

Collaboration and Achievement:
Wang Hui and His Artistic Exchange with Yun Shouping
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ABSTRACT

This dissertation studies the artist Wang Hui 王翬 (1632-1717) from the perspective of his friendship with Yun Shouping 惲壽平 (1633-1690). Both artists are famous for their paintings in the early Qing dynasty. The work of Wang Hui has received considerable scholarly attention. This dissertation, however, will take a new approach to his work. A major aspect of the research is to examine the collaborative work by Wang Hui and Yun Shouping and the inscriptions written by both of them as primary sources, in an attempt to illuminate the artist's theory and practice of art. Far from denying the artist's talent, the emphasis on friendship enriches the exploration of the artist's possible perception which reinforced his expression through art and situates the artist in his time and place. With elegant gatherings, travels, in-depth discussions, and collaborative art creations, this close friendship amplified Wang Hui's talent by way of mutual inspiration, and provided the artist with confirmation of his own views, as well as a source of different yet constructive opinions that only a close friend could give. There have been many studies of artists as individual geniuses. In contrast, this study offers the exploration of a friendship between artists that led to new accomplishments. By viewing the artist and his artwork from the perspective of artists' interactions, I intend to describe and explain early modern painting-related activities in terms of their fundamental connection with human relationships. I argue that painting, especially in the formats and social functions developed in the late Ming and early Qing dynasties, played an essential role in the lives of artists in the early modern period. By emphasizing perceptual experience and creative process, I intend to underline the deep connection between art and life.

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PREFACE

While it is unlikely for scholars to discuss Wang Hui without mentioning Yun Shouping, there seems always to be a gap between the study of their friendship and that of their artistic creations. Traditional and modern Chinese scholarship has brought full attention to collaborative works by the two artists: recent articles include Shan Guoqiang's 單國強 “Zhu lian bi he de Wang Hui Yun Shouping hece” 珠聯璧合的王翬 惲壽平合冊 [The Collaborative Album by Wang Hui and Yun Shouping As a Perfect Pair] (2004), but in most cases such research does not go further than connoisseurship. Japanese scholarship, such as *Un Juhei, Ō Ki* 惲壽平, 王翬 [Yun Shouping, Wang Hui] (1986), edited by Ishiwaka Jun 石川淳 and others, has taken earliest and foremost interest in juxtaposing the two artists' individual works, thereby making them a group that supersedes both the Four Wangs and the Six Masters of the early Qing dynasty. The reasoning behind this prioritization is much need of further discussion.¹ A master's thesis by Cai Yutao 蔡羽韜 for National Chi Nan University in 2016, "Qing chu 'huayin' sixiang yanjiu: yi Wang Hui, Yun Shouping wei li" 清初「畫隱」思想研究：以王翬、惲壽平為例 [The Thought of "Retreating into Painting" in the Early Qing: The Case Study of Wang Hui and Yun Shouping], contains the closest idea to that of this dissertation by

¹ The Four Wangs refer to Wang Shimin 王時敏 (1592-1680), Wang Jian 王鑒 (1598-1677), Wang Hui, and Wang Yuanqi 王原祁 (1642-1715). The Six Masters include Yun Shouping and Wu Li 吳曆 (1632-1718) together with the Four Wangs. Neither “Four Wangs” nor “Six Masters” were widely-used terms in China until the 19th century. See Ruan Pu 阮璞 (1918-2000), "'Si Wang' mingmu zhi diyan jiqi huapai xingchuan zhi licheng" “四王”名目之遞演及其畫派興衰之歷程 [The Development of "Four Wangs" and the Vicissitudes of Their Painting School], in *“Si Wang” huihua yishu guoji xueshu yantaohui: lunwen huibian* “四王”繪畫藝術國際學術研討會：論文匯編 [International Symposium on the Painting of the Four Wangs: A Collection of Papers], ed. Liu Gangji 劉綱紀 (Shanghai, 1992), 2: 18-19.

implying a connection between the friendship of the two artists and their shared conceptions. However, this thesis is mainly a literary study, examining textual materials, and does not contain much discussion of the artists' works of painting. Therefore, this dissertation intends to fill the gap by articulating the artistic exchange between Wang Hui and Yun Shouping in terms of its impact on the former's creativity.

This dissertation has consulted established scholarship spanning from the 1960s to present. Wen C. Fong's "Wang Hui, Wang Yuan-chi and Wu Li" in *In Pursuit of Antiquity: Chinese Paintings of the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse* (1969), by Roderick Whitefield and others, and "Wang Hui and Repossessing the Past" in *Landscapes Clear and Radiant: The Art of Wang Hui (1632-1717)* (2008), edited by Maxwell K. Hearn, provide profound research on formal analysis. Additionally, Fong's *Images of the Mind: Selections from the Edward L. Elliott Family and John B. Elliott Collections of Chinese Calligraphy and Painting at the Art Museum, Princeton University* (1984) includes Wang Hui in a systematic study of the history of style in Chinese painting. For studies of the late Ming dynasty as an important phase of Chinese painting, which is closely related to the formation of Wang Hui as an artist in the early Qing, James Cahill's *The Distant Mountains: Chinese Painting of the Late Ming Dynasty, 1570-1644* (1982) and his exhibition catalog *The Restless Landscape: Chinese Painting of the Late Ming Period* (1971) provide thorough research on different aspects of Ming society and on the impact of these factors on Chinese painting circles, both literati and professional. Most of Fong and Cahill's major work on these topics had been finished by the 1980s, before modern Chinese scholarship, especially in Mainland China, had begun to take intense interest in the paintings of the

Ming and Qing dynasties.² Their work firmly established the basis of this field, and their interpretations remain highly relevant to present scholarship.

A variety of topics on Wang Hui has been explored in this growing body of scholarship. Wang Hui's imitative works after earlier masters, especially those relatively precise copies, draw much scholarly attention from both older and more recent researchers; among these, his copies of Huang Gongwang's *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains* have drawn the most interest. Liu Peng's 劉鵬 “Zhenji tiba lu yu Wang Hui Lin Fuchun shanju tu di yi ben” 《真跡題跋錄》與王翬《臨〈富春山居圖〉》第一本 [A Record of Authentic Paintings and Wang Hui's First Copy of *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*] (2016) is one such study published in the past ten years. Chin-sung Chang's PhD dissertation for Yale University in 2004, “Mountains and Rivers, Pure and Splendid: Wang Hui (1632-1717) and the Making of Landscape Panoramas in Early Qing China,” established a study of Wang Hui's social network, emphasizing the artist's interpersonal relationships with art collectors and researching the masterpieces that Wang Hui had possibly accessed in collections. Recent Chinese scholarship has turned to more in-depth examination of Wang Hui's social network: Wang Jin's 王進 “Wang Hui yu Jinling huatan de jiaoyou jiqi zhongnian huafeng de gaibian” 王翬與金陵畫壇的交游及其中年畫風的改變 [The Friendship between Wang Hui and Jinling Painters and the Change of His Style in His Middle Age] (2008) directly relates Wang Hui's social relationships to the changes in his style of painting. Some scholars pay attention to Wang Hui's position

² By "Chinese scholarship," I refer to scholarship written in both traditional and simplified Chinese.

under Ming-Qing politics, including Fu Yanghua's 付陽華 “‘Hou yimin shidai’ Wang Hui de sancǐ jìnjīng jīqī ‘nánběi’ jiāolu” “后遺民時代”王翬的三次進京及其“南北”焦慮 [Wang Hui’s Three Visits to the Capital City and His Anxiety Regarding the South and the North in the Post-Adherent Era] (2015). All these works of scholarship have contributed to this dissertation and have made possible this further exploration of the career of Wang Hui.

CHAPTER 1

THE FRIENDSHIP UNDER DIFFERENCES

The biography of Wang Hui has been written many times over. While the question of whether to define him as a professional artist or as a scholar-amateur is still being debated, it has not been fully articulated what the sophistication of his identity brought to his work as an artist. Mostly, Wang Hui benefited from his standing at the verge of the professional and amateur realms: he was skilled enough to work professionally on commission, but at the same time, he possessed an intimate understanding of literary nuance. This convergence is evident throughout Wang Hui's career, and particularly in his relationship with Yun Shouping, a more typical scholar-amateur than Wang Hui.³ Their friendship produced stimulations and inspirations, as well as contradictions and disparities. In realizing the sophistication of Wang Hui himself and of this friendship, both of which represent the intersection of the professional and the scholar-amateur, a new perspective can be revealed in the study of the artist.

Wang Hui was born to a family of professional painters in Yushan 虞山 (Changshu, Jiangsu province), in which three generations before him were well-versed in painting.⁴ When he was fifteen years old, Wang Hui began to study painting with Zhang Ke 張珂

³ Yun Shouping was one of the Six Masters of the early Qing who was famous for his flower painting. See Zhao Erxun 趙爾巽 (1844-1927) ed., *Qingshi gao* 清史稿 [The Original Texts of Qing History] (printed in 1928), 504. 4a-5a. See as an example of his artwork: Yun Shouping, Leaf B, *Peony*, from the *Collaborative Album of Flower and Landscape by Wang Hui and Yun Shouping* 惲壽平王翬花卉山水合冊 (National Palace Museum, Taipei).

⁴ Wang Lianqi 王連起, "Wang Hui hua fanggu yu guhua zhong de Wang Hui hua" 王翬畫倣古與古畫中的王翬畫 [Wang Hui's Imitations of the Ancient Paintings and Wang Hui's Replicas of the Ancient Paintings], *Wenwu (Cultural Relics)* 10 (2014): 78.

(1635- ?).⁵ Zhang Ke was a professional painter who followed the Yuan master Huang Gongwang 黃公望 (1269-1394) in his landscape painting.⁶ The real turning point in Wang Hui's artistic career occurred when he met the famous literati painters. At the age of nineteen, Wang Hui was accidentally discovered by Wang Jian 王鑾 (1598-1677), an accomplished literati painter from Loudong 婁東 (Taicang, Jiangsu province), who visited Yushan in 1651 and saw a fan painting by Wang Hui.⁷ Wang Jian invited Wang Hui to an upper-class banquet, where he commended the young artist's talents to other guests. He then showed Wang Hui the original works of Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555-1636), who was greatly admired by the Loudong painters.⁸ Two years later, Wang Jian introduced Wang Hui to his close friend Wang Shimin 王時敏 (1592-1680), another established literati painter.⁹ Like Wang Jian, Wang Shimin appreciated Wang Hui's work,

⁵ Wang Hui, "Preface," in *Qinghui zengyan* 清暉贈言 [Words Given to Wang Hui], ed. Xu Yongxuan 徐永宣 (Laiqingge 來青閣, 1836), 1.

⁶ See Jia Lunkui 郊掄達, *Yushan hua zhi* 虞山畫志 [History of Painting in Yushan] (Jiangsu shengli Suzhou tushuguan, 1941), 15. Huang Gongwang was one of the Four Masters of the Yuan. His most famous extant work is *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains* 富春山居圖, dated 1350. The original scroll was separated into two pieces, one of which is held by the National Palace Museum, Taipei, while the other is held by Zhejiang Provincial Museum, Hangzhou.

⁷ Wang Jian was one of the Four Wangs of the early Qing dynasty. See Zhao, *Qingshi gao*, 504. 1b. One of his representative works is *Autumn Mountains* 秋山圖, 1638 (National Palace Museum, Taipei).

⁸ Dong Qichang was a scholar-painter and art critic in the late Ming dynasty. His art theories were influential among early Qing painters as well as in later generations, and are mostly contained in his *Huachanshi suibi* 畫禪室隨筆 [Jottings at the Huachan Hall] (SKQS ed.).

⁹ Wang Shimin was one of the Four Wangs of the early Qing dynasty. See Zhao, *Qingshi gao*, 504. 1a. One of his representative works is *Billowing Mist, Warm Emerald* 浮嵐暖翠, 1672 (National Palace Museum, Taipei).

and let him study at his villa at Xitian 西田 in the western suburb of Taicang.¹⁰ Wang Shimin's collection of Song and Yuan masterpieces was great in both quality and quantity; thus, Wang Hui had the opportunity to observe and imitate many of these paintings. By 1656, Wang Hui had already met Yun Shouping, who would later become famous as a poet and a flower painter, and the two became good friends. The earliest record of their friendship is dated 1656: on the sixth day of the fourth month, the two young people met at Wang Hui's study, as described in an inscription by Yun Shouping:

春夜，與虞山好友石谷書齋斟茗快談，戲拈柯九思樹石，石谷補竹坡，共為笑樂，時丙申浴佛前二日記。¹¹

On one night in the spring, my good friend Shigu (Wang Hui) from Yushan and I drink tea and chat happily at his study. I playfully paint *Trees and Rocks* [in the style of] Ke Jiusi, and Wang Hui adds bamboo and a slope [to the painting].¹² [We paint] together for laughter and pleasure. I record this at the time two days before the Washing Buddhist Statues Day in the Year of Bingshen (1656).¹³

Later, Wang Hui would also meet Tang Yuzhao 唐宇昭 (1602-1672), a famous collector in Piling 毗陵 (Changzhou, Jiangsu province) at the time.¹⁴ This provided him with the

¹⁰ Wen C. Fong, *Images of the Mind: Selections from the Edward L. Elliott Family and John B. Elliott Collections of Chinese Calligraphy and Painting at the Art Museum, Princeton University* (Princeton, New Jersey: Art Museum, Princeton University, 1984), 180.

¹¹ Yun Shouping, *Ouxiangguan ji* 甌香館集 [Anthology of the Hall of the Fragrant Bowl] (Chong kan ben, 1881), 11. 1a.

¹² Ke Jiusi 柯九思 (1290-1343) was a Yuan painter who was famous for his paintings of bamboo and rocks. One of his representative works is *Ink Bamboo in the Qingbi Pavilion* 清閼閣墨竹圖 (Palace Museum, Beijing).

¹³ The Washing Buddhist Statues Day 浴佛日 is on the eighth day of the fourth month, which is said to be the birth date of Shakyamuni Buddha. All the translations are those of the author unless specifically noted.

¹⁴ See Wu Qizhen 吳其貞 (1607- ?), *Shu hua ji* 書畫記 [Notes on Calligraphy and Painting] (Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1973), 3. 274-276.

opportunity to see Tang's collection. Through Tang Yuzhao and his son, Wang Hui met other art collectors in the Jiangnan region, such as Wu Weiye 吳偉業 (1607-1671), Da Chongguang 笪重光 (1623-1692), and Zhou Liangong 周亮工 (1612-1672).¹⁵ The mentor-protégé relationships and friendships that Wang Hui had formed were very important for the artist in establishing himself as a painter who was active in literati circles.

During the late Ming period, the distinction between scholar-amateurs and professional artists began to blur, which largely resulted from a similar blurring of the lines between commoners and elites in Chinese society.¹⁶ The commercialization of literati paintings further progressed: Suzhou artists who “had once been the exclusive province of the scholar-amateurs now sold their works freely, or produced paintings on commission for the ever-expanding market of the merchant class.”¹⁷ It was also in the late Ming dynasty that professional artists began to adopt literati painting styles.¹⁸ During the early Qing dynasty, the possibility of painting as both a literatus and a professional

¹⁵ Wu Weiye was a scholar-official and poet in the late Ming and early Qing dynasties. See Zhao, *Qingshi gao*, 489. 7b. Da Chongguang specialized in landscape painting, and wrote several texts on painting such as *Hua quan* 畫筌 [The Bamboo Fish Trap of Painting]. See Feng Jinbo 馮金伯 (1738-1810), *Guochao hua shi* 國朝畫識 [Painting Knowledge of the Qing dynasty] (block-printed edition), 2. 5b. Zhou Liangong was an art collector and art connoisseur in the late Ming and early Qing dynasties. See his *Du hua lu* 讀畫錄 [Reading the Paintings] (DSZCS ed.).

¹⁶ Marsha Smith, “Regional, Economic, and Social Factors in Late Ming Painting,” in *The Restless Landscape: Chinese Painting of the Late Ming Dynasty*, ed. James Cahill (Berkeley: University Art Museum, 1971), 35.

¹⁷ Lucy Lo-hwa Yang, “Late Ming Painting in the History of Chinese Painting,” in *Restless Landscape*, 12.

¹⁸ Elizabeth Fulder, “The Achievements of Late Ming Painters,” in *Restless Landscape*, 19.

emerged for the first time. It was thus possible that Wang Hui created paintings that appealed to amateur tastes on the one hand, and established his studio to receive commissions and sell his paintings on the other. This is the reason why Wang Hui's presence in literati circles does not seem to have been heterogeneous – his commissioned works were widely accepted and appreciated by the literati.

Wang Hui started by absorbing the calligraphic brushwork of the Yuan masters, especially that of Huang Gongwang, from whom Wang Shimin had mainly studied.¹⁹ After meeting Zhou Lianggong and other Nanjing painters, Wang Hui was inspired by their preference for the more descriptive monumental landscape paintings of the Five Dynasties and the Northern Song dynasty. Although he was born in a family of professional artists without formal literary education, Wang Hui showed an aptitude for learning the scholarly interpretation of art and art history, and a deep understanding of the many subtleties of the amateur taste. He gradually found a way to combine the calligraphic and the descriptive, using skillfully rendered forms to represent the poetry from his mind.

Wang Hui attained some degree of literary education at an early age.²⁰ He studied at Mao Jin's 毛晋 (1599-1659) Jiguge 汲古閣 [Antiquity Imbibing Pavilion] in the 1650s. Mao Jin was a book collector during the late Ming period who held a collection of Song

¹⁹ Wang Jin 王進, "Wang Hui yu Jinling huatan de jiaoyou jiqi zhongnian huafeng de gaibian" 王翬與金陵畫壇的交游及其中年畫風的改變 [The Friendship between Wang Hui and Jinling Painters and the Change of His Style in His Middle Age], *Meishu guan cha (Art Observation)* 11 (2008): 97-102.

²⁰ Chin-Sung Chang, "Mountains and Rivers, Pure and Splendid: Wang Hui (1632-1717) and the Making of Landscape Panoramas in Early Qing China," (PhD diss. Yale University, 2004), 31-34.

and Yuan woodblock-printed books.²¹ Jiguge was one of the private libraries he established with these books, and was located in Yushan, Wang Hui's hometown. During his study at Jiguge, Wang Hui became acquainted with prominent literati figures, including Wu Weiye, Zhou Liangong, and Qian Qianyi's 錢謙益 (1582-1664) great-grandson Qian Zeng 錢曾.²² Wang Hui may have met Qian Qianyi quite early, since Qian was also from Yushan, and his residence was near Wang Hui's. Qian contributed inscriptions and colophons to Wang Hui's early works, and wrote him an official letter of introduction to Zhou Liangong, possibly at Wang Hui's request.²³ Wang Hui must have been fully aware of the value that colophons by such worthies could add to his paintings.

Among Wang Hui's contemporaries, he was especially close to Wang Shimin and Yun Shouping. Wang Shimin had a profound influence on Wang Hui: the young artist learned much from studying Wang Shimin's art collection, and his inscriptions contributed to Wang Hui's growing reputation. Yet Wang Shimin's influence was limited in duration.²⁴ A large portion of his collection had been acquired from Dong Qichang. From these and other purchases, Wang accumulated his Song and Yuan collection by the 1620s. However, he had lost most of his collection by 1671, according to his inscription on *Travelers* 行旅圖 (National Palace Museum, Taipei, Fig. 1), a painting attributed to

²¹ See Ye Dehui 葉德輝 (1864-1927), *Shu lin qing hua* 書林清話 [Leisurely Talk of the Forest of Books] (printed in 1911), 7: 188.

²² Qian Qianyi was a scholar-official and poet. See Zhao, *Qingshi gao*, 489. 6b-7a.

²³ Wang, "Wang Hui yu Jinling huatan de jiaoyou," 99.

²⁴ Chang, "Mountains and Rivers, Pure and Splendid," 55.

Fan Kuan 范寬 (c. 950 – c. 1032).²⁵ This was mainly because of Wang Shimin’s financial difficulties during the 1660s, when the Qing government imposed severe tax reforms. On the other hand, Wang Hui’s independence increased in the 1660s along with his reputation.²⁶ Wang Shimin could no longer afford the prices that art dealers paid for Wang Hui’s work. Despite Wang Hui’s increasing reluctance to create paintings as gifts at social gatherings, Wang Shimin still expected him to follow literati standards of behavior. Beyond his financial motivations, Wang Hui may have been pursuing his “synthesis” to an extent outside of what the two Wangs from Loudong appreciated and practiced. In any case, as his independence grew, Wang Hui was likely searching for other supporters.

More importantly, the distinction between the professional and the scholar-amateur, though largely blurred, was still an essential difference between Wang Hui and Wang Shimin. Wang Hui’s standing rose along with the market’s demand for art, at a time when literati were selling their paintings while professionals were imitating literati

²⁵ “Of the Song and Yuan masterpieces in my family’s collection, two-fifths were acquired in the capital and the other three-fifths came from Dong Wenmin (Dong Qichang)... With the passage of time and the change of life occurrences, only one- or two-tenths of what I once owned still remains...” 余家所藏宋元名蹟，得之京師者十之四，得之董文敏者十之六.....歲月如流，人事遷改，向者所藏僅存一二； translation adapted from Wen C. Fong, “Wang Hui and Repossessing the Past,” in *Landscapes Clear and Radiant: The Art of Wang Hui (1632-1717)*, ed. Maxwell K. Hearn (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008), 27-31. All the transcriptions of inscriptions on paintings in the collection of National Palace Museum, Taipei, are from the website database “Shu hua diancang ziliao jiansuo xitong” 書畫典藏資料檢索系統 [Search Collection of Calligraphy and Painting], National Palace Museum, Taipei, accessed June 8, 2021, <http://painting.npm.gov.tw>; the rest are transcribed by the author unless specifically noted. Fan Kuan was a Northern Song landscape painter who was most famous for his *Travelers amid Streams and Mountains* 谿山行旅圖 (National Palace Museum, Taipei). It was not the same painting as the *Travelers* 行旅圖 that Wang Shimin once owned, which was also traditionally attributed to Fan Kuan. See the more well-known version, *Travelers amid Streams and Mountains*, in the website database of National Palace Museum, Taipei, accession number: 故-畫-000826-00000.

²⁶ Chin-Sung Chang, “Wang Hui: The Evolution of a Master Landscapist,” in *Landscapes Clear and Radiant*, 58.

aesthetics. The old conventions had changed: painting for profit did not decrease its literary and artistic value. While the ideal of paintings done as personal gifts was still appealing to Wang Shimin, Yun Shouping, and other scholar-amateurs, this notion held no great significance for Wang Hui.

Unlike Wang Shimin, it seems that Yun Shouping, Wang Hui's close friend of a similar age, continued to influence Wang Hui as a fellow artist in the 1670s and 1680s. Yun Shouping was no major art collector, but he and Wang Hui elucidated to each other their views on art, which influenced and inspired them both. However, a similar divide would occur between Wang Hui and Yun Shouping: while Wang enjoyed ever more profits from the sale of his paintings, Yun was unwilling to paint for money and spent his later years in poverty. Now it was Yun who could not afford the price of Wang Hui's paintings. While the friendship between the two perhaps cannot be measured by how many paintings Yun acquired from Wang, Yun did complain about the difficulty of obtaining his friend's work. In one case he used an allusion to Mi Fu 米芾 (1051-1107), regarded as an ideal scholar-amateur of the Song dynasty, to at once satirize and persuade Wang Hui.²⁷ In an inscription on the mounting paper of Wang Hui's *Autumn Mountains, Red Trees* 溪山紅樹圖 (National Palace Museum, Taipei, Fig. 2), Yun Shouping wrote:

今夏石谷自吳門來，余搜行笈得此幀，驚歎欲絕。石谷亦沾沾自喜，有十五城不易之狀。置余案頭摩娑十餘日，題數語歸之。蓋以西廬老人之矜賞。而石谷尚不能割所愛。矧余輩安能久假。為韞櫝之玩耶。

Shigu (Wang Hui) came from Wumen (Suzhou, Jiangsu province) this summer. I found this painting in his bookcase. I was amazed to death by it. Shigu was

²⁷ Mi Fu was famous for his innovation of the conical form of mountains and a dotted pattern which was called "Mi dots." One such work in his style is *Spring Mountains and Auspicious Pines* 春山瑞松 (National Palace Museum, Taipei).

also complacent, as if he would not trade this painting for even fifteen cities. I put this painting on my desk and gently played with it for more than ten days. I inscribe these few words and will return the painting. Although the Old Man Xilu (Wang Shimin) praised and appreciated [this painting], Shigu still could not give up his treasure. How can I borrow it for long and enshrine it in my cabinet for enjoyment?

For a later time, Yun Shouping saw the painting again and inscribed on it for the second time:

偶過徐氏水亭，見此幀乃為金沙潘君所得，既怪嘆且妒甚。不對賞音，牙徽不發。豈西廬南田之矜賞，尚不及潘君哉。米顛據舷而呼，信是可人韻事，真足效慕也。但未知石谷他日見西廬南田，何以解嘲。

I passed the water pavilion of Mr. Xu by accident and found that this painting was obtained by Mr. Pan from Jinsha (Wuhan, Hubei province). I felt strange, sighed, and was very jealous. If one is not faced with a person who appreciates his music, one does not play his zither. How can the praise and appreciation of Xilu (Wang Shimin) and Nantian (Yun Shouping) fail to compete even with that of Mr. Pan? The Mania Mi (Mi Fu) leaned on one side of the boat and shouted; [now I] believe that the charming gentleman made that poetic gesture, and he truly deserved my imitation and admiration.²⁸ Only I do not know how he will escape the ridicule, when one day Shigu sees Xilu and Nantian?

It is said that Mi Fu was so obsessed with painting and calligraphy that once, to obtain a piece of calligraphy that he loved, Mi Fu shouted that he would jump from a boat into the river if the owner did not give the piece to him. Yun Shouping likens himself to Mi Fu, lamenting that he is so obsessed with Wang Hui's painting that he wants to do the same. However, the allusion is meant not only as a poetic gesture to follow, but also as satire:

²⁸ The allusion is from Zhou Hui 周暉 (1126-1198), *Qingbo zazhi* 清波雜誌 [Clear Wave Miscellaneous Records] (SKQS ed.), 5. 10a. The record reads: "It is said that in the past, the Old Mi (Mi Fu) saw a piece of calligraphy by Wang Youjun (Wang Xizhi 王羲之, 303-361) on the boat of a noble in Yizhen (Yizheng, Jiangsu province). He asked to trade a painting for the piece, [but the noble] did not allow it. The Old Mi then shouted. He leaned on one side of the boat and was about to jump off into the water. [The noble] was greatly shocked and hastily gave [Wang's piece] to him" 舊傳老米在儀真於貴人舟中，見王右軍貼，求以他畫易之，未允，老米因大呼，據舷欲赴水，其人大驚，亟畀之。

Yun suggests that he has no choice but to follow Mi's behavior because Wang did not give his paintings as gifts to those who truly appreciated his work, like Wang Shimin and Yun Shouping himself.

Another inscription by Yun Shouping also suggests that, even as one of Wang Hui's closest friends, it was difficult for Yun to obtain a single painting from him:

嘗見王晉卿貽東坡書云：“吾日夕購子書不厭，近又以三縑博兩紙。子有近書當稍有以遺我，毋多費我絹也。”東坡乃以澄心堂紙、李承宴墨書黃州大醉中作黃泥坂詞，并跋二百餘言以遺之。夫王晉卿因東坡遭貶謫，其交深矣。然愛其書不可得，猶以縑素易之，因知筆墨贈貽不能獨厚知己。在昔已然，非自今也。南田生與石谷子結契廿年，篋中未嘗蓄盈尺小幅。而尋常面交，長絹巨幀纍纍也。前年曾取藏墨，易石谷畫扇一面，又石谷所慨然者。未知澄心紙上書黃泥坂詞，何時得效坡翁故事耳？²⁹

I once saw that Wang Jinqing (Wang Shen) gave [a letter] to Dongpo (Su Shi) and it read: “I have been acquiring your calligraphy day and night, never getting bored. Recently, I again obtained two paper pieces [of your calligraphy] for three pieces of fine silk. If you have recently written calligraphy, you should give a little of it to me, so it will not cost me more of my silk.”³⁰ Dongpo therefore used the paper of Chengxintang [Tranquil Mind Hall] and the ink stick of Li Chengyan to write the *Lyrics of Huangniban* composed when [Su] was severely drunk in Huangzhou (Huanggang, Hubei province), as well as an inscription of more than two hundred characters, to give [Wang Shen].³¹

²⁹ Yun, *Ouxiangguan ji*, 12. 2b-3a.

³⁰ Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101) was a famous literati painter and calligrapher of the Northern Song dynasty. One of his calligraphic works is *The Cold Food Observation* 黃州寒食貼 (National Palace Museum, Taipei). Wang Shen 王詵 (1036-1093) was one of Su's associates and famous for his blue-green landscape painting. One of his representative works is *Misty River, Layered Peaks* 煙江疊嶂圖 (Shanghai Museum).

³¹ The story is from Su Shi, “Inscribing after the *Lyrics of Huangniban*” 書黃泥阪詞後. The record reads: “I composed the lyrics when I was severely drunk in Huangzhou (Huanggang, Hubei province). The children hid the draft away, so I did not see it anymore after I awoke. The night before last, I sat with Huang Luzhi (Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅, 1045-1105), Zhang Wenqian (Zhang Lei 張耒, 1054-1114), and Chao Wujiu (Chao Buzhi 晁補之, 1053-1110). The three guests turned over my desk and searched my bamboo box, and they happened upon it by accident. Half of the characters could not be read. With my concepts in mind, [I] looked into them and recognized all the characters. Wenqian liked it very much. He made a copy to give me and took away the original version. On the following day, I received Wang Jinqing's (Wang Shen's) letter and it read: ‘I have been acquiring your calligraphy day and night, never getting bored. Recently, I again obtained two paper pieces [of your calligraphy] for three pieces of fine silk. If you have recently written calligraphy, you should give a little of it to me, so it will not cost me more of

As Wang Jinqing was exiled because of Dongpo, their relationship was indeed deep. This is true; however, [Wang] loved his calligraphy yet he could not obtain it. He still [had to] exchange fine silk for it, because he knew that [Su's] work of brush and ink could not be given generously only to the one who truly knew him. It was already so in the past, not only now. I, Nantian, and Master Shigu (Wang Hui) had been congenial friends for twenty years, [yet] there had been not even a small piece filling one *chi* stored in my suitcase. And yet those who were ordinary, superficial friends [of Wang] had long handscrolls and large hanging scrolls piled up. The year before last, I once took an ink stick in my collection to trade for a fan painting by Shigu, and it so happened that Shigu was generous. What I do not know is, when will he follow the story of Old Man Po (Su Shi) to write the *Lyrics of Huangniban* on the paper of Chengxintang?

In this inscription, Yun Shouping alludes to Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101) and Wang Shen 王詵 (1036-1093), the famous literati painters and calligraphers of the Northern Song dynasty. When Wang Shen asked Su Shi for a piece of his calligraphy, Su immediately made one for him, an example which Yun wonders if Wang Hui would follow. Comparing Wang Hui's work to the calligraphy of an admirable and even legendary literatus of the Northern Song dynasty served as both praise and remonstrance. Yet, more subtleties can be seen in this complaint. Even Wang Shen had to exchange fine silk for Su Shi's calligraphy, despite their close friendship, because "he knew that [Su's] work of brush and ink could not be given generously only to the one who truly knew him" 知筆墨

my silk.' I therefore wrote this with the paper of Chengxintang [Tranquil Mind Hall] and the ink stick of Li Chengyan and gave it to him" 余在黃州大醉中作此詞，小兒輩藏去稿，醒後不復見也。前夜與黃魯直、張文潛、晁无咎夜坐，三客翻倒几案，搜索篋笥，偶得之，字半不可讀，以意尋究，乃得其全。文潛喜甚，手錄一本遺余，持元本去。明日得王晉卿書云：“吾日夕購子書不厭，近又以三縑博兩紙。子有近書當稍以遺我，毋多費我絹也。”乃用澄心堂紙、李承宴墨書此遺之。See Liang Tingzhan 梁廷柅 (1796-1861) ed., *Dongpo shilei* 東坡事類 [Dongpo's Allusions as Allegories] (block-printed ed., 1830), 14. 18b-19a. It is said that the paper of Chengxintang was invented by Li Yu 李煜 (937-978), the last ruler of the Southern Tang state. The paper was named after the hall built in his reign. Li Chengyan was a master from the Li family, who were famous for making ink sticks between the Southern Tang and the Northern Song dynasty. He was a nephew of Li Yangui 李延珪, who was known as the founder of the Hui Ink 徽墨, one of the finest types of ink stick.

贈貽不能獨厚知己。 Thus, the anecdote of Su Shi and Wang Shen seems meant not just to satirize Wang Hui, but also to console Yun Shouping himself.

Wang Hui might have once responded to Yun Shouping's expectation, according to an inscription by Yun in 1672:

石谷王山人筆墨價重一時，海內趨之，如水赴壑。凡好事家懸金幣購勿得。壬子乃從吳閭邂逅，能使王山人欣然呼毫留此精墨，可謂擾驪龍而探夜光，真快事也。³²

The works of brush and ink by Shigu, Mountain Man Wang [Hui], were highly priced at the time. Within the four seas [everyone] is pursuing his works like water going into valleys. All art lovers offer gold coins for them, but they are unable to obtain them. In the Year of Renzi (1672) I met [Wang Hui] by chance in Wuchang (Suzhou). I was able to let Mountain Man Wang exhale his brush and leave a fine work of ink with pleasure. This is what is called “disturbing the black dragon in search of the night-luminous pearl.”³³ It is truly a happening of great satisfaction.

Yun Shouping was content with the piece Wang Hui improvised and the fact that he presented it to Yun. Like the son in Zhuangzi's story, who took the night-luminous pearl while the black dragon was asleep, Yun “disturbed” Wang to obtain his precious work. In the same year, according to Da Chongguang's inscription, Wang Hui also painted two scrolls for Yun Shouping when he, Yun, and Da gathered at the Jin Garden in Piling

³² Yun, *Ouxiangguan ji*, 11. 16a.

³³ The allusion comes from Zhuang Zhou 莊周 (c. 369 – c. 286 BCE), *Zhuangzi* 莊子, 45a (ESWZHH ed.). The record reads: “By the river, there was a poor family who made their living by weaving wormwood. The son dived into the deep water and obtained a pearl worth a thousand gold. The father told the son: ‘Take a rock to hammer it. A pearl worth a thousand gold must be in the deep water of nine layers. If you could obtain the pearl from under the jaw of the black dragon, it must have been because the black dragon was asleep. If the black dragon woke up, how could you then take it?’” 河上有家貧特緯蕭而食者，其子沒於淵，得千金之珠。其父謂其子曰：取石來鍛之。夫千金之珠必在九重之淵，而驪龍頷下，子能得珠者，必遭其睡也。使驪龍而寤，子尚奚微之有哉。

(Changzhou).³⁴ If these were Wang Hui's direct responses to Yun's complaint, we may assume that he had made some kind of change for his friend. Still, few records indicate that Wang commonly made presents of his paintings to Yun. It seems more likely that in most respects, Wang Hui had not changed. Painting to him was still a craft which he had used to make a living throughout his life, and he did not usually give his paintings away even to Yun. However, these differences did not deter their friendship, which continued until Yun's death in 1690.

A well-known tale tells that Yun Shouping painted landscapes at first, but after seeing Wang Hui's landscapes he turned to the subject of flowers. There are several records that mention this story – the one recorded by Yun Hesheng 惲鶴生, a second cousin from the same generation of Yun Shouping's grandson, is relatively convincing:

少工山水，咫尺千里，煙云萬態，多仿黃鶴山樵。既與虞山王石谷交，石谷筆意極相似，翁顧嬉曰：“兩賢不相上下，公將以此擅天下名，吾何為事此？”乃作花卉寫生。³⁵

[Yun Shouping] had been skilled in landscape painting since he was young. [His landscapes] represented a thousand *li* [of mountains and rivers] on a short scroll, ten thousand forms of mist and clouds, mostly in the style of Huanghe Shanqiao (Wang Meng).³⁶ Soon after he became a friend of Wang Shigu

³⁴ See Da Chongguang's inscription on Wang Hui and Yun Shouping's *Harmonious Combination of Yun-Wang Landscape* 惲王山水合璧, 1672 (Shanghai Museum). The inscription reads: "In the autumn of the Year of Renzi (1672), Mr. Wang Shigu (Wang Hui) and I are both lodged at the Jin Garden in Piling... Shigu... again created two paintings for Zhengshu (Yun Shouping)... The Scholar Jiangshang Da Chongguang inscribed the colophon of the two paintings [after] Xu Youwen (Xu Ben) and Cao Zhibo painted by Shigu for Nantian Zhengshu, to record the congeniality of brush and ink among us three..." 壬子秋日，石谷王子與余同下榻毘陵之近園.....石谷.....又為正叔作二圖.....江上外史笄重光書石谷為南田正叔作徐幼文、曹知白二圖卷尾以志三人筆墨之契.....

³⁵ Yun Hesheng 惲鶴生, "Nantian xiansheng jiazhuan" 南田先生家傳 [The Family History of Mr. Nantian], in Yun, *Ouxianguan ji*, 1b.

³⁶ Wang Meng 王蒙 (1308-1385) was a famous landscape painter in the Yuan dynasty, one of the Four Masters of the Yuan, and a grandnephew of Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254-1322). One of his representative works is *Dwelling in the Qingbian Mountains* 青卞隱居圖, 1366 (Shanghai Museum).

(Wang Hui) from Yushan, [he found that] Shigu's intention of brushwork was extremely similar [to his]. The old gentleman [Yun] looked at him and joked: "We two worthies cannot tell who is better. You will possess all the fame in the world with your landscape. Why should I [continue to] do this?" Thereupon [Yun] painted flowers from nature instead.

The facticity of this story is suspect, but it does suggest that Yun admired Wang Hui's landscapes from the very beginning of their close friendship, and it also indicates that their opinions and criteria on art were very similar. Yun Shouping's writing gives a clearer picture of their friendship – in a letter to Wang Hui, he writes:

不佞弟與石谷以縞紵之雅，兼之翰墨相慕悅，知人所不及知，而賞所不能賞，而稱相知。³⁷

The untalented younger brother (I) and Shigu (you) admire and please each other with the elegance of white silk ribbons and linen garments as well as brush and ink.³⁸ We know what others cannot know and appreciate what others cannot appreciate. This is what is called "understanding each other."

For Yun Shouping, his friendship with Wang Hui was based on their similar knowledge and views of art as well as the capacity of appreciation. Their discourses on painting are further evidence.

Yun Shouping contributed a great deal of inscriptions and colophons to Wang Hui's paintings, and many of these were made outside the context of social occasions. Yun felt that it was he who knew Wang Hui best, and thus was the most suited to inscribe his

³⁷ Yun Shouping, ed., *Qinghuitang tongren chidu huicun* 清暉堂同人尺牘匯存 [Epistles from Members of the Qinghui Hall] (Laiqingge 來青閣, 1857), 2. 2a.

³⁸ "White silk ribbons and linen garments" 縞紵 is from Zuo Qiuming 左丘明 (c.502 – c.422 BCE), *Zuo zhuan* 左傳 [The Commentary of Zuo] (SKQS ed.), 39. 28a: "[Jizha from the Wu State, c. 576 – c. 484 BCE] was engaged in the Zheng State. He met Zichan (Gongsun Qiao 公孫僑, ? – 522 BCE) as he would an old friend. He presented Zichan with white silk ribbons and Zichan presented him with linen garments" (吳季札) 聘於鄭，見子產，如舊相識，與之縞帶，子產獻紵衣焉。 "White silk ribbons and linen garments" is therefore meant to evoke a deep friendship.

paintings, and he greatly enjoyed viewing and inscribing these pieces. In his letters to Wang Hui, more than once Yun expressed this confidence:

所經營絹素，當更得奇宕險怪之想。然南田不在，即得意，有誰能稱快叫絕者？即有之，想吾兄亦何屑聽其妄為評論，使蒼蠅聲之入耳也。³⁹

The white silk [for painting] that [you] have been engaged with must attain more of novel and rhythmic ideas. However, since Nantian (I) is not here, although you are complacent, who can express his gratification and applaud [for your painting]? Even if there is someone, I believe that you, my dear brother, also disdain their absurd comments, which are like hearing the buzzing of flies.

到虞山縱觀荆董大手筆，一快心目，弟當為作題語，贊歎希有勝事。先生之珍圖不可無南田生之題跋，敢云合則雙美，庶非糠粃播揚耳。⁴⁰

I will come to Yushan and take a broad view of your great work after Jing [Hao] and Dong [Yuan] to please my heart and eyes.⁴¹ I should inscribe your painting and praise the rare pleasant occasion. Your precious painting cannot lack Nantian's (my) inscription. I daresay that together they are twin beauties. I only wish that [the others] would not spread grain husks.⁴²

In an album for Wang Shimin, *In the Pursuit of Antiquity: Landscape after Song and Yuan Masters*, dated 1673 (Princeton Museum of Art), almost every leaf includes an inscription by Yun Shouping. While Da Chongguang, a scholar and art collector, and a major patron of Wang Hui in the 1670s, wrote as the main inscriber of the album on the

³⁹ Yun, *Qinghuitang tongren chidu huicun*, 2. 1a.

⁴⁰ Yun, *Qinghuitang tongren chidu huicun*, 2. 3a.

⁴¹ Jing Hao 荆浩 (c. 850 - 911) and Dong Yuan 董源 (? - c. 962) were famous landscape painters of the Five Dynasties. Jing was famous for his monumental landscapes of the north of China, while Dong painted landscapes of the south. No extant work can securely be attributed to them, but some are considered to reflect their styles. See as examples: attributed to Jing Hao, *Mount Kuanglu* 匡廬圖 (National Palace Museum, Taipei); attributed to Dong Yuan, *Xiao and Xiang Rivers* 瀟湘圖 (Palace Museum, Beijing).

⁴² "Grain husks" is a metaphor for things of no value.

deliberately preserved blank paper above each leaf, most of Yun's inscriptions are in the margins of the paintings themselves; on one leaf he made two inscriptions, adding the second upon seeing the painting again (Fig. 3). He must have looked at the paintings over and over, and this act suggests his true appreciation of Wang Hui's work.

Although many of Yun Shouping's inscriptions, poems, and letters to Wang Hui have survived, Wang Hui is comparatively silent in existing records: his inscriptions were much fewer and shorter than Yun's, and very few of his poems and letters have been preserved. Thus, we know very little of how he responded to Yun's comments, nor can we learn much else about Wang Hui's private relationships and personal feelings directly from his own words. Wang presumably thought about their friendship no less than did Yun, so the disparity in written records is likely due to their differing educational backgrounds and personalities. From Yun's passionate words, a close interaction can be envisioned. In a poem that Yun Shouping sent to Wang Hui, Yun jokes that Wang talks of him incessantly to others, and speaks too highly of him:

墨葉飛處起靈煙，逸興縱橫醉玳筵。自有雄談傾四座，諸侯席上說南田。
石谷逢人說南田生不置，未免刻畫無鹽。⁴³

Where the ink leaves fly, the spirited mist rises,
The transcendent interest shows with great ease while you are drunk at the
luxurious feast.
Your profound speech surprises all those seated about you,
Speaking of Nantian at the banquet of the noble.
Shigu (you) speaks so much of Nantian (me) to everyone that he portrays an
ugly woman like Wuyan [as a beautiful one].⁴⁴

⁴³ Yun, *Ouxiangguan ji*, 1. 4b.

⁴⁴ Wuyan was Zhong Lichun 鐘離春, a queen of the Qi State in the Warring States Period. She was known as a woman who was ugly yet virtuous. See Liu Xiang 劉向 (77-6 BCE), *Lie nü zhuan* 列女傳

It can be known then that Wang Hui also thought highly of Yun Shouping and could not help talking about him to others. Although Wang Hui did not leave many of his own written words, a glimpse of his attitude towards Yun and the nature of their friendship can still be seen.

Also, according to his letters, Yun Shouping indicated that Wang Hui must have been better at painting than he, and asked Wang Hui to help improve his skills:

百憂千慮幸已過，坐楊氏杜鵑亭，畫屏已得八九，只青綠一幀，沉吟不敢下，安得媧皇鍊五色石，手補天使無縫，如吾石谷而勝任愉快乎？⁴⁵

There were hundreds of worries and thousands of concerns. Fortunately, I have passed through them. I sit at the Cuckoo Pavilion of Mr. Yang.⁴⁶ I have already completed eighty or ninety percent of the painted screen. There is but one piece of blue-green [landscape] at which I hesitate and I dare not put my brush [to the painting surface]. How can I attain the five-colored stone smelted by Wahuang (Nüwa) and patch the sky with my hand to make it seamless, like my dear friend Shigu (you) who is competent and delightful?⁴⁷

籬豆停筆苦思，終不能知用墨意，至於擲筆歎服，未審王先生肯救之否？否則明日失卻一正叔，可惜。⁴⁸

At the bamboo fence, I stop my brush and think hard, yet at last I cannot bear the thought of applying ink. It makes me drop the brush and sigh with

[Biographies of Exemplary Women], 6. 13b-15b (SKQS ed.). “Wuyan” then becomes a metaphor for ugly women.

⁴⁵ Yun, *Qinghuitang tongren chidu huicun*, 2. 2b.

⁴⁶ Here, “Mr. Yang” is presumably Yang Zhaolu 楊兆魯 (1623-?), who was a scholar-official during the late Ming and early Qing dynasties. See Ji Yun 紀昀 (1724-1805), et al., *Siku quanshu zongmu* 四庫全書總目 [Comprehensive Table of Contents for a Complete Library in the Four Branches of Literature], 2a-2b (SKQS ed.).

⁴⁷ Liu An 劉安 (179 – 122 BCE), *Huainanzi* 淮南子 (Wuhan: Hubei chouwen shuju, 1875), 6. 4a: “Therefore Nüwa smelted the five-colored stone to patch the blue sky” 於是女媧鍊五色石以補蒼天. Here Yun compares the creation of a great painting with the act of patching the sky to make it seamless.

⁴⁸ Yun, *Qinghuitang tongren chidu huicun*, 2. 1b.

admiration. I do not know if Mr. Wang (you) is willing to save me? Otherwise tomorrow we will lose one Zhengshu (me), and that will be a pity.

Here Yun Shouping describes his own experience while painting: “I hesitate and I dare not put my brush [to the painting surface]” 沉吟不敢下 and “I stop my brush and think hard” 停筆苦思. First of all, these descriptions do not indicate that Yun’s skills were inadequate – rather, he describes such experiences as any painter might encounter. Since the brushwork in a painting often had to be finished with continuous, prompt strokes, and any mistakes could hardly be remedied, a painter had to be very sure-handed and confident in his mind. This was especially true in the literati’s spontaneous ink-play, in which the creative process was laid bare, and any hint of hesitation might ruin the work. It was normal, then, for painters to be concerned with the readiness of their hands and minds, as this could greatly impact the quality of the finished work. Although it was partially a sign of Yun’s modesty, the letters reveal his admiration for Wang Hui, who in his eyes could paint like Nüwa patching the sky seamlessly. However, Yun’s words cannot be taken to mean that Wang Hui did not encounter such problems himself. Rather, the life-long student of painting may have encountered the same problems, but found ways to overcome them. Their discussion of experiences during the creative process, in addition to the resultant works, suggest that the two artists shared an unusually deep bond.

It is unknown to which paintings Yun Shouping’s letters refer, but there are indeed recorded instances in which Wang Hui added to or embellished Yun’s work, presumably at Yun’s request. A collaborative album dated 1673 (National Palace Museum, Taipei) is one example. According to an inscription by Yun on the opposing paper of the second

leaf (Fig. 4), some of the leaves from this album were first painted by Yun, then dotted and embellished by Wang:

展雲林大幀、房山長幅，論富春殘本，商訂古今筆墨源流，談讌極驩。乘興隨筆，須臾盈帑。石谷復為點綴。

[We] unroll a large scroll of Yunlin (Ni Zan) and a long scroll of Fangshan (Gao Kegong), and discuss the remnant scroll of the *Fuchun Mountains*.⁴⁹ [We] negotiate and revise the origins and branches of brush and ink, chatting away with great pleasure. I improvise [brushwork] while in high spirits, and instantly fill the paper. Shigu (Wang Hui) dots and embellishes [my work] once more.

Judging from the fact that Wang Hui and Yun Shouping viewed a large scroll of Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1301-1374) and a long scroll of Gao Kegong 高克恭 (1248-1310), it might be surmised that the leaves painted by Yun and Wang at this meeting include the album's first leaf, *Wild Chamber in Sparse Forests* 疏林野屋 (Fig. 5), after Ni Zan, and the right

⁴⁹ Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1301-1374) and Gao Kegong 高克恭 (1248-1310) were famous landscape painters in the Yuan dynasty. See as examples Ni Zan, *The Rongxi Studio* 容膝齋圖 (National Palace Museum, Taipei); Gao Kegong, *Evening Clouds* 秋山暮靄圖 (Palace Museum, Beijing). "The remnant scroll of *Fuchun Mountains*" referred to Huang Gongwang's *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains* 富春山居圖, which was considered a masterpiece of Huang. When the painting was in the possession of Wu Hongyu 吳洪裕 (1598-1651), Wu decided to burn the painting as his funerary object when he died. His nephew, Wu Zhendu 吳貞度 (1628-1707), rescued the painting from the flames, but by that time it had already been partially burned and separated into two pieces. The shorter piece, from the beginning of the original scroll, is the so-called *Shengshan tu* 剩山圖 [Rest Mountains scroll], now in the collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum, Hangzhou. The longer piece, from the end of the scroll, is the so-called *Wuyongshi juan* 無用師卷 [Futile Master scroll], now in the collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei. There are multiple records about the story of *Fuchun Mountains*, one of which was contributed by Yun Shouping. The entry reads: "There were two scrolls that Wu Wenqing (Wu Hongyu) loved to play with during his life: one was the original work of Zhiyong's *Thousand Characters*, the other was *Fuchun Mountains*. He planned to be buried with them. When he was dying, he composed an essay as a commemoration of the two scrolls. On the first day, he burned the original *Thousand Characters* scroll. He viewed the ashes [of the work] in person. On the morning of the second day, he burned *Fuchun Mountains*. He held the ceremony with wine, faced the scroll, and lit the fire. As the fire blazed, he returned and lay down inside [his house]. His nephew, Wu Jingan (Wu Zhendu) hurried to the burning place, opened the red-hot burner, and took out the scroll. A section at the beginning of the scroll had [already] been burnt." 吳問卿生平所愛玩者有二卷：一為智永千文真迹，一為《富春圖》，將以為殉，彌留，為文祭二卷。先一日，焚千文真迹，自臨以視其燼。詰朝，焚《富春圖》，祭酒，面付火，火熾，輒還臥內。其從子吳靜安，疾趨焚所，起紅爐而出之，焚其起手一段。 See Yun, *Ouxiang guan ji*, 11. 23b-24a.

side of the fourth leaf, *Old Trees, New Appearances* 古木新姿 (Fig. 6), after Gao Kegong. Yun's inscription on *Wild Chamber in Sparse Forests* is further evidence that he collaborated on this leaf with Wang Hui:

胸中無逸氣，不可以作雲林。若如庸俗所為，遂遺泉石之點。當與王郎共洗之。

Should one possess no transcendental temperament in his chest, one cannot paint [after] Yunlin (Ni Zan). If a vulgarian does so, he will omit the point of spring and rock. I must clear away [the vulgarity] together with Mr. Wang [Hui].

The painting *Sparse Willows, Distant Mountains* 疏柳遠山, on the right side of the fifth leaf from the same album (Fig. 7), is an example that details their collaborative methods: according to Yun's inscription, "Shigu (Wang Hui) added the flying wild geese and distant mountains. The Recluse in the Southern Field (Yun Shouping) painted willow trees" 石谷補飛鴻遠岫，南田草衣畫柳. Yun Shouping painted the willow trees in the foreground, which takes up the main composition, and Wang Hui painted the flock of wild geese and the silhouetted mountain ranges in the far background, at the very top of the paper.

Before the twelfth month of the Year of Bingyin (1686), Wang Hui and Yun Shouping collaborated on the hanging scroll *Tall Bamboo, Distant Mountains* 修竹遠山圖 (Shanghai Museum). According to Wang's first inscription, Yun provided the basis of the painting, and Wang "added the pavilion by the stream and the distant mountains, as well as embellishing it" 補溪亭遠山，並為潤色. Wang wrote the following in his second inscription on this painting, on the eighteenth day of the twelfth month:

王叔明作修竹遠山，嘗稱文湖州暮靄橫看卷筆力不在郭熙之下，於樹石間寫叢竹，乃自其肺腑中流出，不可以筆墨畦徑觀也。南田此圖真能與古人把臂同行，但屬余綴補數筆，欲如一峯黃鶴合作竹趣圖。余筆不逮古，何能使繪苑傳稱勝事耶？丙寅臘月望後三日，王翬又識。

Wang Shuming (Wang Meng) painted *Tall Bamboo, Distant Mountains*. He once claimed that the vigor of the brush strokes in Wen Huzhou's (Wen Tong's) *A View of Evening Mist Seen in Horizontal Manner* was not beneath that of Guo Xi. Between trees and rocks [Wen] drew a bamboo grove, [the brush strokes] flowing from the bottom of his heart. It is something not to be perceived [by those] in the regular fields and paths of brush and ink.⁵⁰ With this painting, Nantian (Yun Shouping) can truly walk arm in arm with the ancient. He asked me to embellish and add several strokes, intending to echo the *Delighted Bamboo* collaboration by Yifeng (Huang Gongwang) and Huanghe (Wang Meng).⁵¹ [The vigor of] my brush cannot match that of the ancient; how can I make it a glorious happening that will be spread and praised in the art circles? On the eighteenth day of the twelfth month of the Year of Bingyin (1686), Wang Hui inscribes again.

The fact that Wang Hui dotted, embellished, and added to pictures mainly painted by Yun Shouping does not imply that Yun played the larger role in their collaborations. Rather, it indicates that between them Wang Hui was considered the more skillful master who was

⁵⁰ The citation of Wang Meng's words is from his inscription on his painting *Tall Bamboo, Distant Mountains* 修竹遠山 (National Palace Museum, Taipei). The inscription reads: "In the past, Wen Huzhou (Wen Tong) painted *A View of Evening Mist Seen in Horizontal Manner*. Emperor Siling of Song (Zhao Gou 趙構, 1107-1187) inscribed [the following] at the beginning of the scroll: I observe that [Wen Tong's] vigor of brush strokes was no less than Guo Xi's. Between trees and rocks [Wen] drew a bamboo grove; [the brush strokes] flowed from the bottom of his heart. It is not something to be seen in the [common] way of brush and ink." 昔文湖州作暮靄橫看，宋思陵題識卷首：觀其筆力不在郭熙之下，於樹石間寫叢竹，乃自其肺腑中流出，不可以筆墨蹊徑觀也。 Translation adapted from Ju Hsi Chou, *Silent Poetry: Chinese Paintings from the Collection of the Cleveland Museum of Art* (Cleveland, OH: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 2015), 409. Wen Tong 文同 (1018-1079) was a calligrapher and literati painter who was most famous for his bamboo painting. A representative work is his *Ink Bamboo* 墨竹圖 (National Palace Museum, Taipei). Guo Xi 郭熙 (c. 1000 – c. 1087) was a landscape painter in the Northern Song dynasty, whose best-known work is *Early Spring* 早春圖, 1072 (National Palace Museum, Taipei). The original painting by Wen Tong, *A View of Evening Mist Seen in Horizontal Manner* 暮靄橫看, is no longer extant; only a 16th-century copy of this painting has survived, and is held by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, accession number: 19.165.

