5 *The Great Synthesis*

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY opened in China during the twenty-eighth year of the reign of the Ming Wan-li emperor (Shen-tsung; r. 1573–1619) and closed in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of the Ch'ing K'ang-hsi emperor (Sheng-tsu; r. 1662–1721). Historians have long argued that the fall of the Ming had begun during the Wan-li reign, one of the worst periods in Chinese imperial history; the K'ang-hsi period, under Manchu rule, was among the most brilliant.

Reacting against the rigors of the stern, legalistic rule of the senior grand secretary Chang Chü-cheng (1525–1582), during which Ming China saw ten years of national security and prosperity, the young Wan-li emperor, then twenty years old, recovered the reins of government upon Chang's death in 1582, and abandoned himself to the pursuit of pleasures and mindless enrichment of his private coffers. Beginning in 1589 and continuing for more than twenty-five years, the emperor altogether avoided participating in court audiences, leaving government affairs either unattended or in the hands of the palace eunuchs. With intensifying struggles between court officials and eunuchs on the one hand, and the various factions of officials on the other, survival and longevity alone were deemed achievements.

For wealthy art lovers and collectors in the prosperous Chiang-nan region the late Ming era proved to be the best of times. Throughout the sixteenth century, private individuals amassed large fortunes in Chiang-nan through commerce, trade, and great holdings of farmland. Since emperors after the Hung-chih era (1488–1505) showed little interest in the arts, the collecting of fine ancient calligraphy and painting became the unchallenged domain of well-to-do retired scholar-officials and their families, who customarily built garden villas, libraries, and art collections. During this period, Hsiang Yüan-pien (1525–1590) assembled the greatest private painting and calligraphy collection in Chinese history. A native of Hsiu-shui (Chia-hsing), Chekiang province, and the youngest son of a wealthy family, Hsiang shunned an official career, but managed to achieve prominence through his collection. Hsiang's nearly exact contemporary Wang Shih-chen (1526–1590), a native of T'ai-ts'ang, near Su-chou, then the leader of literary society, was another ardent art lover and collector; Wang was also a distinguished compiler of writings on art. Other important Chiang-nan collectors included Ho Liang-chun (1506–1573), Ku Cheng-i (fl. ca. 1575–96), Mo Shih-lung (ca. 1538–1587), and Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555–1636), who lived in or near Hua-t'ing, modern Kiangsu province. Another flourishing commercial and art center was Hui-chou, Anhui, where Wang Tao-k'un (1525–1593; see no. 24) and Chan Ching-feng (fl. ca. 1570–95) lived and collected.

These great private art collections of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries served to stimulate knowledge and creation of art at a time when the art of painting was losing vitality. For all its many-faced splendors, Ming revivalism as seen in the works of Tai Chin (1388–1462), Shen Chou (1427–1509), and T'ang Yin (1470–1524) had been one of continuation and development of the Sung and Yüan brush idioms. Now, in the twilight of the conservative Ming culture, the works produced in the traditional painting centers of Wu (Su-chou) and Che (Hang-chou) were—in the words of a Wu critic, Ku Ning-yüan (fl. ca. 1640)—like "spent arrows at the end of their flight."[1] During that time scattered bursts of creative energy, as seen in the archaistic works of Wu Pin (fl. ca. 1583–1626) and Ch'en Hung-shou (1599–1652), flourished in isolation, but, stranded by the receding tide of the old-style Ming revivalism, even these artists seemed to turn in upon themselves, reveling in eccentricity, and nostalgically, almost pathetically, clinging to archaic manners.[2] It was Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, the learned conservative-radical, who changed the fundamental nature of Ming painting and of Ming-style revivalism by advocating a total new transformation of the way of looking at ancient models as well as the very method of painting landscapes.

Then came the Manchu conquest in 1644 and a radical change in the political, social, and intellectual climate. From the outset of their southern campaign after taking Peking on June 4, 1644, the Manchus had effectively combined terror tactics with compromise, using Chinese generals to fight the war against the Southern Ming troops and welcoming members of the old social elite into local governments. After quelling the dangerous rebellion of the southern feudatories in 1681, the energetic K'ang-hsi emperor made six "southern inspection tours" (*nan-hsün*) through Chiang-nan in order to cement relations with the traditionally proud and independent southern scholar and gentry classes. Extending special courtesy to the local elite the emperor made ceremonial visits to the Ming imperial tombs in Nanking and granted two personal audiences (in 1684 and 1691) to the monk-painter Tao-chi (1642–1707), a member of the Ming imperial family.[3]

A venerable living symbol of continuity in the scholar-artist's world was Wang Shih-min (1592–1680) of T'ai-ts'ang, northeast of Su-chou, whose grandfather Wang Hsi-chüeh (1534–1611) was the Ming Wan-li emperor's senior grand secretary (at the end of the sixteenth century) and whose son Wang Shan (1645–1728) would rise to be the K'ang-hsi emperor's grand secretary (1717–23). Tutored in his youth by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, Wang Shih-min was the leader of the so-called four Wangs; the other three were Wang Chien (1598–1677), Wang Hui (1632–1717), and Wang Yüan-ch'i (1642–1715). The first of these three, also from T'ai-ts'ang, was a great-grandson of Wang Shih-chen, the leader of the revivalist later seven masters in the 1570s; the last was Wang Shih-min's grandson. The four Wangs, together with Wu Li (1632–1718) and Yün Shou-p'ing (1633–1690), were known as the six great Orthodox masters. Wang Hui and Wu Li were born in Ch'ang-shu, near T'ai-ts'ang, and Yün came from Wu-chin, just northwest of Wu-hsi.

A remarkable cultural experiment took place in T'ai-ts'ang in the middle decades of the seventeenth century. Of like mind and purpose, the two older Wangs adopted the brilliant, younger Wang Hui, and together the three men carried out a systematic program of stylistic reconstruction in landscape painting. Basing their project on Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's notion of a Great Synthesis, they went beyond his narrow range of Tung Yüan–Chü-jan–Huang Kung-wang idiom to attempt a new synthesis of the so-called Southern School and Northern School styles. The vision they shared was bold and exciting: as Wang Hui demonstrated in his paintings, the art of ancient times had unity and completeness. Through a Great Synthesis, the student could find himself in a new realm of experiences.

Equally as remarkable as their artistic achievements were the human values fostered by these artists. An extraordinarily warm collaborative spirit blessed the T'ai-ts'ang experience: gone were the late Ming fragmentation and bitter rivalry; friends acting in a common bond of knowledge and mutual understanding generously praised and supported one another. Wang Chien discovered Wang Hui, but finding that the young man's talent taxed his own abilities as a mentor, he relinquished his role to Wang Shih-min. Both older Wangs soon became content to play the role of admirers and commentators, as Wang Hui surpassed their own achievements. Much of the older Wangs' extant writings consist of eulogistic colophons praising Wang Hui's paintings. Just as moving was the lifelong friendship between Wang Hui and Yün Shou-p'ing, who is said to have abandoned landscape in favor of flower painting, in deference to Wang Hui's genius in the landscape genre. Yün's writings chronicled Wang Hui's artistic triumphs. For his own part, Wang Hui was modest, sensitive, and earnestly appreciative. Although Wang Shih-min sometimes exploited his role as Wang Hui's mentor, always pressing him for more paintings, Wang Hui never refused or complained.

During these same years a galaxy of brilliant painters appeared in other orbits, beyond the environs of Su-chou—in Anhui and Kiangsi provinces, and in Nanking and Yang-chou in Kiangsu province. Many Ming loyalists had taken refuge in Buddhist priesthood and had chosen to devote themselves to painting because painting, unlike scholarship or literature, required physical action as well as thought. Hung-jen (1610–1663), Kung Hsien (ca. 1619–1689), Chu Ta (1624–1705), and Tao-chi all developed highly individualistic styles, but all three shared Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's goal in painting of holding the universe in their hands.[4]

Tung Ch'i-ch'ang: An Intuitive Leap

A native of Shanghai, near Hua-t'ing, in the prefecture of Sung-chiang (modern Kiangsu province), Tung Ch'i-ch'ang was born in 1555 to a commoner family of moderate means. As a talented young scholar, he was hired as a private tutor by such prominent men as Lu Shu-sheng (1509–1605), president of the Board of Rites in Hua-t'ing, and Hsiang Yüan-pien, a wealthy art collector in Chia-hsing.[5] Passing the metropolitan *chin-shih* examination in 1589, he was selected to serve as a bachelor of the Han-lin Academy, and, in the following year, was appointed a compiler of history. He returned home in 1591, and in 1594 was summoned once more to Peking as one of the tutors of the heir apparent, Chu Ch'ang-lo (1582–1620). Refusing an appointment to a provincial post in 1599, Tung pleaded illness and retired to his home, emerging briefly in 1604 as a commissioner of education in Hu-kuang, only to retire again a year later in 1605. For the next seventeen years he lived at home. Summoned in 1620 by his prince, now Emperor Kuang-tsung (r. 1620), he was preparing to leave for the capital when the new emperor died, by poisoning, just thirty days after ascending the throne. In 1622 Tung was recalled to Peking by the succeeding emperor, Ming Hsi-tsung (r. 1620–27), and given the post of director of the Court of Sacrificial Worship. He was sent to compile materials at the southern capital, Nanking, as one of the directors for the compilation of the "veritable records" (*shih-lu*) of the reign period of the Ming Wan-li emperor, and he returned to Peking in early 1624 with a compilation of 300 manuscript volumes of archival materials. Receiving an honorific appointment as the president of the Board of Rites in Nanking in 1625, he quietly resigned and returned home in the following year. In 1631, at the age of seventy-seven, he was again called to Peking, this time by the last official Ming emperor, Ssu-tsung, who named him head tutor of the heir apparent. In 1634 Tung returned once more to Hua-t'ing, where he died two years later.

Tung Ch'i-ch'ang achieved recognition as a teacher, imperial tutor, examiner, and compiler of dynastic history. A cautious man, he carefully avoided politics, choosing to retire from office in 1599, when his influence with the crown prince began to cause jealousy and fear among his colleagues, and again in 1624, when the purge of the Tung-lin scholars by the powerful eunuch Wei Chung-hsien (1568–1627) persuaded him to leave Peking and to take up a sinecure position in Nanking. But Tung's life was never far from peril. His tenure as the education commissioner in Hu-kuang was cut short in 1605 by a student riot. And in 1616, after he had spent eleven years tending to family interests and building up his estate until it was one of the finest in Hua-t'ing, he saw his fine home razed to the ground, and valuable art collections looted by a rioting mob reacting to high-handed behavior by some of his family members.

Having feasted and trained his eye on the fine works of calligraphy and painting in Hsiang Yüan-pien's home, Tung had decided to form his own painting collection. In 1590, barely one year after he earned his *chin-shih* degree, he acquired a major painting, Chao Ling-jang's (fl. ca. 1070–1100) *River Village on a Clear Summer Day* (*Chiang-hsiang ch'ing-hsia*), now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.[6] Beginning in 1591, while on home leave in Chiang-nan, he "began to search seriously for the splashed-ink [*p'o-mo*] works of the four [Yüan] masters"—Huang Kung-wang (1269–1354), Wu Chen (1280–1354), Ni Tsan (1301–1374), and Wang Meng (ca. 1308–1385).[7] In 1596 he acquired Huang Kung-wang's masterpiece, *Dwelling in the Fu-ch'un Mountains* (cf. fig. 67).[8] In 1597 he added to his collection two major works by (or attributed to) Tung Yüan (fl. ca. 937–76), *Hsiao and Hsiang Rivers* (cf. fig. 33) and *Residents of the Capital City* (*Lung-hsiu chiao-min t'u*; now in the National Palace Museum, Taipei).[9]

Tung needed only a painting by Wang Wei to lead the grand parade of the Southern School stylistic development. In 1595, when he was serving as a tutor to the crown prince in Peking, he heard of a newly discovered Wang Wei painting, *Rivers and Mountains after Snow* (*Chiang-shan hsüeh-chi t'u*; fig. 142), in Feng K'ai-chih's collection in Hang-chou.[10] He managed to persuade Feng to have the scroll brought to Peking

for him to examine, whereupon he composed a long colophon discussing Wang Wei's style. He kept the scroll with him for nine months, returning it personally on a special visit to Feng's home in Hang-chou in the summer of 1596. In 1604, en route to serve as the educational commissioner in Hu-kuang, Tung stopped at the Buddhist monastery Chao-ch'ing-ssu on West Lake, and saw the scroll once more.[11] His encounter with and ruminations over this important scroll attributed to Wang Wei represented a major episode in his efforts to reconstruct the Southern School tradition.

Growing up in the intellectual climate of late sixteenth-century Ming China, Tung Ch'i-ch'ang was deeply influenced by the radical individualistic philosophy of Li Chih (1527–1602) and the antirevivalist figures of the Kung-an School of poetry, the three Yüan brothers. During the late 1590s, while serving as tutor to the crown prince in Peking, Tung became close friends with the Yüan brothers through their common interest in Ch'an Buddhism and shared admiration for Li Chih. Tung first met Li in early 1598 in a temple outside Peking, and despite the differences in their ages and positions, they took an instant liking to each other and became fast friends.[12]

Yet, unlike Li Chih and the Yüan brothers, Tung never denied the importance of ancient models. Significant differences existed between their respective areas of concern, painting and poetry. Whereas the target of the Yüan brothers' attack was imitation in poetry, the object of Tung's criticism was the lack of discipline and purpose in late Ming painting. By the late 1590s Tung had largely formulated his theory about the Northern and Southern schools of painting. It was not so much the intense radicalism of Li Chih and the Yüan brothers that influenced his thinking as their intuitive approach. Inspired by their doctrine of the mind—Li Chih's innate, childlike mind (*t'ung-hsin*)—Tung adopted an instinctive method of battling the shopworn conventions of late Ming painting.

Aware that yesteryear's innovation becomes today's convention, Tung chided contemporary painters who followed the Ma Yüan–Hsia Kuei idiom:

> Hsia Kuei followed Li T'ang, further simplifying his style, creating what the sculptors call a pared-down sketch. His idea was to avoid the narrow path of tracing and imitation. He made landscapes fade and diminish, incorporating the ink play of the two Mis [Mi Fu (1052–1107) and Mi Yu-jen (1072–1151)] in his brushwork. [Hsia Kuei] tried to destroy the [square] *ku* [ritual bronze beaker; i.e., an established method] in order to achieve a roundness [a less formal approach]; now [the Ming imitators of the Hsia Kuei idiom] are carving roundness back into a *ku*![13]

Tung's prescription for avoiding "the narrow path of tracing and imitation" was to treat painting as calligraphy:

> When a scholar turns to painting, he should apply to it the methods of writing unusual characters in the grass [cursive; *ts'ao*] or clerical [*li*] script, making his trees resemble curved iron bars, and mountains look as if they were drawn in the sand [with deep and round brushstrokes]. The narrow path of [seductive] sweetness and vulgarity should be avoided absolutely. His painting will then have a scholarly breath [*shih-ch'i*]. Otherwise, even if a work shows high technical competence, it already falls into the pernicious ways of a professional craftsman; it is then beyond all hope and remedy. If a painter could only free himself from the bondage [of craftsmanship], he would be like a fish escaping the net.[14]

Reducing landscape painting to pure brushwork, Tung argued:

> If one thinks of strange scenery, then painting is not the equal of real landscape; but if one considers the wonders of brush and ink, then landscape can never equal painting.[15]

Freed from the constraints of representation, the painter could produce bold brush drawings that were projections of the images in his own mind. And, in order to capture what Yen Yü (1180–1235) called

"flavors beyond tastes" and "images beyond images," he should avoid descriptive details. As Tung put it, "In painting it is better to be obscure [*an*] than to be obvious [*ming*]. To be obvious is to trace all the sharp edges and corners of a *ku*; to be obscure is to hide behind clouds of mist."[16]

To the question "What if scholar-painters 'hiding behind clouds and mist' were simply bad amateurs?" Tung provided this answer: "To prevent impostors from mingling in their midst, scholar-painters should first learn to exhaust the limits of workmanship and technical skills, making creation their teacher and friend."[17] Paraphrasing the Southern Sung writer Chao Hsi-ku (ca. 1190), Tung intoned that every scholar-painter "must read ten thousand books and travel ten thousand miles."[18] A painter had to study not only ancient models, but also nature:

> The painter who models himself after ancient masters already belongs [in the Buddhist sense] to the Upper Vehicle. Advancing one more step, he must model himself after heaven and earth. . . . After he becomes familiar with nature, he will transmit the spirit [of the landscape]. To transmit the spirit there must be form. When the form, the mind, and the hand are in total accord, each forgetting the other's separate existence, then the spirit [of the landscape] will reside in a painting.[19]

In treating nature and ancient models as his two teachers, Tung approached both with the same desire for sudden awakening. He saw painting history as an enduring effort to restore simplicity and truth to art. Combining the notion of truth (*chen*), as advocated by Li Chih, with the earlier revivalists' arguments about correspondence (*ho*) and departure (*li*) in imitation, he defined the difference between mere copying and insightful imitation:

> While copying or tracing [a style] is easy, spiritual communion [with an old master] is difficult to express. Chü-jan followed Tung Yüan, Mi Fu followed Tung Yüan, Huang Kung-wang followed Tung Yüan, and Ni Tsan followed Tung Yüan. Although all of them followed the same Tung Yüan, each of them produced something different. When an ordinary painter copies and produces something that looks like any other copy, how can his work be passed on to future generations?[20]

Since the truth of an old master is discovered only in one's own mind, fidelity to the old means fidelity to one's own inner self. Thus the proper way to imitate or to seek correspondence is to transform, since the only way to be ancient is to endow the old with compelling new significances.

In collecting the old masters' works, Tung carefully read each painting for its stylistic connection and assiduously searched for the missing links that would make such connections manifest and complete: the paintings in his collections illustrated painting history, as he perceived it, in terms of a Southern School, with its proper, orthodox (*cheng*) succession from Wang Wei to the late Yüan masters. In colophons inscribed on a large album of copies of Sung and Yüan compositions, called *Within Small See Large* (*Hsiao-chung hsien-ta*; now in the National Palace Museum, Taipei), Tung wrote about the evolution of Sung and Yüan styles, frequently employing Ch'an Buddhist terminology to describe the artistic inner process of "awakening."[21] On the copy of Huang Kung-wang's *Summer Mountains* (*Hsia-shan*; Leaf 9), he commented, "When Huang Kung-wang copies Tung Yüan, he remains Huang Kung-wang; thus, one might say, he combines the best of the Sung and the Yüan." In describing Huang's deep understanding of Chü-jan (Leaves 8, 12), he quoted Chang Yü's (1283–1350) characterization of Huang as "the rapidly progressing Buddhist mystic [*dhātu*] who modeled himself after Chü-jan," implying that Huang had experienced a sudden awakening upon entering into Chü-jan's mind, as if "in one single leap." On the Wu Chen-style painting (Leaf 11), he wrote that "Chü-jan's mantle and alms bowl were inherited by Wu Chen; this work [by Wu] should not be looked upon as a Yüan painting, for it has attained the *san-mei* (samadhi; Buddhist meditation) of a lofty Northern Sung master"; and on Wang Meng's work after Tung Yüan (Leaf 10): "The brushwork derives entirely from Tung; it is a masterpiece by Wang before he achieved his transformation away from Tung."

Tung's method of authenticating ancient paintings was intuitive and pragmatic rather than—in the modern sense—historical and analytic, and on the whole his attitude toward traditional attributions was respectful. About disparate attributions to Tung Yüan, he commented:

> Both Tung Yüan's *Shu River* [*Shu-chiang t'u*] and his *Hsiao and Hsiang Rivers* [*Hsiao-Hsiang t'u*] are in my collection, but their brush methods look as if they were from two different hands. I own several other works by Tung Yüan, and not two of them look alike. Truly we might call [Tung Yüan] the [mysterious] dragon in painting.[22]

The dragon, symbol of nature's elemental forces, is known in Chinese mythology for its capacity for infinite and unpredictable transformations. To say that Tung Yüan either had or was capable of having many transformations was to acknowledge both his personal power as a painter and his historical influence. Since all major works attributed to Tung Yüan, whether painted by him or not, had affected and represented historical transformations, Tung Ch'i-ch'ang perceived them all as "truths" in his painting history.

