

Qian Du to Zhang Jing

The Artist and the Patron

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The Phoenix Art Museum is fortunate to possess, among its treasures from China, a handscroll, *Longing to Roam*, by Qian Du (1764-1845), an artist of a unique turn of mind and style (figure 1).¹ It is a scroll of modest dimensions, with the surface of the painting itself measuring 30.8 x 49 cm. It also bears a title, a colophon by the artist, and a series of laudatory inscriptions at the tail end, extending its length considerably beyond the pictorial portion.

In the painting itself, Qian Du presents the viewer with a vista of the West Lake. The beginning section displays, at the bottom register, a low hill, which gives way to a city wall, the gate of which sports an upper story. The city wall then descends and becomes invisible, while its leftward direction is continued by a row of bushes and trees that point to a small isle. This is perhaps the site of Huxin Ting, or 'Pavilion in the Heart of the Lake.' It features a pavilion and roofed corridors, which encircle the vegetation within. To its right, a vermilion fence, erected in the water, frames a patch of lotus blossoms.

Beyond the Huxin Ting, the lake unfolds its expansive surface. Shores and land formations are seen across at the top of the scroll, with more architectural splendor, among which is a Buddhist *sangha*, perhaps the Shengyin Temple. Here is the familiar sight of willows lining the shore. Toward the left, a bridge in purple is topped by a kiosk, recalling those alongside the Su Causeway.² At the very end of the scroll, land mass begins to emerge into view, and hillocks enclose a cluster of thatched cottages. At the upper portion, acres of lotuses, grown in the paddy fields, stretch beyond the horizon. In the middle of the lake, a small boat, carrying a scholar and a crane placed within a tall basket with its neck stretching above the opening, stirs up ripples in its otherwise calm surface.

In terms of style, the scroll is quintessentially Qian Du. The approach is tenuously based on the Wu school of Wen Zhengming. Parenthetically, the artist was, at the time, the only major figure to

emerge from Hangzhou who did not succumb to the overwhelming impact of the orthodox school.' From his point of view, the Wu school heritage consisted in a deliberate orchestration of landscape motifs and a chromatic perception of images and reality. However, the careful orchestration here does not so much dwell on exquisiteness of motifs, the interior of which are slightly roughened, as on their coherence; the chromatic images are never just bright, but are purposefully inverted. The colors verge upon the iridescent, with malachite green, ochre, and vermilion to accompany the ink passages.

Seen in this light, Qian Du's work is quite unlike those by his precursors in the sixteenth century. The latter favored an ethereal vision, above and beyond the earthly. The present painting, however, is laden with an eerie atmosphere. Though the surface is richly chromatic, the picture is not exactly cheerful. The image may be familiar, but it is neither commonplace nor transcendent. It is an enchanting vista or dream, but it is also disturbingly silent. In this silence, it unveils an undercurrent of melancholy, as if there is a sense of the lost horizon.

The artist's colophon is set at the very start of the scroll. The space there appears to have been preplanned for the purpose. Its content sheds light on the circumstances leading to this painting and also to its theme. In the colophon, Qian Du dedicates the painting to Master Jiehang:

My province, Zhejiang, is well known for its scenic lakes and hills. Master Jiehang is chagrined because he has not set foot there. This autumn, he and I met at a travel lodge in Daliang. Over the wine, he requested me to portray the scene [in the series] of *Yuan-you Tu* (Longing to Roam). I have left my native place for a long time. With respect to the hills and water in my native land, I have frequently sought them in my dreams. [In response to his request], I have produced this scroll. Toward the end of it, there are several units of thatched cottage and ten *mu* of lotus. This is my villa, the Songhu Villa. May you, in your official capacity, travel to this land sometime in the future. This Fisherman of the Mid-Lake shall greet you in a boat, so that together we may hold hands and recite poems amidst the reflecting waves and green peaks. I wonder when we can fulfill this wish! On the fifteenth day, ninth month, the *kuiwei* year of Daoguang (1823).

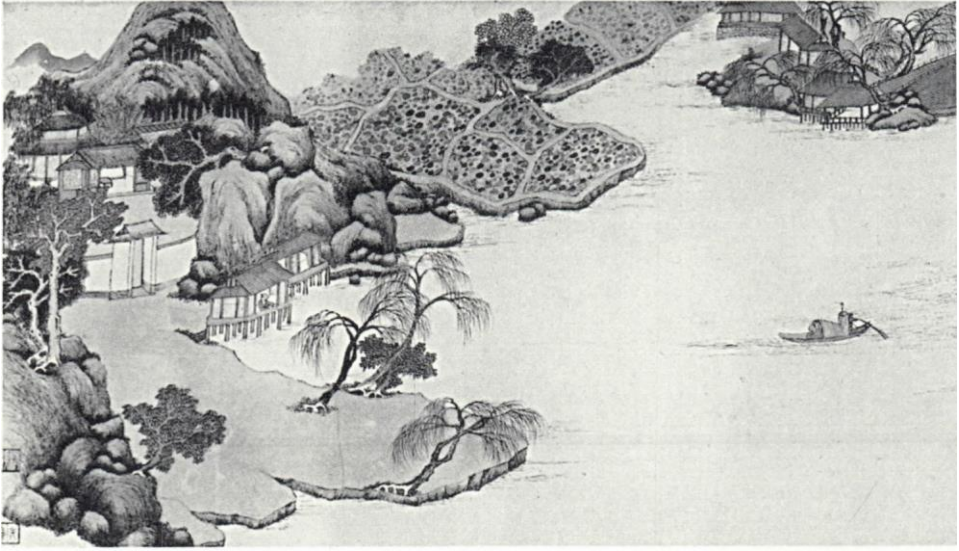
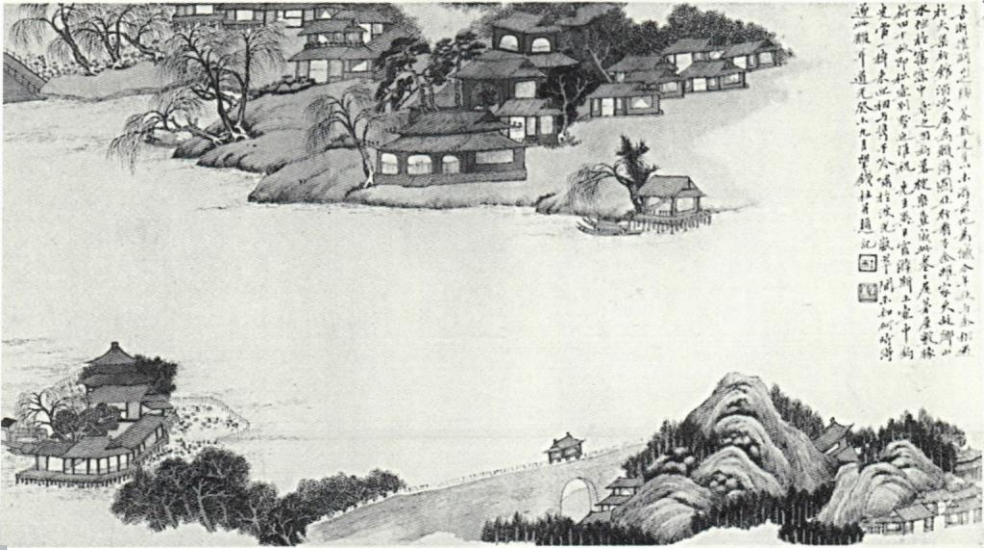


Figure 1. Qian Du, *Longing to Roam:
The First Picture - Drifting in a Boat on the West Lake.*
Handscroll, dated 1823. Phoenix Art Museum.

