A Defiant Brush

Su Renshan and the Politics of Painting in Early 19th-Century Guangdong

Yeewan Koon

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An Introduction

I began this book as a monograph of an unusual Cantonese artist, Su Renshan (蘇仁山, 1814–ca.1850), who worked at the time of the Opium War. He was from Shunde, a provincial town in the Pearl River Delta area in south China, known more for its silk production and powerful lineage clans than for its great painters. In the mid-nineteenth century, Shunde and its surrounding area, including Guangzhou City (more popularly known as Canton),[1] were subjected to attacks first by the British army and then by local bandits and rebels. Against this rough, volatile background, Su Renshan made paintings that were uncompromising and brassy. Large hanging scrolls abound with unexpected juxtapositions and bear provocative inscriptions criticizing Confucius as someone who "poisoned the people" and otherwise scolding those who mindlessly followed him. His tradition-flouting paintings and transgressive inscriptions make him an ideal candidate for a discussion of the emergence of the modern political artist in Guangdong in the nineteenth century.

His art, however, prompts more questions than answers. To take an example, in his large hanging scroll, *A Celebration of Myriad Birds* (Fig. 1),[2] a subject matter that commonly offers a message of peace and prosperity, Su Renshan has depicted some of the strangest-looking birds in Chinese art. At the bottom of the scroll and painted in the *baimiao* (白描 plain drawing) style of ink outlines is a crane with a misshaped beak bent into a strange hook. Next to this crane is an unusually timid eagle staring at the ground. In the top half of the painting is a group of dagger-tailed swallows flying into one another, creating a cluster of short, fast strokes of black ink. How do we read this painting of odd birds? The damaged title offers little information. Given Su Renshan's contrary personality, do we read the painting as a subversion and inversion of traditional iconography? Do we consider the cluster of swallows as a form of befuddled chaos of human behavior? If we conduct an iconological examination and consider that the image is ideologically informed and relies on the social context for its force even as it shapes that context, what were the cultural and social values that were at stake? As it was likely to have been painted in post-Opium War Guangdong, is it possible to push for a sociopolitical reading of the painting as a manifestation of the collapse of local society, or argue that it reveals a collective expression of frustrations with the government and an emperor oblivious to the situation in Guangdong as foreign traders claimed possession of land that was once theirs. The painting also raises the question of whether other artists were making similar types of painting or whether they shared Su's sociopolitical concerns. Furthermore, the painting is satirical in scope and angry in effect. How does anger find its way into ink painting? How do we evaluate this type of painterly process in relation to a social history of nineteenth-century painting? If Su subverted the traditional meaning of the genre, is a similar type of transgression reflected in the formal

Figure 1 Su Renshan, *A Celebration of Myriad Birds*. Hanging scroll, undated, ink on paper, 243 × 123 cm. Kyoto National Museum.

properties such as the brush mode or the composition? How far does he go?

I wanted to write a monograph that could make sense of Su Renshan's *A Celebration of Myriad Birds* and consider (among other questions) how a painterly process may impact (and vice versa) the sociopolitical landscape of a postwar Guangdong, and how shifts in painting practices and styles also corresponded to changes in values and ethics in ink painting during the early nineteenth century. It quickly became clear that this task had some major obstacles, at least two of which are related to Chinese art historiography. First, Su did not operate within the familiar art circles of Guangzhou City, whose participants were the primary record keepers and tastemakers in the region. Since he is missing from the records and texts, and absent from literary art activities, it is impossible to anchor Su Renshan using the standard primary sources (e.g. collected writings, poems, and gazetteers) to investigate his role and position in relation to his peers, which in turn makes a broader study difficult if it was solely based on relational coding (where social connections such as friendships, or client-patron relationships follow certain codes such as inscriptional formalities or placement of figures). If I maintained the canonical tradition of situating those who stray outside the norm as oddballs and misfits, then a monograph would inevitably cast Su Renshan's work as an exception rather than as an example of early nineteenth-century art. The resulting danger would be an intimate picture using only his biography to explain his art, and unwittingly replicating the monograph's tendency to celebrate the "genius" of an artist.

The second obstacle is that the early nineteenth century is an under-researched area, referred to, often frustratingly, as the "black hole" of Chinese art history. Added to this, the study of Guangdong art has been the casualty of the parochialism of a literati-biased canon that favored the cultural centers of Beijing and Jiangnan (the Lower Yangtze region) and saw the 1800–50 period as either too late (past the Qing Dynasty's peak), or too early (not yet modern).[3] Pivotal in this narrative of decline is the Opium War that demarcates the mid-nineteenth century as a time when China was weak and needed the West in order to modernize. While historians of China and international relations have revisited and interrogated this assumption with numerous tomes, the smaller community of art historians has yet to make substantial arguments by looking at the mid-nineteenth century. The current art history canon links eighteenth-century Yangzhou to late nineteenth-century Shanghai with only whispers of what happened in between. There are a few exceptions. In Zhuang Shen's study of collecting in Guangdong, *Cong baizhi dao baiyin: Qing mo Guangdong shuhua chuangzuo yu shoucang shi* (從白紙到白銀：清末廣東書畫創作與收藏史 From paper to gold: A history of collecting painting and calligraphy in late Qing Guangdong), he examines five major local collections and related painting movements.[4] Another rare exception is Wan Qingli's book *Bing fei shuai luo de bainian: 19 shiji Zhongguo huihua shi* (並非衰落的百年：十九世紀中國繪畫史 The century was not declining: A history of Chinese painting in the nineteenth century), whose title says it all.[5] However, the reluctance, if it is such, to acknowledge the early nineteenth century pales in comparison to the bias against the possibility that mid-nineteenth century Guangdong was an art center of consequence.

This book attempts to address the current gap in the field, by connecting different spheres of artistic production into a broader historical context that includes the much-maligned Opium War. But it also leaves areas that cannot be covered. For example, I have neglected works by female artists, an area of Chinese art history that is still under-studied because of the lack of textual sources. Some Guangdong female artists worked alongside the male artists

discussed in this chapter, including Yu Ling (余菱, mid-nineteenth century), who was the concubine of Su Liupeng (蘇六朋, ca.1814–60), a professional artist who I discuss in Chapter One. Yu Ling worked at the Su family workshop in the old part of the city and made paintings that deftly followed the style of Su Liupeng. Another female artist is Ju Qing (居慶, ca. nineteenth century), who was the daughter of Ju Chao (居巢, 1811–65), a notable bird and flower painter in Guangxi. I have also sidelined the finger painters of Guangdong, a type of art-making popular in the late eighteenth century by scholarly artists and continued by professional workshop artists in the nineteenth century. Finger painting is more commonly associated with Bannerman artists and in particular the seventeenth-century painter Han Bannerman Gao Qipei (高其佩, 1660–1734) in Beijing. There are, however, two reasons that may account for the flourishing of this type of art-making in Guangdong: The largest concentration of Bannermen outside of Beijing was in Guangzhou; and Gao Qipei's grandson, Gao Bing (高秉, act. ca. late eighteenth century), who, in 1771, published his grandfather's treatise *Zhitou huashuo* 指頭畫說 (On finger painting) in Guangdong while he was working in the region, wanted to take advantage of the low cost of printing.[6] The publication of a finger-painting manual associated with known artists who served the Qing court may have also contributed to an interest in this type of painting in Guangdong. Overall, the presence of these artists would have enriched the story of Guangdong art, and, in the case of female painters, may intersect with Su Renshan's interest in depictions of women; but without further resources, I must put their achievements and contributions aside.

I do, however, address other gaps and biases—against early nineteenth-century art in general, and Guangdong and Su Renshan specifically—in order to answer a slew of questions: What type of art circulated in early nineteenth-century Guangdong? What is the significance of Su Renshan? Is it possible to integrate the mainstream with the regional (such as Guangdong) and the misfits (such as Su Renshan)? And how might the answers to these questions alter the contours of the current Chinese art narrative?

In *A Defiant Brush*, the story begins with an examination of artistic practices and political engagement in Guangzhou City that act as indices for a critical assessment of Su's paintings and ends with a second narrative of what happened to these structures after the Opium War. The result is not a seamless narrative but one that sets up two related contexts in which Su Renshan's works are evaluated and results in Su coming in and out of the overall story. What I may have lost by giving up the coherence of a linear narrative that follows the career of a single artist I have gained in a more trenchant mode of assessing a complex figure who can only be approached through refractions like mirrors of a kaleidoscope that show the material at the core of the device and that can be incorporated in different fields. It allows for a better understanding of Guangdong during its transition from a trading hub to a place of war, and of an artist caught in the midst of that change. With each of the contextual narratives, the politics are different: The first of a mercantile world demonstrates the sociopolitics of art at a time when the negotiation and competition of local identity took on different rhetoric and form. The second is the politics of war where violence and chaos prompted complex responses to a world that was both changed and still changing. The themes of transformation and of temporal disconnect reflect the anxieties of a region afflicted by war, and the social differences that were evident as dominant forces shifted, especially as elite members took on grassroots themes and narratives as modes of defiance.

Interwoven within the different contexts are a biography of Su Renshan and my close readings of his

paintings. I am aware that my reliance on biography strays back to earlier art historical practices (which I have been critical of) and veers away from the current art history preference for using social matrices, and urban relations, and similar issues to extrapolate art's meaning (which I do make use of). But I cannot conceive of this book without a nuanced reading of Su Renshan's biography. Reading his inscriptions (the only textual source available), his social awkwardness, his frustrations with conventions, and his difficult relationship with his father seep out of the surface of his paintings, at times so palpably that it is impossible not to consider his personal circumstances. My close reading of his artworks also shifts from a purely social history of art to an argument based on visual analysis that allows me to better situate Su's work against a network of ideas and reflections. It is a process that can be speculative (in that it is not reliant on external sources), but it is also an explorative approach that can expose points of view that are never explicitly revealed in texts and social relations. It is only with this serpentine mapping of people and places, and a deliberate variety of approaches, that I am able to show how Su Renshan's paintings are prototypical and representative rather than singular and unique. The biography anchors my close readings of Su Renshan's painting as much as the social context explains his reasons to paint.

The chronological and methodological structures of the book are grounded by my interest in the representation (and misrepresentation) of multiple identities—a feature of nineteenth-century Guangdong and arguably of Qing Dynasty in general. Recent scholarship on the multiple identities of the Qing has focused on the imperial family and the capital. Notable works include Patricia Berger's *Empire of Brightness: Buddhist Art and Political Authority in Qing China*[7] and Susan Naquin's *Peking: Temples and City Life (1400–1900)*.[8] Two earlier publications continue to exert influence in the field: Richard Vinograd's *Boundaries of the Self: Chinese Portraits 1600–1900*[9] investigates the negotiation of identity as a core element of representation, and Jonathan Hay's dense *Shitao: Painting and Modernity in Early Qing China*[10] discusses, among many other themes, the nuances of art as a mediator and agent of an artist's subjectivity. The works of these scholars have directed my own undertaking as I looked at the multiple identities that were handily adopted by the people, places, and art discussed, as well as what was at stake in the aftermath of war. As the chapters unfold, we will see that differences and multiplicity (e.g. serial images or local versus metropolitan settings) were necessary to forge relations between different communities. In contrast to the multiplicities, the singular identity stands as a performance rather than an actuality, even if it appears to be concrete and abiding.

Multiple identities were an important part of forming networks, in which a wealthy merchant could command the identity of a Fujian migrant, a Guangzhou scholarly elite, or an international entrepreneur, depending on the situation. This mobility of identity extends to place: Guangzhou was alternately a synecdoche of China, a place of strange customs, and a site steeped in local history. Each of these roles relied on the dialogue between the viewer, the artist, and the object viewed, so that an image of the thirteen factories could mean Guangdong as China, as a tourist site, or as a symbol of ownership. Similarly, there are dialogues that contested the invisible boundaries designed to segregate social and cultural spaces by crisscrossing the high and low, and in Su Renshan's *A Celebration of Myriad Birds*, the painting and the satire.

To untangle the tight-knit communities and identities in Guangdong's art world, broad strokes are used in the first chapter to determine how value and meaning of works of art were formed and assessed when export trade was thriving in the city. The first broad stroke in the opening chapter looks at the

circulation of images. Taking on Carlo Ginzburg's idea of iconic circuits and Deborah Poole's work on the visual economy of the Andes, I examine the relationship between different types of art forms, audience, and value systems.[11] The conventional mode of defining "high" and "low" in Chinese art tends to group artists, audiences, and modes of making into distinct social groups: literati ink painting and the elite in one group, and popular arts in colorful palette in the second group. In general, scholars have debunked the simplicity of this model, and I follow this path but would add that the model of literati versus non-literati works was used in the early nineteenth century as a way of constructing social exclusion and is therefore still relevant to our understanding of art of this period. In particular, the closed circuit operated to define relationships between patrons and artists, viewers and makers that determined certain types of art as being appropriate. In contrast, the open circuit allowed for a greater blurring of social and cultural audiences, multiple meanings and readings of certain types of images, and determined meanings for more popular imagery that could be understood by a broad range of viewers. Similarly, these relationships between audience, artworks and artists also established different ranges of costs, and modes of transactions.

To make my argument of a closed circuit in Guangzhou City, I scrutinize the making of a regional literary identity among the elite and the relationship between the center and the periphery (or the capital and the local) where the center was being co-opted into the local (and vice versa). I argue that the early nineteenth century marked the beginnings of a Guangzhou literati art canon with artists and patrons participating in the construction of a regional identity that fits into a national narrative.

Recent scholarship that focuses on the local has looked at the significance of diverse human activities as opposing agents in the construction of place and identity.[12] For example, William Rowe has looked at local elite cultures through a number of different lenses, including the importance of lineage corporations, different associational forms, elite activism, and local competition.[13] These studies shift the discussions of the elite class from outside a state-sanctioned hierarchy and the core-periphery model. I follow this approach of local history by framing the making of regional art as a construction rather than as an accident of geography. Guangdong was, after all, made up of migrants, sojourners, and lineage clans who were competing for cultural clout by appropriating icons, histories, and local affairs.

One of the key players in the construction of a Guangdong identity was the nationally renowned Yangzhou official Ruan Yuan (阮元, 1764–1849), who arrived as the new Governor-General of Guangdong and Guangxi in 1817 and within three years had set up Xuehaitang Academy, an institution supervised by the local leading scholarly elite. Ruan's interest in Han scholarship and evidential research set the academic tone of his institution. Previously, in Yangzhou, Ruan had founded academies, published gazetteers, and promoted the rigorous study of *jinshixue* (金石學 the study of bronzes and stone inscriptions) that contributed to the city's intellectual reputation.[14] Ruan Yuan's Yangzhou provided a template for Guangzhou's transformation into a scholastic city of literary significance. By mapping a connection between Yangzhou and Guangdong, I add to the current discussions of the making of urban cosmopolitanism that view eighteenth-century Yangzhou as the precursor to late nineteenth-century Shanghai.[15] As with their Jiangnan counterparts, the Xuehaitang scholars honed their skills by collecting and transcribing inscriptions, compiling anthologies of Guangdong poets, and publishing studies on local products and other investigative compilations of works. The high volume of published books printed

on the premises added to the academy's scholastic aura.

The Xuehaitang scholars formed a community outside of kinship and native ties, structured according to empire-wide models of intellectual brotherhoods. Shared intellectual interests not only brought together scholars and officials with similar pedagogical concerns but created a network of patrons that financially supported the academy's projects and related interests, such as bookshops, publishing, and libraries. The pedagogical agenda, linked to the Jiangnan tradition, also appealed to Guangdong's community of sojourners and migrants, who had tenuous ties to the dominant lineages from the Delta region.[16] This is evident in the financial support given by the Fujian entrepreneurs who had made Guangdong their home and who used their attachment to the academy and its community of scholars as a means of gaining local cultural cachet.

Similar activities can be seen in the Guangdong art worlds. Between 1840 and 1865, eminent Guangzhou-based collectors were publishing catalogues of their collections on an unprecedented scale, thereby making known what they owned, and in one case, how much they paid for it.[17] On one level, catalogues were effective mechanisms for transforming economic power into cultural power by reinforcing one's reputation within and beyond one's immediate space and time. On another level, catalogues were a means to connect previously marginal localities to broader networks of cultural power. Pan Zhengwei (潘正煒, 1796–1850), belonging to the third Guangzhou-based generation of a Fujian merchant family that settled in Panyu, had one of the largest collections of paintings documented with a price list attached, *Tingfanlou shuhua ji* (聽颿樓書畫記 Record of calligraphy and painting at the Tower of Listening to the Sails). Close scrutiny of this catalogue reveals networks formed by marriages, mentorship, patronage, and friendship, as well as the relationship between social identity of collector and possession of objects in the collection. The price list is also a valuable indicator of what type of art and what art objects were more prized, contributing insights into elite taste in the region.

I conclude my discussion of the making of a Cantonese literati canon by focusing on Xie Lansheng (謝蘭生, 1760–1831), the leading scholar-artist of the early nineteenth century. Xie was closely linked to the Pan family, participating in gatherings and other literary activities hosted by the *cohong* merchants (a state-sanctioned guild of merchants responsible for trade with Europe and America) and other members of this elite group of men. Xie attempted to create a lineage of Cantonese literati painters that could trace their roots to Shitao (石濤, 1642–1707), the Ming loyalist who had close ties with poets and families in Guangdong. He also adapted the style of Wu school artists to depict Guangdong landscape. I examine how Xie adopted and adapted the traditional forms of iconography and canonical styles of "literati" painting into Guangdong, and more specifically into Guangzhou City.

