

PICTURES OF TILLING AND WEAVING
Art, Labor, and Technology in Song and Yuan China

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INTRODUCTION

The *Gengzhi tu* 耕織圖 or the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*, designed by the official Lou Shu 樓璘 (1090–1162) during the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279), quickly became the basis for a new genre of painting that bears the same name.¹ Much scholarship has focused on the later Qing dynasty (1644–1911) versions of the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*; this work investigates their inception and circulation during the earlier Southern Song and Yuan (1271–1368) dynasties. The first version of the paintings most likely was a pair of handscrolls, one depicting the activities of rural women manufacturing silk fabric and the other representing the steps taken by farming men to cultivate grain. The illustrations featured a total of forty-five procedures, with each stage accompanied by a poem composed by Lou Shu. The imagery was conceived in part as a means to provide detailed information relating to the techniques and equipment used in agriculture and sericulture at the time; the poems described the plight of farmers and gave voice to their concerns and aspirations. Lou Shu's *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* inaugurated a new category of painting, one that centered on the representation of rural communities at work and highlighted the social tensions entailed in agrarian labor.

The original *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* are now lost. This book seeks to reconstruct their probable appearance based upon an existing corpus of original documents. It also discusses the poems and explains how and why they are crucial to understanding the meaning of Lou's project. Contending that the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* are a commentary on the mutually beneficial relations among ruler, bureaucrat, and farmer in an ideal society, this book situates the paintings and poems in their cultural, political, and historical context. The larger goal

is to elucidate the probable meanings the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* evoked for a Southern Song audience and to discover what ideas or themes, in addition to their implicit literal and didactic content, Lou Shu sought to communicate.

Since the pictures of tilling and weaving proved to be an extremely powerful subject for paintings and prints during the Song (960–1279) and Yuan dynasties and beyond, another goal is to track existing images and texts and relate them to other examples of the genre as a means of understanding how the pictures of tilling and weaving were deployed in different historical circumstances. How did alterations to iconography and style shift the meaning of the original? What did texts accompanying various reproductions and versions of the pictures of tilling and weaving suggest about new patrons and their designs? Who were these patrons and what did this genre of painting offer them? By raising such questions this book strives to create a narrative account of the pictures of tilling and weaving and their varied iconographic and no less wide ranging socio-political journey through the Song and Yuan dynasties.

The original *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* consisted both of pictures and poems, and while the extant poems, for reasons that will be discussed below, may be considered faithful to the originals, this is much less true of the pictures. In sum, we have reliable historical records of the original poems, but not the paintings. The earliest dated reference to the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* is a pair of 1210 documents written by Lou family members recording the entire suite of poems along with commentary; these indicate that the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* were comprised of paintings and poems depicting forty-five scenes of agrarian labor. Nearly all versions of the poems

attributed to Lou Shu are identical or highly consistent with this record. The 1210 documents, however, cannot be used to ascertain the appearance of the pictorial portion of the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*. Indeed, the appearance of the original is difficult to reconstruct and any informed discussion of the work must begin by acknowledging the paucity of Song dynasty versions available for scholarly research. Nevertheless we can say with some certainty that the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* were most likely handscrolls and piece together reasonably well their probable appearance and iconography through careful analysis and discussion of extant Song and Yuan paintings, prints, and written records; we cannot know for certain the relationship of text to image.

After coming to some conclusions about the probable appearance of the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* in Chapter 1, later chapters explore what they may have represented for their historical audience. By depicting the twenty-one steps required to cultivate grain and the twenty-four procedures necessary for weaving silk, the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* ostensibly showed the what and how of agrarian labor and technology. They also contained scientific information that could be used for the betterment of the farmer and state. The depiction and sequencing of individual procedures were so precise that they allowed the viewer to understand the steps involved in the production of silk and grain. The systematic presentation of these procedures, which has had a lasting impact on the pictorialization of labor, is, as far as I know, Lou Shu's invention.² It is on account of this innovation that modern historians of technology and science have viewed the scrolls — which have been described as “the first scientific picture books in the world” — with such great interest and mined various versions of the pictures of tilling and weaving to document historic technological advances.³ This aspect of the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*, however, has tended to obscure Lou Shu's other

innovation: the agency given to farmers and the concern shown for the economic and social well-being of farming families. Thus historians of science have not systematically investigated larger questions regarding the workings of society that are implicit in the pictures and that Lou Shu made explicit in the accompanying poems, many of which comment almost exclusively on social relationships among farmers, bureaucrats, and the emperor. This non-technological content is crucial to an understanding of the meaning and purpose of the pictures of tilling and weaving as a genre.

The *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* have also been dismissed by most modern historians of Chinese art as containing didactic imagery unworthy of the status of art.⁴ I, however, regard them not only as an artistic production, but as one that conforms to and enriches Song dynasty definitions of art. A disregard for technological imagery is consistent with Chinese theories of art passed down since the Ming dynasty (1368–1644).⁵ According to the modern scholar Wai-kam Ho, a long-serving curator of Chinese art, civil servants of the Northern Song (960–1126) who possessed technological (*jishu* 技術) or craft-related (*jiyi* 技藝) skills, including professional painters and calligraphers, were seen as inferior to their colleagues in administration.⁶ By the Ming, this bias had been firmly established as tradition: men who specialized in such professions were not regarded as suitable for officialdom and the publication of scholarship on scientific subjects such as agriculture did not usually enhance an official's career. Though the disdain later Ming literati displayed toward technological subject matter in art was not in place during the Song dynasty, this bias, which is largely of Ming origin, dominates the current canon of Chinese art in its discussion of pre-Ming practices.

Little surprise, then, that the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*, with their rich technological imagery, do not seem

to fit Ming and post-Ming constructs of literati culture, which, for the most part, valorize artistic autonomy and the expressive interpretation of subject matter. Both traditional and modern historians of Chinese art have, for various reasons, favored forms of art emphasizing liberated brushwork and spontaneity, which have become emblematic of the rise of literati culture during the late Northern Song and its establishment in the Ming. This well-established approach to studying literati culture does not include a genre of painting depicting agrarian labor and equipment, subject matter that, contrary to free expression, demonstrates a preference for detailed and precise brushwork. Yet a more nuanced reading of Song sources reveals that many literati, such as Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101), Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072), Mei Yaochen 梅堯臣 (1002–1060), Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086), and Qin Guan 秦觀 (1049–1100), composed both poetry and prose to express their affinity for agrarian labor⁷ and make observations on related technology and that the presumed literati distaste for accurate renditions of technological detail is of relatively recent origin. This suggests that the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* may indeed be regarded as a product of literati culture.

The pictures of tilling and weaving also exemplify a new genre of figure painting, one focused on the representation of the common people, and during the Song and Yuan dynasties they were among the most popular subjects for painting.⁸ Their popularity was consistent with the transformation of figure painting that began in the late Tang dynasty (618–907) and reached its zenith during the Song. In modern Chinese art, this phenomenon has come to be referred to, retroactively, as *fengsu hua* 風俗畫. Typically the phrase is translated as “genre painting,” and refers to art depicting the customs or behaviors (*feng* 風 literally, airs) of the common (*su* 俗) people. And yet, while the terms *fengsu hua* and genre painting are useful, they do not necessarily capture the social and political nuances that would have been implicit in

the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* in their original Song dynasty context.⁹ This book argues that the representation of the common people carried political implications and the development of an interest in their representation paralleled changes in the social structure that occurred in the transition from the Tang to the Song dynasty.

In traditional Chinese political theory, the concept of the state is tied to agriculture and the well-being of the state is greatly dependent on its promotion. Consequently, social ideals of farming and political order are inextricably intertwined. The *Shijing* 詩經 or *Book of Odes* holds a high place among the classics because the songs contained in it are thought to be some of the earliest literature in China’s history. Traditionally considered to have been edited by no less than Confucius 孔子 (551–479 BCE), this classic is regarded as a Zhou dynasty (c. 1100–256 BCE) court compilation. One of the longest poems in the *Book of Odes*, the “Qi yue” 七月 or “Seventh Month,” describes a year-long cycle of farmers’ labor and the symbiotic relationship between farming communities and the aristocratic Zhou government. The poem is traditionally attributed to the Duke of Zhou, Zhou Gong 周公 (c. early 12th century BCE), who famously upheld the right of primogeniture, establishing an important institution for later Chinese dynasties.¹⁰ The “Seventh Month” recounts how the aristocrats provide stability for the successful completion of the growing season, ensuring that crops could be planted, grown, and harvested by the farmers. The song goes on to detail how the farmers gratefully offered a portion of their product to their overlord in order to thank him and, in theory, to secure a year of peace and prosperity. Though this Zhou dynasty ideal harmoniously unites farmer and ruler, it is clear in the poem that the farmer is subordinate, or subaltern. For example, workers offer the better or larger portion of their crops to their master, along with ritual toasts to his health and longevity.

In the classical canon, however, the ruler was held responsible, at least in theory, to the people. The great philosopher Mencius 孟子 (c. late 4th century BCE) reproduced a document that purportedly recorded one of the lectures the Duke of Zhou gave to his regent. This lesson, found in the “Wu yi” 無逸 or “Against Idleness” essay in the “Book of Zhou” section of the *Shujing* 書經 or *Book of Documents* (also entitled *Shangshu* 尚書), described how hard the ruler was required to work in order to secure the stability so necessary for the completion of the harvest.¹¹ The ruler was not there simply to collect the fruits of the labor, as Mencius recorded the Duke of Zhou suggesting, but to comprehend “what the lesser people relied on” in order to sustain their livelihoods. While the term “lesser people” implies a retrograde social order, the lesson nevertheless contains a dire warning to the careless ruler. Were he to be lazy, which is to say not committed to learning what the farmers needed, and fail to go about securing the ideal conditions for a good harvest, the farmers would not be prosperous and in turn all of society would suffer. Indeed, farming men and women might be pressed to rebel and overthrow the ruler. The “Against Idleness” essay was ultimately a description of a social contract in which rulers demonstrated their concern for farmers and strove diligently to facilitate prosperity in order to earn their right to rule. This classical formula is central to understanding the content and history of the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* and its genre.

When Lou Shu designed his *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* he upheld this classical tradition, but he updated it to accommodate contemporaneous changes in social structure. The modern historian Brian McKnight has described the Song dynasty as a distinctive period in Chinese history, when aristocratic and hierarchical structures were modified to accommodate more expansive concepts of social justice. This in turn led to re-evaluations of the rights of privileged groups.¹² In

this context Lou Shu’s *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* may be seen as a new interpretation of the ideal society and a repudiation of the “Seventh Month” model. Lou Shu endorsed the social contract between ruler and farmer as described in the classics, but also threw in a bureaucrat or two as intermediaries. This addition of an official middleman recognized a rupture of the direct relationship between ruler and farmer as described in both the “Seventh Month” poem and “Against Idleness” essay.

It is this rupture and Lou Shu’s handling of it that make the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* a historically crucial and interesting work. While Lou Shu’s *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* presents in graphic detail the difficult labor of the farmers as they toil to make silk and grow rice, it also situates the farmer in contemporary society and attests to the bureaucrats’ new position in the social structure. Though the bureaucrat was also a reality in the Zhou dynasty, he was regarded as an aristocrat and thus inseparable from the ruling authority.¹³ In the “Seventh Month” poem as well he remained aligned, as part of a large group of aristocratic acolytes, with the authority receiving the fruits of the farmers’ labor. The following chapters consider closely the evolving representation of the bureaucrat in Song and Yuan society and show how the identity, authority, and role of the bureaucrat were constantly being negotiated within the larger context of the social and administrative changes of these eras. In addition to being an artwork, a didactic guide, and a literary work, the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* were a commentary on the momentous developments within the civil service and their impact on Song society.

For both the Song and Yuan dynasties, the upper level of the civil service bureaucracy consisted of ranked officials (those who were *liu nei* 流内 literally, within the stream).¹⁴ These officials (*guan* 官) were distinguished by their presumed commitment to the shared values derived from Confucian classics, which granted

them special status to guide the people and administer policy. The first Song dynasty emperor, Taizu 太祖 (r. 960–976), formally implemented the civil service exam, which had been inaugurated during the Tang.¹⁵ As Peter K. Bol has argued, the creation of the examination system as a path to officialdom led to a new type of scholar-official, a man conscious that his education in the classics was the basis for social advancement. This “new man,” as he was called during the Song dynasty, offered the emperor an alternative base of power within what had once been an exclusively aristocratic structure.¹⁶ This development saw the emergence of a middle space in state administration, one occupied by a group that was in a position to mediate among the aristocracy, the people, and the throne.

The emergence of this new class was accompanied by ideological change and social ferment, of which the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* are in part a product. As Bol and others have documented, the scholar-officials had to construct an identity that defined and validated their position in the bureaucracy. To this end they established themselves as authorities on traditional Chinese culture, as articulated through the classics, and classical heritage, reformulating the civil service exam curriculum to comply with this orientation. These officials negotiated their identity through cultural pursuits such as the collection of books, antiquities, paintings, and the production of prose and poetry extolling the value of classical ideals. The *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*, with their many classical allusions, were inspired by such precedents and at the same time strove to further define the official’s central role in the ideal society.

What was this new role? Following the creation of a new scholar-official class, bureaucrats’ identities had changed along with their roles and responsibilities. With increased power, officials sought to extend their authority over all sectors of society. In general, scholar-officials endorsed the emperor’s role as

overseer of the people’s living conditions as described by Mencius in “Against Idleness.” During the Qingli 慶曆 (1041–1049) era, however, Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 (989–1052) and his circle attempted to reform the government. Their Qingli Reform, which occurred from 1043–1044, may be viewed in part as an attempt to emphasize the government’s responsibility toward the people as enshrined in the idea of their economic well-being. Wang Anshi went still further in his New Policies (*xin fa* 新法),¹⁷ which advocated not only that the emperor should promote policies to advance the welfare of the people, but also that the government should intervene directly in the affairs of the people in order to generate financial opportunities for the mutual benefit of state and citizen. At the heart of these reform movements was the idea of an activist government, one that would step in and cultivate opportunities for the farmers’ prosperity. Further, Wang Anshi’s policies were designed to regulate the authority of wealthy families in the countryside and to rein in practices he deemed overly rewarding for the upper classes.

This seismic shift in agrarian society’s structures of power was accompanied by changes within the bureaucracy at the clerical level. During the Song dynasty, in addition to the officials, there were two types of functionaries who were particularly important in rural areas: the village officers and the sub-bureaucrats or clerks (*li* 吏).¹⁸ Local administration was made possible through these men who inherited their duties from Tang dynasty administrative practices. To counter their authority, Wang Anshi implemented the Hired Service system (*mu yi fa* 募役法),¹⁹ introducing larger numbers of salaried clerks in the sub-bureaucracy to act as intermediaries between government and citizen. The paid clerk was enlisted as a foot soldier charged with gaining control over the rural revenue streams and harnessing the power of financial and material resources. Traditionally, “unpaid” bureaucrats hailed from the ranks of the moderately wealthy to wealthy gentry

in the rural areas. Song records suggest many were corrupt and extracted their livelihoods from bribery, extortion, or tax fraud. Wang Anshi sought to comprehensively reform this situation at the grassroots level. Through his program he advocated greatly expanding the number of clerks and tightening rules of supervision and punishment applicable to them through the Granary Laws (*cang fa* 倉法).

Given its scope and scale, Wang's program naturally received mixed reviews. It was generally agreed that once the clerk was salaried under the new program, his behavior or performance improved. This turned out to be a mixed blessing, though, because the clerk was a costly addition to the government's payroll, one that was borne by the people through increased taxes. Some officials assailed Wang's policies as constituting an unjust burden upon the people. Others condemned the measures as damaging to the structure of traditional authority. James T. C. Liu has observed that although Wang Anshi "emphasized the importance of the bureaucracy, he did not carry the support of the bureaucracy at all."²⁰ I contend that one important exception was Lou Shu, who supported Wang Anshi's reforms, including the salaried clerk policy. Indeed his *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* embraces government reform and the Northern Song reformers' efforts to restructure the government bureaucracy. Brian McKnight has noted that during the 1130s and 1140s, the government collected taxes to compensate clerks at the village level, but the funds disappeared into a general account and were not properly distributed;²¹ I would argue that Lou Shu deployed the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* as a critical commentary on the failure of the government to properly enforce Wang Anshi's reform policies.

My interpretation requires the reader to view Lou Shu as a progressive official who used his *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* to announce his wholehearted approval of Wang Anshi's reform program. And so he was. Though Lou Shu had received his

position, somewhat ironically, through recommendation and family connections, not through the examination system, he endorsed for society a decidedly non-aristocratic future. This in part may have been due to the Lou family's progressive tradition. Lou Yu 樓郁 (act. 1053), Shu's great-grandfather, had attained scholar-official status, passing the highest level civil service exam and obtaining the Presented Scholar (*jinshi* 進士) degree in 1053. He was also highly regarded for his scholarship: Wang Anshi had personally invited him in 1047 to teach in his own jurisdiction at the Yin 鄞 prefectural school.²² There, Wang had praised Lou Yu's instruction and honored him as one of the local area's "Five Masters" who during the Qingli era were affiliated with the expansion of schools and associated with the flourishing of education.²³ It is almost a certainty that Lou Shu's illustrious great-grandfather served as a model for him, yet he failed to pass the examination and obtain the requisite degree. The *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* may have been a surrogate for the exam and a way for Lou Shu to articulate his personal endorsement of the progressive reforms with which his great-grandfather had been associated.

Of course, Lou Shu's project was much more than a product of hereditary conceit. It was also a means for him to register his allegiance to the progressive program initiated by scholar-officials and to explicate themes of economic well-being and social responsibility that he regarded as central to the progressive agenda. Though many modern scholars view Lou Shu's project exclusively through the lens of agrarian labor, this is just one of its facets. The *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* must be seen also as a commentary on the workings of society, including the labor of bureaucrats and emperors. During Lou Shu's time, the emperor, his bureaucrats, and the people all labored to create an ideal society, one that was no longer constrained by established tradition, the rigid boundaries of which were stretched by economic

development and the encroaching power of the examination system and its logical corollary, social mobility. The progressive ideology that accompanied social mobility fueled a desire to formulate a more populist, compassionate government based on select readings from the classics in which Mencius usually figured prominently. The progressive officials positioned themselves as educational guides for the people, a politicized entity known as *min* 民, and the people, the largest part of which were farming families, were understood to be citizens. The bureaucrats who subscribed to these ideals, however, were not unified in their methods or policies. For example, both Wang Anshi and Su Shi, a pre-eminent literatus and scholar-official, were activists seeking to ameliorate the suffering of the farmers, yet they were bitterly divided on matters of method.

The court and aristo-centric officials also defined themselves in terms of the people and their welfare, but in a more conservative way. Song dynasty literature has many examples of writings in which scholar-officials and members of the court position themselves as sympathetically comprehending the plight of the people as a means of testifying that they were in a position to design more effective policies to alleviate their travails. The *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*, which were created in this environment, assert the importance of progressive officials. While historians have commented on the efforts of Song dynasty officials to announce their authority in cultural and political arenas, this is the first book-length account to define the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* as a visual attestation to the scholar-official's elevation to a place of power and importance in the imperial echelon.

While the study of the pictures of tilling and weaving is challenged by the lack of the original scrolls designed by Lou Shu, the surviving corpus and the lively discourse surrounding it open new avenues of research and scholarship for art historians into a heretofore neglected but immensely significant chapter in

Chinese social and political history. During the Song and Yuan dynasties the pictures of tilling and weaving were deployed in different social and political contexts to accommodate changing ideas of the roles of officials and clerks. This was the period of the dynastic transition from the Han-dominated Song to the Mongol-dominated Yuan and the government infrastructure was adapting constantly, not just to reform, but also to new policies and regimes. The issues of patronage evidenced in the corpus of Song and Yuan historical documents show how the pictures of tilling and weaving were deployed to negotiate a complex terrain of social flux and changing political identity, responding to fresh realities, new emperors, and shifting conceptions of bureaucrats and farmers. This was especially true in the Yuan, when bureaucrats did not wield the same authority as in the Song and the Mongol emperor was not necessarily beholden to the same classically sanctioned modes of political behavior and dynastic ritual as his predecessor.²⁴ Farmers continued to till the land and weave silk, but their social contract with the Yuan imperium was less stable; the Mongols appear to have endorsed the established pattern of Chinese administrative practice only in so far as it advanced their ability to extract taxes. Wary of the Chinese administration, the Mongol emperors appointed their own overseers into the civil service ranks to safeguard the new dynasty's interests. The pictures of tilling and weaving and associated commentaries reproduced in stele, colophons attached to paintings, and printed reproductions of all of the above as independent publications or in the form of supporting material included in agrarian treatises, serve as a fascinating artistic and political record of this momentous era.

CHAPTER ONE

Reconstructing Lou Shu's *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*

In or around 1145, Lou Shu created the *Gengzhi tu* 耕織圖 (*Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*), inaugurating a new genre of painting.¹ Though the original pictures are now lost, an early and comprehensive record of them survives in the form of two documents composed in 1210 by Lou Shu's nephew, Lou Yue 樓鑰 (1137–1213), and his grandson Lou Hong 樓洪 (12th century). These documents are a rich resource that tell us Lou Shu's *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* consisted of two scrolls and record the number of scenes they contained, their subject matter, and the accompanying poems. In one instance, Lou Hong also describes the extent of their popularity, how they caught the attention of Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (r. 1127–1162) and were presented to him, and how they were subsequently displayed in the palace:

At that time, the grandfather of this writer was the magistrate of Yuqian district in Lin'an prefecture, where he diligently attended to the people's affairs. He consulted with the farmers and sericulturalists. He made two [scrolls of] pictures and poems, one on agriculture and the other sericulture. Altogether, there are twenty-one pictures of tilling and twenty-four of sericulture. The poems follow [the pictures]. The pictures describe in full the farmer's situation. The poems and songs express in full the farmers' feelings. Instantly, the poems of agriculture and sericulture were chanted everywhere. Soon after, the poet was recommended for an audience and interview with the emperor. [My grandfather] made an offering of the pictures and poems to the emperor

for viewing. The emperor lavished great praise on the work and immediately had them displayed in the rear palace.

於時先大父為臨安於潛縣令勤于民事，咨訪田夫蠶婦，著為耕織二圖詩。凡耕之圖廿有一，織之圖廿有四。詩亦如之。圖繪以盡其狀，詩歌以盡其情。一時朝野傳誦幾遍。尋因薦入召對，進呈御覽，大加嘉獎，即以宣示後宮。²

Despite the availability of this unusual text – Song dynasty writings on specific paintings are typically short commentaries found in painting catalogues or inventories – art historians have tended to give minimal attention to the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* because the original Song dynasty imagery is missing. It is possible, however, to use the descriptions of the painting's scenes in the Lou family documents to form some sense of the appearance of the imagery of Lou Shu's *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*.

