

Zhao Mengfu

Calligraphy and Painting for Khubilai's China

Shane McCausland



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Image on p.ii is from fig. 3.9: Zhao Mengfu, *Autumn Colours on the Qiao and Hua Mountains*, dated 1296. Handscroll; ink and colour on paper, 28.4 x 93.2 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

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Introduction

This is a study of the art of a controversial and charismatic, yet also pivotal, figure in the history of Chinese art: the Yuan dynasty polymath Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322). Whatever his artistic achievements are reckoned to be, Zhao has long cast a spell over the history of Chinese art, judging by the reactions to him from artists and critics over seven centuries. As dominating and orthodox a figure as Dong Qichang (1555–1636), for instance, was relieved to have reached the top rank of the civil bureaucracy (rank 1a), since he had finally surpassed the highest official rank of Zhao Mengfu (rank 1b), perhaps his only rival as statesman, calligrapher and scholar-painter across time. Yet, in the nineteenth century, the calligrapher Bao Shichen (1775–1855), an often intemperate and sceptical critic, railed that Zhao's calligraphy flattered to deceive, and that his calligraphic masterpiece, *Thirteen Colophons to the Orchid Pavilion Preface*, was a 'false thing' that should never have contributed to his exalted position in the world of art.¹

Zhao continues to fascinate in part because he was more than an artist, having been, in Western parlance, a renaissance figure. The extent of Zhao's talent, stated his protégé and biographer Yang Zai (1271–1323), was actually obscured by his calligraphy and painting. Anyone who knew anything about those seemed not to recognise his literary output, while those who appreciated his writings had not reckoned with his learning, as a public servant, in the field of economics.²

One role of this Introduction is to sketch out the terms on which we approach Zhao's art today. It is the opening to a book which, more broadly, is itself a guide — necessarily hefty because of the wealth of material to be covered — as to how we might understand this art and define the oeuvre. This volume is also a challenge to the received wisdom on two fronts. Historically, this study takes the Mongol context seriously. Art historically, it breaks the mould in presenting an argument based on visual analysis of both calligraphy and painting, one of the implications of which is how we understand scrolls as sites of artistic practice.

Written in English primarily for the specialist reader, this is the first comprehensive study of Zhao's art in a Western language, and it approaches that topic in the spirit of comparative humanism. Since it is written in English, and to understand our own perspective as English readers, it is insightful to reflect on the

(opposite page)
from fig. 1.1

study of Zhao's art in this language. In fact, Zhao has had a place in the English-language historiography of 'Chinese art' since the beginning. His controversial image passed easily into the emerging global field — a study in itself — in the writings of the American art impresario Ernest Fenollosa (1853–1908). Reflecting long-held Japanese and Chinese reservations about Zhao's moral fibre, Fenollosa saw him as a court painter to the barely civilised Mongol emperors.³ Considering only the paintings, Fenollosa dubbed Zhao an 'eclectic realist' and compared his work to the courtly style of the Flemish baroque painter Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641). Zhao's already chequered reputation was not burnished by Fenollosa's attempt to match Eastern and Western artistic epochs.

By the early twentieth century there emerged a keener desire to understand Zhao's dilemma as a Han Chinese aristocrat and scholar-official artist in the service of the Mongol khan Khubilai. This was in spite of his historical image among hard-line Chinese critics as a traitor to his own Song Chinese royal blood, and in light of his humanity as, for instance, a scholar-artist who had a profound influence on later Chinese art history, as a lay Buddhist and as husband to Guan Daosheng (1262–1319), a celebrated artist in her own right. Thus, the British Museum curator Laurence Binyon (1869–1943), also a respected poet, sought to match a more positive figure of Zhao to works he knew. For the fledgling modern fields of sinology and Chinese art history, much under the influence of Japan, at least in Binyon's vision, Zhao's landscape painting could have represented later Chinese painting, just as Gu Kaizhi's (c. 344–c. 406) celebrated *Admonitions of the Court Instructress scroll* (fig. 1.1) in the British Museum stood for the early tradition.⁴ This art-historical construct, which saw Zhao as the initiator of 'later' Chinese painting, cannot be simply wished away: we still speak of him as a pivotal artist whose work heralded the tradition of literati painting.

Cross-cultural comparison came as unselfconsciously to Binyon as it did to Fenollosa. In Binyon's case, he compared Zhao's landscape painting to the art of the seventeenth-century European romantics Claude Lorraine (1600–82; fig. 1.2), Gaspar Poussin (1613–75) and Salvator Rosa (1615–73). Seen from the other end of Eurasia, the East Asian literati tradition provided an important precedent, discerned by art historians and critics in Japan, for the transformations taking place in early twentieth-century European painting. They would have observed the change from the figurative to the non-figurative in, for instance, the theosophist abstraction of Wassily Kandinsky (1866–1944) and the neoplastic geometry of Piet Mondrian (1872–1944), two modern Europeans who were transforming the Western Renaissance tradition. Mondrian's neoplastic form

emerged as a reform of existing rhetoric of plasticity; Kandinsky's belief was that his inner life experienced in introversion and prayer informed his painting. At a time of increasing Japanese-led pan-Asianism, the East Asian literati tradition was trumpeted by Taki Seiichi (1873–1945) and others as a home-grown precedent to these developments in European art.⁵ Historical events of the twentieth century put a stop to much disinterested comparative study of this kind, and this mode of cross-cultural thinking has waned in scholarly research.

Still, it is notable that Zhao's art should be such a focus of modern intercultural debate in contemporary painting, without regard for scholarly diffidence. Perhaps this makes sense in light of the demands made on Zhao as a Chinese artist and cultural leader amid the polycultural world of Yuan China. In the early twenty-first century, Zhao's landscape paintings, for instance, are source materials not just for Chinese-born artists, such as Hong Lei (b. 1960) and Zhang Hongtu (b. 1943), but also for American painters, including Brice Marden (b. 1938) and Michael Mazur (b. 1935). These men have reinterpreted Zhao not just pictorially through his paintings, but methodologically through the idea of creative engagement with past styles as a means of creating new meaning in the present, something that was bound up in Zhao's own practice. A visual, interpretive approach to style will be apparent as a methodological tool throughout this volume; we also return to the topic of 'the contemporary Zhao Mengfu' at the very end of the book.

What of the oeuvre that we have inherited? During the last century, advances in reproduction technology made paintings and works of calligraphy far more widely available for study than they ever had been in dynastic China, and in the post-conflict world order of the latter half of the century, museums, mainly in China and the United States, that had acquired works by Zhao began to conserve, study and publish them. A modern canon, and with it a modern discourse, emerged. The lettered bias in the later dynastic tradition found a match in the visibility of modernism. Modern interests derived not just from the verbal and calligraphic, but also placed new emphasis on pictorial and visual aspects of these images. Zhao's paintings, though far from common, came to carry equal or more critical weight in relation to his calligraphy, which was far more widely known historically, having been disseminated in ink rubbings from stelae and woodcuts.

One 1995 compilation of the paintings, *Zhao Mengfu huaji*, suggests an extant oeuvre of original works numbering two or three dozen, with another dozen and a half as likely close or early copies, or plausible attributions. This study is somewhat more conservative with regard to the number of paintings considered



I.2 Claude Lorraine (1600–82), *Juno Confiding Io to the Care of Argus*. Signed: *Claudio IV f. Roma 1660*. Oil on canvas, 60 x 75 cm. National Gallery of Ireland, Sir Hugh Lane Bequest, 1918 (NGI 763).

as being by Zhao's hand, its judgement being made on the basis of calligraphic and pictorial quality, as well as compatibility with his social milieu, and literary and artistic practice. By default, the range of paintings selected and introduced here presents an authentic oeuvre across the genres of figures, landscape and 'bamboo and rock' painting. Superlative examples, such as the *Sheep and Goat* in the Freer Gallery, are noted as such, but not all dubious examples are excluded. Where doubts exist these are noted, as in the case of *Old Trees, Grazing Horses* in Taipei, and the relevance of the artwork is explained.

The calligraphic oeuvre is a different issue. The number of extant calligraphic works is not documented but must number in the hundreds. There are enough genuine works at hand to have been able here to select representative examples, putting off for now the problems of judging ink-rubbing copies and identifying works by amanuenses. Zhao had equal facility in all the major script types. Most studies, including this one, skip among a few key types — seal for titles, standard for public calligraphy, running for informal inscriptions

and cursive for letters. Even among these, the investigation is skewed towards the more legible forms. Zhao's calligraphic oeuvre is probably too broad for any satisfactory definition at this stage in the scholarship, but it will have to be addressed in the future, as long as determining the historical position of artworks still matters to the discipline of art history.

This volume appears in a time of renewed interest in Zhao, his life and his art. Since the early 1980s, he has become a hero again in his hometown of Huzhou, the main town of the Wuxing region in northern Zhejiang Province, on the southern shore of Lake Tai. A Zhao Mengfu research society, which publishes a journal and holds conferences, has been set up, and a Zhao Mengfu museum has been founded there. Zhao Mengfu and Guan Daosheng's town house and garden in Huzhou, Lianhuazhuang (**fig. 1.5**), and their tomb in the country at Dongheng (**fig. 1.6**) have been restored. Historiographically, Zhao's paintings and works of calligraphy have also been the subjects of compilations, collections of scholarly papers and books, but his art and overall artistic development have, until now, only rarely been the topic of monographic studies, even in Chinese or Japanese.⁶ Indeed, these monographs have been less concerned with the visual and art historical, and with the Mongol context, as in these pages, than with Zhao's biography and literary output. Anyone attempting such a project inevitably owes a great debt to the research about Zhao, his peers and milieu conducted by Ren Daobin, and by Chu-ting Li and his students at the University of Kansas, over more than three decades.⁷

Now, this book is structured as a comprehensive assessment of Zhao's practice and oeuvre in connoisseurship, calligraphy and painting. Necessarily, it explores Zhao's biography first: since his career is inseparable from his development as a calligrapher, the argument links socio-political context with formal change and innovation. This starts with a survey of his upbringing as a minor royal of the native Chinese Song dynasty (960–1279) conquered by Khubilai Khan in the late 1270s and his training as an artist in the scholarly tradition of Chinese calligraphy. It describes the critical mentality of Chinese literati and their lineages of creative practice. Giving the role of the Mongol overlords of China due consideration, it seeks to explain Zhao's polemical 1286 decision to serve them at the Yuan court in Beijing, his subsequent official travels and social milieux and the impact of these on his collecting and connoisseurship of old masterworks. It explores Zhao's political career as imperial adviser and doyen of Chinese art and culture, as well as his family ties and Chan Buddhist

faith. By seeing formal developments in light of biography, it becomes possible first to posit Zhao's role in guaranteeing the posterity of Chinese culture amid the insecurity of a Mongol-dominated world, but then also to rediscover the process of artistic transformation at this pivotal moment. In relating each experimental stage of Zhao's reforms of calligraphy and painting to these contextual issues, this study presents a long overdue attempt to go beyond the traditional panorama to explore the ruptures on and under the surface of the period's style.

The chapters that follow map out and present Zhao's painting oeuvre, using contextual history and critical colophons appended to artworks as primary sources. These chapters illustrate how in a uniquely wide and indeed protean oeuvre — comprising connoisseurship and calligraphy, and landscape, human figures and horses, and bamboo and rock painting — Zhao translated Chinese old master styles and type-forms into a new painting, mediated by the scholar's lyric art of calligraphy. Although Zhao had an eye to posterity, and was profoundly involved in a process to alter the course of art history, a prime aim of this book is to situate that change synchronically in the context of his life as an artist.

In terms of the history of painting in China, this investigation of the Yuan transformation in art nevertheless bears on a narrative that has long been recounted in stratigraphic terms such as 'early' and 'late'. Part of the difficulty with Zhao is the particularity of his situation: that he was neither early nor late, but in between; and that it was his fate to serve not a native Chinese dynasty, but a 'barbarian' government of occupation, earning him the scorn of later Chinese chauvinist historians. To those men, whose views largely moulded the traditional history of later dynastic art, the Mongol period was an aberration, standing somewhat outside of the normal course of Chinese history. We began by noting that such prejudices were inherited by the first Western students of East Asian art. Fenollosa, for instance, referred to the Mongols as the 'world scourge'; the sinologist Arthur Waley (1889–1966) later refined this appraisal of the Mongols with his well-known assessment of them as mere policemen, who had no more influence on the artists of China than the guards at the gate of the British Museum did on the gentlemen working within.⁸ Even the *Cambridge History of China* perpetuates this sense that Yuan history is not really Chinese history, and by implication that Yuan art is not really part of Chinese art, with volume 6's title, *Alien Regimes and Border States* (1994). Yet, if there is something quintessentially un-Chinese about this Yuan reformation, this pivoting of visual paradigms articulated as a change from naturalistic representation to abstraction and idealism, it needs to be defined and described.

Being an investigation into the art of one of the pivotal figures of Chinese calligraphy and painting, Zhao Mengfu, this book is addressed to the field of Chinese pictorial arts. Yet, in some facets, such as the consideration of that sedimentary transition from early to later Chinese art history and of the self-consciousness of artistic creativity, it has broader implications. Albeit, the visual and critical resources in question, including Chinese calligraphy, paintings and critical texts on art, do serve to organise the process of art-historical inquiry and comparative study. Perhaps the balance to be struck is between the desire to investigate and visualise a pivotal moment in China's two-millennia-old art history and the critical demands made of an artist monograph in late-modern art historiography.

In what follows, the biography and narrative plotting usual in a monographic study have been integrated into a group of four genre-themed but roughly chronological essays; through these successive chapters, the book explores various social, political and other forces that played upon Zhao's artistic development, and it tracks that development. In sum, the book charts how the art of Zhao relates to the Yuan transformation. It explores the tilting of a paradigm in which art represented public values in a native Chinese polity, toward another in which art, as a social phenomenon in the midst of dynastic change, could represent the private questioning of values and hope for the endurance of Chinese culture in a polyethnic Yuan world, a shift that laid the ground for the classical tradition of 'literati painting' in later dynastic China.

After considering Zhao's calligraphic talent and biography in the first chapter, the book turns to his command of the range of painting genres. Specifically, a second chapter explores his human and animal figure painting with its social and ethical 'voice' and issues relating to ability and service in the Mongol government. A third chapter examines Zhao's landscape painting and attendant issues of identity, reclusion and political dissent. The last chapter is concerned with the ends of representation in a study of the Chinese literati's signature genre of bamboo and rock painting. The epilogue reflects on the modern figure of Zhao and the legacy of his oeuvre. Appendices 1 and 2 contain a translation of Zhao's official biography in the *Yuanshi* and a chronology of his life, respectively.

Epilogue

This book does not reach its close with a formal conclusion as such, but rather with some reflections, coming back to Chinese art history, on the historicity of the oeuvre and on the historical and the contemporary figures of 'Zhao Mengfu', a name synonymous with controversy but also with epochal change and renewal.

Perhaps it is fitting, here at the end of a monograph on the scholar-artist who wished to define the notion of a living tradition, to return to the moment, telling for Yuan connoisseurship and Chinese art history, when Zhao admired Li Gonglin's *Five Tribute Horses* (fig. 2.1). Li Gonglin's painting itself dated back to the eleventh century and the origins of the literati tradition among the new class of scholar-officials in Northern Song China. Li's peers had marvelled at horses so real they seemed to sap the strength of their models, thoroughbreds in the imperial stables.

When Zhao unrolled *Five Tribute Horses* he too was moved to words in praise of the noble steeds.¹ But as a southern Chinese scholar-official in the service of a Mongol regime, his deep concern was with the posterity of Chinese art and culture. Notably, for him, these animals of the Song imperial stable called to mind the monumental horses on the spirit road approaches to the Tang emperors' tombs. Actually, the recollection served as an admonition about power and greatness, for the stone animals at Zhaoling were crumbling with the passing centuries. In a seeming paradox, by contrast to the Tang emperors' stone horses, and despite the ephemeral media of mere ink and paper, Li's painted horses would live forever, he stated, since they had been and would continue to be admired and revitalised by successive generations of literati painters. Through the lyrical, calligraphic ink-outline style, Li Gonglin's horses embodied what he conceived as the imperishable tradition of Chinese painting. His sense of 'belatedness' (the term is David Der-wei Wang's) had an ideological charge to it, as if he were trying to raise the stakes in a game of chance for the survival of Chinese culture, with the effect of a potent rallying call to take up social and moral responsibilities.

Through what would become later Chinese art history, Li Gonglin, his attributed works and the growing body of critical literature about them played their part in shaping the living tradition of scholar-painting, as Chinese literati defined and redefined what they called 'this culture of ours' (*siwen*).² The habit

(opposite page)
from fig. 4.32

of coping with loss and compensating for it gives literati art one of its defining characteristics. Many of the founding works of literati painting, and indeed of the painting tradition at large, have been lost along the way, including, it was thought for a time, *Five Tribute Horses*.³ For decades it has been passed down in black-and-white photographs; now, its posterity is entrusted to digital technology, securing our ability to identify with that great tradition into the future, but also sharpening our identification with the efforts of our predecessors to preserve and transmit heritage.⁴

As for trying to understand the legacy of Zhao, we might reflect on several themes and angles of enquiry in this book. This book understands the Yuan, in the social history of art, as a pivotal moment: one between the rise of literati art in the late Northern Song and its establishment with the literati painting tradition in the Ming. We might reinforce the point, here, with some reflections on the formation of this tradition in the Ming, taking the case of bamboo in early modern literary culture. A surviving fascicle of the *Yongle dadian*, in the collection of the Chester Beatty Library, is on this topic, bamboo. The great majority of the text contains citations from Li Kan's *Zhupu*, indicating how for early Ming scholar-officials the work of this Yuan literatus all but embodied knowledge on this subject — that is, knowledge deemed worthy of inclusion in this early Ming imperially commissioned manuscript encyclopaedia. Further, if we examine the opening pages of this fascicle on bamboo, it is evident that model calligraphic forms of the word 'bamboo' merit a lead-off position, before the general preface itself (fig. E.1).⁵ The selection of models for inclusion is also telling, in that it highlights a specific tradition — for standard, running and cursive scripts — beginning with Wang Xizhi, passing through the Four Song Masters (Su Shi, Huang Tingjian, Mi Fu and Cai Xiang), and ending with Xianyu Shu and Zhao Mengfu. This sequence of names is not just a statement of historical development. The styles of the characters quoted also make a formal contribution to the rhetoric. Looking, for example, at the *zhu* character given for Zhao, it recalls the style of his calligraphic masterpiece and study of the Wang tradition, *Thirteen Colophons* to Wang Xizhi's *Orchid Pavilion Preface*.

If the *Yongle dadian* was also a brilliant pretext on the part of the Yongle emperor 'to quiet restless literati who despised [his] usurpation' by involving them in the transmission of literary knowledge,⁶ this marked a notable political change from the pre-Yuan situation visible through works such as the *Xuanhe huapu*. The Yuan experience lies between. Perhaps what is even more compelling is the



reiteration of this ‘pretext’ by the Jiajing emperor in the late sixteenth century, when he commanded a facsimile of the encyclopaedia to be made, possibly for a similar reason to Yongle’s — to quiet restless literati. The few hundred surviving fascicles, including the one illustrated here, all belong to that 1562–67 reprise yet stand for the Yongle original, illustrating the apparently brittle, static entrenchment of literati culture — culminating in this example with Zhao Mengfu — within the Ming polity.

In this book, we have also seen Chinese art history in action by observing how scrolls as material objects became, in the early Yuan, active sites of transformation. We have watched the changes visited upon such works of art, how they were inscribed into the *processus* of history in accompanying colophon sets and in book records. Thus, beyond the artworks themselves, colophons and the paraphernalia of transmission have formed primary historical sources in this study stretching into the Qing dynasty.

We have occasionally touched on copies of Zhao’s paintings by later establishment artists. We will end this Afterword, bringing that ‘tradition’ up to date, by pointing out some of the contemporary artworks that reformulate Zhao’s paintings as iconic old masterworks. Coming to the contemporary ‘Zhao Mengfu’, it is the landscapes that may be the most recognisable paintings of the oeuvre and the ones to have inspired, if that is the *mot juste*, contemporary artists. In Hong Lei’s photo montage, *After Zhao Mengfu’s Autumn Colours on the Qiao and Hua Mountains* (fig. E.2; cf. fig. 3.9), which is actually based on photographs taken of the artist’s home city of Xuzhou, the rural idyll of ancient China has been transmogrified into an industrial wasteland. Mount Hua becomes a slag heap, Mount Qiao a factory. The fishermen’s burns and creeks are polluted industrial backwaters. It is quite realistic, for this is what much of Jinan and eastern China have come to look like in the early twenty-first century, including the flatlands and the brutal rural poverty surrounding these mountains. Yet, there are ironic, idyllic aspects even to the portrayal of this industrial vision. Firstly, it is a beautifully finished photograph. Also, simply to show a scene, the picture must edit out the cloak of air pollution that reduces visibility often to just a few hundred misty yards.



