Notes

Second references in the notes for each paper are generally given as short titles. Works frequently cited have been identified by the following abbreviations:

**EB**
Ju-Ihsi Chou and Claudia Brown, *The Elegant Brush: Chinese Painting under the Qianlong Emperor, 1735 - 1795* (Phoenix, 1985)

**YHFL**
Li Dou, *Yangzhou Huafang Lu* (Taipei, 1969 reprint)

**YHVL**
Wang Yun, *Yangzhou Huayuan Lu*, in *Yangzhou Congke* (Yangzhou, 1931)

**Figure, Fiction and Pigment in Eighteenth Century Chinese Painting**

The author is grateful to The National Endowment for the Humanities for an Independent Study and Research Grant in 1982-83, and to The National Academy of Sciences Committee on Scholarly Exchange with the People’s Republic of China for support of travel and research in China in Fall 1982, during which periods the research on which this study is based was carried out.


13. For a translation of Yuan Mei’s inscription, see Cahill, ‘A Rejected Portrait,’ p. 32.


20. The Chinese text of the inscription is transcribed in Kao Maychung ed., *Paintings by Yangzhou Artists of the Qing Dynasty from the Palace Museum* (Hong Kong, 1984), no. 57, p. 190.


24. See the summary of recent scholarship in *EB*, pp. 211-213.

25. See Howard Rogers. Fukunaga


27. See the accounts of his stylistic changes and career strategies in EB, pp. 12-13, 212.

28. Reproduced in an album of plates titled 'Huang Yingxiao Renwu Ce' (Shanghai, 1982), with an essay by Liu Gangji. I am grateful to Mr Marshall Wu of the University of Michigan Art Museum for bringing to my attention some problems regarding the attribution of this work to Huang Shen, and for pointing out to me its relationships with an album in the University of Michigan Art Museum.

29. See the discussion of Tang Yin in James Cahill, Parading at the Shore: Chinese Painting of the Early and Middle Ming Dynasty, 1368 - 1580 (New York, 1978), pp. 194-195.

30. For Cal’s career, see EB, p. 139.

31. For a transcription of the poem and inscription, see Rogers et al., Kin Nō, no. 58.


33. For Hua Yan’s painting, see the Osaka Exchange Exhibition: Paintings from the Abe Collection and Other Masterpieces of Chinese Art (San Francisco, 1970), no. 49, pp. 96-97; for a translation of Sound of Autumn, see Cyril Birch, ed. Anthology of Chinese Literature: From Early Times to the Fourteenth Century (New York, 1965), pp. 368-369.

34. Reproduced in Yi yuan Duoying, no. 8 (Shanghai, 1980), p. 3.

35. The painting is reproduced and discussed in Yonezawa Yoshiho and Kawakita Michiaki, Chûgoku Bijutsu (Tokyo, 1965). III, fig. 84, p. 149; text on p. 204. There is no firm identification of the subject, other than as a figure after Daoji, with a notation of the Chan Buddhist flavor of the accompanying poem. I have discussed the iconographic question in greater detail in an unpublished lecture, ‘The Image of Sakyamuni in Later Chinese Painting,’ presented at the symposium, Light of Asia: Buddha Sakyamuni in Asian Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 13-15 April 1984. Some related images include a Japanese painting attributed to Soga Jasoku (d. 1473), reproduced and discussed in Fontein and Hickman, Zen: Painting and Calligraphy, no. 53, pp. 126-29, as well as Yuan dynasty sculptured images in Sherman Lee and Wai-kam Ho, Chinese Art under the Mongols: The Yuan Dynasty (1279 - 1368) (Cleveland, 1968), nos. 18, 19 and 20.


37. Luo Ping’s Sleeping Monk, reproduced in Sirén, Chinese Painting, VI, pl. 464; also a sleeping or meditating Buddha by Jin Nong, reproduced in Yi yuan Duoying, no. 24 (Shanghai,
1984), pp. 22-3; see p. 24 of the same issue for Jin Nong’s dreaming figure, related to Luo Ping’s Portrait of Jin Nong’s Noon Nap, the subject of a forthcoming study by this writer.


40. For some of these images, see Yi Yuan Duetying, no. 6 (Shanghai, 1980), pp. 21, 27 and 35.


42. See the translation of some of his tales in Pu Songling, *Selected Tales of Luozhai* (Beijing, 1981).

43. See the study by Chuang Shen, ‘Lo P’ing and the Keat-eh’tu’u,’ *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica*, XLIV (1972), 403-433.

44. See the account of Luo Ping in *EB*, pp. 201-202.

45. For intellectual trends in the period, see Mote, ‘The Intellectual Climate.’

46. See the often quoted statements of Zheng Xie on the artist’s situation, discussed in *EB*, pp. 168-9.


48. See Kahn, *Monarchy*.


**Yuan Jiang: Image Maker**


3. *Huaren Buyi*, ca. 1790, reprinted in *Qing Huazhuan Jiyi Sanzhong* (*Biographies of Qing Dynasty Painters in Three Collections*) (Beijing: Harvard-Yenching Supplement, 1934), VIII. See also n. 6 below.

4. In his 1938 list of Chinese paintings in Japan, Harada Bizen (Kinjirō) records a painting signed and dated the twenty-first year of the Qianlong reign, corresponding to 1756. Formerly in the Kinoshita collection in Tokyo, the present location of the unpublished painting is unknown. The authenticity of the work is doubtful; if Yuan Jiang was painting
accomplished works in 1681, the probability of his working in the 1750s, at an age of over ninety, is slim. James Cahill published a hanging scroll, probably from a larger composition, with a cyclical date of 1680/1740, and an album with cyclical dates of 1683/1743. These two works stylistically fit better in the early period of Yuan’s career; therefore they have been assigned here to the 1680s. See James Cahill, ‘Yuan Chiang and His School,’ *Ars Orientalis*, V (1963), 259-272, and VI (1966), 191-212. Following the assumption that Yuan Jiang did not begin painting until 1693, Nie Chongzheng placed an album with a cyclical date corresponding to 1683/1743 (which may be the same as that listed by Cahill) and a hanging scroll with a cyclical date of 1686/1746 to the later period. Here they are dated to the 1680s. See Nie Chongzheng, *Yuan Jiang yu Yuan Yao* (Shanghai, 1982) in the series *Zhongguo Huajia Congshu*.

5. According to Nie, *Yuan Jiang yu Yuan Yao*, p. 5, Guo Weiqu listed the painting in his *Song Yuan Ming Qing Shuhua Jia Nianbiao*, p. 329. As far as I know, the painting is unpublished.

6. The discovery of this seal and the realistic quality of the river scene led Richard Barnhart to the hypothesis that the phrase ‘outside the Yangxin Dian’ in *Huaren Bayi* may have meant that Yuan served Prince Yi on his northern trips to inspect river conservancy in Zhiyi province. See Richard M. Barnhart, *Peach Blossom Spring: Garden and Flowers in Chinese Paintings* (New York, 1983), pp. 104-118. The undated landscape is in the Ahehn collection in East Providence, Rhode Island. Howard Rogers points out that Prince Yi was the director of the government office which supervised court artists and ‘outside the Yangxin Dian’ may have meant something closer to the court: the artisan-like task of decorating the Yuan Ming Yuan. Yongzheng’s favorite palace. See Howard Rogers, *Masterworks of Ming and Qing Painting from the Forbidden City* (Lansdale, PA, 1988), p. 187. 7. The painting which stylistically dates to the early 1720s is in the collection of Roy and Marilyn Papp. See *Heritage of the Brush* (Phoenix, 1989), no. 23. To Howard Rogers I am grateful for providing information.

8. Nie, *Yuan Jiang yu Yuan Yao*, pp. 3-4, citing Li Zhizhao, ‘Jiehua de Fazhan he Jiehua Goutu de Yanju’ (‘Research on the development and structure of boundary painting’), *Zhongguo Hua* (Beijing, 1957). Qin Zhongwen says that most of the 100 paintings left China for foreign collections. See Qin Zhongwen, ‘Qingdai Chuqi Huihua de Fazhan’ (‘Development of Painting in the Early Qing’), *Wenwu Cankao Ziliao*, no. 8 (1958), p. 56. Yuan school paintings with odd measurements or shapes were probably originally created for lanterns or architectural panels.