Indeed, a reliable reconstruction of the imagery is possible when the descriptions are considered in combination with a few key Song, Yuan, and later copies of Song paintings: the *Canzhi tu* 蠶織圖 (*Pictures of Raising Silkworms and Weaving Silk*) (fig. 1.1), a handscroll in the Heilongjiang Provincial Museum; *Silun tu* 絲綸圖 (erroneously entitled *Spinning Silk*) (fig. 1.2), a hanging scroll in the Beijing Palace Museum; *Genghuo tu* 耕獲圖 (*Pictures of Tilling and Harvesting*) (fig. 1.3), a fan mounted as an album leaf also in the Beijing Palace Museum; the *Gengjia tu* 耕稼圖 (*Pictures of the Hard Labor Involved in Tilling*) (fig. 1.4), a scroll now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York; and, finally,

the Freer Gallery's *Gengzuo tu* 耕作圖 (*Rice Culture*) and *Canzhi tu* 蠶織圖 (*Sericulture*) which are in the Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C. (reproduced in Appendix A). Hereafter they will be referred to as the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* as well as the Freer scrolls. Together the whole group of paintings suggests that the iconography of the Freer Gallery's *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* is a likely formulation of Lou Shu's Southern Song imagery and poems. The Freer scrolls form the basis of my subsequent contextual analysis of Lou Shu's *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*.

The Sequence of Scenes in the Original *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*

In the 1210 Lou family documents, Lou Hong specified that a thematically related poem authored by Lou Shu accompanied the depiction of each step of agrarian labor in the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*; the complete suite of poems is also transcribed in the documents.³ If these may be relied upon, the twenty-one steps of the original *Tilling* scroll would have unfolded in the following sequence: male members of farm families 1) soaked seeds and 2) tilled the soil, before 3) hoeing and 4) leveling it. After 5) using a stone roller, they 6) planted the seeds and 7) added fertilizer. After the seedlings were ready, they 8) pulled and 9) transplanted them. Then they conducted the 10) first, 11) second, and 12) third weedings. The three bouts of weeding over, they 13) irrigated the fields. When the grain was ripe, they 14) reaped it and 15) placed it in the yard to air it. Then they 16) threshed, 17) winnowed, and 18) ground it, before 19) pounding the grain with a pestle. Finally they 20) sieved it and 21) placed it in the storehouse.

The *Weaving* scroll would have depicted the following sequence of sericulture undertaken by the female members of farm families: the women 1) bathed the silkworm eggs. When 2) the worms had hatched, they 3) fed them. After the 4) first, 5)

second, and 6) third moltings, the women 7) separated the trays of worms in order to give them more room to grow. The men and women 8) picked mulberry leaves and then 9) the worms had a final large feeding before they 10) started to show signs that they were ready to spin their cocoons. In preparation for the production of the cocoons, the men and women 11) set up the trellises, and 12) heated the screens. It was during this twelfth step that the worms spun their cocoons. Next the women 13) took the cocoons off the trellises, and 14) culled them before 15) storing them. They then 16) reeled the silk from the cocoons. After 17) the emergence of the silkworm moths, the men and women 18) offered up thanks to the Silkworm Goddess. The women then 19) wound the silk thread, 20) set the warp, and 21) twisted the weft. After this the women undertook 22) plain weaving and 23) the weaving of brocade. Finally, they 24) cut the fabric and packed it away. In both sequences tasks and events seem to have progressed in accordance with the flow of the seasons, implying a cyclical continuum.

Though we can surmise from the Lou family documents the sequence and the types of procedures that would have been pictured in Lou Shu's scrolls, they do not provide detailed descriptions of the format and original appearance of the paintings, or the relationship of the poems to the images. For this we must turn to later image cycles.

Reconstructing the Imagery of the Original *Song Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*

In this section, I explore the existing corpus of pictures of tilling and weaving that have been associated with the Song or Yuan dynasty. The corpus gathered in this chapter consists of six paintings that are seldom examined together. The first four date convincingly to the Song and Yuan era, whereas two additional paintings have attributions that I regard as problematic in terms of style. I include these two extra works for two reasons. First, I recognize the

paintings' claims to earlier provenance; one may be Song and the other a copy of a Song work, even though I do not agree with their present dating. Second, as they are consistent iconographically with the earlier paintings, they provide supplemental material to bolster claims regarding the appearance of the Song originals.

Indeed, the Song and Yuan corpus (with or without these two questionable paintings) reproduces in whole or in part some of the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* and demonstrates iconographic fidelity. The works may be executed in different styles and in varying formats, but the iconographic consistencies provide compelling evidence for a reconstruction of Lou Shu's imagery. Unfortunately, as we shall see, the paintings do not allow us to conclusively resolve the relationship between text and image. We cannot know for certain whether the poems were written on the paintings, with each poem accompanying its scene, or whether they were attached at the end or not included at all. The majority of the paintings introduced in this section will be investigated in more depth in the subsequent chapters.

The Heilongjiang Scroll

The scholars Lin Guiying and Liu Fengtong have argued that the earliest extant painting in the tilling and weaving genre is a Southern Song copy of Lou Shu's *Weaving* scroll.⁴ This painting was discovered in 1983 in Manchuria and is now in the Heilongjiang Provincial Museum.⁵ The title of this handscroll is *Canzhi tu* 蠶織圖 (*Pictures of Raising Silkworms and Weaving Silk*) (fig.1.1).⁶ It is painted with ink and light color on silk and measures 27.5 cm wide by 513 cm long. It has been dated to 1178 on the basis of one of its colophons.⁷ I accept the *Canzhi tu* scroll (henceforth, the Heilongjiang scroll) as a Southern Song dynasty work. In all likelihood a copy of the tilling scroll, now lost, once accompanied it.

The Heilongjiang scroll's form and its status as a copy suggest that the two works Lou Shu presented to the emperor were also handscrolls. This conclusion is confirmed by the painting catalogue included in the *History of the Song*, which specifically mentions that the imperial collection contained a painting in the form of a handscroll by Lou Shu: "Lou Shu, *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*, one handscroll" 樓璿耕織圖一卷.⁸ This format for the original *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* seems appropriate, as it would have been especially well suited to the representation of temporal sequences of procedures. In the Heilongjiang scroll, for example, almost every procedure occurs in its own room within an architectural setting, a format that could have been repeated endlessly in a linear fashion.⁹

Though it is tempting to imagine that the Heilongjiang scroll is Lou Shu's original because of its early date and handscroll format, inconsistencies among the images and the Lou family texts suggest that this is not the case. The Heilongjiang scroll opens, for example, with the soaking of the silkworm seeds and includes all twenty-four procedures of making silk outlined in the 1210 text, but they are not in the same order. If we accept the authority of the Lou family records and the sequence of steps it describes, the "Zhi zuo" 織作 ("Plain Weaving") image, which is entitled only "Zhi" 織 ("Weaving") in the poems, is out of sequence (fig. 1.5).¹⁰ The poems order the group of procedures to which this one belongs as follows: the making of weft thread, followed by plain weaving, followed by the weaving of complex brocade patterns on the draw loom. The Heilongjiang scroll, in contrast, presents complex weaving, followed by the making of the weft thread, and then plain weaving. The sequencing in the Heilongjiang scroll is incorrect because weft thread was a necessary component of both weaving stages; the making of the weft thread therefore would necessarily precede weaving, as it does in the Lou family documents.¹¹ Thus the painting's second to last scene and third to last scene should

switch places to be in accord with the 1210 documents and with the actual processes of weaving fabric.

There are no poems in the Heilongjiang scroll, so if it is indeed a close copy of Lou Shu's original, this absence of poetry would suggest that the poems were not integral to Lou Shu's scrolls. The 1210 records state only that Lou Shu's "poems follow [the pictures]," which may be interpreted in several ways. It could mean that the content of the poems corresponded to the imagery, or that the poems came after the sequence of images as a colophon attached to the scroll, or that each poem was adjacent to the image to which it was related. Though the Heilongjiang scroll lacks poems, a couple of Chinese characters beneath each scene were added, most likely at a later date, to act as titles or labels; these may have been intended to compensate for the lack of poems in the scroll, since it was common in Song dynasty handscrolls produced during Emperor Gaozong's reign for text

to be inserted between scenes.¹² Lin and Liu believe the titles added to the Song dynasty scroll may have been written by the Empress Wu 吳皇后 (1115–1197), Emperor Gaozong's queen.¹³ In any case, scholars have demonstrated that these labels sometimes deviate from the sequence of images suggested by the poems recorded in the 1210 documents. It appears that the person who labeled the scroll was either not aware of Lou Shu's poems or not faithful to them.¹⁴

Lin and Liu have suggested that the Heilongjiang scroll was most probably based on Lou Shu's original, but was not intended to be an exact copy. This seems like a fair assessment.¹⁵ So though the Heilongjiang scroll can largely confirm that the Lou family documents accurately describe the subject and sequence of scenes in Lou Shu's weaving scroll, it does not reveal anything about the placement of the poetry.



Fig. 1.5.

Three scenes of four processes known as "Pan hua" 攀花 ("Brocade weaving"), "Wei" 緯 ("Weft") with "Zhi" 織 ("Weaving"), and "Jian bo" 翦帛 ("Cutting the fabric"). From right to left on *Canzhi tu* 蠶織圖 (*Pictures of Raising Silkworms and Weaving Silk*). Second half twelfth century. Handscroll, ink and color on silk. Harbin: Heilongjiang Provincial Museum.

Other Pictures of Tilling and Weaving Dated to the Song Dynasty

Only four other extant paintings that carry attributions to pre-Yuan dates have content directly based on the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*. Though none of them clarify the text-image relationship in the original scroll, all are useful for confirming aspects of the iconography of the original imagery, particularly in relationship to the Freer scrolls.

Silun tu 絲綸圖 (*Spinning Silk*) in the Beijing Palace Museum is a hanging scroll that most scholars date to the Southern Song (fig. 1.2).¹⁶ The painting is traditionally associated with the painter Ma Yuan 馬遠 (act. 1190–1225) and dated to around 1210.¹⁷ With its elegant style that is consistent with Southern Song dynasty conventions, it is considered to have been produced at Emperor Ningzong's 寧宗 (r. 1195–1224) court.¹⁸ The scroll depicts the setting of the warp thread and the winding of the weft. It was probably paired with a tilling painting that is now lost. The sky above the activity is inscribed with Lou Shu's poem for the setting of the warp. This is the only painting of the four works associated with the Song dynasty that includes any of Lou Shu's poems within it, or for that matter has any poetry attached to it.

Genghuo tu 耕獲圖 (*Pictures of Tilling and Harvesting*), also in the Beijing Palace Museum, is an album leaf in the shape of a fan dated to the Southern Song (fig. 1.3); it is presently mounted on an album leaf.¹⁹ It is painted with ink and light color on silk. It presents the sequence of growing grain in a circular arrangement that follows the seasonal cycle. There are no poems, probably because the small format of the painting would have made it impossible to incorporate them. During the Song dynasty, fans would have been painted on both sides and it is very likely the other side of this fan, now lost, would have had the pictures of weaving for its subject matter. This painting is especially valuable because, even though executed on a small scale, it is the only

Southern Song representation of the pictures of tilling. Although the fan depicts all but one step (fig. 1.6),²⁰ the poses of the people are nearly identical to those found in corresponding scenes in both a Yuan dynasty portion of the pictures of tilling and the Freer scroll. The artist who depicted the pictures of tilling on the round fan took advantage of its shape to configure the scenes in a somewhat circular arrangement. In addition, the use of the fan, a more informal format than handscrolls or hanging scrolls, suggests that the pictures of tilling and weaving were popular subject matter and possibly suitable for gift-giving in this form.

Two Paintings Associated with the Song

A hanging scroll in the Shanghai Museum of Art that may date to the Song dynasty contains a combination of three scenes from the *Tilling and Weaving* scrolls (fig. 1.7). This painting is entitled *Gengzhi tu* 耕織圖 (*Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*).²¹ It is painted in ink and light colors on silk. In the upper half of the scroll, farmers transplant the seedlings to the fields (Step 9). In the lower half, women set the warp (Step 20). To the right of this activity, more women weave elaborately patterned brocade fabrics on a complex draw loom (Step 23). This painting is useful in that it helps to establish the specific iconography of these scenes. Judging from reproductions, the brushwork looks detailed, but the textures of the tree bark and the stone wall below the complex draw loom are not gradated enough, nor is contrast between light and dark nuanced. The composition also strikes me as too cluttered for a Southern Song painting. The upper-right bank where cows or water buffaloes are depicted is not rooted concretely within the space of the painting; this area appears to float across the surface of the silk. The trees that dominate the left side of the composition bifurcate the painting in an awkward manner. These formal aspects problematize a Southern Song dating. While the iconography of the three scenes

depicted within the painting is consistent with the Freer scrolls, its present state does not shed light on the format of the original handscrolls or the placement of the poems within them.

The last painting that has a claim to a Southern Song dating is the Cleveland Museum's *Zhi tu* 織圖 (*Sericulture*) (fig. 1.8). It carries a tentative attribution to the Southern Song artist Liang Kai 梁楷 (act. early thirteenth century).²² At one point this handscroll of ink and light color on silk was cut into fragmented sections and remounted as three hanging scrolls in Japan.²³ The painting is well executed with lively and detailed brushwork, yet the composition displays a spatial complexity that undermines a thirteenth-century dating. The architectural settings of the activities advance from the background to the foreground and then to the background again, rather than remaining within the space of a flat, frieze-like corridor. This shifting of ground does not strike me as a Southern Song convention. The picture also is suffused with a bright light, which is uncharacteristic of Song painting. Moreover, the work is on pale, natural silk that exhibits a buttery sheen, a feature that is in keeping with later painting. In general, the silk of Song paintings discolours as it ages, and exhibits a deep coffee color, not in evidence in the Cleveland handscroll. As for the iconography, the majority of the scenes are consistent with that of the Freer scroll.²⁴ The artist was playful and reworked the poses of the people and their placement within the scene, but kept the procedures and equipment standard.²⁵ I regard the painting as a later embellishment derived from either Southern Song pictures of weaving or later copies of them. Again, Lou Shu's poems are not included in the scroll.



Fig. 1.7.
Gengzhi tu 耕織圖 (*Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*). Possibly twelfth century.
Hanging scroll, ink and light color on silk, 25.7 x 24.8 cm. Shanghai: Museum of Art.

A Yuan Dynasty Version of the Pictures of Tilling

The earliest extant handscroll of the pictures of tilling is an incomplete Yuan dynasty painting with poems entitled *Gengjia tu* 耕稼圖 (*Pictures of the Hard Labor Involved in Tilling*) acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 2006 (fig. 1.4).²⁶ It measures 26.7 cm by 505.4 cm and is painted in ink and light colors on silk. An attached colophon in the same hand as the paintings and poems contains the date 1353; the condition and quality of the silk support this early date. In all likelihood the scroll was once paired with another, now lost, with the pictures of weaving.

The first half of the scroll is missing, so the tilling sequence begins with Step 13, the irrigation scene, and ends with the final scene in which rice is placed in the government granary as tax. Unlike the Heilongjiang *Pictures of Raising Silkworms and Weaving Silk* scroll, the scenes and poems in the Metropolitan scroll are set in alternating and separately delineated spaces. Though we do not know if this configuration reflects Lou Shu's original design, it did become one of the most popular ways of constructing later pictures of tilling and weaving. The representation of individual procedures in the imagery of the Metropolitan scroll is generally the same as that of the Song dynasty fan.

The consistencies among the individual scenes in the above paintings suggest a stable iconography at the level of the individual scene. Though there are differences in style — the Heilongjiang scroll and the hanging scroll in the Beijing Palace Museum attributed to Ma Yuan diverge, for example, in the representation of the technical details of the warp scenes — these are most likely due to a misunderstanding of the technical complexity of the procedure. The similarities are more persuasive, as the iconography is, for the most part, uniform, and thus suggests the existence of an earlier common source. As the same iconography is found in the Freer Gallery's complete *Pictures of Weaving*, the

Metropolitan scroll can stand in to represent an approximation of Lou Shu's original. This assessment is further supported by the discussion below, which demonstrates how the scenes in the Freer Gallery's *Pictures of Tilling* handscroll are nearly identical to the standardized imagery of pictures of tilling in the early corpus. In addition, the closeness of the iconography of the Freer *Pictures of Weaving* scroll to earlier exemplars dating to the Song confirms its nearness to Lou Shu's original. Indeed the Freer Gallery's *Pictures of Tilling* scroll provides the most complete evidence of Lou Shu's original.

The Freer Scrolls and Their Iconography

The Freer Gallery's *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* handscrolls, currently entitled *Gengzuo tu* 耕作圖 (*Rice culture*) and *Canzhi tu* 蠶織圖 (*Sericulture*), are both painted in ink and color on paper (for the complete illustrations of the Freer's *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*, along with the poems in Chinese and translated into English, see Appendix A).²⁷ The *Weaving* scroll measures 1249.3 cm by 31.9 cm and its companion, the *Tilling* scroll, measures 1034.0 cm by 32.6 cm. The poems, interspersed between the images, are interesting in that for each there are two sets of characters (the Metropolitan scroll, in contrast, has one set of characters in standard script). The larger, more prominent characters are in the seal script form and have smaller, standard script characters next to them. The commanding presence of the archaizing seal script gives the poems an air of antiquity, whereas the adjacent standard script facilitates ease of reading. Two colophons, discussed below, one reportedly by Zhao Mengyu 趙孟頫 (act. late thirteenth–mid fourteenth century, styled Zijun 子俊), brother of the famous artist, Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254–1322) who is discussed in Chapter 5, and the other by Yao Shi 姚式 (n.d.), state that Cheng Qi 程棨 (act. c. 1275, also known as Yifu 儀甫 and Suizhai 隨齋) executed the painting and calligraphed the poems.²⁸

The Freer scrolls have traditionally been viewed as late Song or early Yuan paintings dating to the thirteenth century,²⁹ but I believe they are more likely eighteenth-century copies of thirteenth-century originals. Before we address their complex history and provenance, let us first look closely at their iconography in relationship to the early corpus. A comparison of the nine steps in the Metropolitan *Tilling* scroll portion with the corresponding scenes in the Freer scrolls reveals that they are nearly identical in composition. In the “Guan gai” 灌溉 (“Irrigation”) scenes, for example, the overall composition and individual elements are formally very close (figs. 1.9 and 1.10). In the center of the Metropolitan scene, four people operate a square chain pump while a solitary figure off to the right uses the lever system to water his fields. The Freer painting likewise shows four figures at the

pump with a single man working with the lever. The figures are in nearly identical poses in essentially the same environment, and in both the second figure from the left is a woman — an unusual detail.

The iconography of the Freer and Metropolitan scrolls is also consistent with the miniaturized scenes in the Song fan painting. Its “Irrigation” scene (fig. 1.11) also displays four people pedaling the pump in poses similar to those found in the Metropolitan and Freer scrolls, albeit reversed. We do not see the man working a lever to the side, and the small scale of the painting makes it impossible to distinguish whether or not a woman is working alongside the men. In all three paintings the pumps are shown in the field in nearly identical fashion. Indeed, with the exception of the omission of “Seeding” (Step 6) in the fan’s sequence (fig. 1.6),



Fig. 1.9.
Qugeci (Hugechi) 忽哥赤 (act. mid-fourteenth century) and Yuan artist (fourteenth century). Scene of “Guan gai” 灌溉 (“Irrigation”) from *Gengjia tu* 耕稼圖 (*Pictures of the Hard Labor Involved in Tilling*). Fourteenth century. Handscroll, ink and color on silk. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Purchase, W. M. Keck Foundation Gift and other gifts in memory of Douglas Dillon, 2005, 2005.277). Photograph in the collection of the author.

all of the common scenes in the Metropolitan and Freer scrolls bear equally striking similarities. The “Threshing” scene in all three (figs. 1.12, 1.13, and 1.14), for example, has four figures, the two to the right holding up flails as they prepare to beat down the grain, and the two to the left threshing the grain. Finally, in all three paintings the procedure “Reaping” includes an observer who is positioned under an umbrella and points with one hand (figs. 1.15, 1.16, and 1.17) — this important figure is a village clerk supervising the production of rice.³⁰

A comparison of the Heilongjiang scroll with the Freer *Weaving* scroll also reveals many similarities. Indeed, a total of fifteen scenes, well over half of the twenty-four that appear in the Heilongjiang scroll, indicate an undeniable affinity between the

two works.³¹ In some cases the entire composition is close, though they are occasionally mirror images, in others it is the postures of the working women, or the number of figures and the placement of equipment within the vignettes that is nearly identical. In both scrolls, for instance, the scene for the “Second Molting” features two women and a baby in a room with a vertical case of trays (figs. 1.18 and 1.19). The poses of the women and child are identical: a standing woman holds a child out towards a seated woman, who reaches toward the infant as if to receive it in her arms. In both scenes the tray holder behind the seated woman on the right supports the flat baskets brimming with silkworms and chopped mulberry leaves.



Fig. 1.10.
Attributed to Cheng Qi 程棨
(act. c. 1275). Scene of “Guan
gai” 灌溉 (“Irrigation”) from
Gengzuo tu 耕作圖 (*Rice
Culture*). Later copy, possibly
eighteenth century. Handscroll,
ink and color on paper.
Washington, DC: Freer Gallery
of Art, Smithsonian Institution
(Purchase, F1954.21).

In nine of the scenes, the iconography of the Heilongjiang and Freer scrolls diverges to a considerable degree. For instance, in the scene in which the warp threads are attached to the loom (figs. 1.20 and 1.21)³² the Heilongjiang scroll has two women standing on either side of a warp frame in which they have placed bobbins. The viewer has a clear view of the warp frame structure and can see that the thread will be gathered through the frame to create the length of the fabric. The Freer scroll includes an extra piece of equipment in this scene: a large roller operated by two women to the right of the warp structure. The addition of this piece of equipment enables the viewer to see how the warp threads are initially ordered on the warp frame and then carefully wound around a larger device, allowing for a greater understanding of the procedure for arranging the warp threads. This suggests a greater interest in the representation of technological details in the Freer scroll.³³

Since the Freer *Pictures of Weaving* present the twenty-four scenes of Lou Shu's *Pictures of Weaving* in a sequence that corresponds with the description in the Lou family documents of 1210, I take it to be closer to the original than the Heilongjiang scroll with its diversions from the sequence. The Heilongjiang scroll may be the older painting, but it appears that it does not faithfully represent the older iconography as transmitted by the textual records of 1210. An analysis of the corpus of early pictures of tilling and weaving suggests that the iconography of the Freer paintings dates to the mid-twelfth century, though the scrolls themselves most likely date to the eighteenth century.



Fig. 1.11.
Detail of "Guan gai" 灌溉 ("Irrigation") from *Genghuo tu* 耕獲圖 (*Pictures of Tilling and Harvesting*). Thirteenth century. Album leaf, ink and light color on silk. Beijing: Collection of the Palace Museum.



Fig. 1.12.
Detail of "Chi sui" 持穗 ("Threshing") from *Genghuo tu* 耕獲圖 (*Pictures of Tilling and Harvesting*). Thirteenth century. Album leaf, ink and light color on silk. Beijing: Collection of the Palace Museum.

