APPENDIX ONE

Chronology of Shitao's Life

References are given here only for information that is not presented elsewhere in this book in fuller form (especially in Chapters 4–6) and accessible through the index. Here, as throughout this study, years refer to Chinese lunar years. Most of the places mentioned can be found on Map 3. Where an existing artwork contradicts the dates given here for the use of specific signatures and seals, this will generally mean that I am not convinced of the work's authenticity (though there will inevitably be cases of oversight or ignorance as well). With the existence and location in mainland Chinese libraries of rare publications and manuscripts by no less than thirty-six of his friends and acquaintances newly established, providing a rich new vein for biographical research, and with new works by Shitao regularly coming to light, this chronology must be considered provisional.[1]

1642

Shitao was born into the family of the Ming princes of Jingjiang, under the name of Zhu Ruoji. His father was probably a relative of Zhu Hengjia, the prince of Jingjiang. Although the Jingjiang palace was in the city of Guilin in the southwestern province of Guangxi, Shitao always identified himself in later life as a native of Quanzhou, some seventy miles to the northeast of Guilin.

1643

Death of the founder of the Manchu Qing dynasty, Hong Taiji, and ascension of his five-year-old son, Fulin (1638–61), as the Shunzhi emperor, accompanied by the appointment of Hong Taiji's younger brother, Dorgon (1612–50), as regent.

1644

Fall of Beijing to the Shun regime of Li Zicheng, followed shortly after by their abandonment of Beijing to Qing forces. Dorgon proclaimed Qing rule over China in the name of the Shunzhi emperor, who shortly after was brought to Beijing. In south China, resistance to the Manchus crystallized around different claimants to the Ming throne, whose regimes are collectively known as the Southern Ming.

1645

Fall of Nanjing to Qing forces. In Guilin in the ninth month, Zhu Hengjia was attacked and defeated by forces of the Southern Ming Longwu emperor, Zhu Yujian, under the command of Qu Shisi, and taken to Fuzhou, where he later died in prison. The attack involved a massacre of the Jingjiang princely family, from which the small child Shitao was saved by a retainer who smuggled him to safety, the two subsequently taking refuge within the Buddhist *sangha*.

1650

Death of Dorgon and assumption of power by the Shunzhi emperor himself.

1651

By this year at latest, Shitao was living with his protector in a temple in the city of Wuchang in Hubei, where they took the names, respectively, of Yuanji Shitao and Yuanliang Hetao. Shitao subsequently referred to Hetao as his "elder brother," while Hetao called Shitao his "younger brother."

According to Li Lin's *Dadizi zhuan* (hereafter *DDZZ*), Shitao only started to read in this year, at the age of ten, having begun by collecting (illustrated?) books.

1652–1654

Based in Wuchang. Although somewhat ambiguous, the account in *DDZZ* would seem to suggest that he began to study calligraphy around this time, after learning to read and before learning to paint.

1655

Based in Wuchang. According to a later inscription, Shitao had begun to study painting by the age of fourteen, when he produced (an album of) fifty-six orchid paintings. His first teacher (of orchids and bamboo) was a former Qing magistrate, Chen Yidao (1647 *jinshi*, d. 1661), who would later return to official service. Other artists with whom he studied informally, possibly during his Wuchang sojourn (through c. 1663), include the local Wuchang artist Pan Xiaochi; the seal carver, calligrapher, and Buddhist layman Liang Hong, from nearby Yunmeng; and the monk-painter Chaoren Luzi, from Sichuan Province.

1656

Based in Wuchang.

1657

Based in Wuchang. Probably early in this year, he made a journey that took him south via Lake Dongting, where he visited the Yueyang Tower, into Hunan Province, via Changsha to Mount Heng. His earliest surviving poems date from this year.

1658

Based in Wuchang.

1659

Based in Wuchang.

In Zhejiang, Muchen Daomin (1596–1674), a leading Chan abbot belonging to the Tiantong lineage of the Linji School, contradicted his earlier Ming loyalist stance by accepted an invitation from the Shunzhi emperor to go to Beijing. Muchen's entourage included his disciple Lü'an Benyue (d. 1676). When Muchen returned south later the same year, Lü'an stayed behind.

1660

Based in Wuchang.

1661

Based in Wuchang.

Following the death of the Shunzhi emperor from smallpox, Lü'an returned south, establishing himself at Qingpu near Songjiang in southern Jiangsu Province.

1662

Based in Wuchang.

Xuanye (1654–1722) ascended to the throne as the Kangxi emperor, but due to his youth political power was exercised by a regency under the leadership of Oboi. Also in this year, the last of the claimants to the Ming throne was executed in Yunnan, ending the Southern Ming resistance.

1663

Probably based in Wuchang.

1664

It was most likely sometime in late 1663 or early 1664 that Shitao left Wuchang accompanied by Hetao. Faced, as Shitao later wrote, with the choice between moving to Chu (i.e., Hunan, where there was a community of Ming loyalist monks belonging to the Tiantong branch of the Linji School) or traveling on to Wu (southern Jiangsu, where Lü'an was based at Qingpu) in the southeast, the two men chose the latter course. They traveled first to Mount Lu in Jiangxi, where they sojourned at the Kaixian Monastery (with which Muchen had previously been connected) in 1664. An important autobiographical album now in the Guangdong Provincial Museum may have been painted during this sojourn, making it Shitao's earliest known surviving work (see Figures 47, 48, 173).

Death of the painter Hongren (1610–64).

Signatures and seals: In his signatures to the twelve leaves of the Guangdong album, Shitao uses only three names, which he would continue to use for the rest of his life: Shitao, Shitao Ji, and Xiaocheng Ke (guest of Hinayana). He also uses three seals, which again would be lifelong companions: the double seal reading "Yuanji Shitao" and single seals reading "lao Tao" (old Tao) and "famen" (gate of the Law).

1665

In late 1664 or early 1665 Shitao and Hetao continued on to Qingpu, where they were accepted as disciples of Lü'an Benyue. However, Lü'an did not detain them in Qingpu, requiring them instead to see more of the world (specifically, that of Jiangnan).

1666

Their travels, which may have begun as early as 1665, took them through southern Jiangsu (including Suzhou) and Zhejiang (including Hangzhou), before they moved west into southern Anhui, probably reaching Xuancheng

before year's end. Over the next few years they would reside in several different area temples and monasteries.

1667

Based in Xuancheng, but also sojourned in Shexian.

In Xuancheng, probably in this year, Shitao joined a "poetry and painting society" organized by leading Xuancheng literati, including Shi Runzhang (1618–83), Gao Yong (b. 1622), Mei Qing (1623–97), Wu Sugong (1626–99), and Mei Geng (1640–c. 1722).

He also climbed Mount Huang in Huizhou Prefecture for the first time, commemorating the experience in a important hanging scroll (see Figure 158). While staying on the mountain, he was contacted by the newly appointed prefect, Cao Dingwang (1618–93), who commissioned from him an album of seventy-two views of Mount Huang (see Figure 85). In Shexian (Xin'an), which was the major town of Huizhou Prefecture, Shitao then stayed at Luohan Temple within the Taiping Monastery complex as the guest of the prefect. Cao commissioned him to paint a handscroll depicting *The Sixteen Luohans* to commemorate his restoration of the temple, which Shitao completed after more than a year's work (see Figures 155, 156). The merchant families of Huizhou Prefecture, based there and elsewhere in China, were to prove to be the mainstay of Shitao's patronage throughout his life.

Signatures and seals: He signed *The Sixteen Luohans* formally as "grandson" of Muchen Daomin and "son" of Lü'an Benyue.

1668

Based in Xuancheng, but also sojourned in Shexian at the Taiping Monastery.

1669

Based in Xuancheng, but also visited Shexian and Jingxian. In this year he climbed Mount Bogui near Xuancheng (*STSHQJ*, no. 12, leaf 7), and in the ninth month climbed Mount Huang for the second time accompanied by Cao Fen, the son of Cao Dingwang. Also in this year, after three years of intermittent effort he stopped work on a second version of *The Sixteen Luohans*, which he subsequently kept in his own possession.

End of the Oboi Regency, marked by Oboi's arrest and the Kangxi emperor's assumption of power at age fifteen.

1670

Based in Xuancheng. During this year or the next, Shitao (and Hetao?) took over responsibility for Guangjiao Temple and its ongoing restoration program.

1671

Based in Xuancheng at Guangjiao Temple. He painted a set of twelve hanging scrolls on silk for Cao Dingwang's birthday (see Figure 159).

1672

Based in Xuancheng at Guangjiao Temple.

1673

Based in Xuancheng at Guangjiao Temple. His friendship with the Wu family of Xi'nan in Shexian (many of whom were lay Buddhists), which was to supply him with patrons for the rest of his life, began no later than this year, when Wu Zhenbo was also sojourning in Xuancheng.

This year saw the first of a series of annual journeys back to Jiangsu, where Muchen and Lü'an were both based. During this first trip he stayed at one point at the Jinghui Monastery in Yangzhou, closely associated with Muchen, who was then living in Zhenjiang (on the opposite bank of the Yangzi, facing Yangzhou) and was in failing health. In Yangzhou, Shitao painted a hanging scroll for a leading salt merchant of Huizhou origin, Min Shizhang.

Cao Dingwang left his Shexian post in this year. In the last days of the year, the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories broke out, seriously threatening the existence of the Qing dynasty.

Death of the painter Kuncan (1612–c.1673) at Changgan (also known as Bao'en) Monastery in Nanjing.

1674

Based in Xuancheng at Guangjiao Temple. The rebellion reached its height in the summer and fall of this year; in the Xuancheng area a peasant rebellion led Shitao to flee into the nearby hills at Mount Bogui. His involvement in the restoration of Guangjiao Temple was commemorated in this year's *Master Shi Planting Pines* (see Plate 1, Figure 53), painted by Shitao himself, probably in collaboration with an unidentified portraitist.

Death of Muchen in the sixth month.

1675

Based in Xuancheng at Guangjiao Temple, but made one journey to the Songjiang area, where Lü'an was based at Qingpu.

1676

Based in Xuancheng at Guangjiao Temple. In the spring Shitao again visited Jingxian – this time as a guest of the recently appointed prefect, Deng Qifen (served 1674–81) – and stayed there through part of the summer. Later in the summer (?) he climbed Mount Huang for the third and last time. In the tenth month he traveled once more to Jiangsu Province. Though the only trace of his journey places him in Yangzhou, Lü'an's death that autumn suggests that Shitao may have gone on to Qingpu as well.

Death of Lü'an.

1677

Based in Xuancheng at Guangjiao Temple. In or before this year the repairs to the temple were completed. In the

summer he received the visit of a certain Zhong Lang (1659 *jinshi*) from Zhejiang, who claimed to have known Shitao's father when the latter served as a magistrate at the end of the Ming. From the credence that Shitao initially gave to this account, it is clear that (a) he was not sure who his father was and (b) he did not believe his father to be Zhu Hengjia (who could not have occupied such a position). Early in the autumn, he made another visit to Jingxian, where he stayed at the Shuixi Academy. Later that autumn he made the last of his annual journeys back to Jiangsu, a dated poem placing him in Suzhou (*STSHQJ* 12, leaf 4).

1678

Based in Xuancheng through the spring.

At some point during his years in Xuancheng (1667–78) he took on four painting students: Xiao Zipei, Li Yonggong, Xu Shangwen, and Liu Xuexi.

In the summer he accepted an invitation from Xitian Monastery, located on the north side of Flower-Rain Terrace (Yuhua Tai) outside Nanjing's southern city wall. On the way to Nanjing, he stopped off in Wuhu. He sojourned in Nanjing, perhaps in the subtemple known as Huaixie Pavilion – apparently without Hetao – through the rest of 1678 and 1679, into early 1680.

1679

Based in Nanjing at Xitian Monastery. In the summer he visited Yongshou Monastery at Lishui, some one hundred *li* to the south of Nanjing, where his host was Zulin Yuanlin, from Shexian, another of Muchen's "grandsons." This monastery would in the 1680s be directed by Zu'an, whom Shitao had known in Xuancheng when the former was a monk at the Qingxi Retreat (Qingxi An) on Mount Xiang (Mingfu 1978: 152, 157). Like Shitao and Zulin, Zu'an was a thirty-sixth generation Linji monk.

Two of Shitao's Xuancheng friends, Shi Runzhang and Gao Yong, were nominated for, and successful in, the special *boxue hongru* examination of this year in Beijing. Subsequently appointed to the Hanlin Academy, they were assigned to work on the *Ming History* project.

1680

Shitao returned briefly to Xuancheng, gave up his affiliation with the Guangjiao Temple, and moved formally to Nanjing. There, in the intercalary eighth month, he took over from a friend, Weiqin, as the sole monk-in-charge of a small retreat, the Single Branch Pavilion (Yizhi Ge). The retreat was located within the precinct of the major temple of the Qin–Huai area, the very important Changgan (Bao'en) Monastery. Shitao commemorated the move in a set of poems that he subsequently transcribed or illustrated on several occasions. If Hetao did not accompany Shitao from Xuancheng, he followed him there before the end of the year, settling in the nearby Xitian Monastery. For the next three years (through 1682) Shitao concentrated on religious study. His friendships in this period are dominated by Buddhist laymen (Zhang Zong, Tian Lin [1643–1702 or later], Zhou Jing, various members of the Wu family from Xi'nan in Huizhou) and monks (Hetao, Zulin, Shuangxiao, Chengxue).

1681

Based in Nanjing at the Single Branch Pavilion.

The Rebellion of the Three Feudatories was finally suppressed.

1682

Based in Nanjing at the Single Branch Pavilion.

1683

By this year Shitao had become friendly with several prominent Ming loyalists residing in or visiting the Nanjing area, including the painters Cheng Sui (1607–92) and Dai Benxiao (1621–93) and poets Du Jun (1611–87) and Wu Jiaji (1618–84). At the same time, he also expressed interest to a visiting official, Zheng Hushan, in using his painting to attract imperial favor. His second attempt at a major Buddhist composition, *The Conversion of Hariti to Buddhism* (see Figure 163) was probably painted in this year.

Signatures and seals: The seal reading "chenseng Yuanji" (servitor-monk, Yuanji) is first found in an album of poetry and painting documenting many of the above friendships that probably dates from the end of 1683 (Shanghai Museum).

1684

Based in Nanjing at the Single Branch Pavilion. On the occasion of his first Southern Tour this year, Kangxi visited the Changgan Monastery in the eleventh month, an event at which Shitao was present and was personally addressed by the emperor. Shitao painted a number of works in 1684 for Provincial Education Commissioner Zhao Lun (1636–95), who served in Nanjing from 1682 to 1688, and his son Zhao Zisi (d. 1701).

Signatures and seals: Earliest appearance of the seal reading "Seal of Yuanji, son of Shanguo Yue, grandson of Tiantong Min" (colophon to *Portrait of Ren'an,* Metropolitan Museum of Art).

1685

Based in Nanjing at the Single Branch Pavilion. Early in the year he made a long trip through the outskirts of Nanjing in search of plum blossom, documented in a series of poems that he later often illustrated in paintings.

1686

Based in Nanjing at the Single Branch Pavilion. The first mention of a planned trip to the capital dates from this year (seventh month).

From 1680 to 1686 Shitao did not leave the Nanjing area. During this period three monks from temples in the Qin–Huai area studied painting with him: Suiyuan, Donglin, and Xuetian.

1687

At the turn of the year Shitao moved to Yangzhou alone in preparation for a journey to Beijing. Before leaving he wrote a long autobiographical poem, "Song of My Life," as a farewell to his Nanjing friends. Hetao appears to have stayed in Nanjing at Xitian Monastery. Soon after his arrival in Yangzhou, Shitao was introduced to the city's major literati group, the Spring River Poetry Society, where he met Yao Man, Wu Qi (1619–94), and Kong Shangren (1648–1718), who was then based in Yangzhou as a water-control official. That spring, Shitao set off for Beijing but only got as far as the Grand Canal town of Qingjiangpu in northern Jiangsu, where the canal meets the Yellow River. There, it appears that hostile followers of Muchen's rival, Yulin Tongxiu (1614–75), stole (and destroyed?) his masterpiece of Buddhist painting, the second version of *The Sixteen Luohans* handscroll, which he had painted for himself in the late 1660s. Shocked and dejected, he returned to Yangzhou and based himself at Dashu Tang, probably within the Jinghui Monastery. Over the next two and a half years he would consolidate his long-standing social and commercial connections with Huizhou merchant families, which dominated the economy of the Yangzhou area.

1688

Based in Yangzhou at Dashu Tang. In the seventh month he noted his continuing depression due to the theft of *The Sixteen Luohans*.

1689

Based in Yangzhou at Dashu Tang. On the occasion of Kangxi's visit to Yangzhou in the second month, as part of his second tour of the South, Shitao was granted an imperial audience on the road between Pingshan Tang and the city (see Figure 58). Later he visited temples on the Yangzi River islands of Jinshan and Jiaoshan in the company of friends. At the end of the year he briefly visited Nanjing, staying at Xitian Monastery, presumably in connection with the imminent realization of his long-planned journey to the capital in search of imperial patronage; it is likely that he saw Hetao on this occasion.

1690

Traveled to Beijing via the Grand Canal early in spring, taking up residence in the Qiehan Studio of Wang Fengrong (d. 1703), a former vice minister in the Ministry of Personnel then living in temporary retirement. He would remain Wang's guest until the seventh month of the following year.

During his sojourn at the Qiehan Studio, he became well-acquainted with at least two other high officials, receiving painting commissions from both: Wang Zhi, then minister in the Ministry of Revenue, and Wang Zehong (1626–1708), then vice minister in the Ministry of Rites. He also frequented Manchu aristocrats, notably Bordu (1649–1708), a great-grandson of the founder of the Qing dynasty, Nurhaci, who became the first of his painting students in the capital. His friendship with Bordu's cousin and close friend, the young Yueduan (1671–1704), probably also dates from this time.

1691

In Beijing, in the Qiehan Studio. In the second month, he painted a major landscape work for Wang Fengrong, *Suojin qifeng da caogao* (Palace Museum, Beijing), which bears an inscription hostile to the connoisseurs and tastemakers of the capital. He also speaks there of his imminent return to the South. A poem datable to 1691 suggests that he had been made the offer of taking charge of a minor temple in a small town or village in the North, but he had turned it down.

Through Bordu's mediation, in the second month Shitao undertook a collaborative work with Wang Yuanqi (1642–1715), then serving in the capital as a censor and much admired as a painter by Kangxi (see Figure 59). In a similar collaborative work from 1691, Bordu asked Wang Hui (1632–1717), who had just arrived at the capital to take charge of the project of depicting Kangxi's second tour of the South, to complete Shitao's painting (see Figure 60).

In the seventh month he moved from Wang Fengrong's home to Ciyuan Temple (a subsidiary temple of Dabei Monastery in Tianjin), located on the southern edge of the southern section of Beijing, the "Chinese city." During that autumn, he received the visit of Tu Na, the Manchu minister of the Board of Justice. It was probably in the wake of this visit that the minister's son, Tu Qingge, became Shitao's second painting student at the capital. Also in the autumn he sat for a formal portrait as a Chan master by an unidentified artist, now known only through a copy (see Figure 61); this work bears an inscription indicating his willingness to remain in the capital in the event of a suitably exceptional opportunity.

For the winter months, he moved to the Dabei Monastery in Tianjin. As he arrived in Tianjin he met a monk (Juhui) on his way to the capital, to whom he presented an important autobiographical poetry manuscript in handscroll form that gathers together several of his most explicit statements of ambition, apparently in the hope that

Juhui would be helpful to his cause. Through a prominent monk associated with the Dabei Monastery, Shitao met two notable Tianjin patrons: the salt merchant and official Zhang Lin (d. 1713) and his cousin, Zhang Zhu (1659–1704).

1692

Shitao returned to Beijing early in the spring with the intention of going back to Yangzhou, but in the end he did not finally leave for the South until the eighth or ninth month. His address at this point is not clear, but one surviving painting from the third month was painted in Haichao Temple, located close to Ciyuan Temple.

During the three years he spent in Beijing, Shitao was able to see several important collections of paintings, including those of Bordu, the late Yolo (Prince An, d. 1689, father of Yueduan), and the late Geng Zhaozhong (1640–86).

In the autumn, he left Beijing for the South, traveling by boat along the Grand Canal. In a boat disaster, he lost his luggage, including accumulated poems, books, and scrolls.

Back in the South, stopping first in Yangzhou at Jinghui Monastery, he then set off almost immediately to Nanjing, where he sojourned from the tenth month through the winter of 1692, probably at Xitian Monastery. At this time he again saw Hetao, one of his friends in the South with whom Shitao had kept in touch by letter during his northern stay (another being Mei Qing in Xuancheng).

Death of Cheng Sui.

1693

Early in 1693 Shitao moved back to the Yangzhou area. One of his first acts was to go on a long trip through the area in search of plum blossom, commemorated in a set of ninety poems, several of which he later repeatedly illustrated in painting. Another was to take on a new painting student, a Chan "nephew," Chengchou Gengyin, who was a follower of Yuanzhi Poyu, the abbot of Jinghui Monastery. During the summer he can be placed first at Yousheng Ge, possibly located on the estate of Wang Xuechen, a wealthy fellow-member of the Spring River Poetry Society, and then at Yao Man's Wu Mountain Pavilion, near Mount Ganquan, northeast of Yangzhou; he stayed on there into the autumn. At Yousheng Ge he made the acquaintance of a Chinese bannerman, Zhang Jingjie. By winter he was back in Yangzhou at Dashu Tang.