From this very brief description of the circumstance, we may be able to ascertain several facets of which the painting itself bears the imprint. Qian Du and Jiehang, whose formal name is Zhang Jing (1776-1835) met at a travel lodge at Daliang, that is, Kaifeng - an encounter between a painter and an official.⁶ Qian Du was originally from the city of Hangzhou but by 1823 when the painting was done he had been away from his native place for an extended period. A peripatetic traveler, Qian Du fled his home, leaving behind a loveless marriage and a daughter, for whom he maintained a fatherly affection. (From the artist's disciple, Cheng Tinglu, it is known that an earlier sickness and a miraculous herbal cure had diminished Qian Du's fondness for the opposite sex and rendered him impervious to any womanly charm).⁷ By 1823, when he would have been in his 40s, Qian Du had, after spending some time in the capital, served briefly in the provincial bureaucracy in Yunnan and left it to be essentially on the road, seeking patronage among literati and officials. Carefree



he was, not to be burdened with bureaucratic duties. However, due to his skill as a poet and painter, and also his illustrious family background - the son of a Provincial Administrative Commissioner (rank 2b) and the brother of a Hanlin Academician Reader-in-Waiting as well as other brothers of lesser official ranks - Qian Du had little trouble in winning his way into the circles of the wealthy and powerful. Still, seen against father's and siblings' achievements, his chosen path represented to his contemporaries a decline, putting the artist in a marginal state.

On the other hand, Zhang Jing the official was blessed with a brilliant future. From Shaanxi, he had taken the *jinshi* degree roughly two decades before. He was a newcomer to the capital, assigned to the Grand Secretariat (*n eige zhongshu*). Youthful and brash, he had been prone to bold gestures and inclined to entertain in grand style, cavorting with his friends in drinking bouts.⁹ He was, however, a man of talent. While perhaps curbing his own excesses,¹⁰ he also performed splendidly in assigned posts, either by quelling local uprisings or in efficient supervision of river control. As a result, Zhang Jing rapidly climbed the ladder of success. In 1823, a few months before the encounter with the artist, he had just been promoted to

the post of *taishou*, the prefect for Runing in Henan province. It is likely that he was paying a visit in his official capacity to Kaifeng, which was not far away.

So the two men, an artist and an official, met and perhaps dined in a setting from which the scroll was the outcome. It was not their first meeting as they had been on friendly terms. A year before the artist had dedicated a fine album to the official even though he was ill at the time." Thus, we may assume that the Kaifeng gathering was a jovial occasion, free from the sort of awkwardness and formality attending initial encounters between strangers. It was there that Zhang Jing, who had never visited the West Lake but harbored a passionate desire to do so, made a reasonable request: a painting about the scenic site from a painter who had come from that region and had a villa near the lake. The painter readily consented.

Consistent with the friendly atmosphere, the artist's dedication bears a personal note, espousing a warm sentiment and a sincere invitation. To suit the gesture to the desire, he rendered the aforementioned boat, carrying its human and avian cargo toward a cluster of thatched cottages. These would have to be the Songhu Villa which, as Qian Du himself described, was in the midst of several *mutus*. A touch of ambiguity surrounds the boat and its cargo. We notice in the boat only a single figure, certainly not the combination of the host and visitor predicted in the colophon. Given that the boat heads toward Qian Du's estate, where he perhaps appears in the interior of one of the cottages, this individual must be the visitor, Zhang Jing. The crane inside the basket cage adds a symbolic dimension: whosoever associated with it would have to be a hermit, a recluse, or an immortal, someone who had cast aside worldly attachments. Around the West Lake, memory of Lin Pu's association with plum blossoms and crane (*meiqi hezi*, or 'the prunus as his spouse and a crane as his child') was never far away." Of course, if the symbolism were to be applicable, it would not have been Zhang Jing of the present but of the future.

To confirm this, we only need to refer to the poem by Zhang Shu (1781-1847, Appendix, number 19 in the segment of appended inscriptions). A close friend of the official, Zhang Shu had visited the West Lake before and therefore saw the pictorial scene succinctly:

Once, from the South Lake, I [had made my way to, and] boated
on the West Lake.

The spring breeze blew gently on my thin robe.
 I laughed at the minister Jia [Sidao], his estates in ruins on the Ge Hill.
 Around the Crane Pavilion, where the plum trees grew old, I
 sought [the traces of] Lin Pu [the hermit]...
 Now it is you who, on the boat, is searching for the hidden vistas.
 The West Lake appears as a clear mirror of blue..."

Transformation

Is Qian Du's West Lake an accurate depiction of the setting? Is this a cartographical rendering?

Hardly. When we view the Lake as depicted in the scroll, let us be mindful of Qian Du's confession that he had been away from Hangzhou for a number of years. In view of his long absence, his depiction of the West Lake may not be as accurate in scale or in physical features as we would wish.¹ The few essential landmarks he includes, the city wall to the east of the West Lake, the Huxin Ting, a bridge along the Su Causeway (probably one of the six, formerly with a pavilion atop its arching profile) and nearing Gushan, with its temple and other structures, were essentially isolated from memory. Their positions are hardly, to use a term drawn from modern sculpture, *in situ*. In the painting, the most notable element is the Songhu Villa. As he describes it in the inscription, it consists of several units of thatched cottage and ten *mu* of lotuses. That in fact is the dominant landmark in the scroll, one which may be the last to be seen, but which, in a significant way, represents Qian Du's vantage point.

In retrospect then, this is not so much the West Lake but Qian Du's vision of it. There is a personal angle, something seen from his own perspective - from his own Songhu Villa. It is a vista familiar to him, in past experience and in his dreams. The other landmarks in the painting, instead of being treated in their own terms, are being brought to the proximity of the Villa. Consequently, the hierarchy of scale is contrary to the direction of the viewing. The initial appearance of the low hills and city wall in the lower register, which we noticed first, are diminutive and more 'distant' in perception. Gradually, however, as the Villa comes into sight at the very end of the scroll itself, the land becomes monumental, and his thatched cottages and the environment take on a degree of grandeur rivaling any of the known sites around the West Lake. One might suggest that this

is the emotive core of the painting. From here, we may retrace the steps and encounter these landmarks farther and farther away, all the time with a diminishing scale and distance as a critical and accompanying factor.

Finally, let us not ignore the fact that the painting constitutes a dialogue, a dialogue between the painter and his patron. It may also be regarded as a veritable invitation. It is Qian Du's West Lake and he is opening his door to the honorable guest. Both turn their eyes to the Lake, one lost in vivid memories and another receiving a maze of signals and colors to illuminate his land of fantasy. Depicted this way, the scene confirms Qian Du's dreaming of the past and Zhang Jing's anticipation for the future. The West Lake, with its architecture of vermilion hues, the willow-studded shorelines, and the hills of malachite greens and rich ochre, turns eerily luminous and quiet. Here the past and future merge, and dream and fantasy are now fused.

The Tipping of Scale: The Artist and His Patron

It is axiomatic that, once the painting is done and leaves the artist's hand, it begins to enjoy a separate existence. In this case, it is certainly true; its fortune became entangled to a large degree with the man to whom it was dedicated and in whose hands it turned into a possession of pride, apparent in that the scroll was shown a number of times, to friends and colleagues, officials and literati - men of eminence, with whom Zhang Jing came into contact (see Appendix). Later, the scroll began to acquire the sort of accouterments known and familiar to us, that is, a title in bold calligraphy by a prominent individual, and then post-scripts and colophons by admirers at the tail end. Twenty individuals have left their traces. Between Yao Wentian (1758-1827) in the frontispiece and Muzhang'a (1782-1856) at the very end of the sequence there was nearly a decade of time involved. To be exact, the total span was nine years. Their presence and comments trailed Zhang Jing's rise in fortune. It began with his appointment as the *taishou* of Runing, continued through his *guan* post overseeing the circuit of Kai Gui Chen Xu (Kai feng, Guide, Chen zhou, Zhengzhou and Xuzhou) to his growing prestige and power as the Director-General of the Grand Canal, first overseeing the Eastern sector at Jining (1824-1826) and thence to the Southern sector at Huaiyin (1826-1833). With every ascending step, his own aura brightened considerably. By an inverse ratio, the artist's stature was being diminished. It was a case

of political power translated into social and financial advantage , against which an artist like Qian Du appeared vulnerable. ZhangJing already was showing a passion for collecting paintings and painters.¹⁶ As the Director-General, presiding over the critical issues of river control and with an immense budget at his command, he was a formidable presence and able to extend his network of patronage . " Consequently, his studio title of Erzhu Zhai, the Twin-Bamboo Studio, gained a degree of fame in posterity." A number of literati and artists in the late Qing gravitated toward Zhang Jing.¹

The scale tipped in favor of the patron . In the Phoenix scroll most of the inscriptions were written for Zhang Jing. While the inscribers faced Qian Du's painting, they appeared to have ignored him as its author and to have presented their written and poetic celebrations in honor of ZhangJing.¹⁰ Mostly, the inscribers reminisced about their previous enjoyment of the West Lake or shared a desire to travel to such a scenic and enchanting site, to 'borrow the mist and vapor to nurture our heart and soul.'²¹ And, the image of Lin Pu, associated with prunus and crane, was lurking in the background. That association had been made tangible by the artist and further confirmed by the writers. That was, of course, flattering to the politician Zhang Jing who, in ways that had become fashionable, was compelled to display a reclusive bent.