In reconstructing the Southern School stylistic tradition, Tung Ch'i-ch'ang took the draping hemp-fiber (*p'i-ma*) calligraphic texture stroke as the principal technical clue. As he recounted in his long colophon dated 1595, on *Rivers and Mountains after Snow* (*Chiang-shan hsüeh-chi t'u*) attributed to Wang Wei (now in the Ogawa Family collection; fig. 142), he knew exactly what he expected of the scroll even before he saw it: "Is it possible that in a former life I had entered [Wang] Wei's studio and watched him paint . . . so I was able to recognize his style?" he asked.[23] He exaggerated his powers of premonition, since he did not find exactly what he was looking for in the scroll. The rock forms of *Rivers and Mountains*, done in thin

Fig. 142. Attributed to Wang Wei, detail, *Rivers and Mountains after Snow* (*Chiang-shan hsüeh-chi t'u*). Undated, copy ca. 1100(?). Handscroll, ink on silk. 28.4 x 171.5 cm (11 1/8 in. x 5 ft. 7 1/2 in.). Ogawa Family collection

contour lines and wirelike modeling strokes, could not easily be reduced to a simple calligraphic formula, so he resorted to generalizing statements: "When it comes to texture methods, every master from the T'ang through the Sung followed a special tradition. . . . It is like the five branches of Ch'an Buddhism: as soon as a word or phrase is uttered, we know immediately to which branch the speaker belongs." In a later colophon that he wrote about the attributed Wang Wei handscroll, he added, "Beginning with Wang Wei, a landscape painter employed both texture strokes and ink washes. . . . Once the basic method was formulated [by Wang Wei], it was not difficult [for later painters] to imitate and improvise."[24]

Thus Tung Ch'i-ch'ang the connoisseur was inseparable from Tung the painter: he studied the old masters' works from the creative vantage point of a painter, and he painted to relive and embrace painting history through the lifelong experience of a connoisseur. As a creative principle, Tung's art historical theory of a proper, orthodox stylistic lineage was synthetic rather than dogmatic. Just as the Mahayanist (Great Vehicle) Buddhists never declared the Hinayanas (Small Vehicles) false, but merely treated them as lesser truths to be embraced by the Great Truth, Tung taught that all ancient styles must be reunited in a "Great Synthesis" (*ta-ch'eng*) in which the best of each artist's style could be plucked from history and integrated into works in which the whole exceeded the sum of the parts. For level distance scenery he chose Chao Ling-jang; for stacked-up mountains and peaks, Chiang Shen (ca. 1090–1138); for texture strokes, he advised following Tung Yüan's hemp-skin technique as well as the dotted texture pattern of *Hsiao and Hsiang Rivers*. He recommended the methods of Tung Yüan and Chao Meng-fu for trees, and the rocks found in the Great General Li Ssu-hsün's *Waiting for the Ferry at the Autumn River* (*Ch'iu-chiang tai-tu t'u*), and those in Kuo Chung-shu's snow scene. He identified two Li Ch'eng (919–967) painting methods, an ink-wash style painted in a small format, and a blue and green style, and advocated both. "Having gathered [all these styles] into a Great Synthesis," he concluded, "the painter may then come out with inventions of his own."[25]

Tung's own insistence on his method as sudden awakening is compelling, but, without reference to the paintings he produced according to his theories, his advice has no meaning. Far from slavishly dabbling in earlier styles, Tung stripped himself "stark naked"—as his radical friend Li Chih had advised—in order to resolve the apparent paradoxes of transformation versus correspondence, nature versus ancient masters, Northern versus Southern schools, in a single intuitive leap. In the end the intellectual edifice built by Tung the theorist served only to guide and justify the revolution and reconstruction in painting led by Tung the painter. And, as a painter, Tung never needed, never wanted, and never succumbed to any doctrine but his own acute instincts.

Tung's stylistic development began with analysis and criticism of late Ming painting. Ming painting, he complained, was flat, because, in contrast to the ancient masters, his contemporaries paid too little attention to representing concave and convex forms in nature, with the result that their paintings failed to look "lively from all sides."[26] In addition, it was too fussy, an amalgam of piled-up bits, rather than a composition of three or four large divisions (*fen*) and gatherings (*ho*), in which "the principal requirement is to develop the momentum [*shih*] of the composition."[27]

Tung aimed to restore simplicity and substance to painting by building a style based on new technical principles. Whereas others of his time merely borrowed "skins and hairs" from ancient models, he analyzed the fundamental structures, the "bones" of the ancient styles, reducing them to bare essentials and making them work for him.

When he started to paint, he at first followed the Huang Kung-wang style. In a colophon dated November 26, 1596, inscribed on Huang Kung-wang's *Fu-ch'un* scroll, he wrote ecstatically:

> I remember when I was in the capital, after morning audiences, I used to chase after the censor-adviser Chou, asking to see this scroll. It was like visiting a great treasure trove, going there empty and returning full. I used to think how lucky I was to enjoy such a wonderful day, nourishing both my

> mind and my spleen. . . . Now I have acquired the scroll. . . . It is my teacher! It is my teacher! [The wonders of] any single mountain and all five [cosmic] peaks are all gathered here![28]

Throughout the late 1590s and the 1600s, as seen in extant works of this period, Tung refined and simplified his rendering of the Huang Kung-wang style, until he successfully reduced it to a diagrammatic formula: "In painting, mountains must show concave and convex forms. One begins by outlining the mountains first according to their outward forms and momentum (*shih*), then, within the outlined forms, applying straight texture strokes. This is the method of Huang Kung-wang."[29] In the short handscroll by Tung, *River and Mountains on a Clear Autumn Day* (*Chiang-shan ch'iu-chi*), painted in the 1610s (now in the Cleveland Museum of Art; fig. 143), he employs this new Huang Kung-wang formula of filling mountain outlines with straight texture strokes. The smooth bare rocks are conceived as abstract cubic masses (fig. 143a). Following the recognized Northern Sung composition, such as can be seen in *Wintry Groves and Layered Banks* attributed to Tung Yüan (cf. fig. 32), Tung Ch'i-ch'ang separated the mountains into three promontories lying diagonally across the picture plane. The trees, of several species each described by a particular brush formula, are carefully combined so that they range across the foreground in a rising and falling pattern (fig. 143b). In his writings Tung equated the drawing of trees with calligraphy, emphasizing that, "as in calligraphy, one concentrates one's power on the turning strokes. One must guard especially against letting a stroke go in one direction without checking it." Even branches and leaves had to show "four sides."[30]

These graphic patterns Tung manipulated as formal elements in abstract space, according to his new compositional ideas. Borrowing from ancient calligraphic criticism the concept of *shih* (kinetic force or momentum; discussed in chapter II) Tung saw landscape composition as abstract design with "rising-and-falling" (*ch'i-fu*), "opening-and-closing" (*fen-ho* or *k'ai-ho*), and "void-and-solid" (*hsü-shih*) movements:

> If a painter can both open [*fen*; divide] and close [*ho*] a composition, if his texture method is able to carry out all that he intends, then his painting will easily look convincing from all sides. . . . Only when a painter subtly weighs the void [*hsü*] against the solid [*shih*], and presents both aspects with feeling, will his painting naturally appear exciting.[31]

On one level, Tung Ch'i-ch'ang seemed to set aside the flat decorative surface treatment of the Ming in favor of the earlier, idealized tripartite composition of the Northern Sung. But the visual structure of his compositions is in fact radically new. His analytical landscape forms introduced totally new design possibilities. The cubically constructed masses, while implying volumes, are placed against space that is completely flat and neutral. The principles of void and solid, rising and falling, and opening and closing, which naturally tend to emphasize lateral movements along the picture plane, create free interplay and fusion between elements in back with those in front.

Until that moment, a sequential arrangement of elements along the vertical picture plane had been the standard composition of Chinese landscape paintings. In the Northern Sung period, painters used a systematic diminution of elements along the vertical plane to mark the three-stepped progression into depth. During the Yüan period, they learned to describe a continuous ground plane, gently tilting upward; and in the Ming period, having probed as deeply into the picture as possible, they returned to a flat and continuous decorative surface. In the paintings of these periods, vertical superimposition and lateral juxtaposition of elements was the rule, while overlapping and fusion was the exception. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's cubic masses and overlapping foliage patterns, full of subtle effects of optical fusion and distortion, finally broke down the traditional vertical, sequential treatment. In Tung's paintings, objects appear to jump back and forth in all parts of the picture. Elements of the near, the middle, and the far distances are collapsed and pushed together. Continuous breath-force (*ch'i-shih*) movements now circulate and undulate palpably through the interconnected landscape forms. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang saw painting compositions neither as pictorial repre-

Fig. 143. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, *River and Mountains on a Clear Autumn Day* (*Chiang-shan ch'iu-chi*). Undated, ca. 1610s. Handscroll, ink on paper. 38.4 x 136.8 cm (15 1/8 in. x 4 ft. 5 1/2 in.). Cleveland Museum of Art

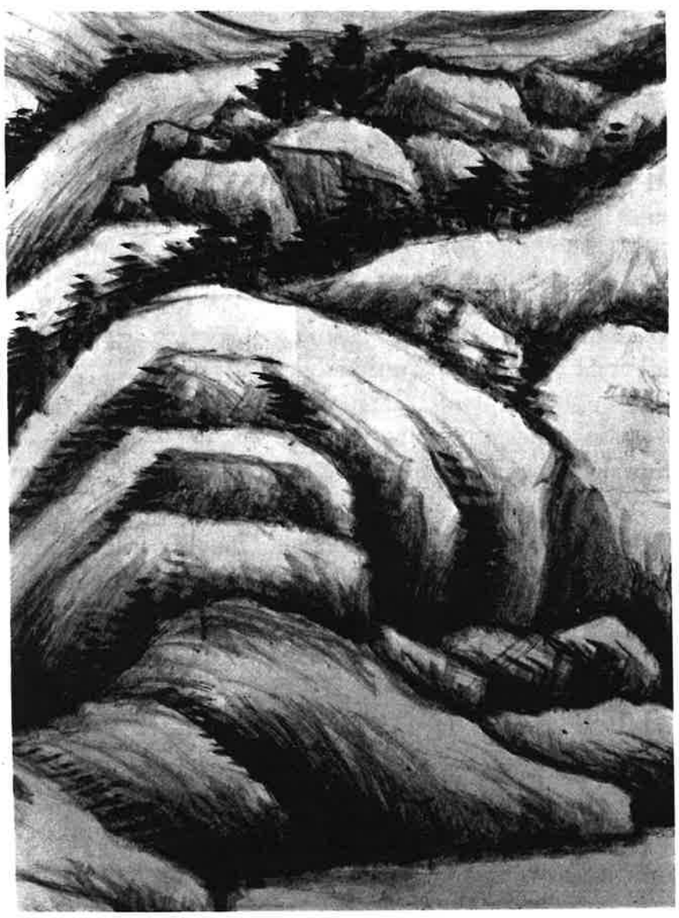

Fig. 143a. Detail, fig. 143

Fig. 143b. Detail, fig. 143

sentation nor as surface patterns, but as calligraphy: large, abstract characters written with sweeping, coming-and-going brush movements.

Tung recorded that he took up calligraphy seriously in about 1571 (when he was sixteen), first following Yen Chen-ch'ing (709–785), then the styles of Chung Yu (A.D. 151–230) and Wang Hsi-chih (ca. 307–ca. 365), which he felt he could not perfectly master. Then, for twenty years, he studied the Sung masters, finally succeeding in capturing "some moments of understanding."[32] He became a great admirer of Mi Fu, who was both a profound student of ancient calligraphy and a writer of great individuality. As he had insisted with painting, Tung maintained that "no calligrapher could imitate ancient styles without individual transformation"[33]:

> Ch'ien Mu-fu (fl. ca. 1100) once chided [Mi Fu] for writing too much like a "carved painting," and advised that he should rely principally on momentum [*shih*]. [Mi] was suddenly awakened [*wu*], so he completely discarded what he had learned, and produced designs of his own. He was like a Ch'an Buddhist after enlightenment, tearing off his flesh to return to his mother, breaking his bones to return to his father, shouting at his Buddha and cursing at his ancestors, totally changing his earlier appearance.[34]

Tung self-consciously compared himself with Chao Meng-fu (1254–1322), referring to himself as possessing "the [best] eye of the last three hundred years"—that is, since Chao.[35] He insisted, however, that Chao was much inferior to Mi Fu because Chao's writing lacked the force and momentum Tung considered to be crucial to calligraphy: "Chao's writing is too ripe and therefore vulgar." "My own writing," he added, "takes up where Chao Meng-fu left off, but mine has a somewhat raw quality."[36]

In a large handscroll, *Calligraphy in the Styles of the Four Sung Masters* (*Fang Su Huang Mi Tsai hsing-shu*) by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, in the John B. Elliott Collection at The Art Museum, Princeton University (no. 26), Tung transcribed four pieces of writing by Su Shih (1036–1101), Huang T'ing-chien (1045–1105), Mi Fu, and Ts'ai Hsiang (1012–1067). One of the two seals by Tung, "Ta-tsung-po chang," refers to his honorific title as the president of the Board of Rites, thus dating the scroll to after 1625. Although the four sections of the scroll purport to follow four different styles, they all reflect Tung's own strongly individualistic manner. The third section, after Mi Fu, is done in large and bold characters: "Every character [by Mi Fu]," Tung once remarked, "could be enlarged and used in a signboard. Master Mi himself said, 'Large characters should look like small ones.' In essence, every character should have momentum."[37] Like Mi, Tung was an expert in fine, small-size writing; in the Elliott scroll, the large characters have the flexibility and subtle details of small writing, yet individual brushstrokes are fully imbued with power and momentum. For Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, now in his seventies, writing such a scroll was a pure pleasure, an opportunity to savor the delights of accidental correspondences with the ancient masters (cf. figs. 144 a,b) he had studied and knew so intimately. Such spontaneous correspondences offered a chance meeting between the mind and some ancient model, and they were perfectly transmitted by the hand through the unconditioned response of the brush, paper, and ink. In studying Mi Fu, Tung sought to capture not merely Mi's forms, but Mi's "moments of understanding"; thus the lessons he learned from ancient models were

Fig. 144a. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, detail, *Calligraphy in the Styles of the Four Sung Masters* (*Fang Su Huang Mi Ts'ai hsing-shu*), no. 26

Fig. 144b. Mi Fu, detail, *Sailing on the Wu River* (*Wu-chiang chou chung shih*). Undated, ca. 1100. Handscroll, ink on paper. 31.3 x 559.8 cm (12 3/8 in. x 18 ft. 4 3/8 in.). John M. Crawford, Jr., collection

insights, rather than forms and techniques. Having awakened to the importance of momentum in Mi's writing, he was able to execute Mi's "square and circle" (Li Meng-yang's metaphor; cited in chapter 4) by ignoring Mi's ruler and compass. The key lies in the *wu-hsing*—the *hsing* (nature) for *wu* (awakening)—and not slavish imitation. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang was gifted with an uncommon *wu-hsing*, which gave him the best eye for connoisseurship and creativity in calligraphy and painting.

In an eight-leaf album, dated 1630 and therefore executed when Tung was seventy-five years old (seventy-six *sui*), formerly in the Edward L. Elliott Family Collection and now at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (figs. 145a–d), Tung Ch'i-ch'ang interpreted the entire spectrum of Sung and Yüan painting styles in a set of contrasting brushstroke methods, while also depicting actual landscapes. In a colophon at the end of the album the master summed up his career:

> From the fourth month of the *ting-chou* year [1577], when I started to paint, until now, the *keng-wu* year [1630], fifty-three years have passed. Although the true style of my painting is not yet established, still the time I have spent is longer than any other painter. In ancient times the Lord Buddha, after preaching for forty-nine years, still had not turned the Wheel of the Law. Am I not like Buddha? If so, some later critic may indeed argue [as Mi Fu did about Li Ch'eng] that "there is no true Tung Ch'i-ch'ang!"

Tung's lament that his true style was "not yet established" reflected proper modesty on his part, but the colophon left no doubt that, after a lifetime of study, Tung fully expected to turn the Wheel of the Law in painting.

In the 1630 album, Tung took as his point of departure the early and late styles of Ni Tsan, which he rendered as pure calligraphic abstractions of earlier Sung styles. Tung began to study Ni Tsan in the early 1580s, when he gained access to the collection of Hsiang Yüan-pien, who had a special passion for Ni Tsan. Among Ni's extant dated works, the following bear Hsiang's collector's seals: *Water Bamboo Hermitage* (*Shui-chu chu*), dated 1343, now in the Municipal Collection, Peking; *Portrait of Yang Chu-hsi* (*Yang Chu-hsi kao-shih hsiao-hsiang*; collaborative work with the portraitist Wang I), dated 1363, in the Palace Museum, Peking; *Evening Tide on the River Sandbar* (*Chiang-chu mu-ch'ao*), dated 1363, in the John M. Crawford, Jr., collection; *Lion Grove Garden* (*Shih-tzu-lin t'u*), dated 1371, in the Palace Museum, Peking (?); and *Woods and Valleys of Mount Yü* (*Yü-shan lin-ho*), dated 1372, in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Judging from Tung's dated comments, it appears that he did not fully grasp Ni Tsan's stylistic development until after he had acquired some major works by Ni in the 1610s and 1620s. In 1599 Tung saw, in the collection of his good friend Ch'en Chi-ju (1558–1639), Ni's *Autumn Clearing over a Fishing Lodge* (*Yü-chuang ch'iu-chi*; now in the Shanghai Museum), which bears an inscription by Ni, dated 1372, that dates the painting to 1355; Tung's brief colophon merely quotes Ku Cheng-i's (fl. ca. 1575–96) opinions about Ni Tsan, and (Tung perhaps not having read Ni's own inscription carefully) praises the work as "a masterpiece of [Ni's] later years."[38] In 1602 Tung wrote a colophon for Ni's *Six Gentlemen* of 1345 (cf. fig. 108); he noted that in this painting, Ni had modeled himself after Huang Kung-wang.[39] In a colophon written about 1603, on an album by Shen Chou, Tung stated, "In modeling himself after Tung Yüan in his earlier years, Ni Tsan followed the example of Huang Kung-wang."[40] In 1603 Tung inscribed Ni's *Autumn Woods and Mountain Colors* (*Ch'iu-lin shan-se*), writing that "Ni Tsan originally modeled himself after Tung Yüan, but in later years he transformed himself and painted small pictures in Kuan [T'ung's; fl. ca. 907–23] style."[41] In 1616 Tung painted a scroll "after Ni Tsan's fine style";[42] about 1625, after he was made president of the Board of Rites in Nanking, he did a painting "after Kuan T'ung" (using a seal alluding to his recently acquired high rank), and wrote on the painting, "Ni Tsan, after painting *Lion Grove Garden*, said that he had captured the ideas of Ching Hao and Kuan T'ung. Now I use Kuan [T'ung's] brushwork to write Ni Tsan's mountains. I only regret that old master [Ni] could not see me doing this!"[43] Meanwhile, in about 1620, Tung had acquired Ni's beautiful early work, *Water Bamboo Hermitage*;[44] also about 1620 he inscribed on Ni's *Painting Manual* (*Hua-p'u*; cf. figs. 113–15), and on Ni's *Pine Grove and Pavilion* (*Sung-lin*

Fig. 145a. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, album leaf 1 of *Eight Landscapes*. Dated 1630. Ink on paper. 24.5 x 16.0 cm (9⅝ x 6⅜ in.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Fig. 145b. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, album leaf 2 of *Eight Landscapes*

Fig. 145c. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, album leaf 3 of *Eight Landscapes*

Fig. 145d. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, album leaf 4 of *Eight Landscapes*

t'ing-tzu) of 1354, both in the National Palace Museum, Taipei.[45] And in about 1625, he painted *After Ni Tsan's "Hills and Valleys of Shan-yin"* (*Fang Ni Tsan Shan-yin ch'iu-ho t'u*), in the National Palace Museum, Taipei (fig. 146), and made the following remarks:

> Some time ago I had borrowed [Ni's *Hills and Valleys at Shan-yin*] to study, but failed to make a sketch. Now I try to re-create it with the help of Chü-jan's *Snow Clearing over the Mountain Pass* [*Kuan-shan hsüeh-chi*].[46]

This summary of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's collecting experiences with Ni Tsan shows that it was not until the mid-1620s, when he was well into his sixties, that he finally gained a complete understanding of Ni's style. By that time he had become so enamored of Ni Tsan that he repeatedly tried to re-create Ni, the late Yüan master, through Chü-jan and Kuan T'ung, the two "patriarchs" of the tenth century, and conversely, through Ni, to re-create Chü-jan and Kuan T'ung, all in "a single intuitive leap."