Another contemporary case is that of the Chinese-born New York artist Zhang Hongtu, or Hongtu Zhang, who has created hybrid paintings based on Monet's style and Zhao's composition, and vice versa. Zhang Hongtu's *Zhao Mengfu—Monet* (fig. E.3) presents the composition of the painting *Autumn Colours*, including all the Qianlong colophons on the painting itself, done in the Impressionist oil-painting style of Claude Monet, replete with shadows and light reflecting off the water. The work is revealing about a new meeting in world visual culture between Chinese and European canons of art history.

The artist who lives outside China and engages in cross-cultural stylistic dialogue, Zhang Hongtu, includes the Qianlong emperor's colophons and all they stand for in terms of legacy and tradition, whereas the China-based artist, Hong Lei, has little trouble airbrushing out both the emperor and that history. But both latch on the iconic value of *Autumn Colours*. Thus, while Zhao Mengfu's literary art is the muse for contemporary creativity both within and outside China, this may not necessarily owe to any revivifying power or imperishability that his art might embody in traditional Chinese culture, but rather to his iconic status as a controversial, pivotal figure in Chinese art history.

E.2 (top) Hong Lei,
*After Zhao Mengfu's
Autumn Colours
on the Qiao and
Hua Mountains*.
Photomontage. Type-C
print, 2003. 22 x 120
cm. Ed. 6. Courtesy
Aura Gallery, Beijing.

E.3 Zhang Hongtu,
Zhao Mengfu—Monet.
Oil on canvas.

APPENDIX I

The Official Biography

Source: 'Zhao Mengfu', from 'Exemplary Biographies, *juan* 59' in the *Yuanshi*.¹

Note: Paragraphs are numbered for reference.

1 Zhao Mengfu, whose *zi* was Ziang, was a descendant of Song Taizu's [r. 960–975] son Defang, the prince of Qin. His great-great-great-grandfather was the Xuanxi Prince, Ziyong, and his great-great-grandfather was the Chongxianjing Prince, Bogui. Emperor Gaozong [1107–87], having no sons of his own, put a son of Ziyong's on the throne, namely Xiaozong. Bogui, his elder brother, was bestowed a domicile at Huzhou, which is why Mengfu was a man of that city. Mengfu's great-grandfather Shichui, his grandfather Xiyong and father Yuyan, all served the Song and rose to high office. Under the present Yuan dynasty, because Zhao Mengfu himself received honours, his ascendant Shichui was bestowed the posthumous title of reader-in-waiting in the Jixian Academy, Xiyong became chief academician-official for rites, and they were both enfeoffed as dukes of Wuxing Prefecture, while Yuyan was honoured as great scholar of the Jixian Academy and enfeoffed as duke-of-state of Wei.

2 Mengfu showed intelligence and perspicacity as a child. After reading a book for the first time he was able to recite it and had only to grasp a brush before being able to write perfectly. At the age of fourteen, on account of his father's rank, he became eligible for an hereditary official post, and having passed an examination in the appointments bureau of the Board of Personnel, was awarded a position as aide-de-camp to the prefect of Zhenzhou. After the fall of the Song, he resided at home and increasingly applied himself to his studies.

3 In Zhiyuan 23 [1286], the censor Cheng Jufu received an imperial command to seek out and vet the reclusive talents of Jiangnan. He discovered Mengfu and presented him to the emperor. Being an outstanding talent and a luminary character, a man who would not have been out of place among immortals, Emperor Shizu [Khubilai] was pleased as soon as he saw him and commanded him to sit in a position superior to that of the minister of the left, Ye Li. Some

said that it was inappropriate for Mengfu, a son of the Song imperial family, to be in such close proximity to the emperor, but the emperor would not hear their complaint. Indeed, the emperor immediately sent him to the Chancellery, commanding Mengfu to draft an edict to be promulgated to the nation. When the emperor read it, he was delighted and said: 'You have grasped what I had in mind to say'.

The emperor commanded the hundred officials to congregate in the Board of Punishments to deliberate upon a matter of law. A majority was of the opinion that in cases of those who have amassed stolen goods, the death penalty would be incurred at a value of two hundred strings of cash (*guan*) in the Zhiyuan [1264–94] paper currency. Mengfu argued: 'When the paper currency was first created, its value was fixed against that of silver, so that the fictive value of paper notes and the intrinsic value of silver guaranteed one another. Now, after more than twenty years, their respective values lie twenty or thirty times apart. This is the reason why the Zhongtong [1260–63] currency is being replaced with the Zhiyuan, and why in twenty years' time, the Zhiyuan will have to be replaced just as the Zhongtong now is. To introduce a law requiring the people to be able to calculate the relative exchange value of the currency would, I suspect, be too harsh. In ancient times, people settled their debts with rice and silk, which they dubbed two things of intrinsic value; rice and silk mutually guaranteed the values of silver taels and cash coins, which they dubbed two things of fictive value. Once this four-part system of exchange was established, although there were fluctuations in value from time to time, their mutual values did not diverge so far in the long run. The most appropriate way to calculate the financial threshold for capital crimes is against the value of silk. How could it be paper currency? The paper currencies produced under the Song invariably flowed over the border where they were taken up and used by the people of the Jin, never to return to the Song. Now, were anyone to propose that this should be the means to determine whether a person should live or die, it would seem to me he did not have a sufficiently profound grasp of the issue'. One colleague considered that Mengfu was young, only recently arrived from the south, unused to discussing the laws of state and unbalanced in his opinion, and he reprimanded Mengfu, saying: 'The court is now issuing the Zhiyuan currency so we are discussing the financial crimes of those who would break the law in terms of that currency. If you consider this to be wrong, it can only be because you wish to obstruct the proper circulation of the Zhiyuan currency'. Mengfu replied: 'This law relates to people's lives and the gravity of its discussion will determine whether men live or die. I received an

imperial summons to discuss it, and I would not dare to keep my counsel. Today the Zhongtong currency is practically worthless, so we replace it with the Zhiyuan currency. How can there be any sense in the statement that the Zhiyuan currency will never go the same way? If you, sir, do not act out of principle, you should be ashamed!’ His interlocutor turned the colour of shame. The emperor wished to put Mengfu in a position of great responsibility immediately, but his advisers frustrated his attempt.

4 In the sixth month of Zhiyuan 24 [1287], Mengfu was made a secretary in the Board of War, the government department responsible for the postal service throughout the country. At that time, the cost of providing room and board for official guests at postal stations had risen threefold, and since officials lacked sufficient means to provide these services, they were extracting funds by force from the people. Unable to control his distress at this, Mengfu put in a request to the Central Secretariat for a budget increase to meet it.

When there were snags preventing the introduction of the Zhiyuan paper currency, an edict was issued commanding Secretary of State Liu Xuan and Mengfu to travel post-haste to Jiangnan to investigate charges of incompetence against the senior provincial officials and to have lower level and provincial officials flogged as justice decreed. Mengfu received his orders, went, carried out his investigations and returned without having a single person flogged. Chief Minister Sangha interpreted this as a rebuke.

5 At that time a certain Wang Huchen denounced Zhao Quan, the governor of Pingjiang Circuit, for illegal activities. Wang Huchen was then sent to arrest Zhao Quan. Ye Li memorialised the emperor to say that it was inappropriate to send Wang Huchen, but the emperor would not hear him. Mengfu put forward his argument, saying: ‘Zhao Quan should face questioning, but when Huchen was previously in charge of that district, he forcibly bought people’s land and urged his retainers to make illegal profits. Quan clashed with him about these things several times, which is why Huchen detests him. If Wang Huchen goes, it will inevitably bring the downfall of Zhao Quan, but if the matter is pursued until the truth comes out, that will leave no room for anyone to doubt the outcome’. The emperor took his point and sent another envoy.

As soon as the bell sounded at court, Sangha would take his seat in the ministry. When six lower-ranking officials arrived after the bell, he had them flogged. On one occasion, Zhao arrived late. The judge immediately led him away

to receive his flogging, but he entered the hall² and informed Minister of the Right Ye Li, who said: 'In ancient times, such punishments were not meted out to senior officials so as to instill a proper sense of shame in them and to inculcate in them moderation and propriety. To shame the great ministers is indeed to shame the entire court'. Sangha calmed Mengfu and had him taken out, and from that time on only lower-ranking officials were subject to flogging.

Another day, as he was passing along the eastern wall of the imperial city where the road was narrow, Mengfu's horse lost its footing and slipped into the moat. Sangha heard about it and told it to the emperor, who gave orders for the imperial city wall to be moved 2 *zhang* to the west.

When the emperor heard Mengfu was in need of money, he gave him 50 *ding* in the paper currency.

6 In Zhiyuan 27 [1290], he was transferred to a new post as scholar in the Jixian Academy. This year there was a series of earthquakes, which were especially powerful in Beijing. There were landslides and black, sandy water spewed out, flooding the land. The dead and injured numbered several hundred thousand, and the emperor became gravely concerned at this. At the time of one quake, the emperor was out hunting [close to the capital] at Longhutai [Dragon Tiger Tower]; he sent Arghun Sali back post-haste to convene a plenary meeting of the officials of the Jixian and Hanlin Academies so that they might determine the cause of the disaster. In their deliberations, they were too afraid to implicate Sangha and merely dredged up lines from the *Yijing* and *Zuozhuan* and writings on the Five Elements saying that the regulation of human affairs and the responses to Heaven's transformations were in conflict. None dared voice the link with current government policy. Prior to this, Sangha had charged Xin Du, Wang Ji and others with fiscal management of the land tax throughout the empire. They had already raised several million but had yet to gather several tens of millions more. This was causing the most severe deprivations among the people. Some of them had nothing to live on, yet relatives of suicides were being held accountable. When others fled into the mountains and forests, soldiers were sent to apprehend them. No one had dared to put a stop to these practices. As Mengfu and Arghun Sali both took a strongly benevolent view, Mengfu advised Sali to memorialise the emperor presenting a plan to rescue the empire, arguing that the people were exhausted and oppressive taxes should be alleviated, and that if it were made so then these heavenly omens and signs would cease. Arghun Sali sent up the memorial using Mengfu's words. The emperor adopted it. The edict had been

drafted but was not complete when Sangha [discovering its contents] became enraged and declared that this could not be the emperor's intention. Mengfu replied, saying: 'In cases where the land tax has not yet been raised, the people have died or been utterly destroyed, so how do you mean to obtain it from them? If the tax collection is not cancelled now, when people speak of this in future they will suppose that the responsibility for the shortfall of several tens of millions of land tax receipts rested with the Chancellery, and how could it not be that you, as chief minister, were deeply implicated?' Sangha understood his point, and thus the people began to obtain respite.

7 The emperor asked Mengfu for his opinion as to the talents and shortcomings of Ye Li and Liu Mengyan. Mengfu replied, 'Mengyan was close to my father and is a most sympathetic person. Brimming with self-confidence, he is a good planner and a capable decision-maker. He has the qualities of a great minister. As for Ye Li, everything that he has read, I have read; what he knows and can do, I too know and can do'. The emperor replied, 'So you think Mengyan more worthy than Li? Mengyan may have come top in the civil service examinations under the Song, and may have risen to the position of chief minister, but at that time Jia Sidao was deceiving the nation and duping the emperor, and Mengyan relied on him for his own prestige. Li was then a commoner who served in the palace, therefore he is worthier than Mengyan. Because Mengyan was your father's friend, you were too timid to give voice to his mistake, but you may compose a poem to censure him'. The poem Mengfu composed contained the lines 'In the past he did make a mistake, that we can acknowledge / But he is loyal and upright in serving the august Yuan'. The emperor sighed with pleasure at this.

8 Mengfu confidentially talked to Sali, saying: 'When the emperor discussed Jia Sidao's deception of the nation, he blamed Liu Mengyan for not speaking out. Sangha's crimes are worse than Sidao's, and yet we do not speak. How will we deny it when, at some moment in the future, the emperor holds us to account for not doing so? Now I am just an obscure official, and he will certainly pay no heed to what I say. But the officials-in-waiting are learned men who understand propriety and principle, and out of conscience have great integrity, and, what is more, are intimately trusted by the emperor — none more than you, sir. Now, to risk one's life before the emperor to save the common people from destitution and penury is a matter for a person of true humanity. You must carry it off!' When Sali went before the emperor, he enumerated Sangha's crimes and venality. The emperor

flew into a rage and ordered his bodyguard to beat Sali in the face. As blood poured from his mouth and nose, he knelt and bowed before the emperor. After a short while, the emperor recalled Sali and questioned him. He stood by his earlier words. Some of the other great ministers supported his accusations; the emperor had Sangha tried and executed, and put an end to his clique in the Chancellery. Many senior officials were dismissed on account of their part in his crimes.

9 The emperor wished to send Mengfu to audit the administration of the Central Secretariat. When he forcefully declined, the emperor gave him the right to enter and leave the palace without restriction. Whenever he saw the emperor, they would always speak informally about matters of government, and the emperor considered these discussions to be very profitable.

The emperor [once] said: 'Are you a descendant of Zhao Taizu or Taizong [r. 976–97]?' He replied: 'Your servant is an eleventh-generation descendant of Taizu'. The emperor said: 'Do you know anything about Taizu's handling of state affairs?' Mengfu replied that he did not, to which the emperor said: 'Taizu's handling of government affairs may be cited as examples — and I know them all'. Mengfu cautioned himself that his prolonged presence at the emperor's side was bound to make others jealous, and he made a vehement request for a posting outside the capital.

In Zhiyuan 29 [1292], he went to become [deputy] governor of Jinan Circuit. At that time the governorship was vacant, so Mengfu had sole charge of the administration. Official business was pure and simple. There was a man called Yuan Xian'er, who was an official in the regional Salt Monopoly, from where, unable to handle the difficulties of his situation, he absconded. His father searched for him and found what he took to be his son's corpse, although it was someone else, and subsequently accused one of his son's colleagues of having killed him. The person wrongly accused admitted to the crime. Mengfu doubted this and suspended the case without decision. A month later, Xian'er returned of his own accord, and throughout the region Mengfu gained a reputation as an insightful judge.

Surveillance Commissioner Weihacihusun, who was investigating and rooting out corruption, reckoned that Mengfu was not enabling or facilitating him in this endeavour, and for that reason made Mengfu his target. The matter was only resolved when, in order to take part in the editing of the *Veritable Records of Shizu* (*Shizu shilu*), Mengfu was summoned to return to the capital.

Mengfu delayed his return to office for a long time. He was appointed to the governorship of Fenzhou but did not take this up. He received an imperial

command to transcribe the Buddhist Tripitaka in gold ink, after which he was appointed scholar in the Jixian Academy and superintendent in charge of Confucian Education in Jiang-Zhe and Other Regions. He was appointed governor of Taizhou but never assumed that post.

10 In Zhida 3 [1310], Mengfu was summoned to the capital, where he was to be appointed a scholar-in-waiting in the Hanlin Academy. With other academicians, he was to compose a text celebrating sacrifices at the southern suburb and to present names for a new palace to the throne. When the discussions produced no consensus, Mengfu put in a request to quit. [The future emperor] Renzong was in the Eastern Palace [as crown prince] when he first heard Mengfu's name. After ascending to the throne [in 1311], he commanded him to take the posts of lecturer-in-waiting at the Jixian Academy and *zhongfeng dafu*.

In Yanyou 1 [1314], he was transferred to the post of lecturer-in-waiting in the Hanlin Academy, and then lecturer-in-waiting in the Jixian Academy and *zide dafu*. In Yanyou 3 [1316], he became executive academician in charge of edicts in the Hanlin Academy and *ronglu dafu*. The emperor regarded him with deep affection and called him by his *zi* [Ziang], rather than his given name. When the emperor was once discussing scholars of great literary talent with his attendant ministers, he compared Mengfu to Li Bai of the Tang and to Su Zizhan [Shi] of the Song. On another occasion, the emperor called him a model of constancy and probity, a scholar of broad learning, an incomparable artist and [an adept] who had fathomed the precepts of Buddhism and Daoism — surpassing others in every case. There were some who were unhappy at this and sought to distance him, but the emperor behaved from the first as if he had not heard them. Others sent up a memorial to the throne arguing that it was inappropriate for him to hear what was being recorded in the national history. The emperor replied to them with the words 'Zhao Ziang is someone directly promoted by Emperor Shizu. I treat him especially politely. I placed him in the academies, where he is in charge of writing texts of the kind that will be passed down for generations. What is all this fuss about?'

When the emperor once wished to bestow 500 *ding* of paper currency on Mengfu, he instructed his minister-in-waiting, saying: 'The Central Secretariat always says the National Treasury has insufficient funds, or that funds must be maintained and not given away, so divert money from the funding for the Puqing Temple and give it to Mengfu'.

When Mengfu did not report to the palace for several months in a row, the emperor enquired of his attendants as to the reason. They all replied that in his old age he had an abhorrence of the cold. The emperor gave orders that he be sent fur-lined winter clothes from the imperial palace.

11 In the beginning, on the recommendation of Cheng Jufu, Mengfu took up his family and became a court official. Later, after Jufu had served as executive academician of the Hanlin Academy, he requested leave to retire from office. Mengfu was to replace him but only assumed control of the academy after first going to pay his respects at Jufu's house. At the time, people remarked upon this as a cause célèbre in officialdom.

In Yanyou 6 [1319], Mengfu obtained leave to return south. The emperor sent an envoy bearing gifts of clothing and cash to humour him into returning to court, but pleading ill health, Mengfu never returned. In Zhizhi 1 [1321], the emperor Yingzong [r. 1321–23] sent an envoy to his house with a command to transcribe the *Classic of Filial Piety* [*Xiaojing*]. In Zhizhi 2 [1322], he received imperial favours to the extent of two suits of clothing. He died in the sixth month of the year, aged sixty-nine; he was subsequently enfeoffed as duke-of-state of Wei and posthumously honoured with the name Wenmin [cultural perspicacity].

12 Mengfu's writings include the *Book of Documents, Annotated*, as well as *Origins of the Zither* and *Origins of Music*, which are all wonderfully articulate. His poetry and his prose are both pure and original, and to read them one has the sensation of rising above the mundane. There is nothing he did not master throughout the history of calligraphy, including the various forms of seal, clerical, regular, running and cursive scripts, and it is on account of his calligraphy that he is celebrated throughout the land. There was even a monk from India who came 30,000 *li*, requested Mengfu's calligraphy and then returned to treasure it in his own country. He also painted in the genres of landscape, trees and rocks, flowers and bamboo, and men and horses and was extremely accomplished in all. The late Yang Zai of the History Office described Mengfu's talent as having been hidden by calligraphy and painting: those who knew his calligraphy and painting did not know of his literature, and those who knew of his literature did not know of his study of economics. People have said these are knowing words.

13 His sons Yong and Yi both made names for themselves as calligraphers and painters.

Notes

Introduction

- 1 Bao Shichen, *Yizhou shuangji* [Pair of oars on the boat of art], in Zhu Jia, ed., *Yizhou shuangji shuzheng* (Kowloon: Zhonghua shuju Xianggang fenju, 1978), p. 44; see also Yoshida and Yoshida, *Chō Sugō*, p. 155.
- 2 See Appendix I, para. 12.
- 3 Fenollosa, *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, vol. 2, p. 53.
- 4 Laurence Binyon, 'A Landscape by Chao Meng-fu in the British Museum', *T'oung Pao*, series 2, vol. 6, no. 1 (1905): 56–60. This landscape appears to be an early Qing dynasty pastiche with little connection to the work of Zhao. On the *Admonitions*, see McCausland, contrib. ed., *Gu Kaizhi and the Admonitions Scroll* (London: British Museum Press, 2003).
- 5 See Shane McCausland, 'Nihonga Meets Gu Kaizhi: A Japanese Copy of a Chinese Painting in the British Museum', *The Art Bulletin* (December 2005): 688–713.
- 6 For collections of conference papers, see *Zhao Mengfu yanjiu lunwenji* (1995) and Xu and Ma, *Shuhua wei ji* (2007); for various books on the art of Zhao Mengfu, see publications by Chu-tsing Li. The monographs are by Dai Lizhu, *Zhao Mengfu* and the late Yoshida Ryōji (with Yoshida Minoru).
- 7 The students include Arthur Mu-sen Kao, Curtis Brizendine, Ankeney Weitz and Diana Yeong-chau Chou; see bibliography. Other relevant studies include those by Jonathan Hay, James Cahill, the mainland Chinese and international contributors to the compilations in the previous note, Yoshida Ryōji, Dai Lizhu, Marilyn Wong Gleysteen (as Marilyn Wong Fu), Wang Lianqi, Shih Shou-chien, Helmut Brinker, Richard Vinograd and Wen C. Fong.
- 8 Arthur Waley, *An Introduction to the Study of Chinese Painting* (London: Ernest Benn, 1923), p. 237.

