

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-hsi 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)
- YHYL Wang Yun, *Yangzhou Huayuan Lu*, in *Yangzhou Congke* (Yangzhou, 1931)

Figure, Fiction and Figmnt in Eighteenth Century Chinese Painting

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1. See, for example, Osvald Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles* (London and New York, 1956-58), V, 212-250, and especially 235-236.
2. For a discussion of some related issues, see Vicki Weinstein, *Painting in Yang-chou, 1710-1765: Eccentricity or the Literati Tradition?* (doctoral dissertation: Cornell University, 1972).
3. Among many examples, see Yang

Boda, 'The Development of the Ch'ien-lung Painting Academy,' paper presented at the *Words and Images: Chinese Poetry, Calligraphy, and Painting* symposium, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 20-22 May, 1985; also Kohara Hironobu, 'Kenryū Kōtei no Gagaku ni Tsuite' ('On the Qianlong Emperor's Connoisseurship'), *Kokka*, no. 1079 (January 1985), pp. 9-25; no. 1081 (March 1985), pp. 35-43; no. 1082 (April 1985), pp. 33-41; the essays by Howard Rogers, She Ch'eng and Yang Xin on aspects of court painting in the Qianlong period for the present exhibition catalog, EB, pp. 303-357; and Wai-kam Ho, Sherman Lee, Laurence Sickman and Marc Wilson eds. *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting* (Cleveland, 1980), pp. xxxv-liv, introductory essays by Lee and Wilson.

4. Ho Ping-ti, 'The Salt Merchants of Yang-chou: A Study of Commercial Capitalism in Eighteenth-Century China,' *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, XVII (1954), 130-168.

5. See the papers presented at the pioneering American Council of Learned Societies 1980 Workshop on Chinese Painting organized by Professor Chu-tsing Li, *Artists and Patrons: Some Economic and Social Aspects of Chinese Painting*, Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City, November 20-30; note especially, in the present volume, Ginger Cheng-chi Hsü's paper, 'Zheng Xie's Price List: Painting as a Source of Income in Yangzhou.'
6. Andrew H. Plaks, *Archetype and Allegory in the Dream of the Red Chamber* (Princeton, 1976).
7. Lucien Miller, *Masks of Fiction in Dream of the Red Chamber: Myth, Mimesis, and Persona* (Tucson, 1975).
8. See also F. W. Mote, 'The Intellectual Climate of Eighteenth-Century China: Glimpses of Beijing, Suzhou and Yangzhou in the Qianlong Period,' *Phoebus* 6, no. 1 (Tempe, 1988), pp. 17-55.
9. James Cahill, *The Compelling Image: Nature and Style in Seventeenth Century Chinese Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), pp. 110-115.
10. For discussion of the Qianlong portrait, see Nelson I. Wu, 'The Toleration of Eccentrics,' *Art News*, LVI (1957), 53; also Harold L. Kahn, *Monarchy in the Emperor's Eyes: Image and Reality in the Ch'ien-lung Reign* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), pp. 184, 260; also Kahn's essay, 'A Matter of Taste: The Monumental and Exotic in the Qianlong Reign,' *EB*, p. 290. For the portrait of Yuan Mei by Luo Ping, see James Cahill, 'A Rejected Portrait of Lo P'ing: A Pictorial Footnote to Waley's *Yuan Mei*,' *Asia Major*, n.s., VII, 32ff; and the abstract of my paper, 'Role and Representation in Later Chinese Portraiture,' *College Art Association of America, 73rd Annual Meeting, Abstracts for Art History Sessions* (Los Angeles, February 1985), p. 100.
11. Kahn, *Monarchy*; also Arthur Waley, *Yuan Mei* (London, 1956).
12. Kahn, *Monarchy*, p. 260.
13. For a translation of Yuan Mei's inscription, see Cahill, 'A Rejected Portrait,' p. 32.
14. Kahn, 'A Matter of Taste,' pp. 280-302, for illustration of some of these roles.
15. Ho, *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, no. 275, pp. 372-376; also the entry in *EB*, pp. 133-138.
16. Ho, *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, p. 375.
17. Ho, *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, p. 373.
18. Ho, *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, pp. 373, 375.
19. Ellen Laing's study, *Scholars and Sages: A Study in Chinese Figure Painting* (doctoral dissertation: University of Michigan, 1967).
20. The Chinese text of the inscription is transcribed in Kao Mayching ed. *Paintings by Yangzhou Artists of the Qing Dynasty from the Palace Museum* (Hong Kong, 1984), no. 57, p. 190.
21. James Cahill, *Chinese Painting* (Geneva, 1960), pp. 90, 98.
22. Jan Fontein and Money L. Hickman, *Zen: Painting and Calligraphy* (Boston, 1970), pp. xxx-xxxi.
23. Fontein and Hickman, *Zen: Painting and Calligraphy*, p. xxx.
24. See the summary of recent scholarship in *EB*, pp. 211-213.
25. See Howard Rogers, Fukunaga

