Xuanhe Catalogue of Paintings

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The sacred mountains are stabilizing, the rivers are numinous; the seas contain us, and the earth sustains us. These spiritual expressions of creation, the brightness and darkness of shadow and sunlight, and distances of ten-thousand 里 can be captured in a square foot. Yet [if an artist] does not have these “hills and streams” in his breast, it will be obvious in the forms he makes that he does not understand them. From the Tang to this dynasty, those who gained fame for painting landscapes were not classed as painters, for they mostly emerged from the ranks of the officials and scholars. Because those who attain “spirit resonance” may be lacking in “brush method,” while some who attain “brush method” may be deficient at “composition,” it is hard to find one man in this world who has all the skills.¹ Now the men of old had “streams and rocks as their innards and mists and auroras as their chronic complaint” and were derided as recluses and hermits.² This being so, if the landscapes they put into painting were marketed in the thoroughfares, people might look but would not necessarily buy. Li Sixun, Lu Hong, Wang Wei, and Zhang Zao in the Tang dynasty, as well as Jing Hao and Guan Tong in the Five Dynasties period, did not just grasp the subtleties of painting, but were also unexcelled in their lofty character. Yet as soon as

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¹. These are the first three of Xie He’s “Six Elements.” See Acker, Some Tang and Pre-Tang Texts, 1:4.
². From the biography of the recluse Tian Youyan, in Ouyang and Song, Xin Tang shu, 196.5599. “Streams and rocks” is a synecdoche for landscape scenery, and the whole phrase is usually understood as having an obsession with landscape.
Li Cheng emerged in this dynasty, even though he took Jing Hao as his master, he was praised as “[the indigo dye that is] bluer than the indigo plant,” and the methods of all others were then swept away without a trace. Though men such as Fan Kuan, Guo Xi, and Wang Shen certainly each established his own tradition, still they all took but one aspect of his style, without being able to discern his secrets. A total of forty famous artists are treated thoroughly in the *Catalogue*, so their names are not repeated here. Shang Xun, Zhou Zeng, and Li Mao were known for landscape, but since Shang Xun’s fault lay in awkwardness, while the error of Zhou Zeng and Li Mao was artifice, they did not achieve the combination of strengths of the men of old.  

They are not recorded in the *Catalogue* because this has already been settled.

**Landscape, One, including eroded rocks**

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

Li Sixun was of the Tang royal house.  

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3. For Shang (act. before 1026), see ZGMSJRMCD, 792; Soper, *Experiences*, 59; Han Zhuo, *Shanshui Chunquan ji*, in *Songren hualun*, 10.97; Lachman, *Evaluations*, 61. Liu Daochun said Shang studied the landscapes of Guan Tong, but his brushwork was not as good. See also Qian Yi (968/976–1026), *Nanbu xinshu*, in *Quan Song biji*, series 1, 10 v. (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2003), 4.129. Qian said “recently” Shang Xun was an Office Manager in the Music Office, and as a painter, his landscapes were not inferior to those of Guan Tong or Li Cheng. According to Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles*, no. 7195, Office Manager was a rank 6a position found in some eunuch agencies. For Zhou (act. ca. 1086–1097), see ZGMSJRMCD, 492; Deng, *Huaji*, 7.394. For Li (act. early Song), see ZGMSJRMCD, 373.  

and nephews, there were five men who had extraordinary skill at “the reds-and-blues,” though Sixun was the most valued in his day. In official rank, he reached the post of General of the Left Militant Guard. In all types of painting he was unsurpassed, but he was particularly skilled at mountains, rocks, forests, and streams. His brushwork and style were vigorous, and he captured effects that are difficult to describe, such as water rushing in shallows or obscuring mists and auroras. In the Tianbao era, Minghuang summoned him to paint the walls and screens in the Datong Palace. After he heard the sound of running water at night, Minghuang said to Sixun that he was “a master hand in communication with the gods.” If he did not have skill that attained to the Way, which was not drowned by his wealth and rank, then how was he able to capture this remote and untrammeled flavor? His son Zhaodao was also uncommonly good at this at the same time, so people called them “Senior General Li” and “Junior General Li.” “Senior” refers to Sixun, “Junior” to Zhaodao. Nowadays, people who paint landscapes in color follow him, yet they are unable to attain his successes. At present, there are seventeen works kept in the palace storehouses:

*The Four Hoaryheads Dwelling in the Mountains*, two pictures  
*Spring Mountains*, one picture  
*Fisherman’s Joy amid Rivers and Mountains*, three pictures  
*Verdant Forests on Clustered Peaks*, three pictures  
*Goddess*, one picture  
*Amitāyus Buddha*, one picture  
*The Four Hoaryheads*, one picture  
*Women of the Five Oaks Palace*, one picture

5. According to Zhang Yanyuan’s entry on Sixun, these five were: Sixun, Sixun’s younger brother Sihui, Sihui’s son Linfu, Linfu’s younger brother (actually his cousin) Zhaodao, and Linfu’s nephew Cou. See LDMHJQY, 482; Acker, *Some Tang and Pre-Tang Texts*, 2:242.

6. The anecdote is anachronistic, since Li Sixun died in 716. This information and the subsequent anecdote are quoted from Zhu Jingxuan; see Acker, *Some Tang and Pre-Tang Texts*, 2:243.

7. Reading *zuo* 柏 “oak” for *zuo* 祚 “blessing.” Five Oaks Palace was a detached palace in modern Zhouzhi County, Shaanxi Province. See Ban, *Han shu*, 6.211.
Li Zhaodao was the son of Sixun. Father and son were equally famous for painting. In official position, Zhaodao reached the post of Secretariat Drafter. People of the time called him “Junior General Li.” In wisdom and brushwork, he did not compare to his father, for he was a dandified, talented son of the aristocracy. That he was able not to fall into the lifestyle of fine furs and sleek horses, woodwinds and strings, but instead diverted himself with brush and ink and was considered a superb artist in his day, is this not admirable? When Empress Wu was destroying those descended from the royal family, those of the same surname were afraid they would never be able to have peaceful lives. Thus, Xian, Prince of Yong, wrote “The Song of the Huangtai Melons,” as a metaphor for himself, hoping it would move [the empress] and awaken [her compassion], while Zhaodao painted *Picking Melons* as an admonition; but there is no reckoning if this helped. At present, there are six works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Spring Mountains*, one picture  
*The Setting Sun*, two pictures

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8. Possibly an image of a female dancer on a figured carpet. The Yuan edition has “thirty pictures,” Yue Ren’s version has “one picture,” and Yu Jianhua’s version has “three pictures.” In order for the total to reach seventeen, as stated, three must be the correct number.

9. This subject would appear to be anachronistic.

10. He lived from around 675 to 741. See ZGMSJRMC, 372; Soper, “T’ang Ch’ao Ming Hua Lu,” 214, 217; LDMHJ, ch. 9; LDMHJQY, 484; Soper, *Experiences*, 22, 32. For Li Sixun and Li Zhaodao, see Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao*, 98–110.

11. Using the imagery of the *Book of Songs*, where melons represent abundant offspring, in this song, Prince Zhanghuai used the metaphor of picking the melon patch bare to represent the ultimate effect of the empress’s successive murders of members of the royal family. Since he was eventually exiled, to die in faraway Guizhou, it would appear his song did not move her heart. The story of the “Huangtai Melons Song” is told in Liu, *Jiu Tang shu*, 116.3385.
Picking Melons, one picture
Seacoast, two pictures

Lu Hong, who had the style name Haoran and was originally a man of Fanyang, was a scholar of the mountains and forests, who lived in reclusion on Mount Song’s Shao[shi Peak]. In the Kaiyuan period, he was called to serve as a Grand Master of Remonstrance, but he firmly refused, so he was granted the clothes of a hermit and a thatched cottage and ordered to return to the mountains. He was very fond of depicting landscapes with level-distance scenes. Had he not had been able to grasp “streams and rocks as his innards and mists and auroras as a chronic complaint” in his mind or respond to them with his hand, he would not have been able to achieve this. His painting Thatched Cottage has been handed down alongside Wang Wei’s Wang River. Since this thatched cottage had been granted to him, “a single hill and a single stream” were sufficient to maintain his life, so what is seen in his painting is his own inclinations.