Hetao was still alive in this year, inscribing a painting by Kuncan (Shanghai Museum).

Dai Benxiao died in Nanjing.

1694

Based in the Yangzhou area. Through the spring he continued to live at Dashu Tang, returning to Wu Mountain Pavilion in the summer. He spent the rest of the year back in Yangzhou at the Jinghui Monastery.

1695

Based in the Yangzhou area. Through the spring he continued to live at Jinghui Monastery; then, at the beginning of the summer, he made a brief trip to Hefei in northern Anhui at the invitation of the former minister Li Tianfu (1635–99) and the local magistrate Zhang Chunxiu (a Chinese bannerman). Upon his return, he spent the rest of the summer in Yizheng, near Yangzhou, as the guest of a merchant and art collector, Xu Songling. During this summer he met another important friend and patron, Huang You, for the first time, and also visited the merchant Zheng Zhaoxin at his celebrated Yizheng estate, River Village amid White Sand and Verdant Bamboo. He made a trip back to Yangzhou in the autumn, staying once more at Jinghui Monastery, but then returned to Xu's estate in Yizheng, where he seems to have resided continuously well into the following year.

1696

After leaving Yizheng at the end of the spring, Shitao resided briefly in Yangzhou before taking up an invitation from the Huizhou scholar, economist, and merchant Cheng Jun (1638–1704) to pass the summer at the Cheng family home in Huizhou, where he created a major autobiographical handscroll, *Calligraphies and Sketches by Qingxiang* (see Figure 72, Plate 2). Cheng Jun's four sons became Shitao's students at this time, with Cheng Ming (1676–1743 or later) proving to be the most serious. By the end of his stay, Shitao seems to have decided to leave the Buddhist *sangha*. At summer's end he presumably moved back to Yangzhou in preparation for establishing his own residence; indeed, it is possible that he moved into his new home even before the end of the year.

Signatures and seals: In an album datable to this year (see Figure 67), Shitao signed himself "Dadi Zunzhe" (Abbot of the Great Cleansing).

Shitao's first indirect contact with his distant cousin, Bada Shanren (1626–1705), in Nanchang dates from this year.

1697

In Yangzhou at Dadi Tang (Great Cleansing Hall). He was ill in early 1697. During the spring, he visited a Hanlin academician, Di Yi, who had come to the city from Beijing. Direct contact with Bada Shanren (by letter) likely dates from this year. Toward the end of the year he completed an important commission from Bordu to copy a handscroll by Qiu Ying, *One Hundred Beauties*.

Studio names: Shitao took up residence in a two-storied house in the center of Yangzhou no later than the second month of 1697, the date of the earliest document executed there (an inscription to a painting by Bada Shanren, see

Figure 73). He named his studio Dadi Tang in reference to the Daoist site of Mount Dadi near Hangzhou, and from this point on presented himself publicly as a Daoist. In a poem from the spring, he also refers to a Green Lotus Studio (an allusion to the Tang dynasty poet, Li Bai), here referred to as Qinglian Xiaoge, and later variously as Qinglian Ge, Qinglian Caoge, Qinglian Caotang.

Signatures and seals: During this year, he signed himself on one occasion "Dadi Shanren" (poetry manuscript, datable to the late spring or early summer of 1697, Guangzhou Art Gallery). In the eleventh month he signed himself "Dadizi Shanren" (see Figure 180). The seal "Tenth Generation of Zan, Azhang" makes its first datable appearance on the above-mentioned poetry manuscript.

Death of Mei Qing in Xuancheng.

1698

In Yangzhou at Dadi Tang. Shitao was ill during the winter of 1697–8 and on into the spring. He first met his future biographer, Li Lin, in the autumn of 1698. What was probably the first version of his treatise on painting, entitled *Huafa beiyuan* (see Figure 185), was written (or at least started) by this year at latest; he would produce several other versions thereafter. These bear various names, of which only *Hua pu* (Manual of Painting) is certainly Shitao's own.

Signatures and seals: He first signs himself "Dadizi" in the autumn of this year (see Figure 103). Although there are no dated uses of the "Dadizi" seal before 1702, it too may have come into use as early as this year (see Figure 176). The earliest dated appearance of the signature "Qingxiang Chenren" is in the third month (see Figure 74).

Death of Zha Shibiao (1615–98) in Yangzhou.

1699

In Yangzhou at Dadi Tang. In the second month he painted an important album for a Qing official who may have been the Nanjing Textile Commissioner, Cao Yin (1658–1712). His friendship with three other important patrons – Cheng Daoguang (Tuiweng), the salt merchant Jiang Shidong (born c. 1658), and the young Hong Zhengzhi (1674–1735), also from a Huizhou merchant family and later a major salt merchant, who became his painting student – began no later than this year. In the summer he started a vegetable garden (probably next to the east wall of the old city).

Signatures and seals: Two large seals, "yu jin wei shu wei qingmen" (today a commoner and a poor man) and "xiangnian Kugua" (Bitter Melon of former years), make their earliest dated appearance in the second month (*Plum Blossom*, hanging scroll, Shanghai Museum [*ST* 45]).

In the spring Kangxi visited Yangzhou during his third Southern Tour.

1700

In Yangzhou at Dadi Tang. Wu Jixian became his painting student no later than this year. On the last night of the year, Shitao wrote an important series of autobiographical poems that, along with a second group written a few days later, have survived in the so-called *Gengchen Manuscript of Poems*.

Signatures and seals: First dated appearance, in the tenth month, of a large "Dadi Tang" seal (see Figure 113).

1701

In Yangzhou at Dadi Tang. He was ill both early in the year and in the autumn. In the fourth month his Manchu student Tu Qingge came to Yangzhou and was visited by Shitao at his lodgings in Tianning Monastery. In the autumn Shitao visited Tu Qingge at Shaobo, to the north of Yangzhou, where he was serving as an official.

Signatures and seals: The earliest dated use of the name "Ruoji" is in a signature to a painting from this winter (*Shina nanga taisei* 1935–7: vol. 3). The album he painted for Tu Qingge at the time of the latter's visit to Yangzhou includes the first appearances of "Lingding Laoren" (orphaned old man) as a seal and "Mengdong Sheng" (muddle-headed man) as a signature. A "Mengdong Sheng" seal is first found in the eleventh month (see Figure 203).

1702

In Yangzhou at Dadi Tang. During the early summer he made a brief trip to Nanjing, where he visited the tomb of the Ming founder and saw his old friend Tian Lin. On present evidence this was his only trip outside the Yangzhou area after he moved into Dadi Tang; the reason for his visit is unknown (possibly the death of Hetao?). In Yangzhou, Shitao's friendships with his patrons Mr. Liu, the unknown owner (Mr. Huang) of Wanglü Tang, and the unidentified Zheweng date from no later than 1702.

Signatures and seals: In the third month he used the "Ji" character of his Ming princely name in a signature (see Figure 184). From this year, too, dates the first appearance of a seal reading "Jingjiang Houren" (Jingjiang descendant) (*Li Songan's Studio*, hanging scroll, second month, whereabouts unknown [Fu and Fu 1973: 220]). Although the first dated appearance of the oval "Dadizi" seal is also in this year (colophon to a landscape by Puhe, Yunnan Provincial Museum [*Dandang shuhua ji* 1963: 23]), it is likely to have come into use much earlier.

1703

In Yangzhou at Dadi Tang. In the course of the year he painted for Mr. Liu at least thirty album leaves in the same standard, oversized format, as part of two or perhaps three albums.

Studio names: The first dated instance of the studio name Gengxin Caotang (Studio for Cultivation of the Heart-mind) is found in the albums for Mr. Liu (see Figure 142). There it is found alongside the name Qinglian Caotang, which it subsequently seems to replace.

Signatures and seals: Also in the albums for Mr. Liu is found the latest dated appearance of the "Qingxiang Chenren" signature (see Figure 153), which subsequently is replaced by "Qingxiang Yiren."

In the spring Kangxi visited Yangzhou during his fourth Southern Tour.

1704

In Yangzhou at Dadi Tang. Wang Jueshi became his painting student no later than this year.

Signatures and seals: "Qingxiang Yiren" appears as a signature on a painting dedicated to Yueduan, who died in this year, and must therefore have come into use by 1704 at latest (see Figure 78). The seal "Dadizi, Ji" appears on the same painting.

Cao Yin was appointed Liang–Huai Salt Commissioner and moved from Nanjing to Yangzhou.

Death of Yueduan.

1705

In Yangzhou at Dadi Tang.

Signatures and seals: The seal "Ruoji" makes its earliest dated appearance on a painting from the autumn (see Figure 212). The vast majority of dated references to his Ming princely name in signatures or seals date from this year onward.

In the spring Kangxi visited Yangzhou during his fifth Southern Tour. Immediately after, Cao Yin set up an editorial office in Tianning Monastery to take charge of an imperially sponsored printed edition of the *Complete Poetry of the Tang*. An editorial team comprising ten Hanlin academicians arrived in Yangzhou in the fifth month. During that summer and autumn, northern Jiangsu was badly hit by floods.

Death of Bada Shanren in Nanchang.

1706

In Yangzhou at Dadi Tang.

Printing of the *Complete Poetry of the Tang* was completed in the ninth month. As shown by his *Playing the Qin in Front of an Ox* (Palace Museum, Beijing), Shitao was in contact with Cao Yin and at least one of the members of the *Complete Poetry* editorial team, Yang Zhongna, during the period of the printing project.

1707

In Yangzhou at Dadi Tang. He was consistently ill from at least the summer onward. His final datable paintings are from the tenth month.

At some point between 1705 and 1707 he completed the manuscript transcription of his treatise on painting that was later printed as *Hua pu* (preface by the publisher, Hu Qi, dated 1710).

Because Li Lin states in one of his elegies for Shitao that Bada Shanren had died two years earlier, Shitao must have died before the end of this year.

Studio names: As shown by the album *Reminiscences of Jinling*, Shitao continued to use the names Dadi Caotang and Gengxin Caotang through the autumn; but in this year he also introduced the studio name Daben Tang, alluding to a building within the Ming palace in Nanjing that was built in 1368 at the orders of the Ming founder for the instruction of his sons. By the autumn, this studio name had become the one he most commonly used in seals and signatures.

Signatures and seals: Seals not currently known to predate this year include two seals with the legend "Daben Tang" (see Figure 220 and Edwards 1967: 186), and others with the legends "Daben Tang, Ji" (see Figure 218), "Daben Tang, Ruoji" (see Figure 217), "Dadizi" (see Figure 216), "Qingxiang Yiren" (see Figure 220), and "dong tu xi mo" (daubs to the east, smears to the west) (Plate 15).

In the spring Kangxi visited Yangzhou during his sixth Southern Tour.

APPENDIX TWO

Letters

Twenty-four letters written by Shitao to nine different recipients are currently known in manuscript form. One other exists only as a contemporary transcription in Zhang Chao's *Yousheng* (1780b). Most of the letters are business correspondence with patrons (one of them a government official), but others were sent to a fellow artist, a doctor, and a Daoist priest. All but two date from the Dadi Tang years, 1697–1707, but more precise dating within that period is difficult, no dates being given in the letters. In most cases, however, the internal evidence of seals and signatures offers some, albeit limited, help. The format of this presentation largely follows the one established by Barnhart and Wang for Bada Shanren's letters in their *Master of the Lotus Garden* (1990).

1. Ciweng (Wu Qi, 1619–94), c. 1693–4

昨晚相求先生使者送字與次翁，未見有音回來。還有一二。次翁知己有音方敢去請。雖無所用之物，亦有小忙。一咲。濟〔頓首？〕

Yesterday evening I bothered your servant to take some calligraphy to you [Ciweng], but I didn't get any word back. I still have one or two others. Only once I hear from you [Ciweng], my true friend, will I dare to cancel the request. Although [my calligraphies] are worthless objects, still there is a little urgency. With a laugh!

Ji [two characters illegible].

Seal: illegible

The Art Museum, Princeton University

Published: Fu and Fu 1973: 215

2. Zhang Chao (b. 1650), c. 1693–6

山僧向來拙于言詞，又拙于詩。惟近體或能學作。餘者皆不事。亦不敢附于名場供他人話柄也。唯先生亮之。

I have always been clumsy with words and poetry. It's only the *jinti* poetic form that I have perhaps been able to master. As for the other forms, I don't practice any of them. Nor would I dare to publish [my poems] and have them be subject to the ridicule of others. Please forgive me.

Published (in transcription): Zhang Chao, ed. 1780b: wu 14a

3. Bada Shanren, c. 1698–9

聞先生花甲七十四五，登山如飛，真神仙中人。濟將六十，諸事不堪。十年已來，見往來者所得書畫，皆非濟輩可能贊頌得之寶物也。濟幾次接先生手教，皆未得奉答，總因病苦，拙于酬應，不獨于先生一人前，四方皆知濟是此等病，真是笑話人。今因李松庵兄還南州，空函寄上，濟欲求先生三尺高一尺闊小幅，平坡上老屋數椽，古木樗散數枝，閑中一老叟，空諸所有，即大滌子大滌堂也，此事少不得者。余紙求法書數行列于上，真濟寶物也。向承所寄太大，屋小放不下。款求書：大滌子大滌草堂。莫書和尚，濟有冠有髮之人，向上一齊滌。只不能還身至西江，一睹先生顏色，為恨。老病在身，如何如何！雪翁老先生。濟頓首。

I have heard that you have reached the venerable age of seventy-four or seventy-five, and that you climb mountains as if flying. Truly you are one of the transcendents. I shall soon be sixty, and I already find things unbearable. In the past ten years, I have noticed specimens of your calligraphy and paintings acquired by people who came by here. All are indeed treasured objects, certainly not to be obtained by simple offers of praises and eulogies by people like myself.

I have received several letters from you, but I have not been able to make a reply. This is because I have been troubled by illnesses and have found myself inept in entertaining and corresponding with people. I am not like this with you alone. People on all sides know about this shortcoming of mine. It makes me a laughable person.

Today, Mr. Li Songan is returning to Nanzhou [Nanchang], so I am sending this letter to you. I would like to beg of you a small hanging scroll three feet tall and one foot wide. [It should have,] on a flat bank, an old house with a few rooms and a few ancient, useless trees, and in the room on the upper level just an old man, nothing else around. This will represent Dadizi in his Dadi Tang [Great Cleansing Hall]. I must at least have this. If there is any unused paper left, I shall beg you to do a few lines of your exemplary writing above the painting. This will truly become my most treasured object.

The picture that you were kind enough to send me some time ago was too big. My small house cannot hold it. In your inscription, I beg you to write "Dadizi Dadi Caotang tu" [A Picture of Dadizi's Great Cleansing Thatched Hall]. Please do not refer to me as a monk, for I am a man who wears a hat and keeps his hair, and who is striving to cleanse everything.

My only regret is that I cannot hurry myself to Xijiang [Jiangxi] to catch a glimpse of your countenance. The sickness of old age is with me. What is to be done? What is to be done?

Xueweng Old Esq. Ji, bowing my head.

Seal: Yanzhong zhi ren wu lao yi (square intaglio)

The Art Museum, Princeton University

Published: Fu and Fu 1973: 210–11 (followed by an extensive bibliography of earlier publications of the letter; translation above slightly modified)

4. Shenlao, c. 1698 or later

午間之音，掃徑訢聆堂。仙駕。上慎老大仙。大濛子濟。

During the noontime music(?) I will sweep the Zhuning Hall. Your transcendent excellency.

Sent to Shenlao, the great transcendent. Dadizi, Ji.

Seal: Gaomangzi, Ji (square intaglio)

The Art Museum, Princeton University

Published: Fu and Fu 1973: 215

5. Zheweng, c. 1697–1703

尊字到此，三幅。弟皆是寫宋元人筆意。弟不喜寫出。識者自鑒之覺有趣。連日手中有事。未□□。朽弟阿長頓首。

So far I have finished three of the hanging-scroll calligraphies for you. They are all in the style of Song and Yuan masters. I did not enjoying doing them, as true connoisseurs will be able to see, but they will find them interesting. For the past few days I have been kept busy, and have not [two characters unclear]. I'm having someone take you the thank-you painting.

To Mr. Zheweng, your ailing younger brother Azhang bows.

Seal: Dadizi (oval relief)

Shanghai Museum

Published: *ST*: 111

A copy of this letter is in the Art Museum, Princeton University.

6. Zheweng, c. 1697–1703

羅家館不動。周匏耶先生至今不知何處去。久未知下落。時聞貴體安和心是喜。因倒屋未出門也。不盡。上哲翁先生。濟頓首。

The Luo family shop has not moved. As for Mr. Zhou Baoye, I still don't know where he went. I have not known his whereabouts for a long while now. I was delighted to hear that you are well. Due to the collapse of the room, I haven't been out.

Sincerely. To Mr. Zheweng, Ji bows.

Seal: Dadizi (oval relief)

Shanghai Museum

Published: *ST*: 111

7. Zheweng, c. 1697–1703

枇杷領到。菓未知在何日。一咲。尊畫不能礬可恨，可恨。即奉不宣。上哲翁年先生。弟阿長頓首。

I received the loquats. [But] I didn't know what day they would be ripe – how amusing! What a shame one cannot apply alum to your painting.

Sincerely. To Mr. Zheweng, your younger brother Ji bows.

Seal: Chijue (rectangular relief)

Shanghai Museum

Published: *ST*: 112

8. Zheweng, c. 1697–1703

前所命大堂畫昨雨中寫就，而未書款。或早晚將題。稿，即寫足翁正之。哲翁年先生。朽弟阿長頓首。

Yesterday while it was raining I finished the large hanging scroll painting you commissioned earlier, but I have not yet added an inscription. I will be writing an inscription at some point; after the text is drafted it would be worth your while checking it over.

To Mr. Zheweng. Your ailing brother bows.

Seal: Dadizi (oval relief)

Shanghai Museum

Published: *ST:* 112

9. Zheweng, c. 1697–1703

前長君路有水弟因家下有事未得進隨謝之。目下有客至。欲求府中蓬障借我一用。初五六即送上□哲翁先生年臺。濟頓首。貴？翁煩致意是幸。濟頓首。

Recently, because the road to your father's home has been flooded and I have been kept busy at home, I have not been able to thank him in person. Now I have a guest about to arrive, and I wondered if I could borrow a bed from the family residence to use temporarily. I would return it around the fifth or sixth of the month.

To the honorable Mr. Zheweng. Ji bows.

PS: Please convey my best wishes to Gui? weng.

Seal: Dadizi (oval relief)

Shanghai Museum

Published: *ST:* 113

10. Zheweng, c. 1697–1703

入秋天氣更暑旱。坐立無依。想先生或可長吟晚風之前也。前紙寫就馳上。哲翁老年臺先生。大滌弟濟頓首。

Ever since autumn arrived it has been hotter and drier than ever: I can neither sit nor stand. I was hoping that you might be able to come by for poetry in time for the evening breeze. I have finished with the sheets of paper [for calligraphy?] you recently sent me, and am sending them up to you.

To the honorable Mr. Zheweng. Dadizi Ji bows.

Seal: Sibai Feng Zhong Ruoli Weng tushu (square intaglio)

Shanghai Museum

Published: *ST:* 114

11. Zheweng, c. 1697–1703

早問出門。日西此時方歸。昨承尊命過□齋。有遠客忽至索濟即早同往真州。弟恐失□。弟如領厚亦然。謝謝。上哲翁先生知己。大滌弟阿長頓首。

I left home this morning. Now it's sundown and I have just got back. I received your message yesterday to visit [your?] studio. But a visitor from afar has suddenly arrived and wants me to go with him straightaway to Zhenzhou [Yizheng]. I am afraid of losing [character unclear]. I will do as I hear from you. Thank you.

To my true friend, Mr. Zheweng. Dadi Azhang bows.

Seal: Lingding laoren [square relief]

Shanghai Museum

Published: *ST:* 114

12. Zheweng, c. 1702 or later

尊六兄小像已草草而就。遣人□上教覽。不一。上哲翁道先生。大兄□此。弟極頓首。

I finished hastily the portrait of your sixth brother [or cousin], and [am sending it up to you] for your approval.

Respectfully, to Mr. Zheweng. Please [character undeciphered] this. Your younger brother, Ji.

Seal: Mengdong Sheng (square intaglio)

Shanghai Museum

Published: *ST:* 113

13. Zheweng, c. 1702 or later

今歲伏暑。秋來□□日高。乃如是知我先生府中更炎。弟時時有念。不□過。恐驚動 [remainder of text missing] 哲翁先生。大滌子頓首。

This year the heat has defeated me. Since autumn arrived [two characters unclear] daily higher. If it is like this here, I know it must be even hotter in your residence. I often think of you, but I do not dare visit. I am afraid of making a sudden movement. . . . [remainder of the text missing]

To Mr. Zheweng. Dadizi bows.