Chapter 1 A Life Portrait of the Calligrapher

- 1 Zhao Mengfu's official biography in *Yuanshi*, *juan* 172, is translated in the Appendix I; see para. 3. All translations herein are by the author unless otherwise noted. For the text of the *Yuanshi* biography, see also Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, pp. 276–280.
- 2 Yang, 'Da Yuan gu Hanlin xueshi chengzhi Ronglu dafu zhizhigao jian xiu guoshi Zhao gong xingzhuang' (dated 1322.8; hereafter 'Xingzhuang'), in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji, fulu*, pp. 267–276. Zhao's impressive physique and appearance are documented on p. 273; Khubilai's remark is on p. 268. The term *shenxian zhong ren* had associations with stylish individuals of the Eastern Jin dynasty (see, e.g., Fang, *Jinshu*, *juan* 38: 'Biography of Wang Gong'). *Shenxian zhuan* (Biographies of immortals) is the title of a lost book by the Jin-dynasty Daoist adept Ge Hong; for references, see Morohashi 8:24673.324–331.
- 3 Yoshida and Yoshida, *Chō Sugō*, p. 9. Another biographical portrait is built up by Ren Daobin in the introduction to his *Zhao Mengfu xinian*.

- 4 Yoshida and Yoshida, *Chō Sugō*, p. 10.
- 5 'Meiren ge qiushui', in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, *juan* 3, p. 38.
- 6 Wang Shizhen (1526–90), writing of scores of letters to Zhongfeng Mingben (*Yanzhoushanren sibu xugao*, *juan* 161: 'Mi Zhao si tie'), describes Zhao's calligraphy as girlish and pretty (*wan li ai* 婉麗愛). In Bao Shichen's evaluation, he was seductive and simpering like a pretty sing-song girl; see 'Lixia bitan (jimao)', in Bao Shichen, *Yizhou shuangji*, in Zhu Jia, ed., *Yizhou shuangji shuzheng* (Kowloon: Zhonghua shuju Xianggang fenju, 1978), p. 47.
- 7 'Xian shilang qianbiao', in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, *juan* 8, pp. 175–177; the reference is on p. 177.
- 8 See, e.g., Appendix I, para. 3.
- 9 Zhao's contemporary Dai Biaoyuan stated in a colophon of 1286 that it was because he was a prince-descendant, owning no paintings of his own, that he had become such a fine copyist; see *Shanyuan ji*, *juan* 19: 'Ti Zhao Ziang mo Longmian Feiqi xishe tu'; cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 40. Qian Xuan also used the term: see, e.g., 'Qian Xuan lin Lu Tanwei Jinshu rulai xiang juan', in Zhang Chou, *Qinghe shuhua fang*, *jiji* (cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 6), and the note under Qian Xuan's 'Self-inscribed Picture of Peach-blossom Spring' in Chen Yan, *Yuanshi jishi* (reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), *juan* 31.
- 10 Appendix I, para. 9. On the Song royal family, see John W. Chaffee, *Branches of Heaven: A History of the Imperial Clan of Sung China*, Harvard East Asian Monograph 183 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999).
- 11 Appendix I, para. 2.
- 12 Yao Shi, colophon to Zhao Mengfu, *The Mind Landscape of Xie Youyu*; see **fig. 3.5**. Wang Xizhi denied he had the 'ambition' to be a great courtier (*langmiao zhi*); see his biography in Fang, *Jinshu*, *juan* 80, vol. 7, p. 2094. For further references, see Morohashi 4:9437.19ff.
- 13 Fang Hui, *Tongjiang xu ji*, *juan* 31: 'Song Zhao Ziang ti diao xie Jin jing'; cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 83.
- 14 'Renwu', *Sancai tuhui*, *juan* 8, p. 11a, Wang Qi (comp.), *Sancai tuhui* [Pictorial encyclopedia of the Three Realms], 155 vols., published 1609. Reprint of Wanli ed. in Shanghai Library, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1988.
- 15 The handscroll is illustrated and discussed in Weidner, *Latter Days of the Law*, no. 75; see also Lee, *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*.
- 16 For a study on Mingben and his calligraphy, see Lauer, *A Master of His Own*.
- 17 Appendix I, para. 12; Yang, 'Xingzhuang', in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, p. 275.
- 18 Appendix I, paras. 5 and 10 (500 *dīng* from Renzong). Regarding the purpose of Khubilai's gift, I am not aware of a textual source for this assertion, which was made to me by local Huzhou historians of the Zhao Mengfu Research Society.
- 19 See Kong Qi, *Zhizheng zhi ji*; quoted in Chen, *Yuanshi jishi*, *juan* 8, 'Zhao Mengfu'; Yoshida and Yoshida, *Chō Sugō*, pp. 131 ff. In the anecdote, Zhao was gently teased by Guan Daosheng for this love of money.
- 20 See the colophon to Jiang Kui's *Lanting kao*, discussed later in *The Legacy of the Southern Song Literati*; Appendix I, para. 11, where the emperor sends Zhao furs on learning of his loathing of the winter cold.

- 21 According to Guan Daosheng's tomb inscription ('Weiguofuren Guan shi muzhiming', in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, pp. 244–245 [reference on p. 244]; partially cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 190), in the winter of 1318 the emperor sent imperial physicians to treat her for a chronic condition from which she was suffering named *jiaoqibing*. This illness is identified by some historians of medicine as beriberi. I am grateful to Vivienne Lo for this detail.
- 22 For a study of Zhao Yong's artistic activities, see Gao Xidan, 'Zhao Yong meishu huodong kao', in Xu and Ma, *Shuhua wei ji*, pp. 180–197.
- 23 An earlier version of this portrait, apparently by Yu Zhiding (1647–after 1709) and possibly its model, is reproduced on the brochure of the Zhao Mengfu Art Museum in Huzhou, Zhejiang Province. Despite research, the location of the original is not clear. It is not in the Shanghai Museum, or either of the Palace Museums in Beijing and Taipei; it is likely, however, to be in a mainland museum.
- 24 After the translation in R. H. Ellsworth, *Later Chinese Painting and Calligraphy, 1800–1950* (3 vols. New York: Random House, 1987), cat. no. P003 (vol. 1, pp. 75–76; illustrated in vol. 2, p. 4).
- 25 The official biography (Appendix I, end of para. 9) indicates that he was on leave from office, but Yang Zai states that he was 'at home' ('Xingzhuang', in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, p. 273). *Shigutang shuhua huikao, shukao, juan* 16, 'Zhao Jixian Nangu er tie' (cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 80) indicates that he travelled via his estate at Deqing to the provincial capital early in the new year.
- 26 Sources as in the previous note.
- 27 On the names and their sources in text see Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, pp. 5 ff.
- 28 See Appendix I; discussions of Jia Sidao, Ye Li and Liu Mengyan in, e.g., para. 7.
- 29 Appendix I, para. 9.
- 30 Zhao and Guan's children are listed in Zhao Mengfu's 'spirit road' inscription by Ouyang Xuan, *Guizhai wen ji, juan* 9, 'Weiguo Zhao Wenmin gong shendao bei'; cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 16.
- 31 Zhao Mengfu's fourteen sisters' names do not follow this pattern. In 1297, Zhao listed all his brothers' names and official titles, and all his sisters' names and husbands' names and titles in 'Xian shilang qianbiao', in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, pp. 176–177. Zhao Mengfu's name has been further altered since the simplification of the script began in the 1950s. The character *fu* 頤 does not appear in the concordance of simplified characters on most computer systems. As in the case of the *yu* 譽 of Zhao's father's name, Zhao Yuyan (which is sometimes given as '与上言下', 'yu above yan below'), it is sometimes fudged as '兆左页右', or 'zhao left ye right'. One common alternative is the use of the homophone *fu* 俯. Another is to use the unsimplified character or just to omit it.
- 32 This information was provided by local historians of the Zhao Mengfu Research Society and appears to be based on a note in the (eighteenth century?) Huzhou gazetteer (*Huzhoufu zhi*) that placed the Oupoting at the site of 'the modern Qidumiao [Banner Temple]'; cited in Chen, *Yuanshi jishi, juan* 8, 'Zhao Mengfu'.
- 33 *Songxuezhai wenji* and the musical texts are mentioned in Yang, 'Xingzhuang', in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, p. 275; for the actual texts on music, see *juan* 6 in the modern edition of Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, pp. 122 ff. For the instrument names, see Jiang Yikui (*jinsi* 1594), *Yaoshantang waiji*; cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 7.

- 34 Appendix I, para. 10.
- 35 See Yoshida and Yoshida, *Chō Sugō*, pp. 3–6.
- 36 This site is recorded in Zhao's epitaph for his wife, 'Weiguofuren Guan shi muzhiming', in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, p. 245, where it is stated that the site was Guan's choice.
- 37 See 'Xian shilang qianbiao', in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, pp. 175–177.
- 38 'Xian shilang qianbiao', in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, pp. 175–177; see also Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, pp. 14–15.
- 39 Yoshida and Yoshida (*Chō Sugō*, pp. 15–16) discuss a letter from Zhao Mengfu to Surveillance Commissioner Yizhai, possibly the Lu Yizhai (b. 1258) referred to in a poem by Cheng Jufu, which mentions that Mengti was employed as a professor far away in Changshi and requests that Yizhai use his influence to have him posted to Hangzhou, nearer the family.
- 40 'Wu xiong guangzhi', in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, pp. 243–244 (reference on p. 243).
- 41 Yang, 'Xingzhuang', in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, p. 268.
- 42 *Zhuo geng lu*, *juan* 4, 'Xiang shu'; for this and another late Yuan source of the same prediction, see Yoshida and Yoshida, *Chō Sugō*, p. 22.
- 43 On the Yuan military establishment, see Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing, *The Military Establishment of the Yuan Dynasty*, Harvard East Asian Monograph 77 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 1978).
- 44 Sangha has a biography in Rachewiltz, *In the Service of the Khan*. Zhao's 'Xingzhuang' and official biographies are also replete with information on his dealings with Sangha.
- 45 Zhao Mengfu, 'Xian shilang qianbiao', in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, *juan* 8, pp. 175–177; also cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 31.
- 46 Yang, 'Xingzhuang', in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, p. 268; also cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 25 (after the death of Zhao Yuyan) and p. 29 (after the fall of the Song).
- 47 Li, 'The Role of Wu-hsing in Early Yuan Artistic Development under Mongol Rule'. For Zhou Mi, see Weitz, *Zhou Mi's Record of Clouds and Mist Passing before One's Eyes*.
- 48 Mou Yinglong's stele obituary is in Yu, *Daoyuan xuegu lu*, *juan* 15; for a short biography, see Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 45.
- 49 For a short biography of Yao Shi, see Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 47.
- 50 E.g., 'Si mu shi he Shunju ju', in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, *juan* 1, p. 14; 'Song Yao Zijing jiaoshou Shaoxing', *juan* 3, p. 36. The other four 'talents' are Zhang Fuheng, Wang Zizhong, Chen Wuyi and Chen Zhongxin.
- 51 'Song Wu Youqing nan huai xu', in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, *juan* 6, p. 131; also cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, pp. 46–47, where short biographies of these men can also be found.
- 52 Kong, *Zhizheng zhi ji*, *juan* 3, p. 31a; discussed in Weitz, 'Collecting and Connoisseurship in Early Yuan China', pp. 80–81.
- 53 Jay, *A Change in Dynasties*; Weitz, *Zhou Mi's Record of Clouds and Mist Passing before One's Eyes*.
- 54 Among Daoist masters was Du Daojian, for whom Zhao painted a portrait of Laozi and transcribed the 'Biography of Laozi'. Recorded in *Shigutang shukao*, *juan* 16: 'Zhao Jixian Nangu Xiansheng tie'; cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 39.

- 55 On this topic see Mote, ‘Confucian Eremitism of the Yuan Period’.
- 56 Appendix I, para. 3; Yang, ‘Xingzhuang’, in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, p. 268. See also Cheng Jufu, *Xuelou ji*, ‘Cheng gong xingzhuang’; cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 40. For Zhao’s stele inscription for Cheng Jufu, see Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, pp. 162–163. For Xu Yan’s protégés, including Liu Jiansun, son of the loyalist Liu Chenweng, and Zhang Ying, son-in-law of the loyalist Mou Yan, see Weitz 2002.
- 57 Two examples of colophons by Cheng Jufu (of unconfirmed authenticity) are attached to Zhou Wenju attributions in the National Palace Museum, Taipei: *The Parting of Li Ling and Su Wu* and *Minghuang Playing Chess*, both illustrated in *Gugong shuhua tumu* (15 vols.; Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1989–), vol. 15, pp. 117 and 127.
- 58 Zhang Chou, *Qinghe shuhua fang, chouji*: ‘Wang Youjun Mianshi tie’; cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 39.
- 59 See, for example, a pair of farewell poems presented to Jiagu Zhiqi in 1282 (‘Zeng bie Jiagu gong, er shou’, in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, *juan* 2, p. 16; cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 31) and one to Zhang Kongsun (1233–?) in 1285 (‘Song Zhang Mengfu langzong huan chao’, in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, *juan* 4, p. 71; cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 38). For Jiagu Zhiqi’s attempt to recruit Zhao to an editing post in the National History Office of the Hanlin Academy, see Yang, ‘Xingzhuang’, in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, p. 268.
- 60 Yang, ‘Xingzhuang’, in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, pp. 267–268.
- 61 Zhao’s essays on music include the *Qinyuan lulue*, of around 1284 (prefaced by Dai Biaoyuan; see Dai’s *Shanyuan Dai Xiansheng wenji*, *juan* 19; quoted in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, pp. 34–35). That essay (as *Qinyuan*) and another on ‘The Origin of Music’ (‘Yueyuan’) appear in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, pp. 122–124.
- 62 For a first draft of *Collected Notes on the Shangshu* (*Shangshu jizhu*), see *Shigutang shuhua huikao, shukao*, *juan* 16: ‘Zhao Ziang chongji Shangshu jizhu xu bing huaxiang ce’; cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 30). The annotation of the *Shangshu* is recorded by Yang, ‘Xingzhuang’, in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, p. 275; see also Appendix I, para. 12.
- 63 E.g., a 1293 request for a transcription of *Qixing si shi* (*Four Poems on Autumn Elation*) by Du Fu done in large Gaozong-style running script for a certain Mr Shen, which is said to be preserved in Japan (Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 32).
- 64 A similar view towards a piece of calligraphy by Huizong is expressed by Xu Yan in a colophon dated 1288. See Zhou Nanrui, *Tianxia tongwenji*, *juan* 33, *tongjia*, pp. 105a–106a; quoted by Weitz, ‘Collecting and Connoisseurship in Early Yuan China’, p. 132. See also Zhao Mengfu’s fawning colophon written in the spring of 1307 to the Song emperor Ningzong’s *Shupu* (recorded in *Xiangguanzhai yushang bian* 1: ‘Song Ningzong “Shupu”’; quoted in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, pp. 119–120). On Huizong, see Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Maggie Bickford, eds., *Emperor Huizong and Late Northern Song China: The Politics of Culture and the Culture of Politics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, distributed by Harvard University Press, 2006).
- 65 Jiang Kui’s theories are discussed by Shuen-fu Lin, ‘Chiang K’uei’s Treatises on Calligraphy’, in Bush and Murck, *Theories of the Arts in China*. On Zhu Xi, see, for example, Zhu Xi [as Chu Hsi], *Learning to Be a Sage*, translated and annotated by Daniel K. Gardner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

- 66 Compare John Hay's link of calligraphy and the body with medicine in 'The Human Body as a Microcosmic Source of Macrocosmic Values in Calligraphy', in Bush and Murck, *Theories of the Arts in China*.
- 67 *Xu Shupu*; translation adapted from Chang and Frankel, *Two Chinese Treatises on Calligraphy*, p. 18.
- 68 Several examples may be cited: 'The [Confucian classic] *Yi jing* [*Book of Change*] says: "When you contemplate the natural patterns of Heaven, you can examine the vicissitudes of successive periods; when you contemplate the cultural patterns of men, you can transform the whole world". How much more is it true that the marvellous features of calligraphy are related to the individual'. '[W]riting ... records rites and music, is as beautiful as immortals and has infinite variety, like sculpted clay figures, and practical use, like smelting metal'. 'Gentlemen who love the unusual and esteem what is rare appreciate in this art of calligraphy a great variety of shapes and styles; people who investigate minute subtleties and probe abstruse mysteries find in it profound secrets of change. Writers borrow the dregs of its wine; connoisseurs distil its essence. It is indeed an integration of reason; it is a sure bond linking all kinds of talented and intelligent men who excel in it. Certainly it is not for nothing that its essence has been preserved and its appreciation kept intact'. *Shupu*, in Chang and Frankel, *Two Chinese Treatises on Calligraphy*, pp. 13 and 5.
- 69 The full text reads: 'More than twenty years ago when I was visited by Old Ye ... in the capital, he asked me to write out the *History of the Lanting*. In the midst of constant dust storms my writing was imperfect — it was an unforgettable feeling that I carry with me to this day. Zhang Chenchuan of Xuancheng obtained this scroll from Old Ye's place, brought it round and showed it me — it was as if I was dreaming. In the past, I modelled my small standard script on Zhong You and Xiao Ziyun, but later felt myself that I had made feint progress. Therefore, when others see this they think it fake; they truly do not know how things change with the years.... Zhida second year, the cycle at *jijou*, twelfth month, fourth day, written by Mengfu'.
- 70 A reference to Sun Guoting's 'five discords'. See his *Shupu*, in Chang and Frankel, *Two Chinese Treatises on Calligraphy*, pp. 7 and 16.
- 71 Zhao Mengjian, 'Zhao Zigu shufa lun' [Zhao Mengjian's discussion of calligraphy], in Bian Yongyu, ed., *Shigutang huihua huigao* [Classified record of calligraphy and painting of Shigu Hall] (1682; reprinted edition, Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, 1956), vol. 1, 3:506; translated by Wen C. Fong in *Images of the Mind*, p. 95.
- 72 On Huang Tingjian, see Fu Shen, *Traces of the Brush: Studies in Chinese Calligraphy* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1977); Fu Shen, 'Huang T'ing-chien's Calligraphy and His Scroll for Chang Ta-t'ung: A Masterpiece Written in Exile' (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1976).
- 73 For a survey of Southern Song imperial calligraphy, see Hui-liang Chu, 'Imperial Calligraphy of the Southern Song', in Murck and Fong, *Words and Images*, pp. 289–312.
- 74 Amy McNair's study of the calligraphy of Yan Zhenqing in the Northern Song period argues how the 'political capital' of Yan was first fully recognised in the eleventh century. See McNair, *Upright Brush*.
- 75 See Jay, *A Change in Dynasties*.
- 76 On Zhao Mengfu's talents, see Yang, 'Xingzhuang', in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, p. 268. Zhao's later visit to pay his respects to Cheng Jufu upon taking over from him in the Hanlin Academy is noted as a cause célèbre; Appendix I, para. 11.