My investigation of an open circuit narrows to focus and expand on current scholarship on pre-modern non-literati Guangdong art, namely, export art made at workshops for a Euro-American audience and that had little or no engagement with "real" Chinese ink paintings. I will show how the categories differentiating art practices—Chinese and Western, scholarly and non-scholarly—were crossed, mixed, and separated. Although arguments that stress the fluid boundaries between China and the West, or scholarly and non-scholarly, are so common in modern art history as to be almost trivial, these categories were used by nineteenth-century practitioners, sometimes as rhetorical devices, to form an image of an urban cosmopolitan.

An example of the complex interactions between the cognitive nature of an image (what it purports

to represent) and its social usages (how the object or image is used) is a 1761 album of different types of street workers commissioned by a local official and presented to the Qianlong Emperor (乾隆帝, r. 1739–96) as a birthday gift. The album, showcasing local street customs, products, and characters, was also a representation of the variety of life that prospered under the emperor's rule. By the end of the eighteenth century, the album, or a variation of it, found its way to Guangdong, where it was used as a template for export art made by local artisans for a Western audience who understood them as quintessential images of China. What we see is that the ethnographic art of the export world shares properties with local art practices, thus complicating the current narrative that divides the two practices as separate arenas. Overall, Guangzhou emerges as a city of active borrowing, creative imitation and diverse appropriation.[18]

Chapter Two turns away from Guangzhou into the outlying areas of the Guangdong region and the West River Basin area. Focusing on Su Renshan, I turn to his biography and examine an artist who straddled the world of scholarly ink painting and the popular arts in an area that competed with the cultural center of Guangzhou. Su was very aware of the urban dynamics and intellectual and artistic interests current in the city, but he left no mark on Guangzhou's cultural production. This was not unusual, as there is a general dearth of textual information about artistic production outside the city. The lacuna does not imply that there was no artistic practice outside the city. For example, a rare entry in the *Foshan Gazetteer* recorded that a young Su Renshan worked briefly as an artist in residence for Liang Jiutu, a scholar-official who was active in local community projects and known for his collection of rocks.[19] The record suggests that elite art practices in Delta towns were not unusual. In fact, it is more likely that their absence in documents reflects the lack of compulsion to catalogue cultural production to gain social cachet in an area where lineage connections formed the most important power structure. A parallel situation existed in other forms of elite cultural practices. Steven Miles's research on Guangdong's academies has shown a conscious differentiation and competition between the outer regions and a city that separated literary practices.[20] Furthermore, the textual production of compilations and anthologies of local traditions, which was once under the purview of the Delta hinterlands, was co-opted by Xuehaitang scholars who redirected the focus from Guangdong's outskirts to the city center. While it is always dangerous to use historical absences as evidence, in this instance, it is possible to suggest that elite art circuits may have existed in the hinterlands, but as with scholarly textual practices, much of the center of production shifted to the city. Scholar-artists such as Su Renshan, who did not venture into the city to find work but remained in distant regions such as Cangwu (which bordered the provinces of Guangdong and Guangxi), faced the challenge of being very peripheral members of a scholarly world dominated by those in the city. However, Su's outsider status was partly of his own doing; after failing his exams for the second time, he decided he would never sit for them again despite his father's wishes, and secretly wandered elsewhere rather than study. As a result, he was forced to leave home. Su, who recognized that his life was about to change, wrote three autobiographical chronicles (in inscriptions) charting his life from the age of two until this moment. His accounts trace the journey of a person who felt restricted by the social confines and familial responsibilities of being the elder son of a large clan family. In the absence of anything more reliable, Su's own words provide the best insight into his paintings and life as an artist in the Delta hinterlands and offer a rare insight to a third type of artistic production. It is in light of this that I have chosen to split the analysis of Su Renshan into two parts: a biographical account with an analysis of his approaches,

to a consideration of his works after the Opium War. It is as important to recognize where to place Su in a broader context of Guangdong art world, as it is to consider how a historical event can shape the direction of art.

Su Renshan's personal circumstances and his willful character explain in part his pictorial experiments, which often navigated the tension between the vernacular and the elite world of learning. Su's artistic experiments form what I call a "literary vernacular." He created ink paintings with long textual inscriptions that were often self-referential and typical of elite practices. He drew on his own literatus background and often cited canonical texts such as the Classics, histories, and biographies of famous paragons. However, his ink paintings also refer to the religious and mythical worlds favored by popular artists and local Cantonese language and rituals. His paintings have been described as intellectualized folk art, which is a fitting description, although it omits his paintings of ordinary mothers, earlier scholarly exemplars, as well as literary women. Hence, I use the term "literary vernacular" to capture the breadth of his themes and the juxtapositions that he favored. As an artistic conceit unfettered by literati and vernacular expectations, this approach led to some of his most experimental works.[21]

Su's five-year exile from home also coincided with the end of the Opium War. Stepping back to look at the larger context of what the war meant to the people who witnessed the event, Chapter Three attempts to interpret the Opium War not as a marker of China's modernity but as a local war. The consequences of war affected those who experienced and witnessed the violent skirmishes on the streets, the increased banditry in the suburbs, and the growing xenophobia that extended to anyone considered an outsider. As a result of the waning of the state's presence, local power grew with each militia organization, street watch campaign, and fight against angry mobs. Despite the signing of the treaties, various communities, sometimes organized by shops on a street overseen by the wealthiest merchant, joined forces to prevent the British from entering the Old City. The Manchu plenipotentiary Qiying (耆英, 1787–1858), who was responsible for placating his foreign counterparts while maintaining the interests of the emperor, failed to appease an increasingly angry Guangdong. His diplomatic gestures, while seemingly successful to the court and those outside south China, did not achieve any semblance of peace in Guangdong.

If art can be considered a mediated form of ethos, what type of art emerged at this critical junction of Guangdong history? A surfeit of attention towards the intricacies and exigencies of pictorial responses to war in Chinese art means that Chapter Three is partly a recovery of this history. Some of the responses to the Opium War followed traditional narrative strategies, including referencing famous stories of the past to talk of contemporary events. This indirect, but common, form of storytelling could simultaneously combine poignancy and emotional distance by tapping into a ready body of works with established sets of emotional sensibilities and aesthetics; it provided a familiar shortcut to intelligibly relay experiences and emotions. The historical circumstances are what give the strategies specificity, but also pose different problems. For example, the differences in circumstances between the Opium War (which primarily affected the southeast) and earlier dynastic wars and changes (affecting the whole country) may have led to a type of narrative rupture.

From a methodological perspective, there are two impediments that make my analysis more challenging. First, in painting, the lack of a schema or structure to depict violence made any attempts to do so seem strange or at times overly transgressive, so any attempts to depict violence had to demonstrate a certain restraint (unless the goal was to be

openly and politically transgressive). Second (and here I draw on work by trauma studies specialists), the experience of violence is often mitigated by the tension between the compulsion and the inability to tell. I would argue that these two elements (a struggle with pictorial conventions and an inability to directly articulate events and emotions) came together in the shadowy worlds of mists, dreams, and ghosts, and that precedents for the use of this type of space in text and images allowed a means of speaking of contemporary anxieties and fear, and at the same time, the ambiguity allowed artists to better negotiate the gap between experience and narrative. I will argue that it was in this ill-defined space that rebirth (of power, of city, of country) was deemed possible, and stories of defiance were told, even though the war had been fought and lost. This delayed response imbued the limbo state of dreams and mists with a foreboding as much as it exerted the need to fight. At the same time, the circulation of stories about individual acts of defiance cultivated a collective sense of loyalty and regional pride that reached outside the social networks of individuals and contributed to a repository of images that potentially spoke of the nation.

As outlined in Chapter Three, the connections between art and specific social attitudes towards acts of violence are often too amorphous to construct any systematic examination of pictorial expressions, and in order to excavate richer meanings I delve deeper, rather than wider, with close readings of works by a single artist.[22] Refocusing on Su Renshan and turning to his virulent attacks on the hypocrisy of Confucian institutions and learning, my final two chapters look at the darker facets of history and psyche by examining the "violence" in his painting. Both chapters use close readings and, when placed side by side, return my analysis to the theme of the literary vernacular discussed in Chapter Two.

The first focuses on how Su politicized vernacular images of gods and fables to attack Confucius and certain types of learning. Here, violence is understood not as a motif (as in images of violence) but as an outward gesture of anger. Su's literary vernacular approach allowed for satire, interventions, and destructions to take place by drawing on the conflict between differences. Unlike the depiction of absence, which acts as a form of limbo where rebirth is possible, discussed in Chapter Three, Su's angry, disruptive gestures spill forth excessively, crowding his paintings with words and markings that have the visceral presence of someone shouting out words at the viewer. There is no room for a response from the reader, for reflection, but only confrontation.

The final chapter continues the argument, but my line of reasoning follows Su's depiction of women. This chapter also returns full circle to the root of the literary vernacular: the world of novels. I have borrowed this term not only for its usefulness but also to highlight an aspect of being an artist in imperial China. Scholar-artists were trained as and perceived themselves to be educated men who painted, composed poetry, wrote calligraphy, and, later, some penned books. In the eighteenth century, the literary novel was an established genre, and notable works include *Rulin waishi* (儒林外史 The scholars, 1750, by Wu Jingzi 吳敬梓), *Honglou meng* (紅樓夢 Dream of the red chamber, ca.1791, by Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹), and *Jinghuayuan* (鏡花緣 Flowers in the mirror, 1821–28, by Li Ruzhen 李汝珍). At the core of these novels is the nature and value of the more traditional *ru* (儒 Confucian) scholarship. The paragon sage embodied not only benevolence, righteousness, and virtue but also textual and ritual competence. However, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there were many debates between those who followed Song learning and those who favored classical Han learning as to which provided the greater example of learning for the career official, and what sort of literary values were fundamental for the moral

and intellectual well-being of the scholar. As writers placed these values under scrutiny, and they themselves received the training that forged these values, what was increasingly at stake was the very core of their identity: the purpose of scholarship. If the novels used various narrative devices that teased out this identity crisis, by the mid-nineteenth century, Su Renshan, with an arguably heavier hand, pushed these issues to the forefront with his political paintings that berate the failure of Confucius and the state academies. Su's many portraits of female scholarly communities have to be considered side by side with his belligerent attacks on Confucius and the hypocrisy of systems that primed male scholars to become the moral and intellectual backbone of China.

In the course of my research, I came to realize how the Qing literary novel was more than a source of inspiration for Su Renshan. Su was at his most daring when he interwove histories, recalled anecdotes with puns and passion, and placed himself within his accounts as a storyteller chronicling the twists and turns of a world turned upside down. To understand Su as a storyteller is to understand him as someone who took on the role of a cultural critic, who crossed the past with the present and blurred reality with fiction, as literary novelists have done for so long. In this broader picture, far from an anachronism, Su Renshan emerges as an example of a scholar who painted, and his paintings are testimonies urging for change.

Collecting and Writing Su Renshan

The writings of Su Renshan and Guangdong art have their own particular historical path. As Su Renshan was not part of Guangzhou's urban elite, his life and works received little attention prior to the 1940s. The Su family genealogy, the preface dating to 1856, provides rudimentary information. An inscription of 1904 by Su Ruohu (蘇若瑚, 1856–1917), a clan member, is one of the earliest writings on Su Renshan and his life as an artist.[23] As mentioned, several anecdotes recorded in the *Foshan Zhongyi xiangzhi*, a local gazetteer compiled by Xian Baogan (冼寶幹) and others in 1923, provide a rare record of Su working for one of his few known patrons, Liang Jiutu (梁九圖, act. nineteenth century), a Shunde native based in Foshan. However, Su escaped the attention of Wang Zhaoyong (汪兆鏞, 1861–1939), who compiled the first comprehensive collection of biographies of Cantonese artists, *Lingnan hua zhenglue*, in 1927.[24]

Academic interest in Su Renshan has been closely linked to the sociopolitical situations of Guangdong and the interests of collectors. The first major collector to systematically accumulate Su Renshan's works was an outsider: Suma Yakichiro (須磨彌吉郎, 1892–1970), a Japanese consul serving in Guangzhou from 1924 to 1928. He collected many of Su Renshan's paintings and may have stimulated a cottage industry in forgeries.[25] Interest among local scholars and collectors occurred soon after with the Cantonese scholar Jian Youwen (簡又文, 1896–1978), known best for his work on the Taiping Rebellion, who began collecting in the 1930s, compiling a large collection that was later given to the Art Gallery, The Chinese University of Hong Kong. Jian was an ardent promoter of Cantonese historical and cultural studies. In 1940, he organized the exhibition "Cultural Relics of Guangdong Province" held at the Fung Ping Shan Museum (February 22–26) in Hong Kong. The exhibition produced a three-volume work on Guangzhou culture, society, and the arts, including several short studies on Su Renshan. However, the Japanese invasion of Hong Kong following their attack on Pearl Harbor interrupted further scholarship. Jian fled to Guangzhou, and this became his new base of activities. In May 1948, he organized an exhibition at the Guangdong Archives, supported by the Committee

for the Cultural Treasures of Guangdong, featuring 120 paintings from his collection. However, political tensions in Guangdong led to Jian's return to Hong Kong, along with his collection.

Jian's interest in Su Renshan intersected with other Hong Kong-based collectors and scholars, and collectively they have been crucial in advocating for studies on Cantonese arts and culture, with regular newspapers and journals contributing to a mass dissemination of Cantonese identity that has had a national impact. Su Renshan's paintings have been represented in several exhibitions, including the 1958 exhibition held in Beijing entitled "The Last One Hundred Years of Chinese Painting."

The next two waves of studies on Su Renshan occurred at times when identity politics was at its most vocal. In May 1967, Hong Kong pro-communists turned a labor dispute into large-scale unrest against British colonial rule. Massive strikes, organized demonstrations, and bombings continued throughout that year. Some members of the media who voiced opinions against these actions were murdered. By the time the riots finally subsided, 51 people had been killed, and over 800 had been wounded. The leftist plans backfired, as the indiscriminate violence interrupted and threatened the lives of ordinary citizens. Indeed, it was during this period that a Hong Kong identity emerged. From this intense period to the early 1970s, there was widespread interest in a romanticized notion of subverting the established order and fighting for the rights of the underdog, particularly within the film industry. Rebellion and the challenge of social norms were two of the defining aspects of Hong Kong's cultural identity during this period. Not surprisingly, Su Renshan's rebellious nature found a place within this milieu. In 1966, an exhibition of his work was shown in the City Hall Museum, Hong Kong. His work was also part of another major exhibition again held in City Hall in 1974 entitled "Kwangtung Painting." Bridging these two exhibitions, in 1970, there were three major publications on Su Renshan looking to place him, and by extension Hong Kong, on the international map: Chu-Tsing Li's article, "Su Jen-shan (1814–1849), The Rediscovery and Reappraisal of a Tragic Cantonese Genius"; Pierre Ryckmans's *The Life and Work of Su Renshan: Rebel, Painter and Madman, 1814–1849*; and Jian Youwen's *Huatan guaijie Su Renshan* (畫壇怪傑蘇仁山), which is also entitled *Su Jen-shan: Eccentric Genius of Kwangtung: His Life and Art*.[26]

Chu-Tsing Li identifies Su Renshan as an anachronism, a genius born out of his time; Pierre Ryckmans has written a lively account based on anecdotes that speak of the radical perversity of an artist who may have been mad and was certainly different from his peers. Jian Youwen is more tentative in presenting Su Renshan's psychological profile, although he, too, suggests that the personal eccentricities of this artist indicate his possible insanity. Jian, as an intellectual historian, focuses on the philosophical ruminations in Su Renshan's colophons to paintings in his own collection.[27] Nonetheless, what all three scholars share is a sympathetic picture of Su Renshan as a tragic artist, even drawing comparisons with Vincent van Gogh.[28]

The next wave of interest occurred in the late 1980s and early 1990s, and again appears to coincide with the political situation in south China. On December 19, 1984, the Joint Declaration was signed between China and the United Kingdom, whereby China was to resume sovereignty over Hong Kong in 1997. The anxiety generated before and after this political watershed may have been the impetus for two important exhibitions. The first, "Paintings of Su Liupeng and Su Renshan," was held in May 1988, at the Guangzhou Art Gallery. This exhibition became the occasion to invite many prestigious scholars from China as a means of highlighting Guangdong as a national cultural center. The second exhibition,

which was the first of a series on Cantonese art planned by The Chinese University of Hong Kong and Guangzhou Art Gallery, was held in 1990, as an exercise in co-operation between these leading institutions of adjoining regions. The catalogue of the latter exhibition by Kao Mayching is the most informative study on Su Renshan's style to date and divides the development of Su's styles into early, mid, and late periods.[29] It also investigates issues of authenticity and traces the origins of various anecdotes that had hampered previous scholarship.

Issues of Authenticity

In the field of Chinese painting, authenticity is often a thorny issue, and scholars are in frequent disagreement, partly because the criteria and methods for assessing paintings vary so widely. While some scholars prefer a close microscopic reading of seals and brush strokes, others look for verification in compositions, stylistic quirks, and inconsistencies. Pierre Ryckmans has contributed the most in this area in relation to Su Renshan. He assesses the authenticity of Su's paintings in his catalogue with short commentaries on individual paintings. Furthermore, he attempts to identify different "forgery hands" as well as different methods of forgery that include reversing set compositions and using the same figures in different paintings. Jian Youwen approached the issue of forgery by noting contradictory information found in inscriptions, while Kao Mayching's exhibition catalogue selects works that best exemplify Su Renshan.