The Freer Scrolls and Qing Dynasty Rubbings of the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*

An early dating for the iconography of the Freer scrolls is further supported by the research of the modern sinologist Paul Pelliot. In 1913 Pelliot published reproductions of a rubbing of the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* taken from a stele carved in 1769 by the Qing dynasty Qianlong 乾隆 Emperor (r. 1736–1796).³⁴ A French diplomat with the last name of Semallé acquired the rubbing by 1880 and thus it is known as the Semallé scroll.³⁵ The imagery on the stele from which the rubbing was taken is very close to that of the Freer scrolls. Indeed, the colophons attached to the Freer scrolls are likewise reproduced, including those by Zhao Mengyu and Yao Shi, who attributed the painting to Cheng Qi. Looking more closely at Mr. Yao's colophon, we gain further clues to the origins of the Freer scrolls. He writes:

To the right [of this colophon] are the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* in two handscrolls. The *Tilling* has twenty-one procedures. The *Weaving* has twenty-four procedures. The procedures are made into pictures, each of which has a five character, eight line poem in four rhyme schemes connected to it. Lou Shu, during the reign of Emperor Gaozong of the Song dynasty, was magistrate at Yuqian in Lin'an, and [these paintings] were presented to the emperor at that time. [The paintings] are complementary works to [the painting of] the "Seventh Month" poem of the "Airs of Bin" [found in the *Shijing* 詩經 or *Book of Odes*]. His grandsons Hong, Shen, and others wanted to carve the poems on stone, and decided to ask his descendant [nephew] Yue, who held public office in the Jiading era [1208–1224], to calligraph the poems [on

stone] and write a preface. For this reason, these pictures are also circulated through woodprint [versions]. The revered Cheng Wenjian's [Lin] [程琳 act. mid-elventh century] great-grandson Cheng Qi, who is also known as Yifu, is an erudite and cultured gentleman. He painted [the pictures] and calligraphed [the poems] in the seal script, and deemed it worthy [to pass down the generations] as a family inheritance. [He once] said those viewers who know the originals [should] not [dismiss the value of] the paintings. Written by Yao Shi of Wuxing.

右耕織圖二卷，耕凡二十一事，織凡二十四事。事為之圖，繫以五言詩一章，章八句四韻。樓璣當宋高宗時，令臨安於潛，所進本也。與豳風七月相表裡。其孫洪深等嘗以詩刊諸石。其從子鑰嘉定間忝知政事，為之書丹，且敘其所以。此圖亦有木本流傳于世。文簡程公曾孫榮儀甫博雅君子也。繪而篆之以為家藏，可謂知本覽者毋輕視之。吳興姚式書³⁶

Fig. 1.15.
Detail of "Shou yi" 收割
("Reaping") from *Genghuo tu*
耕獲圖 (*Pictures of Tilling and*
Harvesting). Thirteenth century.
Album leaf, ink and light color
on silk. Beijing: Collection of
the Palace Museum.



Assuming this colophon is authentic, it is unfortunate that Yao Shi did not date his commentary, so that we could know when his observations were made. Even so, I believe the text helps situate Cheng Qi in time. Yao Shi claims that the artist is the great-grandson of Cheng Lin who was active during the reign of Emperor Renzong 仁宗 (r. 1023–1064).³⁷ I presume, that because of this, the art historian James F. Cahill and others proposed a probable dating of around 1275 for when his great-grandson was active.³⁸ In this colophon, Yao Shi asserts that the paintings are related to Lou Shu's *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*, noting they were reproduced in stele, and also printed in woodblock format. It is not clear whether the paintings by Cheng Qi are based on a woodblock edition, the stele, or the original *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*.

According to other documents that are discussed more fully in Chapter 4, we know that at least one and possibly two

other printed versions of Lou Shu's *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* may have existed in the thirteenth century: in 1237 Lou Shao 樓杓 (n.d.), the great-grandson of Lou Shu, wrote an account of how Wang Gang 汪綱 (act. 1187–1230), a minister reportedly deeply interested in agriculture, reproduced them in the form of woodblock prints in 1230.³⁹ It is not clear whether Lou Shao, inspired by Wang Gang, also reproduced the prints, but his acknowledgement of his gratitude to Wang Gang survives in a later publication.⁴⁰

The Semallé scroll is important to our discussion because the sinologist Paul Pelliot researched the historical circumstances of its creation. He found both fourteenth-century and seventeenth-century references that demonstrate the existence of Lou Shu's twelfth-century original, as well as seventeenth-century documentation of Wang Gang's woodblock

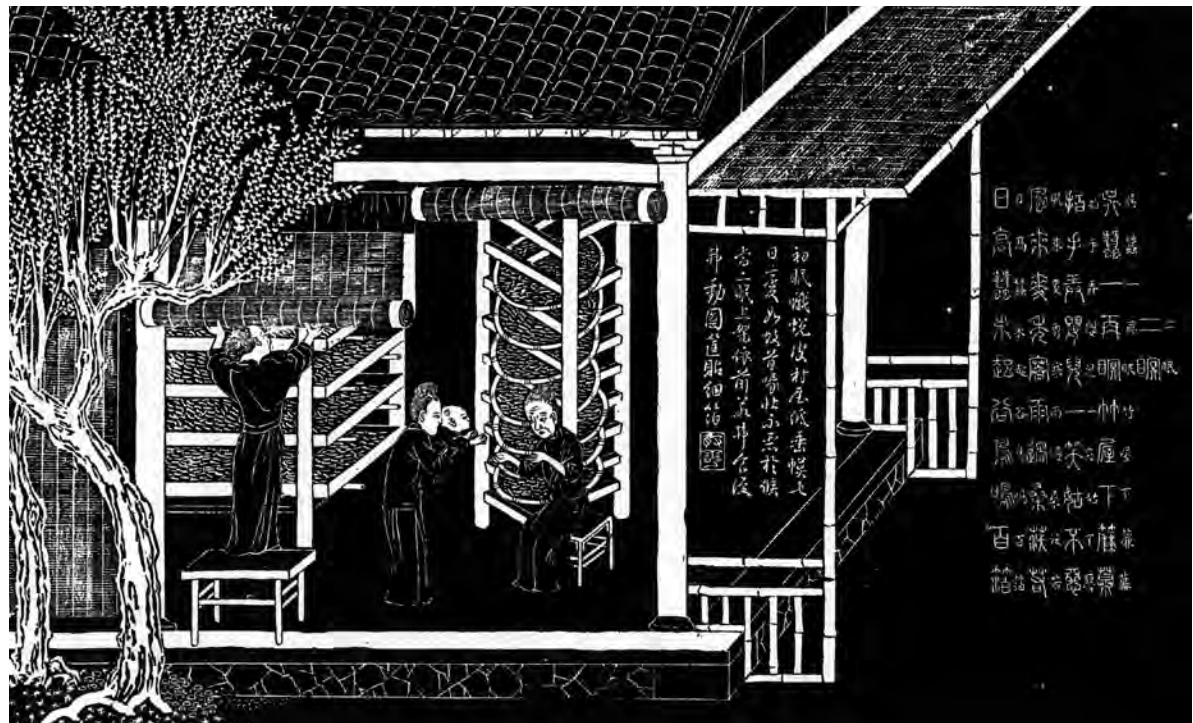


Fig. 1.22. Scene of “Er mian” 二眠 (“The Second Molting”) from the Semallé rubbing of the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*. After Paul Pelliot, “A Propos du Keng Tche T’ou,” *Mémoires Concernant l’Asie Orientale*, vol. 1, Planche XXXVII. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1913.

print edition in the imperial collection, and has argued that when, in 1769, the Qianlong Emperor decided to replicate the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* in stone carvings, he selected the Cheng Qi scrolls as the most historically appropriate paintings for the imperial court to copy.⁴¹ It is reasonable to assume that 1) Wang Gang's prints would have adhered to imagery as established by Lou Shu, and that 2) when the Qianlong Emperor chose to have the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* carved into stele, his academicians would have consulted resources in the library and thereby endorsed Cheng Qi. As the iconography of the Cheng Qi scrolls and the Semallé scroll rubbing is very close, I believe they were both very similar to the prints and Lou Shu's originals.

A brief comparison of the content of the scrolls demonstrates their similarities. The Semallé scroll is quite complete: it shows forty-five procedures — all the ones mentioned in the Lou family documents — with Lou Shu's poems to the right of each scene and in the same order. The imagery in the Semallé scroll is very similar to that of the Freer. For example, in the Semallé scene of the "Second Molting" (fig. 1.22) from the *Weaving* portion, the overall content, or at least the techniques depicted, are essentially identical to those in the Freer scroll, as are the formal arrangement and composition (fig. 1.19). The procedures in the Semallé scroll occasionally include additional ancillary figures, such as the woman to the left who unwinds a bamboo curtain in this scene, but these are not central to the activities depicted. All the "Second Molting" images show two women, a child, and racks of round trays stacked up behind the elderly woman who sits on a bench to the right. The woman who holds the child is standing at the left and behind her are large rectangular platforms assembled vertically that are laden with silkworms. Overall, the similarities outweigh the differences. Even the Semallé "Irrigation" step from the *Tilling* portion

(fig. 1.23), includes the woman, third from the right, a detail consistent with the Metropolitan and Freer versions (figs. 1.9 and 1.10 respectively).

The modern scholar Wang Chaosheng has suggested that the Qianlong Emperor, after seeing Cheng Qi's copies of Lou Shu's work, decided to have the images and poems carved into stone.⁴² This act demonstrates the high regard the Qianlong Emperor had for an early version of the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*, and his interest in replicating them. Known as an avid collector and patron of the replication of paintings, the Qianlong Emperor was so enthused he also wrote his own versions of all forty-five poems, which appear in his distinctive cursive calligraphy as intrusive poems in the scenes in both the Freer and Semallé scrolls.⁴³

Though the iconography of both the Freer and the Semallé scrolls is reliably thirteenth century, the date of the Freer scrolls themselves is harder to pin down. Wang Chaosheng has documented that Cheng Qi's thirteenth-century paintings were eventually placed in the Guizhi Shantang 貴織山堂 (the Honouring Weaving Mountain Hall) at Yuanming Yuan 圓明園 (the Garden of Perfect Brightness) in the eighteenth century. He has also suggested that the Freer scrolls were plundered from Yuanming Yuan when, in 1860, French and English troops sacked the Summer Palace.⁴⁴ Wang Chaosheng argues that the Freer paintings are in fact Cheng Qi's thirteenth-century paintings. Theoretically this is a possibility, but it is more likely the Freer scrolls are copies that date to the Qianlong era, and Cheng Qi's thirteenth-century scrolls of the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* are lost. It is possible that the emperor's stone stele inspired others to produce painted copies and that the Freer scrolls are one of these: it seems likely that the Freer paintings are an eighteenth-century version of Cheng Qi's thirteenth-century handscroll on which the stele are based.

Furthermore, the style of the Freer scrolls themselves argues against a thirteenth-century dating. First, the application of color pigments onto paper in a handscroll format was not a very common practice in thirteenth-century China. In addition, the wide spectrum of the palette, in particular the presence of yellow-orange, does not strike the eye as late Song or early Yuan and overall, the colors are too bright for the thirteenth century. The quality of the brushwork used to delineate the straight lines of the architecture and equipment is too brittle and appears wooden in comparison with other more reliable Song and Yuan paintings in the early corpus. In addition, the brushwork that articulates the figures' contours is cursory and it does not skilfully develop a sense of the three-dimensionality of the human forms or the folds of their clothing that one would expect in thirteenth-century representations. While some brushwork to define figures painted in the thirteenth century may exhibit surface-bound calligraphic elegance, the strokes in the Freer figures do not display such refinement. Finally, the use of the large, seal script characters with smaller, regular script characters to their right in the poems is intriguing: the Freer scroll may exhibit the only paintings that incorporate both sets of characters for the poems contained within them, a practice that was attributed to Cheng Qi by a colophon attached to the scrolls.⁴⁵

The Freer scrolls thus appear to be eighteenth-century copies of a thirteenth-century version of the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* produced by Cheng Qi, whose own work was based on Lou Shu's original twelfth-century designs, as transmitted through printed versions created by Lou Shu's great-grandson, or by Wang Gang. The Freer scrolls are consequently the best and most complete model for the original Song dynasty version of the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*.

Conclusions

Given the iconographic similarities between the Heilongjiang Song *Pictures of Weaving* scroll, the Beijing Song *Pictures of Tilling* fan, the Metropolitan Yuan *Pictures of Tilling* scroll, and the Semallé scroll, we can view the Freer collection's *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* as offering the complete suite of all forty-five scenes of Lou Shu's *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*, more or less as they appeared in the Song dynasty. Even if the Freer scrolls are Qing dynasty copies of paintings by Cheng Qi, we should not assume that their imagery does not represent earlier iconography; indeed, they appear to be a close and complete copy of Lou Shu's original scrolls and are thus an invaluable resource in establishing the pictorial content of the earlier paintings. The Freer *Tilling* scroll is particularly valuable as it is the only extant handscroll that contains the entire sequence of grain production.

Unfortunately, the placement of the poems within the scrolls remains unclear. Based on the Heilongjiang Song scroll, it would appear that the poems were not included. The Metropolitan Yuan scroll, however, includes the poems to the right of each scene. Given Song dynasty painting practices, it seems most likely that the texts would have been placed within the scrolls, but until new documents or paintings come to light, this cannot be confirmed.

NOTES

Introduction

- ¹ In traditional China, paintings were not necessarily given titles by the artists. Titles of paintings more likely were generated by the cataloguers of collections when they labeled scrolls with descriptive comments. In this book, the title *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* refers explicitly to works of art, whereas the phrase “pictures of tilling and weaving” indicates the category.
- ² Within China the pictures of tilling and weaving genre was extremely popular in the Qing dynasty, and their vision of agrarian labor was applied to other forms of work, such as the production of porcelain, ink sticks, and tea packaging. According to research by Günther Berger, Georges Metalilie, and Takeshi Watabe, scenes from the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* were reproduced on wallpaper in Austria in the mid-eighteenth century. It is possible to speculate that Denis Diderot may have seen these images, and they could have provided the inspiration for the representations of laborers in his *Encyclopédie*. Günther Berger, Georges Metalilie, and Takeshi Watabe, “Une chinoiserie insolite: étude d’un papier peint chinois,” *Arts Asiatiques* 51 (1996): 96–116.
- ³ Wang Chaosheng, ed., *Zhongguo gudai gengzhi tu*, 36. For examples of scientific and technological history that discusses the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*, see Francesca Bray, “Agriculture: Biology and Biological Technology,” in *Science and Civilization in China*, ed. Joseph Needham, vol. 6, part 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Dieter Kuhn, “Chemistry and Chemical Technology: Textile Technology,” in *Science and Civilization in China*, ed. Joseph Needham, vol. 5, part 9 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) 356–7; and Wang Chaosheng, ed. *Zhongguo gudai gengzhi tu* 中國古代耕織圖 [*Farming and Weaving Pictures in Ancient China*] (Beijing: Zhongguo nongye chubanshe, 1995).
- ⁴ One important exception is Julia K. Murray who has studied the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* and published on the subject in some detail. Julia K. Murray, “What Is “Chinese Narrative Illustration?”” *Art Bulletin* 80:4 (1998): 602–15; and “Patterns of Evolution in Chinese Illustration: Expansionism or Epitomization?” in *Arts of the Sung and Yüan: Ritual, Ethnicity and Style in Painting*, ed. Cary Y. Liu and Dora C.Y. Ching (Princeton: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1999) 120–51.
- ⁵ There are notable exceptions such as Robert J. Maeda, “Chieh-hua: Ruled-line Painting in China,” *Ars Orientalis* 10 (1975): 123–41; and Liu Heping, “The Water Mill and Northern Song Imperial Patronage of Art, Commerce, and Science” *Art Bulletin* 84:4 (2002): 566–95.
- ⁶ I include three suites of poems on agrarian tools composed by Mei Yaochen and Wang Anshi to demonstrate this point. See Appendix B, Documents Four and Five.
- ⁷ This, however, is not to suggest that writing about technology and scientific matters was not valued. Several prominent scholar-officials, such as Su Shi and Qin Guan, wrote on agricultural matters. I believe Wai-kam Ho was suggesting that, in terms of painting styles, those depictions that favored the recording of observed phenomena, or displayed high degrees of semblance, were not as valued. Wai-kam Ho, “Late Ming Literati: Social and Cultural Ambience,” in *The Chinese Scholar’s Studio: Artistic Life in the Late Ming Period*, ed. Chu Tsing Li and James C. Y. Watt (New York: Thames and Hudson in association with The Asia Society Galleries, 1987) 28.
- ⁸ Wai-kam Ho, “Aspects of Chinese Painting from 1100–1350,” in *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting: The Collections of the Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, and the Cleveland Museum of Art*, ed. Sherman Lee (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1980) xxvi.
- ⁹ Roslyn Lee Hammers, “Regarding the People in “Genre Painting” or fengsu hua in the Song Dynasty,” in *The Pride of China: Masterpieces of Chinese Painting and Calligraphy of the Jin, Tang, Song, and Yuan Dynasties from the Palace Museum* (Hong Kong: Museum of Art, 2007) 87–90.
- ¹⁰ Edward L. Shaughnessy, “The Duke of Zhou’s Retirement in the East and the Beginnings of the Ministerial-Monarch Debate in Chinese Political Philosophy,” *Early China* 18:3 (1993): 41–72.
- ¹¹ For a translation of this essay entitled in English “Against Luxurious Leisure,” see James Legge, trans., *The Chinese Classics: The Shoo King*, vol. 3 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960) 464–73.
- ¹² Brian McKnight, *Village and Bureaucracy in Southern Sung China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971) 95.

- ¹³ Chun-shu Chang, *The Rise of the Chinese Empire: Nation, State, and Imperialism in Early China, ca. 1600 B.C.–A.D. 8*, vol. 1 (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press: 2007) 34–6.
- ¹⁴ McKnight, *Village and Bureaucracy*, 1–19.
- ¹⁵ The Song examination system was based on that of the Tang dynasty. See F. W. Mote, *Imperial China: 900–1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999) 126–8.
- ¹⁶ Peter K. Bol, *This Culture of Ours: Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991); and “Government, Society and State: On the Political Visions of Ssu-ma Kuang and Wang An-shih,” in *Ordering the World: Approaches to State and Society in Sung Dynasty China*, ed. Conrad Schirokauer and Robert Hymes (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) 128–92.
- ¹⁷ James T. C. Liu, *Reform in Sung China: Wang An-shih (1021–1086) and His New Policies* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1956). In my analysis of the Qingli Reforms, I am also greatly indebted to his research on Fan Zhongyan found in “An Early Sung Reformer: Fan Chung-yen,” in *Chinese Thought and Institutions*, ed. John Fairbank (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1957) 105–31.
- ¹⁸ McKnight, *passim*.
- ¹⁹ James T. C. Liu, *Reform in Sung China*, 99–114.
- ²⁰ James T. C. Liu, *Reform in Sung China*, 115.
- ²¹ McKnight, *Village and Bureaucracy*, 152.
- ²² Linda Walton in “Kinship, Marriage, and Status in Song China,” *Journal of Asian History* 18 (1984): 40.
- ²³ Walton, “Kinship,” 40.
- ²⁴ Elizabeth Endicott-West, *Mongolian Rule in China: Local Administration in the Yuan Dynasty* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asia Studies, Harvard University, 1989); and John D. Langlois, “Political Thought in *Chin-hua* under Mongol Rule,” in *China Under Mongol Rule*, ed. John D. Langlois (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981) 137–85.

Chapter One

Reconstructing Lou Shu's *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*

¹ In current scholarship, 1145 is the year most frequently associated with Lou Shu's presentation of his two paintings to Emperor Gaozong. In European scholarship, this date was initially suggested by Otto Franke, *Keng Tschü T'u: Ackerbau und Seidengewinnung in China* (Hamburg: Abhandlungen des Hamburgischen Kolonialinstitutes 11, 1913) 70–2. Franke made a complicated case for this date based on supplemental documentation from the *Song shi* 宋史 [*History of the Song*], edited by Toghto, that includes commentary by a descendant of Lou Shu. He also used information from Berthold Laufer, “The Discovery of a Lost Book,” *T'oung Pao* 13 (1912) 97–106. Paul Pelliot likewise endorsed Franke's 1145 date in his slightly later writing, “A propos du Keng Tche T'ou,” in *Mémoires Concernant l'Asie Orientale*, vol. 1 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1913) 68. The modern scholar Watabe Takeshi, after a close reading of texts written in 1210 by Lou Shu's nephew and grandson, and documents in the *History of the Song*, has put forth a compelling interpretation, suggesting the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* were produced between the years 1133–1135, and were then presented to Emperor Gaozong around the year 1155. Watabe Takeshi, “Chūgoku nōsho Kōshokuzu no ryūden to sono eikyō ni tsuite” 中国農書《耕織圖》の流伝とその影響について, *Bulletin of the Faculty of Letters, Tokai University* 46 (1986) 5. While Watabe's argument has merit, my reading of these two texts does not conclusively warrant such precision in the dates. I prefer Franke's assessment, which privileges a 1237 text, also written by a Lou family member, that supports the year 1145 as the date Shu gave the scrolls to the emperor. Lou Shao (Lou Shu's great-grandson) wrote that Lou Shu's descendants (nephew and grandson) were concerned that the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* would be lost, so they carved them into stone after “more than sixty years.” This lapidary reproduction occurred in 1210, and thus Lou Shao's writing indicates that the scrolls were presented to the emperor in 1145 or so. Lou Shao's document survived in a publication entitled *Gengzhi tu* 耕織圖 [*Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*], a text that Laufer, in the citation above, speculated was produced sometime between 1462 and 1676. The imagery was reproduced in Franke's publication. A copy of this book is presently housed in the National Library of Japan, and does not include reference to an editor or publisher. It is available for viewing online at <http://www.ndl.go.jp/nature/thum/002.html>. I thank Shalmit Bejarano for calling my attention to this Japanese edition. Lou Shao's commentary is reproduced in Appendix B: Key Documents. I will discuss the writings by Lou Shu's descendants more fully in Chapter 4.

