hsieh Ch'i-k'un (1737-1802); Wu Jung-kuang (1773-1843), dated April 13, 1821; Cheng Tsu-ch'en; Tuan-fang (1861-1911), dated February 8-March 9, 1902; Yang Shou-ching (1839-1911), dated 1905; Chou Yün; Li Shang-ch'uan, dated January 8, 1908;

Kuo Pao-heng, dated January 4-February 1, 1908; Wang Ping-en, dated 1908; Wang Chao-ch'üan, dated April 30-May 29, 1908; Fan Tseng-hsiang (1846-1931), dated May 18, 1912; and Hsin Yao-wen, dated January 3, 1914.

The information included in these colophons indicates that the scroll had been presented to the K'ai-hsien Temple, which is located on the southern slope of Mount Lu in Kiangsi province, by Sung Lo (1634-1713). As late as 1821, when Wu Jung-kuang saw the scroll, it was still in the temple. Cheng Tsu-ch'en mentions having the scroll remounted, a process that must have been completed before the next colophon was added on June 5, 1837. Tuan-fang, writing in 1902, records that the painting was then in the collection of I Shun-ting (ca. 1858-1920). All of the subsequent colophons appended to the scroll were written at I Shun-ting's request.



Loban Laundering

18 *Lohan Laundering* 02.224
By Lin T'ing-kuei
Sung dynasty, dated 1178
Hanging scroll; ink and color on silk
Height: 111.8 cm. (44 in.); width: 53.1 cm. (20 7/8 in.)

19 *The Rock Bridge at Mount T'ien-t'ai* 07.139
By Chou Chi-ch'ang
Sung dynasty, dated 1178
Hanging scroll; ink and color on silk
Height: 109.4 cm. (43 1/16 in.); width: 52.4 cm. (20 5/8 in.)

Lohan Laundering illustrates a scene in the daily life of the Buddhist disciples. Five Lohan and a servant are shown washing clothes and hanging them out to dry. With the exception of the grotesque visage of the servant, the facial features of the Lohan are distinctly Chinese, reflecting the more realistic tradition associated with Li Kung-lin (ca. 1049-1106). The brush strokes which define the drapery folds are angular and end in abrupt, widened hooks. In contrast to the brilliantly colored figures, the somber landscape is rendered in ink and slight washes of color. The rough-hewn rocks are barren and the tree trunks are gnarled. The water of the stream plunges in a zigzag pattern until it reaches the foreground. In spite of the movement implied in the landscape, all of the action takes place within a narrow stage space. No attempt was made to suggest infinite space and the viewer progresses from foreground to a shallow middle distance in clearly indicated, relatively abrupt transitions.

The brooding turbulence of the landscape contrasts with the calm methodical activities of the Lohan. The painting is actually an uneven combination of two traditions. The brightly colored figures are related to a decorative tradition dating back to earliest examples of figure painting. The landscape, on the other hand, is executed in a complex artistic vocabulary that includes ink washes, outlines and ink dabs, or *ts'um*, all of which suggest the various textures and surfaces in nature. It is a summary of achievements in Chinese landscape up to the twelfth century, and although the subject is Buddhist, the painting, dating precisely to 1178, is of singular importance in documenting the development of landscape traditions in China.

The miracle at the *Rock Bridge at Mount T'ien-t'ai* depicts three Lohan in the right foreground turning to watch the minute figure of the devout monk T'an-yu, who is attempting unsuccessfully to cross the natural rock bridge located about 50 miles south of Ning-po. So persistent was he in his efforts that he was finally vouchsafed a momen-



The Rock Bridge at Mount T'ien-t'ai

tary vision of paradise. The vision of a cluster of colonnaded buildings and two Lohan appears wreathed in clouds in the upper right corner of the painting. Here again, the disparity between the treatment of the figural and landscape traditions is obvious. The artist has cleverly manipulated the clouds and rocks within a relatively shallow space and yet still succeeds in describing the miracle.

The two paintings originally belonged to a set of one hundred scrolls representing five hundred Lohan. According to the inscriptions, written in gold on the paintings, the set was commissioned in 1175 by Abbot I-shao of the Hui-an-yüan in Ning-po, Chekiang. The paintings were completed in 1178. The names of the two artists who painted the scrolls, Lin T'ing-kuei and Chou Chi-ch'ang, are mentioned in the inscriptions. The two men are not recorded elsewhere and it would seem that they were artisans who worked in one of the ateliers in the Ning-po area that specialized in Buddhist painting.

Japanese monks traveling to China for study or to visit the great temples and monasteries usually came by way of the port of Ning-po. Consequently, during late Sung and Yüan times the city became increasingly important in the exchange of Chinese and Japanese culture. Many Buddhist paintings from the workshops in the Chekiang area were taken back to Japan by returning monks. Apparently the complete set of one hundred paintings by Lin T'ing-kuei and Chou Chi-ch'ang was taken to Japan in the thirteenth century and was deposited in the Jufukuji at Kamakura. The paintings were subsequently transferred to Sōunji at Hakone, and then in 1590, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-98) presented them to Hōkōji in Kyoto. Later the paintings became the property of Daitokuji, the great Zen temple in Kyoto.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the Daitokuji was in need of funds for repairs, and the paintings were used as a collateral for a loan. In 1894 Ernest Fenollosa arranged a special exhibition in which 44 of the paintings were shown at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Ten of those paintings were purchased by the Museum of Fine Arts. As an expression of gratitude, the Japanese presented one of the 44 paintings to Fenollosa, who subsequently sold it to Charles L. Freer in 1902 (02.224). In 1907 while in Tokyo, Mr. Freer acquired another of the paintings from the set (07.139). The relationship of the two paintings in the Freer collection to those in the Museum of Fine Arts and to those still remaining in the Daitokuji was studied in detail by Wen Fong in his monograph, *The Lohans and a Bridge to Heaven* (Washington, D.C., 1958).



Section 2

20

Sixteen Lohan 60.1
Attributed to Fan-lung (12th century)
Sung dynasty
Handscroll; ink on paper
Height: 30.5 cm. (12 in.); length: 1062.5 cm. (418 in.)

Sixteen Lohan, some depicted as venerable teachers with their disciples and lay worshippers, others shown in secluded glades or remote grottoes, are arranged in a series of independent compositions. The artist has rendered the individual figures and the elaborate details of costume and furniture with unusually fine brushwork. Throughout the handscroll the brushwork is rigidly controlled, with the result that the figures are somewhat lacking in spontaneity. Consequently, it is the accumulation of intricate detail rather than the individual personality of each figure that ultimately is the more important feature. Possibly the considerable amount of retouching apparent throughout the handscroll is one reason for the weakening of character and expression in the figures.

The handscroll is traditionally attributed to the monk Fan-lung, a native of Chekiang province who worked in the Li Kung-lin (ca. 1049-1106) tradition. In his *Hua-chien* (compiled 1320's), T'ang Hou described Fan-lung's figures as somewhat lacking in spirit. Kao-tsung (reigned 1127-62) is said to have been especially appreciative of Fan-lung's work and to have written many colophons on his paintings.

There are five colophons appended to the handscroll. The first one, by the distinguished Ch'an monk, Chung-feng ming-pen (1263-1325), is written in his characteristic informal, broad-stroked calligraphy. After describing and praising the painting, Ming-pen added a postscript, "Lao-



Section 1

pieu t'i-tien stores this painting in his sack. One day after meditation he brought this out to show me and asked me to inscribe after the painting. Respectfully written by Ming-pen, the old priest who resides at the Hsi-t'ien-mu shan." The second colophon is signed "T'ieh-ch'uan chü-shih for I-mo." Neither of these persons is identified, but they were probably contemporaries of Ming-pen. The third colophon is signed "Hsing-tuan." He was the Ch'an monk Hsing-tuan (1255-1341), whose *tsu* was Yüan-sou and whose *hao* was Han-shih li-jen.

The fourth colophon, by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555-1636), reads, "Viewed on board a boat at Wu-chiu on the first day of the tenth month in the *kwei-hai* year, the third year of T'ien-ch'i [October 24, 1623]." The fifth colophon, by Lu Shih-hua (1714-99), can be rendered, "This painting is the *Ying-chen hsien-hsiang t'u* by the Sung dynasty monk Fan-lung. In the past it was valued as highly as the *Shih-lin lo-han tu-shui t'u*. The latter painting was in the collection of Kao the *chan-shih* [Kao Shih-ch'i, 1645-1704]. It is on silk and is inferior to this one. Fan-lung's *tsu* was Mou-tsung. He lived at Ch'ing-shan in Wu-hsing [Chekiang] and was much favored by Kao-tsung. T'ing-sung shan-jen, Lu Shih-hua, *kwei-ssu ch'ung-chün jih* [October 24, 1773]."

Two handscrolls of Lohan by Fan-lung are recorded by Lu Shih-hua in *Wu-yüeh so-chien shu-hua lu* (completed 1776), and one of these (*chüan* 1:25a-27a) appears to be the Freer scroll. The barely legible inscription on the scroll, written unobtrusively on some rocks towards the end of the painting, is recorded by Lu Shih-hua as being *Fan-lung ch'ing-hsieh* ("respectfully painted by Fan-lung"). Lu also records the five colophons and the seals *Pieh-sheng*, *T'ieb-ch'uan*, *Yüan-sou*, *Han-*



Section 4

shih li-jen, *Tung Ch'i-ch'ang yin*, and *Tsuan-hsiu liang-ch'ao shih lu*. On the Freer scroll, there are additional seals of Lu Shih-hua, Tsung Yüan-han (a Ch'ing dynasty official), and Chang Heng (1915-63).

All of the other entries in Ferguson's *Li-tai chu-lu hua-tsu* referring to Lohan paintings by Fan-lung relate to a handscroll depicting sixteen Lohan crossing the sea. The handscroll was once in the collection of Wang Shih-chen (1526-90) and was later owned by Kao Shih-ch'i. This is the painting referred to by Lu Shih-hua in his colophon on the Freer handscroll. The painting bore colophons by Ch'ien Hsüan (ca. 1235-after 1300), Feng Ko, Jo-lan, Ju-chi and Ch'en Chi-ju (1558-1639).

For another version of the Freer painting, see *Tōsō genmin meiga taikan* (1929), pl. 61. Although not fully illustrated, the painting appears to have the same composition, but is there attributed to Ma Hōchih (active 12th century).



Section 3



Section 5

夜半見明星山中添冷
话脚未出山来此话行
天下象觀一切衆生成
佛多怖只有你這老
子行欠怖在

太白西巖



21 *Sakyamuni Emerging from the Mountain* 65.9

Attributed to Hu Chih-fu

Sung dynasty, 13th century

Hanging scroll; ink on paper

Height: 92.0 cm. (36 1/4 in.); width: 31.7 cm. (12 1/2 in.)

During the Northern Sung period, as Ch'an Buddhism assumed increasing importance, Chinese artists showed renewed interest in those themes relating to the life of Sakyamuni, the historical Buddha. A number of new themes, evidently innovations by Chinese artists, appeared at the same time. One of these new themes is Sakyamuni emerging from the mountain.

The earliest paintings depicting this subject mentioned in Chinese texts date from the Northern Sung period. At least one painting of the subject by Li Kung-lin (ca. 1049-1106) is recorded, and it is conceivable that he may have been among the first to paint the new theme. The earliest extant version of the subject is the scroll by Liang K'ai (active early 13th century), now in the Shima collection.

In the Freer painting Sakyamuni's emaciated body is bent, his head thrust forward as he gazes intently before him. Only his facial features, curly hair and beard are rendered with any concern for precise detail. His torso, arms and feet, as well as his wind-blown robe, are handled in a cursory, even crude, manner.

Precise interpretation of the theme is still uncertain. The subject has been discussed in considerable detail by Helmut Brinker in his article entitled, "Shussan Shaka in Sung and Yuan Painting," *Ars Orientalis*, vol. IX (1973), pp. 21-39. One iconographical detail of particular interest is the way Sakyamuni's raised hands are invariably hidden by his robe, rather than being shown in one of the orthodox *mūdra*. Dietrich Seckel, in "Shakyamunis Rückkehr aus den Bergen," *Asiatische Studien/Études Asiatiques*, vols. XVI-XIX (1965), pp. 35-72, has presented a convincing argument for interpreting the hidden hands of Sakyamuni as being symbolic of the silent attainment of the ultimate truth and the potential for its wordless transmission.

The Freer painting has traditionally been attributed to Hu Chih-fu, a Chinese artist about whom little is known. His name is recorded in *Kundaikan soeboki*, a late fifteenth-century compilation listing those painters whose works were in the collection of the Ashikaga Shogun. A painting by an artist named Hu Chih is listed in *Yen shih shu-bua chi*, a list of the collection of the notorious minister Yen Sung (1480-1565) compiled by Wen Chia (1501-83). It is possible that the entries in both compilations refer to the same artist.

The inscription at the top of the Freer painting can be rendered:

"At midnight he saw the morning star.

In the mountains his austere words had increased,
And even before his feet had emerged from the mountain,
These words were prevalent in the world.
I observe that among all living [creatures, those who]
Are born to become Buddhas are increasing with time.
There is only you, old fellow,
Who has still not attained *satori*.
[Signed] Hsi-yen liao-hui of [Mount] T'ai-po."

Affixed after the signature are two seals: *Hsi-yen* and *Liao-hui*.

The inscription by Hsi-yen liao-hui (1198-1262) on the Freer scroll, in which he wryly comments on his own inability to attain *satori*, provides a *terminus ad quem* of 1262 for the execution of the painting.

According to Ch'en Yüan's *Shih shih i-nien lu* (Peking, 1964), p. 292, Hsi-yen liao-hui was a Ch'an monk who resided in T'ien-t'ung Temple on Mount T'ai-po in Chekiang province. He was a native of Szechwan province and his secular name was Lo. Hsi-yen liao-hui served as abbot of the temple and must have retired in or before 1260, because in a written document dated to the mid-summer of that year, he used the phrase, "Formerly [in residence] at Mount T'ai-po."

夜半見明星山中添冷
話脚未出山來此話行
天下乘觀一切衆生成
佛多時只有你這身
子終欠悟在

太白西巖

三
五
一



Inscription on 65.9

真个
是蝦跳不少斗
之箇酒甚盛也
何苦与有暮於
岸走祖意而未
素浅岸純淡



Sung dynasty, 13th century

Hanging scroll; ink on paper

Height: 74.6 cm. (29 3/8 in.); width: 27.9 cm. (11 in.)

Later Ch'an paintings of the monk Hsien-tzu appear to be based on such examples as the well-known version by the Chinese artist Mu-ch'i (active 13th century) in the Hinohara collection (reproduced: *Tōyō bijutsu taikan*, Tokyo, 1910, vol. IX, pl. 28), and the Japanese version by Kaō (active 14th century) in the Tokyo National Museum. The Freer painting is rather harsh in execution, lacking the impious humor that is so outspoken in other examples. A noteworthy iconographic feature is the way the artist has depicted Hsien-tzu with his raised right arm and hand completely covered by his sleeve.

A brief statement in *Wu-teng hui-yüan*, compiled by the monk P'u-chi (1179-1253), describes Hsien-tzu as a T'ang dynasty monk who spent his days following the river with a net with which to catch food. Regardless of the season, he wore the same rags. According to tradition, Hsien-tzu attained enlightenment while catching shrimp.

The inscription at the top of the painting reads:

"The 'karma-consciousness' is as vague as a winding river.

Along the riverbank I go [pondering the first] patriarch's concepts
which he brought from the West.

Was it ever known that he attained sudden [enlightenment]?

It is said [that the way to enlightenment is] through the wine cup.

[But I am thrashing about like] this shrimp trying to jump out of
my net.

[Signed] Tz'u-yün chü-ching eulogized."

Affixed over the two characters "chü-ching" is the seal *Chien-weng*.

As is so often the case with inscriptions written on Ch'an portraits, the characters are meant to be read from left to right. Helmut Brinker has discussed this problem in his article, "Shussan Shaka in Sung and Yüan Painting," *Ars Orientalis*, vol. IX (1973), pp. 21-39.

The origins and dates of the monk Tz'u-yün are unknown. References in the biographies of other Sung dynasty monks suggest that he lived at the famous Ch'ing-tzu Temple on T'ien-t'ung Mountain on the West Lake at Hangchou, Chekiang province, during the thirteenth century.

According to the documentation that accompanied the painting, it was exported from China to Japan during the mid-seventeenth century.



23

Bodhidharma 06.261

Yüan dynasty, 14th century

Hanging scroll; ink on silk

Height: 90.8 cm. (35 3/4 in.); width: 49.3 cm. (19 7/16 in.)

Bodhidharma, the First Patriarch of Chinese Ch'an Buddhism, is shown with his massive head emerging from the compact bulk of his partially robed body. The fine, straight brush strokes defining the hair on his head and chest give the patriarch an unapproachable bristling appearance. His large staring eyes contribute to making the portrait even more formidable. Broad brush strokes suggest rather than define the folds of his robe.

Most half-length portraits of Bodhidharma depict him as being heavy set and with an intense expression. Helen B. Chapin has shown, in her article, "Three Early Portraits of Bodhidharma," *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*, vol. I (1945-46), pp. 66-98, that this type of portrait appears to have begun in China during the thirteenth century, and superseded an earlier type of image of the First Patriarch that depicted him as a slight figure with Chinese features. The earliest Chinese portrait of the later type still extant appears to be the anonymous scroll in Myōshinji (reproduced: Jan Fontein and Money L. Hickman, *Zen Painting and Calligraphy*, Boston, 1970, pp. 20 and 22). A colophon on the Myōshinji version by the noted Ch'an monk, Mieh-weng wen-li (ca. 1167-ca. 1250) provides a *terminus ad quem* for the execution of that painting.

There are no seals on the Freer painting, nor is there a signature or an encomium.



Guardian King 11.313

Yüan dynasty, 14th century

Hanging scroll; ink on silk

Height: 127.3 cm. (50 1/8 in.); width: 44.2 cm. (17 3/8 in.)

The basic problem complicating any study of Chinese figure painting is that not one of the works by the greatest traditional masters of Buddhist and Taoist subjects has survived. Judging from descriptions found in literature, prior to the Sung dynasty, the most outstanding artists of each period devoted some or all of their energies to creating the huge wall paintings that adorned temples and shrines. Understandably, those figure paintings ranked among the great achievements in Chinese art history. During the Sung dynasty, the artists who in earlier periods might have painted Buddhist and Taoist subjects became increasingly interested in problems relating to landscape themes. Hence the task of painting figures was, for the most part, relegated to those conservative artists or artisans with little originality who were content to perpetuate earlier compositions and themes. Buddhist and Taoist themes in painting continued to flourish during the Yüan dynasty, although the names of only a few of the artists who specialized in those genres are still recorded.

This hanging scroll, depicting a heavily armored guardian king and attendants, perpetuates a tradition that is derived ultimately from the now-lost wall paintings of the T'ang master Wu Tao-tzu (active 720-760).

As is typical of later, smaller scale representations of Buddhist and Taoist deities, the artist contrasts various intricate textile and metal patterns. The swirling drapery enhances the sense of imminent movement.

Similar examples of the somewhat histrionic gestures and flamboyant postures that apparently resulted when later artists reduced the huge T'ang wall murals to small scale can be seen in Wu Tsung-yüan's (died 1050) handscroll of the celestial rulers of Taoism and their attendants in the collection of C.C. Wang (detail reproduced: Osvald Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*, vol. I, facing page 160). The guardian king in the Freer scroll can also be compared with the colossal bas-relief figures of the guardians of the four directions on the inside walls of Chü-yung Gate (reproduced: Murata Jiro and Fujieda Akira, *Chü-yung-kuan: The Buddhist Arch of the Fourteenth Century A.D. at the Pass of the Great Wall Northwest of Peking*, vol. II, Kyoto, 1955).

There are no seals on the Freer painting and it is apparently not recorded.