10. Mote, ‘The Intellectual Climate,’ p. 35. Mote compares the enormous wealth of the merchants to that of district magistrates who ‘received salaries and supplementary emolument from the state in the range of 500 to 1200 taels per year’ and to a laborer who ‘could support his household of five persons on about twelve taels per year.’

11. The twelve-panel Peach Blossom Spring of 1719 is preceded by a hanging scroll with many of the same elements dated 1718. The Hall of Green Wilderness panoramic screen of 1720 is preceded by the hanging scroll of 1719. (Please refer to appendix).


13. Palaces do of course appear in Ming painting, but in small numbers and generally in minor works. Life inside the Palace of Emperor Ming Xuanzong, an anonymous narrative handscroll in the Palace Museum, Beijing, uses the architecture as a setting for the figures. The architecture in The Daming Palace, an early Ming handscroll in the John M. Crawford, Jr. collection at the Metropolitan Museum, is fanciful and structurally illogical. The large hanging scroll by Wang E. Gazing Afar from a Riverside Pavilion, in the Palace Museum, Beijing, is a rare and beautiful example of complicated architectural detail combined with a poetic landscape.


16. For color reproductions of the entire composition see Barnhart, Peach Blossom Spring, pp. 105-111.


18. Some examples are Li Yin’s Landscape with Travellers in the Palace Museum, Beijing, in Kao Mayching, ed. Paintings by Yangzhou Artists of the Qing Dynasty from the Palace Museum (Hong Kong, 1984), no. 2: Yuan Jiang’s Carts on a Winding Mountain Road of 1694; his hanging scrolls of 1707, two of 1718, and an undated hanging scroll in the Guangzhou Art Museum; Yuan Yao’s huge hanging scroll of 1741 in the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Köln, his Oxcarts in Landscape after Guo Xi of 1767 in a
private collection, Osaka, a 1770 hanging scroll *Road to Shu, Distant Clouds*, Beijing Handicrafts Import-Export Co., and his undated *Transport Caris after Guo Xi* in the British Museum. Yan Yi painted the theme (hanging scroll of 1716 in the Palace Museum, Beijing) as did Tan Song (hanging scroll of 1748 in the Metropolitan Museum of Art).

19. See Mote, *The Intellectual Climate,* p. 34.

20. For a review of the debates and imagery of Peach Blossom Spring see Susan E. Nelson, *On Through to the Beyond: The Peach Blossom Spring as Paradise,* *Archives of Asian Art*, XXXIX (1986), 23-47. In *Peach Blossom Spring*, Barnhart explores the theme as it relates to gardens, particularly in reference to Yuan Jiang’s large 1719 painting.


25. The painting, in ink and color on silk, is in the collection of Yabumoto Sogoro, Amagasaki, Japan.

26. The scroll, dated 1770, is in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum (1984.16) and is fully described in Hearn, *Document and Portrait.*

27. The undated hanging scroll in ink and color on silk is in the Palace Museum, Beijing. See Kao Mayching ed., *Paintings by Yangzhou Artists*, no. 2.

28. This statement assumes that the influence flowed from the older to the younger painter. It is also possible that Yuan Jiang, as the strong artistic force, influenced Li Yin. In which case Li Yin’s long discussion of painting style was a verbalization of what Yuan Jiang practiced.

29. Many other stylistic relationships are yet to be explored including those with Yan Yi, Wang Yun and Xiao Chen. I cannot consider here the obvious affinity between the paintings of Yuan Jiang and the younger Yuan Yao. Whatever the familial relationship, the two had a working relationship so close that many of their paintings are easily confused. In general, one can see in Yuan Yao’s work a slightly more intense use of color, less interest in portraying vast distances, and a more formalistic approach to familiar subjects.

30. Nie, *Yuan Jiang ya Yuan Yao*, p. 4. The others were Meng Shikai (who earned a regional zhusheng degree) and Zhu Peiqin, unidentified.

31. The painting, now an eight-fold screen in a Japanese collection, ends abruptly at both right and left edges, and originally was probably a full twelve-scroll composition. Yuan Jiang painted another tall hanging scroll of *The Hall of Green Wilderness* known to me from a slide which is too fuzzy to allow a reading of the date. Yuan Yao painted the theme at least three times.

32. There are other shared motifs
such as stands of pines growing out of rocky soil and a waterfall tumbling from distant mountains, but these figure in many of Yuan Jiang's garden landscape paintings. I have not seen the 1719 hanging scroll in the Palace Museum, Beijing, which may have been the model for the large screen of the following year.

Zheng Xie's Price List:
Painting as a Source of Income in Yangzhou

3. Cheng Zhengkui, Qingxi Yige (1809), juan 26, pp. 96-10a.
8. YFHL, pp. 748ff.
13. Liang Zhangju (1779-1849), Guilian Shouji (preface dated 1845), in Liangshih Biji (Shanghai, 1918), juan 7, pp. 4a-b. The phenomenon was so popular that there were some maxims about such guests under the gate, in which the qualification of a guest was described by counting from one to ten, in a rather ironic yet realistic manner. As quoted by Liang: 'good calligraphy of the first rate, talent of the second rate, drinking capacity of three jin (unit of measurement), clothes cope with the four seasons, five moves of weiqi game, six sets of kunqu repertory, seven character poems, eight pieces of majiang (mah jong), ninth-grade title and ten points of agreeable temperament.' The maxim was elaborated later and became even more descriptive: 'Calligraphy of first rate without mistake, talent of second rate without deliberately showing off, drinking capacity of three jin without vomiting, four seasons' clothing without going in and out of the pawnshop, playing five moves of weiqi with no regret, being able to sing six sets of kunqu without hesitation, composing seven-character playful poems without delay, playing eight games of majiang without checking, obtaining the ninth grade of title but not intending to take office, ten points of agreeable character without a trace of vulgarity.'
20. Although Jin Nong and Zheng Xie share the same ideology, there are subtle differences between their attitudes toward painting. For Jin, painting is no more decent than antique dealing. However, in Zheng's opinion, to involve oneself in the vulgar business of antique dealing was not advisable. Believing that antique dealing would erode one's intellectual nature, Zheng once tried to talk Jin out of it in a personal letter to him. Compared to other professions that many literati turned to for income, such as fortune-telling, medicine and geomancy, painting was considered high in the hierarchy, equal to poetry and calligraphy. See Zheng Banqiao Ji, pp. 206-207.
25. YHFL, p. 291.
26. YHFL, pp. 344-345.
27. *Lianghui Yuanfa Zhi* (1870 edition), juan 42. In this account about the salt merchants of the Lianghui district, one full juan is devoted to records of merchants' contributions toward government projects, military expenses and local welfare. According to Ho Ping-ti, the Liang-huai salt merchants contributed 36,370,963 taels to the government between 1738 and 1804, not counting the 4,670,000 taels spent on the Qianlong emperor's southern tours and numerous smaller contributions to salt officials. See his *The Ladder of Success in Imperial China* (New York, 1964), p. 82.
29. A commentator described Yangzhou merchants' enthusiasm for antique collecting: 'The prices of the paintings or calligraphy were not a problem, as long as they were signed and inscribed by known persons; the authenticity of the antiques was not a problem either, as long as they were high in price and showed the damage of time.' See Huang Junzai, *Jinhua Langmo*, juan 1, pp. 10a-b, in his *Jinhua Qimo* (1873). For an example of conspicuous spending on literary gatherings, see Li Dou, *Aitang Chulu*, in Ren Na, ed., *Xin Chuyuan* (Shanghai, 1946), I, 26.
33. This is a recorded painting dedicated to Jiang Chun. See Zheng Banqiao Ji, pp. 161-163.

**Jin Nong: The Eccentric Painter with a Wintry Heart**

1. To embellish his paintings, Jin
Nong often inscribed elegant, expressive inscriptions. Whether the inscriptions are in the form of poetry or prose, the contents are usually as humorous as they are profound, refreshingly readable, fashioned in a lyrical mode, replete with subtle ideas and surging feelings. No wonder that, in 1750, under the persuasion and support of his patron-friend, Jiang Chun (1727-93), Jin Nong collected about fifty superb inscriptions he had composed for his bamboo paintings. He published them under the tile of Dongxin Xiasheng Huazhu Tiji ('Jin Nong's Inscriptions on Bamboo Paintings') (Meishu Congshu edition). It became his first compilation of inscriptions; more were to follow. See Ibid, pp. 61-84. Jiang Chun was a member of the influential and wealthy Jiang family in Yangzhou.