- ² Lou Hong in Lou Shu, *Gengzhi tu shi: fu lu gengzhi tu hou xu* 耕織圖詩：附錄耕織圖後序 [*Poems of the Pictures of Tilling and Weaving: Appendix and Postface to the Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*] (Taipei: Yiwen yinshu guan, 1966) 9r–9v. This document is produced in its entirety in Appendix B.
- ³ The Chinese source for the poems and their sequence is Lou Shu, *Gengzhi tu shi: fu lu gengzhi tu hou xu* 耕織圖詩：附錄耕織圖後序 [*Poems of the Pictures of Tilling and Weaving: Appendix and Postface to the Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*] (Taipei: Yiwen yinshu guan, 1966) 1r–8v.
- ⁴ Lin Guiying and Liu Fengtong, “Song Canzhi tu juan chu tan” 宋《蠶織圖》卷初探 [“Initial Investigation of the Song Scroll Silkworm and Weaving Pictures”], *Wenwu* 10 (1984): 31–3, 39.
- ⁵ I thank Yang Xin for his assistance with this painting. Having personally viewed it, he accepts the scroll as a Southern Song painting. I have not been able to view the original. According to the historian Wang Chaosheng, this was one of the scrolls the last emperor of the Qing dynasty, Pu Yi 溥儀 (r. 1908–1911/24), had taken from the palace collection when he fled to Changchun 長春 in the early twentieth century. Presumably, he had intended to sell it to the Japanese. Wang Chaosheng, ed., *Zhongguo gudai gengzhi tu* 中國古代耕織圖 [*Farming and Weaving Pictures in Ancient China*] (Beijing: Zhongguo nongye chubanshe, 1995) 37.
- ⁶ *Wenwu* (1984/10) reproduces the scroll in its entirety (illustrations between pages 16 and 17). A better image of it appears in *Qi ji tian gong: Zhongguo gu dai fa ming chuang zao Wenwu zhan* 奇迹天工：中国古代发明创造文物展 [*Exhibition of Ancient Chinese Inventions Artifacts*], compiled by the State Administration of Cultural Heritage: China Association of Science and Technology (Beijing: Wenwu Press, 2008) 23–6.
- ⁷ Robert Thorp and Richard Vinograd, *Chinese Art and Culture* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2000) 229–30. In correspondence, Professor Vinograd and Marion Lee indicated the source for this date was a colophon reproduced in the article by Lin and Liu in *Wenwu* (1984/10): 31–3, 39. My inspection of the colophons did not confirm this date. The earliest dated colophon attached to the scroll carries the year 1287. According to Wang Chaosheng, it is a copy dating to 1127, suggesting this year as the one in which Lou Shu presented the scroll to Emperor Gaozong, without documentation. Wang Chaosheng, *Zhongguo gudai*, 37.
- ⁸ Toghto, *Song shi* 宋史 [*History of the Song*], section 5207 on 中央研究院: 漢籍電子文獻 (Academia Sinica Scriptorium site), <http://www.sinica.edu.tw/~tdbproj/handy/>. Accessed June 2006.
- ⁹ Julia K. Murray likewise has described six categories to describe the spatial relationships between text and image that are specific to illustrations of the poem “Seventh Month” in the “Airs of Bin” section of the *Shijing*. Julia K. Murray, “Illustrations of ‘Seventh Month’ in the Odes of Pin: The Evolution of a Theme,” *National Palace Bulletin* 32:2 and 3 (May–June; July–August 1997): 1–20; 21–40. In addition, Murray has correctly questioned the validity of the use of the category of “narrative” in the case of the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*. See Julia K. Murray, “What Is ‘Chinese Narrative Illustration?’” *Art Bulletin* 80:4 (1998): 602–15.
- ¹⁰ I translate the title “Zhi” 織 as “(Plain) Weaving” to differentiate it from another weaving procedure entitled “Pan hua” 攀花 “Brocade Weaving.”
- ¹¹ Moreover, it appears inexplicably that the Heilongjiang scroll offers two scenes for Step 3, “Feeding the Silkworms.”
- ¹² Such as Ma Hezhi’s series on the *Book of Odes* or *Duke Wen of Jin Recovering His State*, that is attributed to Li Tang (c. 1070s–c. 1150s), presently in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. For discussion and reproductions of these paintings, consult Julia K. Murray, *Ma Hezhi and the Illustration of the Book of Odes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
- ¹³ Lin and Liu, “Song Canzhi tu,” 31.
- ¹⁴ The 1210 documents refer to “Jian bo” 翦帛 [“Cutting the Fabric”] as the final step in the *Pictures of Weaving*. If we privilege the textual record, this scene in the painting is not labeled as “Cutting the Fabric.” In fact, this scene in the painting is given two other labels: “Xia ji” 下機 [“Taking the Cloth Off the Loom”], and “Ru xiang” 入箱 [“Placing the Fabric into a Chest”]. Neither one of these acts was deemed important enough to warrant their own poem or step in the textual record, and in the case of the label “Taking the Cloth Off the Loom,” this caption is incorrect. The women are shown cutting the bolt of fabric into lengths of cloth.
- ¹⁵ Lin and Liu, “Song Canzhi tu,” 31–2.

- ¹⁶ I saw this painting in its current location in the collection of the Beijing Palace Museum. Measuring 37.5 cm x 83.2 cm, its quality is very fine. It is reproduced in *Zhongguo meishu quanji* 中國美術全集 [Complete Collection of Chinese Art] vol. 5, entry 15 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988).
- ¹⁷ James F. Cahill, *The Lyric Journey* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993) 36–7.
- ¹⁸ Xu Bangda, “Nansong dihou ti hua shu kaobian” 南宋帝后題畫書考辨 [“Colophons on Paintings and Calligraphy by Emperors and Empresses of the Southern Song”], *Wenwu* 文物 (1981/6) 55–7.
- ¹⁹ It is reproduced in *Zhongguo meishu quanji* 中國美術全集, vol. 4, entry 14 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988). It measures 25.7 cm x 24.8 cm. Although this painting is in the Palace Museum in Beijing, I have not been able to see it and my assessment of it is based on reproductions.
- ²⁰ My diagram suggests a place where the “Seeding” scene most likely would have taken place. One field, indicated in figure 1.6, is empty, and I suspect the painter accidentally forgot to include a man casting seeds in this space.
- ²¹ For a discussion of the figurative style of this painting, see Ellen Laing, “Li Sung and Some Aspects of Southern Sung Figure Painting,” *Artibus Asiae* 36:1/2 (1975), figs. 17 and 18. It measures 163.5 x 92.3 cm.
- ²² Ho Wai-kam, “Entry 61,” in *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting: The Collections of the Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, and the Cleveland Museum of Art*, ed. Sherman Lee (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1980) 80.
- ²³ The dimensions of the sections are 26.5 x 98.5 cm, 27.5 x 92.2 cm, and 27.3 x 93.5 cm. I thank Dr. Chou Ju-hsi for showing this painting to me. See Wai-kam Ho, “Entry 61,” 78.
- ²⁴ Some scenes are missing, for example “Silkworm Moths,” “Offering Thanks,” “(Plain) Weaving,” and “Cutting the Fabric.” They may have been trimmed away when the scrolls were remounted.
- ²⁵ Dieter Kuhn has noted how the reeling equipment depicted in the scene of reeling the silkworms (Step 16) is technologically incorrect in the Cleveland painting. This scene is also inaccurate in the Freer version. I cannot determine if it is correct in the Heilongjiang scroll. Dieter Kuhn, “Chemistry and Chemical Technology: Textile Technology,” in *Science and Civilisation in China*, ed. Joseph Needham, vol. 5, part 9 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) 356–7.
- ²⁶ I was able to view the painting in 2002 when it was in a private collection. The owner, who wishes to remain anonymous, kindly allowed me to view the painting, for which I extend my thanks. I also thank James Robinson for calling the painting to my attention. It is reproduced in the Sotheby’s catalogue, *Important Classical Chinese Paintings and Calligraphy* (Hong Kong, sale date October 29, 2000) entry number 74, 82. I will refer to this painting as *Pictures of the Hard Labor Involved in Tilling* throughout this book, although it carries the English title *Illustration of Agriculture Process* in this publication. Its present accession number at the Metropolitan Museum of Art is 2005.277. I will discuss this painting in greater detail in Chapter 5.
- ²⁷ Sections of these scrolls are reproduced in Thomas Lawton, *Freer Gallery of Art Fiftieth Anniversary Exhibition, II: Chinese Figure Painting* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1973) entries 7 and 8, 54–7.
- ²⁸ Colophons to the paintings are reproduced in a section about the scrolls in *Shi qu bao ji xu bian* 石渠寶笈續編 [Sequel to Precious Book Box of the Stone Drain, Catalogue of Painting and Calligraphy in the Qianlong Emperor’s collection], ed. Wang Jie (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1971) 3881–7. Yao Shi’s colophon can be found on page 3883, Zhao Mengyu’s is on page 3887.
- ²⁹ Lawton, Freer Gallery of Art, 54 and James F. Cahill, *An Index of Early Chinese Painters and Paintings: Tang, Sung, and Yuan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980) 263.
- ³⁰ This figure of the clerk will be discussed more fully in Chapter 4.
- ³¹ These scenes include “Bathing Silkworm (Eggs),” “Hatching Silkworms,” “The First Molting,” “The Third Molting,” “Setting up the Trellises,” “Off the Trellises,” “Selecting Cocoons,” “Storing the Cocoons,” “Silkworm Moths,” “Offering Thanks,” “Winding Silk,” “Weft,” “Brocade Weaving,” and “Cutting the Fabric.”
- ³² Dieter Kuhn has researched the pictorialization of warp scenes in connection to technological developments in “Some Notes Concerning the Textile Technology Depicted in the Keng-chih-t’u,” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 130:2 (1980): 408–16. He has

concluded that the imagery of the Cheng Qi scroll represents a later historical development of the thirteenth century.

- ³³ The loom for the simple weaving step is more complex than the one seen in the Heilongjiang scroll. The “Reeling Silk” scene in the Heilongjiang scroll, however, depicts its equipment with greater technological refinement than the Freer version. The Freer scroll depicts one reeling machine while the Heilongjiang version shows two scenes of the same activity, and thus depicts two reelers. I would be curious to see if the scroll demonstrates the two different northern and southern styles of reeling and thus, the Heilongjiang scroll may illustrate regional differences. Alternatively, it could also be a front and back view of the same machine.
- ³⁴ Pelliot, “A Propos,” passim.
- ³⁵ The present whereabouts of the Semallé scroll is unknown. According to Wang Chaosheng, some of Qianlong’s stele were destroyed in 1860. In 1911 the surviving twenty-three stele were moved to a private residence, and in 1960 they were placed in the collection of the Museum of Chinese History. I have since heard that some of them still are extant, and were on display in Beijing in the Yuanming Yuan. Wang published reproductions of the stone rubbings found in Pelliot’s article, “A Propos du Keng Tche Tou” as the reproductions of Qianlong’s stele. See Wang Chaosheng, *Zhongguo gudai*, 127–48.
- ³⁶ Yao Shi in *Shi qu bao ji xu bian*, 3883.
- ³⁷ See entry for Cheng Lin 程琳 (act. mid-eleventh century) in *Zhongguo renming da cidian* 中國人名大辭典 [*Encyclopedia of Chinese Biographical Names*] (Taipei: Commercial Press, 1990) 1188–9.
- ³⁸ These are the only paintings that I know of that are attributed to Cheng Qi. An obscure painter, he is said to have been active circa 1275; his dates are not firmly documented. See James F. Cahill, *An Index of Early Chinese Painters and Paintings*, 263. Moreover, Cahill has questioned Lou Shu’s artistic authorship. He argues that the scrolls may have been “ghost-painted for Lou Shu.” James F. Cahill, *The Painter’s Practice: How Artists Lived and Worked in Traditional China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994) 139. Stephen Allee has speculated that Cheng Qi might have been the original “ghost” painter for Lou Shu (in consultation, November, 2001).
- ³⁹ See Franke, *Keng Tschi T’u*, 184.
- ⁴⁰ The Wang Gang prints (or perhaps Lou Shao’s version), coupled with Lou Shu’s great-grandson’s writing apparently inspired later additions, including a version published in 1462 by Song Zonglu. See Franke, *Keng Tschi T’u*, 73–4. Pelliot has argued this edition was transferred to Japan, and became the basis for another *Gengzhi tu*, a publication presently in the National Library of Japan and mentioned in note 1. Pelliot, “A Propos,” 73–4. Dieter Kuhn has discussed later examples of prints of the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* in the Ming dynasty. Dieter Kuhn, “Die Darstellung des Keng-chih-t’u und ihre Wiedergabe in populär-enzyklopädischen Werken der Ming-Zeit,” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 126:2 (1976): 336–67.
- ⁴¹ Pelliot, “A Propos,” 90–1. Pelliot speculates that the 1210 versions are lost.
- ⁴² Wang Chaosheng, *Zhongguo gudai*, 48, 127–8.
- ⁴³ For the Qianlong Emperor’s interest in collecting and reproducing paintings as they intersect with governance and legitimacy, see Patricia Berger, *Empire of Emptiness: Buddhist Art and Political Authority in Qing China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003) 63–82. Furthermore, the Qianlong Emperor’s poems written on the Cheng Qi painting and the stele are also recorded. Wang Chaosheng, *Zhongguo gudai*, 209–12. Qianlong wrote more than one suite of poems to the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*. In addition, he was not the only Qing emperor who wrote new poems for the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*. The Kangxi and Yongzheng Emperors also wrote them. They are recorded in Wang Chaosheng, *Zhongguo gudai*, 200–3 and 205–8 respectively. See also Nathalie Monnet, *Le Gengzhitu: le Livre du riz et de la soie* (Paris: J. C. Lattès, 2003) 43–66 for the Kangxi Emperor’s poems translated into French by Bernard Fuhrer.
- ⁴⁴ Wang Chaosheng, *Zhongguo gudai*, 48.
- ⁴⁵ Zhao Mengyu wrote, “The two handscrolls of the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* had been in the Cheng family collection for a long time. Every section has small, seal script [characters] written by Suizhai [Cheng Qi] and are handed-down and circulated in society. Those who enjoy good food and fancy clothes should know the labor of the farming men and the weaving women. Zijun [Zhao Mengyu].” 耕織圖二卷乃程氏舊藏。每節小篆皆隨齋手題，流傳于世。使享膏粱衣紬綺者，知農夫蠶婦之工力也。子俊。 Zhao Mengyu in *Shi qu bao ji xu bian*, ed. Wang Jie, 3887. The use of the double seal and standard script found in the Freer scrolls is very unusual, and to my knowledge is unique in poems incorporated within paintings.

Chapter Two

Pictures of Tilling and Weaving: Reforming State and Society

- ¹ For a discussion of the initial instability of Emperor Gaozong's court in the early Southern Song, see Frederick W. Mote, *Imperial China, 900–1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999) 289–98.
- ² For examples of the types of questions posed in the highest level of exams, see Peter K. Bol, “Emperors Can Claim Antiquity Too — Emperorship and Autocracy under the New Policies,” in *Emperor Huizong and Late Northern Song China: The Politics of Culture and the Culture of Politics*, ed. Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Maggie Bickford (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Asia Center, 2006) 173–205.
- ³ Linda Walton, “Kinship, Marriage, and Status in Song China,” *Journal of Asian History* 18 (1984): 39. My discussion of the Lou family circumstances is heavily indebted to her research.
- ⁴ Walton, “Kinship,” 45–7.
- ⁵ Walton, “Kinship,” 39–40.
- ⁶ According to James T. C. Liu, Wang Anshi appointed officials who supported his political theories in prefectural schools and the National Academy. Presumably, Lou Yu was one such appointment. James T. C. Liu, *Reform in Sung China: Wang Anshi (1021–1086) and His New Policies* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959) 65. In addition, Peter K. Bol has commented that some scholars consider his years as an administrator of Yin county (1047–1050) as the time when he developed his ideas for the New Policies. Peter K. Bol, “Government, Society, and State: On the Political Visions of Ssuma Kuang and Wang An-shih,” in *Ordering the World: Approaches to State and Society in Sung Dynasty China*, ed. Conrad Schirokauer and Robert Hymes (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) 130.
- ⁷ Walton, “Kinship,” 44–5.
- ⁸ For Fan Zhongyan and the charitable estate, see Patricia Ebrey, *The Cambridge Illustrated History of China* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 155–8. Dennis Twitchett has argued that Fan Zhongyan, a devout Buddhist, was inspired by his childhood memories of Buddhist estates. See Dennis Twitchett, “The Fan Clan Charitable Estate,” in *Confucianism in Action*, ed. David S. Nivison and Arthur F. Wright (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959) 97–133.
- ⁹ Walton has argued the family charitable estate was designed in part to distribute the wealth of those who had obtained *jinsshi* status to invest in future generations, and increase the potential of later generations of family members to succeed in the exams. Walton, “Kinship,” 46–7.
- ¹⁰ This was already an established strategy. As the modern scholar Alfreda Murck has demonstrated, poems and paintings were employed during the Northern Song and earlier to articulate criticism of irresponsible governance. Alfreda Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song China: The Subtle Art of Dissent* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center for the Harvard-Yenching Institute, 2000).
- ¹¹ Starving and angry farmers living in villages in the hinterlands marched on the capital, caused havoc, and demanded that imperial granaries be opened for their welfare. Hugh Scogin, “Poor Relief in Northern Sung China,” *Oriens Extremis* 25 (1978): 30–64.
- ¹² James T. C. Liu, “An Early Sung Reformer: Fan Chung-yen,” in *Chinese Thought and Institutions*, ed. John K. Fairbank (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1957) 105. Liu referred to Fan's ideology as Confucian, but given its “concern for the common people” (p. 127), it can be more specifically characterized as Mencian.
- ¹³ Liu, “An Early Sung Reformer,” 114.
- ¹⁴ Fan Zhongyan, “Da shou zhao tiaochen shi shi” 答手詔條陳十事 [“Reply to the Imperial Edict Detailing Ten Points”], in *Xin yi Fan Wenzheng Gong xuanji* 新譯范文正公選集 [*New Translations of Selections by Fan Wenzheng Gong*], ed. Shen Songqin and Wang Xinghua (Taipei: San Min Shuju Yinhang, 1997) 430–1. For discussion of the *Shujing* which can also be referred to as the *Shang shu*, see Edward L. Shaughnessy, “Shang Shu (Shu ching),” in *Early Chinese Texts*, ed. Michael Loewe (Berkeley: University of California, 1993) 376–89.
- ¹⁵ Liu, “An Early Sung Reformer,” 131.
- ¹⁶ Liu, “An Early Sung Reformer,” 112–8.
- ¹⁷ 舉縣令擇郡守以救民之弊也。Fan Zhongyan as translated by Liu, in “An Early Sung Reformer,” 116. Fan Zhongyan, *Fan Wenzheng ji* 范文正集 [*Writings by Fan Wenzheng*], ed. Shi Zhaowen, chapter 2 (Shanghai: Shangwu yin shu guan: 1929?) 4v.
- ¹⁸ Liu, “An Early Sung Reformer,” 109.

- ¹⁹ “According to Mr. Donglai [Lü Zuqian] in “On the Principles of Governance”: Alas! If the reforms of the Qingli era had been implemented in full, then there would not be any need for those of the Xining and Yuanyou eras. Had Wenzheng’s suggestions been considered, Wang Anshi would have kept his mouth closed [on the matters of reforms]. Now Wenzheng’s aims were not achieved during the Qingli era, and Anshi’s ideas were thus most influential in Xining and Yuanfeng (1078–1085) eras.”
東萊先生治體論曰 ……嗚呼!使慶曆之法盡行,則熙豐、元祐之法不變;使文正之言得用,則安石之口可塞。今文正之志不盡行於慶曆,安石之學乃盡用於熙豐。
Lü Zuqian, “Zhiti luan” 治體論 [“On the Principles of Governance”], in *Fan Zhongyan quanji* 范仲淹全集 [The Complete Collection of Fan Zhongyan’s Writings], ed. Fan Nengjun, vol. 2 (Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2004) 1046–7.
- ²⁰ F. W. Mote, citing K. C. Xiao in *Imperial China: 900–1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999) 140.
- ²¹ Peter K. Bol, *This Culture of Ours: Intellectual Transitions in Tang and Sung China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991) 247.
- ²² Bol, *This Culture of Ours*, 252–3. Paul J. Smith, “State Power and Economic Activism during the New Policies, 1068–1085: The Tea and Horse Trade and the ‘Green Sprouts’ Loan Policy,” in *Ordering the World: Approaches to State and Society in Sung Dynasty China*, ed. Conrad Schirokauer and Robert Hymes (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) 115, for Sima’s high appraisal of the value of the rich and their benevolent lending practices.
- ²³ Bol, “Government, Society, and State,” 130.
- ²⁴ James T. C. Liu, “Sung Views on the Control of Government Clerks,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 10:2/3 (1967): 326. See also Miyazaki Ichisada, “Ō Anseki no rishi gōitsu saku” 王安石的吏士合一策 [“Wang Anshi’s Policy to Include Clerks in Officialdom”], in *Kuwabara hakase kanreki kinen Tōyōshi ronsō* 桑原博士還曆記念東洋史論叢 [Collected Essays on East Asian History in Celebration of Dr. Kuwabara Jitsuzō’s Sixtieth Birthday] (Kyoto: Kōbundo, 1931) 859–903.
- ²⁵ Sima Guang, *Sima Wenzheng Gong chuan jia ji* 司馬文正公傳家集 [The Complete Writings of Sima Wenzheng Gong], Chapter 42 (Taipei: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1937) 542–5. My translation is after consultation with Peter K. Bol, “Government, Society, and State,” 167.
- ²⁶ Wang Anshi as quoted by Sima Guang in *Sima Wenzheng*, 545.
- ²⁷ Liu, *Reform in Sung China*, 48–52 and Bol, “Government, Society, and State,” 167.
- ²⁸ Liu, *Reform in Sung China*, 40–58 (48–9 in particular).
- ²⁹ Bol, “Government, Society, and State,” 147.
- ³⁰ Bol, “Government, Society, and State,” 130.
- ³¹ Bol, “Government, Society, and State,” 155.
- ³² Bol, “Government, Society, and State,” 147. Sima expressly opposed “literati of literary talent.” He also had called for changes in the examination structure as it was formulated. Bol has suggested that the pursuit of culture and civility may have led to an appreciation of these traits above “moral commitment” (156).
- ³³ Liu, *Reform in Sung China*, 30–3.
- ³⁴ As quoted by Bol, “Government, Society, and State,” 144. Wang Anshi, *Linchuan xinsheng wenji* [The Collected Writings of Mr. Linchuan], Chapter 82 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959) 866.
- ³⁵ For the original source of Fan Zhongyan’s quote, see James Legge, trans. *The Chinese Classics: The Shoo King*, vol. 3 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960) 55–6.
- ³⁶ With assistance from Ouyang Xiu, another scholar-official, the orientation of the examination was redirected towards “those whose languages and principles were closer to antiquity.” As quoted by Bol, *This Culture of Ours*, 59. George Hatch, “Su Hsun’s Pragmatic Statecraft,” in *Ordering the World: Approaches to State and Society in Sung Dynasty China*, ed. Conrad Schirokauer and Robert Hymes (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) 60–1. Also, Liu noted that the “principles of Confucianism” were to be stressed, as were broad interpretations of the classic dynastic histories, see Liu, “Early Sung Reformer,” 114.