- 77 For Anige, see Jing, ‘The Portraits of Khubilai Khan and Chabi by Anige (1245–1306)’, pp. 40–86.
- 78 Appendix I, paras. 3 and 5; Yang, ‘Xingzhuang’, in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, esp. p. 269; Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 45. On another occasion, Renzong bestowed on him 500 strings of Zhongtong cash; Yang, ‘Xingzhuang’, in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, p. 274.
- 79 Sources as above, note 18; for the burial, see Yang, ‘Xingzhuang’, in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, p. 275.
- 80 This event is merely outlined in the official biography, for which, see Appendix I, para. 5; for a fuller account see Yang, ‘Xingzhuang’, in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, p. 269.
- 81 This Guo was from Jincheng (near modern Datong, Shanxi); he is not to be confused with Zhao’s follower, the painter Guo Bi, whose *zi* was Tianxi. Zhao and Guo Youzhi were already friends in 1286: on the eve of Zhao’s departure for the capital, he revealed to Guo Youzhi in a letter that he was ‘unspeakably nervous’ at the prospect. This letter and another, datable to 1288.12.29, are extant in Japan (see Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, pp. 49–50).
- 82 Famous pieces that Guo Youzhi owned at one time or another include the Shenlong *Orchid Pavilion Preface*; Wang Xianzhi’s *Baomu tie*; Ouyang Xun’s *Mengdian tie* and *Ziqi tie*. For a fuller account, see Zhou Mi, *Yunyan guoyan lu* (hereafter YGYL), in Weitz, ‘Collecting and Connoisseurship in Early Yuan China’, and *Zhou Mi’s* Record of Clouds and Mist Passing before One’s Eyes.
- 83 Zhao’s colophon precedes Guo’s, which is dated 1287.9.15.
- 84 The manuscript is illustrated in *Shudao quanji*, vol. 15, nos. 43–44; see this entry for discussion as to dating. Gaozong’s colophon is illustrated on p. 171.
- 85 *Dadao tie* and Zhao’s colophon are illustrated in *Shudao quanji*, vol. 15: figs. 31 and 32, respectively. For the colophon text, see Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, p. 251.
- 86 See, e.g., the discussion in Lin, ‘Chiang K’uei’s Treatises on Calligraphy’.
- 87 A study of early Tang calligraphy is Goldberg, ‘Court Calligraphy of the Early T’ang Dynasty’, pp. 189–237.
- 88 This colophon is also known as *Shuaigeng tie*. Recorded in Wang Keyu, *Shanhu wang, shulu*, juan 20: ‘Ti “Huadusi Yong chanshi ta ming” ba’; cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 126. The rubbing version reproduced here (see also *Shudao quanji*, vol. 7, nos. 48–51) called ‘Wengshi Suzhai ben’ in the collection of Otani University Library, Kyoto, has Zhao’s seal and may be the version that originally had his colophon. For an illustration of this rubbing, see *Shudao quanji*, vol. 7, nos. 48–51; for an essay on this text, see Nakata Yūjiro’s in *Shudao quanji*, vol. 7, pp. 9–15.
- 89 An argument in Goldberg, ‘Court Calligraphy of the Early T’ang Dynasty’.
- 90 Sturman, *Mi Fu*, p. 170.
- 91 *Xu Shupu*; translation in Chang and Frankel, *Two Chinese Treatises on Calligraphy*, p. 18.
- 92 *Xu Shupu*; translation in Chang and Frankel, *Two Chinese Treatises on Calligraphy*, p. 17.
- 93 For Xianyu Shu, see Fu, ‘Hsien-yü Shu and His “Admonitions” Scroll of 1299’, and the same author’s ‘Impact of Re-unification’, in Langlois, *China under Mongol Rule*, pp. 371–433. See also Harist and Fong, *The Embodied Image*.
- 94 It was only in 1975 that Brian E. McKnight, for example, argued that the Mongol invasion of south China resulted in a ‘northernization’ rather than a ‘barbarization’ of that region. See his ‘Fiscal Privileges and Social Order’, in John W. Haeger, ed., *Crisis and Prosperity in*

- Sung China* (Phoenix: University of Arizona Press, 1975), p. 99. See also Hok-lam Chan, *China and the Mongols: History and Legend under the Yuan and Ming* (London: Ashgate, 1999). For studies of calligraphy and painting, see Fu, 'Hsien-yü Shu', and Susan Bush, 'Five Paintings of Animal Subjects or Narrative Themes and Their Relevance to Chin Culture', in Tillman and West, *China under Jurchen Rule*, pp. 183–215. For an influential social history unsympathetic towards Mongol rulers in China, see Frederick W. Mote, 'Chinese Society under Mongol rule, 1215–1368', in Franke and Twitchett, *The Cambridge History of China* (hereafter *CHC*), vol. 6, pp. 616–664.
- 95 See, e.g., Cary Y. Liu, 'The Yüan Dynasty Capital, Ta-tu: Imperial Building Program and Bureaucracy', *T'oung Pao*, vol. 78 (1992): 264–301.
- 96 Yu Hui of the Palace Museum, Beijing, is performing such research.
- 97 This work is illustrated in *Chinese Painting* (New York, Tokyo and Kyoto: Weatherill/Tankosha, 1983), no. 61. This handscroll contains colophons by Zhao Mengfu, Xianyu Shu, Tang Hou and others.
- 98 Appendix I, para. 6.
- 99 See, for instance, Priscilla Soucek, 'Ceramic Production as Exemplar of Yuan-Ilkhanid Relations', *Res* 35 (Spring 1999): 125–141.
- 100 Ankeney Weitz, *Zhou Mi's Record of Clouds and Mist Passing before One's Eyes: An Annotated Translation* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); also published as a PhD diss., Kansas University, 1994. The debt to Weitz's study will be readily apparent throughout this book.
- 101 Zhou Mi, *Qidong yeyu* (reprint, Shanghai: Shangwu, 1940) and, e.g., Weitz, 'Collecting and Connoisseurship', Collection of the Song Palace Library, pp. 344–345.
- 102 MFA 31.643, for which, see Wu Tung, *Tales from the Land of Dragons: 1000 Years of Chinese Painting* (Boston, Mass.: Museum of Fine Arts, 1997), no. 3. For Wang Yun's inventory, see 'Shuhua mulu'; also in Deng and Huang, *Meishu congshu*, vol. 18, IV/6. Wang Yun has a biography in Rachewiltz, *In the Service of the Khan*, pp. 371–386.
- 103 'Getie ba', in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, *juan* 10, pp. 220–221; cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, pp. 32 (1284) and 35–36 (1285).
- 104 This world is carefully documented by Weitz, *Zhou Mi*. An exclusive poetry convention that Zhao and many luminaries attended, held sometime between 1286 and 1288, resulted in the 'Elegant Collection of Snow Hall'. For a record of the contents and list of the attendees, see Yao Sui, *Muan ji*, *juan* 31, 'Ba Xuetang yaji hou'; cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, pp. 49–50. On multiethnic literary gatherings, see Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing, 'Yuandai duozu shiren de yaji', *Journal of Chinese Studies* 6 (1998): 179–204.
- 105 Possibly the scroll in the National Palace Museum, Taipei. See also James Cahill, *An Index of Early Chinese Painters and Paintings, T'ang, Sung and Yuan (Index)*, pp. 40–41.
- 106 For an illustration of a rubbing version of the *Sixiang tie*, see *Shudao quanji*, vol. 4, no. 77. For the text of Zhao's colophon, see Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, p. 252.
- 107 The guests included Qiao Su, Zhou Mi, Guo Youzhi, Zhang Bochun, Lian Xigong, Ma Ju, Qiao Kuicheng, Yang Kentang, Li Kan, Wang Zhi, Zhao Mengfu, Deng Wenyan and Xianyu Shu. The colophon to the Guo Zhongshu painting is recorded in Hu Jing (1769–1845), *Xiqing zhaji* (4 *juan*; Shanghai: Zhongguo shuhua baocunhui, 1924), *juan* 1: 'Guo Zhongshu "Xueqi jiangxing tu"'; the one to the *Sixiang tie* is recorded in Wu, *Daguan lu*, *juan* 1 (*Wei Jin shufa*), p. 23a–b: 'Wang Youjun "Sixiang tie" *juan*' (vol. 1, pp. 57–58 of the 1970 reprint). Sources cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 81.

- 108 Zhao's colophon (discussed later) is dated to Dade 2.2.23; the gathering for the naming and dedication of Xianyu Shu's new studio, Frost Crane Hall (Shuanghetang) is thought to be the same occasion; see Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 81.
- 109 'Jiugongshan chongjian Qintianruiqinggong ji' [Record of the rebuilding of the Qintianruiqing Palace at Jiugong Mountain], in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, *juan* 7, p. 151; partially cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 48. The 'records' (*ji* and *beiming*) sections of Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji* (*juan* 7–9) include various stele texts where it is noted after the title that they were executed 'by imperial command'.
- 110 Dai Biaoyuan wrote in a 1286 colophon to Zhao's copy of a horse painting by Li Gonglin that people who wanted Zhao's paintings regularly put in a request to his nephew Zhang (*Shanyuan ji*, *juan* 19: 'Ti Zhao Ziang mo Longmian "Feiqi xishe tu"'); cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 40). A *Thousand Character Classic* Zhao did for his nephew in the twelfth month of that year turned out to be for someone called Chen Yangmin, who then brought the scroll to Zhao in the third month of 1297, requesting a colophon; Wu, *Daguan lu*, *juan* 7 (*Zhao Wenmin shufa*), no. 23: 'Caoshu Qianziwen' (vol. 2, pp. 833–835 in the 1970 reprint); cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, pp. 40, 41 and 43.
- 111 This statement dates to 1297. Fang Hui, *Tongjiang xu ji*, *juan* 31: 'Song Zhao Ziang di diao xie "Jin jing"'; quoted in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 83.
- 112 An example is 'Junqing' (a Tang copyist) in small characters in the lower left corner of the *Kuixue shiqing tie*.
- 113 Literati 'revenge' was exacted later when Cai Jing, Huizong's court calligrapher and author of the stele banning the Yuanyou clique was replaced in the listing of four major Northern Song calligraphers — Su [Shi], Mi [Fu], Huang [Tingjian], Cai — by Cai Xiang, an early Northern Song literatus. The familiar name order, however, retains the anachronism. On Huizong and cultural politics, see Patricia Ebrey, *Accumulating Culture: The Collections of Emperor Huizong* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), and Ebrey and Bickford, eds., *Emperor Huizong and Late Northern Song China*.
- 114 His comments were supplementary to the imperial seals, applied to works not only in Song, but also Liao, Jin, Yuan and later imperial collections, which indicated both ownership and authenticity.
- 115 For a study of Mi Youren, see Peter Sturman, 'Mi Youren and the Inherited Literati Tradition: Dimensions of Ink Play' (PhD diss., Yale University, 1989). Monographs on Mi Fu include Ledderose, *Mi Fu and the Classical Tradition of Chinese Calligraphy*, and Sturman, *Mi Fu: Style and the Art of Calligraphy in Northern Song China*.
- 116 Appendix I, paras. 6 and 8; Yang, 'Xingzhuang', in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, p. 271; Chen Bangzhan, *Yuanshi jishi benmo*, *juan* 7: 'Ahemasanglu zhi xuan'; quoted in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, pp. 54–55. For an earlier account of Sangha's downfall and Zhao's role in it, see McCausland, 'Like the Gossamer Threads of Spring Silkworms'.
- 117 For a full illustration and transcription of the Li Yong stele, see *Shoseki meihin sōkan sosakuin* series, vol. 17. For Li Sixun, see Cahill, *Index*, p. 14.
- 118 For an account, see *CHC*, vol. 3, part 1, pp. 423–424.
- 119 He vented resentment at the curtailment of his freedom due to his official position in a poem about this furlough, 'Zhiyuan renchen you Jixian chu zhi Jinan zhan huan Wuxing fu shi shu huai' [Poem written about my cares in the year Zhiyuan renchen, as I leave the Jixian [Academy] to take up the governorship of Jinan, on a short stay in Wuxing] (Zhao,

- Zhao Mengfu ji*, juan 4, p. 84; partially cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 60). For the posting in Jinan, see Yang, 'Xingzhuang', in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, p. 272.
- 120 Illustrated in *Shudao quanji*, vol. 15, nos. 105–106. (For an illustration of the *Yuhong jianzhen tie* rubbing version in the Calligraphy Museum, Tokyo, see *Shudao quanji*, vol. 7, no. 68.) Guo Youzhi owned another rare manuscript by Ouyang Xun, *Ziqi tie*, which he had acquired in 1285. Deng Wenyuan also saw both of these (see *Shudao quanji*, vol. 15, p. 195).
 - 121 For the colophon text, see *Daguan lu*, juan 2, pp. 2a–3a (vol. 1, pp. 143–145 of the 1970 reprint): 'Tang Shuaigeng ling Ouyang Xinben Mengdian tie'; also, Bian Yongyu, *Shigutang shuhua huikao*, juan 7: 'Ouyang Shuaigeng Mengdian tie'; quoted in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 60. Colophon reproduced in Yoshida and Yoshida, *Chō Sugō*, pl. 1.
 - 122 See Guo Youzhi's 1291 colophon quoted in *Shudao quanji*, vol. 7, p. 169.
 - 123 This colophon is also discussed in Fong, *Images of the Mind*, p. 98; see also McNair, *Upright Brush*. Compare also Yan Zhenqing's *Draft Eulogy for My Nephew*, which bears Zhao's seal.
 - 124 Agent Weihacihusun was a surveillance bureau chief. See Appendix I, para. 10; Wang, 'Zhao Mengfu shuhua zhenwei de jiankao wenti', and Sun, 'A Quest for the Imperishable'.
 - 125 See Wang Yun's biography in Rachewiltz, *In the Service of the Khan*, p. 376.
 - 126 'Weiguo furen Guan shi muzhiming', in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, p. 244; also cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, pp. 66–67.
 - 127 Zhao Mengfu is collector no. 32 in Weitz's studies: 'Collecting and Connoisseurship in Early Yuan China' and *Zhou Mi*.
 - 128 For a study of this painting, see Robert E. Harrist, Jr, 'Ch'ien Hsuan's Pear Blossom: The Tradition of Flower Painting and Poetry from Sung to Yuan', *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, vol. 22 (1987): 23–70.
 - 129 *Daguan lu*, juan 8: 'Zhao Mengfu shu Guo Qin lun'; quoted in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 71. The *Guo Qin lun* was a text by Jia Sheng that happened to be handy when Shi Yan requested a writing sample from Zhao in the capital on 1291.8.31 (recorded in Gong Su, *Cunhuizhai shiji*, and Qiu Yuan, *Shancun yigao*, juan 2; cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 57). The transcription had a number of colophons by Zhao's friends and colleagues, including Xianyu Shu and Guo Youzhi (winter 1291), Li Kan (1296.1.7), and Zhang Qian (1296.2.25). A rubbing of the *Guo Qin lun* may be extant.
 - 130 Illustrated in *Shudao quanji*, vol. 4, nos. 22–23. The colophon is reproduced in Yoshida and Yoshida, *Chō Sugō*, pl. 2. There are also viewing colophons of two Northern Song reign periods, Xining (1068–77) and Yuanfeng (1078–85), and colophons by Xianyu Shu and Deng Wenyuan.
 - 131 See Ledderose, *Mi Fu*, p. 23.
 - 132 Recorded in *Daguan lu*, juan 1 (Wei Jin shufa): 'Wang Xizhi Qiyue tie'; cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 84. The Taipei handwritten copy of the *Qiyue tie* (mounted together with Wang Xizhi's *Duxia tie*; illustrated in *Shudao quanji*, vol. 15, fig. 30) is not the one mentioned in the *Daguan lu* and bears no colophon of Zhao. However, Xu Bangda has argued that the Taipei calligraphy is by Zhao (see *Gu shuhua wei'e kaobian*). I am grateful to Ho Ch'uan-hsing for this reference. The colophon was written for Qian Liangyou (zi Yizhi), a calligrapher and minor education functionary in Suzhou.

- 133 Cf. *Analects* 6.30, on relieving the multitude, and 9.30, on the doctrine of ‘expediency’ (appropriate action).
- 134 Cf. a poem titled ‘Lun shu’ (‘On calligraphy’) which describes the ‘pure truth’ (*qing zhen*) of Wang Xizhi’s calligraphy, in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, *juan* 5, p. 94. The term *xin yin* provides the title of the book *Images of the Mind: Selections from the Edward L. Elliott Family and John B. Elliott Collections of Chinese Calligraphy and Painting at the Art Museum, Princeton University* by Wen C. Fong et al.
- 135 First recorded by Zhang Yanyuan, *Fashu yaolu* (reprint, Beijing: Renmin yishu chubanshe, 1984), *juan* 10, pp. 317–322. For illustrations of the two works, see *Shudao quanji*, vol. 4, nos. 42–43 and 44–45, respectively. These two *tie* are closest in style to the Song-dynasty Guan (‘Hall’) rubbing version of the *Shiqi tie* and had probably become separated from the original Tang *Shiqi tie* on which the rubbing was based. The National Palace Museum scroll has Yuan colophons by Deng Wenyuan, Yuan Jue, Zhang Yu (Sizhen) and Yu Ji, although it is not certain who owned it at the time of Zhao’s additions.
- 136 See note 134.
- 137 This important rubbing and its accompanying colophons will not be discussed in depth here. Documentary information and images are available online at <http://www.asia.si.edu/songyuan/contents.asp#vol5> (click no. 84) and it is to be hoped that researchers at the Freer Gallery will publish further research on the artwork in future.
- 138 In Hangzhou in 1289.8, Zhao wrote a colophon for Zhou Mi’s prized rubbing of *Baomu tie* (recorded in Wang Keyu, *Shanhuiwang, fashu* 20: ‘Wang Daling Baomu tie’, and quoted in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, pp. 43–44; the colophon is illustrated in Zhao Zhicheng, “Zhao Mengfu *Qiao Hua qiuse* xinkao” bianzheng’ [An argument against the ‘New research on Zhao Mengfu’s *Autumn Colours on the Qiao and Hua Mountains*’], *Wenwu* 1992.10, fig. 2). Zhou Mi had acquired the rubbing from Xianyu Shu. A month later (1289.9), Zhao wrote a colophon to this or another version for Guo Youzhi, for which see Guo Youzhi, *Kuaixuezhai ji pu*, *Baomutie ba*; quoted in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 53.
- 139 This rubbing is not to be confused with the *Shebing tie* (by Wang Xianzhi). A copy of the *Bingshe tie* was owned by Wu Wengui (*zi* Hezhi, possible recipient of Zhao’s *Bathing Horses* handscroll), a friend of Zhao and Xianyu Shu. A copy is recorded by Zhou Mi as having been in the collection of Zhao Yuqin (see *Yunyan guoyan lu* in Weitz, *Zhou Mi’s Record of Clouds and Mist Passing before One’s Eyes*).
- 140 For a study of the Dingwu and other versions of the *Orchid Pavilion Preface*, see Ledderose, *Mi Fu*; there is also a study in *Zhongguo shufa quanji*, *Zhao Mengfu*, vols. 43, 44 (Beijing: Rongbaozhai, 2002).
- 141 The third was a Tang copy, in the collection of Lü Yijian (see Ledderose, *Mi Fu*, p. 117). Xue Shaopeng’s copies may have been based on the Tang copy. For a short biography of Xue by Naitō Kenji, see *Shudao quanji*, vol. 10, pp. 184–185.
- 142 Other representatives were Zhang Dun (*jinsi* 1055) and Huang Bosi (1079–1118). For short artistic biographies, see Naitō Kenji’s for Zhang Dun in *Shudao quanji*, vol. 10, p. 183, and Nakata Yūjirō’s for Huang Bosi, in *Shudao quanji*, vol. 10, p. 185.
- 143 Sturman, *Mi Fu*, p. 125. A rubbing of a letter in the Two Wangs style is reproduced in *Shudao quanji*, vol. 9, fig. 27.
- 144 On the lost five characters, see, e.g., *Grand View: Special Exhibition of Northern Sung Painting and Calligraphy* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2006), no. 52.

- 145 Wu Yue's writing style is evidence of rigorous study of the *Orchid Pavilion*. Compare, for example, his letter *Dage tie* (*Shudao quanji*, vol. 11, fig. 6) with Zhao's writing after study of the *Orchid Pavilion*.
- 146 The colophon is illustrated in *Shudao quanji*, vol. 11, no. 36. The Dugu version also has two colophons by Ke Jiusi.
- 147 According to Yu Song, the Dugu version had been in the collection of Shen Boyu and originally had colophons by the Southern Song scholars Shen Kui (two) and Fan Chengda (one). Shen Kui's mentioned that there was a (copyist's) signature of Xue Shaopeng (Yu, *Lanting xukao*; see *Shudao quanji*, vol. 11, no. 36).
- 148 The explosion of private scholarly projects that attended the rise of an independent literati movement in the eleventh century had made calligraphy widely available — by around 1200, for example, there were more than several hundred copies of the *Orchid Pavilion Preface* in existence. As a result, critics lamented the deterioration in the quality of rubbings.
- 149 See Weidner, 'Painting and Patronage at the Mongol Court of China, 1260–1368'; Fu Shen, *A History of the Yüan Imperial Art Collections* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1981); Chen Yun-ru, 'Art and the Mongol Imperial Clan: Collecting of and Trends in Painting and Calligraphy', in Shih Shou-chien, ed., *Age of the Great Khan: Pluralism in Chinese Art and Culture under the Mongols* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2001), pp. 266–285; Shen C. Y. Fu, 'Princess Sengge Ragi: Collector of Painting and Calligraphy', in Marsha Weidner, ed., *Flowering in the Shadows: Women in the History of Chinese and Japanese Painting* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1990), pp. 55–80.
- 150 Yang, 'Xingzhuang', in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, p. 273; cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 79.
- 151 Fang Hui, *Tongjiang xu ji*, juan 31: 'Song Zhao Ziang ti diao xie Jin jing'; cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 83.
- 152 Zhao served under Li Ti in the Academy of Worthies in the early 1290s when Li was reader (rank 2b). When Li later was appointed to a post in the south, Zhao introduced him to many collector friends in Wuxing and Hangzhou. See Zheng Zhen, *Yingyang waishi ji*, juan 23, p. 10; quoted in Chen, *Yuandai huajia shiliao*, pp. 128–129; discussed in Weitz, 'Collecting and Connoisseurship in Early Yuan China', pp. 91–93.
- 153 For an illustration of the *Wen fu*, see *Shudao quanji*, vol. 15, nos. 107–108; for the colophon, see Yoshida and Yoshida, *Chō Sugō*, pl. 3. Two colophons by Li Ti, dated 1301 and 1305, follow Zhao's. The 1301 colophon is reproduced in *Shudao quanji*, vol. 15, p. 196. For a full reproduction, including all colophons, see *Shoseki meihin sōkan sosakuin* series, vol. 195.
- 154 Yang, 'Xingzhuang', in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, p. 273; quoted in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 90.
- 155 For a study of Zhao's public calligraphy, see Sun's 'Quest for the Imperishable'. The 'Sengge' of this essay is the financier Sangha, who is not to be confused with the Mongol princess Sengge. For a study of Zhao's calligraphy and the publishing industry, see Mote and Chu, *Calligraphy and the East Asian Book*.
- 156 Other such transcriptions include a 1299.9.2 *Kushu fu* and painting (copy extant in Japan; another copy came up for auction at Christie's in New York, 18 March 1997); a 1299.10.31 *Xiuzhu fu* and painting (recorded; Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 91); a 1299.11.30 *Chibi er fu* for Yue Shangren (extant; Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 91); a 1299.12.2 *Luoshen fu* for Zizhong (possibly Yu He; recorded; Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*,