But the eclipse of Qian Du is lopsided. No one even praised Zhang Jing for having chosen the right artist to initiate the series of *Yuanyou Tu*. Were the writers conscious of Qian Du at all? Yes, of course. Some were his friends and patrons as well or about to become so. But in deference to ZhangJing, from whom the request for title and inscriptions had come, the artist was allowed to recede into the background. Of them only a humble scholar like Chu Fengchun (Appendix, number 3) was sympathetic enough to observe:

The Old Man of Songhu has a mind of his own.
 He wielded a brush and depicted the spring in the Su Causeway.
 On the Causeway, weeping willows number in the
 tens of thousands.
 In these cottages, he told us he had been residing.
 The invitation extended, and the team of children on bamboo
 horses were ready to greet ,
 It was lucky for him to invite the man of rising fortune.

That was the extent of praise for our artist. It may be that Qian Du at the time had not attained the same degree of fame as he later did. In the reticence so manifested among the inscribers, we note a widening chasm between the official on the one hand and the artist on the other. If Zhang Jing was advancing, Qian Du was not. Regardless of the painter's illustrious family background, he was a painter for hire.

The First of the Series

Zhang Jing imposed his will by ordering a series of ten, for which Qian Du was but one of the artists at his bidding. Qian Du was, however, the first artist to respond to ZhangJing's request and he painted additional works within the series. In so doing, he was made to celebrate and make public the official's desire to roam.

Serial paintings were a familiar sight by the nineteenth century. ZhangJing, as well as Qian Du, was following a well-established convention. Antecedents were plentiful, ancient, immediate past and contemporary. The classic examples of 'the Wangchuan Villa,' 'The Thatched Cottages of Lu Hong,' 'Eight Scenes of Xiao and Xiang' need no introduction. In the more immediate past, the court of the Qianlong era indulged in grand projects of ceremonial dimensions and magnificence that often required serial undertakings.²² The multiple views of the 'Bishu Shan zhuang' and 'Yuanming Garden' or those of cities and scenic sites are examples. In the nineteenth century itself, perhaps as a distant reflection of historic antecedents and court practices, we can observe rising enthusiasm and involvement, with many literati acting to find ways to celebrate ideas or possessions. A Mongol literatus, Fashishan (1753-1813), had his *Niche of Poetry* painted a number of times, with fourteen painters cooperating.²³ Another, Guo Lin (1767-1831), commissioned paintings of his studio, the Lingfen Guan, by contemporary artists, among whom was Qian Du himself." Qian Du also painted the *Sixteen Scenes of the Yan Garden* for Jiang Yinpei, one of the inscribers of the Phoenix scroll (Appendix, number 17)." We may mention another series, *The Dream journeys*, set forth by an obscure literatus, Yang Changnian.²⁴ On the strength of the title, we are certain that it was similar to the *Yuanyou Tu* series, though more extensive in coverage. It attracted several tens of painters, among whom was Tang Yifen (1778-1853), who contributed no less than three very fine works. Yang Changnian had neither the prestige nor the

wealth of Zhang Jing to command artists to do his bidding. Besides relying on friendship to exact cooperation from his peers, Yang must have sought, humbly and abjectly, for the inclusion of the three paintings that Tang Ytfen, the grand old master, eventually consented to paint.

Returning to the *Yuanyou Tu* series, it stemmed from Zhang Jing's profound sense of privation and the resultant desire to mend this gap in his experience. Thus he longed to travel through a whole series of scenic and historic sites, those which he had not had opportunities to visit before. Of these, the West Lake was the first and Qian Ou happened to be at Kaifeng to quench a portion of his thirst. If curiosity had initially inspired the desire, that motive soon took on a proportion of grandeur as Zhang Jing engaged contemporary painters to bring a degree of reality to it. Further invitations to inscribe the scrolls represented a wide-ranging public display and celebration.

Indeed, when Qian Ou acknowledged in his inscription that it was a *Yuanyou Tu*, he made it clear what his patron had in mind. Further confirmation comes from Yao Wentian (1758-1827) (Appendix, number 1), a venerable statesman and a worthy calligrapher in his own right.²⁷ He was asked, and consented to write, the title *Longing to Roam: The First Picture*, with 'Drifting in a Boat on the West Lake' as a subtitle.²⁸ In addition, Chen Yongguang (Appendix, number 9) and Wu Songliang (Appendix, number 16), writing at the end of the scroll, provided several tantalizing hints that the series was to include Mt Lu, Mt Yandang, Mt Huang, Mt Emei, and so on.

The best evidence comes from the aforementioned Zhang Shu, who, by 1831, had seen the whole series of the *Yuanyou Tu* and had written inscriptions on all of them.² The titles given to his poems are identical to the pictorial themes:

1. Drifting in a Boat on the West Lake
2. Waterfall at Mt Lu
3. Ocean of Cloud at Mt Huang
4. Seeking Scenic Wonders at Mt Yandang
5. Viewing the Waterfall at Mt Tiantai¹⁰
6. Boating [on a stream] below Mt Wu yi
7. Viewing the Plum Blossoms at Dengwei
8. Visiting Fishermen by the Yan [Zhi tui] Shore
9. Viewing Snow on Mt Emei
10. . Leaning on a Staff at the Wangchuan [Villa]

The sites are familiar. Each carries a different degree of historic significance while being spectacular in scenery. Those were places where Zhang Jing had not been and longed to be; that was the key to the selection process. Since he had come from the province of Shaanxi and by 1823 had served in Henan and Shandong and had made visits to cities like Yangzhou or Zhenjiang, we could understand why he favored those outside of his limited experience. As it stands, the list takes him, imaginatively, over several provinces. Most of these scenic sites lie south of the Yangzi River, 'with one exception, number ten, the Wangchuan Villa, the famed villa to which the great poet and painter, Wang Wei, retired after an official career that ended in disgrace. This celebrated site is not far from Zhang Jing's native land of Fushi; oversight, more than anything else, must have been the reason for his failure to visit it. But the fact that it was near his native place might also explain why it was listed last, as it would be the most accessible should he retire, perhaps, at the end of the projected 'grand tour.' Just as at West Lake, an undercurrent of reclusive urges may have been present through the series. To cite a few examples: Lin Pu in number one, Yan Zhitui in number eight, and Wang Wei in number ten are salient archetypes, worthy of emulation for those worn down by onerous official duties. On the other hand, considering that Zhang Jing was still upwardly mobile, the reclusive bent was not so focused or perhaps seemed to be a case of public posturing. That might not be so a few years later when Zhang Jing's river control effort did not succeed as before and demotion, if not disgrace, hastened his retirement." Returning to the *Yuanyou Tu* series, it was begun by Qian Du in 1823 and it is clear that individual paintings were done at various times between that year and 1831, by a number of artists." Casting a wide net, Zhang Jing selected artists among those whom he encountered along the way and upon whom he had lavished attention and rewards. This was the case with Qian Du who, not only given the honor of starting the series, three years later painted the fifth in the series, *Viewing the Waterfall at Mt Tiantai*." Another case was Zhu Henian, a well known scholar painter, from whom Zhang Jing coaxed a commitment for two paintings (number two, *Waterfall at Mt Lu* and number three, *Ocean of Cloud at Mt Huang*)." A third case was the patron's encounter with Sheng Dashi, who is better known as the author of a treatise, *Xishan Woyou Lu*, which chronicled the art scenes in the first half of the nineteenth century. Zhang Jing entrusted him with the task of rendering *Viewing Snow on Mt Em ei*, the ninth painting in the series.*