Seal: Mengdong Sheng (?) (square intaglio)

Shanghai Museum

Published: *ST:* 114

14. Jiang Shidong, c. 1697 or later

自中秋日與書存同在府上一別，歸家病到今，將謂苦瓜根欲斷之矣。重九將好，友人以轎清晨接去，寫八分書壽屏，朝暮來去，四日事完，歸家又病。每想對談，因路遠難行。前先生紙三幅，冊一本，尚未落墨；昨金箋一片已有。……岱翁年先生，大滌弟濟頓首。

After I and Shucun [Xiang Yin] said goodbye to you at your residence at midautumn, I fell sick at home, to the point that you would have thought Bitter Melon's root was going to break [i.e., the artist was going to die]. On the Double Ninth I felt better, and a friend sent a palanquin to fetch me at dawn so that I could write a *bafen* script birthday *ping* [screen or set of scrolls]. I went each morning and came back each evening for four days until the commission was completed. When I was home again I fell ill once more. I have often wanted to speak with you, but the distance makes it difficult for me to go to see you. I have still not started work on the three pieces of paper [for hanging scrolls] and the album that

you gave me before. Yesterday I received the gold paper [for a fan]. . . .

To Mr. Daiweng. Dadi Ji bows.

Seal: not known

Palace Museum, Beijing

Published (in transcription): Zheng Wei 1962: 47–8; Han Linde 1989: 83–4

15. Jiang Shidong, c. 1702 or later

弟昨來見先生者，因有話說，見客眾還進言，故退也。先生向知弟畫原不與眾列，不當寫屏。只因家口眾，老病漸漸日深一日矣。世之宣紙，羅紋搜盡，鑒賞家不能多得；清湘畫因而寫綾寫絹，寫絹之后寫屏，得屏一架，畫有十二，首尾無用，中間有十幅好畫，拆開成幅。故畫之不可作屏畫之也。弟知諸公物力皆非從前順手，以二十四金為一架。或有要通景者，此是架上棚上，伸手仰面以倚高高下下，通長或走或立等作畫，故要五十兩一架。老年精力不如，舞筆難轉動，即使成架也無用，此中或損去一幅，此十一幅皆無用矣，不如只寫十二者是。向來吳、許、方、黃、程諸公，數年皆是此等；即依聞兄手中寫有五架，皆如此；今年正月寫一架，亦如此。昨先生所命之屏，黃府上人云：是令東床所畫。昨見二世兄云：是先生送親眷者。不然先生非他人，乃我知心之友，為我生我之友，即無一紋也畫。世上聞風影而入者，十有八九。弟所立身立命者，在一管筆，故弟不得不向知己全道破也。或令親不出錢，或分開與眾畫轉妙。絹礬來將有一半，因兄早走，字請教行止如何？此中俗語俗言，容當請罪不宣。所賜金尚未敢動。岱翁老長兄先生，朽弟極頓首。

I went to see you yesterday, because I had something to discuss. When I saw that you had a lot of guests and that I wouldn't be able to speak with you, I left. You know that originally my work was not associated with the general run of painting, and that I should not have to paint screens. I only do it because my household is so large, and my old illness is getting worse all the time! When I exhaust all the *xuan* and *luowen* paper on the market, and connoisseurs cannot find more, only then do I turn to satin and silk for my calligraphy and painting; and it is after silk that I turn to screens. When I get a [folding] screen, it has twelve [panels for] paintings. The first and last ones are useless [i.e., because they are much narrower than the others], but the middle ten are fine for painting. I split the screen into its individual sections and paint it that way, which means I can't paint it as a [continuous] screen. I know that none of you gentlemen can be as free with your finances as before, so I charge twenty-four taels for the whole screen. But if someone wants a continuous scene, it means standing on a scaffold or a bench, stretching my arm and craning my neck to reach the painting, up and down, always moving about or standing. For painting in these conditions I charge fifty taels per screen. Now that I'm old I don't have the energy I used to. It is difficult for me to move the brush around vigorously, and even if I can complete the screen there is still no point. I may ruin one of the panels, then the other eleven will all be worthless. It is better if I just paint twelve separate panels. That is what I have been doing for some years now for the Wu, Xu, Fang, Huang, and Cheng families. Wenxiong has five screens at home that I painted, and all of them are of that kind. I painted one at the beginning of this year, and it was also like that. The screen you ordered yesterday was to be for your master bedroom, according to the majordomo, Huang. [Then] yesterday I met your brother, who said that you were going to offer it to a relative. But you are nothing if not a true friend of mine; for a dear friend I will paint it even for nothing. Eight or nine out of ten people judge by what they hear from others. My whole life depends on my brush, so I cannot but exhaust my art for a true friend. Either I don't ask those close to me to pay, or I take my distance and let my work compete with what is generally available. Soon half of the silk and alum will arrive; since you go out early, I am writing to ask how I should proceed. This letter has been rude and I beg your forgiveness. I have not yet dared to touch the silver you sent me.

To Mr. Daiweng. Your ailing younger brother Ji bows.

Seal: not known

Palace Museum, Beijing

Published (in transcription): Zheng Wei 1962: 47; Han Linde 1989: 82–3

16. Jiang Shidong

向日先生過我，我又他出；人來取畫，我又不能作字，因有事，客在座故也。歲內一向畏寒，不大下樓，開正與友人來奉訪，恭賀新禧。是荷外有宣紙一幅，今揮就墨山水，命門人化九送上，一者問路，二者向后好往來得便。岱瞻先生知己，濟頓首。

When you came to see me the other day, I was out. And when [your] person came to get the painting, I could not add the inscription, because I had a client there. During this end-of-the-year period it has been consistently cold, and I haven't often ventured out. But on the first day of New Year I will visit you with a friend, to wish you all the best for the new year. Apart from this lotus, I had a sheet of *xuan* paper that I used today to paint an ink landscape. I'm having a student take them to you immediately, partly to seek your opinion, and partly to make our relationship a little easier in the future.

To my true friend Mr. Daizhan. Ji bows.

Seal: not known

Palace Museum, Beijing

Published (in transcription): Zheng Wei 1962: 47; Han Linde 1989: 83

17. Jiang Shidong

此帖是弟生平鑒賞者，今時人皆有所不知也，此古法中真面目，先生當收下藏之。弟或得時時觀之，快意事。路好即過府。早晚便中為我留心一二方妙，不然生機漸漸去矣。偕翁先生。教弟原濟拜。

This *tie* is one that I have always appreciated, one that people today don't know about at all. This is the true appearance of the methods [*fa*] of the ancients. You should keep and treasure it. It would give me pleasure to have the chance to see it from time to time. As soon as the roads are better, I will visit your residence. Whenever you have the chance, keep a small place for me in your thoughts, otherwise my livelihood will gradually be lost.

To Mr. Daiweng. Your younger brother Yuanji bows.

Seal: not known

Palace Museum, Beijing

Published (in transcription): Zheng Wei 1962: 47; Han Linde 1989: 83

18. Cheng Daoguang, c. 1698 or later

屏早就不敢久留。恐老翁想思日深。遣人送到。或有藥小子領回。天霽自當謝。不宣。上退翁先生。大滌子頓首。天根道兄統此。

I completed the screen long ago and dare not hold on to it too long – I fear you must be thinking about it more and more each day. I am sending someone to deliver it. If you have any medicine, my servant will bring it back. When the weather improves I will come to thank you in person.

Respectfully. To Mr. Tuiweng. Dadizi bows.

PS: Give my regards to Tiangen as well.

Seal: undeciphered

Collection unknown

Published: *Ming Qing huayuan chidu;* Fu and Fu 1973: 215

19. Cheng Daoguang, c. 1702 or later

連日天氣好真過了。來日意口先生命駕過我午飯。二世兄相求同來。座中無他人。蘇易門久不聚談。望先生早過為妙。退翁老長兄先生。朽弟大滌子頓首。

For the past few days the weather has been truly fine. In the days to come I would like you to come to my home for lunch, and I hope that your second brother will come too. There will be no other guests. I haven't had a conversation with Su Yimen for a long time. It would be wonderful if you could come soon.

To Mr. Tuiweng. Your ailing younger brother Dadizi bows.

Seal: Mengdong Sheng [square intaglio]

Collection unknown

Published: Fu and Fu 1973: 215

20. Cheng Daoguang, c. 1702 or later

一向日日時時苦于筆墨。有德小子不成材，纍老長兄者皆我之罪也。今已歸家兩日矣。承以蜜柑見賜，真有別趣。弟何人敢消受此。老長賜又不敢辭。若老連日想他心事必難過。何能及此客走？謝不宣。弟身子總是事多而苦。懷永不好也。退翁老先生。朽弟極頓首。

Recently I have spent every day and every minute toiling with brush and ink. It is all my fault that little Youde did not turn out well and caused you trouble. He has already been back here for two days. Your gift of honey tangerines was truly wonderful. Who am I to have this pleasure? Yet since it is you who offer them, I do not dare refuse. For several days I have been thinking that Ruolao must certainly be discouraged. How can he leave once again to be a sojourner?

Many thanks. My body is constantly troublesome and depressing. I will never be well.

To Mr. Tuiweng. Your ailing younger brother Ji bows.

Seal: fangwai xiaoyao [square intaglio]. This seal, known only from this one impression, can be translated as Wandering Freely beyond This World.

Formerly Sotheby's

Published: Sotheby's New York, Fine Chinese Paintings, 29 November 1993, lot 43; from an *Album of Letters by Various Artists*

21. Cheng Daoguang, c. 1702 or later

味口尚不如。天時不正。昨藥上妙。今還請來。小畫以應所言之事可否。照上退翁老長兄先生。朽弟極頓首。

My appetite is still not back to normal, and the weather is bad. Yesterday's medicine was wonderful: Please send some more today. Will a small painting do to take care of the matter you mentioned?

To old Mr. Tuiweng. Your ailing younger brother Ji bows.

Seal: Dadizi (oval relief)

Shanghai Museum

Published: *ST:* 110

22. Cheng Daoguang, c. 1702 or later[1]

天雨承老長翁先生。如此弟雖消受折福無量容。謝不一。若老容匣字。連日書興不佳。寫來未入鑒賞。天晴再為之也。退翁老先生。朽弟阿長頓首。

My regards to the old gentleman on this rainy day. Although I enjoy this sort of thing beyond measure, I have no capacity for it. Many thanks! Ruolao agrees to write the characters on the box. My calligraphy spirit hasn't been good for several days, and the results are not satisfactory. With good weather I will try again.

To Mr. Tuiweng. Your ailing brother Azhang bows.

Seal: Dadizi (oval relief)

Shanghai Museum

Published: *ST*: 110

23. Yiweng

多感老長翁懸念之思。明后日可以見宦。群獅心驚久已。連日濕熱，果耳[sic]不好過。昨蘇易門奉問先生。畫竹書就。上亦翁先生大人。濟頓首。

My grateful thanks for thinking compassionately of me. I can see your excellency as early as tomorrow or the next day. For a long time now a herd of lions has been terrorizing my heart. With the weather humid and hot day after day, it is indeed not easy to bear. Yesterday Su Yimen asked after you. The inscription on the bamboo painting is finished.

To the honorable Mr. Yiweng. Ji bows.

Seals: None.

Formerly Sotheby's

Published: Sotheby's New York, Fine Chinese Paintings, 29 November 1993, lot 43; from an *Album of Letters by Various Artists*

24. Yiweng, c. 1702 or later

先生此行順流而得大事。晚[sic]成之時若見間亭先生，云即刻起身不過偶然，而行不即不離之間。畫先生看過，臨時再對可也。明早有精神必來奉送。祖道不宣。亦翁長兄先生。極頓首。

May your journey go smoothly and lead to great success. When it is over,[2] should you see the honorable Mr. Wenting [Bordu], could you tell him that it is only once in a while that I can get up straightaway, and that I am shaky on my feet. Once you have seen the paintings, if any last-minute corrections are necessary, they can be done. If I have the strength tomorrow morning, I will certainly come to send you off.

Respectfully. To Mr. Yiweng. Ji bows.

Seal: Sibai Feng Zhong Ruoli Weng tushu [square intaglio]

Collection unknown

Published: *Ming Qing huayuan chidu;* Fu and Fu 1973: 215

25. Yujun, c. 1705 or later

病已退去十之八九。承老世翁神力功。還求兩服即全之矣。駕亦不必過也。上予濬浚世道兄先生。朽人極頓首。

The illness is already eight or nine tenths receded. I am grateful for your divine powers. I would like to ask for another two doses, which should complete the process. There is no need for you to come in person.

To Mr. Yujun. The ailing Ji bows.

Seal: Dadizi, Ji [square intaglio]

Whereabouts unknown

Published: Fu and Fu 1973: 215

Notes

ONE. SHITAO, YANGZHOU, AND MODERNITY

1. It was in 1710 that Kangxi initiated the first of the numerous political trials of literati that were to mark the eighteenth century. For a recent comprehensive study of this trial of Dai Mingshi and others, see Durand 1992.

2. Zheng Xie 1979: 165.

3. This is misleading. Although Shitao's work was popular in Yangzhou throughout the eighteenth century, due largely to his continued favor among collectors from Huizhou merchant families, he had much more than a simply local reputation. At the time Zheng Xie made these remarks, in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, Shitao was influential on such non-Yangzhou painters as Zhang Geng, Hua Yan, Li Fangying, and Gao Fenghan. Later in the century, his works were collected in Beijing (Weng Fanggang [1733–1818], for example, owned a number of his paintings) and Guangzhou, where he was an important influence on late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century painting by local artists.

4. For a general study of this problem, see Durand 1992.

5. As established by Richard Barnhart and Wang Fangyu in *Master of the Lotus Garden* (1990; hereafter, *Master*).

6. None of the many descriptions of Shitao comment on his height, suggesting that he was neither notably short nor notably tall.

7. Tao Wei, "Presented to Old Dadi," in his *Cuanxiang* (appendix to Tao Ji n.d., *Zhouche ji*).

8. Tao Ji, "Two Poems Presented to Monk Shitao," in *Zhouche ji*, cited in *QXLRTJ* 21b.

9. Even the very incomplete record we have of his illnesses in the years after 1696 paints a sad picture: He is known to have been ill in early 1697, in the winter of 1697–8, spring 1698, spring 1699, early 1701, autumn 1701, and both the summer and autumn of 1707. See *SLW* 211 n. 97.

10. See Appendix 2, letters 10, 13, 23.

11. See Appendix 2, letters 7 and 20, and the section "The Painter's Desire" in Chapter 10.

12. See Appendix 2, letters 21 and 25.

13. For the album *Chrysanthemums* bequeathed to Li Lin, see Li Lin 1708: 7/67. Li's preface to his own book acknowledges Shitao as one of the friends who contributed the cost of printing the book, in Shitao's case through the donation of a painting for sale.

14. There is no record that anyone else paid for his burial on Shu Ridge in Yangzhou's northern outskirts.

15. For the snuffbox, see Zheng Zhuolu 1961: 34–5. The ritual vessel is mentioned in a 1701 painting inscription in which he lists his teachers and students (*SLW* 133–8). For a rubbing that Shitao owned and later gave away, see Appendix 2, letter 17; while his letter does not identify the rubbing in question, *DDZTHSB* 4/85–6 records a 1704 colophon to a copy of the *Chunhua ge tie*, in which Shitao claims to have seen more than ten versions and insists on the necessity for calligraphers to own a copy of that compendium. The writing brush is known through the 1705 calligraphy with which he thanked the monk for the gift (Edwards 1967: cat. no. 34). On the paintings by Bada, see the section "Shitao and Bada Shanren" in Chapter 5.

16. From the inscription to *Gazing at the Waterfall at Cuijiao Peak* (see Figure 126).

17. *DDZZ*.

18. From the inscription to a *A Lesson in Hoeing*, 1700 (see Figure 189). See *SLW* 288.

19. See Appendix 2, letter 10; Li Lin 1708: 7/49; and, for the full painting inscription, *SLW* 289–90.

20. See Appendix 2, letter 9.

21. It should be noted, however, that this has never been proven. A certain caution is necessary since in Shitao's Yangzhou inscriptions of the late 1680s and early 1690s the studio name, Hall of the Great Tree (Dashu Tang), is not found on paintings executed in Jinghui Monastery. Conversely, paintings executed in the Hall of the Great Tree do not indicate the location of the studio.

22. According to Lynn Struve, "in the mid-seventeenth century the population of the city proper could hardly have exceeded 300,000." Struve, ed. and trans. 1993: 269 n. 17. Its population c. 1843 was closer to 150,000. See Finnane 1985: 118–19.

23. Spence 1966: 16.

24. On the pre-Qing development of Yangzhou, see Finnane 1985, chap. 1.

25. The watercourse seemingly leading north opposite the gate tower does exist and corresponded at the time to a second water gate to the left of Zhenhuai Gate, not shown in the painting.

26. J. B. Du Halde, *The General History of China* (translated from the French). 4 vols. London: J. Watts. Du Halde 1741: vol. 1, 141. Cited by Finnane 1985: 281.

27. Finnane 1985: 282–3.

28. From a manuscript of poems datable to 1697. See *Ming and Qing Painting from the Guangzhou Art Gallery* (1986), cat. nos. 34.9–14.

29. Di Yi's account of learning the Manchu language is in Zhang Chao, ed. 1990 (*yiji*, 1700): 225–6.

30. *YZHFL* 9, headings 61–2. Although Li Dou's preface to his work was written in 1795, the book was written over a period of several decades.

31. In a poem entitled "On Passing the Monk Shitao's Former Home," the early-eighteenth-century Yangzhou poet Min Hua writes: "Today the colors of the spring waters outside the house gate/Still seem stained with the traces of his ablutions." *QXLRTJ* 21a.

32. *SLW* 301.

33. *DDZZ*.

34. *YZHFL* 9, headings 55–7.

35. Shitao refers to the Tianning Monastery address in a 1687 (summer) inscription on the painting *Fine Rain and Dragon Pines* in the Shanghai Museum (*ST* 3), under the rather obscure name "Huacang Xiayuan," or "Huacang Auxiliary Monastery." The term "Huacang" has no meaning in itself; it must refer to the preservation (*cang*) of the *Avataṁsaka Sutra* (*Huayan jing*) in the Sutra Preservation Hall (Cangjing Yuan), which was located within Tianning Monastery's "auxiliary monastery" in the monastery's East Garden. The tradition that the earliest translation of the *Avataṁsaka Sutra* into Chinese had been undertaken at Tianning Monastery was the temple's great claim to fame and was embodied architecturally in two symbolically important buildings: the Avataṁsaka Hall in the main part of the complex and the Sutra Preservation Hall in its "auxiliary monastery." Shitao's reference to the monastery is thus that of a Buddhist insider (*YZHFL* 4, headings 7, 44, 50).

36. See the section "The Floods of 1705" in Chapter 3.

37. Li Gan 1992. For a late-sixteenth-century account of Yangzhou fashions, see Brook 1998: 220; for a late-eighteenth-century one, see *YZHFL* 9, heading 18.

38. Finnane 1985.

39. For a discussion of the full set of songs in relation to the handscroll, see *SLW* 252–69.

40. For an eyewitness account of the massacre, see Struve, ed. and trans. 1993: 28–48.

41. For various contemporary references to a postal service, see the correspondence between Zhang Chao and Kong Shangren (Gu Guorui and Liu Hui 1981a,b). On travel in this period, see Brook 1988. On the banking system and Yangzhou's involvement in interregional trade, see Finnane 1985.

42. See Giddens 1990. Naturally, I do not subscribe to Giddens's Eurocentric view of the history of modernity, which has been critiqued by other sociological theorists such as Roland Robertson (1995) and Jan Nederveen Pieterse (1995).

43. Spence 1966; Finnane 1985.

44. On merchant philanthropy in Yangzhou, see the biographies in *LHYFZ* 1693; also Finnane 1985: 91–2, 170–83.

45. Rowe 1989: 4.

46. The presence of indentured servantry and slavery in Yangzhou can be inferred from the prominence of merchant families from Huizhou, a region where these practices were particularly strong. On the increase in bondservants, see Brokaw 1991: 8–9.

47. Giddens 1990: 27.

48. The terminology of dominant and dominated class fractions is Pierre Bourdieu's (1991). American historiography of China continues generally to shy away from any analogy with the European bourgeoisie, even as it moves toward a theory of urban and local elites. Thus Joseph Esherick and Mary Rankin, for example, argue that "[g]iven the frequent overlap between merchant and gentry resources and strategies, late imperial merchants do not generally fit the model of the European bourgeoisie, which originated as a legally, socially and occupationally distinct estate" (eds. 1990: 13). However, the more useful analogy may be not between merchants and the bourgeoisie but between the diversified elite, in which both merchants and gentry found a place, and the bourgeoisie. Moreover, the analogy does not have to be based on a shared model; what may be more helpful is an analogous relation to economic power. T. J. Clark's definition of the difference between bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie does not strike me as essentially different from the social situation prevailing in Shitao's Yangzhou: "A bourgeois, for me, is someone possessing the wherewithal to intervene in at least some of the important economic decisions shaping his or her own life (and those of others). A bourgeois, for me, is someone expecting (reasonably) to pass on that power to the kids. A petty bourgeois is someone who has no such leverage or security, and certainly no such dynastic expectations, but who nonetheless identifies wholeheartedly with those who do. Of course this means that everything depends, from age to age and moment to moment, on the particular forms in which such identifications can take place" (1994: 35 n. 9).