- p. 92); a 1299 *Luoshen fu* for Qingfu, i.e., Zhang Yuan (recorded; Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 92); and a 1300.2 *Guigulai ci* and ‘portrait’ of Tao Qian as bamboo and rock (recorded; Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 93).
- 157 A study and evaluation by Zhao of twelve famous (Northern) Song calligraphers is recorded in Zhang Chou, *Qinghe shubua fang, wuji*: ‘Zhao Songxue shu ping’; cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, pp. 39–40.
- 158 A 1301 colophon to a transcription of Wang Xizhi’s *Yueyi lun* done twenty years earlier, for example, read: ‘As regards the method of making free copies of *tie*, if one is overly relaxed one will not obtain a relaxed result, if one is overly careful one will not obtain a careful result. [...] In this copy of twenty years ago, I was almost too careful’. (‘Lin Youjun “Yueyi lun” tie ba’, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, p. 255; cited in Ren Daobin, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 103.) The transcription was for Zhao’s brother-in-law Shu Jibo. Or again, in 1302, in a colophon to an old transcription of *Wuxing fu*: ‘I composed this ode when I was twenty-something, now I am forty-nine. In my studies I have neither the merit of daily improvement nor the leisure to wield my brush, and I am deeply ashamed of that’. *Shubua jianying, juan 4*: ‘Zhao Wenmin shu “Wuxing fu” juan’; cited in Ren Daobin, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, 1984, p. 104. For the ‘Wuxing fu’ ode itself, see *Zhao Mengfu ji, juan 1*, p. 1.
- 159 The 1301 colophon is recorded in *Daguan lu, juan 8*; cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 103. Another example is in a recorded colophon dated 1307.10.23, where Huang Zhonggui compared Zhao Mengfu with Wang Xizhi: ‘I once saw a rubbing of the text of the Yangfu Sutra by Wang Xizhi, and it was little different from the text I see here. Ziang has indeed absorbed him so that his brush power is perfectly refined, no less than in that stone rubbing of Wang Xizhi. He has truly achieved his purpose of holding the universe in his hands!’ (*Shiqu baoji xubian, Qianqinggong*: ‘Zhao Mengfu shu Yangfu jing yijuan’; cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 121).
- 160 For the colophon, see *Zhao Mengfu huaji*, p. 116.
- 161 The Nine Old Men are mentioned in *Tangshi jishi*; quoted in *Zhongguo meishu quanji, huihua bian*, vol. 4, no. 25. For further references, see Morohashi 1:167.617.
- 162 The scroll has two poems inscribed by Song Gaozong, followed by colophons of the following Yuan literati: Feng Zi, Deng Wenyuan, Zhao Mengfu, Wang Yuan, Qian Nai, Wan Chengzi, Yang Dalun, Huang Zhonggui, Zhang Jie and Zhang Yu.
- 163 This piece was composed by Mou Yan in late 1302. The original was sold at Sotheby’s New York, June 1985, lot 3. A similar record, possibly for the same Daoist temple, is the *Record of the Restoration of Three Gates at Xuanmiao Temple (Xuanmiaoguan chongxiu san men ji)* of c. 1303 (original in Tokyo National Museum; illustrated in *Shudao quanji*, vol. 12, nos. 1–5).
- 164 The style of the early ‘monumental’ works has been related by Zhixin Sun to the stele style of the Wei dynasty (386–556). The Wuxing origins of two of these early sixth-century stele writers, Shen Fu and Bei Yiyuan, is tantalisingly beyond the scope of Sun’s study; see Sun, ‘Quest’. See also McNair, ‘Texts of Taoism and Buddhism and the Power of Calligraphic Style’.
- 165 For an account of the reign, see *CHC*, vol. 6, pp. 505–507.
- 166 Yang, ‘Xingzhuang’, in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, p. 273; cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 132.
- 167 For a rubbing of the *Orchid Pavilion* frontispiece and Zhao’s colophons (i.e., not including other colophons), see Feng Quan, ed., *Kuixuetang fashu* [Anthology of calligraphy in Kuixue Hall] (preface 1779), *juan 5*, pp. 32b–42b; for the text, see also An Qi, *Moyuan*

- huiguanlu* [A comprehensive record of ink acquaintances: A catalogue of An Qi's collection of calligraphy and painting], in *Guoxue qiben congshu*, vol. 155 (1742; repr. ed., Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1968), *juan* 2, pp. 111–113. For the text of the thirteen colophons, see also Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, pp. 252–255.
- 168 The text is reproduced in facsimile and translated in David, *Chinese Connoisseurship*, esp. pp. 60–63.
- 169 The Dugu scroll is illustrated in *Shodō geijutsu* (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1970–72; hereafter *SDGJ*) 7, nos. 110–123, pp. 203–206, where a transcription and translation into Japanese are also provided.
- 170 *Sho no shihō: Nihon to Chūgoku* [Twin peaks: The finest of Chinese and Japanese calligraphy] (Tokyo: Tokyo National Museum and Asahi Shimbun, 2006), exh. cat., no. 54. I am grateful to Dr Tomita Jun for making this album available for study during the Tokyo exhibition.
- 171 For illustrations, see also *Shudao quanji*, vol. 12, nos. 6–9; see pp. 154–156 for Nakata Yūjirō's commentary.
- 172 A second set of Zhao's colophons (containing a few more than thirteen) follows another version of the *Orchid Pavilion* rubbing called the 'Wang Xiao version' (Beijing Palace Museum). The Wang Xiao rubbing also accompanied Zhao on the journey, for in 1310 it was in the possession of a friend and fellow traveller, Wu Sen (*zi* Jingxin). Zhao copied his thirteen colophons and another *Orchid Pavilion* transcription for Wang's rubbing and wrote further colophons for Wu and his son in the capital some years after the journey. The last of Zhao's Dingwu *Orchid Pavilion* colophons (recorded in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, p. 255; cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 173) was for Wu's scroll. The *Orchid Pavilion* transcription in *Lanting moji huibian* (Beijing: Xinhua shudian, 1985), n.p., may be Zhao's transcription to this rubbing; the full colophon set is apparently unpublished.
- 173 Nakata Yūjirō, in *Shudao quanji*, p. 155.
- 174 Shunbo is the *zi* of Wang Houzhi (Morohashi 7:20823.1462) from Zhuji, a *jinshi* of the Qiandao period (1165–73). His books include the *Jinshi lu* (A record of metal and stone), *Kao yi* (Probing the strange) and *Kao gu yinzhang* (Investigation into ancient seals).
- 175 Yanzhi is the *zi* of You Mou (also read Mao) from Wuxi, a *jinshi* of 1148 and later president of the Board of Rites. A famous poet, You also studied the brush arts, writing colophons to works such as the handscroll *Xisai yushe tu*, and to many versions of the *Orchid Pavilion Preface*. His biographies appear in Tuo, *Songshi*, *juan* 389, vol. 34, pp. 11923–11930; Nakata Yūjirō, in *Shudao quanji*, vol. 11, p. 169; Morohashi 4:7543.38.
- 176 For the allusions, see Morohashi 10:36027.48 and 9:29093.46. Huiweng is a *hao*-alias of Zhu Xi (artistic biography in *Shudao quanji*, vol. 11, pp. 170–171).
- 177 The translation is slightly modified from Chang and Frankel, *Two Chinese Treatises on Calligraphy*, p. 29.
- 178 The translation is after Fong et al., *Images*, p. 98.
- 179 The translation is in Chang and Frankel, *Two Chinese Treatises on Calligraphy*, pp. 26 and 25.
- 180 The translation is modified from Chang and Frankel, *Two Chinese Treatises on Calligraphy*, p. 29.
- 181 Cf. Jiang Kui: 'Later, students write outlines according to what they remember, without having absorbed [the strokes]. Their writing is disorganized and disconnected' (translation from Chang and Frankel, *Two Chinese Treatises on Calligraphy*, p. 29).

- 182 There is some question as to who was heir apparent in 1314. According to Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing (*CHC*, vol. 6, p. 527), the reigning emperor Ayurbarwada had not yet reneged on an agreement with his elder brother Khaishan (Wuzong; r. 1307–11) to install Khaishan's eldest son Khoshila (1300–29; later Mingzong; r. 1329) as emperor following Ayurbarwada's death. Since Ayurbarwada did install his own son Shidebala (later Yingzong; r. 1320–23) as heir apparent in 1316, and Khoshila was not removed from the capital and enfeoffed as king of Zhou until 1315, we must assume the title belonged to Khoshila. In 1314, Khoshila would have been fourteen and Shidebala a mere twelve years old.
- 183 See Appendix I, para. 10.
- 184 For the text, see Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, p. 255.
- 185 See Ledderose, *Mi Fu*, pp. 72–73. (Zhao's colophon is illustrated in Yoshida and Yoshida, *Chō Sugō*, pl. 12.)
- 186 Illustrated in *Zhongguo huihua quanji* (Beijing: Wenwu, 1999), vol. 7, nos. 1–5. For a biography of He Cheng (*zi* Xiuxuan), the grandson of He Liang, see Morohashi 1:511.160. See also Xue Yongnian, 'He Cheng he tade *Guizhuang tu*', *Wenwu* (1973.8): 26–29.
- 187 Nakata Yūjirō notes that Zhang's and Zhao's colophons were 'moved back' to this scroll from another Huaisu attribution, *Eating Fish (Shi yu tie)* in the Qing period (illustrated in *Shudao quanji*, vol. 9, fig. 32; see *SDGJ* 5, p. 205). The pieces in question await further study.
- 188 According to research by Ankeney Weitz ('Collecting and Connoisseurship in Early Yuan China', p. 30), Zhang Yan exclusively collected running- and cursive-script calligraphies. In addition to *On Calligraphy (Lunshu tie or Shi yu tie)*, he owned Xu Hao's *Zhu Juchuang gaoshen* (a rubbing of this is illustrated in *Shudao quanji*, vol. 9, fig. 10); Yan Zhenqing's draft cursive *Epitaph for My Nephew*, to which Zhang wrote a colophon and to which Zhao had affixed his seal; and Yang Ningshi's *Scallion Flowers (Jiuhua tie)*, which later entered the mid-Yuan imperial institute for the dissemination of culture and calligraphy, Kuizhangge (illustrated in *Zhongguo meishu quanji, Shufa zhuanke bian* [Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1989], vol. 3, no. 93). His colophons were to works of this kind, for example, to Li Bai's *Shangyang tai tie* (colophon dated 1305; Palace Museum, Beijing). See also Weitz, 'Collecting and Connoisseurship in Early Yuan China', p. 130.
- 189 For the *Shiqu baoji* transcription, see Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 189. For an illustration and discussion of the *Lunshu tie*, see *SDGJ* 5, nos. 126–128. See *SDGJ* 5, pl. 22 for an illustration of Zhang Yan's 1314 colophon.
- 190 Xianyu Shu's 1301 colophon precedes Zhao's in the backing paper.
- 191 Letter no. 5 (dated Yanyou 6.6.28) in *Eleven Letters to Monk Zhongfeng* (National Palace Museum, Taipei). See *Zhongguo shufa quanji*, vols. 43–44 (Beijing: Rongbaozhai, 2002), no. 27.5 (illustrated in vol. 43, pp. 223–225; transcribed in vol. 44, p. 468).
- 192 An introduction to the subject is in Qianshen Bai's 'Chinese Letters: Private Words Made Public', in Harrist and Fong, *The Embodied Image*, pp. 381–399. See also Harrist and Fong, *The Embodied Image*, pp. 381–399, no. 12.
- 193 For an introduction, see Shane McCausland, 'Private Lives, Public Faces — Relics of Calligraphy by Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322), Guan Daosheng (1262–1319) and Their Children', *Oriental Art*, vol. 46, no. 5 (2000): 38–47. See also Harrist and Fong, *The Embodied Image*, no. 12.
- 194 A third, similar piece is the 1320 *Record of Zhoujin Hall at Xiangzhou (Xiangzhou Zhoujintang ji*; National Palace Museum, Taipei).

- 195 Lianlimu: trees of ‘conjoined cosmic pattern’.
- 196 E.g., *A Summer Idyll* in the Metropolitan Museum, dated to after 1319, and *Snow Clearing, Clouds Dispersing* (*Xueqing yunsan tie*) in the National Palace Museum, Taipei.
- 197 ‘Ti Dongpo shu Zuiwengting ji’, in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, p. 251. Recorded in *Shigutang shukao*, *juan* 10: ‘Dongpo shu Zuiwengting ji *juan*’ (reprint, pp. [827–] 486; cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 73). A very similarly worded colophon for Qiu Yuan, dated 1297.5.1, is recorded in *Shanhuiwang, shufa tiba*, *juan* 1: ‘Ti Su Wenzhong gong shoushu Tang Fang Gan shi *juan*’; cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, pp. 76–77.

Chapter 2 Zhao Mengfu of the Hanlin: Painting Figures of Society

- 1 For a portrait of the reign, see *CHC*, vol. 6, pp. 492–505.
- 2 Exceptions include Jin Nong (1687–1763) and Xu Beihong (1895–1953) in horse painting.
- 3 Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, *juan* 2, p. 24. Translation after one by Fong, *Beyond Representation*, p. 433; also translated by Chu-ting Li, ‘The Freer *Sheep and Goat*’, pp. 312–313.
- 4 I am indebted to an anonymous reader for his or her explanation of this important connection, which is incorporated into the text here.
- 5 On Qian’s horse paintings, see Owen, ‘Love Lost’.
- 6 Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, *juan* 3, p. 58: ‘Ti Shunju mo Boshi er ma tu’.
- 7 Chen, *Song Liao Jin huajia shiliao*, p. 525.
- 8 For a discussion of the links, see Barnhart, *Li Kung-lin’s ‘Classic of Filial Piety’*.
- 9 Tang Hou, *Hualun*, para. 13, p. 155; translation after Chou, *A Study and Translation*, p. 101 (text on p. 155).
- 10 See Egan, ‘The Emperor and the Ink Plum’, p. 121, note 10. For a short biography of Chen Yuyi, see Morohashi 11:41698.1282.
- 11 Jiufang Gao is mentioned alongside Bole in Zhu, *Tangchao minghua lu*; translation by Acker, *Some T’ang and Pre-T’ang Texts on Chinese Painting*, vol. 2, p. 261.
- 12 For Chen Yuyi’s poem, see Egan, ‘The Emperor and the Ink Plum’; on ink plum, see Bickford, *Ink Plum*, especially pp. 115–126; Murck, ‘Poetry and Painting in Sung China’, p. 185; and the same author’s ‘Public and Private Truths in Chinese Painting: Zhu Da and Fu Baoshi’, in *Bridges to Heaven: Essays in East Asian Art in Honor of Professor Wen C. Fong* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, forthcoming in 2011).
- 13 *Analects* 14.33 (cf. 16.12); translation by Huang, *The Analects of Confucius*.
- 14 The geometric and physiognomic rhetoric, unveiled by Hay and Harrist, is explored below; see Hay, ‘Khubilai’s Groom’; Harrist, *Power and Virtue*, no. 19; and Harrist, ‘The Legacy of Bole’.
- 15 See Hay, ‘Khubilai’s Groom’. I am grateful to Hay for discussing his subsequent unpublished research into the identity of Feiqing. A possible recipient identified by Ren Daobin (*Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 51) is Cui Xuan, a *lianfang* who joined Zhao at a poetry gathering in the capital in the early 1290s.
- 16 An example is a probable Ming pastiche of a Zhao painting in the British Museum, the handscroll *Bole Examining a Horse*.
- 17 Fong, *Beyond Representation*, pp. 433–434.

- 18 Tang, *Huajian* (translation by Chou, *A Study and Translation*, pp. 151, 172). The painting is illustrated in Cahill, *Hills beyond a River*, pl. 2, p. 23, and discussed on pp. 17–19. See also Steinhart, ‘Siyah Qalem and Gong Kai’.
- 19 Ren’s ‘allusion’ to Gong’s emaciated horse is noted by Cahill (*Hills beyond a River*, p. 19) and Hay (‘Khubilai’s Groom’).
- 20 The term is Hay’s; Ren’s colophon is translated by Jerome Silbergeld and quoted by Hay, ‘Khubilai’s Groom’, pp. 138–139.
- 21 Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, *juan* 3, p. 55: ‘Yinzhi cong tu ge’.
- 22 The Metropolitan’s Han Gan is possibly the painting of the same title recorded by Zhou Mi (YYGYL 29.4.1) as having been in the collection of Shentu Zhiyuan (c. 1232–98), a friend of Zhao’s political patron Cheng Jufu.
- 23 In Gong Kai’s case, see Tang, *Huajian* (translation by Chou, *A Study and Translation*, pp. 151, 172).
- 24 Du Fu, ‘Ai wangsun’, in *Quan Tang shi*, *juan* 216 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1960), vol. 4, pp. 2268–2269.
- 25 Translation after one by Roderick Whitfield in Anne Farrer, *The Brush Dances and the Ink Sings: Chinese Paintings and Calligraphy from the British Museum* (London: South Bank Centre, 1990), no. 33, p. 90.
- 26 See Appendix I, para. 6.
- 27 Bai Juyi, ‘Wen zao ying’, in *Quan Tang shi*, *juan* 430 (no. 19). For a translation, see Arthur Waley, *Chinese Poems* (reprint, London: Mandala, 1989), p. 144.
- 28 Weitz, *Zhou Mi’s Record of Clouds and Mist Passing before One’s Eyes*, no. 32.6.
- 29 Weitz, *Zhou Mi’s Record of Clouds and Mist Passing before One’s Eyes*, no. 1.104.
- 30 Illustrated in National Palace Museum, ed., *Da Guan: Beisong shuhua tezhan / Grand View: Special Exhibition of Northern Sung Painting and Calligraphy*, exh. cat. (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2006), and in the same museum’s *Huama mingpin tezhan tulu*, no. 1. The attribution to Huizong was mooted in Wang Yao-t’ing 2003 (in Shane McCausland, contrib. ed., *Gu Kaizhi and the Admonitions Scroll* [London: British Museum Press, 2003]). Yang Renkai has published a Song close copy (*linben*) of *Li Gonglin’s Copy of Han Gan’s Lion Piebald* (*Li Gonglin lin Han Gan Shizi cong tujuan*) in Liaoning Provincial Museum, which portrays a mounted groom in a similar pose to the British Museum’s Qian Xuan attribution; see Yang Renkai, gen. ed., *Zhongguo gujin shuhua zhenwei tudian* (Shenyang: Liaoning huabao chubanshe, 1997), p. 19.
- 31 Ren Daobin (*Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 74) has stated that Zhao’s viewing of a Han Gan titled *Yuren chengma* (Groom presenting a horse) preceded his painting *Man Riding*, noting that a painting of this title in the *Shiqu baoji* is recorded as having a Zhao Mengfu inscription reading ‘Yuanzhen, *bingshen* [1296]. Respectfully viewed by Zhao Mengfu’. However, judging by the title, this Han would have been a more appropriate model for Zhao’s *Horse and Groom*.
- 32 Weitz, *Zhou Mi’s Record of Clouds and Mist Passing before One’s Eyes*.
- 33 Harrist, ‘The Legacy of Bole’, and *Power and Virtue*, no. 19; Hay, ‘Khubilai’s Groom’.
- 34 Yellow Mount was a ‘divine horse’ who, in ancient philosophic texts (*Guanzi* and *Mozi*) had emerged from the ground; for the legend, see Morohashi 1:154.34.2. On equine colour symbolism, see Silbergeld, ‘In Praise of Government’.