Takehiko, Nakata Yūjiro and Iriya Yoshitaka, eds. *Kin Nō* [Jin Nong], *Bunjinga Suihen*, IX (Tokyo, 1976), text fig. 10, p. 125 for Huang Shen's *Beggars*.

26. See Ju-hsi Chou's discussion in *EB*, pp. 12-13; compare the attributed images reproduced in Yonezawa Yoshiho, et al, ed. *Hachidai Sanjin, Yoshu Hakkei* ('Zhu Da and the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou') in *Suiboku Bijutsu Taikai*, XI (Tokyo, 1978), figs. 88-89; as well as in Rogers et al, *Kin Nō*, pls. 50, 52, and 54.

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 Yingpiao 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, *Parting at the Shore: Chinese Painting of the Early and Middle Ming Dynasty, 1368 - 1580* (New York, 1978), pp. 194-195.

30. For Cai's career, see *EB*, p. 139.

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

32. Zhang Qiyun, et al., ed. *Zhongwen Dacidian* (Taipei, 1973), IX, 998.

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 *Yiyuan Duoying*, no. 8 (Shanghai, 1980), p. 3.

35. The painting is reproduced and discussed in Yonezawa Yoshiho and Kawakita Michiaki, *Chūgoku 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.

36. See Helmut Brinker, 'Shussan Shaka in Sung and Yuan Painting,' *Ars Orientalis*, IX (1973), pp. 21-39.

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 *Yiyuan 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.

38. Miller, *Masks of Fiction*, pp. 211, 218.

39. Plaks, *Archetype and Allegory*, pp. 223.

40. For some of these images, see *Yiyuan Duoying*, no. 6 (Shanghai, 1980), pp. 21, 27 and 35.

41. See James Han-hsi Soong, *A Visual Experience in Nineteenth Century China: Jen Po-nien (1840-1895) and the Shanghai School of Painting* (doctoral dissertation: Stanford University, 1977), pp. 85-87.

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

43. See the study by Chuang Shen, 'Lo Ping and the Kuei-ch'ui'ui,' *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.

47. For *The Scholars*, see C. T. Hsia, *The Classic Chinese Novels* (New York, 1968), pp. 203-244; see Kahn, 'A Matter of Taste,' pp. 290-291 for scholastic orthodoxy and disillusionment in the Qianlong reign. See also Wm. Theodore de Bary, Wang-tsit Chan and Burton Watson eds. *Sources of Chinese Tradition* (New York, 1960), pp. 612-629 for eighteenth-century intellectual trends.

48. See Kahn, *Monarchy*.

49. Luo Ping, *Woxin Lu*, published in *Huaibin Zazu Congshu* (1908).

50. See Miller, *Masks of Fiction*, and Plaks, *Archetype and Allegory*, pp. 178-211.

Yuan Jiang: Image Maker

1. Ho Ping-ti, 'The Salt Merchants of Yang-chou: A Study of Commercial Capitalism in Eighteenth Century China,' *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies*, XVII (1954), 130-168. See also F. W. Mote, 'The Intellectual Climate in Eighteenth-century China: Glimpses of Beijing, Suzhou and Yangzhou in the Qianlong Period,' *Phoebus* 6, no. 1, pp. 33-39. My thanks to Jonathan Hay and Maxwell Hearn for many interesting discussions about painting in the Kangxi era.