At present, there are three works kept in the palace storehouses:

Eroded Rocks, one picture
Meeting of Immortals in a Pine Grove, one picture
Thatched Cottage, one picture

12. Su Shi reported that Li Sixun had done a picture called Minghuang Picking Melons, which he described in such a way that it appears to match the picture in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, now called Minghuang’s Journey to Shu, which is attributed to Li Zhaodao, but is more likely later. See Su Shi, Su Shi wen ji, ed. Kong Fanli (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 70.2210. See also Li Lin-ts’an, “A Study of the Masterpiece “T’ang Ming-huang’s Journey to Shu,”” Ars Orientalis 4 (1961):315–321.


14. This pair of pictures was admired and copied by the circle of Li Gonglin and Su Shi. See Harrist, Painting and Private Life, 78–82.

15. Xie Kun said he could live in seclusion on “a single hill or a single stream.” From Liu, Shishuo xinyu, ch. 21; see Mather, Shih-shuo Hsin-yü, 395.
Wang Wei, whose style name was Mojie, was selected for the jinshi degree early in the Kaiyuan period. In official position, he reached the post of Assistant Director of the Right in the Department of State Affairs, and his biographies are found in the Tang histories. Since the details of his appointments and retirements are all told there, they are omitted here. Wei was good at painting and particularly skilled at landscapes. The painters of his day said his talent was Heaven-sent, and none who studied him could reach him. Later generations praised him highly, saying, “Wei’s paintings do not rank lower than Wu Daoyuan’s.” Seeing his use of imagination in heights and distances, though this was the first time it was seen in “the reds-and-blues,” it was a pictorial concept often used in poetry. This tells us that Wei’s painting came naturally, so he had no need to be governed by the rules of painting; rather, he was probably born knowing them. Therefore, lines of his poetry can be put into painting, such as: “The falling flowers are silent as the mountain bird cries; the willow trees are verdant, as someone crosses the river”; “I’ll walk to the place where the waters end; Or sit and watch times when the clouds rise”; and “Returned to white cloud, my gaze is whole; in azure haze, sight empties nonbeing utterly.”


18. This is a Song-dynasty attitude, as expressed by Su Shi in his note comparing Wang Wei and Wu Daozi. See Chen, Sui Tang huajia shiliao, 255. By contrast, Zhu Jingxuan, in the late Tang, seems to say that Wang Wei worked in the style of Wu Daozi. See Soper, “T’ang Ch’ao Ming Hua Lu,” 218.


20. The first couplet is from “Written on the Si River at Cold Food Festival Time”; the second is from “Villa on Zhongnan Mountain,” translation from Owen, Great Age of Chinese Poetry, 34–35; the last is from “Zhongnan Mountains,” trans-
Yuan to Serve in Anxi” was expanded into the picture, The Song of Yang Pass.21 Moreover, scholars of the past who developed skills in one form of art never allowed their art to conceal their integrity. Yan Liben was such a one. When people called for him as a Painting Master, Liben was deeply ashamed. Yet for Wei it was not so. In his own poem, he said, “In this life mistakenly a poet; / In a former life I must have been a painting master.”22 Still, people never did identify him as a painting master. For example, when Du Zimei commented on people in his poetry, this would have been the right time to do it, yet he still praised Wei as “that lofty man Wang, the Assistant Director of the Right,” when he knew otherwise.23 Why? Others who became famous for painting were limited to being good at painting, but Wei, who had youthful skill at composition, was so good that it got him selected for a degree, and his fame flourished in the Kaiyuan and Tianbao eras, so that many heroes and aristocrats kept the left seat of honor open to welcome him, while the Princes Ning and Xue treated him as a Tutorial Companion. Both he and his younger brother crowned their age with the honors they gained in the examination system and their literary skills. Thus the admiring phrase of that time, “The court has the prose of the Minister of the Left; the whole realm has the poetry of the Assistant Director of the Right,” utilized their titles and not their names.24 Later, at his dwelling on the Wang River, he also put that into painting, and since it expressed what he held in his heart, naturally it was untrammeled. His thoughts were transferred into his paintings, so of course his work surpassed that of all

21. See the discussion of the Yang Pass painting in the entry on Li Gonglin in chapter 7. For a translation of the poem, see Hinton, Selected Poems of Wang Wei, 77.