- ³⁷ E. A. Kracke, *Civil Service in Early Sung China, 960–1067* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953) 118–24.
- ³⁸ Walton, “Kinship,” 39–40. Bol, “Government, Society, and State,” 143–6. Fan Zhongyan, as Liu demonstrated, likewise was interested in the formation of public schools which had a pro-reform curriculum. Liu, “An Early Sung Reformer,” 111.
- ³⁹ Bol, “Government, Society, and State,” 128–9.
- ⁴⁰ Wang Anshi, “Da Ceng Zigu shu” 答曾子固書 [“Letter in Reply to Ceng Zigu”], in *Wang Linchuan quanji* 王臨川全集 [Collected Writings by Wang Linchuan], ed. Yang Jialuo, Chapter 73 (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1961) 467–8.
- ⁴¹ Lou Hong in Lou Shu, *Gengzhi tu shi: fu lu gengzhi tu hou xu* 耕織圖詩：附錄耕織圖後序 [Poems of the Pictures of Tilling and Weaving: Appendix and Postface to the Pictures of Tilling and Weaving] (Taipei: Yiwen yinshu guan, 1966) 9r.
- ⁴² Lou Shu, *Gengzhi tu shi*, 5r.
- ⁴³ This observation was offered by Lara Blanchard in consultation, October, 2001.
- ⁴⁴ Lou Shu, *Gengzhi tu shi*, 8r.
- ⁴⁵ Bai Juyi, “Liaoling Silk: Honoring the Toil of Women’s Labor,” in *The Columbia Book of Chinese Poetry*, trans. Burton Watson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984) 245–6. Chinese source is *Bai Juyi ji* 白居易集 [The Collected Works of Bai Juyi] (Changsha: Yuelü shushe chuban, 1992) 57.
- ⁴⁶ Lou Shu, *Gengzhi tu shi*, 7v.
- ⁴⁷ Lou Shu, *Gengzhi tu shi*, 4r–4v.
- ⁴⁸ Bai Juyi may have provided the motivation for Lou Shu to think about pairing together the labor of men and women in the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*. Bai, in addition to discussing the labor of women in the previously noted “Liaoling Silk: Honoring the Toil of Women’s Labor,” also wrote a poem on men’s work titled “Duling sou: shang nongfu zhi kun ye” 杜陵叟：傷農夫之困也 [“Old Man of Duling: The Difficulties of an Injured Farmer”]. For an English translation of this farming poem see *Poetry and Prose of the Tang and Song*, trans. Yang Xianyi and Gladys Yang (Beijing: Chinese Literature Press, 1984) 121–2. Bai Juyi, “Duling sou: shang nongfu zhi kun ye” 杜陵叟：傷農夫之困也 [“Old Man of Duling: The Difficulties of an Injured Farmer”], *Bai Juyi ji* 白居易集 [The Collected Works of Bai Juyi] (Changsha: Yuelü shushe chuban, 1992) 57.
- ⁴⁹ Brian McKnight, *Village and Bureaucracy in Southern Sung China* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1971) 55–6.
- ⁵⁰ Liu, *Reform in Sung China*, 108–9.
- ⁵¹ In 1959, Liu argued that Wang Anshi “probably intended to help the relatively poor” classes, see *Reform in Sung China*, 112. I agree with this assessment, but would not be so tentative and do not think we need to be so restrained in the present day. It seems to me many, if not all, of his efforts were designed to assist the farmers and to curb the power of those who were better off to exploit them.
- ⁵² Wang Zhen, in his *Nong shu* 農書 [Book of Agriculture] (preface dated to 1303) identified this kind of structure as a government granary, and had included a woodblock illustration of it. The early fourteenth-century edition is no longer extant, and we have to rely on an early sixteenth-century reprint. This publication will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5. Wang Yuhu, *Wang Zhen Nong shu* 王禎農書 [Book of Agriculture by Wang Zhen] (Beijing: Nongye chubanshe, Xinhua shudian Beijing faxing suo faxing, 1981) 290–1.
- ⁵³ Lou Shu, *Gengzhi tu shi*, 7v.
- ⁵⁴ From the *Nineteen Poems of the Ancient Styles*, the character *mai* 脈 was used in the same repetitive fashion in the “Herd Boy and Weaver Maid” poem, dating sometime between the third and sixth century AD. See Wu-chi Liu and Irving Yucheng Lo, ed. *Sunflower Splendor: Three Thousand Years of Chinese Poetry* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975) 32, for an English translation by Dell R. Hales. For Chinese, see Sui Shusen, ed. *Gu shi shi jiu shou ji shi* 古詩十九首集釋 [Treatise on the Nineteen Ancient Poems] (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1958) 15–6.
- ⁵⁵ “Wang yan” 王言 in *Hanyu da cidian*, vol. 4, 458.
- ⁵⁶ *The Li Ki: Book of Rites, An Encyclopedia of Ancient Ceremonial Usages, Religious Creeds and Social Institutions*, trans. James Legge, ed.

Ch`u Chai and Winberg Chai, vol. 2 and vol. 1 (New Hyde Park, NY: University Books, 1967) 354 and 45–6 respectively. My translation of the couplet is adapted from this source.

⁵⁷ Martin Powers, unpublished manuscript.

⁵⁸ Conrad Schirokauer and Robert Hymes, “Introduction,” in *Ordering the World: Approaches to State and Society in Sung Dynasty China*, ed. Conrad Schirokauer and Robert Hymes (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) 2, 36, and *passim*.

⁵⁹ Also could be understood as a pun on cuckoo, for this bird has an agricultural time period named for it: grain sowing time. An alternative translation would be “At the start of the sowing of grain time, plow quickly.” I thank Dr. Marshall Wu for this observation.

⁶⁰ This is the name of an ancient mountain where, according to the *Shujing*, the legendary Emperor Shun plowed. See James Legge, trans. *The Chinese Classics: The Shoo King*, vol. 3 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960) 65–6.

⁶¹ Lou Shu, *Gengzhi tu shi*, 1r.

⁶² This may remind us of Fan Zhongyan’s reference to Yu the Great in his “Ten-Point Memorial”, discussed earlier.

⁶³ Ban Gu, *Han shu: bai er shi juan* 漢書: 百二十卷 [*Book of the Han Dynasty in One Hundred and Twenty Chapters*], Chapter 74, biography 44 (Taipei: Yi wen yin shu guan yin xing, possibly published in 1950) 1213–21.

⁶⁴ Bing Ji’s desire to stabilize the country and its agricultural productivity in a period of upheaval would have been very similar to Emperor Gaozong’s in his early reign.

⁶⁵ Lou Shu, *Gengzhi tu shi*, 1v.

⁶⁶ The “Wu yi” or “Against Idleness” chapter, with its title translated as “Against Luxurious Leisure,” is available in Chinese with English translation in James Legge, *The Chinese Classics: The Shoo King*, vol. 3 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960) 464–73. The compilation *Shujing* also is known as the *Shang shu* 尚書. The “Wu yi” text may date to the very early Zhou dynasty, or may be much later, possibly even a Han dynasty intrusion. Scholars currently dispute

this point. For discussion of the *Shujing*, see Edward L. Shaughnessy, “Shang Shu (Shu ching),” in *Early Chinese Texts*, ed. Michael Loewe (Berkeley: University of California, 1993) 376–89.

⁶⁷ For a discussion of the *Book of Odes* or *Shijing*, see Michael Loewe, “Shih ching” in *Early Chinese Texts*, ed. Michael Loewe (Berkeley: University of California, 1993) 415–23.

⁶⁸ Throughout history, the Duke had shifting identities. At times he was regarded as an aristocrat, an administrator, a monarch, or a combination of these roles. His status as a non-aristocratic administrator was officially rescinded during the Tang, and is discussed more in Chapter 3. David McMullen, *State and Scholars in T’ang China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) 33.

⁶⁹ For information on the transmission of the *Book of Odes* and its various versions, see Michael Loewe, *Early Chinese Texts*, 415. To summarize briefly, Emperor Qin Shi Huangdi burned the *Book of Odes*, along with other texts of which he did not approve. The *Odes* were subsequently reconstructed from memory and recompiled in different editions. Zheng Xuan, a scholar of the Latter Han dynasty, determined that the Mao version was the most authentic, an evaluation that is generally maintained to the present.

⁷⁰ Thus the term *fengsu* was used as early as the Han dynasty, and signaled explicit class connotations. Stephen Owen, “The ‘Great Preface,’” in *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993) 46.

⁷¹ Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*, 46. In my citations of Stephen Owen’s translations, I have removed his asterisks that at times he placed behind romanized Chinese terms.

⁷² Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*, 46.

⁷³ Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*, 40–3.

⁷⁴ I have slightly modified a translation by Stephen Owen in the “Great Preface,” in *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*, 44–5. He prefers to translate *fengsu* as local customs. The *feng* of the *Book of Odes* are associated with different localities, hence they are incorporated in the “Guofeng” or “Airs of the States” section. Thus, the *feng* of the “Guofeng” section are inherently related to localities. I prefer to consider *su* within its more standard meaning — usually glossed as “common” — which

makes references to distinctions of social hierarchy. My interpretation is supported by Owen's interpretation of *feng* as mediating between classes, quoted earlier. In addition, I converted Owen's quotes to conform with *pinyin* romanization.

⁷⁵ Lothar Ledderhose, "Subject Matter in Early Chinese Painting Criticism," *Oriental Art* 19:1 (Spring, 1973): 69–83. While the useful term "genre" conveys a general meaning of the Chinese phrase, in some respects it is a translation that does not capture all the nuances of the term in the Chinese context. For further discussion of this point, see Roslyn Lee Hammers, "Regarding the People in 'Genre Painting' or *fengsu hua* in the Song Dynasty," in *The Pride of China: Masterpieces of Chinese Painting and Calligraphy of the Jin, Tang, Song, and Yuan Dynasties from the Palace Museum* (Hong Kong: Museum of Art, 2007) 87–90.

⁷⁶ For instance, Martin Powers in "Humanity and 'Universals' in Sung Dynasty Painting," in *Art of the Sung and Yuan* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996) 135–46.

⁷⁷ Wang Anshi, "Fengsu" 風俗 ["Customs of the Common People"], in *Wang Linchuan quanji* 王臨川全集 [Collected Writings by Wang Linchuan], ed. Yang Jialuo, Chapter 69 (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1961) 440–1.

⁷⁸ The context for the phrase in the "Great Preface" is "When the royal way declined, rites and principles [*yi*] were abandoned; the power of government to teach failed; the government of states changed; the customs of the family were altered. And at this point the mutated [*bian*] *feng* and the mutated *ya* [Odes] were written." 至於王道衰。禮義廢。政教失。國異政。家殊俗。而變風變雅作矣 as translated by Stephen Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*, 47.

⁷⁹ Liu, *Reform in Sung China*, 40–4, 52–4.

⁸⁰ We have imagery of previous depictions of agrarian labor. During the Warring States Period (475–221 BCE), tomb murals represented women engaged in sericulture. See Wang Chaosheng, *Zhongguo gudai*, 2. In the Han dynasty, tiles in funerary monuments depicted subjects such as men with oxen plowing the earth, men harvesting crops, and women weaving fabrics. For reproductions of rubbings from such imagery, as well as Han tomb paintings depicting men work to cultivate grain, see Wang Chaosheng, *Zhongguo gudai*, 7–13. Also, for stone relief rubbings that depict Han dynasty weavers and looms, see Lucy

Lim, curator, *Stories from China's Past: Han Dynasty Pictorial Tomb Reliefs and Archaeological Objects from Sichuan Province, People's Republic of China* (San Francisco: Chinese Culture Foundation of San Francisco, 1987) plates 11–2, 96–7. In these and other early tomb paintings, scenes of agrarian labor formed part of the representation of the deceased person's idealized estate. See Ning Qiang, "Public Showcase, Private Residence: The Early Tombs Revisited," in *First under Heaven: The Art of Asia* (London: Hali Publications, 1997) 63. Ning Qiang has commented that the agricultural production (farming and pasturing) scenes in pre-Song tomb imagery related to Confucian ideas of "*ren* (仁 kindness) and *li* (禮 rite)." These concepts pertained to the tomb's occupant and patron, not to those laborers represented on the walls. In Buddhist imagery, plowing scenes occurred in the murals of the Mogao caves at Dunhuang, dating to the Tang dynasty. They were typically included in the *Milarepa Sutra* depictions of a paradisiacal realm. For reproductions, see Wang Chaosheng, *Zhongguo gudai*, 25–32. Sericulture (and its technological depiction) was not necessary in this paradise, since fabric grew on trees. Farmers needed to plow one time for crops to grow for the next seven years. Imagery of aristocratic or palace ladies laboring exist. These include scroll paintings such as Zhang Xuan's 張萱 (act. 714–742) *Ladies Preparing Newly Woven Silk* painted by Emperor Huizong and Mou Yi's 牟益 (act. third quarter of the twelfth century) handscroll based on the poem "Beating the clothes" by Xie Huilian 謝惠連 (397–433). While depicting some stages of work in the production of silk, neither painting depicts common rural people and their labor, as the women in both were understood to be palace ladies. For a reproduction of Huizong's copy, see Wu Tung, *Tales from the Land of Dragons: 1000 Years of Chinese Painting* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1997), entry 14. For Mou Yi's painting, see *Gugong shuhua jinghua teji* 故宮書畫菁畫特輯 [Catalogue to the Treasured Paintings and Calligraphic Works in the National Palace Museum] (Taipei, Guoli Gugong bowuyuan chubanshe, 1996) entry 46. See Lara Blanchard's dissertation, "Visualizing Love and Longing in Song Dynasty Paintings of Women" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2001) for a discussion of the lyrical and romantic associations these paintings evoked for Song viewers. As for non-extant paintings, we have records of other paintings of sericulture and agriculture commissioned by emperors. These will be noted in Chapter 3.

⁸¹ Painted with ink and light pigment on silk, it measures 26.1 cm x 69.2 cm. According to Yeong-huei Hsu, Wang Juzheng lived from 1087–1151 and was a imperial diarist (*qiju lang* 起居郎). Yeong-huei Hsu, "Song Gaozong (r. 1127–1162) and His Chief Councilors: A Study of

the Formative Stage of the Southern Song Dynasty (1127–1279)” (PhD diss., University of Arizona, 2000) 130. The present colophon attached to the painting is a later copy, according to the entry in the *Zhongguo meishu quanji* vol. 3, 11. A transcription of Zhao Mengfu’s colophon is available in Zhang Chou, *Zhen ji ri lu* 真跡日錄 [*Record of Authentic Traces of the Brush*] (Zhi bu zu zhai ed., 1918) 59v–60v. The poem itself appears to be consistent with late fourteenth- early fifteenth-century concerns, and may be by Zhao Mengfu. I view the painting as a twelfth-century copy of a painting originally by Wang Juzheng. The stylization, and flattening folds of the fabric on the elderly woman’s shoulder, combined with the high degree of precision in the wheel’s spatial recession are more characteristic of twelfth-century painting. Hui-shu Lee, in conversation, kindly offered this observation (October, 2001). Professor Richard Edwards also views the scroll as consistent with painting styles of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (January, 2002). I am greatly indebted to his generosity and expertise.

⁸² Tian Xiu has also observed this in his “Yi fu Song dai hui hua: fanchetu” 一幅宋代繪畫：紡車圖 [“A Handscroll from Song Times: *Picture of a Spinning Wheel*”], *Wenwu* 2 (1961): 44.

⁸³ “The emperor greatly praised the work [*Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*] upon seeing it, and he showed it to the rear palace. The emperor had [my uncle’s] name written on the screen [in memory of his great accomplishment]. His first appointment was in the accounting office. Later he managed waterway transportation in Guangdong, Fujian, Hubei, Hunan, and Huidong. He also served in Changsha, and he was a commander in Weiyang. He held official titles for more than ten years. Wherever he went he had a good reputation. This was all based on [the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*].” 即蒙玉音嘉獎·宣宗後宮·書姓名屏間·初除行在審計司·後歷廣、閩船使·漕湖北、湖南、淮東·攝長沙·帥維揚·麾節十有餘載·所至多著聲績·實基於此。 Lou Yue in Lou Shu, *Gengzhi tu shi: fu lu gengzhi tu hou xu* 耕織圖詩：附錄耕織圖後序 [*Poems of the Pictures of Tilling and Weaving: Appendix and Postface to the Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*] (Taipei: Yiwen yinshu guan, 1966) Appendix 2r.

⁸⁴ This reference to the Han (palace) may come from Bai Juyi’s poem in which he writes, “Who does the weaving, who wears the robe? A poor woman in the glens of Yue, a lady in the palace of Han.” See Burton Watson, *The Columbia Book of Poetry*, 245–6.

⁸⁵ Lou Shu, *Gengzhi tu shi*, 8v.

⁸⁶ Translation by Wu-chi Liu in *Sunflower Splendor*, 221. In addition, Bai Juyi, who was previously noted for his poems on the labor of men and women, and Yuan Zhen have a record of friendly correspondence that exists to the present. The corresponding poem on the life of the farmers by Yuan Zhen may have provided Lou Shu with content for the last poem in the *Tilling* scroll. See *Yuan Zhen ji* 元稹集 [*The Collected Writings of Yuan Zhen*], vol. 1 (Beijing: Xinhua shuju, 1982) 260–1.

⁸⁷ Wang Anshi provided a precedent for using sericulture as a situation for criticizing government policy. In “Walking in the Countryside,” he compared the corpulent, fat cocoons to starving villagers. For an English translation by Jan W. Walls, see *Sunflower Splendor*, 333. For Chinese, see Wang Anshi, *Wang Linchuan quanji* 王臨川全集 [*Collected Writings by Wang Linchuan*], ed. Yang Jialuo, Chapter 32 (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1961) 180.

Chapter Three

Envisioning Farming Society: From Hierarchy to Community

¹ According to Julia K. Murray, there are two *Odes of Bin* scrolls that contain the *Seventh Month* painting with a “probable date” of Southern Song. One is in the Beijing Palace Museum and the other is in New York Metropolitan Museum of Art. I prefer to use the Palace Museum painting, although the two *Seventh Month* paintings are close in composition and in style. Julia K. Murray, *Ma Hezhi and the Illustration of the Book of Odes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) 192–3. For reproductions of the Metropolitan *Seventh Month* painting, see Color Plates 1–3, Plate 4, Sec. 1, “Seventh Month” of Murray’s book.

² This is consistent with Christian Lamouroux’s discussion of scholars’ writings, both private and public, that selected various historical precedents from the classics to serve as ideological tools in political debates. Christian Lamouroux, “‘Old Models,’ Court Culture and Antiquity between 1070 and 1125 in Northern Song China,” in *Perception of Antiquity in Chinese Civilization*, ed. Dieter Kuhn and Helga Stahl (Heidelberg: Edition Forum, 2008) 291–319.

³ Angela Sheng, “Textile Use, Technology, and Change in Rural Textile Production in Song, China (960–1279)” (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1990) 214.

⁴ Murray, *Ma Hezhi*, 19–20.

- ⁵ Huizong died in captivity in 1135 and Emperor Qinzong in 1162, the year Gaozong ceded the throne to his successor, Emperor Xiaozong.
- ⁶ Yeong-huei Hsu, “Song Gaozong (r. 1127–1162) and His Chief Councilors: A Study of the Formative Stage of the Southern Song Dynasty (1127–1279)” (PhD diss., University of Arizona: 2000).
- ⁷ Sheng, “Textile Use,” 235–7.
- ⁸ Quan Hansheng, “Nan song chunian wujia de da biandong” 南宋初年物價的大變動 [“The Great Shift in Prices in the Southern Song”], in *Zhongguo jingji shi luncong* 中國經濟史論叢 [Discussions on Chinese Economic History] (Hong Kong: Xinya yanjiu suo, 1972) 250.
- ⁹ Angela Sheng’s research documents the large amounts of tribute in the form of silk necessary for maintaining peace and the Song dynasty itself. Sheng, “Textile Use,” 214, 216.
- ¹⁰ James Legge, trans. *The Chinese Classics: The Works of Mencius*, vol. 6, part 2, Chapters 9 and 10 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960) 440–3.
- ¹¹ James Legge, trans. *The Chinese Classics: The Shoo King*, vol. 3 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960) 464.
- ¹² See Qian Yueyou, *Xianchun Lin’an zhi* 咸淳臨安志 [Gazetteer of Lin’an during the Xianchun Reign 1265–74], in *Ying yin wen yuan ge si ku quan shu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (Taipei: Taiwan shang wu yin shu guan, 1984) Chapter 3, 34–5, for a discussion of Emperor Gaozong constructing an altar to perform the imperial pushing of the plow.
- ¹³ As quoted in Wang Chaosheng, *Zhongguo gudai*, 33, 35.
- ¹⁴ Murray, *Ma Hezhi*, 10–31 and passim. This tactic, of course, is not unique to this political leader; it may be seen as well in the cultural patronage of the court that his father had promoted in the late Northern Song, and in earlier emperors.
- ¹⁵ As Julia K. Murray has pointed out, this meant scholars — and thus future officials — who studied for the examinations consulted a version of the classics written in Gaozong’s own hand. Murray, *Ma Hezhi*, 12–6.
- ¹⁶ As early as the Jin dynasty, Emperor Mingdi 明帝 (r. 323–325) had personally painted or commissioned artists to create imagery based on the “Seventh Month” poem. See Joseph Needham with Wang Ling, “Physics and Physical Technology: Mechanical Engineering,” in *Science and Civilization in China*, ed. Joseph Needham, vol. 4, part 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965) 166. Mingdi’s paintings may have inspired the Tang dynasty Emperor Wenzong to commission paintings for the entire suite of poems found in the *Book of Odes*. According to Murray’s research, some of the multiple versions were made in the Southern Song, and were copied in the following dynasties as well. See Murray, *Ma Hezhi*, 9. In addition, the modern scholar Otto Franke claimed that paintings of tilling and weaving were incorporated into a pavilion built by Emperor Shizong 世宗 (r. 954–959) of the Later Zhou dynasty. See Franke, *Keng Tschi T’u*, 57. Wang Yinglin 王應麟 (act. c. 1270) claimed that in the Tang and the Northern Song, when murals of labor imagery had been painted over by landscapes, calamity arose in the form of rebellion. These documents underscore a history of imperial depictions of farming labor connected with governance. Paul Pelliot, “A Propos du *Keng Tche T’ou*,” in *Mémoires Concernant l’Asie Orientale* (Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1913) 95.
- ¹⁷ Murray, *Ma Hezhi*, 57.
- ¹⁸ Julia K. Murray has conducted extensive research on the illustrations to the *Book of Odes*. My understanding of the *Seventh Month* painting relies heavily on her scholarship. The entire suite of *Shijing* paintings lacks precise dates. Murray, however, has carefully constructed probable dates for separate portions of the project based on the style of the paintings, their seals, and the presence of taboo characters. See Murray, *Ma Hezhi*, especially table 6 and 7, 172–3, and the “Catalogue Raisonné,” located in this publication, 179–202. In addition, she has reasoned that academy scribes used Emperor Gaozong’s calligraphy as the master copy to reproduce some of the poems. Ma Hezhi, the artist, was not listed in the 1167 *Hua ji* 畫繼 [Painting Continued] by Deng Chun 鄧椿 (fl. 1127–1167). The earliest extant biographic reference to Ma Hezhi suggests he was active in the middle and later part of the twelfth century. Ma Hezhi was the artist of at least one version of the illustrations. Murray, *Ma Hezhi*, 30–3.
- ¹⁹ Bernhard Karlgren, trans. and ed. *The Book of Odes* (Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1950) 97–100. Patrica Buckley Ebrey, *Chinese Civilization: A Sourcebook* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993) 11–2. Zheng Xuan, in the Han dynasty, sees the first stanza as referring to the farmers. See Zheng Xuan, commentator, *Mao shi* 毛詩 [Mao Version of the *Shijing*], Chapter 8 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1934–1936) 1v.