- 35 Gnaws-His-Knees, a horse of the Han dynasty that was almost beyond control, is referred to in a song titled ‘Song of the Sage Ruler Finding Virtuous Servants’. One theory behind his name held that an angry horse had excess *qi* (pneuma or breath) and would gnaw its knees — i.e., buck — before taking off. Another, physiognomic, theory had it that when a fine horse lowers its head, its mouth will touch its knees, hence the name Gnaws-His-Knees. See Wu, *Daguan lu*, *juan* 16 (Zhao Wenmin minghua), p. 47a–b: ‘Xima tu juan’, vol. 4, pp. 1987–1988; cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, pp. 57–58. See also Morohashi 12:48651.9.
- 36 Wu, *Daguan lu*, *juan* 16 (Zhao Wenmin minghua), p. 47a–b: ‘Xima tu juan’, vol. 4, pp. 1987–1988; cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 57.
- 37 Du Fu, ‘Wei Feng Lushi tuo guan Cao Jiangjun hua ma tu’, in *Quan Tang shi*, *juan* 220, vol. 4, pp. 2321–2322.
- 38 See Yang Weizhen’s ‘Two Poems on Old Songxue’s *Picture of Five Horses*’ in Yang Weizhen, *Tieyai Xiansheng shiji, gengji*; quoted in Chen, *Yuandai huajia shiliao*, pp. 61–62.
- 39 Tang, *Huajian*, p. 164; translation and text in Chou, *A Study and Translation*, pp. 116, 160.
- 40 Tang, *Huajian*, p. 164, mentions that he saw a *fenben*, which may be the Metropolitan Museum painting. Cf. Chou, *A Study and Translation*, pp. 115, 160.
- 41 In Chapter 1. Following the painting are two later inscriptions by Zhao Mengfu and two colophons by Zhao Mengyu. Mengyu’s second colophon, dated to the third month of 1299, is coeval with one of Mengfu’s inscriptions (the first, dated 1299). Then follows a colophon by Zhao Youchen. Later, Zhao Mengfu’s sons, Yong and Yi, and his grandson Lin wrote colophons.
- 42 The red robe was used to focus dignity, for example, on an official bowing to Emperor Tang Taizong in Yan Liben’s *Sedan Chair (Buti tu)* in the Palace Museum, Beijing. In Yuan times, the dark red robe was still considered the dignified look for officials. This was exactly how Zhao pictured Xianyu Shu in his mind’s eye in his lament for his late friend. See Zhao’s ‘Lament for Xianyu Boji’ (1307), in *Songxuezhai wenji*, 3/2a–b, translated by Marilyn Fu in ‘Hsien-yu Shu’, pp. 26–28. The reference to the red robe is on p. 28.
- 43 This was pointed out by Wen Fong in *Beyond Representation*, pp. 435–436. The illustration to chapter 14 of the *Classic* is incorrectly mounted beside the text of chapter 11. See Barnhart et al., *Li Kung-lin’s ‘Classic of Filial Piety’*, p. 136.
- 44 Translation by Richard M. Barnhart in Barnhart et al., *Li Kung-lin’s ‘Classic of Filial Piety’*, p. 136 (after James Legge, *Hsiao King*, in *The Sacred Books of China: The Texts of Confucianism* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879], part 1, p. 486). Cf. Hay’s discussion of the role model Jizi in Zhao’s political career in ‘Khubilai’s Groom’.
- 45 A Zhao Yan painting of this title was in Zhao Yuqin’s collection. The illustrations in *Da Guan* and *Huama mingpin tezhan tulu* (as in note 30) record the Zhao family seal ‘Tianshuijun shouzang shuhua yinji’.
- 46 This painting is the subject of a 1968 book-length study by Chu-ting Li, ‘The Freer *Sheep and Goat*’.
- 47 The inscription and date on the painting (twenty-eighth day of the twelfth month of Dade 4 [early 1301, although Dade 4 corresponds to 1300]) are identical to those on a painting recorded in Wu, *Daguan lu*, *juan* 16, p. 50a (reprint, 1970, vol. 4, p. 1993; cited

- in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, pp. 96–97), which records a work ‘on white paper, 7.5 inches high, three feet long’. For stylistic considerations, the authenticity of *Old Trees, Grazing Horses* remains open to question; it may be a monochrome copy of an original work. The authenticity question is broached in Vinograd, ‘Some Landscapes Related to the Blue-and-Green Manner from the Early Yuan Period’.
- 48 A portrait painting by Gu Kaizhi in the former Southern Song imperial collection, titled *Daoist Master of the Black Ox* (*Qingniu daoshi*), was selected for the Yuan imperial collection by Wang Yun in 1276; see Wang, ‘Shuhua mulu’, p. 33.
- 49 ‘Yanyuan’ is sometimes identified as Gao Kegong, who was then serving in the capital as a vice minister of public works (*gongbu silang*) and Hanlin academician (Hanlin *zhixueshi*); see Curtis H. Brizendine, ‘Cloudy Mountains: Kao K’o-kung (1248–1310) and the Mi Tradition’, PhD diss., University of Kansas, 1980, pp. 8–9. Gao Kegong’s *zi* was Yanjing 彦敬.
- 50 Li, ‘The Freer *Sheep and Goat*’; *Yiyuan duoying*, vol. 29, pp. 17–20. Zhao’s first colophon to *Five Oxen* is also translated in Fu, ‘Hsien-yü Shu’, p. 87. A second version of this painting, probably a copy of the Beijing one, is in the Ohara Museum, Kurashiki, Japan.
- 51 Tang, *Huajian*, p. 164. Cf. translation and text in Chou, *A Study and Translation*, pp. 117, 160.
- 52 For a poem, ‘Painting of an Ox Herd’ (‘Muniu tu’), see Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, *juan* 5, p. 117. On possible symbolisms in paintings of oxen, see *Analects* 6.6.
- 53 Aspects of numerology relating to this structure await further study.
- 54 See also Harrist, *Power and Virtue*, no. 21.
- 55 It bears two of Zhao’s seals, including one, Songxuezhai, which often indicated his ownership of a scroll. It also bears a seal of Zhang Qian. This or a similar work was also seen by Zhou Mi; see *YYGYL* 29.1 (Shendu Zhiyuan’s collection). Zhao Mengfu also owned Zhou Fang’s *Hidden Pleasures on a Spring Morning* (*YYGYL* 32.7). For Tang Hou’s entry on Zhou Fang, see *Huajian*, p. 163.
- 56 The first also has flower-figure associations and a bay structure comparable to *Old Trees, Grazing Horses*.
- 57 Jonathan Hay has argued this; see ‘Khubilai’s Groom’, p. 139.
- 58 Zhang Hongxing, ‘Re-reading Inscriptions in Chinese Scroll Painting’. On pictorial surface, see also Hay, ‘Surface and the Chinese Painter’.
- 59 A parallel argument, regarding duplicity in literati patronage of mortuary art in the Eastern Han (25–220 CE), is advanced in M. J. Powers, *Art and Political Expression in Early China* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991).
- 60 *Da guan lu*, *juan* 16, cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, pp. 93–94. The bamboo-and-rock portrait could have resembled Zhao’s bamboo-and-rock album leaf of the early 1300s in the National Palace Museum, Taipei (fig. 4.23). For a conventional figure portrait of Tao by Zhao Mengyu, the younger brother encountered previously, see *Yiyuan duoying*, vol. 39, p. 54. In 1299, Zhao Mengfu evoked the personality of Chu Suiliang with a preface depicting an old tree: the painting headed the transcription of Yu Xin’s *Old Tree Ode* (*Kushu fu*) transcribed by Chu (see fig. 4.20).
- 61 Yu Ji, ‘On a Zhao Mengfu portrait of Tao Qian’, *Daoyuan xuegu lu*, p. 40; cited in Chen, *Yuandai huajia shiliao*, p. 57.

- 62 Maxwell K. Hearn in Fong and Watt, *Possessing the Past*, p. 281. See also pp. 280–282 for a discussion of the painting and text.
- 63 Fu, ‘Hsien-yü Shu’, pp. 126–127.
- 64 Barnhart et al., *Li Kung-lin’s ‘Classic of Filial Piety’*, pp. 127–133.
- 65 Illustrated in *Da Guan*, exh. cat., no. 25.
- 66 As demonstrated by Barnhart, ‘Li Kung-lin’s Use of Past Styles’.
- 67 Sturman, *Mi Fu*, pp. 89–90.
- 68 On Anige, see Jing, ‘The Portraits of Khubilai Khan and Chabi’. The debt in these pages to Jing’s study, as well as to Weidner, ‘Painting and Patronage at the Mongol Court of China’, will be readily apparent.
- 69 This was a significant setback for the Daoists, given the importance of the capital as a locus of political support as well as of religious materials for the provinces, and given that the Mongols had striven to preserve and encourage the flourishing printing industry of the former Southern Song; for the historical context, see *CHC*, vol. 6, p. 481, and Weidner, *Latter Days*, no. 38.
- 70 Jing, ‘The Portraits of Khubilai Khan and Chabi’, p. 66.
- 71 E.g., the engraved stele dated 1209 at Shaolin Temple (Henan) featuring *Holy Portraits of the Three Religions*. A rubbing measuring 115 x 60 cm is illustrated in Fong, *Beyond Representation*, fig. 138, p. 327.
- 72 The quality of this painting does not compare favourably with, for example, the *Small Portrait of Su Shi*, and it may be a close copy or work by an amanuensis.
- 73 Wang Keyu, *Shanhu wang shuhua lu* lists a transcription, ‘Zhao Weigong kaishi Daodejing zhenjuan’; cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 170, where the recipient is identified as Cui Jin. In 1286, Zhao prefaced a transcription of Laozi’s biography, done for ‘lofty scholar Jinzhi’, with a *baimiao* portrait of the ancient philosopher; see Bian, *Shigutang shuhua huikao, shukao*, juan 16, p. 6a–b; cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 39, where the recipient is identified as the Daoist leader Du Daojian.
- 74 This format is discussed in Weidner, *Latter Days*, no. 38.
- 75 Weidner, *Latter Days*, p. 398.
- 76 An album leaf in ink and colours on silk; illustrated in *Zhongguo meishu quanji, huibua* 4, no. 63.
- 77 Compare also the *Three Teachings* stele and the painting attributed to the Zen devotee Jōsetsu (active early fifteenth century) of the three founders in Ryōsoku’in, Kenninji, Kyōto. Brinker and Kanazawa, *Zen Masters of Meditation in Images and Writings* (hereafter Brinker and Kanazawa), pp. 16–19 and no. 5.
- 78 See also Brinker’s essay titled ‘Formal Principles and Technical Means’, in Brinker and Kanazawa, pp. 121–129.
- 79 Two other white-robed Guanyin attributions to Jueji Yongzhong are in the Fujita Museum, Osaka, and in the collection of Sōshiro Yabumoto, Tokyo. The first is illustrated in Brinker and Kanazawa, no. 3.
- 80 Compare the white-robed Guanyins in landscape settings by Muqi (d. between 1269 and 1274) and Chū’an Shinkō (active mid-fifteenth century) illustrated in Brinker and Kanazawa, figs. 16 and 18.

- 81 Translation by Wai-kam Ho in Lee, *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, no. 97. On Mingben's calligraphy, see Lauer, *A Master of His Own*, and the same author's 'The Strange, the New and the Orthodox: Calligraphy of the Ch'an Monk Chung-feng Ming-pen (1262–1323)', in Cary Y. Liu et al., eds., *Character and Context in Chinese Calligraphy* (Princeton: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1999), pp. 232–253.
- 82 Ho in Lee, *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, no. 97. Ho mentions this when he compares Yongzhong's *Guanyin* with a similar stone carving of a Guanyin dated 1132 (perhaps based on a Li Gonglin rubbing), now in Liuheta (Pagoda of Six Harmonies) at Hangzhou.
- 83 For the rituals Zhao carried out for his wife on the second anniversary of her death in 1321 (see [fig. 1.41](#), and the entry for catalogue no. 12 in Harrist and Fong, *The Embodied Image*).
- 84 Cf. also the porcelain statue of Guanyin excavated from the tomb of Miss Yang (d. 1271) at Quzhou (Zhejiang) illustrated in Ebrey, *The Inner Quarters*, fig. 15.
- 85 Ho, in Lee, *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, no. 97.
- 86 On 'apparition painting', see Shimada, 'Mōryō-ga' [On the *mōryōga* style of Zen painting]. A study by Yukio Lippit on apparition painting is forthcoming in *Bridges to Heaven: Essays in Honor of Professor Wen C. Fong* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, [forthcoming in 2011]).
- 87 'Dajuepusi shi Danba bei' was composed and executed in running script by Zhao (*Huanyu fang bei lu*, *juan* 11; cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 174). The manuscript is in the Palace Museum, Beijing.
- 88 *CHC*, vol. 6, p. 506.
- 89 Jing ('The Portraits of Khubilai Khan and Chabi', p. 56) identifies two temples of the same name. The stele texts are discussed in chapter 1. The text of one of these was commissioned of Mou Yan by Zhao's older brother Zhao Mengpan.
- 90 In the colophon, Zhao quoted Huang's analysis of Wu Zongyuan's brushwork: 'Wu's brush power is vigorous and antique and may be considered to follow after Wu [Daozi's]'. Although the connection of this painting to Zhao's colophon is not beyond doubt, Barnhart remains convinced of the painting's eleventh-century date because of the line quality. Barnhart describes the brushwork as flowing, richly modulated, and curvilinear. There is flowing horizontal movement that is open and dramatic, as in wall painting. The faces are done with melodramatic exaggeration, as if theatrical. However, not only do the lines suggest two-dimensional contours, as in painting before that date, they also suggest the turning of form in space, a new aspect. See also Barnhart, 'Li Kung-lin's Use of Past Styles'; for the colophon, Barnhart, *Along the Border of Heaven*, p. 180. According to Zhou Mi, Zhao owned a painting titled *Guanyin* by Wu Daozi (*YYGYL* 32.8). A rubbing of a portrait of Guanyin by Zhao is reported to be in Beijing Library (Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 179).
- 91 The colophon is recorded up to the seventeenth century (see Barnhart, 'Li Kung-lin's Use of Past Styles'). This scroll appears to have belonged to Qian Chongding, the man who commissioned Zhao's *Water Village* of 1302. Another example is the colophon, datable by style to the 1300s, to *Barbarian Royalty Worshipping Buddha* (*Manwang li Fo tu*) in the Cleveland Museum of Art (handscroll; ink and colours on silk, 28.6 x 103.5 cm; CMA 57.358); illustrated in Weider, *Latter Days*. In poor condition and of middling quality, the work probably dates to the thirteenth century. Zhao obliged the owner with a colophon but made no attribution or critique of the painting's style in his commentary.

- 92 Barnhart summarised the effects of the painting, calling the brushwork fluid, fluctuating and constantly thickening and thinning; the facial expressions are varied and sometimes grotesque. Style was calculated to convey excitement and mystery of subject most dramatically and directly (Barnhart, 'Li Kung-lin's Use of Past Styles').
- 93 Tang, *Huajian*, p. 171. Xu Bangda has speculated that the extant Wu Zongyuan could be a sketch model for temple murals; see Xu Bangda, *Gushuhua wei'e kaobian*, 4 vols. (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1984), vol. 1, pp. 173–175. See also Chou, *A Study and Translation*, pp. 134–135, 203.
- 94 Tang Hou, commenting on a colophon by Zhao authenticating a painting by Cao Ba in the critic's collection, in *Huajian*, p. 163; cf. Chou, *A Study and Translation*, pp. 114–115.
- 95 For a catalogue entry and the classification of the narrative as popular, see Weidner, *Latter Days*, no. 43.
- 96 Shang Qi is referred to as a scholar or academician (*xueshi*) by Zhao in a poem-colophon to a painting of *Peach Blossom Spring* ('Ti Shang Defu xueshi taoyuan chunxiao tu', in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, *juan* 3, p. 53; translated in Chaves, *The Columbia Book of Later Chinese Poetry*, p. 23).
- 97 I am grateful to Hay for bringing these points to my attention. For a discussion of the iconography and an early twelfth-century frontispiece to the sutra, see Weidner, *Latter Days*, no. 35 and pl. 19, and no. 43. For the sutra, see Thurman, *The Holy Teaching of Vimalakirti*.
- 98 Tang, *Huajian*; text and translation in Chou, *A Study and Translation*, pp. 156 and 106, respectively.
- 99 Surprisingly, or perhaps not, an attribution to Zhao in this tradition, his *Nine Songs* of 1305 (Metropolitan Museum) lacks the mystery and intrigue of the models of the Wu Daozi tradition. Barnhart has described the *Nine Songs* album as 'spartan and severe in its restraint'; see *Along the Border of Heaven*, p. 103.
- 100 Recorded in Wu, *Daguan lu*, *juan* 16, p. 51a–b (reprint, 1970, vol. 4, pp. 1995–1996).
- 101 Possibly due to the growing influence of Temür's empress, Buluhan, whose criticism of Anige's work is believed to have precipitated his death in 1306. For Danba and Buluhan, see Jing, 'The Portraits of Khubilai Khan and Chabi', pp. 47, 65–66.
- 102 Hong, 'Zhao Mengfu *Hongyi xiyu seng juan* yanjiu'. The argument is based on literary sources. Personal loyalty and admiration were motivations for literati portraits of their gurus as illustrated by Zhao's recorded 1309 *Portrait of Zhongfeng Mingben*, known in a copy by Pan Gongshou in the National Palace Museum, Taipei (see Helmut Brinker, 'Ch'an Portraits in a Landscape', *Archives of Asian Art* 27 [1973–74]: 8–29).
- 103 YGYL 10.7 and 10.17, both in the collection of Si Jin. No. 10.7 is also recorded in Zhang, *Qinghe shuhua fang*, *mao*, pp. 15b–24a.
- 104 Zhou Mi mentions an inscription of Huizong and a cipher of Southern Tang ruler Li Houzhu. The Beijing album has faked seals of Huizong and Gaozong, but has a seal of Sengge on one leaf, indicating a possible late Southern Song date. See Weitz, 'Collecting and Connoisseurship in Early Yuan China'; Fu Shen, *Yuandai huangshi shuhua shouzang shilüe* (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1981), pl. 4, p. 148.
- 105 James Cahill has compared the Beijing album to the style of the Southern Song court painter Liu Songnian, author of three of an original set of sixteen Luohan paintings

now in the National Palace Museum, Taipei. Cahill illustrates an anonymous painting of Bodhidharma similar to Zhao's (see *Hills beyond a River*, colour plate 7). Another similar and anonymous early fourteenth-century work is *Bodhidharma Meditating on a Rock Plateau under a Pine Tree*, with an inscription by Yishan Yining in Tokyo National Museum (illustrated in Brinker and Kanazawa, fig. 103).

- 106 On formal grounds, the painting of the planet Saturn (Zhenxing) from the scroll attributed to Zheng Sengyou now in the Abe Collection (Osaka Municipal Museum) would seem just as likely a model. The Osaka painting could be the one recorded by Zhou Mi in Zhao Yuqin's collection (YYGYL 1.91; see Weitz, 'Collecting and Connoisseurship in Early Yuan China', pp. 535–536).
- 107 YYGYL 32.22. Wang Qihan served in the Hanlin Academy under Li Houzhu and painted mostly figures and animals. See also Ma, *Wang Qihan*.
- 108 For an illustration, see *Zhongguo shufa quanji* (Beijing: Rongbaozhai, 1991), vol. 34, no. 177.
- 109 Translated by Wai-kam Ho in Cahill, *Hills beyond a River*, pp. 17–18.
- 110 Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, juan 4, p. 83; Zhao, *Songxuezhai wenji* 4:45; translation in Chaves, *The Columbia Book of Later Chinese Poetry*, pp. 27–28.
- 111 For Wei Zheng, see *CHC*, vol. 3, pp. 193–200; H. J. Wechsler, *Mirror to the Son of Heaven: Wei Cheng at the Court of T'ang T'ai-tsung* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1974). For the historical context of Khubilai's translation projects, see *CHC*, vol. 6, pp. 519–520.
- 112 This painting is discussed in Edwards, 'Li Gonglin's Copy of Wei Yan's *Pasturing Horses*'; Harrist, *Power and Virtue*, pp. 22–23.
- 113 I owe this observation to an anonymous reader.
- 114 Clunas, *Elegant Debts*.
- 115 For a Zhao poem in praise of government, see 'On Shunju's Copy of Boshi's Picture of Two Horses' (Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, p. 58); see also the Yu Ji poem on a Zhao painting of a horse in Chen, *Yuandai huajia shiliao*, pp. 56–57. 'In Praise of Government' is the title of an article by Jerome Silbergeld: 'In Praise of Government: Chao Yung's Painting, Noble Steeds and Late Yuan Politics'.
- 116 A short inscription at the end dedicates the painting to Hezhi (unidentified). For dating purposes, the calligraphy may be compared to the inscription on *Autumn Colours on the Qiao and Hua Mountains* from the winter of 1295–96.
- 117 The painting is recorded in Wu, *Daguan lu*, juan 16, p. 50b (reprint 1970, vol. 4, p. 1994).
- 118 The painting may also be interpreted as the story of the Eastern Jin monk Zhidun admiring a thoroughbred, for which see *Shishuo xinyu, yanyu* (Speech and conversation), no. 63; translation in Mather, tr., *New Account of Tales of the World, by Liu I-ch'ing* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976), p. 61.
- 119 For a fuller study of the Li Gonglin scroll, see Edwards, 'Li Gonglin's Copy of Wei Yan's *Pasturing Horses*'.
- 120 The allusion is to a story, mentioned previously, in the *Historical Records* and *Han History* about a divine horse that emerged from the Wowu River (in modern Anxi County, Gansu Province) during the reign of Han Wudi (Morohashi 7:17770.1, 3).
- 121 Tang, *Huajian*, pp. 163–164; see also Chou, *A Study and Translation*, p. 115.

