When Sima Qian wrote his history, he placed first the texts of Huang-Lao thought and the Six Classics afterward, which drew much criticism. Yet when we look at the writings of Yang Xiong, where he said, “The Six Classics reach the Way,” we realize that Qian’s arrangement is worthy of being perpetuated. Now this explains that the particular placement of Daoist and Buddhist subjects at the head of all the sections of this Catalogue of Paintings in ten categories was taken from this. Endowed with

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2. In the Preface to his Shiji, Sima Qian (ca. 145-ca. 86 BCE) named six schools of thought used for governing. Yinyang precedes Ru, followed by Mo, Fa, Ming, and Daode. The authors seem to equate Huang-Lao thought to Yinyang, which focused on cyclical natural forces and calendrical sciences. Ru indicates the six arts and the six classics. See Sima, Shiji (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 130.3288-3290. The criticism is in Ban, Han shu, 62.2738.

the refinement of the Five Elements and constituting the most intelligent of the ten thousand things, the noble [among men] are princes and lords, while the humble are commoners. As for the appearance of their caps and crowns, their vehicles and costumes, their mountains and forests, and their “hills and streams,” all are worthy [of depiction in painting]. Therefore, figural subjects is placed next. The people of High Antiquity created burrows and built nests in order to dwell in them, while “the sage men of later times” established a system, with “roof beams above and eaves below, in order to protect against wind and rain.” In the various types of “palaces, mansions, terraces, and pavilions” and in the clusters of peasant cottages and village houses, each with its own degree of craft or expense, are revealed people’s customs. Therefore, architectural subjects is placed next. When the Son of Heaven possesses the Way, [the empire] is safeguarded from the surrounding barbarians. Sometimes the passes are closed and hostages declined; other times treasures are offered in tribute and all are on good terms. Then we perform for them the Elegantiae and the Nan, and between these we play some of their music. When their princes come with offerings, we do not despise these people. Therefore, barbarian tribes is placed next. Ascending and descending at will, they are never controlled or tamed, with transformations none can fathom. “They forget each other in rivers and


5. This probably means pre-Xia dynasty, or Paleolithic, cultures. Liji, Liyun [ch. 9] says, “In the past, the former kings did not live in palaces and mansions, but in winter they lived in burrows they created and in summer they lived in nests they built.” See Shisan jing, 1:763.

6. Yijing, Yici xia, in Shisan jing, 1:82.


8. “Zhou nan” and “Shao nan” designate the first two groups of poems of the Guofeng section of the Book of Songs. The following sections are the Lesser Elegantiae (Xiao Ya) and the Greater Elegantiae (Da Ya).
lakes.” Those who are “followed by clouds” and mist, and those who “have enjoyment in the Hao River” are the same. Therefore, the subject of dragons and fish is placed next. The Five Marchmounts that serve to stabilize, the Four Rivers that issue from their sources, the “clouds that begin to gather and rain comes pouring down,” the raging billows and rushing waters—just a few inches [of a painting can depict] ten thousand li [of scenery].

In [paintings], the gathering and expanding of clouds and mist and the brightening and darkening of dawn and dusk is as though heaven is created and the earth established. Therefore, land-

9. In ch. 6, “The Great and Venerable Teacher,” of Zhuangzi, it says, “When the springs dry up and the fish are left stranded on the ground, they spew each other with moisture and wet each other down with spit—but it would be much better if they could forget each other in the rivers and lakes. Instead of praising Yao and condemning Jie, it would be better to forget both of them and transform yourself with the Way.” Adapted from Burton Watson, trans., The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1968), 80.

10. From the hexagram qian, in the Yijing: “Clouds follow the dragon” (Shisan jing, 1:3). Zhuangzi, ch. 17, “Autumn Floods” says, “Zhuangzi and Huizi were strolling along the bridge over the Hao River when Zhuangzi said, ‘See how the minnows come out and dart around where they please! That’s what fish really enjoy!’ Huizi said, ‘You’re not a fish—how do you know what fish enjoy?’ Zhuangzi said, ‘You’re not I, so how do you know I don’t know what fish enjoy?’ Huizi said, ‘I’m not you, so I certainly don’t know what you know. On the other hand, you’re certainly not a fish—so that still proves you don’t know what fish enjoy!’ Zhuangzi said, ‘Let’s go back to your original question, please. You asked me how I know what fish enjoy—so you already knew I knew it when you asked the question. I know it standing here beside the Hao.’” Adapted from Watson, Complete Works of Chuang Tzu, 188–189.