2. On his early exposure to art, Jin Nong has this to say:

‘When I was only thirteen or fourteen years old (1699 - 1700), my father brought me to the Changming Temple (in Hangzhou) during the Lantern Festival (the first full moon or the fifteenth day of the first lunar month). There we saw the painted portraits of the sixteen luohan attributed to Guanxue (832 - 912). In the paintings, these monks all had high nose bridges, full faces, long ear lobes and large eyes with heavy eyebrows.’ See Dongxin Huafo Tiji ('Master Dongxin's Inscriptions on Buddhist Paintings') (Meishu Congshu edition), p. 103.

This early exposure to paintings of arhats or luohan must have left a strong impression on this sensitive teenager, for fifty years later he remembered the experience.

3. Jin Nong made two trips to the North. On his first trip, he visited Beijing and recorded the many paintings he saw. For example, he saw a handscroll depicting Buddhist purgatory. He recorded it in his Dongxin Xiasheng Suibi (Meishu Congshu edition), p. 224:

‘The handscroll, Scenes from Hell, was painted by Du Fengliang (active sixteenth century?). It is very close in style to Mr Xiao Gungho’s scroll, Punishing the Evil-doers, but this handscroll reveals a new dimension to ghost paintings. It does not follow the traditional way of illustrating punishments such as blade-forests and deep-frying pots. It is most charming indeed. In the third year of Yongzheng (1725), I visited the capital and saw [Du’s] painting in Academician Mr A Yunju’s home. I was told that Mr A acquired it from the grandson of Premier Liang (Liang Qingbiao). At the end of the painting, there was indeed the latter’s collecting seal...’

Jin Nong liked it and described it as ke’ai, or ‘charming.’ It is well known that Jin Nong and his student, Luo Ping (1753-99) were both famous for their ghost paintings. They often depicted ghosts as odd-looking ordinary people instead of showing punitive scenes in hell. Both artists went against the current practice. Perhaps the inspiration for their ghost paintings can be traced back to Jin Nong’s interpretation of this very scroll seen so long ago in Beijing.
The second trip to Beijing was occasioned by the *Bensue Hongci* examination of 1736, though inexplicably, after reaching there, Jin Nong declined to take the examination. With plenty of leisure on his hands, he was free to explore the city. He visited several private collectors and enjoyed seeing numerous paintings. For example:

a. *Dongxin Xiansheng Huazhu Tiji*, p. 65: ‘In the ninth lunar month of the first year of Qianlong (1736), I saw in the capital a horizontal bamboo painting by Su Shi (1036 - 1101),’

b. *Dongxin Xiansheng Suibi*, pp. 223-224: ‘In the twelfth lunar month of the first year of Qianlong, I saw a landscape handscroll by Fan Kuan (active early eleventh century) entitled *Thatched Studio at the Solitude Mountain* in the home of Zhang Donggal, the Minister of the Conservancy Bureau.’

c. *Dongxin Zahua Tiji* (*Master Dongxin’s Inscriptions on Paintings of Miscellaneous Subjects*) (*Meishu Congsha* edition), p. 196: ‘In the first year of Qianlong, at the house of Mr Zhang, the Minister of the Conservancy Bureau, I saw a painting depicting grapes by Wen Riguan (active late thirteenth century),’

d. *Dongxin Huamei Tiji* (*Master Dongxin’s Inscriptions on Plum Blossom Paintings*) (*Meishu Congsha* edition), p. 89: ‘In the first year of Qianlong...I visited the home of Mr Zhang, the Minister of Crime, with a friend, Xu Liangzhi, who was a hantin. We viewed a small hanging scroll of plum blossoms by Zhao Mengfu,’

e. *Dongxin Zahua Tiji*, pp. 177-178: ‘Years ago, at the home of the Minister of Crime, Mr Zhang in the capital, I saw a pine painting [by the wild monk Zeren (active late thirteenth century) of the Song dynasty]...’

f. *Dongxin Huamei Tiji*, p. 96: ‘At the Vice-minister Wang’s house in the capital I saw the painting entitled *A Horse with a Red Saddle Cloth* by Wei Yan (ca. late seventh century).’ Especially see *Dongxin Xiansheng Suibi*. This short text of only fourteen pages was finished in 1738 and is especially useful when one wishes to check the many books and paintings which Jin Nong had seen before that year. It was published at a much later date in the nineteenth century. According to Wei Xizeng’s postscript dated 1878, the original manuscript that he used to reprint the present version was hand-written by Jin Nong himself. It is possible that the book was actually intended to be a calligraphic scroll or a set of album leaves.

It is rather puzzling that the many paintings he recorded seem to belong to a genre unfamiliar to us. Few of the artists and paintings are recorded in any other texts dealing with early Chinese painting. Judging from Jin Nong’s busy social and cultural activities, he must have encountered far more old paintings than those acknowledged in his books. A primary example which he failed to note is the fabulous Five Oxen scroll. In 1739 Jin Nong returned to Hangzhou briefly to attend the Moon Festival. On the full-moon night he and his friend, Yao Shiyu (1695 -
1749) were invited to the home of a collector, Wang Xueshan. In his Quishi Studio they viewed together one of the most famous animal handscrolls in China, the *Five Oxen*, attributed to the Tang dynasty painter, Han Huang (723-77). Seven years later in 1756, once again in Wang’s studio but this time accompanied by an artist-monk, Ming-zhong, Jin Nong saw the scroll for a second time. Nevertheless, he never mentioned this painting in his writings. A second example involves the painting, *Gathering Water Chestnuts*, by Shen Zhou (1427 - 1509), the great master of the Ming dynasty. Shen Zhou’s painting, one of a set of nine album leaves, has two versions. The first set with only six leaves formerly belonged to the Hayashi collection, Hara, Japan. It has been published in Richard Edwards, *The Field of Stones* (Washington, DC, 1962), pl. 13B. The second version, which is more credible, belongs to a private collection in Hong Kong. Although its composition, with thick green dots functioning as water chestnut foliage, and its expressive forms clearly form the basis for Jin Nong’s own version, he never mentioned it in any of his writings. Jin Nong’s painting also has two versions. They belong to two separate sets of album leaves depicting figures and landscapes. The one at the Shanghai Museum has been published in Chang Wan-li and Hu Jen-mou eds., *Yangzhou Baija Shuhua Ji* (‘The Selected Paintings and Calligraphy of the Eight Eccentrics of Yangchow’) (Hong Kong, 1969), VIII, no. 173. The second set from the Beijing Palace Museum has been reproduced as an individual piece in color, under the wrongly assigned title, *Album of Portraits and Landscapes by Jin Nong* (Beijing, 1983).

4. In the past, there have been several theories concerning the time. For example, in checking through writings by three biographers, one finds that Zhang Geng (1685 - 1760), a contemporary and friend of Jin Nong, must have initiated a theory that he started to paint after fifty years of age: ‘...After the age of fifty, he started to paint. Even at the very beginning, his work was in a graceful ancient style...’ See Guochao *Huazheng Lu* (Huashi Congshu edition), juan 2, p. 111. From his wording, *nian washi yu* (‘after the age of fifty’), it is clear that Zhang Geng did not pin down the exact date. It was then copied almost word for word in later compilations such as Jiang Baoling’s (1781 - 1840) *Molin Jinhuai* and Qin Zuyong’s (1825-84) *Tongyin Lunsu*, with one major discrepancy. It was Jiang first, and Qin later, who interpolated Zhang Geng’s passage to mean ‘at the age of 50.’ See Gu Linwen, *Yangzhou Baija Shiliao* (Shanghai, 1962), pp. 29-30. Also see Qian Du, *Songhu Huazhui* (Yuyuan Congke edition), juan 1, p. 15b, in which the author mentions that he had known the elderly Jin Nong as a family friend and that he learned that the latter had started to paint when he was 40 sui.

5. At that time, Jin Nong probably was mainly interested in poetry and
calligraphy. By 1723 he may have made playful attempts at a few paintings, perhaps to while away a lazy afternoon. One of the poems written during this period, published in his *Dongxin Xiansheng Ji* (in Xiling Wuksuyi Yizhu (Hangzhou, 1871), *juan 1*, p. 12a, states:

'I wrote (painted) bamboo and orchid. Scattered and pliant, the branches were formed in black ink. One blossom against one stalk. They are without charm, but plenty of pure bitterness.