- 122 'Da Yuan fengzeng Wuxingjungong Zhaogong bei', in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, *juan* 9, pp. 186–187; also cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, pp. 150–151.
- 123 Biography in Rachewiltz, *In the Service of the Khan*.
- 124 I have in mind the argument on material culture presented by Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi in 'Why We Need Things'.
- 125 For the political context, see *CHC*, vol. 6, pp. 516, 638–639.
- 126 For this period, see, for example, John D. Langlois, Jr, 'Yu Chi and His Mongol Sovereign: The Scholar as Apologist', *Journal of Asian Studies* 38 (1978): 99–116.
- 127 Ming dynasty seals reading 'Inner Palace paintings and calligraphies' (*Neiting tushu*) indicate that the painting passed from the Yuan into the Ming imperial collection.
- 128 Tang, *Huajian*, p. 165; cf. Chou, *A Study and Translation*, pp. 119–120.
- 129 A forgery of *Watering Horses* in the Metropolitan Museum is mounted together with a forgery of the Wei Yan. The paintings are very similar.
- 130 Quoted from the phrase *xin mu shou zhui, ce ren er yi*, 'what the mind admires the hand pursues: this is the man', from 'Discussion of the Biography of Wang Xizhi', *Wang Xizhi zhuanlun*, in the *Jinshu*, *juan* 80 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2009), p. 1402; cited in Morohashi 4:10295.504.
- 131 Wu, *The Double Screen*, pp. 99–102.
- 132 Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, *juan* 5, p. 118; after the translation 'Admonition to Myself', in Chaves, *The Columbia Book of Later Chinese Poetry*, p. 32.

Chapter 3 Refining the Politics of Landscape

- 1 F. W. Mote, 'The Arts and the "Theorizing Mode" of the Civilization', in Murck, *Artists and Traditions*, p. 7.
- 2 Zhao's is the first painting in this scroll; the other is by Cui Fu.
- 3 Zhao Mengfu, 'Da Yuan feng zeng Wuxingjun gong Zhao Gong bei', in *Zhao Mengfu ji*, *juan* 9, pp. 186–187.
- 4 Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, *juan* 5, p. 119. Other poems expressing fondness for the Deqing retreat include 'Staying at Wuhua Mountain, Remembering My Country Estate at Deqing' and 'Remembering My Country Estate at Deqing' (Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, *juan* 5, pp. 119 and 112, respectively).
- 5 Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, *juan* 7, p. 143: 'Wuxing shanshui qingyuan tu ji'.
- 6 For Wuxing, see Li, 'The Role of Wu-hsing in Early Yüan Artistic Development under Mongol Rule'; on the teacher-student question, see, for example, the same author's 'The Uses of the Past in Yuan Landscape Painting', especially pp. 75–80. On Qian Xuan, see John Hay, 'Qian Xuan and Poetic Space', in Murck and Fong, *Words and Images*; Richard Edwards, 'Poetry and Painting in the Late Song', in Murck and Fong, *Words and Images*; Shou-chien Shih, 'Eremitism in Landscape Paintings by Ch'ien Hsuan (c. 1235–before 1307)' (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1984).
- 7 Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, *juan* 5, p. 112: 'Ti Shunju zhao zhi tao'.
- 8 Another example is *Pear Blossoms* in the Metropolitan Museum.

- 9 Illustrated in Cahill, *Hills beyond a River*, fig. 4; *The Freer Gallery of Art*, vol. 1, *China* (reprint, Tokyo: Kodansha, 1981), no. 46.
- 10 Illustrated in *Zhongguo meishu quanji, huihua bian*, vol. 5, no. 1.
- 11 Quoted previously, in chapter 2, Part 1: Noble Horses and Other Animals — Tropes of Talent..
- 12 See Vinograd, ‘Some Landscapes Related to the Blue-and-Green Manner from the Early Yuan Period’, p. 106 (quoting Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting*).
- 13 See also *Beyond Representation*, p. 161, where Wen Fong relates the ‘foreshore hermitage’ to a couplet by the fifth-century recluse Yuan Can.
- 14 Xia, *Tuhui baojian*, vol. 5, p. 97.
- 15 *Zhongguo meishu quanji, huihua bian*, vol. 4, no. 20. Cf. *Jiangshan qiuse* (Palace Museum, Beijing), a similar work once ascribed to Zhao Boju (but now attributed — see *Zhongguo meishu quanji, huihua bian*, vol. 3, no. 49 — to a member of the Northern Song academy).
- 16 For studies, see McCausland, “Like the Gossamer Threads of Spring Silkworms”; Shih, ‘The Mind Landscape of Hsieh Yu-yü by Chao Meng-fu’.
- 17 Yao Shi’s poem-colophon identifies the subject as Xie Kun.
- 18 For Xie Kun’s biography, see Fang, *Jinshu, juan 49* (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1999), pp. 911–912 (this anecdote is on p. 911); see also Shih, ‘The Mind Landscape of Hsieh Yu-yü by Chao Meng-fu’.
- 19 This identification is not just based on the content: this subject is mentioned in the colophon of Zhao Yong and referred to in the other colophons. Zhao’s own colophon is lost; its text, describing his brush as ‘wanting in strength’ and the ‘antique spirit’ as clumsy, is recorded in Zhang, *Qinghe shuhuafang*, 10 (*bo*), 51a.
- 20 Shih Shou-chien (‘The Mind Landscape of Hsieh Yu-yü by Chao Meng-fu’) dated it to 1287, and Richard Barnhart (*Along the Border of Heaven*, pp. 114–115) to before 1287.
- 21 Like the figure in a fan by Ma Hezhi inscribed by Zhao, illustrated and discussed by Shih, ‘The Mind Landscape of Hsieh Yu-yü by Chao Meng-fu’. Compare also the anonymous (Southern Song) *Playing a Ruan in a Bamboo Grove* (*Zhulin faruan tu*) in the Palace Museum, Beijing (illustrated *Zhongguo meishu quanji, huihua bian*, vol. 4, no. 134) for men sitting on leopard skins.
- 22 Arboriculturalists Reg Maxwell, Alan McHaffie and Conolly McCausland have suggested they are close to the tree form *M. Kobe*.
- 23 Another version in Beijing bears Zhao’s transcription of the ode and a short note dated 1299 in which Zhao describes Gu’s *Luoshen* painting as a rare treasure, although Zhao’s comments may not originally have been penned for this painting; see Hearn in Shane McCausland, contrib. ed., *Gu Kaizhi and the Admonitions Scroll* (London: British Museum Press, 2003).
- 24 See Chou, *A Study and Translation from the Chinese of Tang Hou’s Huajian*.
- 25 *Huajian* (*Meishu congkan* [hereafter *MSCK*], 1956 ed.), vol. 1, p. 161; cf. Chou, *A Study and Translation*, pp. 108–109.
- 26 Revived in the early eighteenth century by the collector An Qi (1683–1742?), and again by Kohara Hironobu in 1967 (‘Joshi shin zukan’, *Kokka* no. 908 (Nov 1967), pp. 17–31 (part 1); and no. 909 (Dec 1967), pp. 13–27 (part 2); see Shane McCausland, tr. and ed.,

- The 'Admonitions of the Instructress to the Court Ladies picture-scroll' by Kohara Hironobu* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 2000), p. 44; see also p. 34), this metaphor has become virtually synonymous with Gu's art in late modern scholarship that has stressed the humanist role of Chinese painting.
- 27 Xie He, *Gubua pinlu*, in William R. B. Acker, tr. and annot., *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts on Chinese Painting* (1954; reprint, Westport, Conn.: Hyperion Press, 1979), pp. 18–19.
 - 28 Given Zhao's interest in Gu, it is remarkable that in late Yuan and early Ming painting and criticism, Gu is largely forgotten, as observed by Stephen Little, 'A "Cultural Biography" of the Admonitions Scroll: The Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries', in McCausland, *Gu Kaizhi and the Admonitions Scroll*, pp. 219–224, 241–248.
 - 29 This is also suggested by Barnhart (*Along the Border of Heaven*, p. 116).
 - 30 Shih, 'The Mind Landscape of Hsieh Yu-yü by Chao Meng-fu'.
 - 31 *Huajian* (MCK 1956 ed.), vol. 1, pp. 162–163.
 - 32 Two versions of this painting were apparently extant in the early Yuan. One belonging to Hu Yong was later presented to the high-ranking official Zhang Jiushi (1242–?) (*YYGYL* 25.2; see Weitz, 'Collecting and Connoisseurship in Early Yuan China', vol. 2, p. 396, note 661); another belonged to the northerner Ma Shao (1239–1300) (*YYGYL* 30.9; see Weitz, 'Collecting and Connoisseurship in Early Yuan China', vol. 2, pp. 407–410 and note 693).
 - 33 See Appendix I, paras. 6 and 9; Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, pp. 66, 68.
 - 34 These and other cases are discussed in Frederick W. Mote, 'Confucian Eremitism in the Yüan Period', in Arthur F. Wright, ed., *The Confucian Persuasion* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960), pp. 203–240.
 - 35 The set currently begins anachronistically with the three later fourteenth-century colophons by Zhao Yong, Ni Zan and Zhou Bin (active late fourteenth century). The original order of the Yuan and early Ming colophons is likely to have been as follows: Yao Shi (d. c. 1318), Wang Qi (active c. 1290–1310), Deng Yu (active early fourteenth century), Yu Ji (1272–1348), Song Wu (1260–c. 1340), Zhao Yong (b. 1289), Ni Zan (1301–74) and Zhou Bin (active late fourteenth century). Shih ('The Mind Landscape of Hsieh Yu-yü by Chao Meng-fu') dated Zhao Yong's to about 1360, and Ni Zan's to about the 1360s.
 - 36 Quoted in *Lidai minghua ji*; translation adapted from Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts on Chinese Painting*, pp. 195–196.
 - 37 See his biography (as in note 18), p. 911.
 - 38 'Biography of Tao Hongjing', *Nanshi, juan 76* (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1975), vol. 6, pp. 1897–1901; reference on p. 1898.
 - 39 Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji, juan 3*, p. 42. Compare another poem about symbolic trees at court (*juan 3*, p. 47), entitled 'Gnarled Cypress in Front of the Board of War'.
 - 40 Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, p. 22: 'Zi shi'.
 - 41 Appendix I, paras. 6–8.
 - 42 Rachewiltz, *In the Service of the Khan*, p. 573; Sangha's biography is on pp. 558–583. See also Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 54.
 - 43 Along with 'one-horned beasts'; see Fang, *Jinshu*, vol. 1, p. 147: 'Yuandi ji'.
 - 44 For a summary, see McCausland, "Like the Gossamer Threads of Spring Silkworms".

- 45 Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, p. 20.
- 46 Appendix I, para. 7.
- 47 Appendix I, para. 8.
- 48 See Rachewiltz, *In the Service of the Khan*, p. 581.
- 49 See Zhao's *Stele for Danba (Danba bei)* in the Palace Museum, Beijing.
- 50 'Biography of Xie An': Fang, *Jinshu*, juan 79, vol. 7, pp. 2072–2092. In *Dongtu xuanlan bian*, juan 1, Zhan Jingfeng (1519–1600) records a painting ascribed to Gu Kaizhi titled *Xie Taifu Dongsan (Grand Tutor Xie in the Eastern Mountains)*, which may have been a recreation in the same vein as the *Mind Landscape*; see Yin Ji'nan, 'Late Ming Collectors and Connoisseurs, and the Making of the Modern Concept of "Gu Kaizhi"', in McCausland, *Gu Kaizhi and the Admonitions Scroll*, p. 251.
- 51 Zhao Mengfu, 'Song Wu Cuihan ji xu' [dated 1295], in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, p. 262; Song Wu (1260–c. 1340), *Cuihan ji*, *Siku quanshu zhenben* 11 ji series, vol. 172 (Taipei: Shangwu, 1981). Preface also cited in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 68.
- 52 As in note 18; the reference is on p. 911.
- 53 Appendix I, paras. 5, 9.
- 54 Appendix I, para. 8.
- 55 Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, juan 3, p. 33: 'Ziyun Zhou Gongjin jian zeng'.
- 56 For a study, see Weitz, *Zhou Mi's Record of Clouds and Mist Passing before One's Eyes* (collector no. 32).
- 57 Cf. Weitz, *Zhou Mi's Record of Clouds and Mist Passing before One's Eyes*, no. 32.15.
- 58 Barnhart, *Marriage of the Lord of the River*; the narrative is discussed on pp. 11–12, and in note 2, where Barnhart gives references to Sima Qian, *Shiji* 126; Qu Yuan, *Jiuge* (translated in David Hawkes, *Songs of the South: An Ancient Chinese Anthology of Poems by Qu Yuan and Other Poets* [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985]); and *Zhuangzi* 17: 'Autumn Floods'. Thomas Lawton's review, in *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 33, no. 4 (1971): 351, presents another reading of the scroll as the sage-emperor Shun and his wives enjoying the scenery of the Xiao-Xiang region. In *Gujin huajian*, Tang Hou describes a painting by Dong Yuan titled *Summer Mountains* (MSCK, 1956 ed., vol. 1, p. 168).
- 59 Barnhart, *Marriage of the Lord of the River*, note 153.
- 60 The subject of Zhao's poem 'On Dong Yuan's *River Bank* painting' (Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, juan 2, p. 16) is recorded by Zhou Mi in Zhao Yuqin's collection (YYGYL 1: 145.1).
- 61 Barnhart, *Marriage of the Lord of the River*, note 150; for an illustration, see Yang, *Three Thousand Years*, pl. 132.
- 62 For the transaction, see Weitz, *Zhou Mi's Record of Clouds and Mist Passing before One's Eyes*, no. 32.15, p. 178.
- 63 A monograph on the Taipei handscroll is Li, *The Autumn Colors on the Ch'iao and Hua Mountains*, reviewed by Max Loehr in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*. The authenticity question, left open by Loehr, has absorbed some mainland scholars over the past decade. Ding Xiyuan has repeatedly challenged the authenticity of this painting as a work of Zhao Mengfu's. He believes it to be a late Ming forgery; see, for instance, 'Qiao Hua qiuse tu juan zai zaikao' (Re-re-studying the scroll *Autumn Colours on the Qiao and*

- Hua Mountains*), *Wenwu* (1998.6): 77–85. Among those who have refuted Ding is Zhao Zhicheng (see ‘*Qiao Hua qiuse tujuan xinkao pian ji*’ [Discussion of a new study of the scroll *Autumn Colours on the Qiao and Hua Mountains*], *Wenwu* [1992.10]: 78–94). See also the relevant essays in *Zhao Mengfu yanjiu lunwenji*. The early colophons to *Autumn Colours*, by Yang Zai (1297), Fan Zhu (1329), and Yu Ji (1344), are problematic.
- 64 Guan Daosheng’s family was also originally from Qi; see ‘Weiguofuren Guan shi muzhiming’, in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, p. 244.
- 65 For the text of *Baotu Spring*, see Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji* p. 86. The calligraphy is inscribed: ‘The two places written up to the right are both places one can visit close to the city walls of Jinan. Gongjin’s family is originally from Qi, so I wrote these out for him’. Daming Lake is referred to in other poems, such as ‘Late Return on Lake Daming’ (Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji* 1986, p. 22).
- 66 On this and other questions about authenticity, see Ding Xiyuan; e.g., ‘Zhao Mengfu *Qiao Hua qiuse tujuan xinkao*’.
- 67 Mi Fu, *Huashi*; quoted from Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, p. 213.
- 68 The scroll also bears numerous Yuan colophons; see *Zhongguo meishu quanji, huihua bian*, vol. 4, no. 21.
- 69 Brizendine, ‘Kao K’o-kung’.
- 70 For a diagram of *Autumn Colours* showing landscape elements arranged along a continuously receding ground plane, see Fong, *Images of the Mind*, chap. 1, and figs. 15a, b.
- 71 A recent argument in favour of the painting’s authenticity is Shan, ‘Zhao Mengfu *Dongting dongshan tu* kaobian’, pp. 87–92.
- 72 Translation modified from Hawkes, *Songs of the South*.
- 73 For this allusion, see Alfreda Murck, ‘Tree Leaves Fall’, in *Poetry and Painting in Song China: The Subtle Art of Dissent* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center for the Harvard-Yenching Institute, 2000), pp. 117–121.
- 74 See Murck, ‘Images that Admonish’, *Orientations* (June 2001), pp. 52–57.
- 75 These magnolia-wood boats were supposedly made at Xunyang (Jiujiang, Jiangxi) by Lu Ban in the Spring and Autumn period (722–481 BC); for literary references, see Morohashi 6:14415.472.
- 76 See Murck, *The Subtle Art of Dissent*, pp. 101–102.
- 77 On this subject, see Harrist, *Painting and Private Life in Eleventh-Century China*. Another, somewhat more rustic model was Lu Hong’s ‘thatched cottage’. A probable Yuan dynasty version of the *Wangchuan Villa* dated 1342, bearing the seal of Tang Di, is in Kyoto National Museum; illustrated in *Gen jidai no kaiga: Mongoru sekai teikoku no isseiki* [Painting of the Yuan period: The century of the Mongol world empire], exh. cat. (Tokyo: Yamato bunkakan, 1998), no. 6. Another example of possible late Southern Song date is in the Art Institute of Chicago. For the engraving dated 1617 and measuring 30 x 487.5 cm, in the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University, see Fong, *Beyond Representation*, fig. 27.
- 78 See the colophon of Qian Chongding entitled ‘Shuicun yinju ji’ (Record of living in seclusion at Water Village) illustrated and transcribed in *Zhao Mengfu huaji*, pp. 76, 79.
- 79 Including (in the order of the colophons on the backing paper) Deng Chun, Wu Yanshou, Gu Tianxiang, Nan Zishen, Lu Zuyun, Shu Congda, Zhao Mengyu, Huang Xiaoweng,

- Shu Nanzhong, Luo Zhiren (1306), Qian Chongding (1315), Zheli Yetai, Guo Linsun (1316), Lu Zuxuan (1319), Qian Chongding (1303.7.1), Lin Hong, Gan Wenchuan, Ye Qixian, Yao Shi, Lu Zhu, Gong Su ('Song of Water Village'), Wang Gou, Tang Michang, Qian Chongding ('Record of the Studio over Green'; 1315.1.15), Shu Congzhou, Cao Jun, Sun Gui, Qian Liangyou, Yu Rihua, Cong Hu, Huang Jieweng, Tang Michang, Gong Su, Yao Shi, Zhao Youjun (Mengfu's nephew), 'nephew' Qian Yidao (1317.10.26), Lu Xingzhi, Guo Linsun, Lu Zukai, Shu Xuanzhi, Zhao Junsheng, Zhao Youzuo, Lin Kuan, Zhao Youjun, Shu Fuzhi, Lu Chengsun, Shu Tongzhi, Lu Jishan, Zhu Zirui and Xu Guan (1347). The remaining colophons are of late Ming date: Dong Qichang (1619), Chen Jiru (1601), Li Rihua (1623) and Li Yongchang (1634). Two colophons of the Qianlong emperor are written on the painting.
- 80 Illustrated and transcribed in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu huaji*, pp. 77, 80.
- 81 'Prose-poem on the *Water Village* painting' (*Shuicun tu fu*), dated to the sixth month of 1303, the first of Qian's many verses on the painting; illustrated and transcribed in *Zhao Mengfu huaji*, pp. 76–77, 79–80.
- 82 As observed by Max Loehr, *The Great Painters of China* (New York: Harper and Row, 1980), pp. 234–236; see also Barnhart, *Marriage of the Lord of the River*. The precise date of *Water Village* is *wangri* (mid-month) of the sixth lunar month of 1302. Another short handscroll painting (of unknown whereabouts and uncertain authorship) in this 'detached' style is *Poetic Feeling in an Autumnal Mood* of around 1300, illustrated in *Zhongguo minghua ji* (Shanghai: Yu Cheng Book Co., 1909), vol. 1, p. 98, and by Loehr, *Great Painters*, fig. 121.
- 83 See, for example, the couplet by Shu Congda in his colophon: 'It thus reminds me of Wangchuan painted by Mojie [i.e., Wang Wei], / Or again of Lu Hong on Mount Song' (illustrated and transcribed in *Zhao Mengfu huaji*, pp. 77, 79). On the poetry and landscape of Wang and Lu as they were understood in the Song and into the early Yuan, see Harrist, *Painting and Private Life*, especially chapter 4, 'Evoking the Past: Memories of Wang Wei and Lu Hong'.
- 84 Harrist, *Painting and Private Life in Eleventh-Century China*, pp. 72–73.
- 85 The writer is Lu Zuchong, apparently a member of the family that owned the country estate of which the water village was a part. The realism of the painting also prompted another colophon writer, Tang Michang, to remark that Qian Dejun's (the scroll's owner's) 'home was inside the picture'. For these colophons, see *Zhao Mengfu huaji*, pp. 76–81.
- 86 Poetically, the term recalled a famous couplet by the fifth-century recluse Yuan Can: 'Though I live at the centre of the kingdom, I have left my soul in my hermitage by the sea'. Translation Fong, *Beyond Representation*, p. 161, with reference to *Ciyuan*, si, p. 137; *Nanshi*, juan 26: 'Biography of Yuan Can' (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975, pp. 702–707).
- 87 A similar but probably more reliable painting is Zhao Lingrang's *Summer Mist along a Lake Shore* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), illustrated in Wu, *Tales from the Land of Dragons*, no. 12.
- 88 For transcriptions of the colophons and seals, see *Zhao Mengfu huaji*, no. 10.
- 89 Ji'nan Yin, 'Late Ming Collectors and Connoisseurs, and the Making of the Modern Concept of "Gu Kaizhi"', in McCausland, *Gu Kaizhi and the Admonitions Scroll*, pp. 249–256.
- 90 A close copy of *Water Village* ascribed to Wang Hui and dated 1703 is published in *An Anthology of Ink: Ancient Chinese Painting and Calligraphy from the Dr S. Y. Yip Collection* (Hong Kong: University Museum and Art Gallery, University of Hong Kong, 2004), no. 11.