25 *Vaiśravana, Guardian of the North* 14.147

Late Yüan-early Ming dynasty, 14th century

Hanging scroll; ink and color on silk

Height: 106.5 cm. (41 15/16 in.); width: 36.3 cm. (14 5/16 in.)

Vaiśravana, chief of the four deva kings, was among those ancient Indian folk gods who were imported to China as part of the vast Buddhist pantheon. Vaiśravana became important in the popular religion of Central Asia, especially in Khotan, where he was the central deity of a cult, as the tutelary god of the kingdom. In China, where he was known as Pi-sha-men-t'ien, he is the Lord of Wealth and Regent of the Northern Quadrant.

In this brightly colored hanging scroll, Vaiśravana is shown wearing Central Asia armor, a headdress ornamented with a bird and with wings outspread above, and holding in his right hand a stupa, his characteristic emblem. Flames come from Vaiśravana's shoulders and curve upward to form a halo. He is seated on two demons, who are kneeling on a floral carpet. On the right, Vaiśravana is flanked by Sri-lakshmi (Chinese: Chi-li t'ien-nü), who holds a gem and long-stemmed lotus blossoms. Sri-lakshmi, the Goddess of Beauty and Wealth, was also among those native Indian deities incorporated into the Buddhist pantheon; she is sometimes regarded as the wife of Vaiśravana. A youth who may be identified as Vaiśravana's son stands to the left of Vaiśravana holding a jeweled sceptre. Assembled behind the flaming halo are a demon wearing a skull on his head, a warrior holding a banner, and a Chinese official. All of these figures are grouped beneath stylized clouds and an elaborate baldachin. The restless motion suggested by the swirling clouds and the streamers on the baldachin is in sharp contrast to the taut, tableau-like stillness of the central group. In the foreground of the painting, in somewhat smaller scale than the Buddhist deities, are two Central Asian musicians and a dancer. The musicians kneel at the left, playing a lute and clappers, while the dancer at the left is poised on one foot, her arms held aloft as she performs on a brightly colored carpet. These figures are virtually identical with those that appear on a handscroll in the Berenson collection (reproduced: Osvald Sirén, "Central Asian Influences in Chinese Painting of the T'ang Dynasty," *Arts Asiaticques*, 1956, vol. III, no. 1, figs. 2-4).

According to the first colophon, the painting, attributed to Wei-ch'ih I-seng (active late 7th-early 8th century), was presented to the emperor by Chang Chin-chieh. On November 15, 1032, the painting was incorporated into the Imperial collection, placed in the category of "able, lower grade," and remounted as a handscroll. Then followed the names and ranks of four Sung officials: Lu Tao-lung, Shao Tsung-wo, Jen Shou-chung and Yang Huai-chung. In a brief statement dated 1582,

Hsiang Yüan-pien (1525-90) records some biographical details of Wei-ch'ih I-seng's life. Next is a colophon by Chang Ch'ou (1577-1643), dated 1629, followed by statements concerning Wei-ch'ih I-seng quoted from *Li-tai ming-hua chi* (completed 847), *T'ang-ch'ao ming-hua lu* (early 840's), *Hua-chien* (1320's) and *Yang Sheng-an chi* (16th century). The calligraphy of these colophons and the seals accompanying them do not appear to be genuine. They were probably added at some time before the final two colophons, which seem authentic. The first is a brief note by the Ch'ing scholar I Ping-shou (1754-1815), stating that he saw the painting on November 29, 1811, and the other by Fang Chün-i, dated 1874.

Affixed on the scroll are imperial seals of the Northern and Southern Sung, Chin and Ming dynasties, as well as the seals of Chia Ssu-tao (died 1275) and Hsiang Yüan-pien. None of these seals appears genuine.

The painting is recorded by Chang Ch'ou in *Ch'ing-ho shu-hua fang* (preface dated 1616), *chüan* 3:33b-36b; by Pien Yung-yü in *Shih-ku-i'ang shu-hua hui-k'ao* (completed 1682), *chüan* 8:23a-26b; by Wu Sheng in *Ta-kuan lu* (preface dated 1712), *chüan* 11:5a-6a; and by Fang Chün-i in *Meng-yüan shu-hua lu* (preface dated 1875), *chüan* 1:9a-14b.

A somewhat earlier version of the Freer painting, bearing a traditional attribution to Wu Tao-tzu (active 720-760), is in the National Palace Museum, Taiwan (reproduced: Osvald Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*, vol. III, pl. 47a). The use of the brush, as well as comparison with the Palace Museum version, indicate that the Freer scroll probably does not date earlier than the late Yüan or early Ming dynasty.



Detail of 14.147



Yüan or early Ming dynasty, 14th century

Hanging scroll; ink and color on silk

Height: 148.6 cm. (58 1/2 in.); width: 76.2 cm. (30 in.)

The tradition of painting portraits of the sixteen Lohan, the disciples of the Buddha, probably began in China during the T'ang dynasty, soon after the celebrated Buddhist pilgrim Hsüan-tsang (600-664) completed in 654 his translation of the *Ta a-lo-han Nan-t'i-mi-to-lo suo shuo-fa chü-chi*, the basic text on the cult of the sixteen Lohan. The earliest dated Chinese examples of Lohan still extant are the sixteen paintings attributed to Kuan-hsiu (832-912) in the Imperial Household Museum, Tokyo (partially reproduced: Osvald Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*, vol. III, pls. 114-15). A date between 880 and 894 appears on one of these paintings and three bear the signature of Kuan-hsiu. The large, almost superhuman figures of the Lohan dominate the compositions while the backgrounds are limited to extremely simple details.

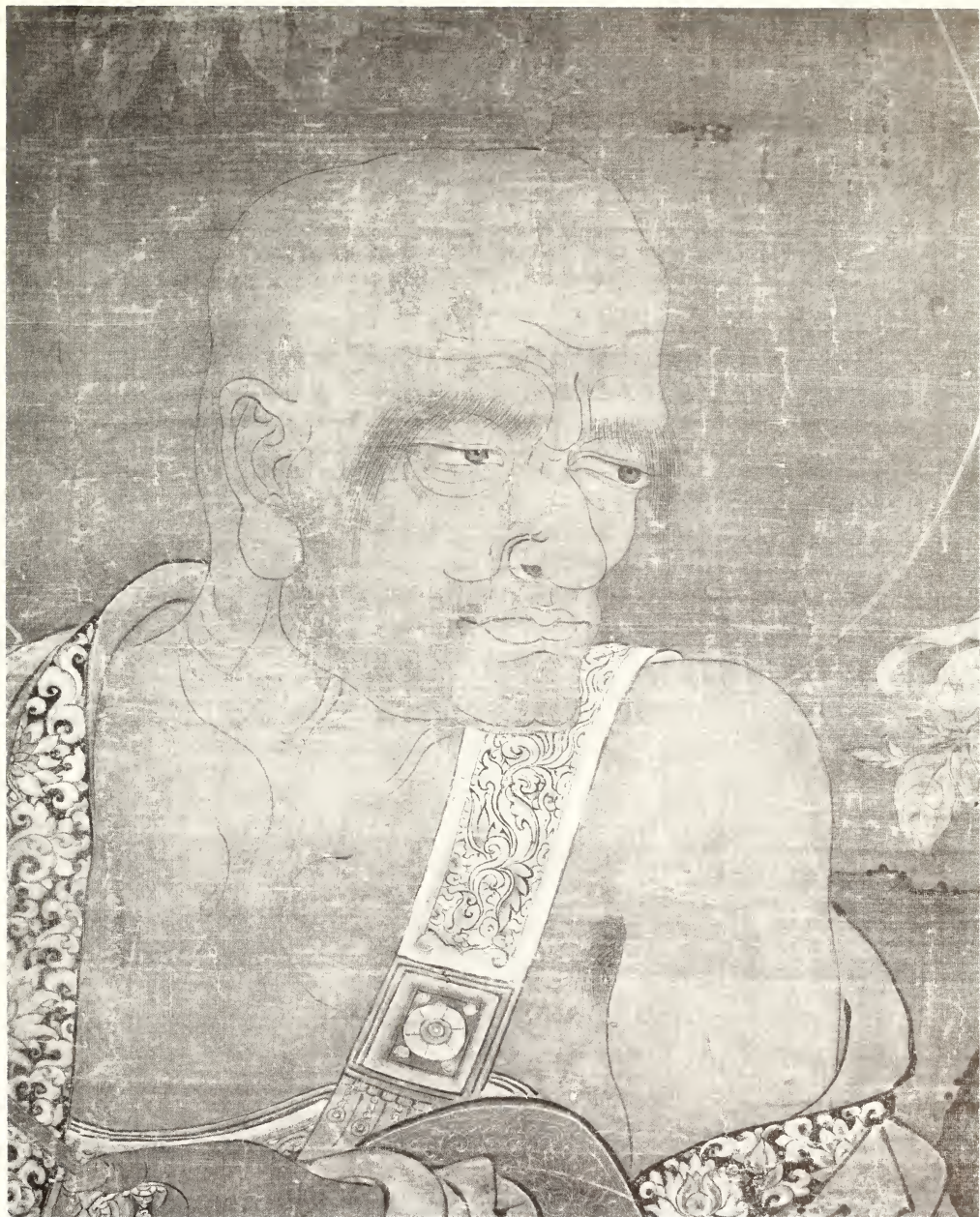
The sixteen Lohan painted on the north, south and east walls of Cave no. 76 at Tun-huang (Tun-huang Institute no. 97, reproduced: Matsumoto Eiichi, *Tonkō ga no kenkyū*, Tokyo, 1937, pls. 145-146) are usually dated to the tenth century. The Tun-huang Lohan are depicted seated on mountains that are rendered as schematized forms with flat decorative bands of color. Background details include attendants, animals, trees and water.

In contrast to the grotesque facial features of those Lohan associated with the Kuan-hsiu tradition, Sung dynasty artists generally depicted Lohan of more human aspect. Li Kung-lin (ca. 1049-1106) is traditionally said to have painted Lohan in which the facial features were so individualized as to be of portrait quality. Those paintings of Lohan attributed to Li Kung-lin in the Academy of Fine Arts, Tokyo, also depict Lohan with their disciples in settings which include such subtle naturalistic details as flowers, animals and birds.

The Freer scroll belongs to the realistic Li Kung-lin tradition of Lohan painting as it evolved during the Sung and Yüan dynasties. Certainly the features of the Lohan are so individualized as to suggest the painting is the portrait of a particular monk. Floral details are rendered with a sensitivity that suggests they were based on actual nature studies. A similar concern for exactness is evident in the designs on the Lohan's robe. The curving brush strokes outlining the drapery fold end in pronounced angular hooks, an artistic convention that began, in less bold form, during the Northern Sung period.

Affixed to the scroll are seals of Hsiang Yüan-pien (1525-90) and P'ang Yüan-chi (ca. 1864-ca. 1948).

One of three paintings of Lohan in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, is a somewhat later rendering of the Freer composition (reproduced: *Portfolio of Chinese Paintings in the Museum: Yüan to Ch'ing Periods*, Boston, 1961, pls. 97-99).



Detail of 16.521



Ming dynasty, 15th century

Hanging scroll; ink and color on silk

Height: 96.7 cm. (38 1/16 in.); width: 55.2 cm. (21 3/4 in.)

A Lohan is seated on a flat rock before a screen of perpendicular eroded rocks. Behind the screen can be seen the large leaves of a banana tree. The Lohan is sewing his robes, while an attendant stands to one side offering a cup of tea. In the middle distance a bamboo fence crosses the composition. The sun, which has been cut off by the upper left top of the painting, suggests that the scroll may originally have been somewhat larger.

The long, graceful brush strokes of the monk's robes contrast with the short, angular lines of those worn by the servant. Details such as the freely drawn sashes, the bold outlines and the texture strokes on the rocks are closely related to similar features found in Che school paintings of the fifteenth century.

The painting was probably one of a pair illustrating the couplet: "In the early morning sun mend ragged clothes; in the moonlight read the *sūtra* assignment." The verse, which places emphasis on diligence in intellectual activities as well as in everyday manual tasks, was studied by Ch'an monks. Apparently pairs of paintings illustrating this theme of frugal self-sufficiency were first made in China during the Sung dynasty. The earliest Chinese example of the subject still extant is a pair of paintings in the Reimeikai Foundation, Tokyo (reproduced: *Sōgen no Kaiga*, Tokyo, 1962, pls. 32-33), which are the work of an obscure artist named Wu-chu-tzu. The scrolls are inscribed by the artist and dated 1295.

The signature and seal which appear along the right edge of the Freer painting provide the name of the Sung dynasty artist, Li Yüan-chi. According to traditional Chinese texts, Li Yüan-chi was a native of T'ai-yüan, Shansi province. He was noted for his paintings of Taoist and Buddhist subjects in the Wu Tao-tzu style. During the Hsi-ning period (1068-77), Li was summoned to the capital at Pien to execute some wall paintings in the Hsiang-kuo Temple.

The title slip originally mounted on the Freer scroll was written by Lu K'uei (1851-1920), who often authenticated calligraphy and paintings for the well-known Shanghai collector, P'ang Yüan-chi (ca. 1865-ca. 1949). Evidently Lu K'uei accepted the signature on the painting as being genuine, for he authenticated the work as being an original example by Li Yüan-chi.

A seal in the lower right corner of the painting is illegible. One of the three seals affixed in the lower left corner is that of P'ang Yüan-chi from whom the painting was acquired through C.T. Loo.



Ming dynasty, 15th-16th century

Hanging scroll; ink and color on silk

Height: 121.1 cm. (47 11/16 in.); width: 61.4 cm. (24 3/16 in.)

In the center of the composition a Lohan is seated on a flat rock sewing. An acolyte stands to the left, his hands raised in a polite gesture. In contrast to the decorous demeanor of those two figures, another monk in the foreground has allowed his robes to fall loosely off his shoulders and scratches his back with obvious satisfaction. His mischievous expression and informal posture are pointedly mimicked by the monkey that is grasping one end of the thread the acolyte holds in his mouth.

The title slip originally affixed to the painting attributed it to the Northern Sung monk, Chen-hui. Although the detailed landscape setting and the various accessories arranged on a rock in the background are related to developments in Buddhist painting during the Sung dynasty, the style of the Freer scroll supports a somewhat later date.

The figures are enframed by the foreground rocks, the tree on the right and by the bamboo fence in the background. Wide angular brush strokes provide a simplified summary indication of the drapery folds. The artist evidently cared more for the linear pattern formed by the bold strokes than for a precise rendering of fabric as it actually hangs on the human body. All of these features, including the broad textured ink dabs on the foreground rocks, enable the painting to be dated to the early Ming dynasty.

The significance of paintings of this type in Ch'an Buddhist art has already been discussed in the previous entry.



By Chang Lu (ca. 1464-1538)

Ming dynasty

Hanging scroll; ink on silk

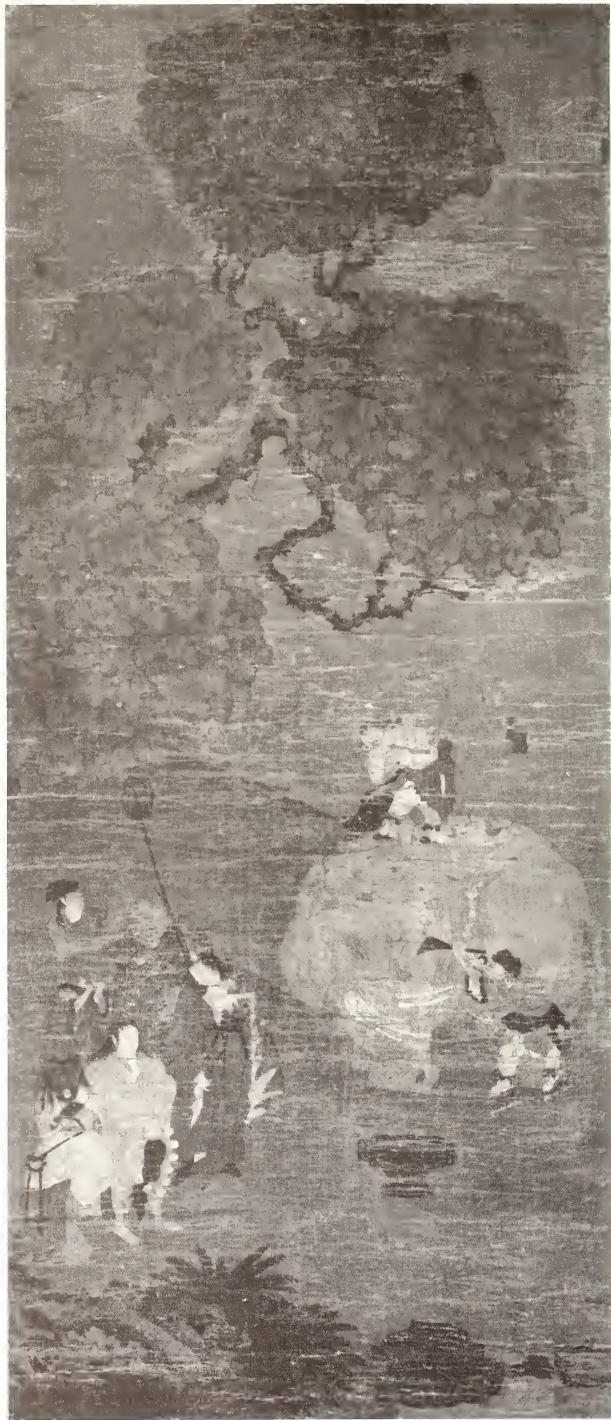
Height: 158.6 cm. (62 7/16 in.); width: 89.3 cm. (35 3/16 in.)

The large foreground figure of the Ch'an monk Shih-te stands on an embankment, flanked on the left by a vertical rock wall, and to the right and above by graded ink washes. Enframing a central motif with bold areas of contrasting ink tones in this way is a compositional formula often employed by the Che school artists. Consequently, the viewer's attention is attracted immediately to Shih-te's tousled head which is silhouetted against the light colored silk. The monk throws back his head and opens his mouth in laughter as he gazes at the pale disc of the moon.

As is usually the case with representations of Shih-te, or those of his companion, the Tang dynasty poet Han-shan, the monk is clothed in casual, almost disheveled, robes and stands in a landscape that is equally unkempt; a subtle allusion, perhaps, to the close union between the monk and nature.

Lying on the ground behind Shih-te is the broom sometimes associated with him because of the tradition that he was a foundling who eventually became a scullion in the kitchen of Kuo-ch'ing Temple on Mount T'ien-t'ai in Chekiang province.

Chang Lu is a well-known member of the Che school. Since substantially large numbers of his work are still extant, it is possible to compare the Freer scroll with those examples bearing his signature and seals. Perhaps the closest comparison is provided by Chang Lu's painting of a fisherman, now in Gokokuji (reproduced: Osvald Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*, vol. VI, pl. 158). The fluid ink washes and swiftly drawn linear details in both scrolls support the attribution of the Freer scroll to Chang Lu even though there are no seals or signature on the painting. It is apparently unrecorded.



30 *Grooming an Elephant* 16.520
School of Ts'ui Tzu-chung (died 1644)
Ming dynasty, 17th century
Hanging scroll; ink and color on satin
Height: 124.3 cm. (48 15/16 in.); width: 52.1 cm. (20 1/2 in.)

The composition can be divided roughly into two equal parts, the upper half dominated by masses of foliage and the lower half by the elephant and attendant figures. Just as the masses of leaves are formed by the repetition of a single stylized motif, so are the two groups below characterized by the curvilinear patterns of the figures and the elephant.

The emphasis on stylized patterns which are successively repeated to construct a two-dimensional design can be seen in the leaves of the trees, the folds of the elephant's hide, and in the drapery worn by the figures. The flat, decorative handling of various forms that is a characteristic of Chinese archaistic painting became increasingly apparent during the late Ming dynasty. The crystalline angularity of the forms and the fine regular brushwork in the scroll are related to similar features in paintings attributed to Ts'ui Tzu-chung (died 1644). The painting is probably a school work that carefully preserves the most salient features of Ts'ui Tzu-chung's style.