I cast aside the painting and sighed: Such a work, in no way, can match those done by professional hands. If one must divide the gift paintings into good and bad categories, then I must emphasize the value of the wonderful inscriptions I wrote. With my private seal at the end, and after that, in ancient clerical script, my name was signed. Please consider my painting as only half of a scroll to decorate an empty studio. Its color and fragrance fill the whole cave on a cliff. Sit down comfortably and watch the painting all day long. Close your door and chant alone by yourself. Also, take out your jade *qin* and prepare some tea. Suddenly, the raindrops were falling against the rays of the setting sun.'

The apologetic tone proves that he felt that he was not able to reach the level of those professionals and was not fit to serve as a model for novices. This is completely different from the way he regarded his paintings in later years, when he usually boasted of his own works.

6. One is the *Plum Blossoms*, a set of four hanging scrolls in the collection of Wango H. C. Weng, New Hampshire. The other is a landscape album of twelve leaves in Museum Rietberg, Zurich. Both appear in Suzuki Kei and others, *Comprehensive Illustrated Catalog of Chinese Paintings* (Tokyo, 1982-1983), I, A13-015 and II, E7-060 and also partially in *EB*, no. 60. Both were purportedly painted in 1736, when he was in Beijing. After careful examination, it appears that neither is convincing enough to fit into Jin Nong's life and creative progress. Both are well-organized with complicated compositions and assured brushwork, signs of a trained background. In short, they are far too advanced for the beginning stage of Jin Nong's work. In addition, checking through the dates of his recorded and extant paintings, there is a big gap between 1737 and 1743 (ages 51 to 59) with not a single work. Assuming that he had already mastered his painting skill in 1736, he would have continued to paint and sell his paintings as a way to ease his financial pressures. With his extravagant habits, Jin Nong was always in need of money.

9. Huafei *Tji*, p. 98. In its preface, Jin Nong wrote:

'When I first started to paint bamboo, I used real bamboo as my teacher. Then I began to depict the wild plum blossoms growing by the bank of the river... After that, I engaged in paint-
ing the strapping stallions imported from Tongguli (in Chinese Turkestan). Then I switched my subject again and began to paint Buddhist figures...'

From this passage, the chronological sequence of the major subjects Jin Nong chose for his painting is quite clear. See his *Hua nei Tiji*, *Huama Tiji*, *Dongxin Zhexiehen Tiji*, *Dongxin Zha hua Tiji* and its sequel, *Dongxin Zha hua Tiji Buyi* (Melshu Congshi editions).

10. *Huazhu Tiji*, p. 65: 'In the year of *dingmao* (1747), I moved from my home by the river to the south corner inside of the city. There I planted numerous bamboo plants. Almost day and night, I depicted these stalks as if I were painting their portraits. My brush has already consumed fifty pecks of ink...’ Also, *Zha hua Tiji*, p. 171:

'...In the wachen year of Qianlong (1748), I moved from my home by the river to a studio located at the corner inside of the [Hangzhou] city. There was plenty of empty land around my studio. So I sent my servants to clear the weeds. I then bought several hundred bamboo roots from the monk at the Dragon Well Temple and planted them on the cleared lot. Each root cost me thirty coins. I began to paint bamboo and used the bamboo as my teacher.’

11. *Zha hua Tiji*, p. 171: An inscription appears on a bamboo painting dedicated to his student, Xiang Jun. It is reproduced in *Yiyuan Duying* (Shanghai, July, 1980), no. 9, pl. 25:

'For two successive years, I was caught in my off-and-on sickness. I could not do anything but paint bamboo. However, when I started to paint, I did not follow any particular teacher. I sought inspiration directly from the dense bamboo stalks and tender new shoots. I could paint unrestrainedly with ink from expensive ink-sticks made by Li Cha’er...

My two friends (Gao Xiang and Wang Shishen) admired my work. They praised my interpretation of bamboo in my painting. I neither paid attention to any early masters, nor confined myself to traditional realism. My technique has surpassed all the conventional rules and doctrines.'


13. The names of the ten early bamboo painters and their considerable impact are disclosed in the following entries in *Huazhu Tiji*:

- Shen Zhenji (1400 - after 1482), p. 63.
- Xu Lu (active during the Shunxi period, 1174-89), p. 64.
- Su Shi (1036 - 1101), p. 65.
- Ke Jiusi (1290 - 1343), p. 66.
- Zhang Li (Tang dynasty), p. 67.
- Wu Zhen (1280 - 1354), p. 72.
- Zhang Xuan (active 713-41), p. 76.
- Li Yu (937-78), p. 82.

14. When Jin Nong compared Song painter Xu Lu with Ming painters like Xia Chang (1388 - 1470), Wen Zhengming (1470 - 1559) and Yao Shou (1423-95), he said it was like
contrasting a dignified phoenix with a flock of wild pheasants. See Jin Nong, Huazhu Tiji, p. 64.
15. Huazhu Tiji, p. 80.
16. For example, a bamboo painting in ‘double-contour’ technique is dated 1760, when Jin Nong was 74 sui. It has gigantic stalks and large leaves, to which he also added red ink. The inscription on this painting has been translated by Chu-ising Li in his article, ‘Bamboo Painting of Chin Nung,’ Archives of Asian Art, XXVII (1973-1974), 65. Another example is a small album leaf dated 1761 at the Liaoning Provincial Museum which shows a double-lined bamboo with three stalks and two clusters of leaves. In this piece Jin Nong first used washes in light brownish orange color to form the stalks and leaves. He then applied thin outlines in dark brown while the washes were still wet. This painting has been reproduced in the exhibition catalog, Chinese Paintings of the Ming and Qing Dynasties, 14th-20th Centuries (Victoria, Australia, 1981), no. 80, leaf 1.
17. In the Sichuan Provincial Museum. See n. 11 above.
18. See Suzuki Kei, Comprehensive Illustrated Catalog, I, A13-003; also EB, no. 61.
19. Another leaf with similar composition, although less impressive, can be found in the album of Landscape and Figures. See Jin Nong Shanshui Renwu (Beijing, 1983).
20. In 1716, when he was 30, Jin Nong was stricken with pi, or dyspepsia. In the old days in China, the only cure was bed rest. Lying in bed all the time, Jin Nong suffered from boredom and depression. Later he wrote: ‘In the year bingshen (1716), I was sick with pi at home by the river bank. During one cold night, I laid awake and was filled with random thoughts. By dawn, I decided to adopt Dongxin (‘Wintry Heart’) as my style name. This term was borrowed from a verse found in the Tang poet Cui Guofu’s poem which said: “I held my wintry heart in desolate loneliness.”’

See Dongxin Xiansheng Ji, preface, pp. 5-6. Cui Guofu was a well known mid-eight century poet. His poem reads: ‘I held my wintry heart in desolate loneliness.

Cutting brocade in only a thin cotton robe, I shivered in the cold.

So late in the night, the wick of my dim oil lamp had been lifted numerous times.

Icy frost now covers my chilly scissors.’

Such verse belongs to the type of poetry called ziyue, ‘midnight songs.’

Derived form old ballads in ancient China, it narrates the daily lives of common people and expresses the sadness and bitterness of life. See Quan Tangshi (Taipei, 1967), II, 662.
22. See Edwards, The Field of Stones, pl. 13B. Another, more credible version is in a private collection in Hong Kong. See n. 3 above.
23. Reproduced under the title of Jin
Nong Shanshu Renwu. See n. 19 above.
25. Yurin Taihan (Kyoto, 1929), V (Chinese Painting), pl. 32.
26. Howard Rogers and Sherman E. Lee, Masterworks of Ming and Qing Painting from the Forbidden City (Lansdale, PA, 1988), cat. no. 64.
27. See Huai Mei Tiji, pp. 86-87. The thirty-two inscriptions recorded there represent the bulk of his works in this category. As usual, the inscription must have been arranged chronologically. Therefore, the date of the fifth inscription, ‘the first lunar month in 1756,’ can be considered close in time to his first attempts. It reads:

‘In the early spring (first lunar month), the biqin year (1756) of the Qianlong period, the Monk Lourunzhe from the Jingneng Monastery in the Emei Mountains (in Sichuan) sent me a letter by the messenger, Adun. I composed a poem for the Abbot a month ago without sending it to him. When I painted this long scroll of plum blossoms for him, after the style of Jiulian Shanren, I copied that poem on my painting...’