In the album of 1630, Tung started with what he regarded as the early and late styles of Ni Tsan's art—an earthen landscape with round, parallel hemp-fiber brushstrokes, and a rocky landscape with angular, oblique "folded-ribbon" (*che-tai*) brushstrokes. He wrote to one side of the second leaf: "These two leaves represent the marrow of Ni Tsan's painting" (figs. 145a, b). Then, proceeding with the round method, he re-created the late tenth-century Southern masters Tung Yüan and Chü-jan (fig. 145c), and with the angular method, the early tenth-century Northern masters Ching Hao (fl. ca. 870–930) and Kuan T'ung (fig. 145d). In the remaining two leaves he combined the round and angular techniques to create scenic compositions.

In this Great Synthesis of Sung and Yüan paintings, Tung's basic method was the diagrammatic formula of filling "the outlined forms [with] straight texture strokes," which he had earlier extracted from the style of Huang Kung-wang. He then amplified this simple straight texture stroke (*chih-ts'un*), the archetype of all texture patterns, inventing a range of calligraphic texture methods that served as the alphabet of a new pictorial language. In the second half of the seventeenth century, while the Orthodox masters went on to systematize the Great Synthesis, the Indi-

Fig. 146. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, *After Ni Tsan's "Hills and Valleys of Shan-yin"* (*Fang Ni Tsan Shan-yin ch'iu-ho t'u*). Undated, ca. 1625. Hanging scroll, ink on paper. 96.9 x 45.1 cm (3 ft. 2 1/8 in. x 17 3/4 in.). National Palace Museum, Taipei

vidualist masters began to base their art on observation of nature, rather than study of earlier art, and to personalize their styles. In both these endeavors Tung's new approach to brush vocabulary proved indispensable.

Wang Shih-min's Within Small See Large *Album*

Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's appointment, in 1594, as a tutor to the heir apparent came about through the efforts of his mentor Wang Hsi-chüeh (1534–1611), grand secretary to the Ming Wan-li emperor. From the late 1590s through the 1630s, Tung spent much time at his home in Hua-t'ing, and he frequently visited his mentor's home in T'ai-ts'ang. He was asked to tutor Wang's grandson Wang Shih-min, a particularly fortunate young man whose grandfather gave him everything he wanted. The young Wang resided in a separate estate, and was encouraged in his love for antiquities: "Whenever Wang Shih-min found a well-known masterpiece, he acquired it without considering the cost."[47]

As a student of painting, Wang had the best of instructors: Yün Shou-p'ing, in *Colophons of the Ou-hsiang Studio* (*Ou-hsiang-kuan hua-pa*), reported that when Wang Shih-min started to paint as a child, his grandfather asked Tung Ch'i-ch'ang to make models of trees and rocks for him. Tung did so, "illustrating Wang Wei's *Wang-ch'üan Villa*, the styles of Ching Hao, Tung Yüan, Mi Fu, Fan K'uan, and Li Ch'eng, giving the young man a range of tree and rock methods, their texturing, rubbing, outline, and ink wash to copy, each with a few words explaining the important principles."[48]

Besides illustrations of techniques, Wang Shih-min made copy books showing famous Sung and Yüan landscape compositions. A large album of twenty-two paintings (each 27 5/8 x 15 7/8 inches), entitled *Imitating Sung and Yüan Masters, Copies in Reduced Size, Paintings with Colophons* (*Fang Sung-Yüan-jen shu-pen hua-pa*), in the National Palace Museum, Taipei,[49] is also known by four large characters by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, each filling a whole leaf, reading, "Within Small See Large" ("Hsiao-chung hsien-ta"). Following this "title" are twenty-two reduced but exactly rendered copies of well-known compositions by or attributed to eleven leading Sung and Yüan masters: Li Ch'eng (Leaf 1; cf. fig. 42), Fan K'uan (Leaf 2; fig. 147a), Tung Yüan (Leaf 3), Chao Meng-fu after Tung Yüan (Leaf 4), Chü-jan (Leaf 5; fig. 147b), Chao Meng-fu (?) (Leaf 6), Kao K'o-kung (Leaf 7), Huang Kung-wang (Leaves 8, 9, 12, 13, 16, 18), Wang Meng after Tung Yüan (Leaf 10), Wu Chen (Leaves 11, 15; fig. 147c; cf. fig. 37), Wang Meng (Leaves 14, 19), Wang Shen (Leaf 17), and Ni Tsan (Leaves 20–22). In eighteen instances the painting on the left-hand leaf is complemented on the right-hand leaf by an inscription signed by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and accompanied by his seals; the inscriptions sometimes give the title and attribution of the original composition; argue for the attribution; comment on the style, source, and derivation; report the provenance and recent history of the work; and, in eight instances, record the dates of either Tung's personal experiences acquiring or parting with these paintings, or the writing of the inscriptions.

These carefully executed reduced copies, done in the late 1620s, are in fact not Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's work, but Wang Shih-min's. The album agrees with the description of an oversize album of models that Wang Shih-min was said to have made and to have carried around with him:

> [Wang Shih-min] once selected among ancient works some of the most successful in methods and in breath [*ch'i*], twenty-four in all, made reduced copies of them, and had them mounted into a giant album. He took this album with him wherever he went, to serve as his models. Thus, in his works, every compositional detail, every outline, texture, and ink wash had its origin in an ancient source.[50]

As tutor to the young Wang Shih-min, Tung helped to form the younger man's collection, passing on some of the ancient paintings in his own collection and advising Wang on the purchase of others. As Wang Shih-min made the copies as a record for study, Tung transcribed the titles and inscriptions he composed for the original works.

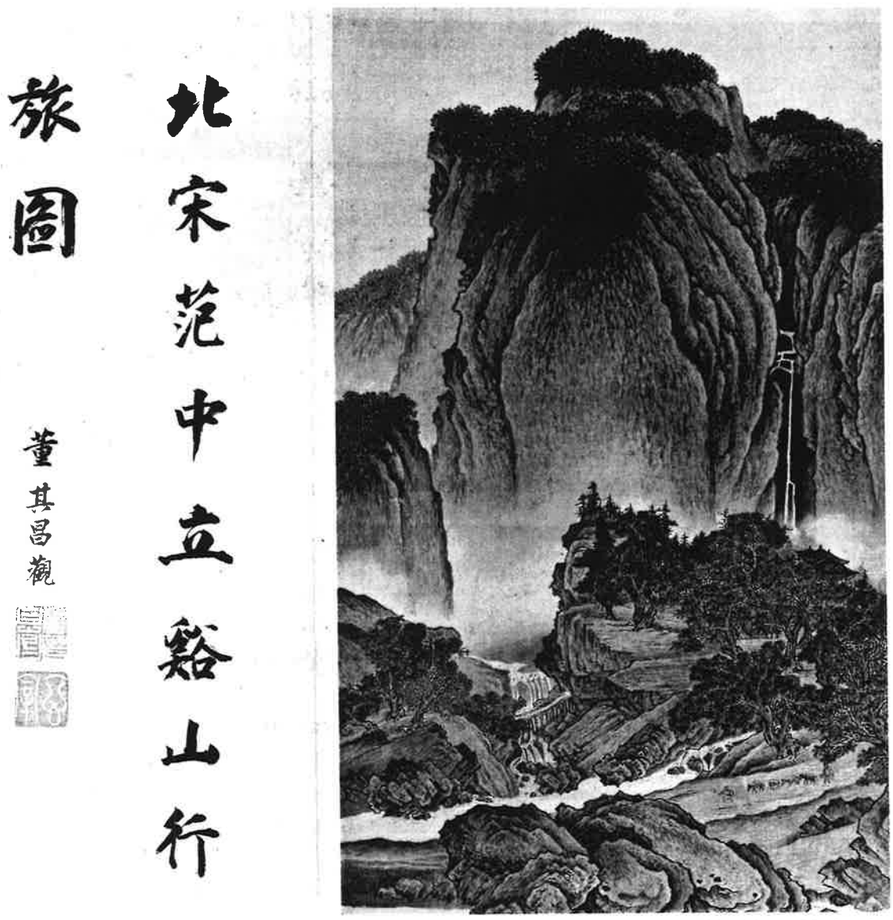

Fig. 147a. Wang Shih-min, "After Fan K'uan's 'Travelers among Streams and Mountains,'" and inscription by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. Undated, late 1620s. Album leaf 2 of *Within Small See Large* (*Hsiao-chung hsien-ta*), ink and light color on silk. 70.2 x 40.2 cm (27⅝ x 15⅞ in.). National Palace Museum, Taipei

The album provides valuable evidence for Tung's own collecting activities from the late 1590s through the 1620s. In 1598 he inscribed on the *Snow Scene* (Leaf 1; cf. fig. 42), which he attributed to Li Ch'eng, rather than Fan K'uan. Leaf 16 reproduces a composition by Huang Kung-wang,[51] acquired through exchange in 1599 and inscribed in 1600. Leaf 4 reproduces a painting described as by "Chao Meng-fu after Tung Yüan," acquired in 1607. Leaf 18 shows a Huang Kung-wang composition, seen and inscribed in 1614, which, Tung's inscription points out, "compares closely with the *Fu-ch'un* mountain scroll in [his] own collection," while Leaf 8 reproduces the well-known *Thick Woods in a Steep Valley* (*Tou-ho mi-lin*) by Huang.[52] In the inscription accompanying Leaf 8, Tung noted that he had known the work since his early days in Peking in the early 1590s. The painting subsequently entered the collection of Ku Cheng-i. Although Tung had long since acquired most of the works by Huang in Ku's collection, Ku had withheld this particular painting. Tung finally succeeded in purchasing it in 1620, presumably from Ku's descendants. In the mid-1620s, Tung acquired three important works by Wang Meng: *An Elegant Gathering among Forests and Streams* (*Lin-ch'uan ch'ing-chi*), dated 1367, by Wang (Leaf 14), which Tung compared favorably with Wang's *Dwelling in the Ch'ing-pien Mountains* of 1366 (cf. fig. 119), he purchased from a Tsou family in Su-chou in 1625; Wang Meng's *After Tung Yüan's "Travelers in Autumn Mountains"* (*Fang Tung Yüan Ch'iu-shan hsing-lu t'u*; Leaf 10), which he compared, in his inscription, with Tung Yüan's composition by the same title also in his collection, was inscribed in 1627; and Leaf 19 copies Wang's *Spring Dawn over Mount*

Fig. 147b. Wang Shih-min, "After Chü-jan's 'Snow Scene.'" Album leaf 5 of *Within Small See Large* (*Hsiao-chung hsien-ta*), ink on silk

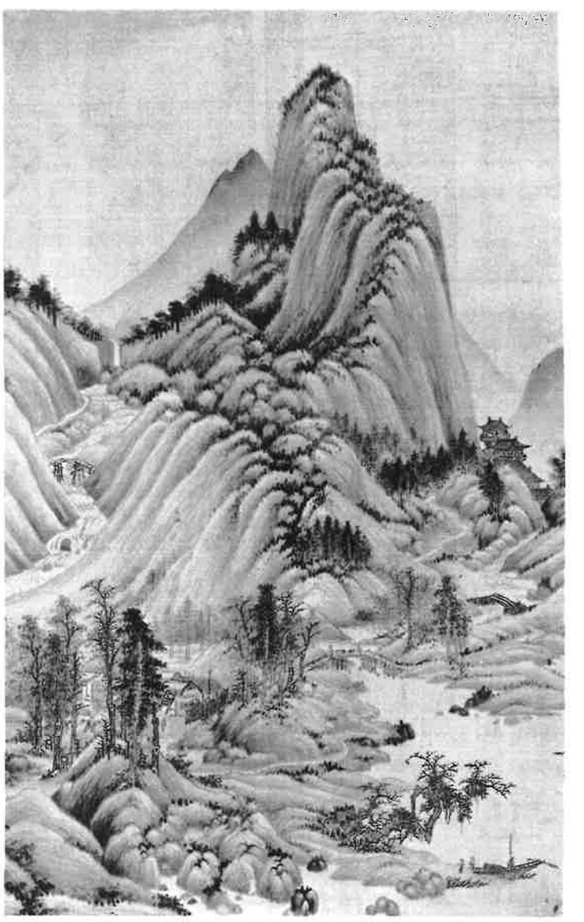

Fig. 147c. Wang Shih-min, "After Wu Chen." Album leaf 11 of *Within Small See Large* (*Hsiao-chung hsien-ta*), ink and light color on silk

Tan-t'ai (*Tan-t'ai ch'un-hsiao*; now in the National Palace Museum, Taipei), which he had bought in 1626 and gave to Wang Shih-min in 1627.[53] Presumably by 1627 or slightly later, when Wang Shih-min made these copies and Tung transcribed the inscriptions, all of these paintings, as well as the others shown in the album, had entered Wang Shih-min's collection.

This album was a prime source for Sung and Yüan models throughout the seventeenth century, not only for Wang Shih-min and his friend Wang Chien, but also for Wang Hui, Wu Li, and others lucky enough to have access to it.

Wang Hui: The Two Wings of Painting

Wang Hui was born in Yü-shan (Mount Yü), a village near Ch'ang-shu, north of Su-chou, on April 10, 1632. Ch'ang-shu was the birthplace of Huang Kung-wang, whose tomb was located on the south side of Mount Yü. Like Wang Shih-min's family, Wang Hui's, though not related, originally came from T'ai-yüan, Shansi, in north China, moving to the south during the Mongol invasion in the late thirteenth century. Wang Hui's great-grandfather Wang Po-ch'en, grandfather Wang Tsai-shih, father Wang Huan-lung, and uncle Huan-ao were all painters, specializing in landscapes and birds and flowers.[54] Wang Hui's family was poor, but even as a child he played by drawing on the wall with a reed. His first teacher was a local painter by the name of Chang K'o. In 1651, at the age of nineteen, young Wang Hui was discovered by

Wang Chien, who introduced him, more than a year later, to Wang Shih-min. Astounded by the young man's natural talent, Wang Shih-min housed young Wang Hui at Hsi-t'ien, his country villa in the western suburb of T'ai-ts'ang, brought out all his treasured ancient paintings for him to study and copy, and introduced him as his protégé to other leading collectors.

A sense of how Wang Hui was viewed by his peers is best provided by Wang Shih-min, who wrote a long colophon on a snow scene painted by Wang Hui in the late 1660s:

> In recent years there have been as many painters as trees in a forest. . . . As for the kind of painter who has not been seen in the last 500 years, there is only our Wang Hui, one person, that is all. . . . He is like a student of Ch'an Buddhism who has achieved total awakening: by understanding one thing, he understands a hundred things. This is known as "entering into the Land of Tathagata Buddha in one single leap.". . .
>
> I have long had an obsession for the Tao of painting. Unfortunately, my natural endowment is dull and inferior, and moreover I have been hampered by the cares of worldly affairs. I have not been able to study diligently, and I have accomplished little. As for my other painter friends, known to me throughout my life, most of them have not been able to free themselves from prevailing fashions. I have always thought that such was the fault of our time. Little did I expect that in my declining years I would meet someone like Wang Hui. As I watch him, some ancient master suddenly appears before my eyes. Is this not a great good fortune?[55]

Wang Hui lived and worked for nearly thirty years in the company of Wang Shih-min and Wang Chien. (Wang Chien died in 1677 and Wang Shih-min in 1680.) Starting with the styles of Huang Kung-wang and Wang Meng, Wang Hui first mastered a Great Synthesis of Sung and Yüan styles through the Yüan calligraphic idiom. Then, in the 1680s, he made major efforts toward re-creating a monumental landscape style, by producing long handscrolls incorporating the Northern Sung idioms of Chü-jan, Fan K'uan, and Yen Wen-kuei (fl. ca. 970–1030).

Soon after the end of the rebellion of the Three Feudatories in 1681, the Ch'ing K'ang-hsi emperor started to consolidate his rule in the south. After his successful first southern inspection tour in 1684, he began to make plans for a second, which took place in 1689. New maps of the empire were ordered, and Sung Chien-chai, a powerful eunuch, recommended that Wang Hui be made a *tai-chao* (painter-in-waiting).[56] By 1691 Wang Hui found himself in Peking, supervising the creation of a record of the second imperial southern inspection journey of 1689. Breaking down the journey into episodes, Wang Hui designed a series of twelve massive handscrolls, known as *The Southern Inspection Tour Paintings* (*Nan-hsün t'u*). He painted most of the landscapes himself, in the monumental Northern Sung idioms he had perfected in the late 1680s, but left the figures, architectural drawings, and more routine work to his assistants. Upon the completion of the project in 1698, Wang Hui was granted an audience with the delighted emperor, who bestowed on him a scroll, personally inscribed "The landscape is clear and radiant" ("Shan-shui ch'ing-hui"), a quotation from the fourth-century poet Hsieh Ling-yün. Thus honored, Wang Hui returned home in November 1698, henceforth adopting the name Ch'ing-hui chu-jen (Master of the Clear and Radiant Hall). When he died in his birthplace, Yü-shan, on November 15, 1717, he was the most renowned painter in the south.

One of Wang Hui's early works, *After Chü-jan's Brushwork* (*Fang Chü-jan pi-i*), dated 1664, in the Earl Morse collection at The Art Museum, Princeton University (fig. 148), marks a transitional period, when Wang began to break away from Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's style to create a new style of his own. The immediate model for *After Chü-jan* was the *Snow Scene* (*Hsüeh-t'u*) attributed to Chü-jan, as known from Wang Shih-min's *Within Small See Large* album (Leaf 5; cf. fig. 147b). Wang Hui's painting was a birthday gift dedicated to "the venerable old Master Hsiu." Before the dedication, he wrote a couplet of two four-word phrases: "Mountains [and] streams round [and] full, / Grass [and] trees resplendent [and] lush." Wang took

Fig. 148. Wang Hui, *After Chü-jan's Brushwork* (*Fang Chü-jan pi-i*). Dated 1664. Hanging scroll, ink on paper. 131.0 x 65.5 cm (4 ft. 3⅝ in. x 25¾ in.). The Art Museum, Princeton University

Fig. 149a. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, detail of colophon, late 1620s, to album leaf 8 of Wang Shih-min's *Within Small See Large* (*Hsiao-chung hsien-ta*), ink on paper

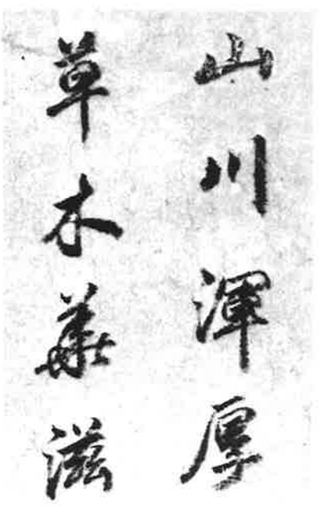

Fig. 149b. Wang Hui, detail of inscription, fig. 148

Fig. 150. Attributed to Chü-jan, *Snow Scene* (*Hsüeh-t'u*). Undated, copy ca. 1100(?). Hanging scroll, ink on silk. 103.6 x 52.5 cm (3 ft. 4 3/4 in. x 20 5/8 in.). National Palace Museum, Taipei