Given the large quantity of works attributed to Su Renshan, it is necessary to establish benchmarks by which to assess the authenticity of his paintings. At opposite ends of the spectrum are paintings that are striking in their originality of composition coupled with confident brushwork, and those that are weak in composition and brushwork. Distinctive works that are the most original, such as his 1848 *Riding Dragons* and *Leading the Phoenixes by Playing the Flute* (Figs. 2 and 3), can be generally accepted as genuine because of the sheer bold statements of their originality.[30] Bad fakes are identified by the crudeness of execution that bears no resemblance to Su's own high standard and by styles unrelated to Su Renshan.

It is the gray area of good copies and high-quality fakes that is the hardest to elucidate.[31] One of the concerns in recent connoisseurship practices is the need to distinguish between the authenticity of the artifact and the authenticity of the composition.[32] The former involves identifying seals, inscriptions and brush styles, and habits of the artist. This practice entails close examination of the details of the painting. The study of the authenticity of the composition looks at the overall manner of the painting and whether it fits in the conceptual craft of this artist. It allows for paintings that compositionally may fit into an artist's metier, but there are one or two details, such as certain hooks of his brushwork, that may appear problematic, to be categorized as "close copy at worst."[33] This would permit certain paintings to be considered as part of understanding an artist's work but with the knowledge that any information gathered should be used cautiously.

Given that Su Renshan's painting style deliberately overturns traditional methods of representations, using conventional modes of assessing authenticity such as a microscopic reading of brush trace is not enough in itself. Using an additional method of identifying the conceptual craft of Su Renshan can ensure, to the best of my abilities, I am consulting works that I consider to be authentic or have authentic value. I have identified Su Renshan's conceptual craft as different types of pictorial strategies, where when combined they generate the pictures to which they are applied. These are as follows: graphic brushwork in relation to spatial systems such as geometric forms, organization of thematic units including the bringing together of disparate historical figures or themes, and

internal dynamics of compositions such as an organic mass offset by a circuit of disconnected gazes. These pictorial systems are identified and assessed in my various chapters as a means of understanding how he constructed his pictorial arguments.

This type of assessment involves a double-layered approach: to identify Su Renshan's systems of depiction—following the premise that all artists favored certain strategies of representations—and to use these systems as a gauge to measure whether the paintings in question are more likely to be a fake or a copy. There is another element that needs to be addressed, and that is the question of workshop production and whether Su Renshan worked with other artists. Given his itinerant lifestyle, his abrasive personality, and obsessive presentation of self, there is little to indicate that he had a student or workshop partner. This reasoning, while debatable, is the best conclusion that can be drawn given present information.

Typical forged images of his works favor certain motifs, which can either be a trait of the workshop or reveal how Su Renshan was understood. We see the forgers take certain motifs in genuine works and reduce them to types that get repeated time and again in their fakes. One of these motifs is the overhanging cliff or mountain base depicted as an inverted U-shape, one of its sides depicted with gradations of short strokes that can also be used to depict a series of rocky edges creating a vertical patterning. In his 1844 *Landscape* (Fig. 4), a beautifully rendered large hanging scroll, the complexity and variety of this structural approach is evident. It is a form that is seen time and again as in his 1843 painting, *Liezi in a Landscape* (Fig. 5), suggesting the possibility that he was exploring this form for large landscape paintings at this time. In an 1847 painting, *Landscape after Wang Wei* (Fig. 6), the U-structure at the bottom of cliff faces is made up of weak lines that render the rocks as pillowy forms that collapse into the houses at the front. Denser lines are used for the mountain shapes in the distant ground, but these are also loose definitions turning into weak blocks of ink. Aside from the weakness of the lines that fail to create structural forms, there are too many lines that overwork the compositions. This type of overworking is a typical flaw seen in dubious landscapes and figure paintings (especially in the excessive zigzag strokes at the end of the robes where it no longer describes form).

Another way of assessing whether a painting is real, a copy, or an out-and-out forgery is to examine the structure of his inscriptions. Su Renshan's own inscriptions are usually highly complex and have unexpected associations that reveal his circuitous train of thought. One of the compositional traits of his longer inscriptions is that they are often made up of parts. The opening paragraph will suggest a theme for the painting, usually bringing figures from different periods together and seeing connections that emphasize the theme. The last paragraph is often a personal statement, sometimes beginning with "Renshan says," in which he further elaborates a point and thereby places himself in line with any famous historical figures cited. Overall, it creates an elaborate web of relations crossing time and space, and this idiosyncratic way of positioning himself is a trait that cannot be easily mimicked. However, generic inscriptions can be copied, and as such, paintings falling into this category can be used cautiously.

There exists an intriguing album of calligraphy attributed to Su Renshan in the Kyoto National Museum, to support my argument that inscriptions by Su Renshan were copied. One of the leaves is dated to 1847 in Cangwu, and several inscriptions are written on the same page (Fig. 7). It is difficult to determine the authenticity of this album, as it appears to have been a motley collection of ideas and writings. In 1848, Su was in Cangwu, so the date of the work makes it appear feasible. The quality of the writing varied, but if this was indeed a collection of

Figure 6
Su Renshan, *Landscape after Wang Wei*. Hanging scroll, dated 1847, ink on paper, dimensions unknown. Guangdong Museum.

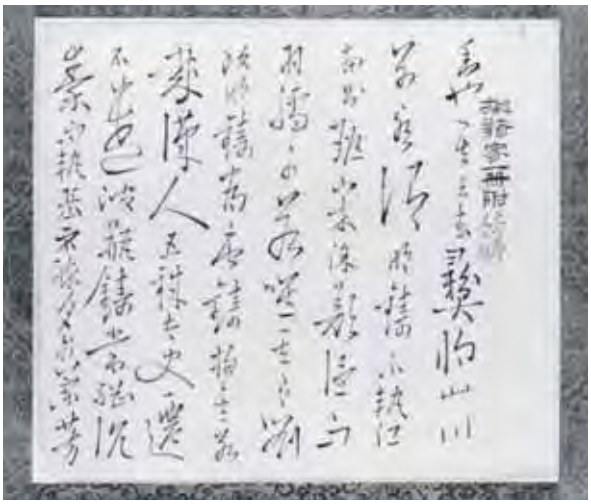

Figure 7 Su Renshan, Leaf 2 from *Album of Paintings and Calligraphy*. 20 leaves (14 calligraphy, 6 paintings), one leaf is dated 1847, ink on paper, 121 × 35 cm each. Kyoto National Museum.

notes and sketches of ideas, it is harder to make an argument for it being a forgery. What is interesting about this album, however, is that the inscriptions are arranged on the album leaf as one would expect them to be part of a painting. The question is why? If this is a genuine work, Su may have included some of his inscriptions not only to keep a record of what he had written but also how he wrote various inscriptions. If this album is not by Su Renshan, then it may be a facsimile of real inscriptions later used by forgers to create imitations of his works; alternatively, it may preserve drafts of copies that were later sold as genuine.

Along different lines, there exists a group of landscape paintings, each of which follows a similar composition: a cluster of trees at the front, a mid ground of low cliffs, and a distant horizon line. The mountain forms are usually made up of stretched triangular forms or the U-shaped cliffs. Occasionally a boat or two is drifting between the mid and far distances, and sometimes small figures are gathered at the front (Figs. 8 and 9). In many ways, these are typical of Chinese landscape paintings but rendered with "qualities" considered to be characteristic of Su Renshan, such as the U-shaped cliff textured with excessive horizontal short, dry brushwork, a mixture of calligraphy styles, and contrasts of ink tones. Some

Figure 8 *(left)* Attributed to Su Renshan, *Autumn Landscape*. Hanging scroll, dated 1842, ink on paper, 142.5 × 55.5 cm. Guangdong Museum.

Figure 9 *(right)* Attributed to Su Renshan, *Landscape*. Hanging scroll, undated, ink on paper, 120.3 × 59.7 cm. Guangdong Museum.

of these landscapes are painted with heavy ink and "spontaneous" style brushwork; others are more detailed with careful rendering of forms. What is of interest, aside from the quality of brushwork, is the lack of compositional and inscriptional inventiveness. One could argue that Su Renshan made many variations of this type of landscape, but given his unusually aloof character, it seems unlikely that he made this type of image, one that would be more probable in a workshop environment. It may be possible to suggest that this set of landscape paintings uses small components considered to be representative of Su Renshan—the small houses and strange cliffs—but depicted within a conventional format. In creating so many paintings of this variety, the forgers were able to create an identity for Su Renshan in a newly emerging market when collectors were buying large number of works of this hitherto under-appreciated artist.[34]

Admittedly, the potential risk of my connoisseurship approach is that it can be considered as inherently self-fulfilling, as I am identifying these systems also as ways of understanding Su Renshan's originality. In order to maintain validity, it is still necessary to use standard measurements of authenticity, such as assessing the quality of execution. For example, Su's brushwork is very bold, often employing a long stroke with little variations of ink tone, almost a burnt-ink stroke. Interestingly, when he is using this long brushstroke, he juxtaposes it with a play on space: a blank torso, a tall rock with geometrically arranged holes, or a simple cliff face. He never, however, overworks this juxtaposition; there are never too many lines at the edge of the torso or plant details between the rocks and tiny stones lining the edges of the cliff. Attention to details such as these has been crucial to my selection of paintings discussed in this book.

♦♦♦

To summarize, although this book is as much about art in Guangdong and early nineteenth-century painting, Su Renshan is its heart. Biography is important in our understanding of an artist, if only because it reminds us how elusive meanings of paintings can be. His transgressive works have allowed us to identify early nineteenth-century norms and to consider the rich ideas and images circulating in the region. But more than anything, his paintings daringly embody frustration with the prevailing system of learning and governing. His life story has attracted audiences, cultivating a plethora of romantic anecdotes about a man born out of his time. The anecdotes help to give a human presence in paintings that are otherwise often too unusual and too difficult. Social history plays a strong role too, providing the threads to tie together themes of trade, issues of taste, and anxieties of war. I end with close readings of a small handful of paintings, to determine with greater depth interpretations that can provide more nuanced logic to the issues and themes laid out in earlier chapters. Although some scholars may not agree with the connections that I see between the artworks discussed, and perhaps even less with my interpretations of them, I place my efforts in the spirit of the oft-quoted comment by Clifford Geertz, that "progress is marked less by a perfection of consensus than by a refinement of debate. What gets better is the precision with which we vex one another."[35] Let this be my vexation.

Notes

An Introduction

1. Guangzhou or Guangzhou City refers to the city area where the administrative seat is located and where the Governor-General is based overseeing the two provinces of Guangdong and Guangxi. Canton, a term popularized by the foreign traders in the region, generally refers to Guangzhou City.
2. The title in this painting has been damaged. According to the Kyoto National Museum, taken from the Sumo Collection catalogue, it is referred to as "*A Celebration of Myriad Birds*." Previously, I have used the title "One Hundred Birds," in alignment with the Chinese translation of the title (百鳥萬歲). Although there are less than 100, the flock of swallows vis-à-vis the paired birds in the picture bears similar compositions with paintings belonging to this established genre. See Chapter Four for more examples of other paintings and further analysis of this unusual painting by Su Renshan.
3. In contrast, there is abundant research conducted by historians, particularly those interested in regional studies. A small example of works by scholars working on late imperial Guangdong includes the following: David Faure, "The Lineage as a Cultural Invention: The Case of the Pearl River Delta," *Modern China* vol. 15, no. 1 (January 1989), 4–37. "What Made Foshan a Town? The Evolution of Rural-Urban Identities in Ming-Qing China," *Late Imperial China* vol. 11, no. 2 (December 1990), 1–31. Liu Zhiwei, "Lineage on the Sands," in *Down to Earth: The Territorial Bond in South China,* edited by David Faure and Helen Siu (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995), 21–43. Helen F. Siu, "Where were the Women? Rethinking Marriage Resistance and Regional Culture in South China," *Late Imperial China* vol. 11, no. 2 (1990), 32–62. Steven B. Miles, *The Sea of Learning: Mobility and Identity in Nineteenth-Century Guangzhou* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006). Maybo Ching, "Picturing Knowledge in a Late Qing Periodical, 1907–1911," *Journal of Modern Chinese History* vol. 1 (2007), 31–51.
4. I am deeply indebted to Zhuang Shen's study, *Cong baizhi dao baiyin: Qing mo Guangdong shuhua chuangzuo yu shoucang shi* 從白紙到白銀：清末廣東書畫創作與收藏史 (From paper to gold: A history of collecting painting and calligraphy in late Qing Guangdong), 2 vols (Taipei: Dongda tushu gongsi, 1997). The manuscript date of the catalogues for the five large art collections in Guangdong are, in chronological order: Wu Rongguang's *Xinchou xiao xia ji* 辛丑銷夏記 (1841); Ye Menglong's *Fengman lou shuhua lu* 風滿樓書畫錄 (ca. 1830); Pan Zhengwei's *Tingfanlou shuhua ji* 聽颿樓書畫記 (1843); Liang Tingnan's *Tenghuating shuhua ba* 藤花庭書畫拔 (1858); and Kong Guangtao's *Yuexuelou shuhua ji* 嶽雪樓書畫記 (1865). Other important research is by Xian Yuqing, "Guangdong zhi jiancang jia" 廣東之鑑藏家 (Connoisseurs and collectors from Guangdong) in *Guangdong wenwu* 廣東文物 (Cultural relics of Guangdong) (Hong Kong: Zhongguo wenhua xiejinhui, 1984, reprinted Shanghai shudian, 1990), *juan* 10, 982–996.
5. There are two exhibition catalogues that should be mentioned: Claudia Brown and Chou Ju-hsi, *Transcending Turmoil: Painting at the Close of China's Empire, 1796–1911* (Phoenix, AZ: Phoenix Art Museum, 1992); and Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, *Between the Thunder and the Rain: Chinese Paintings from the Opium War through the Cultural Revolution, 1840–1979* (San Francisco, CA: Asian Art Museum, 2000).
6. Klaas Ruitenbeek, *Discarding the Brush: Gao Qipei (1660–1737) and the Art of Chinese Finger Painting* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1992).
7. Patricia Berger, *Empire of Brightness: Buddhist Art and Political Authority in Qing China* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2003).
8. Susan Naquin, *Temples and City Life, 1400–1900* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000).
9. Richard Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self: Chinese Portraits 1600–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

10. Jonathan Hay, *Shitao: Painting and Modernity in Early Qing China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001b).
11. Carlos Ginzburg, "Titian, Ovid and Erotic Illustrations," in *Clues, Myths and the Historical Method*, translated by John Tedeschi and Anne C. Tedeschi (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986). Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007).
12. Since the late 1970s, the study of regional history of China in the West has been strongly influenced by the works of G. W. Skinner and his research on the macroregion. His regional history approach has focused on the environment, trade networks (in particular, market towns), and social ties as means of looking at the urbanization of China before the early 1890s and outside the imperial narrative. Skinner identified nine distinct regional systems that corresponded to the physical environment centered on the drainage basins with a set of core-periphery characteristics. The southeast macroregion is the best studied of the nine, providing a model for regional studies thereafter. G. W. Skinner, *The City in Late Imperial China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1977) was the third of three volumes on China's urban history. It is organized into three sections dealing with cities: the historical context, the spatial context, and as social systems. The impact of Skinner's work has been enormous, providing the foundation for work that looks at Chinese urban history, life, and networks. Susan Naquin and Evelyn Rawski, *Chinese Society in the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987) is an example of how Skinner's macroregion model has been used by other scholars. In art history, James Cahill and Jennifer Purtle have broadened the field with their scholarship on regionalism and painting; see James Cahill, *The Compelling Image: Nature and Style in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Painting* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), and Jennifer G. Purtle, "Placing Their Mark: An Art-Historical Geography of Min (Fukien) Painters of the Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644," Ph.D. thesis (Yale, 2001). Skinner's macroregion model has since become a pedagogical paradigm, but it is not without flaws. The approach tends to frame regionalism as a natural state, emphasizing the region's physical and environmental effect on society and urbanism, and downplaying the significance of diverse human activities as opposing agents in the construction of place and identity. For a critical examination of Skinner's work, see Carolyn Cartier, "Origins and Evolution of a Geographical Idea: The Macroregion in China," *Modern China* vol. 28, no. 1 (January 2002), 79–142; Martin Heijdra, "A Preliminary Note on Cultural Geography and Ming History," *Ming Studies* vol. 34 (July 1995), 151–175; and Rupert Hodder, *The Creation of Wealth in China* (London: Belhaven, 1995). Other scholars have taken different approaches to regionalism. See David Faure and Tao Tao Liu, eds., *Town and Country: Identity and Perception* (Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 2001) for a variety of essays that look beyond economic networks as the dominant structural force enforcing an ideal of the region as a cultural unity.
13. William T. Rowe, *Hankow: Commerce and Society in a Chinese City, 1796–1889* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1984).
14. See Tobie Meyer-Fong's *Building Culture in Early Qing Yangzhou* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003) on how Yangzhou reinvented itself after the Qing victory in the mid-seventeenth century.
15. Meng Yue's *Shanghai and the Edges of Empire* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, 2006) discusses the broader historical connections of Shanghai within an eighteenth-century Yangzhou, thus overturning conventional history that laps Shanghai's cosmopolitanism as a result of the West. By also tracing Yangzhou's impact on an early nineteenth-century Guangdong, I add an element of continuity. The interconnected dynamics of Yangzhou, Guangdong, and later Shanghai are further explored in the epilogue.
16. Steven B. Miles discusses the issues concerning cultural competition between the residents of the city center and the hinterlands throughout *The Sea of Learning: Mobility and Identity in Nineteenth-Century Guangzhou* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006).
17. The writing of the history of Guangdong art and collecting practices is still in its formative stage. One of the earliest comprehensive studies is Wang Zhaoyang's *Lingnanhua zhenglue* (Concise Record of Lingnan Painting) written in early twentieth century. In 1941, Xi Wuqing wrote an article on Guangzhou-based collectors, listing thirty collectors from the Ming and Qing Dynasties, of which nine were before the nineteenth century and only two from the Ming period: Li Shixing 李時行 (*jinshi* 1513) and Zhang Xuan 張萱 (*juren* 1557). See Xian Yuqing (1990), 982–996. Zhuang Shen (1997) examines various Guangdong-based collectors, their connoisseurship skills, and how their taste in art influenced Guangdong art. I have also examined the interrelationships and social networks of merchants and painters in an unpublished paper, "Windblown Whispers: Pan Zhengwei's Tingfan lou Art Collection and Its Impact on Early 19th Century Guangzhou."