Two men are grooming the white, six-tusked elephant. One man stands upon the animal's back and pours water from a green vessel, while a second man brushes the elephant's hide. A large basin is placed in front of the group. To the left, watching the grooming, stands a group of six figures. The main figure, dressed in scarlet robes and holding a lotus stem and jewel, depicts the Bodhisattva P'u-hsien. A Lohan standing behind P'u-hsien holds a pilgrim's staff. In the foreground, rocks and ferns are arranged along the edge of a pool.

P'u-hsien was one of the first deities of the Mahayana Buddhist pantheon to be accorded special worship in China. It is possible that the extravagant description of P'u-hsien found in the *Lotus Sūtra*, which was translated into Chinese at least as early as the late third century A.D., was partially responsible for the popularity of the Bodhisattva. Descriptions of P'u-hsien's six-tusked white elephant play an important part in the iconography of the deity. In many of the images of P'u-hsien still preserved in Japan, the Bodhisattva is shown in a rigidly hieratic pose, wearing elaborate princely raiment. By contrast, the grooming of P'u-hsien's elephant is an unusual theme because of its startling informality. Apparently there were no Western prototypes for such an unorthodox image, and the earliest examples of the subject mentioned in Chinese texts are said to have been painted by Chang Seng-yu (early 6th century). Among the later artists who handled the subject are Yen Li-pen (died 673), Ch'ien Hsüan (ca. 1235-after 1300), Ts'ui Tzu-

chung and Ch'en Hung-shou (1599-1652). The casual manner in which the deity has dismounted and joins the group at the left while the elephant is groomed reflects the basically secular attitude of the Chinese, and it is entirely possible that the theme of grooming the elephant was first introduced by Chinese artists.



Detail of 16.520



- 31** *The Dragon King Reverencing the Buddha* 16.604
School of Ch'en Hung-shou (1599-1652)
Ming dynasty, 17th century
Hanging scroll; ink and color on silk
Height: 107.2 cm. (42 3/16 in.); width: 51.8 cm. (20 3/8 in.)

Many of the traditional Buddhist themes painted by Ch'en Hung-shou (1599-1652) and his followers are characterized by an unorthodox, and occasionally an irreverent, interpretation. In this painting, the Buddha's conversion of the Dragon King is handled with a casual air that belies the original implications of the theme. The Dragon King stands at one side, his covered hands raised in a gesture of reverence; the Buddha and a youthful attendant stand slightly apart and in front, seemingly indifferent to the suppliant. The bizarre curvilinear hair ornament worn by the Buddha and the lotus held aloft at stem's length by the attendant lend the figures the secular air of a matron and child on an outing. The three figures are arranged diagonally, giving the composition an incomplete appearance.

One of the most impressive features of paintings generally accepted as being by Ch'en Hung-shou is the careful control of linear contours. In the Freer painting the drapery folds are inexplicably irregular and the use of the brush throughout is slightly mannered, suggesting that the painting is the work of a follower rather than by Ch'en Hung-shou himself.

There are no seals or signature on the scroll.



老蓮
畫
沐
手
寫



White-Robed Kuan-yin 09.399
 Style of Wu Pin (active ca. 1591-1626)
 Ming dynasty, 17th century
 Hanging scroll; ink and color on silk
 Height: 126.0 cm. (49 5/8 in.); width: 60.1 cm. (23 11/16 in.)

The seated white-robed Kuan-yin, the rocky grotto, and the long-stemmed blossoms are designed as a single compact unit in the center of the painting. Differences between each of the individual forms are emphasized by the sharp contrast of line, texture and color. The unifying element is the compactness of the composition.

Images of a white-robed Kuan-yin can be traced back to at least as early as the profoundly moving version by Mu-ch'i (13th century) in the Daitokujii, Kyoto, but there is little of the gentle mood and atmospheric quality of Mu-ch'i's painting in the Freer version. Rather, the Freer painting is characterized by a concern for neatly designed linear and texture patterns.

Representations of Buddhist deities in an eccentric manner similar to the Freer scroll are associated with the late Ming dynasty artist, Wu Pin (active ca. 1591-1626). Some comparable examples are furnished by an album depicting twenty-five "great ones" of the Sūramgama *sūtra* (*Leng-yen ching*) by Wu Pin in the National Palace Museum, Taiwan. All twenty-five album leaves were published in *Kn-kmg chon-k'an*, vol. II, nos. 50-52; vol. III, nos. 53-74. The representations of the Buddhist disciples Suddhipunthaka (leaf 8, *ibid.*, no. 57), Ananda (leaf 24, *ibid.*, no. 73) and the Zen patriarch Bodhidharma (leaf 25, *ibid.*, no. 74) have many features that are similar to the Freer Kuan-yin. Although these similarities confirm the link between the two works, a fussiness of brushwork throughout the Freer painting suggests it is a school work.

An unusual iconographical detail in the Freer scroll is the image of Amitabha painted on the chest of the seated Kuan-yin. The casual pose of the Amitabha image and its unorthodox placement are but further indications of the eccentric inventiveness of those artists working in the Wu Pin tradition.

The Ch'en Hung-shou (1599-1652) signature, "Lao-lien, Hung-shou washed my hands and respectfully painted," and the two seals, *Ch'en Hung-shou yin* and *Chang-hou* in the lower left corner are later additions.

取東周禮法
宗正自元亦在規



一
看
行
者
皆
實
中



揚州牧張氏書于
瑞雲坊的慶德樓

Section 2

- 33** *Buddhist Deities* 55-17
By Ch'en Hsien (active 1634-77)
Ming-Ch'ing dynasty
Handscroll; ink and color on satin
Height: 49.5 cm. (19 1/2 in.); length: 731.3 cm. (287 7/8 in.)

The handscroll, depicting Buddhist deities, is arranged in eighteen sections. According to the description of the handscroll in *Kokka* (no. 568), the first section depicts Bodhidharma reverencing Sakyamuni. This interpretation is questioned by Aschwin Lippe in his article, "Ch'en Hsien, Painter of Lohans," *Ars Orientalis*, vol. V, 1963, pp. 255-258, where he suggests that the second figure might be that of Kasyapa. The next group represents Kuan-yin holding a willow branch and accompanied by two children. The remaining figures are Lohan.

Throughout the scroll Ch'en Hsien employed his characteristic staccato, angular brush strokes, with the result that all of the forms have a slightly distorted cubic appearance. In painting the robes the artist used bold, mannered brush strokes. At the lower hems of some robes a series of small rounded strokes represents the final simplification of the abstract swirling drapery patterns that are traditionally associated with Wei-ch'ih I-seng (active 7th century). Ch'en Hsien modelled faces, bodies and assorted accessories with dilute ink washes. Facial features, which are rendered with special attention, are exaggerated; the whimsical, sometimes insipid, expressions give little indication of any deeply felt religious spirit. Buddhist paintings of this type were intended for a



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popular audience and, as such, are part of a genre that is still being produced in China.

Ch'en Hsien apparently was one of the artists specializing in Buddhist subjects who worked in the Chekiang area. All of his extant paintings are in Japanese or Western collections, and his name does not appear in the standard Chinese biographical dictionaries.

The two large characters of the title, *Feng-lin* ("Phoenix Grove"), were written by the monk Mu-an (1611-84), who traveled to Japan and served in the Mampukiji at Uji. The three seals affixed to the title are *Lin-chi cheng-tzung*, *Mu-an t'ao yin* and *Cheng-fa yung-ch'ang*. Mu-an succeeded Yin-yüan (1592-1673), who left China in 1654 and is regarded as the founder of the Huang-po sect in Japan. Most of Ch'en Hsien's paintings bear encomiums by Yin-yüan or Mu-an.

On the painting, pairs of Ch'en Hsien's seals, reading variously *Fo-tzu Ch'en Hsien*, *Ta-hsüan*, *Ch'en Hsien*, *Feng-shan-yin*, *Hsi-san* and *Chien pi-mo yin shuo-fa*, are affixed after each group of figures. At the beginning of the handscroll is an inscription by Ch'en Hsien, which can be rendered, "Painted in the Hsien-chi ching-she, after having burned incense and folded my hands in reverence, during the 'chrysanthemum month' of the *kuei-mo* year of Ch'ung-chen [October 13-November 10, 1643]." At the end of the scroll he again wrote, "Ch'en Hsien of Ch'ing-tzu respectfully inscribed."

At the top of the scroll, following each figure group, there are 18 couplets and quatrains written by Ts'ai Hsi-wen and Li Ch'üan-t'ai (active late 16th-early 17th century). At the end of the handscroll there

振筆身中見瑞雲
雙龍吐水起青蓮



居士畫沈家新謀喻家
漁者此心淨語天龍長



實人法行世以爲德
故非石玉亦非金銀也



Section 4

is a quatrain written by Chang Ch'ien-shih, followed by his seal. At the lower left corner of the scroll are two seals of Shen Ping-yüan (active mid 19th century): *Shen Hsiao-ts'ang shen-ting shu hua chi* and *Hsiang-chih-shih ts'ang*.

The handscroll was acquired in Shanghai and taken to Japan early in the Meiji period (1868-1912).

我來問道無所說
雲在青天水在瓶



是死後信香爐
雲在青天水在瓶



實人法行世為德
彼時西風落松聲



Section 3

板築曾中見此
盤香噴水起芳流

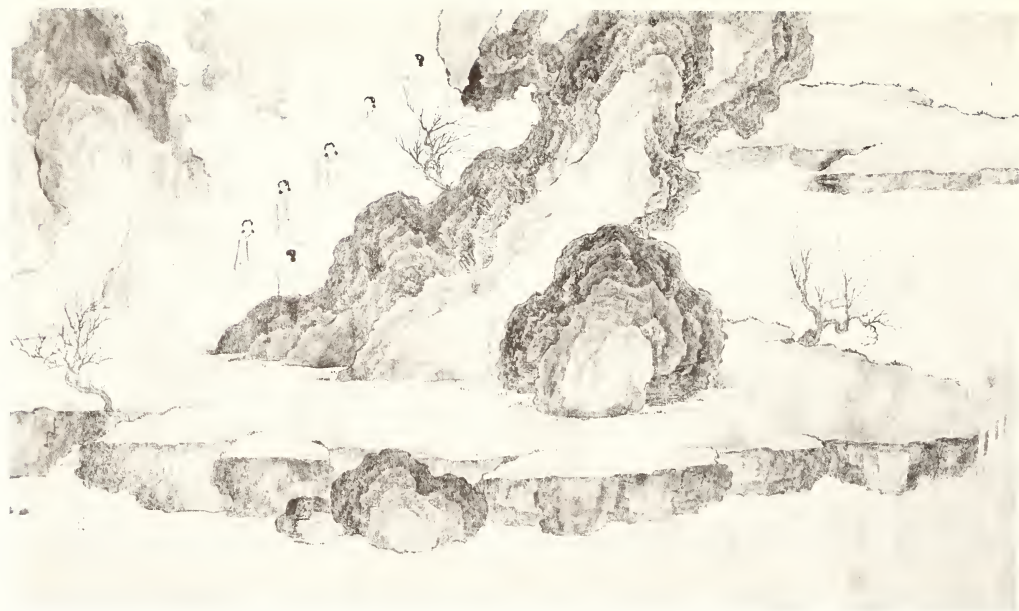


馬中紙龍身不可嚼
每：此屏地極北月中翻

華名道學經小節
東河上只說水



Section 5



Section 2

- 34** *An Assembly of Immortals* 18.13
Sung dynasty, 13th century
Handscroll; ink on paper
Height: 41.7 cm. (16 7/16 in.); length: 947.5 cm. (373 1/16 in.)

Throughout the handscroll the delicately drawn figures of immortals and their entourage are juxtaposed with the dark, heavily textured rocks and trees. This dramatic juxtaposition of light and dark, delicate and dense, smooth and jagged forms emphasizes the ethereal quality of the figures of the immortals and suggests the hoary antiquity of the realm in which they dwell.

The arrangement of the curving lines of the drapery folds, as well as the pattern formed by the black hair and the dark hems of the garments of the figures, reveal an interest in linear rhythms and patterns of light and dark that is a feature of archaic paintings which began as early as the Northern Sung dynasty. It is not surprising, then, that this handscroll was at one time attributed to the Northern Sung master Li Kung-lin (ca. 1049-1106).

The fantastically shaped, desiccated rock forms are modelled with angular brush strokes as if they consisted of several eroded layers, with the darkest areas of ink concentrated on the outer edges. In the same way, the outer edges of the level plateaux are shaded with dilute ink washes that stop short of the darker vertical areas. Equally mannered are the various trees that dot the landscape; their gnarled trunks and



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dense patterned foliage are calculatedly unnatural. Toward the end of the painting the artist introduced a surprisingly lyrical passage depicting a lotus pond in which the meticulously drawn leaves and blossoms suggest that the forms were faithfully copied from nature.

The title of the Freer handscroll, written by the Ch'ing dynasty calligrapher Te Chu, attributes the painting to Li Kung-lin. P'an Shih-ch'eng (active 1821-50), the Ch'ing dynasty collector who wrote the title slips mounted on the outside of the handscroll and immediately before the painting, also attributed the painting to Li Kung-lin. Affixed to the painting are two seals that purport to be those of the Yüan painter Ts'ao Chih-po (1272-1355). There are also seals of Li Chien (1748-99), Liu Yung (1719-1804) and Lu Yü-ch'ing. Following the painting is the biography of Li Kung-lin that appears in *Hsüan-ho hua p'u* (preface dated 1120), copied by the Ch'ing dynasty official and calligrapher-painter, Huang Yüeh (1750-1841), and dated January 26-February 23, 1819.

A handscroll in the Northeast Museum, Liaoning (reproduced: *Liaoning sheng po-wu-kuan ts'ang-hua chi*, pls. 67-74) is the work of the same artist who painted the Freer scroll. The Liaoning handscroll consists of two short paintings mounted together: *The Four Oldsters of the Shang Mountain* and *The Nine Oldsters of the Hui-ch'ang Era*. The painting was originally in the Ch'ing imperial collection and is recorded in *Sib-ch'ü pao-chi hsü-pien*, pp. 1921-22. The title of the Liaoning scroll, written by the Ming dynasty calligrapher, Li Min-piao (1534



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chin-shih), attributes the painting to Li Kung-lin. However, the editor of the Liaoning catalogue has reattributed the work to an anonymous Southern Sung artist. During the Ming dynasty the Liaoning painting was in the collection of Ch'ien Shih-hung (1445-1526). At the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty it was acquired by the painter Mei Ch'ing (1623-97) and during the eighteenth century became part of the imperial collection.

A somewhat less mannered archaistic painting, probably representing a slightly earlier stage of this same *pai-miao* tradition in figure painting, is the Mou I handscroll, *Clothes for the Warriors*, in the National Palace Museum (reproduced: *Ku-kung ming-hua san-pai chung*, pls. 119-120). According to Mou I's postscript, he painted the scroll between 1238 and 1240.



Section 3



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Section 2

35 *Chung K'uei Traveling* 38.4

By Kung K'ai (1222-ca. 1304)

Yüan dynasty

Handscroll; ink on paper

Height: 32.8 cm. (12 15/16 in.); length: 169.5 cm. (66 3/4 in.)

The scroll begins with the bizarre figures of Chung K'uei and his sister seated in palanquins, being carried along and accompanied by the grotesquely featured members of their demonic entourage. The attendants also carry Chung K'uei's sword, bundles of household goods and pots of wine. The figures are outlined with blunt, somewhat harsh, brush strokes and reinforced with dry brush to indicate modelling. Some of the textile designs depict stylized insects and rodents.

A demon figure, very similar to those in the Freer painting, occurs on a fragment of a Uighur scroll from Qoco, now in the Indische Kunst-abteilung, Staatliche Museen, Dahlem (reproduced: Mario Bussagli, *Painting of Central Asia*, Geneva, 1963, p. 108); and is dated to the eighth-ninth century. When Kung K'ai painted his Chung K'uei handscroll, he was drawing upon representational traditions that were already at least several hundred years old. The main difference between the demon in the Dahlem fragment and those in Kung K'ai's scroll is the new layer of meaning that has been added by the Yüan artist. The demons are no longer simply demons; they have become symbols by means of which the artist manifests his discontent with and criticism of his society.

The Freer handscroll is one of three paintings seriously associated with Kung K'ai in Chinese texts. The painting method of the handscroll is closely related to that found in the *Emaciated Horse* (reproduced: *Sōraikan kinsbō*, Osaka, 1930-36, vol. I, pl. 18), in the Abe collection,



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Osaka. The third scroll, entitled *Hung Yai ch'u-yu t'u* ("Hung Yai Traveling") was formerly in the Ch'ing imperial collection and apparently has not been published.

The origins of the Chung K'uei legend are somewhat obscure. According to popular accounts, the T'ang emperor Ming-huang (reigned 713-56), while ill of a fever, dreamed that he saw a small demon who broke through a bamboo gate, stole an embroidered box and a jade flute and began disporting itself in the palace. Angered by such impropriety, the Emperor asked the demon who he was and received the reply that he was Hsü-hao ("Waste"). Suddenly a huge figure dressed in tattered official garments appeared, seized the demon, tore out one of its eyes and proceeded to devour it. When the Emperor inquired who the demon queller was, the imposing man replied that he was Chung K'uei and that during the reign of Kao-tsu (reigned 618-627), he had committed suicide as a result of having been defrauded of a first place in the public examinations. Kao-tsu honored Chung K'uei by ordering that he be buried in the green robes used by the imperial family. As a result, Chung K'uei swore to protect the sovereign from Hsü-hao. The Emperor awoke and called for Wu Tao-tzu (active 720-760) to paint a portrait of the man he had seen in his dream. Wu Tao-tzu was so successful that the Emperor recognized Chung K'uei at once. In popular legend Chung K'uei acquired both a wife and a sister. Sherman E. Lee discusses the Chung K'uei legend in his article, "The Lantern Night Excursion of Chung K'uei," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, vol. XLIX, no. 2 (February, 1962), pp. 36-42.

Kung K'ai's inscription, mounted after the painting, can be rendered:

"My Lord of the Whiskers dwelt on Chung Mountain,



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When he mounted [for this] journey where did he go?
 It is said he made a small hunt without dogs or falcons,
 And thought he would take his household with him.
 His young sister's beautiful face was painted and
 Of the five-colored cosmetics black was the best.
 On the road they came to a post house and needed a little rest;
 But who was there in that old room to serve them food and wine?
 Red Turban and Black Shirt [two servants shown in the painting]
 certainly could cook,
 But the Beauty's fresh blood was too difficult to obtain.
 It was better to return and drink the Chung Mountain brew.
 Once drunk, for three years all awareness ceased.
 To dispel sorrow there are creatures watching the high and lustrous,
 And there was Pa-i [Lady Ch'in-kuo, a sister of Yang Kuei-fei]
 extravagantly buying other people's houses!
 They waited for my Lord of the Whiskers to wake, they made a
 clean sweep,
 And the 'Golden Burden' at Ma-wei [place where Yang Kuei-fei
 was executed enroute to Shu] vanished without a trace.
 Some say that painting demons in ink is being merely playful with
 the brush, but that is certainly not true. This type of painting is
 like the work of the most divine of the cursive script writers among
 calligraphers. There is none in the world who can write the cursive
 script without first excelling in the formal script. Of old those who
 excelled in painting demons in ink were Miao I-chen and Chao
 Ch'ien-li [Chao Po-chü, active 12th century]. Ch'ien-li's *Ting-*
hsiang-kuei is certainly extraordinary. The only pity is that it is so
 far removed from figure painting that people have looked upon it as
 a playful painting. I-chen's demons are very skillfully done, but his

intention is vulgar. Recently, some intemperate painter depicted the Whiskered One in a field privy being approached by a porcupine, and his dishevelled sister, stick in hand, driving it away. Now what kind of a painting is that? My aim in painting the *Chung-shan ch'u-yu t'u* is to wash away I-chen's vulgarity, so as not to destroy the pure joy of brush and ink. In calligraphic terms, the painting is something between the regular script and the cursive script. I had composed verses to go before and after the painting, but they seemed unavoidably repetitive. So now I finish the colophon by including other matters, with the purpose of saying something new. Written by Kung K'ai of Huai-yin."