49. Ropp 1981; Naquin and Rawski 1987: 232–6; Rowe 1989: 2–5, 1990, 1992: 1; Clunas 1991: 4.

50. Rowe 1992: 1.

51. Rowe 1989: 3–4.

52. Clunas 1991.
53. Ibid., 171.
54. Ibid.
55. Yu Ying-shih 1987; Tan Tingbin 1990; Shan Guoqiang 1992.
56. In addition to Lan Ying and Ding Yunpeng as documented by Shan Guoqiang (ibid.), another case in point is Wu Bin's well-known friendship with Mi Wanzhong (Cahill 1982b). For Wei Zhihuang's frequentation of elite circles, see Kim 1985: vol. 2, 32.
57. Both Wu Bin and Chen Hongshou did have a tenuous connection with the court, receiving appointments as *sheren* (secretariat drafter), Wu in 1628 and Chen in 1640. Kim 1985: vol. 2, 43 n. 157 and 46 n. 164.
58. Conversely, court taste itself was influenced by urban developments, as can be seen from the decorative objects produced for the court in the early seventeenth century.
59. Pears 1988.
60. This is the context for the popularity of theories of sudden enlightenment, as adopted by Dong Qichang and others.
61. A. J. Hay 1992. In a variant of this view, Chun-shu and Shelley (Hsueh-lun) Chang, in their wide-ranging study of Li Yu and seventeenth-century culture (Chang and Chang 1992: 345–9), see what they call the "encounter with modernity" as extending into the early Qing before falling prey to the ideological offensive from the Qing state. While I would not dispute the fact that the Qing state moved increasingly aggressively into the central ideological space of urban life, I believe that this did not so much suppress modernity as change its language.
62. Rowe 1990: 243. For similar assessments, see Spence and Wills, eds. 1979: xvii; Rawski 1985: 10.
63. Naquin and Rawski 1987: 105.
64. Metzger 1972; Naquin and Rawski 1987: 21–7; Song Dexuan 1990: 59–69.
65. Kerr 1986.
66. Rosenzweig 1973, 1974–5, 1989.
67. Clunas, it should be said, is skeptical of this, noting the disappearance of taste as an issue in published discourse (1991). However, what made taste a compelling issue in the late Ming was the realization that social status was not, after all, immutable; anything bearing on this sudden social fluidity was a matter of wide concern. The fall of the Ming dynasty inevitably rendered such rapid changes suspect, a shift reflected in the replacement of discourses of status advancement with discourses of social stability (see Brokaw 1991). It would be a mistake, however, to infer from this shift in discourse that the substance of sociocultural change (as opposed to its interpretation) had radically changed. At best, it may have slowed down; more important, by 1700 it was a much more familiar and thus less noteworthy phenomenon. The Kangxi-period fascination with fashion is discussed in the section "The Ambiguous *Shi*" in Chapter 2.
68. Balandier 1985, esp. 132; Kubler 1962.
69. A. J. Hay 1992: 4.16.
70. Ryckmans 1970: 38.
71. This and the preceding quotation are from Chapter Three of Shitao's treatise on painting, *Hua pu*. For translations, see Ryckmans 1970: 32; Strassberg 1989: 65.
72. For illuminating discussions of European examples, see Alpers 1988 and Koerner 1993.
73. Although the Euro-American category of the aesthetic is alien to the Chinese context, this argument owes a debt to the philosophical arguments of Andrew Bowie (1997) on subjectivity and the aesthetic.
74. For a similar argument in a very different context, see Andrew Hemingway's 1992 study of the painting of Constable.

TWO. THE CONSPICUOUS CONSUMPTION OF TIME

1. As indicated by its title, this chapter is indebted in its general orientation to Thorstein Veblen's classic sociological study *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (Veblen 1994). As my use of the concept of distinction suggests, the analysis also owes much to the work of a more recent sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu.
2. Cynthia Brokaw points out that the late Ming and early Qing "was . . . the time when tenants and bondservants were expressing their dissatisfaction with status restrictions through rent-resistance struggles and outright rebellion" (1991: 201).
3. Mann 1997: 38.
4. A reference to bondservants, i.e., those in indentured servitude, a status that could in some circumstances be hereditary.
5. My translation draws partly on Fiedler 1998.
6. Ye Xian'en 1983; Wiens 1990.
7. Mann 1997: 38–9.
8. I owe the term "sociomoral" to Brokaw 1991.
9. Iconographically, the painting appears to be related to a Song dynasty theme represented in an anonymous Southern Song album leaf in square format in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, *Returning from a Village Feast* (Wu T'ung 1997: 205–6).
10. Brokaw 1991: 7–8, citing Wiens 1973.
11. Rowe 1990: 251.
12. Ibid.: 22–5; Mann 1997: 57.
13. Weidner 1988.
14. Gao Qipei, *Travel Impressions*, album, 1708, leaf 10, Shanghai Museum. Reproduced in Ruitenbeek 1992: 122. The intermediary was a Chinese bannerman friend of Shitao, Zhang Jingjie.
15. On Muchen Daomin, see Chen Yuan 1962. See also Ye Mengzhu's account of meeting Lü'an Benyue (n.d.: 9/12a–13b).
16. *Luohan Leaning on an Old Tree*, hanging scroll (Shanghai Museum), reproduced in *ST* 22.
17. See the section "Yangzhou circa 1700"; see also a 1683 album leaf depicting night boating outside Changmen in Suzhou (*STHJ* no. 8).
18. *SLW* 346–50.
19. Rogers and Lee 1989: cat. no. 39.
20. Ingold 1993: 158; Veblen 1994. In Ingold's terms, Shitao's landscape representation is a denial of the "taskscape" of which any real landscape is an embodiment.
21. On Shitao's exploration of the busy man's relation to leisure in an inscription to the *Landscapes for Liu Shitou*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, see the section "The 1703 Albums for Mr. Liu" (and Figure 153) in Chapter 8.

22. From the *Landscapes Painted during Leisure from Illness,* see Fu and Fu 1973: 254.

23. I here borrow the terminology of Niklas Luhmann (1993: 778–9).

24. For a modern historical account of these events, see Wakeman 1985. For a contemporary acount, see Struve, ed. and trans. 1993: 64–5. A systematic late-seventeenth-century account of changes in dress between Ming and Qing is Ye Mengzhu n.d.: 8/3a–6a.

25. "There are certainly contemporary regulations on dress, but they were not established for my generation in the wilderness. Formerly, when I traveled in the cities of Wu, Chu, and Yue (south-central China and Jiangnan), I saw many who wore the wide-sleeved gown with stitched roundel. In the western and northern areas of Jin, Zheng, and Wei I also saw many who wore felt and horse-hair hats. For several decades they did not change, and the authorities never arrested them for breach of regulations." Li Gan 1992 (in Zhang Chao and Wang Zhuo, eds. 1992: *erji*): 11/4a.

26. Li Lin 1708: 7/67.

27. Balandier 1985: 100–4.

28. On the early origins of this practice, see Keightley 1990. On the Ming, see Huang Zhanyue 1988; Rawski 1988. Huang seems to suggest that the practice also extended in some cases to wives and concubines of members of the gentry. Different forms of accompanying-in-death were also used in Manchu aristocratic burials in the seventeenth century, including that of the Shunzhi emperor in 1660. The practice was finally abolished in 1673 (Huang Zhanyue 1988; Rawski 1988).

29. The classical reference was the *Liji,* which stipulates: "Three years are considered as the extreme limit of mourning; but though (his parents) are out of sight, a son does not forget them." Legge, trans. 1968: 124.

30. The *locus classicus* of the paradigm is found in the ancient classic of statecraft, *The Book of Documents* (*Shu jing*): Jizi, prince of the Shang, convinced of the passage of the mandate to the Zhou, accepted the status of a Zhou servitor. On voluntary servitude in reference to the Yuan period and the painting of Zhao Mengfu, see J. S. Hay 1989.

31. Jennifer Jay (1991) has found this to be true for the Song–Yuan transition as well.

32. The following analysis is indebted to Paul Ricoeur's *Time and Narrative* (1990), particularly the section "Historical Intentionality" in vol. 1, 175–230, and his discussion of different forms of historical time, "Between Lived Time and Universal Time," in vol. 3, 104–26.

33. For a development of this idea in relation to paintings by Zhang Feng and Gong Xian, see J. S. Hay 1994b.

34. For the concept of the means of reproduction of the dynastic system, see Elman 1991. Also relevant here is the Gramscian idea "that cultural domination works by consent." Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 1, cited in Roy 1994: 84.

35. Cited by Wang Sizhi and Liu Fengyun in an analysis of evolving *yimin* stances that argues against taking the political opposition of the *yimin* too much at face value. Wang and Liu 1989.

36. Cf. the concept of "internal emigration," which has been applied to the work of certain painters who remained in Germany after the Nazis took power. See Elliott 1990.

37. See, for example, his *Wintry Landscape with Figures* (1691) and *The Apricot Flower Studio* (1696), both in the collection of the Palace Museum, Beijing, reproduced in *Gugong bowuyuan cang Qing dai Yangzhou huajia zuopin,* nos. 6–7.

38. Or, in Chen Jiru's second simile, "like the characters that can still be seen after the candle by which one was writing finally goes out." Liang Weiqu 1986: 8/1a.

39. My argument here and below is indebted to Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical essay "The Production of Belief: Contribution to an Economy of Symbolic Goods" (1993c). Yuan Mei in the eighteenth century recognized the *yimin* strategy of investment, denouncing one of Shitao's writer friends, Du Jun, for having made a reputation for himself "on the ruins of the nation." Durand 1992: 346 n. 84.

40. For a discussion of this painting and its inscribed poem, see *SLW* 480–3.

41. See the section "The Functionalist Ethic" in Chapter 8.

42. Letter 18; see Appendix 2.

43. For a more detailed discussion of Shitao's relationship with Wu Yuqiao, which also led to a portrait of Wu in 1698, see *SLW* 351–8. On Shitao's relationship with the Wu family, including Wu Yuqiao, see Wang Shiqing 1987.

44. *SLW* 246–8.

45. On the *biehao tu,* or "sobriquet picture," as a genre, see Clapp 1991; Liu Jiu'an 1993; Chou 1997.

46. Liu Miao 1985: 409–11.

47. Unfortunately, this is one of four original leaves that were lost and were later replaced by copies commissioned by its Republican-period owner, Pang Yuanji, from Zhang Daqian.

48. Liu Miao 1985.

49. Another example among Shitao's patrons was the Xu family based in Yizheng, near Yangzhou. Xu Songling pursued examination studies before going into business, and both his brother and his uncle were *jinshi* graduates serving in government. See Wang Shiqing 1981a.

50. Liu Miao 1985: 408–9.

51. Esherick and Rankin, eds. 1990: 12.

52. "For Mr. Fei Dushan's Seventieth Birthday," from *Luofan lou wenji,* 24, cited in Zhang Haipeng and Wang Tingyuan, eds. 1985: 386–7.

53. Bol 1992: 32.

54. Ibid.: 75.

55. "We use 'elite' because it can encompass all people – gentry, merchants, militarists, community leaders – at the top of local structures and because the diverse resources of elite families often place them in more than one functional category" (Esherick and Rankin, eds. 1990: 12).

56. For earlier texts of this kind, see Hsi 1972.

57. *LHYFZ* 1693: 27/40b; 27/47a–49a.

58. Ibid.: 26/47a–48b.

59. Xu Songling, as a stipend student (*linsheng*), obtained (by purchase?) a secretariat drafter (*zhongshu sheren*) position (Wang Shiqing 1981a). His brother Xu Huanling served as Hedong Salt Commissioner (*LHYFZ* 1748: 36/13a). Cheng Jun was a supplementary tribute student (*bu gongsheng*), not in Yangzhou but in Renhe in Zhejiang (*LHYFZ* 1748: 33/24a; Zhu Yizun 1983: 77/9b–10a). Of his four sons, Cheng Jie gained the *jinshi* degree in 1709, Cheng Qi and Cheng Zhe were both tribute students (Yangzhou) who served as departmental vice magistrates (*zhou tongzhi*), and Cheng Ming was

a National University student (*taixuesheng*) (Zhu Yizun 1983: 77/8b–10a). Huang You (see "The Travels of Huang You" in Chapter 3) became magistrate of Zhaozhou in Yunnan. Huang Jixian as a tribute student (Yangzhou) became magistrate of Chengwu County in Shandong (Li Lin 1708: 5/99a) and later district magistrate [*zhixian*] of Jianyang in Fujian (*LHYFZ* 1748: 36/14b). Xiang Yin was a tribute student (Yangzhou) and served as prefect of Yan'an in Shenxi (*LHYFZ* 1748: 36/14b). Hong Zhengzhi (another student of Shitao) was granted official rank by imperial decree in the Qianlong period (Zhang Haipeng and Wang Tingyuan, eds. 1985: 383–4). This list is undoubtedly incomplete.

60. Yao Tinglin 1982: 165.

61. Ye Mengzhu n.d.: 8/5a.

62. Li Gan 1992. Descended as he was from a prominent gentry family, it is not entirely surprising that he prefaced his essay on social customs with an excoriation of the decline in social values since the mid-sixteenth century, which he feared was only likely to continue.

63. Ye Mengzhu n.d.: 8/1a–6a.

64. Vinograd 1992a: 48–55.

65. For an extended discussion of these three portraits, see *SLW* 353–81.

66. Yu Zhiding and Shen Ying, *Whiling Away the Summer,* hanging scroll, 1696, Nelson Gallery–Atkins Museum of Art. Reproduced in *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting,* cat. no. 258.

67. Brokaw 1991.

68. On the basis of signatures and seals. See *SLW* 330 n. 96. The painting has also been discussed by Aschwin Lippe (1962) and by Richard Barnhart (1983).

69. My translations of this and other texts inscribed on the painting are modified from earlier ones by Lippe 1962.

70. Ruan Yuan 1920: 6/15b.

71. On Sui references in Shitao's paintings of Yangzhou's northwestern outskirts, see *SLW* 252–72.

72. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, a specific site was identified by Ruan Yuan and Yi Bingshou (1754–1815) as the location of the tomb. They had a stele erected, with an inscription written by Yi Bingshou, that still stands today.

73. For examples of the use of "Precious City" to describe the Ming mausoleum, see Kong Shangren 1962: 145.

74. *Master,* cat. no. 7.

75. These letters are translated in full in Appendix 2.

76. Whereabouts unknown. Reproduced in Tanaka Kenryo 1945: vol. 1.

77. According to Wang Shiqing (personal communication), a copy of this rare anthology is in the library of the Shehui Kexueyuan, Beijing.

78. Strassberg 1983: 365–6.

79. *WDQS, juan* 97.

80. Su was present when the artist painted a Huangshan handscroll in 1700 (see Figure 107), which Shitao dedicated to him. Shitao also allowed him to inscribe his 1674 self-portrait. In addition, he mentions Su Pi in two letters (Appendix 2, letters 19 and 23), in one of which he complains that Su never comes to see him any more. According to Wang Shiqing (personal communication), Su was the son of Su Weilie, *zi* Wugong, *hao* Pisan.

81. Li Lin 1708: 15/41a ff.

82. For an account of just such an occasion, when Xiao was the guide for the Liang–Huai Salt Commissioner, Cao Yin (1658–1712), see Cao Yin 1978: 7/16b.

83. Li Lin's colophon to the lost painting, which he saw in Shitao's studio, is in Li Lin 1708: 19/77. For Chen Pengnian's colophon to a portrait of Xiao, not necessarily the same one, see Chen Pengnian 1762: 10/4a.

84. Kong Shangren 1962: 459.

85. There is now a large literature on the cultural activities of Huizhou merchant families, including Ye Xian'en 1983; Liu Miao 1985. On Huizhou collecting of paintings, both old and contemporary, see Kuo 1989.

86. The name of Cheng Songgao comes up in *Jinqing tang shi,* in Zhuo Erkan's record of a poetry gathering in the late 1680s at which other acquaintances of Shitao were present (1960: 24b). The Cheng Songgao (Cheng Yan) with the rank of secretariat drafter (*sheren*) is mentioned by Zha Shenxing, who met him in Xuancheng in 1696, at which time Cheng came to see him from Tongcheng (Zha Shenxing 1986: 594–5). Either of these men, who may in fact be one and the same, is more likely to be the Songgao mentioned here than the much more famous Hangzhou remnant subject Mao Jike (1633–1708) who was identified as the patron by Lippe 1962.

87. Plaks 1987: 51.

88. Cited by ibid.: 50.

89. The use of the term was pioneered by James Cahill (1982a) and then taken up in relation to painting by Andrew Plaks (1991). For a very different use of the term, see A. J. Hay 1992: 4.14.

THREE. THE COMMON CLAIM ON DYNASTIC NARRATIVE

1. For an exhaustive study, see Durand 1992.

2. Wu 1970; Durand 1992: 189–218.

3. See Fei Xihuang n.d.: 2/27a–41b, Fei Mi 1938: 207/1a–2b; Hummel 1943; Yang Xiangkui 1985; and the section "The Functionalist Ethic" in Chapter 8.

4. This aspect of the work brings to mind the slightly earlier travel paintings of Huang Xiangjian (1609–73) documenting his 1651–3 journey from Suzhou to distant Yunnan to find and bring back his parents. See Struve, ed. and trans. 1993: 162–78.

5. For another, contemporary example of a handscroll painting of ancestral tombs, see Chen Pengnian 1762: *shiji,* 3/31b.

6. Yang Xiangkui 1985: 267.

7. Hummel 1943: 240; *YZFZ* 33/13b–14a.

8. Xie Guozhen 1981.

9. Zheng Da 1962.

10. Fei Xihuang n.d. 3/46a–50a. Fei Xihuang knew Dai Mingshi well, both men having frequented the circle of Huang Zhuolai in Beijing c. 1696. See Durand 1992: 106 n. 58, 126 nn. 3,4.

11. Zhuo Erkan, ed. 1960: 40–3, 238–43.

12. Ibid.: 42.

13. Fei Mi n.d. *Yanfeng shichao* (manuscript copy), *tiyong* 25a.

14. Fei Xihuang 1970.

15. Fei Xihuang n.d.: 2/27a–41b, "Fei Zhongwen xiansheng jiazhuan."

16. Fei Xihuang n.d.: 3/11a–b, "Yetian Shajiangba xianmu ji."

17. Fei Xihuang 1970: 4/12a.

18. In the *Record of the White Deer Peach Blossom Spring*, he states that the refugee families had fled to White Deer Cliff seventy years before. However, in his poem on visiting the family gravesite, he writes: "You ask me to look back across sixty years" (Fei Xihuang n.d.: 3/1a). Averaging out the two figures, this gives a rough date for his trip around the early 1710s.

19. Fei Xihuang n.d.: 3/1a. For the earlier, descriptive part of the text, see *SLW* 421–2.

20. Ruan Yuan 1920: 4/9b–10a.

21. Li Lin 1708: 19/65.

22. See Yang Shiji's colophon to Shitao's portrait of Huang, *Crossing the Ridge*.

23. *Master*, 63.

24. See Yang Shiji's colophon to Shitao's portrait of Huang, *Crossing the Ridge*.

25. *Landscapes of the Highest Class*, Sumitomo Collection, leaves 2 and 6. Reproduced in *Sen-oku hakko kan: Chugoku kaiga, sho*, cat. no. 21.

26. Struve 1979.

27. *DDZTHSB* 1/21–2.

28. Li Lin (1708: 7/36b) has a poem written on the occasion of Huang's departure. Although undated, it closely follows a poem from mid-autumn 1697.

29. Tian Lin 1727: *xia*/31a ff.; Tang Sunhua 1979: 12/4a; Chen Pengnian 1762: 3/2a ff. 72.

30. Li Lin 1708: 5/58b ff.

31. This refers to the rout of Li Zicheng by combined Manchu and Wu Sangui forces on 27 May 1644. See Wakeman 1985: 310–13.

32. The painting is undated, but it is clear from the colophons that Huang took it south with him on his journey, so it must have been painted before the end of 1699. It stands to reason, meanwhile, that he commissioned it after his return from the North, which cannot have been much before the end of 1698. A dating c. 1699 thus seems reasonable.

33. With the exception, that is, of Shitao's "self-portrait" of 1674, *Master Shi Planting Pines* (see Figure 54, Plate 1), to which I also believe a professional portraitist must have contributed.

34. Qiao Yin, *zi* Fuwu, *hao* Donghu, from Baoying, who later attained high office (see Wu Jiaji 1980: 203).

35. Biography in the Jin dynasty text *Gaoshi zhuan* (Accounts of Aloof Scholars).

36. Colophon to Shitao's *Illustrations to the Poems of Huang Yanlü*.

37. Xu Xu 1984: 92–100.

38. Qu Dajun 1974: *juan* 3, 65–6.

39. On Liu Shishu, from Baoying, see Ruan Yuan 1920: 10/11b.

40. This, at any rate, is how he presents the commission in his inscription to the leaf that must originally have closed the first album. Wang Fangyu (1978: 463) notes a collection of Huang's poetry entitled *Yuanci shan ji* (From One Mountain to the Next), but according to Huang's relative, Huang Jixian, none of Huang You's poetry was published during his own lifetime. Following his death in Yunnan – almost immediately followed in turn by that of his son, who had accompanied him there – his accumulated poetry was largely lost. It was only later, though the good offices of a grandnephew by marriage, that 132 surviving poems were published under the title *Zi shu gao* with a preface by Huang Jixian. This preface, which is the most important source of information on Huang You's life, can be consulted in Jiao Xun 1992: 16/17b–19b.

