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SUNG AND YUAN PAINTINGS



SUNG AND YUAN PAINTINGS



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SUNG AND YUAN PAINTINGS

WEN FONG *with Catalogue by Marilyn Fu*

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART NEW YORK

Frontispiece: Detail of *Wang Hsi-chih Watching Geese*, Ch'ien Hsuan (no. 13)

Designed by James Wageman

Photographs by Walter Yee

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PREFACE

The acquisition by the Metropolitan Museum of Art of twenty-five paintings of the Sung and Yuan dynasties from the collection of Mr. C. C. Wang must be considered one of the finer moments in the collecting history of the institution. The quality of each handscroll, album leaf, and hanging scroll is satisfyingly high. In its totality the collection is of the utmost importance because the group fills what has up to now been a serious gap in the Museum's oriental holdings. Although the Museum is strong in Chinese sculpture, porcelain, decorative arts, and monumental painting, its examples of the early "classic" period of Chinese landscape and figure style have been inadequate. The Bahr collection of Sung and Yuan paintings gained by the Metropolitan in 1947, although containing some works of art of considerable quality, must be viewed upon reflection more as a valuable study collection than as a series of masterworks. Thus the acquisition of these major holdings of the C. C. Wang collection is felicitous indeed.

The credit for acquiring something as momentous and complex as the C. C. Wang collection is not due to one individual. Nor was the process of acquiring these superb works a simple endeavor. It demanded a team of specialists working with extreme patience, skill, and tact. It required a painstaking system of study and analysis by which each work proposed for acquisition was figuratively peeled like an onion.

The process was initiated by Dr. Wen Fong, the Edwards Sanford Professor of Art and Archaeology at Princeton University and since 1971 Special Consultant in Far Eastern Affairs at the Metropolitan. It was Wen Fong's idea to persuade Mr. Wang, the renowned and somewhat reticent collector of oriental paintings, to part with his major pieces as a group rather than singly. Delicate, lengthy,

and pleasurable negotiations were undertaken with Mr. Wang by Wen Fong on behalf of the Metropolitan. At the same time, an intense study of each item was commenced, despite the fact that most of the works in the Wang collection were well known to the experts and had long been considered a highly significant nucleus of the early periods of Chinese painting. A fresh new look at even acknowledged "benchmarks" of quality is one of the essences of connoisseurship. In these protracted studies, Dr. Fong was ably assisted by his colleagues in the Metropolitan's Far Eastern Department, Marilyn Fu and Maxwell Hearn.

Owing to the complex nature of Chinese painting and to the fact that masters of a later period sometimes deliberately rendered homage to their predecessors by making excellent copies of their masterpieces, it was decided to gain the knowledge, experience, and "eyes" of a number of specialists outside the Metropolitan for advice and corroboration. Accordingly three experts were asked to participate in the scrutiny: Dr. Laurence Sickman, Director of the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Kansas City, the dean of the American oriental art historians; Dr. Sherman E. Lee, Director of the Cleveland Museum of Art, one of this country's best connoisseurs of early Chinese paintings; and Dr. Richard Barnhart of Yale University, one of the foremost of the so-called younger generation of orientalist and an individual who has been preparing a major catalogue of the C. C. Wang collection.

The present catalogue represents merely the first step toward full scholarly publication of the C. C. Wang paintings. In the future, when the works are provided with a more lasting exhibition area within the permanent series of oriental galleries, an even more complete publication of the paintings will be forthcoming. The funds for this expanded project have graciously been pledged by Mr. Wang.

The history of the Metropolitan is in a very real sense the history of the

perspicacity and generosity of its donors. The acquisition of the C. C. Wang collection is no exception to this fact. For without the munificent gift on the part of the Dillon Fund of ten of the paintings, this superb gathering would not have become a part of the holdings of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

THOMAS HOVING

Director

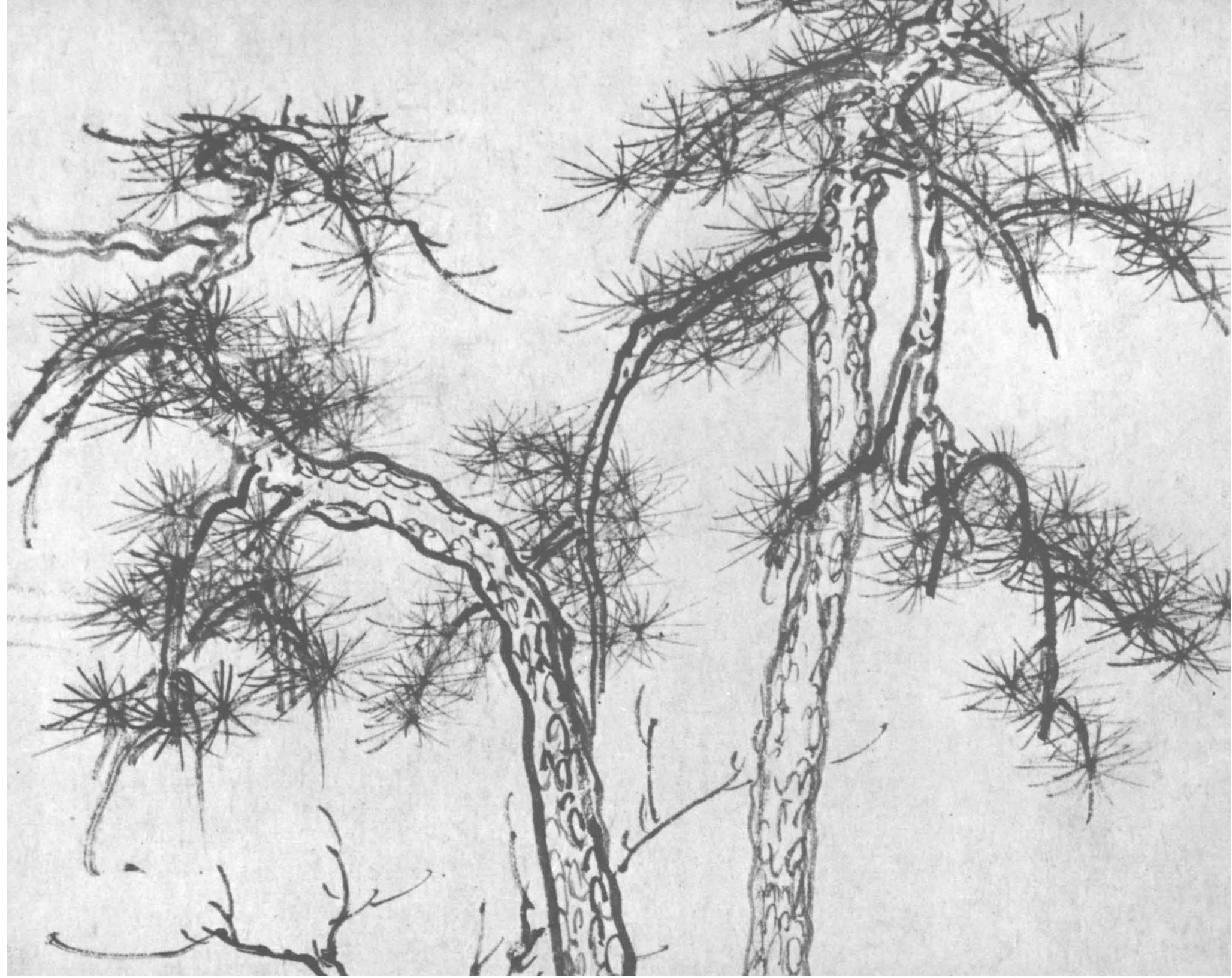
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The decision to hold an exhibition in October 1973 of the Chinese paintings recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art was made in early July of that same year. In preparing the catalogue during those few short months, I received extraordinary help from members of various departments of the Metropolitan, as well as many of my long-time associates at Princeton.

In particular, I wish to make the following acknowledgments: Leon Wilson of the Metropolitan went over the manuscript and made many valuable suggestions; the excellent photographs used in this publication are the work of Walter Yee, also of the Metropolitan; Maxwell Hearn of the Department of Far Eastern Art at the Metropolitan successfully met many of the various demands made by the project; Virginia and James Wageman of Princeton edited, designed, and saw the book through production; I-han Chiang of Princeton did much of the preliminary research on the paintings, especially the reading of the seals; Lucy and James Lo, also of Princeton, produced a large number of study photographs whenever they were needed; finally, John Peckham of Meriden Gravure Company and James Corcoran of Dix Typesetting once again demonstrated their usual dedication to quality work under exceptional pressure of time. This catalogue, except for the writing of it, which Marilyn Fu and I did with pleasure, is in a very real sense their work.

W. F.

SUNG AND YUAN PAINTINGS



INTRODUCTION

Detail of *Twin Pines against a Flat Vista*
(no. 14), enlarged

The acquisition by the Metropolitan Museum of Art of twenty-five important Sung and Yuan paintings, dated between about 1050 and 1380, from the collection of Mr. Chi-ch'ien Wang fills a major gap in the Far Eastern collections of the Museum. Mr. Wang's collection came to New York with him in the late 1940s. It was one of the most important private collections of early Chinese paintings that had been gathered since the seventeenth century, the last period when great private collections flourished in China.

Major redistributions of art treasures in China occurred when dynasties fell. After the collapse of the Ch'ing (Manchu) dynasty in 1911, the young deposed emperor Pu Yi, under a special "Treaty for Favored Treatment of the Ch'ing Household" (*Ch'ing-shih yu-tai t'iao-chien*) that was personally ratified by President Yuan Shih-kai in 1915, stayed in Peking's Forbidden City until 1924; then in 1925, the imperial palaces with all their contents were finally nationalized and renamed the National Palace Museum.¹ Between 1911 and 1924, the deposed ruler, with the help of his family, systematically sent out his treasures, selling them partly to support his remaining retinue. On March 19, 1925, the National Committee for Settling the Affairs of the Ch'ing Household, in searching through the palaces, discovered a document that was dated "the third moon of *keng-shen* of the Hsuan-t'ung emperor [Pu Yi]" (1920) and entitled "List of Rare Books, Calligraphies, Paintings, and Antique Objects on Loan to Various Nobles"; and on July 31 of the same year, the committee found another document entitled "List of Calligraphies and Paintings Given to P'u Chieh [the emperor's brother Prince Ch'un]." These documents listed more than two hundred titles of rare books and over one thousand works of calligraphy and painting, "all choice items." A large number of the works on these lists are now lost, but many have

since entered important collections in Japan, Europe, and the United States, and some have found their way back to public museums in China. As many as ten of the present group of twenty-five Sung and Yuan masterworks acquired by the Metropolitan Museum were once part of the Ch'ing imperial collection;² they were among the items "given away" by Pu Yi.

While earlier Western collectors did well in collecting Chinese bronzes, jades, ceramics, and objets d'art, many found Chinese calligraphy and painting difficult, no doubt because of the wide linguistic and cultural barrier. In recent years, these subjects have become better studied, and an impressive number of younger Western scholars, who are well trained in Far Eastern languages and cultural studies, have specialized in this field.

An important prerequisite for further development of the field, of course, is availability of first-rate works of art. Great in quality and rare besides, the new Chinese paintings at the Metropolitan represent most of the major schools of painting of the Sung and Yuan periods. Their presence at the Museum will contribute not only to a better art-historical knowledge of the subject, but also, it is hoped, to a closer cultural and historical understanding between the West and the East in a better future world.

1. Na Chih-liang (71), pp. 1 ff., esp. pp. 30-33; Chu-tsing Li (61), pp. 63-64.

2. The following paintings have the Ch'ien-lung emperor's seals: nos. 1-3, 6, 13, 14, 20, 22, 23, and 25.

NORTHERN SUNG LANDSCAPE

The monumental landscape style, in the ascendant since the first half of the tenth century, reached its apogee around the middle of the eleventh century. In landscape painting the subject was creation itself. Chang Huai, a twelfth-century writer, observed that “[landscape] painting disclosed the secrets of yin and yang of creation. . . . Whatever may be comprehended through the Diagrams [of the *Book of Changes*] may be represented through physical forms in painting. . . . Since man is the most sentient of beings, he alone is suited for making paintings.”³

The large handscroll *Summer Mountains (Hsia-shan-t'u)* (no. 1) is traditionally attributed to Yen Wen-kuei (active about 988–1010), an early Northern Sung master renowned for his minute descriptions of nature. There is no signature on the painting, and it has lost all the earlier colophons normally attached at the end of such a scroll. The record of the painting in the eighteenth-century imperial catalogue *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi hsü-pien* (1791) indicates that it was then already in its present condition. On the left edge of its brocade border are found the seals of the late Northern Sung emperor Hui-tsung (1101–25), and in the lower right of the painting is a Ming palace half-seal of the years between 1373 and 1384. The painting seems to have been in imperial collections for much of the time since the beginning of the twelfth century.

The painting, to borrow the words of one Northern Sung description of a work by Yen, is “perfectly successful in depicting the vastness and multiplicity of it all.”⁴ The best way to appreciate such a painting is to look closely and identify oneself with a human figure or a man-made object in the scene (see details, pages 18 and 21). The time is a mid-summer evening. Dense forests, mostly hardwoods, and tall verdant peaks are suffused with a cool mist, apparently the



result of a heavy shower. We begin at the right with a fishing village, where the larger boats, their sails already down, are being moored. In the distance there are smaller boats returning, with lines of wild geese flying overhead. The village around the bay is quiet; only a returning woodsman, antlike in size, is seen walking along the beach, carrying his load with a shoulder pole. The river is full, with bands of quiet surface and sandy borders. To the left of the first promontory in the foreground, a traveler on a donkey and his servant are crossing a small bridge. The cool, scented place seems filled with bliss. The travelers may be heading toward the elegant buildings, the rooftops of which are seen above the rocks not far beyond the bridge; yet there are obviously roads leading to even grander structures in the hills above, or farther on, deeper into the mountains to the left. The vastness of the view surrounding the tiny travelers is as convincing as it is staggering. On the promontory rising above the road to the left the footing is rugged and steep. Here great oaks rear up in gnarled and complicated patterns and thick vines dangle and swoop from tree to tree. For the more intrepid souls, there are dizzying ledges, winding around and hugging the great peaks at their waist level. Through the mist the lines of the palatial buildings above seem to waver and blur slightly. Finally, blocking out the sky completely is the towering central monolith, which, in rising up as far as our eyes can reach, sits in commanding majesty as the ultimate climax in man's universe. Below its left side, separated by a waterfall but reachable by the same foreground mountain road over a bridge, is another great architectural complex used as a summer mountain resort. Through the open window of the finely drawn building men are seen seated together enjoying the view. Strife and concern seem far away from a world of such visual splendor.

The mind that conceived and developed such a monumental mode of representing nature has been explained at some length in several early treatises on landscape painting. Tsung Ping, for instance, wrote in the fourth century A.D.:

3. (73), 15/5/22.

4. Translated by Soper (85), p. 173, n. 504.

The K'un-lun mountain is large but the pupil of our eye is small. If we try to measure it close up, we will not be able to see its true appearance. . . . When we stretch out a piece of plain silk to capture the distant scenery, the appearance of K'un-lun may be encompassed within a square inch. A vertical stroke of three inches may equal a height of several thousand feet, and a horizontal strip of ink of few feet may represent a distance of a hundred miles. . . . By such means the beauty of the Sung and Hua mountains and the mystery of the Dark Spirit of the universe may be captured within a single picture.⁵

In an essay attributed to Wang Wei, the eighth-century poet and painter, the author states that,

In painting a landscape the idea must precede the brush. Mountains may be represented in scores of feet, trees in feet, horses in inches, and human figures in fractions of an inch. Distant figures have no eyes, and distant trees have no branches. Distant mountains have no stones; they are faint like eyebrows. Distant waters have no ripples; they rise high to the clouds.⁶

Finally, developing Wang Wei's ideas, Kuo Hsi (about 1020–90) wrote in the second half of the eleventh century:

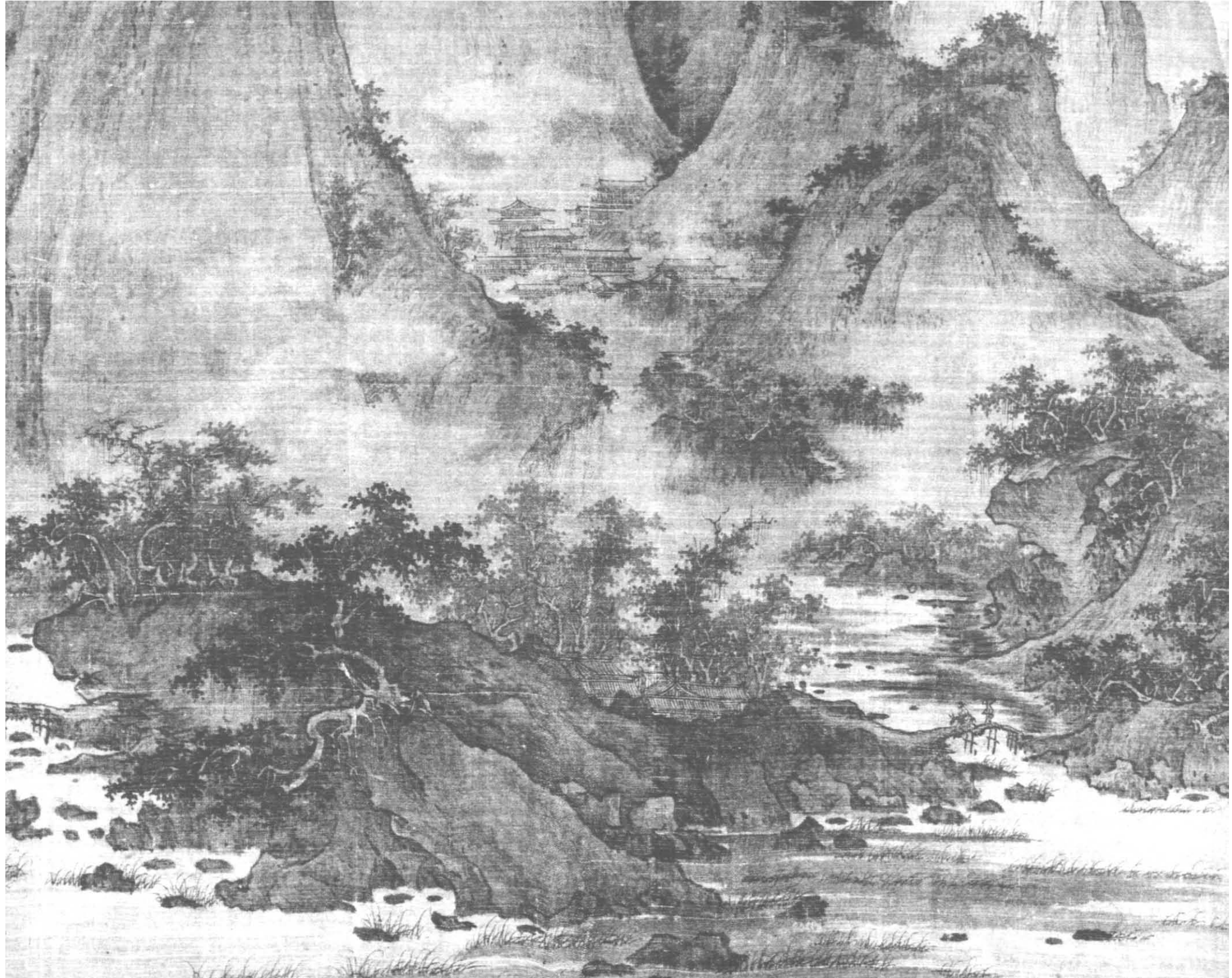
A mountain should be tall. If one reveals all of it, the mountain will not look tall. When mist and haze encircle its waist, it will then appear tall. . . . Viewed at a close range a mountain has one appearance, viewed from several miles away it has another, and viewed from several tens of miles away it has still another. Every time one goes farther away from it one gets a different view. This is why it is said that the appearance of a mountain changes with every step one takes.⁷

Between about 1000 and 1120 Chinese painters created visions of landscape such as the world has never beheld. The development during this period is epitomized by three well-known masterpieces in the Palace Museum in

5. (73), 15/5/4.

6. *Ibid.*, 13/3/2.

7. See Sakanishi (51), pp. 37, 47.



Taiwan: *Travelers among Streams and Mountains*, about 1000, by Fan K'uan; *Early Spring*, dated 1072, by Kuo Hsi; and *Wind in the Pines of Ten Thousand Valleys*, dated 1124, by Li T'ang.⁸ In Fan K'uan's painting, even though there is a powerful sense of tactile immediacy and realism, the landscape motifs are conceived frontally and individually, and with an ideographic clarity. The composition is divided into three separate stages—foreground, middle distance, and background—and the towering peaks above are arranged almost symmetrically, a “host” peak flanked by two “guest” ones. In the modeling of the rocks, three technical steps can be clearly read: restless, jagged-edged outline strokes; a layer of equally descriptive interior dotting and hatching (“small-ax”) strokes; and, finally, a filling in and rounding out by a graded ink wash. In Kuo Hsi's painting, done some seventy-five years later, the mountain forms are not only more complex but also more unified. This new effect is achieved largely through a sophisticated use of ink wash, which as mist or vapor softens and blurs the mountain silhouettes even as it unites them. In Kuo Hsi's mountain forms, outlines, interior texture strokes, and modeling ink washes are thoroughly fused; thickening and thinning brushstrokes, in a whole range of ink tones from charcoal black to transparent gray, are applied simultaneously, so that the different tones of ink run into each other to create the wet and blurry effects of the mist. Finally, in the mountain forms of Li T'ang's painting, we see a return to a relative clarity of structure, intended as a deliberate archaistic feature. Structurally, however, Li T'ang's forms are even more complex and integrated than Kuo Hsi's. Li's use of large-scale pine trees in the foreground results in the diminishing of the size of his central peaks above. In spite of his detailed description of these peaks, the incredible grandeur of the Northern Sung monumental mountains, as seen in the works by Fan K'uan and Kuo Hsi, has been replaced by a more intimate vision that prefigures the development of the Southern Sung period.

8. Sirén (83), vol. 3, pls. 154, 175, 247; (20), pp. 63, 67, 91.

There are several impressive landscapes extant, besides *Summer Mountains*, attributed to Yen Wen-kuei. The one most likely from his brush is perhaps the large handscroll painting on paper entitled *Pavilions by Rivers and Mountains* (*Chiang-shan lou-kuan*), now in the Abe collection in the Osaka Municipal Museum in Japan.⁹ A native of Wu-hsing, Chekiang, in southern China, Yen was a soldier at the beginning of the Sung dynasty, but joined the emperor T'ai-tsung's court (reigned 976–97) as a painter in the closing decades of the tenth century. The mountain forms of the Osaka Yen Wen-kuei are very close to those of his contemporary Fan K'uan.

Compared to the Osaka painting, *Summer Mountains* is at once calmer and simpler in technique, but more sophisticated in effect. The mountain's interior modeling now consists of straight, parallel brushstrokes that blend into large areas of ink wash. Whereas the mountain forms in the Osaka painting are tactile and massive, but frontal, in the Metropolitan's painting they recede in successive planes, thus achieving a more unified composition. Where in the Osaka painting the lower parts of the mountains fade into an intangible void, intricate patterns of white vapor now gather to define, as well as to link the mountain and tree elements into a unified structure.

It is clear, therefore, that *Summer Mountains* is after all not a work by Yen Wen-kuei, about 1000, but a slightly later creation that developed and expanded the famous "Yen style of scenery" (*Yen-chia-ching*). The painting is, in many respects, even more grand and resplendent than Yen's and Fan's. In every way the product of a golden age, its very air of summer scenery seems to breathe a well-endowed contentment, the demons of the restless energy of the earlier era having been successfully exorcised. The earlier style is celebrated here more in spirit than in technique. The technical innovations in the painting, noted above, were to bring about great changes in landscape painting after the middle of the eleventh century.

9. (86), 1/1, no. 10 (three illustrations). Two other important Yen Wen-kuei attributions are the handscroll *Windswept Stream* (*Hsi-feng-t'u*), formerly in the Cheng Chi collection, Tokyo, and now in a private collection in New York (unpublished); and the hanging scroll *Pavilion by Streams and Mountains* (*Ch'i-shan lou-kuan*), in the National Palace Museum, Taiwan; reproduced in Sirén (83), vol. 3, pl. 171.

Perhaps we should be content to leave *Summer Mountains* as the work of an anonymous master of, say, the second quarter of the eleventh century. There is, however, a possibility of attaching a name to this master. The painting bears two reign seals of the emperor Hui-tsung: the Ta-kuan (1107–10) and the Hsuan-ho eras (1119–25). In Hui-tsung's catalogue *Hsuan-ho hua-p'u*, the preface of which is dated 1120, Yen Wen-kuei's works are not included. Instead, there is a brief entry devoted to a follower of Yen named Ch'ü Ting, who was an Academy painter during emperor Jen-tsung's reign (1023–56). According to the *Hsuan-ho* catalogue, Ch'ü Ting was "a native of K'ai-feng-fu [who] followed Yen [Wen]-kuei in painting the changing aspects of landscapes in different seasons, and in his treatment of the melancholic and meandering mists and clouds and the movements of cascades and rocks, he showed considerable imagination and finesse."¹⁰ Three paintings by Ch'ü Ting, all entitled *Summer Scenery* (*Hsia-ching-t'u*), were recorded as being in Hui-tsung's collection. It is possible that *Summer Mountains*, which shows Hui-tsung's seals, is one of these paintings.

Ch'ü Ting was mentioned also in Kuo Jo-hsu's *T'u-hua chien-wen-chih*, a painting history written about 1074.¹¹ According to Su Shih (1063–1101), Ch'ü was the teacher of Hsü Tao-ning (active about 1030–60).¹² Indeed, the Metropolitan's painting seems to provide a convincing basis for many of the dramatic new features of the well-known handscroll attributed to Hsü Tao-ning, *Fishing in a Mountain Stream*, dated around 1050 and now in the Nelson-Atkins Gallery in Kansas City.¹³ As in *Summer Mountains*, the mountains in the Nelson Gallery scroll show "texture strokes that go straight down from mountain peaks,"¹⁴ but the brushstrokes are handled boldly to create bizarre, blown-cloudlike shapes, with a wet and diffused surface. Likewise, the well-integrated spatial organization of the Metropolitan's painting seems to have offered a sound structural foundation for the fantastic peaks and valleys of the Nelson Gallery work.

10. (41), 11/125.

11. (52), 4/53; Soper (85), p. 59.

12. Chu Chu-yü (21), p. 130.

13. Sirén (83), vol. 3, pl. 158.

14. This description of Hsü Tao-ning's style is given by Hsia Wen-yen in (36), 3/48.

Since traditional history has a propensity for recording only the most visible heroes and their best-known exploits, it is not surprising that in discussions of Hsü Tao-ning, one hears frequently about Hsü's distant progenitor Li Ch'eng, but little or nothing about his immediate predecessor Ch'ü Ting. It was this same propensity for familiar names that caused someone, centuries ago, to appropriate a masterpiece by a forgotten painter (Ch'ü Ting?), perhaps deliberately, as part of Yen Wen-kuei's oeuvre. But *Summer Mountains* shows us what a grand master this forgotten painter really was. The truth is, without the quiet innovations of Ch'ü Ting and his generation of painters during the second quarter of the eleventh century, the beautifully extravagant and baroque works of a Hsü Tao-ning, or a Kuo Hsi, could not have happened in the third quarter of that century.

1 SUMMER MOUNTAINS

Ch'ü Ting (active about 1023–56)

Formerly attributed to Yen Wen-kuei (active
about 988–1010)

Handscroll; ink and light color on silk
1973.120.1





古秀若芳歲月
多鈞遊跡重所
宜和印看典物
湖生面渾是臨
池寫掣窠如滴
夏山常卷雲欲
噴曉峽漸停波
高樓百尺軒而
敞試一張欄快
名何
戊辰新正月
泐也



EMPEROR KAO-TSUNG AND HISTORY PAINTING

Detail of *Marquis Wen-kung of Chin Recovering His State* (no. 2), episode 4

Sung art was inextricably bound to the political fortunes of the dynasty. In 1125, as the armies of the Chin tartars began marching toward the Sung capital, Pien-ching, the artist-emperor Hui-tsung abdicated in favor of his heir, the emperor Ch'in-tsung. Then in 1127 the Chin, after sacking Pien-ching, took away with them to the north both Hui-tsung and Ch'in-tsung, along with more than three thousand members of the imperial clan, and all the treasures, works of art, artisans, and workmen they could round up. By accident, Hui-tsung's ninth son, the prince K'ang, who in 1126 was twice sent north as a hostage, was stranded on his second mission in the loyalist city Tz'u-chou, behind the enemy's advancing troops. Upon the abduction of his father and brother by the Chin, the prince K'ang was proclaimed the new emperor, Kao-tsung, and after much vacillation he moved south and finally managed to establish a stable Southern Sung court at Lin-an (modern Hangchow) in 1138.