⁵¹ *Delighted Bamboo*, a collaboration between Huang Gongwang and Wang Meng, is recorded in Wang Keyu 汪砢玉 (1587-?), *Shanhu wang* 珊瑚網 [Coral Net], 35. 53a-53b (SKQS ed.).

able to elevate the paintings to the level which they both wanted to attain. While Yun knew that he was the most valuable inscriber of Wang's paintings, he also trusted Wang to augment and embellish his paintings.

Wang Hui usually preferred inscriptions by Yun Shouping rather than his own, so his paintings often bear Yun's long inscriptions yet seldom any by Wang himself. They shared similar views on art and delighted in the discussion of it, but it was typically Yun who wrote of these meetings. In his inscription for Wang Hui's *Night Parasol Trees*, *Autumn Shadows* 晚梧秋影圖, dated 1686 (Palace Museum, Beijing, Fig. 8-a), Yun writes:

与石谷立池上，商論繪事，極賞心之娛。時星漢晶然，清露未下，暗觀梧影，輒大叫曰好墨葉好墨葉。……王郎酒酣興發，戲為造化留此景致，以示賞音，抽豪灑墨，為張顛濡發時也。

I stand by the pond with Shigu (Wang Hui) and we discuss painting. This exhausts the enjoyment of appreciating with our hearts. Now that the constellations are shining and the morning dew has not [yet] fallen, we look at the shadow of [the leaves of] parasol trees in the dark, and we then shout that they are "fine ink leaves, fine ink leaves!"...Mr. Wang drinks wine to his heart's content and his interest is inspired, so he captures this scene of Nature for fun, to show to those who appreciate his music. He extracts his brush and sheds the ink, just as when Mania Zhang (Zhang Xu) soaked his hair [with ink].⁵²

⁵² Zhang Xu 張旭 (c. 675 – c. 750) was a calligrapher in the Tang dynasty who was famous for his cursive scripts. See his extant work such as *Four Pieces of Ancient Poems* 古詩四帖 (Liaoning Provincial Museum, Shenyang). The allusion that "Mania Zhang (Zhang Xu) soaked his hair [with ink]" 張顛濡發 comes from Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072), et al. ed., *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 [New History of the Tang Dynasty] (Changshu: Jiguge, 1629), 202. 11b. The entry reads: "[Zhang] Xu came from Suzhou and loved drinking wine. Every time he was drunk, he shouted and ran about, and after that he put his brush [to the paper]. Sometimes he used his hair to soak up ink and write. When he awakened, he looked over [the calligraphy] himself, and thought it so marvelous that it could not be attained again. Everyone at the time called him Mania Zhang" 旭，蘇州吳人，嗜酒。每大醉，呼叫狂走乃下筆，或以頭濡墨而書。既醒，自視以為神不可復得也。世呼張顛。

This is a vivid record of the friendship between Wang Hui and Yun Shouping. It reveals how they talked about painting, made paintings, and captured enjoyment from these activities. It is interesting that, although at times he satirized Wang with literary allusions, Yun also praised him with a similar allusion, by comparing Wang to the calligrapher Zhang Xu 張旭 (c. 675 – c. 750) in the Tang dynasty, who drunkenly soaked his hair with ink and created wonderful cursive scripts. Though it seems contradictory, it attests to the sophistication of Wang Hui as an artist and as a person. The answers to questions of whether art should be made for recreation or for a living, for oneself or for others, are not necessarily binary; the disparity between the professional and the scholar-amateur certainly exists, but all human beings struggle to reconcile different situations and intentions in life. Wang Hui could be at times a professional artist who painted for the market, and at other times a literati-artist who painted to entertain himself and his friends. There was not a contradiction within the artist – only differences in time and place.

Wang Hui also cherished the memory of his old friend after Yun Shouping passed away:

己丑初冬，偶過婁水，秋涯王子出余倣王晉卿平橋柳色一幀見示，上有憚南田五詩。猶憶三十年前，侯官張超然與南田同客虞山，余為之畫柳，兩公各賦絕句十二章以寵之。……南田沒且二十年，覽其遺墨，一題再題，詞翰依依。老人低徊曩昔，感喟良多。……⁵³

In the early winter of the Year of Jichou (1709), I passed the Lou River by accident, and Mr. Wang from Qiuya showed me my *Level Bridges, Willow Colors after Wang Jinqing*.⁵⁴ There are five poems by Yun Nantian (Yun Shouping) on it. I still remember that thirty years ago, Zhang Chaoran (Zhang

⁵³ Wang Hui, “Qinghui huaba” 清暉畫跋 [Wang Hui’s Colophons on Painting], in *Huaxue xinyin* 畫學心印 [Theories on Painting and Images of the Mind], ed. Qin Zuyong 秦祖永 (Wuxi: Wuxi qinshi zhumotao 無錫秦氏朱墨套, 1878), 4. 31a-31b.

⁵⁴ The identity of “Mr. Wang from Qiuya” is unknown.

Yuan) from Houguan (Fuzhou, Fujian province) and Nantian were both guests in Yushan.⁵⁵ I painted willows for them, and the two gentlemen composed twelve quatrains of verse to bestow their favor upon it...Nantian passed away twenty years ago. I looked at the inscriptions he left behind; he wrote them one after another, and those words are lingering. I, an old man, hover deeply in the past and sigh with many feelings...

In this inscription, dated 1709, Wang Hui recalls an occasion with Yun Shouping and another friend of his, Zhang Yuan 張遠 (1648-1717), that had occurred thirty years before, which must have been around 1679. Yun passed away in 1690. He was so poor in his later years that his son could not even afford a funeral, but Wang Hui arranged it on his behalf.⁵⁶

Wang Hui's painting career did not end after Yun Shouping passed away. In the winter of 1690, Wang Hui was invited by Wang Yuanqi 王原祁 (1642-1715) in Beijing to teach painting for Song Junye 宋駿業 (? -1713).⁵⁷ Recommended by Wang Yuanqi and Song Junye, Wang Hui participated in the production of the *Kangxi Emperor's Southern*

⁵⁵ Zhang Yuan 張遠 (1648-1717) was famous for his poems and articles at the time. He later left his hometown and lived near Yushan. See Zheng Zugeng 鄭祖庚, *Houguan xian xiangtu zhi* 侯官縣鄉土志 [History of the Natives of Houguan Prefecture] (printed around 1903), 3. 45b.

⁵⁶ Zhang Geng 張庚 (1685-1760), *Guochao huazheng lu* 國朝畫征錄 [Painting Collections of the Qing Dynasty] (Yuedong shengcheng xueyuan qianshao wentang 粵東省城學院前紹文堂, 1869), 2. 3b. The record reads: "[Yun Shouping] rushed about for several decades, yet he was still poor as before. However, he never revealed his worries to his family...He passed away at home at sixty sui. His son could not prepare for the funeral. Shigu (Wang Hui) arranged it for him." 遨遊數十年而貧如故，對家人未嘗形戚戚於面。.....年六十餘卒於家，其子不能具喪，石谷為經理之。

⁵⁷ Lü Xiao 呂曉, "Ming dong Chang'an ke, pian sui juanniao huan – shi lun Wang Hui zhu hui Nanxun tu hou xuanze nan fan de zhukeguan yinsu" 名動長安客 偏隨倦鳥還——試論王翬主繪《南巡圖》後選擇南返的主客觀因素 [His Fame Moved Chang'an, Yet He Followed the Tired Birds to Return – The Subjective and Objective Factors that Led Wang Hui to Chose to Go Back to the South after Leading *Southern Inspection Tour*], *Meishu yanjiu* 3 (2014): 17-19. Wang Yuanqi was a grandson of Wang Shimin, and one of the Four Wangs of the early Qing dynasty. See Zhao, *Qingshi gao*, 504. 1b. Song Junye was a skilled landscape painter who once studied with Wang Hui. See Zhang, *Guochao huazheng lu*, 2. 13b.

Inspection Tour, and stayed in the capital for seven years after. Although he made friends with many scholar-officials and aristocrats, it seems that he grew tired of these interpersonal relationships. In 1691, when Wang Hui had just arrived in Beijing, he had already expressed his unhappiness to a friend, Pan Liu 潘鏐, according to a poem that

Pan sent him:

為言帝里淹留苦，不同野鶴時飛翻。
翹首西山高積雪，蕭齋繭足哀窮猿。
能事無端受迫急，羈栖深悔朱門入。
遠別家山淚痕濕，酒闌燈地聞雞泣。⁵⁸

You say to me that it is painful to stay in the capital for such a long time,
Different from flying like a wild crane.
You raise your head to see the thick snow that covers the west mountain,
In a dejected studio, your feet calloused, sorrowful like a trapped gibbon.
Your expertise is in imminent danger for no reason,
Stuck in a strange place, you deeply regret entering the red-lacquered doors of
wealthy homes.
Far from the mountains of your hometown, wetted by tearstains,
At the end of a banquet, at the bottom of a lamp, you weep to hear the cock
crow.

Pan's poem suggests that Wang Hui was unhappy in Beijing and longed for his home in the south. Also, he felt that his expertise – his talent and skill at painting – was also “in imminent danger” 受迫急. In addition to the tasks given to him by the emperor, he also had to paint according to the requests of officials. Evidence shows that Wang Hui did not know that he would participate in the project of the *Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour* before he arrived in Beijing.⁵⁹ He might not have been prepared to stay in

⁵⁸ Xu Yongxuan 徐永宣, ed., *Qinghui zengyan* 淸暉贈言 [Words Given to Wang Hui] (Laiqingge 來青閣, 1836), 10. 7a.

⁵⁹ Lü, “Ming dong Chang'an ke,” 18.

Beijing for long, contributing to his aggravation. His unhappiness would persist throughout his stay in the capital. In 1694, Tang Sunhua 唐孫華 (1634-1723), a close friend of Wang Hui, wrote these verses to him:⁶⁰

君嘗歎息為余言，種種顛毛已如此。
不向吳山聽鳥啼，卻到燕城踏馬矢。
.....
眼看修門供奉人，十年顛頽歸鄉里。
.....
三秋作客未為淹，一篲垂成勢難已。
圖成韜筆早歸來，歲月丹青今老矣。⁶¹

You once sighed and told me,
“I have already grown so old.”
Not going to the Wu mountains and listening to birds crowing,⁶²
But coming to the capital and treading on horse dung.
...
Letting the attendant artist in the imperial palace
Return to his hometown after ten years withered and emaciated.
...
You have been staying as a guest for three autumns,
So close to being crowned with success that you cannot resist the pull.
I hope you finish the paintings and scabbard your brush, returning home early;
After years of painting, you are old now.

These verses reflect Wang Hui’s complaints of his stay in Beijing, lamenting his old age and even implying the decline of his painting creativity. Moreover, in 1696, Wu Ju’s 吳鉏 (1618-1679) son brought a painted fan to show him at his residence in the capital.⁶³ On

⁶⁰ Tang Sunhua was a poet in the early Qing dynasty. See his anthology *Dongjiang shichao* 東江詩鈔 [Anthology of Tang Sunhua’s Poems] (SKQS ed.).

⁶¹ Xu, *Qinghui zengyan*, 3. 34b.

⁶² “The Wu mountains” refers to the mountains of the Jiangnan region generally.

⁶³ Fu Yanghua 付陽華, “‘Hou yimin shidai’ Wang Hui de sanci jinjing jiqi ‘nanbei’ jiaolu” “后遺民時代”王翬的三次進京及其“南北”焦慮 [Wang Hui’s Three Visits to the Capital City and His Anxiety Regarding “the South and the North” in the Post-Adherent Era], *Journal of Nanjing Arts Institute Fine Arts*

this fan Yun Shouping had written eight poems in 1676, and Yun gave it as a present to Wu Ju. Wang Hui had once met Wu Ju at Yun's residence in Changzhou in 1675. About twenty years later, by the time Wang Hui first saw the fan, both Yun Shouping and Wu Ju had passed away. It should be noted that both Yun and Wu participated in the movement to revive the Ming dynasty after the Qing court was established. Although Wang Hui did not have obvious political attitudes, and there is no evidence that he ever participated in the Ming revival movement, his close friendship with Yun and his acquaintance with Wu must have put him in an awkward and troubling position, as at the time he was serving the newly-established Qing court. Wang Hui painted *Midstream Pillar* 砥柱圖 with three poems inscribed for Wu Ju's son. In his inscription, he reminisces and reveals his emotions:

乙卯之春，獲晤稽翁老先生道范於毗陵惲氏之堂，迄今垂二十餘年。復晤令嗣于東山人于燕邸。出故友惲正叔疇昔詩，讀之慨然。思當時攬轡澄清之志，雖未遂而已不朽。因作砥柱圖並題短句以贈于山東人，志感也，抑以猶冀也。⁶⁴

In the spring of the Year of Yimao (1675), I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Jiweng (Wu Ju) at Mr. Yun's Hall in Piling (Changzhou, Jiangsu province). It has been over twenty years now. Once again I meet his son Yudong Shanren at my residence in Beijing.⁶⁵ He shows me my old friend Yun Zhengshu's (Yun Shouping's) poems from bygone days. I read them and sigh with deep feelings. I think of their aspirations of seizing the reins and clearing up the disaster, which have not been achieved but are already immortal. Thus, I painted

& *Design 1* (2015): 58-59. Wu Ju was originally named Wu Zuxi 吳祖錫, an activist for the revival of the Ming dynasty. See Zhao, *Qingshi gao*, 500. 14b-15b.

⁶⁴ Pei Jingfu 裴景福 (1854-1924), *Zhuangtao ge shuhua lu* 壯陶閣書畫錄 [Calligraphy and Painting of the Splendid Cultivation Pavilion] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju), 15. 1a.

⁶⁵ Yudong Shanren's real name is unknown.

Midstream Pillar and inscribed short sentences to give to Yudong Shanren, so that I might record my feelings and still express my wishes with it.

Here, Wang Hui may imply Wu Ju and Yun Shouping's participation in the Ming revival movement by using the words *chengqing* 澄清 [clearing up the disaster], in which *qing* is the same character as Qing, the name of the new dynasty. In this way, the painting titled *Midstream Pillar*, which is a metaphor for people who are “mainstays” of society, was a eulogy for the revival movement and an intimation of his own contradictory position. *The Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour* was finished around the same year. With this series of work, Wang Hui had certainly reached the peak of his painting career. The crown prince Yinreng 胤禔 (1674-1725) invited Wang Hui to his palace and conferred on him the encomium *Shanshui Qinghui* 山水清暉 [Clear Radiance in Landscapes] for the mountains and rivers Wang painted for the series.⁶⁶ However, meeting with Wu Ju's son and revisiting the late Yun Shouping's poems might have reinforced Wang Hui's determination to leave Beijing. In 1698, Wang Hui finally left the capital and returned to his hometown.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ *Shanshui Qinghui* 山水清暉 is translated as “Landscapes Clear and Radiant” in the title of Maxwell K. Hearn, ed., *Landscape Clear and Radiant: The Art of Wang Hui (1632-1717)* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008). I translate it as “Clear Radiance in Landscapes” here for continuity with the translations of Xie Lingyun's and Yun Shouping's poems below.

⁶⁷ Maxwell K. Hearn, “The ‘Kangxi Southern Inspection Tour:’ A Narrative Program by Wang Hui” (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1990), 2-3.

An account recorded by Wang Hui's younger brother Wang Jiwu 王吉武 (1645-1725) in 1714, after Wang Hui's return to his hometown of Yushan, gives a hint of Wang Hui's attitude in his last years:⁶⁸

石谷王先生……嘗與予言：“吾向觀宋元諸名跡于顯者之家，及數十年間之則易主矣。或不至數十年而已易主矣。當其權勢熏灼，何求不得。乃未幾而後人不能守，甚者或沒之官，豈非聚而必散，固物理之常耶？豈非富貴場中倏忽變幻，如浮雲朝露之無定憑耶？吾于此有慨焉，是故不以彼而易此也。”

Mr. Wang Shigu (Wang Hui)...once told me: “I viewed the Song and Yuan masterpieces in the past at the homes of the eminent. Within a few decades, their owners have changed – sometimes sooner than decades. When the prestige of [the eminent] was high, what couldn't they obtain? But not long after, the later generations cannot keep them; some were even confiscated by officials. Isn't it [true that] what is gathered must [one day] be dispersed, which is surely the nature of things and principles? Isn't it [true that everything] in the privileged ranks is fluctuating all of a sudden, like the unsettlement of floating clouds and morning dews? I have deep feelings about this, therefore I do not exchange [the Way of art] for [the privileged ranking].”

During his life, Wang Hui was eager to meet eminent collectors in order to further his study of painting, yet he understood in the end the ephemeral nature of such eminence.

Wang Jiwu's account continues:

又曰：“吾于是道也，因乎性成乎。故耳目所營，心思所注，雖萬物之眾而惟吾事之。知愈久而愈覺其境之無盡也。雖非譽巧拙所不暇計，而況其他乎。與天俱適，習焉若忘，終吾之身而已。”⁶⁹

Additionally, [Wang Hui] said: “This Way [of art] has formed my character. Therefore, what my ears and eyes seek, what my heart and mind concentrate upon, is only my profession, despite [other] numerous things. I know that the

⁶⁸ Wang Jiwu was famous for his poetry. See Zheng Fangkun 鄭方坤 (1693- ?), *Guochao mingjia shichao xiaozhuan* 國朝名家詩鈔小傳 [Brief Biographies of Famous Poets in the Qing Dynasty], (Qijuxuan 杞菊軒, 1861), 54a-55a.

⁶⁹ Wang Jiwu, “Preface,” in *Qinghui zengyan* 清暉贈言 [Words Given to Wang Hui], ed. Xu Yongxuan 徐永宣, 1a-1b (FYLC ed.).

more time passes by, the more I feel that the realm [of art] is endless. I have no time to pay mind even to reproach and praise, skillfulness and awkwardness, let alone to others. I simply correspond with heaven and learn [painting] as if oblivious [to everything else] until the end of my life.”

Eternity thus only existed in art, or the pursuit of art, which was so broad in itself that Wang Hui believed that he would never fully explore it, even if he focused only on this matter throughout his whole life.

Critics often argue that the quality of Wang Hui’s paintings declined in his later years. This assessment is debatable, yet Wang Hui himself certainly felt this way. In 1701, upon viewing one of his early albums again after forty years, he wrote in an inscription:

此余四十年前所作，時序如流，交遊零落，茫然不知為何人作也。余老矣，年往學荒，精神耗敝，轉絕曩時筆墨於古略有入處，始知畫道之難，愈求而愈遠也。展閱之余，因書數語以志愧。辛巳夏至，耕煙散人王翬識。⁷⁰

It was created by me forty years ago. Time has passed by like running water, friends have passed away one after the other. I was at a loss, not knowing who created this. I am old. The years have passed by and my learning has been out of practice. My vigor has been worn out. It turns out that my brush and ink had in the past attained a little bit of the ancient [spirit]. I begin to understand that the difficulty of the Way of painting is that the more one searches, the longer the Way will be. Besides unfolding and viewing [the album], I inscribe a few words to record my remorse. On the summer solstice of the Year of Xinsi (1701), Gengyan Sanren Wang Hui inscribes.

Wang Hui himself might have believed that his works in later years were not as good as those in earlier years. His experience in Beijing might indeed have made him feel that his expertise was in imminent danger, which caused an irreversible decline – not necessarily

⁷⁰ Wang, “Qinghui huaba,” 4. 34a-34b.

in his painting skills, but in his intent and motivation. He might have truly felt as Tang Sunhua's poem described: after years of painting, the artist was old both in age and in creativity.

The encomium that Yingren conferred on Wang Hui, “Clear Radiance in Landscapes,” referred to a poem by Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385-433 CE) of the Southern and Northern Dynasties, in his “Shibi jingshe huan huzhong zuo” 石壁精舍還湖中作 [Returning Mid-Lake from Cliff Study]:

昏旦變氣候，山水含清暉。
清暉能娛人，遊子憺忘歸。⁷¹

Climate changed in dusk and dawn,
In mountains and water, there is clear radiance.
Clear radiance can entertain travelers,
So tranquil that travelers forget to return.

Long before Yingren, the two characters *qinghui* 清暉 [clear radiance] had been applied to Wang Hui's work by his old friend Yun Shouping, in several poems.⁷² In one of the poems, “Ti Shigu Douhe milin tu” 題石谷陡壑密林圖 [Inscribing on Shigu's *Steep Valleys, Dense Forests*], Yun writes:

連峰逼天起，花潭下澄碧。
蒼茫神靈雨，冷風動松柏。
忽見鴻蒙開，居然造化設。
新賞入奇懷，清暉應未隔。⁷³

⁷¹ Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385-433 CE), *Xie Kangle ji* 謝康樂集 [The Anthology of Xie Kangle] (Block-Printed Ed.), 1. 4a.

⁷² See also “Ti Shigu shanshui” 題石谷山水 [Inscribing on Shigu's Landscape], in Yun, *Ouxiangguan ji*, 7. 12b; “Ti Shigu Yushantu” 題石谷雨山圖 [Inscribing on Shigu's *Raining Mountains*], in Yun, *Ouxiangguan ji*, 10. 1a-1b.

⁷³ Yun, *Ouxiangguan ji*, 5. 5b.

Joined peaks rise towards the sky,
Under the flower lake, green and bright.
Boundlessly it is a divine rain,
Cold wind blows pines and cypress.
All of a sudden, the primordial chaos opens,
Naturally settling creation and transformation.
Novel appreciation comes into the astonished bosom,
Clear radiance to me must conform.

In the last two decades of his life, Wang Hui never found another friend like Yun Shouping, who had known him as no one else did. One cannot help but speculate: what if Yun Shouping had still been alive at the time? Would it have made a difference in Wang Hui's painting in his later years?

CHAPTER 2

THE IMAGINATION OF THE YUAN MASTERS

Perception preoccupies intention. One cannot intend to not perceive. Either the perception of artwork or that of nature provides abundant and compelling experiences, though there are no doubt differences between the two. By “perception,” I am referring to a broader definition than is commonly used. The term comes from Maurice Merleau-Ponty’s phenomenology. It is chiefly defined by Merleau-Ponty in his argument of “perceptual faith:”

...the ‘perceptual faith’ includes everything that is given to the natural man in the original in an experience-source, with the view that for him is ultimate and could not conceivably be more perfect or closer – whether we are considering things perceived, in the ordinary sense of the word, or his initiation into the past, the imaginary, language, the predicative truth of science, works of art, the others, or history.⁷⁴

The experiences of seeing a landscape include not only visual sensations but imaginations of wandering and residing, dreams of a journey, the sense of history, the feelings for the others, and the contemplation of essence and truth. An artist who represents landscapes must have perceived landscapes from both artworks and nature. While believers of one or the other debate the question of which one an artist should follow, it must be admitted that a vision from either provides lavish perception and sources of imagination, and there is no turning back – one cannot un-see a vision. As soon as the artist sees, he perceives. The vision is not fixed as he perceives it; it changes constantly. The vision goes into the artist’s dreams, stretches the limit of his imagination, and becomes a manifestation of

⁷⁴ Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1908-1961), *The Visible and the Invisible* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1968), 158.

Perfection.⁷⁵ The Perfection was once others' perfection in the past, and the artworks they left were their attempts. Some of them were close, but it was attained by none. Now it is the turn of the artist. He holds his brush with his skillfulness, proficiency, and maturity, to capture a glance of the Perfection that he will never attain.

It is impossible to examine all the visions that Wang Hui ever had – one cannot relive the life of an artist, let alone one who has been deceased for hundreds of years. However, by focusing on some of the sources that provided the artist with visions, the route of his evolution can be articulated and narrated. This chapter will start from two old masters' artworks: the Yuan artists Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254-1322) and Huang Gongwang 黃公望 (1269-1394). The two artists were not necessarily the most important influences for Wang in his persistent learning of the old masters, but they were the ones who held tacit meanings for the artist. By examining Wang Hui's studies of both old masters, this chapter intends to explain that the artist not only restored the old models and styles but also revived in himself the perception of these models and styles. Wang paid considerable attention to the images these artists had left, and they turned into imaginative yet unforgettable visions for Wang and were transformed and presented in his artworks. They helped Wang form, revise, and reinforce the Perfection in his mind.

⁷⁵ The idea of "Perfection" resonates with a concept from the Italian art theorist Giovanni Pietro Bellori (1613-1696), "l'idea del bello" (beauty as an idea), which is introduced by Claudia Brown to explain seventeenth-century Chinese paintings. See Claudia Brown, "Traditional Chinese Painting in the Twenty-First Century," *Kaikodo Journal XXI* (November 2001): 13-14. In an email to me, Brown rephrases this concept as "to develop beauty as an idea in the mind and then to check it against representation in nature." This coincides with my idea of "Perfection," which is nurtured by the artist's imagination, and then in turn becomes his criterion for art. Claudia Brown, email to author, January 10, 2021.

Zhao Mengfu: The Master and the Colors

In 1710, Wang Hui painted an album leaf *Landscape after Zhao Mengfu's "Serried Peaks along the River"* 做趙孟頫重江疊嶂 (National Palace Museum, Taipei, Fig. 9). In the inscription he concludes with the three most important handscrolls that he had seen by Zhao Mengfu, the Yuan dynasty literati-artist:

趙文敏畫卷世傳有三，一為鵲華秋色，一為水村，一為重江疊嶂。余皆見之。

There are three extant handscrolls by Zhao Wenmin (Zhao Mengfu): *Autumn Colors on the Qiao and Hua Mountains*, *Water Village*, and *Serried Peaks along the River*. I have seen all of them.

In 1685, Wang Hui was invited to Beijing by the prominent scholar-poet Nara Singde 納蘭性德 (1654-1685).⁷⁶ Singde owned a collection of paintings and calligraphy inherited from his father. Some of the most notable acquisitions were Zhao Mengfu's *Autumn Colors on the Qiao and Hua Mountains* 鵲華秋色圖 of 1295 (National Palace Museum, Taipei, Fig. 10) and *Water Village* 水村圖 of 1302 (Palace Museum, Beijing, Fig. 11-a). However, Singde passed away in 1685, before Wang Hui's arrival in Beijing the next year.⁷⁷ Wang Hui might not have had the opportunity to see his collection by 1686. Yun Shouping's inscription on Wang Hui's painting after Mengfu's *Autumn Colors on the Qiao and Hua Mountains*, the second leaf of an album dated 1686 (Suzhou Museum, Fig. 12), mentions that Wang had once copied after a replica of Mengfu's work:

⁷⁶ See Zhao, *Qingshi gao*, 489. 26b-27b.

⁷⁷ Chang, "Wang Hui: The Evolution of a Master Landscapist," 102-103.

趙文敏鵲華秋色卷，向在郡中，為好事者購去。石谷子曾臨粉本。此圖小中見大，風規宛然。

Zhao Wenmin's (Zhao Mengfu's) *Autumn Colors on the Qiao and Hua Mountains* was previously in the prefecture; [later] it was bought by an art amateur. Mr. Shigu (Wang Hui) once copied after a replica of it. This painting shows large within small. Its style is as vivid as if [it were the original].

According to the collectors' seals on Zhao Mengfu's *Autumn Colors on the Qiao and Hua Mountains*, the painting was once held by Xiang Yuanbian 項元汴 (1525-1590).⁷⁸ It then went to Zhang Yingjia 張應甲, an art collector who came from Shandong province and became active around the Suzhou area in the early Qing dynasty.⁷⁹ Wang Shimin had once copied Mengfu's *Autumn Colors* prior to 1662, and at that time the original was presumably still "in the prefecture" of the Jiangnan region.⁸⁰ By 1663, Mengfu's *Autumn Colors* was already in Zhang's hands.⁸¹ Later the painting was bought successively by Song Luo 宋犖 (1634-1713) and Singde, the Beijing scholar-official collectors.⁸² Yet according to his 1710 inscription, Wang Hui had already seen Mengfu's *Autumn Colors*

⁷⁸ Xiang Yuanbian was a major art collector in the late Ming dynasty. There is no catalog of his collection, but his connoisseur's seals can be found on many extant paintings in major contemporary collections, such as the Palace Museum, Beijing.

⁷⁹ See Wu, *Shu hua ji*, 5. 474. Zhang Yingjia's father was Zhang Ruoqi 張若麒 (? - 1656), a scholar-official in the late Ming and early Qing dynasty. See Ji Liuqi 計六奇 (1622-1687), *Ming ji bei lue* 明季北略 [Northern Brief of the Ming Quarter], 22. 67 (block-printed ed.).

⁸⁰ Chang, "Wang Hui: The Evolution of a Master Landscapist," 61.

⁸¹ Wu, *Shu hua ji*, 5. 472-474.

⁸² Zhang Hui 章暉 and Bai Qianshen 白謙慎, "Qingchu fuzi shoucangjia Zhang Ruolin and Zhang Yingjia" 清初父子收藏家張若麒和張應甲 [Father-and-Son Art Collectors in the Early Qing Dynasty: Zhang Ruolin and Zhang Yingjia], *Xinmeishu* 20148 (2014): 41-46. Song Luo was a scholar-official in the early Qing dynasty. See Song Luo, *Mantang nianpu* 漫堂年譜 [Song Luo's Chronicle] (block-printed ed.).

and *Water Village*. This suggests he might have had access to the collection of Singde through his family during his 1691 visit to Beijing.

As for *Serried Peaks along the River* 重江疊嶂圖 of 1303 (National Palace Museum, Taipei, Fig. 13), the painting was once acquired by Liang Qingbiao 梁清標 (1620-1691), whose five collector's seals were stamped on it.⁸³ After the short visit to the capital in 1686, Wang Hui came to Beijing again in 1691, and this time he stayed for several years to work on the imperial project, *Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour*. He perhaps did not meet Liang, who passed away in the same year; still, he might have had the opportunity to see this painting in the Liang family collection during his stay. In his 1710 inscription on the album leaf *Landscape after Zhao Mengfu's "Serried Peaks along the River,"* Wang writes:

疊嶂圖體格高雅，別具蕭爽之致，非時史所能擬議。此規摹大概，恐亦去古未遠。

The form and style of *Serried Peaks along the River* is noble and graceful. It has an especially free and clear manner. It is not something that [Zhao Mengfu's] contemporary historians could conjecture or comment upon. My painting imitates the general idea, and I suppose it is not far from the antique.

Wang Hui's claim that his painting was "not far from the antique" raises a question. Zhao Mengfu's *Serried Peaks along the River* is entirely in a monochromatic manner, yet in his own version, Wang renders the mountain rocks with blue and green pigments. It seems that for Wang, one of the most important visions that Mengfu provided was his rendering of blue-green landscapes. *Landscape after Zhao Mengfu's "Serried Peaks*

⁸³ Liang Qingbiao was a scholar-official who had an outstanding collection of paintings. See Wang Zhonghan 王鐘翰 ed., *Qing shi liezhuan* 清史列傳 [Collected Biographies of the Qing History] (Zhonghua shuju, 1984), 79. 745.

along the River” is not an exception. Of all Wang’s works after Zhao Mengfu, the blue-green landscapes take up the largest part.⁸⁴ However, among the three well-known extant works of Mengfu that Wang had seen, only *Autumn Colors* demonstrates Mengfu’s use of azurite blue; *Water Village* and *Serried Peaks* are both monochromes. The question as to where Wang had learned Zhao Mengfu’s blue-green landscapes remains to be explored.

Wang Hui might have seen Zhao Mengfu’s blue-green style in one of his most famous extant paintings, *The Mind Landscape of Xie Youyu* 謝幼輿丘壑圖 (Princeton University Art Museum, Fig. 14). The painting was once in the hands of Xiang Menghuang 項孟璜, inscribed by Dong Qichang, and later went to the Beijing collector Liang Qingbiao, whose two collector’s seals, “Guan qi da lue” 觀其大略 [Viewing the Broad Ideas] and “Cangyan” 蒼巖 [Dark Rocks], were stamped next to Dong’s inscription.⁸⁵ Wang might have had the opportunity to see the work in the Jiangnan region, or at least later in Beijing, since he saw *Serried Peaks along the River* in Liang’s collection. The application of a sedge-like green color to the rock surfaces in this painting may have contributed to Wang’s impression of Mengfu’s blue-green landscape, and inspired his use of the colors. The green color was applied thickly in Mengfu’s *Mind*

⁸⁴ I have so far seen over thirty images of Wang Hui’s work that claimed to be after Zhao Mengfu, among which more than twenty images belong to the blue-green landscape category.

⁸⁵ Xiang Menghuang’s biography is unknown; he was presumably a member of the Xiang family, and thus descended from the famous collector Xiang Yuanbian. He was active as an art collector and connoisseur in the early seventeenth century, associated with Chen Jiru 陳繼儒 (1558-1639), according to Chen’s inscription accompanying the *Mind Landscape of Xie Youyu*. The record reads: “In dingwei year of Wanli’s reign (1607), Chen Jiru views [the painting] at Xiang Menghuang’s [...]” 萬曆丁未陳繼儒觀於項孟璜弟卷。 For Liang Qingbiao’s seals, see Liu Jinku 劉金庫 and Wang Xi 王希, “Liang Qingbiao yu ‘nan hua bei du’” 梁清標與“南畫北渡” [Liang Qingbiao and “the Southern Paintings Going Northwards”], *Zhonghua wenhua huabao (China Culture Pictorial)* 6 (2009): 82-86.

Landscape, yet it is pure and smooth and creates an elegant effect, in accordance with the theme of a reclusive mind.⁸⁶ Dong's colophon after Zhao Mengfu's painting is interesting to consider:

此圖乍披之定為趙伯駒，觀元人題跋知為甌波筆，猶是吳興刻畫前人時也。

When I saw this painting for the first time, I took it as a Zhao Boju.⁸⁷ [After] I read the inscriptions from the Yuan I knew it was a work of Oubo (Zhao Mengfu). It was still the time when Wuxing (Zhao Mengfu) made stiff portrayals of [works of] the past artists.

There is implicit criticism in Dong Qichang's comment that he mistook Zhao Mengfu's painting for a work of Zhao Boju 趙伯駒 (c. 1120 – c. 1182), a Southern Song painter of the blue-green landscape. Dong did not appreciate the painting's similarity to Boju's style, dismissing it as a stiff portrayal of “the past artists” (Southern Song artists, like Boju) and betraying Mengfu's immaturity in his early years as a painter.

When he imitated Zhao Mengfu, Wang Hui referred to Zhao Boju. *Autumn Colors over Streams and Mountains* 江山秋色圖, attributed to Zhao Boju (Palace Museum, Beijing, Fig. 15), was also once in the collection of Liang Qingbiao, based on the fact that the handscroll bears his collector's seals. Wang might have seen the work there.

However, unlike Dong Qichang, Wang thought that Zhao Mengfu learned from and

⁸⁶ Xie Youyu (Xie Kun 謝鯤, 280-322) was celebrated for his story of living in seclusion by a hill and a stream in his mind while serving the court as an official. By painting this historical figure, Zhao Mengfu compared himself to Xie Kun and expressed his longing for seclusion, although he served the Yuan court. Shou-Chien Shih, “The Mind Landscape of Hsieh Yu-yü by Chao Meng-fu,” in Fong, *Images of the Mind*, 238-240.

⁸⁷ Zhao Boju 趙伯駒 (c. 1120 – c. 1182) was a Song painter of blue-and-green landscapes. One of the extant works attributed to Zhao Boju is *Autumn Colors over Streams and Mountains* 江山秋色圖 (Palace Museum, Beijing).

transformed Boju's style, and implied his approval and admiration of Boju as well. On a leaf from an album in the Xubaizhai Collection, Hong Kong (Fig. 16), dated 1675, Wang Hui inscribes:

翠嶺晴雲小變趙伯駒法，去刻畫而趨清潤，吳興一生崇尚如此。

Emerald Ranges, Clear Clouds slightly transforms Zhao Boju's methods, eliminating stiff portrayals and pursuing the pure and smooth. This was what Wuxing (Zhao Mengfu) had upheld throughout his life.

For Wang Hui, Zhao Boju provided the basic methods for the blue-green landscape, and Zhao Mengfu slightly transformed Boju's methods to better reflect the "pure and smooth" (*qingrun* 清潤). This transformation from Boju was not completed in the first part of Mengfu's career; instead, it was a lifelong pursuit. In this leaf, Wang demonstrated his understanding of both Mengfu and Boju with a method of applying green color to mountain rock surfaces. While this even rendering of color to produce a sense of flatness is reminiscent of Mengfu's *Mind Landscape of Xie Youyu*, the slight use of blue pigment in the middle to punctuate the otherwise uniform light green evokes Boju's *Autumn Colors over Streams and Mountains*.

Interestingly, what Wang Hui thought of Zhao Mengfu contradicted Mengfu's own stated intentions. Mengfu criticized the Southern Song style and was interested in the painting of earlier dynasties.⁸⁸ His *Mind Landscape of Xie Youyu* was a study of the Jin and Tang dynasties, while *Autumn Colors on the Qiao and Hua Mountains* was after the model of the Tang artist Wang Wei 王維 (699-761) and the Southern Tang artist Dong

⁸⁸ Chu-tsing Li 李鑄晉, *The Autumn Colors on the Ch'iao and Hua Mountains: A Landscape by Chao Meng-fu* 鵲華秋色：趙孟頫的生平與畫藝 (Chinese edition, Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2008), 79-80.

Yuan 董源 (? - c. 962).⁸⁹ *Serried Peaks along the River* was after Li Cheng 李成 (919- c. 967) and Guo Xi 郭熙 (c. 1000 – c. 1087) of the Northern Song dynasty.⁹⁰ However, Wang Hui paid primary attention to Zhao Mengfu's connections with Zhao Boju, the Southern Song artist from whom Mengfu did not intend to learn. While Dong Qichang criticized *Mind Landscape* as a "stiff portrayal" of Boju's work, Wang Hui must have taken it as a creative study on the part of Mengfu.

Wang Hui especially articulated the coloring that Zhao Mengfu had learned from Zhao Boju. In the *Collaborative Album of Flower and Landscape by Wang Hui and Yun Shouping* 惲壽平王翬花卉山水合冊, dated 1672 (National Palace Museum, Taipei), Wang paints a leaf after Zhao Mengfu (Fig. 17) and inscribes on this leaf: "I once saw *Fishing Boat amid Peach Blossom* by Oubo Laoren (Zhao Mengfu).⁹¹ The color tone came entirely from Zhao Boju" 曾見鷗波老人桃花漁艇圖。設色全師趙伯駒. The leaf does not have as many similarities that directly recall Zhao Mengfu or Zhao Boju's extant works as does the Xubaizhai leaf (Fig. 16). It renders mountain rocks with a bright green and the colors are carefully treated with subtle gradations. Accompanied by the pink peach blossoms in a diagonal curve from the top left, the colors set a pleasant tone for the

⁸⁹ Wang Wei was a poet-painter and considered the founder of literati landscape painting. His most well-known work is *Wangchuan Villa* 輞川圖. No original is extant. The most reliable copy is an ink rubbing of a stone carving made after Wang Wei's drawing, 15th century (Princeton University Art Museum).

⁹⁰ Li Cheng was a landscape painter of the Northern Song dynasty. His works featured the monumental landscapes of northern China. No extant work can be securely attributed to Li Cheng, but some created by his followers at a later time can be directly associated with Li's style. One of such paintings is *A Solitary Temple amid Clearing Peaks* 晴巒蕭寺圖, c. 960 (Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri).

⁹¹ It seems no extant work that bears the title has survived.

whole image. It was also, however, in accordance with the idea of pureness and smoothness that he learned from Zhao Mengfu. Wang did not spare the use of colors; while the simplest shortcut to the amateur taste was to avoid using heavy colors in favor of ink, and to replace the descriptive with the calligraphic, he did not choose to forge taste in this way. Instead, he applied bright colors thickly, using diagonal compositions, subtle gradations, and the depiction of colorless streams and clouds to attain a fresh and elegant effect.

Although Zhao Mengfu's *Fishing Boat amid Peach Blossom* that Wang Hui mentioned is not extant, "Peach Blossom" as a literary allusion to *Peach Blossom Spring* by Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (365-427 CE) was a popular theme in painting.⁹² Tao's story describes a reclusive paradise that is disconnected from the mundane world. Similar representations of blue-green landscapes with peach blossoms can be found in some extant work by Qiu Ying 仇英 (c. 1494 -1552), one of the Four Masters of the Ming dynasty.⁹³ Wang Hui had another painting after Zhao Mengfu that also referred to *Peach Blossom Spring* from the album *Landscapes after Old Masters* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Fig. 18). On the leaf, Wang inscribes:

春來遍是桃花水，
不辨仙源何處尋。

When spring comes, peach blossom waters are everywhere;

⁹² Tao Yuanming was a poet and writer in the Eastern Jin dynasty. See his *Peach Blossom Spring* in Tao Yuanming, *Tao Yuanming ji* 陶淵明集 [Anthology of Tao Yuanming], 5. 1a-2b (SKQS ed.).

⁹³ See as an example Qiu Ying, *Peach Blossom Spring* 桃花源圖卷 (The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).

One cannot know where to look for the immortal's spring.⁹⁴

This couplet is from Wang Wei's poem, *Taoyuan xing* 桃源行 [A Trip to Peach Blossom Spring], furthering the allusion to *Peach Blossom Spring*.⁹⁵ Wang Hui's version of the "Peach Blossom" motif expanded on the theme of seclusion found in Zhao Mengfu's *Mind Landscape of Xie Youyu*, and Wang's blue-green landscape represented an otherworldly paradise for a recluse.

The emphasis on Zhao Mengfu's blue-green landscape was shared with Wang Hui's close friend, Yun Shouping. On Wang's painting after Mengfu, *Clustered Peaks, Spring Mist* 群峰春靄圖, dated 1680 (Shanghai Museum, Fig. 19), Yun inscribes:

青綠設色至趙吳興而一變，洗宋人刻畫之迹，運以沉深，出之妍雅，穠纖得中，靈氣洞目，所謂絢爛之極，仍歸自然。真後學無言之師。石谷王子十年靜悟，始于用色秘妙處爽然心開，獨契神會。觀其渲染，直欲令古人歌笑出地，三百年來所未有也。此卷全宗趙法，蓋趙已兼眾家，擬議神明，不能舍趙而他之矣。

The blue-green tone underwent a transformation in the hand of Zhao Wuxing (Zhao Mengfu). Eliminating traces of the stiff portrayals by the Song artists, he reinvested the style with profundity, making it attractive and elegant, right in the middle of the dense and delicate. It so sparkles with spiritual vitality that it catches viewers' eyes immediately. This is what people mean by the phrase "after brightness reaches the extreme, it spontaneously returns to naturalness." Without a doubt [Zhao Mengfu] was truly the tacit teacher of the painters of later centuries.⁹⁶ Mr. Wang Shigu (Wang Hui) has quietly contemplated for ten years, and it was only after this that he began to open his heart freely at the places where the use of colors is profoundly wonderful and to be congenial with the spiritual awakening alone. I see his rendering almost letting the ancient come alive, singing and smiling. This has not happened for three hundred

⁹⁴ All translations of painting inscriptions in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art are adapted from its website.

⁹⁵ Wang Wei, *Lei jian Tang Wang Youcheng shiji* 類箋唐王右丞詩集 [Reference Annotated Poetry Anthology of Wang Wei in the Tang Dynasty] (Guqijing Qizizhai 顧起經奇字齋, 1556), 3. 22b-23b.

⁹⁶ Translation adapted from Shih, "The Mind Landscape of Hsieh Yu-yü by Chao Meng-fu," 252.

years. This painting entirely took Zhao's methods as a model, because Zhao had already combined [methods of] various masters and drafted the spirited brilliance. We cannot leave Zhao behind and study from others [instead].

Yun Shouping takes Zhao Mengfu's work as the best example of the blue-green landscape genre, and implies that Wang Hui, too, has captured such brilliance. "This has not happened for three hundred years" – three hundred years is not an arbitrary number, but refers to the number of years between Zhao Mengfu and Wang Hui, a span of time in which, Yun believed, blue-green landscape had been neglected and had fallen into decline. This handscroll, *Clustered Peaks, Spring Mist*, indeed provides another type of the blue-green landscape that Wang experimented with. Wang used a jadeite-like green as the main tone, depicting tops of mountain peaks and rocks while applying a subtle gradation to make this deeper green semi-transparent in the lower parts. The method delivers a solid and three-dimensional representation, directly recalling Zhao Boju's *Autumn Colors over Steams and Mountains*. At the same time, it demonstrates a muted yet graceful pictorial world in a refined color palette. The idea remained the same: the elegance of color rendering did not result from the avoidance of color. The artist could attain such elegance by skillfully applying rather heavy color pigments to make them gentle and clear. Yun's art practice also supported and encouraged his and Wang's shared view of art. Although Yun turned to flower paintings after he met Wang, his bold use of heavy colors in his flower paintings was in accordance with Wang's practice in his blue-green landscapes.⁹⁷ On a flower painting by Yun, *Blackberry Lilies* 射干, in their collaborative album around 1672 (National Palace Museum, Taipei, Fig. 20), Wang

⁹⁷ Yun, "Nantian xiansheng jiazhuang," 1b.

inscribes his commentary: “Flowers and grasses in the autumn garden. The thoughts of the brush are clear and graceful. [You are] the [only] one after Zhao Wenmin (Zhao Mengfu)” 秋園卉草。筆思清纖。趙文敏後一人也。Mengfu’s famous calligraphic, monochromatic bamboo and orchid paintings were not what interested Wang. Rather, it was Mengfu's mastery of color – not only in his blue-green landscapes, but also in his refined colored flowers and grasses.⁹⁸

The concept of Zhao Mengfu’s blue-green landscape that had developed in Wang Hui's imagination had also been enriched and energized by other past artists. The work of Zhao Lingrang 趙令穰 (active ca. 1070 – after 1100), a landscape painter of the Northern Song dynasty, contributed to Wang Hui’s idea of the blue-green style from a very early stage in Wang's career. Zhao Lingrang’s *Whiling Away the Summer by a Lakeside Retreat* 湖莊清夏圖 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Fig. 21-a) was once in Wang Shimin’s collection, and Wang Hui must have seen it not long after he met Shimin, when he viewed the collection of paintings at Shimin’s residence around 1653. There are only a few extant works by Wang Hui that make reference to this painting. One example is an album leaf from the Xubaizhai Collection (Fig. 22), which is a clear transformation of the beginning part of Zhao Lingrang’s *Whiling Away the Summer* (Fig. 21-b). Wang also articulated the reference in his inscription: “Zhao Lingrang’s *Whiling Away the Summer by a Lakeside Retreat* is pretty and smooth, and one can follow his example. This riverbend is exquisite and contains endless beauty” 趙令穰湖莊清夏本，秀潤可灑，此

⁹⁸ See as an example of Zhao Mengfu's calligraphic, monochromatic bamboo and orchid paintings: Zhao Mengfu, *Elegant Rocks and Sparse Trees* 秀石疏林圖 (Palace Museum, Beijing).

處一曲致有餘妍。In Wang's picture, it is as if the traveler in Lingrang's painting has walked to the houses on the right side and turned back to view the same bend of the river, only to find a different sight. The light green color evenly applied on the riverbanks is, on the other hand, identical to that in Lingrang's original.

Another painting attributed to Zhao Lingrang which Wang Hui imitated is *Water Village* 水村圖. Although there is an extant *Water Village* by Lingrang, held at the National Palace Museum, Taipei (Fig. 23), it may not be the one that Wang had seen. The painting at the National Palace Museum has records of collectors in the Yuan dynasty, but thereafter no records were left until it came into Emperor Qianlong's imperial collection. No evidence shows that Wang had ever seen this work, nor does his imitation bear many similarities to it. Wang painted two imitations of a *Water Village* by Lingrang, the first in 1662 and the second in 1713. The 1662 painting is entitled *Water Village after Zhao Danian* 倣趙大年水村圖 (Palace Museum, Beijing, Fig. 24). Wang's inscription reads: "In the second month of the Year of Renyin, Shigu Wang Hui from Yushan painted Zhao Danian's (Zhao Lingrang's) *Water Village* for Mr. Zitang at Mr. Tang [Yuzhao's] Banyuan in Piling" 壬寅二月虞山石谷王翬為子唐先生倣趙大年水村圖於毘陵唐氏半園.⁹⁹ The painting done in 1713 is *Landscape in the Manner of Zhao Lingrang* (Phoenix Art Museum, Fig. 25-a), and Wang's inscription on it states that it references "Zhao Danian's *Water Village, Flat and Distant*" 趙大年水村平遠圖. The titles vary, but the two paintings are identical in their composition, and neither is similar to the extant *Water*

⁹⁹ Mr. Zitang's identity is unknown.

Village by Lingrang. The two paintings' differences reflect the fifty years of Wang's life that separated them. *Water Village after Zhao Danian* in 1662 produces a sense of three-dimensionality by the use of color gradations, making it the closer of the two paintings to Zhao Lingrang's *Water Village* in the National Palace Museum – Wang might have seen a *Water Village* attributed to Lingrang that was a transformative copy, keeping some of the same characteristics. *Landscape in the Manner of Zhao Lingrang* in 1713 was, on the other hand, a presentation of flat and muted colors. It directly recalls Lingrang's *Whiling Away the Summer by a Lakeside Retreat* by including bends of embankments and riverbanks (Fig. 25-b), which were not featured in the 1662 painting. The surfaces of the embankments and riverbanks were left mostly for color. Wang Hui applied texture strokes to the edges of surfaces and rendered the main forms in a light green color. It required all the subtleties that made the exposure of color both vivid and elegant.

By 1710, Wang Hui had seen Zhao Mengfu's *Water Village*, possibly from Singde's family collection. Its subject must have reminded him of Zhao Lingrang and his blue-green style. While Mengfu created his *Water Village* entirely in ink, Wang reimagined the place in color. Mengfu applied a dry ink brush to depict sand shoals and reeds around the village (Fig. 11-b). Wang, too, drew sand shoals and reeds in his *Landscape in the Manner of Zhao Lingrang*, but in colors of dark green and light blue (Fig. 25-c). Here, Mengfu's water village and Lingrang's water village merged and became the same place in the eye of Wang's mind. *Landscape in the Manner of Zhao Lingrang* was a reflection of Wang's final conception of the blue-green landscape, which he articulated in his later years:

凡設青綠，體要嚴重，氣要輕清，得力全在渲暈。余於青綠法，靜悟三十年，始盡其妙。皴擦不可多，厚在神氣，不在多也。氣愈清則愈厚。¹⁰⁰

When one sets a blue-green tone, the body should be weighty and thick, and the breath should be light and pure. One gets all its vitality from rendering. As for the method of blue-green, I quietly contemplated it for thirty years, [and only after that did] I begin to exhaust its wonderfulness. There cannot be too many texture strokes. [The body] is substantial in its spirited breath, not in the numerousness [of texture strokes]. The purer the breath is, the more substantial [the body] will be.

Here Wang Hui expresses the relationship between the weighty and thick body and the light and pure breath. The “body” should not be understood merely as the value or saturation of colors, since colors cannot exist independently of compositions, lines, shapes, and brushstrokes. Rather, it describes the overall representation of the subjects. Yet, Wang does emphasize color rendering more than texture strokes in his argument on blue-green methods. By declaring that “there cannot be too many texture strokes” 皴擦不可多, Wang reinforces his effort to present colors in front of the viewer’s eyes instead of remedying their shortage with texture strokes. The weighty and thick body especially describes colors, and from such a weighty and thick body of colors, the viewer finds the light and pure breath. This argument was thus in accord with Wang’s practices in his blue-green landscape paintings. He experimented with fluctuating degrees of value and saturation, and various relationships between colors and subjects, which resulted in works that seem significantly different from one another. Among the many representations, there is, however, one constant idea: Wang focused on colors instead of neglecting them, in the

¹⁰⁰ Wang, “Qinghui huaba,” 4. 33b.

attempt to find the light and pure breath within the realm of colors, rather than outside of it.

Huang Gongwang: The Master and the Places

From the beginning of his painting career, Wang Hui had close connections to the Yuan artist Huang Gongwang, one of the Four Masters of the Yuan. Wang's painting teacher Zhang Ke was a follower of the style of Huang, and Wang must have learned Huang's style at a very early stage in his career. Further, Wang Hui's mentor, Wang Shimin, favored Huang over the other Four Masters, which led Wang Hui to put more effort into studying Huang. Yet the most important connection between the two might have been a personal one: both Wang and Huang came from Yushan (Changshu).¹⁰¹ As another local painter, Huang had a special meaning for him, and Huang's painting reinforced Wang's observations of their hometown.

In his inscription to an early album leaf dated 1662 (Palace Museum, Beijing, Fig. 26), Wang Hui writes:

大癡道人家於海虞，晚居臨安，其畫遺于人間殊少，蓋其筆意高古，遠有師承，識者謂得之董北苑而晚稍變其法。此幅乃寫華山景，其石面則虞山峰麓也。庚子冬借觀於婁東王奉常耶。壬寅夏客寓毘陵楊氏半雲居，為漢俠知己追憶拈此。王翬識。

Daoist Priest Dachi (Huang Gongwang) was born in Haiyu (Yushan) and lived in Lin'an (Hangzhou) in his later years. His paintings are rarely extant in the world. His brushes are antique and profound, learning from distant masters in the past. Those who know [how to appreciate] his painting say that he obtained [his style] from Dong Beiyuan (Dong Yuan) and later he slightly changed Dong's methods. In this painting [Huang] drew the scenery from Mount Hua, but the surfaces of rocks are the peaks and hills of Yushan Mountain. In the winter of the Year of Gengzi (1660), I borrowed and viewed [Huang's painting] at Wang Fengchang's (Wang Shimin's) from Loudong. In the summer of the Year of Renyin (1662), I stayed at Mr. Yang's (Yang Zhaolu's) Banyun Ju [Half Cloud Residence] in Piling. I recollected [Huang's painting]

¹⁰¹ Yu Yi 魚翼 (1645-1745), *Haiyu huayuan lue* 海虞畫苑略 [Brief of Haiyu's Painting World] (Yushan Gu shi 虞山顧氏, 1874), 1a.

and drew this for my intimate friend Hanxia.¹⁰² Wang Hui [made] and inscribed.

According to this inscription, the image was based on Wang Hui's memory of a Huang Gongwang painting that he saw at Wang Shimin's in 1660, about one and a half years before he recollected it and drew this picture. The image thus cannot be an exact copy of Huang's, but a demonstration of Wang's understanding of the Yuan master and the association he made in his mind between the master and Yushan. The "surfaces of rocks" in Huang's painting must correspond to the angular rocks at the side of the hill depicted in the leaf, and this, for Wang, was a familiar feature of Yushan Mountain. In Huang's painting, he saw a familiar landscape from his hometown, and this connected him to Huang in a personal way.