18. Craig Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 46–48.
19. Xian Baogan, *Foshan zhongyi xiangzhi* 佛山忠義鄉志 (Gazetteer of the loyal and righteous town of Foshan) (Foshan: Xiuzhi ju, 1923), *juan* 14, 7–8.
20. Shunde was a culturally vibrant area, boasting more native artists and scholars during the Qing Dynasty than any other area in Guangdong. Shunde was also a wealthy region with alluvial lands belonging to old landed families, some claiming a lineage dating to the Song period in the eleventh century, whose wealth came from mulberry cultivation and silk production. Therefore, Shunde was an area that straddled the two dominant worlds of local power in Guangzhou: one dominated in the south by the lineage clans and the other, in the north, by the China trade merchants.
21. It is important to recognize that this was not a new approach, and Su's heretical forebears include eighteenth-century Yangzhou eccentric artists such as Jin Nong, Luo Ping, and Li Shan. However, the field of Chinese art has yet to construct a coherent historical development, and Su Renshan's highly individualistic paintings sit uneasily within the current narrative that favors the elite *wen* practices of a closed circuit. It is only by examining Su's paintings as embodying the shared ethos of both circuits, and by acknowledging that this approach had precedents, that his paintings can make historical sense. More importantly for this project, by examining his works as a bridge between the two iconic circuits, what will emerge is a new social role of the artist that will be relevant to the development of modern Chinese art.
22. There is a long history of representations of sanctioned violence, whether religious, ritual, or martial; for example, scenes of Buddhist hells and paintings of conquering soldiers that are often used as a form of documenting history. This is a large topic that deserves further study. It has been suggested that representations of wars and other forms of violence ceased from the eleventh century. Alexander Soper suggested that paintings of battles were common themes during the Han period and continued to be made until the beginning of the Song Dynasty; see Barend J. ter Haar, "Rethinking 'Violence' in Chinese Society," in *Meanings of Violence: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*, edited by Goran Aijimer and Jos Abbink (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 135. However, there are many paintings of battles, hunting scenes, and portraits of military men produced after the tenth century. There are handscrolls of the Yuan nobles out hunting, large hanging scrolls of the Hongwu Emperor in the martial guise reminiscent of Guanggong, the God of War, and Castaglione's engravings of the Qianlong Emperor's battle victories, to name just a few examples. Representations of military successes were not confined to the courts. Gu Luo (1763–after 1837) and Qian Du (1763–1844) produced a joint work in 1835 entitled *Capturing Enemies in Mountain Range* (Lot 79, Sotheby's Hong Kong, Nov. 1998) that commemorated the success of General Li Zongchuan in his campaign against the barbarian rebels in Sichuan, 1833 (the date cited in the catalogue entry is erroneous).
23. The inscription is found on the painting, *Bodhidharma* in The Chinese University of Hong Kong Art Museum. See Chapter 2.
24. Su Renshan was included in the appendix of the new edition in 1961. Wang Zhaoyong was from Panyu, Guangzhou, and was editor of the 1918 *Panyu Gazetteer*. On Wang's contribution to the study of Guangdong and Macau see Peng Hailing, *Wang Zhaoyong yu jindai Yue Ao wenhua* 汪兆鏞與近代粵澳文化 (Wang Zhaoyung and the cultural history of modern Guangdong and Macau) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 2004).
25. For a discussion on the connoisseurship of Su Renshan paintings, see Yeewan Koon, "Literati Iconoclasm: Violence and Estrangement in the Art of Su Renshan (1814–c.1850), Ph.D. thesis, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2006.
26. Chu-Tsing Li, "Su Jen-shan (1814–1849), The Rediscovery and Reappraisal of a Tragic Cantonese Genius," *Oriental Art,* vol. IV (Winter 1970), 349–60; Pierre Ryckmans, *The Life and Work of Su Renshan: Rebel, Painter and Madman, 1814–1849*, translated by Angharad Pimpaneau (Paris: University of Paris, 1970); and Jian Youwen, *Huatan guaijie Su Renshan* 畫壇怪傑蘇仁山 (Su Jen-shan: Eccentric genius of Kwangtung: His life and art) (Hong Kong: Jianshi Mengjing shuwu, 1970).
27. There are, unfortunately, many dubious works in Jian Youwen's collection, and his analysis must be treated with a degree of caution.
28. Kao Mayching cites Huang Mozi's private manuscript on the artist in *The Art of Su Liupeng and Su Renshan* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Art Museum, 1990), 148.
29. Given that Su's artistic life ended early, the three stages of development are very short: before 1836, 1836–43, and 1843–50. Kao (1990), 157–164.
30. For further analysis of these two paintings, see Chapter Four.
31. Although I have differentiated copies from fakes as different modes of replications, there are overlaps between the two in that copies can be deliberate acts of forgery

that pose as an original; but to allow for the practice of copying as a legitimate form of learning, as a ritual act and as a referential homage, I have not differentiated the two.

32. There are many cases of scholars engaged in lively connoisseurship debates that are rooted in assessing authenticity based on these criteria, but oftentimes they are in conflict because they may prefer one method over the other. For an example, see Richard Barnhart et al., "The Tu Chin [Du Jin] Correspondence, 1994–95," *Kaikodo Journal,* vol. 5 (Autumn 1997), 8–45.
33. I would like to thank Jonathan Hay for his help in defining the issues involved in connoisseurship. He emphasized the importance of using artifactual connoisseurship and the "conceptual craft" of connoisseurship as forming a system of "checks and balances" that can help better identify the gradations of "authenticity" in painting.
34. Although the lack of textual data on Su Renshan prior to the twentieth century does not prove that his paintings did not circulate among collectors, it would suggest that, if they did, they were probably appreciated by a small and/or intimate group of people who did not engage in the more public (published) network of connoisseurs, collectors and patrons.
35. Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 29.

Chapter One

1. Shen Fu, *Six Records of a Floating Life*, translated by Leonard Pratt and Chiang Su-Hui (London: Penguin Books, 1983), 116.
2. Shen (1983), 118.
3. Without any data about rice prices in 1843 Guangdong, I am using an average price cited by Kenneth Pomeranz in *The Great Divergence: China, Europe and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton, NJ and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), 319. This figure is comparable to Wang Yeh-chien's cost of rice in the Yangzi Delta, which in 1843 was 2.26 taels of silver; Wang Yen-chien, "Secular Trends of Rice Prices in the Yangzi Delta," in *Chinese History in Economic Perspectives*, edited by Thomas G. Rawski and Lillian M. Li (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford: University of California Press, 1992). Given that the price of rice was generally higher in the Yangzi Delta than in Guangdong, 2 taels per *shi* is a relative estimate. See Robert B. Marks, "Rice Prices, Food Supply, and Market Structure in Eighteenth-Century South China," *Late Imperial China*, vol. 12, no. 2 (December 1999), 64–116.
4. Guangzhou cheng (Guangzhou City), the name used since the fourteenth century to denote the city and capital of the prefecture, was seen as the heart of politics, trade, academia, and the arts. The city walls enclosed parts of Nanhai (南海) and Panyu (番禺) counties.
5. Susan Naquin and Evelyn Rawski, *Chinese Society in the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987), 181–183.
6. Miles (2006), 29. Shaoxing natives had the reputation of being legal experts, and many served as private secretaries in the Guangdong region.
7. Miles (2006), 42.
8. In her study on why and how Shanghai became a cosmopolitan center, Meng Yue considers the cultural requisites of pre-nineteenth-century Jiangnan cities and Guangzhou as the templates for Shanghai. For example, Suzhou had 100 presses, and Guangzhou had approximately two dozen. Suzhou and Guangzhou (with some overlaps) had about one-fifth of the scholars in the region that were listed in the prestigious *Chouren zhuan* 疇人傳 (Biographies of mathematicians and astronomers). See Meng Yue, *Shanghai and the Edges of Empire* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), xiv–xviii.
9. Images of an exotic Guangdong can be seen in early writings such as the Han Dynasty text *Yiwu zhi* 夷物志 (Account of strange things) attributed to Yang Fu. The Tang Dynasty saw the publishing of *Lingbiao lu yi* 嶺表錄異 (Records of strange things beyond the mountains). See David Faure, *Emperor and Ancestor: State and Lineage in South China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), 18–24.
10. Poole (2007), 9–12.
11. Carlo Ginzburg differentiates between sacred and erotic images based on their efficacy. In the intentionally erotic images aimed at the private circuit of the elite, images were couched in a culturally and socially elevated code that excluded the uneducated masses. Ginzburg (1986), 77–95.
12. Clunas (1997), 46–48.
13. Miles (2006), 75–78.
14. Xiang Dongshan et al., *Guangzhou Yuexiu gu shuyuan gaiguan* 廣州越秀古書院概觀 (An overview study of academies in Yuexiu) (Guangzhou: Zhongshan daxue chubanshe, 2002).
15. See Tobie Meyer-Fong's *Building Culture in Early Qing Yangzhou* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003) on how Yangzhou reinvented itself after the Qing victory in the mid-seventeenth century.
16. Miles (2006), 42–54.
17. Liang Jiabin, *Guangdong shisan hang kao* 廣東十三行考 (An examination of Guangdong's thirteen cohongs) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1999), 259–269.

18. Liang Jiabin (1999).
19. Huang Qichen, *Mingqing Guangdong shangren* 明清廣東商人 (Guangdong merchants in the Ming and Qing Dynasties) (Guangzhou: Guangdong jingji chubanshe, 2002), 259–269.
20. Pan Yizeng, comp. *Panyu Panshi shilue* 番禺潘氏詩略 (Poems by the Pan Family of Panyu), manuscript,1894.
21. The eighteenth-century eccentric artist Zheng Xie (鄭燮, 1693–1765), in 1759, famously wrote, "A large hanging scroll costs six taels, a medium-size one is four, a small scroll costs two, couplets and streamers are one tael a pair, and albums and fans are half a tael each . . . gifts cause nothing but trouble, not to mention deferred payment that is most unreliable, like bad credit. Furthermore, my body gets tired in my old age; therefore, please excuse me from accompanying you gentlemen in unprofitable conversations." Ginger Cheng-chi Hsu, *A Bushel of Pearls: Painting for Sale in Eighteenth-Century Yangzhou* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), 146. Zheng's price list can be seen as a reaction against the social obligations involved in painting patronage. His openness about the cost of making art can be seen as a form of eccentric rhetoric.
22. Zhuang Shen's study on collectors in Guangdong is an invaluable source for my study. However, his bias against the mercantile class can be seen throughout his work.
23. Li Bozhong, "Daoguang xiaotiao yu guiwei da shui" 道光蕭條與癸未大水 (The Daoguang depression and the 1823 Flood—economic decline, climatic cataclysm and the nineteenth-century crisis in Songjiang), *Journal of Social Sciences*, vol. 6, 173–178; and William T. Rowe, "Money, Economy and Polity in the Daoguang-era Paper Currency Debate," *Late Imperial China*, vol. 31, no. 2 (December 2010), 69–96.
24. As discussed, although the value of taels fluctuated in the Qing period, an estimated value of 2 taels would be approximately 2.5 *shi* of rice.
25. Estimates of average rice consumption range from 1.74 *shi* to 2.62 *shi*; I am following Robert B. Marks's figure of 2.17 as the average. Mark (1999), 77–78.
26. According to the preface to Wu's *nianpu* by the later scholar Ye Dehui (葉德輝, 1864–1927), Ruan Yuan was responsible for honing Wu's connoisseurship skills. There were four paintings in his catalogue on which Ruan had inscribed his comments. See Wu Rongguang, *Wu Rongguang zi ding nianpu* 吳榮光自訂年譜 (A chronological biography of Wu Rongguang) (Jiulong: Zhongshan tushu gongsi, 1971). However, according to Wu's *nianpu* and the inscriptions on his paintings, the person with whom Wu consulted the most was Weng Fanggang (翁訪綱, 1733–1813), another renowned scholar-official who was also based in Guangzhou as Inspector of Education between 1764 and 1771. For more on Wu Rongguang's collecting habits and his relation with Weng, see Yeewan Koon, "Literati Iconoclasm: The Art of Su Renshan (1814–c.1850)," Ph.D. thesis, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2006.
27. The two catalogues that Wu Rongguang emulated were *Gengzi xiaoxia ji* 庚子銷夏記 (Record of whiling away the summer in Gengzi Year) by Sun Chengze (孫承澤, 1592–1676) and *Jiangcun xiaoxia lu* 江村銷夏錄 (Jiangcun's records of whiling away the summer) by Gao Shiqi (高士奇, 1645–1704), both of whom were based in Beijing. Sun and Gao both traced the movement of paintings in the collection by looking at and referring to other catalogues, seals, and inscriptions, and both wrote in a straightforward manner.
28. Wu Rongguang (1971), 5.
29. Xie Lansheng was a Nanhai resident and an important scholar friend of the *cohong* merchants. Unlike Zhang Weiping, Xie's family had been long-term residents of this region.
30. According to Wu, the marriage took place in 1832; see Wu Rongguang (1971), 16.
31. Miles (2006), 36.
32. In celebration of this event, Pan Zhengheng commissioned Xie Lansheng to paint a picture of the studio.
33. Kao Mayching, ed., *The Art of Li Jian and Xie Lansheng* (Hong Kong and Guangzhou: Art Gallery, The Chinese University of Hong Kong and Guangzhou Art Gallery, 1993), 178.
34. For references to Li's professional art life, his opium addiction, and relation to the Xie family, see Kao Mayching (1993), 16, 23, and 34. Lantern painting was also a popular form of art in Guangdong. Of greater relevance were the famed Guangzhou lantern makers, many of whom, according to *Zhu Yue baqi zhi* 駐粵八旗誌 (Gazetteer of the eight bannermen in Guangdong), were from Bannermen families; see Liu Yangming, *Zhu Yue baqi zhi* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002 reprint). Unfortunately, the ephemeral nature of lanterns has meant that we have little actual evidence of the types of imagery painted on them.
35. Kao Mayching (1993), 178.
36. Christina Chu, "An Overview of Li Jian's Painting," in *Chinese Painting under the Qianlong Emperor,* edited by Chou Ju-hsi and Claudia Brown, Phoebus 6, no. 2 (Tucson, AZ: Arizona State University Press, 1991), 302.
37. Nila Ann Baker, "Li Jian and Xie Lansheng as Painters of the Cantonese Scholar-Artist Tradition," in *The Art of Li Jian and Xie Lansheng*, edited by Kao Mayching (Hong Kong and Guangzhou: Art Gallery, The Chinese

University of Hong Kong and Guangzhou Art Gallery, 1993), 23.