At times, Zhang Jing had to rely on friendly help in order to discover painters who might match his expectations. Chen Yongguang, a scholar-official and an inscriber of the Phoenix scroll, kindly obliged; he found an able painter in the person of Hu Jiushi, the son of a Qianlong era court painter, Hu Gui.³⁷ This resulted in number four, *Seeking Scenic Wonders at Mt Yandang*, dated 1825," and, in addition, an album representing a complete set of the ten *Yuanyou Tu*.³

Was Zhang Jing always pleased with his artists or those *Yuanyou Tu* they painted? The case of Hu Jiushi, whom he recruited when the subject of Mt Yandang apparently posed a grave challenge to the skills of existing personnel, is indicative of his own rising expectations and occasional failures to meet them. Regarding *Viewing Snow on Mt Emei*, not only did he have Sheng Dashi paint it, but in 1830, Zhang requested another painter, Wang Gonghou of Shandong, to try out the same theme.⁴⁰ Since only Wang's painting has survived the vicissitudes of the last hundred or so years, it is difficult to determine whether Sheng's preceded his, or vice versa. Such a repetition cannot but suggest that one of them must have appeared doubtful to Zhang Jing.

However, one should not be surprised that Qian Du's paintings were consistently held in high esteem by the patron. It is not our purpose to praise Qian Du at the expense of other artists also engaged in the series; each had his strengths and weaknesses. Qian Du was the exception to the orthodox modes, in which Zhu Henian and Sheng Dashi found their niches. The parameter of his style may even be more commodious in nature than theirs in adjusting itself to, or dealing with, the specific topographical contours of the sites. When inspired, it can fill the interior of the scenes with a resonance of subtle thoughts and richly endowed emotive tone beyond the visual and the ordinary.⁴¹ The main evidence of Zhang Jing's trust lies in his own actions and decisions. Not only did he put Qian Du in charge of two paintings in the series but also, in 1832, one year after the series had been completed, he made clear to the artist a wish for him to try the theme of the Wangchuan Villa again.⁴² A previous attempt by an unknown artist had not satisfied the taste of the patron. In addition, as circumstances then had changed considerably, there was greater urgency for him to enforce his desire. This was when the Director-General knew that his days were numbered, as he looked to the prospect of finally returning home, in the vicinity of which lies the famous site. Regarding this request, Qian Du not only obliged, but rose to the occasion." Having been inspired by Xu Ben and Tang Yin's renditions of the same theme,

so he claimed, he transformed the familiar subject into a silent vista of undulating hills and enclosed cottages; a figure, perhaps Zhang Jing himself accompanied by a young servant, chances upon this place with a new sense of wonder.

Between the patron and the artist, the relationship appears to have endured no less than a decade. Starting from 1822 or earlier, the aforementioned album for Zhang Jing in the Shanghai Museum collection, painted at the time when the artist was in a sickly state, testifies just how invaluable Qian Du regarded the relationship. Some evidence suggests that Zhang Jing had lavished many financial rewards on the artist, and had placed him under his care, requesting little other than asking him to paint for him. This relationship survived and became ever stronger after the artist began the series of *Yuanyou Tu* and, in 1832, reached a crescendo in *The Wangchuan Villa*.

In the last days of their relationship, in 1833, Qian Du continued to produce works of importance for his patron. There is, for example, a commissioned work, *Shugang Jiyou Tu* (Picture Recording the Visit to Shugang), in which the artist documented a visit by Zhang Jing and his friends to Shugang in Yangzhou. Of greater emotional impact is a smaller painting, in which he bade farewell to Zhang Jing whose official career had collapsed and who was looking homeward. This is the *Taihua Wenzhong Tu* (The Sound of Bells at Mt Taihua), focusing on Mt Hua as the chief landmark of Shaanxi, the sacred mountain of the West.⁴⁵ As Sheng Dashi described it, it was a painting done in light ink, where the subtle washes in varied shades of grays led to effects that are misty and indistinct, carrying an undercurrent of unnamable sorrow, suitable to the occasion.⁴⁶

Conclusion

Did Zhang Jing ever fulfill his dream of visiting West Lake or any of the sites about which he entertained his fondest dreams? Judging from his circumstances, it appeared that he was hampered by his official posts, most of which were in the Central Plains, Henan and Shandong, and lastly in Qingjiang Pu, Jiangsu. It may be that he never had the leisure to do so—especially after his assumption of duties as the Director-General of the Grand Canal." So said Wu Songliang, a poet and an inscriber of the Phoenix scroll:

Millions under the firmament are suffering.
 Heaven sent a man of heroic disposition to give succor.
 Today, the extraordinary deed was to block the ocean waves.
 However, your original wishes were but to journey to different
 mountains.
 Such desires were hampered and the imperial favors so difficult
 to repay.
 Your heart is weary and your hair turns white.
 When can you hire a boat to Mt. Tiantai?
 Myriad peach blossoms hold a thatched door.♦♦

Indeed, as Zhang Jing reached the top, he began to attract criticism. After becoming the Director-General of the Eastern sector, a series of setbacks, culminating in a major flooding, must have been sufficiently disappointing that he had neither the time nor the inclination to dream about his lands and mountains of fantasy. In 1833, he was discharged and returned home, his hope and future shattered and his spirit broken.♦♦ Under the circumstances, even his first and foremost wish, *Boating on the West Lake*, eluded him. He died two years later, not a contented recluse as he had vainly hoped, but a failed politician. Of all of those mentioned in the ten *Yuanyou Tu*, the site to which he still had access was the Wangchuan Villa, which lies in the vicinity of his own native place, Fushi.

A number of artists and literati left Qingjiang Pu in 1833 after Zhang Jing's fall from grace. Some stayed on, including Qian Du. Conceivably, Zhang Jing may have been instrumental in introducing them to his successor, Linqing (1791-1846). An erudite Manchu who took over the post as the Director-General of the Southern sector from 1833 to 1842, Linqing inherited some of these artists while perhaps extending his network of patronage to others. Among the remaining artists, he favored Sheng Dashi,¹⁰ who had been enticed by the favorable conditions at Huaiyin, and wrote a preface to Sheng's treatise, *Xishan Woyou Lu*. He also took to Qian Du readily. For this new Director-General Qian Du painted at least two works, one pertaining to the Dan Garden which Linqing inherited from Zhang Jing,¹¹ and another entitled *Ocean and Mountain, Cloud and Sun*.¹² If Qian Du's parting gesture to Zhang Jing was imbued with a touch of sadness, the new paint-

ing, dated 1839, six years after the new Director-General's assumption of duty, featured him as a lordly figure ascending to MtTai to view the sunrise. The backdrop was a sea of clouds and ocean waves. Qian Du put much effort into outlining and applying washes to the cloud formations, the result of which was declared an 'original vision.'

APPENDIX

A listing of the inscribers for the *Boating on the West Lake* can be an indication of the vortex of associates and associations that surrounded Zhang Jing's life journey, from 1823 onward. They wrote the title or the inscriptions at the tail-end segment and did so either in Beijing, where Zhang Jing had to report to the court, or in the provinces, in cities and offices where he was posted.