In 1668, Wang Hui painted *Autumn Forests at Yushan* 虞山楓林圖 (Palace Museum, Beijing, Fig. 27) for Gu Mei 顧湄 (1633- ?). Gu Mei, one of the "Ten Talents of Loudong" 婁東十子, was a good friend of Wang Shimin and Wang Jian.¹⁰³ Gu visited Yushan and stayed at Wang Hui's home sometime before 1668. He was deeply impressed by the maple trees at Yushan Mountain, and asked Wang to paint *Autumn Forests at Yushan* for him. Gu's poem on this painting directly associates Wang Hui with Huang Gongwang:

標峰置嶺映寒條，
霜葉紅酣向客嬌。
君是前身黃子久，

¹⁰² The identity of Hanxia is unknown.

¹⁰³ See "Huang Yujian" 黃與堅, in Zhao, *Qingshi gao*, 489. 24b-25a.

酒瓶還擬問湖橋。¹⁰⁴

Monumental peaks and ranges cast cold air on the branches,
Icy leaves colored in sweet red flatter the visitor.
You were surely Huang Ziju (Huang Gongwang) in your previous life,
Who intended to ask of his wine bottle left on the lake bridge.¹⁰⁵

Because both Huang Gongwang and Wang Hui came from Yushan, the landscape of Yushan had a special meaning to Wang as a reference to the Yuan master. According to Gu Mei's poem, a connection between Wang and Huang was easily built through the region in which both were born and lived.

Wang Hui's understanding of Huang Gongwang's style further developed with his access to Huang's famous piece, *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains* 富春山居圖 (Fig. 28-a). This painting was once in the collection of Wu Hongyu 吳洪裕 (1598-1651), a literatus in the late Ming dynasty.¹⁰⁶ It is recorded that Tang Yuzhao owned the *yousu* 油素 [smooth silk] version of *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*.¹⁰⁷ The association with Tang provided Wang Hui with the opportunity to see Tang's collections. Tang became

¹⁰⁴ Gu Mei 顧湄 (1633- ?), "Ti hua Yushan fenglin tu" 題畫虞山楓林圖 [Inscription on *Autumn Forests at Yushan*], in Xu, *Qinghui zengyan*, 6. 18a (FY LCS ed.).

¹⁰⁵ Translation adapted from Chang, "Mountains and rivers, pure and splendid," 63-64. The fourth line is a reference to a story about Huang Gongwang recorded in Yu, *Haiyu huayuan lue*, 1a. The entry reads: "[Huang Gongwang] once rode a leaf boat on a moonlit night and went out the west city gate. He went along the mountains, and at the end of those mountains, he arrived at the lake bridge. He fastened his wine bottle with a long rope to the tail of the boat. He went on the boat to the tomb of the lady of Qi, and pulled up the rope to get the bottle, [only to find that] the rope was broken. [Huang] clapped his hands and burst out laughing. His voice vibrated through the valley. Those who looked upon him thought he must be an immortal." 嘗於月夜棹孤舟出西郭門，循山而行，山盡抵湖橋，以長繩系酒餅於船尾。返舟行至齊女墓下，牽繩取餅，繩斷。撫掌大笑，聲振山谷，人望之以為神仙云。

¹⁰⁶ Yun, *Ouxiang guan ji*, 11. 23b-24a.

¹⁰⁷ Chang, "Wang Hui: The Evolution of a Master Landscapist," 61-62.

one of Wang's most important patrons in the early 1660s, and their friendship continued until Tang passed away in 1672. There is no record of their first meeting, but Wang had established a close relationship with Tang no later than 1655. During the summer of 1662, Wang Hui made his first copy of Huang Gongwang's *Fuchun Mountains* for Tang Yuzhao, at Wang Shimin's residence, the Hall of Humble Refinements. The model for the copy must have been the *yousu* version owned by Tang; thus it is safe to say that by 1662, Wang must have seen Tang's *yousu* version of *Fuchun Mountains*. Throughout his life, Wang had imitated *Fuchun Mountains* many times, yet only three of the works have survived, held by the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D. C. (1672), Liaoning Provincial Museum, Shenyang (1686), and Palace Museum, Beijing (1702), respectively.¹⁰⁸

The painting held by the Freer Gallery, dated 1672 (Fig. 29), was created for Da Chongguang, who had been a supporter of Wang Hui since the late 1660s. It preserves the basic composition of the longer remnant scroll of *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*, *Wuyongshi juan* 無用師卷 [Futile Master Scroll], known as the Wuyong version.

However, Wang did not make an exact copy. He made the handscroll in his own rhythm and pace, conveying the vast landscape in the way he thought best. Yun Shouping summarizes Wang Hui's imitated works after *Fuchun Mountains*:

石谷子凡三臨富春圖矣。前十餘年為半園唐氏摹長卷，時猶為古人法度所束，未得遊行自在。最後為笄江上借唐氏本再摹，遂有彈丸脫手之勢。婁東王奉常聞而歎之，屬石谷再摹，余皆得見之。蓋其運筆時，精神與古人

¹⁰⁸ Shan Guoqiang 单国强, "Luelun Wang Hui Lin Huang Gongwang Fuchun shanju tujian Zhuben" 略论王翬《临黄公望富春山居图卷》诸本 [A Brief Paper on the Various Versions of Wang Hui's *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains after Huang Gongwang*] (Paper presented at *Shanshui qinghui – Wang Jian, Wang Hui ji Yushan pai huihua xueshu yantaohui* 山水清晖——王鑑、王翬及虞山派繪畫學術研討會 [*Landscape Clear and Radiant –Academic Conference on Wang Jian, Wang Hui and Yushan School Paintings*], Macao Museum of Art, 2013), 8-13.

相洽。略借粉本而洗發自己胸中靈氣，故信筆取之，不滯於思，不失於法，適合自然，直可與之並傳，追縱先匠，何止下真跡一等。¹⁰⁹

Master Shigu (Wang Hui) has imitated *Fuchun Mountains* three times. More than ten years prior, he copied the long handscroll for Mr. Tang Banyuan (Tang Yuzhao). At that time, he was still restrained by the conventions of the old artists and he had not roamed freely. Finally, he borrowed Mr. Tang's scroll and copied it again for Da Jiangshang (Da Chongguang), then he began to have the tendency of shots leaving his hands.¹¹⁰ Wang Fengchang (Wang Shimin) from Loudong heard of it and sighed with admiration, asking Shigu to make one more imitated work. I have seen all of them. When [Wang Hui] wields his brush, his spirit harmonizes with the ancient. He briefly relies on a replica and revamps and expresses spiritual vitality in his chest. Therefore, he conveniently paints to attain it, without [becoming] blocked up in thoughts or lost in conventions. [The painting] is in accord with natural features. It can be directly passed on with [the original] and extensively compared with the previous masters. It is far more than “a lower rank beneath the original.”¹¹¹

The painting done for Da Chongguang is the Freer Gallery's version, dated 1672. In Yun Shouping's opinion, with this version that Wang Hui imitated, Wang had begun to break free from following the original's path, and to find his own self-expression. Wang's version was not just a copy that was “a lower rank beneath the original” 下真跡一等 but could rival the original. According to Yun's inscription, Wang Hui copied once again for Wang Shimin, but this work is not extant. Wang Hui might have seen the original *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains* between 1686 and 1700.¹¹² At this time, the

¹⁰⁹ Yun, *Ouxiang guan ji*, 11. 22b-23a.

¹¹⁰ “Shots leaving one's hands” 彈丸脫手 is a metaphor for a mellifluous work of art or literature.

¹¹¹ “A lower rank beneath the original” 下真跡一等 is from Mi Fu's 米芾 (1051-1107) comments on Chu Suiliang's 褚遂良 (596-659) copy of Wang Xizhi's 王羲之 (303-361 CE) calligraphy of *Lantingji xu* 蘭亭集序 [Preface to the Poems Collected from the Orchid Pavilion]: “This calligraphy is a lower rank beneath the original” 此書下真跡一等. Mi Fu, *Hua shi* 畫史 [History of Painting], 1. 14a (SKQS ed.).

¹¹² Hin-Cheung Lovell, “Wang Hui's ‘Dwelling in the Fu-Ch'un Mountains,’ A Classical Theme, Its Origin and Variations,” *Ars Orientalis* 8 (1970): 224. Gao Shiqi was a scholar-official in the early Qing dynasty, who had a rich collection of painting and calligraphy. See Zhao, *Qingshi gao*, 277. 1a-3a.

Wuyongshi juan of *Fuchun Mountains* was in the collection of the scholar-official Gao Shiqi 高士奇 (1644-1703). The Palace Museum's version, dated 1702, may have been after the original *Fuchun Mountains*, or was at least based on Wang's impression and memory of the original work he saw in Gao's collection.

The Fuchun Mountains are located along the river in Fuyang, a place near Hangzhou where Huang Gongwang lived in his later years. Wang Hui might have traveled to the Fuchun Mountains during his lifetime, but he spent most of his life in his hometown of Yushan. What he saw in Huang's *Fuchun Mountains* raises questions: did Wang Hui look for similarities to the landscape of Yushan Mountain? Did he understand and transmit Huang's *Fuchun Mountains* based on what he knew best in his hometown, as that was what felt most natural to him?

An inscription by Wang Hui transcribed in *Tingfan lou xuke shu hua ji* 聽帆樓續刻書畫記 [Additional Session to *Records of Paintings and Calligraphies in Sailboats Hearing Hall*] reads:

大癡倣北苑《秋山圖》用筆仿佛《富春山卷》，其峰巒秀拔，溪澗汀渚，又似吾虞山也。¹¹³

Dachi (Huang Gongwang) painted *Autumn Mountains* after Beiyuan (Dong Yuan). His brushwork resembles *Fuchun Mountains*. The mountain peaks are elegant and straight, the streams whirl around the shallow islets. They are like my Yushan.

¹¹³ Pan Zhengwei 潘正炜 (1791-1850), *Tingfan lou xuke shu hua ji* 聽帆樓續刻書畫記 [Additional Session to *Records of Painting and Calligraphy in Sailboats Hearing Hall*], in *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu* 中國書畫全書 [The Complete Book of Chinese Calligraphy and Painting], ed. Lu Fusheng 盧輔聖, et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1993), 11: 926.

In this inscription, Wang Hui articulates the connection between Huang Gongwang's brushwork and the landscape of Yushan. Another inscription by Wang, on his painting *Yushan Mountain* 虞山圖, as recorded in *Shu hua jian ying* 書畫鑒影 [The Connoisseur's Impression of Calligraphy and Painting], further reinforces the connection between Yushan and Huang Gongwang:

此卷寫西城至劍門一帶，峰巒樹石，屋宇舟梁，出規入矩，恐未盡脫縱橫蹊徑。昔黃子久日坐湖橋看山飲酒，以造化為師，意在神韻，不求形似，遂爾入妙，可知會心不在遠也。¹¹⁴

This scroll describes the area from the west city to Jianmen, [including] mountain peaks, trees and rocks, houses, boats, and bridges. They escape compasses but are [still trapped] in squares. I am afraid that I have not entirely divested myself of confounding ways. In the past Huang Ziju (Huang Gongwang) sat at the lake bridge during the daytime, looking at the mountains and drinking wine. He took Nature as his teacher, aiming for the spirited charm instead of form-likeness, and hence he came into wonderfulness. Thus, we know that [a place which] one understands in his heart need not be remote.

Huang Gongwang found his inspiration not in a remote place, but right in his own hometown of Yushan. The connection between the old master and the landscape which he knew so well was indeed an example for Wang Hui to follow. Wang must have seen traces of Yushan's landscape when he looked at Huang's *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*.

In his *Hua quan* 畫筌 [Bamboo Fish Trap of Painting], Da Chongguang expounds on the connections between the masters and their landscapes in general:

人不厭拙，只貴神清；景不嫌奇，必求境實。董巨峰巒，多屬金陵一帶；倪黃樹石，得之吳越諸方。米家墨法，出潤州城南；郭氏圖形，在太行山

¹¹⁴ Li Zuoxian 李佐賢 (1807-1876), *Shu hua jian ying* 書畫鑒影 [The Connoisseur's Impression of Calligraphy and Painting] (Linjin Lishi, 1871), 9. 14b.

右。摩詰之輞川，關荊之桃源。華原冒雪，營丘寒林。江寺圖於希古，鵲華貌於吳興。從來筆墨之探奇，必系山川之寫照。¹¹⁵

One does not deplore the clumsiness of a painter, but simply values his pure expression. One does not dislike the strangeness of scenery, but [instead] necessarily asks for the realities of the natural landscape. The mountain peaks of Dong [Yuan] and Ju[ran] mostly belong to the Jinling area (Nanjing, Jiangsu province). The trees and rocks of Ni [Zan] and Huang [Gongwang] are obtained from various places in Wu and Yue.¹¹⁶ The ink methods of the Mi family come from the southern city of Runzhou (Zhenjiang, Jiangsu province).¹¹⁷ Guo [Xi's] pictures are to the right (west) of the Taihang Mountains. Mojie's (Wang Wei's) Wangchuan Villa, Guan [Tong] and Jing [Hao's] Peach Blossom Spring; Huayuan's (Fan Kuan's) snow scenes, Yingqiu's (Li Cheng's) wintery groves.¹¹⁸ The River Temple for Xigu (Li Tang), the appearance of the Qiao and Hua Mountains for Wuxing (Zhao Mengfu).¹¹⁹ At all times, when one explores the rarities with his brush and ink, he must connect [these rarities] to his portrayal of mountains and rivers.

Da Chongguang came from Jingkou (Zhenjiang, Jiangsu province), and he shared the opinions of the local artists who preferred the landscapes of their hometown.¹²⁰ Wang

¹¹⁵ Da Chongguang 笪重光 (1623-1692), *Hua quan* 畫筌 [Bamboo Fish Trap of Painting], 1066. 194 (SKQS ed.).

¹¹⁶ Wu and Yue refer to the greater area of Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces.

¹¹⁷ "The Mi Family" generally refers to Mi Fu and Mi Youren 米友仁 (1074-1151). Mi Youren was Mi Fu's son, and continued his father's style. His extant works include *Cloudy Mountains* 雲山圖, dated 1130 (Cleveland Museum of Art).

¹¹⁸ Guan Tong 關仝 (c. 907 - 960) was a landscape painter in the Five Dynasties, and a student of Jing Hao. See Guan Tong, *Passing through Mountains* 關山行旅圖 (National Palace Museum, Taipei). "Peach Blossom Spring" is said to be a theme of paintings by both Jing and Guan, as recorded in Guo Ruoxu 郭若虛, *Tuhua jianwen zhi* 圖畫見聞誌 [Knowledge of Painting], 2. 8a, 13a (SKQS ed.). It is said that Fan Kuan was very skilled at rendering snow scenes. See Zhou Mi 周密 (1232-1298), *Yunyan guoyan lu* 雲煙過眼錄 [Records of Passing Clouds], 1. 7a (SKQS ed.). One extant snow scene attributed to Fan Kuan is *Snow Scene, Cold Forest* 雪景寒林圖 (Tianjin Museum).

¹¹⁹ Li Tang 李唐 (1066-1150) was a Southern Song landscape painter. The River Temple refers to the subject of Li Tang's *River Temple in Long Summer* 長夏江寺圖 (Palace Museum, Beijing), which depicts the scenes along the Yangzi River.

¹²⁰ Zhang Qiong 張瓊, "Hua quan dui Jingjiang, Yushan ji Changzhou deng huapai de yingxiang" 《畫筌》對京江、虞山及常州等畫派的影響 [The Influence of *Bamboo Fish Trap of Painting* on Jingjiang, Yushan, Changzhou, and Other Schools], *Meishudaguan* 6 (2011): 48.

Hui, Yun Shouping, and Da Chongguang once gathered at the Jin Garden in Piling, and they were quite congenial in their views on painting. In 1680, Da wrote *Hua quan*, on which Wang and Yun commented and conveyed their agreement. Da's writing must have also reinforced Wang's emphasis on the real scenery associated with his hometown, and it was this familiarity that Wang felt was most natural.

Aside from *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*, Wang Hui mentions another important work attributed to Huang Gongwang, *Splendid Views of Rivers and Mountains* 江山勝覽圖. The painting is recorded in several famous catalogs including *Shiqu baoji*, and it is said to be extant today in the collection of Yamamoto Teijiro (1870-1937) in Japan.¹²¹ *Splendid Views* is a blue-green landscape painting with light crimson, which is a distinct type in Huang's work. In his inscription on one section from *Four Sections of Landscape after the Yuan Masters* 倣元山水四段卷, dated 1681 (Palace Museum, Beijing, Fig. 30), Wang expresses his thoughts on *Splendid Views*, whose style he considers different from that of *Fuchun Mountains*:

一峯老人為雲林畫江山勝覽，十年而后成。余曾借摹，為友人作一峯長卷，即用是本。以癡翁墨妙，為雲林構圖，其用意布置，又非富春一種。

The Old Man Yifeng (Huang Gongwang) painted *Splendid Views of Rivers and Mountains* for Yunlin (Ni Zan), finishing it after ten years. I once borrowed and copied [Huang's work] to create a long handscroll [after] Yifeng for my friend, and I used exactly this painting. Chiweng (Huang Gongwang) used the

¹²¹ Zhang Zhao 張照 (1691-1745), et al., ed. *Shiqu baoji* 石渠寶笈 [Precious Box in the Stony Canal], 31. 117b-120b (SKQS ed.). Yen-fen Chin 金延芬, "Lun chuan Huang Gongwang *Jiangshan shenglan tu juan*" 論傳黃公望《江山勝覽圖》卷 [*Splendid Views of Rivers and Mountains* Attributed to Huang Gongwang], *Chengyi xuekan* 2 (September 2008): 1. Yamamoto Teijiro was a Japanese politician and art collector, who was famous for his collection of Chinese painting, preserved in Chokaido Museum, Yokkaichi.

marvelousness of ink to compose the picture for Yunlin. The intention and arrangement are not of the same kind as in *Fuchun Mountains*.

The short handscroll that Wang Hui claimed was an imitation of *Splendid Views of Rivers and Mountains* preserves his understanding of Huang Gongwang's original. Different from *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*, which focuses on calligraphic brushwork entirely in ink, *Splendid Views* employs light color rendering. Wang applies light green and crimson in his version as well. In this handscroll, unlike the round mountain rocks that Huang had rendered with hemp-fiber strokes, Wang depicts steeper and more angular mountain rocks.

Previously, Wang Hui had attempted to combine the two different styles in his painting *Landscape after Huang Gongwang* 倣黃公望山水圖, dated 1679 (Shanghai Museum, Fig. 31). He juxtaposes *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains* and *Splendid Views of Rivers and Mountains* in his inscription:

一峯老人長卷人間流傳者少，惟富春圖與江山勝覽為墨苑魯靈光，後學所不易觀。大約富春氣韻莽蒼，江山工秀。余合兩圖意作此卷，粗具優孟衣冠，但擬議神明，猶媿於古人也。

The long handscrolls by the Old Man Yifeng (Huang Gongwang) are scarcely extant in the world of men. There are only *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains* and *Splendid Views of Rivers and Mountains*, which are [like] the Lulingguang Palace in the ink garden.¹²² They are not easy to see for the younger pupils. Roughly, *Fuchun Mountains* is wild and antique in its breath and charm, and *Splendid Views* is exquisite and elegant. I combine the conceptions of the two paintings and make this handscroll. In a way, it wears the garments and hats of

¹²² Lulingguang Palace was a famous Han dynasty palace, used as a metaphor for something that is precious and rarely found. The “ink garden” can be roughly interpreted as referring to the world of literati painting.

a performer, but for drafting the spirit, I am ashamed to be compared to the old master.¹²³

Wang Hui claims to have combined “the conceptions of the two paintings” 合兩圖意, and indeed in his painting, he applies light crimson to the round mountains with hemp-fiber texture strokes, and dark green to trees and vegetation, while the watery scenery resembles the Fuchun River. However, Yun Shouping had a different opinion. In his inscription for *Landscape after Huang Gongwang*, Yun writes:

石谷子此卷筆趣瀟灑離披，真所謂能到古人不用心處。當於象外賞之。蓋全得富春神韻。故鑪錘造化，遇物即得之。雖賁育逢之，失其勇矣。自謂合富春江山兩卷而成，富春已臻其妙，似于江山工秀之法，未為盡合也。他時取示王郎，當許余具隻眼。

In this scroll, Mr. Shigu’s (Wang Hui’s) ink-play is unrestrained and dispersive. [He] is truly able to go to places of which the ancient [masters] were unaware. [The viewer] should appreciate it outside of the image. The painting is filled with the spiritual charm of *Fuchun Mountains*. Nature is the furnace and the hammer; therefore, [the artist] can obtain [this spiritual charm] when he encounters things [in Nature].¹²⁴ Even if [Meng] Ben and [Xia] Yu came upon it, they would lose their bravery.¹²⁵ [Wang Hui] claims that he has combined [the conceptions of] both *Fuchun Mountains* and *Splendid Views* to accomplish this painting. He has attained the marvelousness of *Fuchun Mountains*. It seems that, as for the crafted and elegant methods of *Splendid Views*, he has not yet

¹²³ “The garments and hats of a performer” can refer to the conceit of pretending to be ancient men or imitating others in the theater. In terms of art, it means to imitate the appearance of an original.

¹²⁴ This line comes from Dong You 董道, “Inscription on Landscape by Fan Kuan,” in *Guangchuan huaba* 廣川畫跋 [Painting Inscriptions of Guangchuan], 6. 12b-13a (SKQS ed.). The entry reads: “Common people who do not recognize real mountains and seek to paint pile up rocks and soil [with their brushes] to astound themselves with. Little do they know that if the artist puts his heart at the furnace and hammer of Nature, he will obtain [a painting] when he encounters things [in Nature]. This painting will be a real painting” 世人不識真山而求畫者，疊石累土以自詫也。豈知心放於造化爐錘者，遇物得之，此其為真畫者也。

¹²⁵ Meng Ben 孟賁 and Xia Yu 夏育 were two brave warriors in the Warring States Period. “Ben Yu” referred generally to brave warriors.

combined them completely. One day I will take [my inscription] to show Mr. Wang. He should allow me to have my own vision.

When discussing *Splendid Views of Rivers and Mountains*, Yun Shouping expresses his criticism that Wang Hui has not integrated the “crafted and elegant methods of *Splendid Views*” 江山工秀之法. Yun’s criticism does not refer to the resemblance of the formal aspects, but to his perception of *Splendid Views*, including the invisible – something “outside of the image” 象外. He asks Wang for more than a simple combination of skills and forms, but a full perception of both paintings, and a new representation from this perception. This is the purpose of painting: to give “visible existence to what profane vision believes to be invisible.”¹²⁶

This assessment of Wang Hui’s *Landscape after Huang Gongwang* of 1679 is debatable, but it is outside the scope of my argument. Instead, what I find interesting is that Yun Shouping’s inscription directly expresses his difference of opinion with Wang. While most of the inscriptions on the painting convey praise for Wang’s work, Yun offers criticism of his friend’s painting in a mild way. This inscription indicates that Yun’s inscriptions on Wang’s paintings were not just for social engagement, but to express his fair and just commentary. Such mild criticism could be also seen in Yun’s inscriptions on a landscape album by Wang, dated circa 1683, which were recorded in *Shu hua jian ying*.¹²⁷ The record reads that the third leaf depicts a pavilion under pine trees before hills, with Wang inscribing on the upper right: “I anchor the boat at Louguan

¹²⁶ Maurice Merleau-Ponty, “Eye and Mind,” in *Merleau-Ponty’s Essays on Painting* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1993), 127.

¹²⁷ Li, *Shu hua jian ying*, 17. 1b-2a.

and create Yunlin's (Ni Zan's) *Secluded Ravine, Cold Pines*” 舟泊婁關寫雲林幽磎寒松. However, on the opposing paper of the leaf, Yun inscribes with disagreement:

曾見陸天游小景，與此圖筆趣相似，如出一手。而石谷誤題為雲林，因正之。癸亥暮春南田壽平。

I once saw a small scene by Lu Tianyou (Lu Guang).¹²⁸ Its flavors of the brush are similar to those of this painting, as if they were created by the same hand. Yet Shigu (Wang Hui) inscribed this as Yunlin (Ni Zan) by mistake, therefore I correct it. In the late spring of the Year of Guihai (1683), Nantian Shouping inscribed.

It was hardly the case that Wang Hui “inscribed this as Yunlin (Ni Zan) by mistake” 誤題為雲林. Rather, Wang might have thought that he imitated Ni Zan successfully. Yet Yun Shouping implies that Wang's picture has attained the level of Lu Guang 陸廣, but that his work is not sufficient to capture Ni Zan. Lu Guang, too, was a great Yuan painter that Wang and Yun appreciated and learned from, yet Ni Zan, one of the Four Masters of the Yuan, was certainly considered beyond Lu. Yun's inscription to the sixth leaf of the same album states his criticism even more severely.¹²⁹ The sixth leaf depicts ridges and peaks in round shapes and a village hidden in the forest. At the top Wang inscribes: “Between Dachi (Huang Gongwang) and Zhonggui (Wu Zhen)” 大癡仲圭之間.¹³⁰ As on the third leaf, Yun's inscription implicitly conveys his dissenting opinion:

¹²⁸ Lu Guang 陸廣 was a Yuan landscape painter. His birth and death dates are not known. One of his extant works is *View of Immortal Mountain Tower* 仙山樓觀圖 (National Palace Museum, Taipei).

¹²⁹ Li, *Shu hua jian ying*, 17. 2b-3a.

¹³⁰ Wu Zhen 吳鎮 (1280-1354) was one of the Four Yuan Masters. One of his representative works is *Fishermen* 漁父圖, dated 1342 (National Palace Museum, Taipei).

王山人此圖，極似趙善長、張伯雨，絕無一筆是一峯、梅沙彌也，而山人自題如此。豈蘇長公所云“論畫以形似，見與兒童鄰”耶。俟石谷異日觀此，當發大噓。

This painting by Mountain Man Wang [Hui] is extremely like Zhao Shanchang (Zhao Yuan) and Zhang Boyu (Zhang Yu).¹³¹ There is not a single stroke that comes from Yifeng (Huang Gongwang) or Plum Blossom Acolyte (Wu Zhen), but Mountain Man inscribed as much. How can it be as Senior Su [Shi] said, that “the man who judges a painting in terms of form-likeness has as much insight as a child?” When Shigu (Wang Hui) sees [my inscription] from the other day, he will laugh out loud.

Similarly, Zhao Yuan 趙原 (active 1350-1376) and Zhang Yu 張雨 (1283-1350) were both famous painters in the Yuan dynasty, yet considered not as skilled as Huang Gongwang and Wu Zhen 吳鎮 (1280-1354), two of the Four Yuan Masters. Moreover, Yun Shouping cites a line from Su Shi’s poem to imply that Wang Hui only imitated the form-likeness of Huang Gongwang and Wu Zhen – although mildly, by asking a rhetorical question. Su’s whole poem reads as follows:

論畫以形似，見與兒童鄰。
賦詩必此詩，定知非詩人。
詩畫本一律，天工與清新。
邊鸞雀寫生，趙昌花傳神。
何如此兩幅，疏淡含精勻。
誰言一點紅，解寄無邊春。¹³²

The man who judges a painting in terms of form-likeness,
Has as much insight as a child.
For a poet to insist on a definite form of poetry,

¹³¹ Both Zhao Yuan 趙原 (active. 1350-1376) and Zhang Yu 張雨 (1283-1350) were Yuan painters. See as examples: Zhao Yuan, *Streamside Pavilion in Autumn Colors* 溪亭秋色圖 (National Palace Museum, Taipei) and Zhang Yu, *Forest Pavilion in Clear Autumn after Zheng Qian* 仿鄭虔林亭秋爽圖, dated 1344 (National Palace Museum, Taipei).

¹³² Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101), “Shu Yanling Wang zhubu suohua zhezhi ershou” 书鄱陵王主簿所画折枝二首 [Two Poems Written on Yanling Deputy Governor Wang’s Flower Paintings], in Su Shi, *Dongpo quanji* 東坡全集 [Complete Anthology of Su Shi], 16. 25a (SKQS ed.).

I know he is not a true poet.
Poetry and painting were originally from the same principle,
[Both of them should be] the work of nature, pure and fresh.
Bian Luan's sparrow presents the reality,¹³³
Zhao Chang's flower transmits its spirit.¹³⁴
But how can they be compared with these two paintings (bird-and-flower
paintings by Yanling Deputy Governor Wang)?¹³⁵
[They are] sparse and ordered, delicate and well balanced.
Who is saying this is just a stroke of red?
It represents the boundless spring.¹³⁶

By citing Su Shi's poem, Yun Shouping implies that although Wang Hui claimed to imitate Huang Gongwang and Wu Zhen, he did not catch the spirited breath of the masters – the “stroke of red” 一點紅 was only a brushstroke, and could not represent “the boundless spring” 無邊春. Despite a resemblance to Huang or Wu, the brushstroke is still not from the old masters. To successfully capture what the “stroke of red” represents, Wang's brush had to be informed by his perception of the old paintings. The album leaves Yun refers to in his criticism are now nowhere to be found, but his inscriptions indicate that their friendship was close enough to allow him to convey different opinions of Wang's work. For Wang, this kind of criticism must have been precious. It was from a close friend who shared similar views of art with him and understood him very well. Thus, even though Wang might not have been glad to hear such criticism, it must have

¹³³ Bian Lian 邊鸞 was a bird-and-flower painter in the Tang dynasty. See *Xuanhe huapu* 宣和畫譜 [The Painting Catalog in Xuanhe's Reign], 15. 4a-4b (SKQS ed.).

¹³⁴ Zhao Chang 趙昌 (959-1016) was a bird-and-flower painter in the Northern Song dynasty. See as an example of his extant works: Zhao Chang, *Four Sections of Flowers* 花卉四段圖卷 (Palace Museum, Beijing). See *Xuanhe huapu*, 18. 1b (SKQS ed.).

¹³⁵ Su Shi's poetry is the only record of Yanling Deputy Governor Wang.

¹³⁶ Translation adapted from Wen C. Fong, “The Problem of Ch'ien Hsuan,” *The Art Bulletin* 42 (September 1960): 182.

contained something which he could not ignore and on which he had to reflect profoundly.

While *Splendid Views of Rivers and Mountains* was an example of Huang Gongwang's blue-green landscape with light crimson that Wang Hui followed, the artist still looked to the monochrome *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains* as the main structure of his imagination. Besides the handscrolls, Wang also painted *Fuchun Mountains* in the format of album leaves several times. He and Yun Shouping claimed some of them to be “a bend of Fuchun” 富春一曲.¹³⁷ This may not be just any riverbend, but a vision of a specific bend of the river in the original scroll. Yun's record of the burning incident of *Fuchun Mountains* is interesting to consider:

吳問卿生平所愛玩者有二卷：一為智永千文真迹，一為《富春圖》，將以為殉，彌留，為文祭二卷。先一日，焚千文真迹，自臨以視其燼。詰朝，焚《富春圖》，祭酒，面付火，火熾，輒還臥內。其從子吳靜安，疾趨焚所，起紅爐而出之，焚其起手一段。余因問卿從子，問其起手處，寫城樓睥睨一角，卻作平沙，突鋒為之，極蒼茫之致。平沙，蓋寫富春江口出錢唐景色也。自平沙五尺餘以後，方起峯巒坡石。今所焚者，平沙五尺餘耳。他日當與石谷渡錢唐，抵富春江上嚴陵灘，一觀癡翁真本，更屬石谷補平沙一段，使墨苑傳稱為勝事也。¹³⁸

There were two scrolls that Wu Wenqing (Wu Hongyu 吳洪裕, 1598-1651) loved to play with during his life: one was the original work of Zhiyong's *Thousand Characters*, the other was *Fuchun Mountains*.¹³⁹ He planned to be buried with them. When he was dying, he composed an essay as a

¹³⁷ For example, see the ninth leaf of Wang Hui, *Landscape after the Ancient's Poetry* 擬前人詩意圖冊, dated 1686 (Palace Museum, Beijing) and the fourth leaf of Wang Hui, *Landscapes after Old Masters* 倣古山水圖冊, dated 1686 (Suzhou Museum).

¹³⁸ Yun, *Ouxiang guan ji*, 11. 23b-24a.

¹³⁹ Zhiyong 智永 was active around the 6th century and was famous for his calligraphy. See Pan Yongyin 潘永因, *Song bai lei chao* 宋稗類鈔 [Unofficial Modeled Transcriptions of the Song Dynasty], 33. 21a (SKQS ed.): “It is said that Zhiyong wrote eight hundred calligraphy pieces after *Thousand Characters*” 世傳智永寫千字文八百本。

commemoration of the two scrolls. On the first day, he burned the original *Thousand Characters* scroll. He viewed the ashes [of the work] in person. On the morning of the second day, he burned *Fuchun Mountains*. He held the ceremony with wine, faced the scroll, and lit the fire. As the fire blazed, he returned and lay down inside [his house]. His nephew, Wu Jing'an (Wu Zhendu 吳貞度, 1628-1707), hurried to the burning place, opened the red-hot burner, and took out the scroll. A section at the beginning of the scroll had [already] been burnt. I happened to ask Wenqing's nephew about the [burned] section at the beginning of *Fuchun Mountains*. [He answered that] it depicted a corner of the lower part of the city wall, but turned to a sand shoal conducted with an abrupt brush tip. The exceeding vastness of the scene piqued the interest. The sand shoal depicted the scenery where the Fuchun River flows to its confluence with the Qiantang River. After more than five *chi* (177.5 cm) of the sand shoal, mountain ranges and sloped rocks began to appear. Now the part that has been burnt off is the sand shoal scene that was more than five *chi*. Someday I should ferry across the Qiantang River with Shigu (Wang Hui) and arrive at the Yanling Shoal on the Fuchun River, to see [the location that was shown in the burnt section of] Chiweng's (Huang Gongwang's) original scroll.¹⁴⁰ Moreover, I will ask Shigu to recreate the section with the sand shoal, to let the forests of art spread and praise it as an extraordinary event.

Wang Hui's 1672 copy of *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*, while mostly in accordance with the Wuyong version in its outline, contains an additional beginning section that does not exist in the longer section of the remnant scroll. In Wang's copy, a sand shoal scene starts the composition (see Fig. 29). According to Yun Shouping's record, the sand shoal scene of *Fuchun Mountains* had been burnt, so the sand shoal scene at the beginning of Wang's copy must have been the artist's re-envisioning of the lost original section. The fascinating question is: what inspired this work of imagination?

Yun Shouping thought that he and Wang Hui could reconstruct the vanished part of Huang Gongwang's original scroll from the natural scenes of the Yanling Shoal on the

¹⁴⁰ Yanling shoal 嚴陵灘 is a section of the Fuchun River, named after the famous hermit Yan Guang 嚴光 (39 BCE – 41 CE) in the Eastern Han dynasty. He was said to live in seclusion on the northern bank of the Fuchun River.

Fuchun River. Yun mocked Zhou Shichen's 周世臣 version of *Fuchun Mountains*, which Zhou claimed to be the only complete copy of the scroll after the original was burnt.¹⁴¹ Rather than reconstructing the scene from this allegedly exact copy of the once-complete scroll, Wang and Yun preferred to take their inspiration from the actual scenery that Huang had seen. This is again consistent with Wang and Yun's emphasis on the connection between the artist and the landscape he saw and lived in; that one should find the artist's work from the places that once confronted his eyes and informed his perception. This was, therefore, the reason why Yun let his criticism fall on those works of Wang's that he thought of as displaying mere resemblance, and the criticism must

¹⁴¹ Yun, *Ouxiang guan ji*, 11. 23a-23b. The record reads: "Mr. Zhou Yinghou (Zhou Shichen) from Yangxian (Yixing, Jiangsu province) had a close friendship with Wu Wenqing (Wu Hongyu) of Clouds Rising Hall. Zhou once pledged his playthings, worth thousands of gold, to borrow [*Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*]. He returned it without having finished copying it. After the burning [of *Fuchun Mountains*], Zhou asked again for the remnant scroll to make it complete. Zhou constantly brags that Yifeng's (Huang Gongwang's) original *Fuchun Mountains* has been damaged, and that only his copy is complete. Everyone says that if one sees Zhou's copy, one can imagine the wonderfulness of the complete painting. Mr. Wang Shigu (Wang Hui) from Yushan dropped by Piling (Changzhou, Jiangsu province) and was going to copy *Fuchun Mountains* for Censor Jiangshang (Da Chongguang). He would have liked to borrow Zhou's copy from Yangxian to look at the beginning section, but he did not have the chance. After one year, Shigu happened to bring the scroll he copied last year, and traveled to Yangxian with me. Then we saw Zhou's copy. The brush and ink of the copy are really like a child's scribbles, which was enough to make us laugh out loud. Rapidly we picked it up and examined the beginning part, but there is no difference from the remnant scroll. Then I began to realize that [what] Mr. Zhou [is saying] is absurd and fallacious. He is truly deceiving himself as well as others. Furthermore, in his inscription at the end of his scroll, he recklessly calls himself Chiweng's (Huang Gongwang's) reincarnation. He further claims that there are places where his brush and ink are inferior to Chiweng's, but also places where it is superior to Chiweng's. It is truly like Lasiohelea (a blood-sucking insect) scolding quails, [or] the perspective of a ladle-like well looking at the sky. It is astonishing and pathetic" 陽羨周穎侯氏，與雲起樓吳問卿昵好，曾以千金玩具抵吳，借臨未竟，還之。火後乃從吳氏更索殘本足成，恆自誇詡，一峯富春真迹已殘，惟摹本獨完。人人謂得見周氏本，可想全圖之勝。虞山王子石谷過毗陵，將為江上御史摹此，欲從陽羨借周氏撫本，觀其起手一段，不可得。卻後一載，石谷適攜客歲所臨卷，與余同游陽羨，因得見周氏摹本，其筆墨真如小兒塗雅，足發一大笑。急取對觀起手一段，與殘本無異，始知周氏誕妄，真自欺欺人者耳。且大書卷尾，自謂癡翁後身，又自稱筆墨有不及癡翁處，有癡翁不及處，真醜雞斥鴳，蠡井窺天之見，可怪可哀。 Zhou Shichen was a poet who passed the Imperial Civil Service Examination in the late Ming dynasty. See Zhang Yuzhang 張豫章, *Yu xuan Ming shi Xingming jue li* 御選明詩姓名爵里 [Imperial Selection of Ming Poems: Names, Rankings, and Hometowns], 7. 16b (SKQS ed.).

have been accepted by Wang, who had perceived the familiar landscapes from the brushstrokes of the Yuan master.

It is unknown whether or not the trip to the Fuchun River that Yun Shouping wished to go on with Wang Hui was ever realized. Yet Wang likely agreed with the idea that they should “ferry across the Qiantang River and arrive the Yanling Shoal on the Fuchun River to see [the location that was shown in the burnt section of] Huang Gongwang’s original scroll” 渡錢唐，抵富春江上嚴陵灘，一觀癡翁真本. A leaf from an album dated 1686 (Suzhou Museum, Fig. 32) can perhaps attest to this idea. On this leaf, Yun inscribes: “[You] cut a bend of Fuchun to console one with a heart capable of appreciation” 剪取富春一曲，以慰賞心之人. The leaf depicts a transformed yet still recognizable corner from the remnant scroll of Huang’s *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains* (see Fig. 28-b), yet other leaves from the album reveal an attempt to represent natural scenes. According to Wang’s inscription on this album, the artist traveled to Xishan 錫山 (Wuxi, Jiangsu province) in the summer of 1686 and later traveled back and forth between Jinchang 金阊 (Suzhou, Jiangsu province) and Yufeng 玉峰 (Kunshan, Jiangsu province). In another leaf of the same album, which depicts a stretch of sand shoal along the riverbank (Fig. 33), Yun inscribes: “At the spacious sand shoal / I recline by the table and listen to the sound of the river. This is the real landscape that Old Man Shi (Wang Hui) obtained when he went to and returned from Baimen (Nanjing, Jiangsu province)” 平沙空闊處，隱几聽江聲。此石老往來白門道中得江山真境也. As both were obsessed with the vanished sand shoal scene, Wang’s depiction and Yun’s articulation of “sand shoal” 平沙 could not be irrelevant to their imaginations of the same

subject in the original *Fuchun Mountains*. This album thus has a closer relationship to the natural scenes than to the old masters' paintings, and the "bend of the Fuchun River" might have been transformed from a bend in the incomplete scroll of Huang's *Fuchun Mountains* to that of a natural landscape. This was not necessarily an accurate representation of the real Fuchun River – rather, it may be closer to the sand shoal he saw on the way to and from Nanjing – but its splendor finally rivaled the vanished scene in *Fuchun Mountains* that both Wang and Yun had imagined. In this way, the beginning section of the sand shoal in Wang's 1672 copy of *Fuchun Mountains* might also have originated as imagination transformed by natural scenes.

Inscriptions from Wang Hui and Yun Shouping on the eighth leaf of their 1673 collaborative album, *Forest Huts among Streams and Mountains* 溪山林屋 (National Palace Museum, Taipei, Fig. 34), show an interesting approach to both a discussion of the studies of Huang Gongwang, and a commentary on Wang Hui. On this leaf, Wang painted after Huang's style by his dry and subtle application of ink and by depicting patterns of angular mountain rocks, which was one way for him to refer to the master's "precipitous rocks" 巉巖 (see as an example Huang Gongwang, *Clearing after Sudden Snow* 快雪時晴圖, c. 1340s, Palace Museum, Beijing, Fig. 35).¹⁴² Huang's precipitous rocks are characterized by steep, angular, and repetitive rock forms and bare trees, executed with a dry ink brush, conveying a feeling of bleakness and otherworldliness. Wang also identified Huang's precipitous rocks with the natural features of Yushan

¹⁴² In an album leaf, *Precipitous Rocks near Water, after Daoist Priest Dachì* 做大痴道人拂水巉巖, dated 1692 (Shanghai Museum), Wang Hui refers to the steep, angular rocks on the cliff he painted as "precipitous rocks" 巉巖. I follow his usage of the term in this context.

Mountain in his hometown, as his 1662 album leaf (Fig. 26) suggests. In *Forest Huts among Streams and Mountains*, Wang emphasizes the image of precipitous rocks with an even dryer and lighter brush and a more simplified manner. He writes about his approach to studying Huang on the paper opposite his painting:

學子久須得其荒率處。始有逸致。若以光潤鬱密為宗。則終乾沒於門庭蹊徑。去癡翁愈遠矣。

Learning from Zijiu (Huang Gongwang) should bestow his solitariness and straightforwardness. [After this, one's painting] can begin to show transcendental uniqueness. If [one] sees smoothness and denseness as his purpose, then he will only be buried in the trampled path of the courtyard and be further removed from Chiweng (Huang Gongwang).

“Solitariness and straightforwardness” (*huangshuai* 荒率) was an important term for Wang Hui in understanding not only a particular type of image, but Huang Gongwang's style in general. The term was in accord with what Dong Qichang appreciated in the qualities of Huang Gongwang and Ni Zan, which was associated with the aesthetics of Chan Buddhism.¹⁴³ For Wang, the meaning of the term might have more specifically referred to an artistic conception that could be found under the appearance of smooth and dense brushwork but often go unnoticed. Wang made it clear that the painters who imitated the “smoothness and denseness” of Huang's brush would not succeed in obtaining his true “transcendental uniqueness.” This may be the reason why Wang created this leaf in a very simplified manner. Through his use of light and dry ink brush, Wang extracted the essence of Huang – “solitariness and straightforwardness” – from his

¹⁴³ Liu Gangji 劉綱紀, “‘Si Wang’ lun” “四王”論 [Arguments about the Four Wangs] in “*Si Wang*” *huihua yishu guoji xueshu yantaohui: lunwen huibian*, 1: 10.

perception of the old master's brushwork. In support of Wang Hui's opinion, Yun Shouping left an inscription on the same paper that is important to consider:

昔人有子久。今人無子久。
子久不在茲。誰能知子久。
石谷畫一峯。與雲間婁東迥異。蓋真得一峯神髓矣。

For the past there was Ziji (Huang Gongwang),
For the present there is no Ziji.
Ziji is not here now,
Who can [truly] know Ziji?
The way Shigu (Wang Hui) paints [after] Yifeng (Huang Gongwang) is widely different from either the Yunjian School or the Loudong School. He truly obtains Yifeng's spirit and essence.

For Yun Shouping, Wang Hui was truly the one who knew Huang Gongwang and could obtain his "spirit and essence." He makes this very clear by indicating that Wang differed from the Yunjian and Loudong Schools. The Yunjian School included the followers of Dong Qichang, while the Loudong School included the followers of Wang Shimin and Wang Jian, and Yun indicates that Wang belongs to neither of these.¹⁴⁴ He followed neither Dong nor the two Wangs but sought his way directly from the Yuan master. Picking up after Wang's writing, Yun's implicit criticism is that, when the Yunjian and Loudong School referenced Huang's brush, they merely imitated the appearance of "smoothness and denseness." In other words, they tried to make their paintings resemble Huang's brushwork by arranging certain patterns and using particular texture strokes. But this only brought them to failure since obtaining Huang's "spirit and essence" did not depend on such resemblance. Wang then replies to Yun's commentary by inscribing the leaf again:

¹⁴⁴ Wang, "Qinghui huaba," 4. 29b-31a.

正叔謬稱余。蓋正叔自道也。然學癡翁者。觀正叔數語。則能破甜邪之習。

Zhengshu (Yun Shouping) flatters me. It is actually what Zhengshu says about himself. However, if those who learn from Chiweng (Huang Gongwang) read a few words [such as these] from Zhengshu, they can break their habits of sweetness and deviousness.

Wang Hui agreed with Yun Shouping by criticizing the common learning habits of “sweetness and deviousness” 甜邪. Sweetness and deviousness were both negative descriptors for painting that Huang Gongwang himself had used. In his *Xie shanshui jue* 寫山水訣 [Formula of Composing Landscape], Huang writes: “The main points of creating a painting are to eliminate the four words: deviousness, sweetness, vulgarness, and poorness” 作畫大要，去邪甜俗賴四字.¹⁴⁵ Different meanings can be identified in such criticism, yet in the context of the discussion between Wang and Yun, sweetness and deviousness came from the superficial learning of the smooth and dense brushwork that only mimicked Huang’s style, in ignorance of the essence of solitariness and straightforwardness.

Another of Wang Hui’s paintings from the album *In the Pursuit of Antiquity: Landscape after Song and Yuan Masters*, dated 1673 (Princeton University Art Museum, Fig. 36), represents a similar style using simplified, monochromatic dry brushwork. Precipitous rocks can be seen in the upper right corner, while the left half is filled with a

¹⁴⁵ Huang Gongwang 黃公望 (1269-1354), *Xie shanshui jue* 寫山水訣 [Formula of Composing Landscape], in *Chuo geng lu* 輟耕錄 [Records of Ceasing from Ploughing], ed. Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀 (1329-1410), 8. 5b (SKQS ed.).

scene of a sand shoal. These are punctuated by a grove of trees in the middle. Yun

Shouping summarizes these thoughts in his inscription on the right margin of the leaf:

癡翁畫法丘壑位置皆可學而至，惟筆墨之外，別有一種荒率蒼茫之氣，而不可學而至。故學癡翁輒不得佳。能臻斯境者，婁東奉常先生與虞山石谷子耳。

In Chiweng's (Huang Gongwang's) painting methods, the location of mountains and valleys can all be learned with success. But beyond the brush and ink, there is a certain breath of solitariness and straightforwardness, as well as vastness and boundlessness, which cannot be successfully learned. This is why studying Chiweng frequently falls short of attaining excellence. Only Mr. Fengchang (Wang Shimin) from Loudong and Mr. Shigu (Wang Hui) from Yushan have been able to attain this realm.¹⁴⁶

It is unclear whether Wang Hui or Yun Shouping first used the term “solitariness and straightforwardness” in their discussion of Huang Gongwang, but they both agreed that it was an important concept to understand the “breath” of Huang's painting. Yun made it clear that the breath “beyond the brush and ink” 筆墨之外 was that essential attribute of Huang that “cannot be successfully learned” 不可學而至. To learn is to analyze patterns of brushwork and practice purposefully to obtain a sort of resemblance to the original. But the essence must be accessed through one's perception of Huang's painting. Resemblance, on the other hand, “is the result of perception, not its basis.”¹⁴⁷

The two album leaves by Wang Hui examined above demonstrate the interpretation of Huang Gongwang that he and Yun Shouping discussed. They both show dry ink brush and simple strokes to draft the mountain rocks and trees, with very little rendering, to

¹⁴⁶ Translation adapted from Roderick Whitfield, et al., *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 Princeton University, 1969), 121.

¹⁴⁷ Merleau-Ponty, “Eye and Mind,” 132.

emphasize such solitariness and straightforwardness as they saw in Huang. Compared with the long, polished handscrolls that Wang painted after Huang, the leaves appear to serve to reveal an essential attribute that Wang and Yun intended to point out. The two leaves do not exactly resemble Huang's work, but they are supposed to be extracts of that essential attribute of solitariness and straightforwardness that the two artists had perceived in the old master. This helps explain Yun's rhetorical question: "Zijiu is not here now / Who can [truly] know Zijiu?" There was no Huang Gongwang in the world anymore; what was left were his paintings. However, merely learning the patterns of his paintings could not lead a painter to attain the realm that Huang had once attained; instead, in doing this he might have separated himself even more from the master. What, then, could allow one to attain the realm? Yun asked, "Who can [truly] know Zijiu," indicating that the pursuit was to truly "know" (*zhi* 知) Huang Gongwang, and knowing means more than simply recognizing and repeating Huang's work to obtain a resemblance from him. It requires perceiving the paintings, having a feeling for the old master, and understanding him as a person who once lived in the same world that the student lives in, and who once saw the same landscape which the student now sees. Perceiving a painting is more than looking at merely pictorial characteristics, such as signs, patterns, or texture strokes – a painting is more than that. "Essence and existence, imaginary and real, visible and invisible – painting scrambles all our categories, spreading out before us its oneiric universe of carnal essences, actualized resemblances, mute meanings."¹⁴⁸ Huang's paintings have to be perceived as a reincarnation of the old

¹⁴⁸ Merleau-Ponty, "Eye and Mind," 130.

master and his world. For Wang, the fact that he was born in Huang's hometown might not have only been a personal connection or a fictitious reference, but a significant means for him to re-envision Huang's landscape, a landscape with which Wang was also familiar. Therefore, presenting "solitariness and straightforwardness" might have been Wang Hui's attempt at realizing his perception of the strong references to Yushan Mountain – by imagining what Huang Gongwang once perceived from the same landscape, through the paintings the old master left behind, and particularly through his very famous *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*.

CHAPTER 3

A PERSONAL APPROACH TO THE "GREAT SYNTHESIS"

It has been well established that Wang Hui aimed to incorporate Song style with his studies of the Yuan masters, further underlined by his assertion: “I must use the brush and ink of the Yuan to move the peaks and valleys of the Song, and infuse them with the breath-resonance of the Tang. I will then have a work of the Great Synthesis” 以元人筆墨，運宋人丘壑，而澤以唐人氣韻，乃為大成。¹⁴⁹ However, the “Song” style, as it was understood in the context of debate among late-Ming scholars, had a much more complicated undertone than simply the style of Song artists. Precisely what the “Song” style represented for Wang Hui, and from where this notion had developed, has not been clarified, and the “Great Synthesis” he references based on this notion of “Song” acquired different meanings from its preceding use and adoption. In addition, the fact that Wang Hui’s famous statement was situational in its essence should be clarified. The statement was indeed a significant turning point in his artistic ideals and purposes, but it has to be realized that this statement, like any written discourse by an artist, was written at a particular time in the artist’s life, and must be considered from the outset as the artist’s reaction towards influences of the time, rather than an innate belief held throughout the artist’s life. Therefore, the meaning of this statement, and in particular the implied definitions of “Yuan,” “Song,” and “Great Synthesis,” are all deeply correlated with the circumstances in which Wang Hui was writing. The artworks he created during this time,

¹⁴⁹ Wang, “Qinghui huaba,” 4. 33b. Translation from Fong, “Wang Hui and Repossessing the Past,” 23.

on the other hand, reveal unique and innovative characteristics, rather than mere transitory qualities.

There is no doubt that Wang Hui had been greatly influenced by Dong Qichang, the late-Ming literatus and art critic who transformed literati painting. By the early Qing period, Dong's theories had caused a great change in the world of art, and this change was not just a set of abstract ideologies, but an unavoidable situation that Wang Hui and other artists of the younger generations faced. However, Wang did not take Dong's theories for granted or accept them completely. He met with painters in Nanjing during the 1660s and was immediately responsive to their tendencies toward the monumental and descriptive landscape of the Northern Song traditions, which differed from Dong's preference for the Jiangnan landscapes in calligraphic brushwork, as represented by the Yuan masters. Although Wang's concept of the "Great Synthesis" appeared to succeed directly from what Dong advocated, it was in fact very similar to Chen Hongshou's 陳洪綬 (1598-1652) own "Great Synthesis," which had a different, even opposite meaning from that proposed by Dong. By melding different tendencies that seemed unable to co-exist, Wang Hui formed his own "Great Synthesis," which was inspired by both Dong Qichang and Chen Hongshou but was not identified with either of them.

The most renowned and controversial theory of Dong Qichang is his division of the Southern and Northern Schools:

文人之畫自王右丞始。其後董源、僧巨然、李成、范寬為嫡子。李龍眠、王晉卿、米南宮及虎兒，皆從董、巨得來。直至元四大家，黃子久、王叔明、倪元鎮、吳仲圭，皆其正傳。吾朝文沈則又遙接衣鉢。若馬夏，及李唐、劉松年，又是李大將軍之派，非吾曹易學也。
禪家有南北二宗，唐時始分。畫之南北二宗，亦唐時分也。但其人非南北耳。北宗則李思訓父子，著色山水，流傳而為宋之趙幹、趙伯駒、伯驥，

以至馬夏輩。南宗則王摩詰，始用渲淡，一變鈎斫之法，其傳為張璪、荆關、郭忠恕、董巨、米家父子，以至元之四大家。亦如六祖之後，有馬駒、雲門、臨濟兒孫之盛，而北宗微矣。要之，摩詰所謂“雲峰石跡，迴出天機，筆意縱橫，參乎造化”者。東坡贊吳道子、王維畫壁亦云：“吾于維也，無間然。”知言哉。¹⁵⁰

Literati painting began with Right Councilor Wang [Wei]. After him, Dong Yuan, Monk Juran, Li Cheng, and Fan Kuan were principal sons. Li Longmian (Li Gonglin), Wang Jinqing (Wang Shen), Mi Nangong (Mi Fu) and Hu'er (Mi Youren) all came from Dong and Ju.¹⁵¹ Until the Four Yuan Masters, Huang Ziju (Huang Gongwang), Wang Shuming (Wang Meng), Ni Yuanzhen (Ni Zan), and Wu Zhonggui (Wu Zhen), are all the upright transmission. Wen [Zhengming] and Shen [Zhou] in our dynasty (Ming dynasty) much later inherited their mantles and alms bowls as well.¹⁵² [Painters] like Ma [Yuan] and Xia [Gui], as well as Li Tang and Liu Songnian, are again in the school of General Li [Sixun], of which we cannot easily learn.¹⁵³

In Chan Buddhism there is a Southern and a Northern School, which first separated in the Tang period; in painting, a similar division into a Southern and a Northern School also appeared in the Tang period. But the people involved were not divided between southerners and northerners. The Northern School followed Li Sixun, father and son [Li Zhaodao], who painted landscapes rendered in color; their manner was transmitted in the Song period by Zhao

¹⁵⁰ Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555-1636), “Hua yuan” 畫源 [The Origin of Painting], in *Huachanshi suibi*, 2. 13b-14a (SKQS ed.).