38. This colophon was written on a Shitao painting in the Guangzhou Art Museum. 清湘繪事於南宗獨得奇氣，訾之者，目為野狐禪，殊非定論。實則於惲王外別樹一幟也。自謝裏甫太史以嗜痂之癖推波助浪耳。□者羣與耐和，一時奇價伯仲宋元。古畫賈視爲奇貨，遂於大江南北搜羅赴粵，故我粵藏此老筆迹最夥。Luo Tianchi was part of the tight network of Guangdong artists and scholars. Zhang Weiping designated Luo, Xie, Li, and another close friend, Zhang Ruzhi, as the Four Masters of Guangdong. Kao Maycheng (1993), 175.
39. Shitao was friends with the poets Cheng Keze 程可則, Liang Peilan 梁佩蘭, and Qu Dajun 屈大均. See Li Chu-tsing, *Ming Qing Guangdong mingjia shanshui huazhan* 明清廣東名家山水畫展 (Catalogue of landscape paintings by Guangdong masters in the Ming and Qing dynasties) (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Art Gallery, 1973), n.p. (Introduction, section 5). Xie Lansheng also commented on Li Jian's exhaustive copying of Shitao's work during his middle years in *Changxingxing zhai shuhua tiba* 常惺惺齋書畫題跋 (Inscriptions and colophons from paintings and calligraphy in the Changxingxing Studio) (Macau: Wenxin tushu gongsi, 1974), *juan* 2, n.p. See also Nila Ann Baker in Kao (1993), 22–23.
40. Kao Maycheng (1933), 174.
41. It was one of the items listed in the *Yiwu zhi*. Faure (2007), 20.
42. The lychee was the second most popular theme in poems by Xuehaitang scholars, who also appropriated Su Shi's poem on the subject as part of a literary tradition.
43. Translation by Miles (2006), 140. Lin Botong's family originally came from Fujian and moved to Panyu several generations earlier.
44. 寫此羣山六月時，時時眼內餐之。正夫前世香山老；特作（去聲）南人為荔枝。正夫囑兒輩畫此，雲隱翁謝景卿題。二樵山人書字。
45. *Nanyue youji* 南粵遊記 (Record of travels in Nanyue) by Chen Huiyan (d.1856) and *Yuedong wen jian lu* 粵東聞見錄 (A record of things heard or seen in Yuedong) by Zhang Qu are some of the travelogues that devoted several chapters to local produce.
46. Ge Hong was an eclectic philosopher who dedicated his life to searching for physical immortality, which he thought was attainable through alchemy. He lived during China's tumultuous Period of Disunity (220–589), a time when alien-conqueror regimes ruled northern China, the cradle of Chinese civilization, while a series of weak, transplanted Chinese states occupied recently colonized southern China. These political conditions, along with the social chaos they engendered, no doubt gave rise to Ge Hong's ardent desire to establish order and permanency in both his spiritual and secular worlds. His most important contribution to Chinese philosophy was his attempt to reconcile an immortality-centered Daoism with Confucianism. Equally important, to establish political order, he also tried to reconcile Legalism with Confucianism. It was during his period of reclusion at Mount Luofu that Ge wrote his two-part magnum opus whose title bore his sobriquet: *Inner Chapters of the Master Who Embraces Simplicity* and the *Outer Chapters of the Master Who Embraces Simplicity*.
47. See Jonathan Hay, "Wen Zhengming, Stone Lake, and the Aesthetics of Disjunction," *Taiwan 2002 Conference on the History of Painting in East Asia*, 266–307.
48. The Hong Kong Chih Lo Lou Collection includes paintings from Pan Zhengwei's collection. For a brief history of collecting in Guangdong in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see Raymond Tang Man Leung, "Collecting in Guangdong Epitomized by the Chih Lo Lou Collection," in *Nobility and Virtue: A Selection of Late Ming and Early Qing paintings and Calligraphies from the Chih Lo Lou Collection* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Museum of Art, 2010), 52–61.
49. Relationships formed through marriage between rich merchants from outside Guangzhou to local elite families were common practice and discussed in greater detail by Miles (2006), 34.
50. Andreas Everard van Braam, *An Authentic Account of the Embassy of the Dutch East India Company, to the Court of the Emperor of China, in the years 1794 and 1795; Containing a Description of Several Parts of the Chinese Empire* (London: R. Philips, 1798), 297–324.
51. William Fane de Salis, *Reminiscences of Travels in China and India in 1848* (London: Waterlow & Sons, 1892), 12.
52. *The Canton Press*, August 19, 1938.
53. There are numerous writings of these two famous sites. See William C. Hunter, *Bits of Old China* (Taipei: Cheng-hua, reprinted 1966) and Osmond Tiffany, *The Canton Chinese or The American's Sojourn in the Celestial Empire* (Boston, MA: James Munroe, 1849).

54 Cited by Kee Il Choi, Jr., "Carl Gustav Ekeberg and the Invention of Chinese Export Painting," *The Magazine Antiques,* vol. 143, 429.

55. Catherine Stuer, "Reading the World's Landscape in Zhang Bao's Images of the Floating Raft," in *Rethinking Visual Narratives from Asia: Intercultural and Comparative Perspectives,* edited by Alexandra Green (Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong Press, 2013), 77–93.
56. Stuer (2013), 91–92. To add to Stuer's study, while little is known about Zhu Yingfang, he was one of the editors

of *Xiaowanjuan zhai shitie* 小萬卷齋試帖 (Poetry compositions for examinations from the Small Studio of Myriad Scrolls). Xiaowanjuan zhai is associated with the Anhui scholar Zhu Jian (朱珔, 1759–1850).

57. A set of paintings was acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, in 1898, and is believed to be the original drawings for Mason's book. For a more detailed discussion of this album in a cross-cultural context, see Yeewan Koon, "Narrating the City: Pu Qua and the Depiction of Street Life in Canton Trade Art," in *Qing Encounters: Artistic Exchanges between China and the West*, edited by Petra Chu (Los Angeles: Getty Publication), forthcoming.
58. Stacey Sloboda, "Picturing China: William Alexander and the Language of Chinoiserie," *British Art Journal*, vol. 9, no. 2, 451.
59. *Qua* is Pidgin English for "official" but became loosely used as a form of address for men, functioning similarly to "mister." Pidgin English was a language shared by nearly all who lived among the foreign *hongs* that mixed words from Portuguese, Indian, English, and various Chinese dialects, spelling them according to Chinese syntax. Sometimes names would be passed along to descendants, thus making it even harder to trace the actual Chinese identity of artists. However, more recent research has uncovered more information regarding the Chinese identity of these artists. The Chinese identity of Lamqua, the most famous of the export trade artists, may be Guan Qiaochang (1801–ca.1860).
60. I want to thank William Shang for bringing another variation of Pu Qua's album to my attention: *A Collection of Pig-tails* presented to a Francis Stretchen, dated Christmas 1858 in the Morrison Collection at the Toyo Bunko. Shang has noted the similarities of these images to Pu Qua's album and concluded that these may be another set of paintings based on or by Pu Qua's workshop.
61. Poole (2007), 132.
62. Ernest Gombrich has elaborated on this idea at length in his work on "Truth and Stereotype" as part of the process of art-making. However, his idea that "the starting point of a visual record is not knowledge but a guess conditioned by habit and tradition" can also be expanded to the viewer. This set schema then allows us to "sort out our impressions" so that with these filing aids we can "identify an object through inclusion or exclusion along any network of classes," almost like a game of Twenty Questions. See Ernest H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (London: Phaidon Press, 1986), 78–80.
63. Ju Lian served within the private secretariat office of Zhang Jingxiu in Guangxi, where he and his cousin studied with the Jiangnan artists Song Guangbao and Meng Jinyi. Zhang was famous for his Panyu gardens, and the cousins contributed to its fame by making detail paintings of flora and insects from the site. Wang Zongyan, *Guangdong shuhua zhengxian lu* (Macau: no publisher name, 1988), 99–201.
64. Tan San appeared to have been somewhat of a street celebrity; Ye Menglong also commissioned Jiang Lian to depict a portrait of him in 1831. See Wang Zongyan, (1988), 164.
65. Although there is a difference between the depiction of urban images and of rural customs, both purport to represent the ordinary. It was a genre that could trace its political support to the Song Dynasty with scholar-officials such as Su Shi (蘇軾, 1037–1101) who insisted that *su* (custom) reflected a country's morality, and the happiness of the people could be used as a measurement of the government's success. Moreover, Su Shi's political convictions carried over into his cultural world as he composed poems that celebrated vernacular phrasing and emphasized the beauty of the simplicity and practicality of rural living. The representations of local customs became embedded in this broader narrative of social responsibility, where the official class became the mediator between the emperor and the villager. Richard Barnhart, *Painters of the Great Ming: The Imperial Court and the Zhe School* (Dallas, TX: Dallas Museum of Art, 1993).
66. The comparison of the export art album and the printed version of *Taiping huanle tu* was first mentioned by Ming Wilson in "As True as Photographs: Chinese Paintings for the Western Market," *Orientations* (November 2000), vol. 31, no. 9.
67. An undated handscroll painting in the Roy and Marilyn Collection by Fang Xun entitled *Glimpses of the Duanwu Festival* shows a literary gathering at Jin Deyu's residence. The members of the gathering included Jin Deyu; Zhu Fang'ai (朱方藹, 1721–86), who was a prunus painter and wrote a treatise on the subject; Zhao Huaiyu (趙懷玉, 1747–1823), a compiler on the *Siku quanshu* imperial project; and Bao Tingbo (鮑廷博, 1728–1814), who came from a wealthy merchant family and was one of the best-known bibliophiles of the Qianlong period. See Chou Ju-hsi and Claudia Brown, *The Scent of Ink: The Roy and Marilyn Papp Collection of Chinese Painting* (Phoenix AZ: Phoenix Art Museum, 1989), catalogue entry 30.
68. Roslyn Lee Hammers, *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving: Art, Labor, and Technology in Song and Yuan China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011).
69. The 52-leaf album was commissioned sometime between 1712 and 1722. In 1712, the Kangxi Emperor

removed his second son, Yinreng, as successor to the throne and did not designate a replacement. This led to intense fighting, primarily between Yinzhi (third son), Yinzhen (fourth son), and Yinsi (fourteenth son). The former heir apparent was charged with immorality, sexual impropriety, and usurpation of power. The commissioning of the masquerade portrait of Yinzhen in the *Gengzhi tu* album can be seen as a clever ploy to present himself as a morally upright person who, with his wife, followed the gender codes of proper behavior: As a loyal subject, he would follow his father's commitment to a Qing state.

70. Laura Hostetler has convincingly argued for the role of pictorial ethnography in shaping an imperial vision of Qing universality as part of their imperialist programs. Laura Hostetler, *Ethnography and Cartography in Early Modern China* (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 2001).
71. Emma Teng traces the development of travel and visuality to the late Ming, when long-distance travel became part of elite practice, and records that depended on the eyes were deemed more valuable than what one might hear, which was deemed hearsay. See Emma Jinhua Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683–1895* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004), 22–24.
72. Ma Ya-chen, "Fengsu, difang yu diguo: Taiping huanle tu de zhizuo ji qi dui xihao zhi xiang de chengxian" 風俗、地方與帝國：太平歡樂圖的製作及其對熙皞之象的呈現 (Customs, provinces, and the empire: The making of *Taiping huanle tu* and its representation of "Peaceful Regime"), *National Central University Journal of Humanities*, vol. 45, 141–194.
73. Poole (2007), 132.

Chapter Two

1. Wang Zhaoyong, *Lingnan hua zhenglue* 嶺南畫徵略 (Summary of paintings from Lingnan) (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1961).
2. Miles (2006), 134–141.
3. David Faure, "The Lineage as a Cultural Invention: The Case of the Pearl River Delta," *Modern China*, vol. 15, no. 1 (January1989), 4–37.
4. Faure (2007), 219.
5. Faure (2007).
6. For samples of mid-nineteenth-century contracts of the Sands, see Patrick Mok, "Lineage and Elite Dominance in Late Imperial Chinese Society: A Case Study of Shunde County, Guangdong," M. Phil. thesis (University of Hong Kong, 1995), 61–62. As Mok has shown, there were terrible risks involved in buying reclaimed lands. Additional costs of building embankments and dikes to accelerate the process of reclamation were extremely high, and after the initial reclamation period, tax levies added to the financial burden.
7. Liu Zhiwei (1995), 21–43. See also Mok (1995).
8. Miles (2006), 46–54.
9. Miles (2006), 51–52.
10. Steven B. Miles, "Creating Zhu 'Jiujiang': Localism in Nineteenth-Century Guangdong," *T'oung Pao International Journal of Chinese Studies,* vol. 90, no. 4 (December 2004), 299–340.
11. Faure (2007), 193–217.
12. Faure (2007), 196.
13. Faure (2007), 202.
14. Translation by Kao (1990). The source is *Shunde xianzhi*, *juan* 3.
15. The preface to the genealogy is dated to 1856. However, Su Renshan is part of the Dongxi patriarch clan, whose details were included in an undated addendum. I would like to thank Professor Kao Mayching for her generosity in sharing the relevant pages of the genealogy.
16. There is no indication of which child was born to whom, and there is no information about whether the daughters were married or not.
17. The word *sui* (歲), meaning "years of age," is used for counting one's age, whereby newborns start at one year old, and at each passing of New Year, rather than the birthday, one year is added to the person's age. Two of the inscriptions have been recorded, but the whereabouts of the paintings on which they were written are unknown. The third appears on a self-portrait, a hanging scroll dated to 1842, and is the second of the three in chronological order. The earliest of the three inscriptions is recorded by Jian Youwen from a painting, now lost, *Landscape Painting after Wen Zhengming*; see Kao (1990), 151.
18. This translation is based on Kao Mayching's version in her catalogue, with some alterations, *The Art of Su Liupeng and Su Renshan,* 151. 余自少齡便雅嗜圖繪。及長，慕先生藻翰，而筆畊硯畹，歷年多矣。予生一齡，懼貓犬而多癇病。二齡，反則母膝而父與剃髮，便知毀譽焉。尚未能自言，何復知畫？三齡，母教食，乃食；母不命，雖左右與食，弗食。四齡，父教以區正叔《三字經》。至是始知書，亦不及畫。五齡、六齡，嗜寫字，遇門墻垣壁，無不學書。七齡、八齡，能畫山水景物，題句頗能道說景中意。九齡，出館就傅授經，日受經書數過，不暇計畫。十齡、十一齡，間以學誦之餘及畫。十二齡，而畫著閭里。十三齡，名動庠士。十四齡，出游羊城。十五齡，嗜臨盈尺漢隸。十六齡，學舉業。十七齡，嗜詩賦。十八齡，嗜理學。十九齡，赴督學試，不遇。廿齡，博覽策學。廿一齡，就傅兼習當代典禮。廿二

齡，赴試，仍不遇。廿三齡，決志去試藝而畫，復辟嗜焉。廿四，適蒼梧。廿五，游桂林巖洞。廿七，始圖居室大倫。廿八，而侮言行多謬矣，故記之。時道光廿一，歲次辛丑，冬十月中旬二日，畫於仙城。

19. Kao suggests that he was based in Guangzhou for his studies, based on a set of paintings dated to 1831 in The Chinese University of Hong Kong Collection (no. 344 in *Guangdong shuhua lu*). However, the authenticity of this set of scrolls is in dispute and cannot be used conclusively to confirm Su's whereabouts. Another more plausibly authentic hanging scroll, dated 1833, was made in Guangzhou City, supposedly on his second visit (no. 345, The Chinese University of Hong Kong). As we know, he was in the city when he was thirteen or fourteen, and it is possible that he did not return to the city until he was twenty. Su may have studied in the neighboring town of Daliang in Shunde prefecture.
20. 山水吾人未了緣，贈君早作臨游仙。百年收拾須珍重；莫向當爐質酒錢。
21. See page 81 for Su Ruohu's inscription.
22. As these were provincial examinations held in Guangzhou, this would suggest that Su Renshan had already passed the first-level examinations.
23. Kao (1990), 153.
24. The gazetteer entry suggests that Su was there sometime during the Daoguang and Xianfeng reigns.
25. This river runs through Guangxi.
26. A similar line is found in Chapter Forty-two of *Jinghua-yuan*, when the empress announces the holding of a special civil examination for female candidates. According to the decree, the empress states, "Today, the essence of grace is not only found in men" (今日靈秀不鍾於男子); Li Ruzhen, *Jinghuayuan* (Beijing: Beijing shi zhongguo shudian, reprinted 1985), 1. See also Chapter Four for discussion of *Jinghuayuan* in relation to Su Renshan's paintings.
27. 一痕山影淡如無。余四歲，受經於庭訓，十有六齡，出就外傅。至廿有一齡，成文藝儒業之事而歸。處篷篳挾策俯誦兩三年。試於督學，兩不遇。慨然思遠遊。適桂林，遍游巖洞。見其木香而烈，曰桂；其水清且淺，曰灘；其山峭而秀，其巖幽而潔，其洞玲然瓏然而通，深然森然而曲，兀然聳然而有象，陂然平然而可往可復。余欣然而喜曰：「其間必有得山水之秀者，鐘為偉人，為之容與。」久之而未有所遇。余退而思之曰：「天地之秀，不惟鍾於男子，必分鍾於婦人，其間必有淑善者。」而九十亦未之見，余不禁悄然而悲矣。

    Although the painting is now lost, it had been recorded by Jian Youwen. See Jian (1970), 6.
28. Miles (2006), 242–243.
29. See Janice E. Stockard, *Daughters of the Canton Delta: Marriage Patterns and Economic Strategies in South China 1860–1930* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1989).
30. Kao (1990), 153.
31. 自十三歲寫畫到廿三，於此十年，非不能成技藝，自以為志未得也。廿四游於外，廿五居家，廿六仍居家，廿七修業在書畫，廿八修業在儒書。今年廿九，將拋去書卷，囑家人諸弟為儒事，我則不暇當文几也。母號寒，妻啼饑，與韓愈同。但愈出而吾處，愈有常祿，吾無定所。此文章事業，悵悵無所之，不知天竟何如？命竟何如？此事非己所能操。武侯有云：「成敗利鈍非所逆睹。」得君且爾，□我布衣耶？仁山記。
32. Miles (2006), 72–74.
33. 韓愈焚膏孫映雪，未聞懶者留其名。爾懶豈自知，待我詳言之：官懶吏曹欺，將懶士卒離，母懶兒號寒，夫懶妻啼饑. Chen Xianzhang, *Chen Baisha ji* 陳白沙集 (Collection of Works by Chen Baisha) (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1985).
34. I have come across only one other painting that mentions his siblings, *Physicians*, a handscroll dated 1847 in The Hong Kong Museum of Art.
35. The 1841 autobiographical inscription suggests that, when he was one year old, he suffered from convulsions that might have been epilepsy that eventually worsened and became dangerous to others. Ryckmans (1970), 30.
36. 蘇仁山，又名長春，吾邑杏壇鄉人。妙畫得於天趣。其族人禹田為余言，祖父時，仁山常至彼家，或住數日，或一兩月，襤褸亂頭，可飯可不飯。或從外來，人有方食過半者，取而噉之，少噉即告飽。入園摘得果子一二枚，即可代一飯。自少喜山水，十五歲強從人往桂林，樂而忘反。閱數年反，畫名大噪。然性介，特不喜與俗交。其父交遊太雜，往往代所游強仁山為作畫，仁山不以時應，或終不應。遂借他事報其不孝，繫之獄，久不得釋。無聊則以畫過日。六房吏及獄卒皆艷其畫，具紙墨，興到十紙不吝，有意索之不得也。獄墻頗淨，暇則遍畫之，無餘隙。縣尉見之，怒，立責手板，即命工圬而新之。人咸斥尉之焚琴煮鶴云。
37. James Cahill, *Pictures for Use and Pleasure: Vernacular Painting in High Qing China* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2010), 1–6.
38. Rubie Watson, "The Named and the Nameless: Gender and Person in Chinese Society," *American Ethnologist*, vol. 13, no. 4 (November 1986), 619–631.
39. The character 潺 is pronounced *chan* in Mandarin, the character 虎 is pronounced *hu*, and the character 祥 is pronounced *xiang*.
40. Kao (1990), 129.