- r. Yao Wentian (1758-1827), a major scholar and official, attracted the attention of Emperor Qianlong and ascended to the height of heading, as a Han Chinese official, the Censorate, and also the Ministry of Rites." He was, of course, not among the first ones to set eyes on the scroll; but must have written its title in 1824 between the ninth and eleventh month. That was when Zhang Jing was promoted from his prefect title to a provincial circuit in Henan, the Kai Gui Chen Xu circuit.
2. Liu Binshi, a *jinshi* of the sixth year of Jiaqing (1801), followed an official course to the post of the Vice Minister of the Left, Ministry of Justice. He is also known to be a *ci* poet. From the long poem he inscribed on the painting, we know that a marriage was being arranged between the two families, his own and Zhang Jing's. Consequently, he must have been the first to have seen, and to have been invited to inscribe, the Phoenix scroll.
3. From Haiyan, Zhejiang, Zhu Fangzeng (died 1830), like Liu Binshi, also obtained the *jinshi* degree in 1801. In 1815, he was assigned to Moujing Hall as a part of the editorial staff in charge of compiling *Shiqu Baoji and Midian Zhu lin*, catalogs of imperial collections of calligraphy, painting and religious images. In 1824, he gained the appreciation of the Daoguang Emperor for his skill at versification which led to his promotion to the Academician of the Grand Secretariat and the Vice Minister, the Ministry of Rites.⁵⁴
4. A precocious child, Bao Guixing (1765-1826) the poet also enjoyed official success. In time, he reached the height of the post of Vice Minister in the Ministry of Work. A careless slip so angered the Jiaqing Emperor that the latter stripped away his titles and told him to stay in the capital, to reflect on his erroneous ways. However, within five years, he was pardoned but given a lower title,

bianxiu (junior compiler). In 1823, he had assumed the post of an Academician Reader-in-Waiting, and then was to be transferred as the Vice Commissioner in the Office of Transmission. That was when he encountered the Phoenix scroll, probably in Beijing.

A student of Yao Nai, the famous Tongcheng scholar and essayist,⁵⁶ Bao Guixing in the capital must have made a considerable impression. In 1803, he had taken under his wing a group of younger and highly promising students who went on to become, in various ways, the pillars of society. Among them was Muzhang'a, the last one to inscribe the Phoenix scroll.

5. Wu Cihe (1778-1826) was one of the respected literary figures at the time, known for his poetic skill and achievement in the *bianxiu wen*, emphasizing antithetical parallelism. A Suzhou native, Wu succeeded to his father's official career and made the rank *offjishi* in 1809. From 1822 to 1825, he was the Education Intendent in the province of Henan. His inscription was written in the Mid-Autumn Festival in 1824, in the examination hall at Xuchang. He addressed Zhang Jing as a *taishou*, at the time when Zhang was still a prefect of Runing.
6. From Qiuxian, Shandong, Liu Dagan began only as a *bagong* of 1777, a modest Graduate for Preeminence -without the prized *jishi* degree. However, he appeared to have cultivated a reputation in *belles-lettres* and also in the art of calligraphy. His inscription on the scroll dates to the twenty-first day of the seventh month, 1824, earlier than Wu Cihe's. At the time of inscription, he was perhaps assigned to the Waterway Circuit in the Eastern Sector as a Surveillance Commissioner. He also was on friendly terms with the artist, Qian Du, who was familiar with his collection of old paintings, which included, among others, a Wen Zhengming in the style of Liu Songnian and a Tang Yin.⁵⁶
7. A nephew of Yuan Mei,⁵⁷ the literary giant of the eighteenth century, Yuan Tong appeared to be quite well known among his contemporaries as a lyricist in *ci* poetry, though he died young. Dwarfed by his uncle, he left a poetic collection known by the title *Pengyue Lou Shici Gao*. He served as a magistrate of Ruyang, Henan, when it is likely that he came to know Zhang Jing well and was subsequently invited to inscribe the scroll.

Since the two families, of Yuan and Qian, were friendly toward each other, it is very likely that YuanTonghad known Qian Du since their childhood. However, the *ci* poem he wrote was addressed to Zhang Jing the official and not to Qian Du the artist.

8. About Wu Yuhui, we know very little. He was a literatus from Haining. When he was at Runing, ZhangJing requested an inscription from him. In the inscription, Wu Yuhui addressed the official as *taishou*, the prefect of Ru ning. As ZhangJing's tenure lasted between the fifth month of 1823 to the ninth month of 1824, we can safely date the inscription within this time.
9. Like Bao Guixing, Chen Yongguang (1768-1835) was also a student of the famous essayist Yao Nai of the Tongcheng school. A *jinshi* of 1801, he made his way to the post of Vice Minister of the Ministry of Rites (2a). His inscription is undated but the context favors 1824 or thereabouts, through dated inscriptions before and after. From the content, it appears that he had been to Hangzhou and the West Lake before but that he had not explored it thoroughly. Subsequent assignments to the court essentially kept him in Beijing where most likely the inscription on the Phoenix scroll was written. He too shared ZhangJing's desire to travel to the famous mountains, Mt Lu, Mt Huang and the Five Sacred Mountains. Chen Yongguang was to return to the West Lake later and commissioned Fei Danxu to render a painting of *Walking in the Bamboo Grove in the Taoguang Temple.*"
- ro. Zhang Bofan is another case of the unknown. He was a native Piling, or Wujin in Jiangsu; his inscription is dated 1824. He also addressed Zhang Jing as *taishou*, affirming that he saw and inscribed the painting in Runing.
- u. Another inscriber who not only received the *jinshi* degree in 1801 but was the first among the equals, or the *zhuangyuan*, is Gu Gao (1763-1832). Trusted by Emperors Jiaqing and Daoguang, he enjoyed smooth sailing in his official career, reaching vice ministerial rank and serving in a number of ministries. Together with Zhu Fangzeng, he also served, in 1815, on the editorial boards of *Shiqu Baoji* and *Midian Zhulin*; this allowed him access to the collection of paintings and calligraphies in the Qing palace. He was known

to be a calligrapher and amateur painter, and his biographer and friend, Chen Yongguang, mentioned that he had done fans for the emperor. Gu Gao took pride in his own painterly skill; as a result, he mentioned in the inscription that only recently he had painted three paintings as imaginary scenes, just as Zhang Jing's journey was, at the time, equally imaginary. Although Gu Gao was sent to oversee examinations in Zhejiang in 1823 and 1824, he spent most of his time in the capital and may have inscribed the scroll there."

12. Yang Yizeng (died 1833) was an effective censor and official through the Jiaqing and Daoguang eras. In the 1820s, when he inscribed the Phoenix scroll, he served as the Chief Minister of the Court of Judicial Review (Dali Si) and then Vice Censor-in-Chief of the Left.
13. Chu Fengchun's life story is known only in the most ~~terms~~^{terms}.⁶⁰ A native of Suzhou with scholarly credentials and an occasional painter, his calligraphic skill is partial to the clerical style with which he inscribed the Phoenix scroll. His inscription here is dated 1824.
14. Chen Songqing was an older cousin of Chen Wenshu, who will appear among the list of the inscribers. A native of Hangzhou, he attained the rank of Vice Minister in the Ministry of Rites.
15. Fei Gongyan is another unknown who inscribed the poem at the examination hall at Xuchang (Xuzhou), Henan. It is possible that he did so with Wu Cihe (number 5 above) or when Zhang Jing became the overseer of the circuit of Kai Gui Chen Xu.
16. Wu Songliang's inscription is dated to the eleventh month of 1824. A student of Weng Fanggang (1733-1818) and Jiang Shiquan (1725-1785), Wu Songliang carved out a niche for himself in poetry and received approbation from elderly poets at the time. Even Yuan Mei was impressed enough to praise his poetic achievements. Indeed, it has been said that his fame was international in scope, as it reached Korea and Japan. A *juren* of 1800, he was privileged to hold an appointment as a secretary in the Grand Secretariat. Around 1830, he took an appointment as *zhizhou* (Department Magistrate) in Guizhou and died in the post.

17. Jiang Yinpei (1768-1838) inscribed the painting in 1825 when Zhang Jing had already taken up the appointment as the Director-General of the Grand Canal at the Eastern sector. Jiang Yinpei served in Shandong in various magisterial capacities and was one of the fine officials at the time. By 1825, when he wrote the inscription for the Phoenix scroll, he had retired from officialdom.