¹⁵¹ Juran 巨然 was a monk painter in the Five Dynasties. His birth and death dates are unknown. He studied painting from Dong Yuan, but he also integrated the northern style, characterized by vertical arrangement and dominant peaks. One of his representative works is *Distant Mountain Forests* 層巖叢樹圖, c. 980 (National Palace Museum, Taipei). Li Gonglin 李公麟 (1049-1106) was a painter and an associate of Su Shi. One extant work of his is *Five Tribute Horses* 五馬圖, dated 1106 (private collection in Japan).

¹⁵² Shen Zhou 沈周 (1427-1509) was one of the Four Ming Masters and was the founder of the Wu School. One of his representative works is *Dream Journey* 臥遊圖冊 (Palace Museum, Beijing). Wen Zhengming 文徵明 (1470-1559) was one of the Four Ming Masters and the leader of the Wu School after Shen Zhou. One of his representative works is *East Garden* 東園雅集, dated 1530 (Palace Museum, Beijing).

¹⁵³ Ma Yuan 馬遠 (1160-1225) and Xia Gui 夏圭 (c. 1180 – c. 1230) were both court painters of the Southern Song dynasty. Their similar styles are together referred to as the Ma-Xia tradition. See examples such as Ma Yuan, *Banquet by Lantern Light* 華燈侍宴圖, ca. 1200 (National Palace Museum, Taipei); Xia Gui, *Pure and Remote Views of Streams and Mountains* 溪山清遠圖, ca. 1200 (National Palace Museum, Taipei). Liu Songnian 劉松年 (? - c. 1225) was a Southern Song court painter. His extant works include *Luohan* 羅漢, dated 1207 (National Palace Museum, Taipei).

Gan, Zhao Boju, [Zhao] Bosu down to Ma [Yuan], Xia [Gui], and others.¹⁵⁴ The Southern School began with Wang Mojie (Wang Wei) who first used a light ink-wash technique, transforming the crook-like and hoe-like brushwork methods; [Wang’s technique] was transmitted by Zhang Zao, Jing [Hao] and Guan [Tong], Guo Zhongshu, Dong [Yuan] and Ju[ran], Mi father and son (Mi Fu and Mi Youren), down to the Four Great Masters of the Yuan.¹⁵⁵ They were also like the younger generation after the Sixth Patriarch (Huineng), obtaining the flourish of Maju (Mazu Daoyi), Yunmen [Wenyan], and Linji [Yixuan], while the Northern School declined.¹⁵⁶ In short, it is as Mojie says: “Clouds and mountain peaks and the traces of rocks [in painting] widely differ from heaven’s mysteries. The conception of brushwork, with great ease, penetrates the creation of nature.”¹⁵⁷ Dongpo (Su Shi) also praised the wall paintings by Wu Daozi and Wang Wei, saying: “Between [Wang] Wei and me, there is no difference [of thought].”¹⁵⁸ It is a wise view.

¹⁵⁴ Both Li Sixun 李思訓 (651-718) and Li Zhaodao 李昭道 (675-758) were royal members of the Tang court. They have been credited as the founders of the blue-green landscape painting tradition. For examples of their styles, see the following works: attributed to Li Sixun is *Sailing Boats and a Riverside Mansion* 江帆樓閣圖 (National Palace Museum, Taipei); attributed to Li Zhaodao is *Emperor Minghuang’s Journey into Shu* 明皇幸蜀圖 (National Palace Museum, Taipei). Zhao Gan 趙幹 (active 961-975) was a court painter of the Southern Tang dynasty. See Zhao Gan, *Along the River at First Snow* 江行初雪圖, c. 950 (National Palace Museum, Taipei). Zhao Bosu 趙伯駒 (1124-1182) was a younger brother of Zhao Boju and a member of the Song imperial family. One of the extant works attributed to Zhao Bosu is *Ten Thousand Pines, Golden Watchtowers* 萬松金闕圖 (Palace Museum, Beijing).

¹⁵⁵ Translation adapted from Fong, *Images of the Mind*, 159. Zhang Zao 張瓌 (?-1093) was a painter of the Tang dynasty. There is no known extant work in his authentic style. For the records of Zhang Zao’s style, see Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠 (815-907), *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記 [Famous Paintings through History], 1. 24b (SKQS ed.). Guo Zhongshu 郭忠恕 (? -977) specialized in architectural subjects. See his *Traveling on the River in Clearing Snow* 雪霽江行圖, c. 975 (National Palace Museum, Taipei).

¹⁵⁶ Huineng 慧能 (638-713) was the founder of the Southern School of Chan Buddhism. See Daoyuan 道原, *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 [Records of Lamp Transmission in Jingde], 5. 1b-2a (SKQS ed.). Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709-788) was a disciple of Huineng in the second generation. He founded the Hongzhou School 洪州派 of Chan Buddhism. See Jue’an 覺岸, *Shi shi ji gu lue* 釋氏稽古略 [A Brief Study of Buddhist Classics], 3. 46b-47a (SKQS ed.). Yunmen Wenyan 雲門文偃 (864-949) was the founder of the Yunmen School 雲門宗 of Chan Buddhism. See Daoyuan, *Jingde chuandeng lu*, 19. 9b (SKQS ed.). Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄 (?- c. 866) was the founder of the Linji School 臨濟宗 of Chan Buddhism. See Daoyuan, *Jingde chuandeng lu*, 12. 2b-3a (SKQS ed.).

¹⁵⁷ Dong Qichang’s citation is the only record of Wang Wei’s words.

¹⁵⁸ Su Shi’s words are from his poem “Wang Wei Wu Daozi hua” 王維吳道子畫 [Paintings by Wang Wei and Wu Daozi]: “I see that [the works of] the two masters are both vigorous / Before [Wang] Wei, I check my clothes [to show my respect] and talk to him without difference [of thought]” 吾觀二子皆神俊，又於維也歛衽無間言。Su, *Dongpo quanji*, 1. 16a-16b (SKQS ed.). Wu Daozi 吳道子 (685-758) was a Tang dynasty painter famous for his wall paintings for palaces and temples. He changed the “iron wire”

Dong Qichang divided painters of earlier Chinese history into two different schools, which derived from Chan Buddhism. The Northern School of Chan Buddhism stressed gradual awakening, whereas the Southern School emphasized sudden awakening. To connect Chan and painting, Dong and his friends argued that the two schools of painting – Northern and Southern – also emerged during the Tang dynasty. The painters whose works primarily relied on linear, delicate brushwork with heavy color rendering, starting from Li Sixun and Li Zhaodao, were considered the Northern School. The painters whose works relied on ink and were rendered with ink wash, starting from Wang Wei, the Southern School. Dong Qichang tried to identify literati painting with the Southern School, although in the painting world there was disagreement as to its original meaning.¹⁵⁹ In the Chan Buddhist context, the Southern branch believed in enlightenment achieved suddenly, while the Northern branch, its gradual attainment. In Dong’s division, the term “Southern” was applied to the scholar-amateurs who painted with intuition, and “Northern” was applied to the professionals who paid more attention to the accumulation of skill. It was, however, a paradox that in Dong’s teaching, amateurs needed a perfection beyond learning, rather than a sudden awakening.

The theory of Southern and Northern Schools was a way of rewriting art history, which was a priority for the literati-painters in the late Ming dynasty. However, this was not an objective description of the history of literati painting, and was not intended as

lines applied by Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (c. 348-405) into “orchid” lines, which varied in width, achieving greater expressiveness. None of Wu’s wall paintings survived after the end of the Tang dynasty, but copies of his work became widely appreciated by scholar-artists in the Northern Song dynasty. One example of a work that is considered to be in Wu’s style is the mural *Vimalakirti* in Cave 103, Dunhuang, Gansu province, mid-8th century.

¹⁵⁹ Whitfield, *In Pursuit of Antiquity*, 36.

such. Instead, the theory is a critique of contemporary art by means of reexamining the past. As James Cahill points out, in the late Ming period, “criticism and theory impinged more strongly than before on artistic creation, so that a preference for a particular master or school in the past might be used to justify the practice of a particular style in the present.”¹⁶⁰ Dong’s theory of the Southern and Northern Schools was thus formed out of a critical need to establish a standard for contemporary artists and criteria as to what was good or bad, or one could say, what was “orthodox.”

Dong Qichang’s theory of Southern and Northern Schools did not come out of nowhere. According to Cahill, Zhan Jingfeng 詹景鳳 (1532-1602) might be the earliest art critic who divided two parallel schools of Chinese painting. A colophon dated 1594 by Zhan suggests that he uses the “liberated masters” 逸家 and the “fabricators” 作家 to name this division:

……山水有二派：一為逸家，一為作家，又為行家、隸家。逸家始自王維……其後荆浩、關仝、董源、巨然……米芾、米友仁為其嫡派。自此絕傳者幾二百年。而後有元四大家黃公望、王蒙、倪瓚、吳鎮，遠接源流。至吾朝沈周、文徵明，畫能宗之。
作家始自李思訓、李昭道……李成、許道寧。其後趙伯駒、趙伯驥……皆為正傳，至南宋則有馬遠、夏圭、劉松年、李唐，亦其嫡派。至吾朝戴進、周臣，乃是其傳。
至於兼逸與作之妙者，則范寬、郭熙、李公麟為之祖，其後王誥、……趙幹、……與南宋馬和之，皆其派也。¹⁶¹

...in landscape painting, there are two lineages. One is [made up of] the liberated masters, the other of the fabricators. These can also be called the

¹⁶⁰ James Cahill, “Preface,” in *The Restless Landscape: Chinese Painting of the Late Ming Dynasty*, ed. James Cahill (Berkeley: University Art Museum, 1971), 7.

¹⁶¹ Zhan Jingfeng 詹景鳳 (1532-1602), “Ba Rao Ziran *Shanshui jiafa*” 跋饒自然山水家法 [Inscription on Rao Ziran’s *Landscape Artists’ Methods*] (1594), cited in *Qigong congkao (lunwen juan)* 啟功叢稿 (論文卷) [Qigong’s Series of Manuscripts (Treatise Volume)], Qigong 啟功 (1912-2005) (Zhonghua shuju: 1999), 312.

professionals and the amateurs. The liberated masters began with Wang Wei...and later included Jing Hao, Guan Tong, Dong Yuan, and Juran...Mi Fu and Mi Youren belonged to this 'bloodline,' but after them, it was cut off for nearly two hundred years. Much later, the Four Great Masters of the Yuan, Huang Gongwang, Wang Meng, Ni Zan, and Wu Zhen, took up this current and continued it. In our dynasty (Ming), Shen Zhou and Wen Zhengming have followed this tradition in their paintings.

The fabricators began with Li Sixun and Li Zhaodao [and continued with]...Li Cheng and Xu Daoning.¹⁶² After them, Zhao Boju and Zhao Bosu...all belonged properly to this lineage. In the Southern Song, Ma Yuan, Xia Gui, Liu Songnian, and Li Tang belonged to this 'bloodline.' In our dynasty, Dai Jin and Zhou Chen have continued it.¹⁶³

Of those who combined the excellences of the liberated masters and the fabricators, Fan Kuan, Guo Xi, and Li Gonglin were the founding fathers; Wang Shen, ...Zhao Gan, ...and, in the Southern Song, Ma Hezhi were all of this lineage.¹⁶⁴

Zhan Jingfeng articulates that “liberated masters” and “fabricators” refer respectively to amateurs and professionals. Although Zhan was older than Dong Qichang by twenty-seven years, Dong might have known him, since Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1526-1590) and Mo Shilong 莫是龍 (1539-1587) were both their mutual friends.¹⁶⁵ There are differences

¹⁶² Xu Daoning 許道寧 (970-1052) was a landscape painter of the Northern Song dynasty whose style is marked by eccentric tendencies. See as an example his extant work: Xu Daoning, *Fishermen's Evening Song* 漁舟唱晚圖, c. 1050 (Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, MO).

¹⁶³ Dai Jin 戴進 (1388-1462) was a Ming-dynasty painter and the founder of the Zhe School. See his *Hermit Xu You Resting by a Stream* 箕山高隱圖 (Cleveland Museum of Art). Zhou Chen 周臣 (1460-1535) was a professional artist of the Ming dynasty and his paintings demonstrate a realistic style. One of his representative works is *Beggars and Street Characters* 流民圖, 1516 (Cleveland Museum of Art).

¹⁶⁴ Translation adapted from James Cahill, *The Distant Mountains: Chinese Painting of the Late Ming Dynasty, 1570-1644* (New York: Weatherhill, 1982), 12. Ma Hezhi 馬和之 (active 12th century) was a court painter in the Southern Song dynasty. One extant work attributed to Mahezhi is *Odes of the State of Bin* 邠風 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

¹⁶⁵ James Cahill, *The Distant Mountains: Chinese Painting of the Late Ming Dynasty, 1570-1644* (Taipei: Rock Publishing International), 13 (Chinese ed.). Wang Shizhen and Mo Shilong were both famous literati in the late Ming dynasty. See Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉 (1672-1755), *Ming shi* 明史 [History of the Ming Dynasty], 288. 6b, 14b-15a (SKQS ed.).

about how the two schools should be divided, nonetheless, there should be no doubt that Dong's theory of Southern and Northern Schools came from Zhan's idea.

The division was not settled with Dong Qichang. Although Dong's theory of Southern and Northern Schools was based on that of Chan Buddhism, it was nonetheless not irrelevant to the geographical south and north. The identities of painters who created monumental northern landscapes in the Five Dynasties and Northern Song, such as Jing Hao, Guan Tong, Li Cheng, and Fan Kuan, were ambiguous in Dong's Southern and Northern Schools. They were conveniently put into the Southern School, yet they were in fact very different from the Jiangnan-region painters like Dong Yuan and Juran. As Cahill argues, Dong Qichang had not solved this problem in his theory, and Dong's painting collection, which emphasized the Four Great Masters of the Yuan, Dong Yuan, and Wang Wei, demonstrated the true vein of the Southern School in his theory – the painters who created Jiangnan landscapes of the level-distanced, watery, and misty styles.¹⁶⁶ Moreover, although Dong's Southern School included Jing, Guan, Li, and Fan, his art practice did not represent their styles, and the names of these painters were gradually removed from the Southern School by later critics. Instead, it seems that Dong Yuan and Juran became the representatives, and the Four Masters of the Yuan, who succeeded their style in Dong's opinion, were what the early Qing painters, such as Wang Shimin and Wang Jian, mainly studied as the "Southern School." On the other hand, although Jing, Guan, Li, and Fan were categorized as belonging to the Southern School by Dong in his famous statement, elsewhere in his writings he did not follow his own

¹⁶⁶ Cahill, *The Distant Mountains*, 206 (Chinese ed.). See also Fong, *Images of the Mind*, 166-168.

categorization, and avoided the questions surrounding these painters. Dong's theory of the Southern and Northern Schools was widely accepted among scholar-artists, yet some canonical painters who did not fall into these categories or could not be easily labeled, especially the lineage of Jing, Guan, Li, and Fan, remained under debate and the question remained unresolved.¹⁶⁷

Dong Qichang put forth other important ideas about art, but the theory of Southern and Northern Schools was the most influential one for the early Qing painters. In 1669, Wang Hui wrote his most intensive critique, originally from an inscription on a series of paintings that Wang Hui created for Zhou Lianggong when he came to Nanjing.¹⁶⁸ The Nanjing painters succeeded more from the Zhe School tradition.¹⁶⁹ Such traditions began to disappear in the late Ming period, when instead of one dominating style, a diversity emerged among the Nanjing artists. However, the strong tradition of the Northern Song monumental landscape, and the tendency towards the descriptive, endured in the ancient city in the early Qing dynasty. On the other hand, Wang Hui's teachers, Wang Shimin and Wang Jian, mainly received the Wu School tradition in Loudong, where a more calligraphic style became dominant. At the end of 1669, Wang Hui participated in an elegant gathering with a number of Nanjing painters.¹⁷⁰ Associating with the local

¹⁶⁷ Wang Kewen 王克文, "Shanshui hua shicheng, hua xi yu nanbei fenzong" 山水畫師承、畫係與南北分宗 [The Succession of Teachings, Lineages, and the Southern and Northern Schools in Landscape Painting], *Duoyun* 1 (1990): 69-70.

¹⁶⁸ Zhou, *Du hua lu*, 2. 13a-14b (DSZCS ed.).

¹⁶⁹ Hongnam Kim, *The Life of a Patron: Zhou Lianggong (1612-1672) and the Painters of Seventeenth-Century China* (New York: China Institute in America, 1996), 27-28.

¹⁷⁰ Zhou, *Du hua lu*, 4. 12a-13b (DSZCS ed.). Two couplets of the long poem that recounts the gathering read: "Mr. Wang Shigu comes to Fushui (Nanjing) / Tenderly, his elegance is like flowing spring water / He has drawn the wonderful picture, *Misty River, Layered Peaks* / On which the long poetry lines

painters of Nanjing in 1669 had led Wang to a breakthrough in his thinking.¹⁷¹ Although Gong Xian 龔賢 (1618-1689), one of the most famous artists in Nanjing at the time, did not attend this large gathering, he would later become one of the closest friends of Wang Hui.¹⁷² Wang first became acquainted with Liu Yu 柳埳 in 1666.¹⁷³ Liu was one of the Nanjing painters that Wang contacted around this time.¹⁷⁴ According to Liu's letter to Wang, Gong and Wang might have met each other via the introduction of Liu, their mutual friend, and they became intimate immediately:

余始得觀石谷先生畫於澄墨，今有屬矣。律往來吳門，見龔子半千。今年石谷扁舟來，目空一世，獨好半千與余，則門外人不能忝一語也。因半夜話云。¹⁷⁵

I began to see Mr. Shigu's (Wang Hui's) paintings at Chengmo and now we have connections. [In the past] I went to and from Wumen (Suzhou) to meet Mr. Gong Banqian (Gong Xian). This year, Shigu comes in a small boat. He looks down on nothing, but he only likes Banqian and me. Those outside the door cannot get a word. That is why we talk till the middle of the night.

After that, Wang Hui and Gong Xian exchanged poems, letters, and paintings.¹⁷⁶ Gong asked Wang to paint for his residence, the Banmu Garden 半畝園, and in a letter to

by Meicun (Wu Weiye) match those by Dongpo (Su Shi)" 王生石谷來拂水，風華冉冉流春波。烟江疊嶂妙圖寫，梅村長句追東坡。

¹⁷¹ Wang, "Wang Hui yu Jinling huatan de jiaoyou jiqi zhongnian huafeng de gaibian," 99-103.

¹⁷² See as an example Gong Xian's famous extant work: Gong Xian, *Qingliang Hill Scenery* 清涼山環翠圖 (Palace Museum, Beijing).

¹⁷³ Liu Yu was a Nanjing painter active in the early Qing dynasty. His extant works include *Traveling amid Streams and Mountains* 溪山行旅圖, 1680 (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

¹⁷⁴ Wang, "Wang Hui yu Jinling huatan de jiaoyou," 100.

¹⁷⁵ Zhou Lianggong, et al., *Qinghuige zengyi chidu* 清暉閣貽贈尺牘 [Letters Given to Wang Hui] (Shunde Guoshi 順德郭氏, 1911), 2. 29a.

¹⁷⁶ Kim, *The Life of a Patron*, 135.

Wang, Gong described his excitement when he received the painting that Wang had done for him:

頃躋仙使來，手持先生貽贈半畝畫幅，展之驚魂動魄，不覺五體投地矣。復何言說，可盡謝忱耶！¹⁷⁷

In a little while, at the step, the celestial messenger is here, holding the painting presented as a gift by Mister [Wang Hui]. I unroll it with my spirit startled and my vigor moved. I cannot help but prostrate myself in admiration. How can I use my words in return to fully express my gratitude!

The friendship between Wang Hui and Gong Xian is evidenced by rich and profound interactions. While each artist had his own pursuit of style, Wang and Gong appreciated each other's differences along with their contacts, and embraced the influence from a different method of painting. By this time, Gong Xian had already formed his mature "Black Gong" style, and this unique style must have had a great impact on Wang Hui.¹⁷⁸

While Dong Qichang rewrote the history of art and made his critique by dividing the Southern and Northern Schools, Wang Hui intended to close the gap. In the inscription given to Zhou Lianggong in 1669, Wang writes about his understanding of the history of painting.¹⁷⁹ He argues that the Way of painting is declining in his time, and that the reason for the decline is the division into branched schools, which fell into a narrow understanding of the Way of painting:

¹⁷⁷ Zhou, *Qinghuige zengyi chidu*, 1. 19b.

¹⁷⁸ Zhang Hui 張卉, "Gong Xian wannian huihua zhi 'hei'" 龔賢晚年繪畫之"黑" [The "Blackness" of Gong Xian's Painting in His Later Years], *Yishu tansuo (Arts Exploration)* 25 (2011): 127-128.

¹⁷⁹ In addition to Zhou Lianggong's record, the inscription is also collected in Wang, "Qinghui huaba," 4. 29b-31a. The two editions differ in only one respect: in Zhou's record, Wang does not mention Gu Kaizhi in his retrospective of the old masters. I use brackets to mark this difference in the following text.

嗟乎！畫道至今日而衰矣。其衰也，自晚近支派之流弊起也。（顧、）陸、張、吳，遼哉遠矣，大小李以降，洪谷、右丞，逮於李、范、董、巨、元四大家，皆代有師承，各標高譽，未聞衍其餘緒，沿其波流。如子久之蒼渾，雲林之澹寂，仲圭之淵勁，叔明之深秀，雖同趨北苑，而變化懸殊，此所以為百世之宗而無弊也。洎乎近世，風趨益下，習俗愈卑，而支派之說起。文進、小僊以來，而浙派不可易矣。文、沈而後，吳門之派興焉。董文敏起一代之衰，抉董、巨之精，後學風靡，妄以雲間為口實。瑯琊、太原兩王先生，源本宋元，媲美前哲，遠邇爭相倣效，而婁東之派又開。其他旁流緒沫，人自為家者，未易指數。要之承訛藉舛，風流都盡。

Alas! The Way of painting has declined today. This decline is because of the disadvantages of branched schools formed in recent years. (Gu [Kaizhi],) Lu [Tanwei], Zhang [Sengyou], and Wu [Daozi] were distant.¹⁸⁰ From the elder and younger Li [Sixun and Zhaodao], Honggu (Jing Hao) and the Right Councilor (Wang Wei), to Li [Cheng], Fan [Kuan], Dong [Yuan], Ju[ran], and the Four Yuan Masters, they each had their succession of teachings, and they rose to high prestige; yet I never heard that [any of them] spread out [the previous masters'] remnants, nor did they follow the flows. For example, [the style of] Zijiu (Huang Gongwang) is antique and naturally completed, Yunlin (Ni Zan) is tranquil and still, Zhonggui (Wu Zhen) is profound and strong, Shuming (Wang Meng) is deep and elegant. They all tended to [learn the style of] Dong Yuan, but the changes were tremendous. It is why they became masters for a hundred generations and were never worn out. When it came to the recent years, the tendency became low-grade, and the convention became inferior, while the theories of branched schools rose. From Wenjin (Dai Jin) and Xiaoxian (Wu Wei), the Zhe School could not be shaken.¹⁸¹ From Wen [Zhengming] and Shen [Zhou], the Wu School also sprang up. Dong Wengmin (Dong Qichang) bestirred himself from the decline of one generation and seized the quintessence from Dong-Ju, [yet] the later learners [of Dong Qichang] became fashionable and they recklessly called themselves the Yunjian School. The two Master Wangs from Langya and Taiyuan (Wang Jian and Wang Shimin) traced back to the Song and Yuan, and their works could rival

¹⁸⁰ Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (c. 348-405) was a painter of the Eastern Jin dynasty, who was famous for his figure paintings. One extant work attributed to Gu Kaizhi is *Admonitions of the Court Instructress to Palace Ladies* (British Museum, London). See also Zhang, *Lidai minghua ji*, 5. 5a-12a (SKQS ed.). Lu Tanwei 陸探微 (? -c. 485) was a student of Gu Kaizhi and a court painter of the Liu Song dynasty. See Zhang, *Lidai minghua ji*, 6. 1a-2a (SKQS ed.). Zhang Sengyou 張僧繇 (479- ?) was a painter of the Southern Liang dynasty. See Zhang, *Lidai minghua ji*, 7. 7a-9a (SKQS ed.).

¹⁸¹ Wu Wei 吳偉 (1459-1508) is often considered the founder of the Jiangxia School, but his style also shows similarities to Dai Jin and the Zhe School. Wu was famous for his landscapes and portraiture. His representative works include *Ten Thousand Li of the Yangzi River* 長江萬里圖, 1505 (Palace Museum, Beijing) and *Lady Carrying a Pipa* 美人圖 (Indianapolis Museum of Art).

those old masters. Students from far and near competed to imitate [them], and then the Loudong School emerged. [As for] other by-pass flows and remnant foams, [painters who] formed their own schools, it is not easy to count them on one's fingers. In a word, they continued the mistakes and increased the errors, and the elegance was lost.

It is not surprising that Wang Hui's retrospective on the canons of art history was similar to that of Dong Qichang. Wang Hui's teachers, both Wang Jian and Wang Shimin, agreed with Dong's art views, and Wang Shimin's collection included mainly paintings by the Southern School masters that Dong advocated. Dong especially raised the importance of Dong Yuan and Juran in the history of painting, making them the equals of northern landscape painters such as Li Cheng and Fan Kuan, and he saw the Four Yuan Masters as the orthodox successors (*zhengchuan* 正傳) of Dong and Ju.¹⁸² When Wang Hui was a young student, Wang Shimin let him stay at his retreat and learn from the paintings in his collection. Among the Four Yuan Masters, Wang Shimin mainly studied Huang Gongwang. Thus, at the beginning of his painting career, Wang Hui emphasized the study of Huang, who represented the Yuan brush.

In Wang Hui's critique, the influence of Dong Qichang is clear: Wang Hui wrote that the Four Yuan Masters all tended to learn Dong Yuan's style, which was directly from Dong's point of view. Yet we should notice the differences from Dong as well. Wang did not use the term "literati painting" 文人之畫 or distinguish the "Southern and Northern Schools" as Dong did. On the contrary, the differentiation between the amateur and the professional, Southern and Northern, was exactly what Wang opposed. He juxtaposed Li Sixun and Li Zhaodao, whom Dong considered Northern School, with Dong Yuan, Juran,

¹⁸² Dong, "Hua yuan," 2. 13b (SKQS ed.).

and other painters considered as Southern School. While he agreed with Dong Qichang that the Four Yuan Masters all tended to learn Dong Yuan's style, he emphasized at the same time that their variations on his style were tremendous – they were not followers of the same school. This was why “they became masters for a hundred generations and were never worn out” 此所以為百世之宗而無弊也, which supported his objection to dividing these masters into branched schools. Furthermore, in Wang Hui's critique, Dong Qichang was a great master himself, but the followers of Dong and the subsequently-formed Yunjian School led to an erroneous path. As a further step, this argument removed Wang himself from the followers of Dong. With the Loudong School, the case was similar. Since Wang Jian and Wang Shimin were his mentors, Wang Hui could easily be considered a painter of the Loudong School; yet once again he distinguished himself from the other followers of his mentors. For Wang Hui, the way of learning from either mentors or ancient masters should be the same as how he believed the Four Yuan Masters learned from Dong Yuan: each was distinguished as an individual, and each of their styles was unique in the history of art. By rejecting schools, what Wang Hui's argument led to was individuality.

Wang Hui's discussion of branched schools also coincided with the decline of the Zhe and Wu Schools. The two schools had been part of the mainstream from the mid-Ming dynasty, but their followers could not achieve any innovation as their founders, Dai Jin and Shen Zhou, had. Lo-hwa Yang precisely describes this problem with both the Zhe and Wu Schools:

Neither group seems to demonstrate even the slightest interest in compositional innovation and invention, and instead continues to find satisfactory the same old compositions and forms without regard to whether they make any

meaningful reference to the natural world. For late Zhe and Wu School artists alike, the continued reliance on long outworn formal and expressive devices surely was more a matter of convenience and habit than of a genuine, compelling fondness.¹⁸³

This problem had already become a crisis in the literati world of the late Ming period, and it was still what Wang Hui was faced with at this time. Wang Hui found out that the new schools formed after Dong Qichang and the two Wangs continued the problem rather than solving it. The followers of these schools imitated their masters' work without considering where the compositions and forms came from. They became mired in the imitation of compositions and forms which moved further away from their original meanings, and became mere parodies of the masters' styles. In his 1669 statement, Wang Hui goes on to describe his personal experience to support this argument:

學自韶時搦管，乞乞窮年，為世俗流派拘牽，無繇自拔。大底右雲間者深譏浙派，祖婁東者輒詆吳門。臨穎茫然，識微難洞。已從師得指法，復於東南收藏好事家縱攬右丞、思訓、荊、董勝國諸賢，上下千餘年，名蹟數十百種，然後知畫理之精微，畫學之博大如此，而非區區一家一派之所能盡也。

When I was a child, I began to hold a brush, diligently [learning painting] for years. I was restrained by the worldly [speeches of] schools and had no way of getting myself out of them. Probably, those who upheld the Yunjian School harshly derided the Zhe School, and those who modeled themselves after the Loudong School always maligned the Wu School. When I held my brush, I felt at a loss, and it was hard to attain insight into the subtleties. Later I followed my teachers and learned painting techniques. I visited the avid collectors of the southeast and looked broadly at [the works of] the masters from the previous dynasties as well, such as Wang Wei, Li Sixun, Jing Hao, and Dong Yuan, which spanned over a thousand years and [I have seen] hundreds of masterpieces. Then I understood that the principles of painting were so exquisite and subtle, the theories of painting so broad and profound, that one single school could not exhaust them.

¹⁸³ Yang, "Late Ming Painting in the History of Chinese Painting," 11.

By writing about his personal experience, Wang Hui pointed out that the “worldly [speeches of] schools” 世俗流派 had restrained his learning process. James Cahill summarizes that in the late Ming period “local schools and stylistic movements competed in paintings and contended in words.”¹⁸⁴ According to Shen Hao 沈顥 (1586-1661), a late-Ming scholar and painter, the Huating group championed Dong Yuan, who was admired by the Wu School, while the Suzhou group, despite being from the birthplace of the Wu School, preferred Zhao Mengfu, whom the Zhe School followed.¹⁸⁵ The Huating and Suzhou groups roughly formed the later Yunjian and Loudong Schools that Wang Hui describes in his statement, yet changes had certainly happened during this process.¹⁸⁶ Although the two Wangs, who agreed with Dong Qichang’s teachings and learned from Huang Gongwang, were the founders of the Loudong School, the real tendency might have been more sophisticated. Wang Hui witnessed the result in the circumstances of various painters’ groups and circles during the late Ming and early Qing dynasties, of which he writes that “those who upheld the Yunjian School harshly derided the Zhe School, and those who modeled themselves after the Loudong School always maligned the Wu School” 大底右雲間者深譏浙派，祖婁東者輒詆吳門. By his implied criticism of both the Loudong and Yunjian Schools, Wang Hui identifies himself with neither of them. His non-identification is supported by Yun Shouping’s commentary in his inscription on Wang’s painting: “The way Shigu (Wang Hui) paints [after] Yifeng

¹⁸⁴ Cahill, “Preface,” 7.

¹⁸⁵ Shen Hao, *Hua chen* 畫塵 [Dust of Paintings], 35. 2b (ZDCS ed.). One of Shen Hao’s extant works is *Writing Books with Door Closed* 閉戶著書圖 (Palace Museum, Beijing).

¹⁸⁶ Mae Anna Quan Pang, “Late Ming Painting Theory,” in Cahill, *Restless Landscape*, 26.

(Huang Gongwang) is widely different from either the Yunjian or the Loudong School. He truly attains Yifeng's spirit and essence" 石谷畫一峯。與雲間婁東迥異。蓋真得一峯神髓矣。¹⁸⁷ Like Wang, Yun implicitly criticizes the Yunjian and Loudong Schools. Wang Hui's non-identification with the Loudong or Yunjian Schools can also be seen as a reaction to his meeting with the Nanjing painters who followed the Zhe School, and their exchanges of ideas. In the late Ming period, the monumental northern landscape was also revived by some painters in Nanjing.¹⁸⁸ This fact resulted in another divergence from Suzhou and Taicang, where painters preferred southern landscapes derived from the Dong-Ju tradition.

Wang Hui's transition in the 1660s was visible. His *Colors of Mount Taihang* 太行山色圖, dated 1669 (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Fig. 37), reveals his interest in the representational qualities he found in the monumental northern landscape by painters like Guan Tong.¹⁸⁹ The tremendous, rugged mountain rocks at the beginning part of the scroll hold the appeal of Guan's signature forms. The shapes of rocks are solidly cast to achieve a three-dimensional effect, and the varied texture of the rocks is carefully modified to increase the visual interest of the surfaces. In his inscription on this painting, Wang recalls that he had once seen a work by Guan Tong in an aristocratic

¹⁸⁷ Yun Shouping and Wang Hui, Leaf H, *Forest Huts among Streams and Mountains* 溪山林屋, 1673, from *Collaborative Landscape Album by Wang Hui and Yun Shouping* 王翬惲壽平合筆山水冊 (National Palace Museum, Taipei).

¹⁸⁸ Cahill, *The Distant Mountains*, 206 (Chinese ed.).

¹⁸⁹ Hongnam Kim contends that this painting shows a direct influence from Nanjing painters whom Wang Hui had met, such as Gong Xian and Fan Qi 樊圻 (1616- after 1694). Kim, *The Life of a Patron*, 135-136.

family's residence, and subsequently painted the *Colors of Mount Taihang* on the third day after the Mid-Autumn Festival:

余從廣陵貴戚家見關仝尺幅，雲巒奔會，神氣鬱密，真足洞心駭目。予今猶復記憶其一二，遂倣其法作太行山色，似有北地沈雄之氣，不以姿致取妍也。己酉中秋後三日虞山王翬並識。

Once, in the home of a noble family in Guangling (Yangzhou), I saw a small scroll by Guan Tong. [In it] clouds and peaks race together with a luxuriant and dense air. Truly, it pierced my heart and dazzled my eyes. Even today, I remember a few things from it. Accordingly I have followed its methods to create this painting, *Colors of Mount Taihang*. I hope it captures the deep and heroic atmosphere of the north country, rather than merely posturing with pretty details. Three days after the Mid-Autumn Festival in the Year of Jiyou (1669) Wang Hui of Yushan [made] and inscribed [this painting].

The “noble family in Guangling” refers to the Li family.¹⁹⁰ The art collector, Li Zongkong 李宗孔 (1618-1701), had once owned *Autumn Mountains at Dusk* 秋山晚翠圖 (National Palace Museum, Taipei, Fig. 38), formerly attributed to Guan Tong. Thus the “small scroll by Guan Tong” that Wang Hui saw was possibly *Autumn Mountains at Dusk*. In 1669, Wang Hui recalled this Guan Tong painting and created the *Colors of Mount Taihang* with the new ideas he obtained from the challenges by the Nanjing painters, and from his reflections on the Way of painting in his inscription to Zhou Lianggong.

Before 1665, Wang Hui contributed a painting on an album leaf, “In Imitation of Li Cheng’s ‘Clearing after Snow over Clustered Peaks,’” 倣李咸熙群峰霽雪 with Wang Shizhen’s 王士禎 (1634-1711) colophon, to a collaborative album (National Palace

¹⁹⁰ Chang, “Mountains and Rivers, Pure and Splendid,” 19.

Museum, Taipei, Fig. 39).¹⁹¹ In 1669, Wang painted *Snow Clearing: Landscape after Li Cheng* 做李成雪霽圖 (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Fig. 40). Both paintings were done for Zhou Lianggong and Zhou's preference for Li Cheng's style was evident in these commissions.¹⁹² "In Imitation of Li Cheng's 'Clearing after Snow over Clustered Peaks'" shows an interest in molding a solid mountain peak, and in *Snow Clearing: Landscape after Li Cheng*, dwellings and trees are realistically depicted in full detail. The fact that Wang Hui impressed Zhou more than did the two Wangs from Loudong also indicated the younger artist's pre-existing divergence from his mentors.¹⁹³ Zhou highly praised Wang Hui in his *Du hua lu* 讀畫錄 [Reading the Paintings] and eagerly collected Wang's paintings right after he met the artist in the 1660s. Interestingly, the two Wangs also did not meet Zhou until the 1660s. Wang Hui encountered the first intense interaction between the two art centers, and to some extent bridged the two circles.

After viewing many masterpieces, Wang Hui realized that "the principles of painting were so exquisite and subtle, the theories of painting so broad and profound, that one single school could not exhaust them" 然後知畫理之精微，畫學之博大如此，而非區區一家一派之所能盡也。 This explains and is in agreement with the notion of "Great Synthesis," which Wang may not yet have articulated but had already mentally formed.

¹⁹¹ Wang Shizhen was a famous poet of the late Ming and early Qing dynasties. See Zheng Fangkun 鄭方坤 (1693- ?), *Guochao mingjia shichao xiaozhuan* 國朝名家詩鈔小傳 [Brief Biographies of Famous Poets in the Qing Dynasty] (Qijuxuan 杞菊軒, 1861), 36a-37b.

¹⁹² Chang, "Wang Hui: The Evolution of a Master Landscapist," 66-70.

¹⁹³ Kim, *The Life of a Patron*, 121-122.

Unlike many of his literati friends who insisted on elevating the Southern School paintings over those of the Northern School, Wang tended to absorb influences from a range of canonical paintings, without considering if they belonged to either school. Throughout the history of painting, artists tended to combine different methods instead of insisting on one or another. The Southern School painters, such as Huang Gongwang, also adopted the methods of the blue-green tone from the legacies of Li Sixun and Li Zhaodao. Meanwhile, those Dong Qichang distinguished as Northern School, such as Ma Yuan and Xia Gui, who created ink paintings and applied ink wash, may have been more connected to the Dong-Ju tradition. Dong Qichang's intention in forming his theory might have been to clarify his prescriptions for literati painting, yet this intention was also the reason why his theory could not give a precise description of the history of painting, nor of the real status of an artist's learning. Thus, dividing the artists into the Southern and Northern Schools was at once arguably groundbreaking and necessarily arbitrary.

Wang Hui's attitude towards schools of painting was in accordance with Shen Hao. After discussing the local schools of his time, Shen concluded that painters should not concern themselves with schools at all:

董北苑之精神在雲間，趙承旨之風韻在金閫。己而交相非非，非趙也，非董也，因襲之流弊。流弊既極，遂有矯枉；至習矯枉，轉為因襲，共成流弊。其中機杼循遷，去古愈遠，自立愈羸。何不尋蹤覓派打成冷局，非北苑，非承旨，非雲間，非金閫，非因襲，非矯枉，孤蹤獨嚮，憂然自得。
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Dong Beiyuan's (Dong Yuan's) spirit is at Yunjian (Songjiang, Shanghai), [while] the Recipient of Edicts Zhao's (Zhao Mengfu's) elegance is at Jinchang

¹⁹⁴ Shen, *Hua chen*, 35. 2b (ZDCS ed.).

(Suzhou). Before long each criticizes the other's errors. One criticizes Zhao [Mengfu] and the other criticizes Dong [Yuan] for their followers' corrupt practices in imitation. When corrupt practices come to their summit, correction appears. When one studies to correct corrupt practices to the extreme, then it turns to imitation. Both [imitation and correction] become corrupt practices. Among them, the mechanism circulates the changes. It moves even further away from the antique, and the self-reliance is even looser. Why don't we set aside the effort of looking for a trace or finding a school [to follow]? Do not bother with Beiyuan or the Recipient of Edicts, with Yunjian or Jinchang, with imitation or correcting corrupt practices; walk alone, make your sounds, and be contented with yourself.¹⁹⁵

Shen Hao was well-versed in tradition, and imitated masters such as Dong Yuan and Zhao Mengfu, but he found more interest in “their contact with Nature” in an attempt to capture “Nature through the eyes of the ancient masters.”¹⁹⁶ Shen was much better known for his treatise on painting than for his own works as an artist, but Wang Hui continued to practice according to principles that aligned with Shen's and achieved more fruitful results. Wang transformed his own synthesis, formed by learning from various traditions, into an individual act of self-expression.

The fact that the words were written in an inscription on a painting for Zhou Liangong in 1669 indicates that Wang Hui's argument about branched schools was at the same time a general idea, and a direct reaction provoked by his meeting with the Nanjing painters. This association might have strengthened his belief that either the Loudong or Jinling School (the local school in Nanjing) was not to be the end of his Way. Rather, they both contributed to his ideal synthesis which would combine, or reconcile, the trends in Loudong and Jinling, the Wu School and the Zhe School, and idealistically,

¹⁹⁵ Translation partially adapted from Pang, “Late Ming Painting Theory,” 26.

¹⁹⁶ Chu-tsing Li, *A Thousand Peaks and Myriad Ravines: Chinese Paintings in the Charles A. Drenowatz Collection* (Ascona, Switzerland: Artibus Asiae, 1974), 82.

all schools past and present. Since no school could ever exhaust the “exquisite and subtle” principles and the “broad and profound” theories of painting 畫理之精微，畫學之博大，the Way led to and could only lead to individuality – because an artist’s style cannot be created by someone other than himself.

However, since Dong Qichang’s theory was so deeply influential for the early Qing scholars and painters, some showed a subtly conflicted attitude towards Wang Hui’s choice of masters to imitate, even among the Nanjing painters who deepened Wang’s doubts on Dong’s theory. Liu Yu, a mutual friend of Wang Hui and Gong Xian, wrote a colophon on *Thatched Huts between Trees and Rocks in the “Blue-Green” Style*, from *In the Pursuit of Antiquity: Landscape after Song and Yuan Masters*, dated 1673 (Princeton University Art Museum, Fig. 41). The colophon suggests his conflicted attitude:

石谷子畫，余尤愛其摹倪黃及曹知白一派，而尚工麗者分道而馳。若以此當右丞南宗，又何求焉？
煙翁先生集繪學之大成，所見必有異也。

Of Shigu’s (Wang Hui’s) paintings, I am especially fond of those in the school of Ni [Zan], Huang [Gongwang], and Cao Zhibo.¹⁹⁷ The fine and ornate ones, however, lean in an entirely different direction. If these too can be included in the Right Councilor’s (Wang Wei’s) Southern School, what more can one ask? Mister Yanweng (Wang Shimin) achieves the Great Synthesis of painting. His opinions must be out of the ordinary.¹⁹⁸

In this leaf, Wang Hui depicts a grove of colored autumn trees and applies various types of leaves for each tree. The artist’s interest in naturalistic details recalls the Northern

¹⁹⁷ Cao Zhibo 曹知白 (1272-1355) was a Yuan painter of landscapes. See as an example *Clearing after Snow over Clustered Peaks* 群峰雪霽圖 (National Palace Museum, Taipei).

¹⁹⁸ Translation adapted from Whitfield, *In Pursuit of Antiquity*, 124.

Song painters such as Fan Kuan.¹⁹⁹ The two rocks in the middle are carefully rendered with surfaces of different textures and qualities. In his inscription, Liu Yu expresses confusion as to why Wang Hui chose to create a delicately-colored landscape, considered the lineage of the Northern School and related works, which tended to be fine and ornate (*gongli* 工麗). They were unlike the Southern School lineage, such as Ni Zan, Huang Gongwang, and Cao Zhibo, all of whom Liu admired. Liu then rationalizes this choice by suggesting that such a “fine and ornate” landscape could still be traced back to Wang Wei, the supposed founder of the Southern School. This is a reasonable assessment, because it is believed that Wang Wei worked on both delicate blue-green landscapes and monochromatic ones in broken ink, although the latter were much more admired.²⁰⁰ Liu considered this inclusion of the fine and ornate colored landscape as a choice made by Wang Shimin. But contrary to what their mentor-protégé relationship during the 1670s would suggest, Wang Hui became independent of his mentor both financially and ideologically. Thus, it was hardly the choice of Wang Shimin, whom the album was created for, but that of Wang Hui, its creator.

Yun Shouping’s inscription on the left of this painting, however, indicates that Yun agrees with Wang Hui on the execution of the delicately rendered landscape by

¹⁹⁹ See the various types of tree leaves depicted in Fan Kuan, *Travelers amid Streams and Mountains* 谿山行旅圖 (National Palace Museum, Taipei).

²⁰⁰ See Zhang, *Lidai minghua ji*, 10. 1a-1b (SKQS ed.). The entry reads: “[Wang Wei] was skillful in the painting of landscapes, and his style includes both the ancient and the contemporary. Those collected in homes are mostly works that the Right Councilor (Wang Wei) directed artisans to render in color. The wealds are bunched together, and the faraway trees are too simple and awkward. [The artisans] repeatedly pursue the fine and delicate, but on the contrary, [their subjects] are more distorted...I once saw [Wang’s] landscape in broken ink. The vigor of his brush is powerful and clear” 工畫山水，體涉古今。人家所蓄，多是右丞指揮工人布色，原野簇成，遠樹過於樸拙，復務細巧，翻更失真。……余曾見破墨山水，筆力勁爽。

connecting it with the Tang style: “I see that [Wang Hui’s] wielding of the brush evokes the manner of the Tang worthies” 觀其運筆有唐賢之風. “The Tang worthies” he mentions, in terms of color rendering in this leaf, could have included both Wang Wei and the two Lis, or may have referred mainly to the latter, the founders of the blue-green landscape. Yun then articulated his feeling that “even Wang Jinqing (Wang Shen) suffered from the ills of carved delineating” 覺王晉卿猶傷刻畫, while Dong Qichang considered Wang Shen a Southern School painter. Wang Shen was a scholar-painter in the Song dynasty, who befriended Su Shi. Wang Shen elevated blue-green landscape painting to a new style. It was not necessarily that Yun was criticizing Wang Shen, but by this comparison, he praises the fact that Wang Hui’s painting overcame and transformed the carved delineating that could easily emerge in a colored, delicate landscape. At the same time, what Yun states here indicates that he was not entangled with the Southern and Northern Schools. Both Wang and Yun tended to make commentaries on specific artists and works, instead of categorizing them.

Only after overcoming the entangled ideas around painting schools was Wang Hui able to find the right path for his painting:

由是潛神苦志，靜以求之，每下筆落墨，輒思古人用心處。沉精之久，乃悟一點一拂皆有風韻，一石一水皆有位置。渲染有陰陽之辨，傅色有今古之殊。於是涵泳於心，練之於手，自喜不復為流派所惑，而稍稍可以自信矣。

Therefore, I focused my mind and cultivated my intent, quietly seeking [the principles and theories of painting]. Every time I put my brush to paper and set down ink, I reflected on the places where the ancient masters used their minds. I immersed myself deeply in it for a long time, and then I realized that a dot and a stroke had their grace and nuance; a rock and a body of water had their places. In the rendering is the difference of *yin* and *yang*; in the application of color is the difference between the antique and the present. Whereupon I comprehend them in my mind and practice them with my hand; I am glad for

myself that I will no longer be baffled by the schools, and can trust in myself in a way.

All the places “where the ancient masters used their minds” can be reconstructed from the details of an old painting; looking at them, one sees the places where the Perfection resides. Each place is not just a dot or a stroke, a rock or a body of water, but a reflection of the old master’s mind landscape, his perception of the world, and his own image of Perfection. After the process of contemplation and practice, without bothering about the schools, Wang Hui began to trust in himself – trust that what he perceived with his eyes and all his senses was also what the old masters had perceived in the past, and trust that his own body could convey his perception and the beauty he perceived.

Wang Hui’s opinions also contradicted those of Dong Qichang in terms of painting techniques. The most famous example is Wang Hui’s simile to the wings of a bird, which is related by Wen Fong: “Painting has its obvious and obscure aspects. 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 will emerge” 畫有明暗，如鳥雙翼，不可偏廢。明暗兼到，神氣乃生。²⁰¹ Yun Shouping observed the following contradiction between Wang Hui and Dong Qichang:

董文敏云：畫欲暗不欲明。石谷云：畫有明暗，如鳥二翼，不可偏廢。明暗兼到，神氣乃生。兩家宗旨不同，能互相發明否？敢質之奉常先生。²⁰²

Dong Wenmin (Dong Qichang) once said, “In painting, it is better to be obscure than to be obvious,” whereas Shigu (Wang Hui) said, “Painting has its obvious and obscure aspects. 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

²⁰¹ Wang, “Qinghui huaba,” 4. 33a. Translation adapted from Fong, *Images of the Mind*, 184.

²⁰² Yun, *Ouxiang guan ji*, 12. 23a.

equally perfected, a spirited breath will emerge.” The two masters’ principles are contradictory.²⁰³ Could they elucidate each other? I dare question Mr. Fengchang (Wang Shimin) with it.

If Wang Hui’s words are read as a reaction to Dong Qichang’s statement, “the obvious and the obscure” might refer to the representational and the abstract, respectively. Dong emphasizes the abstract and calligraphic brushwork of the Yuan masters, yet Wang thinks the naturalistic representation featured by the Song masters should be held in equal importance.²⁰⁴ Yun Shouping’s narrative here is also interesting. For him, Wang Hui’s difference of opinion with Dong Qichang also separates him from Wang Shimin, whose opinion may have been closer to Dong’s and to whom Yun would pose his question. The disparity, though, does not bother Yun; on the contrary, he thinks that questioning is necessary for him and Wang to clarify and acquire principles of painting.²⁰⁵

This assimilating and questioning of Dong Qichang and other artists of the older generation led to the statement that is cited most frequently by modern scholars among Wang Hui’s writings on art: “I must use the brush and ink of the Yuan to move the peaks and valleys of the Song, and infuse them with the breath-resonance of the Tang. I will then have a work of the Great Synthesis.” The statement was not only an abstract idea but a summary of Wang’s personal experiences as a painter. Chin-Sung Chang thinks that

²⁰³ Translation adapted from Chang, “Wang Hui: The Evolution of a Master Landscapist,” 97.

²⁰⁴ Chang, “Wang Hui: The Evolution of a Master Landscapist,” 97. Also see Fong, “Wang Hui and Repossessing the Past,” 23.

²⁰⁵ Yun, *Ouxiang guan ji*, 11. 3b: “I once said that the way one conducts oneself under heaven should not let others doubt. Only in principles of painting should there be room for others to doubt, and they should glean something from these doubts” 嘗謂天下為人，不可使人疑，惟畫理當使人疑，又當使人疑而得之。

Wang Hui's "Great Synthesis," and his rejection of Dong Qichang's emphasis on Yuan paintings, came first from his access to Li Zongkong's collection of Five Dynasties and Northern Song paintings during the late 1660s.²⁰⁶ Indeed, Wang saw *Autumn Mountains at Dusk*, attributed to Guan Tong, at Li's residence, and he made an important reflection on this painting in 1669 through his creative process for his *Colors of Mount Taihang*. The idea of "Great Synthesis" was not merely a theoretical statement made in his mind, but a result of his own experience. The "Great Synthesis" also works as a reconciliation of the debate between the Song and Yuan, starting from the Ming dynasty. During the late Ming period, the debate intensified, and the respective supporters of the Song and Yuan criticized each other.²⁰⁷ As with the intention of closing the gap between the Southern and Northern Schools, Wang Hui intended to do the same with the styles of the Song and the Yuan.

At first glance, Wang Hui's use of the term "Great Synthesis" 大成 would seem to have come from Dong Qichang, who stated clearly how he might attain the "Great Synthesis" and make innovations of his own:

畫平遠師趙大年，崇山疊嶂師江貫道，皴法用董源披麻皴及瀟湘圖點子皴，樹用北苑、子昂二家法，石用大李將軍秋江待渡圖及郭忠恕雪景，李成畫法有小幀水墨及著色青綠，俱宜宗之，集其大成，自出機軸，再四、五年，文沈二君不能獨步吾吳矣！²⁰⁸

I learn painting "level-distance" from Zhao Danian (Zhao Lingrang), high mountains and serried cliffs from Jiang Guandao (Jiang Shen).²⁰⁹ I apply

²⁰⁶ Chang, "Mountains and Rivers, Pure and Splendid," 131.

²⁰⁷ Cahill, *The Distant Mountains*, 22-24 (Chinese ed.).

²⁰⁸ Dong, *Huachanshi suibi*, 2. 7b (SKQS ed.).

²⁰⁹ Jiang Shen 江參 was a Southern Song court painter. His extant works include *A Thousand Li of Mountains and Rivers* (National Palace Museum, Taipei).

techniques of texture strokes using Dong Yuan's hemp-fiber strokes and dotted strokes from *The Xiao and Xiang Rivers*.²¹⁰ I drew trees using methods from the two masters Beiyuan (Dong Yuan) and Zi'ang (Zhao Mengfu). I drew rocks using Senior General Li's (Li Sixun's) *Waiting for a Ferry at the Autumn River* and Guo Zhongshu's snow scenes.²¹¹ In Li Cheng's methods of painting, there is ink on a small scroll as well as blue-green coloring. It is appropriate to study [all these styles] and gather them into a Great Synthesis. I may then come out with inventions of my own.²¹² After four or five years, Wen [Zhengming] and Shen [Zhou] will not remain unrivaled in our region of Wu!

In this statement, it seems that Dong Qichang has abandoned his preference for the Southern School in mentioning Li Sixun, Guo Zhongshu, and Li Cheng. Dong's idea of a "Great Synthesis" must have been stimulating for Wang Hui. However, it is easily noticed that Dong had recognized and analyzed the components of a painting – subject matter such as trees and rocks, compositions, texture strokes, monochromatic ink techniques, and the blue-green tone – and he had modeled these components as parts to make his whole. On the contrary, Wang Hui did not usually derive these components from the old masters' paintings. From the commentaries he made, Wang generally perceived paintings as indivisible and complete, or *gestalten* if we describe it in the language of modern psychology.²¹³ He saw the components in their original contexts, and envisioned the

²¹⁰ Dong Yuan's *Xiao and Xiang Rivers* is recorded in *Xuanhe huapu*, 11. 3b (SKQS ed.). Dong Qichang obtained a handscroll and authenticated it as Dong Yuan's *Xiao and Xiang Rivers* according to *Xuanhe huapu*'s record. This handscroll is now in the Palace Museum, Beijing.

²¹¹ Li Sixun's *Waiting for a Ferry at the Autumn River* 秋江待渡圖 that Dong Qichang mentions was once in his collection but no longer survives. See Dong, *Huachanshi suibi*, 2. 20b: "Senior General Li's (Li Sixun's) *Waiting for a Ferry at the Autumn River*...at the right [all the paintings mentioned] are my teachers and friends that I spiritually commune with in my studio. Every time I go to another place I bring them with me" 大李將軍秋江待渡圖.....右俱吾齋神交師友, 每有所如攜以自隨. See as an example of Guo Zhongshu's snow scenes: *Traveling along the River after Snow* (National Palace Museum, Taipei).