In time, Kao-tsung's exploits were glorified in an illustrated handscroll entitled *Auspicious Omens Relating to the Dynastic Revival* (*Chung-hsing jui-ying t'u*), a twelve-episode narrative composed by Ts'ao Hsun (died 1174), in which the supernatural was seen to have guided and influenced the events leading to the prince K'ang's ascension to the throne.¹⁵ The theme *chung-hsing*, or "dynastic revival," was of special significance to Kao-tsung's reign, which after 1131 was called *Shao-hsing*, "continued revival." One of the more effective weapons for Kao-tsung's "dynastic revival" was propaganda painting, which the emperor sponsored energetically with the help of a number of impressive Academy painters who had followed him to Hangchow.

An important handscroll in Kao-tsung's collection illustrating a classic "dynastic revival" story was *Marquis Wen-kung of Chin Recovering His State*

(*Chin-wen-kung fu-kuo t'u*), by Li T'ang (active about 1120–40) (no. 2). The story concerns the fortunes of Ch'ung-erh of Chin (in modern Shansi), a feudal state of the Eastern Chou period. In 656 B.C., when Chin was troubled by family quarrels, Ch'ung-erh went into exile. First he spent twelve years in barbarian Ti country in western Shansi; then, passing through Wei, he went east to Ch'i in Shantung, spending seven more years there. Finally, in 637 B.C., he headed for home. His journey first took him west and south through the states of Ts'ao, Sung, Cheng, and Ch'u (in the Yangtze River valley), then back north across Ch'in in Shensi. He returned to Chin in 636 B.C., and as the marquis Wen-kung soon became a powerful leader of all the feudal princes in central China, building his state into an effective bulwark against the outer states of Ch'in and Ch'u. His story served as a perfect example of a successful "dynastic revival," and the future Wen-kung's sojourn among the barbarians may have even suggested a parallel to Kao-tsung's own experience as a hostage of the Chin tartars.

At the end of the thirteenth century, according to Chou Mi (1232–after 1308) in his *Yun-yen kuo-yen lu*, Ch'iao Ta-chih [K'uei-ch'eng, Chung-shan] owned a version of Li T'ang's *Marquis Wen-kung of Chin Recovering His State*. There was another version which had on it writings by the emperor Kao-tsung, as well as three imperial seals [of the Sung]. The figures and trees and rocks of this painting were extremely close to those done by Li Kung-lin [1040–1106].¹⁶

Li T'ang, from San-ch'eng, Ho-yang (Honan province), was regarded as the leader of Kao-tsung's reconstituted Painting Academy in Hangchow. Though not mentioned in Hui-tsung's *Hsuan-ho hua-p'u* (before 1120), he was, according to Hsia Wen-yen's *T'u-hui pao-chien* (before 1365), a court painter during Hsuan-ho's reign.¹⁷ He joined Kao-tsung's court in the Chien-yen period

15. (37), pls. 65–81. Ts'ao Hsun's inscription and a full description of the twelve omens are given in Li E (64), 3/57–62.

16. Li E (64), 2/8. Chuang Su (24), p. 8, also mentions a scroll "*Marquis Wen-kung of Chin Recovering His State* [by Li T'ang and] highly praised by Kao-tsung." See also Li E (64), 2/7.

Chou Mi's testimony is supported by colophons found at the end of the Metropolitan's scroll, the first of which, by Ch'iao Ta, reads:

"The painting on the right illustrates the story of Marquis Wen-kung of Chin recovering his state. To the left of each episode is the text telling the story as given in the *Tso-chuan*. The scroll begins with 'Duke Hsiang-kung of Sung Making a Gift of Horses' and ends with 'Marquis Wen-kung of Chin Holding Court at Wu-kung.' An earlier colophon writer attributed the painting to Wu Yuan-yü [active about 1050–75] and the calligraphy to Huang T'ing-chien [1045–1105]. Having closely studied the brushwork, I concluded that the painting is by Li T'ang and the calligraphy by the emperor Kao-tsung. There can be no mistake about this. My family once owned a version of *Marquis Wen-kung of Chin Recovering His State*, which was a wonderful work by Li T'ang. There were four episodes in the first part: 'Fleeing to Ti,' 'Passing through Wei,' 'Arriving at Ch'i,' and 'Going to Ts'ao'; and the remaining compositions corresponded exactly to those in the present scroll. The scroll that my family owned had no text. In the present case, while the first half is missing, there is the text of the *Tso-chuan* written at the end of each episode. As a youth, the emperor Kao-tsung followed the calligraphic style of Huang T'ing-chien, but later, through the influence of Liu Yü [1079–1143], he turned to the styles of the Six Dynasties calligraphers, and through the latter, he achieved a distinctive style of his own. [Since the calligraphy on this scroll does not resemble Kao-tsung's distinctive style] it is small wonder that people have mistaken it [as the work of Huang T'ing-chien]. I have now cut off the misleading earlier colophon, and corrected the attribution; and I

have recorded these remarks. Other connoisseurs will agree that I am correct."

This is followed by a colophon by Shih Yen, a friend of both Ch'iao Ta and Chou Mi:

"Since there are several large and small imperial seals of Hsuan-ho at both ends of the scroll, people naturally assumed that this was a work of some earlier Northern Sung artist. No one realized that an early work by Li T'ang could possess such a lofty and archaic flavor. This is all the more reason why the painting is such a rare treasure. The calligraphy of the text of the *Tso-chuan* by Kao-tsung is also different from his calligraphy of later years. One can imagine that, in those early days in Lin-an after all the weary flight and travel, and with the dreams of recovering the empire as unattainable as ascending to Heaven, His Majesty could hardly help but start and sigh at the sight of this painting! So he had good reason to inscribe part of the text from the *Tso-chuan*. Chung-shan [Ch'iao Ta] has now corrected the attributions and had the label changed. This change is well founded."

For the texts of these colophons, see (76), 14/62–64. Judging from the calligraphy, these colophons are copies, but we believe that they are based on earlier authentic ones.

(1127–31), when he was close to eighty years of age, and apparently was still working in the early Shao-hsing period (1131–61). Ironically, despite his widely recognized influence on later Southern Sung Academy painters, his own extant works have been slow in gaining acceptance among modern art scholars. Only recently have we learned to accept that both the coarse-mannered landscapes in the Koto-in, Kyoto, and the fine-mannered monumental composition, *Wind in the Pines of Ten Thousand Valleys*, dated 1124 (Li's only dated painting), now in the Palace Museum in Taiwan, are equally authentic works by the master.¹⁸ How can we now establish the Metropolitan's *Marquis Wen-kung of Chin Recovering His State* as an original masterpiece by Li?

Both the figures and trees in this scroll bear a certain resemblance to those found in the other famous figure handscroll attributed to Li, *Po-i and Shu-ch'i*, now in the Palace Museum in Peking, which is signed by Li and has a colophon by Sung Ch'i-chih dated 1362.¹⁹ Although it is impossible to judge, seeing only photographic reproductions, whether the Peking painting is an original or a copy, the apparent formal similarities between the two scrolls indicate that both compositions were conceived by the same artist. But is the Metropolitan's painting an original, or a close copy made at a later date?

At first sight, we may complain that the drawing is uneven in quality: in certain places the tree branches and foliage seem stiff and careless; in other places the size and anatomy of the horses seem awkward. In answer to this, we should point out that the scroll is conceived in the classical large-figured tradition, in which the emphasis is on the psychological interplay of the principal figures. The scroll illustrates historical personages, rather than a contemporary genre scene. Each wearing a small Chou dynasty headdress and looking stiff-upper-lipped, the figures appear at first formal and stylized. Moreover, unlike the panoramic scrolls, such as the *Auspicious Omens* mentioned above and Chang Tse-tuan's *Ch'ing-ming Festival on the River*,²⁰ where figures appear in

17. Hsia (36), 14/100.

18. Edwards (27), pp. 48 ff.; Loehr (67), pp. 245–46; Barnhart (2), pp. 305 ff.

19. Sirén (83), vol. 3, pl. 251; Chang An-chih (10). Sung Ch'i-chih's colophon is recorded in Li E (64), 2/21–22. An exact copy of the composition is reproduced in (31), vol. 1, no. 18.

20. See Whitfield (100).

crowds and where the landscape setting is an important part of the narrative—and conversely, every detail is an important part of the scenery—the trees and architectural elements in the Metropolitan’s scroll are treated like stage properties, and the subsidiary figures and animals, like theatrical extras, occasionally do seem somewhat perfunctory.

In order to appreciate the dramatic subtleties of the scroll, we must first understand the significance of the marquis Wen-kung’s story. After the collapse of Western Chou authority in 771 B.C., during the so-called Spring and Autumn period (722–481 B.C.), the Chou feudal system was held together as a sort of loose confederation by a *pa*, or chief among the feudal princes. The first *pa* was the marquis Huan-kung of Ch’i (686–43 B.C.), whose leadership received the strong support of the duke Hsiang-kung of Sung, but who was consistently ignored by the Chin. Eventually the marquis Wen-kung of Chin succeeded Ch’i as *pa* by soundly defeating the menacing outer state Ch’u in 632 B.C. Even in exile, the future Chin ruler Wen-kung was obviously a potential leader. In his travels he was royally received by Ch’i (Huan-kung) and Sung (Hsiang-kung), then the *pa* leaders who sought to bring Chin into alignment, but he was rudely ignored by the heads of Wei, Ts’ao, and Cheng, who were too weak to care either one way or another about who was the *pa*.²¹ Chin’s really powerful opponents were Ch’u and Ch’in, who also did their best to be agreeable to the future Wen-kung.

In the Metropolitan’s scroll, we see first the Sung visit. The duke of Sung and his honored guest are seated, conversing cordially, while outside in the courtyard handsome steeds are brought out as the duke’s present to the visiting future head of state. In this scene, the horses are beautifully drawn; the groom and two bucking stallions outside the tent offer an effective counterpoint to the nobly composed figures seated inside. In contrast, the Cheng visit in the second scene is properly unceremonious. We see the future Wen-kung hastily taking leave from the earl of Cheng who has been discourteous to him, and, to the right, our hero

21. Ch’ien (18), pp. 33–44, esp. pp. 40–41.

glumly riding away in his carriage, with attendants stepping briskly behind, one of them whipping back his sleeve in a gesture of disdain and anger. Next comes the most colorful episode, the visit to the militant state of Ch'u. Here the text helps to suggest the flavor of the encounter:

After arriving in Ch'u, the count of Ch'u feted him and asked: "If Your Highness succeeds in returning to Chin, what will you do to repay me?" Pu-ku [one of Wen-kung's retinue] replied: "Your Majesty possesses all the wealths of men, women, jade, and silk, and your land produces plenty of feathers, furs, animal ivories, and hides. What comes to Chin is but your surplus. What is there for us to repay?" Again the count said: "Even so, what will you do to repay me?" Replied Pu-ku: "If we should return to Chin with the help of your good will, then one day when the soldiers of Chin and Ch'u meet in battle, we shall withdraw from Your Majesty three stages [about thirty miles]. But if we still cannot avoid your hostilities, then with a whip and a bow in our left hand and a quiver and a satchel in our right, we shall do our best to resist you." . . . The count finally sent the party on to the state of Ch'in.²²

In the painting, the future Wen-kung's party is portrayed in a triumphant procession with whirling and swirling movements of cartwheels, rocks, trees, and flying banners and clouds all marching to a distinctly martial rhythm. The artist's device of making cartwheels roll out of the swirling boulders is among the most dramatic ever seen in Chinese art. In the next episode we see a beautifully serene scene of the future Wen-kung being waited on by five courtly young women assigned to him by the earl of Ch'in. Then follows the dramatic scene, just before crossing the river to home territory, when the future marquis, on the eve of his enthronement, declared his gratitude and continued good will to Tzu-fan, one of his faithful followers in all nineteen years of hardship and danger in exile. Fearing that he would no longer be useful and seeking reassurance from his prince,

22. Legge (60), vol. 5, pt. 1, p. 187.

Tzu-fan presented the future marquis with a jade *pi* as a symbol of his unblemished integrity, and asked to be punished for his many failures through the years. The future Wen-kung dramatically tossed the *pi* into the river and declared: "If my heart ever harbors distrust in my uncle [Tzu-fan], may I go down the river with this water!" In the painting, this immensely human scene takes place under a magnificent pine tree, which covers the standing prince like a huge parasol. The magnanimity of the prince, the solemn attitude of the minister, as well as the fearful expression of the attendant are all vividly portrayed.

In the final scene, where the triumphal return to Chin takes place, we see the stately procession move with great pomp toward a palace gate. The horses drawing the crowned Wen-kung's carriage seem disproportionately small and mechanical; yet in the dramatic context of the moment, when intense human emotions of pride and satisfaction are seen and felt in every strutting figure in the procession, the diminutive size of the horses may indeed have been more intentional than accidental. By the early twelfth century, the scholar-painter's criticism against slavish representative likeness (*hsing-ssu*) in painting had caused most of the painters of repute to shun narrative art, leaving the field mostly to artisan-painters. The very ability of the artist of the Metropolitan's scroll to place selective emphasis on his drawing, thereby heightening the human and dramatic expressiveness of his narrative, must be regarded as a sure mark of a confident great master.

Once we recognize this extraordinary handscroll as a work by Li T'ang, our knowledge not only of Li T'ang but also of late Northern Sung painting as a whole is greatly enlarged. A man of Honan, Li T'ang in his youth could conceivably have known the great landscapist Kuo Hsi, who was also from Honan. Indeed, the modeling of the rocks in the scroll largely follows Kuo Hsi's method, and only in minor instances are there Li's famous "large-ax" strokes. In the drawing of the trees, the scroll shows a persistent interest in two opposing types, the great pine trees and a variety of hardwood deciduous trees. In Li's landscapes,

such as the Koto-in hanging scrolls, the interplay between the pine and the scrub oak became such a powerful theme that it prevailed throughout later Southern Sung Academy landscapes by Hsia Kuei and others. In figure style, Li T'ang seems to have followed a number of earlier sources. Chou Mi was undoubtedly right in pointing out his indebtedness to the great late-eleventh-century figure painter Li Kung-lin. But as a painter of figures with colors, rather than "plain drawing" (*pai-hua*), Li T'ang certainly also looked back to the T'ang tradition of Yen Li-pen (died 673); some of the more carefully executed faces in the Metropolitan's scroll indeed compare very closely with those of *Scholars of the Northern Ch'i Dynasty Collating Classical Texts*, a handscroll in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, formerly attributed to Yen but now also dated stylistically to the Northern Sung period.²³ Elsewhere in the Metropolitan's scroll, Li T'ang shows an intimate knowledge of the style of Ku K'ai-chih (344–406). The scene showing the future marquis with five beautiful women at the Ch'in court, obviously recalling Ku's *Admonitions* scroll in the British Museum,²⁴ must rank as one of the loveliest figure groups in Chinese painting.

As final proof that the Metropolitan's scroll was the original article in the emperor Kao-tsung's collection, we must turn to the calligraphy on the scroll. As pointed out by Ch'iao Ta's colophon on the scroll, Kao-tsung first studied the fashionable modern style of Huang T'ing-chien (1045–1105) before he turned to the archaic style of Chung Yu (151–230). Throughout his life he wrote in two different styles: his regular script (*k'ai-shu*), inspired by Chung Yu, shows level strokes in a square formation, while his running script (*hsing-shu*) contains an oblong character with slanting horizontal strokes similar to Huang T'ing-chien's. A detailed examination of the text of the Metropolitan's scroll (see detail, page 37) shows unmistakable characteristics of Kao-tsung's *hsing-shu* writing. Character for character, the text proves to be by the same hand that authored a series of imperial letters to his minister Liang Ju-chia and dated 1135, 1141, and 1143.²⁵

23. Sirén (83), vol. 3, pls. 76–78.

24. *Ibid.*, pl. 15.

25. (81), vol. 16, pls. 4–9, esp. pls. 8 and 9.

If the internal evidence of both painting and calligraphy appears incontrovertible, then some of the minor troublesome external evidences of seals and documents must be either explained away or set aside. The historical context of this important work illustrating a moving “dynastic revival” story clearly belonged to the critical years after the sack of Pien-ching in 1126. Consequently, the earlier Northern Sung seals of Hsuan-ho and Ts’ai Ching, appearing at the ends of the scroll, make little sense. Their addition to the scroll may be part of the same effort of some late Southern Sung or early Yuan owner who wanted to attribute the painting of the scroll to Wu Yuan-yü (active about 1050–75) and its calligraphy to Huang T’ing-chien.²⁶ By the late thirteenth century, Kao-tsung’s “dynastic revival” was only a dim memory, and the scroll had sadly become but another valuable painting to be enhanced, customarily but as usual pointlessly, by attributions to some earlier Northern Sung masters.

Detail of *Marquis Wen-kung of Chin Recovering His State* (no. 2), calligraphy by Kao-tsung, enlarged

To continue with some of the other illustrated scrolls commissioned by Kao-tsung, we turn to a version of the *Eighteen Songs of a Nomad Flute* (*Hu-chia shih-pa p’ai*) (no. 3). The scroll illustrates the popular story of the life of Lady Wen-chi (Ts’ai Yen), who in A.D. 195, toward the end of the Han dynasty, was abducted by a marauding nomad horde, spent twelve years among the Mongols as the wife of a chieftain, bore her barbarian husband two children, and was finally ransomed and returned.²⁷ The story typifies in the Chinese mind the threat of the northern barbarians and the essential conflict between two cultures. We can well understand the special poignancy the story held for the emperor Kao-tsung, who had personally known the threatened existence of a hostage and whose wives and clansmen, along with his father and brother the emperors Hui-tsung and Ch’in-tsung, were captives of the Chin tartars and fated to die unransomed.

26. See translations of the colophons on the Metropolitan’s scroll, note 16 above.

27. For a detailed discussion of the life of Lady Wen-chi, see Rorex (75).

及晉國者君之餘

報我對曰若以君

於中原其辟君三

屬橐鞬以與君固

子廣而儉文而有

three, five, thirteen, and eighteen: “Encampment in the Desert,” “Encampment by a Stream,” “Wen-chi Parting from Her Husband and Children,” and “Wen-chi Returns Home.”²⁸ The Metropolitan’s scroll is the earliest copy that has preserved both the eighteen compositions and the accompanying texts written in Kao-tsung’s *k’ai-shu* style. Detailed comparisons between the Boston fragments and the corresponding scenes in the Metropolitan’s scroll indicate that the latter is a careful and exact copy. Although the Boston paintings have lost their accompanying texts, the writing on the Metropolitan’s painting is evidently a tracing of the original calligraphy by Kao-tsung. The details of Kao-tsung’s stylistic idiosyncrasies are carefully preserved, but occasionally certain strokes—especially the final wavelike *na* stroke—seem unnatural, and a few characters appear wobbly in structure. By transilluminating the scroll, we are able to see some strokes meticulously outlined, filled, and painted, rather than written with a free hand. The scroll bears the seals of members of the Mu family in the early Ming period: Mu Ying, the adopted son of the first Ming emperor T’ai-tsu, who was enfeoffed as the prince of Ch’ien-ning and who lived until 1392; Ying’s son Ang; and Ying’s great grandson Lin, who lived until 1457.²⁹ If these seals are correct, then the scroll must date earlier than the end of the fourteenth century. Although it is difficult to tell exactly from such a tracing copy, the quality of the drawing seems to suggest a date earlier than the late fifteenth century, but not before the early fourteenth century.

The eighteen compositions illustrate the verses of *Eighteen Songs of a Nomad Flute*, composed by Liu Shang (about A.D. 773) of the T’ang dynasty. (The eighteen episodes are listed in the Catalogue, no. 3.) Various versions of the Wen-chi illustrations have been given attributions to different Sung and even T’ang painters. The Boston fragments, for instance, were for a long time wrongly identified as *The Sung Emperor Kao-tsung’s Auspicious Omens* by

28. Sirén (83), vol. 3, pls. 316–18; (92), pls. 61–64.

29. Rorex (75), pp. 202–11.



Hsiao Chao (active about 1130–50); there is a late-thirteenth-century document referring to a set of “illustrations of *Eighteen Songs of a Nomad Flute* by Li T’ang with Liu Shang’s poems written by Kao-tsung’s own hand”;³⁰ the Metropolitan’s painting has been given to Ch’en Chü-chung (active after about 1201); an album, probably executed in the fifteenth century, entitled *Wen-chi Returning to Han* and showing similar compositions, now in the Palace Museum in Taiwan, was attributed to Yen Li-pen until the compilers of *Shih-ch’ü pao-chi* changed the attribution to Li T’ang.³¹

We need not concern ourselves seriously with the Ch’en Chü-chung attribution, since Ch’en’s dates would not have allowed the scroll to be inscribed by the emperor Kao-tsung. The attribution to Li T’ang also seems unfounded. The Boston fragments do not relate easily with any of the known works by Li T’ang that were discussed earlier. The most that can be said is that the artist was probably a member of Kao-tsung’s Painting Academy, and that he was not only a first-rate genre painter, skilled in figures, animals, architecture, and landscape settings alike, but a meticulously accurate observer of the details of Mongol life as well. Another anonymous narrative handscroll of the period has recently been identified as illustrating the return from the Chin territory of Kao-tsung’s mother, Empress Dowager Wei, who in 1142 brought back with her the remains of Hui-tsung, Hui-tsung’s first empress Cheng, and Kao-tsung’s own first empress Hsing.³² As an illustration of a significant contemporary event, this scroll forms a pendant, both in mood and style of drawing, to the earlier scroll, *Auspicious Omens*, which depicts Kao-tsung’s adventures as a hostage in the north and his escape to safety.³³ Both scrolls, illustrating the dramatic events of Kao-tsung’s family, share the feelings of the *Eighteen Songs of a Nomad Flute*, yet the story of Lady Wen-chi, which happened almost a thousand years earlier and was now a legend, could not have been sadder than the emperor’s.

30. Chuang Su (24), p. 8. See also Li E (64), 2/7.

31. (48), 3/6, pp. 4–9; Rorex (75), pp. 123–46.

32. Hsü Pang-ta (40). The scroll is reproduced in (90), no. 12 (four illustrations).

33. (37), pls. 65–81.

Perhaps the best-known series of handscrolls sponsored by Kao-tsung are the illustrations to the *Book of Odes* (*Shih-ching*), with texts supposedly written by Kao-tsung and his successor Hsiao-tsung (1163–89) and paintings by Ma Ho-chih (active about 1130–70). In a colophon by Wu K'uan (1435–1504), dated 1470 and found at the end of the handscroll *Marquis Wen-kung of Chin Recovering His State* (no. 2), we read:

The emperor Kao-tsung of Sung, whenever finding leisure after attending to the affairs of the state, loved to practice calligraphy by transcribing the texts of the classics. He used to say: "In practicing calligraphy one should write the texts of the classics. This way one learns not only to write characters, but also to memorize the classics." He had written out all the Thirteen Classics and had them engraved in stone.³⁴

It was this same scholarly mentality that caused Kao-tsung to commission a program of illustrating the *Book of Odes*, one of the Thirteen Classics. It is said that he and his successor Hsiao-tsung personally wrote out all three hundred poems of the Mao edition of the odes (*Mao-shih*) and ordered Ma Ho-chih to illustrate them, but the project was apparently never fully executed.

The *Book of Odes*, which consists of three hundred and five poems, was said to have been selected by Confucius from an original selection of three thousand poems. They are rhymed ballads in varying meters, frequently four words to a line, composed between the earliest-remembered moment of Chinese history, the Great Yü, and the end of the seventh century B.C. They are arranged in three groups: *feng*, folk ballads of the various feudal states; *ya*, odes sung at occasions of entertainment and celebration; and *sung*, panegyrics and sacrificial odes. As early as the Han period, the *Book of Odes* became a regular part of the curriculum at the imperial Academy, where three different schools of commentaries, Ch'i, Lu, and Wei, flourished. It was thought that while the *feng*, the regional folk

34. (76), 14/64.

破斧美周公

焉既破我斧

四國是皇哀

破我斧又斨

Detail of *Odes of the State of Pin* from the *Kuo-feng Section of the "Book of Odes"* (no. 4), calligraphy, enlarged

35. (77), Yü-shu-fang, fols. 57–68.

36. Chuang Shen (23), pp. 140–41.

37. The other scroll, which came from the collection of Ch'en Chieh-ch'i and is now in the Yurinkan in Kyoto, shows eleven illustrations of *Odes Beginning with "T'ang" in the Ta-ya Section*; see (81), vol. 16, p. 142.

There are several recorded versions of the *Odes of the State of Pin*, one of which, according to Wu Ch'i-chen (after 1677), had ten illustrations and was on paper; see Li E (64), 3/41. Among the scrolls dispersed by Pu Yi was an *Odes of the State of Pin*, also with seven illustrations on silk, which is now said to be in the Hui-hua-kuan in Peking. According to its description in the eighteenth-century imperial catalogue, however, this scroll consists of two different fragments of different sizes put together by the Ch'ien-lung emperor; see (77), Yü-shu-fang, fol. 62.

38. The Boston scroll shows six illustrations of *Odes Beginning with "There are Auspicious Fish in the South" in the Hsiao-ya Section*; see (77), Yü-shu-fang, fol. 64; Tomita and Tseng (92); and Sirén (83), vol. 3, pls. 275–78. The Princeton scroll shows six illustrations of *Odes Beginning with "The Wild Geese" in the Hsiao-ya Section*; see (77), Yü-shu-fang, fols. 64–65 (it has not been reproduced).

39. The Metropolitan's scroll observes taboo for K'uang (T'ai-tsu), Huan (Ch'in-tsung), and Kou (Kao-tsung). The Princeton scroll likewise avoids writing out a character that reads Huan. In the engraved classic *Shih-ching (Book of Odes)*, written by Kao-tsung, taboo is observed for K'uang, but not for Kou. See (81), vol. 16, pl. 10.

40. (81), vol. 16, pls. 39–44.

ballads, revealed the essential characters of the different ancient peoples, the *ya* and *sung*, the ceremonial odes, were the keystones of a civilized society. Traditional commentaries specialized in the probing of the deeper moral and political significance of the odes. Kao-tsung's interest in the odes was therefore part of his "dynastic revival" program; their illustrations were a reaffirmation of the foundations of civilization at a time of threatened barbarian conquest.

In the eighteenth century the Ch'ing emperor Ch'ien-lung (1735–95) made a search of the existing *Odes* illustrated by or attributed to Sung Kao-tsung and Ma Ho-chih, and accepted fourteen of them for his collection.³⁵ Two centuries later Pu Yi dispersed thirteen of these scrolls.³⁶ The scroll on silk now in the Metropolitan Museum, which shows seven illustrations of *Odes of the State of Pin from the Kuo-feng Section of the "Book of Odes"* (no. 4), came from the collection of P'an Yen-chün (died in the 1950s) in Soochow. It was one of the two known important Ma Ho-chih scrolls outside the imperial collection.³⁷

Among scrolls available for study in Japan, Europe, and the United States, the drawings on three scrolls—now at the Yurinkan in Kyoto, the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, and the Princeton University Art Museum—are very close to that of the Metropolitan's scroll.³⁸ The writings on the Princeton and the Metropolitan scrolls are definitely by the same hand, but those on the Yurinkan and the Boston scrolls show leaner brushstrokes and are closer to the elegant styles of the early T'ang calligraphers Yü Shih-nan (558–638) and Ch'ü Sui-liang (596–658). To show respect, Sung writers were required to avoid writing out completely the names of their emperors and their own ancestors. Since the Metropolitan's scroll observes taboo for the character Kou, which was Kao-tsung's personal name, it is obvious that the writer cannot be Kao-tsung himself.³⁹ Nor can this writer be the emperor Hsiao-tsung, since the calligraphy is not as accomplished as the acknowledged specimens of Hsiao-tsung's handwriting.⁴⁰ We feel, therefore, that it is the work of an anonymous scribe laboring under Kao-tsung's instruction and in imitation of His Majesty's style.