22. From Harrist, Painting and Private Life, 74. See also Owen, The Great Age of Chinese Poetry, 29. Acker, Some T’ang and Pre-T’ang Texts, 2:268 has “In my present life I am wrongly called a poet; In a former existence I must have been a painter.”

23. From the eighth poem of “Twelve Poems to Dispel Depression.” See Owen, Complete Poems of Du Fu, vol. 4, 17.47, 373.

24. This comes from Zhu Jingxuan. See Soper, “T’ang Ch’ao Ming Hua Lu,” 218.
others. The great pity is that due to the perils of war and fire, as well as the passage of several centuries, there are scarcely any of his works left.25 When men of later times obtain copies, they still surpass the ordinary. This is just like the concept in the comment on Du Zimei’s poetry in the *Tang History*: “Even a residue of oil or a lingering fragrance are still enough to benefit later men.”26 How much more so if one could actually obtain works Wei had concentrated on? At present, there are one hundred twenty-six works kept in the palace storehouses:

- *The Most High*, two icons
- *Mountain Villa*, one picture
- *Mountain Dwelling*, one picture
- *Covered Plank-Roads*, seven pictures
- *Covered Plank-Road of Jian’ge*, three pictures27
- *Snowy Mountains*, one picture
- *Calling for the Ferry*, one picture
- *Grain Transport*, one picture
- *Snowy Ridge*, four pictures
- *Catching Fish*, two pictures
- *Ferry in Snow*, three pictures
- *Fish Market*, one picture
- *Mule Train*, one picture
- *A Strange Country*, one picture
- *Early Outing*, two pictures
- *Village Market*, two pictures
- *Traversing the Pass*, one picture
- *The Road to Shu*, four pictures
- *The Four Hoaryheads*, one picture
- *Vimalakīrti*, two pictures
- *Eminent Monks*, nine pictures

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25. A curious statement, since one hundred twenty-six paintings follow, but perhaps the authors are simply echoing Guo Ruoxu’s description of Wang Wei’s works as “long gone.” See Soper, *Experiences*, 42.


27. The Jian’ge plank-road ran through the Jian’ge region of Sichuan.
The hometown of Wang Qia is unknown. He was good at making paintings from splashed ink, so that people of his time all called him Splashed Ink Wang. It was his nature to be fond of wine and free from cares, and he mostly roamed about by himself in the region of rivers and lakes. Whenever he wished to paint a picture, he would wait until he was

28. Hongren (601–674), the Fifth Chan Patriarch, lived in the Huangmei Mountains.

29. This may be the painting now held in the Osaka Municipal Museum of Fine Arts, which has this title written on it in Huizong's hand and one impression of the seal reading, “Palace Repository of Proclaiming Harmony” (Xuanhe zhongbi). The subject is Fu Sheng teaching the Book of Documents to Chao Cuo, the emperor's envoy, in the early Han dynasty, but only the image of Fu Sheng remains. See Stephen Little, Chinese Paintings from Japanese Collections (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2014), 50–53.

30. See ZGMSJRMCD, 90; LDMHJ, ch. 10; LDMHJQY, 552, under Ink Wang; Soper, “T’ang Ch’ao Ming Hua Lu,” 228, under “Ink Wang.”
tipsy and “had taken off his robes and stretched out his legs.”31 Then, as he sang, whistled, and danced about, he would first splatter the ink on the screen. Then he took the shapes that were suggested and made them into mountains, rocks, forests, and streams. It looked completely natural, as instantaneous as Creation. In the clouds and auroras that rolled out and rolled in, and the mists and rain in muted, light washes, no trace of the ink blots could be seen, which is nothing a staff painter could achieve with brush and ink. Song Bai, who enjoyed penning critiques, once inscribed a landscape painting by Qia with a poem. The opening stanza read: “Layered peaks and mountain ranges created with a single splatter. Detailed scenes and lofty inspiration urge each other on.” This shows the extraordinary skill of Qia’s splashed ink paintings. At present, there are two works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Yan Guang Fishing at the Rapids*32

*[Wangzi] Qiao and *[Master Red]pine*33

The hometown of Xiang Rong is unknown.34 People of his day called him a Retired Scholar. He was good at painting landscapes and took

31. From the story in *Zhuangzi* about the court painter who thus prepared himself to paint and was adjudged “a true artist.” See “Tian Zifang” chapter, Watson, trans., *Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, 228.