41. Eighteen of the leaves in the Zhile Lou Collection have been published in a folio reproduction, *Shitao xie Huang Yanlü shiyi ce*. The remaining five leaves were not acquired for the collection until a later date, but were then published with the others in Rao Zongyi 1975: 28–43. The four leaves in Beijing are reproduced in *STSHQJ* pls. 191–194. For a detailed study, see Kohara Hironobu 1990.

42. Li Lin 1708: 18/52a ff.

43. Hearn 1988.

44. Fu 1965; A. J. Hay 1978: 296–318. Huang You could not have failed to know that in his own period the great Zhejiang loyalist, Huang Zongxi (1610–95), had venerated Wen Tianxiang and Xie Ao (as well as that other Song loyalist, Deng Mu [1247–1306], of nearby Mount Dadi). Fu 1965.

45. *Minzhong jihie* 36a. In these first few leaves of the album, the trees and houses by which we measure scale are kept relatively small; the recession is solidly established; and the execution is rather restrained. There existed in the seventeenth century a well-established tradition of topographical paintings that had exactly these characteristics and that, like these album leaves, aimed to seize the natural wonders, *qi*, of landscape. The travel paintings of the Su–Song artists Shen Shichong (active c. 1607–after 1640), Zhang Hong (1577–1652 or later), and later Huang Xiangjian (1609–73) – Huang Xiangjian's albums in particular, themselves the representation of an obsessional journey in search of the artist's parents in faraway Yunnan (Struve, ed. and trans. 1993) – offer a close precedent for Shitao's project.

46. Qu Dajun 1996: vol. 8, 1965.

47. *JJZLJ* 256–9; Fu 1965: 46–7; Struve 1984: 75–98; Wakeman 1985: 1107–15.

48. "Nightjar" by the Jiangxi poet Fu Dingquan, in Zhuo Erkan, ed. 1960: 113–14. See also Fei Mi's poem, "Looking West," cited earlier in this chapter (section "The Ancestral Tombs of the Fei Family").

49. Xu Xu 1984: 92–4.

50. Struve 1984: 122–4.

51. Discussed in the section "From Qingxiang to Xuancheng: 1644–1677" in Chapter 4.

52. Struve 1984: 81–2.

53. Cheng Tingzuo 1936: *juan* 12. In the collection of the Palace Museum, Beijing, is a "collaborative" album comprising six landscape paintings by Shitao and six calligraphies by Cheng Jing'e on facing leaves (*STSHQJ* pls. 241–246). Undated and unsigned, on the basis of seals and style the paintings can be tentatively placed in the early 1700s.

54. The other colophon-writers were Hong Jiazhi and Xian Zhu. See the section "Jingjiang Descendant" in Chapter 5.

55. Li Lin 1708: 9/61b.

56. Ruan Yuan 1920: 4/9b–10a.

57. Fei Xihuang 1970: *qiyan guti* 8b. Fei mentions that he himself had not yet been able to travel to Sichuan. Since Fei's journey can be dated, albeit rather approximately, to around the early 1710s, Huang's Sichuan journey must have taken

place sometime during the years following the winter of 1704–5, when Li Guosong and Xian Zhu wrote colophons for the *Album Illustrating Poems by Huang Yanlü* in Yangzhou.

58. Jiao Xun 1992: 16/18a–b; *Yunnan tongzhi* 1736: 218/32a.

59. Huang no doubt saw the imperial entourage on more than one occasion himself. Also relevant are a number of eyewitness accounts of these tours and campaigns by participants, which were published in Yangzhou in 1700 and 1703 by Zhang Chao: Dong Wenyi 1990; Gao Shiqi 1990a–c; Kong Shangren 1990; Wang Shizhen 1990; Xu Bingyi 1990.

60. Gugong bowuyuan Ming Qing dang'anbu, ed. 1975: 28–31.

61. For the chronology of the 1705 tour, I have relied on Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'anguan, ed. 1984; Zhongguo renmin daxue Qing shi yanjiusuo, ed. 1988.

62. Spence 1966; Wu 1970.

63. Durand 1992: 221.

64. Wu 1970.

65. Strassberg 1983: 118–21.

66. Gugong bowuyuan Ming Qing dang'anbu, ed. 1975, 1976.

67. Each leaf bears a seal reading, "Seen by Ziqing," which happens to be Cao Yin's *zi*.

68. Zhongguo renmin daxue Qing shi yanjiusuo, ed. 1988: 261.

69. Shanghai Museum, reproduced in *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu,* vol. 5 [1990]: 72. Such poems about floods were something of a Yangzhou specialty: See *LHYFZ* 1693: 2284 for a 1659 example by Sun Zhiwei, and p. 2244 for a 1680 example by Wu Jiaji; and Li Lin 1708: 9/78a for a poem on the 1705 flooding.

70. Zhongguo renmin daxue Qing shi yanjiusuo, ed. 1988: 312.

71. The painting is dedicated to Shanlao, or "old Shan," which may be a reference to Zhang Chao's *zi,* Shanlai.

72. There exists a landscape fan from 1702 dedicated by Shitao to a Mr. Cangzhou, who may be Chen Pengnian (*zi* Cangzhou), then serving as magistrate of Shanyang in northern Jiangsu. See *Chugoku kaiga ten* 1980, cat. no. 47.

73. Durand 1992: 222.

74. Another example is Shitao's *Portrait of Hong Zhengzhi,* which still bears thirty-one colophons, most dating from Hong Zhengzhi's lifetime, including officials, merchants, remnant subjects, professional writers, artists, and family members. See *SLW* 359–67; Fu and Fu 1973: 284–93. See also the discussion of the colophon contributors to Shitao's album *Orchids* for Hong Zhengzhi in Chapter 5 (section "Jingjiang Descendant").

75. *Yuchu xinzhi* (Zhang Chao, ed. 1954); *Tanji congshu* (Zhang Chao and Wang Zhuo, eds. 1992); *Zhaodai congshu* (Zhang Chao, ed. 1990; Zhang Chao and Zhang Jian, eds. 1990; Zhang Chao, Yang Fuji, and Shen Maohui, eds. 1990). Zhang Chao expressly excluded wilderness history from the *Zhaodai congshu.* (See Durand 1992: 154.) In addition to Zhuo Erkan's anthology of poems *Mingmo sibai jia yimin shi,* there were several others by men whom Shitao also knew personally: one by Ni Yongqing (1688); Deng Hanyi's *Tianxia mingjia shiguan* (1672); and Zhu Guan's *Guochao shizheng.*

76. See *Chidu oucun* and *Yousheng* (Zhang Chao, comp. 1780a,b).

77. Zhang Chao 1991. For examples, see the opening of the section "The Dadi Tang Enterprise: Artist and Patrons" in Chapter 6.

FOUR. ZHU RUOJI'S DESTINIES

1. Here and elsewhere my translation of "Song of My Life" draws on those by Fong (1976) and Kent (1995: 277–83).

2. From the so-called "*Gengchen* (1700–1) Manuscript of Poems," whereabouts unknown, reproduced in Fu and Fu 1973: 221.

3. Santangelo 1992.

4. Giddens 1990: 34.

5. Shitao claimed all his life to be a native of nearby Quanzhou (Qingxiang), but this can be explained in terms of his Buddhist history and may also have been intended to camouflage his true origins. On the long-controversial question of his birth date, see *SLW* 60 n. 3.

6. Most scholars have accepted that Shitao's father was Zhu Hengjia. However, like the question of Shitao's birthplace, to which it is closely related, that of his father's identity does not yet permit a definitive answer. While there is no doubt that Shitao came to believe himself to be the heir to the Princedom of Jingjiang, neither he nor any of his contemporaries seems ever to have claimed that he was the son of Zhu Hengjia. Against this, it might be argued that this claim is in any case implicit in the claim to be heir, and that it would have been dangerous to declare oneself the son of an avowed claimant to the Ming throne. In his 1677 "Poem for Zhong Yuxing," however (see below, n. 53), Shitao's mention of "a hundred brothers" implies that the massacre affected the extended family: "Brothers" in this context is a general term extending to cousins. Moreover, Shitao there seems persuaded by Zhong's claims that theirs were "linked families" and their two fathers "extremely close," and that Shitao's father had served as a prefect (which would make it impossible that he was the prince of Jingjiang). Although upon reflection Shitao may well have given Zhong's account less credence (he never again alludes to it), the fact that he took it seriously at all indicates, as recognized by Wu T'ung in 1967, that he did not know exactly who his father was. Thus, if the possibility that Shitao was indeed the son of Zhu Hengjia cannot be entirely ruled out, it is much more plausible that Shitao's father was a brother or cousin of Hengjia who died in the 1645 massacre. If, as his poem indicates, he believed himself to be the sole survivor in his generation of the same massacre, then the princedom would effectively have fallen to him in the end. It would have done so *only* in the end, however, for there was a final prince of Jingjiang in Guilin after Zhu Hengjia's defeat: a certain Zhu Hengzhen, brother or cousin of Hengjia, who lasted until 1650 when Qing forces entered Guilin.

7. This is the name under which he is listed in *Complete Register of the Five Lamps* (*Wudeng quan shu* [*WDQS*]), a biographical history of the Chan School published in 1693. Li Lin confirms this in his biography: "Dadizi's *ming* is Yuanji, and his *zi* is Shitao."

8. This explanation was first proposed by Mingfu (1978: 22–4). Mingfu speculates that Shitao's family on his mother's

side may have been a Quanzhou one. In "Song of My Life," Shitao writes of his Buddhist faith before he speaks of the journey north from Guangxi to Wuchang. It seems likely, therefore, that despite Li Lin's statement that "A servant in the palace carried him to safety, and they fled to Wuchang where he was tonsured and became a monk," Shitao entered the Buddhist church while he was still in Guangxi, probably in Quanzhou.

9. *DDZZ:* "A servant in the palace carried him to safety, and they fled to Wuchang where he was tonsured and became a monk."

10. In an album of landscapes in the Guangdong Provincial Museum (see Figures 47, 48) datable to around 1664 (see below, n. 21), Shitao refers to a certain Xiaota Si, or Small Pagoda Temple, as yet unidentified. See *STSHQJ* pl. 362.

11. The explanation of this curious passage may be that the books in question were illustrated books, as suggested to me by Joseph Chang (personal communication).

12. Chen is mentioned by Shitao in the inscription to a late hanging scroll of orchids, bamboo, and rocks now in a Princeton private collection: "In the past I humbly studied orchid and bamboo painting under Mr. Chen Zhen'an [Yidao] of Yebo Mountain in Wuchang. My teacher had served as county magistrate of Meng County in Honan. At first he did not know how to paint. In the district was a hermit, skilled at flowers, grass, bamboo, and trees. My teacher received training from this man. After I got to know him [Mr. Chen], my brush came to be in accordance with my method. I felt I had gained something" (translation by Matthew Kercher, modified). In 1659 Chen took up a more senior post as a prefect in Zhejiang Province. See Wang Shiqing 1986. For Shitao's other painting teachers in Wuchang, see the discussion of local art worlds in the section "The Early Qing Art World" in Chapter 8.

13. This journey is mentioned by Li Lin in his biography: "Later, he traveled from Wuchang to Jingmen, then crossed Lake Dongting, and went on to Changsha and Mount Heng before coming back. Talented and stubborn, when he encountered injustices he always found a solution. Any money he acquired, he spent, saving nothing." In addition to the 1687 fan reproduced here (Figure 46) – whose evocation of travels "thirty years before" can refer only to his visit to Mount Heng, thus establishing the date of the journey as c. 1657 – three other memory depictions of the journey through Hunan are reproduced in this book (Figures 45, 81, and 82).

14. For a different translation see Fong 1976.

15. The Tiantong lineage was named for the Tiantong Monastery near Ningbo in Zhejiang, where its founder, Miyun Yuanwu, taught. During the Shunzhi and Kangxi reigns, the Tiantong lineage was more important than the other main Linji lineage, Panshan. On Chan lineages in the early Qing period, see Du Jiwen and Wei Daoru 1993: 575–615. On the Tiantong Monastery, see Brook 1993.

16. Hanyue Facang's leading followers were Jude Hongli (1600–67) and Jiqi Hongchu (1605–72). In Hunan, the lineage was notably represented by Jinfu Yuanzhi and Chuyi Yuanyu. See Du Jiwen and Wei Daoru 1993: 589–90.

17. On Muchen Daomin and Lu'an Benyue and their involvement in politics, see Chen Yuan 1962; Fong 1976: 18.

18. Given the fact that he subsequently chose not to return to Chu but instead to enter the orbit of Muchen Daomin, one may wonder whether he did not come into contact with the Wuchang master Tuituo, a direct disciple of Muchen and the abbot of Wuchang's Yuantong Monastery. On Tuituo, see *WDQS, juan* 75.

19. "Song of My Life." For a different translation see Fong 1976.

20. See Mingfu 1978: 150. *DDZZ* states only that "After living there [Wuchang] for a long time, he left Wuchang again for Yue [Zhejiang]." Shitao's visit to Mount Lu is dated by an inscription to the "Hermit of the Stone Abode" section of the *Hermits* handscroll: "In the year *jiachen* [1664] while I was staying at Mount Lu's Kaixian Monastery, I drew this at the White Dragon Rock" (see Figure 50).

21. This album in the Guangdong Provincial Museum, long known to exist but only recently published in full, has in the past always been dated to 1657 on the basis of this inscription. However, another leaf is signed as having been painted [*hua*] at "the Dragon Altar Rock at Kaixian [Monastery]," which can only be the Kaixian Monastery on Mount Lu where he sojourned immediately after leaving Wuchang c. 1663–4. Although it is just barely possible that Shitao visited Mount Lu as early as his trip southward c. 1657, this is not supported by any references elsewhere either to that trip or to his visit to Mount Lu. More likely, the 1657 date in his inscription refers to the composition of the inscribed poem to which it is attached. (For other examples of this confusing practice, see an album in the Palace Museum, Beijing, with a colophon by the artist dating its execution unambiguously to the year 1680, but which includes leaves inscribed with the dates 1667, 1669, 1673, and 1677 [*STSHQJ* pls. 1–15]). It is also possible, by extension, that the Kaixian Monastery leaf, which has no inscribed poem, is a re-creation of a pictorial composition originally created at Mount Lu and, therefore, that the album was painted at a still later date. However, the limitations of the artist's pictorial craft in this album are consistent with a date somewhat earlier than two works from 1667: *The Sixteen Luohans* (Figures 155, 156) and *Views of Mount Huang* (see Figure 85; for the entire album, see *STSHQJ* pls. 217–230; Wai-kam Ho, ed. 1992: vol. 1, pl. 158). In the absence of any other example of an inscription where Shitao can be shown to have used the verb *hua* in the context of a temporal disjunction between composition and execution, a tentative dating of the album to c. 1664 seems reasonable.

22. This handscroll was first discussed in Zheng Wei 1962.

23. Zheng Wei 1962. Zheng Xiao's book was not necessarily Shitao's specific source – for a late-seventeenth-century discussion of the literature of the Jingnan troubles, see Mei Wending 1995: 145–7.

24. *Zhuangzi,* "Rang wang."

25. That is, Vulture Peak, where the Buddha was said to have preached the *Lotus Sutra.*

26. On the centrality within the Chan tradition of the ritual of "ascending the Dharma Hall" ("during which the master conferred the essentials of his teaching on his disciples"), see Faure 1991: 293.

27. This is the way Shitao describes himself in his signature to *Sixteen Luohans* (Figures 155, 156), completed in 1667. In years to come, he would use a seal bearing a variation on this self-appellation, "Seal of Yuanji, son of Shanguo Yue, grandson of Tiantong Min."

28. The three peaks of Zhu are situated to the west of the city of Hangzhou, and also gave their name to a major Hangzhou temple.

29. Translation from Fong 1976, modified.

30. Wang Shiqing suggests a 1666 date for their arrival in Xuancheng on the basis of Li Lin's statement in *DDZZ* that Shitao stayed in Xuancheng for fifteen years (1978: n. 15). Yang Chenbin (1985: 56) notes four separate Xuancheng temple addresses for Hetao and Shitao.

31. Cao (1659 *jinshi*), after an initial appointment to the Hanlin Academy, had served in various positions in the Board of Punishments. In Shexian he took the lead in restoring both the Ziyang Academy and a local temple, Luohan Si. See Shi Runzhang 1982: 5/20b–22a, 28/6b–8a. Biographies are to be found in Li Huan, comp. 1985: 218/28a–30b; Xu Shichang, comp. 1985: 19/15b–16b; Zhu Ruchen, comp. 1985: 1/13a. I am indebted to an unpublished seminar paper by Philip Hu (1995) for details of Cao's career.

32. For further details, see Wang Shiqing 1982; Zhang Zining 1993.

33. Wang Shiqing 1982. Biographies of Cao Fen are to be found in Xu Shichang, comp. 1985: 19/16a–b; Feng Jinbo, comp. 1985: 6/8b; Li Junzhi, comp. 1985: *yi shang* 32b–33a. I am indebted to Hu 1995 for details of Cao Fen's career.

34. See his signature to *The Sixteen Luohans* of 1667.

35. A recently published poem entitled "Sending Mr. Sun Yuli Back to Court, and Thinking of the Two Academicians, Shi Yuhan and Gao Yuanhuai," shows that Shitao kept in contact with Shi Runzhang and Gao Yong after their entry into the Hanlin Academy. The poem is the second in the *Calligraphy Manuscript for Monk Juhui* (formerly Christie's, *Fine Chinese Paintings, Calligraphy, and Rubbings, New York, 18 September, 1996*, lot 189).

36. On Shi Runzhang, see Shi Nianzeng n.d.; Hummel 1943: 651; and Zhao Yongji's very useful survey of early Qing poetry (1993), which includes an extended discussion of Shi Runzhang. On Gao Yong, see Mingfu 1978: 177–8. On Mei Qing, see Yang Chenbin 1985, 1986; on his nephew Mei Geng, see Hu Yi 1984. Xu Dun's date of birth is established by a poem by Mei Wending (1995: 194).

37. One source states that Hetao lived elsewhere, at Mount Gu: *Xuancheng xianzhi, juan* 28, cited in *ST* 122 n. 3.

38. In his "Biography of Dadizi," Li Lin states: "At the time there was a poetry and painting society in Xuancheng, and they invited him to join their activities. As there was the former lecture hall of Huangbo in the Guangjiao Temple at Jingting, he settled there. He [now] always referred to himself as Guest of Hinayana. By this time he was thirty years old." Taking Shitao's birth date as 1642, Wang Shiqing has interpreted this to mean that Shitao settled formally in Guangjiao Temple in 1671 (1979a: n. 11). However, he had been associated in some way with the temple for some years before this, since in his "Song of My Life" he states that "at the lecture hall of the Chan master Huangbo we stayed for more than ten years." Since he moved from Xuancheng to Nanjing c. 1679–80, this pushes his stay at the temple back into the late 1660s.

39. On the early stages of reconstruction of the temple, see Shi Runzhang's account (1982: 26/4b–5b).

40. Wang Shiqing 1982.

41. Wakeman 1985: 1108. See ibid.: 1099–1120 for a full account of the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories.

42. Shitao's inscription to the "Old Man of the Xiang River" section (3) of the handscroll *Hermits* includes the following sentence: "In the year *jiayin* [1674] at midsummer I was staying at the South Lake at Xuancheng." His inscription to a related painting, *The Wilderness Man of Hanbin* (see Figure 52), which may have originally been another section of the same handscroll, includes another informative sentence: "In the year *jiayin* [1674] I was keeping away from the armies at Mount Bogui's Platform of the Immortals." Boguishan is a mountain near Xuancheng. According to Shi Nianzeng (n.d.: 3/3a–b), in the wake of Wu Sangui's rebellion there was a peasant rising in the nearby Shexian area; on the third day of the ninth month Shexian itself fell into rebel hands. When the news reached Xuancheng, the population fled into the surrounding countryside, only returning several weeks later when the uprising had been put down by official troops. Shitao's 1674 *Guanyin Bodhisattva* hanging scroll (see Figure 157) might be understood as an offering of thanks for having survived the local troubles unharmed.

43. This story first appears in the *Hou Han shu*, but is also found in such later sources as the Song encyclopedia *Taiping yulan*.

44. Curiously, Shi Runzhang, in what appears to be one of the lost early colophons (recorded in his collected works), explicitly notes that the painting was by Mei Qing – probably insisting on this point because he was aware of the possibility of confusion caused by the similarity of the two artists' styles (1982: 22/17a, "Song on Master Shi's *Planting Pines*"). Shi even goes so far as to draw attention to the similarity of the two artists' work in the opening lines of his poem. Shi, as a friend of both men, ought to be a reliable informant, and it is true that Shitao's own inscription does not unambiguously confirm him to have been the artist. However, another lost early colophon, by Qu Dajun (cited by Han Linde 1989: 31) and an early inscription on the painting by Tang Yansheng both appear to take Shitao to be the artist. Although Mei Qing's work of this period is not well studied, the setting of this painting is in every way comparable to Shitao's other Xuancheng-period work, so that simply on stylistic grounds Shi's puzzling colophon (to a second painting? or a mistake?) has to be discounted.

45. Vinograd 1992a: 61.

46. For example, on his 1683 transcription of a poem dedicated to a Qing official, Zheng Hushan; on the 1689 painting *The Seas Are at Peace and the Rivers Are Pure* (see Figure 57); on a transcription of his 1689 poems welcoming Kangxi to the South on a fan; and on the 1692 *Calligraphy Manuscript for Monk Juhui*, all discussed later in this chapter.