Jiang became friendly with Qian Du around 1822 but for seven years had not received any paintings from him. Only in 1829, did Qian Du present him with an album of *Sixteen Scenes of Yan Garden*, his own estate in Changshu. The artist did not even visit the garden but conjured up these scenes from his imagination. ⁴¹

18. A Hangzhou native, Chen Wenshu (1775-1845) certainly was a major figure in *belles-lettres*.⁴² Poetic precocity earned him respect and a pairing with his equally well-known cousin, Chen Hongshou (1768-1822). A student of Ruan Yuan (1764-1849), Chen received his *juren* degree in 1800. In his official career, he went no further than magistracy in a series of major cities in Jiangsu, including Changshu, Shanghai, and Jiangdu. In the last city, he successfully dealt with river control. After 1823, he retired to his native place and had a villa by the shore of the West Lake. This did not prevent him from resuming an official career as a magistrate in Anhui. He died in the post.

Chen Wenshu was keenly interested in painting and wrote a series of poems introducing and celebrating artists from Hua Yan onward. It is titled *Hualin Xinyong*, which also features, among contemporary artists, Qian Du.⁴³ We have already noted that the Chen and the Qian families were fairly close and the two men were on intimate terms. His inscription on the Phoenix scroll is dated 1826, when Zhang Jing had moved from Jining to Qingjiang Pu to govern over the Southern sector.

19. Zhang Shu (1781-1847) has already been mentioned several times in the course of this paper. He was one of the inscribers who saw the whole series of *Yuanyou Tu* and contributed poetic celebrations to each painting. From Wuwei, Gansu, Zhang Shu was a prolific writer and a wide-ranging scholar. In his official career, he was as upright as he was stubborn, willing to challenge his superiors, so it is not surprising that he never went beyond the magisterial rank.

Zhang Shu's poem on the first *Yuanyou Tu* was written in either 1826 or shortly afterwards, and the whole set of ten was completed by 1831.

20. Muzhang 'a's (1782-1856)⁶⁴ appearance as the last inscriber in the Phoenix painting is not exactly felicitous. It was a prophecy of Zhang Jing's doom. It was Muzhang 'a, with Tao Shu (1779-1839), who was sent by imperial command to investigate what went wrong in the river control during the last years of Zhang Jing's tenure. We are not certain of the date of his inscription here. Twice this powerful Manchu official was sent to the South to investigate failures in flood control, in 1827 and in 1832. Following this sequence of the inscriptions in the Phoenix scroll, Muzhang 'a's follows those of Jiang Yinpei, Chen Wenshu and Zhang Shu, which are either dated 1825 or, very likely, afterwards. So it is not far-fetched to suggest that he wrote his during the first visit. In 1827, the circumstances were not serious and, in spite of the setback, Zhang Jing's standing in the court remained firm. On the second occasion, which essentially brought about the end of Zhang Jing's political career, the Manchu's arrival may have assumed a far graver turn. Zhang would have had neither the inclination nor the proper occasion to invite the increasingly powerful official to comment on his reclusive desire.

Later, Muzhang 'a advocated negotiation and compromise with the British in the Opium War, which erupted in the years 1840-42. For that unpopular stance, he faced dismissal during the Xianfeng reign.

Notes

- r. Published in Paul Moss, *The Literati Mode: Chinese Scholar Paintings, Calligraphy and Desk Objects* (London, 1986), number 30; and Claudia Brown and Ju-hsi Chou, *Transcending Turmoil: Painting at the Close of China's Empire, 1796-1911*, (Phoenix, 1992), number 21. As a nineteenth-century artist, Qian Du has not received much attention. Of secondary sources, Toda Teisuke's article on his painting in the Osaka Municipal Art Museum is perhaps the most informative, 'Strolling in the Moonlight Around the Yii-shan Hermitage,' in *Bijutsu Kenkyu*, number 203 (September 1963), 37-43. Toda raised the issue of his birth and death years, which remain unresolved. Since Qian Du was the seventh in the order of siblings and since we know that the fifth brother, Qian Lin, was born in 1763, he had to have been born after that year. See also *Lidai Renwu Nianli Tongpu* (Taipei reprint, 1963) which favors 1764-1845 as Qian's birth and death years. These dates appear to be reasonable.
2. Today only the Jade Belt Bridge (Yudai Qiao) is topped by a pavilion. During the Qianlong period, however, all the bridges along the Su Causeway had similar upper structures. See the pictorial rendering of the West Lake in Liang Shizheng and others, *Xihu Zhizuan* (Wenyuan Ge Sikou Quanshu edition), juan 1, 40b-41a. In addition, writers of inscriptions in the Phoenix scroll never mentioned the Jade Belt Bridge; they focused on those along the Su Causeway. See Chu Fengchun's inscription, dated 1824.
3. In Hangzhou during the late Qianlong, Jiaqing, and Daoguang periods, Xi Gang, Fang Xun, and, later, Dai Xi, were the key proponents of the orthodox school.
4. See my article, 'Ming Idealism and Landscape Painting,' *Pheebus* 1 (Tempe, not dated.), 75-90.
5. It is not certain whether Songhu Bieshu is the same as Ye'ou Zhuang as mentioned by Cheng Tinglu in his biographical profile of Qian Du in *Songhu Huazhui*, r. This text is included in Yang Jialuo editor, *Yishu* (Taipei, 1968), xvi. In any case they are the same, it would have been located, as Cheng Tinglu states, beneath Mt Baoshi, to the north of the lake.
6. For Zhang Jing's biography, see Zhang Shu, *Zhang Jiehou Suozhu Shu* (Taipei, 1976), VII, 1991-2004; Qing Guoshi Guan editors, *Qingshi Liezhuan*, in Zhou Junfu, compiler, *Qingdai Zhuanji Congkan* (Taipei, 1985) 100: 309-316; Li Huan, editor, *Guochao Qixian Leizheng Chubian*, *Qingdai Zhuanji Congkan*, 15T 255-268; and He Shaoji, *He Shaoji Shiw en Ji* (Changsha, 1992), 991-994.

7. See the biographical sketch in Qian Du's *Songhu Huazhui*, 1. This was authored by Cheng Tinglu, Qian Du's disciple, in 1850 when the master had already passed away. Most of the materials in this profile had been supplied to Cheng Tinglu by the artist himself. However, since Cheng did not meet his teacher until 1834, when the master was quite old, some of the recollections may either be faulty or wrongly recorded. For example, Qian Du's father never held office in Yunnan. Thus the story about Qian Du having fallen from the cliff and miraculously survived could not have taken place there. See Cheng Tinglu, *Meng'anjushi Zibian Nianpu* (*Yihai Congbian* edition), entry under the fourteenth year of the Daoguang reign (1834).
8. Of all the brothers, Qian Lin was the most successful in his official career. Being a *jinshi* of 1808, he reached the Academician Reader-in-Waiting (rank 4b) in 1823. See Wang Xisun's biography in Min Erchang editor, *Beizhuanji Bu*, in *Qingdai Zhuanji Congkan*, 120: 530-535. Qian Mei (1761-1803) was a *jinshi* of 1799 and received appointment as the secretary to the Bureau of Appointments, Ministry of Personnel (rank 6a). Qian Shu, the eldest son of Qian Qi, was a painter and a sealcarver; he too had a career in government and was made a department magistrate in Kaizhou, Guizhou (rank 5b).
9. See Zhang Shu's preface to Zhang Jing's *Erzhu Zhai Shiwenti*, in *Zhang Jiehou Suozhu Shu*, IV, 3268.
10. Qian Zhonglian and others, *Qingshi jishi* (Jiangsu, 1989), XII, 8309, Wang Xiaotang's *Lixia Outan* and also *Lixia Outan Xubian*, praising Zhang Jing for his knowledge and achievement and describing him as a 'Confucian official' of his generation. This change could only have come about as he aged and limited his immoderation.
11. This took place in 1822. Qian Du, and perhaps Zhang Jing as well, was in Wancheng, Hubei; Qian Du was sick in the second month when he painted the album. The album is currently in the collection of the Shanghai Museum; see *Zhongguo Gudai Shuhua Tumu*, V (Shanghai, 1990), Hu 1-4301. It was published by Youzheng Bookstore in 1919, under the title *Qian Shumei Shanshui Renwu Ce* (Album of Landscapes and Figures by Qian Shumei).
12. See inscriptions and colophons attached to the Phoenix scroll.
13. See his inscription at the end of the Phoenix scroll. Also, see his *Zhang Jiehou Suozhu Shu*, XII, 3776.
14. After having examined the scroll, Pan Gongkai, a native of Hangzhou and the director of the National Academy of Art, was certain that its painter did not know the location of specific sites at the West Lake.