- ²⁰ The Fire Star is also known in present-day astronomy as Antares (Alpha Scorpionis). During the proto and early history of China, tracking this star's position in the sky was a means to determine midsummer. Sun Xiaochun, *The Chinese Sky during the Han: Constellating Stars and Society* (Leiden: Brill, 1997) 15–8.
- ²¹ Ebrey likewise references an aristocratic identity. Ebrey, *Chinese Civilization*, 12. The “public hall” translation could be inferred from early commentaries, yet other sources see this as a ducal hall. See *Mao shi*, chapter 8, 4r, where Zheng Xuan noted that *gong tang* 公堂 meant school (公堂·學校也·). Also see reference for ducal hall (*gong tang* 公堂), in *Hanyu da cidian* 漢語大辭典 [*The Great Dictionary of Chinese Words*], vol. 2 (Shanghai: Hanyu da cidian chubanshe, 1989) 71. Furthermore, Chun-shu Chang in consultation has suggested that *gong tang* in the Zhou dynasty context could best be understood as a hall in which nobility would gather.
- ²² Some scholars have suggested that her heartsick state indicates displeasure at immanent separation from her family. Like the furs and boards, she will be given to the Lord's son. For instance, see Su Che, *Shi ji quan* 詩集全 [*Complete Collection of [Su Che's] Poetry*], vol. 1, chapter 8 (Taipei: Shang wu yin shu guan, 1976) 3r–v. Su Che will be addressed further in this chapter.
- ²³ Wang Anshi's well-intended policies, in fact, elicited criticism from many corners; even the famous statesman and literatus Su Shi found them lacking. Ouyang Xiu, a prefectural administrator, deliberately blocked the distribution of the loans in areas under his jurisdiction in 1070 and 1071. Prefectural magistrate Fu Bi 富弼 (1004–1083) did the same. Paul J. Smith, “State Power and Economic Activism During the New Policies, 1068–1085: The Tea and Horse Trade and the ‘Green Sprouts’ Laon Policy,” in *Ordering the World: Approaches to State and Society in Sung Dynasty China*, ed. Conrad Schirokauer and Robert Hymes (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) 116–8.
- ²⁴ Sima Guang, “Qi bai tiao li si chang ping shi shu” 乞罷條例司常平使疏 [“Petition for the Abolishment of Regulators and Ministers of Transportation”], in *Sima Wengong wenji* 司馬溫公文集 [*The Collected Writings of Sima Guang*] (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1937) 163 as quoted by Smith, “State Power,” 115.
- ²⁵ The loan policies unfortunately aggravated the very conditions they were designed to alleviate. The people were quick to accept the government loans in spring. By autumn they were reduced to borrowing from the wealthy at the exorbitant rates the government loans were supposed to eliminate. In addition the government, unlike the upper classes, had the legal infrastructure to punitively enforce payments. Smith, “State Power,” 117.
- ²⁶ See Peter K. Bol, *This Culture of Ours: Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991) 218–22, for a discussion of Sima's political order.
- ²⁷ Ina Asim, “Perceptions of the Zhou Ideals in the Song Dynasty (960–1279),” in *Die Gegenwart des Altertums: Formen und Funktionen des Altertumsbezugs in den Hochkulturen der Alten Welt*, ed. Dieter Kuhn and Helga Stahl (Heidelberg: Edition Forum, 2001) 460.
- ²⁸ Dieter Kuhn, “Reflections on the Concept of Antiquity in Chinese Civilization,” in *Perception of Antiquity in Chinese Civilization*, ed. Dieter Kuhn and Helga Stahl (Heidelberg: Edition Forum, 2008) 48–60. Also Peter K. Bol, “When Antiquity Matters: Thinking about and with Antiquity in the Tang-Song Transition,” in the same volume, 209–35.
- ²⁹ Kuhn, “Reflections on the Concept,” 51–2.
- ³⁰ Kuhn, “Reflections on the Concept,” 51.
- ³¹ Peter Bol, *This Culture of Ours*, 196.
- ³² Michael Loewe, “Shih ching,” in *Early Chinese Texts*, ed. Michael Loewe (Berkeley: University of California, 1993) 415–6.
- ³³ Loewe has noted that the “little prefaces,” which are those explanations that precede the individual poems in the *Book of Odes*, have been attributed to Confucius, to one of his disciplines, and to Mao Gong, among others. My translation of the little preface to the “Seventh Month” is based on Zheng Xuan's *Mao shi*, Chapter 8, 1r.
- ³⁴ See *Xiao jing* 孝經 [*Book of Filial Piety*], Chapter 5 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, c. 1927–36). Comments here by Mr. Zheng 鄭氏 of the Han dynasty assert that Hou Ji was the forefather of the Zhou dynasty. Incidentally, William G. Boltz has commented that this Mr. Zheng is probably not Zheng Xuan, the commentator on the *Book of Odes*. For a discussion of the *Xiao jing*, see William G. Boltz, “Hsiao Ching,” in *Early Chinese Texts*, ed. Michael Loewe (Berkeley: University of California, 1993) 141–53. The *Xiao jing* states, “Formerly, at the border

- altar, the Duke of Zhou sacrificed to Hou Ji as the companion of Heaven” 昔者周公郊祀后稷以配天。English translation from Richard Barnhart, *Li Gonglin's Classic of Filial Piety* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993) 113.
- ³⁵ Zheng Xuan, *Mao shi*, Chapter 8, 4r.
- ³⁶ “The ‘Seventh Month’ is the writing of the Duke of Zhou.” 應之曰七月，周公之作也。Ouyang Xiu, *Shi benyi* 詩本義 [*The Original Meaning of Poems*], vol. 3, Chapter 14 (Taipei: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1966) 8r.
- ³⁷ 夫一國之事，謂之風。Ouyang, *Shi benyi*, 8r.
- ³⁸ “His words speak of the land of Bin, the weather of the winter and of summer, and the activities of agriculture and sericulture as they occur. He describes the hardships and happiness of the people, how the men till and the women weave [activities which are] the basis for clothing and food. [From the Duke of Zhou’s words one can] see the great kings living in Bin, the kingly occupation, and difficult labor. This is the fundamental meaning of this poem.” 其言豳土。寒暑氣節。農桑之候。勤生樂事。男女耕織，衣食之本，以見大王居豳。興起王業，艱難之事，此詩之本義。Ouyang, *Shi benyi*, 8r.
- ³⁹ For a discussion of Duke Liu, see Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy, eds. *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 BC* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 292–351, especially 299–302.
- ⁴⁰ Su Che, *Shi ji quan* 詩集全 [*Complete Collection of [Su Che’s] Poetry*], vol. 1, Chapter 8, 1r.
- ⁴¹ Su Che, *Shi ji quan*, Chapter 8, 1r.
- ⁴² Research by Chun-shu Chang has explicitly connected Fan’s understanding of the kingly responsibilities with the text. See Chun-shu Chang, “Fan Zhongyan qiren yu qi sixiang zhi tansuo” 范仲淹其人與其思想之探索 [“An Exploration of Fan Zhongyan’s Ideology and His Circle”], in *Fan Zhongyan yiqian nian danchen guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwen ji* 范仲淹一千年誕辰國際學術研討會論文集 [*Articles Collected from the International Academic Conference on the Occasion of Fan Zhongyan’s One Thousandth Birthday Anniversary*], ed. Chen Qilu, vol. 2 (Taipei: Guoli Taipei Daxue wenxueyuan, 1990) 1306.
- ⁴³ Fan Zhongyan, “Da shou zhao tiaochen shishi” 答手詔條陳十事 [“Reply to the Imperial Edict Detailing Ten Points”], in *Xin yi Fan Wenzheng Gong xuanji* 新譯范文正公選集 [*New Translations of Selections by Fan Wenzheng Gong*], ed. Shen Songqin and Wang Xinghua (Taipei: San min shuju yinhang, 1997) 430–1.
- ⁴⁴ Wang Anshi, “Fa lin” 發廩 [“Distribution of Grain”], in *Linchuan Xinsheng wenji* [*The Collected Writings of Mr. Linchuan*], Chapter 12 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959) 177–8. I consulted and modified one by H. R. Williamson, *Wang An Shih: A Chinese Statesman and Educationalist of the Sung dynasty*, vol. 1 (London: Arthur Probsthain, 1935–1937) 27–8.
- ⁴⁵ The nine-field system, which is also called the well-field system, refers to a division of land. The land was divided into nine plots with the boundaries of the plots configured in a way that approximates the shape of the Chinese character for *jing* 井 (well). Farmers worked all nine fields. The crops that were cultivated in the central plot went to the aristocrats. This suggests that in the classical era, farmers were charged an 11 percent tax.
- ⁴⁶ In Wang Zhen’s *Nong shu* 農書 [*Book of Agriculture*], a woodblock print of this type of granary is included, which closely replicates the imagery in the Lou Shu scrolls. He wrote that this structure was the form used for government granaries (今國家備儲蓄之所 ...). Wang Zhen’s work, discussed at length in Chapter 6, survives in the form of a later 1530 edition. Wang Zhen, *Nong shu* 農書 [*Book of Agriculture*] (Shandong: Shizheng shisi kanben 山東市政使司刊本 [Shandong municipal government woodblock print], 1530) manuscript number 1957 in the Beijing National Library. Also, Wang Zhen, *Nong shu* 農書 [*Book of Agriculture*], annotated by Wang Yuhu (Beijing: Nongye chubanshe, 1981) 290.
- ⁴⁷ For more on the Duke of Zhou, King Cheng, and the Duke of Shao, see Edward L. Shaughnessy, “The Duke of Zhou’s Retirement in the East and the Beginnings of the Ministerial-Monarch Debate in Chinese Political Philosophy,” *Early China* 18 (1993) 3, 41–72, especially pages 40–5 and 51–2.
- ⁴⁸ Chao Kang, *Man and Land in Chinese History: An Economic Analysis* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986) 160–92.
- ⁴⁹ The Duke of Zhou displayed his virtue by primogeniture for the aristocracy. He affirmed the privilege of King Wen, the founder of the

Zhou dynasty, to dictate the terms of the transfer of kingship. When King Wen selected his son to be the next ruler and the Duke, as King Wen's brother, was became both guardian and uncle to the regent, he was loyal to his ruler/brother and did not take advantage of the situation to advance his status to king. Shaughnessy, "The Duke of Zhou's Retirement," 41–5.

⁵⁰ This would not be the first time in Chinese history that the Duke of Zhou and his legacy were debated in politics. According to Shaughnessy, the Duke of Zhou "served as a measure of the relative strengths of rulers and ministers" during the time of Confucius and well into the Warring States. He does not survey later history's positioning of the Duke, yet his research could be extrapolated into the Song. See Shaughnessy, "The Duke of Zhou's Retirement," 41–2. Also, Martin J. Powers, *Political Expression in Early China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991) 156–63, discusses the rhetorical use of references to the Duke of Zhou in political discourse of the Han dynasty.

⁵¹ Edward L. Shaughnessy has observed that in the Eastern Han, Zheng Xuan explicitly referred to the reign of the Duke of Zhou as kingly, establishing a literary tradition that persisted in the Song. Shaughnessy, "The Duke of Zhou's Retirement," 42–3.

⁵² Shaughnessy, "The Duke of Zhou's Retirement," 41–3.

⁵³ David McMullen, *State and Scholars in T'ang China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) 33.

⁵⁴ This observation is from Chou Fang-mei, "The 'Seventh Month': Three Handscrolls from the Thirteenth Century" (Master's thesis, University of Michigan, 1991) 5–6. Ms. Chou's paper has been especially helpful in tracking down Song dynasty comments on the "Seventh Month" poem. She points out that according to the modern scholar Ruan Tingzhuo's 阮庭焯 research, the present state of Zheng Qiao's text is corrupt with later additions, but enough of it is cited in another Song document by Zhou Fu 周孚 (1135–1177).

⁵⁵ Lou Shu, *Gengzhi tu shi*, 4r.

⁵⁶ Lou Shu, *Gengzhi tu shi*, 3r.

⁵⁷ This is a reference to Zhuangzi's writings, which include a story of a man who could not comprehend using new vessels to aid him in irrigating his field. For an English translation of the Zhuangzi passage,

see Burton Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1968) 34–5. Similarly, if a farmer, like the man from the earlier Song state (858–286 BCE), is anxious to have his seedlings mature, he should realize that tugging overzealously on the seedlings will only result in their destruction. The Song farmer who tugged impatiently on his corn sprouts to encourage them to grow and caused them to perish is a reference from Mencius. See James Legge, trans. *The Chinese Classics: The Works of Mencius*, vol. 2, part 1 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960) 190–1. Lou Shu describes the *fan che* (翻車), or square palate pump irrigation machine, as looking like crows lined up, each one holding the tail of the bird in front of it. Joseph Needham has discussed the proliferation of the *fan che*. This device, pictured in the painting, was invented in the late Tang, and by the Song, was commonplace. See Joseph Needham with Wang Ling, "Physics and Physical Technology," 347–8. This reference to a phrase used by Su Shi in one of his poems provides an opportunity for Lou Shu to display his command of cultured allusions. See Su Shi, "Describing Water Wheels on the Road to Wu-hsi," trans. Burton Watson, *Selected Poems of Su Tung-p'o* (Port Townsend, WA: Copper Canyon Press, 1994), 61. The poem in Chinese can be located in *So Shoku* 蘇軾 [Su Shi], trans. and ed. Ogawa Tamaki, in the series *Sinshū Chūgoku shijin senshū* 新修中国詩人選集 [New Corrections to Selected Works of Chinese Poets], vol. 6 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1983) 95.

⁵⁸ See Sheng, "Textile Use," 34–8. She argues that the impact of this timesaving equipment cannot be over-estimated.

⁵⁹ The reference to color looking right refers to either the cocoons or the water. The best temperature for reeling the silk is when the water is not quite at a full boil (and is not entirely "white" with bubbles). The cocoons need to soak in the water for some time, and once immersed in water they change color.

⁶⁰ Lou Shu, *Gengzhi tu shi*, 7r.

⁶¹ Lou Shu, *Gengzhi tu shi*, 5v.

⁶² Lou Shu, *Gengzhi tu shi*, 7r.

⁶³ Zhou Xun and Gao Chunming, *Zhongguo lidai fu nü zhuangshi* 中國歷代婦女妝飾 [History of Women's Clothing and Adornment] (Hong Kong: Sanlian shudian, 1988) 37.

⁶⁴ Lou Shu, *Gengzhi tu shi*, 8r.

- ⁶⁵ Lou Shu, *Gengzhi tu shi*, 8r.
- ⁶⁶ Technology well developed by the Northern Song formed the basis for Jacquard weaving of eighteenth-century France.
- ⁶⁷ The combination of technological depictions of agrarian labor and romance may strike modern readers as unusual, yet research by Martin J. Powers demonstrates that during the Northern Song, the roles of marriage, intimacy, and private space were re-appraised. According to Powers, artists in the Song dynasty presented relations between husband and wife as more romantic and informal. Martin J. Powers, “Love and Marriage in Song China: Tao Yuanming Comes Home,” *Ars Orientalis* 28 (1998) 51–61.
- ⁶⁸ Hymes and Schirokauer, “Introduction,” 53–5.
- ⁶⁹ Lou Shu, *Gengzhi tu shi*, 2v.
- ⁷⁰ Lou Shu, *Gengzhi tu shi*, 5v.
- ⁷¹ For example, Emperor Gaozong posthumously honored Sima Guang with the title of companion to Emperor Zhezong 哲宗 (r. 1086–1100), Gaozong’s grandfather. According to James T. C. Liu, this was the highest honor Emperor Gaozong bestowed on anyone during his reign. James T. C. Liu, *China Turning Inward: Intellectual-Political Changes in the Early Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988) 73.
- ⁷² Julia K. Murray, *Ma Hezhi*, 148.
- ⁷³ He rehabilitated the most talented and perhaps the most notorious scholar-official, Su Shi, bringing him posthumously out of exile and back into grace. James T. C. Liu, *China Turning Inward*, 73.
- ⁷⁴ Francesca Bray, “Agriculture: Biology and Biological Technology,” in *Science and Civilisation in China*, ed. Joseph Needham, vol. 6, part 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) 598–9.

Chapter Four

Visual and Textual Discourses of the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* in the Song Dynasty

- ¹ Robert J. Maeda, “Chieh-hua: Ruled-Line Painting in China,” *Ars Orientalis* 10 (1975): 123–41 and Liu Heping, “The *Water Mill* and Northern Song Imperial Patronage of Art, Commerce, and Science,” *The Art Bulletin* 84:4 (2002): 566–95.
- ² For a discussion of the styles of Gu Kaizhi (by way of Li Gonglin) and Wu Daozi in the mid-twelfth century, see Julia K. Murray, *Ma Hezhi and the Illustration of The Book of Odes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) 32–56.
- ³ Zhang Yanyuan, *Lidai ming huaji* 歷代名畫記 [A Record of the Famous Painters of All the Dynasties], in William Reynolds Beal Acker, trans. *Some T’ang and Pre-T’ang Texts on Chinese Painting*, Chapter 2, section 2 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954) 183–4.
- ⁴ Murray, *Ma Hezhi*, 33–4.
- ⁵ According to Dieter Kuhn, These works (the classics), which were subjected to an unprecedented level of (re-) interpretation during the Song era, played a central role in defining the Chinese relationship to antiquity. That relationship is especially evident in the cultural, historical, political and ritual thinking and behavior of the Confucian-educated scholar-officials, who at the latest from the end of the tenth century not only dominated the Chinese education, examination and state administration systems but also developed Confucian teaching into the sole recognizable (albeit not institutionalized) Chinese state ideology. This ideology is manifest in many ways ... While Kuhn does not discuss painting styles explicitly, he does move on to address subject matter in paintings. Dieter Kuhn, “Reflections on the Concept of Antiquity in Chinese Civilization,” in *Perception of Antiquity in Chinese Civilization*, ed. Dieter Kuhn and Helga Stahl (Heidelberg: Edition Forum, 2008) 49.
- ⁶ Murray also noted that in all likelihood the *Book of Odes* had been illustrated in the Six Dynasties era, but textual evidence supports a Tang dynasty dating for such a project. Murray, *Ma Hezhi*, 8–9.

- ⁷ Murray argues the use of the “Two Wangs” style demonstrated Gaozong’s “shrewd sense of history.” See Murray, *Ma Hezhi*, 23–30.
- ⁸ Murray, *Ma Hezhi*, 12–6.
- ⁹ Mote has provided an engaging discussion of the very real perils the newly enthroned young emperor faced. See Frederick W. Mote, *Imperial China, 900–1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999) 289–98.
- ¹⁰ James T. C. Liu, *China Turning Inward: Intellectual-Political Changes in the Early Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988) 60.
- ¹¹ Richard Barnhart’s pioneering paper, “Survivals, Revivals, and the Classical Tradition of Chinese Figure Painting,” in *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Chinese Painting* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, c. 1972) 154–63; 191–2 remains an excellent discussion of the import of Gu Kaizhi’s style in the Song dynasty.
- ¹² Richard Barnhart noted Su Shi and Mi Fu 米芾 (1051–1107). Barnhart “Survivals, Revivals, and the Classical Tradition,” 155, 163.
- ¹³ Peter K. Bol, “Government, Society, and State: On the Political Visions of Ssu-ma Kuang and Wang An-shih,” in *Ordering the World: Approaches to State and Society in Sung Dynasty China*, ed. Conrad Schirokauer and Robert Hymes (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) 139.
- ¹⁴ Su Shi as translated by Barnhart, “Survivals, Revivals, and the Classical Tradition,” 158.
- ¹⁵ Amy McNair, *The Upright Brush: Yan Zhenqing’s Calligraphy and Song Literati Politics* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1998) 9–10, 127, 128.
- ¹⁶ Ronald C. Egan, *The Literary Works of Ou-yang Hsiu (1007–72)* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984) 15.
- ¹⁷ One scholar has described Ouyang Xiu and his successors as “democratic” and “egalitarian.” Steven van Zoeren, *Poetry and Personality: Reading, Exegesis, and Hermeneutics in Traditional China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991) 182.
- ¹⁸ In modern scholarship, literati painting has been regarded as a celebration of liberated brushwork, undoubtedly an important component of the style. While current research has focused on the great literatus Su Shi’s famous devaluation of similitude, for example, art historical scholarship has not paid much attention to his direct engagement with agrarian projects or his “provincial activist” policies to improve the living standards of the people and the impact this had on Song dynasty subject matter in painting. For discussion of Su Shi and similitude, see Martin Powers, “Discourses of Representation in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century China,” in *The Art of Interpreting*, ed. Susan C. Scott (Pennsylvania State University: The Department of Art History, 1995) 88–128. For more on Su Shi’s agricultural activities, including famine relief, his building of a dike in Hangzhou’s West Lake, and building an irrigation system to provide people with fresh water, see Ronald C. Egan, *Word, Image and Deed in the Life of Su Shi* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press with the Council on East Asian Studies and Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1994) 108–33.
- ¹⁹ See James F. Cahill, *The Lyric Journey* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993) 36–7. Also, Xu Bangda has documented numerous collaborative paintings between Emperor Ningzong and Ma Yuan that display formal elements similar to this *Spinning Silk* painting. Xu Bangda, “Nansong dihou ti hua shu kaobian” 南宋帝后題畫書考辨 [“Colophons on Paintings and Calligraphy by Emperors and Empresses of the Southern Song”], *Wenwu* 6 (1981): 55–7.
- ²⁰ I am indebted to Diana Collins and her expertise in textile history for this observation. Ms. Collins kindly discussed this painting with me and granted me invaluable access to her library. I am very grateful for her assistance.
- ²¹ For a discussion of the function of the *jing ba* (warp frame), see Dieter Kuhn, “Some Notes Concerning the Textile Technology in the Keng-chih-t’u,” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 130:2 (1980) 412. For a later seventeenth-century representation of the *jing ba*, consult Song Yingxing, “Tian gong kai wu” 天工開物 [“The Creations of Nature and Man”], in *Chinese Technology in the Seventeenth Century: T’ien-kung K’ai-wu Sung Ying-hsing*, ed. E-tu Zen Sun and Shiou-chuan Sun (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications 1997) 53.
- ²² Hui-shu Lee has argued that adaptation of Emperor Gaozong’s calligraphy registered allegiance to the dynasty and his imperial family. I would add that he may also have borrowed subject matter

for painting that had been introduced during Emperor Gaozong's reign. Empress Yang attempted to forge parallels between her era and that of Gaozong. Hui-shu Lee cites a poem written by Empress Yang that eulogizes Gaozong's calligraphy in Hui-shu Lee, "The Domain of Empress Yang (1162–1233): Art, Gender and Politics at the Late Southern Song Court" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1994) 153. Moreover, as a beneficiary of Gaozong's Empress Wu, Yang deliberately patterned her behavior after her, and promoted the appointment of Empress Wu's relatives to court positions; Lee, "Domain of Empress Yang," 79–81; 84–8; 135–52 *passim*.

²³ In consultation in July 2009, the modern Chinese textile historian Zhao Feng commented that the painting did not depict a technologically feasible setting of warp threads. He noted that a *zhang shan* 掌扇 (warp harness, or as the historians of science, E-tu Zen Sun and Shiou-chuan Sun have translated the term, the "warp guiding-rake") was not present. The depicted threads are not arranged into organized bundles or coverings. Without this device the threads were not divided into groups that would alternate up and down into which the weft threads to be woven. In addition, he speculated that the structure behind the warp frame that looks like a projecting window may be an effort at depicting a roller for the warp threads. If this structure is the roller, it is lacking a handle to turn it. In addition, Diana Collins, an authority on Chinese textiles, noted the warp threads are inappropriately close to the dirt in the painting. I thank Dr. Zhao and Ms. Collins for their comments. For a description of this process, see Song Yingxing, *Tian gong kai wu*, 50.

²⁴ For issues surrounding cultural competition of the court with Song intelligentsia, see Martin J. Powers, "Discourses of Representation," well as his "Humanity and "Universals" in Sung Dynasty Painting," in *Art of the Sung and Yuan* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996) 140.

²⁵ Yu Yunguo, *Song Guangzong Ningzong: Songdi liezhuan* 宋光宗·宋寧宗·宋帝列傳 *Song Emperors Guangzong and Ningzong: Song Dynasty Bibliographies* (Changchun: Jilin wenshi chubanshe, 1997) 260, 316.

²⁶ Yu, *Song Guangzong Ningzong*, 316–7.

²⁷ "So that the people of Wei know of and receive the court's relief, compassion, and sincerity. [Then] perhaps there will not be massive chaos." 而灌民知朝廷賑恤誠意所及。或不至大亂。 Yang Jian, in *Li dai ming*

chen zou yi 歷代名臣奏議 [*Imperial Petitions by Famous Ministers of History*], compiled by Yang Shiqi (Ming Yongle edition, Beijing) 20.