Detail of *Odes of the State of Pin* from the *Kuo-feng* Section of the "Book of Odes" (no. 4), episode 1, enlarged

Only scanty biographical information on Ma Ho-chih is available, the traditional source being found in Hsia Wen-yen's *T'u-hui pao-chien* (preface dated 1365):

Ma Ho-chih was a man of Ch'ien-t'ang [in Chekiang]. He attained his degree [*chin-shih*] in the Shao-hsing era [1132–62]. In painting human figures, Buddhist images, and landscapes he followed the style of Wu [Tao-tzu] [active about 720–60]. His brushwork flutters freely, and avoiding all ornate and decorative manners he has created a distinctive style of his own. The emperors Kao and Hsiao both deeply appreciate his painting. Every time they wrote the texts of the three hundred poems of the *Mao-shih*, they would ask Ma to illustrate them. In his official career, he rose to the position of vice president of the Board of Works.⁴¹

The fact that Ma was both a distinguished scholar-official and a preeminent painter raises the question if he was ever a member of the Painting Academy. Citing Chou Mi's comment that "the emperor then had only about ten men in the Painting Academy and [Ma] Ho-chih headed these painters," Li E (1692–1752) in his *Nan-Sung yuan-hua-lu*, for instance, theorized that Ma was perhaps in charge of the Painting Academy.⁴² Actually, Li seems to have misunderstood the nature of the so-called Painting Academy during the Sung period. As has been pointed out, there was in fact no separately established Painting Academy or Bureau.⁴³ In encouraging the art of painting, the Sung emperors offered the ranking painters official positions in the court as *chih-hou* or *tai-chao*, "painters-in-waiting." A good painter, in other words, could become an official without other qualifications. Ma Ho-chih, however, had achieved high official rank besides being a painter. He was, therefore, most likely not an official "painter-in-waiting."

Ma's not being an official "painter-in-waiting" tells us a good deal not only about Sung court painting in general, but also about early Southern Sung painting

41. Hsia (36), 4/95.

42. (64), 3/41.

43. Wenley (99), p. 269.

under Kao-tsung in particular. In *Hua-chi* (about 1167), which is a primary source on the Sung Painting Academy, Teng Ch'un had this to say:

When the Painting Academy held examinations, candidates poured in from all directions, but many left again for not being able to fit the requirements. This is because the prevailing fashion [for Academy painters] emphasized representative likeness [*hsing-ssu*] in painting. If a painter had strong individual traits, and appeared somewhat unconventional, he would be criticized for not following established methods, or for being untutored in a tradition. Consequently, most of the Academy's products resembled works of artisan-painters, and failed to reach a higher level of art.⁴⁴

Teng Ch'un's observation was undoubtedly true to a degree, but it was probably more descriptive of the conditions of the later Southern Sung Painting Academy. During Kao-tsung's time, the two leading painters at the court, first Li T'ang and then Ma Ho-chih, were indeed both mavericks. Li T'ang, as we know from his famous lament, "If I had known that [my landscapes] could not catch people's eyes, I would have bought more rouge and painted more bright peonies,"⁴⁵ was unpopular until he was rediscovered by Kao-tsung. And Ma Ho-chih's unique suitability as the painter for the unprecedented program of illustrating the *Book of Odes* was precisely because, in Hsia Wen-yen's words, by "avoiding all ornate and decorative manners he [had] created a distinctive style of his own." In the fourteenth century, T'ang Hou, the critic with a strong bias for the scholar-painter's taste, added: "[Ma] was able, in particular, to be rid of all customary vulgarities [of the Academy painters] and to dwell exclusively on the noble and archaic, so he was not easily matched by others."⁴⁶

Since the odes were interpreted as being moral and didactic, their illustrations must be, by their very purpose, "noble and archaic." The Metropolitan's scroll, for instance, illustrates seven poems of *Odes of the State of Pin*: "The Seventh Month," "The Owl," "Eastern Hills," "Broken Axes," "Cutting an Ax Handle,"

44. (91), 10/77.

45. Li E (64), 2/21.

46. Ibid., 3/41.

“Fish Nets,” and “The Wolf.”⁴⁷ Each inscription preceding the painting begins with a brief commentary by Mao-kung, traditionally called the Little Preface, before the text of the poem. Ma Ho-chih’s interpretations are based on these commentaries. These are the commentaries:

“The Seventh Month” explains a king’s enterprise. The duke of Chou, after the political difficulties, explained [to the king Ch’eng, his ward] the origins of his people’s customs under Hou-chi and other early ancestors, and why a king’s grand enterprise was always full of difficulties.

This poem is usually accepted as a description by the duke of Chou of the early settlers in Pin, under Kung Liu. The state of Pin was the home of the ancestors of the Chou kings for nearly five centuries, 1796 to 1325 B.C.

“The Owl” [was written] when the duke of Chou had to put down a rebellion. The king Ch’eng did not understand the duke of Chou, so the duke wrote this poem and sent it to the king.

The traditional interpretation is that the duke defends his decisive action against the rebels by picturing himself as the bird protecting its young [the king Ch’eng, his ward] from the threatening owls.⁴⁸

“Eastern Hills” describes the duke of Chou’s eastern expedition. The officials of the court, in praising him, wrote this poem.

“Broken Axes” praises the duke of Chou. The officials of Chou placed the blame [for the warfare] on the four neighboring states.

The poem itself praises the duke’s magnanimity:

We broke our axes,
And splintered our chisels;
But the duke of Chou, in marching to the east,
Was to reform the four [neighboring] states.

47. See Legge (60), vol. 4, pp. 226–43.

48. See Barnhart (4), pp. 34–35.



Detail of *Odes of the State of Pin* from the
Kuo-feng Section of the "Book of Odes"
(no. 4), episode 4

His compassion for people
Is admirable indeed.

"Cutting an Ax Handle" praises the duke of Chou. The officials of Chou criticized the court for not understanding [the duke's great accomplishments].

The poem says:

In cutting [the wood for] an ax handle . . .
Without the ax it cannot be done.

"Fish Nets" praises the duke of Chou. The officials of Chou criticized the court for not understanding [the duke's great accomplishments].

The poem says:

The wild geese fly about the islet,
The duke is returning, but he has no place to stay.

"The Wolf" praises the duke of Chou. In acting as the regent, [the duke caused] the four neighboring states far away to spread rumors about him, and the king nearby to misunderstand him. The officials of Chou praise [the duke] for never losing his sagely virtues [under these difficult circumstances].

The wolf in the poem is old. Its dewlap and tail, having grown very large, trip the animal when it moves about. This describes the poor regent, and yet, as the poem points out, "there is no flaw in his virtuous fame."

To illustrate the *Odes*, the painter, understandably, had to be a scholar as well. Just as the poems are more metaphorical than narrative, Ma Ho-chih's paintings are allusive, evocative of a poetic mood, rather than realistic. Only in the first illustration, "The Seventh Month," which shows the labors and joys of an arcadia, are there many figures in a full landscape setting. The remaining illustrations show a magnificent tree with nesting birds; soldiers returning from the hills; two men conversing, with one of them holding and pointing to a broken ax;

two men watching a third chopping a tree; a fisherman pulling his net from a skiff while wild geese fly in the distance; and, in the last scene, three men on one side and, in the upper right corner, an old wolf with a long dewlap and a large tail. The movements of the figures are slow, symbolic, and balletlike. With each scene conceived as a didactic tableau, the figures are identities by themselves: they do not suggest dramatic interaction with each other. In the last illustration, for instance, the spectators, or narrators, are separated from the wolf, the subject of the scene, by a wreath of cloudscrolls that identifies the picture as allegorical rather than realistic.

Ma Ho-chih has turned Wu Tao-tzu's famous thickening-and-thinning drapery lines into a delightful mannerism of fluctuating lines known as the "orchid-leaf" (*lan-yeh*) or "grasshopper-waist" (*ma-huang*) style of drawing. The same fluctuating rhythm is also used for depicting landscape elements. This calligraphic brushwork gives an added dimension to Ma's painting: rather than serving representation alone, it makes the drawing come physically alive with its throbbing kinesthetic energy, and turns painting into poetry and music in a visual way. In "The Seventh Month," for instance, the way in which the lines move manages to evoke the mood of the paradise described in the ancient poem. The scene is "noble and archaic" indeed (see detail, page 44).

In these three handscrolls now at the Metropolitan (nos. 2–4), we see three different kinds of figure painting. From the earliest moment of Chinese narrative painting, there developed two parallel traditions: one shows large figures in the foreground, and the other depicts small figures in a panoramic scene. Li T'ang's *Marquis Wen-kung of Chin* belongs to the former tradition; architectural and landscape elements are used purposely to enhance the characterizations of the figures. In some episodes, the success of the narrative clearly owes much to Li's ability as a landscape painter. The illustrations of Lady Wen-chi's story, on the other hand,

in representing the Sung Painting Academy's realistic style, show small figures in panoramic scenes. Here, representative likeness and attention to details are the artist's principal concerns, but since large-scale actions and dramatic scenery are stressed over individual and personal characterizations, the individual figures are too small, in most cases, to show real emotion. Finally, in Ma Ho-chih's painting, which employs both the large-figured and the panoramic scenes, we see neither startling compositional innovations nor exceptional achievements in figural characterization. But by turning painting into calligraphy and poetry, Ma has raised his art to a new level of humanistic expression. Contrary to Academy realism, which tried to describe the appearances of things, Ma's new art sought to express the total cultural experience of the humanist scholar—classics, poetry, calligraphy, and painting. Though his idiom was personal and unique, his art was immediately communicative to other scholars.



2 MARQUIS WEN-KUNG OF CHIN
 RECOVERING HIS STATE
 Episode 3: "The Visit to the State of Ch'u"
 Li T'ang (active about 1120-40),
 with text written by the Sung emperor
 Kao-tsung (reigned 1127-62)
 Handscroll; ink and color on silk
 1973.120.2





第十八拍
歸來故鄉見親族田園半蕪春草綠明燭
重然煨燼灰寒泉更洗沉泥玉載持中櫛
禮儀好一弄絲桐生死之出入關山十二
年哀情盡在胡茄曲

3 EIGHTEEN SONGS OF A NOMAD FLUTE

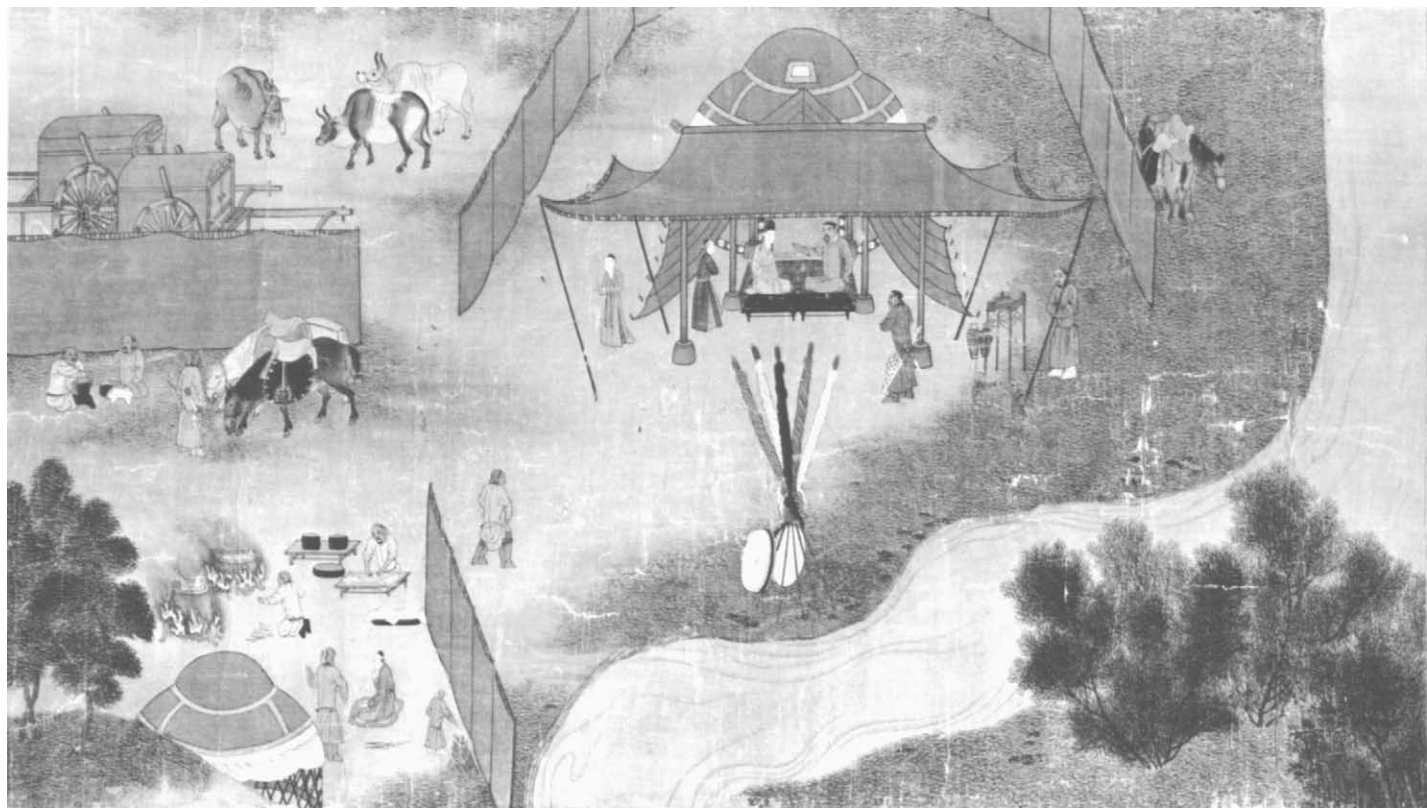
Left: Episode 18, "Wen-chi Returns Home"

Right: Episode 5, "Encampment by a Stream"

Copy after an anonymous Academy painter
(about 1140), with text written in the style of
the Sung emperor Kao-tsung (reigned 1127–
62); probably a copy of the late fourteenth
century

Handscroll; ink, color, and gold on silk.

1973.120.3



第五拍

水頭宿兮草頭坐
風吹漢地衣裳破
羊脂沐髮長不梳
羔子皮裘領仍左
狐襟貉袖腥復膻
晝披行兮夜披卧
氈帳時移無定居
日月長兮不可過



- 4 ODES OF THE STATE OF PIN FROM
THE KUO-FENG SECTION OF THE
"BOOK OF ODES"
Episode 1, "The Seventh Month"
Ma Ho-chih (active about 1130–70), with
text written in the style of the Sung emperor
Kao-tsung (reigned 1127–62)
Handscroll; ink, light color, gold, and silver
on silk
1973.121.3

二之日其同載績武以言利其
獻斫于公五月斯螽動股六月莎
雞振羽七月在野八月在宇九月
在戶十月蟋蟀入我牀下穹窒熏
鼠塞向瑾戶嗟我婦子曰為改歲
入此室處六月食鬱及薺七月亨
葵及菽八月剥棗十月穫稻為此
春酒以介眉壽七月食瓜八月斷
壺九月叔苴采荼薪樗食我農夫
九月築場圃十月納禾稼黍稷重
稂禾麻菽麥嗟我農夫我稼既同
上入執宮功晝爾于茅宵爾索綯
亟其乘屋其始播百穀二之日鑿
冰沖沖三之日納于凌陰四之日
其蚤獻羔祭韭九月肅霜十月漘
場朋酒斯饗曰殺羔羊躋彼公堂
稱彼兕觥萬壽無疆

七月





SOUTHERN SUNG PAINTING

Detail of *River Village in Autumn Dawn*
(no. 5), enlarged

To understand Southern Sung painting, we begin with a handscroll on silk entitled *River Village in Autumn Dawn* (*Chiang-ts'un ch'iu-hsiao*) (no. 5), which closely reflects the composition and brush style of a late Northern Sung painter, Chao Ling-jang (active about 1070–1100).⁴⁹

Chao, a member of the Sung imperial clan, was much admired by his contemporaries for two unusual reasons: first, though he was a nobleman living in luxury, he managed to become an excellent painter; second, although he was obliged as a cousin of the emperor Shen-tsung (reigned 1068–85) to live within less than two hundred miles of the capital, K'ai-feng, he nevertheless painted intimate river views that recalled the soft scenery of Chiang-nan, to the south of the Yangtze River, which, in reality, he had never seen.

According to the emperor Hui-tsung's catalogue *Hsuan-ho hua-p'u* of 1120, Chao learned to paint by studying ancient models he had collected.⁵⁰ Northern Sung critics, however, who still believed that a true landscapist learned from nature, not from other paintings, found his works effeminate in comparison to the monumental landscapes still current at that time. It was said in *Hsuan-ho hua-p'u* that "if he had only had the chance to visit all the peaks and valleys of Chiang [-nan], Che [-chiang], Ching [Hupei], and Hsiang [Hunan] . . . as an aid to his painting brush, he might have joined the ranks of Chin and Liu-Sung masters [whom he so admired]." Teng Ch'un in *Hua-chi*, about 1167, writes:

Each time [Chao] made a painting, he tried to create some new ideas. But a friend would joke and say to him: "This must be the result of your having made another trip to the imperial tombs [in the outskirts of the city]." This derisive remark referred to the fact that he was not able to make long-distance travel. All he ever saw was the scenery between K'ai-feng and Lo-yang, a distance of not more than five hundred *li* [less than two hundred miles].⁵¹

Yet it was because of this very departure from Northern Sung monumental realism that Chao Ling-jang became the forerunner of the typical Southern Sung landscape style. Chao's learning to paint from ancient rather than modern masters reflected the new antiquarian interest among the scholar-officials of his time. Mi Fu thought that some of Chao's works closely resembled paintings that were attributed, at that time, to the T'ang poet-painter Wang Wei (699–759).⁵² Teng Ch'un mentioned in *Hua-chi* other T'ang painters—Pi Hung, Wei Yen, and Li Ssu-hsun—as models Chao had also studied. The fact that even today we find evidence of late Northern Sung attributions to Wang Wei resembling Chao Ling-jang's style indicates that Chao's paintings, during his time, were considered "archaic," and therefore, a distinct departure from the modern "realistic" landscapes.⁵³

In giving up monumental realism, Chao actually brought landscape art to an even more advanced stage of "conquering illusion" in painting. In an earlier Northern Sung landscape (no. 1), space is compartmentalized: a picture is entered in stages, each with a suggested receding plane tilted at a different angle toward the viewer; individual motifs, organized on an additive principle, are seen motif by motif, without very much overlapping. In Chao's works, however, elements now range from the front to the back in a continuous fashion; foreground and background trees are "telescoped" together, with distant branches and foliages seen behind those in the front (see detail, page 58). The simplified forms, described by broader brushstrokes and more ink wash, also suggest a greater atmospheric quality than that of the earlier Northern Sung landscapes.

Chao Ling-jang's paintings anticipate the development of the Southern Sung not only in technique, but also in psychological expression. The intimacy of his view is accompanied by a sensitive, tender, and pliable brushwork, which conveys a moody and remote feeling. Because of military pressures from their northern neighbors, Northern Sung landscapists had not traveled freely in the

49. Maeda (68) points out the importance of Chao Ta-nien to the development of Southern Sung landscape painting.

The most secure attribution to Chao Ling-jang is the handscroll *River Village in Clear Summer* (*Chiang-hsiang ch'ing-hsia*) in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Yonezawa Yoshiho, however, considers the Boston scroll a close copy of an original, and the Metropolitan scroll (which he knew only in reproductions) a free schoolwork of the Yuan period; see (103), pp. 131–50. In the Metropolitan's scroll, the brushwork is broad and summary, not unlike the late Southern Sung works by Mu-ch'i and Ying Yü-chien, while the Boston painting shows a finer delineation of the landscape elements in a more typical late Northern Sung fashion. An album leaf signed Li An-chung and dated 1117, now in the Cleveland Museum of Art, is perhaps the best evidence of the Chao Ling-jang style in the early twelfth century; here the brushwork of the foreground trees and riverbanks is also quite broad and free; see Sirén (83), vol. 3, pl. 228. We believe that the Metropolitan's painting was executed after the early twelfth, but before the end of the thirteenth century.

50. (41), 20/250.

51. (91), 2/5–6.

52. See Vandier-Nicolas (96), pp. 79–80.

53. See Maeda (68), notes 10 and 13. The well-known handscroll *Clearing after Snow on Rivers and Mountains* (*Chiang-shan hsueh-chi t'u*), attributed to Wang Wei, in the Ogawa collection in Kyoto, also shows elements of Chao Ling-jang's style toward the end of the scroll; see Sirén (83), vol. 3, pl. 92.

great northern mountain ranges since the late Five Dynasties period. While the leading landscapists of the Five Dynasties and the early Northern Sung—such as Ching Hao, Kuan T'ung, and Fan K'uan—had been mountain hermits, most of the painters in the late eleventh century were centered around the capital, Pien-ching. In Chao's work, we see the romantic dreamworld of a city-bound artist, an image that may have reflected not only Chao's inner feelings, but also a more general spirit of the time.

An acute understanding of the psychology of Chao Ling-jang's painting style seems to be shown by Chao Meng-fu (1254–1322), who wrote the first colophon on the Metropolitan's scroll:

Ta-nien [Chao Ling-jang], as a young nobleman living in a peaceful time and amusing himself with brush and ink, showed a surprising grasp of the flavor of rivers and lakes. In this scroll the forests and trees are hoary and archaic, and people go about fishing and woodcutting unhurriedly. The flabby and vexatious life [of a young nobleman] is suddenly completely washed clean. When opening the scroll, we are fairly overwhelmed by the feelings stirred up by this hermitage by the sea. How such a scroll should be treasured! ⁵⁴

The reference to the "hermitage by the sea" probably comes from two lines by the Six Dynasties scholar-official Yuan Ts'an (420–77), who likewise was torn by being physically at one place but spiritually at another:

Though I may live in the middle of our kingdom [i.e., at the court],
[My heart] is lodged in that hermitage by the sea. ⁵⁵

Chao Ling-jang's paintings, in other words, are landscapes of the mind. His "new ideas" are visions of that hermitage by the sea that he had longed for but was not permitted to attain.

This dreamy, slightly dilettante style of the city-bound nobleman found unexpected support from the genuinely amateur works of the leading connoisseur,

54. (102), 13/35. *Ta-kuan-lu's* transcription of the colophons on this scroll is not reliable; it mentions, for instance, a second colophon by Chao Meng-fu, not found on the Metropolitan's scroll, and gives a date of 1340, while Chao died in 1322.

55. (95), *ssu* section, p. 137. See also the biography of Yuan Ts'an in *Nan-shih*.

critic, and scholar-painter of the time, Mi Fu, who had traveled much but deliberately chose to paint in an abbreviated and unorthodox manner. Chao Hsi-ku (active about 1230) wrote of him:

Mi Fu often roamed in Chiang [-nan] and Che [-chiang] and whenever he chose a place to live in, he always selected outstanding landscape settings. He was not a born painter, but later, because he was steeped in the landscape his eye saw, he imitated it, and thus succeeded in capturing the flavor of nature. When he made ink-plays he did not only use a brush; he might paint with twisted strips of paper or sugarcane husks or a lotus seed pod.⁵⁶

We no longer have any reliable evidence of Mi Fu's paintings, but there are several good examples of work by his son Mi Yu-jen (1086–1165), who continued Mi Fu's style. One such, *Cloudy Mountains (Yun-shan-t'u)* (no. 6), has an unusually excellent and unbroken set of colophons documenting it. Executed in wet ink, it is composed mainly of horizontal dabs of ink known as the *Mi-tien*, or Mi dots. It is said that in the regions of the Hsiao and Hsiang rivers, which Mi Yu-jen frequented, the vaporous landscapes look like clouds and the clouds like landscapes. In the *Cloudy Mountains*, the landscape seems to emerge from the paper like an image fished out of the sky. Like Chao Ling-jiang's work, Mi's is also essentially a landscape of the mind.

A successful official, Mi Yu-jen rose to the position of vice president of the Board of War. As an expert connoisseur and advisor to the emperor Kao-tsung, he aided in the rebuilding of the Southern Sung imperial art collection, and was attached to the Fu-wen Pavilion in the Han-lin Academy. In the first colophon to *Cloudy Mountains*, dated 1200, only a few decades after Mi's death, Wang Chieh, a court painter during the emperor Ning-tsung's reign (1195–1224), reports that Mi usually presented all his paintings to the emperor, who in turn gave them away as presents. Wang's handwriting is in excellent Kao-tsung style, and the painting bears important early Southern Sung imperial seals. The

56. Bush (6), p. 116. Mrs. Bush's work is the most recent discussion of the scholar-painting theory in painting, with translations of a great number of pertinent passages from original sources.

second colophon, by the famous early Yuan calligrapher Hsien-yü Shu (1257–1302) and dated 1290, reads:

Poetry critics say that if one has ten ideas but puts in words only three, one may then compare with *Li-sao* and the *Odes*. I say the same is true with painting. An artisan's painting is short in ideas but long on representative likeness, but the opposite is true with the works of lofty souls and superior scholars. The paintings by the two Mis are of the latter kind. In this piece of paper, if one speaks of clear delineation then anyone can do it. But in describing the trees, sloping bank, and grasses mixed with the earth, all with the ideas of a choice stretch of river shore lying far beyond the actual brushwork, then no one can match this! ⁵⁷

These words echo the famous lines of poetry criticism by Yen Yü (1180–1225): “[A good poem should be like] a sound in mid-air, colors in an apparition, moonlight in water, or images in a mirror. While words are exhaustible, ideas barely suggested are limitless.” ⁵⁸

The scholar-painting theory advocated by the two Mis places more emphasis on the personality of the painter than on the painting. Like calligraphy, painting is said to be a gentleman's “heart print” (*hsin-hua*). In order to stress the difference between the work of a scholar-painter and that of an artisan, the polemicists attacked the concept of representative likeness in painting. Su Shih wrote: “The man who judges painting by representative likeness shows as much insight as a child.” ⁵⁹ The poet-painter Wang Wei was admired, so Shen Kua (1030–94) took pains to explain, because he could show a banana tree in a snow scene! ⁶⁰ A painting such as *Cloudy Mountains*, representing as it were the heart and soul of a great critic and scholar, could therefore become infinitely enlarged in the mind of the beholder. The cloudy peaks could be seen as signs of the interior peaks and valleys hidden in the artist's breast. If a painting is the work of a true artist who possesses many insightful interior peaks and valleys, then all must be well; if not, then all is in vain.

57. (78), p. 1452.

58. Bush (6), p. 44.

59. Ibid., p. 32.

60. Kuo Shao-yü (53), p. 468. See also Fong (29), pp. 4–5, 12–13.

It may be debated whether Mi's works are among the greatest achievements in Chinese landscape painting, but their historical significance can hardly be exaggerated. Enhanced by the enormous prestige of both his family tradition and his position as Kao-tsung's connoisseur, Mi's cloudy mountains epitomized for all later painters the important esthetic principle that says, in short, less is more.

By the middle of the twelfth century, a definite mode of landscape style was established at the Painting Academy. The model, however, was not the eccentric style of Mi Yu-jen, but the idiom of the leading Academy landscapist Li T'ang. Five fine album leaves now at the Metropolitan represent a variety of popular Academy styles during the second half of the twelfth and the first half of the thirteenth century. The earliest of these, *Hermitage by a Pine-Covered Bluff* (no. 7), is a lovely fan painting on silk showing a pine-covered bluff rising above a marshy seashore. This painting epitomizes the Southern Sung Academy style. If the large wall hangings best represented the spirit of the early Northern Sung landscape, and the large handscroll was most suitable for the later Northern Sung, then the silk fan, which was a new format, was ideal for Southern Sung taste. In spite of the damaged state of the silk of the Metropolitan's painting, we can see that every detail is immaculately executed. The view shows a choice but narrow corner of nature; it is intimate and secluded. All things the Chinese ever loved about nature are readily encompassed here, but within this narrow space, the ways leading about are somewhat convoluted; one has to wind around the foot of the cliff, and across a well-built bridge above a rushing stream, in order to reach the cottage nestled in the grove of trees. Beyond the cliff the world is completely blocked off by a blanket of mist. In style, the "small-ax" strokes of the rocks and the gnarled trunks of the hardwood trees follow closely the Li T'ang tradition, but the soft reeds that stretch from the foreground and vanish into the distance recall Chao Ling-jang's. The painting's

vague similarity with Chao's introspective world (no. 5) is perhaps unintended, but certainly not accidental. Like Chao, the Southern Sung court painters were city bound, though their captivity was a voluntary one. What was said about Chao Ling-jang seems to apply to most Southern Sung artists, who painted as if they too never traveled away from the capital. Yet unlike Chao's works, this fan painting is no landscape of the mind. We can readily believe that it represents a real scholar-official's mountain retreat outside the capital, Hangchow, perhaps at the mouth of the Ch'ien-t'ang River not far from the open sea. In many ways, the painting compares closely with a signed album leaf by Chia Shih-ku (about 1150) in the National Palace Museum, Taiwan.⁶¹ James Cahill also finds it agreeing well with signed pieces by Yen Tz'u-p'ing and Yen Tz'u-yü, both active between 1160 and 1180.⁶² In any event, we may confidently attribute it to a follower of Li T'ang working at the court about the middle or the third quarter of the twelfth century.