32. Yan Guang (d. 41) was an early Eastern Han dynasty scholar, who lived in reclusion and resisted Emperor Guangwu’s call to serve. The spot where he fished was later called “Yan’s Rapids.” See Fan, *Hou Han shu*, 83.2763–2764. A shrine to him, marking his fishing platform, is in modern Tonglu County, Zhejiang, on the Fuchun River. He was said to have been buried in the Fuchun Mountains.

33. Following Yue Ren’s suggested reading as the names of two immortals often mentioned together as practitioners of longevity techniques. See Yue, *Xuanhe huapu*, 217n13. See also Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth*, 185, Kalt-enmark, trans., *Le Lie-sien Tchouan*, 35, and the biography of Li Si in Sima, *Shiji*, 87.2550, where it is said a ruler “must have the longevity of [Wangzi] Qiao and [Red] Pine and the wisdom of Kong and Mo.”

34. See ZGMS|RMCD, 1123; Soper, “T’ang Ch’ao Ming Hua Lu,” 228; LDMHJ, ch. 10; LDMHJQY, 550, 551n4, and 552; Acker, *Some T’ang and Pre-T’ang Texts*, 2:298 and 299.
Wang Mo as his teacher.\textsuperscript{35} In his \textit{Pine-Covered Peaks Landscape}, the brushwork was so withered and hard, it lacked mildness and moisture, which is why the painting critics of old derided his work as “cross-grained and astringent.”\textsuperscript{36} Nevertheless, he stood out from the crowd like a precipitous peak, and so he established his own tradition. At present, there are two works kept in the palace storehouses:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Pine-Covered Peaks}

\textit{Wintry Pines, Living in Seclusion}\textsuperscript{37}
\end{quote}

Zhang Xun was a man of Nanhai.\textsuperscript{38} After he failed to place in the examinations, he moved to Chang’an, where he took up painting as a pastime. Later he went to Shu. Since he was staying at the Zhaojue Monastery, for the monk Mengxiu he painted murals of three scenes of morning, midday, and evening. He undoubtedly employed the scenery of the mountains of Wu to paint them. When Emperor Xizong graced Shu, he saw them and sighed in appreciation the whole day.\textsuperscript{39} Though scenes of morning and evening have been capably executed by modern and ancient painters, a midday scene is difficult to depict. This is similar to how

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{35} This is Wang Qia; see the entry above. Note that LDMHJ, ch. 10, says Xiang was the teacher of Wang. Yu Jianhua considers this a mistake by the authors of the Catalogue. See Yu, \textit{Xuanhe huapu}, 173.
\item \textsuperscript{36} Zhang Yanyuan said this in LDMHJ, ch. 10; here using the translation in Acker, \textit{Some \textit{T’ang} and Pre-\textit{T’ang} Texts}, 2:298. Soper translates the criticism as “blunt and rough.” See Soper, “\textit{T’ang Ch’ao Ming Hua Lu},” 228. See Soper, \textit{Experiences}, 137n261, where he shows how there was little interest in Xiang Rong until Jing Hao paired him with Wu Daozi in his \textit{Bifaji}, although he did call his brushwork “hard and coarse.” See Kiyohiko Munakata, \textit{Ching Hao’s Pi-fa-chi: A Note on the Art of Brush, Artibus Asiae Supplementum} 31 (Ascona: Artibus Asiae Publishers, 1974), 15.
\item \textsuperscript{37} The second half of the title given here is literally “to rinse one’s mouth (with the beauty of) rocks,” which is a metaphor for living in seclusion.
\item \textsuperscript{38} See ZGMSJRMCD, 863; Soper, \textit{Experiences}, 24–25; Huang, \textit{Yizhou minghua lu}, 199–200.
\item \textsuperscript{39} He was driven from Chang’an by the rebellion of Huang Chao (835–884) in 881.
\end{itemize}
so many poems about spring, autumn, and winter have been written by poets, while those about summer are few. Afterward, Wang, the pretender of Shu, wanted to remove them to his dwelling, but because they were joined to the roof beams, to have moved the murals would have ruined them, so he desisted. Xun’s *Snowy Peaks and Dangerous Plank-Roads* is extremely skillful and expresses what he saw in Shu. It also illustrates the age-old admonition: “As if you were approaching an abyss, as if you were treading on thin ice.”\(^{40}\) At present, there are two works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Snowy Peaks and Dangerous Plank-Roads*, two pictures