²¹² Translation adapted from Fong, *Images of the Mind*, 170.

²¹³ As K. Koffka defines: "...every gestalt has order and meaning, of however low or high a degree, and...for a gestalt quantity and quality are the same." K. Koffka, *Principles of Gestalt Psychology* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1963), 22.

contexts which those components occupied, as analyzed in Chapter 2. Although both Dong and Wang learned from old masters, their different visions had caused a divergence between each artist's "Great Synthesis," methodologically and philosophically.

It cannot have been a coincidence that, compared to Dong Qichang's statement, Wang Hui's words were closer to those of Chen Hongshou, the late-Ming painter whose methods were far different from the Orthodox School that Dong advocated, and whose statement directly opposed Dong's theory.²¹⁴ In his "Hua lun" 畫論 [On Painting], Chen argues:²¹⁵

今人不師古人，恃數句舉業餽丁，或細小浮名，便揮筆作畫，筆墨不暇責也，形似亦不可而比擬，哀哉！欲口微名供人指點，又譏評彼老成人，此老蓮所最不滿於名流者也。

Artists today do not follow the old masters. Relying on a few phrases borrowed from old writings to pass the official examinations, they embark on careers [as scholar-officials], perhaps attaining some trivial and transient fame for themselves. Thereupon, they begin to wave the brush and do paintings. But their brushwork and ink control are not equal to the demands they place on them, and also in terms of verisimilitude their paintings, alas, do not bear comparison [with their subjects]. And yet these men use their trifling fame [as officials] to offer their works for criticism [expecting to be taken seriously as painters]. Moreover, they ridicule and criticize those artists who are more experienced. That is what makes me, Old Lotus, most dissatisfied with these "illustrious gentlemen."

In Chen Hongshou's words, the "illustrious gentlemen" 名流者 could refer to some of the literati-artists, to whom Chen addressed his criticism that they merely read some books, received an official rank, and then imagined that they could paint as well. But these

²¹⁴ Cahill, *The Distant Mountains*, 334 (Chinese ed.).

²¹⁵ Chen Hongshou 陳洪綬 (1598-1652), *Baoluntang ji* 寶綸堂集 [Anthology of the Precious Tassel Hall] (Baoluntang, 1705), 2. 1b-2b.

literati-artists did not learn brushwork properly. Yun Shouping implies similar criticism in an inscription on his painting after Zhao Lingrang:

黃涪翁云：大年學東坡作小山叢竹，殊有思致。若更屏聲色裘馬，使胷中有數卷書，便當不媿文與可。余因笑今之號為讀書而行千里者亦多矣。其意者凡下，視大年何如哉？²¹⁶

Huang Fuweng (Huang Tingjian) said: “Danian (Zhao Lingrang) learned from Dongpo (Su Shi), creating small hills and groves of bamboo. They have a very thoughtful uniqueness. If [Lingrang] can further shield himself from distractions and read some books, he would then deserve to [rival] Wen Yuke (Wen Tong).”²¹⁷ I then laugh at the many today who claim to read books and travel a thousand miles. Their conceptions are mediocre and coarse. How can they be compared with Danian?

Zhao Lingrang was considered a professional artist who was inferior to the literati-artist Wen Tong because the former did not read many books. However, the literati-artists who claimed to read books could not rival Lingrang’s artistic conceptions. Unsurprisingly, Yun Shouping’s implication here is in agreement with Chen Hongshou’s argument. As a close friend of Wang Hui, who had a professional career in painting and was not as learned a literatus as Yun, Yun had persuaded Wang to read books and learn writing, especially for

²¹⁶ Yun Shouping, Leaf D from *Yun-Wang Collaborative Album*, dated 1674 (Xubaizhai Collection, Hongkong). See Hong Kong Museum of Art, *Gu cui jin cheng: Xubaizhai cang zhongguo shuhua xuan* 古今承：虛白齋藏中國書畫選 [Selection of Chinese Calligraphy and Paintings] (Hong Kong: Urban Council, 1992), 238.

²¹⁷ Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045-1105) was a poet, calligrapher, and art critic of the Northern Song dynasty and an associate of Su Shi. See as an example of his calligraphy: Huang Tingjian, *Biographies of Lian Po and Lin Xiangru* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). The citation is from Huang Tingjian, *Yuzhang Huang xiansheng wenji* 豫章黃先生文集 [Anthology of Mr. Huang from Yuzhang], 27. 15a (SBCKCB ed.): “Danian (Zhao Lingrang) learned from Mr. Dongpo (Su Shi), creating small hills and groves of bamboo. They have a very thoughtful uniqueness. But his bamboo and rocks both have a soft and tender feeling in the intention of his brush. This is because [Zhao] was young [at that time] and liked [to pursue] peculiarity. When Danian was aged, he must have been ten times better than this. If [Zhao] can further shield himself from distractions and read a few hundred books, he would then deserve to [rival] Wen Yuke (Wen Tong)” 大年學東坡先生作小山叢竹，殊有思致，但竹石皆覺筆意柔嫩，蓋年少喜奇故耳。使大年耆老自當十倍於此。若更屏聲色裘馬，使胷中有數百卷書，便當不媿文與可矣。

inscribing paintings, and expected him to follow the example of literati such as Mi Fu and Su Shi.²¹⁸ However, he never belittled Wang's paintings for being the work of a professional artist. Yun makes it clear that painting is not a secondary occupation for the literati, but a primary means of expression. The study of painting requires equivalent efforts to, but a different approach from, that of writing. The silent meanings are of equal weight to the spoken ones.

After criticizing the literati-artists who did not learn painting properly, Chen Hongshou gives different advice to the professional artists:

然今人作家，學宋者失之匠，何也？不帶唐流也。學元者失之野，不遡宋源也。如以唐之韻，運宋之板；宋之理，行元之格，則大成矣。

On the other hand, why is it that the professional artists of today, when they imitate Song painting, fail through [excess of] artisan skill? It is because they do not incorporate Tang styles [along with the Song]. Those who imitate Yuan styles [by contrast] fail through [excess of] rusticity; they do not trace these styles back to their Song sources. If you can temper the stiffness of Song with the harmoniousness of Tang and realize the qualities of Yuan through the principles of Song, then you will have achieved the Great Synthesis.

Interestingly, Chen Hongshou's advice and Wang Hui's famous definition of a "Great Synthesis" are nearly identical. In his art statement, Wang wrote: "I must use the brush and ink of the Yuan to move the peaks and valleys of the Song, and infuse them with the breath-resonance of the Tang. I will then have a work of the Great Synthesis" 以元人筆

²¹⁸ One record is from Wu Xiu 吳修 (1764-1827), *Qingxiaguan lunhua jueju* 青霞館論畫絕句 [Quatrains on Painting from the House of Blue Clouds] (printed in 1876), 37a. The record reads: "Nantian (Yun Shouping) had an extremely high regard for [Wang Hui]. When he wrote to Shigu (Wang) in letters, he urged him several times to attend diligently to [literary] learning. Every time he saw that [Wang's] inscription on a painting was not good, he would discuss it with [Wang] over and over again. Sometimes he reached [the extent of] excoriation. He made sure [Wang] esteemed his own paintings and never marred them with [bad] inscriptions" 南田極推重之，而與石谷手書屢勸其勤學，每見畫間題語未善，輒反復講論，或致呵斥，務令自愛其畫，勿為題識所污。

墨，運宋人丘壑，而澤以唐人氣韻，乃為大成。They both advocate for tracing back to the Tang and Song, and applying the merits of both to studies of the Yuan, in order to obtain the “Great Synthesis,” and admonish against laying particular stress on any one of them. What Wang calls the “brush and ink” of the Yuan and the “peaks and valleys” of the Song are parallel to Chen’s “qualities of Yuan” and “principles of Song,” and reveal a logic similar to Chen’s. Wang Hui was too young to have had the chance to meet Chen Hongshou, who became a monk after escaping capture by the Manchu army in 1646 and died in 1652.²¹⁹ But Chen Hongshou was an important friend of Zhou Lianggong, and Zhou highly appreciated Chen’s work. Wang may have seen Chen’s paintings and inscriptions at Zhou’s residence during their meetings. It is thus reasonable to speculate that Wang Hui’s articulation of the “Great Synthesis” came from Chen Hongshou more than Dong Qichang. Continuing his argument, Chen Hongshou directly criticizes Chen Jiru 陳繼儒 (1558-1639), a famous late-Ming literatus and an associate of Dong Qichang who shared Dong’s opinions of art:²²⁰

眉公先生曰：“宋人不能單刀直入，不如元畫之疎。”非定論也。如大年、北苑、巨然、晉卿、龍眠、襄陽諸君子，亦謂之密耶？此元人王、黃、倪、吳、高、趙之祖。古人祖述立法，無不嚴謹。即如兒（倪）老數筆，筆筆都有部署法律。大小李將軍、營邱、白駒諸公，雖千門萬戶，千山萬水，都有韻致。人自不死心觀之、學之耳，孰謂宋不如元哉！若宋之可恨，馬遠、夏圭真畫家之退群也。

Mr. Meigong (Chen Jiru) says: “Song artists are unable to ‘attack fearlessly’ [and strike to the heart of things]; they are not equal to the sparse manner of Yuan.”²²¹ But that is not a valid argument. What about such gentlemen as

²¹⁹ Wen C. Fong, “Archaism as a ‘Primitive’ Style,” in *Artists and Traditions: Uses of the Past in Chinese Culture*, ed. Christian F. Murck (Princeton, NJ: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1976), 103.

²²⁰ See Zhang, *Ming shi*, 298. 10a-11a (SKQS ed.).

²²¹ Chen Hongshou’s citation is the only record of Chen Jiru’s words.

Danian (Zhao Lingrang), Beiyuan (Dong Yuan), Juran, Jinqing (Wang Shen), Longmian (Li Gonglin), Xiangyang (Mi Fu) – can they be called [too] dense? They were the forefathers of the Yuan masters such as Wang [Meng], Huang [Gongwang], Ni [Zan], Wu [Zhen], Gao [Kegong], and Zhao [Mengfu]. When the old masters, venerating tradition, established their methods, they were never other than strict and cautious. The Old Man Ni [Zan’s] sketchy pictures, for instance, all are carefully arranged and follow rules. The elder and younger General Li [Sixun and Zhaodao], Yingqiu (Li Cheng), [Zhao] Boju – all these, even when they painted a thousand gates and myriad doors, a thousand mountains and myriad streams, always gave them a harmonious manner. If one regards their works open-mindedly and studies them, how can he possibly say that Song is not the equal of Yuan? If the Song [painters] are considered detestable, Ma Yuan and Xia Gui are really the ones who have given [Song] painters a bad name!²²²

Although Chen Hongshou refutes Dong Qichang’s theory by listing the Song painters that are admired, it is quite clear that in the everlasting debate from the late Ming to the early Qing, the terms “Song” and “Yuan” refer not only to the historical periods, but more likely the Jing-Guan tradition versus the Dong-Ju tradition; the geographically northern landscapes versus southern landscapes developed since the Five Dynasties; or roughly, the tendency of the representational and descriptive versus the abstract and calligraphic.²²³ As a painter, Chen Hongshou emphasized bird-and-flower paintings as well as portraiture, and his argument for learning from the Song and Tang reveals a different intent from Dong Qichang – although they share the opinion that artists should not study Ma Yuan and Xia Gui. Wen Fong describes the two different tendencies as “classicism” and “primitivism.”²²⁴ Dong “studied ancient paintings analytically;” his

²²² Translation adapted from Cahill, *The Distant Mountains*, 264-265.

²²³ Wen C. Fong, “Wang Hui, Wang Yuan-chi and Wu Li,” in Whitfield, *In Pursuit of Antiquity*, 178.

²²⁴ Fong, “Archaism as a ‘Primitive’ Style,” 105-108.

purpose was to re-create ancient models, to achieve metamorphosis (*bian* 變). Chen Hongshou, on the other hand, “had no scholarly interest in re-creating ancient models;” rather, he employed these models as “a highly personal vocabulary for creating his unique images.” Chen’s statement thus brings out a different meaning of the “Great Synthesis,” in which the various styles work predominantly for his self-expression. Chen’s primitivism might have also inspired and encouraged Wang Hui’s effort of turning the “Great Synthesis” into his personal realm.

Like Dong Qichang and Chen Hongshou, who both champion the idea of synthesizing all schools but diverge in their purposes and practices, Wang Hui’s “Great Synthesis” has a personal, situational meaning of his own. As I previously demonstrated, the initial idea might have come from Wang’s meetings with art collectors who owned monumental northern landscape paintings, and with artists from Nanjing in the 1660s. Dong’s theory of Southern and Northern Schools emphasizes this disparity, and it also leads to a preference for the “Yuan” style over the “Song” style, the abstract and calligraphic over the representational and descriptive. For his part in this debate, Wang sought a reconciliation that could fuse the two seemingly opposed styles, and this formed the basis of his “Great Synthesis.” In his inscription on *Being Content with My Intent* 樂志論圖卷 in 1684 (Palace Museum, Beijing, Fig. 42), Wang writes:²²⁵

倪元鎮與趙善長商榷作獅子林圖，自題云：“深得荊關遺意，非王蒙輩所能夢見”。蓋其筆意高簡，一洗縱橫謬習，超然象表，頗自矜許也。

²²⁵ Wang Hui articulates in his inscription that the theme of this painting is Zhongchang Tong’s 仲長統 “Le zhi lun” 樂志論 [Essay on Being Content with My Intent]. Zhongchang Tong was a political philosopher in the Eastern Han dynasty. See this essay in Fan Ye 范曄 (398-445 CE), *Houhan shu* 後漢書 [History of the Later Han Dynasty], 79. 16a-17a (SKQS ed.).

Ni Yuanzhen (Ni Zan) and Zhao Shanchang (Zhao Yuan), after some discussion, made the painting of the *Lion Grove Garden*. Ni himself inscribes: “Deeply it realizes the notions inherited from Jing [Hao] and Guan [Tong]. It is something that Wang Meng and others could not have imagined in their dreams.”²²⁶ Because [Ni’s] conception of the brush is profound yet simple, it clears out the unbridled erroneous habits and surpasses the appearance of forms. [Ni] was very complacent with himself.

The Lion Grove Garden was once in the collection of Xiang Yuanbian, the famous late-Ming art collector, and is now in the collection of the Palace Museum, Beijing (Fig. 43). As one of the Four Masters of Yuan, Ni Zan’s otherworldly style is considered very different from even the other three, not to mention the northern landscapes of the Five Dynasties and Northern Song.²²⁷ Although Dong Qichang also relates that Ni Zan had assimilated Jing Hao and Guan Tong’s ideas after he viewed the *Lion Grove Garden*, his influential theory of Southern and Northern Schools did not provide a solution to reconcile the essential differences between the Dong-Ju and Jing-Guan traditions, and thus was unconvincing to the artists and art critics of the early Qing dynasty.²²⁸ Under this circumstance, Wang Hui here reiterates that Ni Zan thinks that he has attained the true ideas from Jing Hao and Guan Tong. If even the Yuan master himself asserts his consistency with the Song, why should one separate them? In the format of a handscroll, Wang applies rich textured surfaces to add a sense of splendor to Ni’s transcendent

²²⁶ Translation adapted from Fong, *Images of the Mind*, 125. Ni Zan’s original inscription on the *Lion Grove Garden* (Palace Museum, Beijing) reads: “Mr. Zhao Shanchang (Zhao Yuan) and I discuss the use of conceptions, and together make the painting of the *Lion Grove Garden*. Truly it realizes the notions inherited from Jing [Hao] and Guan [Tong]. It is something that Wang Meng has not imagined even in his dreams” 余與趙君善長以意商榷，作獅子林圖，真得荆關遺意，非王蒙所夢見也。

²²⁷ Fong, *Images of the Mind*, 174.

²²⁸ Cahill, *The Distant Mountains*, 206-207.

riverbanks. With the words of the ancients and his own artistic experience, Wang conveys and realizes his thoughts on the reconciliation between the “Yuan” and the “Song.” In his inscription on another painting after Ni Zan, dated 1710 (Princeton University Art Museum, Fig. 44), Wang Hui expresses the same interest:²²⁹

每見雲林真跡，以平遠尺幅者居多。此幀重巒疊嶂全倣荊關，真屬未有之作。余從潤州張氏借觀，追摹一遍，恍置我于匡廬衡嶽間矣。

Whenever I see a genuine work by Yunlin (Ni Zan), it is usually a small composition showing a level-distance. This scroll has many peaks stacked up like layers of stone screens: it is completely derived from Jing [Hao] and Guan [Tong], and it is a work that has never been seen before. I saw the scroll at Mr. Zhang's (Zhang Jinchen's) house in Runzhou (Zhenjiang). Now, having imitated it from memory, I suddenly seem to have been placed amidst Mount Kuanglu and the peaks of Heng.²³⁰

Indeed, Wang Hui notices the differences in the Ni Zan painting he saw at Zhang Jinchen's house from Ni's other works, which he had never seen before. Yet he makes clear that he appreciates this type of Ni Zan painting very much. Wang's understanding of these differences can be seen in the hanging scroll he paints: the mountain rocks are grand and angular, much closer to those in the style of Jing Hao and Guan Tong's northern monumental landscapes than to a typical work of Ni Zan.

Another example is an undated handscroll by Wang Hui, *Rivers and Mountains after Snow in the Manner of Li Cheng* 倣李营邱江山雪霁图 (Osaka City Museum of Fine Arts, Fig. 45), which bears an interesting inscription by Yun Shouping articulating its novelty:

²²⁹ Whitfield, *In Pursuit of Antiquity*, 154-155.

²³⁰ Translation adapted from Whitfield, *In Pursuit of Antiquity*, 152. One famous work, *Mount Kuanglu* 匡廬圖, is attributed to Jing Hao (National Palace Museum, Taipei).

畫史稱營丘雪圖峰巒林屋皆以淡墨為之，而水天空處，全用粉填，真人間奇跡。每以告畫人，不愕然驚則莞爾而笑。觀此語于當時畫手，求一知營丘用意之妙已不可得，況風氣代殫，至于數百年之後哉！獨石谷子研思營丘遺法，創製新意，用丹青粉墨，合為一體，渾然天成，略無痕迹。昔石田翁效營丘，盡去丹青，澹墨逸水，其妙貴澹不貴濃，此畫中三昧也。石谷益深得其旨，專趨平澹，所作巖嵐泉壑、林莽雲煙、江帆估船、水邨漁舍，與平湖遠渚、關梁梵樓，相為映帶，無纖微餘憾。其江天空濶處不積粉，而粉之用全真，擬議神明，參于造化，真是營丘之後身，非時史所能夢見也。²³¹

The history of painting records: “Yingqiu (Li Cheng) conducts the mountain peaks and woodsy huts in his paintings of snow, all using light ink. He fills the blank places in the water and the sky completely with [white] powder.²³² It is truly a spectacle in the world. Whenever I tell a painter about this, the painter is either astonished or smiles [skeptically].”²³³ Considering [the reaction of] contemporary painters to what [Deng Chun] said [about Li Cheng], [we know that] even asking one to understand the wonder of Yingqiu’s intention was too much, not to mention that the general atmosphere has declined with every generation, and now it is hundreds of years later! Only Master Shigu (Wang Hui) studies and contemplates Yingqiu’s methods and creates new ideas. He applies crimson, azurite blue, [white] powder, and ink, and combines them as a whole. It is completely formed by Nature and there is no trace [of carving] at all. In the past, Old Man Shitian followed Yingqiu, wiping off the crimson and the azurite blue entirely, and applying thin ink and quick washes. The wonder lies in thinness more than thickness. This is the Samadhi of painting.²³⁴ Shigu gradually deepens his understanding of the aim, and focuses on pursuing mildness and tranquility. He paints mountain mists and spring valleys, forest clusters and cloudy haze, river sails and merchant boats, water villages and

²³¹ Transcription cited from Yun Shouping, *Yun Shouping quanji* 惲壽平全集 [Complete Compilation of Yun Shouping], ed. Wu Qiming 吳企明 (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 2015), 2: 626.

²³² “Powder” (*fen* 粉) here refers to lead powder used as a white pigment.

²³³ The citation is from Deng Chun 鄧椿 (active. 1128-1189), *Hua ji* 畫繼 [The Succession of Painting], 9. 3b (SKQS ed.). The entry reads: “Landscape painters mostly painted snow scenes in a vulgar manner. [However,] I once saw a painting of a snow scene by Yingqiu (Li Cheng). He conducted the mountain peaks and woodsy huts all with light ink. He filled the blank places of the water and the sky completely with [white] powder. It is outstanding. Whenever I tell a painter about this, the painter is either astonished or smiles [skeptically]. It is enough to see that the younger learners are ordinary and inferior” 山水家畫雪景多俗。嘗見營丘所作雪圖，峰巒林屋皆以淡墨為之，而水天空處全用粉填，亦一奇也。予每以告畫人，不愕然而驚則莞爾而笑，足以見後學者之凡下也。

²³⁴ Samadhi is a Buddhist term meaning the “purity and calm arising from correct realization.” It is extended to “essentials or true meanings.”

fishermen's huts. They increase the brilliance by mutual reflection with level lakes and distant islets, passes, bridges, and Buddhist temples. There is not even a slight defect. He does not accumulate powder in the blank and wide places of the river and the sky, yet he fills them purely. It drafts the divine and penetrates the creations and transformations. [Wang Hui] is truly Yingqiu's reincarnation. It is something that contemporary historians cannot even dream of.

Yun Shouping describes Wang Hui's *Rivers and Mountains after Snow in the Manner of Li Cheng* in detail, and I will not duplicate his effort. According to Yun, Wang Hui revived Li Cheng's snow scenes creatively, and it was unusual in their time, when Dong Qichang's advocacy for the monochromatic and calligraphic style still dominated. In another inscription arguing about snow scenes, Yun directly opposes Dong's opinion:

昔人論畫雪景多俗，董雲間頗宗其說。……然營邱之創製遂為獨絕，以論雪景多俗，蓋亦指眾工之跡耳，豈足以限大方？以是知雲間之說非至論也。²³⁵

In the past people argued that paintings of snow scenes were mostly vulgar, and Dong Yunjian (Dong Qichang) rather followed this commentary... However, Yingqiu's (Li Cheng's) invention became unmatched in the end. When one argues that snow scenes are mostly vulgar, he refers to the work of a multitude of artisans. How is this enough to restrain the ingenious masters? Therefore, I know that Yunjian's theory is not perfect.

Thus, as one of the "ingenious masters," Wang Hui would not have been dissuaded by Dong Qichang's opinion, and judging from what he paints in *Rivers and Mountains after Snow in the Manner of Li Cheng*, he was not. In this painting, Wang uses a very light crimson as the main tone and applies white lead powder to the river and the sky, though these pigments do not overshadow ink rendering and calligraphic strokes. With all the master skills required, the panorama attains a rich and complete effect, yet retains a

²³⁵ Yun Shouping, *Nantian huaba* 南田畫跋 [Nantian's Painting Inscriptions], 17a-17b (XYCS ed.).

simple and elegant quality. Far from halting between descriptive and calligraphic brushwork, between the “Song” and the “Yuan,” Wang creates a phenomenal world of his own perception, employing all the means he found suitable and sufficient.

Yun Shouping, too, agrees with the reconciliation between “Song” and “Yuan” that Wang Hui adopted. He articulates his thoughts in a painting inscription:

宋法刻畫，而元變化，然變化本由於刻畫，妙在相參而無礙。習之者視為歧而二之，此世人迷境。如程李用兵，寬嚴異路。然李將軍何難於刁斗，程不識不妨於野戰，顧神明變化何如耳。²³⁶

The Song followed carved delineating, and the Yuan transformed it. However, transformation is originally on account of carved delineating. The wonderfulness came from mutual reference to each other without obstruction. Learners see them as divergent and divide them – that is the place where common people are confused. It is like [how] Cheng [Bushi] and Li [Guang] commanded troops.²³⁷ They differed in their leniency and their strictness, but General Li would not find it difficult to [march with] cooking pans and Cheng Bushi would not be hampered with field operations. It depends on how the divine transformations are made.

For Yun Shouping, the paintings from Song and Yuan each have their advantages, and one can mutually reference them rather than seeing them separately. Whether a painting is good or bad does not depend on if its style is “Song” or “Yuan,” but on the “divine transformations” 神明變化 – how the style is created and transformed. Wang Hui’s attempt at fusing Song and Yuan was an embodiment of this ideal. This fusion must have been a difficult process. It risked a result that would resemble neither of the admired styles, being compromised and mediocre. This difficulty has been well described by

²³⁶ Yun, *Ouxiang guan ji*, 11. 3a.

²³⁷ Cheng Bushi 程不識 and Li Guang 李廣 were both famous generals of the Han dynasty. See Ban Gu 班固 (32-92 CE), *Qianhan shu* 前漢書 [History of the Former Han], 54. 1a-29b (SKQS ed.).

Honoré de Balzac (1799-1850), through what Frenhofer said to Porbus in *The Unknown Masterpiece*:

You have halted between two manners. You have hesitated between drawing and color, between the dogged attention to detail, the stiff precision of the German masters and the dazzling glow, the joyous exuberance of Italian painters. You have set yourself to imitate Hans Holbein and Titian, Albrecht Dürer and Paul Veronese in a single picture. A magnificent ambition truly, but what has come of it? Your work has neither the severe charm of a dry execution nor the magical illusion of Italian *chiaroscuro*. Titian's rich golden coloring poured into Albrecht Dürer's austere outlines has shattered them, like molten bronze bursting through the mold that is not strong enough to hold it. In other places the outlines have held firm, imprisoning and obscuring the magnificent glowing flood of Venetian color. The drawing of the face is not perfect, the coloring is not perfect; traces of that unlucky indecision are to be seen everywhere. Unless you felt strong enough to fuse the two opposed manners in the fire of your own genius, you should have cast in your lot boldly with the one or the other, and so have obtained the unity which simulates one of the conditions of life itself.²³⁸

Balzac's story is set in the art world of seventeenth-century Paris, where young Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665) sought to make his name. Unlike Poussin and Porbus, who were real artists of the time, Frenhofer is a fictional character. Yet the fictional artist may give real insight into the artistic creative process, as evinced by the fact that Paul Cézanne (1839-1906) strongly identified himself with Frenhofer.²³⁹ Frenhofer's words, then, may demonstrate that in an artist's practice, "imitation" itself requires masterly skills and a decisive mind. This is the reason why successful imitation of one manner can already obtain artistic unity. Imitation tends to be underestimated because it is not usually viewed as the result of perception, the reflection of the artist's eye and mind. The process of

²³⁸ Honoré de Balzac, "The Unknown Masterpiece" (1845), in *The Comedy of Human Life* (London: The Athenian Society), 216.

²³⁹ Jon Kear, "Frenhofer, c'est moi!: Cézanne's Nudes and Balzac's *Le Chef-d'oeuvre inconnu*," *Cambridge Quarterly* 35: 4 (2006): 345-360.

imitation, which requires the artist's ability both to perceive a painting and to realize that perception, is easily ignored. The fusion of two opposing manners, nonetheless, requires genius. There was a reason that a painter in the late Ming and early Qing dynasty followed either the "Yuan" or the "Song" – the attempt to fuse the two demands the artist's confidence in his talents and his strong determination. Wang Hui's successful fusion of different and even opposing styles reveals his deep understanding of both styles, and the genius and confidence he had to possess to accomplish the process. By merging different tendencies that seemed incompatible, Wang formed his version of "Great Synthesis." The "Great Synthesis" was far from a simple collage of various styles, nor was it derived successively from the last generation. It was an inevitable result of the artist's individual experiences which proved his trust in himself to move one step closer to Perfection.

CHAPTER 4

THE HEARTS CAPABLE OF APPRECIATION

In 1672, Wang Hui reached the age of forty. Over the twenty years he spent studying old paintings in private collections, he formed mature ideas on art theory and practice, and established interpersonal relationships with art collectors and connoisseurs. It was in 1672 that a gathering was held at Yang Zhaolu's 楊兆魯 (1623-?) Jin Garden 近園. Yang was a scholar-official during the Ming-Qing transition. He built the Jin Garden in 1672 in Piling, and invited Wang Hui, Yun Shouping and Da Chongguang for an elegant gathering. At this gathering, which lasted about a month, Wang, Yun, and Da had several discussions about art. During that time, Wang and Yun created, viewed, and inscribed many paintings to record the gathering. The 1670s were a productive and creative period for Wang Hui, as his skill had attained maturity and yet he retained his fresh curiosity and sensitive feelings. While it is not possible to definitively state that the Jin Garden gathering was the impetus for this new period of creativity, the records and resultant works indeed revealed great excitement and pleasure. Complementary artistic creations could arise from discourse and practice among congenial friends who shared similar views of art. Wang Hui must have been stimulated, motivated, and inspired by his friends during such events, and his artworks, as products of exchange and collaboration, show more improvised and less restrained characteristics. Compared to his large and highly refined paintings, which were often done on commission, these works are smaller and less exquisite, yet they reveal more of the artist's innovative vision, which is significant in the studies of the artist and the early modern history of Chinese painting.

Wang Hui and Da Chongguang already knew of each other no later than 1671, when Da sent him a poem for his birthday of forty *sui* (at which Wang was thirty-nine years old).²⁴⁰ In the seventh month of 1672, Wang Hui was the first to arrived at the Jin Garden, and resided at Suichutang 遂初堂 [Hall of Satisfying the Original], after which Yang Zhaolu's anthology was named.²⁴¹ Wang painted the *Jin Garden* 近園圖 for Yang. In the eighth month, Da Chongguang also came to the Jin Garden and was lodged in Anlewo 安樂窩 [Peaceful Pleasant Nest].²⁴² Wang Hui painted *Secluded Dwelling Surrounded by Water and Bamboo* 水竹幽居圖 (Suzhou Museum, Fig. 46), and these events are recorded in his inscription:

壬子八月，余過毗陵，江上篔先生亦至，同客楊先生竹深齋。抵掌十日夜，明窗淨幾，伸紙抽毫，探討古今，商論丘壑。有正叔憚子時來參悟，譏彈得失。凡所謂三品六法，頗能析入淵微，與先生齊契密證，傾倒極歡，恨相知晚也。此卷用宋人意畫水竹幽居，先生見而悅之，因取奉贈，且共訂他時結塵外之游，聊以此為先談。先生其許我乎？

In the eighth month of the Year of Renzi (1672), I passed Piling (Changzhou), and Mr. Da Jiangshang (Da Chongguang) also came by. We are both guests at Mr. Yang's (Yang Zhaolu's) Deep Bamboo Studio. For ten days and nights, we have clapped our hands and coincided perfectly. At the bright window and the clean table, we open up paper and take out brush, probe into the ancient and the contemporary, and exchange views about hills and valleys. Master Yun Zhengshu (Yun Shouping) sometimes comes to apprehend the successes and reprove the failures. As for what is called Three Ranks and Six Methods, [Yun]

²⁴⁰ See Da Chongguang's poem, "Xinhai zhongchun wei Shigu laoxiong sishi shou" 辛亥仲春為石谷老兄四十壽 [Happy Fortieth Birthday to My Brother Wang Hui in the Second Month of Spring in the Year of Xinhai], in Xu, *Qinghui zengyan*, 7. 1a-1b (FY LCS ed.).

²⁴¹ Ji, *Siku quanshu zongmu*, 2a-2b (SKQS ed.).

²⁴² Liu Peng 劉鵬, "Zhenji tiba lu yu Wang Hui Lin Fuchun shanju tu di yi ben" 《真跡題跋錄》與王翬《臨〈富春山居圖〉》第一本 [A Record of Authentic Paintings and Wang Hui's First Copy of *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*], *Zhongguo guojia bowuguan guankan* 3 (2016): 119-120.

can analyze the profound and the exquisite very well.²⁴³ He and Mr. [Da] tacitly understand and intimately realize each other. They converse deeply with extreme happiness and much regret that they had not met earlier. In this scroll, I use the conception of the Song artists to paint *Secluded Dwelling Surrounded by Water and Bamboo*. Mr. [Da] sees and enjoys it. Therefore, I take the scroll and present it as a gift. We will schedule a time to go on an otherworldly trip together. For the moment I provide this [painting] for us to talk about first. Will you allow me, Sir?

At this time, Yun Shouping also came to the Jin Garden, and the three gentlemen talked broadly and at length about art. Wang Hui mentions that Da and Yun shared similar ideas on art. Wang does not express his views directly, yet his agreement with Da and Yun is clearly implied through his painting. The painting may have been inspired by Yang Zhaolu's Jin Garden. The name of the place where they stayed, Deep Bamboo Studio 竹深齋, suggests that groves of bamboo must have been planted around the dwelling; as in the painting, humble houses are hidden behind tall bamboo. As well, Yun Shouping's inscription on *Water and Bamboo* indicates that Wang Hui's painting was the embodiment of their ideal of art:

觀石谷子贈江上先生水竹圖，有文湖州篔簹偃竹遺意，真會心之賞，遊閑之珍。

I see *Secluded Dwelling Surrounded by Water and Bamboo* that Master Shigu (Wang Hui) presents to Mr. Jiangshang (Da Chongguang). The painting has the inherited idea of Wen Huzhou's (Wen Tong's) *Lodging Bamboo at Tall*

²⁴³ “Three Ranks” refers to the three ranks of paintings described by Zhang Huaiguan 張懷瓘: *shen pin* 神品 [inspired rank], *miao pin* 妙品 [marvelous rank], and *neng pin* 能品 [competent rank]. Zhu Jingxuan 朱景玄 (841-846) cites Zhang's “Three Ranks” and argues for a fourth, *yi pin* 逸品 [transcendental rank]. See Zhu Jingxuan, “Preface,” in *Tangchao minghua lu* 唐朝名畫錄 [Famous Paintings of the Tang Dynasty], 10a. The record reads: “I apply the three ranks – the inspired rank, the marvelous rank, and the competent rank – in Zhang Huaiguan's *Judgment of Painting Ranks*, to decide the classes. I divide each rank into three: the upper, the middle, and the lower. Outside the standards, there is a transcendental rank not restrained by common laws. I use these to distinguish the superior and the inferior” 以張懷瓘畫品斷神妙能三品定其等，格上中下又分為三。其格外有不拘常法，又有逸品，以表其優劣也。

Bamboo Valley.²⁴⁴ It is truly an enjoyment of our congenial hearts and a treasure of our leisured associations.

By referencing Wen Tong's bamboo, Yun Shouping may not only be commenting on Wang Hui's painting, but also comparing their "congenial hearts" to that of Wen Tong and Su Shi, the two Northern Song literati-artists who shared their aesthetics in exchanges of poetry and painting.

In the ninth month, Wang Hui and Da Chongguang were still staying at Yang Zhaolu's Jin Garden when Li Zongkong came with Tang Yin's 唐寅 (1470-1524) *Returning Home in Wind and Rain* 風雨歸莊圖 from his collection, and showed it to them.²⁴⁵ Wang Hui was inspired, and as a result created a painting entitled *Reclusion in Cloudy Streams* 雲溪高逸圖 (Palace Museum, Beijing, Fig. 47) for Da Chongguang. As Wang records in his own inscription on this painting:

²⁴⁴ Wen Tong's *Lodging Bamboo at Tall Bamboo Valley* 筧筥偃竹 is not extant, yet it is recorded in Su Shi's "Wen Yuke hua Yundangu yanzhu ji" 文與可畫筧筥谷偃竹記 [The Story of Wen Tong Painting *Lodging Bamboo at Tall Bamboo Valley*]. Wen Tong was once the prefectural chief of Yangzhou (Yang County, Shaanxi province) and often went to the Tall Bamboo Valley to paint bamboo. The record reads: "Therefore [Wen Tong] painted *Lodging Bamboo at Tall Bamboo Valley* and gave it to me. He said: 'The bamboo is just a couple of *chi*, but [in my painting] it has the momentum of ten thousand *chi*.' Tall Bamboo Valley is in Yangzhou. Yuke (Wen Tong) once asked me to write thirty poems for Yangzhou. *Tall Bamboo Valley* is one of them. My poem reads: 'Tall bamboo at Hanchuan (Hanzhong, Shaanxi province) is cheap like bitter fleabane / Axes never pardon the bamboo shoots / I am sure that poverty has given the Prefectural Chief (you) / A thousand *mu* (about 165 acres) of the Wei Riverside in your chest.' At that day, Yuke and his wife were on a trip in the valley. They cooked bamboo shoots for dinner. [Wen Tong] opened the letter and got my poem. He could not have helped laughing so hard as to spew his food all over the table" 因以所畫筧筥谷偃竹遺予曰：此竹數尺耳，而有萬尺之勢。筧筥谷在洋州，與可嘗令予作洋州三十詠，筧筥谷其一也。予詩云：漢川修竹賤如蓬，斤斧何曾赦箨龍。料得清貧饑太守，渭濱千畝在胸中。與可是日與其妻遊谷中，燒筥晚事，發函得詩，失笑噴飯滿案。Su, *Dongpo quanji*, 36. 21b-23b (SKQS ed.).

²⁴⁵ Tang Yin, one of the Four Ming Masters, was famous for his landscape and figure painting. See as an example of his landscape: *Whispering Pines on a Mountain Path* 山路松聲圖 (National Palace Museum, Taipei). Tang's *Returning Home in Wind and Rain* in Li Zongkong's collection seems not extant.

壬子九月在楊氏竹深齋適廣陵李給諫攜六如居士風雨歸莊見示，用其灑為江上侍御先生畫雲溪高逸，礪礪之際，靈想從空，覺指腕間神明不隔，亦一快也。

In the ninth month of the Year of Renzi, I stayed at Mr. Yang's Deep Bamboo Studio. Censor Li [Zongkong] has just brought Hermit Liuru's (Tang Yin's) *Returning Home in Wind and Rain* and shown it to me. I used his methods to paint *Reclusion in Cloudy Streams* for the official Jiangshang (Da Chongguang). At that majestic occasion, my spiritual mind was following the sky, feeling that between my fingers and wrist there is no separation from the divine. It was also a pleasant moment.

Following Wang Hui, Yun Shouping inscribes a poem and a few words to record the event:

水閣秋蔭覆研池，
夜來移石看雲知。
鬱岡臥作雲溪想，
正是王郎破墨時。

The autumn shades at the water pavilion were projected upon the ink pond,
At night I moved the [ink] stone and noticed this when I looked at the clouds
[reflected in the ink pond].
Yugang (Da Chongguang) lay back and thought about cloudy streams,
It was the time when Mr. Wang [Hui] broke his ink.

觀其崖瀨奔會，林麓隱伏，寂焉澄懷，悄焉動容。蓋已近跨六如，遠追洪谷，孤行法外，軼宕之致盡矣。當鬱岡先生秋堂隱几，游想雲溪，而王山人已隔牖含豪，分雲置壑。兩公神契，無言默成，耽玩勝趣，真足鼓舞天倪，資其霞舉。尚哉斯圖。

I see cliff rapids running and meeting together, mountain forests lying concealed. They are so quiet as to calm my mind, so silent as to change my countenance. [Wang Hui] has already gone beyond Liuru (Tang Yin) in the near and matches Honggu (Jing Hao) in the far. He walks alone outside the laws and thoroughly evokes the interest of flowing rhythm. When Mr. Yugang leaned on the long table and dreamed of cloudy streams, Mountain Man Wang [Hui] already held his brush in his mouth [to moisten or smooth it before use] at a distance from the window, assigning clouds and placing valleys. The two revered gentlemen spiritually associated with each other and tacitly accomplished [the painting]. They were keen on playing, with a wonderful

pleasure. It was truly enough to inspire the natural boundaries and encourage the imposing manner. What a great painting!

Wang Hui's painting emphasizes clouds. The handscroll begins with a lonely boat and a row of geese over the stream, while swirling clouds and thick mist flow around them. The clouds and mist extend into the next part of the scroll and fill the space around the mountain rocks, hiding the path that the scholar and his attendant on the bridge are preparing to tread. The scroll ends with a Buddhist or Daoist temple and the mountains ahead are entirely hidden behind the clouds and mist, over which the rock bridge extends, seemingly to the heavens. In this inscription, Yun Shouping does not mention himself, and his description has an imaginative air, which may imply that he was not there when Wang Hui created the painting. However, narrating from the perspective of an eyewitness, Yun envisions the creative process and communicates it to his two friends.

During his time at the Jin Garden, Wang Hui painted one scroll after Cao Zhibo 曹知白 and another after Xu Ben 徐賁, both for Yun Shouping (Shanghai Museum, Fig. 48).²⁴⁶ According to Wang Hui's inscription, the former is after Cao Zhibo's *Xilin Chan Temple* 西林禪室圖.²⁴⁷ It depicts a quiet temple surrounded by a sparse forest. In the other scroll, Wang depicts a boat at the riverbank and leaves a large area of negative space for the river. He inscribes a couplet: "I borrow your [mooring] place to harbor my fishing boat / Let me listen to the rain and fall asleep by the west window" 借君此地安

²⁴⁶ Xu Ben was a Ming literati-painter. One of his extant works is *Mount Shu* 蜀山圖 (National Palace Museum, Taipei).

²⁴⁷ Xilin Chan Temple is located in present-day Shanghai. Cao Zhibo's painting is not extant.

漁艇，著我西窗听雨眠。²⁴⁸ Wang Hui does not mention the painting's connection to Xu Ben, yet Da Chongguang articulates this reference. The two scrolls were mounted together, and Da's colophon after the mounted scrolls reads:²⁴⁹

壬子秋日，石谷王子與余同下榻毘陵之近園，友人正叔朝夕討論書畫不輟。石谷為余臨子久富春山卷，並作雲谿高逸、水竹幽居、迂翁逸趣、秋浦漁莊諸卷，又為正叔作二圖，蕭疏閑澹之致，非近今所能夢見，正恐為它人作畫不肯出此。正叔題識余卷殆遍，攜之遊舫，真足傲顛米矣。珍重，珍重！江上外史笄重光書石谷為南田正叔作徐幼文、曹知白二圖卷尾，以志三人筆墨之契，庶可千古也。

In the autumn of the Year of Renzi (1672), Mr. Wang Shigu (Wang Hui) and I are both lodged at the Jin Garden in Piling. We talked about calligraphy and painting with our friend Zhengshu (Yun Shouping) day and night without a break. Shigu copied Ziji's (Huang Gongwang's) *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains* for me, and created *Reclusion in Cloudy Streams, Secluded Dwelling Surrounded by Water and Bamboo, Transcendental Delight of Old Man Ni*, and *Fishing at Autumn Riverside*. He again created two paintings for Zhengshu; the well-proportioned and tranquil qualities [of these paintings] are things that contemporaries cannot imagine even in their dreams. Thus, I am afraid that he will not create paintings like these for anyone else. Zhengshu inscribed every scroll of mine and brought them with him on the boat. That was truly enough to follow the Mania Mi (Mi Fu).²⁵⁰ Please take good care of yourselves! Please take good care of yourselves! The Scholar Jiangshang Da Chongguang inscribed the colophon of the two paintings [after] Xu Youwen (Xu Ben) and Cao Zhibo, painted by Shigu for Nantian Zhengshu, to record the congeniality of brush and ink among us three. If only it could last forever!

²⁴⁸ This couplet is from Wang Jian's poem inscribed on his *Landscape after Dong Yuan* 倣北苑山水圖軸, 1668 (Guangzhou Museum of Art).

²⁴⁹ Wang Hui's two scrolls for Yun Shouping are mounted with a landscape painting by Yun, but Yun's painting is dated 1685, and is not directly related to the event.

²⁵⁰ Mi Fu lived on a boat in his later years, and his boat was famous for carrying his collection of calligraphy and paintings. A poem sent to him by Huang Tingjian, "Xi zeng Mi Yuanzhang" 戲贈米元章 [Playfully Given to Mi Yuanzhang] records this: "Ten thousand *li* away the water touches the sky, in a sailing boat / years have passed by with musk ink and mouse-tail brush / Over the dark green river in the quiet night, a rainbow passes through the moon / [the sailing boat] must be the Mi Family's boat of calligraphy and painting" 萬里風帆水著天，麝煤鼠尾過年年。滄江靜夜虹貫月，定是米家書畫船。Huang Tingjian, *Shangu neiji shizhu* 山谷內集詩注 [Notes on the Original Anthology of Huang Tingjian], 15. 18b (SKQS ed.).

According to Wang Shimin's 1673 inscription on Wang Hui's copy of *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*, held at the Freer Gallery of Art (Fig. 29), this piece is the one that Hui created for Da – though Shimin mistakenly thought that this scroll was done in Runzhou (Zhenjiang, Jiangsu province) in winter, at Da's residence.²⁵¹ While at the Jin Garden, according to Da's inscription recorded in Wu Zhi's 吳芝 *Zhenji tiba lu* 真跡題跋錄 [A Record of Authentic Paintings], Wang Hui and Da Chongguang also viewed Wang Hui's first painting after *Fuchun Mountains*, done in 1662:

右一峰富春卷，虞山王石谷臨於壬寅之夏，江上外史筮在辛觀於壬子之秋，時同榻於楊氏之近園。²⁵²

Yifeng's (Huang Gongwang's) *Fuchun Mountains* on the right was copied by Wang Shigu (Wang Hui) from Yushan in the summer of the Year of Renyin (1662). The scholar Jiangshang Da Zaixin (Da Chongguang) viewed it in the autumn of the Year of Renzi (1672), during the time he stayed together [with Wang] at Mr. Yang's Jin Garden.

Da Chongguang viewed more than one piece by Wang Hui during their stay. Wang also brought another painting to the Jin Garden which he had created in 1671, *After Wang Wei's "Mountain Shadow and Clearing Snow"* 臨王維山陰霽雪圖 (National Palace Museum, Taipei, Fig. 49), which Da viewed and inscribed.²⁵³

²⁵¹ Wang Shimin's inscription reads: "Last winter, Wang Hui happened to travel to Runzhou (Zhenjiang, Jiangsu province) and copied the original handscroll [of *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*] in the house of the official Zaiweng (Da Chongguang). Today he will go to Jiaoshan (Zhenjiang) to spend the summer. He passed Lou[dong] (Taicang, Jiangsu province) and brought this scroll with him to show me..." 舊冬石谷遇遊潤州，復為在翁侍御對臨真本，今將赴焦山度夏之約，過婁話別，因攜此卷見眎。 Translation adapted from Victoria Contag, *Chinese Masters of the 17th Century*, trans. Michael Bullock (Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1969), 10.

²⁵² Cited in Liu, "Zhenji tiba lu yu Wang Hui Lin Fuchun shanju tu di yi ben," 116.

²⁵³ Da Chongguang's inscription reads: "I inscribed Wang Shigu's (Wang Hui's) *After Wang Wei's "Mountain Shadow and Clearing Snow,"* at the time I stayed at Mr. Yang's Jin Garden in Jinling (Changzhou). The Jiangshang Literatus Da Chongguang [inscribed]" 題王石谷臨右丞山陰雪霽圖。時在晉陵楊氏之近園。江上外史筮重光。

Two of the paintings that Da Chongguang mentions in his inscription, *Reclusion in Cloudy Streams* and *Secluded Dwelling Surrounded by Water and Bamboo*, are discussed above. But the other two, *Transcendental Delight of Old Man Ni* 迂翁逸趣 and *Fishing at Autumn Riverside* 秋浦漁莊, seem not to be extant; the only record of these works may be an inscription by Yun Shouping, probably done for *Transcendental Delight of Old Man Ni*:

昔白石翁每作雲林，其師趙同[魯]見輒呼曰：“又過矣，又過矣。”董宗伯稱子久畫，未能斷縱橫習氣，惟於迂也無間然。以石田翁之筆力，為雲林猶不為同魯所許，癡翁與雲林方駕，尚不免於縱橫。故知胸次習氣未盡，其於“幽澹”兩言，覲面千里。江上翁抗情絕俗，有雲林之風，與王山人相對忘言，靈襟瀟遠，長宵秉燭，興至抽毫，輒與雲林神合。其天趣飛翔，洗脫畫習，可以睨癡翁、傲白石，無論時史矣。壬子十月，楓林舟中，江上先生屬題。²⁵⁴

In the past, every time Old Man Baishi (Shen Zhou) painted after Yunlin (Ni Zan), his teacher Zhao Tong[lu] saw it and shouted: “It is excessive again! It is excessive again!”²⁵⁵ Dong Zongbo (Dong Qichang) said that [even] the paintings of Ziji (Huang Gongwang) could not evade miscellaneous habits.²⁵⁶ It was only Stubborn Gentleman (Ni Zan) from whom [Dong] did not keep anything. Despite Old Man Shitian’s (Shen Zhou’s) vitality of brush, his painting [after] Yunlin was not approved by Tonglu. Although Chiweng (Huang Gongwang) rivaled Yunlin, [Huang] could not avoid miscellaneous [habits]. [I] know that [if] one cannot eliminate these habits in one’s chest, one

²⁵⁴ Yun, *Nantian huaba*, 44b-45a (XYCS ed.).

²⁵⁵ The story is cited from Dong Qichang. Dong’s record reads: “Every time Shen Shitian (Shen Zhou) painted after Yunlin (Ni Zan), his teacher Zhao Tonglu saw it and shouted: ‘It is excessive again! It is excessive again!’” 沈石田每作迂翁畫，其師趙同魯見輒呼之曰：又過矣，又過矣。 See Dong Qichang, “Hua zhi” 畫旨 [Principles of Painting], in Bian Yongyu 卞永譽 (1645-1712), *Shuhua huikao* 書畫彙考 [Compiled Studies of Calligraphy and Painting], 31. 66a (SKQS ed.). Zhao Tonglu 趙同魯 (1423-1502) was skilled in landscape painting and Shen Zhou once followed him. See Xu Qin 徐沁, *Ming hua lu* 明畫錄 [Paintings of the Ming Dynasty], 3. 8b (DHZCS ed.).

²⁵⁶ “Zhang Boyu (Zhang Yu, 1283-1350) inscribes on Yuanzhen’s (Ni Zan’s) painting, saying that [Ni] did not have the miscellaneous habits [that were common] in the history of painting...[as for these] miscellaneous habits, even Huang Ziji (Huang Gongwang) could not curb them...” 張伯雨題元鎮畫云無畫史縱橫習氣...縱橫習氣，即黃子久未能斷... Dong, *Huachanshi suibi*, 2. 17b-18a (SKQS ed.).

is a thousand *li* away from seeing the two words of “seclusion and quietness.”²⁵⁷ Old Man Jiangshang’s noble sentiment and freedom from vulgarity had the manner of Yunlin. He and Mountain Man Wang [Hui] forsook words between each other. [Wang’s] spiritual mind was clear and profound. He held a candle in the long night, attained his interest and took out his brush, and then his spirit conformed to Yunlin’s. The beauty of nature [in Wang’s painting] hovers and washes off [erroneous] habits of painting. It can look around Chiweng and look down upon Baishi, let alone the contemporary historian[’s commentaries]. In the tenth month of the Year of Renzi, at the maple forest on a boat, I inscribe [this] at Mr. Jiangshang’s request.

Yun Shouping’s inscription was written “at the maple forest on a boat,” which was after the gathering at the Jin Garden. As with *Reclusion in Cloudy Streams*, Yun might not have seen Wang Hui’s *Transcendental Delight of Old Man Ni* immediately when Wang created it, but at a later time, when Da Chongguang brought the painting to him and asked for his inscription.

Also in the autumn of 1672 at the Jin Garden, Wang Hui and Yun Shouping met Yang Yan 杨沆, Yang Zhaolu’s nephew. Yang Yan was well versed in literature and painting, according to Yun Shouping and his uncle Yun Xiang 惲向 (1586-1655), both of whom once painted for him.²⁵⁸ On the ninth day of the ninth month, Yun Shouping created a fan painting, *Nandina, Chimonanthus, and Podocarpus* 天竹蠟梅羅漢松 (National Palace Museum, Taipei, Fig. 50). Wang Hui left an inscription on the fan painting to comment on Yun’s work and to celebrate their gathering with Yang Yan:

²⁵⁷ “The two words of ‘seclusion and quietness’” 幽澹兩言 is from Dong, *Huachanshi suibi*, 2. 18a (SKQS ed.).

²⁵⁸ Liu, “*Zhenji tiba lu yu Wang Hui Lin Fuchun shanju tu di yi ben*,” 119. Yun Xiang was a literati-artist skillful in landscape. See as an example his *Autumn Forest, Flat and Distant* 秋山平遠圖, dated 1638 (Shanghai Museum).

余家舊藏刁光胤杏花雪狸圖，精工之極，絕無作氣。觀南田正叔設色用筆，正與相合。此三友圖，創製新意，為之甚奇。余與正叔允裘，皆為筆墨知己，因題識以定歲寒之盟云。時壬子重九，同學弟王翬。

My family once acquired Diao Guangyin's *Apricot Blossom, Snow Tomcat*.²⁵⁹ [Diao's painting is] extremely quaint and certainly has no pretentious manner. I see that the color sets and brushwork of Nantian Zhengshu (Yun Shouping) are precisely compatible with it. This picture of "Three Friends" creates new conceptions and I am greatly amazed by it.²⁶⁰ Zhengshu, Yunqiu (Yang Yan), and I are all intimate friends in brush and ink, therefore I inscribe to establish our solemn promise of [friendship] in cold seasons. On the ninth day of the ninth month, [inscribed by] the fellow younger brother Wang Hui.

After Wang Hui's words, Yun Shouping inscribes:

烏目山人謬稱余筆近刁光胤。此暗合孫吳，未敢自喜為獨得。然王郎以為合，知己不我欺也。此景有允裘石谷同賞，可稱厚幸。南田客壽平。

Wumu Mountain Man (Wang Hui) claims with exaggeration that my brush is close to [that of] Diao Guangyin. I implicitly conformed [my brush] to [Diao's as if between] Sun [Wu] and Wu [Qi], [yet] I dare not be content with myself for attaining it alone.²⁶¹ This is so; however, Mr. Wang thinks that it conforms – the one who truly knows me does not deceive me. Yunqiu (Yang Yan) and Shigu (Wang Hui) enjoyed this scene together [with me]. This could be called great luck. The guest Nantian Shouping [inscribed].

The three gentlemen might have together viewed and appreciated the nandina, chimonanthus, and podocarpus planted in the Jin Garden, since all of them are commonly used in garden landscaping. Comparing themselves with the three types of plants that

²⁵⁹ Diao Guangyin 刁光胤 (c. 852-935) was a painter in the late Tang and Five Dynasties. See Huang Xiufu 黃休復, *Yizhou minghua lu* 益州名畫錄 [Famous Paintings in Yizhou], 2. 3a-3b (SKQS ed.).

²⁶⁰ "Three Friends" can refer to bamboo, plum blossom, and pines, all of which can grow in cold weather. They are a metaphor for good friends. The Chinese names for nandina ("sacred bamboo"), chimonanthus ("winter plum blossom"), and podocarpus ("arhat pines") indicate the reason why Wang Hui recognizes the theme of Yun Shouping's painting as "Three Friends."