Over the character K'ai in the signature is affixed the artist's seal reading *Huai-yin Kung K'ai*.

Chao Po-chü's demon painting entitled *T'ing-hsiang-kuei* to which Kung K'ai refers in his inscription is recorded in *Ch'ing-ho shu hua fang* (preface dated 1616), *chüan* 10:25a, with the remark that when Kung K'ai painted *Chung K'uei Traveling*, he used the same type of heavy ink to depict the figures.

Twenty-one colophons follow Kung K'ai's inscription: by Ming-feng, a contemporary of Kung K'ai; Wang Hsiao-weng (1272-1336); Po-ch'ih Weng; Han Hsing (1266-1341); Ch'en Fang, poet and a contemporary of Ni Tsan (1301-74); Sung Wu (1260-1340); Liu Hung; Sun Yüan-ch'en; Lu Yüan-kuei; T'ang Shih-mou; Kung Hsiu (1266-1331); Wang Shih; Pai T'ing (1248-1328); Chou Keng; Feng Fang, inscription dated in correspondence with March 26, 1527; Kao Shih-ch'i (1645-1704); Chu I-tsun (1629-1709), inscription dated 1702; Li Shih-cho, court painter active in mid-eighteenth century; and Hsü Nai-p'u, inscription dated in correspondence with February 19, 1837.

In content, the colophons contain appreciations and descriptions of the painting, biographical notes about the artist and mere statements to the effect that the writer had seen the scroll. Li Ming-feng writes of having been bothered by the demons of sleep which he could not drive away until some one showed him this painting, which had the desired effect.

The subject of the Freer painting, judging from Kung K'ai's own inscription and the colophons following it, is a demon hunt on which Chung K'uei is accompanied by his sister. On one level Kung K'ai intended viewers who were loyal to the deposed Sung regime to draw a parallel between Chung K'uei's ability to expel demons and their own deeply felt concern for ridding China of foreign rule. By inference it seems that the "demon" in question is the notorious Yang Kuei-fei (died 756), concubine of Emperor Ming-huang. There are a number of allusions to the "jade flute" and also to one of Kuei-fei's escapades in which she stole a jade flute belonging to Ming-huang's brother, Prince Ning,

雙臉無脂鈿只調茶煤塗抹色
 如漆并吓后殿皆鬼徒亦有橫挑
 直挑之鬼物又有穉鬼數輩相
 隨各執役陰風淒寒起被道是
 九首火出游中山梢諸鬼三郎聰剛
 晚何謬玉環孤媚不悟祿兒配當
 年曾偷寧王玉笛吹豈信此徒亦復
 未效擊來肆欺媚也誰能一畫槍
 投舉世滔定復誰知覺我欲噤聲
 如其術人言人是翠嵩老子遊戲筆
 却憶漁陽鐵騎來如雲騎驟倉惶
 了無榮錦鞞游魂竟弗歸方士排空
 御氣無從覓老忘去我久九京難再
 遺墨敗楮空零落密得江波化他蒲萄
 之新醴畫鼓中面轟春雷此去摩魁不渡
 頭尖滿領三白杯

老旭如驍目奮戟阿妹新
 控臉塗漆兩與先後持

Colophons, Section II

and blew upon it. Consequently, the two stories of Hsü-hao and Yang Kuei-fei are paralleled. In addition, there is the statement in Sung Wu's poetic description, discussed below, to the effect that Chung K'uei appeared in Ming-huang's dream at this time and that the "imp of the palace was treading dust at Ma-wei." Considering the several layers of interpretation that Yüan dynasty artists often incorporated into their paintings, it is conceivable that aside from having political overtones, the Freer handscroll might also be seen as a parody on the travels of Yang Kuei-fei and T'ang Ming-huang, perhaps even a reference to their flight to Shu in 756.

The eighth colophon, a poem by Sung Wu, may be rendered:

"Mount Feng-tu [located in the underworld] is black with the long autumn rains.

A horde of demons is gathered bemoaning the cold and wailing.

Old K'uei has a bushy beard and an ancient cloth cap,

When his ears hear the demonic sounds his mouth waters greedily.

Slave demons carry K'uei traveling through the night.

Two goblins follow his chair with his sword and sun hat,

With their withered forms and matted locks they are like desiccated skeletons.

There is his sister too who has blackened her face and wears an embroidered gown.

Old K'uei turns to look at her and their four eyes clash.

I imagine also she does not dislike the ugliness of K'uei.

A rear guard of female demons bears bedding and pillows,

Thinking that K'uei weary from travel may wish a peaceful rest.

驕君家本住中山篤言出遊安所適謂為小獵无鷹
 犬百為意行秀家室阿妹韶容見觀殺五色脂脂窮
 宜黑道逢驛舍須少憩古屋何人烘酒食赤幘烏衫
 固可亨美人清血終難得不如過飲中山釀一醉三
 幸萬緣思卻愁秀物觀高明八姨豪賈他人宅於
 君醒為掃除馬鬼金獸舌无跡人言墨鬼為戲筆是
 大不然也乃書家之粹聖也世豈劣不善真書而戲
 作此者至昔書畫墨鬼方似頗真趨千里丁香鬼誠
 為奇特所惜去人物料太遠故人得以戲筆目之顯
 真鬼雖甚工焚其用意狠近甚吾作驕君野逸一豪
 猪即之妹學持杖披襟趨逐告何為君耶僕今住中
 山出遊蓋欲一洒願真之陋庶不礙翰墨清玩譬
 之書猶真行之間也鍾馗事絕少僕前後為詩未免
 重用今即他事成篇聊出耕意焉耳淮陰解

中山出遊圖
 黃山推史

老夫書倦眼模糊睡魔去復來不
 受驅故人偶過蓬蒿居授我一卷牛
 晉墨戲圖午憶拭鼎試展玩使我
 三鼎還長吁人間何處有它境眾鬼
 雜遜相奔趨一翁烏帽論鞞兩鬼共
 舉藤籬與出怒瞳兩日驛鈔戰何休

Colophons, Section I

They carry pots and wrapped wine jars, and shiver with cold.
 Rather than press demons to make wine to drink,
 It would be better that I who am able to speak should have lockjaw.
 They have taken and bound the mountain sprites till blood soaks
 their thighs.
 Rather than ferment minced demons to make demon pickle,
 It would be better that I who have hands should be unable to grasp.
 In the beginning ideas about demons certainly were fictitious.
 Now for the first time we know the truth from the painting of this
 old poet.
 And yet the Taoist Ts'ui-yen [Kung K'ai] was a man of tranquil
 mind.
 How was he able to know the spirit of demon creatures?
 But I see all the frightened demons that come from his brush,
 And as my poem ends, again I hear the sound of demons weeping,
 As still upon the scroll a cheerless wind is born.
 Whence came the family of old K'uei?
 It is said that the T'ang Palace saw him
 At a time when it was engulfed in music and vice.
 How could A-man's [Ming-huang] dream have been true?
 The imp of the palace was treading the dust of Ma-wei,
 When sudden as a clap of thunder flying the azure sky,
 A thousand imps and a myriad supernatural beings met an exter-
 minating blow,
 And Feng-tu Mount was broken open and saw the light of day.
 Now Old K'uei endures hunger with no demons to eat

As alone among men he guards the gates and walls.

[Signed] Sung Wu of Ts'ui-han."

Kao Shih-ch'i's colophon reads:

"Since Wu Tao-tzu of the T'ang dynasty painted the *Chung K'uei ch'u-yu t'u* ["Chung K'uei Traveling"], those who emulated him became increasingly numerous, because the subject matter lends itself to the expression of all manners of strange fancies. Kung Ts'ui-yen survived into the Yüan dynasty but did not serve in the civil service. He was so poor that he painted by spreading paper on his son's back. His paintings were exchanged for rice and people fought to buy them; yet his extant paintings are few. In the winter of the *ting-ch'ou* year [1697], I obtained his *Lei-ma t'u* ["Emaciated Horse"] in Wu-men [Suchou]. In the sixth month of this year I obtained his *Chung-shan ch'u-yu t'u*. Both paintings are very famous, and have many good colophons by enlightened persons of the past; for that reason I group them together. A guest said, 'In the past, when writing poetry or painting, people often used to employ the horse as a symbol of either ability or of people born out of their time; that is understandable. But this group of demons, what significance is in them?' I said, 'No. There are people in the world who have the appearance of people but who behave like demons. How is one to know that this lot, though their appearance be hideous, do not have good hearts? Whenever we come across anything in life which causes delight, or astonishment, or horror, or anger, or shame, we should look at this painting. It is bound to cause a good laugh, for the ancients are unfailing in their purpose.' [It is] the day before *ch'i-hsi* in the *keng-ch'en* year in the reign of K'ang-hsi [August 20, 1700]. For more than ten days, the hot sun has been blazing through the studio window. Only by evening is there a slight breeze. I washed my inkstone, and to while away the time, casually wrote these words. On finishing I stood up. The crescent moon is already over the eaves. The jasmynes are in full bloom on the bushes. I recall my youth with nostalgia. Chiang-ts'un ts'ang-yung lao-jen, Kao Shih-ch'i."

Hsü Nai-p'u's brief statement reads: "The style of this painting is imbued with antiquity, attaining the spirit of the Wu Liang tzu portraits. It is a painting with a powerful impact, and should be treasured. Viewed and inscribed by Hsü Nai-p'u of Ch'ien-t'ang at the Ching-hsiang-chai two days after *yüan-hsi* in the *ting-yu* year in the reign of Tao-kuang [February 6, 1837]."

Affixed to the scroll are seals of Kung K'ai, Li Ming-feng, Wang Hsiao-weng, Po-ch'ih Weng, Ch'en Fang, Ch'ien Liang-yu, Sung Wu, Lu Yüan-kuai, Wang Shih, Pai T'ing, Chou Keng, Feng Fang, Kao

Shih-ch'i, Chu I-tsun, Li Shih-cho, Hsü Nai-p'u, An Kuo (1481-1534), Han Shih-neng (1528-98), Han Feng-hsi, Ts'ai Hung-chien, Pi Lung (18th century), Ku Chien-lung, and P'ang Yüan-chi (ca. 1864-ca. 1948). In addition, there are twenty-four unidentified seals.

The Freer handscroll is recorded in the following catalogues: *T'ieb-wang shan-hu*, traditionally attributed to Tu Mu (1458-1525), *chüan* 2: 17a; *Ch'ing-bo shu hua fang, yu*: 26a; *Shih-ku-t'ang shu hua hui-k'ao* (completed 1682), *chüan* 15: 33a; *Chiang-ts'ui shu hua mu* (after 1705), p. 24b; *Hsü-chai ming hua lu* (preface dated 1909), *chüan* 2: 1a-9b; *Sau-yü-t'ang shu hua mu* by Wan-yen Ching-hsien (late 19th-early 20th century), *chüan* 2: 4a.

Both *T'ieb-wang shan-hu* and *Shih-ku-t'ang* record the first seventeen colophons, but the order in which they are recorded, which is the same in the two catalogues, is quite different from that in which they occur on the Freer handscroll. It is possible that the original sequence of colophons has changed in the course of subsequent remounting. It is uncertain whether Pien Yung-yü copied the colophons from *T'ieb-wang shan-hu*. If he had seen the painting, he ought to have mentioned Feng Fang's colophon dated 1527. Since that colophon is not included, the inference is that Pien simply copied the information from *T'ieb-wang shan-hu*. However, there is one point of difference in the records of these two catalogues. For colophon 9, *Shih-ku-t'ang* does not have Ch'ien Liang-yü's name, but designates it *ch'ieh k'uan* ("signature lost").

Ch'ing-bo shu hua fang records only Kung K'ai's inscription, adding, "To the left of the painting are many colophons by Yüan dynasty people, too numerous to record. The painting is at present in the collection of Han the *t'ai-shih* [Han Shih-neng]." This explains the occurrence of Han Shih-neng's seal, as well as those of his son, Han Feng-hsi.



36 *Chung-li Seeking the Tao* 16.114

Ming dynasty, 15th century

Handscroll; ink and color on silk

Height: 47.0 cm. (18 1/2 in.); length: 77.0 cm. (30 3/8 in.)

A venerable gentleman wearing the casual robes and cloth headdress of a Taoist recluse is seated on a rock in the left of the composition. In one hand he holds a staff and with the other gesticulates to the scholar who stands before him clasping his hands and bowing respectfully. A third figure, the scholar's attendant, turns nonchalantly away from the animated encounter between his master and the Taoist sage.

The draperies of all three figures are drawn with twisting, undulating brush strokes that further enhance their fluttering, windblown appearance. By accenting the ends of individual brush strokes, the artist emphasized his calligraphic skill rather than any concern for indicating structural form. This choice of emphasis is characteristic of the work of early Che school artists. Also indicative of Che school traditions is the tripartite division of the ground plane, with the dark repoussoir rock formations in the foreground.

According to the title slip written by Chang Yin-huan (1837-1900), the painting depicts the Taoist immortal Chung-li Ch'üan seeking the *tao*. Several different accounts are given in Chinese texts regarding the origin and life of Chung-li Ch'üan. According to one of these, after having been defeated in battle he escaped to Chung-nan Shan in Shensi province where he was instructed in the pursuit of immortality.



Section 2

37 *Clearing Out a Mountain Forest* 17.184

Ming dynasty, 15th century

Handscroll; ink on paper

Height: 46.9 cm. (18 7/16 in.); length: 807.2 cm. (317 13/16 in.)

Throughout the composition, the artist has enframed the activities of the demons with diagonally placed trees and fantastically eroded rock formations. Consequently, the sense of action and movement in the scroll is considerably heightened. The contours of the demons are drawn with short brush strokes of varying widths, an artistic convention that increases the dynamic sense of movement of the figures as they go about their tasks. The trees and rocks are drawn with bold brush strokes that indicate some attention to textures, but a greater concern for establishing definite rhythms of light and dark patterns. By contrast, the various animals depicted in the scroll, including a monkey, bear, tiger and elephant, are rendered with careful attention to textures.

The extreme torsion of the figures and the use of broken contour lines to suggest modelling of forms relate the painting to the Wu Tao-tzu (active 700-760) tradition. Judging from rubbings of paintings or from those scrolls traditionally attributed to Wu Tao-tzu, one of his major contributions to the development of Chinese figure painting was his departure from the controlled even-width linear brushwork of the Ku K'ai-chih (ca. 344-ca. 406) and Yen Li-pen (died 673) tradition that had dominated figure painting for centuries. While the artist who painted the Freer handscroll continued the Wu Tao-tzu figural traditional, his placement of the figures within compositional units that are so dramatically cut off by fragmentary trees and rocks is a Ming dynasty innovation.

At the beginning of the handscroll a group of demons is shown dragging several creatures from behind a rock, while the other demons tug at the scaled serpent-body of a human-torsoed creature that clutches firmly to the trunk of a tree. The same frenetic action continues throughout the scroll, with the exception of the final section where the leader



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of the demons is shown seated on a rock with his axe at one side. His fierce aspect is heightened by his clenched fist and by the skull he wears as a helmet. Behind him a figure lies at ease on a stone couch, while skulls and bones are scattered about within the interior of the rocky grotto.

The original title of the Freer painting was *Battling Demons in a Forest*. In his article "Sou-shan t'u chüan ti ch'u-pu t'an-t'ao," *Ta-lu tsa-chih*, vol. XXVI, no. 11 (June, 1963), pp. 1-5, Li Lin-ts'an points out that the painting probably depicts a Taoist theme in which demons rid a forest of noxious creatures. He suggests that the correct title should be *Sou-shan t'u* ("Clearing Out a Mountain Forest").

This Taoist theme appears to have been particularly popular during the Sung dynasty. Among the related paintings noted in Chinese catalogues is one by Kao I (active 10th century), who was known for his paintings of Buddhist and Taoist demon divinities, recorded in *Sheng-ch'ao ming hua p'ing* (mid 11th century), *chüan* 1 and in *T'u-hua chien-wen chih* (late 1070's), *chüan* 3. A version by Fan K'uan (active 990-1030) and another by Huang Ch'üan (active 935-965) are listed in *Hsüan-ho hua p'ü* (preface dated 1020), *chüan* 11 and 16 respectively. Extant examples of the subject are an album in the Junkunc collection, Chicago (Li Lin-ts'an, *ibid.*, pl. 3), and a painting in the Princeton Art Museum traditionally attributed to an anonymous Sung artist (*ibid.*, pl. 2).

The signature at the end of the Freer painting reads, *T'u-hua Li Sung* ("Painting by Li Sung"); affixed beneath the signature is a seal, *Pu-t'ien k'ai-kuo*. The fourth character of the signature appears to have been rubbed out and rather clumsily rewritten as "Sung" in an attempt to attribute the painting to the Southern Sung master Li Sung (active 1190-1230). Li Lin-ts'an has suggested that the artist might actually have been Li Tsai, the Ming dynasty painter who served at court during the Hsüan-te period (1426-35) and who was a native of Pu-t'ien, Fukien province. Comparison of the Freer scroll with other paintings attributed



Section 4



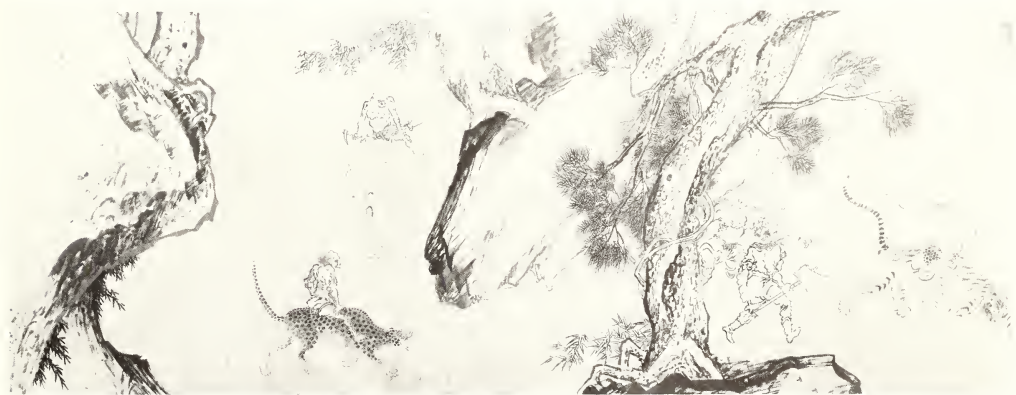
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to Li Tsai, such as the handscrolls in the Liaoning Museum (reproduced: *Liao-ning sheng po-wu-kuan ts'ang hua chi*, pls. 11-13) would support such an attribution.

Affixed in the lower left corner of the painting is the seal of Wan-yen Ching-hsien (active late 19th-early 20th century).



Section 3



Section 5



Section 2

38 *Taoist Divinity of Water* 17.185

Ming dynasty, 15th-16th century

Handscroll; ink on paper

Height: 49.9 cm. (19 5/8 in.); length: 263.5 cm. (103 3/4 in.)