29. This painting belongs to the Tokyo National Museum. It has been published in Bunjinga Suihen, IX (Tokyo, 1976), no. 15. For the inscription, see Huai Mei Tiji, p. 90.
30. The first type is represented by the short handscroll, Composing Verses under the Plum Trees. It shows a poet with a red hood. Pacing amidst the plum trees, it appears that the poet is musing over a poem and searching for the right word. To prepare tea for his master, a boy servant scoops beside two large urns, fanning the fire under a small stove. The boy gazes at his master. The painting is naive and simple, but the depiction is clever and faithful. For reproduction, see Baimei Ji (Shanghai, 1929), I, no. 6. The second type can be represented by several examples. An album leaf shows blooming plum inside the gate of a wooden or bamboo stockade, faded petals scattered on the ground.

See Chang and Hu, Yangzhou Baja Shuhua Ji, VIII, no. 175. In another hanging scroll, Jin Nong painted a white-plastered wall in the middle ground; indigo colored tiles and bricks for reinforcing purposes have been painted along the top and bottom. Inside the wall, the upper section of a flowering plum tree is visible, and one spray hangs over the wall. See Yi Yuan Duoying, no. 8 (Shanghai, March 1980), reproduction on the back of the title page.
32. Huai Mei Tiji, p. 91.
33. This handscroll is in the collection of the late P. T. Huo, Hong Kong. It is reproduced in color in Chang and Hu, Yangzhou Baja Shuhua Ji, V, no. 136. Also see Suzuki, Comprehensive Illustrated Catalog, II, 59-003.
34. Huai Mei Tiji, p. 91.
35. Huama Tiji, p. 97.
36. Huama Tiji, p. 93. In 1750 Jin Nong saw A Tibetan Horse attributed to Hu Huai (active tenth century). Jin Nong also mentioned the rubbings of the famous Zhaolin Lingjuan (‘The Six Steeds in Zhaoling,’ those reliefs in
the mausoleum of Emperor Taizong of the Tang dynasty). He also saw a handscroll of horses in color attributed to Zhao Mengfu. Earlier, in 1736, in the home of Wang Shu (1668-1743) in Beijing, Jin Nong saw a horse painting entitled Hongji Fubei (‘A Horse with a Red Saddle’), attributed to Wei Yan (active first half of the eight century).

37. For the Dayuan Ma, see Yi Yuan Yihen (Hong Kong, 1967), V, no. 34. The inscription can be found in Huama Tiji, p. 95:

‘When I paint horses after Tang examples, I always choose those depicting Ferghana horses. I apply powerful strokes and the results are unique among horse paintings. [One is able to visualise] the grooms with ragged robes and snow and ice on their beards, shivering in the cold, howling wind. By opening the scroll, one can imagine oneself being in Chinese Turkistan in ancient times. After I finish my painting, I inscribe a few lines on it for those who love horses.’

For the Hualiu Tu, see Oswald Sirén, Chinese Painting, V, pl. 454A, where it was given the title, ‘A Saddled Horse.’ Jin Nong’s inscription is also included in his Huama Tiji, p. 96:

‘Using a worn brush, Wei Yan (of the Tang dynasty) cleverly painted a portrait of Hualiu (the famous stallion belonging to King Mu of the Zhou dynasty). In the first year of Qianlong, I saw this painting, depicting a horse with a red blanket on its back, at Vice Minister Wang’s house in the capital. I inscribed a poem on the left side of the painting. After Mr Wang had passed away, a servant stole his painting and sold it to the owner of a wine shop in the inner city. I now pick up my brush and try to recall that painting from memory. I imitate the strokes on the head and tail of the horse in that piece. Every year I tried to cleanse off my sins on the third day of the third lunar month. I feel I am standing in the light of the setting sun watching [my youth which is like] a beautiful woman on a fragrant cart disappearing into the distance.’

38. See the dictionary, Gihan (Shanghai, 1958), p. 1510.

39. For Bada’s works, see Bunjingu Shihai, VIII (Tokyo, 1976), pl. 28, 31, 61, 74, 96, 98, and 111.

40. This painting is in the collection of the Palace Museum, Beijing. It is published in Kao Mayching ed., Paintings by Yangzhou Artists of the Qing Dynasty from the Palace Museum (Hong Kong, 1984), no. 57.

41. See Gu, Yangzhou Bajia Shihao, pp. 27-28 and p. 26, citing Yuan Mei, Xiaocang Shanjiang Shiji and Zheng Xie’s Banqiao Shichao respectively.

42. There are two versions of this painting. The original is in China and has been published in Xu Bangda’s Zhongguo Huixuashi Tulu (Shanghai, 1984), II, no. 570. The second version, a copy, can be found in Lanqian Shangyu Shuhua, II, no. 89.

43. Yi Yuan Daoying (Shanghai, October 1982), no. 18, p. 40. It is in the collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum.

44. This painting belongs to a set of two portraits done in the same year, the other being the portrait of Ding Jing by Luo Ping. Based on a colophon
written on the latter's side, these two were executed in 1763 when Jin Nong was 75 sui.
45. See Huafo Tiji, p. 102.
46. The early Buddhist painters may have painted figures with individual characteristics. However, they were still based on descriptions recorded in Buddhist canons. For example, Guanshu (832 - 912) created his famous sixteen arhat figures, each with dramatic features and exaggerated expressions. However, he stressed the deified natures of these sixteen arhats, so they are not like the real people of flesh and blood depicted in Jin Nong's Buddhist paintings. The original set of the Sixteen Arhats by Guanshu was destroyed a long time ago. The best known version is preserved in the Imperial Household Museum in Tokyo. See Suzuki Kei, Comprehensive Illustrated Catalog, III, JMS-020.
47. Zhang Geng, from Jiaxing, Zhejiang, was a famous scholar of the Qianlong period. His book, Guoqiao Huaxiang Lu, 3 juan, with a sequel of 2 juan, was published in 1739. It contains approximately 465 painters of the early and middle Qing period. See Yu Shao-song's Shuhua Shulu Ji (Taipei, 1968), 1 juan 1, pp. 16a-17a, for an appraisal of this text. The painting is reproduced in Jiaoyu Dierci Quanguo Meishu Zhanlan Hui Quanjii ('Second National Exhibition of Chinese Art under the Auspices of the Ministry of Education') (Nanjing, 1938; Shanghai, 1943), II, Jin Tang Wudai Song Yuan Ming Qing Mingliao Shuhua (Painting and Calligraphy by Famous Artists of the Jin, Tang, Five-Dynasties, Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing Periods'), pl. 334.
48. Bo tree, Ficus religiosa, is a linden tree. In Buddhism, it is called bodhi druma, the wisdom tree under which Sakyamuni attained his enlightenment.
49. Jin Nong ends the passage by signing himself as the 'Monk of Rice and Gruel.'
50. The inscriptions on this painting are reproduced in Jiaoyu Dierci Quanguo Meishu Zhanlan Hui Quanjii, II, pl. 334.
52. Before the eighteenth century, Chinese artists generally inscribed their paintings in the empty spaces of a composition. This could be distracting, with the calligraphy and painting clashing against each other. Jin Nong, on the other hand, often wove his calligraphy into the painting, creating thereby an integrated composition. His calligraphy and painting combine well, for both are heavy and powerful.
53. In this inscription, he says in part:
‘...People should not judge my works only by the achievement of my brushwork. They must stare at my paintings for a long time, as if they were enjoying the stone sculptures at the Longmen site. People should try to appreciate the simple, honest and ancient spirit in my work, which will last for hundreds and thousands of years.’
54. This painting is recorded under the fuan mu section of Guogong Shuhua
An Overview of Li Jian’s Painting

1. For Li Jian’s biography, see Su Wenzhuo (So Man-jock), Li Jian Xiansheng Nianpu (‘The Chronological Biography of Li Jian’) (Hong Kong, 1973), particularly p. 8; and the nianpu in Zhou Xifu ed. Li Jian Shixuan (Guangdong, 1983), pp. 293-307. Also see Wang Zhaoyong, Lingnan Hua Zhenqiu (Hong Kong, 1961), jian 5, pp. 1-12; and EB, p. 280.