11. In Mencius, “Liang Hui wang shang” chapter, no. 6, Mencius says to King Xiang of Liang, “Does Your Majesty not know about the young seedling? Should there be a drought in the seventh or eighth month, it will wilt. If clouds begin to gather in the sky and rain comes pouring down, then it will spring up again. This being the case, who can stop it?” D.C. Lau, trans., Mencius, rev. ed. (Hong Kong: Chinese University ofHong Kong, 2003), 13.

12. This is a common expression for landscape painting, as in the line from Tangchao minghua lu (hereafter TCMHL), by Zhu Jingxuan (act. mid-9th c.): “While he displays his talents within a square inch, a thousand li lie within his grasp.” Translation in Alexander C. Soper, “T’ang Ch’ao Ming Hua Lu: Celebrated Painters of the T’ang Dynasty by Chu Ching-hsüan of T’ang,” Artibus Asiae 21, no. 3/4 (1958):204–230, esp. 207.
scape is placed next. The ox, by whom “heavy loads are transported and distant regions reached,” and the horse, who “roams the earth without limits,” together with the brightly patterned tiger and the richly colored leopard, the dog Hanlu and the hare Dongguo, though they have been transmitted in books, they are also worthy [of depiction in painting]. Therefore, the subject of domestic and wild animals is placed next. The flowering and fruiting of plants, the flights and calls of birds, and the birth and growth of animals and plants possess unspoken principles and change through the four seasons unbidden. Poets used them to create metaphors, allusions, and satirical remonstrations. Therefore, the subject of flowers and birds is placed next. Burdened by snow, oppressed by frost, it seems to possess an independent integrity. With its hollow heart and lofty joints, it seems to possess an excellent virtue. Cut it to make pitch pipes, write on it as bamboo strips; the most beautiful plants cannot do this. Freed from “the reds and blues,” its lack of color is to be admired. Therefore, ink bamboo is placed next. [The old man] “lugged a pitcher, which he carried out to water the fields,”14 and [Fan Chi] “requested to learn vegetable gardening”15—the Way to nourish life is the

13. From Xici xia commentary to the Yijing. See Shisan jing, 1:81.

14. Zhuangzi, ch. 12, “Heaven and Earth,” says, “Zigong traveled south to Chu, and on his way back through Jin, as he passed along the south bank of the Han, he saw an old man preparing his fields for planting. He had hollowed out an opening by which he entered the well and from which he emerged, lugging a pitcher, which he carried out to water the fields. Grunting and puffing, he used up a great deal of energy and produced very little result. ‘There is a machine for this sort of thing,’ said Zigong. … ‘It’s called a well sweep.’ The gardener flushed with anger and then said with a laugh, ‘I’ve heard my teacher say, where there are machines, there are bound to be machine worries; where there are machine worries, there are bound to be machine hearts. With a machine heart in your breast, you’ve spoiled what was pure and simple; and without the pure and simple, the life of the spirit knows no rest. Where the life of the spirit knows no rest, the Way will cease to buoy you up. It’s not that I don’t know about your machine—I would be ashamed to use it!’” Adapted from Watson, Complete Works of Chuang Tzu, 134.

15. “When Fan Chi requested to learn farming, the Master said, ‘I am not as good as an old farmer.’ When he requested to learn vegetable gardening, the Master said, ‘I am not as good as an old vegetable gardener.’ When Fan Chi left, the Master said, ‘What a small man Fan Xu is! If the sovereign loves the rituals, the people dare
same as [the way to produce] ordinary food and drink. The lovely scents and flavors of their blossoms and fruits make them suitable for ritual presentation in baskets and platters and for offering to deities. Therefore, the subject of vegetables and fruits concludes [this Catalogue]. As for the order of the people herein, since they could not be divided according to a classification scheme, they are solely ordered by chronology. Whoever wishes to use this book can get to a painting by its subject category and from the painting get to the person and from the person “judge the age.”

16 [The reader] will understand that what is transmitted in this Catalogue of Paintings is not “learned indirectly through others.”

A total of ten categories divided into twenty chapters

Altogether 231 people
A sum of 6,396 scrolls

Daoist and Buddhist subjects
Forty-nine people
One thousand, one hundred and seventy-nine scrolls

Figural subjects
Thirty-three people
Five hundred five scrolls

Architecture
Four people
Seventy-one scrolls

not be irreverent; if the sovereign loves righteousness, the people dare not be disobedient; if the sovereign loves truthfulness, the people dare not be dishonest. In that case, people from other states will flock to him with their children swaddled on their backs. What need is there for farming?”  