41. To give an idea of just how astonishingly high this number is, Su Liupeng (蘇六朋, ca. 1796–1862), a contemporary professional artist also from Shunde, had about thirty different names in a period of fifty years.
42. I am very grateful to Lisa Claypool for sharing her research on this painting, including her detailed translation of the inscriptions. The following footnotes (43–57) are taken from her research, and published in *China's Imperial Modern: The Painter's Craft,* edited by Lisa Claypool (Edmonton: University of Alberta Museum, 2012), 128–132.
43. A historical narrative dating to the tenth to fifth centuries BCE.
44. A chronicle of the history of the state of Lu (722–481 BCE) during the Spring and Autumn Period (770–476 BCE). At the time Su Renshan was writing, it was believed that Confucius was the author.
45. The *Zuo zhuan* 左傳 is a canonical commentary on the *Spring-Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu* 春秋) attributed to Zuo Qiuming 左丘明 and dating to ca. 400 BCE.
46. Commentaries on the *Spring-Autumn Annals* dating to the Han Dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE).
47. See Chapter 29 of *Zhuangzi*, "Robber Zhi," in which the robber says to Confucius, "There's no robber worse than you. Why doesn't the world call you Robber Confucius instead of calling me Robber Zhi?"
48. An early chronicle of history dating to ca. 300 BCE.
49. A book of ancient history compiled by the Southern Song scholar Luo Mi 羅泌 (1131–89).
50. The home of Zhuanxu's grandmother Leizu, as somewhat ironically recorded in the first chapter of Sima Qian's *Records of the Historian*.
51. Zou was the name of a small state known in the Zhou Dynasty by the name of Zhu. It was granted by King Wu of Zhou to Cao Xie 曹挾, a direct lineal descendant of the Yellow Emperor through his grandson, the legendary Emperor Zhuanxu, the same ancestor that Su Renshan claims as his own.
52. One of the five legendary emperors.
53 A Daoist tract compiled by Xu Dao 徐道 and published in the Kangxi reign (1662–1723) of the Qing Dynasty.
54. In the *Classic of Mountains and Seas* (*Shanhaijing* 山海經), the Ruomu "Accord Tree" is one of three mysterious trees from the wild fields of the West, with a crimson trunk and flowers that shed light on the ground. The tree is also associated in the *Masters from Huainan* (*Huainanzi* 淮南子) with the story of the archer Houyi who shot down the suns that rest at night in the branches of the Ruomu tree in the west.
55. Zhu Rong, or "Blessed Heat," is the fire god, most famous for battling his own son, Gong Gong 共工, a water demon responsible for causing floods.
56. A lost classic mentioned in *Zuo zhuan*.
57. The translation is by Lisa Claypool: 西周末是王綱墜，國語能詳祖顓頊，魯史三隅能反者。左邱外傳時往復，公羊穀梁更何言，曆數候封盜丘哭，請讀竹書紀年者，曾不刪脩系益足。君不見老泉家譜無皇后，太史軒轅失所錄，丈不見長源路史寫西陵，後生文章火花回去。我來琴譜讀鄒者，注入譽妃笑當局，而今再讀神仙鑑，始信匡盧可青綠，帝高陽之苗裔兮。沉石作島登若木，祝融玉牒發其英，上溯三墳路史足。嶺南蘇長春吟稿。
58. Su Renshan often refers to Confucius as Robber Qiu, which comes from Chapter 29 of *Zhuangzi*. This reference is explained in greater details in Chapter Four.
59. Maram Epstein, *Competing Discourses: Orthodoxy, Authenticity, and Engendered Meanings in Late Imperial Chinese Fiction* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 2001), 156.
60. For later examples of the three-tone palette, see *Evening Clouds over a River* (1847, The Chinese University of Hong Kong), and *Grassy Path with Pine and Bamboo* (undated, Guangzhou Art Gallery).
61. I am indebted to Judith Zeitlin's research on the conceptual properties of writings, ghosts, and ghostliness. This is one of many of Professor Zeitlin's works that has been influential in my own studies; "Disappearing Verses: Writings on Walls and Anxieties of Loss," in *Writing and Materiality in China: Essays in Honor of Patrick Hanan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series 58), 73–132.
62. Wu Hung, "On Rubbings: Their Materiality and Historicity," *Writing and Materiality in China: Essays in Honor of Patrick Hanan* (Cambridge, MA: Havard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series 58), 29–72.
63. Amy McNair argues for this point in her article, "Engraved Calligraphy in China: Recension and Reception," *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 77, no. 1 (March 1955), 106–114.
64. Li Tiaoyuan, *Yuedong biji, juan* 4 (Shanghai: Shanghai huiwentang shuju, reprinted 1922).
65. There is no painting by Tangdai with this title, but a hanging scroll painting, currently in the National Palace Museum entitled *Sundown over a Thousand Mountains* (千山落照), has a poem inscribed by Prince Hongli (later the Qianlong Emperor) that includes the line "萬壑秋風起" and dates to 1732. It is unlikely that Su Renshan saw this painting, which was in the imperial collection, but this poem was recorded by Zhang Geng (張庚, 1685–1760) in *Records of Paintings in the Qing Dynasty* (清朝畫徵錄), published in 1735.
66. This line is taken from a well-known Tang poem "Yellow Crane Tower" by Cui Hao (崔顥, ca. 704–54). Lu

Yuansu did not compose this line, but her family was part of the Yellow Banner and her sobriquet was "crane cloud," thus obliquely referencing Cui Hao's famous poem.

67. 香績圖。唐岱嘗作《萬壑秋風起》山水，故添其像於羅漢傍。又盧元素亦嘗作「下人已乘黃鶴去」句，作畫菊，故併繪之；以同拈花微笑意云爾。仁山附十九觀音於後
68. There are no recorded paintings of this title by Tangdai. Tangdai, a Manchurian bannerman (Blue Banner), worked in the Qing court and was particularly active under the Kangxi and Qianlong Emperors. He also wrote a treatise on painting entitled *Huishi fawei* (On the Secret of Painting), in which he strongly advocated the orthodox tradition as passed on by his teacher, Wang Yuanqi. However, the book also noted the importance of natural light, angles, and perspectives, ideas that he probably gained from the Jesuit artists at the Qing court; see Chou Ju-hsi's "Tangdai: A Biographical Sketch," in *Chinese Painting under the Qianlong Emperor*: *Symposium Papers in Two Volumes*, edited by Chou Ju-hsi and Claudia Brown, Phoebus 6, no. 1 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona State University, 1991), 132–141.
69. Yuan Mei did venture to Guangdong, but there is no record, to date, of Lu Yuansu accompanying him.
70. The connection between Guangdong and Qing Bannermen was strengthened when Shang Kexi, a former Ming general, pledged allegiance to the Qing in 1633. Despite his involvement with the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories, Shang and his family were pardoned by the Kangxi Emperor, and they remained members of the Yellow Banner. By the eighteenth century, Guangzhou had the biggest congregation of bannermen garrison on a frontier town. Among the many bannermen in this region was Gao Bing, the grandson of the famous finger painter Gao Qipei (1660–1734). In 1771, Gao Bing wrote the *Manual of Finger Painting*, which was published in Guangdong, where he was based. It is perhaps not a coincidence that finger painting thrived in Guangdong around this time.
71. When the British first encountered Hong Kong, they mistook Aberdeen's name "Xiang Gang Village" as the name for the whole island. Aberdeen was renamed in 1845, after the Opium War and the Treaty of Nanjing.
72. Su Renshan also has a seal that reads Qizu, seventh patriarch, naming him as a follower of Huineng, the sixth patriarch of *Chan* Buddhism. See Kao (1990), 150.

Chapter Three

1. There are too many secondary sources on the Opium War to list. For an alternative viewpoint of historiography, Glenn Melancon considers the role of historians in writing about the Opium War, particularly from the British viewpoint, in *Britain's China Policy and the Opium Crisis: Balancing Drugs, Violence and National Honour, 1833–1840* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 133–141.
2. The introduction of opium to China is usually attributed to Arab traders along the Silk Road during the Tang Dynasty. One of the Chinese names for the poppy flower, *a-furong*, is believed to have derived from the Arabic word *af-yum*. It was considered a princely plant, serving the medicinal and aphrodisiac needs of the wealthy. In the sixteenth century, opium smoking became more commonplace as it was developed alongside tobacco smoking from South and Southeast Asia. It was cultivated locally in Sichuan, Fujian, and Shanxi. The increased sea trade also meant the increased availability of the drug. By the mid-eighteenth century, it was consumed in its unadulterated state and had become part of the cultural landscape of the imperial court, urban centers, and rural areas. Zheng Yangwen, *The Social Life of Opium* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 41–55.
3. The semantic variance of opium can also be used to map its social life. By the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, opium was used as means of defining class and national identities and can be reflected in the names used to refer to the drug. Zheng (2005).
4. Shen (1983), 45–46.
5. Morphine, which affects the central nervous system, also induces drowsiness and can depress respiration. Another alkaloid in the latex of the poppy is codeine, which has one-seventh the biological activity of morphine.
6. Christina Chu (1991), 302.
7. Baker (1993), 23.
8. The calligraphy scroll is reproduced in Kao (1993), 118–223.
9. In the same year, Li composed a series of paintings and poems (Guangzhou Art Gallery), which included a poem with the line "The medicinal smoke separated [him] from the place of melancholy beyond the walls." Kao (1993), 128–129.
10. Estimates for the smuggling trade have varied. See Zheng (2005), 105–111.
11. My calculations are based on citations by Zheng of Rev. Dr Smith, who was later the Bishop of Hong Kong and traveled to Zhusan on a non-opium-smuggling ship that nonetheless carried 750 chests of opium as freight, each box weighing 200 pounds. The exchange rate for US dollars and sterling was roughly $4.85 dollars to the pound. The *Chinese Repository* reported that the estimated smuggling in 1845 was roughly 48,000 chests (exceeding the recorded amount), and each chest was worth approximately $700, making the total worth of the

smuggled trade $33.6 million. Rev. Dr Smith estimated that 1,500 taels were exchanged for the transaction of 750 boxes. See Zheng (2005), 106–108, for smuggling trade figures.

12. Zheng (2005), 131–145.
13. There are numerous accounts of these incidents. See Auguste Borget, *Sketches of China and the Chinese* (London: Tilt and Bogue, 1842); William C. Hunter, *The "Fan Kwae" at Canton: Before Treaty Days* (Shanghai: Oriental Affairs, 1938); and the *Canton Register* (December 13, 1838 and February 27, 1839).
14. In 1849, Dai Xi lost favor after a report to the emperor on the forced entry of the British into Guangzhou City. Thereafter, he lived in retirement in the 1850s. Nonetheless, he was a devoted Qing subject, and when the Taipings attacked Hangzhou, his home city, he committed suicide.
15. 熬花作膏膏有毒。裝以陶坯吸以竹。精氣耗盡臟腑腐。漸剝爾肌銷爾肉。安用肉安用肌，髑髏之樂世人那得知。謂醉非醉夢非夢。奄奄待斃，其樂不可支。可以渴，此愛最難割。可以飢，此道最難離。昨聞南鄰誅死北鄰械。今日飽餐明日戒。Su Ruohu comp., *Mengxing furong ji*, *juan* 1 (1897). This is among the earliest compilation of writings on opium and the wars. This is the same Su Ruohu from Shunde who had inscribed Su Renshan's painting entitled *Bodhidharma*, discussed in Chapter Two, in which he talked about Su's imprisonment and his difficult relationship with his father.
16. In the *Chinese Repository* (May 1836–April 1837), there is a detailed description of an album by Sunqua of the downfall of the opium addict. The writer suggests that the album was similar to Hogarth's *Rake's Progress*. The comparison with Hogarth is a telling example of the moral undertones of a Victorian England that understands Sunqua's work of art as a form of social critique. The image of a sick, morally apprehensible China was reinforced as news of the possibility of war was being addressed in newspapers in England, and debates about Britain's role in supplying opium to China intensified. It captures the compulsion to associate national character with the physical properties of the body. Larissa Henrich's work on Lamqua's medical portraits for the American doctor Peter Parker offers further insight into how national character was associated with the body and pathology. A comparison of Lamqua's portrait of tumor patients who can be cured by surgery and Sunqua's opium addict suggest a more complex power dynamics of representation and perception. Henrich examines how, through increased circulation, these images changed from intimate pictures to concretize the perception of the "sick man of China" in the nineteenth century and circled back to China in the twentieth century, contributing to Lu Xun's own diagnosis of China's cultural pathology. Larissa N. Henrich, *The Afterlife of Images: Translating the Pathological Body between China and the West* (Chapel Hill, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).
17. Frederic Wakeman, Jr., *Strangers at the Gate: Social Disorder in South China, 1839–1861* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, reprinted 1997). This book is important for its focus on regional activities and, in particular, examining the roles of the lettered elite and academies in organizing factions and militia groups. See in particular 71–76 for how the militias at Sanyuanli were able to mobilize so quickly and the importance of local *she* (社) schools. Another useful source is Philip A. Kuhn's *Rebellion and Its Enemies in Late Imperial China: Militarization and Social Structure, 1796–1864* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980). This book examines the militarization of nineteenth-century rural society, stressing the organizational, or even organic, similarities between orthodox and heterodox military groups. At a time when the government's professional armies were too decrepit to be effective against either external invasion or internal uprising, the government had little choice but to encourage the suppression of rebellion by locally organized militias.
18. Wakeman (1997), 11–29.
19. Wakeman (1997), 58.
20. Kuhn (1980), 54.
21. Translation by Wakeman (1997), 20; the original poem can be found in A-Ying, comp., *Yapian zhanzheng wenxue ji* 鴉片戰爭文學集 (A collection of writings on the Opium War), 2 vols. (Beijing: Guji chubanshe, 1957). The different colored banners represented the various groups of militia.
22. Jonathan D. Spence, *God's Chinese Son: The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of Hong Xiuquan* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1996), 230.
23. The term *han jian* (漢奸) for traitors had been used indiscriminately prior to the Opium War. By 1823, it was used to refer to opium smugglers, and by the time of the Opium War, it came to designate the entire commercial establishment. Wakeman (1997), 49.
24. 洋煙之毒我中國也甚矣哉！有洋煙而逆夷之萌乃浸起矣，有逆夷而漢奸之孽且潛生矣，有漢奸而土賊之釁又滋熾矣！患中於忽微，禍成於漸積，豈一朝一夕之故耶？我朝威德遐敷，人樂清晏者，垂二百年矣。歲在辛丑，蠢爾英夷，違禁犯順。狡逞戎心，一時內地漢奸，罔識同仇之義，反張助逆之謀，而萑苻土賊，更復所在跳梁，乘塘伏莽……吾鄉瀕海而居，舟舶往來，下通板沙，遠連洋面，屢奉憲諭，防御加嚴。各士民同心敵愾，協力勸捐，計共得公費銀四百有

奇。蓋保障之功，於是有賴焉！Tan Dihua et al., *Guangdong beike ji* (Guangdong: Guangdong gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe, 2000), 418.