Life at the Southern Sung capital was prosperous and pleasant. We have some impressions of the busy street scenes of the Northern Sung capital, Pien-ching, from Chang Tse-tuan's *Ch'ing-ming Festival on the River*,⁶³ but Hangchow was even more picturesque and gay. Marco Polo, who saw the city in its glory at the end of the thirteenth century, thought it to be the finest and noblest in the world. People, especially children, were colorful and fun-loving.

A second fan, *Knickknack Peddler* (no. 8), illustrates the art of figural genre of the time. The painting is not now in prime condition, but the drawing relates it firmly to the signed paintings of the same subject by the Academy painter Li Sung (active about 1210–30), now at the National Palace Museum in Taiwan and the Cleveland Museum of Art, which are dated respectively to 1210 and 1212.⁶⁴ The peddler, carrying an amazing assortment of pots, household utensils, carpenter's and other repairmen's tools, and children's toys, jauntily passes in front of a nurse with four clinging children. A flag on top of his mobile store advertises a special wine from Shantung, no doubt an imported luxury

61. (20), p. 94.

62. (8), p. 20; cf. (30), p. 21, and Sirén (83), vol. 3, pl. 165.

63. Whitfield (100).

64. See (20), p. 116; Lee and Ho (58).



Detail of *Knickknack Peddler* (no. 8), enlarged

from the occupied north. The enterprising salesman (a Shantung man?), displaying a genial smile, spares no effort in attracting attention: he wears a pheasant feather and a small twirling flag in his cap, and several magpies are trained to rest on his wares. The drawing is firm and animated in every fantastic detail. In spite of the earlier scholar-painter's radical attacks on representative likeness, we can see that, at the Painting Academy, formal realism was very much alive in the early thirteenth century.

Ma Yuan, a fourth-generation member of a family of painters and a leader of the Academy in his time (active about 1190–1225), signed his *Scholar by a Waterfall* (no. 9), which represents the quintessence of the Southern Sung sensibility. Every gesture, every branch, leaf, and pine needle, every wrinkle in the rock, in the hand of this master, is a superb esthetic statement.⁶⁵ Notice the handsomely carved railing that protects the figures from falling into the cascade; no intrepid mountain climbers, the scholar and his valet are merely taking a quiet stroll in their garden in Hangchow. Again the scenery is intimately familiar; Hangchow, above all else, was a city of lakes, parks, waterfalls, and pavilions—scenic spots of unsurpassed beauty. The mood of the painting also seems to typify that of the Southern Sung court: superrefined, introspective, and self-contained.

A fourth leaf, *Windswept Lakeshore* (no. 10), which is by a close follower of Hsia Kuei (active about 1190–1225), a name always linked with Ma Yuan's, completes the representation of Southern Sung landscape styles. The windswept oak and "ax-cut" rocks, both motifs developed from Li T'ang's paintings, and small figures done with a tremulous brushstroke, all compare closely with signed works by Hsia Kuei in Boston and Kansas City.⁶⁶ We have come a long way from the great *Summer Mountains* (no. 1) executed about two centuries earlier. Instead of the macrocosm of a hundred peaks and ten thousand trees, the Southern Sung artist viewed nature through the microcosm of a single pair of trees, one or two rocks surrounded and contained by an all-pervasive void. While

65. A sensitive discussion of a fan composition by Ma Yuan in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, is found in Gray and Rowley (34).

66. See Cahill (8), p. 45; Sirén (83), vol. 3, pls. 303–4.

this process of distillation at its best, in sharpening our senses, brought art close to a moment of total communion, or enlightenment, it later also led to empty decorative conventions.

Finally, in *Orchids* (no. 11), a leaf signed by Ma Yuan's son Ma Lin (active about 1250), we have not only one of the finest Sung flower paintings, but also one of the earliest orchid paintings in existence. The flowers were first exquisitely drawn in a firm ink outline, then filled with a pale lavender color, and afterward touched with whitish highlights; while the leaves were covered with a mineral green color (the sizing used in the green has caused some of the silk to disintegrate). In the composition of the flowers and leaves, we see subtle uses of parallel rhythms, counterrhythms, and the principle of yin and yang asymmetrical balance. Both the leaves and the flower petals turn and twist in space, with infinite grace and poetry in their movements. In this painting, we see Ma Lin glorifying a great tradition of magic realism in flower painting, a tradition that began in the Painting Academy of the Northern Sung period. The vitality of such a work is eloquent proof that the Southern Sung Academy style was not academic in the pejorative sense. The aristocratic court taste for formal realism remained a powerful creative force until the very end of the Southern Sung dynasty.

If Ma Lin's *Orchids* represents the finest of the Academy style of flower painting, an even more extraordinary example of a different kind of flower painting is seen in the long handscroll *Narcissi* (no. 12) by Chao Meng-chien (1199–1267?).⁶⁷ Chao's art, of which only a few authentic specimens survive, is highly valued by the Chinese as being expressive of the lofty and elegant nature of a scholar-painter. In the Metropolitan's scroll, there is a sea of narcissus plants, spreading horizontally for more than twelve feet and seemingly bathed in a soft, silvery moonlight, gently twisting and waving with the breeze. The buds, tall-stemmed blossoms, and long entwined leaves are all first drawn

67. An extensively recorded painting, the scroll originally had twelve colophons by important Yuan writers, including Hsien-yü Shu (dated 1296), Chao Meng-fu, Teng Wen-yuan, and Ni Tsan (dated 1352). Half of the painting and large portions of the colophons have been cut away, presumably to be made into another scroll. See Hsü Pang-ta (38), p. 17, n. 2. For more details, see the Catalogue, no. 12.



in outline, then subtly shaded with ink. In the leaves, in the centers of the blossoms, and in the stems, a darker shade of ink is applied along the outline, then made to fade toward the center. The blossom petals are modeled by two faint strokes of ink wash applied in the middle of the petal. The blossoms are drawn in every conceivable position and in every stage of growth, with stamens and wrinkles of the calyxes indicating the age of the flowers. Throughout the scroll, the drawing never falters, and the complex relationships between the intertwined leaves are always intelligible. Almost a botanical treatise on narcissi, Chao draws not only with his eyes, but also with his mind; not only with his hand, but also with all his senses. The true subject of the scroll is not merely the narcissus plant, but rather its fragrance, its placid but aloof qualities, and its gentle and naturally graceful movement—in short, the essence of narcissi.

A member of the Sung imperial clan and a noted scholar, calligrapher, and poet, Chao Meng-chien was considered one of the most cultivated men of his time. Toward the end of the Sung, he was said to have sought refuge in quiet meditation among flowers. Unlike the orchid, which was known in remote antiquity, the narcissus was a relatively recent flower to the Chinese, the first writer to have made it poetically well known being Huang T'ing-chien (1045–1105).⁶⁸ Called *shui-hsien*, or “water goddess,” and also *ling-po-hsien-tzu*, or “the goddess who stands above waves,” narcissus was associated poetically with the two goddesses of the Hsiang River, and this association in turn linked it with Ch'ü Yuan (343–277 B.C.), the loyal minister of the state of Ch'u who, having failed to win the ear of his prince, drowned himself in the Mi-lo River, which is a tributary of the Hsiang. According to one report, Chao Meng-chien in his later years loved to travel in a houseboat, and “sometimes he took off his cap, filling it like a tumbler with wine, and sat down in a squatting position, singing the *Li-sao*, quite unmindful of people around him.”⁶⁹ *Li-sao*, or *On Encountering Sorrow*, was composed by Ch'ü Yuan, who was also remembered as the first to have planted “nine fields of orchids.”

68. See (50), vol. 2, p. 1238.

69. Sirén (83), vol. 2, p. 159.

After the shattering Mongol conquest, poetry and painting became part of an underground culture in the south, lamenting a lost time and turning into a sort of resistance art, and flower paintings tended to be looked upon increasingly for their allegorical significance. A younger contemporary of Chao Meng-chien, the renowned orchid painter Cheng Ssu-hsiao (active about 1240–1310), continued after 1279 to paint ink orchids, but depicted them without the roots, as if pulled out of the soil. When asked why, he replied: “Do you not know that the soil has been taken away by the barbarians?”⁷⁰ A fellow Sung loyalist of Cheng’s, Ch’iu Yuan (born 1247), who wrote a poem on Chao Meng-chien’s scroll, saw Chao’s beautiful narcissi as the only vision of life in an otherwise devastated land:

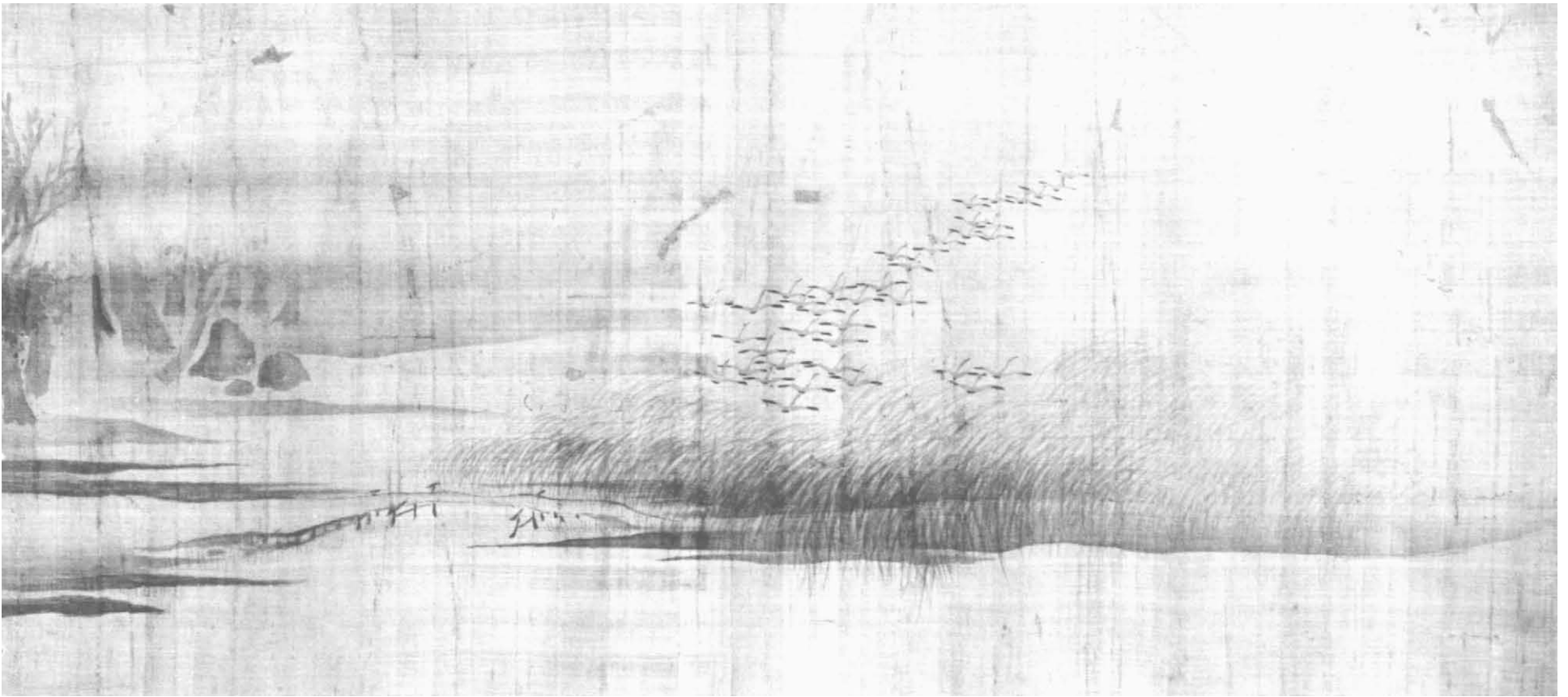
The ice is thin, the sand banks are dark,
and the short grasses are dying;
She who picks fragrant flowers is far away,
on the other side of Lake Hsiang.
But who has left these immortal’s jade pendants
in a moonlit night?
They surpass even the “nine fields of orchids
in an autumn breeze.”

The shiny bronze dish is upset,
and the immortal’s dew spilled;
The bright jade *chueh* is smashed,
like broken corals.
I pity the narcissus
for not being the orchid,
Who had at least known
the sober minister from Ch’u [Ch’ü Yuan].

70. Ibid., p. 160.



5 RIVER VILLAGE IN AUTUMN DAWN
After Chao Ling-jang (active about 1070–
1100); probably executed about 1250
Handscroll; ink and color on silk
1973.121.2



6 CLOUDY MOUNTAINS
Mi Yu-jen (1086–1165)
Handscroll; ink on paper
1973.121.1

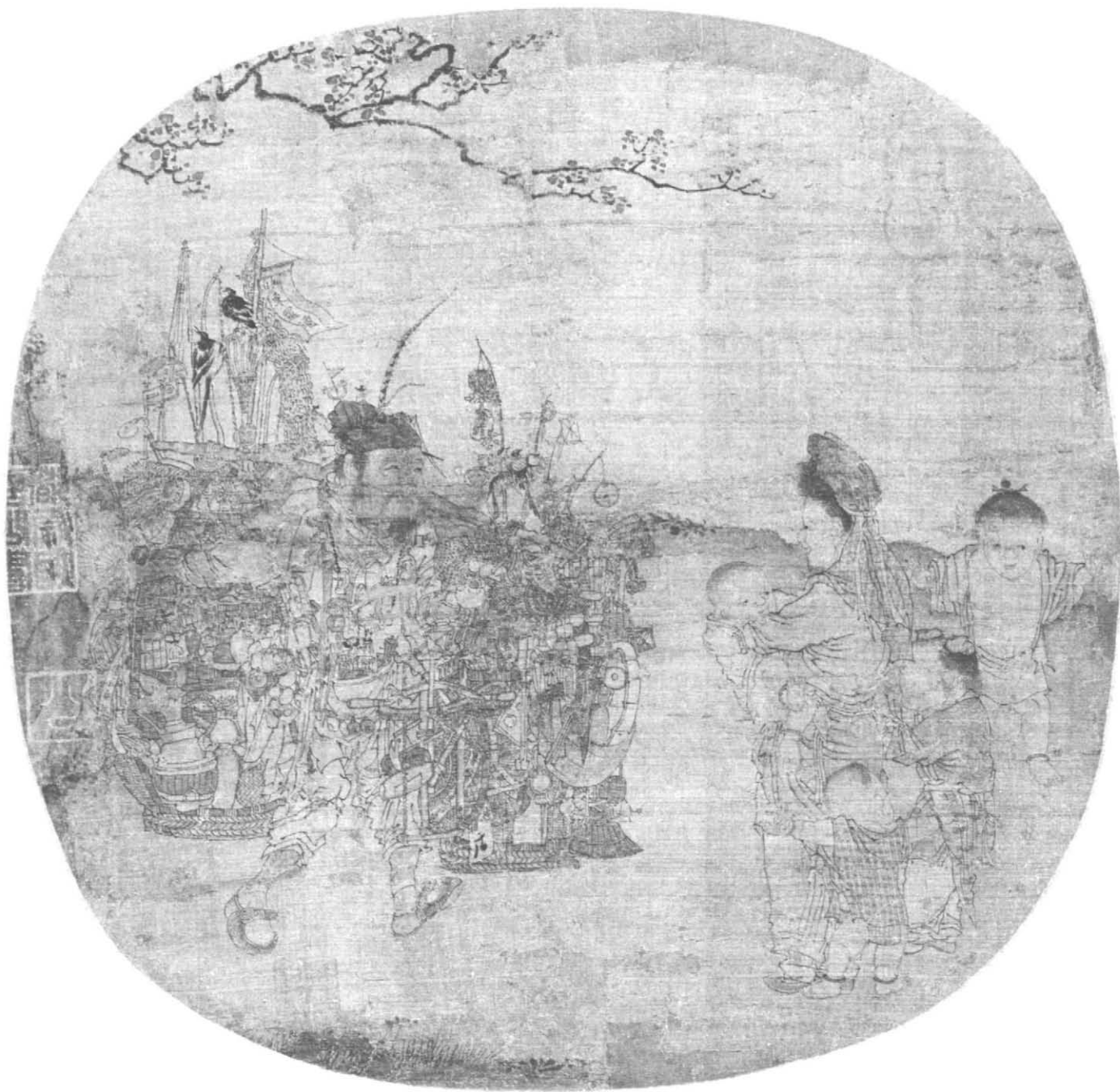






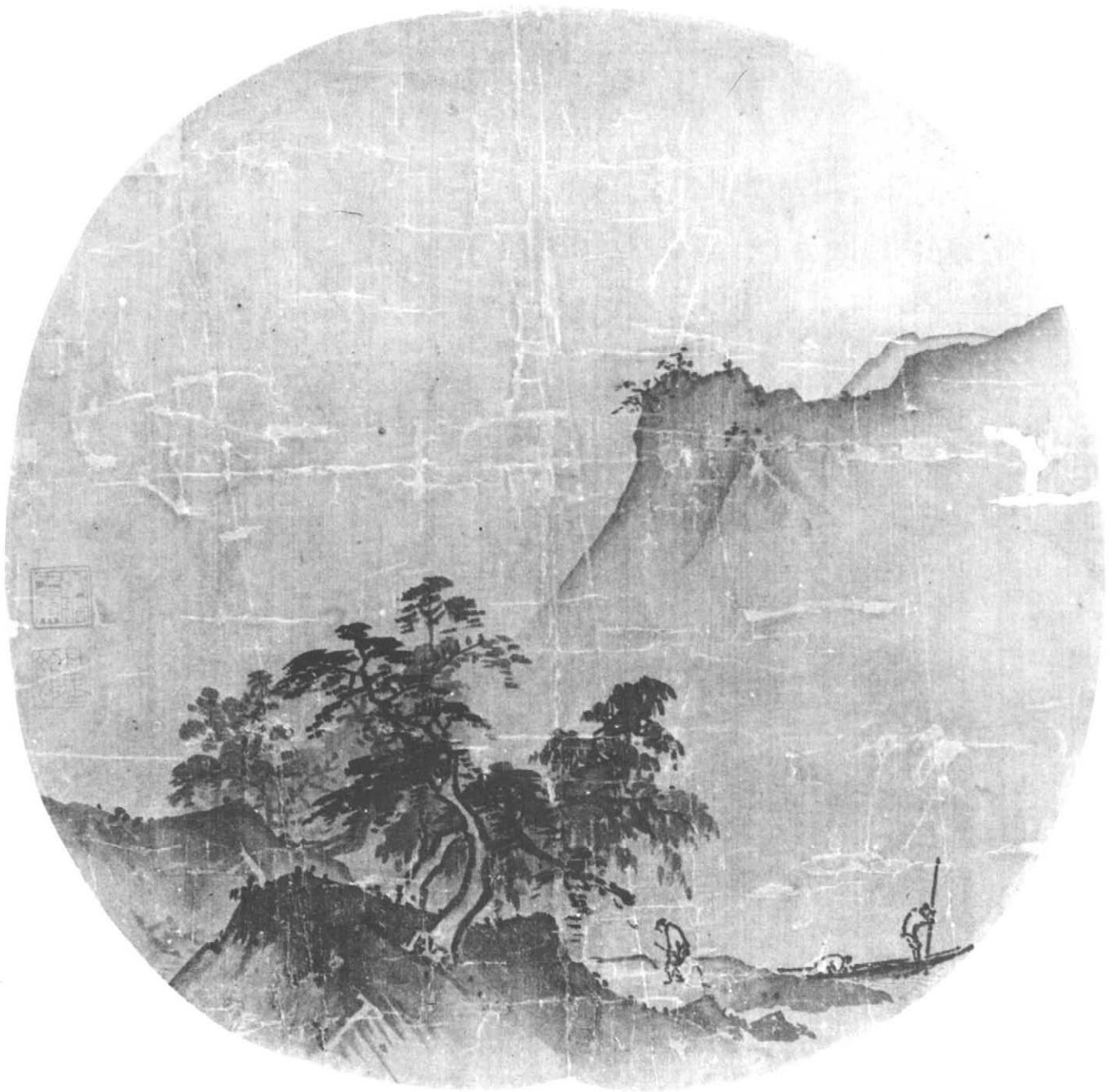
7 HERMITAGE BY A PINE-COVERED BLUFF
Anonymous Academy painter (about 1160)
Fan mounted as an album leaf; ink and light
color on silk
1973.121.12

8 KNICKKNACK PEDDLER
Li Sung (active about 1210–30)
Fan mounted as an album leaf; ink and
slight color on silk
1973.121.10





9 SCHOLAR BY A WATERFALL
Ma Yuan (active about 1190–1225)
Album leaf; ink and light color on silk
1973.120.9



10 WINDSWEPT LAKESHORE

Follower of Hsia Kuei (about 1250)

Fan mounted as an album leaf; ink on silk

1973.121.11

11 ORCHIDS

Ma Lin (active about 1250)

Album leaf; ink and color on silk

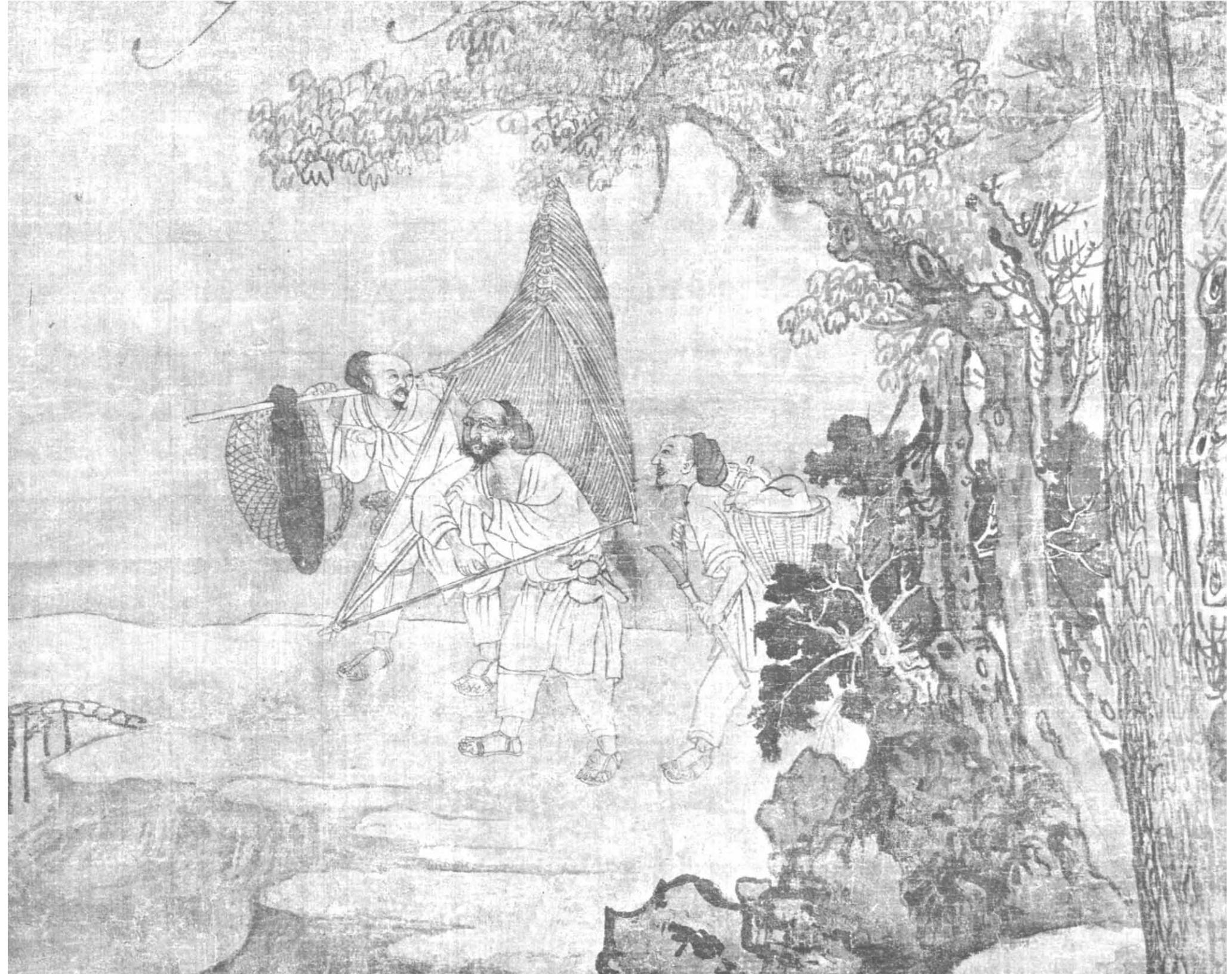
1973.120.10





12 NARCISSI
Chao Meng-chien (1199–1267?)
Handscroll; ink on paper
1973.120.4





CHAO MENG-FU'S REVOLUTION

Detail of *Returning Fishermen* (no. 17)

In 1227 the armies of Genghis Khan drove the Chin tartars from Yen-ching (Peking). Several years later, in 1235, aided by the Chinese, the Mongol army captured Pien-ching and destroyed the Chin. Then in 1271 Kubilai Khan established the Yuan empire, and, sweeping south, took the Southern Sung capital Lin-an (Hangchow) in 1276. For the next ninety-one years, the Mongols enforced their rule upon the Chinese, who had until then never been completely conquered. Distrusting especially the southern Chinese, who maintained a passive resistance until they rose again in late Yuan, the Mongols entrusted administration to the central Asians, Tartars, and the northern Chinese. As Marco Polo observed, the great Khan "gave the rule of the province to Tartars, Saracens, and Christians, who were of his own family and loyal to him and were not of the province of Cathay."⁷¹

Paradoxically, the arts flourished under the Mongols, mostly as a sharp reassertion of the traditional Chinese values under the alien rule.⁷² In painting, the scholar-painting theory, which for nearly two centuries had emphasized the importance of painting as a vehicle for personal expression, finally held total sway and produced a style that not only differed radically from the prevailing styles up to this moment, but also changed permanently the course of later Chinese painting.

Looking broadly at this amazing transformation of painting in a short span of less than a hundred years, we may offer three general observations. First, the alienation of the intellectual class in the south coincided with the end of a long tradition of powerful court sponsorship of painting; after 1276, the only influential painters were the intellectuals who "retired" into painting. Second, if political alienation was an immediate cause of Yuan scholar-painting, and

individual expression was its accepted goal, then the calligraphic style became its natural means; only through calligraphic brushwork did painting become the “writing of ideas” (*hsieh-i*), and, like calligraphy, a “heart print” of the artist. Finally, the method used by the scholar-painter to bring about change and renewal was a traditional one, namely, a return to ancient models.