15. See Wang Huzhen and Wu Weizhu, *Qingdai Hechen Zhuan, Qingdai Zhuanji Congkan*, 56: 235, which gives the dates of Zhang Jing's appointment to the post; he occupied the post in the Eastern sector from 1824 to 1826 and was transferred to the Southern sector from 1826 to 1833. Even though discharged earlier, he stayed on in the post to await the arrival of his successor, Linqing.
16. This may be gathered in Fan Zengxiang's words. Fan was pleased that he was able to acquire a number of paintings formerly in the Erzhu Zhai collection. He was especially delighted by Qian Du's paintings from that collection, praising them as 'lofty, elegant, exquisite and dense.' See his *Fanshanji* (1893 edition), juan 19, 19a-b. For a further appraisal, see Fan's inscription appended to *Taihua Wenzhong Tu* in the Palace Museum collection, Beijing. He wrote, with unusual bluntness: 'Zhang Jiehang began his career in an unorthodox manner (*zaliu*). He had pretensions to connoisseurship. His collection contained works from the Song to the Ming periods, and a majority of them were fakes. However, he sought to recruit [artists] such as Qian Meixi (Qian Shu?), Wang Jiaogui (Wang Xuehao), Qian Shumei (Qian Du), Gai Yuhu (Gai Qi), and so on by lavishing money on them and bringing them into his staff, so that they could conjure up mist and clouds [for his enjoyment]. Works of this nature tend to be excellent.' It appears that Zhang Jing's collection was dispersed after his grandson had passed away. A number of paintings fell into Fan Zengxiang's hands.
17. In Qingjiang Pu, Huaiyin, which was the seat of the Director-General's office overseeing the Southern sector of the Grand Canal, it had an annual budget ranging from four to five million taels of silver during the Jiaqing and Daoguang eras. This enormous sum did not always result in success regarding river control but induced a variety of corrupt practices. The officials were known for their lavish life style, comparable to export merchants in Guangdong, the salt merchants of Yangzhou and Hankou, and copper merchants of Suzhou. See Jin Anqing, *Shuichuang Chunyi* (Beijing, 1984), 34. Also see Wei Yuan in his essays on river control, in *Wei Yuan Ji* (Beijing, 1976), 1, 365-366. He made some general estimates that the cost of river control during the Jiaqing reign surpassed greatly that of the Qianlong period, and that in late Qianlong the cost increased several times over that of the beginning of the dynasty. It came to be that an assignment in the office of the Director-General virtually turned into a 'gold mine.'
18. See note 16 above.

19. See note 17 above. Of some interest was the invitation Zhang Jing extended to Qian Yong, author of *Luyuan Conghua* (Taipei, 1982), 540, to be his house guest at the Dan Garden for a period of four years, 1829-1833. Like his fellow artists, Qian Yong also produced a set of twenty-four poems celebrating the beauty of this spacious garden, famed for its lotus pond, willow, peach, and pear trees. Surprisingly, Qian Yong did not mention Qian Du at all in the segment on painters in his *Luyuan Conghua*, 297-309, even though he must have known him in the inner circle of Zhang Jing at about that time. It can be argued that Qian Yong wrote the segment on painters prior to his meeting with Qian Du. One indication is that many of the painters mentioned there were active during the late Qianlong period, a generation or two before Qian Du's time.
20. A number of them either had been or were to become Qian Du's friends and patrons as well. Examples are Chen Wenshu, Chen Yongguang and Jiang Yinpei. For Chen Wenshu, who was friendly with the Qian family, Qian Du painted a number of paintings, as recorded in Chen's preface to his *Songhu Huazhui*, 1-2. In 1834 Qian Du painted a *Taiyizhou Teaching His Grandson*, for Chen Yongguang, recorded in Guo Baochang, *Zhizhai Shuhua Lu* (no date), 35; currently, this painting is in the collection of the Palace Museum, Beijing. For Jiang Yinpei, Qian Du painted the album, *Sixteen Scenes of Yan Garden*, published in Brown and Chou, *Transcending Turmoil*, number 22.
21. For this poetic line, see Chen Yongguang's long poem in the segment of inscriptions in the Phoenix scroll.
22. For example, the imperial tours to the South during the Kangxi and Qianlong eras inspired magnificent scroll paintings by major artists of the time. See Maxwell Hearn, 'Document and Portrait: The Southern Tour Paintings of Kangxi and Qianlong' in *Phoebus* 6, number 1 (Tempe, 1988), 91-131. For an assessment of the range of themes and styles in court painting, see Nie Chongzhen, *Qingdai Gongting Huihua* (Beijing, 1992).
23. See Li Fang, *Yangke Duhua Lu* (preface: 1915; University of Hong Kong Library, MF 1327, juan 4, 5a-12a. This contains five paintings, authored either in groups or by individuals. Postscripts by Wang Zhenyun and Fashishan were dated to the fifteenth year of Jiaqing, 1810. To mention but a few well-known artists at the time, there were Huang Jun, Zhu Henian, Zhu Ben, Zhu Angzhi, Yao Yuanzhi, and Zhang Yin. The paintings were done within a span of several years, ending in 1803.
24. See *Songhu Huazhui*, juan 2, 41. In addition, Guo Lin's preface to Sheng Dashi's *Xishan Woyou Lu*, in *Huashi Congshu*, IV, 3-4, mentions that Sheng

- painted the ninth version of the Lingfen Guan . Sheng himself mentions that Jiang Jing of Renhe painted the eighth version.
25. See note 20 above. Also , Qian Du joined Dai Xi and a number of lesser known artists in celebrating the Meihua Shuwu (The Plum Blossom House of Learning). This album is in the Roy and Marilyn Papp collection, published in *Heritage of the Brush* (Phoenix, 1989), number 40.
 26. For this series, see Tang Yifen, *Qinyin Yuan Shiji* (Taipei , 1971), II, n40, in the postscript by Yang Changnian.
 27. Yao Wentian, an aging patriarch among officials, was stationed at the capital in his capacity as the Censor-in-Chief of the Left. It is quite possible that between assignments Zhang Jing would return to the capital to report to the central authority. It was then he could make his personal request from a man who enjoyed a sterling reputation as an official of integrity and as an accomplished calligrapher.
 28. Even though Yao Wentian did not set a date for his writing of the title, it had to take place around 1824. This was almost a year later than the painting itself. By this time, as Yao's dedication makes very clear, Zhang Jing was no longer the prefect of Runing but had been promoted to a level commensurate with the title of *guan cha*, a reference to his assignment to an administrative circuit in Henan which took place roughly around the ninth month of 1824 before his further advancement , a mere two months later, to be the Director-General of the Grand Canal, the Donghe (Eastern segment) at Jining. See Appendix ix, number 1.
 29. See *Zhang Jiehou Suozhu Shu*, XII, 3775-3782, also 5n 7-5124. This set of poems is included in the so-called ' Nanzheng Ji' (The Southern Expedition), datable to 1831. Also, we may cite Wu Songliang's inscriptions to the *Yuanyou Tu* series in his *Xiangsu Shangguan Shichao* (Preface date: 1818), part I: *Guti Shichao*, Juan 14, 7a-8a ; juan 16, 4b-5b.
 30. Sherman Lee, *Chinese Landscape Painting* (Cleveland, second edition, 1962), figure 107. The whereabouts of this painting is unknown. As Sherman Lee has indicated, it is accompanied by thirteen colophons. See page 151.
 31. Since we are not in possession of *Erzhu Zhai Shiwen Ji*, we cannot discern the travel pattern of Zhang Jing. We do know that he had been to the south before, for instance to Yangzhou. See Chen Yongguang, 'Shugang Jiyou Tuji,' in his *Taiyizhou Wenji* (Qingsong Tang edition), juan 4, 2ra-23a. Even better is Fan Zengxiang 's account of this painting, which fell into his hands. This bore the inscription by Zhang Jing himself. Zhang mentioned that he had been to Yangzhou several times, thirty years before this 1833 visitation to Shugang. If he had been to Yangzhou then he also