Lunyu, ch. 13, no. 4, in Huang, trans., The Analects of Confucius, 133.

16. “When one chants the poems and reads the writings of the ancients, how can one help but know them as men? And thereby one can judge the age in which they lived.” Mencius, “Wan Zhang xia,” no. 8, modified from D.C. Lau, trans., Mencius, 237.

17. “I have not had the good fortune to have been a disciple of Confucius. I have learned indirectly from him through others.” Mencius, “Li Lou xia,” no. 22, D.C. Lau, trans. Mencius, 181.
Barbarian Tribes
   Five people
   One hundred thirty-three scrolls
Dragons and Fish
   Eight people
   One hundred seventeen scrolls
Landscape
   Forty-one people
   One thousand, one hundred and eight scrolls
Domestic and Wild Animals
   Twenty-seven people
   Three hundred twenty-four scrolls
Flowers and Birds
   Forty-six people
   Two thousand, seven hundred and eighty-six scrolls
Ink Bamboo
   Twelve people
   One hundred forty-eight scrolls
Vegetables and Fruit
   Six people
   Twenty-five scrolls

Chapter One
Daoist and Buddhist Subjects, One, including the Three Teachings, 
Master Zhong Kui, Demons and Gods
Prefatory Explanation
   Jin
   Gu Kaizhi
Song
   Lu Tanwei
Liang
   Zhang Sengyou
Sui
   Zhan Ziqian, Dong Zhan
Tang
Yan Lide, Yan Liben, Zhang Xiaoshi, Fan Changshou, He Changshou, Yuchi Yiseng

Chapter Two
Daoist and Buddhist Subjects, Two
Tang
Wu Daoyuan,18 Zhai Yan, Yang Tingguang, Lu Lengqie, Zhao Deqi, Fan Qiong, Chang Can, Sun Wei, Zhang Nanben, Xin Cheng, Zhang Suqing, Chen Ruoyu, Yao Siyuan

Chapter Three
Daoist and Buddhist Subjects, Three
Five Dynasties
Wang Shang, Yan Yun, Zhi Zhongyuan, Zuo Li, Zhu You, Li Sheng, Du Zigui, Du Nigui, Zhang Yuan, Cao Zhongyuan, Lu Huang, Guanxiu

Chapter Four
Daoist and Buddhist Subjects, Four
Song Dynasty
Sun Mengqing, Sun Zhiwei, Goulong Shuang, Lu Wentong, Wang Qihan, Gu Deqian, Hou Yi, Wu Dongqing, Han Qiu, Yang Fei, Wu Zongyuan, Xu Zhichang, Li Derou

Chapter Five
Figural Subjects, One, including Portraits of Emperors and Princes from Prior Dynasties
Prefatory Explanation
Wu
Cao Fuxing

18 This is the painter normally called Wu Daoxuan 吳道玄 or Wu Daozi 吳道子. The Yuan printed edition of Xuanhe huapu (Ying Yuan Dade ben Xuanhe huapu) consistently substitutes the character yuan 元 for the character xuan 玄. For example, the two painters listed in chapter three as Zhang Yuan and Cao Zhongyuan are otherwise known as Zhang Xuan and Cao Zhongxuan.
Jin
   Wei Xie, Xie Zhi
Sui
   Zheng Fashi
Tang
   Yang Ning, Yang Sheng, Zhang Xuan, Zheng Qian,
   Chen Hong, Zhou Guyan

Chapter Six
   Figural Subjects, Two
   Tang
   Zhou Fang, Wang Fei, Han Huang, Zhao Wenqi, Du
   Tingmu, Wu Shen, Zhong Shishao
Five Dynasties
   Zhao Yan, Du Xiao, Qiu Wenbo, Qiu Wenxiao, Ruan Gao,
   Lady Tong

Chapter Seven
   Figural Subjects, Three
   Song Dynasty
   Zhou Wenju, Shi Ke, Li Jingdao, Li Jingyou, Gu Hongzhong,
   Gu Dazhong, Hao Cheng, Tang Zisheng, Li Gonglin, Yang
   Riyan

Chapter Eight
   Architecture, including Boats and Vehicles
   Prefatory Explanation
   Tang
   Yin Jizhao
Five Dynasties
   Hu Yi, Wei Xian
Song Dynasty
   Guo Zhongshu
Barbarian Tribes, including Barbarian Beasts
   Prefatory Explanation
   Tang
   Hu Gui, Hu Qian
Five Dynasties
   Li Zanhua, Wang Renshou, Fang Congzhen