Wang Hsi-chih Watching Geese (no. 13) by Ch’ien Hsuan (about 1235–1300) now joins Ch’ien’s *Returning Home* at the Metropolitan; thus we have two of Ch’ien’s “blue-and-green” landscapes in the West. He was a native of Wu-hsing, Chekiang, and his life was half over when the Mongols came, so he represented a perfect transitional figure in painting history. Though some of his flower, bird, and animal paintings are still rooted in the realistic style of the late Southern Sung Academy, his archaistic “blue-and-green” landscapes show a new expressive intensity unknown to his immediate predecessors. The “blue-and-green” style, originated in the early T’ang period, is the most obvious archaic idiom in landscape painting. Its characteristic features, known to all its practitioners, are a thin “iron-wire” outline technique depicting schematized mountain forms, and the use of unmodulated mineral green and blue colors. In *Watching Geese*, we see this archaic idiom used as the perfect nonrealistic mode for depicting a classic art-historical story that was familiar to all Chinese with an elementary education. Wang Hsi-chih (321–79), the calligraphic master of legendary fame, was a prototypical Chinese artistic genius. A popular story relates that when a powerful official was searching among a group of promising students for an ideal son-in-law, Wang was chosen because he alone sat totally and naturally unimpressed, with the front of his robe opened and his stomach shockingly bared. As a master calligrapher, Wang derived inspiration from natural forms; he was said to have solved difficult technical problems of writing by observing the graceful movements of geese. At the end of the scroll, Ch’ien Hsuan writes the following poem:

71. Sirén (83), vol. 5, p. 3, who in turn quotes a translation by A. D. Moule, *Christians in China*, p. 137.

72. See Lee and Ho (59).

Much pleasantness is found in that elegant bamboo grove;
In a peaceful pavilion, and with a bare stomach,
 how wonderful it feels;
Writing the *Tao-te-ching* for a Taoist friend,
He leaves behind, a romantic image—
 the man who is a geese lover.⁷³

Ever since the eighteenth century, the scroll was a favorite of the emperors. Ch'ien-lung and his courtiers, followed by Pu Yi and his, wrote a total of fifty-two colophons on it. On an album now in the Palace Museum in Taiwan, which shows a famous calligraphic specimen attributed to Wang Hsi-chih, possibly an eighth-century tracing copy of a total of twenty-four characters called the *K'uai-hsueh-t'ieh*, the emperor Ch'ien-lung wrote some seventy eulogies and also copied this very composition by Ch'ien Hsuan as an ultimate tribute to the father of all calligraphers, Wang Hsi-chih.⁷⁴

Although we may easily relate Ch'ien Hsuan's work to the new spirit of scholar painting in the early Yuan period, there is little in it that technically anticipates the radical stylistic changes of the early fourteenth century. The scholarly quality of *Watching Geese* is shown by the subject and the poem, and above all it is evident in the quality of the brushwork. Both the calligraphy and the drawing are intellectually precise and disciplined, yet they are slow and somewhat deliberately awkward; they show Ch'ien Hsuan as a reticent, almost recalcitrant character. In composition, *Watching Geese* follows the Southern Sung "one-corner" format, and, despite the schematized distant mountains in the upper right corner, the mist-covered trees and houses under these mountains recall the style of Chao Ling-jang. Like Cheng Ssu-hsiao, Ch'ien Hsuan after 1279 chose to live as an *i-min*, a "forgotten citizen" of the Sung dynasty. In Ch'ien's schematic "blue-and-green" style we see a consciously "primitive" manner. Just as his painting, through the archaistic idiom, shows an unreal story-

73. *Ibid.*, no. 185.

74. (48), 1/3, pp. 1-4.

booklike quality, he now decided to live out his life in the past. This primitivism represented a personal idiom, rather than a serious classical approach to painting. Ch'ien was said to have studied and copied many ancient paintings, but in *Watching Geese* the linear and schematic landscape style seems to have been donned like an ancient costume merely to evoke a nostalgia for the past without seriously trying to recreate it.⁷⁵

It was Chao Meng-fu, a fellow townsman and a younger contemporary of Ch'ien Hsuan by about twenty years, who in seeking a reappraisal of calligraphy and painting through the study of ancient models, caused a permanent revolution in Chinese painting. Born in 1254, and like Chao Meng-chien a minor member of the Sung imperial clan, Chao Meng-fu was a young man in his twenties when the Southern Sung fell and he had to face the hard choice of permanent retirement or service under the Mongols. Braving severe criticism from his peers, including Ch'ien Hsuan, he went north in 1286 to serve at the Mongol court. A man of the highest intelligence and impressive personal demeanor, he achieved various high ranks under Kubilai Khan and four of his successors, and was honored with the posthumous title the duke of Wei. If his success with the Mongols seemed to have blemished his character as a scholar, his wide travels and experiences in the north immeasurably broadened his horizons as an artist; he was once again in touch with not only the great landscapes of the north, but also the Northern Sung tradition of landscape painting which the Southern Sung had abnegated. Typically of a scholar-painter, he learned to paint not as a craft but through collecting ancient scrolls and through calligraphy. On his handscroll *Twin Pines against a Flat Vista* (*Shuang-sung p'ing-yuan*) (no. 14), Chao modestly writes these comments:

Ever since my youth, after practicing calligraphy, I have toyed with some small paintings, but landscape is one subject that I have not been able to

75. I have discussed this primitivism more fully in "Archaism as a Primitive Style" in (70).

master. This is because I have not managed to see even one or two masterpieces by Wang Wei, the great and small general Li [Ssu-hsun and Chao-tao], and Cheng Ch'ien of the T'ang period. As for the works of the Five Dynasties masters, such as Ching Hao, Kuan T'ung, Tung Yuan, and Fan K'uan, who succeeded one another, all of these great masters' works are absolutely different from the styles of more recent painting. As for my own work, I dare not compare it with the ancient masters', but when I look at what the recent painters have done, I daresay mine is a bit different.⁷⁶

At the right end of the scroll, Chao writes the title of the painting, *Shuang-sung p'ing-yuan* (*Twin Pines against a Flat Vista*), which was a subject made popular by the Northern Sung masters Li Ch'eng (about 920–67) and Kuo Hsi. Comparing it to Ma Yuan's *Scholar by a Waterfall* (no. 9), we see that Chao Meng-fu has departed completely from the Southern Sung ideals. In Ma Yuan's painting, brushwork is subordinated to representation; a brushstroke's primary function is to represent form, either as an outline or as a modeling stroke. But in Chao Meng-fu's work, the calligraphic brushwork now has a life of its own. Chao advised specifically that calligraphic techniques should be used in painting:

A rock should look like the "flying white,"

and a tree like the "seal" stroke;

In writing the bamboo leaves,

one should first learn the "pa-fen" method.

If a person understands this thoroughly,

He will discover that calligraphy and painting

have always been the same.⁷⁷

Sherman Lee has effectively characterized the *Twin Pines* as "a skeleton or outline of the past."⁷⁸ And Chao Meng-fu himself has explained that, in painting,

. . . the most important thing is the archaic idea [*ku-i*]. If this archaic idea

76. Barnhart (4), pp. 38–39.

77. (73), 16/6/1. See Fong (29), p. 9; Bush (6), p. 139.

78. (55), p. 40.

is missing, then all fine workmanship is of no value. . . . What I paint may seem sketchy and rough, but true connoisseurs realize that it is close to ancient models, and so consider it beautiful.⁷⁹

Having made clear that, on the one hand, he bases his paintings on archaic models, and on the other hand, he writes out his compositions in calligraphic brushstrokes, Chao has profoundly changed the nature of landscape painting as the Sung artists knew it. The very appearance of a long inscription on a painting, forming as it does a part of the composition, abrogates the notion of painting as representing a retinal impression of nature. In *Twin Pines*, the inscription is not even a descriptive poem; it contains, instead, critical and art-historical comments. This means that the painting, as explained by these comments, must also be, to some extent, critical and art-historical in content. If we again compare the *Twin Pines* with Ma Yuan's *Scholar by a Waterfall*, we will note that in Chao's painting there is no longer any significant human reference point. While the Southern Sung painting, in describing human figures in nature, effectively draws us into it, the Yuan calligraphic painting makes little of the descriptive aspect of nature's scenery. This does not mean, however, that the Yuan artist is less interested in nature. The difference between the Sung and Yuan landscape painters may be described as that between one who seeks nature and one who is nature. Through calligraphic brushwork, the Yuan scholar-painter is able to achieve beyond representation a heightened sense of nature's life energy in the very physical act of painting; rather than seeing and describing them, he feels and acts out the characteristics of the trees and rocks that he portrays.

Lest we conclude too hastily that Chao's painting is abstract expressionist art, we should point out that in *Twin Pines* the calligraphic brushwork serves also most effectively as an illusionistic technique. In composition, the short handscroll follows the Southern Sung "one-corner" convention. The pine trees

79. (73), 16/6/1. See also Fong (29), p. 6; Bush (6), pp. 121–22. For a fuller discussion of *fu-ku*, or "return to the archaic," in calligraphy and painting, see my "Archaism as a Primitive Style" in (70).

80. See Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (94), 4/4; Fong (29), pp. 6, 10–11.

81. There are at least two published handscrolls of the *Nine Songs* that show figure compositions similar to the images on the Metropolitan's painting. A handscroll by Chang Wu (active about 1335–65), dated 1360, is in the Cleveland Museum of Art; and a scroll by Chang Hung, dated 1392, is in a private collection in Taiwan; see Lee and Ho (59), no. 187; and (31), vol. 2, no. 38 (three illustrations). The latter scroll is said to have been based on a scroll by Chang Wu (not the one in Cleveland but perhaps an earlier version dated 1346), while the Cleveland scroll, in turn, claims to have been based on compositions by Li Kung-lin. In all three sets of paintings, there are only ten deity figures plus the author portrait, which, in the case of the Cleveland painting, is placed at the end as "The Soul of the Ritual." The Taiwan scroll follows the same arrangement as the Metropolitan's album, with the author portrait at the beginning and "The War Dead" at the end.

In the Metropolitan's album, the figure accompanying the second song, "The Lord of Clouds," is a later replacement. A close comparison of all the figures in the three sets of paintings shows that the missing original figure in the album is not "The Lord of Clouds," but "The Senior Lord of Lives"; as a result of this mistake, in the present mounting, the original figure of "The Lord of Clouds" is mismatched with the song of "The Senior Lord of Lives." On the whole, the Taiwan scroll, which purports to copy a Chang Wu original now lost, compares more closely to the Metropolitan's images than the Cleveland Chang Wu. This suggests that the missing Chang Wu (the one dated 1346?), on which the Chang Hung of 1392 was based, was probably a copy of Chao Meng-fu's images of 1305.

are beautifully drawn (see detail, page 14), with well-articulated branches and pine needles moving and stretching out in all four directions. In the drawing of the rocks, the "flying white" brushstrokes, showing the white of the paper through the split hairs of the brush, vividly describe the structures of the rocks, whose softly blurred contours, especially of those rocks in the far distance, successfully suggest an atmospheric quality. Later, in the early seventeenth century, Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555–1636) was to insist that in landscape painting brushwork was all that mattered.⁸⁰ But beginning with Chao Meng-fu and throughout the fourteenth century, the Yuan landscape painters seem to have maintained a happy balance between illusionism and calligraphic abstraction. While developing calligraphic painting, the Yuan painters did not suddenly produce a nonrepresentational abstract art.

Although Chao Meng-fu was said to have done many figure paintings, frequently in the *pai-miao*, "plain-drawing," style of Li Kung-lin, few authentic examples have survived. An album now at the Metropolitan, illustrating *Nine Songs* by Ch'ü Yuan (343–277 B.C.), shows eleven *pai-miao* paintings, with accompanying texts written in Chao's fine regular (*hsiao-k'ai*) script (no. 15). Ch'ü Yuan's *Nine Songs*, which are listed in the Catalogue, no. 15, actually number eleven. They are lyrical, shamanistic incantations dedicated to nine classes of deities worshiped by the Ch'u people.

The Metropolitan's album begins with an imaginary portrait of Ch'ü Yuan, accompanied by the essay entitled *Yü-fu-tz'u* which tells his story, and goes on to illustrate ten deities through "The War Dead," with accompanying texts of the songs.⁸¹ The album ends, on its eleventh pair of leaves, with a line giving the date 1305, Chao's signature, and his seal. The same seal also appears at the end of the text on each leaf throughout the album.

Both the calligraphy and the drawings of this album closely resemble



Detail of *Nine Songs* (no. 15), "The River Spirit," leaf 9, enlarged

other Chao Meng-fu works dated to the same period. The bearded face of "The River Spirit," for instance, is very similar, in both facial structure and expression, to the head of the groom in the handscroll *Grooms and Horses by Members of Three Generations of Chao [Meng-fu's] Family*, now in the John M. Crawford collection. Chao's signature on the album is also extremely close to that found on the Crawford scroll, which is dated 1295.⁸² While the iconography of the deities of the *Nine Songs* may go back to Li Kung-lin, many of the figures in the album show a new austerity of style that was clearly Chao Meng-fu's contribution to the Yuan "plain-drawing" style of figure painting. The portrait of Ch'ü Yuan, for instance, seems to set the mode for typical Yuan scholar's portraits. A figure of Yang Chu-hsi (1285–1361) by the portraitist Wang I, dated before 1363 (by a colophon by Ni Tsan), clearly shows Chao Meng-fu's influence.⁸³ The elegantly simplified female figure of "Mistress Hsiang" also closely reflects several Yuan paintings of a similar subject. Wei Chiu-ting's *Goddess of the Lo River*, dated 1369 (again by a colophon by Ni Tsan) and now in the Palace Museum in Taiwan, shows a similar type of face and figure.⁸⁴ Structurally, the faces of the male and female deities and the demons, as well as the draperies of the figures, are very close to those of the fourteenth-century mural paintings of Yung-lo-kung.⁸⁵ The faces all have a full chin; their features are so well articulated that the heads actually appear three-dimensional, with the bone structures firmly understood beneath the linear features. The techniques of drawing a face during the Yuan period have been described by Wang I, who explained that one must start drawing from inside toward the outside of the face, beginning with the areas around the nose (like the "root of a mountain"), then building the eyes, eyebrows, and mouth around the nose, and finally delineating the facial contour, as if growing the face around the central bony features.⁸⁶ As a result, each face seems to have a center of gravity at the point of the nose. The difference between well-articulated early Yuan faces and a face

82. See Sickman (82), pl. 28.

83. See (90), no. 27, and Hsieh Chih-liu's text.

84. See (72), vol. 4, pl. 176.

85. (104).

86. (73), 14/4/25–26.

from a much later period of Chinese painting is clearly seen on leaf 3, where a later (perhaps nineteenth-century) replacement of a "Lord of Clouds" has been interpolated (see page 102). Here the facial features are slack and flat, and the expression is vacuous. Again this can be explained by the artist's working method. The *Mustard-Seed Garden Manual*, in its nineteenth-century section on figure painting, advises the painter to start with a circle that represents the contour of the face, then to add the features within it.⁸⁷ The later figure painters, as a rule, no longer cared about the representational structures of their subjects; in leaf 3, the draperies and cloudscrolls are all loosely drawn and end in confused patterns.

We would have regarded these album leaves as very important figure paintings by Chao Meng-fu. However, on close examination, some of the brushstrokes in the calligraphy seem a little weak, not as perfectly formed as the best of Chao's writing. Likewise, in spite of the splendid figural characterizations in the paintings, there is a certain dryness, along with occasional lapses in the quality of the drawing. We therefore consider these leaves as very close and reliable copies, executed sometime during the Yuan period. As such they are important and rare representatives of Chao Meng-fu's figure painting.

We now return to Chao's revolution in landscape painting. Whereas the late Southern Sung Academy painters had known essentially only one style, which was the current mode, the renewed interest in ancient models, accompanied by the reopening of the north, presented the early Yuan painters with a variety of stylistic choices. Like Ch'ien Hsuan, Chao Meng-fu had experimented in the archaic "blue-and-green" style, which was basically a schematic decorative idiom.⁸⁸ In order to revitalize landscape painting, Chao also studied simultaneously two major Northern Sung idioms, that of Li Ch'eng and Kuo Hsi on the one hand, and that of Tung Yuan (active about 937–62) and Chü-jan (active about 960–80)

87. (17), vol. 4, pp. 59–60.

88. An example of Chao's "blue-and-green" style is the handscroll *The Mind Landscape of Hsieh Yu-yü*, now at the Princeton University Art Museum. This painting is discussed in Lee and Ho (59), p. 90; and Chu-tsing Li (63), pp. 2–3.

on the other. As characterized by motifs and brush techniques, the Li/Kuo idiom shows “crab-claw” tree branches, “devil-faced” rock modeling, and a spiky, more realistic brushwork; whereas the Tung/Chü idiom shows round-dotted foliage, “alum-head” rocks, “hemp-fiber” texture strokes, round “moss dots,” and a generally round—the brushstroke is executed with the tip of the brush held in the center of the stroke—and more abstract calligraphic brushwork. Chao’s *Twin Pines* represents his calligraphic rendering of the Li/Kuo idiom, while the *Autumn Colors on the Ch’iao and Hua Mountains*, dated 1296 and in the Palace Museum in Taiwan, is his seminal work in the Tung/Chü idiom.⁸⁹ With the generation of painters after Chao Meng-fu, however, the technical differences between the Li/Kuo and Tung/Chü idioms became symbolic of two divergent approaches to painting, the former being descriptive and the latter calligraphic. By the late Yuan period, the calligraphic Tung/Chü followers clearly dominated the field. In the seventeenth century, Tung Ch’i-ch’ang compared the successful Tung/Chü school with the dominant Lin-chi sect among the five schools of Ch’an Buddhism:

The four great schools of Huang Kung-wang, Ni Tsan, Wu Chen, and Wang Meng all became famous after deriving themselves from Tung Yuan, and now they are all independent leaders within the seas. As for the followers of the Li/Kuo tradition, men such as Chu Te-jun, T’ang Ti, and Yao Yen-ch’ing, they were overshadowed by their predecessors’ achievements, and were not able to establish followings of their own.⁹⁰

Tung’s explanation was simply that the successful schools were more able to attract men of genius of later periods.

But historical success and influence should not be regarded as the only criterion for good art. A very interesting painting, Lo Chih-ch’uan’s *Crows in Old Trees* (no. 16), has suffered an ignominious fate for having followed, as it turned out, the wrong style. This large hanging scroll painting on silk bears an old

89. See Chu-tsing Li (62).

90. Sirén (84), pp. 139–40.

label that attributes it to Li Ch'eng. Lo's name, not mentioned in any of the Chinese painting histories, was known first only through an early-sixteenth-century Japanese record. It was only in 1938, when Shujiro Shimada identified a seal on a similar painting in Japan, that his name was resurrected for modern scholars.⁹¹ The Metropolitan's painting is similarly identified by a faint seal. The painting shows powerful anthropomorphic wintry trees rising against snow-covered banks, with crows circling overhead and pheasants and other birds huddling in the snow, many along the banks across the frozen river. A native of Ling-chiang in Kiangsi province, Lo led the life of a hermit in the early Yuan period, and was active between about 1300 and 1330. The painting is clearly an inspired work, in which the Northern Sung Li Ch'eng idiom has been used successfully to create a new realism in landscape art. Every detail is realistically drawn. Contorted trees with frozen spiky branches, "devil-faced" rocks peeking out from under the snow, the icy river, and restless, hungry crows tumbling and squawking away against the dark sky—all convey a heavy sense of gloom and desolation. The painting is a vivid illustration of the dark mood of the early Yuan scholars. Yet for centuries, Lo's accomplishments went unrecognized. But for modern scholarship, his name would be totally forgotten.

A second hanging scroll in the Li/Kuo idiom at the Metropolitan is *Returning Fishermen* by T'ang Ti (1296–1364), dated 1342 (no. 17). A fellow townsman and briefly a follower of Chao Meng-fu, T'ang Ti had participated in the wall decorations of the Yuan imperial palaces, and had won the emperor's praises.⁹² In *Returning Fishermen* we see a fine example of the descriptive Li/Kuo idiom used in a monumental decorative style. The painting is similar in composition to another work by T'ang Ti, dated 1338 and now in the Palace Museum in Taiwan; although the trees are different, the figure groups in the two paintings are identical.⁹³ Three fishermen return after the day's work, chanting happily as they walk along. The figures are expertly drawn, and their expressions are lively.

91. Shimada (79).

92. Sirén (83), vol. 4, p. 71.

93. Ibid., vol. 6, pl. 81.

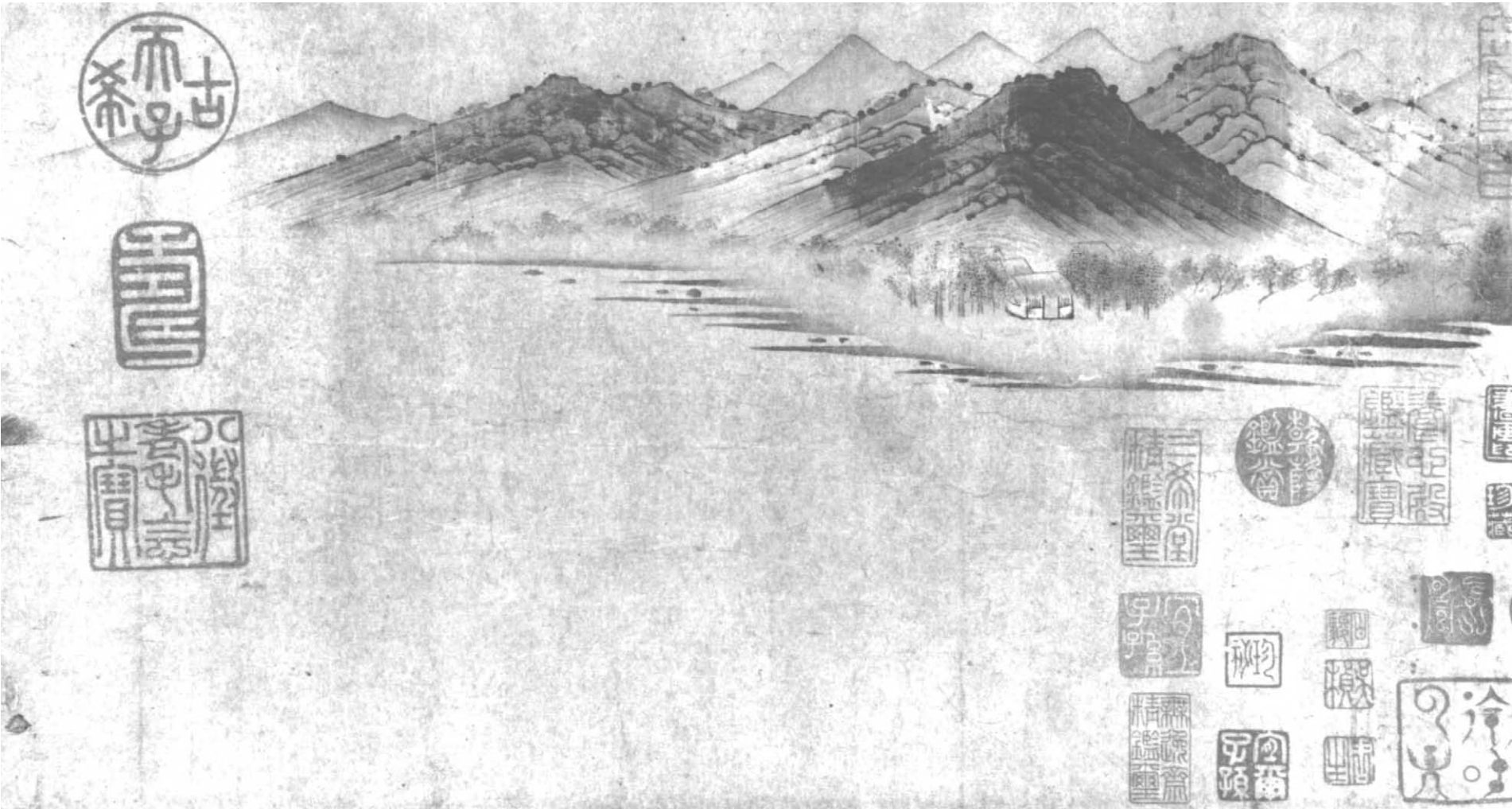
Although the individual brushstrokes are both fluent and sure, they neither dominate nor interfere with the representation; the great trees and boulders and a rushing stream are all realistically executed. We can readily understand the emperor's satisfaction with T'ang's work, for such paintings must have appeared to have brought back the monumental grandeur of the Northern Sung style. But in terms of Chao Meng-fu's esthetics, T'ang Ti's work seems to lack both calligraphy and a truly "archaic idea." (See detail, page 84.)

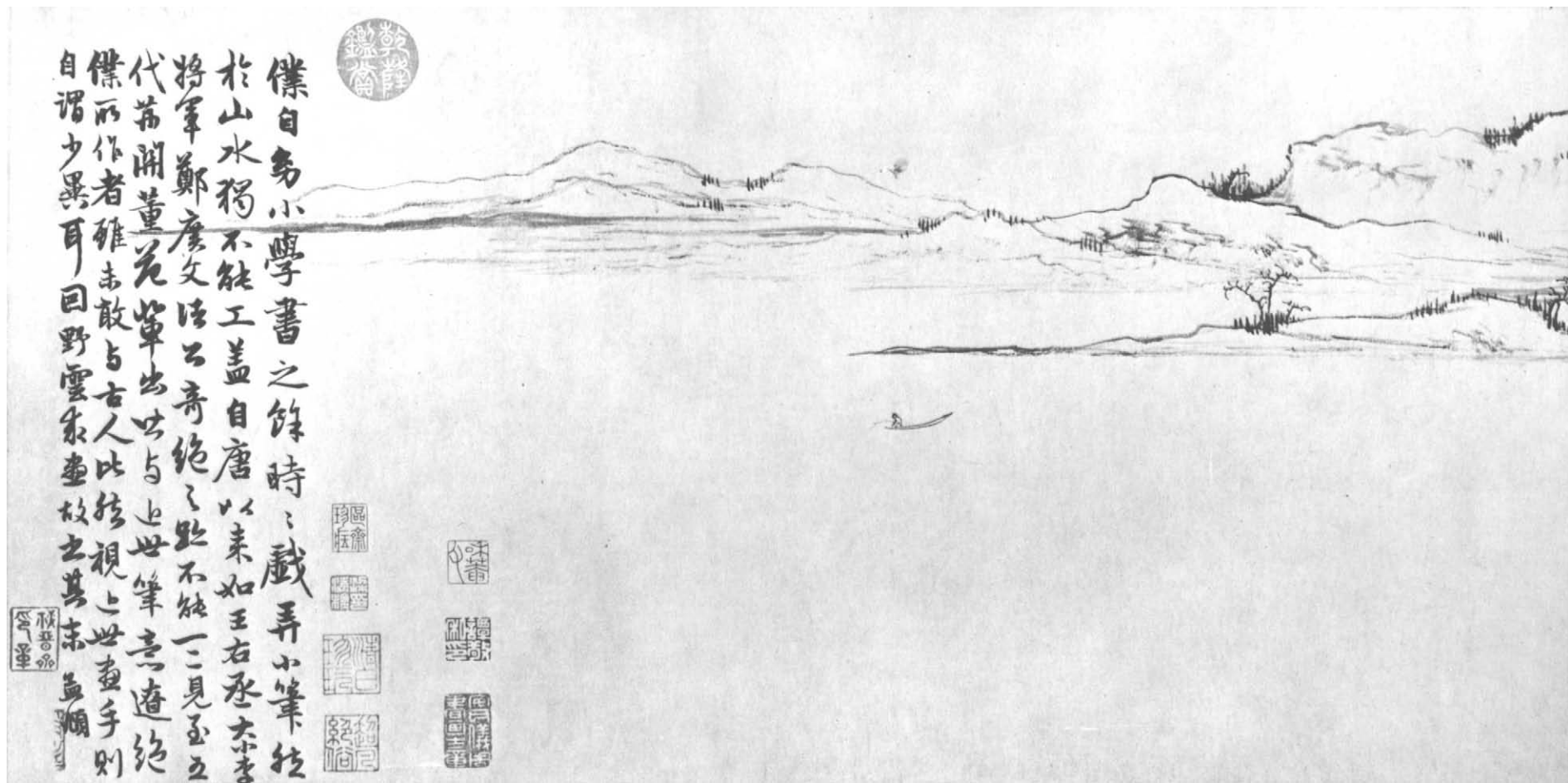
The hermit-fisherman is the subject of two charming fan paintings, one by Sheng Mou (active about 1310–60), dated 1349, and the other by Mou's nephew Sheng Chu (active about 1370) (nos. 18 and 19). Sheng Mou was a popular painter in his day. It was said that his success had so excited the envy of the wife of his neighbor Wu Chen (1280–1354) that Wu was prompted to remark huffily, "Just wait and see in twenty years!"⁹⁴ The hermit-fisherman, which was also Wu Chen's favorite subject, had a special significance in Yuan painting; he was the personification of the unemployed scholar, in either voluntary or involuntary exile. In Sheng's painting, the hermit's only companions are three wild geese, symbolic of his freedom. Unlike T'ang Ti's, Sheng Mou's brushwork is round, and follows the Tung/Chü idiom of "hemp-fiber" texture strokes, done with round, parallel brushstrokes, and with round "moss dots" in the modeling of the rocks. The drawing is supple and relaxed; it is a thoroughly enjoyable work. Sheng Chu's painting follows Sheng Mou's style closely. The fan bears a traditional attribution to Tung Yuan, but a seal in its upper left corner identifies it as Sheng Chu's work. Again, wild geese are the hermit's only companions.