2. Zhang Geng, *Guochao Huazheng Xulu* (*Huashi Congshu* edition), III, 1347. An unrecorded *hao* Xiuquan appears on a pair of square seals on a landscape album dated *guihai* (1683).

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

4. In his 1938 list of Chinese paintings in Japan, Harada Bizan (Kinjiro) 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 Wei-qu listed the painting in his *Song Yuan Ming Qing Shuhuajia 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 Buyi* may have meant that Yuan served Prince Yi on his northern trips to inspect river conservancy in Zhili 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 Ahern 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 Yanjiu' ('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.

9. Translation by Jonathan Hay, 'Daoji's Late Work (1697 - 1707): A Thematic Map,' (doctoral dissertation: Yale University, 1989), ch. 2,

'Garden Mountains,' section 1. The Chinese text is transcribed in Zheng Wei, 'Lun Shitao Shenghuo Xingjing Sixiang Dibian Yishu Chengjiu,' ('On Shitao's life, intellectual development and artistic achievements'), *Wenwu*, no. 12 (1962), p. 47.

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).

12. The painting is published in *Zhang Yuejun Xiansheng, Wang Xueting Xiansheng, Luo Zhixi Furen, Juanzeng Shuhua Tezhan Mulu* ('Illustrated Catalogue of the Special Exhibition of Painting and Calligraphy Donated by Messrs. Zhang Yuejun, Wang Xueting, and Madame Luo Zhixi') (Taipei, 1978), no. 4.

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.

14. See Jonathan D. Spence, *Ts'ao Yin and the K'ang-hsi Emperor, Bond-servant and Master* (New Haven and London, 1966), for an historical perspective; and Maxwell K. Hearn, 'Document and Portrait: The Southern Tour Paintings of Kangxi and Qianlong,' *Phoebus* 6, no. 1, pp. 91-131, for the visual documentation of the tours.

15. Hearn, 'Document and Portrait,' n. 32.

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

17. Oral comments by Professor Mote at the Phoenix Art Museum symposium, October 1985. See also Mote, 'The Intellectual Climate,' especially pp. 33-37.

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 Carts 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.

21. See Mote, 'The Intellectual Climate,' particularly pp. 45ff, for a discussion of the implications of scholars honoring Tao Qian in 1743. The Zhang Feng album is in the Metropolitan Museum (1987.408.2).

22. See Rogers, *Masterworks*, no. 17.

23. Daphne Rosenzweig, *Court Painters of the K'ang-hsi Period* (doctoral dissertation: Columbia University, 1973), p. 38.

24. Mote, 'The Intellectual Climate,' pp. 28-31.

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 formulaic approach to familiar subjects.

30. Nie, *Yuan Jiang yu 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**

1. Zheng Xie, *Zheng Banqiao Ji* (Hong Kong, 1979), p. 195.
2. *Zheng Banqiao Ji*, p. 237.
3. Cheng Zhengkui, *Qingxi Yigao* (1809), *juan* 26, pp. 9b-10a.
4. Zhao Yi, *Gaiyu Congkao* (preface dated 1791), in *Zhao Oubei Quanji*, *juan* 31, pp. 19b-23b.
5. Arthur Waley, *Yuan Mei* (London, 1956), p. 108.
6. Du Weiyun, *Zhao Yi Zhuan* (Taipei, 1983), p. 261.
7. See Saeki Tomi, 'Shitafu to Junpitsu,' in *Uchida Gimpu Hakase Shojū Kinan Tōyōshi Ronshū* (Tokyo, 1978), pp. 200, 215.
8. *YHFL*, pp. 748ff.
9. Fang Shishu, *Tianyongan Biji*, p. 17 in Yang Jialuo ed. *Yishu Congbian* (Taipei, 1962), XXVI.
10. Victoria Contag, *Ch'ing Masters of the Seventeenth Century* (Rutland, 1970), p. 13.
11. *Zheng Banqiao Ji*, p. 25; translated by Lin Yutang, 'Family Letters of a Chinese Poet (Cheng Pan-ch'iao)' in *The Wisdom of India and China* (New York, 1942), p. 1081.
12. See Lin, *The Wisdom*, p. 1081.
13. Liang Zhangju (1775 - 1849), *Guitian Suoji* (preface dated 1845), in *Liangshi 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 to cope with the four seasons, five moves of *wei* 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 *wei* chess 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.'
14. *Zheng Banqiao Ji*, p. 202. This is a modified translation by Karl-Heinz Pohl. See his 'Cheng Pan-ch'iao, 1693 - 1765: Poet, Painter and Calligrapher'

(doctoral dissertation: University of Toronto, 1982), p. 56.