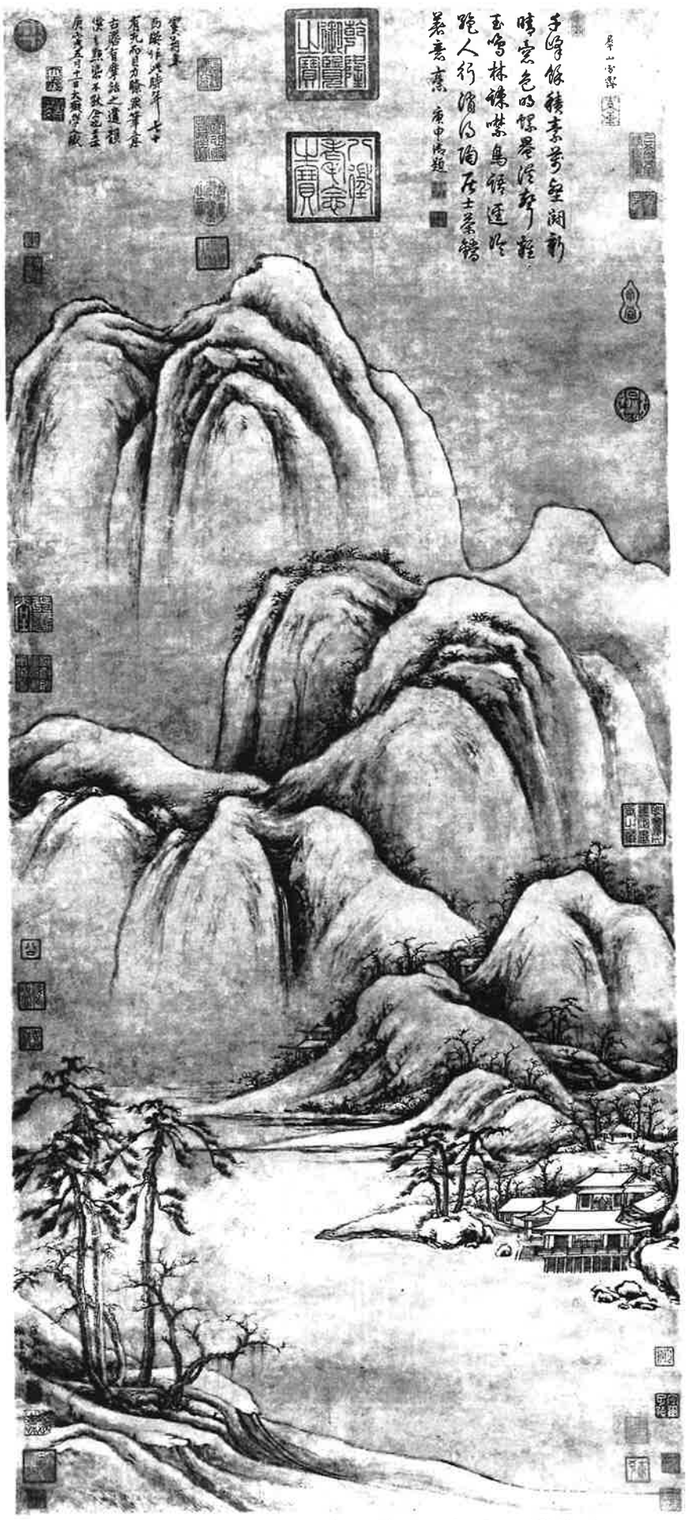

Fig. 151. Ts'ao Chih-po, *Mountain Peaks in Clearing after Snow* (*Ch'ün-shan hsüeh-chi*). Dated 1350. Hanging scroll, ink on paper. 129.7 x 56.4 cm (4 ft. 3 in. x 22 1/4 in.). National Palace Museum, Taipei

these two lines, originally part of Chang Yü's description of a painting by Huang Kung-wang, from Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's colophons in Wang Shih-min's *Within Small See Large* album (Leaves 8, 12; cf. figs. 149a, b). The use of this quotation on Wang Hui's painting had several levels of meaning. First, as the painting was meant to be a birthday present, the quotation was a felicitous eulogy, comparing the recipient's good health to luxuriant mountains and streams. Second, the words seemed to speak for the artist's own pride and satisfaction in his rich native land of Chiang-nan. Such praise no doubt would have pleased even the K'ang-hsi emperor, newly ascended to the throne in 1662. Finally, and most important, the colophon paid homage to Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, who, through Wang Shih-min, was Wang Hui's true teacher. For Wang Hui, this eight-word epithet, more than actually describing a landscape that is "round and full" and "resplendent and lush," characterized a rich and splendid painting style. Huang Kung-wang, according to Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, had "expressed joyfulness in painting."[57] Remembering Tung's words—"If one considers the wonders of brush and ink, then [real] landscape can never equal painting"—Wang Hui now created a "round and full" painting style with a "resplendent and lush" brushwork.

Wang Hui did not copy the Sung composition. Freely adapting elements from Wang Shih-min's copy in the *Within Small See Large* album, he enlarged the group of pine trees in the foreground on the left, linking them diagonally with the smaller pine forest in the middle distance, which in turn he related rhythmically with the great serpentine movement of the central peak in the background. In the drawing of the mountain form, he followed Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's graphic formula of filling the outlined forms with straight texture strokes. Individual brushstrokes rather than representing forms now conveyed the life and energy of the landscape; the brushstrokes grew and expanded continuously until the whole became a great flowing pattern of billowing eddies and countereddies.

A series of datable Yüan, Ming, and Ch'ing compositions derived from the original Sung *Snow Scene* attributed to Chü-jan, now in the National Palace Museum, Taipei (fig. 150), illustrates the successive changes in compositional structure in landscape painting since the Sung period. While Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's attribution of the *Snow Scene* to Chü-jan has been challenged, the composition, which relates closely to the opening section of the handscroll *Rivers and Mountains after Snow* attributed to Wang Wei (cf. fig. 142), shows the typical early Northern Sung three-stepped progression into depth.[58] In *Mountain Peaks in Clearing after Snow* (*Chün-shan hsüeh-chi*) by Ts'ao Chih-po (1272–1355), which is dated 1350 by an inscription by Huang Kung-wang, in the National Palace Museum, Taipei (fig. 151), the expanded mountains of the middle distance now move back diagonally into space, along a continuously receding ground plane; Ts'ao's treatment of space indeed closely resembles Huang Kung-wang's in the latter artist's *Fu-ch'un* scroll, also dated 1350 (cf. fig. 67). In Wang Shih-min's copy the mountain forms occupy the front of the picture plane; they relate to the frame of the composition in a manner typical of late Ming painting, as sweeping, zigzagging surface patterns.

In Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's renderings of the Chü-jan theme, as seen in his *Hills and Valleys of Shan-yin*, dated about 1625 (cf. fig. 146), and the leaf evoking Chü-jan's style in the album dated 1630 (cf. fig. 145c), the energized calligraphic texture strokes give the landscape elements a totally new appearance; rather than modeling and describing forms, the bluntly assertive calligraphic brushstrokes build forms that fully express the kinetic energies of the brushwork; the forms are no longer flat, they project and recede, and move with great dynamic force (*shih*) in abstract space.

Finally, in Wang Hui's *After Chü-jan*, the kinetic forces of the texture strokes have been totally marshaled in an orderly fashion to create an imposing design of billowing and undulating forms. The calligraphic formula of filling outlined forms with texture strokes now brings the painter to the center of the act of painting: in the words of the colophon to the ancient treatise on calligraphy, Lady Wei's *Battle Array of the Brush* (*Pi-ch'eng-t'u*), "the paper is the battlefield, the brush is sword and lance, . . . the heart and mind are the general, skill is the general's lieutenant."[59] "Wang Hui once told me," reported Wang Yüan-ch'i, "that in executing a composition, whether in a coarse or fine style, the painter must first see in front of him the

basic outlines of entering and exiting."[60] Remarking that "in [landscape] painting one needs only to pay attention to the breath-force [*ch'i-shih*], the general outlines of the design," Wang Yüan-ch'i credited Wang Hui with the discovery of what was called the "dragon vein" (*lung-mo*) principle in composition:

> Although dragon veins that open and close, rise and fall in a composition had been present in ancient paintings, they were never clearly pointed out. Now that Wang Hui has made them clear, all students know what to follow. . . . The dragon vein marks the breath-force of a painting; its starting point may be oblique or symmetrical, rounded or fragmented, broken or continuous, hidden or apparent. This is the basic principle. . . . While the overall composition has opening and closing movements, individual sections of the composition also have their own openings and closings; and while there are overall risings and fallings, there are also individual risings and fallings. . . . If the dragon, in its many oblique or frontal, unified or broken, obscured or apparent, interrupted or continuous positions, is lively and vivid, the painting will be true.[61]

With Wang Hui's dragon-vein principle, which fully developed Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's idea of momentum, compositional unity in landscape painting now depended not so much on the balance and harmony of the parts, as in works of the earlier periods, as on the kinetic energy and tension—the momentum generated by individual brushstrokes within the organic pictorial structure.

Wang Hui used a new Chü-jan model in *After Chü-jan's "Mist Floating on a Distant Peak"* (*Fang Chü-jan Yen-fou yüan-hsiu t'u*), dated 1672, in the Earl Morse collection at The Art Museum, Princeton University (fig. 152).[62] The painting on silk shows a great heaving abstract mountain mass, with round calligraphic brushstrokes executed in abstract arcs, circles, and dots; the only natural elements are a few vertical trees in the lower portion of the composition, which serve to point out the direction of the dragon-vein movements. Again, Wang Hui did not copy his model precisely. An identical composition attributed to Chü-jan (fig. 153) in the Fuji-Yūrinkan Museum, in Kyoto, is a replica of Wang Hui's *Mist Floating*.[63] The model for both paintings seems to be *Seeking the Tao in Autumn Mountains* attributed to Chü-jan (cf. fig. 35), or a close replica of that composition.

Colophons by Wang Hui and his teachers Wang Shih-min and Wang Chien, accompanying *Mist Floating* of 1672, spoke of an exciting stylistic discovery. "This painting," wrote Wang Hui, "does not make use of any paths, streams, houses, temple buildings, boats, or bridges. It depends entirely on broad and heroic compositional forces." Wang Shih-min found "a primordial breath [*yüan-ch'i*] filling this composition," and Wang Chien called the work "a living reincarnation of Chü-jan."

Fully conscious of the significance of his stylistic experiments, Wang Hui described his method in two of the seals on these paintings: in the lower left corner of *After Chü-jan* the artist's seal reads, "I travel up and down through past and present" ("Shang-hsia ku-chin"), and above *Mist Floating* one seal reads, "Why not this way?" ("Yu-ho pu-k'o"). In *Mist Floating* Wang Hui finally discovered the archetype of the Southern School style: no descriptive details intruded; abstract brushwork and breath-forces prevailed. Wang-Hui realized that the secret of the Southern School style—calligraphic brushwork—was a Yüan rather than Sung legacy. "I must use the brush and ink of the Yüan," it came to Wang Hui suddenly, "to move the peaks and valleys of the Sung, and infuse them with the breath-resonance [*ch'i-yün*] of the T'ang. I shall then have a work of the Great Synthesis."[64]

Wang Hui disagreed with Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's dictum that "in painting it is better to be obscure than to be obvious": "Painting has its obvious and obscure aspects," he concluded. "These are like the two wings of a bird; neither should be used singly at the expense of the other. When the obvious and the obscure are equally perfected, a spirited breath [*ch'i*] will emerge."[65]

In an album of twelve leaves entitled *In Pursuit of Antiquity* (*Chü-ku*), dated 1673 and dedicated to Wang Shih-min, now in the Earl Morse collection at The Art Museum, Princeton University (figs. 154a,b), Wang Hui presented a brilliant display of his Great Synthesis of the "two wings" of painting, the "obscure" and

Fig. 152. Wang Hui, *After Chü-jan's "Mist Floating on a Distant Peak"* (*Fang Chü-jan Yen-fou yüan-hsiu t'u*). Dated 1672. Hanging scroll, ink on silk. The Art Museum, Princeton University

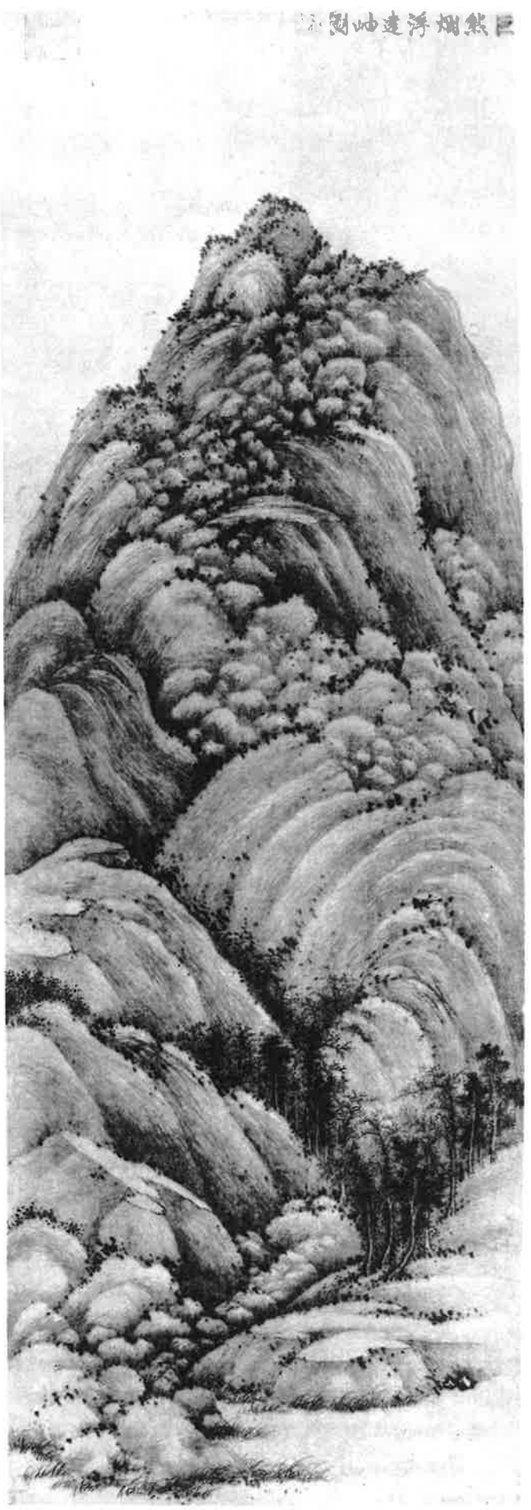

Fig. 153. Wang Hui(?), attributed to Chü-jan, *Mist Floating on a Distant Peak* (*Yen-fou yüan-hsiu t'u*), replica of fig. 152. Undated, ca. 1670. Hanging scroll, ink on silk. Fuji-Yūrinkan, Kyoto

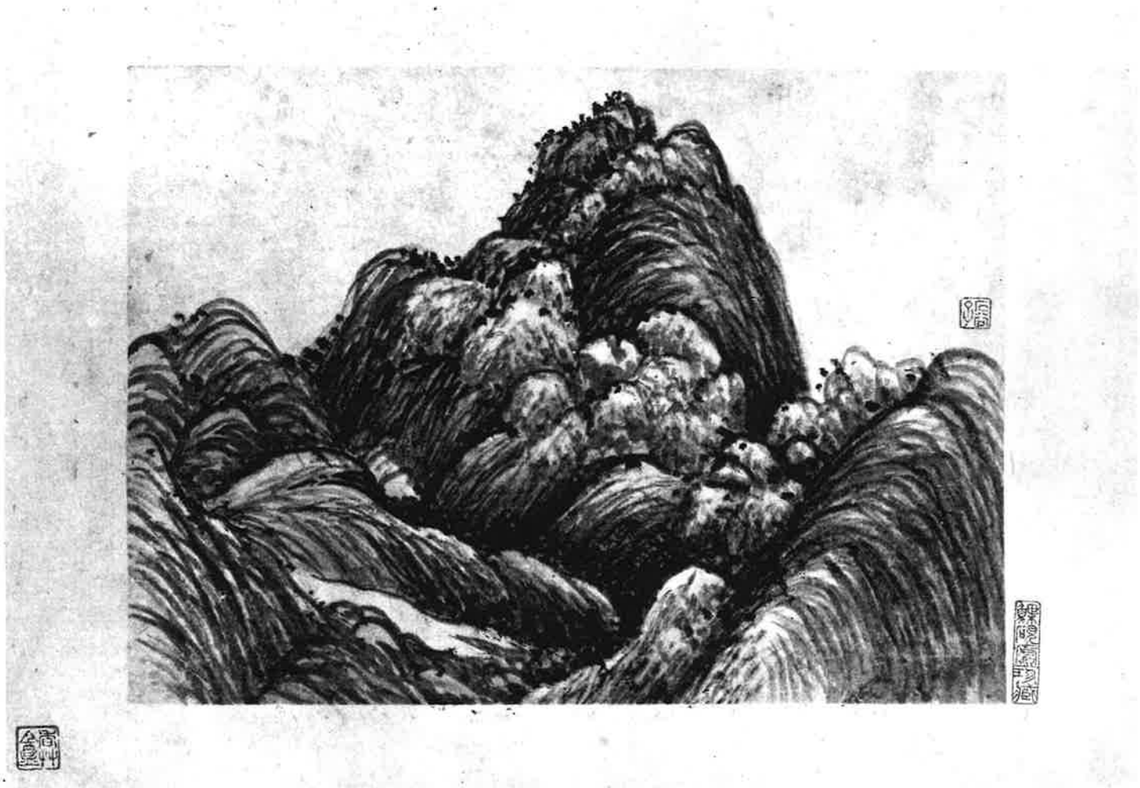

Fig. 154a. Wang Hui, "After Chü-jan." Dated 1673. Album leaf 1 of *In Pursuit of Antiquity* (*Ch'ü-ku*), ink on paper. 21.9 x 31.0 cm (8⅝ x 12¼ in.). The Art Museum, Princeton University

the "obvious." The album opens with the Chü-jan formula (fig. 154a), the archetypal host peak flanked by two guest peaks, done in semicircular round brushstrokes and round dots: not a single tree or blade of grass interferes with the abstract design. Developing from this, the pure Southern School style, he re-created with increasing descriptiveness the "cloudy mountains" (*yün-shan*) of Mi Fu and Kao K'o-kung, and a series of different but related hemp-fiber texture landscapes representing Tung Yüan, Huang Kung-wang, and Wang Meng. The remaining six leaves are devoted to more descriptive and decorative styles: that of Li Ch'eng (cf. fig. 42), that of Kuo Hsi (ca. 1010–ca. 1075; two leaves), that of Ts'ao Chih-po, and two landscapes with colors. Leaf 3 (fig. 154b), a charming spring scene of a boy and his buffalo by a stream, is done in a simple ink-wash style with soft greens and browns, its gentle lyricism deriving, through T'ang Yin, from the Southern Sung Academy style.

The wide range of styles covered in this album greatly impressed Wang Hui's contemporaries: "I am fond of Wang Hui's works in the styles of Ni [Tsan], Huang [Kung-wang], and Ts'ao Chih-po," wrote Liu Yü (fl. ca. 1660–90) in a colophon above Leaf 8, a colorful blue and green landscape, "but these fine and ornate pictures lean in an entirely different direction. If these too can be included in Wang Wei's Southern School, what more can one ask?"[66]

Throughout the 1660s and 1670s, Wang Hui's virtuoso accomplishments dazzled his friends and admirers. Yün Shou-p'ing, who witnessed "several transformations" in Wang Hui's paintings, proclaimed that each time he reached "a new summit."[67] Through Wang's Great Synthesis, Yün observed, a new unity was achieved among "even styles that had always been considered incompatible."[68]

Fig. 154b. Wang Hui, "Herd Boy" ("Mu-t'ung"). Dated 1673. Album leaf 3 of *In Pursuit of Antiquity*, ink and light color on paper. 17.6 x 29.8 cm (6⅞ x 11¾ in.)

Yet Wang Hui's very success in conquering new stylistic territory seemed to inhibit his potential. After Wang Shih-min died in 1680 and Wang Hui the brilliant student became a successful master, his own process of transformation came to an end. While the great imperial commission to lead the southern inspection tour project in the 1690s boosted his career, it did not give impetus to his painting. His redoubled efforts to persist in the path of imitating the ancients yielded, in the end, to the temptation to imitate himself.

One aspect of Wang Hui's work seldom mentioned by his contemporaries, but one of great value and interest to modern art historians, is his activity as a forger. As early as 1669 Chou Liang-kung (1612–1672), a well-known connoisseur and collector of contemporary paintings, had noted that "people of Wu [around Su-chou] often asked [Wang Hui] to paint, then mounted his works as antique paintings to deceive collectors."[69] Chou reported these circumstances matter-of-factly; Wang was young and poor, and, as Chou pointed out, "what he painted may adequately compete with the works of ancient masters." Today, the Sung and Yüan paintings forged by Wang Hui appear striking for their departure from the original models; they succeed as independent creations. In these interesting works, executed mostly in the late 1660s and early 1670s, Wang was just as concerned with stylistic innovations as he was in works done under his own name.