25. The details of the origins of any brotherhood are difficult to verify, but the political beginnings of *Tiandihui* has provided some insights. The group was formed in Fujian in the 1760s and was instrumental in the first Triad Rebellion, the Lin Shuangwen Uprising of 1787–88. David Ownby, *Brotherhoods and Secret Societies in Early and Mid-Qing China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), 55–81.
26. *Xiaodaohui* flourished in Taiwan during the 1770s and 1780s and was first set up by Chinese merchants to provide mutual aid and protection from local troops. Ownby (1996), 44.
27. Barend J. ter Haar provides extensive research on triad (Heaven and Earth Society) lore and rituals in his *Ritual and Mythology of the Chinese Triads* (Leiden, Boston, and Koln: Brill, 1998). He presents a convincing argument for the local dimension of these groups, in particular among Cantonese and Hakka communities where local languages played a big role in determining triad jargon. Although many of the rituals are supposedly secret, there was, as emphasized by ter Haar, a certain degree of local public knowledge, which was important for the effectiveness of the triads as a pressure group (458–462).
28. Ownby (1996), 3.
29. Ownby (1996), 159–161.
30. James M. Polachek, *The Inner Opium War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 1992), 177–185.
31. There were many incidents, including violent skirmishes, but most were petitions, placards, and gatherings denouncing the British demands for entry. On December 7, 1842, a British subject got into an argument with a Chinese fruit seller and stabbed him to death. This led to further violence with an irate mob that burned and looted some of the foreign factories. Qiying had to pay a large indemnity and decapitate ten of the mob leaders to satisfy the foreign traders. Public agitation died soon afterwards, and, several months later, in July 1843, Qiying was confident that the excitement was over and announced that Guangdong would soon be opened to the West, but this again met with very strong objections. Qiying appealed to Pottinger, who agreed to postpone their entry.
32. For further information on the relationship of Qiying and foreign diplomats, see John King Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast: The Opening of the Treaty Ports, 1842–1854* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969). I also discuss the relation of portraiture and diplomacy in "The Face of Diplomacy in Nineteenth-Century China: Qiying's Portrait Gifts," in *Narratives of Free Trade: The Commercial Cultures of US-Chinese Relations,* edited by Kendall Johnson (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011).
33. There are many examples of how the term "yi-ti-mi-te" was used in the correspondence from Qiying to Pottinger. For a case in point, see accession number FO 682/68/3 at the Public Records Office, National Archives, Kew, London.
34. Public Records Office, National Archives, Kew, London, accession number FO 17/68 (no. 74).
35. Wakeman (1997), 81.
36. I use the term "violence" in its modern sense: the threat or use of physical or symbolic acts with the intent to injure others or oneself. There are numerous studies on violence in China that discuss its terminology, and the moral, cultural, and sociopolitical implications in mainstream and subcultures: Charles Tilly and Barend J. ter Haar are two scholars who have produced a number of books and articles. In particular, see Charles Tilly et al., *The Rebellious Century, 1830–1930* (London: Dent, 1975); ter Haar (2000), 123–140, argues that violence was and is an intrinsic part of Chinese culture, even at elite levels; and Mark Edward Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence in Early China* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1990). I discuss the representation of violence and anger in Chapter Four.
37. Craig Clunas, *Empire of Great Brightness* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), 182–187.
38. The pictorial theme of blind men fighting deserves further study. My own background investigation traces Su Liupeng's roots to his predecessor Huang Shen, the eighteenth eccentric artist who also depicted images of blind men. More broadly, Su has a number of images of blind men with some that were intended as satires. On example is a handscroll painting, *Gathering of Blind Musicians,* in Guangzhou Museum. On this scroll, Su penned an inscription saying how he was once criticized for painting a scene of blind men appreciating antiques, and so instead he depicted a gathering of musicians instead.
39. This manual has been translated in Ruitenbeek (1992).
40. Finger painting continued into the twentieth century with artists including Gao Jianfu and Gao Qifeng of the Lingnan school who made finger paintings of hawks and tigers that carried a nationalist tone of a heroic China.
41. Jonathan Hay, "Luo Ping: The Encounter with the Interior Beyond," in *Eccentric Visions: The Worlds of Luo Ping (1733–1799),* edited by Kim Karlsson (Zurich: Museum Rietberg, 2009), 104.
42. Shun Kwong-loi, "On Anger—An Experimental Essay in Confucian Moral Psychology," in *Zhu Xi Now: Contemporary Encounters with the Great Ultimate,*

edited by David Jones and He Jinli (Albany, NY: State University of New York, forthcoming).

43. Cathy Caruth in *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative and History* (Baltimore, MD and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996) examines how the effects of a trauma can manifest in forms not associated with the event. One of the characteristics of trauma is that it resists being spoken of, and while evidence is witnessed firsthand, it is through the construction of a narrative of what happened that a witness forms a picture of the trauma. In particular, Caruth focuses on the retrospective reconstruction in which the representational means is as important as what it being represented.
44. Rania Huntington, "Chaos, Memory, and Genre: Anecdotal Recollections of the Taiping Rebellion," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews*, vol. 27 (December 2005), 59–91.
45. Huntington (2005), 64.
46. The lines recalled by Huang Peifeng from Meng Haoren are: 氣蒸雲夢澤，波撼岳陽城, from the poem, "Gazing at Dongting Lake, Presented to Prime Minister Zhang" (望洞庭湖贈張丞相). It has been suggested that Meng used this poem to gain a position, but it also reflects his ambivalence of serving at court. See, 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), 103–104.
47. Ibid.
48. 老病有孤舟，戎馬關山北，憑軒涕泗流。
49. 釣鰲歸去正長空，吹起晴霞一片。傑閣高寒烟(煙)霧杪，小試紫鸞仙管。萬木無聲，眾山皆響，咳唾從天半。元龍豪氣，怒濤飛上歌版。曾記烏帽青衫，銅琶鐵綽，正斜陽秋晚。猛拍闌干翻變徵，不怕海風吹斷。孤鶴盤雲，瘦蛟掀浪，聽我紅牙按。
50. A. C. Graham, *The Work of Lie-tz'u* (London: Paragon Book Gallery, 1960), 97–98.
51. Edward Schafer, *Vermilion Bird: T'ang Images of the South* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), 217.
52. There is a long history of heroic men, some of whom were later venerated as protectors, and as such were interwoven into imperial statecraft by having temples dedicated to them. These venerated men became the exemplar for later followers who identified with them. Zhang Weiping, the recipient of Dai Xi's painting and author of the Sanyuanli poem, eulogized the deaths of brave men who had died in the fight against the British. He composed an ode titled "Three Generals," in which he praised Chen Liansheng (陳聯陞), Chen Huacheng (陳化成), and Ge Yunfei (葛雲飛). Wang Zheng (王拯), in his "Record of General Chen's Portrait," talks about General Chen's achievements and his untimely death: "Two portraits were commissioned, one was for the people of Wusong and to remain in a temple there, the other was to be given to Lian [Tinghuang, 練廷璜]. Lian received General Chen's corpse ten days after he died. According to Wang, General Chen's body looked as it had when he was alive. Thus, a portrait was made, and when those who knew the general saw it, all cried in grief . . . Alas! When the British barbarians attacked, soldiers were sent one after another to the sea for years. During the battle at Wusong, the people from the north and south of the Yangtze River all said that General Chen was a general of extreme valor who received a quick and untimely death in the defeat of Wusong . . . Today, we revere his portrait, sad in our anguish." See A-Ying (1957), 880.
53. A-Ying (1957), 793.
54. A-Ying (1957), 793–94.
55. Wang Zhaoyong (1961), *juan* 10, 2.
56. Beginning in the Tang Dynasty, painters such as Han Gan (韓幹, act. ca. 740–56) specialized in images of powerful horses, muscular steeds that symbolized the military strength of the dynasty and the authority of the Tang emperors. Also, beginning in the Tang Dynasty, paintings of emaciated horses came to symbolize neglected human beings, above all talented scholars who deserved, but often failed, to receive recognition and reward. These themes endured in various forms throughout the later history of Chinese painting. The scholar-painter Gong Kai (龔開, 1222–1307) painted his famous *Emaciated Horse* (Osaka Municipal Museum) after he witnessed the fall of the dynasty under which he was born. For many centuries, his depiction of an old gaunt horse was seen as a reflection of his own fate as a *yimin* and as a poignant representation of the ill-fated Song Dynasty, to which he remained loyal. No longer a powerful, confident animal, the horse symbolized China in decline.
57. Cited by Wakeman (1997), 176, from John Backhouse Papers, Duke University, translation of a Chinese proclamation, dated January 15, 1846 (Box 15, Folder 4).
58. A-Ying (1957), 191.
59. A-Ying (1957).
60. Marc Abramson, *Ethnic Identity in Tang China* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 89.
61. Translation by Stephen Owen. I have altered the translation of 胡 from Turk to barbarian. Stephen Owen, *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911* (New York and London: W. W. Norton and Company, 1996), 428.

62. Owen (1996).
63. For details of the 1850–51 Shengguang Si Incident, see Ng Chin-keong, "Treaties, Politics, and the Limits of Local Diplomacy in Fuzhou in the Early 1850s," in *Power, and Identity in the Chinese World Order: Festschrift in Honor of Professor Wang Gungwu*, edited by Billy K. L. So et al. (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2003), 239–268.
64. Translation by Ng Chin-keong, "Shooting Eagles: Lin Changyi's Agony in the Wake of the Opium War," in *Maritime Asia in Transition, 1750–1850*, edited by Wang Gangwu and Ng Chin-keong (Weisberg: Harrossowitz Verlag, 2004), 376–377. An abridged version of this can also be found in correspondence between the British vice-consul in Fuzhou, J. Walker, to the Governor of Hong Kong, Sir Samuel George Bonham, Foreign Office, Embassy and Consular Archives, China, FO 228/128, no. 56. The letter is dated December 10, 1851. 餘繪射鷹驅狼圖橫幅小照，題咏甚多。後又繪射鷹圖手卷，粵東長樂溫伊初孝廉（訓）題云：射鷹高墉絕技聞，海鷹何事劇翻翁。黃間白羽乘空發，雨血風毛墜地紛。爪嘴莫矜同勁鐵，乾坤從此靜妖氛。層樓海上雕弧影，已懾愁胡抉暮雲。
65. When Li Chengdong pledged allegiance to the Qing and took over Guangdong in 1646, resistance against the Manchu Qing court grew. By 1647, much of the Ming Loyalist army had been defeated, but in 1648, General Li defected form the Qing to become a Ming Loyalist. Thereafter, Guangdong suffered massive attacks from the Qing. A ten-month siege was held in 1650, followed by a five-day massacre. It was then that the Qing enforced the shaving of the hair to inform the most emblematic symbol of submission—the queue. This did not end Guangdong resistance that now included support from Zheng Chenggong in Taiwan. In order to cut off support from the Taiwan base, the Qing evacuated large areas of the Delta region including Dongguan, Zhang Mu's hometown. Opportunist bandits raided these areas, creating more havoc. Coupled with the increasing costs of grain, widespread famine in the region eventually wore down resistance. It was not until 1684, when the evacuation decree was rescinded, that signaled the end of Ming resistance. Faure (2007), 164–176.
66. Lydia Liu, *The Clash of Empires: The Invention of China in Modern World Making* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).
67. Liu (2004), 100.
68. This reference is cited by Liu (2004), 99–100. The original source is from the *Chinese Repository,* vol. 11, no. 6 (June 1842), 342.
69. Yeewan Koon, "Lives and Afterlives: Luo Ping's 'Guiqu tu,'" *Orientations*, vol. 40 (September 2009), 66–72.
70. The relevant part of Pan Shicheng's postscript reads:
    又聞四裔有鬼國 其人夜遊而晝藏身
    至如夜叉 羅刹國諸鬼窟 其鬼非鬼 皆在萬裏之重洋
    鬼之始來開鬼市
    糸集貨紛紜怳聽視
    販布運以車與船
    轉風火輪疾如駛 [. . . . .]
    窺伺讒鬼儒佞魑鬼需 鬼需索索為鬼姦
    窮鬼餓鬼齒門 齒門齧齧供鬼使
    上不信天道 下無人理
    始知非鬼而鬼 名鬼之為言詐而已。
71. There is a handscroll painting by Su Renshan entitled *Physicians*, dated 1847, in the Hong Kong Museum of Art. It has a long inscription of Su speaking of a time when he was young and suffered from a "fright" after falling down a ladder. His mother had to call in the doctors to cure him.
72. Ginger Hsu, "The Drunken Demon Queller Chung K'uei in Eighteenth Century Chinese Painting," *Taida Journal of Art History*, vol. 3 (1996), 145.
73. 昔或能文，今仍不武，所事紛紛竟臥忘。聊為戲，料名心未死，宦興偏長。徜徉小憩何妨，是息靜功夫快活方。儘精靈聚魅，聞聲驚走；乜邪多鬼，見影潛藏。

Chapter Four

1. This is a reference to Mencius, 12.7: "The five chiefs of the princes were sinners against the three kings. The princes of the present day are sinners against the five chiefs. The Great officers of the present day are sinners against the princes." James Legge, *The Chinese Classics Book VI, Part II* (London: Truber & Co., 1861–1872), 311. The chapter is part of an ongoing debate between Mencius and the philosopher Gaozi, in which Mencius discusses how these various personages were each in turn as guilty as their superiors.
2. Sima Qian cites a passage from Zhuangzi, Chapter 10, of the following lines: 彼竊鉤者誅，竊國者爲諸侯，諸侯之門而仁義存焉，則是非竊仁義聖知邪？The translation of this reference is: "He who steals a belt buckle pays with his life; he who steals a state gets to be a feudal lord—and we all know that benevolence and righteousness are to be found at the gates of the feudal lords. Is this not the case of stealing benevolence and righteousness and the wisdom of sages?" Burton Watson, trans., *Chuang Tzu: Basic Writings* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), 110.
3. The story about Rangfu comes from *Gaoshi zhuan* (Records of eminent men) compiled by Huangfu Mi. It was recorded that, under the rulership of Yao, all was peaceful, and no harm came to the people. An elderly

man, who was over eighty years old, strikes the land in the middle of the road. A bystander exclaimed, "Oh dear! The virtue of Yao!" In response, Rang said: "I work when the sun is out and I rest when the sun is down. I dig a well for water, I toil in my fields for food; what does the virtue of the emperor have to do with me?" This story is also the subject of a prose-rhyme song in the Yuefu Collection entitled "The Song of Striking the Land" 擊壤歌; see *Lienü zhuan, Gaoshi zhuan*, emended by Liu Xiaodong (Shenyang: Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe, 1988), *juan shang*, 2. "孤竹君" (Gentleman Guzhu [Solitary bamboo]) is the title of a melody in *Xilutang Qintong*. The introduction to the melody talks about a man of Jin (265–420) seeing an inscription on a grave that reads, "On the mound (tomb) there was a solitary bamboo; the wind blowing causes it to bend. Underneath is a centenarian, sleeping forever and not knowing dawn." It was called *Guzhu Jun*. The introduction does not mention Bo Yi or Shu Qi, but *Qinshu daquan* suggests that *Guzhu Jun* is an alternate title for the melody *Caiwei cao* 採薇操, which is a reference to Bo Yi and Shu Qi; see Zhu Changwen, *Qin shi*, edited by Palace Museum (Haikou: Hainan chubanshe, 2001), 5.

4. 豪傑則病民甚矣！蓋神農、后稷，其餘風不外耕織醫藥耳。詎若後世帝堯，乃竟單均刑儀，遂使世界成戕賊，良可憫也。至於湯武以兵為君，陶及姬公以刑設官，真使中原成地獄，求復成為飽食煖衣世界，尚可得耶？故軻此說，良為神農、稷棄之罪人矣。太史遷曰：竊□誅，竊國王侯之門，仁義存此。武周以暴易暴，乃開盜蹠盜丘之門戶，而帝堯單刑儀，舜任□陶誅四凶，俱屬草介百姓。此壤父辨帝力為無有，孤竹懷神農於□沒也。仁山識。
5. Paul Kjellberg, trans., "Selections from Zhuangzi," in *Readings in Classical Chinese Philosophy*, edited by Philip J. Ivanhoe and Bryan W. Van Norden (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2005), 371–373.
6. Peter C. Perdue, "Nature and Nurture on Imperial China's Frontiers," *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 43, no. 1, 2009, 245–267.
7. Perdue (2009).
8. Schafer (1967), 125.
9. 宓羲、孔子、女媧、熒惑像。此圖發明伏羲之道，與仲尼殊有生死之判也。伏羲明陰陽，法鬼神，以一畫開天，成象八卦，以木德王以風為性，謂之太皞。渾沌之民得見文明之世者，伏羲也。故首冠三墳。趙穿弒君，仲尼書之曰趙盾，傳曰：非趙盾也，趙穿也。而仲尼職在司寇，倒置是非。余曰：使地獄出天堂，伏羲以陰陽開文明之世界也。使天堂為地獄，仲尼作《春秋》，而責備賢者也。周書無求備於一人，余於是並繪其像，而加一女媧者，宓羲之妹也；加一熒惑，星宿之神也。伏羲之道行，則天柱尚可石補；仲尼之道行，則熒惑星現。
10. The idea that harmony is the state of centrality achieved by focus is the foundation of *Zhongyong*, a philosophical text attributed to Kong Ji (孔伋, 483–402 BCE), grandson of Confucius. It was incorporated into the *Record of Rites,* and it was included as part of Zhu Xi's (1130–1200) influential Four Books, together with *Analects of Confucius*, *Great Learning*, and *Mencius*.
11. See Roger Ames and David Hall, *Focusing the Familiar: A Translation and Philosophical Interpretation of the Zhongyong* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2001), 35–37.
12. Li Chengyang, "Zhongyong as Grand Harmony: An Alternative Reading to Ames and Hall's *Focusing the Familiar*," *Dao* 3, no. 2, 173–188.
13. This ancient form was regaining importance in the eighteenth century as a component of philology. Su's interest in seal scripts is part of this interest in remote history, and he uses the aesthetics of an engraved past that could bear the moral weight of authenticity.
14. John Hay, "Values and History in Chinese Painting: The Hierarchal Evolution of Structure," *Res* vol. 7/8 (Spring 1984), 106.
15. Although there are hundreds of paintings with Lin Liang's signature, there is not a single dated document about his life, which is typical of many of the Ming court artists, for whom very little is recorded. However, the absence of any texts also suggests the marginal position of Guangdong.
16. Barnhart (1993), 15.
17. Hou-mei Sung, *Decoded Messages: The Symbolic Language of Chinese Animal Painting* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 110–112.
18. The earliest record of a painting of cranes dates to the Tang Dynasty and has since evolved into a large repository of meanings that link the bird to the moral character of a person. In particular, this is seen in the "act" of the crane; preening (*limao*), wind-dancing (*wufeng*), and heaven-crying (*litian*) are acts that are embodied with values and human attributes. See Sung (2009), 40–44.
19. I am aware that the idea of a plague of locusts may also refer to biblical themes, which may add fuel to the speculations that Su was associated with the Taiping Rebels. Given that the Taiping Rebellion leader, Hong Xiuquan, who had a vision of himself as a son of god, and brother to Jesus, took his exams at the same time as Su Renshan, the two men may have met. Moreover, Su was active in Wuzhou where the first Taiping led rebel fight took place, and Su's position against Confucius, Confucian institutions, and the value of female scholarship (explored in the next chapter) offers tantalizing grounds

for this speculation. However, my search for stronger connections has yet to unveil stronger associations with the Taipings (largely through trying to trace social networks, or pictorial sentiments more directly engaged with Taiping ideology), and all possible suggestions, including this painting, if indeed it refers to locusts, are still too tenuous.