15. *Zheng Banqiao Ji*, p. 209.

16. Lin, *The Wisdom*, p. 1081.

17. *Zheng Banqiao Ji*, p. 98.

18. Jin Nong, *Dongxin Huazhu Tiji* (Meishu Congshu edition), p. 68.

19. Jin, *Dongxin Huazhu Tiji*, p. 68.

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.

21. *Zheng Banqiao Ji*, p. 197.

22. See Chang Chung-li, *The Income of the Chinese Gentry* (Seattle, 1962), p. 16.

23. *Zheng Banqiao Ji*, p. 98.

24. *Zheng Banqiao Ji*, p. 222.

25. *YHFL*, p. 291.

26. *YHFL*, pp. 344-345.

27. *Lianghuai Yanfa Zhi* (1870 edition), *juan* 42. In this account about the salt merchants of the Lianghuai 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 contrib-

uted 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.

28. *YHFL*, pp. 168-169.

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, *Jinhu Langmo*, *juan* 1, pp. 10a-b, in his *Jinhu Qimo* (1873). For an example of conspicuous spending on literary gatherings, see Li Dou, *Aitang Chulu*, in Ren Na, ed. *Xin Chuyuan* (Shanghai, 1940), I, 26.

30. Niu Yingzhi, *Yuchuang Xiaoyi Lu*, quoted in Gu Linwen, ed. *Yangzhou Bajia Shiliao* (Shanghai, 1962), p. 47.

31. Jin's *Dongxin Huazhu Tiji* was reportedly published by Jiang Chun. See Jin's own preface dated 1750. See Gu, *Yangzhou Bajia Shiliao*, p. 61.

32. Xu Ke, ed. *Qingpai Leichao* (Shanghai, 1917), *juan* 49, pp. 108-109.

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 title of *Dongxin Xiansheng 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 Guanxiu (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 Xiansheng Suibi* (*Meishu Congshu* edition), p. 224:

'The handscroll, *Scenes from Hell*, was painted by Du Fenglian (active sixteenth century?). It is very close in style to Mr Xiao Gungbo'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 (1733-99) 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 *Boxue 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 Donglai, the Minister of the Conservancy Bureau.'
- c. *Dongxin Zahua Tiji* ('Master Dongxin's Inscriptions on Paintings of Miscellaneous Subjects') (*Meishu Congshu* edition), p. 190: '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 Rìguan (active late thirteenth century).'
- d. *Dongxin Huamei Tiji* ('Master Dongxin's Inscriptions on Plum Blossom Paintings') (*Meishu Congshu* 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 *hanlin*. 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 category 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 Qiushi 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 1746, 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 Bajia 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 wushi 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 Jinhua* and Qin Zuyong's (1825-84) *Tongyin Lunhua*, 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 Bajia 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 Wubuyi 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 pre-
pare 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 Hamp-
shire. 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 com-
plicated compositions and assured
brushwork, signs of a trained back-
ground. In short, they are far too
advanced for the beginning stage of
Jin Nong's work. In addition, check-
ing through the dates of his recorded
and extant paintings, there is a big
gap between 1737 and 1745 (ages 51
to 59) with not a single work. Assum-
ing that he had already mastered his
painting skill in 1736, he would have
continued to paint and sell his paint-
ings as a way to ease his financial
pressures. With his extravagant habits,
Jin Nong was always in need of money.

7. *Huazhu Tiji*, preface, p. 61.

8. *Huazhu Tiji*, pp. 80-81.