A replica attributed to Fan K'uan of his masterpiece *Travelers among Streams and Mountains* in the National Palace Museum, Taipei (cf. fig. 48), known simply as *Travelers* (*Hsing-lü t'u*; fig. 155), in the same museum, leads the list of extant possible Wang Hui forgeries. A smaller painting than the original, the

Fig. 155. Forgery by Wang Hui, formerly attributed to Fan K'uan, *Travelers* (*Hsing-lü t'u*). Hanging scroll, ink on silk. Undated, ca. 1670s. 155.3 x 74.4 cm (5 ft. 1 1/8 in. x 29 1/4 in.). National Palace Museum, Taipei

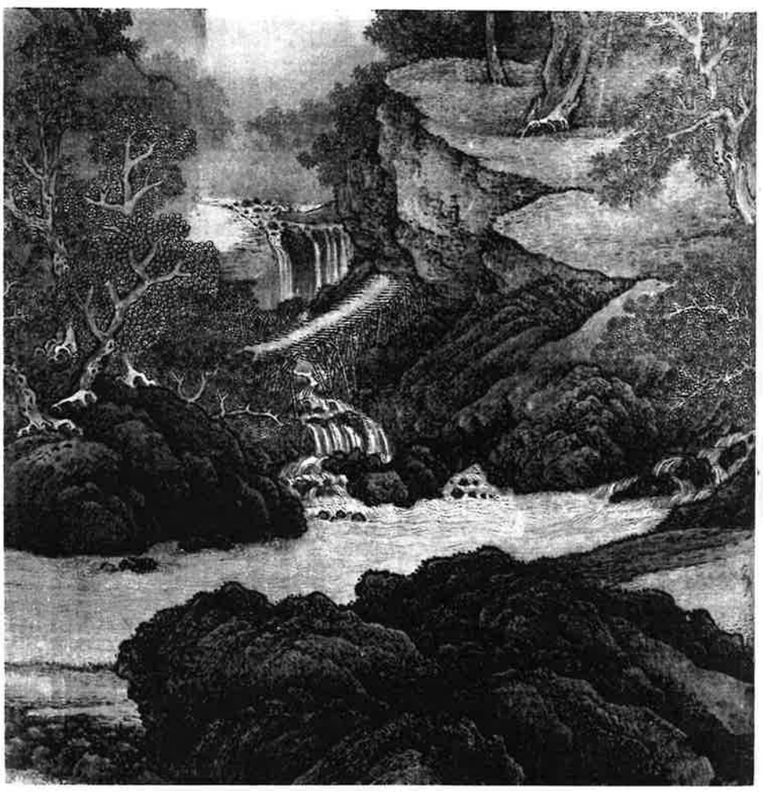

Fig. 155a. Detail, fig. 155

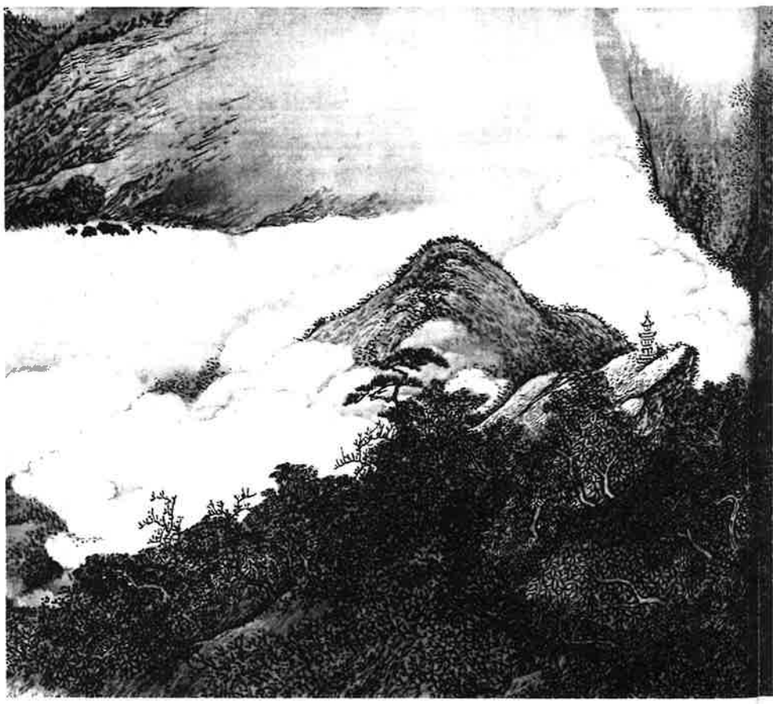

Fig. 156. Wang Hui, detail, *Colors of Mount T'ai-hang* (*T'ai-hang shan-se*). Dated 1669. Handscroll, ink and color on silk. 23.5 x 209.4 cm (9 1/4 in. x 6 ft. 10 1/2 in.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

hanging scroll *Travelers* shows on its mounting two colophons (cut out and preserved from a previous mounting), one dated 1671 by Wang Shih-min, and the other dated 1696 by Sung Chün-yeh (fl. ca. 1660–1710), who was a pupil of Wang Hui's and later a coeditor, under Wang Yüan-ch'i, of the K'ang-hsi imperial encyclopedic work *Manual on Calligraphy and Painting of the P'ei-wen Studio* (*P'ei-wen-chai shu-hua-p'u*; completed 1708). Wang Shih-min's colophon reported that "six-tenths [of his ancient painting collection] had come from Tung Ch'i-ch'ang," but that, by the time of his writing the colophon, in 1671, "only one- or two-tenths of it remained," then, "recently, going through some old trunks, [he] brought out Fan K'uan's *Travelers*" and had it remounted, writing a few words to mark the occasion. Sung Chün-yeh, in 1696, inscribing on the scroll sixteen years after the elder Wang's death, recounted that he had a chance to view the painting at Wang's old studio, "a bamboo house with paper windows," in the company of Wang Hui, who, moved by Sung's appreciation of "this authentic work by Fan K'uan, a rare treasure of the world," made a small copy and "presented it to [Sung] to reward [his] enthusiasm."[70]

In 1696 at Wang Shih-min's old home, Sung Chün-yeh could not have seen the original Fan K'uan, which had long before been sold to the famous collector Liang Ch'ing-piao (1620–1691). Most likely Wang Shih-min, having sold the original work to Liang in about 1671, had commissioned Wang Hui to produce a replacement, which he had mounted as Fan K'uan's *Travelers*. (The abridged name *Travelers* may have been Wang Shih-min's subtle way of differentiating a copy from the original.)

Around 1670 Wang Hui worked in the Fan K'uan raindrop (*yü-tien*) idiom. His superb handscroll *Colors of Mount T'ai-hang* (*T'ai-hang shan-se*), formerly in the Earl Morse collection and now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 156), was painted in the fall of 1669. In creating the *Travelers* attributed to Fan K'uan, Wang Hui worked not from the original Fan K'uan, but from Wang Shih-min's copy in the *Within Small See Large* album (cf. fig. 147a). A comparison of the sizes of these three works tells us something about the problems faced by the forger: the original Fan K'uan is more than 6 feet in height, the *Travelers* is just over 5 feet, and Wang Shih-min's reduced copy is less than half the size of the *Travelers*.

To enlarge from the small model, with the limited information it afforded, to a composition more than twice the model's size, Wang Hui wisely avoided repeating its simplified outlines and forms. Instead he worked with energized raindrop texture dots (fig. 155a), building small billowing rock forms into a large composition. Whereas Fan K'uan created a heroic image from large, carefully defined parts, without subordinating the parts to an organic whole, Wang Hui constructed an integrated composition from kinetic brushstrokes, producing large, continuous breath-force and dragon-vein movements.

Because of this bold approach Wang Hui's *Travelers* replica carries the same conviction as its Sung predecessor. "Filled with mist and clouds, and thickly amassed trees," reported Sung Chün-yeh, Wang's copy "arrested eyes and made hearts tremble." Some decades after Sung wrote those words, when both the original Fan K'uan and the replica had found their way into the Ch'ing Ch'ien-lung emperor's (Kao-tsung; r. 1736–95) collection, the former, recorded in the first series of the imperial catalogue, *Treasured Boxes of the Stony Moat* (*Shih-ch'ü pao-chi*), in 1744, passed virtually unnoticed by the emperor, while he chose the latter to be inscribed with a poem, dated 1757, which concludes with these lines: "The simple and plain methods of the four [Yüan] masters / All look to this as their first ancestor."[71] In comparison to Wang Hui's work, Fan K'uan's masterpiece probably appeared rather too cool, remote, and unfamiliar to eighteenth-century taste.

Other Wang Hui forgeries owned by the Ch'ien-lung emperor (National Palace Museum, Taipei) included *After Fan K'uan's Mount Lu* (*Mo Fan K'uan Lu-shan t'u*) attributed to the early Southern Sung master Chiang Shen.[72] Treating it as a variation on the Fan K'uan theme, Wang Hui imagined in this painting how a Southern Sung painter might have followed and imitated Fan's style. A second group dealt with the Li Ch'eng idiom, another important concern of Wang Hui's around the 1670s. An album leaf, *Jasper Peaks and Gem Trees* (*Yao-feng ch'i-shu*), attributed to Li Ch'eng, in the National Palace Museum, Taipei,[73] follows closely the brushwork and forms of Wang Hui's handscroll *After Li Ch'eng's "Snow Clearing"* (*Fang Li Ch'eng Hsüeh-chi t'u*), dated 1667 (fig. 158), while the large hanging scroll *Dense Snow on the Mountain Pass* (*Kuan-shan mi-hsüeh*) attributed to Hsü Tao-ning (ca. 1000–after 1066), also in the National Palace Museum, Taipei (fig. 157), appears to be a work by the same hand: the convoluted mountain forms, together with sinuous trees, thrust forward dramatically in one single dragon-vein movement.

Fig. 157. Forgery by Wang Hui, formerly attributed to Hsü Tao-ning, detail, *Dense Snow on the Mountain Pass* (*Kuan-shan mi hsüeh*). Undated, ca. 1670. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk. 121.3 x 81.3 cm (3 ft. 11¾ in. x 32 in.). National Palace Museum, Taipei

Wang Hui also forged Yüan styles. *Monastery in Autumn Mountains* (*Ch'iu-shan hsiao-ssu*) attributed to Wang Meng, dated 1362, in the National Palace Museum, Taipei (fig. 159), exhibits the same brush techniques and compositional principles as Wang's *After Chü-jan* of 1664 at Princeton (cf. fig. 148): the large pine trees in the foreground of *Monastery in Autumn Mountains* (fig. 159a) are especially similar to those in *After Chü-jan*, and the smaller ones above, leaning to one side, are pulled in toward the center, as part of the S-curve, dragon-vein movement winding through the composition.

Landscape after Wu Chen attributed to Hsü Pen (1335–1380), in the National Place Museum, Taipei

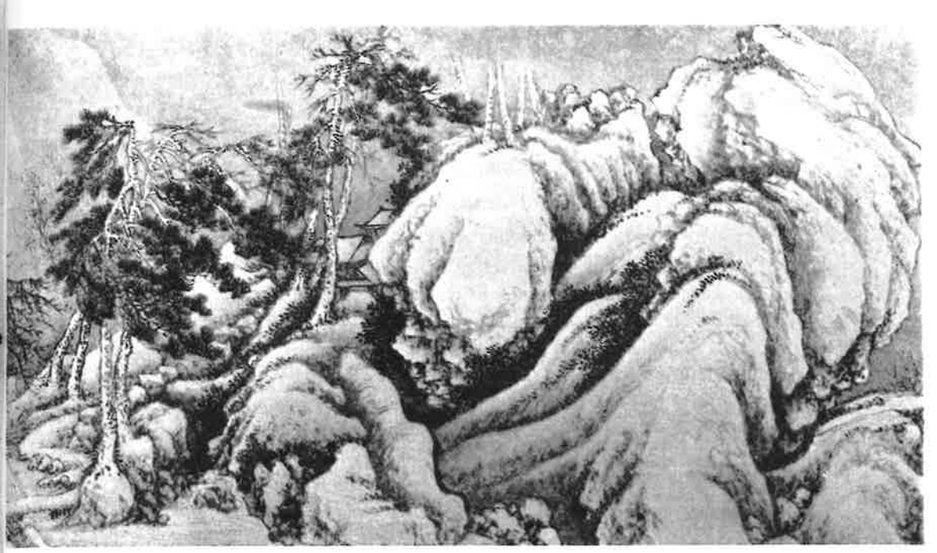

Fig. 158. Wang Hui, *After Li Ch'eng's "Snow Clearing"* (*Fang Li Ch'eng Hsüeh-chi t'u*). Dated 1667. Handscroll, ink on paper. National Palace Museum, Taipei

Fig. 159. Forgery by Wang Hui, formerly attributed to Wang Meng, *Monastery in Autumn Mountains* (*Ch'iu-shan hsiao-ssu*). Ca. 1670s (dated 1362). Hanging scroll, ink on paper. 142.4 x 38.5 cm (4 ft. 8 in. x 15¼ in.). National Palace Museum, Taipei

Fig. 159a. Detail, fig. 159

Fig. 160. Forgery by Wang Hui, formerly attributed to Hsü Pen, *Landscape after Wu Chen* (*Fang Wu Chen shan-shui*). Undated, 1670s. Hanging scroll, ink and light color on paper. National Palace Museum, Taipei

(fig. 160), is a work by Wang Hui based on Leaf 11 of Wang Shih-min's *Within Small See Large* album (cf. fig. 147c): while Wang Shih-min's copy still retains the Yüan compositional motifs of a well-defined foreground and an extended middle distance, Wang Hui's rendering, with its linked elements, single-mindedly emphasizes the S-curve of the central mountain range. The rounded arches, with neatly arranged hemp-fiber texture strokes and sprays of dots, closely resemble elements in Wang Hui's copy, dated 1673, now at the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., of Huang Kung-wang's *Fu-ch'un* scroll.[74]

Thus, during the late 1660s and early 1670s, while perfecting his Great Synthesis of the Sung and Yüan landscape styles, Wang Hui apparently was also able to supply complete historical collections of Sung and Yüan paintings on demand.

Kung Hsien: Silent Poetry

The burgeoning of painting talents in the middle of the seventeenth century, which reflected the dislocation of career patterns among the scholar class during the years of the Manchu conquest, led to a wider use of painting for expressive purposes. While Orthodox School masters such as Wang Hui celebrated the new era of peace under the Manchu rule, the Ming loyalists—known as the *i-min*, or "leftover citizens"—withdrew to become recluse poets or painters, reliving the experiences of those who endured the reign of the Mongols three centuries earlier. Referring to painting as "silent poetry" (*wu-sheng-shih*), they used it not only to lodge protest and bear witness, but also as a psychological self-defense against an increasingly turbulent and menacing world.

One such painter was Kung Hsien, who suffered a bitter life and died tragically. Although many of his poems remain, they offer little information about his early life; Chiang I-han (1981) suggests that Kung may have wished to forget his past.[75] Growing up in Nanking, he was apparently acquainted at an early age with such active political figures as Yang Wen-ts'ung (1597–1646) and Fang Wen (1612–1669), and may have become involved in the vicious factional struggles at the southern Ming court of Prince Fu, in Nanking, after the Manchus took Peking in 1644. Fang Wen, a lifelong friend of Kung's, was a zealous member of the Fu-she (Revival Society), an activist student party that succeeded the Tung-lin Academy scholars in opposition to officials associated with the powerful eunuch Wei Chung-hsien (d. 1627). Yang Wen-ts'ung, though associated with the Fu-she scholars, was a brother-in-law of Ma Shih-ying (1591–1646?), who was a close ally of Juan Ta-ch'eng (1587?–1646), who in 1639 was the target of a vicious attack by the Fu-she. In 1644 Ma was the principal supporter of Prince Fu, and Juan, on becoming president of the Board of War and grand guardian of the heir apparent, ordered wholesale arrest of the members of the Fu-she. About this time, Kung Hsien left Nanking for Yang-chou, after mentioning in a poem that "eight members of [his family] all died early."[76] In May 1645 Yang-chou fell to the Manchu forces, who in punishing the city for its stubborn resistance, led by the Ming loyalist general Shih K'o-fa (*chin-shih*, 1628), carried out a ten-day massacre. Kung Hsien escaped to Hai-an, T'ai-chou, where he served as a tutor to a family named Hsü for about five years, returning to Yang-chou in 1650 or 1651, briefly visiting Nanking in about 1655. Sometime in the mid-1660s he moved back to Nanking, first living under Mount Chung, calling himself a "monk who sweeps fallen leaves" (*sao lo-yeh seng*), and in 1668 acquiring a small plot of land under Mount Ch'ing-liang, where he finally built a home of his own, the Half-acre Garden (Pan-mu-yüan). There he lived in apparent peace for about twenty years, making occasional trips to Yang-chou to visit old friends. In the fall of 1689 the noted dramatist K'ung Shang-jen (1648–1718) visited Kung Hsien in Nanking. Shortly thereafter, Kung sent K'ung a letter expressing fear of persecution by an unnamed powerful person; soon afterward he died mysteriously. In a colophon to K'ung's poems lamenting Kung's death, Tsung Yüan-ting (1620–1696) wrote that Kung Hsien had died "at the hands of someone who had used violence to force him to write."[77] Apparently, as with Ni Tsan, the proud artist had refused to work for someone he despised and had been severely beaten. Kung Hsien, unlike Ni, did not survive the ordeal.

A brooding man, to judge by his poems and paintings, Kung Hsien was by nature a loner and an eccentric who had difficulty in getting along with people. Choosing reclusion as a way of life, he depended on painting for his livelihood. In a poem entitled "A Hundred Bitternesses" ("Pai-k'u"), he complained, "Even in old age I have to struggle to live."[78] Teaching painting, Kung Hsien left behind a series of sketchbooks dating from the 1650s to the 1680s. Made for beginning students, each of these illustrated step by step his methods of painting trees and rock and mountain forms and of creating compositions. For more than thirty years he developed and perfected a personal style, a dense yet translucent brushstroke and ink-dot technique that enabled him to express grief and emotion with extraordinary intensity and lyric feeling.

To express a strong sense of dislocation and alienation in their works, many Ming loyalist painters around 1650 had adopted the dry-brush manner of Ni Tsan. As James Cahill has demonstrated (1970), one

Fig. 161. Yün Hsiang, *Landscape* (*Shan-shui*). Undated, ca. 1650. Hanging scroll, ink on paper. Fuji-Yūrinkan, Kyoto

painter who had a special effect on early Kung Hsien was Yün Hsiang (1586–1655), who was from Wu-chin in the Lake Tai region and worked in Nanking.[79] Yün Hsiang's brushwork (fig. 161) produced flat forms; his round, single outlines done with a centered brushstroke made forms look empty, and when he used fused dry brushstrokes they rendered only textured surfaces. Rejecting the scribbling quality of late Ming scholar-painting in favor of a more monumental style, Kung Hsien began by inventing his own techniques. He wanted his forms to look substantial and solid. "A centered brush makes a round brushstroke," he wrote. "When the brushstroke is round, the breath [*ch'i*] will be thick and substantial [*hou*]."[80] As he demonstrated in an early sketchbook, he discovered in the 1650s that merely by repeating round brush outlines with lighter dry strokes, softening and blurring them, he could make the forms look well modeled and three-dimensional.[81] He approached his technical problems systematically, analyzing every problem in several steps. He first drew rounded boulders with round outlines (fig. 162a), repeating them three or four times in lighter ink, which, he explained, eliminated the need for texture strokes (*ts'un*). In another leaf (fig. 162b), he showed how to develop texture modeling with dry brushstrokes and ink wash, adding that the dry strokes should be applied first, followed by lighter-toned wet ones, so that rocks would look rich and full outside and full of "bone structure" inside. For foliage Kung showed how to produce deep and rich effects by applying up to six or seven separate layers of dots, broader texture strokes, and ink wash. The combination of dry modeling and wet ink wash enabled Kung to achieve, in the 1660s and 1670s, a landscape style of extraordinary density and substance—as Cahill calls it, "a completely convincing alternate world"[82]—best seen in his well-known *Thousand Peaks and Myriad Ravines* (*Ch'ien-yen wan-ho*), datable to the 1670s, in the Charles A. Drenowatz collection.