- 91 For Yu Zhiding, see Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self: Chinese Portraits, 1600–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 48–55.
- 92 The most visible in the Kangxi period would have been those of Xiang Yuanbian and Dong Qichang.
- 93 Jonathan Hay, *Shitao: Painting and Modernity in Early Qing China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); the term appears on p. xviii.
- 94 Studies on the Li-Guo tradition in the Yuan include Vinograd, ‘River Village — *The Pleasures of Fishing*’; Kei Suzuki, ‘A Few Observations Concerning the Li-Kuo School of Landscape Art in the Yüan Dynasty’, *Acta Asiatica* 15 (1968): 27–67; Lee and Ho, *Chinese Art under the Mongols*, especially pp. 38–43; and Shou-chien Shih, ‘Youguan Tang Di (1287–1355) ji Yuandai Li-Guo fengge fazhan zhi ruogan wenti’, *Yishuxue* 5 (1991): 83–131.
- 95 For a study of this northern mode, see Hay, ‘He Ch’eng, Liu Kuan-tao and North-Chinese Wall-Painting Traditions at the Yuan Court’. James Cahill observed that Zhao’s initial interest in the Li-Guo style was stimulated by the court painter Liu Guandao (*Hills beyond a River*, p. 153).
- 96 *YYGYL*; Weitz, ‘Collecting and Connoisseurship in Early Yuan China’, no. 5.3, and note 329, no. 32.12, and pp. 558–559.
- 97 Attributed to Li Cheng, *Reading a Stele (Kanbei tu)*. Hanging scroll; ink on silk, 126.3 x 104.9 cm. Osaka Municipal Museum. Illustrated in *Zhongguo meishu quanji, huihua bian*, vol. 3, no. 4.
- 98 Recorded in *YYGYL* 1.153; Weitz, ‘Collecting and Connoisseurship in Early Yuan China’, p. 554. The Li Cheng attribution (now dated twelfth–fourteenth century), *Winter Landscape with Travellers*, in Boston’s Museum of Fine Arts (12.879), may be one such example; illustrated in Wu, *Tales from the Land of Dragons*, no. 101.
- 99 The full title is mentioned in the third colophon, dated 1334, by Zhao’s protégé Liu Guan.
- 100 Xu Daoning, *Fishermen*, handscroll; ink on silk, 48.9 x 209.6 cm, in the Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas City (33-1559); illustrated in Lee, *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, no. 12.
- 101 Vinograd, ‘River Village — *The Pleasures of Fishing*’.
- 102 See Barnhart, ‘Landscape Painting around 1085’. See also Murck, *The Subtle Art of Dissent*, chap. 6, pp. 126–156.
- 103 Murck, *The Subtle Art of Dissent*, p. 130; see also pp. 126–156.
- 104 Translation by Burton Watson, in *Su Tung-p’o: Selections from a Sung Dynasty Poet* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1965), pp. 110–111.
- 105 The colour version has spurious colophons of Su Shi and Wang Shen, but apparently has a Yuan colophon by Yao Shu (*Zhongguo meishu quanji, huihua bian*, vol. 3, no. 34), while the other painting is monochrome and has the Su and Wang poems attached; see Zhong Yinlan, ‘Dui Wang Shen shuimo *Yanjiang diezhang tu* ji Su Wang changhe shi de zai renshi’ (A new understanding of Wang Shen’s painting *Misty River, Layered Peaks*, and the poems inscribed by Su Shi and Wang Shen), *Shanghai bowuguan jikan*, vol. 7 (1996): 175–195. Almost a dozen Wang Shen paintings are recorded by Zhou Mi in *YYGYL*.
- 106 Barnhart, ‘Landscape Painting around 1085’, p. 205.
- 107 See *YYGYL* 27.5 for the painting.

- 108 See chapter 1, Governing at Jinan (1292–95) and Home to Wuxing (1295–99).
- 109 See, for example, ‘Poem on a Painting of Plum and Bamboo Presented to Shi Minzhan’, in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, p. 114.
- 110 For usages, see Morohashi 2:1450.2.
- 111 On Guo Xi and this painting, see L. Ping Foong, ‘Guo Xi’s Intimate Landscapes and the Case of “Old trees, level distance”’, *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, vol. 35 (2000): 87–115.
- 112 The colophon of Yang Zai further identifies Yeyun as Yeyun Xianyuan Dong jun 野雲憲掾董君 (possibly, Master Dong, [zi] Yeyun, of [or hao] Xianyuan).
- 113 Quoted previously; see Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, p. 22.

Chapter 4 The Ends of Representation: Old Trees, Bamboos and Rocks

- 1 *Pine and Cypress Trees*, a fragment of an eighth-century Buddhist banner in ink on silk found by the Otani Expedition in Central Asia, gives us a vague idea of what the pines of Zhang Zao and Wei Yan, the Tang pioneers of ‘pine and rock’ painting, looked like. Illustrated in Yang, *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting*, no. 80. For Tang Hou’s quotation of Zhao on Zhang Zao and the origins of pine and rock painting in the Tang, see Tang, *Gujin huajian*, p. 16. For Zhu Jingxuan on Zhang Cao, see Barnhart, *Wintry Forests, Old Trees*, p. 10.
- 2 *Zhao Mengfu huaji*, no. 14.
- 3 See *Zhao Mengfu huaji*, no. 7, for a transcription of Ni Zan’s and several other colophons.
- 4 Translation in Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, p. 218. Richard Barnhart’s *Along the Border of Heaven* explores the literary associations and symbolism of the old tree, bamboo and rock genre, focussing on objects from C. C. Wang’s collection. A recent study of the genre by James Cahill is in Yang, *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting*, pp. 184–195. Other studies have been mainly concerned with authentication, typology and stylistic transmission. See, for example, Kao, ‘The Life and Art of Li K’an’.
- 5 Tang, *Gujin huajian*; see Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, p. 253; cf. translation and text in Chou, *A Study and Translation*, pp. 142–143, 169.
- 6 Translation in Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, p. 201.
- 7 For the former, see, for example, the early jar and cover formerly in the Garner Collection (Lee and Ho, *Chinese Art under the Mongols*, no. 129); for the latter, see, for examples, two dishes, one in the Ashmolean Museum (illustrated here), another in the British Museum (Lee and Ho, *Chinese Art under the Mongols*, nos. 147, 151).
- 8 Mou Yinglong’s preface is dated to the middle of the second moon of the *dingwei* year of Dade, corresponding to 1307 (translated in Kao, ‘Li K’an’, p. 243); Ke Qian’s preface is dated to the fifteenth day of the second lunar month of the *jiwei* year of Yanyou, corresponding to 1319 (translated in Kao, ‘Li K’an’, pp. 241–242).
- 9 For a study, see Kao, ‘Li K’an’, pp. 110–113.
- 10 Painted on the day corresponding to 24 January 1308 for a Daoist priest, Wang Yuanqing (Wang Xuanqing). The painting bears numerous Yuan colophons, including a poem-colophon by Zhao Mengfu. For a study, see Kao, ‘Li K’an’, pp. 35–69.
- 11 Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, *juan* 5, p. 106.

- 12 ‘Biography of Wang Huizhi’: Fang, *Jinshu*, *juan* 80, vol. 7, p. 2103.
- 13 From the poem ‘For the Green Bamboo Studio of the Monk from Wuqian’, *Su Shi shi ji* (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1982), p. 448.
- 14 I am grateful to an anonymous reader for pointing out the connection with Huaguang Zhongren’s plum.
- 15 Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, *juan* 5, p. 100.
- 16 This colophon is stylistically datable to the years 1315 to 1318. For a reproduction of the colophon, see *Zhao Mengfu huaji*, p. 119.
- 17 The colophon is illustrated in *Zhao Mengfu huaji*, p. 120. The painting, illustrated in *Zhongguo meishu quanji, huibua bian*, vol. 5, no. 9, is dedicated to Zijing (who may be tentatively identified as Gong Su or else Zhao Shiyan [short biography in Ren, *Zhao Mengfu xinian*, p. 59]).
- 18 Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, *juan* 5, p. 98.
- 19 Wang Feng (1319–88), *Wuxi ji* (*Siku quanshu zhenben chujia huibian*, ed.) 5:8 (translation after Kao, ‘Li K’an’, p. 148). Zhao describes Li’s bamboo painting as *xie zhen* in the poem ‘On Li Zhongbin’s *Painting of Wild Bamboo*’ (Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, *juan* 5, p. 100).
- 20 The handscroll is illustrated and discussed in Marsha Weidner, ed., *Views from Jade Terrace* (New York: Rizzoli, 1988), pp. 20–21; see also Chen Baozhen [Ch’en Pao-chen], ‘Kuan Tao-sheng’.
- 21 ‘Xiu zhu fu’, in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, *juan* 1, p. 4. A talented musician in antiquity, the Lady of Wei married Duke Huan of Qi (traditionally r. 681–643 BCE). After her marriage she renounced popular forms of music and would hear only the court music that he considered dull. Through patience and perseverance she gradually reformed her husband’s taste. Later, she became one of the heroines of antiquity cited by Liu Xiang in his *Biographies of Eminent Women* (*Lienü zhuan*), and by the Jin courtier and poet, Zhang Hua, in his essay, ‘Admonitions of the Court Instructress’ (‘Nüshi zhen’) of 292. The scene of the Lady of Wei listening to court music illustrated here is from the Beijing Palace Museum version of the *Admonitions of the Court Instructress* scroll, for which see Shane McCausland, *Gu Kaizhi and the Admonitions Scroll* (London: British Museum Press, 2003), pl. 24 and the essay by Yu Hui.
- 22 On this topic, see Lao, ‘Southern Chinese Scholars and Educational Institutions in Early Yuan’.
- 23 On the Wangchuan scrolls see chapter 3, note 77.
- 24 Richard Edwards, ‘Painting and Poetry in the Late Sung’, in Murck and Fong, *Words and Images*, pp. 421–422.
- 25 This point is made by Cahill in Fong and Watt, *Possessing the Past*, pp. 160–161.
- 26 *Xuanhe huapu*, *juan* 20 (*Huashi congshu*, ed., vol. 2, p. 247).
- 27 See Arthur Mu-sen Kao, ‘The Problem of “Bamboo in the Wind” attributed to Li P’o’, *Chinese Culture*, vol. 18, no. 4 (1977): 57–69 and also Gao Musen, ‘Quanshi Li Po fenzhu tu zhi yanjiu’, *Dalu zazhi*, vol. 57, no. 2: 24–33.
- 28 Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, p. 224.
- 29 Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, p. 212.
- 30 Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, p. 220.

- 31 Noted by Kao, 'Li K'an', p. 157.
- 32 Compare, for instance, Ke Jiusi's copy of Wen Tong's *Hanging Branch* in the C. C. Wang Collection, or an *Ink Bamboo* illustrated in *Zhongguo meishu quanji huibhua bian*, vol. 5, no. 69; compare also Zhao Yong's *Green Shadow, Red Heart* (Shanghai Museum). In Li Kan's *Treatise on Bamboo*, the author refers to Li Po as his model for colour bamboo; Wen Tong was his model for ink bamboo.
- 33 Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, p. 200.
- 34 Tang, *Gujin huajian*, quoted in Chen, *Yuandai huajia shiliao*, p. 53; cf. translation and text in Chou, *A Study and Translation*, p. 103.
- 35 Regarding Chen Lin, see Tang, *Gujin huajian*; translation and text in Chou, *A Study and Translation*, pp. 151–152.
- 36 Three were in Zhao Yuqin's collection and one was in Lian Xigong's; see Weitz, 'Collecting and Connoisseurship', nos. 1.162.1–3 and 20.8.
- 37 Ankeney Weitz indicates that pine and bamboo paintings numbered only 12 of the 495 (2.4 per cent) works included. All were owned by high officials (foreigners, northerners and southerners). Among early Yuan collections, the six recorded paintings were by Huizong (2), Huang Quan (1), and Guo Xi (1; 'fake'), and by better known masters of the genre: (Tang) Zhang Zao (1), Su Shi (1). Zhou Mi mentions nothing by Wen Tong or Wang Tingyun in these early Yuan collections. Because of, firstly, the many treatises on ink bamboo and admiring description of the greats (Su Shi, Wen Tong, Wang Tingyun), and, secondly, other evidence of the circulation of paintings by these men in the market, Weitz concludes that Zhou Mi's record underreports due to a system error or an authorial bias ('Collecting and Connoisseurship in Early Yuan China', pp. 120–121).
- 38 These two paintings are of obscure provenance and known to me only in poor reproduction. For [fig. 4.18](#), see *Zhongguo meishu quanji, huibhua bian*, vol. 3, no. 25.
- 39 Three later Yuan reprises of this tree motif are Zhang Sun's *Double Outline Bamboo and Rock* (*Shuangguo zhushi*), and Zhu Derun's *The Whole* (*Hunlun tu*) and *Pine, Stream and Fishing Skiff* (*Songxi diaoting*) (*Zhongguo meishu quanji, huibhua bian*, vol. 5, nos. 84, 85, 87).
- 40 Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, juan 5, p. 94.
- 41 Handscroll; ink on silk, Liaoning Provincial Museum. For an illustration of the painting and a transcription of the colophon, see *Zhongguo wuqiannian wenwu jikan*, vol. 3, *Songhuapian* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1985–86), no. 12; *Zhongguo meishu quanji, huibhua bian*, vol. 4, no. 125 (the painting only).
- 42 An alternate title is *Strange Rocks, Bright Bamboo* (*Guaishi qingzhu*). The calligraphic style of the inscription is close to the 1304 colophon, to Zhou Wenju's *Zijian caishen tu* ([fig. 1.32](#)).
- 43 Li, 'The Freer *Sheep and Goat*', p. 296.
- 44 Li, 'The Freer *Sheep and Goat*', p. 296. The painting has a seal of Zhao.
- 45 Barnhart, *Li Kung-lin's 'Classic of Filial Piety'*, p. 127.
- 46 Compare Chu-ting Li's date for this work in the 1280s or early 1290s ('The Freer *Sheep and Goat*').
- 47 Barnhart, *Li Kung-lin's 'Classic of Filial Piety'*, p. 131.
- 48 Another Huang Jucai attribution, *A Pheasant and Sparrows among Rocks and Shrubs* (National Palace Museum, Taipei), offers a prototype for the 'decorative' hanging scroll format.

- 49 *Xuanhe huapu*, juan 20 (*Huashi congshu* ed., p. 254)
- 50 The dating to between 1304 and 1314 concurs with that given by Cai Xingyi, 'Zhao Mengfu "Zhushi youlan tu" juan ji qi xiangguan wenti', in Zhao Mengfu *yanjiu lunwen ji*, pp. 496–518. Curiously, this painting is on various differently sized sheets of paper cut and placed together to create the rectangular painting surface.
- 51 Translation in Lee, *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, pp. 150–151; transcription in *Zhao Mengfu huaji*, 1995 ed., p. 96.
- 52 Tang, *Gujin huajian*, cited in *Yuandai huajia shiliao*, p. 53; cf. translation and text in Chou, *A Study and Translation*, pp. 147, 171.
- 53 Illustrated in Fong, *Beyond Representation*, pl. 68. Another *Narcissus* in Tianjin City Art Museum is partially illustrated in *Zhongguo meishu quanji, huihua bian*, vol. 4, no. 149.
- 54 Handscroll; ink on paper, 34.5 x 90.2 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing. Illustrated in *Zhongguo meishu quanji, huihua bian*, vol. 4, no. 148.
- 55 Editions of the *Zhupu* include one in the Yongle dadian (1407; see the fascicle containing juan 806 from the 1562–67 facsimile, in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin); and one in Bao Tingpo, *Zhibuzuzhai congshu* (1808, based on a Chenghua [1465–87] edition; Deng and Huang, *Meishu congshu*). For a list of others, see Yü Shaosong, *Shuhua shulu jieti* (Beijing, 1931), vol. 2, p. 21. For a translation into German, see Aschwin Lippe, 'Li K'an und Seine "Ausführliche Beschreibung des Bambus"', *Beiträge Zur Bambusmalerei der Yüan-Zeit*, *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, Neue Folge* XVIII (1942–43), nos. 1/2, pp. 1–35; nos. 3/4, pp. 83–114; nos. 5/6, pp. 166–83 and for partial translations into English, see Sirén, *Chinese Painting*, vol. 4, pp. 39–44; William White, *An Album of Chinese Bamboo* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1939); and Kao, 'Li K'an', app. 1. The translation given here is that of Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, pp. 274–275.
- 56 For studies of the text, see Cahill, *Hills beyond a River*, pp. 158–159; Kao, 'Li K'an', pp. 100–113.
- 57 Zhang Tuigong, *Mozhu ji* (1 juan), in *Yuanren huaxue lunzhu* (Taipei: Taibei shijie shuju, 1967). Excerpt translated in Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, p. 273.
- 58 Although James Cahill sees Li's 'systematic' and 'disciplined' pictures as belonging 'to the world of the Confucian scholar, who orders his experience into rational categories and allows these to guide his artistic creation', they draw authority and meaning from the painter's achievements in office; Cahill, *Hills beyond a River*, p. 160. For Li Kan in Annam, see *Yuanshi*, juan 209 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2000), p. 3112.
- 59 Kao, 'Li K'an', p. 96.
- 60 Kao, 'Li K'an', p. 73.
- 61 Cahill, *Hills beyond a River*, p. 50.
- 62 For a discussion of English translations of this colophon, see Shao Hong and Yan Shanchun, 'Zhao Mengfu "tihuashi" Yingyi bianxi' (A critique of English translations of Zhao Mengfu's poem-on-painting), in *Zhao Mengfu yanjiu lunwen ji*, pp. 534–543.
- 63 See Michael Nylan, 'Calligraphy: The Sacred Text and Text of Culture', in Liu et al., eds., *Character and Context in Chinese Calligraphy* (Princeton, N.J.: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1999), pp. 1–42; Chaves, 'The Legacy of Ts'ang Chieh'.
- 64 A mural by Guan Daosheng at Revered Buddha Temple Hall in Huzhou was extant in

- 1672 and was described by Wu, *Shubua ji*, pp. 626–627; partially translated and discussed in Weidner, *Views from Jade Terrace*, 67.
- 65 Feng Zizhen and Zhongfeng Mingben (Shi Mingben), *Meihua baiyong* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1993).
- 66 Brinker and Kanazawa, *Zen Masters of Meditation in Images and Writings*, p. 252.
- 67 The painting bears the inscription of Yuxi Simin (d. 1337), who was abbot of Hangzhou's Baofu Temple from about 1310 to 1332. For illustrations, see Fong, *Beyond Representation*, pls. 77, 79.
- 68 Yu Ji, *Daoyuan xuegu lu*, *juan* 4: 'Colophon to Ziang's *Ink Bamboo*'; quoted in *Yuandai huajia shiliao*, p. 57.
- 69 Another reading of bai, as 'speak, tell', would give: 'I told my late wife this before her ancestral tablet'.
- 70 Illustrated and discussed in Harist and Fong, *The Embodied Image*, no. 12.

Epilogue

- 1 'Ti Li Boshi Yuanyou nei jiu wuma tu Huang Taishi shu qi chimao', in Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, *juan* 2, p. 24.
- 2 For this term, see Bol, *'This Culture of Ours'*.
- 3 How differently would we feel about the painting, one wonders, had it been reported lost in the Jurchen capture of Kaifeng at the end of the Northern Song or the Mongol invasion of China, for instance, rather than in the U.S. bombing of Tokyo in World War II.
- 4 Now the painting is understood to have been reported lost due to postwar Japanese tax laws that required an annual property tax on works of art. With the repeal of this law, it is expected that the painting will reappear in the public domain.
- 5 For a study of this fascicle, see Shane McCausland, 'Copying and Transmitting, Knowledge and Nonsense: From the *Great Encyclopaedia* to the *Book from the Sky*', in Nick Pearce and Jason Steuber, eds., *Original Intentions: Essays on Production and Reproduction in Chinese Art* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, forthcoming in 2011).
- 6 Hok-lam Chan, *Cambridge History of China*, vol. 7, *The Ming Dynasty*, part 1, pp. 220–221.

Appendix I The Official Biography

- 1 Song, *Yuanshi*, *juan* 172 (1999 edition, pp. 2685–2688); Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, pp. 276–280. The language of the biography is at times terse. In places, the meaning has been teased out by reference to Yang Zai's 'Xingzhuang' biography.
- 2 It is not clear from the text whether Mengfu was actually flogged.

Appendix II Select Chronology

- 1 For a tree of the Song royal family, see Yoshida and Yoshida, *Chō Sugō*, p. 220.
- 2 Zhao, *Zhao Mengfu ji*, *juan* 3, p. 33: 'To rhyme with the poem presented to me by Zhou Gongjin'.
- 3 See Weitz, *Zhou Mi's Record of Clouds and Mist Passing before One's Eyes*, collector no. 32.

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