9. *Huafu Tiji*, 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 Turkistan). 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 *Huamei Tiji*, *Huama Tiji*, *Dongxin Zixiezhen Tiji*, *Dongxin Zahua Tiji* and its sequel, *Dongxin Zahua Tiji Buyi* (Meishu Congshu 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 perhaps already consumed fifty pecks of ink...' Also, *Zahua Tiji*, p. 171:

'...In the *wuchen* 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. *Zahua Tiji*, p. 171. An inscription appears on a bamboo painting dedicated to his student, Xiang Jun. The painting now belongs to the Sichuan Provincial Museum, Chengdu. It is reproduced in *Yiyuan Duoying* (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 Chao'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.'

12. *Huazhu Tiji*, preface, p. 61.

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 Lü (active during the Shunxi period, 1174-89), p. 64.
- Su Shi (1036 - 1101), p. 65.
- Wen Tong (1018-79), p. 66.
- Ke Jiushi (1290 - 1343), p. 66.
- Zhang Li (Tang dynasty), p. 67.
- Wu Zhen (1280 - 1354), p. 72.
- Zhang Xuan (active 713-41), p. 76.
- Cheng Tang (active eleventh century), p. 80.
- Li Yu (937-78), p. 82.

14. When Jin Nong compared Song painter Xu Lü 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-tsing 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 dyspep-

sia. 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-eighth 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 *ziye ge*, 'midnight songs.' Derived from 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.

21. Published in the catalog, *The Eight Masters of Yangzhou* (Tokyo, 1986), no. 33.

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 Shanshui Renwu. See n.19 above.

24. See *Lanqian Shangguan Shuhua* (Tokyo, 1978), II, no. 87.

25. *Yurin Taikan* (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 *Huamei 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 *bingzi* year (1756) of the Qianlong period, the Monk Louzunzhe 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 Jiuli Shanren, I copied that poem on my painting...'

28. Wang Shishen became blind in 1752 and Gao Xiang died in 1754.

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 *Huamei 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

musings over a poem and searching for the right word. To prepare tea for his master, a boy servant stoops besides 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 Bajia 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 *Yiyuan Duoying*, no.8 (Shanghai, March 1980), reproduction on the back of the title page.

31. *Zixiezhen Tiji*, p. 90.

32. *Huamei 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 Bajia Shuhua Ji*, V, no. 136. Also see Suzuki, *Comprehensive Illustrated Catalog*, II, S9-003.

34. *Huamei Tiji*, p. 91.

35. *Huamei Tiji*, p. 97.

36. *Huamei 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 *Zhaoling Liujun* ('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 eighth century).

37. For the *Dayuan Ma*, see *Yiyuan Yizhen* (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 chose those depicting Ferghana horses. I apply powerful strokes and the results are unique among horse paintings. [One is able to visualize] 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 Osvald 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 home 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, *Cihai* (Shanghai, 1958), p. 1510.

39. For Bada's works, see *Bunjinga Suihen*, VIII (Tokyo, 1976), pls. 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 Shiliao*, pp. 27-28 and p. 26, citing Yuan Mei, *Xiaocang Shanfang 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 Huihuashi Tulu* (Shanghai, 1984), II, no. 570. The second version, a copy, can be found in *Lanqian Shanguan Shuhua*, II, no. 89.

43. *Yiyuan Duoying* (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, Guanxiu (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 Guanxiu 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, JM5-020.

47. Zhang Geng, from Jiaxing, Zhejiang, was a famous scholar of the Qianlong period. His book, *Guochao Huazheng 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 Shaosong's *Shuhua Shulu Jieli* (Taipei, 1968), I *Juan* 1, pp. 16a-17a, for an appraisal of this text. The painting is reproduced in *Jiaoyubu Dierci Quanguo Meishu Zhanlan Hui Quanji* ('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 Mingjia 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 *bodhidruma*, 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 *Jiaoyubu Dierci Quanguo Meishu Zhanlan Hui Quanji*, II, pl. 334.