Building from dry to wet, sparse to dense, from rock outlines to bone structure, surface, and volume, Kung Hsien reconstructed a monumental style of landscape in order to master his own synthesis of the Sung and Yüan brush idioms. On a hanging scroll, *Landscape*, in the Honolulu Academy of Art, dated just a few months before his death in 1689, the artist wrote:

> In painting one must first synthesize [*tsung-li*] all Sung and Yüan methods, then, relaxing, one may create works in a simplified untrammeled manner [*i-p'in*]. [This way] a painting of a few sparse brushstrokes will embody all Six Principles. It will have a cultured breath [*wen-ch'i*] and a good

Fig. 162a. Kung Hsien, album leaf 4 of *Sketchbook* (*Shou-t'u kao*). Undated, ca. 1650s. Ink on paper. Provenance unknown

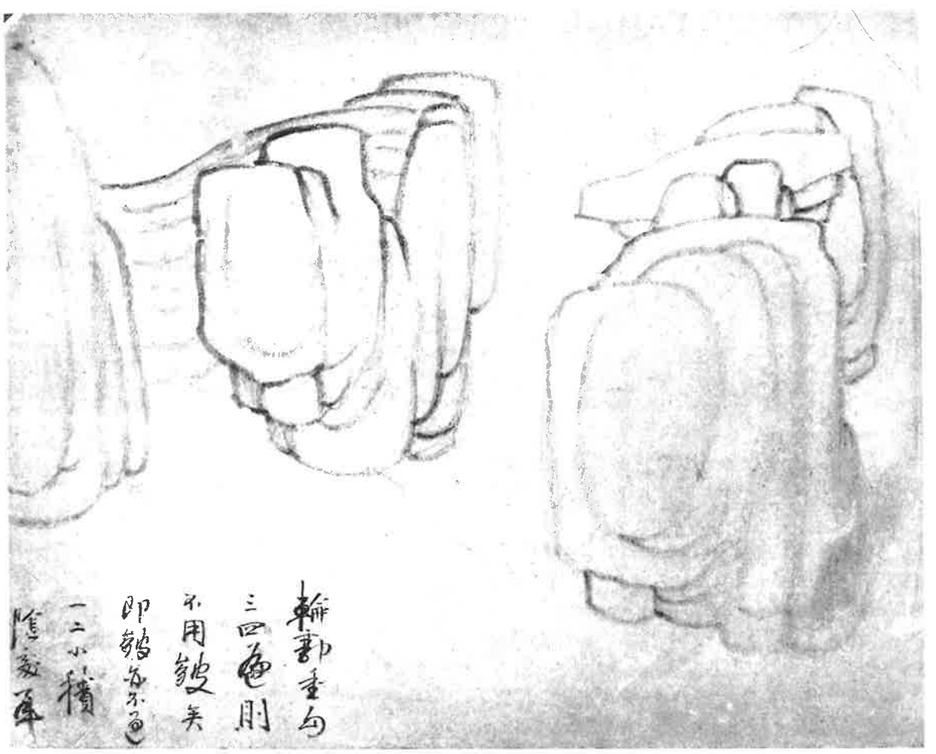

Fig. 162b. Kung Hsien, album leaf 5 of *Sketchbook*. Undated, ca. 1650s

Fig. 163a. Kung Hsien, album leaf 10 of *Sketchbook*. Undated, 1680s. Ink on paper

Fig. 163b. Kung Hsien, album leaf 15 of *Sketchbook*. Undated, 1680s

painting style [*hua-ko*]. . . . Wang Fu [1362–1416] and Shen Chou [1427–1505], in their later years, while playing with the Ni [Tsan]–Huang [Kung-wang] style, had rested on the foundation of the Tung [Yüan]–Chü-[jan] manner. These men are my teachers.[83]

In his late style of the 1680s, Kung's brush technique became mature and vigorous; he fashioned rock forms with a calligraphic formula of brisk outlines, modeled with layers of soft, mottled ink dots. "Before adding texture strokes," he explained in the sketchbook of the 1680s (fig. 163a),

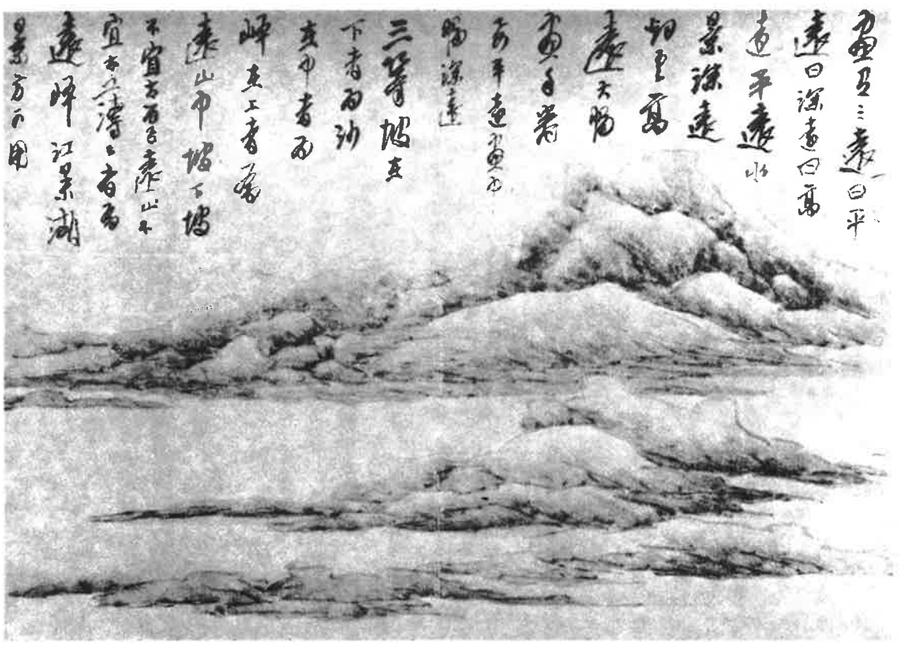

Fig. 163c. Kung Hsien, album leaf 12 of *Sketchbook*. Undated, 1680s

> one must first make outlines, then interior fissure lines, adding texture strokes beside a fissure line to differentiate the shaded [*yin*] from the lighted [*yang*] areas. . . . There are only three or four frequently usable texture methods; the rest should not be used. Mostly I use the hemp-fiber [*p'i-ma*], bean-shaped [*tou-p'an*], and small ax-cut [*hsiao-fu-p'i*] patterns, occasionally mixing them with the cow-hair [*niu-mao*] and unraveled-rope [*chien-so*]. As for the large ax-cut pattern, it belongs to the Northern School, and it should never be touched.

Although Kung spoke as a follower of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's Southern School theory, he showed little interest in reconstructing ancient models. Instead of painting in a wide variety of texture idioms, he concentrated on developing one specific texture method as his personal, individual style. To a question posed by a friend who was a Buddhist monk—"How do you show mountains, rivers, and the great earth in painting?"—his answer was, "It has to do with the beginnings of the universe, and this is why the painters can know no limits."[84]

In *An Immortal's Abode above the Clouds* (*Hsien-chia yün-chü*), a hanging scroll probably made in the mid-1680s, in the Edward L. Elliott Family Collection at The Art Museum, Princeton University (no. 37), Kung Hsien used elements from his sketchbook in a painting on a favorite theme: a peaceful hermitage far away from the contentions of the world. His poem on the painting reads:

> Outside the immortal's abode clouds rise besides mountain peaks.
> He erects a spacious pavilion to live above the clouds.
> The Queen Mother of the West often sends him the bluebird messenger;
> He opens and carefully reads her letters written in purple ink.

The tall composition shows the panoramic deep, flat-distance view, in which small cottages dot the open landscape. The artist borrowed two elements illustrated in his sketchbook, a row of ancient willow trees in the foreground (fig. 163b) and receding sandbanks in the far distance (fig. 163c). To express his loneliness and isolation, he painted the willow trees as rugged and leafless; in his sketchbook he called them wilderness willows (*huang-liu*), or cold-weather willows (*han-liu*). In the middle distance he placed two rocky islands,

Fig. 164a. Kung Hsien, "The Immortal's Cave Dwelling." Dated 1688. Album leaf 8 of *Landscapes*, ink on paper. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Fig. 164b. Kung Hsien, "Wang Tzu-chin Playing the Reed Pipe." Dated 1688. Album leaf 5 of *Landscapes*

surrounded by thick mist, which the sketchbook explained: "In painting cloudy mountains, the clouds must appear thick [*hou*]. For thirty years I tried to awaken to a method without success, then an old master pointed out to me, 'If the mountains are thick, the clouds will look thick.' "[85]

In the late 1680s Kung Hsien, now nearing seventy, continued to express bitterness and alienation in his paintings and poems. In a remarkable album of sixteen leaves dated 1688 (now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) Kung treated the album leaves as a series of mood poems, matching paintings and words. The poems express the artist's anguish: the successive visual images, some dark and morose, others gentle and lyrical, act as stunning settings for the poet's soliloquy. On "The Immortal's Cave Dwelling" (fig. 164a), the poem reads:

> The immortal in the cave opens his gate at dawn,
> Vermilion clouds disgorge the sun, then swallow it again.
> As I walk up the bridge to dry my hair,
> I glimpse my ravaged hairline in the flowing stream.

The voice is the more haunting for being addressed to no one but the poet himself, and the painting, reflecting the poem's mood, is dense and dark: the piled-up rocks and trees, built with thick layers of ink dots, carry a heavy emotional overtone as the bleak setting of a once ambitious man regretting his wasted life.

"Wang Tzu-chin Playing the Reed Pipe" (fig. 164b), from the same album, shows a dramatic view of a mountaintop as a prototypical triangular mountain symbol, as is accompanied by another emotion-laden verse:

> Moonlight falling on bare rocks, thinner than frost.
> Awaking from a drunken sleep at midnight, I feel cold penetrating my bed.
> I call out to Wang Tzu-chin [an immortal musician] on the other side of the mountain,
> Please play the reed pipe and stroll with me around the long walkway.

In keeping with the plea expressed in the poem and in contrast to Wang Hui's mountain symbol (cf. fig. 154a), Kung Hsien's painting seems lively and impassioned. Just as his brushwork, in luminous rich ink, alternates between intensity and languor, his spectacular daring and physical control offset his introspective mood.

Tao-chi: Return to the Primordial Oneness

Tao-chi (also known as Yüan-chi or Shih-t'ao) was born in 1642 in Kuei-lin, Kuangsi province, as Chu Jo-chi, a tenth-generation descendant of Tsan, the prince of Ching-chiang (enfeoffed 1403–9), and a thirteenth-generation descendant of Chu Hsing-lung (d. 1344), the eldest brother of the founding Ming emperor Chu Yüan-chang.[86] Soon after Prince Fu fled Nanking on June 3, 1645, in the face of advancing Manchu troops, young Jo-chi's father, Chu Heng-chia, proclaimed himself a "protector of the realm" (*chien-kuo*), but in three months' time was defeated and killed by a cousin and another pretender, Prince T'ang of Fu-chou. Young Chu Jo-chi was saved by a family servant, who fled with the boy to Ch'üan-chou (Ch'ing-hsiang hsien), at the northern tip of Kuangsi. When the Manchu forces captured Ch'üan-chou two years later, the servant and his young master sought refuge in the Buddhist church: Jo-chi became Yüan-chi or Shih-t'ao, and his companion and "elder brother" took the name Ho-t'ao.

In 1650 the young mendicant monk, accompanied by his faithful friend, left Ch'üan-chou, traveling on foot and by boat northeast along the Hsiang River, then east through northern Hunan, Kiangsi, and Anhui, finally arriving in the Chiang-nan area. There, at Mount K'un, Sung-chiang, Kiangsu, Tao-chi became the disciple of a powerful Ch'an Buddhist priest, Lü-an Pen-yüeh (d. 1676). On a large handscroll, *Sixteen Lohans* (*Shih-liu lo-han*), dated 1667, now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 165),

Fig. 165. Tao-chi, detail, *Sixteen Lohans*. Dated 1667. Handscroll, ink on paper. 47.0 x 599.4 cm (18½ in. x 19 ft. 8 in.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Fig. 166. Wu Pin, detail, *Sixteen Lohans*. Dated 1591. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. 32.4 x 414.3 cm (12¾ in. x 13 ft. 7⅛ in.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Tao-chi, then twenty-five, proudly signed himself "grandson of T'ien-t'ung Min [Mu-ch'en, Lü-an's master], son of Shan-kuo Yüeh [Lü-an], Shih-t'ao, Chi." Between 1659 and 1661, Mu-ch'en Tao-min (1596–1674), accompanied by Lü-an, had served and received honors from the first Ch'ing emperor, Shih-tsu (Shun-chih; r. 1644–61).[87]

About 1665 Lü-an sent Tao-chi away to resume his wandering life. From the late 1660s through the 1670s, he and Ho-t'ao stayed in the area of Hsüan-ch'eng, Anhui. Then, in 1680, he moved on to Nanking. At the Ch'ang-kan (Pao-en) monastery, he found his first real home, a small house that he named I-chih-ko (Pavilion of a Single Plum Branch). A monk largely by circumstance, Tao-chi enjoyed his associations in the secular world, and he was spurred on by his talent and ambition. In December 1684, during the Ch'ing K'ang-hsi emperor's first southern visit, Tao-chi, because of his Ming lineage, was granted an audience with the emperor at the Ch'ang-kan monastery. By early 1687 he had moved on to Yang-chou, the lively metropolis of commerce and art north of the the Yangtze River. In the spring of 1689 he had a second interview with the K'ang-hsi emperor in Yang-chou. Late that year, the restless monk-painter set out for the capital, Peking, where he enjoyed the company of the nobles and grandees at court.

Returning from Peking to Yang-chou in late 1692, Tao-chi continued his wandering life for four more years. "My hair is white, and I am still without a home," he lamented in a poem dated 1695.[88] Finally, in late 1696, he built a retreat, Ta-ti-t'ang (Great Cleansing Hall), in Yang-chou. By that time, tired of wandering, bored with priesthood, and perhaps embarrassed in retrospect by his old worldly ambitions, he decided to shed his Buddhist garb, grow his hair, and "wash away" (*ta-ti*) all past mistakes and spiritual failings. Ceasing his peripatetic life, he settled down, concentrating on painting and on finishing his treatise, *Recorded Sayings on Painting* (*Hua-yü lu*), around 1700. He died in Yang-chou in 1707.

Tao-chi stated that he first painted orchids at the age of thirteen or fourteen, or around 1655.[89] His early artistic education, therefore, took place in Chiang-nan. By the time he painted *Sixteen Lohans* in 1667, in

Fig. 167. Tao-chi, album leaf 6 of *Album of Landscapes*. Dated 1673. Ink on paper

Anhui, his personal style had been fully formed. Both Shen C. Y. Fu and James Cahill have suggested that Tao-chi during the late 1660s and 1670s was influenced by the Anhui masters such as Ch'eng Chia-sui (1565–1643) and Hung-jen (1610–1663), who had painted in Ni Tsan's dry-brush manner.[90] In his inscription on *Sixteen Lohans*, Tao-chi's Anhui friend Mei Ch'ing (1623–1697) identified Tao-chi's model as Li Kung-lin (ca. 1049–1106), the Northern Sung master of the plain-line drawing (*pai-miao*) brush style. Throughout the 1670s, as seen in his dated works of 1672, 1673, 1677, and 1678,[91] which were done mostly in the plain-line drawing style, Tao-chi acknowledged his debt in a seal, "Ch'ien-yu Lung-mien" ("Before me there was Lung-mien [Li Kung-lin]").

Yet Tao-chi probably never saw an original work by that Sung master. Unlike the erudite scholar-artists of the Orthodox School, Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and the four Wangs, who were reared and trained with the aid of the best available ancient works, Tao-chi, the unschooled monk, was largely self-taught. He apparently took his early training from popular late Ming sources, such as the figure paintings and woodblock illustrations by Wu Pin (fl. ca. 1583–1626), Ch'en Hung-shou (1599–1652), and Ting Yün-p'eng (ca. 1584–1638). Instead of the typical late Ming flat iron-wire (*t'ieh-hsien*) drawings and abstract surface patterns (fig. 166), however, Tao-chi used an energized calligraphic brushwork, enlivening his forms with palpable breath and momentum (figs. 165, 167).

A calligrapher of exceptional skill, as well as an extraordinary draftsman, Tao-chi delighted in the equivalencies between painting and calligraphy, developing painting styles through calligraphy and vice versa, engendering an astonishing variety of contrasting and complementary brush techniques. To allow full play to the metamorphic powers of his brush style, Tao-chi frequently employed the album format, which provided him with the opportunity of treating a large theme with not one image, but a whole series of images. Often working with as many as eight or twelve leaves, he dealt with a wide range of themes: pleasant outings; journeys; specific sites; flowers and fruit; landscapes and flowers in different seasons of the year; illustrations of recent or ancient poems; meditations on, or experiments with, brush and ink techniques; ancient styles; and art criticism. Avoiding conventional treatment of these themes, he interpreted every subject in an intensely personal way, making associations on multiple levels and in different directions: past and present, autobiographical and philosophical, formal and metaphysical.

After moving from Anhui to Nanking in 1680, Tao-chi began to sell his paintings, but at first had little success. Toward the end of the *jen-hsü* year, in early 1683, he completed a ten-leaf album at his studio Single Plum Branch during a snowstorm.[92] The words and images of these album leaves project a compelling emotional quality that vividly conveys the presence of the artist and involves the viewer in the issues and thoughts that concerned him. On Leaf 9, a flowering plum branch, he confesses his one source of pleasure—painting plum trees: "My regulated verse is not refined; the end of each year is difficult to pass, / Only my plum blossoms give me satisfaction, year after year." Leaf 1 shows an old hut surrounded by piled-up boulders and two plum trees, and an inscription: "I cultivate plum blossoms and prefer to live all alone."

Fig. 168a. Tao-chi, "A Secluded Dwelling by a Mountain Chasm" ("Yen-ho yu-chü"). Dated 1682–83. Album leaf 7 of *Album of Landscapes and Flowers*, ink on paper. Provenance unknown, formerly Ta-feng-t'ang collection

Fig. 168b. Tao-chi, "Searching for Plum Blossoms" ("T'an-mei t'u"). Dated 1682–83. Album leaf 2 of *Album of Landscapes and Flowers*

On Leaf 7 of the 1682–83 album, "A Secluded Dwelling by a Mountain Chasm" ("Yen-ho yü-chü"; fig. 168a), Tao-chi gives this advice for producing calligraphic effect in landscape painting: "Draw as if writing in the sand, / Then painting shall be like a written character." By repeating a single dry centered outline stroke over and over, and by modeling the rock form—as Kung Hsien had taught—by repeating the outline a second time with a lighter dry stroke, Tao-chi made rock forms seem to expand. His round brushstrokes, in the lotus-leaf-vein (*ho-yeh*) or unraveled-rope (*chieh-so*) texture pattern, and round dots created a large semicircle of mountain forms bending around the composition, filling the space inside the ring on the left with houses, and to the right with a mountain cascade. As a calligraphic design, the brush formula harnessed an overabundance of restless energy, converting it into majestically flowing breath-force movements, and, as landscape, the technique transmogrified the mountains into fantastic shapes and forms that suggest the supernatural and the divine.

In Leaf 2 of the same album, "Searching for Plum Blossoms" ("T'an-mei t'u"; fig. 168b), the artist, followed by his page, strides along in snow with a walking staff, looking for plum blossoms. His poem reads:

> The sorrowful poet, after the winter solstice, ponders over his plain verse;
> Waving his staff, how many times has he walked past the cloudy mountain?
> "Please sir," he asks, "where may I find some good flowers?"
> Behind the cold mist, above the cliff, is one branch of plum blossoms.

The angular boulders in the foreground, composed of square brushstrokes, set off the figures, the cliff, and the plum branch, done in swirling round strokes. Through the round brushwork, the painter expresses the poet's oneness with his surroundings: the patterns of drapery folds, rock fissures, and branches

Fig. 168c. Tao-chi, "Stone Temple" ("Shih-t'ou-an t'u"). Dated 1682–83. Album leaf 4 of *Album of Landscapes and Flowers*

echo and interact. In his *Recorded Sayings on Painting*, while discussing the relationship between poetry and painting, Tao-chi pointed out that, more than literal correspondences, intuitive response could project imagery beyond description.[93] The artist's self-portrait, totally absorbed and merged into the surroundings, speaks volumes more than could be expressed in words.

The theme of the "sorrowful poet" (*sao-jen*) is taken up again in Leaf 8, *Melancholy Thoughts on the Hsiao and Hsiang Rivers*, now in the Edward L. Elliott Family Collection at The Art Museum, Princeton University (no. 44). This popular theme in landscape painting held a special significance for Tao-chi, ever since he first traveled on the Hsiao and Hsiang rivers as a boy in 1650, fleeing from his home province. His earliest extant work, an album leaf dated 1657, published in China,[94] represents a young monk in a boat on the river reading "Encountering Sorrow" ("Li-sao"), the famous ancient poem by China's archetypal "sorrowful poet," Ch'ü Yüan (343?–278 B.C.). Having lost the affection of his prince, Ch'ü Yüan wrote romantic and mournful poems, and drowned himself in the Mi-Lo River, a tributary of the Hsiang. The orphaned Tao-chi, now deprived of a rightful ruler, could only feel permanent sorrow.