The opening section of the handscroll announces the frenetic action that continues undiminished throughout the entire composition. Grotesque demons carrying banners and weapons accompany two armored figures who are seated astride *ch'i-lin* and turn to watch the extraordinary procession that follows them. A demon scatters shovelful of coins from an oxcart. The Wind God, standing slightly behind the cart, holds a large bag in his hands. Gusts of wind from the bag tousle the hair and the garments of those figures standing close by. Next appears a figure, perhaps the Water Deity, seated on a dragon. In a cart beside the dragon a boar-headed Thunder God beats on a circular set of drums wreathed in flames. At this point there is an abrupt break in the composition, indicating that a section has been lost. In the final section of the painting there are demons wrapped in the coils of a dragon, two other demons operating a curious noise-making apparatus and two women clashing cymbals to provide one last crescendo.

The painting is a fragment and probably was considerably longer. According to the four-character title written in seal script at the beginning of the scroll by Wang Shu-an, the subject of the painting is the Water Deity. Early Taoists in China devised a triad, usually referred to as the Three Agents, that comprised the deities of Heaven, Earth and Water. The Three Agents were considered to be tran-



Section 1

scendental powers, capable of bestowing happiness, protecting from evil, and remitting the wages of sin. Since the Deity of Water was endowed with the power to protect the faithful from evil, it is understandable that the imagery of his entourage should be so ferocious.

Some indication of the complexity of complete sets of representations of the Three Agents is provided by two sets of paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (reproduced: *A Portfolio of Chinese Paintings in the Museum: Han to Sung*, Cambridge, 1933, pls. 103-105; *Yüan to Ch'ing Periods*, Boston, 1961, pls. 177-178).

According to the colophon by Chang Chung-shou (1252-1324) appended to the Freer handscroll, there were originally representations of all Three Agents. Chang also states that the artist, surnamed Ho, was 87 years old in 1310 when Chang wrote his colophon. The remaining colophons are signed Li Yung (dated 1449 and 1450 respectively), Li Wen-cheng, Wu Chin (dated 1815), and P'eng Min-sun (dated 1905).

In spite of the dates provided by the colophons, the style of the Freer handscroll does not appear to be earlier than the Ming dynasty. The colophons by Chang Chung-shou and Li Yung are probably later additions.

In style the Freer handscroll is closely related to the Wu Tao-tzu tradition. Certainly such details as the gaping mouths, unruly hair and dramatic juxtaposition of the demons and their lances are extremely similar to those in the well-known rubbing from a stone that is said to copy a demon of the Pei-yüeh Temple in Ch'ü-yang, Hopei (reproduced: Osvald Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*, vol. III, pl. 88). In the earlier figure paintings of the Ku K'ai-chih and



Section 3

Yen Li-pen tradition, motion was imparted to an essentially static figure by elegantly flowing streamers, but in the rubbing it is the motion of both the drapery and the figure that gives an impression of extraordinary energy.

The composition of the Freer scroll may have been derived ultimately from a mural of the Wu Tao-tzu tradition. There is a sense of overstatement in the brushwork of the handscroll that may result partially from the reduction in size. Some loss of craftsmanship is also apparent in the drawing, where many lines are redundant or unnecessarily tremulous.

Affixed to the handscroll are seals of Li Yung and Wan-yen Ching-hsien (late 19th-early 20th century).



Detail of section 1



39

Scholar Taking his Ease 11.232

Ming dynasty, 15th-16th century

Handscroll; ink and color on silk

Height: 34.1 cm. (13 3/8 in.); length: 51.7 cm. (20 3/8 in.)

A scholar wearing loosely arranged robes reclines on a low couch in a garden setting. Around the couch are a servant carrying a fan, a container of peaches and ice on a low table, and a large table on which are arranged an inkstone, a bundle of scrolls, several vases and bowls, and a chime. A long-handled stringed instrument is placed diagonally against the table. The large screen behind the couch is decorated with a landscape. In short, the scene depicts a Chinese scholar relaxing in a summer garden.

The Freer painting is nearly identical with a handscroll entitled *Wishing Away the Summer* by Liu Kuan-tao (late 13th-early 14th century) in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art (reproduced: Oswald Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*, vol. VI, pl. 43). The basic difference between the compositions is that the two women at the right of the Nelson Gallery version have been replaced by a single male servant in the Freer scroll. In addition, the screen in the Freer scroll is decorated with a landscape, while that in the Nelson Gallery version has a painting of a screen within the screen. (A similar detail is discussed in the entry for *Southern Tang Emperor Playing Wei-ch'i*, *Cat. No. 3*.) The style of the landscape in the Freer painting is closely related to Che school landscapes of the fifteenth and sixteenth century. This date is in agreement with the brushwork of the scholar and his servant.

The present title of the Freer handscroll, *Tuan-pen teng-yüan* ("Trace the source and probe its essence"), was written by Kao Hui, who also added a long Taoist text on longevity, dated in correspondence with 1730. The pronounced Taoist flavor of the title added by Kao Hui in the eighteenth century may have replaced an earlier one which probably was similar to that of the Nelson Gallery version.

A single red-script seal affixed to the right upper edge of the painting may be that of the artist; it has not yet been deciphered.



Three figures dominate the composition, the undulating outlines of their robes extending to both edges of the painting. In those smaller areas at the bottom and top of the composition not taken up by the figures, the artist introduced a section of gnarled tree trunk and the fragment of a pine branch. The two figures at the left are engrossed in the animated gestures of the tall figure at the right. The faces of all three figures are handled with a simplicity that borders on caricature; the jagged brush strokes that define the drapery folds radiate in irregular clusters at the waists, elbows and lower hems. These lines, like those defining the facial features, reveal only the slightest reference to direct observation of nature and suggest a total lack of concern for defining form; they reflect rather the artist's interest in organizing linear rhythms in a pleasing manner over the surface of the silk.

The drawing of the three figures and the tree is extremely close to that seen in paintings by the Ming artist Cheng T'ien-hsien. Two hanging scrolls in the Hashimoto collection (reproduced: *Min Shin ga mokuroku*, Tokyo, 1972, pls. 15 and 16) are so closely related in style to the Freer painting that it is reasonable to assume that all three are the work of the same artist. Little is known of Cheng T'ien-hsien other than that he was a native of Fukien province and was active during the sixteenth century.

In traditional Chinese folklore, the "Three Stars," representing Happiness, Emolument and Longevity, are among the spirits of the stars of the Northern Dipper, which are supposed to control death, while those of the Southern Dipper control life. These spirits record men's actions, and have the power to determine the length of a man's life on the basis of his virtuous deeds. Understandably, the Star of Longevity is generally considered to be the most important and large numbers of paintings of that deity alone are still extant.

Judging from entries found in catalogues of Chinese painting, the theme of the Three Stars was particularly popular during the Sung dynasty, when such well-known artists as Chao Po-chü (active 12th century), Ma Yüan (active late 12th-early 13th century) and Ma Lin (active early 13th century) depicted it. As was the case with so many Sung dynasty painting themes, the subject of the Three Stars became extremely popular among artists of the Che school during the early years of the Ming dynasty.

禮部侍郎致仕王溪九十歲



Portrait of Wang Huan

41 *Portrait of Wang Huan* 48.10
Sung dynasty, 11th century
Album leaf; ink and color on silk
Height: 39.3 cm. (15 1/2 in.); width: 31.7 cm. (12 3/8 in.)

42 *Portrait of Feng P'ing* 48.11
Sung dynasty, 11th century
Album leaf; ink and color on silk
Height: 39.9 cm. (15 3/4 in.); width: 32.7 cm. (12 7/8 in.)

The tradition of painting portraits to commemorate a gathering of elderly gentlemen began at least as early as the T'ang dynasty. In 845 the poet Po Chü-i (772-846) entertained a group of nine friends, all of whom were sixty-five years old. During the Sung dynasty, in 1082, a similar gathering was held in Loyang by Wen Yen-po (1006-87) and Fu Pi (1004-83). On that occasion, according to *Meng-hsi pi-t'an (chüan* 9, entry 161), the artisan Cheng Huan painted portraits of the thirteen participants in the Miao-chüeh-fo Temple. Unfortunately, none of the original paintings executed to commemorate those gatherings has survived.

The portraits of Wang Huan (active ca. 1030) and Feng P'ing were originally part of an album entitled *Sui-yang wu-lao t'u* ("Five Oldsters of Sui-yang"), which commemorated a similar gathering. The gathering was arranged by the noted statesman Tu Yen (978-1057) in a pavilion that subsequently came to be called *Wu-lao-t'ang* ("Pavilion of Five Oldsters"). Two other portraits from the same album, those of Tu Yen and Chu Kuan, are in the Yale University Art Gallery (reproduced: Louise Wallace Hackney and Yao Chang-foo, *A Study of Chinese Paintings in the Collection of Ada Small Moore*, New York, 1940, nos. 17-18). The fifth leaf, a portrait of Pi Shih-ch'ang, is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (reproduced: *Album Leaves from the Sung and Yüan Dynasties*, China House Gallery exhibition catalogue, March 26-May 30, 1970, p. 31). All five portraits were reproduced in F.S. Kwen's *A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient and Genuine Chinese Paintings*, 1916, no. 60. The brocade-covered wooden covers of the album, the title written in large characters by Chu I-tsun (1629-1709), and a number of colophons relating to the portraits are also in the Metropolitan Museum.

The style of the five portraits included in *Sui-yang wu-lao t'u* reflects the influence of T'ang figure painting traditions. The formal, almost stiff poses and the individualized articulation of eyes, ears, and drapery folds can be compared to similar details in the portraits of meritorious officials which Yen Li-pen (601-673) painted for the Ling-yen-ko in 642. Although Yen Li-pen's original paintings are no longer extant, some indication of their direct, sensitive execution can be gained

駕部郎中致仕馮平八十七歲



Portrait of Feng Ping

from rubbings of stone engravings made in 1090 and reproduced in *Wen-wu*, 1962, no. 10, pp. 15-16. The Sung artist who painted the Sui-yang portraits worked in a rather old-fashioned style, perhaps in a conscious attempt to perpetuate the older, more conservative tradition appropriate to the theme.

The inscriptions on each of the five portraits read: "Wang Huan, Vice-president of the Board of Ceremonies, retired, at the age of 90"; "Feng P'ing, Secretary of the Board of War, retired, at the age of 87"; "Chu Kuan, Secretary of the Board of War, retired, at the age of 88"; "Tu Yen, Duke of the State of Ch'i, at the age of 80"; and "Pi Shih-ch'ang, President of the Board of Revenue, retired, at the age of 94."

A seal reading *Sui-yang shih chia* is affixed in the lower right corner of each portrait. In the lower left corner of the portrait of Wang Huan and Feng P'ing is a partially obliterated seal, two characters of which read *Pi shih*. The two portraits in the Yale University Museum have the seal of Edward Small Moore affixed in the lower right corner.

The colophons preserved in the Metropolitan Museum bear the names of Ch'ien Ming-i (dated 1056), Wang Hsün (dated 1388), Li Kan (dated 1388), Yao Kuang-hsiao (dated 1416), Shen Shih-hsing (dated 1610), Chu Chih-fan (dated 1624), Ku Ch'i-yüan (dated 1625), Wei Huan-ch'ü (dated 1633), Chu Chi-huang (dated 1645), Kuci Chuang (dated 1670), Hsü Chiung (dated 1707), Chu Mao-hsiu (dated 1707), Kao T'ing-ts'an (dated 1808), Tso Tsung-t'ang (dated 1878), Li Hsün (1883), Sheng-yü (dated 1889), Li Tsai-hsien (dated 1890), Li Tz'u-ming (dated 1893), and Chin Ch'eng (dated 1914).

According to the information provided in the colophons, the five portraits were painted during the reign of Jen-tsong (1023-63). The name of the artist is unknown, but the first colophon, written by Ch'ien Ming-i in 1056, provides a *terminus ante quem* for the execution of the portraits.

A painting entitled *Sui-yang wu-lao t'u* is recorded by a number of writers. The long, detailed entry in *T'ieh-wang shan-hu* (1600), *bua-p'in* 3:2a-20b, is repeated in *Shih-ku-t'ang shu bua hui-k'ao* (1682), *chüan* 15:45a-63b. Shorter entries in *Ch'ing-hsia-kuan lun-bua ch'ieh-chü* (1824), 7a; *Wu-i-yu-i-chai lun-bua shih* (1908), *shang*, 11a-b, also refer to the same painting. *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi san-pien* (1817), pp. 1532-33, and *Hsi Ch'ing cha chi* (1816), *chüan* 3:11b-13a, record a second version of the painting.

Only the 1056 colophon by Ch'ien Ming-i and the 1388 colophon by Wang Hsün in the Metropolitan Museum of Art album are recorded in *T'ieh-wang shan-hu*. On the other hand, *T'ieh-wang shan-hu* records sixty-eight additional colophons, all dating between 1056 and 1388, written by some of the most prominent literati of the Sung and Yüan

dynasty. A complete list of the colophons in *T'ieb-wang shan-hu* includes that written by Ch'ien Ming-i (dated 1056), followed by a number of colophons by Northern Sung literati in the form of poems on the five old gentlemen, all based on the same rhyme scheme: Ou-yang Hsiu, Yen Shu, Chang Shang-ying, Fan Chung-yen, Fu Pi, Han Ch'i, Hu Yüan, Su Sung, Shao Yung, Wen Yen-po, Ssu-na Kuang, Chang Tsai, Ch'eng Hao, Ch'eng I, Su Shih, Huang T'ing-chien, Su Che, and Fan Shun-jen; colophons written in the Southern Sung by Chiang Ts'an (dated 1135), Tu Wan (dated 1136), Ch'ien Tuan-li (dated 1138), Hu An-kuo, Chu Hsi, Lü Tsu-ch'ien, Wang Chih (dated 1143), Li Nan-shou (dated 1167), Hsieh Ti, Hung Mai (dated 1177), Chang Kuei-mo, Yu Yen-ming, Fan Ch'eng-ta (dated 1184), Ou-yang Hsi-hsün (dated 1192), Hung Kuo (dated 1191), Huang Ying, Hsieh Ju-hui, Yang Wan-li (dated 1191), Yü Tuan-li (dated 1192), Ho I (dated 1197), Chu Tzu-jung (dated 1205); colophons written in the Yüan dynasty by Chao Meng-fu, Yü Chi (dated 1325), Li Tao-tan (dated 1328), Ch'eng Chü-fu, Yao Sui, Ma Chao, Yüan Ming-shan, Liu Chih, Chou Jen-jung, Ts'ao Chien, Teng Chü-ch'uan, all of whom saw the painting in 1328, Ts'ao Yüan-yung, Ma Tsu-ch'ang, Chang Chu, Yü Ch'uo, Han Yung (dated 1329), Chao Ch'i-i (dated 1332), Kuo Pi (dated 1334), Hsia Kan (dated 1340), T'ai Pu-hua (dated 1341), Liu Kuan, Tu Pen, Li Ch'i (dated 1349), Chou Po-ch'i (dated 1362), and Wang Hsün (dated 1388). This impressive list indicates that the *Sui-yang wu-lao t'u* was a highly regarded group of paintings.

By combining the information in those colophons in the Metropolitan Museum and those recorded in *T'ieb-wang shan-hu*, it is possible to reconstruct the complete history of the painting from 1056 to the 20th century, as Li Lin-ts'an has done in his articles, "*Sui-yang wu-lao t'u*," *Ta-lu ts'a-chih*, vol. XII, no. 9, pp. 272-275; "*Sui-yang wu-lao t'u te fu-yüan*," Part I, *Ibid.*, vol. XX, no. 3, pp. 73-77; Part II, *Ibid.*, no. 4, pp. 115-121. At the time Ch'ien Ming-i wrote his preface in 1056, the painting consisted of five portraits and a poem about each man depicted. During the Southern Sung dynasty, judging from Chiang Ts'an's colophon (dated 1135), the painting was in the collection of descendants of Pi Shih-ch'ang, who was the subject of one of the portraits. Hence there is a *Pi shih* seal on the portraits of Wang Huan and Feng P'ing. In 1167 the painting was remounted by Pi Hsi-wen. Some time around 1191 the painting left the Pi family and was acquired by descendants of Chu Kuan. It was at this time that the Pi family had a copy made.

Early in the Yüan dynasty, according to Chao Meng-fu's colophon, the original painting was still in the possession of the Chu family; and in 1325, it had passed to Chu Te-jun (1294-1365).

In 1633 the painting was in the collection of Chu Ju-mei, who again had it remounted. After brief periods in the collections of Hsia Ch'ang

(1388-1470) and Shen Shih-hsing (1535-1614), the painting came into the hands of Chu Ju-jen in 1645. When Kuei Chuang wrote his colophon in 1670, the painting had been acquired by the Ku family, and Kuei urged that it be returned to the Chu family. By 1707 when Hsü Chiung added his note, the painting had already gone to Chu Po-lu, been returned to the Ku family, and then again returned to Chu Mao-hsiu, who added a colophon dated 1707. According to Chu Mao-hsiu, Chu Po-lu had purchased the painting from the Ku family for twelve taels of gold in 1670. Thirty-seven years later, Chu Mao-hsiu bought the painting back from the Chin family for sixteen taels of gold. It was at this time too, according to Li Lin-ts'an, that, for convenience, the painting was mounted as an album for the high price of ten taels of gold. It must have been at the same time that Chu I-tsun wrote the large characters for the title.

During the period 1862-68 the painting was owned by Ti Man-nung, who was forced to give it up in 1868, when another official named Wang threatened to inflict severe punishment on people living in an area under Ti's administration unless he received the album. Almost immediately, Wang presented the album to the great military leader and statesman, Tso Tsung-t'ang (1812-85). But Tso declined to accept the gift. After writing a brief note, he returned the album to Wang. From the colophon by Li Tsu-ming (dated 1892), we learn that Wang sold the album to the Manchu collector Sheng-yü for 300 taels of gold. The last dated inscription is by Chin Ch'eng, who wrote in 1914.

Both Li Lin-ts'an and Chuang Shen ("*Sui-yang wu-lao t'u pu-shu*," *Chung-kuo hua-shih yen-chiu*, pp. 231-250, originally published under the same title in *Ta-lu ts'a-chih*, vol. XIII, no. 3, pp. 83-90) record a comment by the contemporary connoisseur, Chiang Ku-sun, to the effect that after the Sino-Japanese War, Chiang saw what he believed to be the original Sung version of *Sui-yang wu-lao t'u* mounted as an album with all of the colophons intact. This statement is especially perplexing in view of the fact that the Metropolitan Museum acquired the portrait of Pi Shih-ch'ang and the colophons in 1917, and the two portraits now in the Yale University Gallery were published in 1940. It may be that Chiang Ku-sun was in error as to just when he saw the album and which colophons it then contained.

Those colophons recorded in *T'ieb-wang shan-hu* present a number of problems relating to the original format of the *Sui-yang wu-lao t'u*. Ch'ien Ming-i did not comment on the format of the painting, but another Sung dynasty writer, Li Nan-shou, mentions in his colophon that the painting had been remounted in 1167 by Pi Hsi-wen, a fourth-generation descendent of Pi Shih-ch'ang. Li Nan-shou notes that he is writing his colophon at the end of the handscroll, making it clear that after the remounting the portraits were in handscroll format.

In his discussion of the problem of the original format of the painting, Chuang Shen (*op. cit.*) proposes that the portraits were originally mounted as an album. He also suggests that the painting remounted as a handscroll in 1167 was a copy. Chuang believes that the long discussion of *Sui-yang wu-lao t'u* in *T'ieh-wang shan-hu* refers to the copy rather than to the original. According to Chuang's theory, the original album dropped out of sight in the Sung dynasty and was not mentioned again in records until the nineteenth century when Ti Pao-hsien in *P'ing-teng-ko pi-chi* (quoted by Chu Hsing-chai in *I-yüan t'au-wang*, pp. 12-13) described the extraordinary circumstances under which his father, Ti Man-nung, was forced to give up the album.