2. The content of the inscription is published in The Art Gallery, Chinese University of Hong Kong, Guangdong Shuhua Lu (‘Catalog of Guangdong Paintings and Calligraphy’) (Hong Kong, 1981), no. 178; not illustrated.

3. See Su Wenzhuo, Li Jian, p. 114; also see Pan Zhengwei, Tinglan Lou Shuhua Ji (‘Catalog of Paintings and Calligraphy from the Tinglan Lou Collection’) in Deng Shi and Huang Binhong eds. Metishe Congshu (Taipei, 1963), XXXVII, 665.


7. From the Bei Shan Tang collection, Hong Kong. Published in The Art
8. Just how important Dong Yuan was to Li Jian can be seen in his inscription on an album entitled *Ancient Temple and Precarious Peak* in the collection of the Guangzhou Art Gallery, also from 1781:

‘Dong Yuan was proficient in doing long cua (texture strokes) like great lassos. It is a distinctive and marvelous technique. My contemporaries consider it too ordinary and would not follow such a practice; they go astray in imitating Wu Wei [of the Zhe school]. They do not realize that, in doing so, they have lost their grasp of the essence of real landscape.’

This album is to be published in the forthcoming catalog of the exhibition, *Guangdong Painting of the Ming and Qing Periods*, held at The Art Gallery, Chinese University of Hong Kong from 18 December 1982 to 16 January 1983; entry no. 59.

9. From the collection of P. T. Huo, Hong Kong. Published in *Landscape Paintings by Kwangtung Masters*, no. 42; City Museum and Art Gallery (Hong Kong Museum of Art), *Kwangtung Painting* (Hong Kong, 1973), no. 57; also see Su Wenzhuo, *Li Jian*, pp. 37-38.

10. From the Bei Shan Tang collection, Hong Kong. Published in Su Wenzhuo, *Li Jian*, p. 85.


12. Painted on his birthday in the fifth month; in the Bei Shan Tang collection, Hong Kong. Published in Su Wenzhuo, *Li Jian*, p. 90; and *Landscape Paintings by Kwangtung Masters*, no. 44.

13. Painted in the seventh month of that year.

14. From the collection of The Art Gallery, Chinese University of Hong Kong. Published in *Landscape Painting by Kwangtung Masters*, no. 45; Guangdong Shuhua Lu, no. 180; and EB, no. 88.

15. From the collection of The Art Gallery, Chinese University of Hong Kong. Published in Su Wenzhuo, *Li Jian*, p. 95; and *Landscape Paintings by Kwangtung Masters*, no. 46. This enables us to date a series of undated paintings; two pairs of album leaves, with one pair after the styles of Ni Zan and Dong Yuan in Chongyizhai collection, and the other pair after Guo Xi and Ni Zan in P. T. Huo’s collection, together with a hanging scroll purporting to be in the style of Dong Yuan and Juran, in Harold Wong’s collection. In the last painting, feathery trees predominate.


18. This painting has been published in Su Wenzhuo, *Li Jian*, pp. 125-126 and *Landscape Painting by Kwangtung Masters*, no. 47. Although undated, the artist imitated Daqji to the point that he signed his precursor’s name and put down his seal. Based on its style, the painting seems to date before 1790.

19. From the collection of the

20. From the collection of Kong Chung, Hong Kong. Unpublished.


22. From the collection of Low Chuck Tiew, Hong Kong. Published in Landscape Paintings by Kwangtung Masters, no. 48; and Chinese Painting and Calligraphy in the Xubai Studio (Tokyo, 1983), p. 90.


24. This group of meticulous and detailed gongbi landscapes includes:

• Four landscape album leaves, The Art Gallery, Chinese University of Hong Kong, published in Landscape Paintings by Kwangtung Masters, no. 39; and Guangdong Shuhua Lu, no. 181.

• Rustic Temple Across the River, collection of P.T. Huo, Hong Kong, unpublished.

• Blue and Green Landscape after Zhao Boju, collection of P.T. Huo, Hong Kong.


26. Xie, Changxingxing Zhai, pp. 79-80.

27. Su Wenzhuo, Li Jian, p. 46.

28. See also Guangdong Shuhua Lu, no. 180.

29. Huang Danshu was a native of Shunde, Guangdong and a close friend of Li Jian. See Wang, Lingnan Hua, juan 4, pp. 13-15.

30. Wu Rongguang was a native of Nanhai, Guangdong. An accomplished calligrapher, he was also a collector and the author of Xinqiu Xiaxia Ji. See Wang, Lingnan Hua, juan 7, pp. 1-3.

31. Xie Lansheng was a native of Nanhai, Guangdong. See Wang, Lingnan Hua, juan 6, pp. 1-12.

32. See Guangdong Shuhua Lu, no. 180.


34. Guangdong Shuhua Lu, no. 180.


37. In 1777, when he was thirty-one suì, Li Jian wrote to his father to complain about a Mr Hu who had asked him to paint a portrait for ten yuan and refused to pay after it was done. See Su Wenzhuo, Li Jian, p. 17. There is abundant evidence to show that Li Jian was an accomplished portrait painter and his livelihood depended largely on this skill.

38. Published in Kwangtung Painting, no. 58; and EB, no. 89.

39. From the Chongyizhai collection. Published in Hong Kong Museum of Art, Anthology of Chinese Art: Min Chiu Society Silver Jubilee Exhibition (Hong Kong, 1985), no. 87.


41. Pan, Tingfan Lou, pp. 468-471.
Eighteenth-Century
Foundations in
Modern Chinese Painting

1. This often quoted statement of Zheng Xie originally appeared in Ye Tingguan, Oobo Yuhua, juan 6, but can be found in Gu Linwen, Yangzhou Bajia Shiliao (Shanghai, 1962), p. 118.
2. See *EB*, nos. 54 and 55.
3. See *EB*, nos. 1 and 2.
   Many descendants of both of these two Wangs’ became painters. This tradition lasted well into the Qianlong period.
5. For discussion of these two painters, see Chu-ting Li, *A Thousand Peaks and Myriad Ravines: Chinese Painting in the Charles A. Drevonatz Collection* (Ascona, 1974), I, 160-161 and 166-169.
6. A good example of this kind of painting can be found in *EB*, no. 9.
7. For the works of Castiglione, see *EB*, pp. 21-38.
8. For samples of Castiglione’s painting, see *EB*, nos. 4 and 6.
9. The first part of *Shi’ou Bajo* was commissioned by Emperor Qianlong in 1744 and completed in 1745; the second part was commissioned by the same emperor in 1791 and completed in 1792; and the third part was commissioned by Emperor Jiaqing and completed in 1816. The first facsimile reprint of Part I was done in 1918, and the second part in 1948.

Between 1969 and 1971, the complete set of all three parts was printed, with indexes, by the National Palace Museum in Taipei. The *Bidian Zhulin* has a similar history.
10. See, for example, Ho Ping-ti, *The Salt Merchant of Yangzhou: A Study of Commercial Capitalism in Eighteenth-Century China,* in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, XVII (1954), 130-168. On art, the major source is *YIFL*.
11. Many of the famous literary gatherings and lavish parties in Yangzhou were recorded in *YIFL*.
12. Most of the information concerning the history of Shanghai during the nineteenth century came from Liu Huiwu, *Shanghai Jindai Shi* (Shanghai, 1985), I, especially the first five chapters.
13. This, according to Xu Bei-hong, the modern painter who collected a large number of Ren Bonian’s paintings, was what Ren did when he first went to Shanghai in order to try to make a living. This was how he met Ren Xiong, who came from the same district in Zhejiang but was not directly related to him and who was already a well-established painter in Shanghai.
14. For some discussion of Dai Xi, see Chu-ting Li, *A Thousand Peaks and Myriad Ravines*, I, 252-262.
15. For basic materials on the Yangzhou painters, see Gu Linwen, *Yangzhou Bajia Shiliao*.
16. For Wang Shishen’s rendition of plum blossoms, see *EB*, no. 50, leaf G and no. 51, leaf D. For Jin Nong’s version, see *EB*, no. 62.
17. See EB*, nos. 54 and 55.
18. Examples of their works can be seen in *EB*, nos. 52 and 58.