On the Princeton leaf the artist wrote, "There are those special melancholy thoughts on the Hsiao and Hsiang rivers" ("Pieh-shih Hsiao-Hsiang i-tuan ch'ou"). More than a past journey or old pains remembered, the painting reflected a permanent condition of his mind, with indications of things to come. These "special melancholy thoughts" had caused an unalterable ambivalence in his nature: by the end of the 1680s, he would journey to Peking to curry favor with the new rulers, only to withdraw suddenly to reassert his allegiance to the Ming in the last years of his life. Because these "melancholy thoughts" could be neither appeased nor forgotten, they were the more calmly recollected. As opposed to the aggressive brush method of "A Secluded Dwelling," the soft moist landscape of "Melancholy Thoughts" is depicted with gentle, descriptive brushwork and ink wash; in an apparent reference to the "wild geese descending" section of the well-known theme Eight Views of the Hsiao and Hsiang Rivers (cf. no. 4), tall reeds and tree foliage rustling in the wind turn into a flock of birds in X-shaped brushstrokes.

The artist's calligraphy carefully matches the mood of the subject: the characters are in a subdued, archaizing clerical script. Along with Ni Tsan's popular painting style, Ni's reclusive, archaizing calligraphy style was also much in favor in the seventeenth century, and Tao-chi was its most accomplished practitioner. Retracing Ni Tsan's sources, Tao-chi adopted as his basic form the archaic regular script of Chung Yu (cf. fig. 107), who was also Li Kung-lin's calligraphic model. Stressing rectilinearity, he also adopted the solemn, monumental style of the clerical script; and, in a relaxed mood, combining the clerical with the more recent running style elements of the T'ang and Sung calligraphers, he wrote in a running-clerical manner similar to Ni Tsan's. By boldly exaggerating the contrasting clerical and regular elements, Tao-chi created a highly expressive calligraphy style that was widely emulated by the so-called Eight Eccentrics of the eighteenth century (cf. no. 48).

Carrying forth his stylistic experiments, Tao-chi painted, in the album of 1682–83, two examples of a familiar theme, an old house behind tall trees; one of them, "Stone Temple" ("Shih-t'ou-an t'u"; Leaf 4; fig. 168c), the polar opposite of his dry-brush style, features a great jumble of branches and leaves in wild, dark ink blotches. In an inscription dated 1685 on a renowned handscroll by Tao-chi in the wild manner, entitled *Ten Thousand Ugly Ink Dots* (*Wan-tien o-mo*), in the Su-chou Museum, the artist made clear his iconoclastic intentions: "Ten thousand dots of ugly ink, to make old Mi [Fu] die of vexation, / Lots of stringy, flaccid strokes, to make Tung Yüan fall down with laughter!"[95] Having developed his own special range of dry and wet styles, Tao-chi felt no desire to acknowledge any ancient master whose style his chanced to resemble: "Modern man, ancient man, who followed whose style? I enter and I exit, I let all other men's styles churn about under my brushtip," he wrote on "Cloudy Mountain" ("Yün-shan t'u"), Leaf 5 of his 1682–83 album. In two other leaves of the same album, he commented on paintings of his time: he remarked on Leaf 3 that painters of the Yün-chien School (followers of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, such as Chao Tso; fl. ca. 1630–50) tended to paint in a wet style that was overly polished, therefore "vulgar"; on Leaf 6 he observed sadly that little could be expected from traditional painters—like Wang Hui, for instance—because all they knew was to try to "do interesting things with their brushwork."

While in Peking between 1690 and 1692, Tao-chi collaborated on paintings with both Wang Yüan-ch'i and Wang Hui.[96] By that time, however, he had become unalterably opposed to the Orthodox School method of painting by imitating ancient styles; "In this field," he wrote in a colophon dated 1694, "those who entered through the proper school will not achieve anything special."[97] After settling down in Yang-chou in late 1696, he made his full statement on the art of painting. His *Recorded Sayings on Painting*, completed about 1700, has been regarded by many modern scholars as the most original and systematically comprehensive theory of painting written since the Northern Sung dynasty.[98] Tao-chi vehemently advocated that the painter assert selfhood (*wo*) and avoid imitation. In so doing, he accepted many of the ideas and echoed the rhetoric of the late Ming antirevivalist and individualist thinkers.

Recorded Sayings opens with Tao-chi's theory of *i-hua*—literally, the single stroke, or painting of oneness—which Chou Ju-hsi (1969) translates as "the primordial line":

> In primeval antiquity there was no method, while primeval simplicity was intact. Once primeval simplicity disappeared, method was established. How was method established? It began with the primordial line [*i-hua*]. The primordial line is the basis of all things and the root of a myriad phenomena. . . . Now painting springs from man's mind [*hsin*]. . . . This primordial line which encompasses the infinity of creation . . . awaits man to grasp and take from it. . . . If a painter knows how to fall in and use this primordial line in a concrete though small way. . . people will now know how his paintings are done, and no painting will go against the dictates of his mind [or heart].[99]

Tao-chi probably developed his idea of *i-hua* from a discussion between his Ch'an master Lü-an Pen-yüeh and a master named Hsiu from the Pao-en Temple in Nanking. "Take the word *one* [written as a single horizontal stroke] and add no more to it," Hsiu reportedly said and then asked, "What do you have?" Lü-an answered, "The design is complete."[100] For Lü-an, "one" completed the transition from nothing to everything: before "one" nothing existed; after "one" followed creation, a "complete" design. As an artist, Tao-chi intuited this oneness of creation through the act of painting. More than the teachings of the past, his actions taught him to "create a method from no method, and use this method to embrace [*kuan*; string together] all methods." In painting, Tao-chi expanded his single-line brush methods into a broad range of complex techniques, producing his own Great Synthesis. By asserting selfhood and following his own mind (*hsin*)—as taught by the Neo-Confucian School of the Mind—he produced the painting of oneness. "Therefore I say," he quoted Confucius at the close of the chapter on *i-hua*, "my Tao is that of an all-embracing oneness [*i-i-kuan-chih*]."[101]

After establishing method in his first chapter, Tao-chi expounded the need to "understand method"

(*liao-fa*) in chapter II. Using the familiar metaphor of the ruler and the compass, he explained that method must serve rather than enslave the painter:

> If the world knows only the ruler and the compass, but not the principles of the rotations of heaven and earth, then heaven and earth will tie people up with methods, and people will blind themselves by becoming servants to methods. . . . This is why if there is the method and he does not understand [how to use] it, he will then be hindered by the method.[102]

Chapter III stresses "transformation" (*pien-hua*). Paraphrasing the late Ming antirevivalist Yüan Hung-tao (1568–1610), Tao-chi wrote: "I am what I am and must always remain myself. . . . The beards and eyebrows of the ancients cannot grow on my face; the lungs and bowels of the ancients cannot be placed in my stomach. . . . How can I follow any ancient style without transforming it?"[103] Chapter IV, entitled "Respecting One's Own Response" ("Tsun-shou"), again emphasizes the importance of following one's own mind: "Painting responds to ink, ink responds to brush, brush responds to my wrist, my wrist responds to my mind."[104] Chapter V discusses the use of "brush and ink" (*pi-mo*), and chapter VI explains that the secret of using brush and ink lies in the "turning of the wrist" (*yün-wan*), which depends on one's ability to master transformation. In chapter VII, "Cosmic Atmosphere" ("Yin-yün"), the author returns to the primordial line: "From one comes a myriad of things, and from a myriad of things I must come back to one. By transforming a single stroke into the cosmic atmosphere, all things under heaven may be accomplished."[105] In Tao-chi's painting, single brushstrokes magically change from lines into surfaces and then into dots, constantly growing and expanding as they overlap, crisscross, and interpenetrate—until suddenly they coalesce into the cosmic atmosphere that represents the textures and substances of real landscapes.

Chapters VIII through XIV deal successively with technique and various methods of painting particular subjects: "Mountains and Rivers" ("Shan-ch'üan"), "Texture Methods" ("Ts'un-fa"), "Compositional Divisions" ("Ching-chieh"), "Compositional Types" ("Hsi-ching"), "Forests and Trees" ("Lin-mu"), "The Sea and the Waves" ("Hai-t'ao"), and "The Four Seasons" ("Ssu-shih"). In these sections Tao-chi the painter analyzed the landscape structure, gave his principles of organizing nature, described his brushwork systems and compositional schemes, and explained the interactions between nature and his art.

"Mountains and rivers are the forms and dynamic forces [*hsing-shih*] of heaven and earth," he declared in chapter VIII. Since individual mountains and peaks are but small segments of reality, according to Tao-chi, the painter must grasp larger principles and methods of transformation. In a passage reminiscent of the early tenth-century painter Ching Hao's discussion of substance and ornament in landscape painting, Tao-chi recommended that the painter use "principles of painting [*hua-chih-li*] and methods of brushwork [*pi-chih-fa*] to deal respectively with the substance [*chih*] and the ornament [*shih*] of heaven and earth."[106] He matched five sets of natural phenomena with their pictorial equivalents:

> Wind and rain, dark and light—these are the atmospheric qualities of mountains and rivers; sparse and dense, deep and far—these are the simplified patterns of mountains and rivers; crisscrossing, taking in and letting out—these are the rhythms of mountains and rivers; yin and yang, heavy and light—these show the spiritual concentration of mountains and rivers; waters and clouds, gathering and dispersing—these represent the linkages of mountains and rivers; [mountains] crouching and leaping, facing each other or placed back to back—these describe the alternating between action and retreat of mountains and rivers.

By merging himself with what he paints through *i-hua*, Tao-chi claimed, "I am able to embrace both the forms and the spirit of mountains and rivers. . . . Mountains and rivers seek me out to speak for them. They are born of me, and I of them. I gather up all strange mountain peaks and make them the rough draft of my paintings."[107]

In "Texture Methods," Tao-chi named thirteen texture patterns: curling clouds (*chüan-yün*), ax-cut (*fu-p'i*), hemp-fiber (*p'i-ma*), unraveled rope (*chieh-so*), devil face (*kuei-mien*), skeletal (*k'u-lu*), firewood (*lüan-ch'ai*), sesame seed (*chih-ma*), gold and green (*chin-pi*), jade dust (*yü-hsieh*), pellet holes (*tan-wo*), alum head (*fan-t'ou*), and boneless (*mo-ku*). "Because real mountain peaks are different physically, and each has a different face," he explained, "only when a real peak becomes a texture pattern will the texture pattern help the peak grow. . . . Without becoming a real peak, how does the texture method show its transformation? Without becoming the texture pattern, how does the mountain peak reveal itself?"[108]

In "Compositional Divisions," Tao-chi discussed the traditional division of the picture plane into "three layers"—the ground, the trees, and the mountains—and "two sections"—scenery below and mountains above. And in "Compositional Types" he laid out six compositional schemes:

> The scenery below is springlike, while the mountain above remains wintry;
> The trees below are wintry, while the mountain above is springlike;
> Hanging scenery: upright trees with an overhanging mountain, or an upright mountain with dangling trees;
> Borrowed scenery; a bare mountain made lively by man-made garden details;
> Cut-off scenery: either the top or the bottom, or both, of the trees and mountains are cut off;
> Thrilling and steep mountains, as on the immortals' islands.[109]

In "Forests and Trees" and "The Sea and the Waves," he explained that he drew trees "mostly with the same method as drawing rocks," and since, for him, all elements in painting shared the same principles, "mountains are like the sea, and the sea is like the mountains." He noted, moreover, that in drawing trees as well as other elements, he aimed for a raw (*sheng*) and pungent (*la*) quality in his brushwork.[110]

Chapters XV and XVI, "Away from the Dust of the World" ("Yüan-ch'en") and "Escaping from the Common" ("T'o-su"), deal with the cultivation of the right state of the mind while painting. Reflecting on the Taoist philosopher Chuang-tzu's teaching of "fasting of the mind" (*hsin-chai*), Tao-chi believed that "by leaving things to becloud themselves, and the dust of the world to mix by itself, my mind will be free from trouble." And, echoing one of Ching Hao's so-called Six Essentials, he spoke of the importance of concentrated thought (*ssu*) in landscape painting: "When thoughts are concentrated, the mind [or heart] reaches its mark and is joyful. Then painting will penetrate into the essence of the smallest things."[111]

Chapter XVII, "Combining with Calligraphy" ("Chien-tzu"), restates the belief that painting and calligraphy were one and the same, inspiring Tao-chi to attain new heights in painting with words and images: "The primordial line lies at the foundation of calligraphy and painting, which, in turn, represent the standards and variations of the primordial line."[112]

Finally, in chapter XVIII, "Nourishing and Drawing from the Repository" ("Tzu-jen"), Tao-chi turned to the broader uses and meanings of landscape painting. Brushwork, for Tao-chi, meant life (*sheng-huo*) and self-cultivation (*meng-yang*), while landscape made manifest for him everything he valued in life—position (*wei*), spirit (*shen*), change (*hua*), love (*jen*), movement (*tung*), quietude (*ching*), ritual (*li*), harmony (*ho*), respectfulness (*chin*), wisdom (*chih*), beauty (*wen*), martial strength (*wu*), virtue (*te*), righteousness (*i*), courage (*yung*), justice (*p'ing-i*), perceptiveness (*ch'a*), purity (*shan*), and purpose (*chih*). "I depend neither on mountain nor on water, neither on brush nor on ink, neither on past nor on present nor on any ancient sages," he concluded. "I depend only on what I am able to nourish and draw upon myself!"[113]

In a late work by Tao-chi, a large hanging scroll of about 1700 entitled *An Ancient House under Tall Pine Trees* (*Ch'ang-sung lao-wu*), in the John B. Elliott Collection at The Art Museum, Princeton University (no. 45), the artist returned to his favorite theme of a man sitting, gazing out of a house surrounded by mountains. The landscape is composed of familiar elements that appeared frequently in the artist's earlier works: the man in the house behind tall pine trees and distant peaks that are reminiscent of the Mount

Huang region in Anhui. The inscription above the landscape repeats a colophon found on an earlier painting by Tao-chi dated 1679 (fig. 169).[114] The inscription reads:

> An angry lion tearing at a rock,
> A thirsty steed galloping to a spring,
> Wind and rain gathering,
> Mist and clouds in a myriad shapes,
> Sublime and unworldly,
> Calm, steady, and straightforward.
> I apply these feelings with my brush and ink,
> But express myself beyond brush and ink.
> Will not the connoisseur upon seeing this die
> of laughter?

Fig. 169. Tao-chi, *Landscape for Fei-t'ao*. Dated 1679. Hanging scroll, ink on paper. 108.0 x 52.0 cm (3 ft. 6 1/2 in. x 20 1/2 in.). Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

The first two lines of this statement are from an eighth-century critique of the work of a leading T'ang dynasty calligrapher, Hsü Hao (703–782). An admirer of Hsü Hao's, the great Northern Sung calligrapher Huang T'ing-chien (1045–1105), often quoted these lines to describe calligraphic works that he liked.[115] Now Tao-chi, who admired Huang T'ing-chien's work, borrowed these phrases as the theme of his painting, which he equated with calligraphy. Treating painting as calligraphy in *An Ancient House*, Tao-chi rearranged the familiar motifs of mountains and trees in a new design, "writing" strong and strange-looking rock and tree forms powerfully and expressively (fig. 170). Isolated in his studio in Yang-chou during his final years, he appears to have abandoned by this time the painting of actual landscapes, carrying to its logical conclusion Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's injunction "If one considers the wonders of brush and ink, then landscape can never equal painting."[116] "My brush can overturn the forces of mountains and rivers," he wrote in *Recorded Sayings*. "While real peaks cannot change the functions of my texture strokes, my texture strokes can develop special forms and forces for the mountains."[117]

Yet the result Tao-chi tried to achieve in his late works was not representation of nature or expressive brushwork, or even an outpouring of emotion, but the spirit of oneness of creation experienced through the act of painting: "I apply these feelings with my brush and ink, / But express myself beyond brush and ink." "Before I was fifty," he wrote in *Recorded Sayings*, "I had not yet detached myself from the womb of mountains and rivers."[118] In the early 1700s, on reaching sixty, Tao-chi declared his independence of nature: "Even if my brush does not resemble brush and my ink does not resemble ink and my painting does not resemble painting, I make sure that my self [*wo*] is always present in my work."[119]

In spite of his theoretical writings Tao-chi's was not a theoretical art. His *Recorded Sayings* merely represented a rational effort at the end of his career to explain his art, which, being intuitive in approach, remained largely inexplicable. Tao-chi saw himself at the center of a holistic universe, the origin of himself

Fig. 170. Tao-chi, detail, *An Ancient House under Tall Pine Trees* (*Ch'ang-sung lao-wu*), no. 45

and the world, the past and the present. In response to this wholeness, he wielded his brush in a style that embraced or replaced all earlier methods and styles.

When Tao-chi's *Ancient House under Tall Pine Trees* is compared with Fan K'uan's *Travelers among Streams and Mountains* (fig. 48), the differences in their technique and approach to landscape are vast and obvious. Yet both works convey a compelling sense of the artist's exultation before nature's forms and principles that binds them to the great tradition of Chinese landscape art. For a handscroll of about 1700, Tao-chi composed a poem that sums up his relationship to his art:

> Beating drums with a cypress-wood stick,
> Or writing calligraphy with a sheep-hair brush,
> What matters most is the satisfaction of the moment,
> And never mind success or failure in the eyes of posterity.
> But unless the painter has the hand [of General Kuan Yü; d. A.D. 219] that can kill and break through the passes,
> How dare one play with a painting brush![120]

From landscape decorations on objects preserved in the Shosōin Treasury, Nara, to the works of Tao-chi, Chinese landscape painting developed from the building of its vocabulary in the eighth century to the formation of a final synthesis in the early eighteenth century. Unique among the world's great artistic expressions was the special position held by painting and calligraphy in the daily lives of the Chinese and in their culture. Because of the picturelike quality of the Chinese written language, and the close affinity between Chinese painting and beautiful writing, calligraphy and painting were natural, as well as useful and necessary, skills for the Chinese. It was with more truth than hyperbole that Tao-chi observed that "in everything bestowed by heaven, and with every person of greater or lesser talent, there is nothing that is not marked by the presence of calligraphy and painting."[121]

In the history of Chinese landscape painting, styles became more and more complex, until overspecialization brought on an inevitable decline from which renewal was possible only through radical simplification and a new synthesis. Unlike the Europeans and Americans, who saw human life directed either by divine providence or by scientific progress, the Chinese viewed historical change as essentially random and unpredictable, governed only by cyclical laws of waxing and waning, growth and decline, fragmentation and reintegration. Under stressful conditions, the only reliable individual recourse for survival, as the lives of leading Chinese scholar-artists such as Ni Tsan and Tao-chi have shown, was to pursue equilibrium and stability directed from within.

The deaths of Tao-chi, Wang Hui, and the other great early Ch'ing painters in the early decades of the eighteenth century marked the beginning of the end of the great tradition in Chinese landscape painting. During the eighteenth century, under the reigns of the Yung-cheng (Shih-tsung; r. 1722–35) and Ch'ien-lung emperors, many able painters worked at the court in the north and in the commercial centers, most notably Yang-chou, in the south, but none of these quite matched the stature and accomplishments of their great seventeenth-century predecessors, whose styles and theories they emulated. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries China's protracted struggle for modernization finally destroyed the Great Synthesis that Wang Hui and Tao-chi worked successfully to achieve. Once again, the Chinese painter's world is in turmoil and transition, but this time with no promise of a new synthesis in sight. This, however, is a topic for another book.