Chapter Nine
   Dragons and Fish, including Aquatic Creatures
      Prefatory Explanation
      Five Dynasties
         Yuan Yi, Monk Chuangu
      Song Dynasty
         Kexiong, Shunuo, Dong Yu, Yang Hui, Song Yongxi,
                   Liu Cai

Chapter Ten
   Landscape, One, including Eroded Rocks
      Prefatory Explanation
      Tang
         Li Sixun, Li Zhaodao, Lu Hong, Wang Wei, Wang Qia,
                   Xiang Rong, Zhang Xun, Bi Hong, Zhang Zao, Jing Hao
      Five Dynasties
         Guan Tong, Du Kai

Chapter Eleven
   Landscape, Two
      Song Dynasty
         Dong Yuan, Li Cheng, Fan Kuan, Xu Daoning, Chen Yong-
                   zhi, Zhai Yuanshen, Gao Keming, Guo Xi, Sun Keyuan,
                   Zhao Gan, Qu Ding, Lu Jin, Wang Shiyuan, Yan Su

Chapter Twelve
   Landscape, Three
      Song Dynasty
         Song Dao, Song Di, Wang Gu, Fan Tan, Huang Qi, Li Gong-
                   nian, Li Shiyong, Wang Shen, Tong Guan, Liu Yuan, Liang
                   Kui, Luo Cun, Feng Jin, Juran, Japan

Chapter Thirteen
   Domestic and Wild Animals, One
      Prefatory Explanation
         Jin
Shi Daoshi
Tang
   Yuanchang, Prince of Han; Xu, Prince of Jiangdu; Wei Wutian, Cao Ba, Pei Kuan, Han Gan, Wei Jian, Wei Yan, Zhao Bowen, Dai Song, Dai Yi, Li Jian, Li Zhonghe, Zhang Fu

Chapter Fourteen
   Domestic and Wild Animals, Two
      Five Dynasties
         Luo Saiweng, Zhang Jizhi, Li Guizhen, Li Aizhi
      Song Dynasty
         Lingsong, Zhao Mochuo, Zhu Xi, Zhu Ying, Zhen Hui, Wang Ning, Qi Xu, Venerable Master “He”

Chapter Fifteen
   Flowers and Birds, One
      Prefatory Explanation
         Tang
            Yuanying, Prince of Teng; Xue Ji, Bian Luan, Yu Xi, Liang Guang, Xiao Yue, Diao Guang, Zhou Huang
      Five Dynasties
         Hu Zhuo, Mei Xingsi, Guo Qianhui, Guo Qianyou

Chapter Sixteen
   Flowers and Birds, Two
      Five Dynasties
         Zhong Yin, Huang Quan, Huang Jubao, Teng Changyou
      Song Dynasty
         Zonghan, Xiaoying, Zhongquan, Zhongxian, Shitian, Shilei, Lady Cao

Chapter Seventeen
   Flowers and Birds, Three
      Song Dynasty
         Li Yu, Huang Jucai, Qiu Qingyu, Xu Xi, Xu Chongsi, Xu Chongju, Tang Xiya, Tang Zhongzuo
Chapter Eighteen
   Flowers and Birds, Four
      Song Dynasty
         Zhao Chang, Yi Yuanji, Cui Bai, Cui Que, Ai Xuan,
         Ding Kuang, Ge Shouchang

Chapter Nineteen
   Flowers and Birds, Five
      Song Dynasty
         Wang Xiao, Liu Chang, Liu Yongnian, Wu Yuanyu, Jia
         Xiang, Yue Shixuan, Li Zhengchen, Li Zhongxuan

Chapter Twenty
   Ink Bamboo, including Small Scenes
      Prefatory Explanation
         Five Dynasties
            Li Po
      Song Dynasty
         Prince Jun, Lingrang, Lingbi, Lady Wang, Li Wei, Liu
         Mengsong, Wen Tong, Li Shimin, Yan Shian, Liang
         Shimin, Mengxiu

Vegetables and Fruit, including Medicinal Plants, and Grasses and
Insects
      Prefatory Explanation
         Chen
            Gu Yewang
      Five Dynasties
         Tang Gai, Ding Qian
      Song Dynasty
         Guo Yuanfang, Li Yanzhi, Monk Juning