In formulating his theory, Chuang apparently overlooked the colophon by Tu Wan, dated 1136—approximately thirty years before the 1167 remounting took place—in which the painting is already described as a handscroll. At the time Chuang Shen wrote, he knew only the whereabouts of the two portraits in the Freer Gallery and based his conclusions on the information recorded in *T'ieh-wang shan-hu*. Chuang Shen also notes that after the Sino-Japanese war, Chiang Ku-sun saw an album entitled *Sui-yang wu-lao t'u* painted by Yu Ch'iu (active 1570-90) that was a careful copy of the Sung version. Yu Ch'iu's painting, which apparently has never been reproduced, is recorded in *Jang-li-kuan kuo-yen lu* (1891), *chüan* 23: 1a-36a. Chuang suggests that since Yu Ch'iu had painted the portraits as album leaves, he must have been copying album leaves, a conclusion that is not entirely convincing.

In some editions of *T'ieh-wang shan-hu* there is a colophon, dated 1457, added by a group of eighteen men who saw the painting together at the home of Chu Ju-mei. Evidently Chuang Shen and Li Lin-ts'an did not consider the colophon to be of any significance, for they omit any mention of it.

Another version of *Sui-yang wu-lao t'u* is recorded in *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi san-pien*, pp. 1523-33. According to that entry there are only three colophons attached to the painting; they are by Wu K'uan, dated 1479, by Hu Tsuan-tsung, dated 1527, and by Wen Cheng-ming, dated 1553. Ch'en Jen-t'ao describes what probably is the same version on page 10b of his *Ku-kung i-i shu-hua mu chiao-chu*. In Ch'en's opinion the portraits are Ming or Ch'ing dynasty copies, but the Ming colophons are genuine. A single figure, extremely close to the Sui-yang portraits, was published in *Chung-kuo ku-tai hui-hua hsiian-chi*, pl. 53, and may be a portion of the copy mentioned by Ch'en. Ch'en records that the original portraits, formerly in the collection of Ti Man-nung, were acquired by Hung Yü-lin in 1889-90, and then went abroad. There is no doubt that these refer to the album leaves now dispersed in Washington, New York and New Haven.



43 *Yang Kuei-fei Mounting a Horse* 57.14

By Ch'ien Hsüan (ca. 1235-after 1300)

Yüan dynasty

Handscroll; ink and color on paper

Height: 29.5 cm. (11 5/8 in.); length: 117.0 cm. (46 1/8 in.)

The composition can be divided into complementary halves. In the introductory section, the T'ang emperor Ming-huang (reigned 713-756) sits quietly astride his white horse and, together with four attendants, turns to watch the latter part of the scroll where his portly concubine, Yang Kuei-fei, is being helped onto her saddle by maidservants and attendants.

In the period from late Southern Sung through the early Yüan dynasty, Ch'ien Hsüan was a key figure in reviving ancient styles and infusing them with his own innovations to create a new and viable

artistic vocabulary. In this handscroll, the subject matter is an obvious reference to the past. Ch'ien Hsüan's use of precise outline and flat color and his arrangement of the figures against a blank background reflect his keen awareness of the earlier achievements of T'ang dynasty artists, as well as those of the Northern Sung artist Li Kung-lin (ca. 1049-1106). A new sense of detached restraint which pervades the painting is typical of Ch'ien Hsüan's work and characteristic of Yüan dynasty archaism in general.

At the end of the handscroll Ch'ien Hsüan added a poem:

"With jade [fitted] bridle and engraved saddle, [Emperor Ming-huang] favors T'ai-chen [Yang Kuci-fei].

Year after year in Autumn, they traveled to [enjoy the warm springs at] Hua-ch'ing.

While K'ai-yüan [Ming-huang] has 400,000 horses,

What caused him to mount a mule and ride off on the road to Shu?"

As has been pointed out by James Cahill in his article, "Ch'ien Hsüan and His Figure Paintings," *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*, vol. XII (1958), pp. 11-29, both the poem and the painting have erotic implications.

Following the poem, the artist added his signature, "Ch'ien Hsüan [*tsu*] Shun-chü of Wu-hsing." Affixed beside the signature are three seals: *Shun-chü yin-chang*, *Shun-chü* and *Ch'ien Hsüan chih yin*. Also affixed to the painting are the "eight seals complete" of the Ch'ien-lung emperor (reigned 1736-95), and one seal each of the Chia-ch'ing (reigned 1796-1820) and Hsüan-t'ung (reigned 1908-12) emperors. At the beginning of the painting is a collector's seal almost completely cut away in remounting and consequently illegible.

The painting is recorded in *T'ien-shui ping-shan lu*, (p. 235b), the list of all the properties confiscated from the famous collection of Yen Sung (1480-1565) after his political downfall. It is mentioned, in quotations from this source, in *Ch'ing-bo shu hua fang* (preface dated 1616), *wu*: 25; in *Shan-hu-wang hua lu* (preface dated 1643), *chüan* 23:28; in *P'ei-wen-chai shu hua p'u* (1708), *chüan* 98:27; and in *Chu-chia ts'ang-hua pu* (preface dated 1778). The painting is also recorded in *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi hsü-pien* (1793), p. 1941. Although not listed in *Ku-kung i-i shu-chi shu-hua mu-lu ssu-chung* (Peking, 1934), the painting is mentioned by Ch'en Jen-t'ao in his *Ku-kung i-i shu-hua mu chiao-chu* (Hong Kong, 1956), with the note that the scroll is now in the United States. Ch'en then adds the terse comment, "fake," but gives no reason for his judgment.

The handscroll was evidently owned at one time by the contemporary Chinese painter, Chang Ta-ch'ien, who copied a section of it and indicated in his inscription that the original was then in his possession.

Chang's copy is reproduced in *Tchang Ta-ts'ien, peintre chinois* (Paris, Musée d'Art Modern, 1956), pl. 17.

Another painting of the same subject by Ch'ien Hsüan, on silk, is recorded in *Jang-li-kuan kuo-yen lu* (1892), *chüan* 5:13. The poem on this version can be rendered:

“When the T'ang ruler K'ai-yüan had brought about peace,
Year after year in the tenth month he went to Hua-ch'ing.
At that time the manner of the many equestrian beauties [made it
apparent that they]
Did not think that they themselves [might one day] go galloping
on the road to Shu.”

Yet another version, this one a handscroll in color on paper, is recorded in the supplement of *Mo-yüan hui-kuan* (preface dated 1742). According to that brief entry Ch'ien Hsüan inscribed a poem at the beginning and another at the end of the scroll. Following the painting there was a colophon by Fang Hsiao-ju (1357-1402) in which he states that the painting was by Chou Fang. This entry is not noted in Ferguson's *Li-tai chu-lu hua-mu* probably because of an error that occurs in most editions of *Mo-yüan hui-kuan*. The revised text, including the entry on Ch'ien Hsüan's painting of Yang Kuei-fei mounting a horse, appears in the edition of *Mo-yüan hui-kuan* published by the Commercial Press in 1956.



44 *Horse and Groom* 45.32
 By Chao Yung (born 1289)
 Yüan dynasty, dated 1347
 Handscroll; ink and color on paper
 Height: 31.7 cm. (12 1/2 in.); length: 73.5 cm. (28 15/16 in.)

The work of the Northern Sung artist Li Kung-lin (ca. 1049-1106) exerted great influence on literati painting during succeeding dynasties. One of the most famous of Li Kung-lin's paintings was the *Five Horses*. According to the brief inscriptions written by Huang T'ing-chien (1045-1105) on that painting, the five steeds were presented as tribute, presumably to Emperor Che-tsung (reigned 1086-1100), between May 18, 1086 and February 2, 1089.

In this short handscroll, Chao Yung, son of the well-known Yüan dynasty artist Chao Meng-fu (1254-1322), has copied the first horse, *Feng-t'ou-t's'ung* ("Phoenix-headed piebald"), from Li Kung-lin's painting. In contrast to the taut angularity that characterizes Li Kung-lin's drawing, Chao Yung rendered the Khotanese groom and dappled horse with gently curving outlines and added bright color. As a result, Chao

Yung's portraits of horse and groom lack the extraordinary degree of individuality and solidity that are so important in Li Kung-lin's painting. Chao Yung's seal-script inscription is dated in correspondence with 1347, and is followed by the seal *Chung-mu*.

Preceding the painting are four characters, *Ai ch'i shen chün* ("I am taken with its divine equinity"). Following the characters is the signature, *yü-t'i* ("imperially inscribed") and three seals of the Ch'ien-lung emperor who also wrote a poem on the painting dated 1764. Affixed on the painting are two seals of Wu Chen (1280-1359), two of Ma Yü-lin (fl. 1354), sixteen imperial seals of the Ch'ien-lung and Chia-ch'ing emperors, as well as several unidentified ones.

Following the painting is a colophon by Wu K'uan (1435-1504), which can be rendered: "I once saw a horse painting by Ch'en Hung of the T'ang dynasty, and marveled at its superlative quality. Now I see Chung-mu's [Chao Yung's] copy of Li Po-shih's work. It really qualifies as a transmitter of Li's tradition. As for the barbarian leading the horse, his appearance is captured to the utmost. It is because the artist's mood was perfectly in tune with the subject matter, and this manifests itself beyond the depiction of the cloud-studded creature [i.e. the horse]. This painting was done by Chung-mu to send to his younger brother I. Later it entered the collection of Ku Chung-ying [Ku Ying, 1310-69] of K'un-shan. The bones of those ancient galloping hooves have decayed and disappeared without trace, but the lively spirit of more than two hundred years ago is still preserved on a foot of paper. What substance is there in the boast of the twelve corrals of the imperial stables? Inscribed by Wu K'uan of Yen-ling."

This painting was in the Ch'ing imperial collection and is recorded in *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi san-pien* (1817), pp. 3307-08. However, it is not listed among the paintings lost from the collection in Ch'en Jen-t'ao's *Ku-kuang i-i shu-bua mu chiao-chü* (1956). The editors of *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi san-pien* suggest that Wu K'uan knew the painting had been done by Chao Yung for his younger brother Chao I because the information was in earlier inscriptions and colophons which had been lost.

Ferguson's index, *Li-tai chu-lu hua-mu* (1934), lists eleven records of paintings by Chao Yung whose titles indicate that they might have been of the same subject matter as the Freer scroll, namely, a horse painting after Li Kung-lin. Of the eleven, seven are listed by title only, and they all refer to one painting which was once in the collection of Yen Sung (1480-1565). The remaining three listings appear to refer to one painting which is different from the Freer scroll. The three entries in their respective catalogues are similar except for the fact that *Ta-kuan lin* (1712) alone gives a description of the painting (*chüan* 18:37a-39a). According to that catalogue, the painting has a landscape background, which the Freer scroll does not have. Chao Yung's inscription states:

“Of the five horses depicted by Li Po-shih in his *Wu-hua-ma t'u*, the only one I love is *Feng-t'ou*. My younger brother Chung-kuang also thinks highly of it. For him I have copied this, and I feel happy because of it. . . . Inscribed by Chao Chung-mu on the 15th day of the eighth month in the third year of the reign of Chih-cheng [September 4, 1343].” The scroll also bears a colophon by Chao I, the brother for whom the painting was done, as well as colophons by K'o Chiu-ssu (1312-65), Monk Liang-ch'i (dated 1347), Ku Ying (1310-69), Chang T'ien-ying, Lü Li (active mid 14th century), Wu K'o-kung (active mid 14th century), Yü Hsien, Yüan Hua (1316-after 1368), Yang Chung, and Lu Ju (dated 1424). The present whereabouts of this painting is unknown.

It is unlikely that both the 1343 and the 1347 paintings are genuine, or Chao Yung would have mentioned the earlier one in his inscription on the latter. Some problems relating the differing versions of the composition are discussed by Chuang Shen in his article, “*Chao Yung jen-ma t'u-chüan k'ao*,” *Chung-kuo hua-shih yen-chiu* (Taipci, 1959), pp. 251-264.



Detail of 45.32



Yüan dynasty, 14th century

Hanging scroll; ink and color on silk

Height: 93.7 cm. (36 7/8 in.); width: 43.7 cm. (17 3/16 in.)

The figure is depicted in three-quarter view with her right foot advanced as if about to step forward. She holds a bamboo ladle in one hand and in the other carries a basket with two more ladles. The cluster of drapery folds on the right sleeve, defined by angular brush strokes that hook back on themselves, forms a contrast with the long, slightly curving brush strokes of the robe. The edges of the lapels of the overgarment, the sash and the undergarment are reinforced with a white line to enhance the illusion of semi-transparent fabric.

The slender proportions of the figure and the sharp, angular brush strokes of the drapery folds reflect the influence of late Northern Sung traditions. However, the pronounced, almost mannered, angularity of the individual brush strokes, as well as their variations in width, suggest that the earlier style has been reinterpreted by a Yüan dynasty artist.

The painting is said to depict Lu Mei-niang, a girl from Nan-hai who was presented to the T'ang emperor Shun-tsung (reigned 805). According to tradition, Lu Mei-niang was born with long, thread-like eyebrows, hence her name, literally "eyebrow maiden." In 805, when she was 14, Lu Mei-niang was presented to the emperor whom she impressed with her unusual ability to execute intricate embroidery designs. On one occasion she embroidered seven *chüan* of the *Lotus Sūtra* on a square foot of silk. Shun-tsung's son, Hsien-tsung (reigned 806-820) also admired Lu Mei-niang's intelligence and ability. To show his esteem, Hsien-tsung presented her with a gold phoenix bracelet. During the Yüan-ho period (806-820), Lu Mei-niang became a Taoist and requested that she be allowed to leave the imperial palace. Her request was granted and she returned to her home in Nan-hai, where people claimed to have seen her riding over the sea on purple clouds.

There are no specific details which support or contradict the traditional identification of the painting as being a portrait of Lu Mei-niang. The gentle elegance of the figure recalls such representations as the Ma Lang-fu Kuan-yin in the Maeda Foundation, Tokyo (*Kokka*, no. 233), and details such as the fish basket and bamboo ladles, often associated with Kuan-yin, further support the possibility that the figure may be Buddhist rather than Taoist. On the other hand, a young woman carrying bamboo ladles might also depict Ling-chao, who also lived in the Yüan-ho period. She was the daughter of P'ang Wen, who became a Ch'an monk. According to tradition, Ling-chao sold bamboo ladles that she had woven herself to support her parents. (An album leaf attributed to Ma Lin [13th century] in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston [repro-

duced: Osvald Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*, vol. III, pl. 292], depicts Ling-chao standing in the snow. A Japanese rendition of the subject by Gakuō [ca. 1500], is reproduced by Yasuichi Awakawa in *Zen Painting* [Tokyo, 1970], pl. 33.) In any case, the tersely defined facial features display not the slightest suggestion of generalization, and there seems no reason to reject the theory that the painting is a portrait, even though the precise identification of the subject must remain open for further study.

It should be noted that the woman is wearing the gauze cap of a Confucian scholar. During the T'ang (618-907) and Southern T'ang (937-976) dynasties, court ladies did occasionally wear men's costumes. A well-known painting that is said to depict a woman in men's garb is the flute player formerly attributed to Ch'ien Hsüan (*Sekai bijutsu zenshū*, vol. 16, pl. 35). Here too there is some question as to the identity of the person represented. The figure is sometimes identified as Huan I, an official of Eastern Chin who was celebrated as a flute player. More recently, scholarly opinion has tended to accept the painting as depicting a court lady of the Southern T'ang dynasty. Some support for the latter identification is provided by a statement in *Hua-chien* (late 1320's) describing a painting of a court lady by Chou Wen-chü (active 961-975), in which the lady with a jade flute stuck into her girdle was looking at her fingernails in an attitude of deep reverie.

Little is known of the artist Ho Ch'ung to whom the Freer painting is traditionally attributed. According to Chinese texts, Ho Ch'ung was a native of Suchou, Kiangsu. A contemporary of Li Kung-lin (ca. 1049-1106), he became a *hsin-ts'ai*, or graduate of the first degree, during the Yüan-feng period (1078-85). Ho Ch'un excelled in painting portraits, and is described as being without equal among his contemporaries in southeast China. In 1079 the Confucian temple in Yangchou had just been rebuilt when the Prime Minister, Ch'en Sheng-chih (1011-79) died. The officials of Yangchou invited Ho Ch'ung to execute a portrait of Ch'en which subsequently was hung in the Ching-shih Hall of the Confucian temple.

The silk in the upper section of the Freer painting is a later replacement; the original silk has been cut away in sharp outlines at a level just above the eyebrows, but the complete head and headdress were retained. Possibly the upper section of the painting originally bore an inscription and seals. In its present format, there are neither seals nor an inscription on the painting.



Detail of 17.114



Section 2

- 46** *Tartars on Horseback* 68.46
Ming dynasty, 15th century
Handscroll; ink on silk
Height: 25.2 cm. (9 7/8 in.); length: 100.0 cm. (39 3/8 in.)
Gift of Eugene and Agnes E. Meyer

The painting depicts a party of six mounted horsemen, the last of whom is leading a seventh riderless horse. Four of the horsemen are bearded and have foreign features, while the first and fifth appear to be Chinese. The riderless horse, with its magnificent accoutrement, is probably a tribute horse to be presented to the Chinese emperor. The horses, all depicted in profile, are trotting in one direction. However, by making the first and fourth riders turn back to look at the rest of the procession, the artist is able to achieve two ends: first, to portray some of the figures in profile and others in three-quarter view; second, to form two inter-relating groups, thus isolating and drawing attention to the third figure, who, with his luxurious costume and high, elaborate hat, is obviously the chieftain. A fine outline of even width defines the horses and riders, and shading is used fairly extensively to convey the bulk of the horses and, to a lesser extent, to delineate the drapery folds. The artist is meticulous in his rendering of fabric patterns, of the horses' accoutrement and of the riders' weapons.

There is no signature on the painting, but a label on the front silk mounting, the title at the upper right corner, and the colophon after the painting all attribute the work to Ch'en Chü-chung (active early 13th century), as a copy of a composition by Tung-tan Wang. Tung-tan Wang was Yeh-lü T'u-yü (899-937), the eldest son of A-pao-chi, the first emperor of the Khitan Tartar dynasty of Liao. In 926 the Khitan, in their expansionist campaign, conquered the Kingdom of Po-hai in



Section 1

eastern Manchuria and named it Tung-tan Kuo; Yeh-lü was made ruler of that kingdom and given the title of Tung-tan Wang. Not long afterwards, however, A-pao-chi designated his younger son rather than Tung-tan Wang as the heir-apparent. This was no doubt the reason why Tung-tan Wang pledged his allegiance to the Hou T'ang dynasty in 931 by handing over the Po-hai territory. He was graciously received by Ming-sung (reigned 926-934) and was given the Chinese name of Li Tsan-hua, by which he is usually referred to in Chinese texts. It is not known whether he began painting before or after his move to China, but all records concur in stating that he excelled in painting horses and his own nomadic people, set against the desolate background of his native steppes. Numbers of paintings attributed to him were in the Northern and Southern Sung imperial collections.

Tartars on Horseback is no doubt derived from an original composition by Li Tsan-hua. Several other versions are extant, most notably the one in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, partially illustrated in *Figure Compositions of China and Japan* (n.d.), II/1-4. Executed in colors on silk, the Boston painting is dated tenth century and accepted as by Li Tsan-hua. The composition appears to fit the description of a Li Tsan-hua painting entitled *Fan-pu hsing-ch'eng t'u* ("Foreign Tribes Traveling") recorded in texts. Other versions are another painting in the Freer Gallery (accession number 40.1, reproduced by A.G. Wenley, "A Parallel Between Far Eastern and Persian Painting," in *Aus der Welt der Islamischen Kunst, Festschrift für Ernst Kühnel* [1959], p. 351, figs. 1a and 1b); and an album leaf in the National Palace Museum in Taiwan (National Palace Museum Photographic Archive, no. 1916).