NOTES

1. Ku Ning-yüan, "Kuo-ch'ao hua-p'ing" (A critical evaluation of Ming painting), in Wang Yüan-ch'i et al., comps., *P'ei-wen-chai shu-hua p'u* (Manual on calligraphy and painting of the P'ei-wen Studio) (1708; repr. ed., Taipei: 1969), *chüan* 18, p. 12b.
2. Wen C. Fong, "Archaism as a Primitive Style," in Christian F. Murck, ed., *Artists and Traditions: Uses of the Past in Chinese Culture* (Princeton: The Art Museum, 1976), pp. 89–109.
3. Wen C. Fong, *Returning Home: Tao-chi's Album of Landscapes and Flowers* (New York: George Braziller, 1976), pp. 20 ff.
4. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, *Hua-yen* (The eye of painting), I-shu ts'ung-pien, vol. 12 (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1962), p. 23.
5. For the biography of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, see Nelson Wu, "Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555–1636): Apathy in Government and Fervor in Art," in Arthur Wright and Denis Twichett, eds., *Confucian Personalities* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962), pp. 260–382; Hironobu Kōhara, ed., *Tō Kishō no shoga* (Tung Ch'i-ch'ang: the man and his work) (Tokyo: Nigen-sha, 1981), esp. vol. 2, pp. 159–218.
6. For reproductions of Tung's colophons, dated 1596, on Chao Ling-jang's scroll, see Hironobu Kōhara, ed., *Tō Kishō no shoga*, vol. 2, pl. 32; Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, *Hua-yen*, pp. 37–38.
7. For Tung's colophon on *Residents of the Capital City* (*Lung-hsiu chiao-min t'u*), attributed to Tung Yüan, see National Palace Museum, Taipei, comp., *Ku-kung shu-hua lu* (A descriptive catalogue of the painting and calligraphy in the National Palace Museum) (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1965), vol. 3, *chüan* 5, p. 19.
8. For an illustration of Tung's colophon, dated 1596, on *Dwelling in the Fu-ch'un Mountains*, see Hironobu Kōhara, ed., *Tō Kishō no shoga*, vol. 2, pl. 33; and National Palace Museum, comp., *Ku-kung shu-hua lu*, vol. 2, *chüan* 4, p. 134; see also Celia C. Riely, "Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's Ownership of Huang Kung-wang's *Dwelling in the Fu-ch'un Mountains*," *Archives of Asian Art* 28 (1974–75): 57–76.
9. In reference to the *Hsiao and Hsiang Rivers* scroll, see Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, *Hua-yen*, pp. 36–37; for this scroll and for *Residents of the Capital City*, see National Palace Museum, comp., *Ku-kung shu-hua lu*, vol. 3, *chüan* 5, p. 19.
10. Wen C. Fong, "*Rivers and Mountains after Snow* (*Chiang-shan hsüeh-chi*) attributed to Wang Wei (A.D. 699–759)," *Archives of Asian Art* 30 (1976–77): 6–33.
11. Ibid., pp. 11 ff.
12. Nelson Wu, "Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555–1636)," p. 280.
13. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, *Hua-yen*, p. 37.
14. Ibid., p. 18.
15. Ibid., p. 25.
16. Ibid., p. 45.
17. Ibid., p. 22.
18. Ibid., p. 53.
19. Ibid., p. 27.
20. Ibid., p. 40.
21. *Fang Sung-Yüan-jen shu-pen hua pa* [*Hsiao-chung hsien ta*] (Imitating Sung and Yüan masters, copies in reduced size, paintings with colophons [within small see large]), in National Palace Museum, comp., *Ku-kung shu-hua lu*, vol. 4, *chüan* 6, pp. 71–75.
22. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, *Hua-yen*, p. 50.
23. Wen C. Fong, "*Rivers and Mountains after Snow*," p. 15.
24. Ibid., pp. 17–18.
25. Ibid., p. 18.
26. Ibid., pp. 17, 19.
27. Ibid., p. 28.
28. Hironobu Kōhara, *Tō Kishō no shoga*, vol. 2, pl. 33; National Palace Museum, comp., *Ku-kung shu-hua lu*, vol. 2, *chüan* 4, p. 134.
29. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, *Hua-yen*, p. 21.
30. Ibid., p. 20.
31. Ibid. p. 19.
32. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, *Hua-ch'an-shih sui-pi* (Notes written at the Painting Meditation Studio), I-shu ts'ung-pien, vol. 28 (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1968), p. 3; for Tung's study of Wang Hsi-chih, see p. 5.
33. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, *Jung-t'ai chi* (Notes from Jung-t'ai), Ming-tai i-shu-chia chi hui-k'an, vols. 11–14 (1630[?]; repr. ed., Taipei, 1968), *chüan* 2, p. 3a.
34. Ibid., *chüan* 2, p. 42a.
35. Ibid., *chüan* 2, p. 7a.
36. Ibid., *chüan* 2, pp. 3b, 7a.
37. Ibid., *chüan* 2, p. 3a; *chüan* 3, p. 6a.
38. Li Tso-hsien (*chin-shih*, 1835), *Shu-hua chien-ying* (Reflections on painting and calligraphy) (Taipei: Han-hua wen-hua shih-yeh ku-fen yu-hsien kung-ssu, 1971), vol. 2, *chüan* 20, pp. 8a, b.
39. P'ang Yüan-chi, *Hsü-chai ming-hua lu* (Supplement to annotated catalogue of P'ang Yüan-ch'i's art collection) (1909; 1924; repr. ed., Taipei: Han-hua wen-hua shih-yeh ku-fen yu-hsien kung-ssu, 1971), *chüan* 9, p. 5.
40. National Palace Museum, comp., *Ku-kung shu-hua lu*, vol. 4, *chüan* 6, p. 35.
41. An Ch'i, *Mo-yüan hui-kuan lu* (A comprehensive record of ink acquaintances: a catalogue of An Ch'i's collection of calligraphy and painting), Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu, vol. 155 (Taipei: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1968), *chüan* 5, pp. 18–19.
42. Pien Yung-yü, *Shih-ku-t'ang shu-hua hui-k'ao* (Classified record of calligraphy and painting) (Taipei: Cheng-chung shu-chü, 1958), vol. 4, *chüan* 30, p. 532.
43. Ibid., p. 533.
44. Chang Ch'ou, *Ch'ing-ho shu-hua fang* (Painting and calligraphy barge at Ch'ing-ho) (1616; repr. ed., Taipei: Hsüeh-hai shu-chü, 1975), *chüan* 11, p. 40.
45. National Palace Museum, comp., *Ku-kung shu-hua lu*, vol. 3, *chüan* 5, p. 204; vol. 4, *chüan* 6, p. 22.
46. Ibid., vol. 3, *chüan*, 5, pp. 406–7.
47. See Wang Shih-min's biography in Chang Keng, *Kuo-ch'ao hua-cheng lu* (History of painting during the Ch'ing dynasty) (preface dated 1735), in *Hua-shih ts'ung-shu* (Compendium of painting histories) (Taipei: Wen-shih-che ch'u-pan-she, 1974), vol. 3, *chüan* 1, p. 1b.
48. Yün Shou-p'ing, *Nan-t'ien hua-pa* (Yün Shou-p'ing's colophons on paintings), I-shu ts'ung-pien, vol. 25 (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1976), *chüan* 3, p. 96.
49. National Palace Museum, comp., *Ku-kung shu-hua lu*, vol. 4, *chüan* 6, pp. 71–75.
50. Chang Keng, *Kuo-ch'ao hua-cheng lu*, *chüan* 1, p. 16.
51. National Palace Museum, comp., *Ku-kung shu-hua lu*, vol. 4, *chüan* 6, p. 74.
52. Ibid., pp. 73–75.
53. Ibid. A hanging scroll entitled *Spring Dawn over Mount Tan-t'ai* (*Tan-t'ai ch'un-hsiao*) attributed to Wang Meng is now in the National Palace Museum, Taipei; see National Palace Museum, comp., *Ku-kung shu-hua lu*, vol. 4, *chüan* 8, *chien-mu* (supplementary list), p. 67.
54. For Wang Hui's biography, see Huang Shu-lin, "Wang Keng-yen hsien-sheng mu-chih-ming" (Wang Hui's tomb epitaph), in *Wang shih chia-ch'eng* (Records of the Wang family), *chüan* 10, pp. 50a–53a; Shen Te-ch'ien (167?–1769), "Wang Hui mu-chih-ming" (Wang Hui's tomb epitaph), in *Kuo-ch'ao ch'i-hsien lei-cheng chu-pien* (Biographies of notables of the Ch'ing dynasty), 1st. ser. (1884–90; repr. ed., Taipei: Wen-hai ch'u-pan-she, 1966), *chüan* 431, pp. 26a–27b; Chang Keng, *Kuo-ch'ao hua-cheng lu*, *chüan* 2, pp. 1a–b.
55. Wang Shih-min, *Hsi-lu hua-pa* (Wang Shih-min's colophons on paintings), in Ch'in Tsu-yung, ed., *Hua-hsüeh hsin-yin* (Insights from painting studies), Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu, vol. 15 (Taipei: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1968), *chüan* 3, pp. 72–73.
56. See Wang Hui's own preface to *Ch'ing-hui tseng-yen* (Writings presented to Wang Hui), ed. Hsü Chung-hsüan (1714; repr. ed., Feng-yü-lou, 1911), pp. 1b–2a.
57. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, *Hua-yen*, p. 24.
58. See Richard Barnhart, "The 'Snowscape' Attributed to Chu-jan," *Archives of Asian Art* 24 (1970–71): 6–22; and Wen C. Fong, "*Rivers and Mountains after Snow*," pp. 25 ff.

59. Wang Yüan-ch'i et al., comps., *P'ei-wen-chai shu-hua-p'u*, *chüan* 3, p. 1b; see Richard Barnhart, "Wei Fu-jen's *Pi Chen T'u* and the Early Texts on Calligraphy," *Archives of Chinese Art Society of America* 18 (1964): 13–25.
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61. Ibid., pp. 165–66.
62. See Roderick Whitfield, *In Pursuit of Antiquity: Chinese Paintings of the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse* (Princeton: The Art Museum, 1969), pp. 114–16.
63. See *Yürin taikan* (Illustrated catalogue of the Chinese art objects in the Fuji-Yürinkan Museum) (Kyoto: Fuji-Yürinkan Museum, 1929–49), vol. 3, pl. 12.
64. Wang Hui, *Ch'in-hui hua-pa* (Wang Hui's colophons on paintings), in Ch'in Tsu-yung, ed., *Hua-hsüeh hsin-yin*, *chüan* 4, p. 100.
65. Ibid.
66. Roderick Whitfield, *In Pursuit of Antiquity*, p. 124.
67. Yün Shou-p'ing, *Nan-t'ien hua-pa*, *chüan* 2, p. 69; Yün Shou-ping, *Ou-hsiang-kuan hua-pa* (Colophons of the Ou-hsiang Studio), in Ch'in Tsu-yung, ed., *Hua-hsüeh hsin-yin*, *chüan* 5, p. 22.
68. See Chang Keng, *Kuo-ch'ao hua-cheng lu*, vol. 2, pp. 1a–b.
69. Chou Liang-kung, *Tu-hua lu* (Record of reading paintings), I-shu ts'ung-pien, vol. 14 (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1968), *chüan* 1, sec. 2, p. 20.
70. National Palace Museum, comp., *Ku-kung shu-hua lu*, vol. 3, *chüan* 5, p. 37.
71. *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi ch'u-pien* (Treasured boxes of the stony moat), Ch'ien-ch'ing-kung, 2nd. ser. (Taipei: Ku-kung po-wu-yüan, 1971), *chüan* 2, p. 292.
72. National Palace Museum, Taipei, comp., *Ku-kung ming-hua san-pai chung* (Three hundred masterpieces in the National Palace Museum, Taipei) (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1959), vol. 3, pl. 100; National Palace Museum, comp., *Ku-kung shu-hua lu*, vol. 3, *chüan* 5, p. 75.
73. National Palace Museum, comp., *Ku-kung ming-hua san-pai chung*, vol. 2, pl. 62; found in an album called *Li-tai hua-fu chi-tse* (Collection of paintings from successive dynasties), as recorded in National Palace Museum, comp., *Ku-kung shu-hua lu*, vol. 4, *chüan* 6, pp. 178–79.
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75. Chiang I-han, "Kung Hsien te chia-shih, sheng-p'ing, chi chiao-yu: Kung Hsien yen-chiu chih-i" (Kung Hsien's family background, his life, and his friends: a study of Kung Hsien), *Hua-kang i-shu hsüeh-pao* 1 (June 1981): 213–44.
76. Quoted in Wang Shih-ch'ing, "Kung Hsien te Ts'ao-hsiang-t'ang chi" (Poetry collections of Kung Hsien's Fragrant Grass Hall), *Wen-wu* 1978, no. 5: 46.
77. Chiang I-han, "Kung Hsien te chia-shih sheng-p'ing, chi chiao-yu": 234–35; also, Liu Wang-chi, "Kung Hsien," in *Chung-kuo ming-hua-chia ts'ung-shu* (A collection of famous painters in Chinese history) (Hong Kong: Chinese Calligraphy and Painting Institute, 1970), pp. 1109–10.
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79. James Cahill, "The Early Styles of Kung Hsien," *Oriental Art* 16, no. 1 (Spring 1970): 51–71; see also Shen C. Y. Fu, "An Aspect of Mid-seventeenth-century Chinese Painting: The 'Dry Linear' Style and the Early Work of Tao-chi," *Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong* 8, no. 2 (December 1976): 604–15.
80. Szechuan Provincial Museum, comp., *Kung Pan-chien shan-shui-hua k'o-t'u kao: Sze-ch'uan-sheng po-wu-kuan teng shou-ts'ang* (Kung Hsien's sketchbooks for instructing students: based on works in the Szechuan Provincial Museum and other collections) (Ch'eng-tu: Sze-ch'uan jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1981), pp. 38, 75.
81. See James Cahill, "Early Styles of Kung Hsien," p. 59; William Wu, "Kung Hsien's Style and His Sketchbooks," *Oriental Art* 16, no. 1 (Spring 1970): 74.
82. James Cahill, *The Compelling Image: Nature and Style in Seventeenth-century Chinese Painting* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), p. 183.
83. For an illustration of the Honolulu hanging scroll by Kung Hsien, dated 1689, see Osvald Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*, vol. 6, pl. 366.
84. Szechuan Provincial Museum, comp., *Kung Pan-chien shan-shui-hua k'o-t'u kao*, pp. 37, 74.
85. Ibid., pp. 28, 30.
86. For Tao-chi's biography, see Wen C. Fong, *Returning Home: Tao-chi's Album of Landscapes and Flowers*, esp. pp. 15–26. Important new documentary evidence establishing Tao-chi's birthdate as 1642 was published in Wang Shih-ch'ing, "Tsa-feng-wen-chi chung yü kuan Shih-t'ao te shih-wen" (Texts bearing upon Shih-t'ao [Tao-chi] in the Tsa-feng Literary Collection), *Wen-wu* 1979, no. 12: 43–48; see also Hsü Pang-ta, "Shih-t'ao sheng-tsu hsin ting" (Newly determined birth and death dates for Shih-t'ao [Tao-chi]), *Mei-shu-chia* 2 (1978): 2–8. Chinese writers traditionally call the artist by his *hao* Shih-t'ao, while writers outside China, choosing to refer to all Chinese artists by their proper names, call him Tao-chi. It has been pointed out that Tao-chi, meaning "the Monk Chi," first appeared only in Chang Keng's biography of the artist of about 1735 and that to be accurate we should call him either Chu Jo-chi (his secular given name) or Yüan-chi (his Buddhist given name). I have continued to use Tao-chi because it is the most familiar to Western readers.
87. I-ting, "*Po-yu-chi* tso-che Mu-ch'en Min" (Mu-ch'en Min, author of the *Collection of the Northern Journey*), in I-lin ts'ung-lu, vol. 3 (Hong Kong: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1962), pp. 146–50.
88. See Fu Pao-shih, *Shih-t'ao shang-jen nien-p'u* (Chronology of Shih-t'ao [Tao-chi]), Chung-kuo li-tai ming-jen nien-p'u hui-pien, 1st ser., vol. 7 (1948; repr. ed., Taipei, 1971), p. 76.
89. See poem by Tao-chi as cited ibid., p. 41.
90. Shen C. Y. Fu, "An Aspect of Mid-seventeenth-century Chinese Painting," p. 588; James Cahill, *The Compelling Image*, p. 196.
91. The 1672 hanging scroll *Watching a Waterfall from a Stone Bridge* is reproduced in James Cahill, ed., *Shadows of Mt. Huang: Chinese Painting and Printing of the Anhui School* (Berkeley: University Art Museum, 1981), p. 133, fig. 18. The 1673 album is reproduced in Hsieh Chih-liu, ed., *Shih-t'ao hua-chi* (Paintings by Shih-t'ao [Tao-chi]) (Shanghai: Shanghai jen-min mei-shu-kuan ch'u-pan she, 1960), pls. 36–39; and Victoria Contag, *Die Beiden Steine: Beitrag zum Verstandnis des Wesens Chinesischer Landschaftsmalerei* (Braunschweig: Verlagsanstalt Hermann Klemm, 1950), pl. 2. The 1677–78 album illustrating Su Shih's poems, in the P. C. Wong [Huang] collection in Hong Kong, is reproduced in Chang Wan-li and Hu Jen-mou, comps., *Li-tai ming-hua-chia tso-p'in hsüan-chi* (Selected painting and calligraphy of Shih-t'ao [Tao-chi]) (Hong Kong: K'ai-fa, 1969), vol. 6, pls. 124, 138.1–9.
92. Reproduced in Chang Yüan (Chang Ta-ch'ien), *Ta-feng-t'ang ming-chi* (Masterpieces from the Ta-feng-t'ang collection) (Tokyo: Benridō, 1955), pp. 24–28.
93. Yü Chien-hua, "Ssu-shih" (Four seasons), in *Shih-t'ao Hua-yü lu* (Shih-t'ao's [Tao-chi's] *Recorded Sayings on Painting*) (Peking: Jen-min mei-shu ch'u-pan-she, 1962), p. 58.
94. Reproduced in *Wen-wu* 1962, no. 12: 43, pl. 1.
95. For a discussion of this work, see James Cahill, *The Compelling Image*, p. 202.
96. For Tao-chi's collaborative painting with Wang Yüan-ch'i, see Osvald Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*, vol. 6, pl. 391a; and with Wang Hui, see *Exhibitions of Paintings of the Ming and Ch'ing Periods* (Hong Kong: The Urban Council and The Min-chiu Society, 1970), no. 51.
97. The colophon is found on an album dated 1694, now in the Los Angeles County Art Museum; see discussion in Marilyn and Shen Fu, *Studies in Connoisseurship: Chinese Paintings from the Arthur M. Sackler Collection in New York and Princeton* (Princeton: The Art Museum, 1974), p. 52.
98. Yü Chien-hua groups the eighteen chapters of *Hua-yü lu* under three general topics: the first seven deal with general principles, the next seven are concerned with concrete methods, and the last four turn to broader applications of painting; see Yü Chien-hua, ed., *Shih-t'ao Hua-yü lu*, pp. 81–88.
99. For an alternative translation, see Ju-hsi Chou, "In Quest of the Primor-

dial Line: The Genesis and Content of Tao-chi's 'Hua-yü lu'" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1969), p. 108; see also pp. 109–17.
100. Yü Chien-hua, ed., *Shih-t'ao Hua-yü lu*, p. 16.
101. See Cheng Cho-lu, *Shih-t'ao yen-chiu* (A study of Shih-t'ao [Tao-chi]), (Peking: Jen-min mei-shu ch'u-pan-she, 1961), pp. 49–50.
102. Yü Chien-hua, ed., *Shih-t'ao Hua-yü lu*, p. 20.
103. Ibid., p. 23.
104. Ibid., p. 28.
105. Ibid., p. 39.
106. Ibid., p. 40.
107. Ibid., p. 42.
108. Ibid., p. 45.
109. Ibid., p. 51.
110. Ibid., p. 53.
111. Ibid., p. 60.
112. Ibid., p. 62.
113. Ibid., p. 68.
114. See Richard Edwards, ed., *The Painting of Tao-chi, 1641–ca. 1720* (Ann Arbor: Museum of Art, University of Michigan, 1967), no. 3, pp. 74, 101.
115. Huang T'ing-chien, *Shan-ku t'i-pa* (Colophons by Huang T'ing-chien), I-shu ts'ung-pien, vol. 22 (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1962), *chüan* 4, p. 38; *chüan* 5, p. 43.
116. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, *Hua-yen*, p. 25.
117. Yü Chien-hua, ed., "Chien-tzu" (Combining with calligraphy), in *Shih-t'ao Hua-yü lu*, p. 62, and "Ts'un-fa" (Texture strokes), p. 45.
118. Yü Chien-hua, ed., "Shan-ch'uan" (Mountains and rivers), *Shih-t'ao Hua-yü lu*, p. 42.
119. Yü Chien-hua, ed., "Yin-yun" (Cosmic atmosphere), *Shih-t'ao Hua-yü lu*, p. 38.
120. Reproduced in Li Yeh-shuang, *Shih-tao te shih-chieh* (The world of Shih-T'ao [Tao-chi]) (Taipei: Hsiung-shih mei-shu yüeh-k'an-she, 1973), pp. 86–87.
121. Yü Chien-hua, ed., "Chien-tzu," *Shih-t'ao Hua-yü lu*, p. 63.