94. Ibid., vol. 4, p. 73.



13 WANG HSI-CHIH WATCHING GEESE
 Ch'ien Hsuan (about 1235–1300)
 Handscroll; ink, color, and gold on paper
 1973.120.6





14 TWIN PINES AGAINST A FLAT VISTA
 Chao Meng-fu (1254-1322)
 Handscroll; ink on paper
 1973.120.5



此一人也
 其神也
 其德也
 其功也
 其行也
 其言也
 其貌也
 其心也
 其志也
 其氣也
 其力也
 其能也
 其德也
 其功也
 其行也
 其言也
 其貌也
 其心也
 其志也
 其氣也
 其力也
 其能也



浴蘭湯子沐芳華采衣子若英靈鏗子既留爛昭子兮未央
 寰將憺兮壽宮與日月子齊光龍駕兮帝服聊翱翔遊子周章
 靈皇子既降焱遠舉兮雲中覽冀州子有餘橫四海子焉窮思
 夫君子太息極勞心兮憊

右雲中君



15 NINE SONGS

Left: Leaf 3, "The Lord of Clouds"

Right: Leaf 5, "Mistress of Hsiang"

After Chao Meng-fu; copy made in the
fourteenth century, dated 1305

Album of eleven paintings with accompany-
ing texts

1973.121.15



帝子降兮北渚日眇兮子愁兮嫫兮子秋風洞庭波兮木葉下登白蘋兮望
與佳期兮夕張為何萃兮蘋中曾何為木上沅有芷兮澧有蘭思公子兮未
敢言荒忽兮遠望觀流水兮潺湲縈何為子庭中蛟何為子水裏朝馳余
馬兮江皋夕濟兮西澗聞佳人之名余子將騰駕兮偕遊築室于水中普之
子荷蓋蓀薜兮紫壇制芳林兮成堂桂棟子蘭橈辛夷楫子約房四薛
荔子為帷擗蕙櫛兮既張白玉為鎮蹠石蘭子為芳芷昔兮荷屋綠之
子杜衡合百草兮實庭建芳馨兮蔭門九蕙縮兮並迎靈之來兮如雲
捐余袂兮江中遺余襟兮澧浦寒汀洲兮杜若將以遺予遠者時不可兮
驟得聊逍遙兮容與 右湘夫人



16 CROWS IN OLD TREES
Lo Chih-ch'uan (active about 1300–30)
Hanging scroll; ink and light color on silk
1973.121.6

17 RETURNING FISHERMEN

T'ang Ti (1296–1364); dated 1342

Hanging scroll; ink and light color on silk
1973.121.5





18 HERMIT-FISHERMAN IN THE
AUTUMN FOREST
Sheng Mou (active about 1310–60); dated
1349
Fan mounted as an album leaf; ink and light
color on silk
1973.121.13

19 ANGLING IN THE AUTUMN RIVER
Sheng Chu (active about 1370)
Fan mounted as an album leaf; ink and
light color on silk
1973.121.14





LATE YUAN HERMIT-PAINTERS

Detail of *Farewell by a Stream on a Clear Day*
(no. 23)

The Mongols, who were not only inept administrators, were also plagued by bloody factionalism at court. Kubilai Khan had six successors in the short span of thirty-seven years, followed by the last emperor Shun-ti, who ruled for thirty-five years only to see the overthrow of the empire, which finally occurred in 1368. The late Yuan period was one of the most chaotic in China's history. At its beginning in 1333, Shun-ti's reign was beset by a long drought, followed by floods and other calamities. By the 1350s, open rebellions broke out, and a few years later the Mongols had lost effective control over most parts of the country.⁹⁵ After 1358, the grain-rich Chiang-nan, the lower Yangtze delta region that encompasses the two great cities Soochow and Hangchow, came under the control of the rebel prince Chang Shih-ch'eng, who held out against the forces of Chu Yuan-chang, the founder of the Ming dynasty, in a bitter struggle. After a long siege, Soochow was surrendered in 1367. Most of the leading late Yuan painters, as well as many important poets and literary figures of the time, lived in this area, and many of them died under the harsh rule of the first emperor of the Ming, who never forgave the people of Chiang-nan for helping Chang to resist him for so long.

During the third quarter of the fourteenth century, the hermit-painters of Chiang-nan, in developing a calligraphic style of landscape painting, seemed to have summoned together all the critical and spiritual values of their civilization. As supreme expressions of the scholar-painting esthetic, expounded long before in the late Northern Sung period, these late Yuan landscapes proved to be powerful "heart prints" of their worthy creators. Though produced during the last years of the Mongol rule, the guiding spirit of these paintings was more than patriotism; it was the exaltation of the scholar's personal virtues in a period of national and social collapse, and, as such, a timeless response to the day-to-day

陳蕃懸榻處徐孺過門時甘冽
 言游井荒涼虞仲祠看雲聊弄
 翰把酒更題詩此日交歡意依
 去後思 辛亥十二月十三日訪
 伯琬高士同寫虞山林壑并題
 五言以記未游倪瓚

畫
 心
 堂

玄事
 遊寫
 餘金
 別郊
 何妨

去月

徐
 安

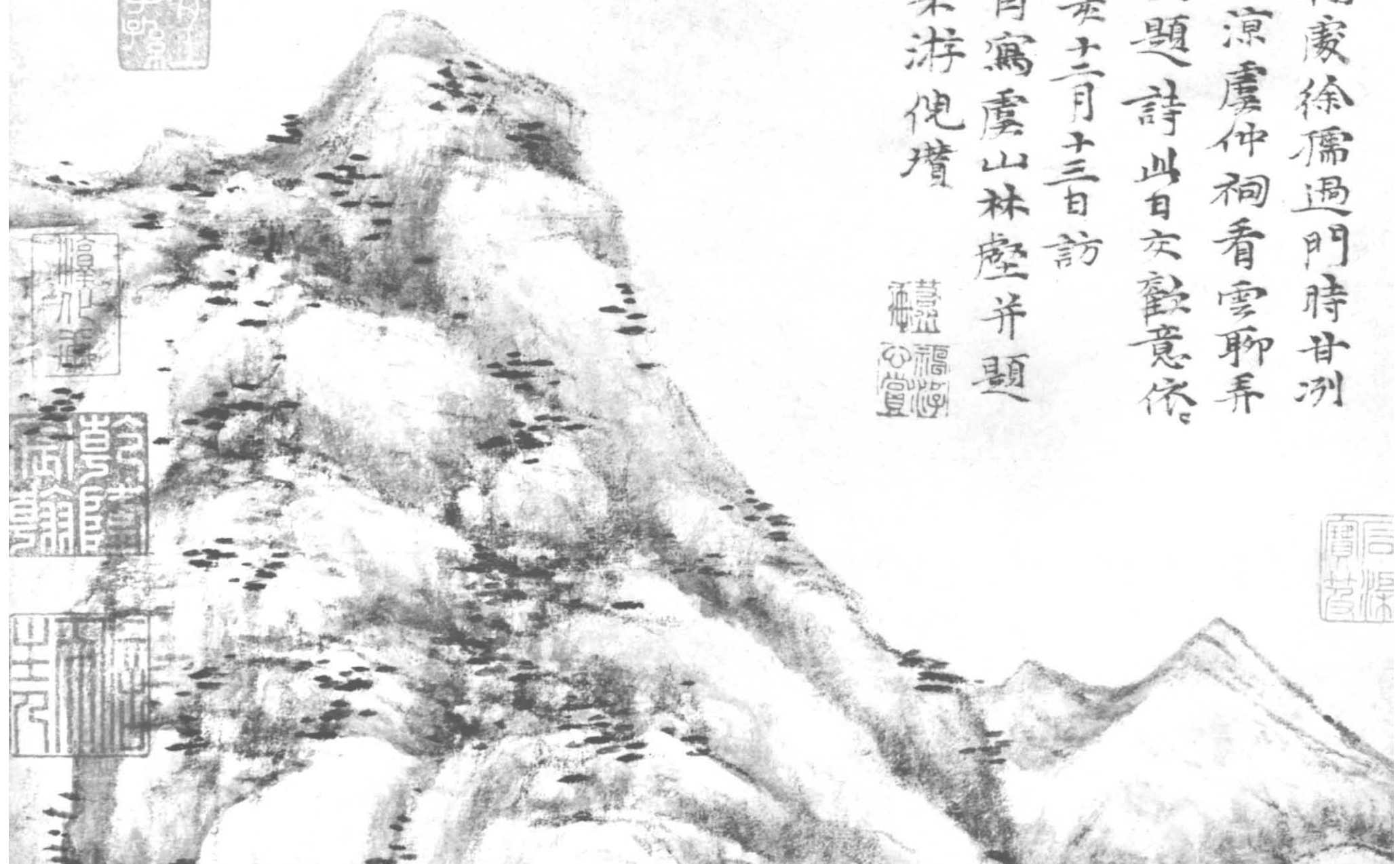
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Detail of *Woods and Valleys of Yü-shan*
(no. 20), inscription by Ni Tsan

uncertainties of life in troubled times. The calligraphic idiom followed by the late Yuan painters was formulated, after all, by Chao Meng-fu, a man who had collaborated successfully with the Mongols; and after the end of the Yuan, these painters remained incorrigible individualists. The first emperor of the Ming dynasty, in fact, found these scholar-painters arrogant and intolerable, and had several of them executed. The great late Yuan painting styles, which burst upon the scene with such intense brilliance in the 1350s and 60s, ended suddenly and completely by the end of the 1380s.

That art could have flourished at all in Chiang-nan in those years was due, in no small measure, to the accumulated wealth of the region, which throughout this tumultuous period remained the cultural center of the country. The intellectual elite of Chiang-nan formed small coteries, and most of the finest paintings of the period were painted for friends, upon visitations and gatherings of like-minded souls. Consequently, ideas and styles spread quickly. Yet, in spite of the frequent mutual borrowings and expansions of styles, a few distinctive modes predominated. Of the so-called Four Great Masters of the late Yuan period—Huang Kung-wang (1269–1354), Wu Chen (1280–1354), Ni Tsan (1301–74), and Wang Meng (1310–85)—it is the style of Ni Tsan that is the most individual. Born of a wealthy land-owning family in Wu-hsi, Kiangsu, Ni Tsan in his earlier years built a library of fine books and art called Ch'ing-pi ko, where he and his friends often gathered to enjoy poetry, works of art, and wine. After 1350, in view of the rising social chaos, he distributed his wealth to the poor and spent most of his time traveling in a houseboat in the Wu (Kiangsu) area.

One of Ni Tsan's masterpieces, *Woods and Valleys of Yü-shan*, dated 1372 (no. 20), was painted, according to its inscription, for a friend, Po-wan, "a lofty Taoist scholar," after Ni had visited him at Yü-shan, to the northwest of Ch'ang-shu in Kiangsu. Ni writes a poem, in his familiar elegant hand, in the upper right corner of the painting:

95. For a description of the prevailing conditions in the 1350s, see Mote (69), pp. 8–37.

Where Ch'en Fan had once prepared a bed,
When Hsu Ju-tzu was to visit,
The water from Tzu-yu's well is sweet and cool,
But Yü-chung's shrine is wild and neglected.

We watch the clouds and play with our brushes,
We drink wine and write poems;
The joyous feelings of this day,
Will linger after we have parted.⁹⁶

The plaintive and elusive tone of Ni Tsan's poem is found also in his paintings. There is no descriptive detail in his paintings. Throughout his career, he developed only one basic landscape composition: sparse trees, sometimes with an empty pavilion, standing on a riverbank, with distant mountains on the opposite shore. In the Metropolitan's painting, the tree group follows closely an earlier composition entitled *The Six Gentlemen*, which is dated 1345.⁹⁷ The trees, as lonely friends, huddle together against an otherwise bleak background. The stillness of the trees and rocks becomes ever so alluring when they are seen as symbols of deep and melancholy thoughts. In later periods, stories were told of Ni Tsan's obsession for cleanliness, which was said to have been reflected in his paintings; and his sharp and elegantly spare brushwork was thought to have revealed his stern moral character. In the seventeenth century, according to Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, the ownership of a Ni Tsan was regarded by the official-scholar class in Chiang-nan as a mark of intellectual as well as moral distinction.⁹⁸ Ni's calligraphy and painting were to become major stylistic models for artists of the early Ch'ing period, when China was once again under an alien—this time the Manchu—rule.

In his earlier years, Ni Tsan followed the Tung/Chü idiom. *The Six Gentlemen* shows soft "hemp-fiber" ropelike texture strokes, and the brushwork is mostly round, with the tip of the brush tucked smoothly inside the stroke. In *Woods and*

96. See Lee and Ho (59), no. 253.

97. Sirén (83), vol. 6, pl. 94. For a discussion of Ni Tsan's stylistic development, see Wang Chi-ch'ien (87).

98. See Tung's colophon in the well-known album *Within Small See Large (Hsiao-chung hsien-ta)* in the National Central Museum in Taiwan, as recorded in (48), 3/6, p. 72.

Valleys of Yü-shan, however, painted about two years before his death, the strokes are brisker and have become oblique; they are made with the brush held at an angle to the paper, so that the tip lies on one side of the stroke. The layered rocks no longer show the parallel “hemp-fiber” texture strokes of the Tung/Chü tradition; they are built with a series of complex, angular strokes in a scrubbing motion, from upper left to lower right, describing a more crystalline rock structure in the northern landscape tradition of Ching Hao and Kuan T’ung. *Woods and Valleys of Yü-shan* compares closely with Ni’s other masterpiece *The Jung-hsi Studio*, also dated 1372 and now in the Palace Museum in Taiwan.⁹⁹

As a scholar-painter, Ni Tsan insisted that “what I call painting is no more than free brushwork done sketchily,” and that “I never seek representative likeness since I paint only for my own amusement.” He also wrote:

As for my bamboo painting, I only use it to write out the feelings of exceptional exhilaration in my breast. Why should I ponder over its likeness or lack of likeness, the denseness or scantiness of its leaves, or the slanting or uprightness of its branches? Sometimes, after I have smeared and wiped over for a while, people see it as hemp or weed, and I cannot argue that it is actually bamboo.¹⁰⁰

But it was precisely because Ni Tsan had so thoroughly mastered illusion in landscape painting that he was able to make light of the technical problems of representation in order to concentrate on the “writing out” of his “feelings of exceptional exhilaration.” In *Woods and Valleys of Yü-shan*, the tree and rock forms are built up progressively from light to dark tones of ink, with a final layer of lively dark accents placed strategically as “moss dots.” There is a clearly defined receding ground plane; rocks and foliage patterns leading from the front to the back are successfully fused into optical masses. The miracle of Ni Tsan is that his brushwork has so thoroughly absorbed and transfigured nature, that it in fact shows “real” rocks and trees, rather than merely calligraphic abstractions.

99. (72), vol. 4, pl. 186; Wang Chi-ch’ien (87), pl. 16.

100. Fong (29), p. 9. See also Bush (6), p. 134.



Finally, we must comment on the apparent paradox of the so-called archaic idea. Though Ni Tsan may have followed earlier models, he gives his painting such immense personal vitality that we accept his work as his own free creation. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang put it this way:

Only through change could come true correspondence [to an archaic model]. . . . While copying or tracing is easy, spiritual communion [with a model] is difficult. Chü-jan followed Tung Yuan, Mi Fu followed Tung Yuan, Huang Kung-wang followed Tung Yuan, and Ni Tsan followed Tung Yuan. Though all of them followed the same Tung Yuan, each of them produced something different from the other. When a common painter copies, he does something identical to the model. How can he expect to influence other painters this way!¹⁰¹

By this definition, T'ang Ti, who followed the appearance of the Li/Kuo idiom, failed to become a Li Ch'eng or a Kuo Hsi; but Ni Tsan, who transformed the Tung/Chü idiom, became himself an "archaic" model.

The youngest of the Four Great Masters, Wang Meng (1310–85), is noted for his complex, fully detailed hanging scrolls, with layered peaks and towering pine trees. At the Metropolitan he is represented by a simple painting, datable by style to the late 1360s and entitled *Red Cliffs and Green Valleys* (*Tan-yai ts'ui-ho*) (no. 21). The small hanging scroll shows a scholar sitting by a riverbank under two large trees, a zither (*ch'in*) lying by his side and an attendant boy standing behind him. The painter's own poem above the painting reads:

Faraway among tens of thousands of blue mountains,
Red cliffs and green valleys are deep and impenetrable;
Through the pine trees the wind brings the sound of
a waterfall, from the edge of the sky,
And smells of flowers mixed in clouds waft through a cave.

101. Fong (29), p. 20. See also Sirén (84), p. 140.

When did the fishing boat bring me here?
And where will I meet the hermits of the Ch'in dynasty?
Springtime is brief and flowers are easily over,
And year after year the river flows futilely into the Eastern Sea.

Detail of *Red Cliffs and Green Valleys*
(no. 21), inscription by Wang Meng

The painting, done for Wang's friend Yuan-tung, does not take the trouble to describe the "tens of thousands of blue mountains" and "red cliffs and green valleys" mentioned in the poem, but concentrates on suggesting the melancholic longings and feelings of futility and resignation described by the poem. The "hermits of the Ch'in dynasty" refer to a story by T'ao Yuan-ming (372–427), *The Land of Peach Blossoms*: During the T'ai-yuan period (376–96), a fisherman of Wu-ling lost his way and found himself in a land of peach blossoms, where he met villagers whose ancestors had escaped there during the dreadful war years of the Ch'in period (about 210 B.C). Not knowing even the Han period (206 B.C.–A.D. 220), these dwellers of the never-never land naturally heard nothing about the subsequent times and their troubles. In the chaotic 1360s, Wang Meng might picture himself in a peaceful corner of landscape in his painting, but without the Ch'in hermits, he knew he had not entered into the peaceful never-never land. Thus the poem makes us aware of the mood of the painting, which has more to do with the tragic ethos of its time than with mere romantic enjoyment of landscape scenery.

Except for the ink dots used for the foliage of the great plane tree in the foreground, the painting is executed entirely with wiry and tremulous strokes; but in our imagination we may actually see "red cliffs and green valleys." The focus of the painting is of course the seated scholar, who occupies the center of a sparse stage with a ritually solemnness. The tense and slightly quivering brushstrokes of the figure are echoed by the similarly trembling lines of the rocks and trees. The figure could be a timeless portrait of a hermit in solitary meditation, or a

遠上青山千萬重，丹崖翠壁
杳難通。松風送瀑來天際，
花氣和雲出洞中。漁艇幾
時來，到此秦人何處定，
相逢春光易老，花易落，
流水年空向東。黃鶴山

樵王林明為原東畫并題

詩於上



disappointed minister Ch'ü Yuan meditating by a river, or simply an aging man watching the flowing river water and thinking of his wasted years.

Of the Four Great Masters of the Late Yuan, Wang Meng was considered the most versatile and the most imaginative in landscape compositions. His maternal grandfather was Chao Meng-fu, from whom he was said to have learned the Tung/Chü idiom of calligraphic "hemp-fiber" texture strokes, and through Tung/Chü, the wiry modeling strokes of Wang Wei's famous *Wang-ch'uan Villa* composition.¹⁰² In *Red Cliffs and Green Valleys*, we see for the first time all brushstrokes firmly centered, with the tip of the brush tucked in, as in the archaic "seal" script writing. The result is a deliberately clumsy, "archaic," and "carved" look. Every stroke, individually suggestive of three-dimensional movements, imparts so much vitality to the forms that they seem to become animated, independent of their representation. The weight of the brushstroke seems to respond instantaneously to the artist's response to the element he draws—the seated scholar is grave in facial expression, and yet essentially buoyant in drapery lines; the faceless mundane figure of the servant is firmly but summarily dispatched; the tree branches above the scholar are delightful kinesthetic exercises in sketchy contour lines grappling with three-dimensional problems; and the border of the riverbank in front of the scholar is emphasized when the painter smears about a bit and ends up using some interesting round "moss dots" to cover the area.

The secret of enjoying such a painting lies in following the movement of the artist's hand as if we were following the moment-to-moment fluctuations of his mind. In spite of the seeming quietness of the scenery, the artist's mind, as reflected in his drawing, appears to be humming with impulses and thoughts. The group of rocks and reeds in the foreground, for instance, with tadpolelike brushstrokes, fairly throbs with inner excitement; and the small passage of distant mountains across the river is among the most vibrantly animated in Chinese

102. See (73), 18/8/30.



廣澤田氏寶
天國圖

painting. In short, Wang Meng has transformed the Tung/Chü “hemp-fiber” idiom into an intensely personal vocabulary. His drawings are his “heart prints,” their lines seeming to reverberate directly with his creative emotions.

The influence of Wang Meng’s animated mountain forms is seen in the handscroll *Cloudy Mountains* (*Yun-shan-t’u*) by the Taoist painter Fang Ts’ung-i (about 1300–78) (no. 22). Though well known as a follower of Mi Fu’s cloudy mountains, Fang Ts’ung-i in this remarkable handscroll uses very few of the round, horizontal brush-dots that characterize the Mi idiom. Instead, it is the kinesthetic “hemp-fiber” texture stroke, much like that developed by Wang Meng, which physically energizes the mountain form. In the second half of the scroll, the mountain seems to lift off the ground as if in a whirlwind, and go galloping away into the distance.

A man of Kiangsi and a member of a powerful group of Taoist priests living on Lung-hu-shan (Dragon and Tiger Mountain), Fang Ts’ung-i went up to Peking after 1336, apparently with political ambitions. Failing to make an impression at the Yuan court, he consoled himself by visiting the famous northern landscape sceneries of T’ai-hang and Chü-jung and seeing many collections of ancient paintings.¹⁰³ His *Cloudy Mountains* bears a colophon by Kao Ku (1391–1460), dated 1447, which praises the artist and his painting:

Fang Ts’ung-i’s paintings . . . are of the same standards as Mi Fu’s and Kao K’o-kung’s; they must not be compared with works of later superficial followers. In this scroll, the layered peaks are tinted with the colors of a clear day, half-hidden in drifting mist and clouds, and the long strip of mountain slope looks like a well-built embankment. The gates of the mountain home seem so quiet, as if no one is there. This must be either a choice realm of the immortals, or some supreme view of the mortal world.¹⁰⁴

103. See Sirén (83), vol. 4, p. 58.

104. Lee and Ho (59), no. 268.

Fang's mountain forms appear even more wildly visionary than those of Mi Yu-jen (no. 6). Yet Fang's fantastic mountains, in spite of their seeming ability to become weightless and dematerialized, are three-dimensionally conceived, whereas Mi's are not. In typical Yuan fashion, there is a convincing ground plane on which the receding mountains rest, and forms are suggested even behind the clouds. Fang's secret in making the mountains appear to levitate lies in the kinesthetic brushstrokes that, wound up as if in a revolving rhythm, give the mountains an expressive liveliness that almost defies their physical structure. This ability to emphasize simultaneously the structural reality of the landscape and a poetic or emotional expression beyond the representative aspect is a special gift of the best Yuan painters.

Even more closely related to Wang Meng's style than Fang's painting is a hanging scroll by Chao Yuan (active about 1360–75), *Farewell by a Stream on a Clear Day* (*Ch'ing-ch'uan sung-k'o*), painted probably in the early 1370s (no. 23). The composition, with tall pine trees in the foreground and layered mountain peaks above, is a favorite of Wang Meng's. A close friend of both Ni Tsan and Wang Meng, Chao was also a member of a group of literary figures that frequently gathered at the house of Ku Ying (1310–69). Chao's paintings show a wide interest in a variety of earlier sources, including Tung Yuan, Ching Hao, Fan K'uan, and Yen Wen-kuei. In *Farewell by a Stream on a Clear Day*, the drawings of the tree trunks, figures, and reeds are extremely close to those in Wang Meng's *Red Cliffs and Green Valleys* (no. 21). But whereas Wang Meng's drawings are powerfully expressive "heart prints" of the artist, the same elements in Chao Yuan's have become elegant, formal motifs. The carefully controlled brushstrokes, in subtly varying ink tones, create a pictorial surface that is both harmonious and vivacious. The use of dots is especially remarkable; varying in size, shape, dark-

ness, and touch, they not only serve representationally, but also effectively control the overall texture and tonality of the painting. In other paintings by Chao, different brush idioms are used with equal facility and success.

It may be said that Chao Yuan was simply an interesting lesser figure in painting history, whose special gift was an ability to reflect sensitively the various influences of the major masters of his time. But Chao's work also represents a clear departure for later painters of the Ming and Ch'ing periods. In Chao Yuan's paintings, we find that Chao Meng-fu's calligraphic revolution in painting was finally complete; the more painting stressed inner experience and resembled calligraphy, the more it devalued the representational content in favor of the purely esthetic. Chao Yuan's frank adaptation of the established idioms, ancient and contemporary, and his concomitant de-emphasis of compositional inventiveness, was, in other words, a deliberate esthetic choice. Structurally, while the earlier Yuan painters were still concerned with the problems of creating depth and recession and the treatment of forms in space, Chao Yuan now turned more and more to problems of surface organization and decorative values. The small island in the middle distance in *Farewell by a Stream*, for instance, shows a group of interesting rocks jutting out from the left border of the painting, which, instead of sitting on the water, appear to dangle in space. The very complexity of details resulting from the Yuan "conquest of illusion" now demands new organization through pattern and stylization. In the later Ming period, the scholar-painters, like calligraphers, preferred to "write" with different earlier idioms, or to combine them, if necessary, in a new painting. Calligraphic motifs, having now dominated the representational form, are explored for decorative purposes.

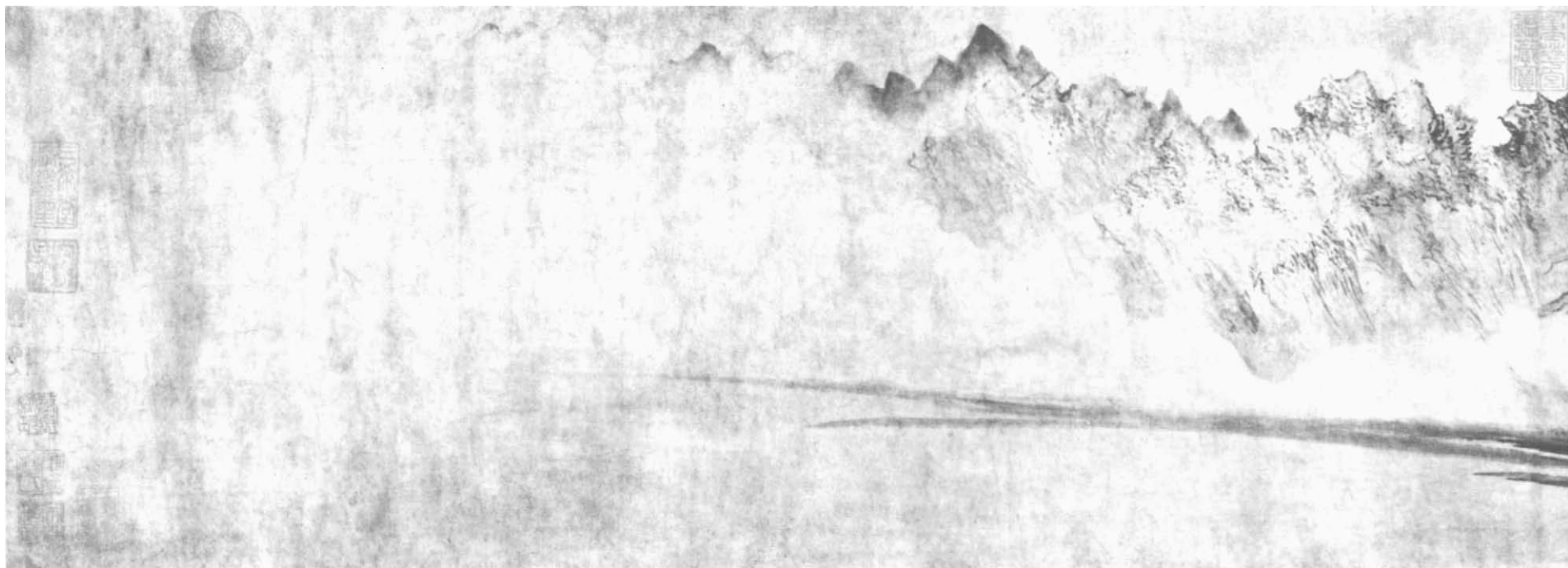
Chao Yuan sadly represented the end of Yuan scholar-painting in more than one way. In the early Hung-wu period (beginning 1368), he was summoned to Nanking to paint for the first Ming emperor, T'ai-tsu, who, offended by something

the painter did, had him executed. A man of humble origin, the first Ming emperor evidently harbored an intense dislike for the arrogant Chiang-nan intelligentsia. Chao Yuan's fate was shared by other notable Chiang-nan painters—Wang Meng, Hsü Pen, Ch'en Ju-yen, and Chou Wei. By about 1385, an entire generation of brilliant late Yuan scholar-painters disappeared from the scene. When Ming painting started again under court sponsorship in the early fifteenth century, the style immediately favored was the revived Southern Sung Academy ink-wash idiom, rather than the calligraphic scholar painting of the Yuan.