47. Shitao's trip to Songjiang in 1675 is established by a poem by Mei Qing (*Tianyan ge houji, juan* 2) cited by Fu Baoshi 1948: 52. Various other traces of the journey exist. These include a painting depicting the Songjiang area in an important album probably from the second half of 1695, reproduced in *Zhongguo hua* 1986(2): 37; an undated album recorded in Pang Yuanji 1971a: 15/12a ff., which according to Shitao's inscription on leaf 6 was at least partly painted in the Songjiang area; a poem in an album manuscript probably executed c. 1693 in which he takes his leave of a monk friend, Zhida, in

Songjiang (unpublished, Toyo Bunka Archives, no. A16–144); and a painting illustrating a poem written at Changmen in Suzhou in an album from 1683 now in the Shanghai Museum (*STHJ* pl. 8).

48. "Magistrate Deng" was identified as Deng Qifen by Wang Shiqing (1979a: 12). Deng served as magistrate of Jingquan during 1674–81 and rebuilt the Shuixi Academy to help students preparing for the examinations. He was also a patron of Mei Geng, supporting him in his studies in 1677–8 (see Hu Yi 1984; Mei Geng 1990). A landscape by Shitao from 1676 dedicated to Magistrate Deng is reproduced in *Shenzhou guoguang ji*, vol. 16. Shitao also evoked his 1676 stay in Jingxian in albums in which he reminisced about his former travels. See the following: the inscription to leaf 3 of an album recorded in Pang Yuanji 1971a: 15/12 ff. (from which we know he stayed in the area from the spring through the summer of 1676); a leaf from a mid-1690s album that illustrates a poem dated 1676 (*Zhongguo hua* 1986(2): xxx); and leaves 3 and 7 of *Eight Views of the South* in the British Museum (Edwards 1967: 134, 136).

49. Wang Shiqing 1982.

50. Album painted for Wang Ji (1623–89), recorded in Pei Jingfu 1937: 16/8b. In 1679, Wang Ji participated successfully in the extraordinary *boxue hongru* examination. Richard Strassberg (1989: 20) states that in 1676 "Shitao traveled to Kunshan to participate in the funeral [for Lü'an] and stayed over into 1677 to aid in the erection of a memorial stupa."

51. The 1677 visit to Jiangsu is known from a landscape album painted in 1680 (Palace Museum, Beijing). *STSHQJ* pl. 4.

52. See Mingfu 1978: 153.

53. The existence of the calligraphy handscroll of the 1677 "Poem for Zhong Yuxing" was noted by Wu T'ung (1967). It is reproduced and discussed in Xie Zhiliu (1979). For a full translation and detailed discussion that interprets the wording and meaning of the text differently from both Wu and Xie, see *SLW* 61–2 n. 5.

54. The invitation to visit the Xitian Monastery is known from a 1678 inscription by Wang Shimao to Shitao's self-portrait, *Master Shi Planting Pines*, of 1674. See Wang Shiqing 1980. Shitao is known to have been in the Nanjing area during part or all of 1678, 1679 and early 1680. During this period he was associated not only with the Xitian Monastery itself, but also (probably through Zu'an, see following note) with a subtemple of the monastery, the Huaixie Pavilion, and with the Yongshou Monastery at Lishui, some one hundred *li* south of Nanjing. One painting executed at Lishui in 1679 survives (Zhang and Hu 1969: vol. 3, no. 81), as well as one later visual recollection of a local site, Eastern Mount Lu (see Shi Runzhang 1982: 31/9a–b) (*STSHQJ* pl. 283, Central Academy of Arts and Crafts, Beijing).

55. Zulin Yuanlin, *hao* Yushan, from a Shexian family, was a monk of the Yongshou Monastery at Lishui, located some one hundred *li* south of Nanjing. Another of Shitao's close monk friends was Zu'an, whom he knew both in Xuancheng and in Nanjing, where he became the abbot of Yongshou Monastery. In later years Shitao would speak extremely warmly of Zu'an, whose religious commitment and simplicity he admired. See a calligraphy in Shenyang Palace Museum, reproduced in *STSHQJ* pl. 392.

56. According to Strassberg (1989: 21), who gives no source, Master Qin was the monk Weiqin, former occupant of the Single Branch Pavilion, who had become abbot of the Fajie Temple at Ningguo.

57. Translation modified from Fong 1976.

58. Mei Qing 1691. Hetao also contributed a colophon in 1680 to an album by Shitao (*STSHQJ* pl. 12).

59. My translation owes much to that of Richard Vinograd (1992a: 62). Vinograd interprets the reference to illness as a metaphor for a spiritual crisis, but the poems he wrote commemorating his arrival confirm that he was recuperating from a physical illness.

60. See Shitao's "Seven Poems on My Arrival at Changgan's Single Branch Pavilion in the intercalary eighth month of *gengshen* [1680]," inscribed on a landscape handscroll in the Shanghai Museum (see Figure 55). According to Bordu: "the pavilion is located west of Shui Stream and next to Xiaohe; impressively solitary and out of the way, it stands up among the wrens' nests." (*Wenting shiji, juan* 2, cited in *ST* 122 n. 12).

61. Among the latter, one particularly notes Tian Lin, Wu Canxi, and Zhou Jing. Characteristic of this milieu is a 1680 landscape album by Shitao (Palace Museum, Beijing, *STSHQJ* pls. 1–14), dedicated to the as-yet-unidentified Wu Canxi, for whom he also painted a landscape hanging scroll the following year (Shanghai Museum, *ST* 26). The album bears colophons by three Buddhist monks, including Hetao and a Fujianese monk-painter, Chengxue (original name, Hu Jing). See also the section "The Artist as Chan Master" in Chapter 9.

62. "Seven Poems on My Arrival at Changgan's Single Branch Pavilion . . ." (as in n. 60).

63. Wakeman 1985: 1119–20.

64. On the ruse as a fundamental figure of the exercise of power, see Balandier 1985: 111–28.

65. On the various aspects of this offensive in the late 1670s and early 1680s, see Spence 1966: 124–8; Kessler 1976; Wakeman 1985: 1083; Meng Zhaoxin 1987; Song Dexuan 1990.

66. Zhongguo renmin daxue Qing shi yanjiusuo, ed. 1988: entry for 23 September 1683. From two poems by Shi Runzhang (1982: 23/18b–19a; 38/20b), it is known that Zheng Hushan (Hushan is probably his *zi*) earlier held low-level positions at the capital (successively as *zhonghan* and *sheren*); he is also described by Shi as a military man, possibly meaning that he was a bannerman.

67. Xue Yongnian 1987.

68. The Zhaos were a prominent gentry family in Laiyang, Shandong. Zhao Lun's father died in 1643 in the defense of Laiyang against the Manchu forces of Hong Taiji. Zhao Lun himself gained the *jinshi* degree in 1658 at the age of twenty-three. He served as Education Commissioner from 1682 to 1688. See Li Yimang's colophon to a painting attributed to Shitao (*STSHQJ* pl. 36); Wang Shiqing 1986.

69. The poems are included in the *Calligraphy Manuscript for Monk Juhui* (see below, n. 109).

70. It was probably the efforts of those years that allowed Shitao to be included in *WDQS* as Chan master of the Single Branch Pavilion.

71. On Bada Shanren's reactions to Kangxi's Southern Tours, see *Master*, 18, 102–4, 199–200.

72. Spence 1966: 127; Wu 1970: 31.

73. See also a hanging scroll of plum blossom and bamboo in the Nanjing Museum evoking a visit to Linggu Monastery and the Xiaoling mausoleum (*STSHQJ* pl. 344). Plum blossom in this period quickly came to serve as a ubiquitous memorial to the "Bright" dynasty. In his *Duhua lu,* Zhou Lianggong records the extreme instance of a Nanjing plum-blossom specialist, Yao Ruoyi, who "collected plum-blossom petals from Zhongshan and painted in some trunks and branches, because he imagined the branch and trunks as [sticks of] incense that could recall the spirits of the dead." Translation adapted from Kim 1985: vol. 2, 162.

74. Other friends mentioned include Zhang Yi, son of a martyred Ming general (Strassberg 1983: 205–8); Zhang Zong, a dedicated lay Buddhist (biography by Xian Zhu in Zhang Chao, ed., 1954: *juan* 16); and Wu Jiaji, a well-known Ming loyalist poet from the Yangzhou area (Chaves 1986). For an overview of Shitao's Nanjing friends and acquaintances, see Zheng Zhuolu 1961: 17–26.

75. Li Lin 1708.

76. Ibid.: *juan* 15.

77. Guangwu Di (r. 25–57 C.E.) was the first emperor of the Eastern Han dynasty. He belonged to the Liu family which had reigned as the Western Han dynasty until Wang Mang usurped power in 9 C.E. Zhaolie (r. 221–3 C.E.) was the first emperor of the Shu-Han dynasty. The fact that his family name was Liu Bei justified the use of the name "Han" for his dynasty. Liezu was the founder of the Southern Tang dynasty, an orphan who changed his name to Li Bian when he took the name Tang for his dynasty, claiming to be a Tang imperial descendant.

78. In a painting inscription recorded in Yamamoto Teijiro 1932 that is dated to the seventh month of 1686, he already speaks of going north (*ST* n. 16). He also mentions his plan in the inscription to an unpublished handscroll for Zhou Jing in the winter of 1686 (*Streams and Mountains without End,* C. C. Wang Family Collection), in another for the monk Zhiqi also in the winter of 1686 (painting inscription in *Tingfeng lou shuhua ji,* cited by Han Linde 1989: 42–3), and again in the undated "Song of My Life."

79. Many years later, writing of the winter of 1687, he simply says, "at that time I had wanted to make a journey to the North but was unable to carry out my wish, and so I ended up living on the Han [i.e., in Yangzhou] for a number of years" (inscription to the album *Miniature Landscapes,* 1699, of which one leaf is illustrated here [see Figure 104]). My discussion here generally follows Joseph Chang (Zhang Zining 1993, especially pp. 80–2).

80. The patron was Chang Hanqian (b. 1634), for whom he had painted a set of twelve paintings on silk in 1683.

81. Zhang Zining 1993. Many years later, Li Lin in his biography also mentioned this theft, reporting that Shitao's depression lasted for three years. As pointed out by Joseph Chang (i.e., Zhang Zining) in a lecture delivered at Yale University Art Gallery, his depressed state can also be seen in two painting inscriptions: to a 1687 *Landscape of Mount Heng* (see Figure 46), and a 1690 landscape handscroll (Barnhart et al. 1994: cat. no. 48, see below, n. 88).

82. Du Jiwen and Wei Daoru 1993: 598–603.

83. Zhuo Erkan (1960: 16) records a visit that Zhuo, together with Fei Mi, Xiao Cuo (Zhengyi), and others, made to see Shitao at the Jinghui Monastery in the late 1680s.

84. These are the first four lines of an eight-line poem, itself the first of two that Shitao elsewhere transcribed together: first, on a calligraphy fan (Christie's New York, *Fine Chinese Paintings and Calligraphy,* 23 November 1991, lot 123), and second, in the 1692 *Calligraphy Handscroll for Monk Juhui.* In the fan transcription they are titled "Welcoming His Imperial Majesty's Visit in the Year *Jisi* [1689]"; the handscroll transcription has the title "Two Poems Respectfully Recounting His Imperial Majesty's Southern Inspection Tour."

85. We can thus add one detail to a reading of the dragon-mountain in the painting as the emperor: the curious flamelike forms toward the center are inspired by the sight of Kangxi in his dragon-embroidered robes.

86. Shi Shuqing 1981.

87. Wang Shiqing 1982; Mingfu 1978: 153 ff.

88. Barnhart et al. 1994: 172–5. The poem reads: "The mountains look like rain but there is no rain /The paper windows are suddenly bright, suddenly dark /The mountains are pale, the rocks are pale, and the pines are pale, /The glinting light of the ebbing water mirrors a disturbed heart" (trans. Heping Liu). Dedicated to a certain Wuweng, otherwise unidentified, the painting depicts an empty temple looking over a river. The prominence of the temple, reminiscent of slightly earlier handscrolls such as *First Arrival at the Single Branch Pavilion* (see Figure 55) or *Ten Thousand Ugly Inkblots* (see Figure 167) suggests that the recipient was a layman or Buddhist monk. The *jisi* (1689) date makes it certain that it was painted in Nanjing rather than Yangzhou, since he was still in Nanjing in the first days of *gengwu* (1690). See Wang Shiqing 1982.

89. From a poem by Tian Lin that was written after seeing Shitao in Nanjing at the beginning of 1690. See Tian Lin 1727: *shang*/7a.

90. In his painting inscriptions Shitao refers to this patron under the name of Shen'an, which was identified by Mingfu (1978) as the sobriquet of Wang Fengrong, *zi* Wushu, 1648 *jinshi.* Wang Fengrong served as vice minister in the Ministry of Personnel in 1688–9. When he returned to government service at the end of 1692 it was as vice minister in the Ministry of Rites, a position he held until his death in 1703. See *Qing dai zhiguan nianbiao* (1980).

91. The painting in question was executed at the Old Dinglin Temple at Mount Tianyin in the southern outskirts of Nanjing (Shanghai Museum, *ST* 57). That mountain is illustrated in leaf 2 of the album *Eight Views of the South* (British Museum), reproduced in Edwards 1967: 133.

92. Shitao's sojourn at the Qiehan Studio is represented by the following works: a recorded painting of the Three Gorges painted in the Qiehan Studio in the second month of 1690 (noted by Han Linde 1989: 52); a handscroll of *Bamboo, Orchids, and Rocks* painted for Shen'an during the first days of summer 1691 (Sotheby's New York, *Fine Chinese Paintings,* 18 March 1997); an inscription added there to the above-mentioned 1685 handscroll of plum blossom "on a winter's day," which must be the winter of 1690–1, since he spent the following winter in Tianjin (Shanghai Museum, *ST* 57); the handscroll entitled *Suojin qifeng da caogao* (*STSHQJ* pl. 60, Palace Museum, Beijing), painted there in the second month of 1691, from which it is known that the Qiehan Studio belonged to Shen'an; and an album of landscapes begun in the

Qiehan Studio and completed at Ciyuan Temple in the seventh month of the same year (see Figure 171). There also exists an undated hanging scroll painted in the Qiehan Studio, *Hunting in Autumn* (see Figure 90), which is a facsimile copy of a Ming dynasty "barbarian" hunting scene. A landscape purportedly painted in the Qiehan Studio in the autumn of 1690 (*STHJ* no. 38) is a spurious modern work.

93. Wang Zehong (1626–1708), *zi* Juanlai, *hao* Haolu, from Huanggang in Hubei, was a 1655 *jinshi* who held the rank of vice minister in the Ministry of Rites from 1690 to 1699 but would later rise to the rank of minister (*Qing dai zhiguan nianbiao* 1980). He had spent most of the 1680s in Nanjing, where he owned a fine garden (Deng Zhicheng 1965: 936; Mingfu 1978: 190; Wang Shiqing 1982; Kim 1985: vol. 2, 124; Zhang Zining 1988; Hu 1995). Wang was the recipient of *Shadows of Old Trees*, painted in the third month of 1691 (see Figure 89). He also invited Shitao to join an outing in the outskirts of the city, which gave rise to a commemorative landscape hanging scroll (*Yiyuan duoying* 23 [1984]: 22).

94. Wang Zhi, *zi* Chenyue, *hao* Renyue, from Fushan in Shandong, served as viceroy of Fujian and Zhejiang from 1688 to the fifth month of 1689 and was in the emperor's entourage at the time of the latter's visit to Yangzhou. He was then recalled to the capital, where he served as minister in the Ministry of Revenue (Wu T'ung 1967: 58). Two long poems addressed to him by Shitao have survived: One, originally inscribed on a painting of Beijing after a snowfall, is recorded in *DDZTHSB* 1/8–9; the other, originally the inscription to a now-lost painting of the Xianxia Ling mountain pass joining Zhejiang and Fujian, is among the old poems transcribed on Shitao's 1696 handscroll *Calligraphies and Sketches by Qingxiang* (see Figure 72). Both poems date from 1690. According to the latter poem, the Xianxia Ling painting was part of a double commission, Wang Zhi having also requested a pine painting. Finally, a fourth painting from 1690 has recently come to light: a large and formal hanging scroll on a birthday theme, depicting chrysanthemums, rocks, and a *wutong* tree (Christie's New York, *Fine Chinese Paintings and Calligraphy*, 15 September 1998, lot 142).

95. He saw, for example, works from the collection of Geng Zhaozhong (1640–86). See his inscription to *Cranes in the Pines and Fish in the River*, recorded in *DDZTHSB* 3/70. On Geng Zhaozhong's collection, see Lawton 1976. It was no doubt also through Bordu's good offices that he visited the palace of the late Prince An, Yolo (?–1689), and viewed its collections, probably as the guest of Yolo's son and Bordu's close friend, Yueduan (poetry manuscript album c. 1693, private collection, Princeton).

96. In his preface to Chen Ding's *Zhu pu* (Bamboo Manual), Zhang Chao notes that "the present Emperor loves bamboo" and mentions an "Ode to Bamboo" by Kangxi. Zhang Chao, ed. 1990 (*yiji*, 1700): 313.

97. For a discussion of these two collaborative works, see Fu and Fu 1973: 49–51.

98. See a set of poems sent to Yueduan in Beijing in the above-mentioned (n. 95) poetry manuscript album c. 1693. For a Dadi Tang–period orchid painting dedicated to Yueduan, see Figure 78.

99. See Chen Zuwu 1992: 209–13. The *li–ch'i* question is explored in more detail in Chapters 8 ("Shitao on Craft: The Integrity of Painting") and 9 ("The Metaphysics of Independence").

100. In addition to the contacts noted above, there are Wang Yuanqi's words of praise: "I canot know all the painters in the country, but south of the Yangzi, one must recommend Shitao as the greatest. He has achieved aspects which both Shigu [Wang Hui] and I cannot attain." *QXLRTJ* 19a.

101. Although the name of Gao Shiqi (1645–1703) immediately comes to mind, Gao is unlikely to be the target since he was not in Beijing at the same time as Shitao.

102. The poems are included in the *Calligraphy Manuscript for Monk Juhui*.

103. See his inscription to *Suojin qifeng da caogao*, painted in the second month of 1691 (Palace Museum, Beijing, *STSHQJ* pls. 60–70).

104. On Xuezhuang and Xinshu Fuqian, see Shi Shuqing 1981.

105. Shitao's move to Ciyuan Temple can be dated fairly precisely, since an album initiated in the Qiehan Studio as a final thank-you to Wang Fengrong was completed in Ciyuan Temple in the seventh month of 1691 (see Figure 171). In addition, in his poem thanking Tu Na for his visit at the temple that autumn, he mentions that he had just newly moved there (see n. 106). Ciyuan Temple was a small temple that had been renovated not long before (1674): see Xu Daoling 1996: 173. For the topography of the area, see *Beijing lishi ditu ji*.

106. Tu Na was minister in the Ministry of Justice from 1689 to 1697, and his visit is known from a poem transcribed on *Calligraphies and Sketches by Qingxiang* (see Figure 72). Shitao's 1701 visit to see Tu Qingge at Shaobo, where he was overseeing flood-repair efforts was discussed in the section "The Floods of 1705" in Chapter 3.

107. The translation and interpretation offered here, which correct several errors in my prior study of this text in *SLW*, are heavily indebted to Shi-yee Fiedler's unpublished paper "From Buddhism to Daoism: A Study on Shitao's *Sketches of Calligraphy and Painting*" (1998), generously made available to me by the author.

108. Another second-generation disciple of Muchen, Zuzhen Yuanyu (1629–95), abbot of Mount Tai's Puzhao Monastery, took up a similar stance at the time of Muchen and Lü'an's association with the throne, though he later attracted Kangxi's interest during the 1684 Southern Tour and answered questions from the emperor's representative, Gao Shiqi (Deng Zhicheng 1965: 520–1).