19. See *EB*, nos. 68-70.


21. See *EB*, no. 74.

22. See *EB*, nos. 36 and 37, as compared to no. 34.


24. See Luo Ping’s *Portrait of Ding Jing*, in *Yiyuan Duoying*, no. 18 (Shanghai, 1982), p. 41.

25. See *EB*, no. 55.

26. For some discussion on the painting development in Guangdong, see two exhibition catalogs: *The Art Gallery, Chinese University of Hong Kong, Landscape Paintings by Kwangtung Masters during the Ming and Ch'ing Periods*, with introductory essay by Chu-tsing Li (Hong Kong, 1973); and *City Museum and Art Gallery, Kwangtung Painting*, with introductory essays by Chuang Shen and Lawrence C. S. Tam (Hong Kong, 1973).

27. See *EB*, no. 88, especially Leaf A. Also, see Christina Chu, ‘An Overview of Li Jian’s Painting’ in this issue.

Epilog: Rubric and Art History

The author is grateful to the Interdisciplinary MA Program in the Humanities, Arizona State University, for providing release time from teaching in spring, 1989, during which the present article was conceived and written.


3. An early suggestion that the nomenclature can be found in Zhang Geng’s *Guoqiao Huazheng Lu* is totally without base. See the text in the *Huashu Conghun* edition. Also see the article by Huyan Yaping, ‘Yangzhou Baguai Huafeng’ (‘The Painting Style of the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou’), in *Yili Conglu* (Hong Kong, 1975), II, 314, where the suggestion was made.


5. For a convenient reference, see the chart prepared by Bian Xiaojuan in *Yangzhou Baguai Huafu* (Jiangsu, 1985), p. 3.

6. (Taipei reprint, 1981), p. 229. The earliest preface to this text is dated in the year of 1875 (p. 2). However, Li’s own preface is dated 1894 (p. 12) and, in the *liyan* section, he mentioned that the compilation began from 1865 and ended in 1895, with many additions and revisions in between (p. 26). We know for certain that its publication took place either in or
after 1897; see the lian and the postscript (p. 363).
7. A more precise definition of guai will be attempted below. Advocates of the Eight Eccentrics differ among themselves regarding its meaning. A breadth of content is inherent, voiding the necessity of differentiating guai from such overlapping terms as kung (‘crazy’), yi (‘untamemled’), ye (‘uncouth’ or ‘uninhibited’), ci (‘foolish’), etc. For ease of discussion, we will use guai as an umbrella term covering a wide spectrum of behavior and artistic pattern that border on the strange and the unusual.
8. For a convenient reference to Lin Xia’s Ode to the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou, see Bian Xiaoxuan ed. Zheng Bangqiao Quanji (Shandong, 1985), pp. 641-42. Lin Xia (active during the Guangxu period, was a contemporary and a close friend of Wang Yun; he wrote the preface to the latter’s Bu Yihe Ming Qiao (dated the ninth year of Guangxu, 1883). However, his laudation of the Eight Eccentrics is in diametrical opposition to Wang’s denigration of them.
For a biographical account of Lin Xia, see Zhang Minke, Huaqiang Ge Tanyi Shulu (Shanghai, 1936), juan 3, p. 9b.
9. See, for example, Chen Dayu, ‘Yangzhou Baguai de Yishu Fengge’ (‘The Art of the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou’), Yishu Zongheng, no. 1 (February 1982), p. 105; and Yangzhou Baguai Huaju, which includes Hua Yan. But also see Yang Xin, in Yangzhou Baguai (Beijing, 1981), p. 4; he opposes Hua Yan’s inclusion on ground of style and life pattern.
11. For example, Gu Linwen’s Yangzhou Bajia Shiliao (Shanghai, 1962) and Chang Wan-li and Hu Jien-mou, comps. The Selected Painting and Calligraphy of the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou (Hong Kong, 1969). In the 70s and 80s, Tsuruta Takeyoshi of Japan and Yang Xin in China seemed to favor the historicity of Li’s list. See Howard Rogers et al, eds. Kin Nō in Bunjinga Shihen, IX (Tokyo, 1976); also Yang Xin’s Yangzhou Baguai, pp. 3-4.
13. See the afore-mentioned chart in Bian Xiaoxuan’s preface to Yangzhou Baguai Huaji, p. 3.
14. See Bian Xiaoxuan, ‘Preface’ to Yangzhou Baguai Huaji, p. 3. Bian’s inclusion of artists listed by Huang Binhong and Chen Hengke of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century is anomalous in historical studies unless their views reflect earlier sources.
15. We shall not ignore Li Mian, who was Wang Yun’s choice. See above.
16. For Gao Fenghan, see EB, pp. 106-107. Also see his mianju in Li Jitao, Gao Fenghan (Shanghai, 1963), pp. 9ff, specifically pp. 19-24. For a recent argument in favor of Gao Fenghan’s inclusion, see Qin Lingyun, Yangzhou Bajia Conghua (Shanghai, 1985), p. 2, where he makes allusion regarding Gao’s affinity of style and life pattern to the Eight Eccentrics.
17. See EB, pp. 226.
19. These two, Min Zhen and Luo Ping, might conceivably have crossed paths in the capital; but it is highly doubtful whether they ever met in Yangzhou. Between 1779 and 1799, Luo Ping was fully active in Beijing and only returned toward the end of his life. See Chen Jinling, *Luo Liangfeng* (Shanghai, 1981), especially the *niangyu*, pp. 32ff.
20. See the preface by Bian Xiaoxuan to *Yangzhou Baguai Yani Ji Ziliao Congshu* (Jiangsu, 1985), pp. 3ff. Some of the typical generalizations about the art of Eight Eccentrics are originality and empirical approach. Some, not all, of them do display originality and empiricism, but only some of the time. Others are dubious on both grounds. I have the suspicion that, particularly in dealing with empiricism in art, scholars in modern times tend to take the artists' or critics' spoken words for granted, and seldom examine the works in question. This is the case of Zheng Xie. When Zheng Xie commented on bamboo, his words indicate that he observed the bamboo in various atmospheric and timely conditions. However, it should also be observed that his later bamboo frequently border on formulae painting. Jin Nong's style of painting *prapam* does not exactly break away from the known tradition. When praising the spontaneity of the eccentrics, critic-historians have invariably pointed to the achievements of one or two individuals, for example Huang Shen's adoption of themes taken from lives of ordinary people or Jin Nong's and Luo Ping's unusual portraits, and not to the group as a whole. In another vein, while they laud the Eccentrics for being expressive in their inscriptions regarding the contemporary ills of the time, these same critics seldom mention that the pictorial elements rarely betray the same intensity or purposefulness. Others, such as Zhuang Bohe, in 'Yangzhou Baguai di Chuangzao Jingshen' ('The Creative Spirit of the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou'), *Yishujia*, no. 8 (1976), p. 8, speak of their disillusionment with reality or with official career. Yang Xin in *Yangzhou Baguai*, pp. 4-6, also comments on their shared fate: the majority were born into poor families of the intelligentsia; they had classical educations, and whereas they were talented, they endured hardship and poverty. Some resigned after having offended their superiors. The intriguing aspect of this characterization is that while truthful to some extent, they are never fully applicable to every Eccentric. Each generalization is followed by exceptions that defy the rule.
22. See Zhou Jiyan, 'Qingdai Yangzhou Huapai' ('The Yangzhou School of Painting during the Qing Period'), *Jiangsu Huaqian*, no. 6 (1979), pp. 32-34; and Xi Feng's article in *Yishu Zanqiheng*, no. 1 (February 1982), pp. 94-103, 'Qingdai Yangzhou Huapai Shishu'
(‘An Inquiry into the Yangzhou School of Painting during the Qing Dynasty’). Also see the exhibition held in 1984 at The Art Gallery, Chinese University of Hong Kong, entitled Painting by Yangzhou Artists of the Qing Dynasty from the Palace Museum. This exhibition and its catalog (Hong Kong, 1984) exemplify the trend to broaden the inquiry to the whole of Yangzhou artistic currents.