Bi Hong’s hometown is unknown.\(^{41}\) Being highly skilled at landscape, he produced *Pines and Rocks* murals for the Chancellery, and at that time, literary men wrote poems praising them. His brushwork was free and easy, transforming all earlier methods. It was never constrained or sluggish, but had tremendous vitality. Painters used to have a saying, that when painting pines, [the branches] should be like the arms of yakṣas and [the needles] like the bills of storks or magpies, while [the trunks] should have deep hollows and slight bumps, so they could be taken for rocks. Yet Hong transformed all of this and put the conception before the brushwork, which is nothing that rules and regulations can produce. In the Dali era, Hong held the post of Vice Governor of the capital. At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Pines and Rocks*

\(^{40}\) Quotation from the poem “Foreboding” (*Xiaomin*), from the Minor Odes (*Xiaoya*) of the *Shijing*. See Waley, trans., *Book of Songs*, 175.

Zhang Zao 璬 (also written Zao 藻 ), whose style name was Wentong, was a man of Wujun. As an official, he reached the post of Acting Vice Director of the Bureau of Sacrifices. He was famous in his day for his abilities as an official and for his literary skill and character. He was good at painting pines, rocks, and landscapes. He composed an essay called “The Realm of Painting,” in which he told the essential secrets of painting. [Senior] Mentor [of the Heir Apparent] Bi Hong had garnered all fame to himself in his day, but as soon as he had seen [Zao’s work], he was astonished and marveled at it. Once, Zao took a brush in each hand and with one drew a living branch and with the other a decaying trunk. All the changes of the four seasons, he could capture with his brush. In his landscapes, everything was unusually beautiful, and in just a small space were great depths and expanses. In his day they were designated “inspired class.” Li Yue, the Vice Director of the Ministry of War in the Tang dynasty, loved painting to the point of obsession. Hearing about a family that had collected a screen by Zao of Pines and Rocks, he inquired into purchasing it, but the wife of this family had already dyed it and made it into clothes. Instances where rare treasures encounter misfortune in this world are hardly limited to this. Sun He wrote a poem celebrating Wuxing, and in the last stanza, he said, “Who is as skilled at pines and rocks as Zhang Zao? I believe I’ll tear off some mermaid-spun silk for him to paint me a picture.” This shows how Zao’s paintings were admired then. At present, there are six works kept in the palace storehouses:


43. This is the judgment of Zhu Jingxuan in TCMHL.

44. Li Yue lived from 751 to 810. See LDMHJ, ch. 10; Acker, *Some T’ang and Pre-T’ang Texts*, 2:283; Soper, *Experiences*, 81–82.

45. Sun (961–1004) was an official who was skilled at poetry and prose from a very young age. See Toghto et al., *Song shi*, 306.10097–10100.
Pines and Rocks, two pictures
Wintry Forests, two pictures
The Most High, one icon
Pines, Bamboo, and Eminent Monks, one picture

Jing Hao was a man of Henei, who was self-styled as Master of Broad Valley. A man of wide learning and refinement, he loved antiquity. He established his own style of landscape, to which he had given a great deal of thought. He once said, “Wu Daoyuan had brush but lacked ink, while Xiang Rong had ink but lacked brush.” Hao joined the strengths of these two masters into his own art. Generally, those who have brush but not ink lay down their lines like grids that lack a natural feel, while those who have ink but not brush eliminate the “hatchet and chisel marks,” which results in deformities. It was for this reason that in Wang Qia’s painting, he first splattered the ink onto the white silk, and then constructed shapes out of the natural formations of high and low that resulted. Now Hao brought together these two, the manmade and the natural, for he had grasped both. Thus his paintings are pleasing to everyone’s eyes, and they are easy for viewers to understand. At that time, Guan Tong was called a capable painter, yet he became a disciple and learned from Hao. Hao’s ability was highly valued by those of his