109. *Calligraphy Manuscript for Monk Juhui*. The entries are as follows: 1. "Seven Poems on Arriving at the Single Branch [Pavilion] at Qin–Huai in the Eighth Month of the Year *Gengshen* [1680]"; 2. "Sending Off Sun Yuli on His Return Journey to Court, with Greetings to the Academicians Shi Yushan and Gao Yuanhuai"; 3. "East of the Yangzi [i.e., in Nanjing] on an Autumn's Day, Remembering Baiyun and the Other Commoners and Hermits"; 4. "Six Poems on the Pagoda at Changgan [Monastery], Composed in the Single Branch Pavilion"; 5. "Two Poems on Meeting the Emperor at Changgan [Monastery] and Being Munificently Questioned"; 6. "Two Poems Respectfully Recounting His Imperial Majesty's Southern Inspection Tour"; 7. "Song of My Life, Taking Leave at the Single Branch [Pavilion] of All My Friends East of the Yangzi [i.e., in Nanjing]"; 8. two poems on visits to Jinshan

and Jiaoshan, respectively; 9. "Expression of My Feelings on Humankind Day [seventh day of the first month] in the Capital; 10. "Written in Reply to the Various Friends Who Have Asked Me Why I Do Not Establish a Temple [*kai tang*] and Live in the World;" 11. poem and dedication to Juhui. The ninth entry was written in Beijing on the seventh day of the first month of what can only be 1691 (on the equivalent day of 1690 he was still in Nanjing, and on that of 1692 in Tianjin). Shitao's meeting with Juhui in Tianjin, therefore, must have taken place either during the winter of 1691–2 or when he passed through Tianjin again in the autumn of 1692 on his way back home. In the last line of the poem to Juhui, Shitao evokes their shared renewal of their decision to return south, affirming that this time they will not waver. In his own case this reads most easily as a reference to his change of heart in 1691 and thus argues in favor of the former date, since there were altogether two changes of heart before he finally left in the autumn of 1692. The fact that Shitao drops no Beijing names is probably an indication that the bulk of the handscroll was written out quite some time prior to its presentation to Juhui. With the exception of the dedication to Juhui and the two preceding entries, all the others predate his arrival in the North, suggesting that he originally put together the manuscript as a kind of calling card. The reasons for some of his choices require explanation. The second entry, for example, evokes three officials from Xuancheng, one of whom (Sun Zhuo) was a particular favorite of Kangxi (*Xuancheng xianzhi:* 16/19a–20a); the other two (Shi Runzhang and Gao Yong) were among those scholars nominated for, and successful in, the 1679 *boxue hongru* examination. The fourth entry is devoted to a Ming dynastic site, the "porcelain pagoda" at Changgan Monastery, originally constructed at the orders of the Yongle emperor; however, it was certainly included here because Kangxi had had the pagoda restored in 1679. The eighth entry includes a reference to a titleboard in the imperial hand bestowed by Kangxi on Liuyun Pavilion on the Yangzi River island of Jinshan. Finally, entries 9–11 have a rather different character from the others, encapsulating his northern stay in a cycle of ambition, doubts and, finally, disappointment.

110. In the imperially sponsored record of Chan monks under the Qing dynasty, Shigao is listed as abbot of Anhua Temple at Fangshan near Beijing (*WDQS, juan* 81), but there are many records conecting him with the Dabei Monastery in Tianjin (Cui Jin 1987). Shitao also knew another of Shigao's disciples in addition to Zhang Zhu: Liang Hong, a Buddhist layman from Hubei who was a calligrapher and seal carver, and who had once given him tips on painting (see *WDQS* 491, which records several lay disciples of Shigao). On Liang Hong (*zi* Chongci), see also Mei Wending 1995: 157–8.

111. The Zhang cousins owed their wealth to the family salt business, but both men had in the past served in government positions in the capital, and Zhang Lin was about to resume an official career. On Shitao's stay in Tianjin, see Cui Jin 1987. On the Zhang cousins, see also Mingfu 1978: 170–1; Durand 1992: 155–9; and Fiedler 1998. In the summer of 1705, Zhang Lin was indicted for corruption and had all his property confiscated (including, presumably, paintings by Shitao).

112. Fu Baoshi 1948: 70.

113. Shitao subsequently transcribed his farewell poem on the 1696 handscroll *Calligraphies and Sketches by Qingxiang* (see Figure 72). See Fong 1976: 24; Fiedler 1998.

114. Translation modified from Fong 1976: 23. The poem is inscribed on *Calligraphies and Sketches by Qingxiang*, 1696 (see Figure 72).

115. On the date of Shitao's departure, see *SLW* 84 n. 111; Wang Shiqing 1982. Shitao's final stopover in Tianjin is known from a poem by Zhang Zhu. See Cui Jin 1987.

116. For the late Ming I here borrow the formulation of Susan Mann (1997: 22).

117. Wu 1990: 235–7.

118. See Vinograd (1991a, 1992a), for this development in portraiture.

FIVE. THE ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF ORIGINS

1. Wang Shiqing 1982. See also *SLW* 84 n. 111, 85 n. 113.

2. Zulin Yuanlin was one of Shitao's former hosts at the Xitian Monastery in 1678–9.

3. The inscription reads in part: "You look just the same but perhaps you've forgotten past times;/You were obstinate then in your liking of simple poverty./ . . ./Alas! This old Huangbo monk in the mountains,/So erudite and enlightened, and yet he has to come back here./How can there be no-one in the world who appreciates his worth?/The Ancients unfairly hold down his talent." See *Zhang Yuejun xiansheng, . . .* 1978: 234–5. For further information on this Nanjing stay, see *SLW* 32–4, 84–5 nn. 111–13, 118.

4. The poems are included in a poetry manuscript album probably executed c. 1693 (private collection, Princeton).

5. There is also a pun here on the literal meaning of *ji:* to help, to aid. Many years later, this poem would find an echo in a rare seal reading "What help can I bring?" ["Wo he ji zhi you?"]

6. That is, the Hall of the Great Tree in Jinghui Monastery.

7. I am translating by "luxury and decadence" the metaphor "flower affairs of the Six Dynasties."

8. A reference to one of Shitao's appellations, Monk Bitter Melon.

9. These sentiments are echoed in another poem from approximately the same moment, which he added to his 1683 *Landscapes and Poetry* (Shanghai Museum, *ST* 72). There he evokes his unhappiness in the North, his happiness to be back in the South, and the futility of pursuing imperial patronage. The poem is all the more resonant given that this album contains the 1683 poem in which he asked Zheng Hushan to promote him to the emperor.

10. See Wu Qi 1982: 5/25a–26a.

11. Shitao mentions Wu Mountain Pavilion in a set of three poems that he wrote c. 1693–4 about plum blossom at Mount Ganquan. See *QXLRTJ* 7a–b.

12. From his inscription to a 1693 landscape painting for Wu Zhenbo (see Figure 93).

13. For an extended interpretation of this album, see Yang 1994.

14. The leaf is reproduced in Edwards 1967: 108. For a translation of the inscription, see the discussion of the transregional art world in the section "The Early Qing Art World" in Chapter 8.

15. The works from the summer of 1695 include *Landscapes for Chaomin* (fifth month), reproduced in *Dafeng tang mingji*, vol. 2, pls. 29–33; *Lake Chao*, hanging scroll for Zhang Chunxiu (see Figure 92); *Landscapes of the Highest Class*, for Huang You (see Figures 64, 65, 80); *Flowers and Figures*, for Huang You (see Figures 192, 204, 206); *Landscapes*, see *Zhongguo hua* 1986(2): 37–9; 1986(3): 50–1. For the dating of the last three albums, see *SLW* 89 n. 143.

16. Li Tianfu had been Grand Secretary of the Hall of Military Glory (rank 1a). This trip is discussed at greater length in Chapter 6 (section "The Monk-Painter as Professional").

17. Again, see the section "The Monk-Painter as Professional" in Chapter 6.

18. For example, Li Guosong (1672 *fugongsheng*, 1684 *juren*), Wang Xiru (1684 *gongsheng*), Sang Zhi (*gongsheng*, date not ascertained).

19. The album is recorded in Lu Xinyuan 1891: 36/11b. Qilao has been tentatively identified as Wang Hongwen from Jianzhou in Liaoning (Wang Shiqing 1981b: n. 2). However, the name of a Chan monk of the same generation as Shitao, Buqi, has also been suggested (Mingfu 1978: 170). The latter suggestion may find some confirmation in the fact that one of the recorded leaves was painted in a what appears to be a hall of a Buddhist temple, Suoluo Tang.

20. Present whereabouts unknown. Reproduced in Edwards 1967: 110.

21. On this iconography in the painting of Kuncan, and a consideration of this and related images by Shitao, see Vinograd 1992a: 55–63.

22. Wang Shiqing 1981a.

23. From a set of five poems inscribed on an unpublished album from 1701 dedicated to the official Wang Ziquan, in the Palace Museum, Beijing.

24. The two temples were Dongxiao Gong and Tianzhu Guan.

25. On the Dragon Gate branch of Quanzhen Daoism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Ren Jiyu, ed. 1990: 651–61.

26. *Looking at the Mountains at Yuhang*, 1693, Shanghai Museum (see Figure 174). See Wai-kam Ho, ed. 1992: vol. 1, cat. no. 159. The recipient was the Chinese bannerman Zhang Jingjie.

27. Lee and Ho 1968: 95.

28. Huang Jixian, *zi* Zhongbin, from Tandu in Shexian. For his official career, see above, Chapter 2, n. 59.

29. Vinograd 1978.

30. J. S. Hay 1994b, 1999.

31. For this interpretation of the Great Cleansing, see Fong 1976.

32. In the Sumitomo Collection.

33. For example, the *Landscapes for Yu Daoren* (see Figures 168, 169). See the section "The Artist as Chan Master" in Chapter 9.

34. When Shitao had first met him, that spring, he added a colophon to a painting by Hongren that Cheng owned. See *JJZLJ*; Wang Shiqing 1978.

35. This is pointed out by Sarah E. Fraser (1989), who also makes the point that for certain images he probably consulted preexisting sketches.

36. In his farewell poem, he places himself within a national landscape. The poem for Wang Zhi celebrates his recent tour of duty as governor-general of Fujian and Zhejiang in 1688–9. Wu T'ung 1967: 58.

37. For a useful discussion of Shitao's use of the *peng* metaphor, see Fiedler 1998.

38. It is a measure of the porosity of the boundary between the national and transregional frames of reference that since Shitao's departure from Beijing, Zhang Lin had entered official life and was now, like the artist, in Anhui, serving as a provincial judge. On Zhang Lin's official career, see Durand 1992: 155–9.

39. Vinograd 1992a: 62.

40. See, for example, Hong Zhengzhi's 1720 colophon to Shitao's *Streams and Mountains without End* in the C. C. Wang Family Collection.

41. This Chan title can be traced back only as far as 1731, when Wang Yichen, editor of *Dadizi tihua shiba* (*DDZTHSB*), made a manuscript copy of an earlier manuscript. See Zheng Zhuolu 1961: 78.

42. For example, writer-scholar Huang Yun (introduced below in the section "Jingjiang Descendant"): See his colophon to Shitao's *Orchids* for Hong Zhengzhi, recorded in *DDZTHSB* 2/40–8.

43. Postscript to a poem written for Shitao, in Tao Wei (n.d.).

44. See *SLW* 197 n. 19.

45. Li Lin 1708: 9/60b.

46. Liang Peilan 1708: *ji* 7.

47. Colophon to Shitao's *Orchids* for Hong Zhengzhi, recorded in *DDZTHSB* 2/40–8.

48. Poems in the Beijing Library manuscript copy of Bordu's poetry collection *Wenting shiji*, cited by Han Linde 1989: 79–80.

49. Other nearby Daoist temples included Wudang Xingdong, which was also "outside the Great East Gate"; Cuiling Gong, which stood next to Shrine of Master Dong in the New City; and Doulao Gong, next to Red Bridge at the beginning of Baozhang Lake. See *YZFZ* 25/19b.

50. As pointed out by Mingfu 1978: 129–30.

51. Prominent lineages were associated with the temples Tianzhu Guan and Dongxiao Gong, respectively. After an apparent hiatus of some ten or eleven years, the abbotship of Tianzhu Guan passed to Wang Qingxu (Wang Dongyang) in the spring of 1696. The abbot of Dongxiao Gong at this time (?) was Bei Changji. See Min Puzhi 1992–4.

52. See Edwards 1967: 107–8 (leaves C and F). Although Shitao could conceivably have seen Bada Shanren's work in Beijing, it is more likely that he was familiar with it from the collections of men who belonged to Huizhou families with interests and/or family connections in both Nanchang and Yangzhou, and who might themselves be based in Yangzhou, Huizhou, or – as was the case for Huang Lü – in Nanchang. While it is not yet possible to say where Shitao would have seen Bada Shanren's work at this early date, we know of the two painters' connections with collectors of Huizhou origin such as Wang Banting, whose departure from Nanchang Bada Shanren mentions in a letter that Wang Fangyu has dated to around 1695 (*Master*, 282). Some years later, in 1699, the same Wang Banting solicited a colophon from Shitao for a painting in his collection by the Huizhou artist Zheng Min (*Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 5 [1990], *Hu*: 1-33072, Shanghai Museum). Another probable Huizhou family collector of Bada

Shanren's work is the Tuiweng for whom he painted the celebrated *Anwan Album* in 1694. Various possible identifications of this person have been explored and rejected by Barnhart and Wang (*Master,* 240 n. 127; Wang Fangyu 1978). However, there exists a plausible candidate within the world of Yangzhou collectors in the person of Cheng Daoguang (*zi* Tuifu), who would later become a close friend and customer of Shitao (see the discussion in the section "The Dadi Tang Enterprise: Artist and Patron" in Chapter 6).

53. Reproduced in Wang Zidou 1983, 1: 220–1. Whereabouts unknown.

54. Translation by Wang Fangyu (*Master,* 62).

55. *Master,* 62.

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid., 168–9.

58. *Master;* Fong 1959. Both Barnhart and Fong omit *linli* in their translation, as did I in an earlier discussion of this document (*SLW* 107), where I followed the same interpretation.

59. On this basis, Fu Shen (1984: 28–9) suggested that the term *xianqu* was simply a metaphoric reference to becoming an immortal, i.e., a Daoist.

60. *Master,* 32.

61. Although its first dated appearance is on a painting from early 1699 (*Plum Blossoms,* hanging scroll, Shanghai Museum: see *ST* 45), this is likely predated by its appearance on the manifesto-like *Qingxiang Dadizi's Reminiscence of the Thirty-six Peaks* (see Plate 3).

62. *Master,* 284–5.

63. Translation by Wang Fangyu, slightly modified (*Master,* 63). In another misunderstanding, in the poem preceding this Bada Shanren refers to Shitao as being seventy years of age. Bada also refers to Shitao as "Abbot Shitao" in a letter from c. 1699 (*Master,* 283).

64. Pei Jingfu 1937: 16/12a. A number of superb surviving works by Shitao passed through this collector's hands, so the record cannot be discounted. A monochrome landscape, this one bears a respectful dedication from "Qingxiang Xiazunzhe di" to "Bada zhangxiong xiansheng."

65. *Master,* 284–5.

66. It is very likely that Cheng did so, to judge by a recorded letter to Bada from the Yangzhou-based writer and publisher Zhang Chao, who mentions Cheng Jun's name by way of introduction to his own request for two fans and an album. According to Zhang, Cheng had already "exchanged silk and satin with Bada," that is, had previously commissioned work from him. *Master,* 285; Wang Shiqing 1984: 203.

67. Ibid., 64.

68. A convenient summary of the extensive bibliography on this letter through 1971 can be found in the catalog entry on the letter in Fu and Fu 1973: 210–24. For the other document usually taken as evidence of their direct relationship, the supposed Shitao inscription to a supposed lost Bada Shanren painting for Shitao, see n. 69.

69. In the present century this letter has given rise to some mischief in the hands of its former owner, Zhang Daqian, well known as a master forger of works by Shitao, Bada Shanren, and others. A forgery of the letter itself was the least of his "contributions," for it, along with his invention of a picture corresponding to the large work by Bada Shanren, *Dadi caotang tu,* mentioned in Shitao's letter, was easily exposed (Fong 1959). The real damage has been that caused by Zhang's role (whether knowingly or not) in a hoax of a more elaborate and imaginative kind. Zhang claimed to have owned the original *Dadi caotang tu* before fleeing Shanghai. By his account, the painting then possessed a colophon by Shitao that was set into the scroll mounting; when he left Shanghai, he had this colophon removed and took it with him, leaving the painting itself behind. "Subsequent efforts to recover it from his family failed," goes the story. The colophon itself cannot be seen today, any more than the painting; but a photograph of the colophon does exist. Despite Zhang's known history as a forger and hoaxer, his curious story was accepted, and the colophon, dated to the summer of 1698, became not only one of the primary documents for the reconstruction of Shitao's relationship with Bada Shanren, but also – due to its fascinating content – a key exhibit in the interpretation of Shitao's relationship to Ming loyalism. (The text of the colophon reads, in part: "You and I fell ill on the same day,/Barely born into the world, we found Heaven and Earth quaking./You, Bada, were homeless, yet you stayed near home;/I, Qingxiang, traveled the Four Seas, merely causing my temples to whiten./You heard that I was living on the Han River [i.e., in Yangzhou],/And that near a stream I had built the Great Cleansing Hall./You sent this huge painting: *Daring to Cleanse* [*Zhen kan di*];/In the blazing, steaming heat of July, it sends forth an autumnal frost./I know that you mean: "How can you bear to cleanse?" ["He kan di"];/Your words ring in my ears as I traverse the dust and sand [life outside the priesthood] – /As soon as I read them, [I see] ten thousand years slip through my fingers,/I can now only wash everything away into a great void and listen for the thunder"). Moreover, because the colophon includes information that seemingly throws light on Shitao's inscription to Bada Shanren's *Narcissus* handscroll (which at one point Zhang owned), acceptance of the colophon as genuine perverted the interpretation of the handscroll, reinforcing if not imposing the ideas that in the early 1690s Shitao believed Bada to have died, did not know that Bada and Xuege were one and the same, and was finally enlightened by Cheng Jing'e (see, for example, my own earlier discussion in *SLW* 106–10). The colophon, furthermore, offered the seductive scenario of the impeccably loyalist Bada Shanren reproaching Shitao for his former collaborationist conduct, to Shitao's great shame, and it laid the basis for an interpretation of the Great Cleansing in primarily political terms (i.e., cleansing of that collaboration), downplaying the religious dimension (see, e.g., Fong 1976).

However, the colophon does not stand up to documentary examination: Two of its six seals, as well as both of the names in the signature, came into use only at a significantly later date. All dependable dated appearances of the oval relief "Lao Tao" seal and the square intaglio "Meng dong sheng" seal are from 1701 onward. Similarly, Shitao seems to have begun to use the name "Qingxiang yiren" in signatures only in 1704 or not long before. Finally, all dated examples of the imperial *ming,* Ruoji, in signatures are from 1701 onward, the earliest example being a landscape seemingly painted for Bordu in the winter of 1701, reproduced in *Shina nanga taisei* 1935–7: vol 3. Since this survey is based on dated examples alone, it is not absolutely precise; nevertheless, there hardly seems to be a sufficient margin of error to account for so many anomalies. In addition, to my eyes the final seal impression reading "Sibai feng zhong, Ruoli weng tushu," is sufficiently different from the impression found on the 1703 albums for Mr. Liu (see Fig-

ure 134), as seen from its squarer form and different spacing of the three rows of characters, to suggest that the seal is spurious. Finally, although the calligraphy has generally been accepted as Shitao's, the calligrapher responsible for the colophon had at least one mannerism entirely alien to Shitao: giving a blunt, straight form, thick toward its end, to those oblique strokes brushed from top right to bottom left. The colophon is a forgery (though not necessarily by Zhang Daqian himself) – one of many to have bedeviled modern scholarship.

On Zhang Daqian's activities as a forger of Shitao's work, see Fu and Fu 1973: 314–21; Fu Shen 1991. One elaborate Shitao hoax by Zhang is the *Portrait of Ren'an* (Metropolitan Museum of Art), which has a perfectly genuine set of colophons, including one by Shitao that confirms that he had supplied the landscape setting for the original portrait. To explain the unconvincing painting that now accompanies the colophons, Zhang claimed that he had been dissatisfied with the portrait figure, and had cut it out, replacing it with a figure of his own creation – leaving Shitao's landscape setting intact. The present portrait figure was indeed done on a separate piece of paper; and Zhang even supplied a separate cut-out Qing portrait figure as proof. Nonetheless, the landscape setting with its Shitao inscription (which identifies the portraitist as a Mr. Zhang) is in this writer's opinion a spurious work from Zhang's own hand.

70. A landscape by Bada for a Yangzhou merchant patron, Jiang Shidong, is recorded in *DDZTHSB* 4/81 as having been completed by Shitao in 1699.

71. Shitao's three leaves are now mounted together with seven leaves by Bada Shanren, which may not be those that were in the album that Li Guosong saw (see *Master,* 189–90). The owner of the original album was Huang Jixian, for whom Shitao painted the album *Reminiscences of Qin–Huai* in 1696 (see Figures 67–71); in his colophon dated to the first month of 1702, he states that he is taking this new album with him on a journey to Jianyang (in Fujian). Huang was taking up the post of county magistrate there (*LHYFZ* 1748; Ruan Yuan 1920: 10/11b). On other aspects of Huang's official career, see above, Chapter 2, n. 59.

72. The Shenxi imperial descendant was Xian Zhu, discussed later in this chapter (see the section "Jingjiang Descendant"). The Yunnan imperial descendant was Puhe (1592–1683), one of whose works was acquired by Shitao's patron and friend, Mr. Liu; Liu invited Shitao to add a colophon to the painting in 1702 (*Dandang shuhua ji* 1963: 23).

73. The colophon was written by Zhu Kanpu "in the Gengxin Caotang," thus in 1703 or later (see Appendix 1). This man was presumably of the same generation and lineage as Zhu Kanzhu, whose genealogy is discussed by Wang Fangyu in *Master,* 29. In addition, Bada Shanren's grandson visited Yangzhou in 1705 after the death of Bada, where he met Shitao's biographer, Li Lin, and in all likelihood would have met Shitao as well.