The Freer painting does not appear to be recorded in any text. The colophon is written by Hu Yen (1361-1443), official and painter, and is dated in correspondence with February 3, 1425. It appears to be

genuine. The title purports to be from the hand of Hsü Lin (1471-1524), but the style of the calligraphy is that of the Ch'ing dynasty. There are two seals on the painting. At the upper right corner is a large seal which consists of the eight trigrams disposed along the sides, and they enclose four characters in seal script reading *Lin-chi cheng-tsung*. The seal at the lower left corner reads *Shih-hsün-lou chen-ts'ang*, probably a seal of the Ch'ing dynasty collector Chang Shou-kang.



Detail of section 1



Section 2

47 *Mongols Bringing a Tribute of Horses* 15.16

Ming dynasty (1368-1644)

Handscroll; ink, color and gold on silk

Height: 31.0 cm. (12 3/16 in.); length: 192.8 cm. (75 15/16 in.)

Three tribute horses, one white, one dappled and the third black, are being led in single file by three foreign grooms. At the beginning of the procession are two figures, one of whom carries a chalice, the other a rolled document. They are followed by two attendants who hold a sword and a banner. All of the figures have somewhat grotesque foreign facial features and are sumptuously robed. Although the artist depicted the figures in relatively static poses, he introduced a sense of movement by means of the scarves and banners which are floating in graceful patterns as if caught in a breeze. In addition, some of the tunics and skirts worn by the grooms are shown with fussy curling folds of the type usually associated with the paintings of Wei-ch'ih I-seng (active late 7th-early 8th century). This type of archaistic feature may have been introduced because of its association with foreigners.

Although the handscroll bears an attribution to the T'ang master Han Kan (active 8th century), the composition and the brushwork are more directly related to the Li Kung-lin (ca. 1049-1106) tradition. A number of versions of the composition, attributed to different artists, are still extant, suggesting that the original painting was a famous one. An inferior version in the Freer Gallery (accession number 19.11) also has a Han Kan attribution. Another scroll in the Fogg Museum (accession number 23.153) is attributed unconvincingly to Ch'ien Hsüan (ca. 1235-after 1300). Yet another in the Brundage collection (reproduced: Sher-



萬曆丙子仲春三日
王世貞觀

Section 1

man E. Lee and Wai-kam Ho, *Chinese Art Under the Mongols: The Yuan Dynasty [1279-1368]*, entry 189), is signed by Jen Po-wen (active mid 14th century), a grandson of Jen Jen-fa (1254-1327).

On the Freer scroll, the title, *Han Kan Ch'eng-ma t'u* ("Tribute Horses by Han Kan"), is written in seal script at the beginning of the handscroll. Following the title is the signature Shu, and the seals *Wang Shu yin* and *T'ien-kuan ta-fu*. The quality of the calligraphy raises some doubt as to whether the title was actually written by Wang Shu (1668-1743).

Above the second tribute horse is written *Han Kan Ch'eng-ma t'u Ch'eng-ho chia-wen sui, Yü-pi* ("Tribute Horses by Han Kan, 1114 A.D., Imperially written"), followed by the cypher of Sung Hui-tsung (reigned 1101-26). Beneath the inscription is a large seal, *Chi-ku-tien pao*. The inscription, cypher and seal are not genuine.

On the front silk mounting is the colophon: "Viewed by Wang Shih-chen [1526-90] on the 13th day in mid spring in the *ping-tzu* year in the reign of Wan-li [March 13, 1576]." Below the signature is a seal reading *Wang Shih-chen yin*. On the right edge of the painting is the seal *Lang-shieh Wang Ching-mei shih shou-ts'ang t'u-shu*. Ching-mei was the *tz'u* of Wang Shih-mou (1536-88), the younger brother of Wang Shih-chen.

On the silk mounting following the painting is another colophon: "Viewed at the Yen-shan-t'ang [the studio of Wang Shih-chen] on the third day of the mid summer [month] in the second year of the reign of Wan-li [May 22, 1574]. Respectfully inscribed by Mo Shih-lung [ca. 1539-87]." Below is affixed the seal *Mo T'ing-han shih*. Both the inscription and seal appear genuine.

萬曆二年仲夏三日觀于
 芥小堂中其足龍款顯



Section 4

On the end paper are three colophons in verse. The first one is signed Chou Chih (late Yüan-early Ming dynasty), and is followed by two seals: *Chou Chih ssu-yin* and *Chü-lin-sbeng*. The second colophon is signed Chang Pen and is followed by one seal, *Ching-ch'u*. The third one is signed Chang Yü (1277-1348) and is followed by the seal *Chü-ch'ü wai-shih*. Nearby are several other seals. Three of these (*Hsü-lang-chai*, *Hsiang Mo-lin chien-shang chang* and *Chi-ao*) are seals of the Ming dynasty collector Hsiang Yüan-pien (1525-90). The seal *Lontung Pi Yüan* is that of Pi Yüan (1730-97).

A painting (or paintings) entitled *Ch'eng-ma t'u* or *Yü-jen ch'eng-ma t'u-yü-jen* is an old term for "officer in charge of the stables"—attributed to Han Kan is listed by title only in *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u* (preface dated 1120), *chüan* 13:7; *Sung Chung-hsing-kuan-ko ch'u-ts'ang t'u-hua chi* (compiled in 1199); *Ch'ien-shan-t'ang shu-hua chi* (preface dated 1569), p. 8; *Nan-yang ming-hua lu* (late 16th century), p. 4; *Ch'ing-ho shu-hua fang* (preface dated 1616), *chüan* 7:20.

A scroll recorded in *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi hsü-pien* (1793), pp. 3154-56, is entitled *Yü-jen ch'eng-ma t'u* and is attributed to Han Kan. However, that painting is not the same as that in the Freer Gallery. The latter is recorded in *Hsü-chai ming-hua lu* (1909), *chüan* 1:1a-4b, the catalogue of the paintings in the collection of P'ang Yüan-chi (ca. 1865-ca. 1949) from whom the painting was purchased through C.T. Loo.



Section 3



School of T'ang Yin (1470-1523)

Ming dynasty, 16th century

Hanging scroll; ink and color on silk

Height: 100.9 cm. (39 3/4 in.); width: 58.2 cm. (22 13/16 in.)

Two ladies, accompanied by a servant girl carrying a vase of peonies, are depicted walking arm in arm. The ladies have their hands hidden within the folds of their long narrow sleeves. All three figures are clad in ornately decorated robes with high collars. The extraordinarily slender figures with overly large heads are characteristic of female proportions seen in Chinese figure painting dating from the sixteenth century. The size of the heads is further emphasized by the contrast between the white faces and elaborately arranged black hair bound with floral wreaths.

Two comparable paintings of the same type of fragile beauty are provided in works attributed to T'ang Yin (1470-1523), reproduced in *T'ang Liu-ju hua chi* (Canton, 1962, pls. 5 and 27). Such details as the widely spaced facial features and the orderly arrangement of the drapery folds link all three paintings to the same tradition; the Freer scroll appears to be the work of an artist following in the T'ang Yin tradition, perhaps a generation later.

During the late Ch'ing dynasty, the painting was in the collection of the scholar Hui Shih-ch'i (1671-1741). According to the title, written when the scroll was in Hui's Suchou residence, the painting was then attributed to the Southern Sung artist Su Han-ch'en (12th century). There are four seals of the Cantonese calligrapher Lo T'ien-ch'ih (*chin-shih* 1826) affixed in the lower left and upper right corners of the painting.

老
陳
世
復



By Ch'en Hung-shou (1599-1652)

Ming-Ch'ing dynasty

Album leaves; ink and color on paper

Height: 33.5 cm. (13 1/4 in.); width: 27.3 cm. (10 3/4 in.)

In the work of Ch'en Hung-shou, earlier figure painting traditions were so reinterpreted as to acquire an art historical complexity that is characteristic of late Ming and early Ch'ing painting. Considering the unsettled period during which Ch'en Hung-shou lived, the compulsion to protest foreign rule, and the paucity of politically acceptable means of expression available, it was perhaps inevitable that his images, outwardly serene, should actually be fraught with humor or poignancy.

In his earlier works, which have an outspoken eccentricity, Ch'en Hung-shou experimented with a number of figure painting traditions, including those of Wu Tao-tzu (active 720-760), Chou Fang (active ca. 780-810) and Li Kung-lin (ca. 1049-1106). During the final years of his life, he achieved a more gentle, even subdued, painting style that enabled him to delineate figures with fluency and grace.

The figures included in three leaves from the Freer album are drawn with curving tensile lines that imbue them with restless movement. While the faces convey little emotion, the stance or the billowing robes of the figures lend them a startlingly fresh animation. In contrast, the landscape details are drawn with a broad, dry brush and patterned textures. This juxtaposition of quite disparate painting styles is in keeping with earlier depictions of figures in landscape settings. In early paintings, the reason for such juxtaposition can be found in the slightly different stages of development of the various elements. For later artists who were concerned with archaism such as Ch'en Hung-shou, the juxtaposition was a calculated selection of ancient painting traditions with complete awareness that the seemingly quaint images carried with them connotations of nationalism and rebellion.

Comparison of the figures in the Freer album with examples of Ch'en Hung-shou's later works, such as the exceptionally fine album leaves, dated 1651, in the National Palace Museum, Taiwan (reproduced: *Ku-kung chou-k'an*, nos. 197-212), supports a mid-seventeenth century date for the Freer paintings. Ch'en Hung-shou wrote inscriptions on each of the facing leaves of the Freer album. Four of the inscriptions are identical with those included in the National Palace Museum album (reproduced: *Ibid.*, nos. 193-196).

Each leaf of painting in the Freer album bears the signature of the artist and the seal *Chang-hou*. Each leaf of calligraphy bears his signature and two seals, *Ch'en Hung-shou yin* and *Chang-hou*. At the lower left corner of each leaf of painting is the seal *Hsiu-chi-t'ang chu-jen*.



洪綬
印

出懷畫於香光林子



Mounted on a separate double leaf are two colophons by Kao Shih-ch'i (1645-1704). The first colophon can be rendered: "Ch'en Chang-hou was a native of Chu-chi. In his early years he entered the Imperial Academy and was esteemed by many princes and gentlemen. His paintings attained the spirit of Wu Tao-tzu and Li Lung-mien. He excelled equally in landscape and flowers, his calligraphy was good, and he set great store by integrity. His behavior was untrammelled by conventions, his poetry distinctive. His paintings he guarded jealously: he might give them to one if one did not ask for them, but would not give them to one if one asked for them. In his late years he donned a kerchief and wild attire and traveled in the mountains near Suchou. People fought to secure his paintings no matter how small they were. These 16 leaves of calligraphy and painting are of good quality and can be regarded a secret treasure. Viewed and inscribed at the Chien-ching-chai on the 26th day of the first month in the *chia-hsi* year in the reign of K'ang-hsi [February 19, 1694] when it cleared after a long spell of overcast weather and the plum blossoms are at the point of dying. Chiang-ts'un Tu-tan-weng Kao Shih-ch'i." The signature is followed by three of his seals: *Shih-ch'i*, *Kao Tan-jen*, and *Kao Chan-shih*.

The second colophon, on the opposite leaf, is as follows. "Of all the albums by Ch'en Lao-lien in my collection, this is the best. Today I viewed it again, and it is as though I am meeting a good friend after a separation of three years; I cannot bear to part with it. What a pity it is that the ancients could not see Lao-lien's work and most of my contemporaries do not know it. Posterity is bound to treasure his paintings and concur in my judgment. A second colophon by Shih-ch'i on the 26th day of the second month in the *wu-yin* year [April 6, 1698] when the weather first turned dry after a long spell of rain and I am seated across from the begonias." A seal, not recorded in Contag and Wang but is probably Kao's, reading *Ching-chi-hsüan t'u-shu yin*, is at the lower left corner of this piece of paper.

The album is not recorded in Kao Shih-ch'i's *Chiang-ts'un hsiao-hsia lu* (1693), or in *Chiang-ts'un hsu-hua mu*, a list of calligraphy and paintings compiled by a descendent of Kao's, based on lists made by Kao Shih-ch'i. Nor does the album appear to be recorded anywhere else.

老蓮無一可移情越

水吳山樂不輕來毋不

知何變去佛天天肯

許再采生

老蓮



壬午秋

杜仙
江於
子



50

Man Gazing at Magnolias 62.14

By Huang Shen (1687-ca. 1768)

Ch'ing dynasty

Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper

Height: 102.0 cm. (40 1/8 in.); width: 40.0 cm. (15 3/4 in.)

An old man seated in the foreground strokes his beard and contemplates the magnolia blossoms arranged in a vase at the right. Huang Shen's inscription in the upper left corner completes the composition. The same eccentric freedom that characterizes his calligraphy is also apparent in the few brush strokes that Huang Shen used to represent the old man and the flowers.

The short inscription, which is dated "early autumn of the *jen-yin* year [1722]," is signed, "Huang Shen of Ning-hua." Following the signature are affixed two seals: *Huang Shen* and *Kmg-mou*.

According to tradition, Huang Shen first studied figure painting with the minor Fukien artist Shang-kuan Chou (1665-after 1750). Gradually Huang Shen's own rapidly executed figures, occasionally reinforced with broad washes of light color, possessed a vitality that went far beyond that of his teacher. The pronounced freedom of Huang Shen's work gave him a special position among those artists working in Yangchou during the eighteenth century. Since he resided in that city from 1727 to 1730, he is usually considered as one of the "Eight Eccentrics of Yangchou" although he was a native of Fukien.



- 51** *Ladies Playing Double-Sixes* 39.37 and 60.4
Style of Chou Fang (active ca. 780-810)
Song dynasty, 10th-11th century
Handscroll; ink and color on silk
Height: 30.7 cm. (12 1/16 in.); length: 69.4 cm. (27 5/16 in.)

The handscroll depicting court ladies playing double-sixes is composed in horizontal sequence, with the figures all placed on the same level and with pairs of figures at either end to introduce and close the action. In contrast to the simple composition, one of the most conspicuous features of the Freer painting is the way the artist selected a particularly characteristic pose for each of the eight figures. The two women seated opposite each other playing double-sixes are the focal point of the composition. One woman bends over the gaming table intently moving one of the pieces; the other raises one hand as if she had just thrown the dice and were awaiting the result. Behind them a court lady watches the players while leaning on the shoulder of a maidservant whose glance suggests a complete lack of concern with the progress of the game. The position of the arms and hands of the two servants who carry the large water jug into the composition from the left emphasizes the weight of their burden. And finally, the woman and servant at the right edge of the composition stand quietly watching the other people in the painting. Their stillness contrasts with the movement of the players, the casual pose of the two onlookers behind, and the slightly exaggerated gestures of the two servants at the left.

The type of portly lady depicted in those paintings traditionally attributed to Chou Fang is usually said to be based on a style of feminine beauty made fashionable by T'ang Ming-huang's favorite concubine, Yang Kuci-fei (ca. 719-756). Yet court ladies having essentially the same ample proportions appear in the wall paintings and funercary re-

licfs found in the tomb of the T'ang Princess Yung-t'ai, completed in 706. It would be more correct, therefore, to consider such portly feminine proportions as typical of the first half of the eighth century rather than an introduction by Yang Kuei-fei toward the middle of the period.

According to the title written by Ch'u Te-i at the beginning of the handscroll, the work is a "genuine painting of palace ladies playing double-sixes by Chou Fang of the T'ang dynasty." Two seals, *Sung-ch'uang* and *Ch'u Te-i*, are affixed after the title. Following the painting, Ch'u Te-i added a long colophon, dated in correspondence with July 8-August 5, 1937, in which he discusses the composition of the handscroll and the game the ladies are playing. A single seal, *Sung-ch'uang i-jen*, is affixed at the end of the colophon. It is remarkable that Ch'u Te-i's title, colophon and three seals are the only additions to the Freer handscroll. There are no seals affixed to the painting and it is apparently unrecorded.

In his colophon, Ch'u notes another painting with the same title recorded in *Shih-ch'ü sui-pi* (1791-93), *chüan* 8:2a-b, which has eight figures in the composition. Although that painting, now in the National Palace Museum, Taiwan, is unsigned, there are colophons by Ch'ien Hsüan (ca. 1235-after 1300), Liu Hsiao-chi, and Lu Shih-tao (dated 1562) attributing the work to Chou Fang. A more critical evaluation of the painting in the National Palace Museum would suggest a date at least as late as the Ming dynasty.

Ch'u points out that while the painting recorded in *Shih-ch'ü sui-pi* is described as having eight figures, in contrast to the six that were then in the Freer version, the compositions of the two paintings were so similar as to suggest that a section of the Freer handscroll must be missing. The accuracy of his observation was borne out when the lost fragment of the Freer painting, depicting two figures, appeared in Paris and was presented to the Gallery in 1960. That section has now been remounted to complete the original composition, as described by James Cahill in his article, "The Return of the Absent Servants: Chou Fang's *Double-Sixes Restored*," *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*, XV, 1961, pp. 26-28.

There are several paintings extant based either on the longer or shorter of the two sections of the *Ladies Playing Double-Sixes*. One of these is reproduced in *Chōsō seikan* (Osaka, 1928), vol. II, pl. 24. It is noteworthy that the drapery patterns and drawing in these paintings are closer in style to the version in the National Palace Museum than to the Freer version. Yet there is no indication that the Palace Museum handscroll has ever been separated and then subsequently reassembled.

Most of the paintings associated with Chou Fang, such as *Tuning the Zither and Sipping Tea* in the Nelson Gallery, *Ladies with Flowers in their Hair* in the Liaoning Museum, and *Lady Musicians* in a private

collection in Taiwan, are pervaded by a mood of poignant *emmi*. The brushwork and handling of the drapery folds in the Freer painting indicate that in spite of the traditional attribution to Chou Fang, it is actually a careful copy made during the Northern Sung period.



Detail of 39.37



52 *Palace Ladies Bathing Children* 35.8
Sung dynasty, 12th-13th century
Album leaf; ink and color on silk
Height: 22.7 cm. (8 15/16 in.); width: 24.4 cm. (9 5/8 in.)

53 *Palace Ladies with Attendants* 35.9
Sung dynasty, 12th-13th century
Album leaf; ink and color on silk
Height: 22.7 cm. (8 15/16 in.); width: 24.4 cm. (9 5/8 in.)



Both paintings were originally part of an album of eighteen leaves entitled *Li-tai ming-pi chi-sheng*, all of which are recorded in P'ang Yüan-chi's catalogue, *Hsi-chai ming-hua lu* (1908), *chüan* 11: 9a-15b. A third painting from the same album by Yen Tz'u-yü is also in the Freer Gallery (reproduced: *Chinese Album Leaves in the Freer Gallery of Art*, pl. V). Fourteen more leaves are reproduced and discussed in *Sung-jen hua-ts'e* (Peking, 1957). The whereabouts of the only remaining painting, a square album leaf attributed to Liang K'ai, remains unknown.

Facing each of the eighteen paintings is an inscription by the Ch'ing dynasty collector, Keng Chao-chung (1648-86), written on paper bear-

ing the seal *Chin-su shan ts'ang-ching chib*. This seal is said to have been found on Sung dynasty *sūtra* paper belonging to the Chin-su Temple located at the foot of Chin-su Mountain in Chekiang province. The inscription facing *Palace Ladies Bathing Children* can be rendered, "In Chou Wen-chü's painting of [palace ladies] bathing children, the countenance and manner of each attains the utmost in marvelousness and correctness. [Chou Wen-chü] himself can emulate the ancient [masters] who preceded him, and [among] later [artists] none can approach him." The inscription facing *Palace Ladies with Attendants* reads, "The delicacy, elegance, dignity and beauty [of the figures in this painting] are such as to prove [that the painting] belongs among the marvelous works of Chou Wen-chü." A number of Keng Chao-chung's seals are affixed on each painting and it would seem that he brought together the eighteen paintings to form the album. The seals of his son, Keng Chia-tso, also appear on the paintings.