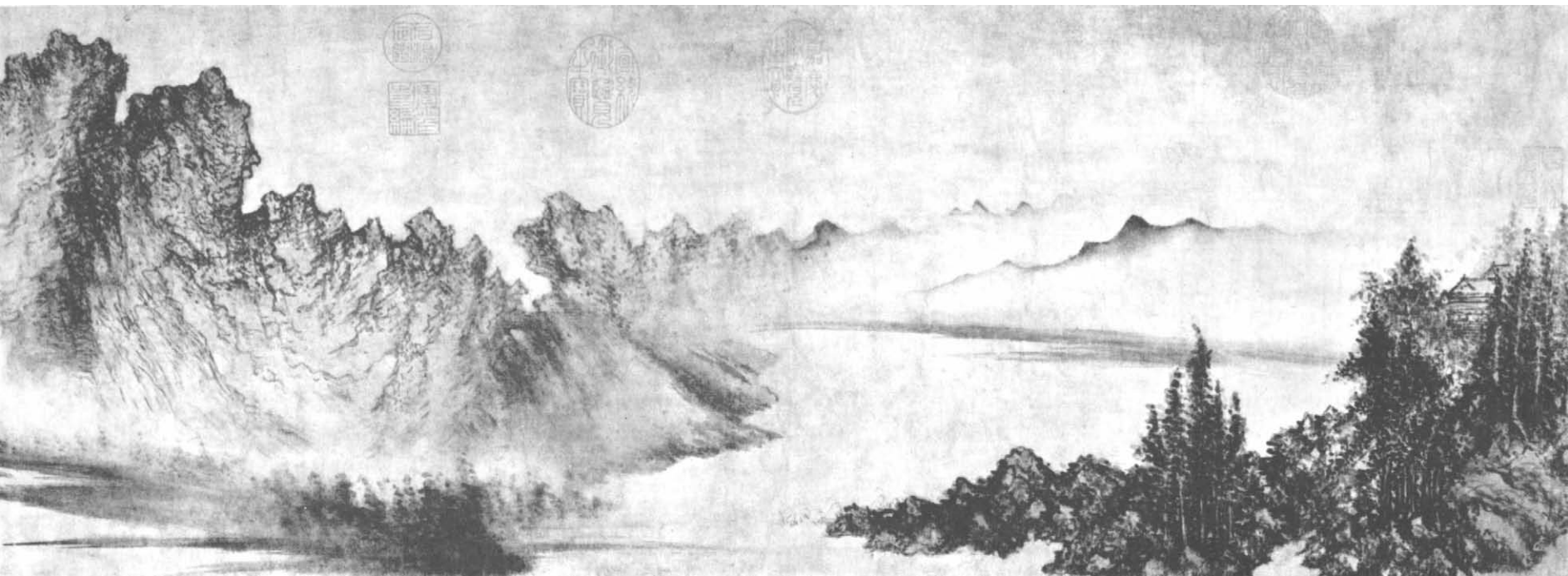


- 20 WOODS AND VALLEYS OF YÜ-SHAN
 Ni Tsan (1301–74); dated 1372
 Hanging scroll; ink on paper
 1973.120.8
- 21 RED CLIFFS AND GREEN VALLEYS
 Wang Meng (1310–85)
 Hanging scroll; ink on paper
 1973.121.7
- 23 FAREWELL BY A STREAM ON A
 CLEAR DAY
 Chao Yuan (active about 1360–75)
 Hanging scroll; ink on paper
 1973.121.8





22 CLOUDY MOUNTAINS
Fang Ts'ung-i (about 1300–78).
Handscroll; ink and color on paper
1973.121.4





BAMBOO AND PLUM BLOSSOMS

Detail of *Bamboo and Rocks* (no. 24)

No survey of Yuan scholar-painting is complete without a discussion of bamboo and plum blossom paintings. In early Yuan pottery and ceramic decoration, a familiar floral group called “Three Friends” shows the pine, the bamboo, and the plum blossoms.¹⁰⁵ Later, in the Ming and Ch’ing periods, bamboo and plum blossoms, together with orchids and chrysanthemums, became known as the “Four Gentlemen,” and were a popular subject among the scholar-painters.

Bamboo and Rocks by Li K’an (1245–1320), dated 1318 and executed in a fine outline technique, with leaves and stalks in a washed green, is a two-panel screen (no. 24). (It is possible that there may originally have been two more panels to the right of the composition.) Author of the *Bamboo Treatise* (*Chu-p’u*), which is our major early source on bamboo and bamboo painting, Li K’an was the leading painter of both colored and ink bamboo of the early Yuan period.¹⁰⁶ A northerner born near Peking, Li had a brilliant official career at the Mongol court, rising to become a member of the privy council of the emperor Jen-tsung (1312–20). In private life, he developed a passion for the cultivation of bamboo, as well as for bamboo lore and bamboo painting. In the *Bamboo Treatise*, he explained that he was sent on a mission to Indochina, where, “penetrating deeply into the bamboo country [he] examined strange species, and classified a great number by analyzing their resemblances and differentiating their special features.”¹⁰⁷ In *Bamboo and Rocks*, a fine cluster of mature bamboo interspersed with tall tender shoots grows behind an elegantly shaped *t’ai-hu*, or ornamental garden rock. The densely stacked leaves, on close examination, are all clearly and meaningfully related to their twigs and branches (see detail, page 128). From a distance, they fall into orderly bunches, spreading out three-dimensionally and swaying naturally on their main stalks as if in a gentle breeze. There is a profound sense of realism,

more than merely visual or intellectual, perhaps spiritual, about these plants, which stand tall and noble, healthy and alive. The artist shows a truly amazing knowledge of every detail of the structure and growth principles of the bamboo, its stalks, branches, tendrils, and young shoots. More than a painting, *Bamboo and Rocks*, like Chao Meng-chien's study of narcissi (no. 12), is almost a botanical treatise, and like Chao's, its drawing is brightened and distinguished by an unmistakable feeling of refinement and discipline.

What separates these meticulously executed drawings from artisan and Academy decorative paintings, and makes them an important part of scholar painting, is the intellectual discipline and well-defined philosophical outlook of their creators. In the *Bamboo Treatise*, Li writes of the importance of the intellectual comprehension of the nature of bamboo:

When bamboo starts to grow, it is only a tender sprout of about an inch, yet all the joints and leaves are there. From the tiny size of a cicada chrysalis and the scale of a snake's skin to that of giant blades of a hundred feet, a bamboo is born complete with all its parts. Yet some bamboo painters draw a single joint at a time, and pile up leaves one by one; this way how can they capture the bamboo? To paint bamboo, one must have the complete bamboo in one's breast. Holding a brush and carefully surveying the silk, the painter sees what he wants, then quickly moves the brush to catch what he sees. It is like going after a hare or a falcon; if there is the slightest hesitation, the opportunity is gone. . . . But if the heart knows what must be done, yet the hand fails to realize it, then it is the fault of the lack of training. . . . If a man knows that bamboo is not done joint by joint, and leaf by leaf, yet forgets that the so-called "complete bamboo in one's breast" does not come without training, then he is like a person who merely dreams of rising to high and lofty places, and tries to skip steps and steal on

105. Lee and Ho (59), pp. 97 ff.

106. An ink bamboo by Li K'an is in the Nelson-Atkins Gallery in Kansas City; see *ibid.*, no. 242.

107. Sirén (83), vol. 4, p. 41. See also Lippe (66).



ranks. . . . Even if he holds the brush and stares at the silk, what will he see and what will he catch? ¹⁰⁸

Typical of the scholar-painter, Li believed that one should always learn a subject in the most disciplined manner before attempting anything free and exciting: what one knows he becomes. According to this way of thinking, the fine style of bamboo painting is the necessary counterpart—in fact, the foundation—of the free and exciting ink bamboo; the more thoroughly one trains in the fine style, the more successfully will he be able to execute the bamboo in a free and calligraphic manner. From the way Li K'an speaks of possessing "the complete bamboo in one's breast," we can see that he also looked upon bamboo painting as a way of training a statesman's mind and breadth of vision. The painting reveals the painter; it can also teach the statesman-painter.

Our last painting, *Plum Blossoms* by Wang Mien (1287–1366) (no. 25), shows a wonderful combination of a studied approach to the plum tree with delightful calligraphic drawing. A splendid old branch laden with flowers hangs from the top of the painting; some residual snow on the branches is described by a lively "flying white" brush technique. In order to emphasize the white of the flowers, the painter has stained the entire painting surface except for the flower petals. White spots in the inked background represent single petals scattered by a breeze. The lower branch tips are done powerfully, like curved sabers, in single brushstrokes, while the flower petals, stamens, and calyxes are circled, drawn, and dotted in a lively manner. The artist's poem reads:

A wintry plum tree with branches like white jade,
A warm breeze scatters the flowers with snow flakes;
The Hermit of the Lonely Hill [Lin P'u, 967–1028] has remained true
to himself,
Now who carries the sound of reedpipe music across the broken bridge? ¹⁰⁹

108. (73), 14/4/14. The first part of the statement is Li's commentary on Su Shih's "Record of Wen T'ung's Painting the Bent Bamboo of Yun-tang Valley"; see Bush (6), pp. 37, 140.

109. Lee and Ho (59), no. 250.

A farmer's son turned painter, a paragon of filial piety, a hermit, traveler, swordsman, and military strategist, and finally the consummate painter of plum blossoms, Wang Mien is the epitome of the romantic scholar-painter, and his biographers never tire of retelling slightly eccentric stories about him.¹¹⁰ Above the painting, Ku Ta-tien writes this colophon, dated 1568:

Wang Mien's painting of plum blossoms compares with that of Yang Pu-chih [about 1095–1167]. His brushwork is archaic and free, strong and extraordinarily individual; it was peerless in his time. I can imagine the way he wore his hat with a high brim, and wooden clogs with high heels, and his lofty and crazy manner in practicing with a wooden sword. Unfortunately he never painted very much, and little of his work has survived. I have only seen another long handscroll at Lan-yun-ko, and that is all.

And so with Wang Mien the painting of plum blossoms, as a supreme expression of nature's purity and strength, and as a release from the unpalatable state of the world, became the essence of Yuan scholar painting.

110. See Hung Jui (43).

24 BAMBOO AND ROCKS
Li K'an (1245–1320); dated 1318
Hanging scroll in two panels; ink and color
on silk
1973.120.7



25 PLUM BLOSSOMS
Wang Mien (1287–1366)
Hanging scroll; ink on silk
1973.121.9



CATALOGUE

1 SUMMER MOUNTAINS (*Hsia-shan t'u*)

Gift of the Dillon Fund; 1973.120.1

Ch'ü Ting (active about 1023–56); formerly attributed to Yen Wen-kuei (active about 988–1010)

Northern Sung dynasty

Handscroll; ink and light color on silk

H: 0.452 m (17³/₄"); L: 1.149 m (45¹/₄")

No artist's signature or seals.

Collectors' Seals: The Northern Sung emperor Hui-tsung (reigned 1101–25), two seals, on left edge of the painting over the narrow silk borders; a Ming dynasty palace inventory half-seal of the years between 1373–84, on lower right edge of the painting; the Ch'ing dynasty collector Liang Ch'ing-piao (1620–91), seven seals; the Ch'ien-lung emperor (reigned 1735–95), fourteen seals; the Chia-ch'ing emperor (reigned 1796–1820), one seal; the Hsuan-t'ung emperor (reigned 1908–11), four seals; Wang Chi-ch'ien, three seals.

Colophon: The Ch'ien-lung emperor, in twelve lines, on the painting, dated 1748, followed by two seals. No attached colophons.

Condition: Excellent. The painting has been cleaned and remounted in modern times, but preserves the eighteenth-century imperial materials and the narrow silk borders on each side, which date from the Sung dynasty. Cleaning has caused the red pigment in the older seals to fade, but the ink, a more stable substance, has remained fresh and intact. The Ch'ing dynasty imperial catalogue describes the painting in its present condition with all the pre-eighteenth-century seals.

Published: (77), Yang-hsin-tien, p. 41; Ch'en Jen-t'ao (12), p. 4.

2 MARQUIS WEN-KUNG OF CHIN

RECOVERING HIS STATE

(*Chin Wen-kung fu-kuo t'u*)

Gift of the Dillon Fund; 1973.120.2

Li T'ang (active about 1120–40), with text written by the Sung emperor Kao-tsung (reigned 1127–62)

Southern Sung dynasty

Handscroll; ink and color on silk

H: 0.294 m (11 5/7"); L: 8.27 m (325 5/8")

No artist's signature or seals.

Six illustrations, each followed by a transcription of the text from the fourth-century A.D. historical commentary, the *Tso-chuan*.

Collectors' Seals: The Northern Sung emperor Hui-tsung (reigned 1101–25), six (?) seals; Ts'ai Ching (1046–1126), one seal; the Southern Sung emperor Kao-tsung, four (?) seals; An Kuo (1481–1534), two seals, all preceding seals on the painting; Wu T'ing (about 1555–1635), five seals, on painting and colophon sections; Ch'en Yen-lien (before 1744), two seals, on colophon section; the Ch'ien-lung emperor (reigned 1735–95), seven seals; the Chia-ch'ing emperor (reigned 1796–1820), one seal; the Hsuan-t'ung emperor (reigned 1908–11), two seals, preceding imperial seals on the painting; Wang Chi-ch'ien, two seals, on mounting; owners unidentified, four seals, one of which (*Ho-t'ung*) appears on each of the six joins.

Colophons: Ch'iao Ta (signed Ta-chih, about 1250–1300), in twelve lines, no date; Shih Yen, in sixteen lines, dated 1334; Wu K'uan (1435–1504), in thirteen lines, dated 1470; Chou T'ien-ch'iu (1514–95), in one line, no date.

Condition: Good. Numerous breaks and holes

in the silk have been repaired and filled in, and cracks have been backed and partially repaired. One length of silk has been used for each episode, with the joins following each transcription of calligraphy. The painting has been trimmed on all sides during the course of remounting, leaving three early seals undecipherable. The Ch'ing imperial catalogue records the scroll in its present state with the same colophons.

Published: Li E (64), 2/1–14 [which cites entries from Chuang Su, *Hua-chi pu-i* (1298); Chou Mi (1232–after 1308), *Yun-yen kuo-yen-lu* and *Chih-ya-t'ang tsa-ch'ao*; and Hsien-yü Shu (1257–1302), *K'un-hsueh-chai tsa-lu*. It appears that this scroll was originally one of two versions, one with an inscribed text and one without. Both were at one time in Ch'iao Ta's collection. Chou Mi noted the presence of three imperial seals on this scroll]; Chang Ch'ou (11), 3/61, 6/31; Wang K'o-yü (98), 23/11; Pien (74), 14/6 [which notes that the second scroll without calligraphy had been lost]; (76), 14/62–64; Tu (93), 18/2 [which mentions Kao-tsung's calligraphy and the three imperial seals]; Hsieh (37), pls. 41–57 [entire scroll illustrated]; Sirén (83), vol. 2, "Annotated Lists," p. 63; Laing (54), p. 85; Barnhart (3), p. 168, fig. 10 [detail illustrated].

3 EIGHTEEN SONGS OF A NOMAD FLUTE (*Hu-chia shih-pa-p'ai*)

Gift of the Dillon Fund; 1973.120.3

Copy after an anonymous Southern Sung Academy painter (about 1140), with text written in the style of the Sung emperor Kao-tsung (reigned 1127–62); probably a copy of the late fourteenth century Handscroll; ink, color, and gold on silk

H: 0.238 m (11 3/16"); L: 12.075 m (477")

No artist's signature or seals.

The scroll illustrates a cycle of eighteen episodes from the life of the Lady Wen-chi (Ts'ai Yen, about A.D. 195), as retold in songs by the T'ang poet Liu Shang (about 773). Each illustration is preceded by a transcription of the song. The episodes are:

- 1 "The Abduction of Wen-chi"
- 2 "Departure from China"
- 3 "Encampment in the Desert"
- 4 "Longing for Home"
- 5 "Encampment by a Stream"
- 6 "The Constellation of the Dipper"
- 7 "Concert on the Steppe"
- 8 "Dawn"
- 9 "Wen-chi Writing Home"
- 10 "A Child is Born"
- 11 "Watching Wild Geese Flying South"
- 12 "A Messenger Arrives"
- 13 "The Farewell"
- 14 "The Return Journey Begins"
- 15 "The Nomad Husband Turns Back"
- 16 "The Journey Continues"
- 17 "A Chinese City in View"
- 18 "Wen-chi Returns Home"

Collectors' Seals: Chia Ssu-tao (died 1275), one seal (?); Mu Ying (1345–92), one seal; his son Mu Ang (died 1445), one seal; and his great-grandson Mu Lin, one seal at each juncture of painting and calligraphy; Keng Chao-chung (1640–86), eleven seals, one on the joins, and at each juncture of painting and calligraphy; the Ch'ien-lung emperor (reigned 1735–95), twelve seals; the Chia-ch'ing emperor (reigned 1796–1820), one seal; the Hsuan-t'ung emperor (reigned 1908–11), three seals; Ch'ien Ho-feng (before 1744), two seals; Mr. Shao (before 1744, unidentified), one seal; Wang Chi-ch'ien, four seals;

owners unidentified, three seals, including one half-seal at end of the painting.

Colophons: At the beginning of the scroll on the painting, two by the Ch'ien-lung emperor, one line dated 1742, and fourteen lines dated 1766; at the end of the scroll, one colophon in two lines by Chang Ta-ch'ien (born 1899), dated 1948.

Condition: Fair. The silk is of fine quality, but vertical tears throughout have been repaired and filled in. Three lines missing from the first song are restored by the Ch'ien-lung emperor, dated 1742, on a separate piece of paper. There is one join in the silk between the calligraphy and painting of the fifteenth episode.

Published: (76), 35/14–15; Shimada (80), p. 29 [episode 16 illustrated]; Sirén (83), vol. 2, "Annotated Lists," p. 44; Ch'en Jen-t'ao (12), p. 11; (31), vol. 1, pl. 36 [four episodes illustrated in color]; Laing (54), p. 62; Emma Bunker, *Animal Art from East to West*, New York, 1970, fig. 1 [episode 3 illustrated].

4 ODES OF THE STATE OF PIN FROM THE KUO-FENG SECTION OF THE "BOOK OF ODES" (*Mao-shih Pin-feng t'u*)

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, by exchange; 1973.121.3

Ma Ho-chih (active about 1130–70), with text written in the style of the Sung emperor Kao-tsung (reigned 1127–62)
Southern Sung dynasty
Handscroll; ink, light color, gold, and silver on silk
H: 0.276 m (10⁷/₈""); L: 6.735 m (265 15/16")

No artist's signature or seals.

Seven illustrations, each preceded by a transcription of the ode and its third-century Mao-kung commentary:

- 1 "The Seventh Month," calligraphy in thirty-five lines (including three title lines)
 - 2 "The Owl," calligraphy in ten lines
 - 3 "Eastern Hills," calligraphy in twenty-three lines
 - 4 "Broken Axes," calligraphy in eight lines
 - 5 "Cutting an Ax Handle," calligraphy in five lines
 - 6 "Fish Nets," calligraphy in seven lines
 - 7 "The Wolf," calligraphy in six lines
- Final title: "Seven Odes from the State of Pin."

Collectors' Seals: Li Yen-hsing (Ming dynasty), one seal; Liang Ch'ing-piao (1620–91), four seals, on mounting; Chao Chien-po (Ch'ing dynasty), nine seals, one at each juncture of painting and calligraphy; P'an Yen-chün (contemporary), two seals, at end of painting; Wang Chi-ch'ien, eight seals, on painting and mounting; owners unidentified, seven seals, one of which (*Ch'an-yü hsin-shang*) appears at each juncture of painting and calligraphy.

No attached colophons.

Condition: Good. The calligraphy sections are in fine repair, with no damage to the silk. The painting sections (especially the first, second, and third) have wormholes and breaks in the silk that have been mended and filled in. The original gold and silver colors used in the landscape and foliage have almost completely disappeared; these metallic colors necessitated a heavy sizing that unduly stiffened the silk, causing it to crack and even to disintegrate in some places. The areas where these pigments and sizing were not

used were not affected. There are some water stains along the upper edge of the opening sections.

Published: Sirén (83), vol. 2, p. 110, and "Annotated Lists," p. 71; *ibid.*, vol. 3, pls. 279–80 [illustrated]; Barnhart (4), pp. 20–21, 74–75, no. 4 [illustrated]. Translations of the odes of the state of Pin are found in the following: Legge (60), vol. 4, pp. 226–44; Arthur Waley, *The Book of Songs*, London, 1937, nos. 29, 72, 125, 159, 166, 231, and 232; Bernard Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, Stockholm, 1950, pp. 97–104; Ezra Pound, *The Classic Anthology Defined by Confucius*, Cambridge, Mass., 1954, nos. 154–60.

5 RIVER VILLAGE IN AUTUMN DAWN
(*Chiang-ts'un ch'iu-hsiao*)

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, by exchange;
1973.121.2

After Chao Ling-jang (active about 1070–
1100)

Southern Sung dynasty; probably executed
about 1250

Handscroll; ink and color on silk
H: 0.238 m (9 $\frac{7}{8}$ "); L: 1.043 m (56 $\frac{1}{8}$ ")

No artist's signature or seals.

Collectors' Seals: Chao Shih-chen (eighteenth
century), five seals; Hsü Nai-p'u (about
1840), two seals, on label; Wang Chi-ch'ien,
four seals.

Title: By a Ch'ing dynasty calligrapher, in
four large "seal" characters, dated 1844.

Colophons: Chao Meng-fu (1254–1322), in
four lines, no date; Kung Hsiu (1266–1331),
in four lines, no date; Wu Na (1372–1457),
in six lines, no date; Ch'en Ching-tsung
(1375–1457), in thirteen lines, no date; Ch'en

Lien, in twenty-two lines, dated 1433;
Ch'ang Shih-chen, in nineteen lines, dated
1591; Wang Yuan-fan, in two lines, dated
1600; Li En-ch'ing, in seven lines, dated 1846;
Chou Shou-ch'ang, in three lines, dated
1864.

Condition: Good. The silk is dark. Numerous
breaks have been repaired and filled in.

Published: Wu Sheng (102), 13/35 [which
records the first five colophons in a slightly
different sequence]; Sirén (83), vol. 2, "Anno-
tated Lists," p. 41; Hsieh (37), pls. 21–22
[illustrated]; Yonezawa (103), p. 148 [illus-
trated]; Laing (54), p. 60; Maeda (68),
p. 245, n. 13.

6 CLOUDY MOUNTAINS (*Yun-shan-t'u*)

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, by exchange;
1973.121.1

Mi Yu-jen (1086–1165)
Southern Sung dynasty
Handscroll; ink on paper
H: 0.275 m (10 $\frac{3}{4}$ "); L: 0.57 m (22 $\frac{7}{16}$ ")

No artist's signature or seals.

Collectors' Seals: Lu Yu (active about 1280–
1340), one seal; Wu Hsi-yuan (Ming dynasty),
one seal; Liang Ch'ing-piao (1620–91), nine
seals; the Ch'ien-lung emperor (reigned
1735–95), five seals; the Chia-ch'ing emperor
(reigned 1796–1820), two seals; the Hsuan-
t'ung emperor (reigned 1908–11), two seals;
Wang Chi-ch'ien, twelve seals; owners
unidentified, twelve seals.

Colophons: Wang Chieh (signed Mo-an
Sheng-yü), in seven lines, dated 1200; Hsien-
yü Shu (1257–1302), in eleven lines, dated
1290; Kuo T'ien-hsi (active about 1280–1302),
in four lines, no date (the preceding colo-

phons on a single sheet of paper); Fang Mien, in ten lines, dated 1437; Sung Ch'eng, in thirteen lines, dated to the Cheng-t'ung era, *wu-tzu?* (1438?).

Condition: Fair. This fine Sung paper has been badly abraded and subsequently repaired. Overall foxing is apparent. Damage, especially in the central portion, has been carefully retouched to blend with the original ink. The scroll has also been trimmed and cleaned in remounting, obliterating some of the early seals.

Published: Hu (42), 4/7–8; (78), 3/1452–54; Sirén (83), vol. 2, "Annotated Lists," p. 78; Hsieh (37), pl. 58 [illustrated]; Sun (87), p. 600, pl. 9 [illustrated]; Cahill (8), pp. 23–24, no. 4 [illustrated]; (31), vol. 1, pl. 20 [illustrated]; Laing (54), p. 84.

7 HERMITAGE BY A PINE-COVERED BLUFF

Purchase, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Jeremiah Milbank and gift of Mary Phelps Smith in memory of Howard Caswell Smith, by exchange; 1973.121.12

Anonymous Academy painter (about 1160)
Southern Sung dynasty
Fan mounted as an album leaf; ink and light color on silk
H: 0.229 m (8¼"); W: 0.215 m (9")

No artist's signature or seals.

Collectors' Seals: Wang Chi-ch'ien, one seal, in lower left corner; owners unidentified, two half-seals, on right edge, and one tall rectangular seal, partially obliterated by repair, on left edge (this seal also appears on no. 11, *Orchids*).

No colophons.

Condition: Fair. The silk is extremely fine and tightly woven. Cracks in the silk, especially down the center, have been repaired.

Published: Cahill (8), pp. 20–21, no. 2 [where it is ascribed to an anonymous follower of Li T'ang, and is related to the style of Yen Tz'u-p'ing and Yen Tz'u-yü].

8 KNICKKNACK PEDDLER

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, by exchange; 1973.121.10

Li Sung (active about 1210–30)
Southern Sung dynasty
Fan mounted as an album leaf; ink and slight color on silk
H: 0.261 m (10⅜"); W: 0.267 m (10½")

No artist's signature or seals.

Collectors' Seals: Keng Chao-chung (1640–86), seven seals; Wang Chi-ch'ien, one seal; owners unidentified, two seals.

Colophon: On facing leaf, by Li Tso-hsien (active about 1835–51), in eight lines, no date, written at the age of sixty-one, followed by two of his seals, with two seals of Keng Chao-chung on left edge.

Condition: Fair. The silk is dark. Cracks and holes have been skillfully repaired.

Previously unpublished.

9 SCHOLAR BY A WATERFALL

Gift of the Dillon Fund; 1973.120.9

Ma Yuan (active about 1190–1225)
Southern Sung dynasty
Album leaf; ink and light color on silk
H: 0.25 m (9¾"); W: 0.26 m (10½")

Artist's Signature: "Servitor, Ma Yuan," in the lower left corner. No artist's seals.

Collectors' Seals: Wang Chi-ch'ien, two seals, on right edge of the painting.

No colophons.

Condition: Good. The silk is fine and tightly woven. A few minor cracks, especially in the lower part of the painting, have been repaired but not filled in. No retouching is discernible.

Published: Cahill (8), pp. 48, 50, no. 19 [it once formed a pair with no. 18, now in the Cleveland Museum of Art].

10 WINDSWEPT LAKESHORE

Purchase, bequest of Theodore M. Davis, by exchange; 1973.121.11

Follower of Hsia Kuei (about 1250)

Southern Sung dynasty

Fan mounted as an album leaf; ink on silk

H: 0.229 m (8¹/₄""); W: 0.215 m (9")

No artist's signature or seals.

Collectors' Seals: Wang Chi-ch'ien, two seals, on left edge of the painting.

No colophons.

Condition: Fair. Numerous vertical and horizontal cracks in the silk have been repaired. There is no visible retouching.