51. See 'Kin Tōshin no Geijutsu' ('The Art of Jin Dongxin') in *Aoki Masaru Zenshū* (Tokyo, 1983), VI, 3ff, p1.4.

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 *jian mu* section of *Gugong Shuhua*

Lu (Taipei, 1965), *juan* 8, p. 60. It is listed as *Songren Hua Damo* ('Damo by a Song Artist').

55. His works tend to encompass people and objects encountered in his daily life. In that sense, it is not unlike the origination of some of his poems; they share that sense of intimacy and immediacy. This is the case when he travelled to the Niangzi Guan, a famous gate of the Great Wall guarding a dangerous mountain path. Nearby he fell from the back of his horse onto the rugged path. Fortunately he was not hurt. He carved a seal to commemorate this accident which bears the verse: 'Executed after Falling from My Horse at the Niangzi Gate.' He also named himself as 'A Person Falling off the Horse's Back at the Niangzi Gate.' See Jin Nong, *Dongxin Xuji*, p. 8, 'Three Poems on My Portrait of Forty-three *Sui*.' The impression of this seal can be found on the first page of calligraphy he did in 1730 in Qufu, Shandong, a set of album leaves entitled *Anecdotes of Famous Sages of the Six Dynasties Period*. It was published in *Shina Bokuseki Taikei* ('A Collection of Works of Chinese Calligraphy') (Tokyo, 1984), V, 98-115. During the fall of the same year, while riding on a Taihang Mountain trail during his trip south, Jin Nong composed a poem using his riding crop as a subject. *Dongxin Ji*, *juan* 3, p. 17. He then incised it on the crop as decoration. Jin Nong often used the simplest and most immediate of his experiences as creative inspiration.

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 Zhenglue* (Hong Kong, 1961), *juan* 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, *Tingfan Lou Shuhua Ji* ('Catalog of Paintings and Calligraphy from the Tingfan Lou Collection') in Deng Shi and Huang Binhong eds. *Meishu Congshu* (Taipei, 1963), XXXVII, 665.
4. Su Wenzhuo, *Li Jian*, p. 87.
5. See Li Yuchun, 'Li Erqiao Zaonian Buming "Jian": Yiji "Luofu Shan Youji" Shuhua Ce' ('Li Erqiao's Name Was not Jian in His Early Years. Some Notes on the Painting and Calligraphy Album of *Travels in the Luofu Mountains*') in Guangdong Sheng Wenshi Yanjiu Yuan, *Lingnan Wenwu* (1984), III, 153-154.
6. *Landscape in the Style of Shitao*, dated 1781. Unpublished fan in the collection of P.T. Huo, Hong Kong.
7. From the Bei Shan Tang collection, Hong Kong. Published in The Art

Gallery, The Chinese University of Hong Kong. *Landscape Paintings by Kwangtung Masters during the Ming and Ch'ing Periods* (Hong Kong, 1973), no. 41; also Su Wenzhuo, *Li Jian*, p. 44.

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 *cun* (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.

11. *Landscape after Shitao*, dated 1789. Unpublished fan in the collection of P.T. Huo, Hong Kong.

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.

16. Xie Lansheng, *Changxingxing Zhai Shuhua Tiba* (Macau, n.d.), p. 52.

17. Su Wenzhuo, *Li Jian*, pp. 74-75.

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 Daoji 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

- Guangdong Provincial Museum. Published in *Guangdong Sheng Bowuguan Canghua Xuanji* ('Selected Paintings from the Guangdong Provincial Museum') in *Yiyuan Duoying*, no. 14 (October 1981), p. 31, left.
20. From the collection of Kong Chung, Hong Kong. Unpublished.
21. From the Bei Shan Tang collection, 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.
23. Collection of Tangshi Cangyan Lou. Published in Su Wenzhuo, *Li Jian*, pp. 135-136.
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.
25. Collection of P.T. Huo, Hong Kong, previously unpublished.
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 Xiaoxia 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.
33. *Guangdong Shuhua Lu*, no. 180.
34. *Guangdong Shuhua Lu*, no. 180.
35. Tsang Ka-bo, 'Guangdong Wuwei Shoucangjia Cangpin zhi Laiyuan' ('Sources for the Collections of Five Guangdong Collectors'), Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong, *Journal of Oriental Studies*, XII, nos. 1-2 (Hong Kong, 1974), pp. 71-100.
36. Pan, *Tingfan Lou*, pp. 24-25.
37. In 1777, when he was thirty-one *sui*, 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.
40. Pan, *Tingfan Lou*, pp. 465-468.
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, *Oubo 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.
 4. For a fascinating discussion of the life of Emperor Kangxi, see Jonathan D. Spence, *Emperor of China: Self-portrait of K'ang-hsi* (New York, 1974). 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-tsing Li, *A Thousand Peaks and Myriad Ravines: Chinese Painting in the Charles A. Drenowatz 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 *Shiqu Baoji* 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 *YHFL*.
 11. Many of the famous literary gatherings and lavish parties in Yangzhou were recorded in *YHFL*.
 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 Beihong, 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-tsing 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.