Both album leaves are excellent examples of miniature figure painting. One composition depicts three women grouped about a tub bathing and dressing four children. The other shows two ladies and two serving women. A lacquer receptacle, similar in type to the one held by the serving woman on the right of the album leaf, is illustrated in *Wen-tzu*, 1964, no. 12, p. 60, fig. 37. It was excavated from the tomb of Ch'ien Yu (1247-1320) near Wu-hsi, Kiangsu province.

Genre scenes of this type, depicting the informal, everyday activities of ladies in the court, are traditionally said to begin with Chang Hsüan (active first half of the 8th century) and Chou Fang (active ca. 780-810) of the T'ang dynasty. None of Chang Hsüan's paintings is extant, but judging from those compositions which are preserved in copies, the ladies he depicted are noteworthy for their exuberance and vitality. Those paintings attributed to Chou Fang, on the other hand, are infused with a poignant sadness, perhaps a reflection of the bored idleness that marked the lives of court ladies.

The T'ang tradition of painting court ladies was continued by Chou Wen-chü (active 961-975) of Southern T'ang. Mi Fei states that the faces of Chou Wen-chü's ladies were just like those painted by Chou Fang. But, he adds, in painting drapery, Chou Wen-chü used tremulous brush strokes. Expanding on this aspect of Chou Wen-chü's style, Chang Ch'ou (1577-1643) suggests that his tremulous brushwork was influenced by the calligraphy of Li Yü-(reigned 961-976), the last ruler of Southern T'ang.

The restrained elegance and technical skill so characteristic of early Chinese figure painting traditions were precisely those features admired by the Sung dynasty emperors, and it is not surprising that artists working in the Sung imperial painting academies perpetuated the earlier traditions. Although the concern for realism in the two Freer paintings

is related to T'ang painting traditions, the fine brushwork which defines the angular drapery folds is directly related to the work of Li Kung-lin (ca. 1049-1106). The attribution of the paintings to Chou Wen-chü is a traditional one; the handling of the brush, composition, and use of color, all suggest that they are exceptional works of the "academy style" of the Southern Sung period.

There are several figure compositions that are clearly related to the Freer album leaves. One is the short handscroll in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (reproduced: *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, May 1942, pp. 128-32). Two album leaves (reproduced: *T'ien-lai-ko chin-ts'ang Sung-jen hua-ts'e*, Shanghai, 1922, pls. 17 and 18), depict similar groups of figures in elaborate garden settings.



Yüan dynasty, 14th century

Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk

Height: 109.6 cm. (43 1/8 in.); width: 50.7 cm. (19 15/16 in.)

Three women stand in the foreground diagonal space defined by the large mass of rocks and banana plants. The woman at the extreme left folds her hands in her sleeves and turns to watch her two companions, one of whom holds a single blossom, the other a parrot. The squat, full proportions of the women and the bright colors of their robes are unlike the more subtle hues and svelte renderings of archaistic figures done by Sung artists. A fine even line defines the figures and banana plants, while the delicate *ts'um* texture strokes indicate the ruggedness of the garden rocks. In spite of such obvious archaistic features as the diagonal foreground space and the T'ang proportions of the three women, the natural details would, if they had appeared at all during the T'ang dynasty, have been considerably less important and presented in less complete manner. A concern for archaism and an interest in presenting a complete study of natural forms, carefully bounded by the confines of the composition, are in keeping with developments during the Yüan dynasty.

Two colophons now on the back of the panel were originally mounted together with the painting. The first colophon is written on *sitra* paper and is signed Tzu-ang. While the calligraphy is in the style of Chao Meng-fu (1254-1322), it is not genuine. The colophon attributes the painting to Chou Fang.

The second colophon, written on silk, is by the connoisseur K'ung Kuang-t'ao (born 1832), and is dated 1860. The colophon can be rendered: "Among the works of Chang Hsüan and Chou Fang of the T'ang dynasty, Tu Hsiao of the Five Dynasties, Chou Wen-chü and Shih K'o of the Sung dynasty in the imperial collection and recorded in *Hsüan-bo hua p'u*, there are paintings by all of these artists depicting promenading ladies. The T'ang ideal of feminine beauty was one of fullness of the flesh; therefore, Chou Fang painted his ladies in this fashion. This painting by Wen-min [Chao Meng-fu] fully attains the traditional approach; it excels in refinement and not in glamor. It is regrettable that the silk is so very worn that it is hardly possible to touch it. Fortunately, the painting has not been damaged. The moulder reached the summit of his capability in repairing the painting. How far the painting is from perfection. *Hsin-ch'ou hsiao-hsia chi* [by Wu Jung-kuang] is wrong about the seals of Tan-jen, the *ko-hsüeh* [sub-Chancellor of the Grand Secretariat, Kao Shih-ch'i], but perhaps they were lost when the painting was remounted. At the top are the *Ch'ien-lung yü-lan chih-pao* seal and the *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi* seal. At the lower left [sic] corner is the *Huang shih -i tzu* seal. The painting was undoubtedly a gift bestowed by the emperor on Prince Ch'eng [Yung-hsing]. Early summer, the tenth year

of the reign of Hsien-feng [1860]. Respectfully inscribed by K'ung Kuang-t'ao." The colophon is followed by two of K'ung's seals: *Chih-sheug ch'i-shib-shib-suu Kuang-t'ao yin* and *Shao-t'ang ssu-sbu-bua yin*.

The painting is recorded in K'ung Kuang-t'ao's catalogue, *Yüeh-bsüeh-lou sbu-bua lu* (1861), *chüan* 3:22b-23b. The entry gives the title, measurements and a description of the painting; it records all of the 14 seals on the painting except for K'ung's two seals; it transcribes his own colophon. The seals recorded by K'ung are those of Chao Meng-fu, Chang Tse-chih (late 16th century), the Ch'ien-lung emperor (reigned 1736-95), Yung-hsing (1752-1823), P'an Cheng-wei (active 1820's-50's) and Wu Jung-kuang (1773-1843). K'ung also records an eighteen-character inscription supposedly by Chao Meng-fu: "*Ta-te shib-i-nieu pa-yüeh shib-sau-jib*. Tzu-ang. *Yu-hsing shib-nü t'u*" ["Promenading Ladies" by Tzu-ang, September 10, 1307]. The inscription is said to be in one column of small *K'ai-sbu* along the lower left edge of the painting. There is no such inscription now on the Freer scroll, but a long narrow piece of silk inset above the two seals—*Chao Tzu-ang shib* and *T'ien-sbu Chüu t'u-sbu yin*—may well have been added where the inscription was removed, sometime after 1860. The present Chao Meng-fu colophon, which is obviously not genuine, may have been added to the hanging scroll at the same time. Evidently the person who wrote the new colophon did not read K'ung Kuang-t'ao's colophon carefully and did not know the entry in *Yüeh-bsüeh-lou sbu-bua lu*. In his haste to transform the Yüan painting into a T'ang scroll he simply forged a colophon attributing the painting to Chou Fang.

In his colophon, K'ung Kuang-t'ao refers to a discrepancy between his painting and the one recorded in Wu Jung-kuang's catalogue, *Hsin-ch'ou hsiao-hsia chi* (1841), *chüan* 3:25b-26a. That entry, K'ung says, "is wrong in stating that there were seals of Kao Shih-ch'i. But perhaps they were lost when the painting was remounted." There is the implication that the painting might have been remounted between 1841 and 1860. The widths of the paintings given in the two catalogues are the same.

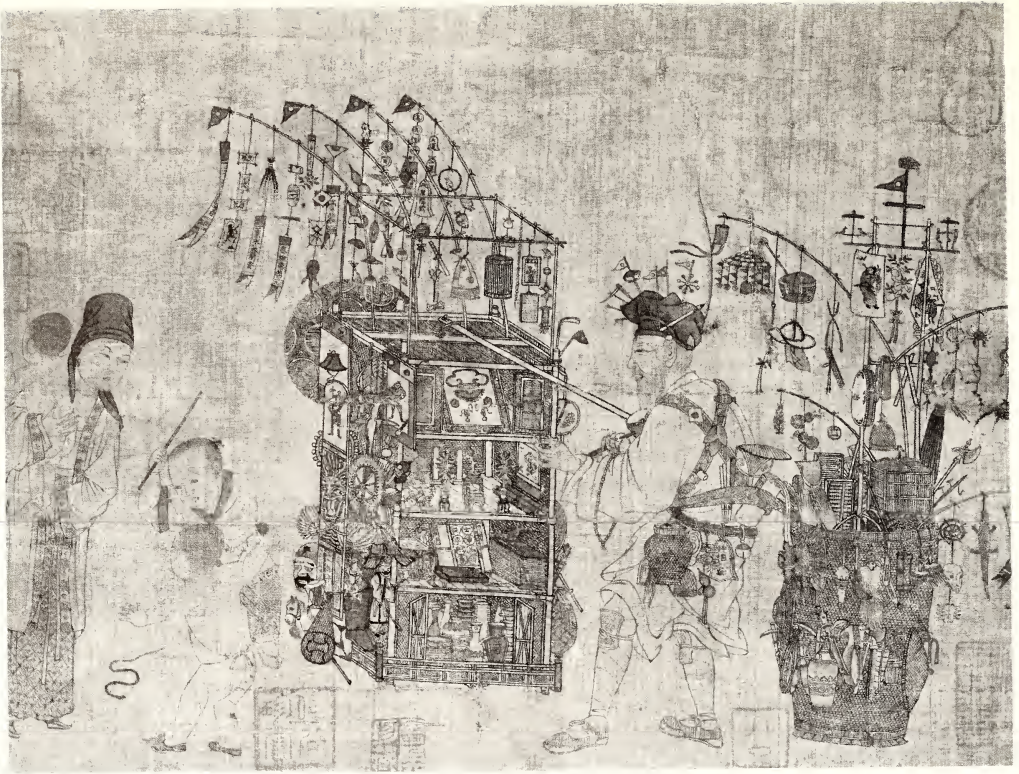
According to *Hsin-ch'ou hsiao-hsia chi*, the Kao Shih-ch'i seals are "to the left of the painting," presumably on the silk mounting. Wu Jung-kuang states that the painting was bestowed on Kao by the Emperor, presumably the K'ang-hsi emperor (reigned 1662-1722). Wu Jung-kuang also records the eighteen-character inscription mentioned in *Yüeh-bsüeh-lou sbu-bua lu*. Comparing the descriptions of the paintings in the two catalogues, it is clear that K'ung Kuang-t'ao lifted the passage *verbatim* from Wu Jung-kuang.

Actually the painting recorded by Wu Jung-kuang belonged not to him, but to his friend, P'an Cheng-wei (1791-1850) in whose catalogue *T'ing-fan-lou sbu-bua chi* (1843) there is an entry identical to the one

in *Hsin-ch'ou hsiao-hsia chi*.

The only other listings of *Yu-hsing shih-nü t'u* by Chao Meng-fu are in Chang Ch'ou's *Shu-hua chien-wen piao* (ca. 1630's), and in Ho Liang-chün's *Shu-hua ming-hsin lu* (preface dated 1556) which is quoted in Pien Yung-yü's *Shih-ku-t'ang shu-hua hui-k'ao* (1682). In all three instances, the painting is listed by title only. A short entry in Ku Fu's *P'ing-sheng chuang-kuan* (preface dated 1692), *chüan* 9:23, records a painting of *Ladies and Banana Trees* by Chao Meng-fu that may be the Freer scroll.

There seems little doubt that the entries in *Yüeh-hsüeh-lou shu-hua lu* and *Hsin-ch'ou hsiao-hsia chi* do refer to the Freer painting. On internal evidence too the scroll has claims to date from the Yüan dynasty, although the attribution to Chao Meng-fu is by no means firm.



55 *The Knick-knack Peddler* 11.161c

Yüan dynasty, 14th century

Album leaf; ink on silk

Height: 21.8 cm. (8 9/16 in.); width: 29.4 cm. (11 9/16 in.)

A knick-knack peddler, flanked on either side by the elaborate frames on which he displays his wares, watches as two children strike playfully at a toy snake. A woman holding a child also turns to look at the children; by her glance and posture she closes the composition in a formal way. All of the figures are rendered with extremely fine outlines of an even width. Drapery folds are carefully, although tersely, drawn with obvious attention to revealing the forms beneath. The actions of the children, the concern of the peddler, and the calm detachment of the woman are subtly delineated, but they are subordinated to the objects of every form and variety being offered for sale.

According to Chinese texts the subject of a knick-knack peddler, which provided artists with an excuse to display their skill as draftsmen, was made popular by Su Han-ch'ên (active 12th century). Su served as painter-in-attendance in Kao-tsung's Painting Academy established in Hangchou after the fall of Northern Sung. The theme was subsequently taken up by such court artists as Li Sung (active 1190-1265), Wang Chen-p'eng (active early 14th century), Lü Wen-ying (active 15th century) and Ting Kuan-p'eng (active 1750-60).

None of the paintings of knick-knack peddlers attributed to Su Han-ch'ên appears to be authentic. However, several versions of the subject attributed to Li Sung (reproduced: *Wei-ta ti i-shu ch'uan-t'ung t'u-lu*, vol. II, pls. VIII-IX; *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, vol. LI, no. 2 [February, 1964], pl. 3; and *Chinese Art Treasures*, pl. 50) do seem reliable. In contrast to the tightly knit compositions and the animated anecdotal character of the paintings attributed to Li Sung, the Freer album leaf reflects a cooler, more restrained mood. All of the compositional elements are evenly spaced on the horizontal surface to establish a regular cadence. This detached, objective mood, as well as the brushwork, relate the Freer album leaf to those archaisic paintings executed during the Yüan dynasty.

Eight seals of the early Ch'ing dynasty collector, Keng Chao-chung (1640-87), are affixed along the edges of the painting. In the upper left corner is the seal of an unidentified collector named Wang.



56 *Girl Embroidering* 16.75

Ming dynasty, 15th century

Album leaf; ink and color on silk

Height: 21.0 cm. (8 1/4 in.); width: 29.0 cm. (11 7/16 in.)

A girl is seated before an embroidery frame, her hands covered by the long sleeves of her robe. Both the embroidery frame and the bordered rug on which the girl is seated are seen at an angle from above, a compositional arrangement that occurs in a number of Chinese paintings associated with T'ang dynasty artists.

According to the title slip on the album leaf, the painting is the work of Chou Fang (active ca. 780-810). Although the portly, round-faced girl is similar to figures traditionally associated with Chou Fang, the silk, brushwork and pigments of the album leaf do not support such an early date.

The title of the painting, *Cbūan-hsiu t'u* ("Wearily Embroidering"), is an allusion to a poem by Po Chū-i describing the melancholy longing of a girl vainly awaiting her lover:

"Wearily leaning on her embroidery frame, sad and still;
Slowly she lets fall her green belt, and her coiffure hangs low.
In Liao-yang spring has gone, and still there is no news.
The magnolia blossoms have opened, and the sun is again in the
West."

A handscroll attributed to Chou depicting court ladies engaged in various activities is in the Palace Museum, Peking (reproduced: *Ku-kung po-wu-yüan ts'ang-hua*, II, Peking, 1964, pls. 9-15). One section of that handscroll portrays three women embroidering. Comparison of the two illustrations of the same subject suggests that the Freer album leaf, which quite probably was originally part of a larger composition, is based on an earlier version.

A number of paintings bearing the title *Cbūan-hsiu t'u* are listed in Chinese records, usually in association with the two artists Chou Fang and Chou Wen-chū (active 961-975).



57

Children Playing 11.161f

Ming dynasty, 16th century

Album leaf; ink and color on silk

Height: 25.3 cm. (9 15/16 in.); width: 26.9 cm. (10 9/16 in.)

Seven children are shown playing in a garden. Two of them are amusing themselves watching goldfish in a large basin, while the others are engaged in a rough-and-tumble quarrel.

Paintings of well-bred children as an independent theme were especially popular during the late Northern Sung period. Two Northern Sung artists who specialized in the genre, both natives of K'ai-feng, were Tu Hai-crh and Liu Tsung-tao. Tu is known in Chinese texts only by his popular name ("Child" Tu) rather than by his proper given name. One of Liu Tsung-tao's paintings described by Chinese writers depicted several children pointing at their reflections in a large water vessel. This famous composition may have influenced the depiction of the two children in the extreme right of the Freer album leaf. During the Southern Sung, the tradition of painting children was continued by artists like Su Han-ch'en (active 12th century), who is represented by a large hanging scroll in the Palace Museum, Taiwan, which shows children spinning a pointer (reproduced: Osvald Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*, vol. III, pl. 269).

By Ming times children playing in a garden had become a standard theme in the repertoire of every conservative artist. In the hands of most later artists, the theme itself became more important than the individual details, which had been such an essential feature in Sung paintings. In the Freer album leaf the facial features of all seven children are virtually identical; the artist made no attempt to depict individual personalities. The rocks, flowers, balustrade and tree are merely indicated in a general way. Similarly, the drawing of the drapery is summarily handled, although the artist did use white shading to suggest transparent fabrics.



58

Soft Drink Peddler 11.161g

By Chiang Yin (16th century)

Ming dynasty

Album leaf; ink and color on silk

Height: 24.3 cm. (9 9/16 in.); width: 25.2 cm. (9 15/16 in.)

An elegantly clad woman accompanies two children who are about to buy a drink from a peddler. One child holds out a small bowl into which the peddler is ready to pour a cup of beverage. Although the painting is badly worn, it is still possible to discern the fine draftsmanship of the figures and that of the elaborately constructed bamboo stand which is joined by a pair of elephant tusks and topped by a large umbrella.

In the lower right corner of the album leaf is a two-character seal, *Chiang Yin*. Relatively little is known about Chiang Yin, other than that he was a native of Huang Hsien, Shantung province, that his *tzu* was Chou-tso, and that he excelled in painting figures and flowers. A scroll depicting the legendary visit of King Mu to the Queen Mother of the West (reproduced: *Kokka*, no. 63) also reveals Chiang Yin's interest in painting elaborate textile designs, coiffures, flowers and luxurious accessories. Somewhat different in style is a painting by Chiang Yin showing a rock and banana plant (reproduced: *Chung-kuo li-tai ming-hua chi*, [Peking, 1965], vol. IV, pl. 89). There appears to be no reason to question the authenticity of all three paintings attributed to this obscure Ming dynasty artist.

Also affixed along the right edge of the Freer album leaf are two seals of the Ch'ing dynasty collector and connoisseur, Kao Shih-ch'i (1645-1704).



59

Travelers in Landscape 11.539

Ming dynasty, 16th century

Handscroll; ink and color on silk

Height: 31.1 cm. (12 1/4 in.); length: 58.4 cm. (23 in.)

Genre scenes, sometimes having outspokenly satirical overtones, were especially popular among artists of the Che school during the Ming dynasty. Although some biting social comments did occasionally appear during earlier periods, usually as incidental details of large, orthodox Buddhist paintings, the presentation of such genre scenes as the central theme of a painting enjoyed a special vogue during the Ming dynasty and later.

In this short handscroll, the artist has emphasized the differences in the social positions of the travelers by the contrast of their clothing and behavior and by the use of differing brush strokes. The two men astride donkeys and their two servants at the beginning of the handscroll are well clad and look back in amusement at the behavior of the other travelers. A drunken carpenter is supported by two helpers while behind them are two farmers with hoes slung over their shoulders accompanied by a boy and a dog. The humorous, slightly caricaturish attitudes of the figures are heightened still further by the subtle contrast of the curvilinear brush strokes delineating the riding figures and the more abrupt, staccato strokes seen in the disheveled clothing of the workmen.

The summary treatment of the foreground plane, background trees and wall, and the way they are cut off by the edges of the scroll are compositional devices often employed during the Ming dynasty.

The *Hsüan-bo* seal in the upper left corner and the *shuang-lung* round seal in the upper center of the scroll are spurious. The seal in the lower left corner is that of P'an Yen-ling, a nineteenth-century collector. The two seals in the lower right corner have not been deciphered.

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