²⁶¹ Sun Wu 孫武 (544-470 BCE) and Wu Qi 吳起 (440-381 BCE) were both famous military strategists in the Eastern Zhou dynasty. They are often mentioned in the same breath.

represent lofty personalities and good friends – nandina (“sacred bamboo”), chimonanthus (“winter plum blossom”), and podocarpus (“arhat pines”) – this fan painting was created as a record of the gathering.

Wang Hui and Da Chongguang likely left the Jin Garden around the late ninth month or the early tenth month, according to Da’s preface to “Ti Shigu Xiansheng *Piling qiuxing tu shi’er shou*” 題石谷先生毘陵秋興圖十二首 [Twelve Poems on Wang Hui’s *Autumn Inspiration in Piling*]:²⁶²

壬子之秋，同年友邀余過毗陵館于家園，時虞山王子石谷先至，連床夜話討論今昔，四十餘日興勃勃未盡。聞主人欲之澄江，遂俱告歸，石谷還虞山，余返棹京口。

In the autumn of the Year of Renzi (1672), a friend of my age invited me to drop by Piling and stay at his residential garden. At the time, Mr. Wang Shigu (Wang Hui) from Yushan was already there. We combined our beds and talked each night, discussing the past and the present for more than forty days, and our interests were still thriving and not exhausted. We heard that the host would like to go to Chengjiang (Jiangxi province), and thereafter we both bid farewell to him and returned. Shigu was returning to Yushan, and I was returning by boat to Jingkou (Zhenjiang, Jiangsu province).

After they left the Jin Garden, Wang Hui and Da Chongguang were still together on the boat, and the elegant gathering had not ended. In his preface, Da accounts:

是時維揚李給諫屬余招石谷子于明春同集焦岩。期會正遠，因維舟河干，絕賓友，恣遊賞，徘徊于禪房仙觀，不與主人知也。一夕放舟徜徉，見堤上秋林，石谷指謂余曰：“此真畫也，先生賞之。”霜楓紅葉如熾，青松、紫檉、白榆、烏柏五色相鮮，高下俯仰，參差雜沓，不可名狀。復有叢篠枯槎，遠近互相掩映，位置殆若人巧者。余屬石谷曰：“化工神妙，當與爭奇，先生亟為我圖之，右丞大年不足摹耳。”石谷欣然呼毫，艤舟隔岸，目擊手追者屢日，一片丹楓竟移奪于縑素間矣。圖成寒飆振林，落葉飄灑，似造物者惜此秋華遽為收攝。披覽余圖色態如昨，此固時序之所不能侵，而霜雪之所不能剝，尤可寶也。

²⁶² Xu, *Qinghui zengyan*, 6.1a-2a (FYLCS ed.).

At this time, Censor Li [Zongkong] from Weiyang (Yangzhou, Jiangsu province) asked me to bid Mister Shigu to gather with us next spring in Jiaoyan (Zhenjiang, Jiangsu province). The meeting date was still far away, therefore we fastened our boat at the riverside, and parted from guests and friends to indulge ourselves in visiting and enjoying [scenery]. We wandered around the Chan Buddhist chambers and Daoist temples, and we did not let the host know about [our trip]. At dusk [one evening], we wandered about by boat and saw the autumn forests on the embankment. Shigu pointed to them and said to me: “This is a true painting. Please enjoy it, sir.” The red leaves of frosted maple trees were as if blazing. Green pines, purple tamarisks, white elms, and black tallow trees were attractive [with red leaves] in five colors. They were high or low, bending or lifting, irregular and tangled, and we could not name their forms. There was also a grove of thin bamboo and withered tree branches. They were near and far, setting off one another, and their placement was nearly as artistic as if someone [had deliberately placed them]. I told Shigu: “The transformed crafts [of Nature] are marvelous, and you should compete with its peculiar beauty. Please paint it for me now, sir. The Right Councilor (Wang Wei) and Danian (Zhao Lingrang) are inadequate to imitate.” Shigu joyfully called for his brush and had the boat harbored at the opposite side of the river. He observed with his eyes and traced with his hands for several days, and a forest of red maple came to be transferred and captured within the fine silk. When the picture was finished, the cold wind was striking the forest and fallen leaves were fluttering and alighting, as if the Creator had pity that such beauty of autumn was suddenly [being] taken in. I unrolled and looked at the painting; the colors were [just] as [in the real landscape that we had seen] before. It is truly something that the change of seasons cannot erode, and the frost and snow cannot deprive [us of]. This is especially precious.

Yun Shouping would later come to join Wang Hui and Da Chongguang on the river, after Wang had painted the maple forest, according to Da’s record:

南田惲子聞而異之，就篷窗對景展圖，乃稱賞叫絕，笑撫石谷背顧余曰：“兩公留滯河湄，為藝苑增不朽勝事。”何問主人哉，可無篇章以紀斯游。即相為唱和，並敘其狂興如此。

Mr. Yun Nantian (Yun Shouping) heard about it and was amazed by it. He moved close to the boat window and unrolled the painting, and then he extolled and applauded. He laughed and patted Shigu’s back, looking at me and saying: “You two revered gentlemen stayed at the riverbank and added an immortal great event to the art circle.” Why should we not ask the host if he can compose an essay to document the trip? We wrote and replied [to] each other in poems, and in this way I narrated our exuberant spirits.

Both Da Chongguang and Yun Shouping wrote twelve poems to record the event.²⁶³ Yun also wrote other poems about their gathering on the river in the tenth month, indicating that the three of them were still staying in the west suburb of Piling around the time when Wang Hui painted the maple forest.²⁶⁴ On the sixteenth day of the tenth month, Da and Yun each inscribed a poem on Wang Hui's *Profound Scholar Perching on the Rock* 巖栖高士圖 (Palace Museum, Beijing, Fig. 51), "on a boat in Piling" 毘陵舟次 and "beside a boat at the maple forest" 楓林舟次, respectively.²⁶⁵ Wang Hui might have created the painting at the scene, or painted it previously and brought it to the boat. Wang and Yun together bid farewell to Da on the nineteenth day of the tenth month, according to

²⁶³ In his preface to the twelve poems, Yun Shouping writes: "In the tenth month of the Year of Renzi, Censor Da Jiangshang and Shigu Mountain Man Wang were floating their boats at the water's edge in Piling. [They] lingered between the frosted forests and red leaves. [Da] asked Mountain Man Wang to paint them, and [Da and I each] composed twelve poems to record this great event" 壬子十月，江上筮御史同石谷王山人浮舟毘陵水次，盤桓霜林紅葉間，屬王山人為圖，各賦詩十二章以志勝事. Yun, *Ouxiangguan ji*, 3. 6b-7a.

²⁶⁴ One of Yun Shouping's poems records time and place in its preface. The preface reads: "In the tenth month of the Year of Renzi, I, Mr. Da Jiangshang (Da Chongguang), and Wumu Mountain Man (Wang Hui) gathered together in the west suburb. We berthed and talked at night. I and Old Man Jiangshang collaborated on this painting and laughed with each other. Only Shigu (Wang Hui) looked at us from the rampart – perhaps he subdued us without fighting!" 壬子十月，與江上筮先生、烏目山人同聚西郊，泊舟夜談，與江上翁合成此圖相對笑樂，但石谷子從壁上觀，得毋不戰屈人邪. Yun, *Ouxiangguan ji*, 3. 6a.

²⁶⁵ Da Chongguang inscribes: "At the peak of Mount Wumu (Mount Yushan) he looks around the wealthy and powerful / Lightly his ink-plays surpass Yingqiu (Li Cheng) / How much can mundane work earn / Like green mountains that will never sell out? [At the right] is a poem in response to Mr. Shigu's *Pine Valleys*. Hermit Yugang composed and inscribed on a boat in Piling, on the sixteenth day of the tenth month" 烏目峯頭睨五侯，等閒墨戲過營丘。人間作業錢多少，得似青山賣不休。（右作）和石谷先生松壑圖。鬱岡居士於毘陵舟次題併書，時壬子十月望後一日。Using the same rhythm sequence, Yun Shouping's inscription responds: "Why desire the position of a privileged marquis if one can live in seclusion? / There are distinctive forests and hills in the world of men / Among clouds the spring is falling endlessly / From the cliff I listen to the ceaseless sighing of the wind in the pines. I respond to Mr. Jiangshang's poem on [this] painting. Yun Shouping, inscribed beside a boat at the maple forest" 高臥何須萬戶侯，人間別有一林丘。雲中泉瀑流無盡，壁上松濤聽未休。和江上先生題畫詩。憚壽平書于楓林舟次。

Wang's inscription on a leaf from *Combined Landscape Album of Wang Hui and Zha Shibiao* 王石谷查梅壑山水合璧冊:²⁶⁶

壬子十月十九日，舟中同憚□□、楊子鶴別江上先生，圖此並系小詩。王翬。

On the nineteenth day of the tenth month of the Year of Renzi (1672), I, Mr. Yun [...], and Yang Zihe (Yang Jin) bid farewell to Mr. Jiangshang.²⁶⁷ I painted this and had a short poem attached. Wang Hui.

The album is not extant, but this inscription is recorded in the catalog *Xuzhai minghua lu* 虛齋名畫錄 [Famous Paintings in the Humble Hall]. Although some characters are missing, “Mr. Yun” must have been Yun Shouping, who travelled with Wang and Da on the boat in the tenth month.

Also in the tenth month, Wang Hui and Yun Shouping created a collaborative album of flowers and landscapes (National Palace Museum, Taipei). The album consists of six leaves of flower paintings by Yun and six leaves of landscapes by Wang, exemplifying how they had adopted and embodied their shared views of art in different genres of painting. In the second leaf, *Peonies* (Fig. 52), created by Yun, Wang Hui inscribes:

牡丹最易近俗，殆難下筆。如近世工徒，塗紅抹綠，雖千花萬藥，總一形勢，都無神明。惟北宋徐熙父子、趙昌王友之倫，創意既新，變態斯備。其賦色極妍，氣韻極厚，蓋能不守陳規，全師造化，故稱傳神。觀南田此本，妍精沒骨，得其變態，真可上追北宋諸賢，不僅凌跨有明陳陸數子己也。

Peonies are a subject that most easily approaches vulgarity. Certainly, it is hard to put brush to the surface [of paper or silk]. Look at those artisans of recent generations who smear red and green. Although [their paintings include]

²⁶⁶ Pang Yuanji 龐元濟 (1864-1949), *Xuzhai minghua lu* 虛齋名畫錄 [Famous Paintings in the Humble Hall] (Wucheng pangshi 烏程龐氏, 1909), 15. 14b.

²⁶⁷ Yang Jin 楊晉 (1644-1728) was a student of Wang Hui. See Zhang, *Guochao huazheng lu*, 3. 6b.

thousands of flowers and buds, [these flowers and buds] are always of one single appearance, and they have no spirits at all. Only the Xu Xi father and son, Zhao Chang, Wang You, and others of their kind of the Northern Song dynasty had novel and creative ideas, and the metamorphoses were then perfect.²⁶⁸ The color conferred [in their paintings] is very beautiful and the breath-resonance is very substantial. They were then able to depart from outmoded conventions and fully follow the creations and transformations [of Nature]. Therefore, they are considered transmitting spirits. I see that this album by Nantian (Yun Shouping) is [executed with] a fine and profound boneless method and attains the metamorphoses. [His work] can truly measure up to various worthies of the Northern Song, beyond simply surpassing Chen [Chun], Lu [Zhi], and other masters of the Ming dynasty.²⁶⁹

In the leaf, Yun Shouping draws three peonies and renders them respectively in red, purple, and white colors. The colors are heavily and opaquely applied, with varied brightness and saturation, to represent the multiple layers of flowers in a meticulous style. Wang Hui argues that the beautiful color renderings of a painting do not contradict its breath-resonance. Such as Xu Xi 徐熙 (886-975), Xu Chongsi 徐崇嗣, Zhao Chang 趙昌 (959-1016), and Wang You 王友 of the Northern Song, their paintings were both brightly colored and greatly spiritual and charming. This is in accordance with his ideas on blue-green landscapes. In the fourth leaf, *Blackberry Lilies* 射干 (Fig. 20), Yun delineates the flowers in the same style. Yet compared to the lavish composition of *Peonies*, *Blackberry*

²⁶⁸ Xu Xi 徐熙 (886-975) was a bird-and-flower painter in the Five Dynasties. His son was Xu Chongsi 徐崇嗣, who was famous for his innovation of the boneless method in bird-and-flower painting. Their original works are not extant, and there are only a few attributed to them. See attributed to Xu Xi, *Wealth and Rank in Halls of Jade* 玉堂富貴圖 (National Palace Museum, Taipei) and attributed to Xu Chongsi, *Flower Album of Xu Chongsi* 徐崇嗣花卉冊 (National Palace Museum, Taipei). See also *Xuanhe huapu*, 17. 9b-10b, 15a-15b (SKQS ed.). Wang You 王友 was a student of Zhao Chang. See Guo, *Tuhua jianwen zhi*, 4. 11b (SKQS ed.).

²⁶⁹ Chen Chun 陳淳 (1483-1544) was a Ming painter notable for his flower paintings. See as an example his *Peonies* 畫牡丹, 1544 (National Palace Museum, Taipei). Lu Zhi 陸治 (1496-1576) was a painter in the Ming dynasty who was famous for landscapes and flowers. See one of his flower paintings *Magnolia* 玉蘭 (National Palace Museum, Taipei).

Lilies occupies only the right corner, leaving half of the leaf blank. Wang Hui inscribes: “Flowers and grasses in the autumn garden. The thoughts of the brush are clear and graceful. [You are] the [only] one after Zhao Wenmin (Zhao Mengfu)” 秋園卉草。筆思清纖。趙文敏後一人也。Yun Shouping’s six leaves of flowers are followed by Wang Hui’s landscape after Zhao Mengfu (Fig. 17). Green color dominates the composition and pink peach blossoms render the riverbanks. It is an embodiment of his view of Zhao Mengfu’s refined colored flowers, in concordance with his inscription on Yun’s leaf.

In the following year, Wang Hui continued to be stimulated by artistic exchange. *Landscape after Ni Zan* 倣倪雲林山水圖, dated 1673 (Wuxi Museum, Fig. 53), perfectly represents Ni Zan’s typical “one-river, two-shore” composition and his dry brushstrokes, possibly imitating *The Rongxi Studio* 容膝齋圖 (Fig. 54). Wang’s identical composition demonstrates little intention of creating a new model, but rather that of creating something that might capture the Perfection that Ni’s painting had approached. Wang Hui states his views on painting in his inscription:

凡作畫遇興到時，即運筆潑墨，頃刻間煙雲變化，峰巒萬重，蒼莽淋漓。諸法畢具，真若有神助者。此為天真，得天真而成逸品。逸品在神品之上，所謂神品者，人力所能至也。所謂逸品者，在興會時偶合也。

Every time I paint, attaining [the peak of] my excitement, I will wield my brush and pour the ink, and all of a sudden, the mists and clouds are changing; there are ten thousand layers of mountain peaks and ranges. They are vast, boundless, and free from inhibition. All methods are complete, truly like having God’s support. It is “natural and genuine,” and [by] attaining [the “natural and genuine”] one will accomplish a work of the transcendental rank. The transcendental rank is beyond the inspired rank. What is called the “inspired rank” is what one can attain by human effort. What is called the “transcendental rank” will be attained [only] by chance when the excitements converge.

The notion that the transcendental rank 逸品 is beyond the inspired rank 神品 comes from Yun Shouping, who most often discussed the concept of the transcendental rank during the early Qing period.²⁷⁰ In one of his inscriptions on painting, Yun states:

高逸一種，蓋欲脫盡縱橫習氣，澹然天真，所謂無意為文乃佳，故以逸品置神品之上。若用意模仿，去之愈遠。倪高士云：“作畫不過寫胸中逸氣耳”，此語最微，然可與知者道也。²⁷¹

The lofty and transcendental type results from the will to peel off all the miscellaneous habits, and to be tranquilly natural and genuine. It is [the same as] what is meant by [the saying] “the author has no intention to write well, [but the essay] turns out to be excellent.” Therefore, I place the transcendental rank over the inspired rank. If one imitates with intention, he will move further away from [the natural and genuine]. The Profound Scholar Ni [Zan] said: “To paint is but to write the transcendental breath from my chest.”²⁷² This saying is most subtle, but there is one who understands, with whom I can talk about it.

Wang Hui was certainly the one who understood the subtlety of this saying by Ni Zan. A painting in transcendental rank can only be attained when the excitements converge. When is it that the excitements may converge, and such a transcendental rank may be attained? The elegant gatherings, at Yang Zhaolu’s Jin Garden and on the boat by the maple forest in the year before, and the inspiration from Wang Hui’s congenial friends Yun Shouping and Da Chongguang, cannot have been unrelated to Wang’s practice of painting and his view of attaining the transcendental rank when excitements converge.

²⁷⁰ Wang Shixiang 王世襄, *Zhongguo hualun yanjiu* 中國畫論研究 [A Study of Chinese Painting Criticism] (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2013), 268-272.

²⁷¹ Yun, *Ouxiangguan ji*, 11. 8a.

²⁷² The citation is from Ni Zan’s “Ba huazhu” 跋畫竹 [Inscription on Bamboo Painting]: “My bamboo serves only to write the transcendental breath from my chest” 余之竹聊以寫胸中逸氣耳. Ni Zan, *Qingbi ge quanji* 清閼閣全集 [Complete Anthology of the Qingbi Pavilion], 9. 17a (SKQS ed.).

These experiences, which aroused his excitement, and thus led to his creation of unusually surpassing works, must have given him this idea.

The artistic collaboration between Wang Hui and Yun Shouping continued the next year. On the eighth day of the sixth month of the Year of Guichou (1673), Wang Hui and Yun Shouping came to visit Shi Jianzong 史鑑宗, and it was then that they began their collaboration on another album, *Collaborative Landscape Album by Wang Hui and Yun Shouping* (National Palace Museum, Taipei).²⁷³ This time, both artists painted landscapes, and it is notable that their landscapes are not easy to distinguish from one another. Both used simple yet varied brushstrokes in monochrome to create a corner of nature on each leaf. The album recalls the famous story recorded in *Nantian Xiansheng jiazhuan* that Yun Shouping turned mainly to flower painting after he met Wang Hui.²⁷⁴ The story seems a farfetched tale, yet it attests to the fact that Wang Hui and Yun Shouping shared a very similar style of landscape. It seems likely that the story is a later commentary on the two artists' landscapes, and thus it may serve as evidence of their similar ideas on art. Although Wang and Yun might have deliberately painted in an identical style for the collaborative album, this came about because of the fundamental congeniality between the two.

²⁷³ Shi Jianzong was a poet and painter in the early Qing dynasty who specialized in blue-green landscape painting. His birth and death dates are unknown; it is only recorded that he became a candidate for the civil service examination at the provincial level in the eighth year of the Shunzhi reign (1651). See Feng, *Guochao hua shi*, 2. 23a.

²⁷⁴ Yun, "Nantian Xiansheng jiazhuan," 1b. Cited in the first chapter.

According to both Wang Hui and Yun Shouping's inscriptions, the creative process of the collaborative album lasted for at least seven days, and during this time they may have stayed at Shi Jianzong's studio. On the second leaf, Yun recounts:

六月八日，予與石谷同過遠公先生齋，爐香茗椀，伊蒲清供。是日山雨洒窓，新涼襲人。展雲林大幀、房山長幅，論富春殘本，商訂古今筆墨源流，談讌極驩。乘興隨筆，須臾盈帋。石谷復為點綴。以史先生研精六法，能教督所不逮也。惲壽平記。

On the eighth day of the sixth month, Shigu (Wang Hui) and I together drop by Mr. Yuangong's (Shi Jianzong's) studio. There are incense burners, tea bowls, vegetarian dishes, and elegant study objects. On this day, mountain rain is spraying on the window and a new chill is assailing [us]. [We] unroll a large scroll of Yunlin (Ni Zan) and a long scroll of Fangshan (Gao Kegong), and discuss the remnant scroll of *Fuchun Mountains*. [We] negotiate and revise the origins and branches of brush and ink, chatting away with great pleasure. I improvise [brushwork] while in high spirits, and instantly fill the paper. Shigu dots and embellishes [my work] once more. Mr. Shi expertly studies the Six Methods, so he must be able to teach and direct what we have not attained.²⁷⁵ Yun Shouping records this.

The three men unrolled “a large scroll of [Ni Zan]” 雲林大幀 on the first day of their gathering, and then Yun “improvise[d] [brushwork] while in high spirits” 乘興隨筆 and Wang “dot[ted] and embellish[ed] [Yun's work] once more” 復為點綴. From this it can be presumed that the first leaf of the album, *Wild Chamber in Sparse Forests* 疏林野屋 (Fig. 5), which was a landscape after Ni Zan, was created on the same day as Yun's inscription (the eighth day of the sixth month) and that it was a collaboration between

²⁷⁵ The Six Methods are those defined by Xie He 謝赫 (active 5th century CE), *Guhua pinlu* 古畫品錄 [Savoring the Antique Paintings], 5a (SKQS ed.): “What are the Six Methods? One, to have movement with spirited breath. Two, to use the brush in the method of bone. Three, to portray forms responding to things. Four, to give colors according to categories. Five, to carefully arrange places for composition. Six, to transmit and transform models” 六法者何？一氣韻生動是也，二骨法用筆是也，三應物象形是也，四隨類賦彩是也，五經營位置是也，六傳移模寫是也. Later the Six Methods are referred to generally as principles of painting.

Yun and Wang. The painting takes up the full leaf, depicting several trees growing on a riverbank, and large textured mountain rocks surrounding modest houses. At the bottom right corner are inscriptions by Yun and Wang. Yun Shouping inscribes first: “Secluded and quiet, natural and genuine. This is the antique delight of Yunlin (Ni Zan)” 幽澹天真。雲林古趣。Following Yun’s inscription, Wang Hui expresses his ideas on Ni Zan:

雲林直欲駕王吳而上。全以逸氣取勝耳。此本庶幾得之矣。

Yunlin (Ni Zan) was on the verge of surpassing Wang [Meng] and Wu [Zhen], ascending all the way. He prevailed entirely because of his transcendental temperament, which in this painting is almost fully realized.

Wang Hui argues that Ni Zan prevailed over the other Four Yuan Masters because of this “transcendental temperament,” which he states that Yun Shouping, and Wang Hui himself, nearly attain in this leaf. Yun twice inscribes the leaf, and his second inscription is a response to Wang:

胸中無逸氣。不可以作雲林。若如庸俗所為。遂遺泉石之點。當與王郎共洗之。

Should one possess no transcendental temperament in his chest, one cannot paint [after] Yunlin (Ni Zan). If a vulgarian does so, he will omit the point of spring and rock. I must clear away [the vulgarity] together with Mr. Wang [Hui].

The line “I must clear away [the vulgarity] together with Mr. Wang [Hui]” may have been a statement on their collaborative album of landscape, which was therefore the embodiment of their mutual views of painting. Yun Shouping viewed Wang Hui and himself as the ones who could truly capture the old masters’ temperaments. The viewer can scarcely disagree with his assertion when looking at the leaf Yun inscribed. Within a small, nearly square frame, without the typical composition of Ni Zan’s high ground level

and distant riverbanks, Yun and Wang have captured the essential features of simplified brushstrokes and unspoiled nature.

From the second leaf on, the paintings only take up half as much paper as the first painting does. These small paintings are no larger than one's palm. The painting of the second leaf, *Bamboo and Pure Spring* 杉竹清泉, takes up the right half, while Yun Shouping's account of the gathering takes up the left (Fig. 4). The two pieces of paper were executed separately and mounted together, and the poem that Wang Hui composes after Yun's long inscription indicates the connection between the two pieces:

綠樹新篁欲送春，
古泉亭畔不逢人。
誰將一片雲林石，
遮斷千秋俗土塵。

Green trees and new bamboo are willing to send the spring away,
At the Old Spring Pavilion, we meet no one else.
Who uses a piece of Yunlin's (Ni Zan's) rock,
To block out the vulgarians' dust over a thousand autumns?

The first couplet of the poem describes Yun Shouping's painting on the right side of the leaf – Yun's picture depicts trees and bamboo on the bank of a stream that flows from a spring. This suggests that the two pieces of painting and writing would have been created at the same time and were intended to be mounted together. The second couplet, on the other hand, is a response to Yun's statement on the first leaf: "I should clear away [the vulgarity] together with Mr. Wang [Hui]" 當與王郎共洗之. Therefore, Wang Hui's poem serves as evidence that both the first and second leaves were created on the eighth day of the sixth month.

Also created on this day was the fourth leaf, on which Yun painted two small landscapes, *Old Trees, New Appearances* 古木新姿 and *Landscape after Xiao and Xiang Rivers* 臨瀟湘圖 (Fig. 6), each occupying half of the leaf. Wang Hui, Yun Shouping, and Shi Jianzong also unrolled “a long scroll of Fangshan (Gao Kegong)” 房山長卷 on the eighth day of the sixth month. Yun inscribes the following on *Old Trees, New Appearances*: “[We] view Minister Gao’s (Gao Kegong’s) green mountains and obtain this delight of ink” 觀高尚書碧山，得此墨趣. Gao Kegong’s “green mountains” must have been from this long scroll by Gao which they unrolled and viewed. Yun’s picture depicts Gao’s typical subject and style, rendering conical mountain peaks with ink dots and clouds around the mountainsides. On this very night, Yun Shouping painted *Landscape after Xiao and Xiang Rivers*. He claims it to be “a piece of rock in Beiyuan’s (Dong Yuan’s) *Xiao and Xiang Rivers*” 北苑瀟湘圖卷中一片石. Dong Yuan’s *Xiao and Xiang Rivers* was once in the collection of Dong Qichang, and Yun may have seen it in some context. However, Yun’s picture was not necessarily drawn from Dong’s painting, since his piece of rock in the middle of a shoal is nowhere to be found in Dong Yuan’s work.

According to Yun’s inscription on the second leaf, Wang Hui must have dotted and embellished at least these leaves mentioned above, as I discussed in the first chapter. He might have retouched the texture of rocks, the dot-like vegetation, the ink washes for the tree leaves, or the horizontal lines of the shoal. However, these are far from identifiable, since the two shared very similar styles of landscape and theories of art. What we do

know is that Wang's brush must have been confident and well-controlled to heighten the feelings of quietness and tranquility, eradicating any possible excesses.

Unlike the previous leaves mentioned above, which were primarily created by Yun Shouping, Wang Hui signed the last leaf of this album, *Forest Huts among Streams and Mountains* 溪山林屋 (Fig. 34). They both inscribed the painting, and their inscriptions constitute a conversation between them about Huang Gongwang's "solitariness and straightforwardness" (I closely examined this leaf and the inscriptions in the second chapter). Wang Hui and Yun Shouping might have brought up the topic while "discuss[ing] the remnant scroll of *Fuchun Mountains*" 論富春殘本. Wang indicates at the end that they "wish to discuss it with Mister Shi [Jianzong]" 願與史先生商之, implying that Shi Jianzong was there with them. Thus, the inscriptions might have been a record of their discussion. The painting, on the other hand, would not have been created immediately. In his inscription on the eighth day of the sixth month, Yun did not mention any paintings that were primarily the work of Wang. Thus, the paintings on the last two leaves of the album, which were signed by Wang Hui, may have been done at a later time.

There are two interesting pictures in the album that have no clear attribution. The picture on the left of the fifth leaf, *Layered Cliffs, Tall Trees* 層崖修樾 (Fig. 7), bears both Wang Hui and Yun Shouping's seals and an inscription by Yun, yet Yun's inscription does not clearly indicate who created this leaf: "[I/You] paint with Zijiu's (Huang Gongwang's) leisurely and tranquil brush, and [yet] shed the ordinary fields and paths of Zijiu. A guest of the garden [inscribed]" 作子久閒靜之筆，脫去子久畦徑矣。

園客. The left picture of the sixth leaf, *Splashing Waterfall at the Cliff* 懸崖濺瀑 (Fig. 55), is a similar case. It bears Wang Hui's inscription of a couplet with his signature, and is dated "the fourteenth day of the sixth month in the Year of Guichou" 癸丑六月十四日. Yun Shouping's inscription indicates that the painting is after Li Tang: "*Splashing Waterfall at the Cliff*. Imitating Li Xigu (Li Tang) cannot be like Xigu, and [yet] it hands down Xigu's spirit. Wonderful!" 懸崖濺瀑。擬李晞古，絕不似晞古，而晞古之神傳。快哉. It is only safe to conclude that both Wang and Yun participated in the process of creation for these two pictures, and that they did not bother to distinguish their attribution. The two pieces of Yun's inscription show further steps toward their ideal. They were not satisfied with Huang Gongwang, Li Tang, or the other old masters they admired. Thus, mere resemblance to the masters' paintings was far from adequate; they were inquiring into the "resemblance" of Perfection that the masters had approached, yet never fully attained. They still had to shed the "ordinary fields and paths" of Huang Gongwang, and to truly realize Li Tang's spirit they could not imitate him. They saw themselves as the ones who could conceive that Perfection, and hand down the ideal. The cliffs in *Layered Cliffs*, *Tall Trees* resemble neither the hemp-fiber texture strokes in *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*, nor the steep, angular cliff rocks in *Clearing After Sudden Snow*. The painting experiments with new forms of layered vertical cliffsides, and a slope left blank on the other side. In the left picture, a splashing waterfall that occupies a large blankness is of a kind not seen in Li Tang's depictions of waterfalls (see Fig. 56). *Splashing Waterfall at the Cliff* is a very sketchy, small picture that cannot be compared to large-scale, polished works, but it represents a unity of the two gentlemen's artistic

conceptions: although it is only a simplified, rough, and vague gesture, it may convey much of their imaginations, and lead to the path that approaches the essence and truth – the *thing* that they thought of as Perfection.

Similar creative activities continued in 1673. In the late autumn, Wang Hui created an album for Wang Shimin, *In the Pursuit of Antiquity: Landscape after Song and Yuan Masters* (Princeton University Art Museum). Wang Hui finished the album at Li Zongkong's Mi Garden 秘園 in Yangzhou, and this album bears inscriptions from Yun Shouping, Da Chongguang, and Li Zongkong. Although Wang Hui signed the last leaf and indicated that he created the album in late autumn, the ninth leaf, *Mountain Peaks in Mist in the Style of Gao Kegong* (Fig. 57), was actually created much earlier, and not at the Mi Garden.²⁷⁶ Yun's inscription on this leaf recalls the gathering at Yang Zhaolu's Jin Garden in 1672:

壬子秋與石谷在楊氏水亭同觀米南宮大幀，宋徽廟題云：天降時雨，山川出雲。董宗伯鑒定米畫第一，為荊溪吳光祿所藏。吳氏有雲起樓，蓋以斯圖名也。石谷用其意為小幀，如泛岳陽樓親聽仙人吹笛，一時凡境頓盡，故下筆靈氣鬱蒸，與前此所圖雲山復異。園客壽平題。與賞音者共鑒之。癸丑六月望後一日，燈下在荊溪寓中。

In the autumn of the Year of Renzi (1672), Shigu (Wang Hui) and I examined together a large scroll by Mi Nangong (Mi Fu) at Mr. Yang's Water Pavilion. On it was an inscription by Song Huimiao (Emperor Huizong), which reads: "Heaven bestows a timely rain, mountains and rivers appear through the clouds."²⁷⁷ Dong Zongbo (Dong Qichang) authenticated it as the finest of Mi's paintings. It was in the collection of Wu Guanglu from Jingxi (Yixing, Jiangsu province). Mr. Wu owned the Pavilion of Rising Clouds, which was named after this painting. Shigu has borrowed its vision in creating this small picture.

²⁷⁶ According to Yun Shouping's inscription, this painting should be in fact in the style of Mi Fu.

²⁷⁷ Emperor Huizong 徽宗 (1082-1135) was the eighth emperor of the Northern Song dynasty who was famous as an emperor-artist. One of his works is *Auspicious Cranes* 瑞鶴圖, 1112 (Liaoning Provincial Museum, Shenyang). Mi Fu's scroll mentioned here is *Pavilion of Rising Clouds* 雲起樓圖 (Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, DC).

It is as though he himself had listened to the immortals' flute music at the Yueyang Tower, and the mundane condition had suddenly vanished [from his mind]. Thus, under his brush a spiritual breath rises like dense steam. The cloud-mountains which he has painted here are completely different from those before. A guest of the garden, Shouping, records this so that those who understand the music may appreciate the painting with him. On the sixteenth day of the sixth month in the Year of Guichou (1673), under lamplight, at the lodge in Jingxi.²⁷⁸

“[A]t the lodge in Jingxi” 荆溪寓中 indicates that Yun Shouping and Wang Hui could still have been at Shi Jianzong's residence on the sixteenth day of the sixth month in 1673. Shi Jianzong was from Yixing, Jiangsu province, to which “Jingxi” here refers – thus, “the lodge in Jingxi” probably refers to Shi's residence. If this was the case, Wang and Yun must have finished the collaborative album during their stay at Shi's, which lasted for at least nine days starting from the eighth day of the month, and the ninth leaf of *In the Pursuit of Antiquity* was also created along with *Collaborative Landscape Album*.

The large scroll by Mi Fu, *Pavilion of Rising Clouds* 雲起樓圖, was once acquired by Dong Qichang and is now held at the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, DC (Fig. 58). Both Wang Hui and Yun Shouping saw it at Yang Zhaolu's Jin Garden. The mountains in Wang Hui's leaf after Mi Fu have a similar rhythm and tendency to the mountains in *Pavilion of Rising Clouds*. The “Mi dots” in each painting are rendered differently, partly because of the difference in medium – *Pavilion of Rising Clouds* is painted on silk, and Wang's leaf is on paper. Additionally, Wang delineates the clouds and mist with swirling lines, while those in *Pavilion of Rising Clouds* are rendered entirely with ink washes.

²⁷⁸ All the translations of inscriptions from *In the Pursuit of Antiquity: Landscape after Song and Yuan Masters* (Princeton University Art Museum) are adapted from Whitfield, *In Pursuit of Antiquity*, 120-128.

The ninth leaf after Mi Fu was created at an earlier date, but it may be the case that the leaf was painted for the same purpose – as a gift for Wang Shimin. Wang Hui finished this commission in the late autumn of 1673 at the Mi Garden, but he could have begun it much earlier. Although the creation date of this leaf is closer to that of the *Collaborative Landscape Album*, the dimensions and format of the collaboration between Wang Hui and Yun Shouping are in accordance with the album *In the Pursuit of Antiquity*. In addition, in the *Collaborative Landscape Album*, both Wang and Yun painted in a freer, less restrained manner, and their pictures are simple and even sketchy, indicating that these are ink-plays, and the primary intended audience was a smaller and more intimate group – only Wang, Yun, and their host Shi Jianzong. *In the Pursuit of Antiquity* (including the ninth leaf that was created at a much earlier date) is in a different style. The ninth leaf after Mi Fu, for example, features a small painting similar in size to those in Wang and Yun’s album, but the brush and ink are more careful and refined, unlike the simple and sketchy pictures in the *Collaborative Landscape Album*. Also, both Wang and Yun inscribed directly on the paintings’ surfaces in the *Collaborative Landscape Album*, but in the album *In the Pursuit of Antiquity*, Yun carefully inscribes on the margin of the mounting paper, leaving Wang’s painting at the center untouched. The carefulness and refinement of the latter album suggest a different creative intent. *In the Pursuit of Antiquity* was painted for Wang Shimin, Wang Hui’s mentor and a senior figure in art circles. The broad range of personages who inscribed this album, including Da Chongguang, Li Zongkong, Liu Yu and others, indicate that the album was intended for a much larger audience. While it did not necessarily exclude creative ideas and free

expression, the album was intended to be both a fine, finished gift and a demonstration of skills for its audience.

Yun Shouping inscribes almost every leaf of *In the Pursuit of Antiquity*. Evidence shows that he was probably not in Yangzhou when Wang Hui created the rest of the album, thus he must have inscribed the album leaves either before or after Da Chongguang and others inscribed the opposite half of the folded mounting paper.²⁷⁹ On most leaves, he inscribed the margins of the mounting paper alongside Wang Hui's paintings, with the exception of the seventh leaf, *Mountains in Mist in the Style of Mi Fu*, where he inscribed the opposite half of the paper at a later time in 1674. Yun did not participate in collaborative painting in this instance, but his words contribute to the artistic interest. In the second leaf, *Valley between Cliffs in the Style of Dong Yuan* (Fig. 59), Yun inscribes in the right margin:

偶一展對，忽如置身荒崖邃谷，寂寞無人之境，樹影森蕭，磴路盤紆，景不盈尺，游賞無窮。自非凝神獨照，洗落靈氣，妙筆先之機、通象外之趣者，未易臻此。石谷子為煙翁先生擬北苑小景，真變化神明，第一合作。壽平題。

Unfolding and facing [this leaf], I suddenly find myself in a lonely and uninhabited world of wild cliffs and deep valleys. The trees cast somber shadows, while a mountain stream and paths wind their way around. The scene fills less than one *chi*, yet one can roam in it with endless enjoyment. [A painter] must concentrate his spirit, reflect in solitude, cleanse [his mind] and

²⁷⁹ In a letter sent to Wang Hui, Yun Shouping writes: “[We] spent the summer in Jiaoyan (Jiaoshan, Zhenjiang, Jiangsu province) and this past meeting was like a dream. At the Twenty-Four Bridge (in Yangzhou, Jiangsu province), under the bright moon, Mr. Wang [Hui] is alone, listening to the *xiao* (a vertical bamboo flute). I know at the moment it must be hard [for us] to bear thinking of [each other]. My older brother (you) in Guangling (Yangzhou) must miss me from time to time, and I am here also [missing you] the same, spending a day as if three autumns have passed” 焦巖銷夏，前期如夢，二十四橋明月，王郎獨夜聞簫，知此際定難為懷耳。長兄在廣陵，必時時念我，我亦同此一日三秋。Wang Hui was invited to Jiaoyan (Zhenjiang) in the spring of 1673, according to Da Chongguang. If Yun Shouping also came to Jiaoyan in this year, “the summer in Jiaoyan” must refer to the summer of 1673. If this was the case, Yun might have written this letter when Wang was at the Mi Garden in Yangzhou, in the autumn of 1673. Yun, *Qinghuitang tongren chidu huicun*, 2. 4a.

[emit] a spiritual breath [so that he] may [endow] miraculous ideas under his brush and lead to flavors beyond outward appearance, or he will not easily achieve such [excellence]. Master Shigu (Wang Hui) painted for Mr. Yanweng (Wang Shimin) this small scene in the style of Beiyuan (Dong Yuan). Truly, the metamorphosis is divine and brilliant. It is a masterpiece of the first order. [Yun] Shouping inscribed.

Yun Shouping's writings articulate Wang Hui's unspoken images. In this leaf, Wang depicts one established mountain path going up at the left, partially hidden by another, seemingly less-traveled path. A stream runs through the valley and the ripples are well-represented. No trace of human activity is to be found; only two deer appear on the mountain path at the right. The lighter application of ink for the shadows of trees in the background, and the almost invisible silhouette of a mountain peak that emerges behind the ongoing path, indicate the mists in the valley. Yun closely read Wang's painting and paid attention to every detail. He does not neglect the shadows of trees applied with lighter ink, stating that "the trees cast somber shadows" 樹影森蕭. He knew that, because of the winding mountain path, the mountain stream must make a curve at one point, hence his description of both the mountain stream and the paths "wind[ing] their way around" 礮路盤紆. Wang's image, which evokes a solitary feeling, is accompanied by Yun's articulation of the aesthetics of this "lonely and uninhabited world" 寂寞無人之境. There is no surrogate through which the viewer can enter this world, yet through the winding torrents and paths "one can roam in it with endless enjoyment" 游賞無窮.

On the fifth leaf, *Bamboo, Rock, and Dead Branches in the Style of Cao Zhibo* (Fig. 60), Yun inscribes:

石谷子傲雲西竹石枯槎，靈趣藹然，索玩無盡。昔人所謂一勺水亦看曲處，一片石亦有深處，此圖得之矣。

Master Shigu (Wang Hui) imitates the bamboo, rocks and dead branches of Yunxi (Cao Zhibo). He has fresh and spirited flavors that one may enjoy without tiring. There is a saying that “even in a spoonful of water there are curves; even in a chip of rock there are hollows.” This painting has attained [such a quality].

Yun Shouping’s inscription draws the viewer’s attention to the rock accompanied by bamboo, and the water, which is indicated by a pier and blank space. Wang Hui uses texture strokes to represent the sags and crests of the rock, and foliates it with clusters of bamboo at both sides, making the rock a focal point of the picture. The rock, along with a dead tree, leans to the left side, turning the viewer’s attention to the seemingly less attractive part at the left. The blankness of the water balances the richness of the rock and bamboo. The riverbank in the background is outlined by the silhouetted mountain range hidden behind clouds. Yun perceived all the delicacy in the curves of the water and the hollows of the rock.

On the left margin of the eighth leaf, *Thatched Huts between Trees and Rocks* (Fig. 41), Yun again articulates the subject matter:

密林大石相為主賓，山外平原歸人一徑，位置極遠。觀其運筆有唐賢之風，覺王晉卿猶傷刻畫。

At the dense forests, large boulders act as hosts and guests. Beyond the hills, on a flat plain, a traveler returns by the only road. This composition gives an impression of great distance. I see that [Wang Hui’s] wielding of the brush evokes the manner of the Tang worthies. I feel that [by comparison] even Wang Jinqing (Wang Shen) suffered from the ills of carved delineating.

The viewer's attention is first drawn to the colorful forests: red, green, and yellow colors indicate the autumn season. The hills in the foreground, as Yun Shouping describes, are a set of miniatures of mountains as hosts and guests – the host “peak” is in the middle, surrounded by lower guest “peaks.” Yun directs the viewer’s gaze from the colorful

forests to the rocks, then to the homebound traveler walking on the path in the remote distance. The depth of the picture is implied by the path stretching outside the frame, and the sense of the passage of time is reinforced by the traveler's steps.

On the last leaf of the album, *Boat before Rocky Landscape in the Style of Guo Xi*

(Fig. 61), Yun Shouping inscribes:

觀石谷此本真能到古人不用心處矣。亂山荒遠一棹渺然，凡俗胷中有此境界不？

Judging by this painting, Shigu (Wang Hui) has truly grasped the places that the ancient masters did not dwell on. In a land of tumbled mountains and wilderness, a single boat is adrift. How can such scenery be found in the bosom of an ordinary man?

If it were in a long handscroll, the solitary mountain scene with a boat in the distance might be just one of many details. Yet in the album leaf, the scene becomes the main subject. The single boat was indeed one of “the places that the ancient masters did not dwell on” 古人不用心處. Wang Hui captures and emphasizes the single boat by framing it with tumbled mountains, bringing out a new vitality from the old subject matter. Yun was well aware of all the places Wang intended to focus on, and recognized and articulated them in his writings. The insight that Yun displayed must have encouraged and stimulated Wang Hui in his artistic efforts.

CHAPTER 5

POETIC MOMENTS

To paint is to perceive and to represent a poetic moment. The moment is fleeting, but the painting records this moment, amplifies the poetry of it, and makes it concrete and lasting. Painting allows a chance of escape from the triviality and sufferings of life, by focusing on the pure pleasure of the moment. The works produced by Wang Hui in 1686, during his stay in Kunshan with Yun Shouping, are remarkable for his intention of capturing poetic moments in painting. If the 1670s were the period in which Wang Hui transformed the masters' styles into his own, then by the 1680s he was prepared, in both skill and intention, to paint his own subjects. He not only created paintings; he lived by painting. While paintings can vanish with time, conceptions of them will not. The visions, memories, illusions, imaginings, and dreams that surround paintings constantly recall the poetic moments of the past. Artistic creations preserve and perfect the poetic moments of the present, conceiving them in memories with the desire to make them last eternally – these are the silent meanings of a painting.

Wang Hui and Yun Shouping went to Kunshan in the autumn of 1686, and both recorded the time they spent there. Wang Hui painted *Night Parasol Trees, Autumn Shadows* 晚梧秋影圖 (Palace Museum, Beijing, Fig. 8-a) on the tenth day of the seventh month. On this painting, Yun inscribes a poem and a few words:

魚窺人影躍清池，綠掛秋風柳萬絲。石岸散衣閒立久，碧梧蔭下納涼時。

Fish are peeping at our shadows and jumping out of the clear pond,
Green, hanging in the autumn wind, the willows have ten thousand threads.
Leisurely we linger at the stone bank, in casual clothes,
It is the time when we enjoy the cool under the shades of the green parasol
trees.

丙寅秋与石谷王子同客玉峯園池，每於晚涼翰墨餘暇，与石谷立池上，商論繪事，極賞心之娛。時星漢晶然，清露未下，暗覩梧影，輒大叫曰好墨葉好墨葉。因知北苑巨然房山海嶽點墨最淋漓處，必濃澹相兼，半明半暗。乃造化先有此境，古匠力為摹倣，至于得意忘言，始洒脫畦徑，有自然之妙，此真我輩無言之師。王郎酒酣興發，戲為造化留此景致，以示賞音，抽豪灑墨，若張顛濡發時也。修為先生見而愛之，因以為贈。他日貽之文孫蔚兄以成世契。南田惲壽平。

In the autumn of the Year of Bingyin (1686), Mr. Wang Shigu (Wang Hui) and I are both guests in the garden pond of Yufeng ("Jade Peak," Kunshan, Jiangsu province). Every night we enjoy the cool in our leisure time after work. I stand by the pond with Shigu and we discuss painting. This exhausts the enjoyment of appreciating with our hearts. Now that the constellations are shining and the morning dew has not [yet] fallen, we look at the shadows of [the leaves of] parasol trees in the dark, and we then shout that they are "fine ink leaves, fine ink leaves!" Therefore, we know that [for] Beiyuan (Dong Yuan), Juran, Fangshan (Gao Kegong), and Haiyue (Mi Fu), the most incisive and vivid part of their dotted ink must have been both dense and clear, half-light and half-dark. It is thus Nature that first conceives such images, and the ancient artists tried to imitate them. They finally obtained the traces and forsook the words. They became free from the ordinary fields and paths, conceiving the wonder of the natural features. [Nature] is really our tacit mentor. Mr. Wang drinks wine to his heart's content and his interest is inspired, so he captures this scene of Nature for fun, to show to those who appreciate his tone. He extracts his brush and sheds the ink, just as when Mania Zhang (Zhang Xu) soaked his hair [with ink]. Mr. Xiuwei saw this painting and he loved it, therefore [we] will give it to him as a gift. Someday, he will give this painting to his grandson, Mr. Wei, to form a friendship between our families over generations.²⁸⁰ Nantian Yun Shouping [inscribes].

Yun Shouping records this event in words, and Wang Hui records it in his painting. He paints the parasol trees on the right side with the "fine ink leaves" 好墨葉 they discussed, "both dense and clear, half-light and half-dark" 濃澹相兼，半明半暗. The two small figures standing together in conversation at the left must be Yun and Wang themselves (Fig. 8-b). The "garden pond of Yufeng" may be the North Garden of the residence of Xu

²⁸⁰ The identities of Mr. Xiuwei and his grandson Mr. Wei are unknown.

Qianxue 徐乾學 (1631-1694) in Kunshan.²⁸¹ Xu Qianxue was a nephew of Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 (1613-1682), the famous anti-Manchu activist, yet Xu passed the Imperial Civil Service Examination in 1670 and became a government official under the Kangxi Emperor. Wang Hui met Xu when he came to Nanjing and visited Zhou Lianggong in 1668. Xu wrote for him “Moling shi” 秣陵詩 [A Poem of Nanjing], and in return Wang painted *Autumn Landscape in Nanjing* 秣陵秋色圖. In 1679, Xu Qianxue went back to Kunshan to observe mourning for his mother. Wang Hui visited Xu and painted the album *Landscapes after Old Masters* (Changshu Museum) for him. Wang Hui also made a trip to Beijing in 1685 because Nara Singde had seen a painting of his at Xu Qianxue’s residence, and had asked Xu to introduce Wang to him.²⁸²

Both the painting and the inscription are vivid records of friendship between Wang Hui and Yun Shouping – how they discussed and practiced painting, and attained enjoyment from the events. Contradictory to the stereotype of the Orthodox School, the two observed the shadows of the parasol leaves and came to the idea that Nature is the origin of the ancient masters’ work, the “tacit mentor” of artists. The act of creation began with their observation and perception of the “fine ink leaves.” They must have felt and appreciated the natural scene as they felt and appreciated the paintings of Dong Yuan, Juran, Gao Kegong, and Mi Fu. It was in this spirit that they saw the fine ink leaves, which Wang put his brush to the paper to represent. Each of the two friends must

²⁸¹ Yu Fuchun 于富春, “Wang Hui jiaoyou kao” 王翬交游考 [A Study of Wanghui’s Acquaintances on His Learning Tour], *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* (Palace Museum Journal) 156 (2011): 148. Xu Qianxue was a scholar official of the early Qing dynasty. See Zhao, *Qingshi gao*, 277. 1a-3a.

²⁸² Fu, “‘Hou yimin shidai’ Wang Hui de sanci jinjing jiqi ‘nanbei’ jiaolu,” 56.

have derived equally intense pleasure from encountering these fine ink leaves, so that they were able to share the same vision and collaborate on the painting.

For Wang Hui and Yun Shouping, the idea of painting from perception and appreciation of Nature had formed long ago. In 1670, they went with Lu Hanru 陸翰如 to Jianmen 劍門 [Sword Gate], a famous landmark in Yushan.²⁸³ Yun portrayed this scene in the fan painting *Sword Gate* 劍門圖 (Palace Museum, Beijing, Fig. 62-a), and inscribed the following record of the sightseeing trip:

庚戌夏六月同虞山王子石谷、陸子翰如，從西城攜筇循山行三四里憩吾國，乘興遂登劍門。劍門，虞山最勝處也。未至拂水半嶺，忽起大石壁，盤空而賞，如積甲。陣雲騰地出，亦如扶搖之翼下垂也。石壁連延中陡削勢下，絕若劍截狀，辟一牖若可通他境他者，因號為劍門云。余因石谷命畫劍門，且屬作記，戲題遊時所見，約略如此。

In the sixth month, summer, of the Year of Gengxu (1670), I gathered together with Mr. Wang Shigu (Wang Hui) from Yushan and Mr. Lu Hanru. Carrying our bamboo staffs, we started from the west of the city, following the mountains, and went three or four *li* (about one or two kilometers), then rested at my place. On a whim, we climbed the Sword Gate. The Sword Gate is the most wonderful place in Yushan. We had not yet arrived halfway at the Water Dusting Ridge, when all of a sudden there protruded the great rock cliff. We climbed up high and gazed at it. [The rock cliff] looks like stacked armor, while the clouds, like military formations, go out and prevail over the land. [The clouds] are also like the wings [of the divine *peng* bird] on the downstroke in an updraft. In its continuous form the rock cliff becomes precipitous. The formation is broken off, as if cut by a sword, opening a gateway to another place. Hence it is called the Sword Gate. Shigu asked me to paint the Sword Gate and write a note. I playfully inscribed what we saw on the trip, and it was roughly like this.

²⁸³ Lu Hanru was presumably an educated gentleman. There is a poem by Zhang Tianzhong 張天中, prefaced: "On a winter's night, I climbed the Gushan Mountain and went to the Fountain Pavilion with Lu Hanru and other gentlemen" 冬夜與陸翰如諸子登鼓山入湧泉亭. See Tao Xuan 陶煊, et al., *Guochao shidi* 國朝詩的 [Poems of Qing Dynasty] (Shixicangban 石谿藏板), 2. 17b.

First of all came the pleasure of seeing things in Nature; as their tacit mentor, it taught the pleasure of seeing before it taught the pleasure of “imitating” it.²⁸⁴ Yun Shouping faithfully depicts the unique topography of the Sword Gate in his fan painting – the continuous form of the rock cliff at left, the sudden precipitous drop of the cliff, and the “gate” cut out in the center of the large rock. Although the painting was created by Yun, Wang Hui’s request for him to paint it and write the inscription reveals Wang’s favor for a landscape in his hometown, and his interest in painting and writing about a special sight they saw. Yun not only depicts the topography, but also records their presence in the image: at the Sword Gate, the three gentlemen are standing at the entrance of the passage between the steep rock cliffs, engrossed in conversation (Fig. 62-b). The two on the left are pointing behind the large cliffs, at what must be a sight that only they can see from this vantage point. The landscape itself, the act of viewing the landscape, and the pleasure of seeing are all recorded in the image. Rather than simply painting the real landscape, Yun also reinforced the memory of their pleasant reaction to the shared vision they encountered in nature. The trip to the Sword Gate impressed Yun Shouping deeply – in a poem written to Wang Hui, he expresses how the Sword Gate became a place with a special meaning to them: “Every year the flowers and grasses sorrowfully take leave and withdraw themselves / Why am I [always] blocked by small clouds in my dreams? / On this night, if I left to follow the bright moon / I would certainly encounter you at the rock

²⁸⁴ “Imitating Nature” is an inadequate description, since this is a much more complicated process. As Ernst Gombrich argues: “Nature cannot be imitated or ‘transcribed’ without first being taken apart and put together again. This is not the work of observation alone but rather of ceaseless experimentation.” Ernst Gombrich (1909-2001), *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (London: Phaidon Press, 1962), 141.

cliff of the Sword Gate” 年年芳草怨離羣，有夢如何隔斷雲。此夜若隨明月去，劍門巖畔定逢君。²⁸⁵

Wang Hui and Da Chongguang's outing in 1672 after their gathering at the Jin Garden is another such vivid record of the pleasure of seeing things in Nature, and painting to capture this pleasure:

一夕放舟徜徉，見堤上秋林，石谷指謂余曰：“此真畫也，先生賞之。”霜楓紅葉如熾，青松、紫檉、白榆、烏柏五色相鮮，高下俯仰，參差雜沓，不可名狀。復有叢篠枯槎，遠近互相掩映，位置殆若人巧者。余屬石谷曰：“化工神妙，當與爭奇，先生亟為我圖之，右丞大年不足摹耳。”石谷欣然呼毫，艤舟隔岸，目擊手追者屢日，一片丹楓竟移奪于縑素間矣。圖成寒飈振林，落葉飄灑，似造物者惜此秋華遽為收攝。披覽余圖色態如昨，此固時序之所不能侵，而霜雪之所不能剝，尤可寶也。²⁸⁶

At dusk [one evening], we wandered about by boat and saw the autumn forests on the embankment. Shigu pointed to them and said to me: “This is a true painting. Please enjoy it, sir.” The red leaves of frosted maple trees were as if blazing. Green pines, purple tamarisks, white elms, and black tallow trees were attractive [with red leaves] in five colors. They were high or low, bending or lifting, irregular and tangled, and we could not name their forms. There was also a grove of thin bamboo and withered tree branches. They were near and far, setting off one another, and their placement was nearly as artistic as if someone [had deliberately placed them]. I told Shigu: “The transformed crafts [of Nature] are marvelous, and you should compete with its peculiar beauty. Please paint it for me now, sir. The Right Councilor (Wang Wei) and Danian (Zhao Lingrang) are inadequate to imitate.” Shigu joyfully called for his brush and had the boat harbored at the opposite side of the river. He observed with his eyes and traced with his hands for several days, and a forest of red maple came to be transferred and captured within the fine silk. When the picture was finished, the cold wind was striking the forest and fallen leaves were fluttering and alighting, as if the Creator had pity that such beauty of autumn was suddenly [being] taken in. I unrolled and looked at the painting; the colors were [just] as [in the real landscape that we had seen] before. It is truly something

²⁸⁵ Yun, *Ouxiangguan ji*, 1. 4b.