20. See *EB*, no. 64 and a version of his *Guiqu Tu*, reproduced in Suzuki Kei et al, *Comprehensive Illustrated Catalog of Chinese Paintings* (Tokyo, 1982), II, 86-91, S 9-003.

21. See *EB*, no. 74.

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

23. See no. 178 in Lin Shuzhong and Zhou Jiyin, *Zhongguo Lidai Huihua Tulu* (Tianjin, 1981).

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.

1. This gave rise to the title of Victoria Contag's book, *Die Beiden Steine* (Braunswieg, 1950).

2. See Wu Weiye, *Meicun Jiancang Gao* (*Siku Congkan* edition), *juan* 11, p. 64. This idea of Nine Friends inspired Zhu Wenzhen to formulate his own Ten Wise Painters. See Jiang Baolin, *Molin Jinhua* (Taipei, 1975), pp. 37-38.

3. An early suggestion that the nomenclature can be found in Zhang Geng's *Guochao Huazheng Lu* is totally without base. See the text in the *Huashi Congshu* edition. Also see the article by Huyan Yepa, 'Yangzhou Baguai Huafeng' ('The Painting Style of the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou'), in *Yilin Conglu* (Hong Kong, 1975), II, 314, where the suggestion was made.

4. See *YHYL*, *juan* 2, p. 14b. For Wang Yun's other writings, see *Yanshan Conggao*, 2 Vols., in Ch'ü Wan-li and Liu Chao-yu eds. *A Collection of Unpublished Manuscripts in the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties* (Taipei, 1976). Also see n.52 below.

5. For a convenient reference, see the chart prepared by Bian Xiaoxuan in *Yangzhou Baguai Huaji* (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 *liyan* and the post-script (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 *kuang* ('crazy'), *yi* ('untrammelled'), *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 Banqiao 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 Kao* (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, *Hansong Ge Tanyi Suolu* (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 Huaji*, 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.

10. *YHYL*, *juan* 2, pp. 14b-15a.

11. For example, Gu Linwen's *Yangzhou Bajia Shiliao* (Shanghai, 1962) and Chang Wan-li and Hu Jenmou, comps. *The Selected Painting and Calligraphy of the Eight Eccentrics of Yangchow* (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 Suihen*, IX (Tokyo, 1976); also Yang Xin's *Yangzhou Baguai*, pp. 3-4.

12. See Zheng Qi and Huang Shucheng's summary in "Yangzhou Baguai" Yanjiu Shuping' ('A Summary of Scholarship on "The Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou"'), *Duoyun*, no. 13 (April 1987), pp. 100-105.

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 *nianpu* 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.

18. For a reproduction, see Sotheby's auction catalog, *Fine Chinese Paintings*, New York, 3 June 1985, lot 69.

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 *nianpu*, pp. 32ff.

20. See the preface by Bian Xiaoxuan to *Yangzhou Baguai Yanjiu 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 *prunus* 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.

21. See Zheng Qi and Huang Shucheng, "Yangzhou Baguai" Yanjiu Shuping, p. 102.

22. See Zhou Jiyin, 'Qingdai Yangzhou Huapai' ('The Yangzhou School of Painting during the Qing Period'), *Jiangsu Huakan*, no. 6 (1979), pp. 32-34; and Xi Feng's article in *Yishu Zongheng*, 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.