²⁸ Yu Yunguo, *Song Guangzong Ningzong*, 316. For Chinese, see Yang Jian, *Li dai ming chen zou yi*, 247, 20.

²⁹ See Hui-shu Lee, "The Domain of Empress Yang," 97–9; the poem has been translated by Hui-shu Lee.

³⁰ This translation is my slight modification of Hui-shu Lee, "The Domain of Empress Yang," 98.

³¹ Lou Shu, *Gengzhi tu shi*, 7v.

³² For a brief synopsis, see Mote, *Imperial China*, 310–7, especially 313.

³³ Han Tuo-zhuo also overplayed his hand by promoting a pointless war with the Jin dynasty, and his head was sent to the Jin court as part of the humiliating peace treaty in 1206. Han's contempt for Zhu Xi only proved, however, to strengthen his appeal for the next Chief Councilor Shi Miyuan 史彌遠 (1164–1233) and his successors. See Mote, *Imperial China*, 310–7.

³⁴ Richard von Glahn, "Community and Welfare: Chu Hsi's Community Granary in Theory and Practice," in *Ordering the World: Approaches to State and Society in Sung Dynasty China*, ed. Conrad Schirokauer and Robert Hymes (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) 222.

³⁵ Consider "Yi tian ji" 義田記 ["Record of Public Fields"], an obituary for Fan Zhongyan written by friend and scholar Qian Gongfu 錢公輔 (act. c. 1064–1068) that, in addition to praising Fan's exemplary behavior, also provides practical advice on how to emulate Fan's charitable estate. Incidentally, Qian left office, displeased with Wang Anshi's policies. See the brief biography in Fang Binguan, *Zhongguo Renming Daxidian* 中國人名大辭典 [*Dictionary of Chinese Biographies*] (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1934) 1612. For his essay, see "Fan Zhongyan danchen yiqian zhounian jinian chouweihui" 范仲淹誕辰一千周年紀念籌委會 [The Planning Committee for the Commemoration of the One Thousandth Anniversary of Fan Zhongyan's Birth], *Fan Zhongyan shiliao xinbian* 范仲淹史料新編 [*New Compilation of Historic Materials on Fan Zhongyan*] (Shenyang: Shenyang chubanshe, 1989) 126–7.

- ³⁶ See von Glahn, “Community and Welfare,” 237 for a summary of the main points of Zhu Xi’s essay, “Wuzhou jinhua xian shecang ji” 婺州金華縣社倉記 [“An Account of the Community Granary of Wuzhou in Jinhua District”]. In this essay, Zhu Xi refers to community granaries as offering the rural population with stores of grain that would provide relief and mercy (社倉 ... 使閭里有賑恤之儲, 17a). In addition, his plan for granaries could not harm (the people with motives of profit — a veiled criticism of Wang Anshi), but was granted success by the sages, further connecting the community granary to the ideals of classical thought (固吾聖人之所許而未有有害, 17b). For Chinese see Zhu Xi, *Hui’an xiansheng Zhu Wengong wenji* 晦庵先生朱文公文集 [*The Collected Writings of Zhu Xi*], Chapter 79 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1935) 17a–18b. Linda Walton has argued that the community granary, like Fan Zhongyan’s charitable estate, was based on Confucian ideals of harmonious relations within the family as a model for the state, along with Mencian principles that social order depended on the maintenance of economic welfare. Linda Walton, “Charitable Estates as an Aspect of Statecraft in Southern Sung China,” in *Ordering the World: Approaches to State and Society in Sung Dynasty China*, ed. Conrad Schirokauer and Robert Hymes (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) 275.
- ³⁷ Von Glahn, “Community and Welfare,” 253–4.
- ³⁸ Von Glahn, “Community and Welfare,” 242.
- ³⁹ As quoted by Brian McKnight, “Chu Hsi and His World,” in *Chu Hsi and Neo-Confucianism*, ed. Wing-tsit Chan (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986) 427. Emphasis is mine. Chinese is from Zhu Xi, *Zhu zi da quan* 朱子大全 [*Complete Writings of Zhu Xi*], Chapter 11 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, between 1927–1936) 7a–b. Moreover, as already discussed in Chapter 2, *jing* 經 (warp) has government administrative associations. *Jingwei* 經緯 (warp and weft) constitutes a classical reference from the *Li ji* 禮記 or *Book of Etiquette* for the implementation of proper rule in society. According to Brian McKnight, what is at issue in this passage is the appropriate education of the emperor. Without a good education, the monarch cannot make correct judgments. Therefore, he must study the Confucian classics; only after carefully apprehending these texts can the emperor hope to achieve just governance.
- ⁴⁰ Franz Jäger, “Der angebliche Steindruck des ‘Keng-tschi-t’u’ vom Jahre 1210,” *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* 9:19 (1933) 1–4. Joseph Needham, noting that the stele have disappeared, concluded that we cannot resolve their dating. See Joseph Needham with Wang Ling, “Physics and Physical Technology: Mechanical Engineering,” in *Science and Civilisation in China*, ed. Joseph Needham, vol. 4, part 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965) 166.
- ⁴¹ Jäger, “Der angebliche Steindruck,” 3. The commentary of Lou Hong, Lou Shu’s grandson, could be interpreted as stating that these pictures and poems were carved, although this is not entirely certain from the text. Of course, in the original context of the stone stele, he would not have needed to mention the images directly, as this would have been evident. 則是圖是詩宜與周書無逸之篇，豳風七月之章並垂不朽者矣。亦何藉于金石而後久永。 The source for the commentary in Chinese is Lou Hong in Lou Shu, *Gengzhi tu shi*, 9v.
- ⁴² In 1722, the Qianlong Emperor initiated a project to collect all important writings in the kingdom that were not already in the Imperial Library. Lou Shu’s poems, and the commentaries by Lou Hong and Lou Yue, were included in this undertaking. For more on Qianlong’s venture, see Harriet T. Zurndorfer, *China Bibliography: A Research Guide to Reference Works about China Past and Present* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999) 46–9.
- ⁴³ Bray has asserted that *Tilling* and *Weaving* were given out to local officials by the government. See Francesca Bray, “Agriculture: Biology and Biological Technology,” in *Science and Civilisation in China*, ed. Joseph Needham, vol. 6, part 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) 598–9.
- ⁴⁴ Professor Chun-shu Chang kindly offered these observations to me in consultation, April, 2002. After the Song dynasty, these compounds tended to be completely public.
- ⁴⁵ I am suggesting this Southern Song version would have appeared very much like the Semallé scroll arrangement. See Paul Pelliot “A Propos du *Keng Tche T’ou*,” *Mémoires Concernant l’Asie Orientale* 1:10–60 (Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1913) for a reproduction of the rubbings, in the forms of scrolls, taken from stele that date to the Qing dynasty.
- ⁴⁶ Lou Hong appears to have borrowed approximately 75 percent of his essay from that of Lou Yue. The first half of Lou Hong’s commentary is nearly identical. See Appendix B for both commentaries in Chinese, and in English translation.
- ⁴⁷ Chinese source is Lou Hong in Lou Shu, *Gengzhi tu shi*, 9r.

- ⁴⁸ Zhang Yanyuan as translated by Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts on Chinese Painting*, 61.
- ⁴⁹ Loewe briefly acknowledges that officials may have gathered the poems from the *Book of Odes*. See Michael Loewe, “Shih ching,” in *Early Chinese Texts*, ed. Michael Loewe (Berkeley: University of California, 1993) 415. For a lengthier consideration of the origins of the *Book of Odes* and the roles of officials in forming it, see Jiang Qianyi, “Shi jing ya su zhi bian” 詩經雅俗之辨 [“Distinguishing the Elegant and the Common in the ‘Book of Odes’”], in *Shi jing zhi jing yi yu wen xue shu lun* 詩經之經義與文學述論 [On the Significance and the Literary Aspects of the “Book of Odes”] (Taipei: Wen shi zhe chubanshe, 2004) 15–34, particularly 28.
- ⁵⁰ Lou Hong’s document in Lou Shu, *Gengzhi tu shi*, 8v–9r.
- ⁵¹ Emperor Gaozong of the Southern Song personally administered the great ruling [occupation], initiated a return to prosperity, mingled with soldiers, labored [himself] in one hundred fashions [occupations] and was exposed to the harsh elements [wind as a comb, rain for a shower] so that he [Gaozong] would know thoroughly of the people’s troubles. He especially took the people’s heart and made it his heart. Before he concerned himself with other issues, he had already ordered that agricultural issues be attended to, and implemented the sericulture ceremony.
高宗皇帝身濟大業。紹開中興。出入兵間。勤勞百為。櫛風沐雨。備知民瘼。尤以百姓之心為心。未皇它務。下務農之詔。行親蠶之典。
Chinese source is Lou Shu, *Gengzhi tu shi*, 9r.
- ⁵² Chinese source is Lou Hong in Lou Shu, *Gengzhi tu shi*, Appendix, 2r.
- ⁵³ Chinese source is Lou Yue in Lou Shu, *Gengzhi tu shi*, Appendix, 2v.
- ⁵⁴ Chinese source is Lou Yue in Lou Shu, *Gengzhi tu shi*, Appendix, 2v.
- ⁵⁵ In addition to having stele cut with Lou Shu’s *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*, Lou Yue also wrote about his uncle’s legacy in essays that were included in his major compilation of writings, entitled *Gong kui ji* 攻媿集 [Literary Collection of Lou Yue]. “Although it [Shu’s charitable estate] does not equal that of Wenzheng [Fan Zhongyan], in the cold the poor ones of the clan have something to depend on for support ...” 雖不及文正公之盛而寒宗之貧者賴以自 ...
See Lou Yue, “Fanshi fu yizhai ji” 范氏復義宅記 [“An Additional Account of Mr. Fan’s Charitable Home”] in *Gong kui ji* 攻媿集 [Literary Collection of Lou Yue], Chapter 60 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1935) 2a, as quoted by Linda K. Walton, “Kinship,” 45. According to Linda Walton, Shu formed the estate in 1157 (“Kinship,” 46).
- ⁵⁶ The Chinese is from Lou Yue in Lou Shu, *Gengzhi tu shi*, Appendix, 2r.
- ⁵⁷ Lou Yue demonstrated an alliance with the early Northern Song reformer when he wrote scholarly accounts praising Fan Zhongyan. See Lou Yue, *Fan Wenzheng Gong nianpu* 范文正公年譜 [Chronicle of Fan Wenzheng Gong] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, between 1995–1999), and his “Fanshi fu yuzhai ji.” Peter K. Bol, in conversation, suggested that although Fan Zhongyan is credited, at present, with having initiated the creation of non-Buddhist charitable estates, it was during the early thirteenth century that this legacy was articulated. In addition, Linda Walton’s research indicates that Fan Zhongyan’s residence was restored around 1195, and became an academy in 1226. See Linda Walton, *Academies and Society in Southern Sung China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999) 88–9.
- ⁵⁸ Linda Walton has argued that the formation of charitable estates was a means for elite families to create a local community to counter the pernicious effects of a centralized government. Walton, “Kinship,” 40. Also, James T. C. Liu has argued that with the decline of the aristocratic ruling families, charitable estates helped fill the power vacuum and keep local clerk-officials in check. James T. C. Liu, “An Early Sung Reformer: Fan Chung-yen,” in *Chinese Thought and Institutions*, ed. John K. Fairbank (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1957) 112.
- ⁵⁹ Lou Yue was the first person in charge of the estate, and was able to expand its properties. Undoubtedly, he was committed to its development. Unfortunately by 1213, he was forced to sue relatives for taking liberties with its holdings, a common occurrence within this familial structure. Walton, “Charitable Estates,” 259.
- ⁶⁰ The Chinese source is Lou Yue in Lou Shu, *Gengzhi tu shi*, Appendix, 2r.
- ⁶¹ For Lou Shao’s commentary, see Appendix B.
- ⁶² *Gengzhi tu* 耕織圖 [Pictures of Tilling and Weaving] (Japan: no publisher specified, published between 1462–1676). As a Japanese publication, we could romanize the title of the book as *Kō shoku zu* (Japanese for *Gengzhi tu*), but for consistency, I have retained the

Chinese romanization. The edition that Bethold Laufer purchased in 1908 in Japan for the John Crerar Library of Chicago had a “written postscript” in it that was dated to 1676. Thus, Laufer suggests the range of years from 1462 to 1676 as publication dates. He regarded the publication as most likely “shortly before the latter date.” Berthold Laufer, “The Discovery of a Lost Book,” *T’oung Pao* 13 (1912): 97–106, especially 101. As noted in Chapter 1, fn. 1, the imagery from the Japanese library book is available online, and is also reproduced in Franke’s *Keng Tschi T’u: Ackerbau and Seidengewinnung in China* (Hamburg: Abhandlungen des Hamburgischen Kolonialinstitutes, 1913). Also, as noted in Chapter 1, fn. 40. Pelliot has suggested that a 1462 edition by Song Zonglu inspired this Japanese edition. Pelliot, “A Propos,” 73–4.

⁶³ Lou Shao, Preface to *Gengzhi tu* 耕織圖 [Pictures of Tilling and Weaving], 1r.

⁶⁴ The well-field system was mentioned in the previous chapter in connection with Wang Anshi. According to Mencius, the well-field system, with its allotment of public land for community use, was the first indication of humane government. See Walton, “Charitable Estates,” 271.

⁶⁵ Wang Gang as quoted by Lou Shao, Preface to *Gengzhi tu*, 2r–2v.

Chapter Five Agrarian Laborer Imagery during the Yuan Dynasty

¹ David Morgan, *The Mongols* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007) 54–55, and also Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West: 1221–1410* (Harlow, UK: Pearson Education Ltd., 2005) 37.

² F. W. Mote, *Imperial China: 900–1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999) 247–8.

³ Qubilai became the Great Khān in 1260, and inaugurated the Yuan dynasty in 1272. He reigned until 1294. See Mote, *Imperial China*, 456–60, 468.

⁴ Mote has translated the term as “people of varied categories.” Mote, *Imperial China*, 490.

⁵ Mote, *Imperial China*, 493–4.

⁶ Elizabeth Endicott-West, *Mongolian Rule in China: Local Administration in the Yuan Dynasty* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989) 16, 44. It was not always possible to have dual staff at the local government offices. This institution grew out of the Mongol consultative political practices appropriate for their pastoral and semi-nomadic society.

⁷ Elizabeth Endicott-West, *Mongolian Rule in China* and John D. Langlois, “Political Thought in Chin-hua under Mongol Rule,” in *China Under Mongol Rule*, ed. John D. Langlois (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981) 137–85.

⁸ Mote, *Imperial China*, 493.

⁹ John D. Langlois, Jr., “Political Thought in Chin-hua,” 139.

¹⁰ The modern historian Wang Yuhu has suggested that Wang Zhen did not have significant financial backing to publish his treatise. This point will be discussed below. Wang Yuhu 王毓瑚, *Wang Zhen Nong shu* 王禎農書 [Book of Agriculture by Wang Zhen] (Beijing: Nongye chubanshe: Xinhua shudian Beijing faxing suo faxing, 1981) 3.

¹¹ Or a Chinese official who was identifying with the Mongols through his name. Elizabeth Endicott-West has argued many names that appear Mongol in the historical records may have been Chinese who adopted Mongol names to advance their careers. Elizabeth Endicott-West, *Mongol Rule in China*, 81–3.

¹² A preface by Dai Biaoyuan, a Yuan dynasty intellectual, discussed below, is dated to 1303; Wang Zhen’s own preface is dated to 1313. The *Book of Agriculture*, which consolidated and expanded scholarship on agricultural technology, has been described by the modern historian Dieter Kuhn as “a milestone in the history of the world treatises on agriculture ...” For discussions on the importance of the *Book of Agriculture*, see Dieter Kuhn, “Chemistry and Chemical Technology: Textile Technology,” in *Science and Civilisation in China*, ed. Joseph Needham, vol. 5, part 9 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) 10 and passim, along with Francesca Bray, “Agriculture: Biology and Biological Technology” in *Science and Civilisation in China*, ed. Joseph Needham, vol. 6, part 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984). As for the 1303 dating of the publication, Dieter Kuhn has suggested that the book was in all likelihood written earlier in 1302–1303, “Chemistry and Chemical Technology,” 11, 14. Finally, Wang Zhen was not the first author to name his agricultural treatise

Nong shu. Earlier in the Northern Song, Chen Fu 陳敷 (b. 1076) had published a text bearing this title.

- ¹³ Dieter Kuhn has explored the visual connections between sixteenth-century editions of the *Book of Agriculture* and seventeenth-century *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*, documenting shared imagery. Dieter Kuhn, “Marginalie zu einigen Illustrationen im Nung-Shu des Wang Chen,” in *Zur Kunstgeschichte Asiens, 50 Jahre Lehre und Forschung an der Universität Köln*, ed. R. Goepfer, D. Kuhn, and U. Weisner (Weisbaden: Steiner Verlag, 1977) 143–52.
- ¹⁴ Wang Yuhu, *Wang Zhen Nong shu* 王禎農書 [*Book of Agriculture by Wang Zhen*] (Beijing: Nongye chubanshe: Xinhua shudian Beijing faxing suo faxing, 1981) 3.
- ¹⁵ This is manuscript number 1957 in the National Library, Beijing. While a few chapters are missing, the imagery can be supplemented by an undated manuscript, number 550, also in the National Library, Beijing. For a discussion of the 1530 edition (numbered 1957 in the Beijing National Library), a woodblock print published by the Shandong Shizheng Shisi 山東市政使司 [Shandong Municipal government woodblock], see Amamo Motonosuke, *Chūgoku konōsho kō* 中国古農書考 [*Research of Classical Chinese Texts on Agriculture*] (Tokyo: Ryūkei Shosha, 1975) 143–4. For more on the volumes of the *Book of Agriculture*, see also the reprinted Ming dynasty *Chūgoku Nōgaku Shoroku* 中国農學書錄 [*Annotated Bibliography of Chinese Agricultural Works*], with comments added by Amono Motonosuke (Tokyo: Ryūkei Press, 1975) 111–3. It should be noted that the imagery from manuscript number 1957, supplemented with prints from another version, has been published in a modern edition edited by Wang Yuhu; this publication is not a facsimile.
- ¹⁶ Craig Clunas, in consultation, has suggested the printed imagery appears to have been cut during the early Ming (December, 2004). He also observed that there was more than one hand involved in the designing or cutting of the woodblock prints, some imagery displayed characteristics consistent with early Ming print production. He noted that, at times, publishers combined prints from old woodblocks with those from newly carved woodblocks as a timesaving, or economic, means to produce books. I am very grateful to Professor Clunas, and thank him for his time. In addition, Anne Chasson-Burkus, writing on the history of printed books with illustration in China, has noted that placement of imagery changed with developments in book production. For instance, during the Song, butterfly-bound books

presented imagery across pages that faced each other. The pages of the book were folded with the middle of the page inserted into the binding, or into the book’s spine. During the Wanli 萬曆 era (1573–1620), thread binding became a common practice. Thus, in this style of binding, the image, printed across the entire sheet of paper, was folded outward so the edges at the end of the paper were inserted into the binding and stitched together. This resulted in breaking the unity of the image, with half of it on each side of a page. The viewer or reader of the text would need to turn the page to see the completed image. The binding of the 1530 Ming text does not maintain the unity of the image, suggesting the woodblocks were cut for a butterfly-bound book. This lends credence to an earlier dating for prints in manuscript number 1957. In contrast, the printed imagery of the Japanese *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* edition, discussed in Chapter 4, extend across the two separate pages of the open book, a stylistic component found in later book production. Anne Burkus-Chasson, “Visual Hermeneutics and the Act of Turning the Leaf: A Genealogy of Liu Yuan’s *Lingyan ge*,” in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. Cynthia J. Brokaw and Kai-wing Chow (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005) 371–5.

- ¹⁷ Dieter Kuhn, “Die Darstellung des Keng-chih-t’u und ihre Wiedergabe in populär-enzyklopädischen Werken der Ming-Zeit,” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 126:2 (1976) 344–8.
- ¹⁸ Zheng Xuan, *Zhou li* 周禮 [*Etiquette of the Zhou Dynasty*]. See Jia Gongyan, “Zhou li zhu shu” 周禮注疏 [“Commentary on the Etiquette of the Zhou Dynasty”], in *Ying yin Wen yuan ge si ku quan shu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 vol. 90 (Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1986) 293–4.
- ¹⁹ According to research by Wang Yuhu, this sentence “舉世誰非鼓腹人” in another edition of the *Book of Agriculture* has an alternative character and is transcribed as 舉世誰非穀腹人. Thus, this sentence could be translated as: “Who among us is not fed with grain?” See Wang Yuhu, *Wang Zhen Nong shu*, 233–4.
- ²⁰ Wang Zhen as quoted by Wang Yuhu, *Wang Zhen Nong shu*, 233–4.
- ²¹ As the historian John D. Langlois, Jr. has put it, “By defining the role of the scholar as one that encompassed the duties of clerical functionaries, the Chin-hua scholars were able to reassert the values of Confucianism within the constraints imposed by Mongol rule.” John D. Langlois, Jr., “Political Thought in Chin-hua under Mongol Rule,” in *China under Mongol Rule*, ed. John D. Langlois, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press) 137–40.