46. Henei was probably modern Qinyang, Henan Province. Broad Valley was the name of his place of seclusion in the Taihang Mountains. Liu, Wudai minghua buyi, says his residence was in Qinshui, which is about 100 kilometers to the northwest, in Shanxi Province. Both are in the Taihang Mountains area. See the Jing Hao (ca. 855–915) entry from Wudai minghua buyi translated in Munakata, Ching Hao’s Pi-fa-chi, 50; Liu, Wudai minghua buyi, 108. See also ZGMSJRMCD, 754; Chen, Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao, 67–73; Soper, Experiences, 6, 19, 21, 26, 30, 57, 113n25, 136n260; Richard M. Barnhart, “Ching Hao,” in Franke, ed., Sung Biographies, 2:24–27.

47. I interpret this statement in light of the paraphrase of it given by Han Zhuo, in his Shanshui Chunquan ji (preface dated 1121), where he says the two modes combined by Jing Hao were “man and nature.” See Shanshui Chunquan ji, in Songren hualun, 88. For reasons unknown, this paragraph was not translated in Robert J. Maeda, Two Twelfth Century Texts on Chinese Painting, Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies 8 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1970), 40.
day. Later he wrote a one-volume book, *Secrets of Landscape*, which was presented to the throne and preserved in the Imperial Archives. Mei Yaochen once wrote a poem after seeing a *Landscape* by Hao, in which is this phrase: “If a painting bears Jing Hao’s signature, return it to the Hanlin Academy.” He also wrote, “Fan Kuan all his life could never learn it, while Li Cheng was only skilled at his level distances.” This shows that Hao’s study of painting was not at all common, and Yaochen’s criticism was not excessive. At present, there are twenty-two works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Summer Mountains*, four pictures  
*Mountains of Shu*, one picture  
*Landscape*, one picture  
*Waterfall*, one picture  
*Buildings and Lookouts in Autumn Mountains*, two pictures  
*Auspicious Vapors over Autumn Mountains*, two pictures  
*Fishermen in Autumn*, three pictures  
*Drinking Party at the Orchid Pavilion in Shanyin*, three pictures  
*The Five Pavilions on White Duckweed Isle*, one picture  
*Copy of King Xiang of Chu Encountering the Goddess*, four pictures

Guan Tong (or named Tong 種) was a man of Chang’an. As a landscape painter, in his early years, he studied with Jing Hao, while in his

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48. THJWZ called it “Secrets of Landscape Painting” (*Hua shanshui jue*) (Soper, *Experiences*, 6), while it is now called *Bi fa ji*, or “A Note on the Art of the Brush.” According to Liu Daochun, this happened during his lifetime, in the late Tang dynasty or Five Dynasties period. See Liu, *Wudai minghua buyi*, 108.

49. White Duckweed Isle was in the Zha River, near Wuzing, Huzhou, Zhejiang Province. Extensive gardens and the five pavilions were built by Governor Yang Hangong in 838, as described by Bai Juyi in his “Record of the Five Pavilions of White Duckweed Isle” (*Bai Pingzhou wu ting ji*).

later years, his brush strength surpassed Hao’s considerably. He was especially fond of doing autumn mountains and wintry forests, in which his village dwellings and country ferries, hermits and recluses, fishing markets and mountain post-stations gave viewers a faraway feeling, as though they were [saying farewell] at Ba Bridge in the wind and snow, or hearing the apes [cry] in the Three Gorges, not as though they were contending [for fame or position] in the dusty, vulgar world.\textsuperscript{51} In Tong’s paintings, he had eliminated all evidence of brush and paper, so as his brushwork got simpler, the more robustly his personality was expressed, and as his scenes grew fewer, his conceptions got stronger. He created an utterly antique, tranquil [mood], like [Tao] Yuanming in poetry or Heruo [Yi] in qin music, which is nothing a craftsman-painter of no ability could comprehend. His contemporary Guo Zhongshu was also one of the immortals, and because of what he learned from Tong, his brushwork did not fall into modern bad practices. Tong did not excel at figures, so to put figures into his mountains, he often asked Hu Yi to do them. Since Tong’s villages and bridges are bustling, Yi should be credited with these enduring works. At present, there are ninety-four works kept in the palace storehouses:

- \textit{Autumn Mountains}, twenty-two pictures
- \textit{Misty Mountain Groves on an Autumn Evening}, two pictures
- \textit{Fishing Skiffs amid Rivers and Mountains}, two pictures
- \textit{Traveling by Boat amid Rivers and Mountains}, two pictures
- \textit{Solitary Temple in Spring Mountains}, one picture
- \textit{Frost Clearing in Autumn Mountains}, four pictures
- \textit{Old Trees at the Mountain Pass}, one picture
- \textit{Buildings and Lookouts in Autumn Mountains}, four pictures
- \textit{Maple Trees in Autumn Mountains}, one picture

\textsuperscript{51} Ba Bridge, east of Chang’an, was a common place for bidding sad farewell to friends leaving on a long journey. The three gorges are Qutang Gorge, Wu Gorge, and Xiling Gorge on the Yangzi River as it passes through Sichuan and Hubei provinces. The sound of the cries of apes echoing off the stone walls of these gorges was considered very melancholy.
Fisherman’s Joy in Autumn Mountains, four pictures
Early Outing on an Autumn River, two pictures
Autumn Peaks, Lofty and Luxuriant, two pictures
Clustered Peaks in Autumn Colors, three pictures
Lofty Temple amid Strange Peaks, two pictures
Singing Songs in a Mountain Hostel, one picture
An Outing at Shanyin, one picture
Waiting for the Moon over Mount Yanzi, one picture
Living Free and Easy amid Groves and Marshes, one picture
Carefree Living in the Deep Mountain Bends, one picture
[Birds and Beasts] Calling amid Mists and Auroras, one picture
Drunken Chanting at the Bend in the Cliff, one picture
Strategic Pass Enveloped in Mist, four pictures
Eroded Rocks, Level Distance, one picture
Maple Trees, Precipitous Cliff, one picture
Stone Cliff, Ancient Pines, one picture
Pine Trees and Lofty Scholars, one picture
Old Stories in a Landscape, one picture
Summer Rain Beginning to Clear, two pictures
Gathering at the Orchid Pavilion in Shanyin, four pictures
Mountains of the Immortals, four pictures
Mountain Pass, one picture
Streams and Mountains, one picture
High Mountains, one picture
Landscape, one picture
Hill Town, one picture
Large Peaks, one picture
Strange Peaks, one picture

52. This may be a landscape involving images of Xu Xun (act. ca. 358), Wang Xizhi, Xie An, and Zhidun (314–366), who were said to have roamed the Shanyin area. See Weitz, Zhou Mi’s Record, 95.

53. The mythical mountain spoken of in the poem “Lisao,” in Chuci, as a mountain in the west into which the sun disappears.

54. Title could also be Mount Chong, in Hunan Province.
Clearing Peaks, one picture
Han[gu] Pass, one picture
Dangerous Plank-Roads, one picture
Cloudy Mountains, one picture
Rocky Rapids, one picture
Level Bridge, one picture
Junji Peak, three pictures

Du Kai 楷 (also written Kai 摺), was a man of Chengdu. He was exceptionally skilled at landscapes. In his depictions of decaying trees, broken cliffs, cloudy mountains, and misty peaks, his imagination was far-reaching. Further, the paintings he made that depicted lines of poetry by the men of old allow one to visualize his thoughts. At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

Verdant Screen [Mountains] on the Jinsha [River]

55. Junji Peak is one of the peaks of the sacred Mount Song.

56. Yu Jianhua treats this Du Kai as identical with Du Cuo 捺, who appears in Huang, Yizhou minghua lu, 180, as a painter of Buddhist murals. See ZGMSJRMCD, 339. THJWZ places Du Kai in the Five Dynasties period, as a landscape painter. See Soper, Experiences, 32, 146n338. This entry is a paraphrase of THJWZ.

57. The Verdant Screen (Cuiping) Mountains overlook the Jinsha River near modern Yibin, Sichuan Province.