27. See quotation below. The prevalent assumption that it was the orthodox painters that rejected and denied the art of the eccentrics is only partially true. Orthodox painters may indeed take pride in their being in the mainstream. Some, for instance, Shen Zongqian, may even attack the so-called heterodoxy; but even he no longer attributed inherent evil to the Northern school, as his predecessors had done. Others felt no strong antipathy one way or the other. Nor is the assumption always true that the eccentrics rebelled against the orthodoxy of the Southern school. During the Qianlong era, a number of them worked side by side, with a degree of tolerance that was far more liberal and liberating than the prejudicial criticism of modern critics. This is best attested in Zhu Wenzhen’s formulation of Ten Wise Painters (see Malin Jinhua, pp. 37-38): Zhu, a student of Zheng Xie, not only decided not to include his teacher, but also was willing to place Gao Xiang and Gao Fenghan by the side of such orthodox artists as Li Shizhao and Dong Bangda. For Shen Zongqian’s attack on the rival schools, see his Jiezhuo Xuehuan Bian, in Yu Anlan ed. Huayuan Congkan, 1, 325; for his disparagement of Huang Shen, see p. 380. For his tolerance of the Northern school, see p. 326.

28. YHYL, juan 2, p. 8b. For Yan’s work, see Paintings by Yangzhou Artists, nos. 12-15.

29. See YHYL, juan 2, pp. 5a-b.

30. YHYL, juan 2, pp. 15a-b. Another teacher of Wang Yun, Master Li Ximen, appears only once in the text, juan 2, p. 30a.
31. YHYL, juan 2, pp. 6a-b.
32. It may be useful to remark that the Eight Eccentrics, whoever they are, do not follow a coherent style or submit to a set of themes or subjects. The first half of Wang Yun’s exposition should suggest that. Also, the quotation from Wang Yun makes it clear that they are eight individuals, and not a group.
33. See YHYL, huan, p. 1a.
34. See YHYL, preface, p. 1a. That is, with the exception of Luo Ping, about whom Wang Yun appears to have some lingering memories. This is because a local elder, Li Zhiyong, was befriended by Luo. See YHYL, juan 2, p. 9b. Also, see n.52 below.
35. YHYL, juan 2, pp. 13b-14b. Wang Yun (Qingci) was a student of Wang Hui, and is not related to the author of the text.
36. Wang Yun’s (Qingci) biography appears in YHYL, juan 1, pp. 6a-b; Guan Xining’s in pp. 13a-14a; and Fang Shishu in pp. 9b-10b.
37. See no. 50 in The Image of the Mind (Princeton, 1984), where Guan Xining (Kuan Hsi-ning) cooperated with Wang Shishen and Wu Kan on a painting of Butterflies, dated 1741. Wang Yun (Qingci) resembles Yuan Jiayang and Yuan Yao in terms of pictorial concepts; his polished surface is several notches away from the mainstream. Fang Shishu, on the other hand, is often lauded for having the potential to reach the level set by the Wangs but for his untimely death. See Zhang Geng, Guozhao Huazhong Xulu (Huazhong Congshu edition), juan 2, p. 101.
38. YHYL, juan 2, pp. 12b-13b. Only Yu Jianhua, in his article, ‘Yangzhou Baguai di Chengxian Qihou’ (‘Tradition and Creativity in the Art of the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou’), notes the connection, but does not elaborate. Also see Zhou Jiyin et al, Jiangsu Lidai Hua Jia (Jiangsu, 1985) for Yu Chuan’s resuscitation in modern times.
39. YHYL, juan 2, pp. 12b-13b.
40. It is important to note Wang Yun’s ‘rear-view’ perspective. By this time, the Qianlong artists were gone, and their art was not observed in process. Their paintings became fixed entities, with a concurrent muting of time and sequence. The earlier attempts to evolve a distinctive personal style often were lost in the accumulation of later works. Then there were the inevitable overlays of fakes and forgeries, which trailed the rising fame; they helped to further solidify the ‘image’ of those later works, but at the same time, to dilute the qualitative level. For example, the vast majority of Zheng Xie’s works, whether genuine or attributed, are dated later than 1754 and reflect a simplified approach to bamboo painting. A cluster of bamboo plants, no more than two or three, and slashes of bamboo leaves, complete the picture. When full compositions of pre-1754 are shown, for example, the Tokyo Ink Bamboo Screen, and
Princeton’s *Misty Bamboo on Distant Mountains*, the result could be startling, and sów, as it did, unwarranted suspicion.

41. See for instance Yang Shiqing, in *YHYL*, juan 4, pp. 8b-9a. To Wang Yun, however, Yang overcame his shortcomings by a scholarly temperament, which included an enthusiasm for rubbings of ancient stele and vassels and manifested skill in poetry. Yang was thought to belong to an untrammelled class and to be without vulgarity.

42. A modern critic of Wang Yun, Chen Chuanxi, has responded that this is precisely why the eccentricities are eccentricities. See his ‘Lun Yangzhou Yanshang he Yangzhou Huapai Ji Qita.’ What Wang Yun considered to be undesirable, he has taken as a sign of growing modernity. This pertains to quick execution, which is seen as the result of nascent capitalism, when the artist is both the producer and the retailer. And the dayou poems that accompany the works not only reflect the same consideration in economy, but also are a prelude to the vernacular literature that was to come.

Chen was right in a number of ways, except that the first half of it strikes a note of economic determinism at the expense of quality. It is true that among the so-called Eight Eccentrics’ works, lapses of quality exist. The so-called *fanpiao* (‘meal ticket’) syndrome is all too common, especially with well-known artists approaching old age. That could have caused critics like Wang Yun to deplore such shabby practices. Zheng Xie admitted that, nearing his sixties, his art entered into a simpler phase after having gone through a prior stage in which fuller and more elaborate compositions were the norm. Was he rationalizing for having dashed off a casual painting here or another there? The reality of patronage however operates on different levels. As Ginger Hsü demonstrated in her article, there were short-term patrons just as there were long-term ones. For those who walked in the door, demanded a painting, never to appear again, a Yangzhou artist could have dashed off a few strokes and charged, regardless of the quality involved, according to size. For long-term patrons, those in whose house the artist may be lodged, or those who substantially improve his life style, such casual products may be dubious at best. In fact they could act as a detriment, causing the patrons to lose interest and dispense with the artist’s services.

43. The tendency today is to laud the *wenren hua* affiliation of the eccentricities.

44. This also runs contrary to recent efforts to interpret the Eight Eccentrics as having broadened the *wenren* ideal in painting. For an example, see Shi Lan, “‘Yangzhou Baguai’ kuò da liào ‘Wenrenhua’ di Biaoxian Lìngyu” (The Eight Eccentrics and the Broadening of the Expressive Range of Scholar-painting’), *Wenwu*, no. 5 (1983), pp. 84-87.

45. See Xu Shennong, ‘Shitan “Yangzhou Baguai” di Tihua Yishu’ (‘A Probe into the Art of Inscription by the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou’),

46. YHYL, juan 2, pp. 14b-15a.
47. YHYL, juan 2, pp. 31b-32a, under the entry of Yuan Xianzhang.
48. YHYL, juan 2, p. 35b, entry under Xu Zhenjia.
51. Wang Yun’s attitude toward Huang Shen shows a degree of ambivalence. His entry on the Fujian master is largely derived from YHYL and Molin Imhau (pp. 23-24), but also differs slightly. Regarding the poetic achievement, he adds the line, ‘master Lei Cuiting also said that his poems evoke a realm that is otherworldly, a realm where the sheer precipice and cliff reign and where the mist and cloud gather.’ The effort he made in incorporating this laudation of Huang Shen’s poetry underscores an appreciative attitude, much as he refused to acknowledge Huang’s pictorial achievement. See YHYL, juan 3, pp. 6b-7a.
52. For Wang Yun’s admiration for Jin Nong, see his Shi’eryan Zhai Suihu, in Biji Xianhuo Daquan, Pt. 4, Vol. 9, p. 5948. For his high regard of Luo Ping, see YHYL, juan 2, p. 7b, under the entry of Jiao Chun and p. 9b, under that of Li Zhiyong. In both instances, this attitude conveys a deep sense of respect, addressing Luo either as jun ('gentleman') or xiansheng ('master').
53. For Wang Su, see YHYL, juan 2, pp. 6b-7b.
54. See YHYL, juan 4, pp. 17a-18a. While praising Lianxi’s art, including his orchid painting, Wang Yun considered him less than ideal. His criticism focuses on Lianxi’s dependence on painting for income. The latter thus was forced by circumstance to ‘depart from ancient methods in favor of current trends, thus incurring criticism from those with discerning eyes.’
56. One could only assume that the paintings of his teacher, Wu Xizhai, must in some way conform to the rules of Xu and Huang.