- ²² Langlois, “Political Thought in Chin-hua,” 137–8.
- ²³ Mote, *Imperial China*, 334–5.
- ²⁴ 邑歌豳風可也· At some point in time, Dai’s preface for Wang Zhen was separated from the text, but it still exists in his compilations. See Dai Biaoyuan, “Wang Boshan *Nong shu xu*” 王伯善農書序 [“Preface to Wang Zhen’s *Book of Agriculture*”], in *Yan yuan ji* 剡源集 [*The Collected Writings of Dai Biaoyuan*] (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1935) 113.
- ²⁵ This is a reference from the *Han Shu* 漢書 [*Book of Han*], Chapter 24, quoted from *Guanzi* 管子. The *Guanzi* is a compilation of texts, arranged in the first century CE. With some chapters possibly dating to the fifth century BCE, the origins of the work are unclear. See W. Allyn Rickett, “Kuan tzu,” in *Early Chinese Texts*, ed. Michael Loewe (Berkeley: University of California, 1993) 244–51. Kuhn noted in private correspondence that the modern scholar Xia Nai 夏鼐 suggested a different translation. “One does not plow, someone may suffer from hunger due to him, one woman does not weave, someone may suffer from cold due to her.” See Kuhn, “Chemistry and Chemical Technology,” 13, fn. b.
- ²⁶ Wang Zhen, as quoted by Wang Yuhu, *Wang Zhen Nong shu*, 1.
- ²⁷ Dai Biaoyuan’s preface is reproduced and translated in Appendix B.
- ²⁸ 所謂為民父母. Dai Biaoyuan, “Wang Boshan *Nong shu xu*,” 112–3.
- ²⁹ Wang Zhen as quoted by Wang Yuhu, *Wang Zhen Nong shu*, 290–1.
- ³⁰ Zhao Mengfu’s poems, and translations of his poems, are reproduced in Appendix B. The poems are located in Zhao Mengfu, *Song xue zhai ji* 松雪齋集 [*Collection of Zhao Mengfu’s Writing*], preface by Dai Biaoyuan in *Wenyuange siku quanshu dianziban* 文淵閣四庫全書電子版 [*CD-Rom version of the Siku quanshu*], disc 131, document 201 (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press and Digital Heritage Publishers, 1992). Also see Wang Chaosheng, chief editor, *Farming and Weaving Pictures in Ancient China* (Beijing: China Agriculture Press, 1995) 46–7.
- ³¹ Zhao Mengfu, as quoted by Wang Chaosheng, *Zhongguo gudai gengzhi tu* 中國古代耕織圖 [*Farming and Weaving Pictures in Ancient China*] (Beijing: Zhongguo nongye chubanshe, 1995) 193.
- ³² Zhao Mengfu as quoted by Wang Chaosheng, *Zhongguo gudai*, 196.
- ³³ In addition, both Lou Shu and Zhao Mengfu associate the whirring of crickets with weaving into the night.
- ³⁴ In the farming poem “Fifth Month,” Zhao made a historical pronouncement of the kingly profession of King Cheng of Zhou. He states that King Cheng had a regal occupation in the Zhou dynasty (“有周成王業”). This strikes me not so much as a quote from a classical text, but rather as a historical fact. In contrast, I would suggest that Zhao’s other obvious classical reference is found in the “Seventh Month” poem, also in the agriculture series. He writes that “The great Fire [Star] already flows to the west [in the seventh month]” 大火既西流. This line is both an announcement of an observable phenomenon, as well as a phrase from classical literature. The concreteness of the Fire Star dropping down toward the horizon argues for the truth of Zhao’s poem, as well as supporting the larger moral and pedagogical worth of the Chinese classics.
- ³⁵ Zhao Mengfu as quoted by Wang Chaosheng, *Zhongguo gudai*, 194.
- ³⁶ Zhao Mengfu, “Farming Poem Ten,” as quoted by Wang Chaosheng, *Zhongguo gudai*, 194.
- ³⁷ This phrase could also be translated as “The origins of peace have their signs ...”
- ³⁸ Zhao Mengfu as quoted by Wang Chaosheng, *Zhongguo gudai*, 194.
- ³⁹ Zhao Mengfu as quoted by Wang Chaosheng, *Zhongguo gudai*, 1934.
- ⁴⁰ Zhao Mengfu as quoted by Wang Chaosheng, *Zhongguo gudai*, 195.
- ⁴¹ Mote, *Imperial China*, 470.
- ⁴² These are the “Tenth Month” and “Eleventh Month” sericulture poems.
- ⁴³ For a recent example of a more complex approach to Mongol-Chinese cultural interactions in art, as well as a brief discussion of sinocentric issues in Yuan studies, see Ankeney Weitz, “Art and Politics at the Mongol Court of China: Tugh Temür’s Collection of Chinese Paintings,” *Artibus Asiae* 64:2 (2004): 243–80, here 244–6.

- ⁴⁴ Mote, *Imperial China*, 455–60, 467–73.
- ⁴⁵ Chingiz allotted his grandson Batu (c. 1205–1255), the son of his eldest son Jochi (c. 1180–1227) who had already died, “the land to the west as far as the hoof of Mongol horse had travelled.” His second son Chaghatai (d. 1241) was given land in Central Asia. Morgan, *The Mongols*, 99–100.
- ⁴⁶ Tolui had passed away prior to this, in 1232. Mongol succession was not inherited, but was determined through election at a *quriltai*, or an assembly of Mongol princes. See Morgan for discussion of the machinations behind the Toluid ascension to the Great Khānship. Morgan, *The Mongols*, 103–4.
- ⁴⁷ Qubilai managed to succeed to the throne of China, but only after a protracted civil war. Within the larger khanate entity, Qubilai’s position met with great opposition. His detractors claimed his loyalty to the larger Mongol enterprise had been corrupted by his identification with the Chinese. Even as early as 1257, Möngke Khān, Qubilai’s older brother who was in power from 1251–1259, removed several key Chinese administrators from Qubilai’s staff, replacing them with Central Asians. Mote, *Imperial China*, 454–5.
- ⁴⁸ Mote, *Imperial China*, 444–73.
- ⁴⁹ John W. Dardess, *Conquerors and Confucians: Aspects of Political Change in Late Yuan China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973) 37.
- ⁵⁰ From June 1316 to July 1317, the head official was appointed by the central government, and the princes could appoint only the second in command. Endicott-West, *Mongolian Rule in China*, 99.
- ⁵¹ Endicott-West, *Mongolian Rule in China*, 101.
- ⁵² Mote, *Imperial China*, 470.
- ⁵³ Weitz’s research provides an example dating to 1328–1332, in which the claim “[even] farmers plow contentedly” ... 隨處樂農耕 in a poem was used to demonstrate the great virtue of Emperor Tugh Temür. Weitz, “Art and Politics,” 267.
- ⁵⁴ I am grateful to James Robinson who called my attention to this painting. I assume a handscroll of the *Pictures of Weaving*, now lost, accompanied the Metropolitan scroll.
- ⁵⁵ Maxwell Hearn made this observation in consultation. I am very grateful for his assistance. See Appendix B for a reconstruction of the Chinese colophon, and my English translation.
- ⁵⁶ For a discussion of Toghto’s histories, see Hok-Lam Chan, “China Official Historiography at the Yüan Court: The Composition of the Liao, Chin, and Sung Histories,” in *China under Mongol Rule*, ed. John D. Langlois, Jr., (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981) 74–9.
- ⁵⁷ This was reported in the Sotheby’s catalogue, *Important Classical Chinese Paintings and Calligraphy*, Hong Kong, sale date October 29, 2000 (sale number HK0166), entry number 74, 82. Prior to World War II, the owner of the scroll conducted research at the South Sea God Temple (Nanhai shenmiao 南海神廟), in the environs of Guangzhou. He discovered a stele there that recorded Hugechi/Qugeci, governor of Guangzhou, presiding at offerings given to the temple. I was unable to locate this stele when I visited the temple, but I did observe a number of steles that may have been damaged during the Cultural Revolution. Although some were nearly entirely illegible, I could still determine that some had Yuan dynasty dates, and perhaps one of these had been the source for the information. I am grateful to Professor Zhang Shitao for providing me with a tour of this site. In addition, the Sotheby’s catalogue claimed that the painting had been presented to Toghto in 1327, and then inscribed by Qugeci in 1353. I cannot find any evidence for this claim in the colophon. The *Pictures of Tilling* scroll portion, not all of which is reproduced in the Sotheby’s catalogue, is titled *Illustration of Agriculture Process*. The phrase 太師 *taishi* was translated as the minister of agriculture in this catalogue. I prefer Mote’s title of chief councilor, as it seems more consistent with the Chinese. The entry for the wrong Hugechi/Qugeci can be found in *Yuan ren zhuan ji zi liao suo yin* 元人傳記資料索引 [*Index to Biographical Materials of Yuan Figures*], ed. Wang Deyi, vol. 4 (Taipei: Xin wen feng chuban, 1982) 2566. I admit this biographical entry about the existence of another Hugechi is somewhat disturbing to me. His dates, as established in the historical record, clearly differ from those on the colophon, and may call into question the authenticity of the colophon. If the colophon is counterfeit, did the forger think that Hugechi, a distant relative of the imperial court, lived at the same time as Tuotuo? This suggests that the colophon might be a poorly researched fake. However, Professor Richard Edwards, in consultation, thought that the painting’s style was compatible with the Yuan dynasty date. I thank Professor Edwards for sharing his expertise with me.
- ⁵⁸ Mote, *Imperial China*, 519 and Chan, “China Official Historiography,” 75.

- ⁵⁹ Chan, “China Official Historiography,” 64.
- ⁶⁰ As Ankeney Wietz’s research has documented for the cultural activities of the Mongol emperor Tugh Temür (r. 1328–1332) and his court, Chinese paintings in court culture were used to forge a Sino-Mongolian identity for the imperium in order to advance political agendas and legitimize authority. The presentation of the *Pictures of Tilling* from one Mongol to another is consistent with Weitz’s research. Weitz, “Art and Politics at the Mongol Court of China,” 243–80.
- ⁶¹ Transcribed from a colophon reproduced in Sotheby’s catalogue, *Important Classical Chinese Paintings*, 82.
- ⁶² Richard Vinograd, “Family Properties: Personal Context and Cultural Pattern in Wang Meng’s *Pien Mountains* of 1366,” *Ars Orientalis* 13 (1982): 1–19.
- ⁶³ My translation is a modification of the one published in *The Four Masters of the Yuan* (Taipei: The National Palace Museum, 1975) 78–79. Chinese text is on page 66.
- ⁶⁴ See *The Four Masters of the Yuan*, 78. In general, scholars accept this painting as a work of Wang Meng. It measures 124.9 cm. x 37.2 cm. Presently in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, the famous Ming dynasty art critic and connoisseur Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555–1636) acknowledged Wang Meng as the artist. Dong graced the painting’s mounting with his inscription, asserting Wang Meng was the artist.
- ⁶⁵ I made this observation by inspecting reproductions. I have not personally seen this painting.
- ⁶⁶ Lou Shu’s farmer is tilling rice with his feet submerged in the mud. Wang Meng refers to growing millet in the poem he inscribed on this painting. The planting of millet does not occur in wet paddy fields, thus the farmer should not have his feet sinking into the paddy.
- ⁶⁷ Choon Sang Leong assumes the man overseeing the farmer is Wang Meng, but the inscription specifically emphasizes that the artist personally plows. See Choon Sang Leong, “Wang Meng’s Development as an Artist as Seen through His Depiction of Scholars’ Retreats” (PhD diss., University of Kansas, 1988) 154.
- ⁶⁸ The great poet Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (c. 372–427, also known as Tao Qian 陶潛) could be seen as a precedent for Wang Meng. He was an official who retired from officialdom to return to his home and farm. I thank Susan Nelson for this observation. In pictorial representations of Tao that date to the Song, for example, the version of *Tao Yuanming Returning to Seclusion* in the Freer Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC, he is not represented as tilling the land or harvesting grain, but rather as squatting on fields, tending to the beans that he mentioned in his poetry. Reproductions of this scroll can be located in Thomas Lawton, *Freer Gallery of Art Fiftieth Anniversary Exhibition, II: Chinese Figure Painting*, entry 4 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1973) 38–41. Martin J. Powers, “Garden Rocks, Fractals and Freedom: Tao Yuanming Comes Home,” *Oriental Art* 44 (Winter, 1998) 28–38 reproduces the section of the painting with Tao sitting in the field, fig. 6, 33.
- ⁶⁹ I have slightly modified Legge’s translation in the last line. Whereas he translated it “When shall we get [back] to our ordinary lot?” I prefer to draw upon the ability of the character *chang* 常 to signify the concepts of regularity and habit, or “normal” activities. This strikes me as a slightly more appropriate translation to describe the feelings of men who wish to return to their homes, work the fields, and provide for their parents than does Legge’s term “ordinary lot.” See “Paou yu” in *The Chinese Classics: The She King*, trans. James Legge, vol. 4 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960) 183–4.
- ⁷⁰ See Zheng Xuan, commentator, *Mao Shi* 毛詩 [*Mao Version of the Shijing*], Chapter 6 (Shanghai, Zhonghua shuju, 1934–1936) 5r–6v.
- ⁷¹ Millet adapts well in less fertile soil, does not require much rainfall, and has shorter growing periods. The great poet Lu You 陸游 (1125–1210) mentioned the practice of growing of millet in areas of high altitude. See Chun-shu Chang and Joan Smythe, trans. *South China in the Twelfth Century: A Translation of Lu Yu’s Travel Diaries* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1981) 119.
- ⁷² Dai Biaoyuan’s preface to Wang Zhen’s *Book of Agriculture* suggests that the alienation Wang Meng experienced was not unique to him. In 1303, state and society was relatively stable, and Dai had criticized Confucian scholars for retreating into farming, writing: In society, Confucian scholars are often mocked for their pedantry. They would rather retreat to farm in rural lands than have regrets for their acts. I often denounce such behavior as narrow-minded. If Confucian scholars could function with sincerity, then all the people would work, and agriculture would be run by farmers. Confucian scholars need not be busy farming with distaste to show their worthiness.

世人嘗譏嘲儒者無所用心為。必不得已。寧退而躬耕野間。為農以畢世。猶為無所愧負。余每隘而非之。使儒者誠用。將無民不得業。而農預其數矣。安在栖栖然親扶犁負耒。而後為善。

Dai Biaoyuan, “Wang Boshan *Nong shu xu*,” 112.

- ⁷³ The mountainous region provides an environment in which the scholar or scholar-official can enjoy greater autonomy and freedom from distractions to read, write, and paint. For example, the Tang scholar-official Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773–819) represents one such literatus exiled in the rustic wilderness. For an introduction to Liu, see Richard Strassberg, trans. “Liu Tsung-Yüan (773–819),” in *Inscribed Landscapes: Travel Writing from Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994) 139–49.

Epilogue

The Pictures of Tilling and Weaving in the Ming and Early Qing Dynasties

- ¹ Tao Zongyi, *Nancun chuo geng lu* 南村輟耕錄 [*Writings after Retiring from Plowing in the Southern Village*], vol. 2, Chapter 28 (Shenyang: Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe, 1998) 338.
- ² I know of only one *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* suite from the later Ming dynasty, by Xia Hou 夏厚 (Ming dynasty), an obscure artist. Reproductions of his *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* were on display at the China National Silk Museum, Hangzhou in summer, 2004. I am grateful to Dr. Zhao Feng for his assistance with this reference.
- ³ Brian McKnight, *Village and Bureaucracy in Southern Sung China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971) 4. McKnight used the term gentry “with reservations,” defining it as a group of people who were, in addition to being wealthy, invested in the cultural currency of the civil service examination system, a distinction that is lost in the normative use of the term. McKnight, “Village and Bureaucracy,” 3–7.
- ⁴ Craig Clunas, *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China* (Durham and London: Duke University Press and Reaktion Books, Ltd., 1996) 60–99, especially 77–91.
- ⁵ Clunas, *Fruitful Sites*, 78.
- ⁶ For a general introduction to the theories of Dong Qichang, consult

Susan Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting: Su Shih (1037–1101) to Tung Ch’i-ch’ang (1555–1636)* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971).

- ⁷ For example, the artist Qiu Ying 仇英 (c. 1494–1552) is associated with a number of paintings that depict the poem “Peach Blossom Spring,” initially composed by the great poet Tao Yuanming, who is mentioned in Chapter 5, fn. 68. When farmers are included in paintings with this theme, they are unobtrusive. See Susan E. Nelson, “On through to the beyond: The Peach Blossom Spring as Paradise,” *Archives of Asian Art* 39 (1986): 23–47, especially fig. 2.
- ⁸ Clunas has characterized the *Illustrated Epitome* as “lowly”; its intended audience consisted of “small-scale landowners.” According to Clunas, this treatise was published at least six times, from the Chenghua era to the Wanli 萬曆 (1573–1620). Clunas, *Fruitful Sites*, 78.
- ⁹ As quoted and translated by Wang Chaosheng. I have slightly modified Wang Chaosheng’s translation. Wang Chaosheng, ed. *Zhongguo gudai gengzhi tu* 中國古代耕織圖 [*Farming and Weaving Pictures in Ancient China*] (Beijing: Zhongguo nongye chubanshe, 1995) 65, 66.
- ¹⁰ For Chinese text, see Wang Chaosheng, *Zhongguo gudai*, 200. For my translation, I consulted with Philip K. Hu’s translation of the Kangxi Emperor’s preface. Hu provides a translation of the complete preface as well as giving the Chinese text. See Philip K. Hu, compiler and editor, *Visible Traces: Rare Books and Special Collections from the National Library of China* 中國國家圖書館善本特藏精品選錄 [*Zhongguo guojia tushuguan shanben tecang jingpin xuanlu*], entry 17 (Beijing: Morning Glory Publishers, 2000) 72–8.
- ¹¹ Wei Dong, “Qing Imperial ‘Genre Painting’: Art as Pictorial Record,” *Orientalia* 26: 7 (July–August, 1995): 18–24.
- ¹² Their Chinese verses can be located in Wang Chaosheng, *Zhongguo gudai*, 200–3; 205–15. For more on the Yongzheng Emperor’s use of the pictures of tilling and weaving to consolidate his claims to the throne, see Lo Hui-Chi, “From Prince to Emperor: Yinzen’s (1678–1735) Political Deployment of Art in Early Qing Dynasty (1644–1911) China” (Ph D diss., University of Stanford, 2009) 67–106.

Appendix B: Document 4

- ¹ There are only thirteen poems included in Chapter 51 of the compilation *Wanling ji* 宛陵集 [Collection of Works by Wanling (Mei Yaochen)], compiled by Xie Jingchu (1020–1084) with a preface by Ouyang Xiu. This work was originally published in 1046 and included in the *Siku Quanshu* (Treasures of the Imperial Library). Two additional poems for farming labor have resurfaced and have been added to the suite. I include these two extra poems and note them accordingly. The two extra poems are included in *Quan Songshi* 全宋詩 [Complete Collection of Song Dynasty Poetry], ed. Fu Xuancong (Beijing: Beijing University Press, 1991–1998) 5:3211–12.
- ² *Hongyin* 虹飲 is a term that is based on a Chinese legend that when it rains, it is the rainbow who is drinking water from rivers and wells. See Ban Gu (32–92), *Hanshu* 漢書 [The History of the Han Dynasty], annotated by Yan Shigu (581–645) (Beijing: Zhonghua Books Company, 1975) 2757.
- ³ This poem was not included in the *Wanling Ji* compilation.
- ⁴ The Tiger-mouth Constellation was the patron constellation of vegetation. Chen Jiujin, *Zhongguo Xing zuo shen hua* 中國星座神話 [Legends of the Chinese Constellations] (Taipei: Taiwan Gu ji chu ban, 2005) 188–89.
- ⁵ This poem is not in the *Wanling Ji* compilation.
- ⁶ From this, I presume that monkeys in the Song dynasty were trained or performed with drums.
- ⁷ It was believed that it was best to collect mulberry leaves for the worms early in the morning, when they were still wet with dew.
- ⁸ The characters for this line are obscure and the meaning is not clear to me.
- ⁹ Here Mei Yaochen used a reference to woven fabric as a metaphor for cosmic order.
- ¹⁰ The Chinese shuttle has a hollow hole in its middle within which the weft thread is stored for use.
- ¹¹ Tao Kan 陶侃 (259–334) was the great-grandfather of the great Eastern Jin 東晉 (317–420) poet Tao Yuanming (365–427).

¹² This story about Tao Kan is located in the *Jin Shu* 晉書 [The History of the Jin Dynasty].

¹³ This implies that uninvited officials arrive too early for tax payments.

Appendix B: Document 5

- ¹ Source of the poems by Wang Anshi is *Wang Linchuan quanji* 王臨川全集 [Collected Writings by Wang Linchuan], edited by Yang Jialuo (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1961), 53–54.
- ² *Moye* 莫耶 (or *Moxie* 莫邪) is the name of a legendary sword made by Gan Jiang 干將 (act. 514–496 BCE), recorded in *Wu Yue chun qiu* 吳越春秋 [Spring and Autumn of the Kingdoms Wu and Yue], compiled by Zhao Ye (fl. 40–80) located in the *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Dianzi ban* [Neilianwang ban] 文淵閣四庫全書電子版 [內聯網版] [The Electronic Version of the Wenyuange Edition of the Treasures of the Imperial Library (Intranet Version)] (Hong Kong: Digital Heritage Publishing Ltd, 2007), <http://www.sikuquanshu.com>, *juan* (chapter) 2.
- ³ *Yuanji* 圓機 is an allusion, referring to *huanzhong* 環中 (the center of a circle), where Zhuang Zi (c. 369–286 BCE) metaphorically described as the space without worldly troubles. Luo Zhufeng ed., *Hanyu da cidian* 漢語大詞典 [Comprehensive Chinese Dictionary] (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing; Shanghai: Hanyu da cidian chuban she, 1989) 3:659.
- ⁴ Ban Er refers to two craftsmen: Gongshu Ban 公輸般 (also known as Lü Ban 魯般) and Wang Er 王爾. Lu Ban was active during the reign of Baron Aigong of Lü 魯哀公 (r. 494–467 BCE). Wang Er dates are obscured but according to Liu Ji 劉基 (1311–1375), there was a Jiang Er 匠爾 (Craftsman Er) who served the King Chengwang of Chu 楚成王 (r. 671–626 BCE). These master craftsmen were recorded in the Han dynasty *Huainanzi* 淮南子 and *Hanshu* 漢書. The term Ban-Er 般爾 was used by Zhang Heng (78–139) in his *Xijing fu* 西京賦 to refer to skillful craftsmen. See Liu An (179–122 BCE), *Huainan zi jiao shi* 淮南子校釋 [Annotated Edition of the Philosophers of Huainan] annot. Zhang Shuangli (Beijing: Beijing University Press, 1997) 802, 814; Ban Gu (32–92), *Hanshu* 漢書 [The History of the Han Dynasty], annot. Yan Shigu (581–645) (1962; reprint, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1975) 3529–30; and Zhang Heng (78–139), “Xijing fu 西京賦 (Rhapsody of the Western Capital)” in *Wenxuan zhu* 文選註 [Annotated Edition of Literary Selections], ed. Xiao Tong (501–531) and annot. Li Shan (d.689) located in the *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu Dianzi ban* (Neilianwang

ban) 文淵閣四庫全書電子版 [內聯網版] [*The Electronic Version of the Wenyuange Edition of the Treasures of the Imperial Library (Intranet version)*] (Hong Kong: Digital Heritage Publishing Ltd, 2007), <http://www.sikuquanshu.com>, *juan* (chapter) 2:10.

- ⁵ This poem argues history demonstrates that the government must allow farmers to work in proper conditions; otherwise they will rebel and use their farming tools as weapons. For the reference to the Qin dynasty (221–206 BCE) rebellious farmers, see Sima Qian (c. 145–c. 86 BCE), *Shiji* 史記 [*Records of the Grand Historian*] (1959; reprint, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1962) 1:276.
- ⁶ According to *Shiji* 史記 [*Record of the Grand Historian*], Boyang was a court historian who predicted the fall of the Zhou dynasty. Sima Qian (c. 145–c. 86 BCE), *Shiji* 史記 [*Records of the Grand Historian*] (1959; reprint, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1962) 1:145–46.
- ⁷ The term *long shan* 壟上 (on a mound) in the poem refers to the phrase *chuo geng long shang* 輟耕壟上 (stopped plowing on a mound) located in the *Shiji* 史記 [*Records of the Grand Historian*]. A Han gentleman called Chen Sheng 陳勝 (d. 208 BCE) (courtesy name Chen She 涉) while stopped plowing in the fields when he had an epiphany about the unbearable hardship of farming. He wanted to escape from such difficult labor. See Sima Qian (c. 145–c. 86 BCE), *Shiji* 史記 [*Records of the Grand Historian*] (1959; reprint, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1962) 6:1949–65.

Appendix B: Document 6

- ¹ James Legge, trans. *The Chinese Classics: The Confucian Analects*, vol. 1 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960) 264–5.
- ² James Legge, trans. *The Chinese Classics: The Works of Mencius*, vol. 2 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960) 246–56.
- ³ Confucius praised Zi Chan, a famous official, for his wisdom in the Spring and Autumn period (722–481 BCE), as he “had four of the characteristics of a superior man ... in nourishing the people, he was kind, in working for the people, he was just.” 子謂子產，有君子之道四焉，其行己也恭，其事上也敬，其養民也惠，其使民也義。
Confucius as translated by James Legge, *The Chinese Classics: The Confucian Analects*, vol. 1 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960) 178–9.

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