- could have visited Zhenjiang at about the same time. See his series of poems on Mt Jiao, in Wu Yun, editor, *Jiaoshan Zhi* (Taipei, 1975 reprint of 1865 edition), II, 1226-1233.
32. Like all stars who rise to the top, Zhang Jing was destined to fall. The challenge facing the Director-General of the Grand Canal was the awesome power of Nature herself, and failure at his task could lead to instant disgrace and banishment. See, for instance, an eye-witness account of the banishment of Zhang Wenhao, the Director-General of the Grand Canal at the Eastern sector from 1820 to 1821 and at the Southern sector for a few months in 1824. It was while he was at the latter post that a huge storm destroyed protective measures and caused the water of Lake Hongze to pour out uncontrollably. As a result, areas like Huai'an and Yangzhou were severely flooded. Zhang Wenhao was relieved of his post and imprisoned before his banishment to Eli. See Jin Anqing (and Ouyang Zhaoxiong) in *Shuichuang Chunyi*, 48-51. On page 73, Jin further explained that, in the case of river control officers, the legal codes governing their conduct (and the rewards and punishments) were patterned after the military. Consequently, high officials could be executed. The severity of these measures deterred many who otherwise might have been interested in such appointments.
 33. See Zhang Shu, *Zhang Jiehou Suozhu Shu*, XII, 3775-3782, relative to the set of poems on the ten *Yuanyou Tu*. These poems were completed in 1831, after the paintings themselves.
 34. Sherman Lee, *Chinese Landscape Painting*, 131. A poem by Qian Du, perhaps on this painting, is recorded in Li Junzhi, *Qing Huajia Shishi*, in *Qingdai Zhuanji Congkan*, 76: 631. Qian Du might have also painted number 10, *The Wangchuan Villa*, since a painting of that theme remains. See *Zhongguo Gudai Shuhua Tumu*, X (Shanghai, 1993), Hu 1-4307. However, this painting was done in 1832 and post-dates the series of *Yuanyou Tu*, all of which had been completed by 1831.
 35. *Zhongguo Gudai Shuhua Tumu*, x, Jin 7-1665 and Jin 7-1666 respectively.
 36. *Xishan Woyou Lu*, juan 4, 67. Sheng Dashi mentions however that Zhang Jing had a series of twenty-four paintings under the broad heading of the *Yuanyou Tu* series. That may have been a misunderstanding.
 37. *Zhongguo Gudai Shuhua Tumu*, x, Jin 7-1736. See the inscription by Yao Yuanzhi, an official and literatus who narrated the circumstances leading to the painting. For Hu Jiusi, see Qian Yong, *Liyuan Conghua*, 308. Hu Jiusi was the son of Hu Gui, a court painter during the Qianlong reign and

still active around 1799, the fourth year of the Jiaqing era. With respect to both the father and the son, it was said that they displayed a style bridging Wen Zhengming and Dong Qichang.

38. *Zhongguo Gudai Shuhua Tumu*, x, Jin 7-1736
39. For Hu Jiushi's album, see Fan Zengxiang, *Fanshan Ji*, juan 19, 19a.
40. *Zhongguo Gudai Shuhua Tumu*, X, Jin 7-1770. This was dated 1830, on a summer day. See also, Jin 7-177, 1an album of twelve leaves, depicting the scenes of Jiangnan. For a brief biography of Wang Gonghou, see Yu Youlin and others, *Gaomi Xianzhi* (Taipei reprint of 1935 edition), II, 877.
41. Admittedly, Qian Du's style also has its limitations. He was far more at home with themes as intimate and lyrical as the West Lake and might not have risen to the challenge were the scenery as monumental as Yandang or Mt Huang.
42. For the *Wangchuan Tu*, see note 34 above. It was once published under the title of *Qian Songhu Hua Shanshuijuan* (Shanghai, 1928). The artist mentioned that he was inspired by Xu Ben and Tang Yin's versions of the same subject.
43. Qian Du himself did visit Lantian, Zhang Jing's native place, where the venerable estate of Wang Wei was located, and consequently, not unlike *Boating on the West Lake*, it was a re-creation from memory.
44. See Chen Yongguang, 'Shugang Jiyou Tuji', mentioned in note 32 above. Fan Zengxiang, in his *Fanshan Ji*, juan 19, 19a-22a, also mentions this painting. Currently, this painting is in the collection of Michael Shih, Taiwan. For a reproduction of the work, see the auction catalog of *Unique Art Collections*, Taipei, 1996, January 28, lot number 170.
45. This painting is listed in the collection of the Palace Museum, Beijing. See *Zhongguo Gudai Shuhua Mulu*, II (Beijing, 1985), Jing 1-6173.
46. *Xishan Woyou Lu*, juan 3, 46.
47. Chen Yongguang, 'Shugan Jiyou Tuji', 23a, which mentioned that as late as 1833 Zhang Jing still did not have the chance to visit West Lake.
48. Wu Songliang, *Xiangshu Shanguan Shichao: Jinti Shichao* (Preface date: 1818), juan 16, 9a.
49. The fact that he died merely two years later after ending his official career suggests the impact of this loss on him.
50. See his preface to Sheng Dashi's *Xishan Woyou Lu*, 2. He met Sheng in 1833, when he assumed the post of the Director-General in the Southern Sector, replacing Zhang Jing. Two years later he acceded to the request to write a preface.
51. The Dan Garden was located in Qingjiang Pu, the seat of the office of the

- Director-General of the Grand Canal (Southern sector). See Qian Yong, *Liyuan Conghua*, 540. The fan painting can be seen in Beijing Hanhai Art Auction Corporation, *Chinese Fan Paintings* (6 October 1995), lot number 602.
52. This is recorded in Chongyi, *Xuanxue Zhai Shuhua Yumuji (1921)*, *juan 1*, 30a-3ra.
 53. For a fuller biography, see Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 901-902.
 54. See Qian Zhonglian editor, *Qingshi Jishi*, xii, 8306-8307. Also see Zhao Ersun editor, *Qingshi Gao, Qingdai Zhuanji Congkan*, 92: 214-215; also Li Huan editor, *Guochao Qixian Leizheng Chubian, Qingdai Zhuanji Congkan*, 14T 769-775.
 55. See Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 900-901.
 56. Qian Du, *Songhu Huayi (Yishu Congbian edition)*, 25 and 27.
 57. See Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 955-957. Also see Arthur Waley, *Yuan Mei: Eighteenth Century Chinese Poet* (Stanford, 1970).
 58. See his essay of the same title, included in *Taiyizhou Wenji, juan 4*, 29a-30a.
 59. See his biography by Chen Yongguang included in Li Huan's *Guochao Qixian Leizheng Chubian, Qingdai Zhuanji Congkan*, 14T 761-767, in particular, 763.
 60. Jiang Baolin, *Molin Jinhua, Qingdai Zhuanji Congkan*, n 497-498.
 61. See the inscription by Zong Xun in *Sixteen Scenes of Yan Garden*, which transcribes a poem by Jiang Yinpei from his *Oumu Shanfang Shicun*. Unfortunately, this album has never been published in full. See Brown and **6** *Transcending Turmoil*, number 22.
 62. See Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, ro3-ro4 for a biographical sketch.
 63. Included in *Qingdai Zhuanji Congkan*, 79: 489-490.
 64. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 582-583.