20. The phrase comes from the fourth chapter of the *Ji jiu pian*, written by Shi You (史遊, act. 48–33 BCE).
21. I want to thank Wang Cheng-hua for drawing this to my attention. Although images of single or paired locusts are common auspicious motifs, especially in Guangdong, a large group of locusts can only be seen as a sign of calamity. Perhaps related, the locust (*huangchong* 蝗蟲), is used as a rebus for *chongjing* (崇敬)—esteemed or respect, and therefore popular as motifs on auspicious work—these multiple plays of words and images that are almost, but not quite, alike add to the iconoclastic cleverness that we expect from Su Renshan.
22. Qiu Ying painted this theme in an album leaf from "Stories of People" (人物故事), undated, ink and color on silk, Palace Museum Beijing.
23. Translation from Jonathan Hay (2001b), 214.
24. Albums on the production of tea, silk, and ceramics were among the most popular form of export art. See Chapter One for further discussion on export trade art.
25. Clunas (1997) citing Song Lian (宋濂, 1310–81) discusses the differences between *hua* (painting) and *tu* (diagram), 108–109.
26. There are numerous stories of Jing Jiang of Lu, and they can be found in various ancient texts including the *Li ji* 禮記 (Book of rites), *Guoyu* 國語 (The discourses of the States), and *Han Shi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳 (The outer commentary to the Book of Songs by Master Han). The longest biography is found in the *Lienü zhuan* 列女傳 (Biographies of exemplary women), which is also the only place where this passage can be found. This translation, with some adaptation, is taken from Lisa A. Raphals, "A Woman Who Understood the Rites," in *Confucius and the Analects*, edited by Bryan W. Van Norden (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 277.
27. Francesca Bray, *Technology and Gender: Fabrics of Power in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), 256–257.

Chapter Five

1. 商畹□、吳若華、鍾文貞鼎足於桐城顏士睿後，詎不可謂王唐歸胡耶？惜可儀奇文未共欣賞，真令宜興作者而有疊□山履祥之嘆也。余於陳鄭孝經、尚宮論語，未嘗不善其繼盛於惠班七誡，彰美乎孝文述訓也。韓、柳、蘇、曾之材，尚苦寂滅道邪？
2. This is a reference to a famous line from Tao Qian's poem "Moving House, No. 1": 奇文共欣賞，疑義相與析, translated by Burton Watson (1964) as "Unusual writings we appreciate with one another, working out the difficult passages together." This poem refers to his move, after his retirement from court, to the rural south, where he was able to share his thoughts with like-minded friends.
3. Zhang Hongxing, "Re-reading Inscriptions in Chinese Scroll Painting: The Eleventh to the Fourteenth Centuries," *Art History* (December 2005), 606–625; Anne Burkass-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*, edited by Cynthia Brokaw and Kai-wing Chow (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002), 371–416.
4. Epstein (2001), 156.
5. Stephen J. Roddy, *Literati Identity and Its Fictional Representations in Late Imperial China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998).
6. Although the novel *Jinghuayuan* is often compared to *Honglou meng* because of its shared interest in talented females, literary contests, and garden imagery, Stephen Roddy argues that Li Ruzhen took his plot line from a lesser-known military romance novel, *Lu mudan* 綠牡丹 (The green peony, 1800), 282, ft. 6. Ellen Widmer, however, sees a closer relation with the famous late Ming novels *Shuihu zhuan* (Water margin) and *Xiyou ji* 西遊記 (Journey to the West): "Jinghua yuan: Where the Late Late Ming Meets the Early Late Qing," in *Dynastic Decline and Cultural Innovation: Late Ming and Late Qing*, edited by David Der-wei Wang and Shang Wei (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Studies Center, 2005), 264–295. I want to thank Dorothy Ko for bringing this article to my attention.
7. Wu Zetian is inspired to hold the examinations after being moved by the talents of her female subjects.
8. Roddy (1998), 175.
9. 五言八韻　擬崇山帖：御製黃維德，長孫風雅篇。馬玄玄太放，薛素素如仙。薄少君真富，郭貞順戍邊。王激源把臂，徐媛淺師前。晉代東山謝，宋遺精衛填。不妨許景樊，多染絳濤箋。楊太真誰識，宋楊妃似焉。胡笳同調者，王嬙幾人然。仁山稿并書。
10. Ibid.
11. Xue Susu appears to have gained her reputation when she went to Beijing in the 1590s. Aside from her martial abilities and literary talents, she was known to have been involved in political intrigues. Among her admirers were the artist and politician Dong Qichang, the connoisseur Pan Zhizeng, and Shen Dafu, whom she married.

See Daria Berg, "A Cultural Discourse on Xue Susu, a Courtesan in Late Ming China," *International Journal of Asian Studies,* vol. 6, no. 2 (2009), 171–200.

12. Liu Bang composed a song, *Song of the Great Wind*, after his victory over Xiang Yu: "A Great wind rises, clouds fly and scatter; With power over the four seas, I return to my homeland; Where shall I get brave warriors to safeguard the four quarters?"
13. 壽莊曰：……漢沛公非不知儒之陋劣，果於亡國之效者，但緣三尺劍，不能辨盜蹠與盜丘合傳爾。泣懷猛士不得已之辭，自呈本色爾。楚羽虞姬皆劍俠，知文辭，不曉仙策而棄安期生，故亦自盡不辱，以成本紀。故太史公一曰秦楚之際年月表，一曰項羽本紀。漢若無楚，則漢亦無秦。漢無秦，漢祚安在？漢無楚，漢篆安在？史公次楚於秦，次漢於楚矣。劍可戒哉？
14. Legend has it that the First Emperor of Qin had demanded that An Qisheng should give him one of his famous pills or else face death. An was uneasy with this request, but while deliberating the dilemma of whether to present the megalomaniac emperor with the pill, he met a wandering hermit who asked him why he could not differentiate good from bad. Thus resolved, he took the magical pill himself and became an immortal.
15. Translation by Burton Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China, translated from the Shih Chi of Ssu-ma Ch'ien,* 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 70–71.
16. Madeline Chu, "Journey into Desire: Monkey's Secular Experience in the Xiyoubu," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 117 (October 1997), 654–664.
17. Stephen W. Durrant, *The Cloudy Mirror: Tension and Conflict in the Writings of Sima Qian* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1995), 123–143.
18. Ellen Widmer, *The Beauty and the Book: Women and Fiction in Nineteenth-Century China* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 2006).
19. James Cahill, "Paintings Done for Women in Ming-Qing China?" *Nan Nü*, vol. 8, no. 1, 2006, 1–54.
20. I have not been able to trace any Han steles with similar inscriptions but have found bronze mirrors with the phrase 五穀孰成; see Guo Yuhai, *Gugong zang jing* (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 1996), 32.
21. Clunas (1997), 53.
22. There are a number of extant texts published in Guangdong from the sixteenth century onwards about the worlds beyond the borders. Among them is *Hai lu* 海錄 (Record of seas), based on observations from Xie Qinggao (謝清高, 1765–1821), a young sailor who, after a sea mishap, ends up working on a foreign ship and as a result travels to many countries. Later, when he was thirty-one, he lost his eyesight and was abandoned by his captain in Macau. He regaled his new neighbors with stories of many foreign countries, describing the people and their strange customs. Later, Yang Bingnan (楊炳南, act. ca. early nineteenth century) turned Xie's stories into a book when it was published in Guangzhou in 1820—just before *Jinghuayuan* was published.
23. 戊申夏五，仲妹造廬閱帖，自秦漢逮宋，鮮許。惟岳麓書院石刻於右軍草法二則，大加嘆惋。至魯公文殊帖曰：「不如矣。」予遂指陳鐘王飛白，且以肅恭王閣帖示之。至衛李氏則曰：「百美圖。衛夫人邪？其書如此邪？」□而曰：「閨閣論詩有幾人？」及覽唐太宗於梅炎藻夏此段，稱賞彌洽，因道駢體文字，節述《百美圖序》一段，手擎布傘而去，如鷙鳥之乍飛也，惟女紅盡棄。
24. According to Dorothy Ko, women travelers took to the road for three reasons. First, wives, daughters and daughters-in-law followed the bureaucratic transfers of their husbands, fathers, and father-in-laws. Second, they traveled for pleasure, usually with families and other women. Third, women traveled for work. However, it was an activity that was considered a privilege because of the entourage required. Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-century China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994), 224.
25. Clunas (1997), 102–133.
26. An example is Tang Yin's *Tao Gu Presents a Poem*, undated hanging scroll, Shanghai Museum of Art.
27. The writing of self-as-other is a traditional rhetorical device using elaborate comparisons, metaphors, and tropes to concoct alternative figures, often of the past, as a form of self-expression and self-analysis. The device's openness allows for hypertextual readings that create multiple readings in colophons and inscriptions. Strong authorial presence requires viewers to acknowledge the artist as the principal voice, reducing possible responses.
28. Su Renshan's debt to the printed book has been examined by Kao Mayching, who traced the roots of some of his images to painting manuals and woodblock images, which she considered to be his primary source of training. Kao (1990), 156–157.
29. 楊柳陰濃夏日遲，村邊高館漫平池。鄰翁挈盒乘清早，來決輸盈昨日棋。丙午初秋臨於鯨鯢魻(魚白)水榭。仁山書「贏」為「盈」，六如笑曰：「吾生平作詩或出韻，今君作字迺入音乎？」仁山笑曰：「公似不知音，我似不識字。」六如大笑，仁山亦大笑。蓋相遇於山林云。
30. 世稱制義自王安石始，然安石以古文名世，自云兼讀釋典稗史，則外國之詞章，哩俗之紀載，不隘於三代兩漢。可見退之知古書之正偽，與雖正

而不至焉者。然莊也、騷也、太史也，其所嘗稱也。後人讀書不如八家博，更不敢以八家所嘗讀者命題。故九州縉紳耆宿，隘於洛黨之陋凡五百年。呵呵！

31. By the Northern Song, many peasants had become tenants or small freeholders. Laws such as those proposed by Wang Anshi were introduced to protect tenants; others that protected landholders were drafted as well. He implemented a series of reforms, the New Policies, most of which were attempts to reassert the state's control over a growing private economy. See Robert P. Hymes and Conrad Schirokauer, eds., *Ordering the World: Approaches to State and Society in Sung Dynasty China* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997).
32. Peter 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*, edited by Robert P. Hymes and Conrad Schirokauer (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), 190.
33. All three men were scholars who actively promoted female talents. Wang, a famous poet, organized a famous literary meeting (1657)—the Autumn Willow Poetry Association—and invited many female participants. Yuan Mei, admitted to the Hanlin Academy in 1739 but unsuccessful in his Manchu language test (1742), was subsequently appointed a magistrate. He concentrated on writing, particularly poetry. He was very active in fostering the talents of educated women, especially in his seventies. In 1796, he compiled an anthology of poems entitled *Suiyuan nüdizi shixuan* 隨園女弟子詩選 (Anthology of the female disciples of Harmony Garden) with works by twenty-eight female disciples. Shen Deqian, a contemporary of Yuan Mei and a Hanlin Academician, edited the compilation *Qingshi biecai* 清詩別裁 (Styles of Qing poetry, 1760), which included works by women. See Ellen Widmer and Kang-I Sun Chang, eds., *Writing Women in Late Imperial China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 164–165.
34. 又制義文五百年來，女史能拈題游藝，則漁洋述商畹人，確士述吳若華，子才述鐘睿姑。異乎三子者之撰，則患瞜屋之不達，深愧不下機於發篋也，悲夫，而介甫無是。初，茂叔見荊公，相晤語學，問荊公不答。道學家以茂叔所詣精深，能窮荊公之博洽，□述為美談，不知荊公不屑與語。又五百年來，學干祿皆效荊公制義，出而語人曰宗濂洛，更可笑焉。當世倘肯戲如雯，以王晉昇女四書命題，課吳若華等持婦具，亦佳。仁山書。
35. 荊公子雯見洛黨程正叔入詣荊公府，雯素知頤、灝皆有道學聲氣，固意持婦人器具入見。荊公於賓主晤對時，伊川以父子主賓乃爾，大不快，退，反謂雯不莊，而不知雯固侮之。雯閒嘗侍側，荊公父子造詣，不具世眼，雯亦為朝廷講官。荊公書說頒學校，婦具能然否？雯之戲乃爾。
36. *Xixiangji* is a famous Yuan dynasty drama piece by Wang Shifu set in the Tang dynasty. It was a popular lover story and there were many Ming dynasty illustrations of this story.
37. "然心向往之" is a quote taken from Chapter 47, *Biographies of Hereditary Households and Eminent Persons,* from *Records of the Grand Historian*. Sima Qian praises the talents of Confucius and says his followers must continue forth despite the demise of their eminent teacher. Although this famous quote by Sima Qian is used to urge scholars to continue to pursue knowledge, Su Renshan suggests that determination alone is not enough, as seen in the examples set by Yu, who became paralyzed, and Tang Yin who, despite or because of his witty intelligence, was rejected from officialdom.
38. Fuxi is said to have been conceived when his mother stepped into a giant footprint; see Anne Birrell, *Chinese Myths* (London: British Museum Press, 2000), 29.
39. The Six Arts was used to describe the six areas that the educated elite were expected to excel in: ritual, music, archery, charioteering, writing, and arithmetic. During the Han Dynasty, the Six Arts were reorganized around the Confucian classical texts. Subsequently, the Six Arts represented the orthodox canon of literati scholars.
40. The reference to Confucius as a bandit comes from Chapter Twenty-nine of Zhuangzi, which is the same chapter referring to the Yu as being paralyzed.
41. This painting was mounted at a local mounting shop. I have not been able to trace any references to this Shunde-based shop.
42. □無顛倒夢想，豈因受想行識，而有色聲香味觸法哉？漆園以化熊為偏枯，信矣。江南首登賢書，唐寅以西廂標題制義。子長曰：雖不能至，然心向往之。惟仙人不還，乃清移海水汩沒耶？嶺南蘇長春撰…… 仁山曰：儒之為類，等於靈祇中一物，生於易之下繫，異乎大人足跡。故不識龍馬庖犧五穀周棄及其長也，困於列國諸侯，火於秦，嫚□於漢，不安於唐，陷溺於宋，杖於明太祖，擲於復社。儒之為類，所辱已甚，又安能假天子命以辱民哉？六藝之文，殺人殺物。齊魯之會，載在家語，一元之武，載在戴記。開地獄之門戶，而成稱於盜蹠盜丘也。鏡孔昭齋裝璜。識於順德縣內。畫臨李思訓。
43. Dai Zhen's (戴震, 1724–77) famous accusation that moral principles killed people can be seen in the way that

late eighteen- and nineteenth-century scholars used the idea in their discussions and writings. Stephen Roddy discusses how, in the final chapters of *Rulin waishi*, one of the prominent themes was the problem in the exaltation of rituals and draws on Dai Zhen's famous words as part of his argument, 141. The late nineteenth-century scholar Tan Sitong (譚嗣同, 1865–98) also used this idea in his writing on benevolence (*Renxue* 仁學) and the moral dilemmas faced by Confucianized women in a patriarchal society. Benjamin Elman, "The Failures of Contemporary Chinese Intellectual History," *Eighteenth Century Studies*, vol. 43, no. 3, 2010, 377.

44. Hong Xiuquan (洪秀全, 1814–64), of Guangxi Province, led the Taiping Rebellion. He was influenced by Christian missionaries during his Guangzhou visits when he took (and failed) the civil examinations. One night, he had a vision that named him as the brother of Jesus sent to found the Heavenly Kingdom. See Spence (1996); Jian Youwen, *Qingshi Hong Xiuquan zaiji* 清史洪秀全載記 (Historical records of Hong Xiuquan) (Hong Kong: Jianshi Mengjin shuwu, 1967); Michael H. Franz et al., *The Taiping Rebellion: History and Documents* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1966–71); and Kuhn (1980).

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