23. See Professor Ho Ping-ti's article, 'The Salt Merchants of Yang-chou: A Study of Commerical Capitalism in Eighteenth Century China,' *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies*, XVII (1954), pp. 130-168. Also see Professor Frederick Mote's essay, 'The Intellectual Climate in Eighteenth-century China: Glimpses of Beijing, Suzhou and Yangzhou in the Qianlong Period,' *Phoebus* 6, no. 1, pp. 17-55, especially pp. 33ff. Other writings of relevance include: Zuo Buqing, 'Qingdai Yanshang di Shengshui Shulue' ('On the Rise and Fall of the Salt Merchants'), *Gugong Bowuyuan Yuankan*, no. 1 (1986), pp. 49-58; and Chen Chuanxi, 'Lun Yangzhou Yanshang he Yangzhou Huapai ji Qita' ('On the Salt Merchants of Yangzhou and the Yangzhou School of Painting'), *Jiuzhou Xuekan*, no. 5 (September 1987), pp. 33-58.

24. For a critique of the text, see Wu Bijiang, *Shuhua Shulu Jieti Bu Jia-bian*, in *Huayuan Bijie* (Taipei, 1971), pp. 392-394. See also Ding Fubao and Zhou Yunqing, *Sibu Zonglu Yishu Bian* (Shanghai, 1957), I, 20.

25. *YHYL*, *juan 2*, p. 14b.

26. *YHYL*, *juan 2*, p. 15a.

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 heterodox; 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 *Molin 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 Shizhuo and Dong Bangda. For Shen Zongqian's attack on the rival schools, see his *Jiezhou Xuehua Bian*, in Yu Anlan ed. *Hualun Congkan*, I, 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 Xinmen, 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*, *liyan*, p. 1a.

34. See *YHYL*, preface, p. 1a. That is, with the exception of Luo Ping, about whom Wang Yun appeared to have some lingering memories. This is because a local elder, Li Zhixiong, 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 Jiang 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, *Guochao Huazheng Xulu* (*Huashi 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 Jiying et al, *Jiangsu Lidai Hua Jia* (Jiangsu, 1985) for Yu Chan's resuscitation in modern times. In part, this revival is 'ideological' in nature, based on his linkage with the Taiping Rebellion. For Yu Chan's painting, see pls. 168 and 169 in *Zhongguo Meishu Quanji*, XI (Shanghai, 1988), which do not appear to be as bombastic as Wang Yun seemed to suggest.

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 so, 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 eccentrics are eccentrics. 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 eccentrics.

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" kuoda liao "Wenrenhua" di Biaoxian Lingyu' ('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'),

Yishu Zongheng, no. 1 (February 1982), pp. 117-126; Chen Dayu, “Yangzhou Baguai” di Yishu Fengge’ (‘The Style and Approach of the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou’), *Ibid*, pp. 104-116; Xi Feng, ‘Tan Yangzhou Baguai de Shihua Jihe’ (‘On the Relationship between Poetry and Painting in the art of the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou’), *Meishu Yanjiu*, no. 2 (1983), pp. 64-66; and Shi Lan, “Yangzhou Baguai Kuoda liao ‘Wenren Hua’ de Biaoxian Lingyu.’ 46. *YHYL*, *juan 2*, pp. 14b-15a.
 47. *YHYL*, *juan 2*, pp. 31b-32a, under the entry of Yuan Xianzhong.
 48. *YHYL*, *juan 2*, p. 35b, entry under Xu Zhenjia.
 49. *Zheng Banqiao Quanji*, p. 218.
 50. See *Zheng Banqiao Quanji*, p.217.
 51. Wang Yun’s attitude toward Huang Shen shows a degree of ambivalence. His entry on the Fujian master is largely derived from *YHFL* and *Molin Jinhua* (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 Suilu*, in *Biji Xiaoshuo Dagan*, 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 Zhixiong. In both instances, his 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.’

55. See Chen Hengke’s *Wenrenhua zhi Jiazhi* (‘Scholar Painting and Its Values’), included in Yu Anlan ed. *Hualun Congkan* (Beijing, 1962), II, pp. 692-97.

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.