²⁸⁶ Xu, *Qinghui zengyan*, 6. 1a-2a (FYLC ed.).

that the change of seasons cannot erode, and the frost and snow cannot deprive [us of]. This is especially precious.

The perception of the natural scene is described in Da Chongguang's account. Da narrates that Wang Hui took the natural scene of the autumn forest as a "true painting" 真畫 to enjoy. Then Da describes the scene as he describes a painting, claiming that the arrangement of the natural features "was nearly as artistic as if someone [had deliberately placed them]" 位置殆若人巧者. Far from devaluing the real landscape, Da's metaphor demonstrates his intention to perceive the natural scene – the "transformed crafts [of Nature]" 化工 – in the same way he perceived a painting's composition and the painter's crafts. The transformed crafts were indeed marvelous, but Da told Wang that he "should compete with [Nature] for peculiar beauty" 當與爭奇. Wang Hui then transferred his perception of the red maple trees to a painting, and thus preserved this perception for eternity – the red maple leaves would fall and the winter would come, yet the painting that recorded the pleasure of enjoying the natural scene became what "the change of seasons cannot erode, and the frost and snow cannot deprive [us of]" 時序之所不能侵, 而霜雪之所不能剝. Autumn would come again next year, but the gathering of these congenial friends, their encounter of the impressive forests on their spontaneous trip, and their perception of the beauty of *this* autumn would never reoccur. The ephemerality of this perception was, however, captured in Wang Hui's painting and Da Chongguang's writing, and thus made eternal. The materiality of the painting was not preserved for eternity; Wang's painting does not survive any longer. Rather, the eternality is that of their perception of the poetic moment and *our* imagination of the very moment – the

realization that such a poetic moment, such pleasure of seeing and perceiving things, was no different for them than it is for us. Thus we likely know how Wang Hui perceived the old paintings: when he saw a painting by an old master, Wang must have seen it as the eternal embodiment of a poetic moment in the past. Imagining that very moment, he must have realized that his perception and imagination of his own poetic moments was no different from that of the old masters.

Wang Hui maintained the habit of sketching sights he saw on his trips. An album dated 1681 was titled *Landscapes after Old Masters* 倣古山水冊 (Palace Museum, Beijing), yet two of the leaves in this album do not refer to old masters. On a visit to Dantu (Zhenjiang, Jiangsu province), Wang Hui painted a leaf (Fig. 63) on which he inscribes: “Beside the boat on a winter day, I drew what I saw on my journey to Dantu” 冬日舟次丹徒道中寫所見. The picture depicts a few boats on the river from a high viewpoint, which Wang Hui presumably saw after harboring his boat, when he climbed the hill by the riverside and looked down upon the view. The brushstrokes of tree branches and the texture of mountain rocks may seem to come from the style of Huang Gongwang or Wang Meng, yet they indeed record the bend of the river, the forested hilltops, and the boats floating downstream. In another leaf of the same album (Fig. 64), Wang Hui creates a minimal composition – a group of boats on the river and modest buildings on the riverbank – the greater part of which is reserved space. Wang inscribes: “In the clear evening I berthed my boat at the Furong River and casually drew the immediate view” 晚霽泊舟芙蓉涇。漫寫即景. The perspective must have been from the boat in the middle of the river. This unusual perspective shows a personal viewpoint that Wang Hui witnessed on his trip. It seems that the album leaf was a convenient format

in which to do a “sketch” of a natural scene. Although this “sketch” may not be entirely true to life, it synthesizes all the composition and brushstrokes that Wang Hui had learned and imitated. This is an example of the way in which he had merged his own style with those of the masters, and was now able to paint subjects that were truly his own.

In the late spring of the Year of Yichou (1685), Wang Hui and Yun Shouping traveled together to Wuxi by boat. Wang Hui painted an album on the trip (Shanghai Museum) and according to Wang’s inscription on the last leaf, he asked Yun to inscribe it:

乙丑暮春，梁溪道上，與南田子同舟篷窗。風日妍好，娛弄筆墨，遂成十幀。正米海嶽所謂一片江南也。即屬南田題詠，以志一時興會云。

In the late spring of the Year of Yichou (1685), on our journey to Liangxi (Wuxi, Jiangsu province), Master Nantian (Yun Shouping) and I are cruising together on a boat. The sights are wonderful. I joyfully play with my brush and ink, and finish ten leaves. It is exactly what Mi Haiyue (Mi Fu) called “a piece of the Jiangnan region.”²⁸⁷ I promptly ask Nantian to compose poems to narrate the moment when our excitements converge.

The wonderful sights of the Jiangnan region clearly excited Wang Hui’s interest, prompting him to recall Dong Yuan’s landscapes – Mi Fu’s “a piece of the Jiangnan region” was a commentary on Dong’s paintings. More importantly, the friends’ excitements converged at the moment when they saw the natural sights, recalled “a piece of the Jiangnan region,” and held the ink brush to paint and write. As Wang Hui had asserted ten years prior, about the accomplishment of a work in the transcendental rank:

²⁸⁷ The saying is from Mi Fu’s commentary on Dong Yuan in his *Hua shi* 畫史 [History of Painting]. The record reads: “There are bridges on the stream, fishermen on the shore, islets hidden or visible. It is a piece of the Jiangnan region” 溪橋漁浦，洲渚掩映，一片江南也。 See Zhang Chou 張丑 (1577-1643), *Qinghe shuhua fang* 清河書畫舫 [The Boat of Calligraphy and Painting from Qinghe], 6. 45a (SKQS ed.).

“What is called ‘transcendental rank’ will be attained by chance when the excitements converge” 所謂逸品者，在興會時偶合也。²⁸⁸

Yun Shouping subsequently wrote poems to “narrate the moment when [their] excitements converge[d].” On the fourth leaf (Fig. 65), he inscribes: “We had just stopped sailing and berthed our boat at the Liangxi River port / I boiled [the water from] the Second Spring with you” 停帆且泊梁溪口，與子同烹第二泉。²⁸⁹ Then Yun mentioned that Wang Hui painted the scenery of the Xishan Mountain in the northeast of Wuxi: “I watched Mr. Shigu (Wang Hui) playfully drawing the scenery in the area of Mount Xishan” 觀石谷子戲寫錫山一帶風景. Yun’s inscription articulates that this album leaf was Wang Hui’s immediate response to the natural scenes he saw on the trip, which was probably also true for the whole album. The images were, of course, based on Wang’s studies of the old masters’ works – Wang indeed recalled Dong Yuan and Mi Fu, and the third leaf reminded Yun of Huang Gongwang’s *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains*. There was no doubt that Wang had adopted the methods and brushstrokes he studied from these masters to compose the album; however, painting the natural scenes he saw on his travels with Yun gave Wang the opportunity to spontaneously record moments of his life. This is not to say that his perception of the landscape, the pleasure of seeing things, must have been different from that of the old masters; on the contrary, Wang and Yun could have perceived the moment in the same poetic way as the old

²⁸⁸ Wang Hui, *Landscape after Ni Zan* 倣倪雲林山水圖, dated 1673 (Wuxi Museum).

²⁸⁹ “The Second Spring” 第二泉 refers to the Huishan Mountain Spring in the western suburb of Wuxi.

masters had before. Thus, the scenes before their eyes and the memory of old paintings could have converged. However, the two artists' experiences were their own. Their sense of having relived the old masters' perceptions was their own. What they perceived, enjoyed, and recorded was meaningful to themselves and could not have been represented or replaced by others.

The journey with Wang Hui may have helped to relieve Yun Shouping's sorrow. In 1684, Yun lost his younger son to disease. In his letter to Wang Hui, Yun writes about this with deep grief:

舉家哀傷，觸目痛心，無人生之樂。胸中無限心事，非吾至知，無可告語者。弟命薄如此，將焚筆硯作方外遊，不忍者，惟吾石谷長兄先生。²⁹⁰

The whole family is grieved; it hurts our hearts [even] to look. There is no pleasure of life. My chest is laden with innumerable weights. Only with the most intimate of friends can I share [my grief]. I was born into such an unfortunate life. I shall burn my brush and ink slab and renounce the world [to become a Buddhist monk or a Daoist priest]. The only one that I cannot bear to [leave] is [you], Mr. Shigu (Wang Hui), my older brother.

Yun Shouping's laments are for more than his family's great loss. He must have been recalling the experiences of his youth when he wrote with a sigh that he "was born into such an unfortunate life" 命薄如此. Yun Shouping's father was Yun Richu 惲日初, who was an important figure in the Fu She 復社 [Revival Society] in the late Ming dynasty and then participated in the resistance to the new Manchu regime.²⁹¹ When he was twelve years old, Yun Shouping followed his father and became involved in anti-Manchu activities. The activities failed, and Yun Shouping was captured by Qing troops when he

²⁹⁰ Yun, *Yun Shouping quanji*, 2: 734.

²⁹¹ See Zhao, *Qingshi gao*, 500. 12.

was fifteen. However, he was then adopted by Chen Jin 陳錦 (? - 1652), a military governor of the Qing.²⁹² From then on, Yun and his father were separated. After some years, Chen was assassinated, and Yun Shouping carried the hearse to the Lingyin Temple 靈隱寺 in Hangzhou, finding that his natural father Yun Richu had become a monk there.²⁹³ The father and son recognized each other and were reunited. In a poem sent to Wang Hui, Yun Shouping writes about his turbulent life experience:

穹廬舊事恨飄零，
地老天荒夢未醒。
公子初翻新樂府，
他時筵上斷腸聽。

王君懌民，譜予六舊事，作傳奇新詞，膾炙一時，佳話也。²⁹⁴

I regret the past when I was involved with the [Qing] nomads, being alone with
no one to depend on,
Until the end of earth and heaven, I will not wake up from my dream.
The noble man adapted all [my stories] to new songs,
The other day, at a banquet, I listened to them heartbrokenly.
Mr. Wang Yimin (Wang Bian) set my six old stories to music and composed
new lyrics for *chuanqi* plays.²⁹⁵ They received wide praise at the time and have
become a much-told tale.

Yun Shouping's unusual life experience was adapted to verse, yet for himself, his past was still a source of anguish. Yun resumed contact with anti-Manchu activists after

²⁹² See Yun Jing 憚敬 (1757-1817), "Nantian xiansheng jiazhuàn" 南田先生家傳 [The Family History of Mr. Nantian], in Yun, *Ouxiangguan ji*, 1a.

²⁹³ Yun Hesheng, "Nantian xiansheng jiazhuàn" 南田先生家傳 [The Family History of Mr. Nantian], in Yun, *Ouxiangguan ji*, 1a-2b.

²⁹⁴ Yun, *Ouxiangguan ji*, 1. 4b.

²⁹⁵ Wang Bian 王抃 (1628-1692) was Wang Shimin's fifth son, who was famous for his poetry and dramas. See Wang Shizhen 王士禎 (1634-1711), *Xiangzu biji* 香祖筆記 [Notes on Orchids], 12. 2b (SKQS ed.).

reuniting with his father, but in his last years, the Qing empire had gradually stabilized, and there was no hope for reviving the Ming. His personal experiences and his political convictions were interconnected throughout his life. After his son's death, Yun left home and traveled alone to Hulin 虎林 (Hangzhou, Zhejiang province).²⁹⁶ By that time, he and Wang Hui had not seen each other for more than a year. The frequent meetings and trips between 1685 and 1686 must have been precious for Wang and Yun.

Wang Hui and Yun Shouping stayed in Kunshan for about three months; thus, they might have come to Xu Qianxue's residence in the sixth month of the Year of Bingyin (1686).²⁹⁷ Wang Hui returned to Yushan on the ninth day of the ninth month, but quickly came back on the fourteenth day. That night, Wang painted *Watching the Moon at the Jade Peak* 玉峰看月圖 (Palace Museum, Beijing, Fig. 66-a), on which he inscribes: "On the fourteenth day of the ninth month in the Year of Bingyin, I watch the moon with Nantian (Yun Shouping) at the Jade Peak. We recall Mr. Hanzhan (Zhang Yunzhang),

²⁹⁶ Yun Shouping's preface to a poem sent to Wang Hui reads: "In the autumn of the Year of Jiazi (1684), I will travel to Hulin (Hangzhou, Zhejiang province). I write this poem to send to Mr. Shigu (Wang Hui), from whom I've been separated for one year. I am more than a hundred *li* (about fifty kilometers) away from Yushan and the messages are hindered by the distance. Alas! I miss you as if I am hungry and thirsty. At the window on an autumn day, I wake up melancholy from a dream of talking [with you] face-to-face. I seek some lines of poetry and send them to you as a present" 甲子秋將遊虎林，作此簡寄與石谷先生，相別一載矣。去虞山百餘里，音問懸隔。嗟！我懷人有如饑渴。秋窗夢寐愉悅晤言，覓句奉寄。 Yun, *Ouxiangguan ji*, 8. 1b-2a.

²⁹⁷ Yun Shouping's prefaced poem reads: "I have gathered together with Shigu (Wang Hui) in the garden pond of the Jade Peak for three months. On the ninth day, [Wang Hui] briefly returned to Yushan. When he came back to meet me, he was delayed by the wind and rain. Therefore, I composed this: you just left at the time when we should wear cornel dogwood [on our heads] / I pulled on your bag of verses, but you would not stay / With whom can I climb the Jade Peak together, reciting [poetry] and viewing [the scenery]? / Under green cypresses and red maples, I am looking at the path on which you will return / You promised to take a boat back after five days / The humid clouds suddenly hide the trees of a thousand villages..." 玉山園池與石谷聚首三月，九日暫歸虞山，復來相聚風雨愆期，故有此作。插茱時節君偏去，手挽詩囊不肯住。與誰吟眺登玉山，紅柏青楓望歸路。相期五日刺船來，濕雲忽斷千邨樹... Yun, *Ouxiangguan ji*, 5. 3b-4a.

and so Nantian documents the event with his poetry and I supplement a picture, both to win a smile [from Zhang]” 丙寅九月望前一日，同南田玉峯看月，因憶漢瞻先生，南田有詩紀事，余為補圖，共博一笑。²⁹⁸ Zhang Yunzhang 張雲章 (1648-1726) was one of Wang Shizhen’s 王士禎 students. During the summer and autumn of the Year of Bingyin, Zhang lived at Xu Qianxue’s residence as a guest, and spent time with Wang and Yun there.²⁹⁹ By Mid-Autumn Day (the fifteenth day of the eighth month), Zhang was still at Xu’s residence as he, Yun, and other guests appreciated the fragrant olive at Xu’s North Garden in Kunshan.³⁰⁰ When Wang Hui painted *Watching the Moon at the Jade Peak*, Zhang had already left.

As with *Night Parasol Trees*, *Autumn Shadows*, Yun Shouping left a poem and an inscription to record the event on the new painting:

開盡秋雲夜景新，青天碧海一閑身。
清宵半為離家好，快友能忘作客貧。
柳影漸疏侵北葉，蟾光未滿向西輪。
詩成收盡林園趣，風月知誰是主人。

Autumn clouds completely clear away and the night scene is fresh,
I am a leisured body between the blue sky and the green lake.
The quiet night half makes up for leaving home,
My pleasant friend can let me forget my poverty as a guest.
The willow shadows become gradually sparse, the northern leaves advance,

²⁹⁸ Zhang Yunzhang 張雲章 (1648-1726) was a Qing poet. See Xu Shichang 徐世昌 (1855-1939) ed., *Wanqing yishi hui* 晚晴簃詩匯 [Side-Room Poem Compilation on a Clear Night] (Tuigengtang 退耕堂, 1929), 35. 29b.

²⁹⁹ Shan Guoqiang, “Zhu lian bi he de Wang Hui Yun Shouping hece” 珠聯璧合的王翬惲壽平合冊 [The Collaborative Album by Wang Hui and Yun Shouping As a Perfect Pair], *Zijin Cheng* 2 (2004): 115-117.

³⁰⁰ Yun Shouping’s preface to a poem reads: “On the Mid-Autumn Day in the Year of Bingyin (1686), I, Zhang Hanzhan (Zhang Yunzhang), Jingfan (Gu Zuyu 顧祖禹, 1631-1692), and Jingtian (unknown, presumably Gu’s brother) viewed fragrant olive in the North Garden of Yufeng” 丙寅中秋同張漢瞻及景范景天諸君玉峯北園看桂. Yun, *Ouxiangguan ji*, 9. 1a-2a.

The moonlight is not full, shining westward.
We collect all the delights of seeing the garden,
The wind and the moon know who the owner is.

今秋無月，惟九月十四夜，千里無織雲，最為皎潔。與石谷子對月吟賞，甚相娛樂，覺此時玉峯園池為吾所獨有。支公買山而隱，笑為多事。坡翁云：江山風月，閑者便是主人，真名語也。并書于漢老，以致一時興趣，庶無俗韻云。南田草衣壽平。

There was no moon in this autumn (Mid-Autumn Day). Only on the fourteenth night of the ninth month are there no woven clouds amid a thousand *li* [of sky], and [the moon] is at its brightest and clearest. Master Shigu and I are viewing the moon as we recite poetry and appreciate [the scenery]. We are greatly entertained, feeling that at this moment, the garden pond of the Jade Peak belongs only to ourselves. The Senior Zhi [Dun] bought a mountain to live in seclusion; I laughed at the meddlesomeness of it.³⁰¹ The Old Man Po (Su Shi) said: “As for the wind and the moon over the rivers and mountains, the one at leisure is their owner.”³⁰² This is truly a great account. I am writing this at the same time for the Old Man Han (Zhang Yunzhang), to express [to him] my interest in this moment. I hope that [in this inscription] there is no sound of vulgarity. The Recluse in the Southern Field Shouping [inscribes].

Yun Shouping does not mention anything about painting here; he simply records the pleasant occasion of viewing the moon with Wang Hui, and the mood of appreciating nature. In this painting, Wang also records the event: two figures stand on the stone bridge in conversation, while the nearly full moon above the remote mountain silhouette is left as negative space by applying the ink around it (Fig. 66-b). The pleasure of seeing

³⁰¹ Zhi Dun 支遁 (314-366 CE) was an eminent monk in the Eastern Jin dynasty. The story is recorded in *Shi shuo xin yu*. The entry reads: “Zhi Daolin (Zhi Dun) made someone ask Senior Shen to buy the Yin Mountain. Senior Shen answered: ‘I never heard of someone buying a mountain to live in seclusion.’” 支道林因人就深公買印山，深公答曰：未聞巢，由買山而隱。Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403-444 CE), *Shi shuo xin yu* 世說新語 [A New Account of the Tales of the World], 6. 9a-9b (SKQS ed.)

³⁰² Su Shi’s account reads: “The wind and the moon over the rivers and mountains originally have no consistent owner. Their owner is the one with leisure.” 江山風月，本無常主，閑者便是主人。Su Shi, *Dongpo zhilin* 東坡志林 [Collection of Su Shi’s Records], 10. 11b (SKQS ed.)

things, and the perception of this poetic moment, while feeling that they owned the wind and the moon, are articulated and embodied in both Yun's writing and Wang's painting.

The time that Wang Hui and Yun Shouping actually spent together was not long. Yun's letters to Wang express his regrets that they were always separated and could not meet each other. The following is one of such letters:

人生聚散有定數。江山勝賞，良友盤桓，人間樂事，無有過此。然必有造物妬之，定不易得。焦巖銷夏，前期如夢。二十四橋明月，王郎獨夜聞簫，知此際定難為懷耳。長兄在廣陵，必時時念我，我亦同此一日三秋。正所謂人非形影，安能動而輒俱一室。嗒然不能不隱几坐馳，佇想天末。
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The meetings and partings in our lives are destined. Rivers and mountains that can be pleasantly appreciated, good friends lingering around – these are, above all else, the most delightful things in the world. However, the Creator must be jealous of us, [so that] we cannot easily obtain [these delights]. [We] spent the summer in Jiaoyan (Jiaoshan, Zhenjiang, Jiangsu province) and this past meeting was like a dream. At the Twenty-Four Bridge (in Yangzhou, Jiangsu province), under the bright moon, Mr. Wang [Hui] is alone, listening to the *xiao* [a vertical bamboo flute].³⁰⁴ I know at the moment it must be hard [for us] to bear thinking of [each other]. My older brother (you) in Guangling (Yangzhou) must miss me from time to time, and I am here also [missing you] the same, spending a day as if three autumns have passed. It is what is meant by the words “we are not forms and shadows; how can we move, yet always be together in one room?”³⁰⁵ Being despondent, I cannot help but to sit long at the table, yearning for and thinking about the place [where you are] at the end of the sky.

³⁰³ Yun, *Qinghuitang tongren chidu huicun*, 2. 4a.

³⁰⁴ Yun Shouping's writing alludes to the poem of Du Mu 杜牧 (803-852), *Ji Yangzhou Han Chuo panguan* 寄揚州韓綽判官 [A Poem Sent to Assistant Official Han Chuo]. The line reads: “At the Twenty-Four Bridge, on the night of the bright moon / Where are you, my dear friend, teaching the *xiao* flute?” 二十四橋明月夜，玉人何處教吹簫. See Cao Yin 曹寅 (1658-1712), et al., ed., *Quan Tang shi* 全唐詩 [Complete Collection of Tang Poetry], 523. 8a (SKQS ed.).

³⁰⁵ This line is from the Eastern Han female poet Xu Shu 徐淑 in response to her husband Qin Jia 秦嘉: “Our bodies are not forms and shadows; how can we move yet always be together?” 身非形影，何能動輒俱. See Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢 (557-641), ed., *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 [Classified Collection of Classics and Literature], 32. 20b (SKQS ed.).

The letter might have been written in the autumn of 1673. In 1672, Li Zongkong bade Wang Hui to come to Jiaoshan in the spring of 1673.³⁰⁶ If Wang went to Jiaoshan at Li's request, he might have stayed for the summer. Wang arrived at Li Zongkong's Mi Garden in Yangzhou in the autumn of 1673, and there he created the album *In the Pursuit of Antiquity: Landscape after Song and Yuan Masters* (Princeton University Art Museum). If it was the case that Wang went to Jiaoshan and stayed for the summer, then according to Yun's letter, he also went to Jiaoshan that summer; subsequently, he and Wang went together to Shi Jianzong's residence in Jingxi (Yixing, Jiangsu province) in the sixth month and created their collaborative album (National Palace Museum). However, when Wang went to stay at the Mi Garden in the autumn, Yun did not accompany him, and so the two friends were parted. In this letter, Yun states that the most delightful things are the pleasure of seeing beautiful natural scenes and having good friends (like Wang) around. These delightful things had been realized in the gatherings in 1672 and 1673, which were rare occasions of what Yun describes as "the most delightful things in the world" 人間樂事. The rarity of such occasions is regretful, yet Yun accepts it and consoles himself by seeing this rarity as predestined. The delightful things were truly precious precisely because of their rarity. In another letter to Wang, Yun finds a way to banish his regrets:

客冬一札寄白門相慰勞者，竟浮沉友人手。及石谷至敝邑，弟又走田間，夢寐之間若有山靈相告者，比抵郡而王郎已駕而東，不能追矣。不佞弟與石谷以縞紵之雅，兼之翰墨相慕悅，知人所不及知，而賞所不能賞。而稱

³⁰⁶ Da Chongguang's account reads: "At this time, Censor Li [Zongkong] from Weiyang (Yangzhou, Jiangsu Province) asks me to bid Mr. Shigu (Wang Hui) to gather together with us in Jiaoyan (Jiaoshan, Zhenjiang, Jiangsu province) next spring" 是時維揚李給諫屬余招石谷子于明春同集焦岩. Xu, *Qinghui zengyan*, 6. 1a-2a (FYLCS ed.).

相知。較他相知不啻什倍，宜乎形迹密邇，無間隔之恨。而間隔形迹落落，較他相知亦且什倍。若此則相知之心蓋已疏矣。而此心則愈密，每間行遊，看一山一水，一樹一草，一片雲一拳石，無一不思吾石谷也，即若與石谷子相對。又觀石谷之墨痕筆精，奇理百變也。故雖與石谷形迹濶絕，無時無日不與石谷同室而聚居也，又豈在區區形迹之間哉。³⁰⁷

Last winter, I sent a letter to [you, Wang Hui] in Baimen (Nanjing, Jiangsu province) to express my regards; unexpectedly, it was not delivered by a friend's hand. When Shigu (you) came to my city, I went to the countryside. In my dreams, it was as if a mountain spirit told me [of your arrival], but when I arrived in the prefecture, Mr. Wang had already set out eastward, and I could not catch up with him. The untalented younger brother (I) and Shigu admire and please each other with the elegance of white silk ribbons and linen garments as well as brush and ink. We know what others cannot know and appreciate what others cannot appreciate. That is what is called "understanding each other." We understand each other at least ten times more than others do. The movements of our bodies should be close and there should not be regrets of separation. However, the movements of our bodies are separated and each of us is alone. [The separated state] as well is almost ten times [worse] than it is for others. [If the separation was] like ours [for others], their understanding of each other in their hearts may have already grown distant. But our hearts are more and more intimate. When I travel from time to time, seeing a mountain or a puddle of water, a tree or a blade of grass, a cloud or a rock, there is not a single time I do not think of my friend Shigu; it is immediately like being face to face with Master Shigu. I also look at Shigu's ink traces and brush essences; their peculiar textures contain a hundred transformations. Therefore, although Shigu and I are apart and distant in the movements of our bodies, all the time Shigu and I live together in one room. How can [the intimacy of our hearts] be measured only by the movements of our bodies?

Friends may not be present at all times, but rivers and mountains that can be pleasantly appreciated are always there. The hearts of close friends are intimate because they are both capable of appreciating the things of Nature – mountains and water, trees and grasses, clouds and rocks. These also represent the *flesh*, an extension of the bodies of Wang Hui and Yun Shouping, the cohesion of their bodies with the world.³⁰⁸ Their

³⁰⁷ Yun, *Qinghuitang tongren chidu huicun*, 2. 1b-2a.

³⁰⁸ By "flesh" I am referring to the sense of the term *flesh* that Maurice Merleau-Ponty employs: "...our flesh lines and even envelops all the visible and tangible things with which nevertheless it is

visions are a part of the landscape, enveloping and enveloped by the perception of the visible and the invisible. The *flesh* for Yun is simultaneously represented by Wang's paintings, as an incarnation of the artist himself, and from Wang's perspective, the same is true of Yun's words in his letters. The images and the words were produced from their experiences of landscapes that they saw and touched, of Nature and of paintings, and which they were in turn seen and touched by. The two friends are not far apart since both are a part of the same *flesh*; they perceive both things in Nature, and paintings and words about Nature, and in this way, they can still perceive each other even while separated.

Paintings, as incarnations of the *flesh*, can vanish; both Wang Hui and Yun Shouping were keenly aware of this fact. It was already difficult enough to see the originals in various private collections, even apart from the fact that these works frequently changed ownership, and the paintings were constantly bought and sold. Some of them have been lost forever. The story of the legendary painting by Huang Gongwang, *Autumn Mountains*, written by Yun according to Wang's oral narration, articulates their attitudes towards this vanished painting that they had never seen:³⁰⁹

董文敏嘗稱生平所見黃一峰墨妙在人間者，惟潤州修羽張氏所藏秋山圖為第一，非浮嵐夏山諸圖堪為伯仲。間以語婁東王奉常煙客謂：君研精繪事，以癡老為宗，然不可不見秋山圖也。奉常懼然，向宗伯乞書為介，并載幣以行。抵潤州，先以書幣往，比至門闕，然雖廣廈深間，而廳事惟塵

surrounded, the world and I are within one another, and there is no anteriority of the *percipere* to the *percipi*, there is simultaneity or even retardation...Each landscape of my life, because it is not a wandering troop of sensations or a system of ephemeral judgments but a segment of the durable flesh of the world, is qua visible, pregnant with many other visions besides my own;...When I find again the actual world such as it is, under my hands, under my eyes, up against my body, I find much more than an object: a Being of which my vision is a part, a visibility older than my operations or my acts." Merleau-Ponty, *The Visible and the Invisible*, 123.

³⁰⁹ Yun, *Ouxiangguan ji*, 14. 12b-15a. The story is also adapted by the Japanese writer Ryūnosuke Akutagawa (1892-1927) to a short novel, "Autumn Mountain."

土雞鷺，糞草幾滿，側足趨退。奉常大詫，心語是豈藏一峰名迹家邪？已聞主人重門啟鑰，僮僕埽除，肅衣冠，揖奉常，張樂治具，備賓主之禮。乃出一峰秋山圖眎奉常，一展視間駭心动目，其圖乃用青綠設色，寫叢林紅葉，翕赭如火，研硃點之，甚奇麗。上起正峰，純是翠黛，用房山橫點積成。白雲籠其下，雲以粉汁澹之，彩翠爛然，村墟籬落，平沙叢雜，小橋相映帶，邱壑靈奇，筆墨渾厚，賦色麗而神古，視向所見，諸名本皆在下風。始信宗伯絕歎非過。

Dong Wenmin (Dong Qichang) once said that, so far as he had seen, the best of Huang Gongwang's surviving ink miracles was the *Autumn Mountains* in the possession of the Zhang Xiuyu (Zhang Jinchen) family of Runzhou (Zhenjiang). *Billowing Mist*, *Summer Mountains* and other pictures could not be named in the same breath. During the conversation he said to Wang Fengchang Yanke (Wang Shimin) from Loudong: "You who study painting so seriously and have been working [for so long] in the manner of Chilao (Huang Gongwang) simply must see the *Autumn Mountains*." Thereupon Fengchang urgently asked Zongbo (Dong Qichang) for a letter of recommendation and set off with a quantity of ready money. On reaching Runzhou (Zhenjiang), he first sent the letter and money [to the house]. When he arrived at the quiet gate, [he saw that] although the rooms stretched out into the distance in extensive suites, in the hall there were only chickens running about in the dirt. Everything was so covered in muck and straw that he hesitated to enter. Fengchang was very surprised and said to himself: "And this is supposed to be a house in which a famous Huang Gongwang is hiding!" Then he heard the master of the house opening one door after the other. The servants swept up a little and the master, wearing an outer garment and a head covering, bowed solemnly to Fengchang. Music played and the eating utensils were prepared in order to complete the polite ceremonies between the master of the house and the visitor. Thereafter the *Autumn Mountains* was brought out to be shown to Fengchang. As it was being unrolled, he studied it closely with a pounding heart and responding eyes. The picture was in blue-green tone. It depicted a dense forest with red foliage. The color was as vigorous as fire. The dabs of red rendered by ground cinnabar were exceptionally beautiful. Up above rose the main peak, all in jade green and black, accumulated by the horizontal dots used by Fangshan (Gao Kegong). White clouds shrouded the lower section of the mountains, rendered delicately with a sap of white powder, so that the green stood out with great luminosity. A dilapidated village was encircled by a withered fence; a bridge linked and set off the sand shoal with thickets. The hills and valleys had a peculiar charm. The brushwork was simple and vigorous, and the manner in which the color was laid in was beautiful and spiritually antique. Compared with this, all the famous pieces that [Wang Shimin] had seen before appeared to

be of lesser quality. Only now could he believe that Zongbo's extreme admiration [of this painting] was not exaggerated.³¹⁰

Zhang Jinchen 張覲宸 was a famous collector in the late Ming dynasty, a friend of Dong Qichang. *Billowing Mist* and *Summer Mountains* are both mentioned in this narrative, although neither seems extant; these were presumably Huang Gongwang's blue-green landscapes, since they were juxtaposed with *Autumn Mountains*. *Billowing Mist* 浮嵐 likely refers to *Billowing Mist, Warm Emerald* 浮嵐暖翠圖, also collected by Zhang Jinchen.³¹¹ Wang Hui had once seen and imitated *Billowing Mist*. In his inscription on a hanging scroll, *Landscape after Huang Gongwang* 做大癡山水圖, dated 1716 (Shanghai Museum, Fig. 67), Wang Hui recollects *Billowing Mist*:

余所見癡翁真本，計有廿種。士氣作家神妙具備，其富春、浮巒尤屬藝林墨寶。此幅勾斫皴皴，則師富春，渲染設色又用浮嵐，撮取兩圖之意而合成之。所謂凡馬步驟妄希天驥，未免鑽仰徒勞耳。

I have seen over twenty originals by Chiweng (Huang Gongwang). They are marked by the styles of both gentlemen and fabricators.³¹² Huang's *Fuchun Mountains* and *Billowing Ranges* are especially treasured ink works that belong

³¹⁰ This translation of the whole story is adapted from Contag, *Chinese Masters of the 17th Century*, 10-12.

³¹¹ Zhu Mouyin 朱謀壘 (1584-1638), *Hua shi hui yao* 畫史會要 [Compendium of Painting History], 5. 39a (SKQS ed.). The entry reads: "Zhao Xiyuan said: 'In the Year of Xinyou, Zongbo Dong Xuanzai (Dong Qichang) and I went to Jingkou (Zhenjiang, Jiangsu province) and visited Zhang Xiuyu (Zhang Jinchen). We saw Huang Zijiu's (Huang Gongwang's) *Billowing Ranges*, *Warm Emerald* from his collection. The methods of composition, brush, and ink are extremely distinct compared to every other work. Zongbo (Dong Qichang) said: 'I have seen more than thirty works of Huang Zijiu. You must know that this painting is the best of all.'" 趙希遠云：辛酉秋余同宗伯董玄宰至京口訪張修羽，見其所藏黃子久浮巒暖翠，章法、筆法、墨法與諸作迥絕。宗伯云：我見黃子久畫不下三十幅，要知此幅為第一。

³¹² "Fabricators" 作家 refers to professional artists. See Zhan, "Ba Rao Ziran *Shanshui jiafa*," 312: "...in landscape painting, there are two lineages. One is [made up of] the liberated masters, the other of the fabricators. These can also be called the professionals and amateurs" 山水有二派：一為逸家，一為作家，又為行家、隸家。

to the forest of art.³¹³ The outlines and texture strokes of my scroll are modeled from *Fuchun Mountains*. The color rendering and setting are modeled from *Billowing Mist*. I capture the concepts of two paintings and combine them into one. This is what is meant by the saying “a normal horse walking [on the ground] preposterously aspires to be a heavenly horse.” It is truly in vain to dig into it deeply.

Wang Hui’s painting and inscription above evince that *Billowing Mist* was an example of Huang’s “color rendering and setting” 渲染設色. The hanging scroll Wang painted is rendered with dark green for pines, whitish-green for grasses, and light crimson for mountain rocks, which may demonstrate a similar impression of *Billowing Mist*’s colors.

The description of *Autumn Mountains* must have been Wang Hui’s oral narration of what he heard from Wang Shimin and which was written down by Yun Shouping. It would not be surprising if Wang Hui had at some time tried to paint according to this description. Yet, in Wang’s extant work after Huang Gongwang, there is not a painting resembling this description that is known to us. One of his paintings that was closest in subject and style might have been a fan painting entitled *Blue Mountains, White Clouds* 青山白雲圖, dated 1669 (Palace Museum, Beijing, Fig. 68). The main peaks are executed in jade green and black ink, in the manner of Gao Kegong’s horizontal dots, as Yun describes, but Wang also applies a bit of light crimson at the top of the peak. The clouds shroud the lower section of the mountains, and a few traces of the use of white powder are left at the edge of the cloudy forms. The forest contains both red and green leaves and the foliage is rendered in dabs. At the right, a village, a bridge, and a piece of

³¹³ *Billowing Ranges* 浮巒 and *Billowing Mist* 浮嵐 may refer to the same painting. Dong Qichang called it *Billowing Ranges, Warm Emerald* 浮巒暖翠圖. See Dong, *Huachanshi suibi*, 2. 11a (SKQS ed.). However, *Shiqu baoji* records only one *Billowing Mist, Warm Emerald* 浮嵐暖翠圖, by Huang Gongwang. See Zhang, *Shiqu baoji*, 8. 44b (SKQS ed.).

sand shoal increase the similarity to the description of *Autumn Mountains*. In his inscription on this painting, Wang Hui claims it to be after Gao Kegong, Zhao Mengfu, and Fang Congyi 方從義 (1302-1393), but does not mention Huang Gongwang.³¹⁴

Indeed, Wang Hui attributed the best blue-green landscapes to Zhao Mengfu. In Huang's colored landscapes, Wang mainly studied the use of light crimson to render the mountain rocks (see Fig. 31 and Fig. 67 as examples). His mention of Fang Congyi is likely due to his study of Fang's clouds, but these clouds show traces of rubbing techniques (Fig. 69), while in Wang Hui's painting this is not obvious. Did Wang Hui think that the *Autumn Mountains*, described as a painting with blue-green tone and rendered in Gao Kegong's manner, was by Huang Gongwang? Or for Wang, had *Autumn Mountains* even transcended Huang or any specific old masters?

Next, Yun Shouping continues the story and describes Wang Shimin's reaction to his first sight of *Autumn Mountains*:

奉常既見此圖，觀樂忘聲，嘗食忘味，神色無主。

After Fengchang (Wang Shimin) saw the picture, he heard nothing of the music played and he no longer tasted the food; he was in utter stupefaction.

Forming a stark contrast with the declined Zhang family's surroundings, Huang Gongwang's famous piece, which was admired by Dong Qichang, showed its brilliance when it confronted Wang Shimin's eyes. The vision was so intense and impressive that Wang forgot his other sensations – his sense of hearing and taste. This moment was, however, Wang's only sight of *Autumn Mountains*:

³¹⁴ Fang Congyi was a late Yuan painter. See as an example: Fang Congyi, *Cloudy Mountains* 雲山圖, c. 1360-70 (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

明日停舟，使客說主人，願以金幣相易惟所欲。主人啞然笑曰：“吾所愛，豈可得哉。不獲，已而眈眈若是。其惟暫假攜行李往都下，歸時見還。”時奉常氣甚豪，謂終當有之，竟謝去。於是奉常已抵京師，亡何出使，南還道京口，重過其家，閽人拒勿納矣。問主人，對以他往。固請前圖一過目，使三反不可。重門扃鑰，糞草積地如故。奉常徘徊淹久而去。奉常公事畢，晝夜念此圖，乃復詣董宗伯定畫。宗伯云：微獨斯圖之為美也，如石田雨夜止宿及自壽圖，真續苑奇觀。當再見之。於是復作札與奉常，乃走使持書裝橐金，尅期而遣之，誠之曰：“不得畫毋歸見我。”使往奉書為款曲，乞圖語峻勿就。必欲得者，持雨夜止宿自壽圖去。使逡巡歸報奉常，知終不可致，歎悵而已。

The next day, [Wang Shimin] stopped the boat again and sent someone to tell the owner that he would like to buy the painting at any price [the owner] wanted. The owner merely replied with a dry laugh: “This is something that I love; how can I let you have it? But, since you cannot obtain it and [you long for it so much that] you glare at it fiercely, you can borrow [the painting] for a time and carry it with your baggage to the capital and return it when you come back.” At the time, Fengchang (Wang Shimin) was too proud [to borrow it] and said that he should acquire it one day. In the end, he expressed his thanks and left. A short time after he arrived in the capital, Fengchang was [once more] sent south as an ambassador. His route back to the south took him through Jingkou (Zhenjiang) and so he once again visited the house. The gatekeeper refused him entry. When he asked for the master of the house, the gatekeeper replied that he had left. [Wang] firmly asked if he might be allowed to see again the painting which he had looked at the last time. Three times he sent in a message, but each time he was refused. Only the closing of the double doors and the muck and straw strewn over the ground were the same as before. Fengchang walked hesitantly up and down, then finally he left. After he had finished his official business, Fengchang thought of the painting day and night. Therefore, he paid a visit again to Dong Zongbo (Dong Qichang) to discuss the painting with him. Zongbo said: “This is not the only beautiful painting [owned by the Zhang family]. For example, *Resting on a Rainy Night* and *Birthday Picture* by Shitian (Shen Zhou) are really noteworthy pieces in the world of painting. You should visit [the owner] once more.” Therefore, [Dong] again wrote a letter of recommendation for Fengchang. The latter sent someone with the letter and ready money and set him a strict [returning] date. [Wang] said, warning [the servant]: “If you cannot buy the painting, do not come back to see me.” The servant went with the letter as identification. The words with which he asked for the painting were stern, yet he could not acquire it. [He was told that] if he absolutely had to buy something, he could have *Resting on a Rainy Night* and *Birthday Picture*. The servant returned hesitantly and made his report to Fengchang. The latter now knew that he could not acquire [*Autumn Mountains*] and he closed the matter with a disappointed sigh.

The difficulty of obtaining *Autumn Mountains*, and the disappointment of his ultimate failure, must have increased the beauty of the painting in Wang Shimin's memory of the only time he saw it. As Dong Qichang once told him about *Autumn Mountains*, Wang Shimin also told Wang Hui about the painting, and the story continued:

虞山石谷王郎者與王奉常稱筆墨交，奉常諮論古今名迹，王郎為述沙磧富春諸圖云云，奉常勿愛也，呼石谷：君知秋山圖邪。因為備述此圖。蓋奉常當時寓目間，如鑑洞形毛髮不隔。聞所說，恍如懸一圖于人目前。其時董宗伯棄世久，藏圖之家已更三世，奉常亦閱滄桑且五十年，未知此圖存否何如，與王郎相對歎息已。

It is said of Mr. Wang Shigu (Wang Hui) from Yushan and Wang Fengchang (Wang Shimin) that brush and ink brought them together. Fengchang asked about and evaluated older and more recent famous works. Mr. Wang [Hui] told him about *Moraine*, *Fuchun Mountains*, and so on, but Fengchang was not fond of them. [Wang Shimin] exclaimed: "Shigu, do you know *Autumn Mountains*?" Then, he described this painting in detail for [Wang Hui]. It is probably because at the time when Fengchang looked over [the painting], he committed to memory every detail as if it was reflected in a mirror. [Wang Hui] heard what he said and it was as though the painting was hanging before his eyes. At the time, Dong Zongbo (Dong Qichang) had long since passed away, and the family who owned the painting had gone through three generations. Fengchang too had undergone immeasurable suffering for almost fifty years. He did not know if the painting was still extant and what state it now was in. The two of them sat facing one another and sighing.

Autumn Mountains, after almost fifty years, was beyond its materiality as a painting.

Dong Qichang and Zhang Jinchun had passed away, as had generations of the Zhang family, and Wang Shimin was now an old man. Even the dynasties had changed: over the fifty years, the Ming dynasty had fallen and the Qing had been established, and Wang Shimin "had undergone immeasurable suffering" during this transition. Still, he was concerned with *Autumn Mountains*, the painting that he had only seen once many years ago. The painting had become an independent body mingled with life and death, a part of the *flesh* crossing the boundaries between the *percipere* and the *percipi* and connecting

the minds of human and inhuman. Wang Hui, like Wang Shimin decades before, went on a trip to seek out *Autumn Mountains*:

石谷將之維揚，奉常云：能一訪秋山否？以手札屬石谷。石谷攜書往來吳閶間，對客言之，客索書觀奉常語，奇之，立袖書言于貴戚王長安氏。王氏果欲得之，並命客渡江物色之，于是張之孫某悉取所藏彝鼎法書，并持一峰秋山圖來。王氏大悅，延置上座，出家姬合樂享之，盡獲張氏彝鼎法書，以千金為壽，一時羣稱秋山妙蹟已歸王氏。王氏挾圖趨金閶，遣使招婁東二王公來會。時石谷先生至，便詣貴戚，揖未畢，大笑樂曰：“秋山圖已在囊中。”立呼侍史于座，取圖觀之。展未半，貴戚與諸食客皆覘視石谷辭色，謂當狂叫驚絕。比圖窮，愴恍若有所未快。貴戚心動，指圖謂石谷曰：“得毋有疑？”石谷唯唯曰：“信神物何疑。”須臾，傳王奉常來，奉常舟中先呼石谷與語，驚問：“王氏已得秋山乎？”石谷詫曰：“未也。”奉常曰：“贗邪？”曰：“是亦一峰也。”曰：“得矣，何詫為？”曰：“昔者先生所說歷歷不忘，今否否焉觀所謂秋山哉。雖然，願先生勿遽語王氏以所疑也。”奉常既見貴戚，展圖，奉常辭色一如王郎，氣索彊為歎羨。貴戚愈益疑。又頃，王元照郡伯亦至，大呼秋山圖來，披指靈妙纒纒不絕口，戲謂王氏非厚福不能得奇寶。于是王氏釋然安之。

Since Shigu (Wang Hui) was going to Weiyang (Yangzhou), Fengchang (Wang Shimin) said to him: “Can you not enquire about *Autumn Mountains*?” He gave Shigu a letter of authority; Shigu took the letter and set out for Wuchang (Suzhou) [which is on the way to Yangzhou]. He spoke of the painting to everyone he met. One man asked for the letter, read it and was surprised at Fengchang’s words. He immediately put the letter in his sleeve and spoke of it to the high relative [of the military leader Wu Sangui] Wang Chang’an (Wang Yongning).³¹⁵ As expected, Mr. Wang [Yongning] wished to acquire the painting and sent someone across the river to look for it. After this, a grandson of that same Mr. Zhang [Jinchen] came with all kinds of collector’s pieces, such as old bronzes and calligraphy, and he held in his hand *Autumn Mountains*. Mr. Wang was highly delighted and asked him to sit in the seat of honor, and brought out the singsong girls of his household together for a banquet with music. Mr. Zhang was paid 1000 taels for everything, including the bronzes and calligraphy. Immediately, everyone congratulated Mr. Wang that the beautiful *Autumn Mountains* now belonged to him. The latter held the painting tightly and made for Jinchang (Suzhou). There he sent a messenger to fetch the two Wangs from Loudong (Wang Shimin and Wang Jian). Shigu

³¹⁵ Wang Yongning 王永寧 (? - 1672) was the son-in-law of Wu Sangui 吳三桂 (1612-1678), a late-Ming military leader who allied with the Qing forces and played an essential role in the establishment of the Qing dynasty. However, Wu Sangui rebelled against the Qing in 1674. See Liu Xianting 劉獻廷 (1648-1695), *Guangyang zaji* 廣陽雜記 [Jottings of Guangyang], 2. 91a (CSJCCB ed.).

came before them to visit the high relative. The greeting was not finished when [Wang Yongning] said with a smile: “*Autumn Mountains* is already in my bag!” He called a servant to seat [Wang Hui] and took the painting to let him look at it. Before it was unrolled halfway, the high relative and the other guests at the banquet all turned their eyes on Shigu to see what kind of face he made, thinking that he must express his extreme amazement at this painting. After the scroll was entirely unrolled, [Wang Hui] only looked muddled, seemingly not very pleased. The high relative, with a pounding heart, pointed at the painting and said to Shigu: “It is not doubtful, surely?” Wang Hui mumbled an answer politely: “It is really an amazing piece – how could there be any doubt?” A moment later Wang Fengchang arrived. While still in the boat, he called Shigu out to him and asked with surprise: “I have heard that Mr. Wang has acquired *Autumn Mountains*?” Questioningly, Shigu replied: “Not yet.” Fengchang: “A forgery?” “It is also a Yifeng (Huang Gongwang).” “If he has acquired it, why are you questioning?” “I have not forgotten the detailed description of it that you gave me. This painting today does not look like that. How could this painting be taken for *Autumn Mountains*? This is so; however, I hope you, sir, on no account say anything about this doubt to Mr. Wang [Yongning].” When Fengchang saw the high relative unrolling the painting, like Mr. Wang [Hui], he caught his breath and strove with all his might to admire it. The high relative only became more uncertain. Immediately afterwards, Wang Yuanzhao (Wang Jian), the Magistrate, also arrived, and he exclaimed: “Ah, let me see *Autumn Mountains*!” When it had been spread out, he pointed out all the beauties [of the painting] and could not stop talking about it. He said jokingly to Mr. Wang: “Only a very lucky man could get hold of such a treasure.” With this Mr. Wang [Yongning] was released from his anxiety and was reassured.

Neither Wang Hui nor Wang Shimin believed that the *Autumn Mountains* at Wang Yongning’s was the one Shimin had seen decades ago. Wang Jian, although he seemed to proclaim that the *Autumn Mountains* Yongning obtained was the authentic work, expressed his real thoughts elsewhere, saying that he had seen the real *Autumn Mountains* at Zhang Jinchen’s, and Yongning obtained only a fake.³¹⁶ After hearing this story from Wang Hui, Yun Shouping exclaims in the end:

³¹⁶ Zhang Hui and Bai Qianshen, “Qing chu guiqi shoucangjia Wang Yongning” 清初貴戚收藏家王永寧 [The Noble Collector Wang Yongning of the Early Qing Dynasty], part 2. *Zhongguo meishu xueyuan xuebao* (Journal of the National Academy of Art), no. 2 (2010): 20.

嗟夫！奉常曩所觀者，豈夢邪？神物變化邪？抑尚埋藏邪？或有龜玉之毀邪？其家無他本，人間無流傳，天下事顛錯不可知。以為昔奉常捐千金而不得，今貴戚一彈指而取之，可怪已。豈知既得之，而復有淆訛舛誤，而王氏諸人至今不寤，不亦更可怪邪？王郎為予述此，且訂異日同訪秋山真本，或當有如蕭翼之遇辨才者。南田壽平燈下書，與王山人發笑。

Alas! Was that which Fengchang (Wang Shimin) saw before a dream? Or was [*Autumn Mountains*] a spirit that had taken the form of [a painting]? Can one hope that it is still hidden somewhere? Or has this precious work been destroyed? There was no other painting in that family, and the painting was not circulated in the world of men. Everything under the heavens is reversed and confused, so that one cannot be sure of anything. It is said that in the past, Fengchang offered 1000 taels for the painting and did not obtain it. Today the high relative acquired it with a snap of his fingers; this in itself is very strange. How could we have known that, with the painting now acquired, it would only give rise to more confusion and uncertainty? And stranger still, even today the Wang family knows nothing about it. After Mr. Wang [Hui] had told me all of this, we agreed that another time we would search for the original *Autumn Mountains* together. Perhaps that would be like Xiao Yi meeting Biancai.³¹⁷ Nantian Shouping (Yun Shouping) wrote this down under the lamplight and laughed with Mountain Man Wang [Hui].

Huang Gongwang's *Autumn Mountains* was never to be found again. Was *Autumn Mountains* a dream? From Dong Qichang, to Wang Shimin, to Wang Hui and Yun Shouping, *Autumn Mountains* came to represent more than the painting itself. It became the symbol of Perfection in Wang Shimin's memory and in Wang Hui's imagination. Wang Hui and Yun Shouping were obsessed with the phantom of this painting – the phantom of memory and imagination, of Perfection. They were obsessed with the moment when Wang Shimin saw the painting in Zhang Jinchen's deteriorated residence. Having seen *Autumn Mountains* only once, Shimin relived this moment when he told Hui

³¹⁷ Xiao Yi 蕭翼 was sent by Emperor Taizong of the Tang to search for Wang Xizhi's 王羲之 (303-361 CE) *Preface to the Poems Collected from the Orchid Pavillion* 蘭亭集序, which was rumored to be in the possession of Biancai 辯才. See Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠 (815-907), *Fashu yaolu* 法書要錄 [Essential Records of Calligraphy], 3. 36a-38b (SKQS ed.).

about the painting. The moment when Hui heard the description of the painting from Shimin, he formed his own version of the work, creating the illusion that “the painting was hanging before his eyes” 懸一圖于人目前. Finally came the moment when Yun Shouping heard the story from Wang Hui with curiosity and wrote it down, and both he and Wang laughed. It was in the end these poetic moments that mattered the most, involving and intermingling both pain and pleasure, tapping the silent meaning of *Autumn Mountains* and touching the surface of Perfection.

Both Wang Hui and Yun Shouping deeply understood the fact that the old paintings, as well as their own, might be lost one day, like *Autumn Mountains* had been. Wang Hui’s exclamation “what is gathered must [one day] be dispersed” 聚而必散 cannot be unrelated to his experience with the vanished painting once owned by the Zhang family.³¹⁸ The time when he and Yun Shouping viewed the moon in 1686 was then more precious for the sense of poetry than for the painting that resulted from it – Yun did not write about Wang’s painting in his inscription. They fully understood and appreciated the value of the poetic moment, and the creative process was intended for another mutual friend of theirs, who was absent from this moment of appreciation. Poetic moments thus include the following tacit meaning: creative processes and artistic exchange are not beyond or outside of one’s life; they are within life itself. They are fundamentally connected to perceptual experiences and human relationships.

Judging by the words of Su Shi which Yun Shouping inscribed on Wang Hui’s *Watching the Moon at the Jade Peak* in 1686, “As for the wind and the moon over the

³¹⁸ Wang, “Preface,” 1a-1b (FY LCS ed.).

rivers and mountains, the one at leisure is their owner” 江山風月，閑者便是主人； perhaps Yun finally felt at ease for not owning the paintings of Wang’s that he loved. Paintings, just like the natural scenes in front of their eyes, did not have to be owned. The paintings and the natural scenes, the representation and presentation, are both visions that constitute one’s perception, thoughts, and feelings. Yun did not own many of Wang’s paintings, yet he viewed and inscribed many of them, and the perception of each of the paintings must have been a poetic moment for him. As Su Shi had realized, the owner was the one at leisure to appreciate the visions within them, not the one who bought them. Yun had complained to, satirized and persuaded Wang using Su’s allusions, but finally reconciled with Wang and with himself, as well with the literatus’ words. At the very end, in his last years, Yun might have eventually accepted the fact that Wang was not the one Yun hoped he would have been – a “proper” literati-artist who only painted for the one who truly knew him. However, Wang remained what he was: an admirable friend who laughed with Yun about the story of *Autumn Mountains*, who shouted with him “fine ink leaves,” who watched the almost full moon with him, who shared Yun’s visions, thoughts, and feelings more than anyone else.

In 1686, Wang Hui painted *Riverside Pavilion with Figures in a Bamboo Grove near Tall Pines* 山水圖卷 (Mayuyama & Company Collection, Tokyo), which bore Yun Shouping’s inscription.³¹⁹ It can be assumed that they painted and inscribed this work sometime during the summer and autumn when they stayed together. Thirty years later, in his last years, Wang recalls that he created the painting in the Year of Bingyin:

³¹⁹ Suzuki Kei 鈴木敬, ed., *Chūgoku kaiga sōgō zuroku* 中國繪畫總合圖錄 (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1982-1983), 4: 311.

此余丙寅所作，距今三十余年，墨跡猶新，慨然著筆。讀南田詩跋，無不發知己之感。

This was my painting in the Year of Bingyin (1686). It is now more than thirty years since, but the traces of ink still look new. I hold my brush with deep feelings. Reading Nantian's (Yun Shouping's) inscribed poetry, I give vent to the feeling that he was the one who truly knew me, for it is there in every line.