Previously unpublished.

11 ORCHIDS

Gift of the Dillon Fund; 1973.120.10

Ma Lin (active about 1250)

Southern Sung dynasty

Album leaf; ink and color on silk

H: 0.263 m (10³/₈""); W: 0.224 m (8 13/16")

Artist's Signature: "Ma Lin," in the center, bottom edge. No artist's seals.

Collectors' Seals: Wang Chi-ch'ien, two seals, in lower right corner; owners unidentified, two seals, in upper right and lower left corners.

No colophons.

Condition: Good. The silk itself is fine and in excellent condition, but the mineral colors on the orchid leaves have stiffened the silk and caused it to crack and flake off.

Published: Cahill (8), pp. 53–54, no. 21.

12 NARCISSI (*Ling-po t'u*)

Gift of the Dillon Fund; 1973.120.4

Chao Meng-chien (1199–1267?)

Southern Sung dynasty

Handscroll; ink on paper

H: 0.332 m (13 1/16""); L: 3.731 m (147¹/₄"")

No artist's signature or seals.

Collectors' Seals: Hsiang Yuan-pien (1525–90), nine seals and one inventory mark, in lower right corner of the painting; Yuan Shu (Ming dynasty), one seal; Wu T'ing-hsiang (contemporary), one seal; Hsü Hsiao-hsien (contemporary), eleven seals; Chiang Ku-sun (contemporary), three seals; Wu P'u-hsin (contemporary), ten seals; Wang Chi-ch'ien, nine seals, found on each join; owners unidentified, four seals.

Colophons: Chou Mi (1232–after 1308), in ten lines, no date; Ch'iu Yuan (1247–after 1327), in six lines, no date; Lin Chung (late Yuan), in five lines, no date; Li Chih-kang (active about 1368–1425), in four lines, no date; Ts'ao Yuan-chung (after 1883), in nine

lines, no date; Chu Tsu-mou (after 1883), in eleven lines, no date; Ch'ü Te-i (about 1900–40), in twenty-seven lines, dated to *ping-tzu* (1936); Ch'ü also transcribed the two preceding colophons.

Condition: Good. Parts of the paper show abrasion, but the sensitive ink line and wash have not suffered. Cracks and holes in the paper have been repaired and filled in. Vertical creases along the scroll indicate that the paper had been folded for a long time either before or after the painting was executed. The scroll has been cut (see below), the edges have been trimmed, and several seals have been removed from the opening section.

Published: Wang K'o-yü (98), 6/10 [under the title *Shui-mo shuang-kou shui-hsien ch'ang-chüan* (*Long Scroll of Ink-Outlined Narcissi*). The scroll was then in its complete state, with the following: an artist's self-inscription and one seal; colophons by Hsien-yü Shu (dated 1296), Chao Meng-fu (no date), Chou Mi (no date), Ni Tsan, who viewed it with Ch'en Ju-yen (dated 1352), Ch'iu Yuan (no date), Teng Wen-yuan (no date), Chang Ying (no date), Liu Fu (no date), Chang (?) Shu-yeh (no date), Lin Chung (no date), Li Chih-kang (no date), and Chang Po-ch'un (no date)]; Pien (74), 4/15/77–78; Kao (46), 2/184; Wu Sheng (102), 15/14–15 [which records complete colophons]; Yü (105), 7/334 [which records complete colophons]; Ku Wen-pin (49), 1/9 [which notes that the scroll had been cut in half, with only the colophons by Chou Mi, Ch'iu Yuan, Lin Chung, and Li Chih-kang remaining]; Hsü (38), p. 17, n. 2 [which gives a description of the various recordings].

Note: There are two other important nar-

cissus scrolls besides the Metropolitan's: one is in the Tientsin Museum (see *T'ien-chin-shih I-shu po-wu-kuan ts'ang-hua chi*, Tientsin, 1959, vol. 1, pls. 1–5; and *Sung Chao Meng-chien shui-hsien-t'u chüan*, Peking, 1961); and the other is reproduced in *Shina nanga taisei*, Tokyo, 1935–37, vol. 1/16, pls. 11–15.

The information given in Sirén (83), vol. 2, "Annotated Lists," p. 41, is somewhat confused. The scroll in *Shina nanga taisei* is the same as that reproduced in Omura, vol. 2, and discussed in *Bijutsu kenkyu*, vol. 15, pp. 110–11. To our knowledge there is no scroll that carries the seals of both Ch'ien-lung and An Ch'i. The narcissus scroll formerly at C. T. Loo and Co., Paris, is a tracing copy of the scroll now at the Metropolitan; it is part of the group of tracing copies made by T'an Ching in the late 1940s. See Fong (28), p. 110, n. 63.

13 WANG HSI-CHIH WATCHING GEESE (*Kuan-e t'u*)

Gift of the Dillon Fund; 1973.120.6

Ch'ien Hsuan (about 1235–1300)
Late Southern Sung to early Yuan dynasty
Handscroll; ink, color, and gold on paper
H: 0.232 m (9 $\frac{1}{8}$ ""); L: 0.927 m (36 $\frac{1}{2}$ "")

Artist's Poem, Signature, and Seals: a seven-word quatrain, signed, "Ch'ien Hsuan, Shun-chü, of Wu-hsing," in four lines, followed by three seals, *Shun-chü yin-chang* (intaglio, square), *Ch'ien Hsuan chih-yin* (intaglio, square), *Han-mo yu-hsi* (relief, square).

Collectors' Seals: Wu Chen (Ming dynasty, active 1621–27), two seals; Wu Hsi-yuan (Ming dynasty), one seal; Keng Chao-chung

(1640–86), thirteen seals; Ho Chung-lai (before 1744), one seal; Chang Po-chün (before 1744), two seals; the Ch'ien-lung emperor (reigned 1735–95), eleven seals; the Chia-ch'ing emperor (reigned 1796–1820), one seal; the Hsuan-t'ung emperor (reigned 1908–11), two seals; Chiang Tsu-chih (contemporary?), one seal; Chiang Ku-sun (contemporary), two seals; Wang Chi-ch'ien, five seals; owners unidentified, five seals.

Title: By the Ch'ien-lung emperor, four large characters in "running" script.

Colophons: On the painting, by the Ch'ien-lung emperor, one character, "ts'ang," impressed with a seal, and a poem in fourteen short lines, followed by one seal. Attached to the painting are fifty-one eulogies by courtiers, scholar-officials, and members of the imperial family, the earliest dated 1747, and the latest, 1940.

Condition: Excellent. The paper shows some abrasion, but the colors are true, with only slight flaking.

Published: (76), 43/2–5; Ch'en Jen-t'ao (12), p. 11; Sirén (83), vol. 4, p. 32; *ibid.*, vol. 7, "Annotated Lists," p. 109; Cahill (7), pp. 101–2 [illustrated in color]; Lee and Ho (59), no. 185 [illustrated]; Laing (54), p. 119.

14 TWIN PINES AGAINST A FLAT VISTA
(*Shuang-sung p'ing-yuan*)

Gift of the Dillon Fund; 1973.120.5

Chao Meng-fu (1254–1322)

Yuan dynasty

Handscroll; ink on paper

H: 0.267 m (10 1/32"); L: 1.073 m (42 1/4")

Artist's Signature, Inscription, and Seals: In

two lines inscribing the title, at beginning of the painting, "Tzu-ang playfully made *Twin Pines against a Flat Vista*," followed by one seal, *Chao-shih Tzu-ang* (relief, square); and in six long lines at end, commenting on the painting and dedicating it to Tung Yeh-yun, followed by one seal, *Chao Meng-fu* (relief, square), half of which is lost.

Collectors' Seals: Mu Ying (1345–92), one seal; Yang Tao (Ming dynasty), six seals; Liang Ch'ing-piao (1620–91), four seals; An Ch'i (1683–after 1742), six seals; the Ch'ien-lung emperor (reigned 1735–95), five seals; Tsai Chih (contemporary?), four seals; Ting Hui-k'ang (contemporary?), one seal; T'an Ching (contemporary), seven seals; Wang Chi-ch'ien, eleven seals; owners unidentified, six seals.

Colophons: Yang Tsai (1271–1323), in nine lines, no date; T'ung Hsuan (active 1450–85), in fourteen lines, no date.

Condition: Good. The paper shows minimal surface abrasion. One soil spot of 7 to 8 centimeters is visible over the distant mountains on the top left of the painting. One round collector's seal and an inscription have been removed; and the left-most edge of the paper, following the painter's inscription, has been trimmed (see below).

Published: Wu Ch'i-chen (101), 4/404; Ku Fu (47), 9/18; Wu Sheng (102), 16/11–12 [Mu Ying's seal is recorded, along with a second round seal belonging to Ch'ien Suhsuan (active 1405–65?), a eunuch who owned the scroll when the second colophon by T'ung Hsuan was written]; An (1), 3/145–46 [a complete entry is given, with measurements and transcription of Chao's inscriptions. Chao's half-seal is noted. Mu

Ying and Yang Tao's seals are mentioned, but not Ch'ien Su-hsuan's, which implies that it had been removed before it entered An's possession]; Li Pao-hsun (65), 2/4; (25), vol. 1, pl. 100 [illustrated]; Lee (55), pp. 40–41, 138–39, no. 28 [illustrated]; Sirén (83), vol. 4, p. 23; *ibid.*, vol. 6, pl. 23; *ibid.*, vol. 7, "Annotated Lists," p. 103 [illustrated]; Goepper (33), pp. 74, 177, 180, 223, pls. 45–47 [details illustrated]; Lee (56), p. 405, fig. 535 [illustrated]; (31), vol. 2, pl. 10 [illustrated]; Suzuki (88), pp. 40–43, fig. 5 [illustrated, with colophons]; Barnhart (4), pp. 21, 38–39, no. 6 [illustrated].

15 NINE SONGS (*Chiu-ko shu-hua-ts'e*)

Purchase, Fletcher Fund; 1973.121.15

After Chao Meng-fu; copy made in the fourteenth century

Yuan dynasty, dated 1305

Album of eleven paintings with accompanying texts

H (each leaf): 0.265 m (10³/₈"); W (each leaf): 0.158 m (6¹/₄")

Artist's Signature and Seals: On the final leaf in one line, "The twenty-fifth day of the eighth moon of the ninth year of the Ta-te era [September 14, 1305]. Chao Meng-fu of Wu-hsing painted and inscribed," followed by one seal, *Chao-shih Tzu-ang* (relief, square). Painting leaves not signed, but a seal of the artist, *Chao-shih Tzu-ang*, is found on each calligraphy leaf.

The "Nine Songs" are lyrical shamanistic incantations dedicated to nine classes of deities worshipped by the Ch'u people. The original text consists of eleven songs, ten of which are illustrated here (the last song, "The Soul of Ritual," is omitted). The illustrations

are preceded by a portrait of the poet Ch'ü Yuan (third century B.C.), which is accompanied by an essay, "The Fisherman" (*Yü-fu-tzu*), recounting the poet's state of mind toward the end of his life. The illustrations are:

- 1 "Portrait of Ch'ü Yuan," with the *Yü-fu-tzu* transcribed in eight lines
- 2 "The Eastern Emperor of Heaven, T'ai-i," with calligraphy in five lines
- 3 "The Lord of Clouds," with calligraphy in five lines
- 4 "Lady of Hsiang," with calligraphy in nine lines
- 5 "Mistress of Hsiang," with calligraphy in nine lines
- 6 "The Senior Lord of Lives," with calligraphy in seven lines
- 7 "The Junior Lord of Lives," with calligraphy in seven lines
- 8 "The Lord of the East," with calligraphy in seven lines
- 9 "The River Spirit," with calligraphy in six lines
- 10 "The Mountain Spirit," with calligraphy in nine lines
- 11 "The War Dead," with calligraphy in six lines, plus one line of signature and date

Collectors' Seals: Wu Jung-kuang (1773–1843), one seal on mounting of leaf 11; Chang Shan-tzu (1882–1940), one seal on leaf 7, and one on leaf 10; Yang Su-chün (Mrs. Chang Ta-ch'ien), two seals on leaf 4, two on leaf 5, and one on leaf 11; Chang Ta-ch'ien (born 1899), three seals on leaf 1, one on leaf 2, one on leaf 3, three on leaf 4, two on leaf 5, one on leaf 6, one on leaf 7, two on leaf 8, one on leaf 9, one on leaf 10, and four on leaf 11 (total of twenty); owner unidentified, one seal on left corner of mounting of leaf 1.

Title: Four old labels from former mountings: a title inscribed in "seal" script by Chiang Ju-ch'i (signed P'an-ch'u, Ming dynasty), when the work was in Hsiao Yin-nien's collection; Chiang Fu, a three-line inscription; Li Ch'iu-chün, two lines dated 1939, when the work had entered Chang Ta-ch'ien's collection; and Yeh Kung-cho (born 1880).

Colophons: Chang Ta-ch'ien, in two lines on leaf 3, commenting that this leaf was a later replacement of the late Ming or early Ch'ing dynasty; Chiang Ju-ch'i, on leaf 12, dated 1637; Ts'ai Chih-ting, in one line, no date; Wu Jung-kuang, in one line, dated 1816; Lin Ssu-chin, in three lines, dated 1940; Hsieh Wu-liang and others, in one line, dated 1940; Hsieh Chih-liu (born 1910) and Chiang Mu-han, in one line, dated 1940; Yeh Kung-cho, in one line, dated 1940; and Wang Yuan, in nine lines, dated 1940 (all on leaf 13); Yeh Kung-cho, in twenty lines on leaf 14, dated 1940; and Chang Ta-ch'ien, in thirteen lines on leaf 15, dated 1957.

Condition: Fair. Irregular abrasion, stains, and holes appear on each of the leaves, generally with damages repaired but not retouched. The three characters on leaf 1 are a later addition. The painting on leaf 3, as pointed out by Chang Ta-ch'ien, is a later replacement; even the paper is quite different from the rest. The left half of leaf 7 is torn and repaired, as is the upper left corner of leaf 9.

Published: (89) [complete set of reproductions published when the album was in Chang Ta-ch'ien's collection]; Jao (44), frontispiece and p. 68 ["Portrait of Ch'ü Yuan" illustrated]; Chiang (16), p. 377; Lee and Ho (59), p. 31, n. 68; (90), in Hsieh Chih-liu's text. English translations of the *Nine Songs*

and "The Fisherman" are in Hawkes (35), pp. 35–44, 90–91; a translation of the *Nine Songs* is also in Arthur Waley, *Chiu Ko—The Nine Songs, A Study of Shamanism in Ancient China*, London, 1955.

16 CROWS IN OLD TREES

(*Han-lin kuei-ya t'u*)

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, by exchange; 1973.121.6

Lo Chih-ch'uan (active about 1300–30)
Yuan dynasty

Hanging scroll; ink and light color on silk
H: 1.508 m (59³/₈"); W: 0.80 m (31¹/₂")

No artist's signature. Artist's Seals: *Lo-shih Chih-ch'uan* (intaglio, square), and one square relief seal, both on left edge of painting.

Collectors' Seals: Yuan Chung-ch'e (1376–1458), one seal, in upper left corner, and possibly the seal in lower right corner.

No colophons. An old label, set in upper right corner of present mounting, attributed the painting to the early Northern Sung master Li Ch'eng.

Condition: Fair. The silk weave is fine, with one vertical join in the panel. Scattered horizontal and vertical cracks have been repaired and retouched.

Published: Shimada (79), pp. 41–52; Lee (57), p. 317; Lee and Ho (59), cited in no. 215; Barnhart (4), p. 43, no. 9 [illustrated].

17 RETURNING FISHERMEN

(*Sung-hsi kuei-yü t'u*)

Purchase, bequest of Joseph H. Durkee, by exchange; 1973.121.5

T'ang Ti (1296–1364)
Yuan dynasty, dated 1342
Hanging scroll; ink and light color on silk
H: 1.34 m (52³/₄"); W: 0.862 m (33 15/16")

Artist's Signature and Seals: In two lines, "In spring, the tenth day of the first moon, the second year of the Chih-cheng era [February 15, 1342], T'ang Ti, Tzu-lo of Wu-hsing, made this," followed by two seals, *T'ang Ti* (relief, square) and *T'ang-shih Tzu-lo* (relief, square).

Collectors' Seals: Wang Chi-ch'ien, one seal; owner unidentified, one half-seal, in lower left corner.

No colophons.

Condition: Good. The silk is relatively coarse, with scattered patches and abrasion; the cracks have been repaired and filled in. The painting has been trimmed slightly in remounting, obliterating half of a seal in the lower left corner.

Previously unpublished.

18 HERMIT-FISHERMAN IN THE
AUTUMN FOREST (*Ch'iu-lin yü-yin t'u*)

Purchase, Florance Waterbury bequest and gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Cummings, by exchange; 1973.121.13

Sheng Mou (active about 1310–60)
Yuan dynasty, dated 1349
Fan mounted as an album leaf; ink and light color on silk
H: 0.27 m (10⁵/₈"); W: 0.258 m (10 3/16")

Artist's Signature and Seal: In three lines, "On the fourth day of the sixth moon in the year *chi-ch'ou* of the Chih-cheng era [June 19, 1349], Sheng Mou, Tzu-chao, of Wu-t'ang

Painted this *Hermit-Fisherman in the Autumn Forest*," followed by one seal, *Tzu-chao* (relief, square).

Collector's Seal: Wang Chi-ch'ien, one seal.

No colophons.

Condition: Good. A split down the center of the silk has been repaired; the break probably occurred during its use as a fan, where a handle would have been attached.

Published: Sirén (83), vol. 7, "Annotated Lists," p. 131 [when it was in Chang Ta-ch'ien's collection]; Lee and Ho (59), p. 44, no. 233 [illustrated].

19 ANGLING IN THE AUTUMN RIVER
(*Ch'iu-chiang ch'ui-tiao*)

Purchase, bequest of Martha T. Fiske Collord in memory of Josiah M. Fiske, bequest of Mrs. Beekman Hoppin, and gift of Herman Cooper, by exchange; 1973.121.14

Sheng Chu (active about 1370)
Late Yuan to early Ming dynasty
Fan mounted as an album leaf; ink and light color on silk
H: 0.259 m (10 3/16"); W: 0.274 m (10³/₄")

No artist's signature. Artist's Seal: *Shu-chang* (intaglio, square), in upper left corner.

Collectors' Seals: P'ang Yuan-chi (contemporary), one seal; Wang Chi-ch'ien, one seal.

No colophons. An old label, set in the mounting, attributes the work to the Five Dynasties' master Tung Yuan.

Condition: Good. Some cracks in the silk have been repaired and lightly filled in. The abrasion down the center indicates its use as a fan.

Published: Lee and Ho (59), p. 44, no. 234 [illustrated].

20 WOODS AND VALLEYS OF YÜ-SHAN
(*Yü-shan lin-ho t'u*)

Gift of the Dillon Fund; 1973.120.8

Ni Tsan (1301–74)

Late Yuan to early Ming dynasty, dated 1372

Hanging scroll; ink on paper

H: 3.731 m (37½"); W: 0.332 m (14⅛")

Artist's Signature: In six lines on upper right, a poem followed by a dedication, "On the thirteenth day, twelfth moon of the year *hsin-hai* [January 19, 1372], I paid a visit to the hermit Po-wan and painted these woods and valleys of Yü-shan with a poem in five-word meter as a memento of this trip. [Signed] Ni Tsan." No artist's seals.

Collectors' Seals: Hsiang Yuan-pien (1525–90), eight seals and one inventory character ("ch'i"), in lower right corner; Keng Chao-chung (1640–86), two seals; An Ch'i (1683–after 1742), one seal; the Ch'ien-lung emperor (reigned 1735–95), eleven seals; Ch'en K'uei-lin (contemporary), one seal; Hsü An (contemporary), two seals; T'an Ching (contemporary), one seal; Wang Chi-ch'ien, one seal.

Colophon: The Ch'ien-lung emperor, in eight lines, dated 1759, followed by two seals.

Condition: Good. There are a few cracks and areas of abrasion, especially in the lower half of the painting, that have been lightly filled in. The base of the fourth tree trunk from the left shows retouching.

Published: Wu Ch'i-chen (101), 5/549; Wu Sheng (102), 17/64; An (1), 3/158–59; Ch'en K'uei-lin (13), 1/5–6; Cheng Chen-to

(14), pl. 34 [illustrated]; Chu Sheng-chai (22), p. 109; Ch'en Jen-t'ao (12), p. 41; Sirén (83), vol. 4, p. 81; *ibid.*, vol. 6, pl. 95 [detail illustrated]; *ibid.*, vol. 7, p. 128; Cahill (7), pp. 111–12 [illustrated in color]; Cheng Cho-lu (15), p. 28, fig. 6 [illustrated]; Hsü (39), p. 32 [dated 1371]; Wang Chi-ch'ien (97), pp. 26–27, pl. 14 [illustrated]; Lee and Ho (59), no. 253 [illustrated]; Laing (54), p. 131.

21 RED CLIFFS AND GREEN VALLEYS
(*Tan-yai ts'ui-ho t'u*)

Purchase, gift of Darius Ogden Mills and gift of Mrs. Robert Young, by exchange; 1973.121.7

Wang Meng (1310–85)

Late Yuan to early Ming dynasty

Hanging scroll; ink on paper

H: 0.68 m (26¾"); W: 0.343 m (13½")

Artist's Signature and Seal: In seven lines, a poem followed by a dedication to "Yuan-tung," and signed, "Huang-ho shan-ch'iao, Wang Shu-ming," followed by one seal, *Wang Shu-ming yin* (intaglio, square).

Collectors' Seals: Pi Lung (about 1750–90), one seal; Ku Wen-pin (1811–89), two seals; Wang Chi-ch'ien, one seal.

No colophons. An old label, set in upper right of present mounting, reads, "Red Cliffs and Green Valleys of Huang-ho shan-ch'iao. Collected and authenticated by the master of Kuo-yun-lou [Ku Wen-pin]," followed by one seal.

Condition: Excellent. The painting has been well cared for and has incurred little surface abrasion. The ink is rich and fresh, with no retouching apparent.

Published: Ku Wen-pin (49), 1/4–5 [under the title *T'ing-ch'in lü-yin* (*Listening to the Ch'in under Green Shade*)]; (31), vol. 2, pl. 24 [illustrated].

22 CLOUDY MOUNTAINS (*Yun-shan-t'u*)

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, by exchange; 1973.121.4

Fang Ts'ung-i (about 1300–78)

Late Yuan dynasty

Handscroll; ink and color on paper

H: 0.263 m (10⁵/₈"); L: 1.445 m (56⁷/₈")

No artist's signature. Artist's Seals: *Fang-hu hua-yin* (intaglio, square) and *Erh-ku shan-jen* (intaglio, square), in upper left corner.

Collectors' Seals: Cha Shih-piao (1615–98), two seals; the Ch'ien-lung emperor (reigned 1735–95), ten seals; the Chia-ch'ing emperor (reigned 1796–1820), one seal; the Hsuan-t'ung emperor (reigned 1908–11), three seals; Wang chi-ch'ien, eight seals.

Title: By Ch'eng Nan-yun (active 1403–36) in four large "seal" characters, "A Genuine Work by Fang-hu," followed by a signature and one seal.

Colophons: Kao Ku, in twenty-three lines, dated 1447; Chou K'ai, in thirteen lines, no date; Ku Han (signed Yun-p'o tao-jen, early fifteenth century), in nine lines, no date; Wang Ch'ien (mid-fifteenth century), in six lines, no date; Shen Ch'eng-chang, in seven lines, no date; Ch'ien Po (mid-fifteenth century), in seven lines, no date; Chan Ching-feng (1528–1602), in seventeen lines (ruled), no date; Wu Hu-fan (1894–1970), dated 1949.

Condition: Fair. There has been some surface abrasion; small horizontal and vertical cracks in the paper have been repaired and filled in, with minor overpainting in the most heavily damaged areas. The artist's seals in the upper left corner of the painting are faint; the seal paste is an orange color.

Published: Wang K'o-yü (98), 23/43; Wu Ch'i-chen (101), 1/16–17; (77), *Ch'ung-hua-kung*, p. 144; Juan (45), 4/12; Lee and Ho (59), p. 61, no. 268 [illustrated].

23 FAREWELL BY A STREAM ON A CLEAR DAY (*Ch'ing-ch'uan sung-k'o*)

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, by exchange; 1973.121.8

Chao Yuan (active about 1360–75)

Late Yuan to early Ming dynasty

Hanging scroll; ink on paper

H: 0.99 m (37¹/₄"); W: 0.351 m (13⁷/₈")

Artist's Signature and Seal: In two lines in upper right corner, "Chao Yuan of Chü-ch'eng painted this *Farewell by a Stream on a Clear Day* for Liu Kuang-wen of T'ui-hsuan," followed by one seal, *Chao Shan-ch'ang* (intaglio, square).

Collectors' Seals: Chu Chih-ch'ih (Ming dynasty), one seal; An Ch'i (1683–after 1742), three seals; the Ch'ien-lung emperor (reigned 1735–95), seven seals; Chang Heng (1915–63), two seals; Wang Chi-ch'ien, one seal.

Colophon: The Ch'ien-lung emperor, in six lines at top of the painting, dated 1747, followed by two seals.

Condition: Good. The surface of the paper is worn; there is some retouching in the more abraded areas.

Published: An (1), 3/162–63; Cheng Chen-to (14), vol. 1, pl. 49 [illustrated]; Ch'en Jen-t'ao (12), p. 41; Lee (55), pp. 52–53, no. 36 [illustrated]; Sirén (83), vol. 4, p. 95; *ibid.*, vol. 7, "Annotated Lists," p. 1; Fong (28), pp. 110–13, figs. 7, 9, 11, 13 [details illustrated]; Contag and Wang (26), p. 562, no. 2; (31), vol. 2, pl. 35 [illustrated]; Lee and Ho (59), no. 261 [illustrated].

24 BAMBOO AND ROCKS
(*Shuang-kou chu-shih*)

Gift of the Dillon Fund; 1973.120.7

Li K'an (1245–1320)

Yuan dynasty, dated 1318

Hanging scroll in two panels; ink and color on silk

H (each panel): 1.986 m (74³/₄"); W (each panel): 0.557 m (21³/₄")

Artist's Signature and Seals: In one line, on left panel, "The Taoist Hsi-chai painted this in the winter of the year *wu-wu* in the Yen-yu era [1318]," followed by two seals, *Li K'an Chung-pin* (intaglio, square) and *Hsi-chai* (relief, square).

Collectors' Seals: Ming dynasty palace inventory half-seal in lower right corner; Ch'en Chin-ch'ing (unidentified), one seal, on right edge (both on the right panel); Wang Chi-ch'ien, one seal, on lower left corner; Mr. Chou (unidentified), one seal, on lower left edge (both on left panel).

No colophons.

Condition: Fair. In the left panel several large cracks have been repaired and retouched; water stains are visible in the upper half. In the right panel the top of the rocky bank

has been patched. There are sharp creases in the lower half of both scrolls.

Published: Sirén (83), vol. 7, "Annotated Lists," p. 121; Lee and Ho (59), pp. 47–48, no. 241 [illustrated].

25 PLUM BLOSSOMS

Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, by exchange; 1973.121.9

Wang Mien (1287–1366)

Yuan dynasty

Hanging scroll; ink on silk

H: 1.132 m (91³/₈"); W: 0.498 m (19⁵/₈")

Artist's Signature and Seals: In four lines, a poem signed "Yuan-chang," followed by three seals, *Chu-chai t'u-shu* (relief, tall rectangle), *K'uai-chi chia shan-shui* (intaglio, square), *Fang-wai ssu-ma* (intaglio, square).

Collectors' Seals: The Ch'ien-lung emperor (reigned 1735–95), five seals; Wang Chi-ch'ien, one seal; owners unidentified, two seals, in lower right corner.

Colophons: Ku Ta-nien, in nine lines, dated 1598, followed by two seals on a separate piece of paper above the painting; Chang Feng-shih, in seven lines, dated *ping-wu* (1606?), followed by one seal on a separate piece of paper below the painting.

Condition: Fair. The silk is dark. Several wide horizontal splits in the silk have been repaired and the missing drawing has been filled in. There is no discernible overpainting.

Published: Sirén (83), vol. 7, "Annotated Lists," p. 140; Lee and Ho (59), pp. 49–50, 97–99, no. 250 [illustrated]. For Wang Mien's dates, see Hung (43), pp. 3, 12.

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