Wang Hui did not date the painting when he created it, nor did Yun Shouping inscribe a date, yet Wang still recognized it from thirty years ago. The Year of Bingyin was indeed a time to remember: painting was more than a profession for Wang; it was a part of his life and his friendships. He experimented with the artistic conceptions he discussed with Yun and embodied their ideas in his paintings. The purposes of painting were to reflect on the old masters, to present the pleasure of seeing things, and to perceive poetic moments. The Year of Bingyin was also an intense time when Wang and Yun enjoyed their art and friendship in Yun's last years. After Yun passed away in 1690, Wang continued his painting career. Praise for Wang's work was never absent; he enjoyed an even higher and wider reputation as a landscapist. However, no one ever again satirized him with Su Shi and Mi Fu's allusions, expressed criticism and disagreement, shouted out with him "fine ink leaves," or watched the moon as two leisured hearts capable of full appreciation.

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- DSZCS *Dushuzhai congshu* 讀書齋叢書. Tongchuan Gushi 桐川顧氏, 1799.
- ESWZHH *Ershiwuzi huihan* 二十五子彙函. Shanghai: Hongwen shuju shi yin ben, 1893.
- FYLCS *Fengyulou congshu* 風雨樓叢書. Shunde: Shunde Dengshi qian yin ben, 1909-1912.
- SKQS *Yingyin Wenyuange Siku quanshu* 影印文淵閣四庫全書. Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983-86.
- SBCKCB *Sibu congkan chubian* 四部叢刊初編. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan chong yin ben, 1919.
- QDZJCK *Qing dai zhuanji congkan* 清代傳記叢刊. Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1985.
- XYCS *Xiaoyuan congshu* 嘯園叢書. Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling guji keyinshe, 1987.
- ZDCS *Zhaodai congshu* 昭代叢書. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990.

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APPENDIX A

A LIST OF FIGURES MENTIONED IN THE MAIN TEXT



Figure 1. Attributed to Fan Kuan 范寬 (c. 950 – c. 1032). *Travelers* 行旅圖. Hanging scroll, ink and light color on silk, 155.3 x 74.4 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



Figure 2. Wang Hui. *Autumn Mountains, Red Trees* 溪山紅樹圖, dated 1670. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 112.4 x 39.5 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



Figure 3. Wang Hui. Leaf F, *Mountain Cascade and Thatched Hut in the Style of Wang Meng*, from *In the Pursuit of Antiquity: Landscape after Song and Yuan Masters*, dated 1673. Album of twelve paintings, nine in ink on paper and three in ink and color on paper, 17.6-22.6 x 29.8-33.5 cm. Princeton University Art Museum. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse.



Figure 4. Yun Shouping. Leaf B, *Fir, Bamboo, and Pure Spring* 杉竹清泉, 1673. From *Collaborative Landscape Album by Wang Hui and Yun Shouping* 王翬惲壽平合筆山水冊. Album leaf, ink on paper, 19.3 x 11.5 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



Figure 5. Yun Shouping, and Wang Hui. Leaf A, *Wild Chamber in Sparse Forests* 疏林野屋, 1673. From *Collaborative Landscape Album by Wang Hui and Yun Shouping* 王翬 恽寿平合筆山水冊. Album leaf, ink on paper, 19.3 x 23 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



Figure 6. Yun Shouping, and Wang Hui. Leaf D, *Old Trees, New Appearances* 古木新姿 (Right) and *Landscape after Xiao and Xiang Rivers* 臨瀟湘圖 (Left), 1673. From *Collaborative Landscape Album by Wang Hui and Yun Shouping* 王翬惲壽平合筆山水冊. Album leaf, ink on paper, 19.3 x 11.5 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



Figure 7. Yun Shouping, and Wang Hui. Leaf D, *Sparse Willows, Distant Mountains* 疏柳遠山 (Right) and *Layered Cliffs, Tall Trees* 層崖修樾 (Left), 1673. From *Collaborative Landscape Album by Wang Hui and Yun Shouping* 王翬惲壽平合筆山水冊. Album leaf, ink on paper, 19.3 x 11.5 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



Figure 8-a. Wang Hui. *Night Parasol Trees, Autumn Shadows* 晚梧秋影圖, 1686. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 76.8 x 41 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.



Figure 8-b. Wang Hui. *Night Parasol Trees, Autumn Shadows* (detail), 1686.



Figure 9. Wang Hui. Leaf G, *Landscape after Zhao Mengfu's "Serried Peaks along the River"* 倣趙孟頫重江疊嶂, from *Landscapes after Old Masters* 摹古山水冊, 1710. Album leaf, ink and color on silk, 33.6x26.5 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



Figure 10. Zhao Mengfu. *Autumn Colors on the Qiao and Hua Mountains* 鵲華秋色圖, 1295. Handscroll, ink and color on paper, 28.4 x 93.2 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



Figure 11-a. Zhao Mengfu. *Water Village* 水村圖, 1302. Handscroll, ink on paper, 24.9 x 120.5 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.

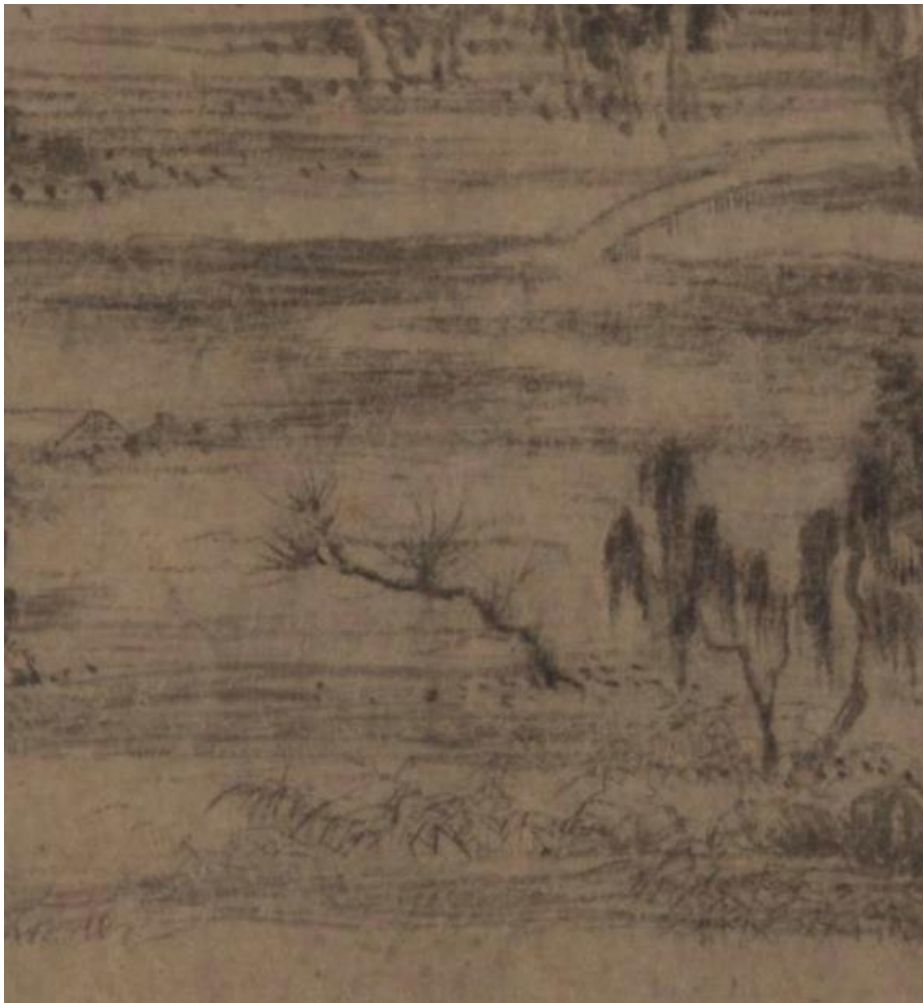


Figure 11-b. Zhao Mengfu. *Water Village* (detail), 1302. Handscroll, ink on paper, 24.9 x 120.5 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.



Figure 12. Wang Hui. Leaf B from *Landscapes after Old Masters* 做古山水圖冊, 1686. Album leaf, ink and color on paper, 22.4 x 30 cm. Suzhou Museum.



Figure 13. Zhao Mengfu. *Serried Peaks along the River* 重江疊嶂圖 (detail), 1303. Handscroll, ink on paper, 28.4 x 176.4 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



Figure 14. Zhao Mengfu. *The Mind Landscape of Xie Youyu* 謝幼輿丘壑圖, c. 1287. Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 27.4 x 117.0 cm. Princeton University Art Museum. Edward L. Elliott Family Collection. Museum purchase, Fowler McCormick, Class of 1921, Fund.



Figure 15. Attributed to Zhao Boju. *Autumn Colors over Streams and Mountains* 江山秋色圖, c. 1160. Handscroll, ink on color on silk, 56.6 x 323.2 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.

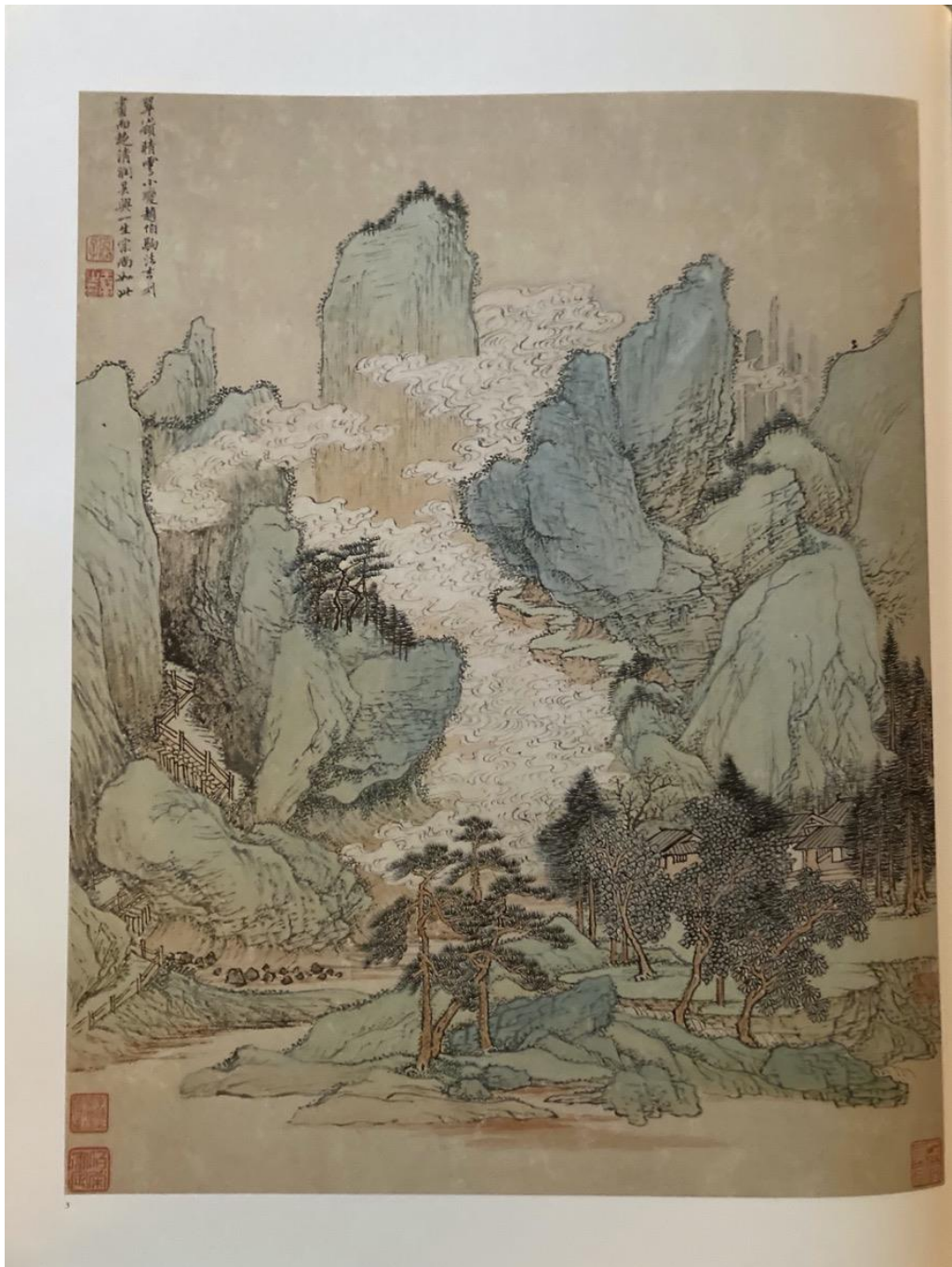


Figure 16. Wang Hui. Leaf C from *Landscapes after Old Masters* 倣古山水冊, 1675. Album leaf, ink and color on paper. Xubaizhai Collection, Hong Kong.



Figure 17. Wang Hui. *Landscape after Zhao Mengfu* 倣趙孟頫山水, seventh leaf of the *Collaborative Album of Flower and Landscape by Wang Hui and Yun Shouping* 惲壽平王翬花卉山水合冊, 1672. Album of twelve leaves, ink and color on paper, 28.5 x 43 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



Figure 18. Wang Hui. Leaf G, *Landscape after Zhao Mengfu*, 1674. From Wang Hui 王翬, Wang Shimin 王時敏, *Landscapes after Old Masters* 仿古山水圖, 1674 and 1677. Album of twelve leaves; ink and color on paper. Ten paintings by Wang Hui (a–j): 8 5/8 x 13 1/4 in. (22 x 33.8 cm); two paintings by Wang Shimin (k, l): 10 x 13 in. (25.4 x 33 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Purchase, The Dillon Fund Gift, 1989.



Figure 19. Wang Hui. *Clustered Peaks, Spring Mist* 群峰春靄圖, 1680. Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 26 x 449.2 cm. Shanghai Museum.



Figure 20. Yun Shouping. *Blackberry Lilies* 射干, fourth leaf of the *Collaborative Album of Flower and Landscape* by Wang Hui and Yun Shouping 惲壽平王翬花卉山水合冊. Album of twelve leaves, ink and color on paper, 28.5 x 43 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



Figure 21-a. Zhao Lingrang. *Whiling Away the Summer by a Lakeside Retreat* 湖莊清夏圖, dated 1100. Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 19.1 x 161.3 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Keith McLeod Fund.



Figure 21-b. Zhao Lingrang. *Whiling Away the Summer by a Lakeside Retreat* (detail), dated 1100. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Keith McLeod Fund.

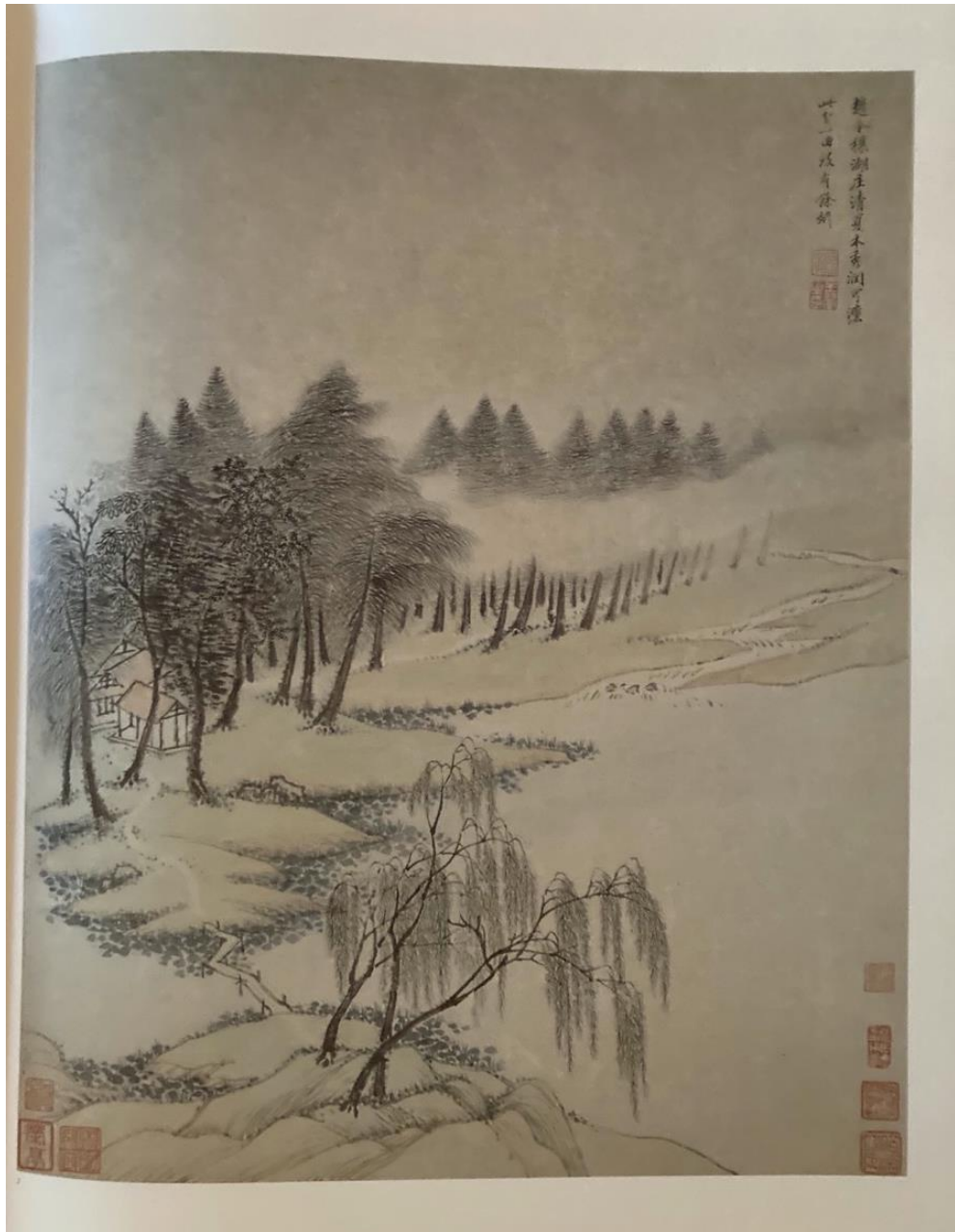


Figure 22. Wang Hui, Leaf B from *Landscapes after Old Masters* 倣古山水冊, 1675. Album leaf, ink and color on paper. Xubaizhai Collection, Hong Kong.



Figure 23. Zhao Lingrang. *Water Village* 水村圖. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 129.8 x 67.5 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



Figure 24. Wang Hui. *Water Village*, after Zhao Danian 倣趙大年水村圖, dated 1662. Hanging scroll, ink and light color on paper, 130.8 x 50.7 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.



Figure 25-a. Wang Hui. *Landscape in the Manner of Zhao Lingrang*, 1713. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 141 x 39 cm. Phoenix Art Museum. Gift of Marilyn and Roy Papp.



Figure 25-b. Wang Hui. *Landscape in the Manner of Zhao Lingrang* (detail), 1713. Phoenix Art Museum. Gift of Marilyn and Roy Papp.



Figure 25-c. Wang Hui. *Landscape in the Manner of Zhao Lingrang* (detail), 1713. Phoenix Art Museum. Gift of Marilyn and Roy Papp.



Figure 26. Wang Hui. Leaf B from *Landscapes after Old Masters* 倣古山水冊, 1662. Album leaf, ink on paper, 27.4 x 24.8 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.



Figure 27. Wang Hui. *Autumn Forests at Yushan* 虞山楓林圖, dated 1668. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 146.2 x 61.7 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.

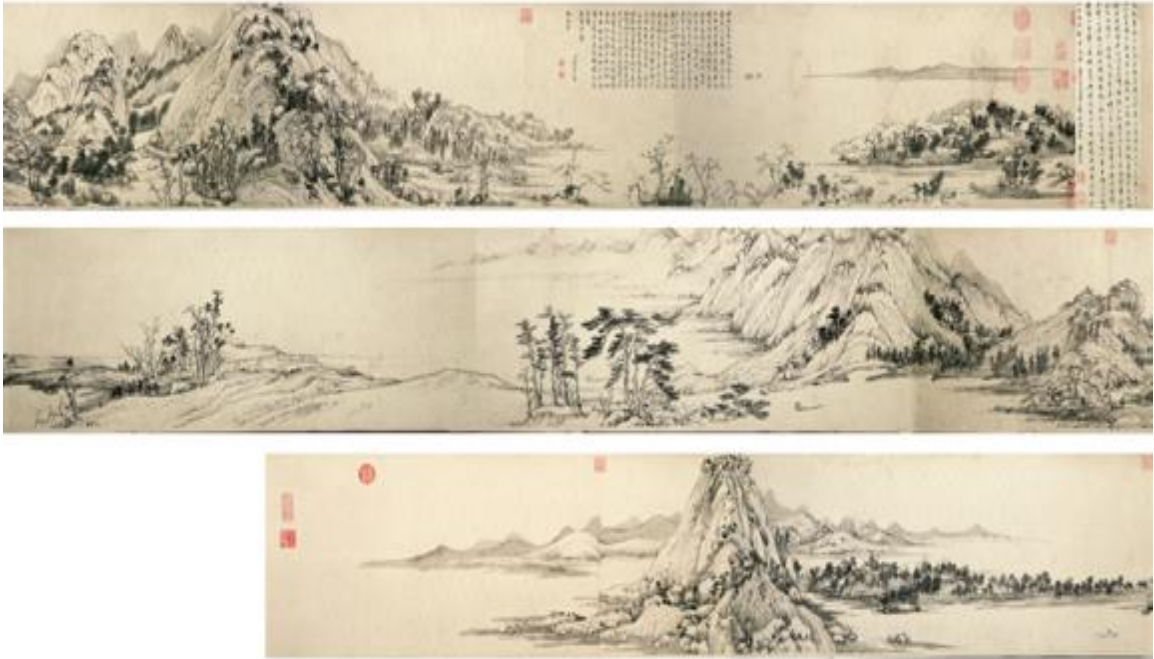


Figure 28-a. Huang Gongwang. *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains* (Wuyong version [Futile Master Scroll]) 富春山居圖 (無用師卷), 1350. Handscroll, ink on paper. 33 x 636.9 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



Figure 28-b. Huang. *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains* (Wuyong version, detail), 1350. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



Figure 29. Wang Hui. *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains after Huang Gongwang* (detail) 臨富春山居圖卷, 1672. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. 38.4 x 743 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington DC. Purchase, Charles Lang Freer Endowment.



Figure 30. Wang Hui, *Four Sections of Landscape after the Yuan Masters* 倣元山水四段卷, fourth part, 1681. Handscroll, ink and light color on paper, 21.8 x 44.4 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.

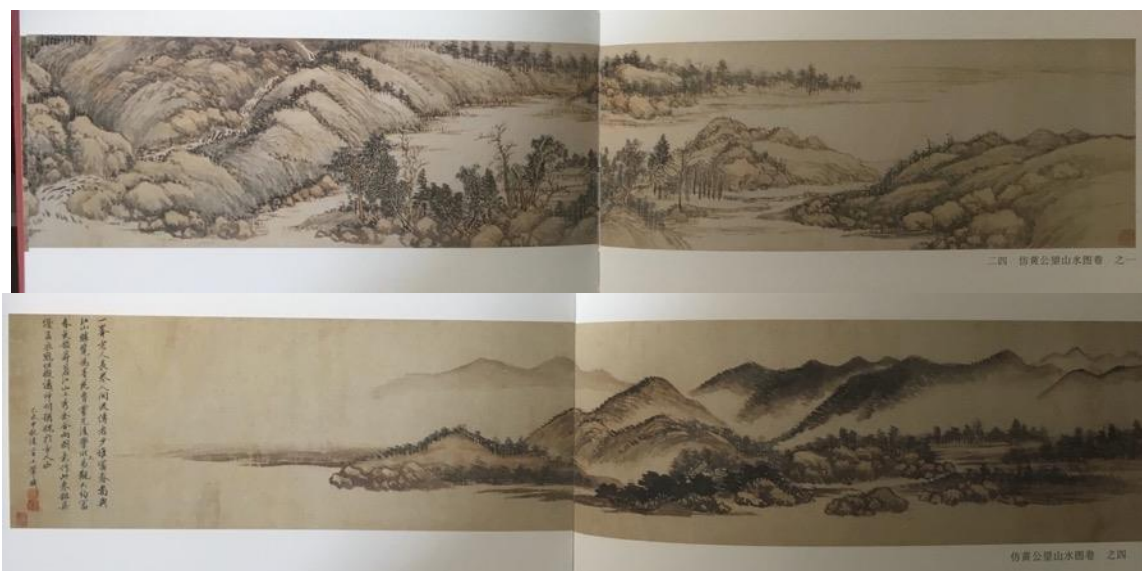


Figure 31. Wang Hui. *Landscape after Huang Gongwang* 做黃公望山水圖, 1679. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. Shanghai Museum.



Figure 32. Wang Hui. Leaf D, from *Landscapes after Old Masters* 做古山水圖冊, 1686. Album leaf, ink and color on paper, 22.4 x 30 cm. Suzhou Museum.



Figure 33. Wang Hui. Leaf E, from *Landscapes after Old Masters*, 倣古山水圖冊, 1686. Album leaf, ink and color on paper, 22.4 x 30 cm. Suzhou Museum.



Figure 34. Wang Hui. Leaf H, *Forest Huts among Streams and Mountains* 溪山林屋. From *Collaborative Landscape Album by Wang Hui and Yun Shouping* 王翬惲壽平合筆山水冊, 1673. Album leaf, ink on paper, 19.3x11.5 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



Figure 35. Huang Gongwang. *Clearing after Sudden Snow* 快雪時晴圖, c. 1340s. Handscroll, ink and light color on paper, 104.6 cm long. Palace Museum, Beijing.



Figure 36. Wang Hui. Leaf D, *Promontory with Trees, in the Style of Huang Gongwang*, from *In the Pursuit of Antiquity: Landscape after Song and Yuan Masters*, dated 1673. Album of twelve paintings, nine in ink on paper and three in ink and color on paper, 17.6-22.6 x 29.8-33.5 cm. Princeton University Art Museum. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse.



Figure 37. Wang Hui. *The Colors of Mount Taihang* 太行山色圖 (detail), 1669. Handscroll; ink and color on silk. Image: 10 x 82 1/2 in. (25.3 x 209.4 cm). Overall with mounting: 11 3/4 x 348 in. (29.8 x 883.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Ex coll.: C. C. Wang Family, Gift of Douglas Dillon, 1978.



Figure 38. Attributed to Guan Tong. *Autumn Mountains at Dusk* 秋山晚翠圖. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 140.5 x 57.3 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



Figure 39. Wang Hui. “In Imitation of Li Cheng’s ‘Clearing After Snow over Clustered Peaks’” 做李咸熙群峰霽雪, from *Landscape Album of Famous Masters Gathered by Zhou Lianggong* 周亮工集名家山水冊. Album leaf, ink and color on silk, 25.1x31.8 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



Figure 40. Wang Hui. *Snow Clearing: Landscape after Li Cheng* 做李成雪霽圖, 1669. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 112.7 x 35.9 cm (image). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Ex coll.: C. C. Wang Family, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse, in honor of Professor Wen Fong, 1978.



Figure 41. Wang Hui. Leaf H, *Thatched Huts Between Trees and Rocks in the "Blue-Green" Style*, from *In the Pursuit of Antiquity: Landscape after Song and Yuan Masters*, dated 1673. Album of twelve paintings, nine in ink on paper and three in ink and color on paper, 17.6-22.6 x 29.8-33.5 cm. Princeton University Art Museum. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse.



Figure 42. Wang Hui. *Being Content with My Intent* 樂志論圖卷, 1684. Handscroll, ink on paper, 39.5 x 440 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.



Figure 43. Ni Zan. *The Lion Grove Garden* 獅子林圖. Handscroll, ink on paper, 28.3 x 392.8 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.



Figure 44. Wang Hui. *Landscape in the Manner of Ni Zan* 倣倪瓚山水圖, 1710. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 102.8 x 56.3 cm. Princeton University Art Museum. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse.



Figure 45. Wang Hui. *Rivers and Mountains after Snow in the Manner of Li Cheng* 倣李营邱江山雪霁圖 (detail). Handscroll, ink and light color on silk, H: 29.8 cm. Osaka City Museum of Fine Arts.



Figure 46. Wang Hui. *Secluded Dwelling Surrounded by Water and Bamboo* 水竹幽居圖 (detail), 1672. Handscroll, ink on paper, 34 x 170 cm. Suzhou Museum.



Figure 47. Wang Hui. *Reclusion in Clouds and Streams* 雲溪高逸圖, 1672. Handscroll, ink on paper, 22.2 x 268.2 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.

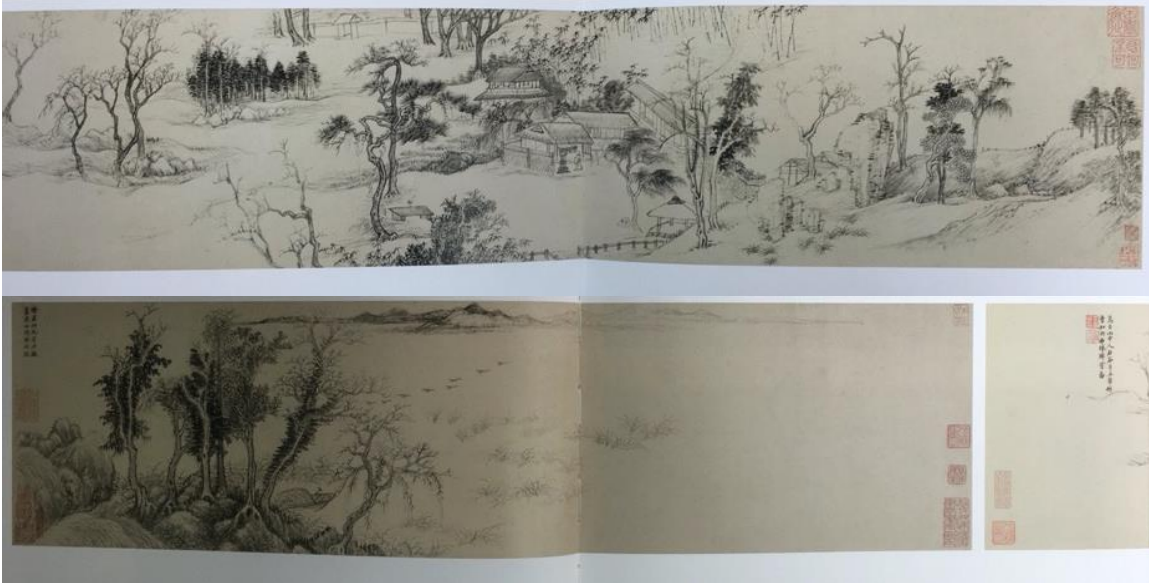


Figure 48. Wang Hui, and Yun Shouping. *Harmonious Combination of Yun-Wang Landscape* 惺王山水合璧, 1672. Handscroll, ink on paper, section 1: 21.4 x 130 cm, section 2: 21.4 x 112 cm, section 3: 21.3 x 95 cm. Shanghai Museum.



Figure 49. Wang Hui. *After Wang Wei's "Mountain Shadows and Clearing Snow"* 臨王維山陰霽雪圖 (detail), dated 1671. Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 21.2 x 273.5 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



Figure 50. Yun Shouping. Leaf T, *Nandina*, *Chimonanthus*, and *Podocarpus* 天竹蠟梅羅漢松. From *Fan Paintings of Yun Shouping* 憚壽平畫扇面. Album leaves, ink and color on paper, 17.4 x 55.5 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



Figure 51. Wang Hui, *Profound Scholar Perching on the Rock* 巖栖高士圖, 1672. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 122.7 x 31.5 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.



Figure 52. Yun Shouping. *Peonies* 牡丹, second leaf of the *Collaborative Album of Flower and Landscape by Wang Hui and Yun Shouping* 懋壽平王翬花卉山水合冊. Album of twelve leaves, ink and color on paper, 28.5 x 43 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



Figure 53. Wang Hui, *Landscape after Ni Zan* 做倪雲林山水圖, 1673. Hanging scroll, ink on paper. Wuxi Museum.



Figure 54. Ni Zan. *The Rongxi Studio* 容膝齋圖, 1372. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 74.7 x 35.5 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



Figure 55. Yun Shouping, and Wang Hui. Leaf F, *Fishing boat at Reed Shore* 蘆汀釣舟 (Right) and *Splashing Waterfall at the Cliff* 懸崖濺瀑 (Left), 1673. From *Collaborative Landscape Album by Wang Hui and Yun Shouping* 王翬惲壽平合筆山水冊. Album leaf, ink on paper, 19.3 x 11.5 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

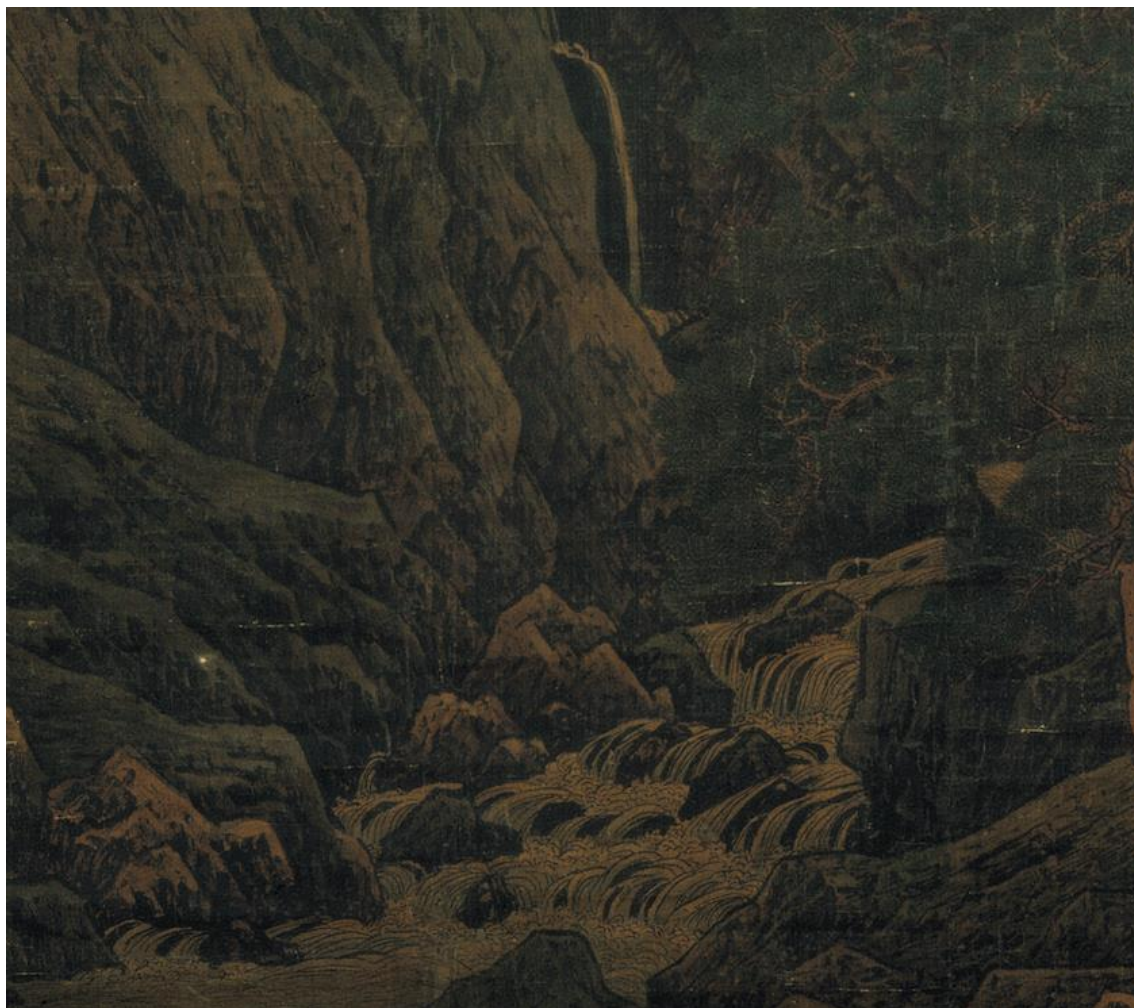


Figure 56. Li Tang. *Wind Through the Pine Valleys* (detail), 1124. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk. 188.7 x 139.8 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



Figure 57. Wang Hui. Leaf I, *Mountain Peaks in Mist in the Style of Gao Kegong*. Ink on paper, 22.4 x 33.5 cm. From *In the Pursuit of Antiquity: Landscape after Song and Yuan Masters*, dated 1673. Album of twelve paintings, nine in ink on paper and three in ink and color on paper, 17.6-22.6 x 29.8-33.5 cm. Princeton University Art Museum. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse.

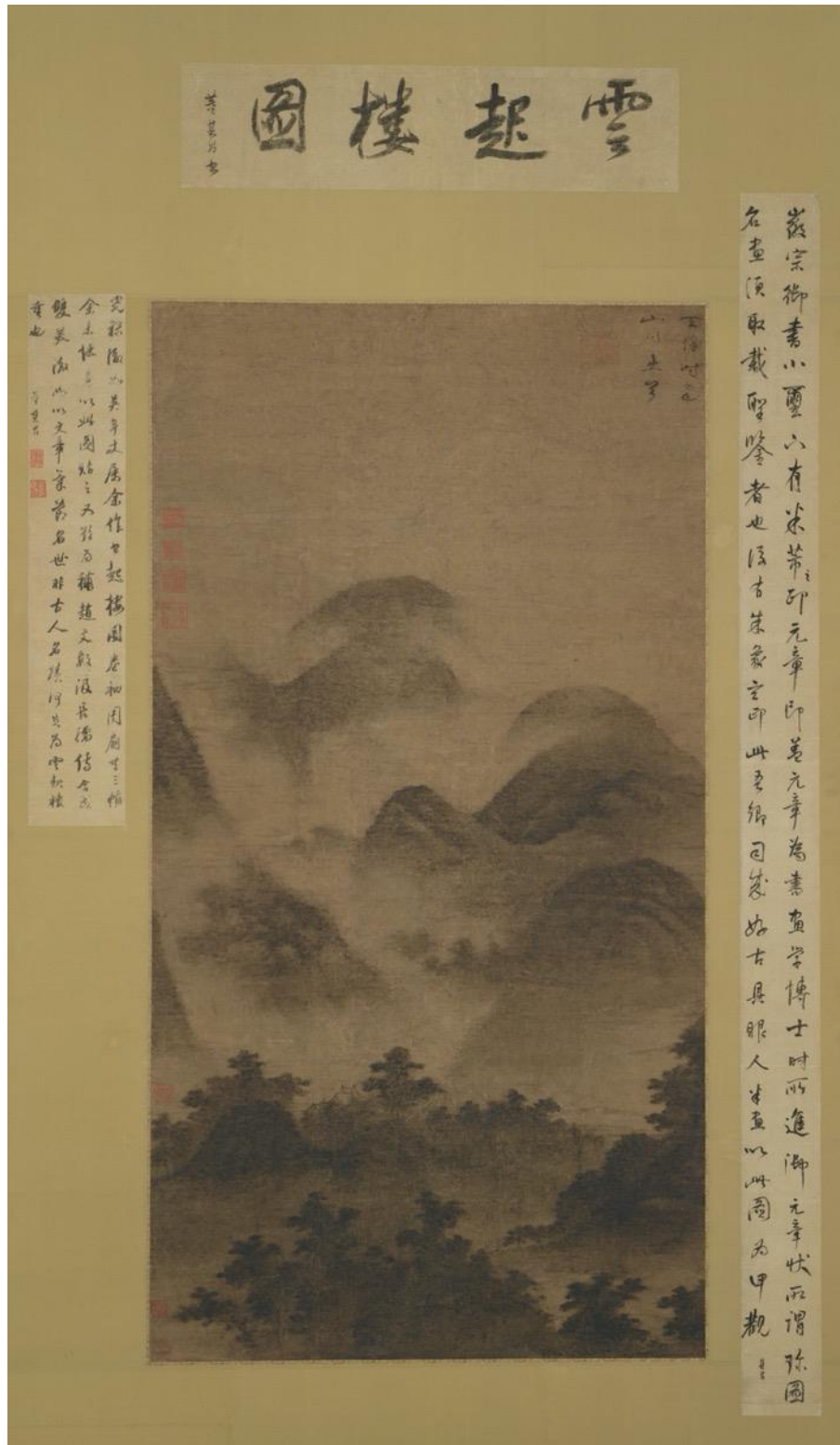


Figure 58. Traditionally attributed to Mi Fu 米芾 (1052-1107). *Pavilion of Rising Clouds* 雲起樓圖. Hanging scroll, ink on silk, 150 x 78.8 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, DC. Gift of Charles Lang Freer.



Figure 59. Wang Hui. Leaf B, *Valley between Cliffs in the Style of Dong Yuan*. From *In the Pursuit of Antiquity: Landscape after Song and Yuan Masters*, dated 1673. Album of twelve paintings, nine in ink on paper and three in ink and color on paper, 17.6-22.6 x 29.8-33.5 cm. Princeton University Art Museum. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse.



Figure 60. Wang Hui. Leaf E, *Bamboo, Rock, and Dead Branches in the Style of Cao Zhibo*. From *In the Pursuit of Antiquity: Landscape after Song and Yuan Masters*, dated 1673. Album of twelve paintings, nine in ink on paper and three in ink and color on paper, 17.6-22.6 x 29.8-33.5 cm. Princeton University Art Museum. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse.



Figure 61. Wang Hui. Leaf L, *Boat before Rocky Landscape in the Style of Guo Xi*. From *In the Pursuit of Antiquity: Landscape after Song and Yuan Masters*, dated 1673. Album of twelve paintings, nine in ink on paper and three in ink and color on paper, 17.6-22.6 x 29.8-33.5 cm. Princeton University Art Museum. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse.

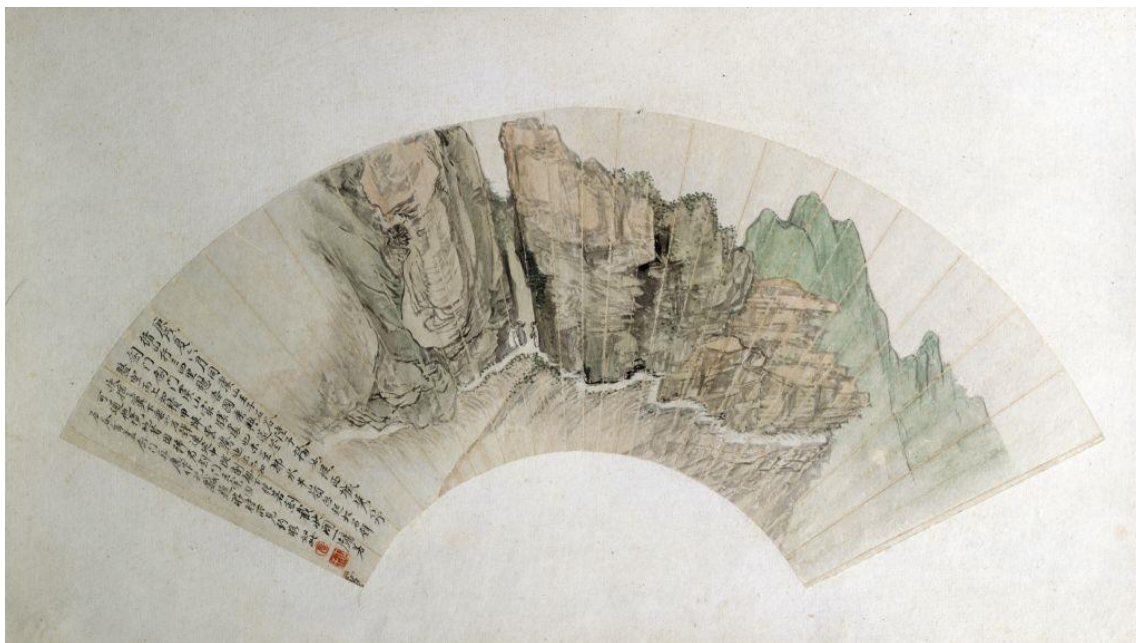


Figure 62-a. Yun Shouping. *Sword Gate* 劍門圖, 1670. Fan painting, ink and color on paper, 17 x 52.9 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.

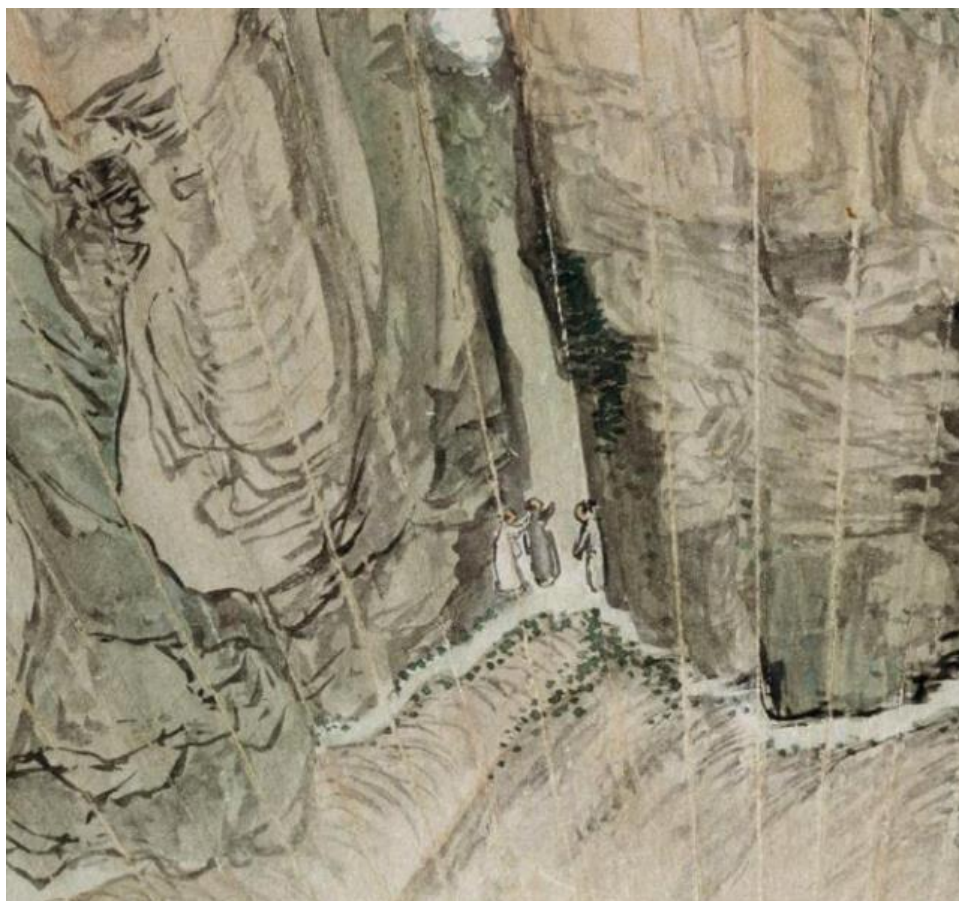


Figure 62-b. Yun Shouping. *Sword Gate* (detail), 1670.



Figure 63. Wang Hui. Leaf G, from *Landscapes after Old Masters* 做古山水册, 1681. Album leaf, ink and color on paper, 23 x 45.5 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.



Figure 64. Wang Hui. Leaf K, from *Landscapes after Old Masters* 做古山水册, 1681. Album leaf, ink and color on paper, 23 x 45.5 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.



Figure 65. Wang Hui. Leaf D, from *Landscapes after Old Masters* 倣古山水冊, 1685. Album leaf, ink and color on paper, 26.8 x 35.3 cm. Shanghai Museum.



Figure 66-a. Wang Hui. *Watching the Moon at the Jade Peak* 玉峰看月圖, 1686. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 80 x 39.9 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.

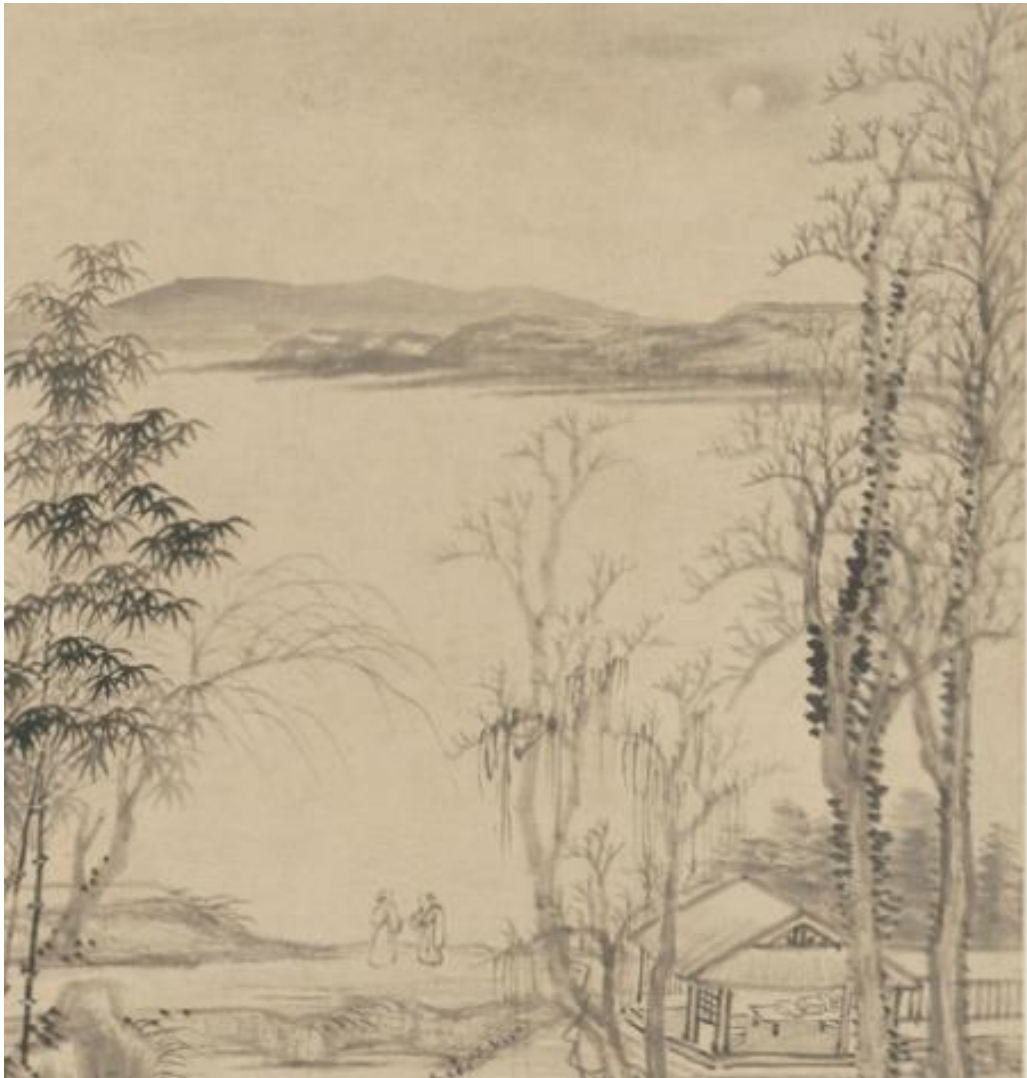


Figure 66-b. Wang Hui. *Watching the Moon at the Jade Peak* (detail), 1686. Palace Museum, Beijing.

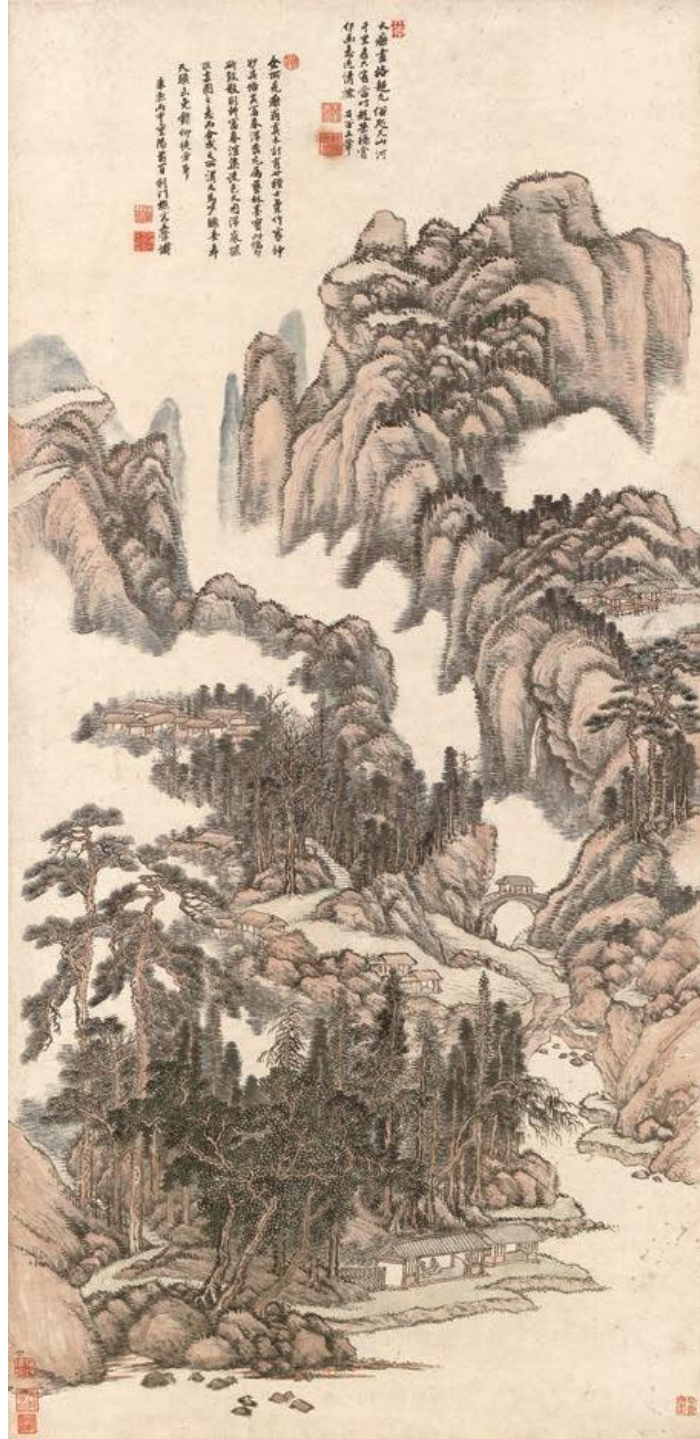


Figure 67. Wang Hui. *Landscape after Huang Gongwang* 做大师山水图, 1716. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 136.1 x 65.5 cm. Shanghai Museum.



Figure 68. Wang Hui. *Blue Mountains, White Clouds* 青山白雲圖, 1669. Fan painting, ink and color on paper, 16 x 50.2 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.



Figure 69. Fang Congyi 方從義 (1302-1393). *Cloudy Mountains* 雲山圖 (detail), c. 1360-70. Handscroll, ink and color on paper, 26.4 x 144.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Ex coll.: C. C. Wang Family, Purchase, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, by exchange, 1973.