74. One of Yueduan's several sobriquets was Honglan Zhuren (Master of the Red Orchid [Studio]).

75. Thus on the eve of the imperial visit to Yangzhou in 1699, he painted an album of miscellaneous subjects that, as I suggested in Chapter 3 (section "The Floods of 1705"), includes two leaves that effectively praise Qing government – one of horses and the other of a rain-soaked countryside (see Figures 42, 43). In 1705, *Desolate Autumn in Huai–Yang* can be taken as an indirect response to the imperial visit to the area a few months earlier and is, as I have tried to show, basically friendly to Kangxi. Richard Barnhart notes of Bada: "By the time of Kangxi's third Southern Tour, in 1699, Bada's reaction was quite different [from his earlier rage]. Then, he began to paint heroic eagles and hawks, deer, egrets, cranes, and wild geese as if they were symbols of his own private lost imperial realm, an almost vanished Ming counterpart to the colorful and dramatic imperial pageantry and symbolism of Kangxi and the Manchus" (*Master,* 18).

76. Other Ming prince-painters of the time made similar indexical disclosures of their princely identity through seals. One example is Lanjiang, whose seals included "Taizu Gao huangdi xuanzun." Lu Xinyuan 1891: 6/24b.

77. The earliest datable appearance of "Zan zhi shi shicun Azhang" is on two of the leaves of a *Poetry Manuscript* datable to 1697, reproduced in *Ming and Qing Painting from the Guangzhou Art Gallery* (1986), cat. no. 34.9–14. "Azhang," on the other hand, appears (in signatures) as early as his inscriptions to *Four Incarnations of Sun Zongyi* (1612–83) by an unidentified artist, which, if genuine, were written at some point between 1678 and Sun Zongyi's death in 1683 (Christie's New York, *Fine Chinese Paintings and Calligraphy,* 25 November 1991, lot 182).

78. Li Lin 1708: *juan* 15.

79. This is a continuation of the text on Zhao Mengfu cited above, in the section "From Xuancheng to Beijing: 1678–1692" in Chapter 4.

80. Sima Qian 1993: 337–40.

81. The poem is entitled "On the Art of Painting: A Dedication to General Cao Ba." The seal reading "Yu jin wei shu wei qingmen" has its first datable appearance on a hanging scroll of plum blossom in the Shanghai Museum dated to the second month of *yimao,* 1699. See *STHJ* no. 48.

82. The appendix is translated in *SLW* 204 n. 52.

83. According to a recorded colophon written by Yuan Dun in 1758 to a now lost painting by Shitao, "Mr. Hong Gaihua studied painting with the master. He obtained a very detailed sequence [of events?] recorded by the master himself." *QXLRTJ* 17a. See also Hong Zhengzhi's 1720 colophon to the unpublished *Streams and Mountains without End* in the C. C. Wang Family Collection.

84. For the inscriptions and colophons to twelve of the leaves, see *DDZTHSB* 2/40–8. Huang Yun's colophon at the end of that selection includes the sentence, "Today [Shitao] has painted a hundred thousand sheets for Yenzou Daoxiong [Hong Zhengzhi]."

85. Apart from his colophon to the Shitao–Bada collaborative album for Huang Jixian, Li Guosong also contributed colophons to three of Shitao's paintings for Huang You: *Landscapes of the Highest Class,* 1695 (see Figures 64, 65, 80); *Crossing the Ridge,* 1699 (see Figure 33); and the double *Illustrations to the Poems of Huang Yanlü,* 1701–2 (see Plate 10; Figures 18, 34–40, 45).

86. Jiang wrote colophons for at least eight works by Shitao, including Shitao and Jiang Heng's collaborative portrait of Wu Yuqiao (Wang Shiqing 1987: 17), one of Jiang's own patrons (see below, Chapter 6, n. 73); a landscape handscroll

from before 1700 – Jiang's poem is cited by Hong Zhengzhi in his own 1720 colophon to *Streams and Mountains without End* in the C. C. Wang Family Collection; *Crossing the Ridge,* painted for Huang You c. 1699, for which Jiang wrote his colophon in 1707 (see Figure 33); a 1700 album for Wu Chengxia, reproduced in *Shina nanga taisei* 1935–7: vol. 6; a 1702 handscroll for Luo Qingshan (formerly Christie's New York); Hong Zhengzhi's orchid album, for which Jiang wrote his colophon in the summer of 1704, *DDZTHSB* 1/40–1; the handscroll *Pavilion of Twin Purities,* probably for the monk Gengyin, Palace Museum, Beijing, with Jiang's colophon written in the autumn of 1707 (Xu Bangda, ed. 1984b: 772–3); and the 1706 *Portrait of Hong Zhengzhi* (see Figure 27), to which he contributed c. 1708–9 (see Fu and Fu 1973: 290–1, for a discussion of Jiang in the context of his colophon to this portrait). Zhuo Erkan's (1960) collection of *yimin* poetry includes work by Jiang Shijie's father (Cai), uncle (Gai), and brother (Anjie).

87. Cheng Songling 1985. According to Richard Strassberg (1983), who has examined Kong Shangren's involvement with Yangzhou loyalists while working at the end of the 1680s as a water-control official on the staff of Sun Zaifeng in northern Jiangsu: "Huang was another of those who fit the personality type of the 'heroic loyalist,' which K'ung found so appealing. He was politically reclusive, having rejected government service under the Ch'ing. Somewhat impoverished, notoriously eccentric, yet extremely erudite and dynamic, he expressed a proud, defiant attitude toward life's vicissitudes." Huang Yun, in one of his several inscriptions to Hong Zhengzhi's album, complains that although he has known Shitao for thirty years and loves his painting, he has only been able to obtain the odd work.

88. Wang Shiqing 1981b. For a translation of Hong Jiazhi's colophon, see *SLW* 366. Shitao painted at least one work for Hong Jiazhi (who mentions it in his inscription to his nephew Hong Zhengzhi's orchid album). Hong Jiazhi also contributed colophons to Shitao's portrait of his nephew (Sackler Collection) and to the handscroll *Twin Purities Pavilion* (*Shuangqing ge*), Palace Museum, Beijing (Xu Bangda, ed. 1984b: 772–3). On Hong Jiazhi's travels, see Hong Jiazhi n.d.

89. *Zhixi laoren shi* and *Quanying tang ci.* As noted in *Master,* 63.

90. *YZFZ*; Shen Deqian, comp. 1979. Xian Zhu also contributed colophons to three of Shitao's works for Huang You: *Landscapes of the Highest Class* (see Figures 64, 65, 80); *Crossing the Ridge* (see Figure 33); *Illustrations to the Poems of Huang Yanlü* (see Plate 10; Figures 18, 34–40, 45).

91. Bada's colophon was cited earlier (section "Shitao and Bada Shanren") as an example of his insistence on referring to Shitao as a Buddhist monk. Xian Zhu's colophon reads: "Xuege, west of the Yangzi, lives at Shangyou;/Kugua has stayed for years now in Yangzhou./Both men have followed the craziest of paths/But their brush-and-ink is of the very best."

92. The loyalist figures still to be introduced include Wang Xiru, Wang Zhongru, Wu Sugong, and Huang Sheng. See also *SLW* 428 n. 46.

93. "Ruoji" appears as part of a signature on a painting reproduced in *Shina nanga taisei* 1935–7: vol 3, a landscape seemingly painted for Bordu in the winter of 1701. The "Ji" signature appears on the painting *Clouds and Mountains* from the third month of 1702 (see Figure 184).

94. The earliest appearance of the "Jingjiang Houren" seal known to me is on *Li Songan's Studio,* dated to the second month of 1702 (Fu and Fu 1973: 220). Shitao also incorporates this name into a signature on leaf 3 of the four leaves from the 1703 albums for Mr. Liu in the Beishan Tang Collection.

95. Li Lin 1708: 19/93a. See also another poem, ibid., 9/64a.

96. Qu Yuan is traditionally ascribed the authorship of *The Songs of Chu,* and Zuoqiu Ming that of the *Zuo zhuan.*

97. *Shiwei,* by Shitao's Nanjing friend Tian Lin, includes two poems for the year 1702 that concern Shitao. One was written to thank Shitao for the gift of a painting of bamboo; the second is a parting painting, "Sending Off Dadizi to Go Back to Guangling [Yangzhou]" (Tian Lin 1727: 9/43a). A surviving painting, *Clouds and Mountains* (see Figure 184), was painted at Wulong Tan, which lies between Nanjing and Yangzhou, in the third month of 1702. Another painting (undated) in the Nanjing Museum, depicting Qingliang Terrace, located just inside the city wall in the southwest corner of the city, may also be related to this visit (*STSHQJ* pls. 341–342). Shitao's poem inscribed on the painting is a reflection on the rise and fall of dynasties: Although Qingliang Terrace was not itself a Ming dynastic site, the parallel with recent history is made explicit in the accompanying colophon by an unidentified remnant subject.

98. Hetao wrote two poems in 1692 for the fiftieth birthday of Tian Lin, and at one point mentions that Shitao has sent him word that he is coming back to Nanjing (Tian Lin 1727: *shang*/15a). In 1693 he wrote an authenticating inscription for an unsigned painting by Kuncan in the Shanghai Museum. *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu,* vol. 4 [1990]: Hu 1-2497. One might also wonder, more prosaically, whether he did not make the journey at the request of some important patron, but Shitao tended to publicize his patronage when it was of such importance, and there are no traces of anything like this for the Nanjing trip.

99. In addition to their common use in signatures from late 1705 onward, the two names are also found in a number of seals. "Ji" is found as part of two seals: The first, reading "Dadizi, Ji," has its earliest datable appearance on an orchid painting dedicated to Yueduan, who died in 1704 (see Figure 78). The second reads "Daben Tang, Ji" and can be seen on the album *Reminiscences of Jinling,* autumn of 1707 (see Figures 218, 219). "Ruoji" also appears in two seals: The first, which simply reads "Ruoji," has a first dated appearance (autumn of 1705) on *Landscape Painted on the Double Ninth* (see Figure 212). The second reads "Daben Tang, Ruoji" and can be seen here on a leaf from the 1707 *Reminiscences of Jinling* (see Figure 217).

100. Spence 1966.

101. This new name never entirely displaced the name Dadi Tang. See, for example, "Riding the Clouds," from *Reminiscences of Jinling* (see Figure 218).

102. As first pointed out by Wu T'ung (1967: 61), citing *Ming huiyao.*

103. Reproduced in *STSHQJ* pl. 341.

104. A poem follows: "The ears of millet sing their song, lamenting the fallen dynasty./The earthen steps will not bear my weight; I lean on the tumble-down wall./I invite you to

look upon the site of the extravagance of six dynasties./What resemblance does it bear to the time of the Hall of the Great Foundation?"

105. The major document of that history of concealment is the 1677 poem "Poem for Zhong Yuxing," discussed above, Chapter 4, n. 53.

106. The earliest dated appearance of this as a seal is on leaf 4 of the *Landscapes Painted at Wanglü Tang* of 1702. See Ishikawa Jun et al. 1976: fig. 141.

107. For example, *The Orphan of the Zhao Family* (play).

108. From the inscription to a leaf in a 1684 album of landscapes in the Palace Museum, Beijing. Reproduced in Xu Bangda, ed. 1984b: 771.

109. Guilin shi wenwu guanli weiyuanhui 1980: 4–7.

110. As seen from Li Guosong's colophon, cited earlier in this chapter. The album was painted for Huang Jixian, the recipient of the 1696 *Reminiscences of Qin–Huai;* ironically, Huang took it with him on his journey to Jianyang in Fujian, where he was taking up an appointment as magistrate.

111. The poem, taken on its own, suggests that he saw a musician during his visit; but the painting, by placing the figure at the center of the scene, where it functions as the psychological subject of the represented experience, implies Shitao's identification with this musician and thus an autobiographical reference. Naturally, Shitao need not have had any musical skill himself.

112. Leaf 2, reproduced in Edwards 1967: cat. no. 17B.

113. Reproduced in *STSHQJ* pl. 174. This signature was probably added at a later date (as discussed in the section "The Dadi Tang Enterprise: Production Strategies" in Chapter 6).

SIX. THE ARTIST-ENTREPRENEUR

1. The question has received general treatment in a recent pioneering study by James Cahill (1994) on the Ming–Qing period. I am indebted to Cahill's clear exposition of many basic conventions. The growing literature includes Hsu 1987; Shan Guoqiang 1992; Burkus-Chasson 1994; and McDermott 1997. See also the reconstruction of Xu Wei's professional practice in Ryor 1998.

2. Neither work survives. Shitao reused his inscription to the 1657 painting on a leaf of the *Landscapes, Flowers, and Bamboo* painted c. 1664 (see Figure 47). For the handscroll, see Jin Huan, *Shibai zhai shuhua lu*: *xingjuan,* cited in Wang Shiqing 1978.

3. Translation from Fong 1976, slightly modified. Cao was from Zhili Province.

4. The passage continues: "When the paintings were finished, each one resembled a famous Song or Yuan master's style. But the brushwork had no fixed method; sometimes it was heavy and sometimes delicate, and he [only] required of each leaf that it be executed freely and personally. The brush followed his imagination, and without consciously striving after the Ancients his methods concurred with theirs."

5. On the surviving Huangshan album leaves, illustrated in *STSHQJ* pls. 217–230, see Edwards 1992: 177–9; and Zhang Zining 1993. The *Sixteen Luohans* handscroll commemorated Cao Dingwang's work in restoring Luohan Temple in Shexian. See Zhang Zining, ibid.

6. The obvious candidate is the prefect's son, Cao Fen, who was a friend of Shitao. The reference to "snowy pines" (*songxue*) in the dedication both evokes Zhao Mengfu (*hao* Songxue Daoren) in relation to Cao Dingwang and identifies the birthday function of the work through the pines' symbolism of longevity. For another Xuancheng-period allusion to Zhao in a painting for a Qing official, see Figure 54.

7. Shitao's paintings for this family over a thirty-year period include the following:

For Wu Erchun: *Orchids and Bamboo,* handscroll, recorded in Pang Yuanji 1971a, *juan* 4.

For Wu Zhenbo (*zi* Jingyuan, *hao* Jianshan, eldest son of Wu Erchun): *Wutong Tree and Rock,* hanging scroll, 1674, Jilin Provincial Museum, reproduced in *Yiyuan duoying* 6 (1979): 13; *Bamboo, Rocks, and Plum Blossom,* hanging scroll, 1679, commissioned as a gift for Mr. Huaizu, reproduced in *ST* 41; *Looking at Plum Blossom,* hanging scroll on silk, Shanghai Museum, reproduced in *Yiyuan duoying* 36 (1987): 6; *Landscapes,* album, 1684, recorded in Jin Huan, *Shibai zhai shuhua lu* (n.d.): *xiahan, chouji*; *Thoughts of Xi'nan,* hanging scroll, 1693 (see Figure 93); *Landscape and Calligraphy,* handscroll, c. 1701 or later, Beijing Cultural Relics Bureau, cited by Wang Shiqing 1979b, 1987a: 15.

For Wu Chengxia (*zi* Yusheng, *hao* Xiangu, eldest son of Wu Zhenbo): *Landscape,* hanging scroll, 1686, recorded in Hu Jitang c. 1839: *shang*/41b–42a; *Landscapes for Yu Daoren* (see Figures 168, 169); *Plum Blossom and Bamboo,* fan, c. 1687–9, reproduced in *Gugong bowuyuan cang Ming Qing shanmian shuhua ji,* vol. 4 (1991): pl. 64; *Landscapes,* album, 1700 or earlier, reproduced in *Shina nanga taisei* 1935–7: vol. 6; *Walking toward a Mountain Retreat,* hanging scroll, 1703 (see Plate 11); *Seclusion by the Crane Stream,* handscroll, c. 1705 or later, reproduced in Christie's New York, *Fine Chinese Paintings, Calligraphy, and Rubbings,* 18 September 1996, no. 189.

For Wu Chengxun (*zi* Mingchi, first cousin of Wu Chengxia): *Pine and Chrysanthemum,* handscroll or hanging scroll, known from a poem by Mei Qing (Wang Shiqing 1987: 16).

For Wu Yuqiao (*zi* Nangao, *hao* Yiyuan, born 1679, nephew of Wu Chengxun): *Portrait of Wu Yuqiao* (collaboration with Jiang Heng), c. 1698, handscroll (see Figure 28); *The Blue-Green Screen of the Southern Mountains,* hanging scroll, 1699 (see Figure 25); *Eight Views of Xi'nan,* album, 1700 (see Figure 26); *Vegetables and Praying Mantis,* handscroll, 1700 (Li Yeshuang 1973: 156–7); *Landscapes and Calligraphies,* undated, Shanghai Museum (bears Wu Yuqiao's collector's seals).

For Wu Canxi, *Landscape Album,* 1680 (*STSHQJ* pls. 1–15).

For Wu Qi (*zi* Yuanci, *hao* Tingweng, 1619–94), *Landscape of Mount Heng,* 1687 (see Figure 46).

For Wu Qipeng (*zi* Yunyi, *hao* Ganyu, nephew of Wu Qi): *Miniature Landscapes,* 1699 (see Figure 104); *Mr. Yunyi's Return to Xin'an,* hanging scroll, 1704 (whereabouts unknown).

Shitao is also known to have been close friends with at least two other members of the family, Wu Chengli (*zi* Maoshu, brother of Wu Chengxun, father of Wu Yuqiao, 1662–91, see Wang Shiqing 1987: 16) and Wu Ai (*zi* Jiren, see Li Lin 1708: 15/85; Wang Shiqing 1987: 11), who would presumably have owned paintings by him.

8. For Wang Jie (*zi* Changyu, 1634–?): *Gazing at the Waterfall from a Stone Bridge,* hanging scroll, 1672, reproduced in Edwards 1967: 29. For Wang Ji (*zi* Zhouci): *Landscapes,* album, 1676, recorded in Pei Jingfu 1937: 16/8b.

9. See Wang Shiqing 1982. On Min Shizhang (*zi* Xiangnan, *hao* Huaihai), see *YZFZ* 32/17a–b; Wang Shiqing, ibid. For his grandson, Min Changhong (*zi* Zaidong, *hao* Kuangzhai), Shitao during the Dadi Tang years painted a superb hanging scroll of plum blossoms, reproduced in Omura 1945: vol. 7.

10. According to *DDZZ*, Shitao disposed of this collection before moving to Nanjing. Interestingly, Li's description of the manner in which he did so (see above, Chapter 4, in the section "From Xuancheng to Beijing: 1678–1692"), while silent on the economic dimension, is suggestive of a procedure not unlike a modern house or apartment sale.

11. Deng Qifen's generosity with money is noted by Shitao's friend, Mei Geng, whose studies Deng supported in 1677–8 (Hu Yi 1984; Mei Geng 1990). Two works painted by Shitao for Deng Qifen during this period survive: a landscape hanging scroll (*Shenzhou guoguang ji*, vol. 16), and a horse painting (see Figure 54). The inscription to a third is recorded in *DDZTHSB* 1/7–8. For the record of a 1686 painting for Deng, see *QXLRTJ* 15a. Circa 1693–4 Deng saw Shitao again when he passed through Yangzhou, at which time Shitao reinscribed the third of the above-mentioned early paintings (*DDZTHSB* 1/7–8).

12. When he completed the screen, Shitao wrote a colophon for it in handscroll format, which reads in part: "This year Mr. Chang Hanqian celebrated his fiftieth birthday, and sent silk to me at the Yizhi Ge in Nanjing commanding me to execute a painting. In my barren solitude, I sought and obtained an image of old pines and strange rocks; [the person] standing cranelike at the cave door is the honorable immortal himself just after dispersing the chess pieces" (*STSHQJ* pl. 32). This is the same man whom Shitao would seek out at Qingjiangpu in 1688 during his first aborted journey to the North.

13. My translation draws heavily on a rendering of the entire inscription by Shane McCausland in an unpublished paper (McCausland 1994).

14. In other words (the percentages don't add up), he had mostly received calligraphies from Shitao. This unpublished handscroll, *Streams and Mountains without End* (C. C. Wang Family Collection), is the same one that was later acquired by Hong Zhengzhi (see the section "Jingjiang Descendant" in Chapter 5). Two other works painted by Shitao for Zhou Jing survive: *Teaching the [Book of] Changes*, hanging scroll, 1680, collection unknown; and *Paintings and Calligraphies for Zhou Jing*, album (see Figure 165).

15. Fong 1976: 22.

16. See above, n. 7.

17. Zhao Lun (*zi* Shugong, *hao* Langxian), from Shandong Province, served as Provincial Education Commissioner from 1682 to 1688; Zhao Zisi (*zi* Wenshui, *hao* Ren'an, Mengsu shanren). Shitao painted for the father the large horizontal hanging scroll *Fishing in a Mountain Stream* (see Figure 164), apparently while enjoying the latter's hospitality; and he contributed the landscape setting to a portrait of Zhao Zisi, of which the colophons survive today, attached to what in this author's opinion is a spurious portrait (Metropolitan Museum of Art). He also added inscriptions to an album of paintings by another monk, Shuangxiao (formerly Shanghai Museum) dedicated to Zhao Zisi (*ST* 83–4). A landscape hanging scroll in the Sichuan Provincial Museum (*STSHQJ* vol. 1, pl. 36) bearing an inscription that purports to have been written in the official residence of Education Commissioner Zhao Lang on the third day (of the New Year), 1684, is clearly a forgery.

18. Shitao inscribed a painting by the Huizhou painter Wu Youhe (from the same family as Wu Zhenbo) in the summer of 1688. See *Zhongguo meishu quanji, huihua bian* 1988: vol. 9, no. 153 (Shanghai Museum).

19. Shanghai Museum (*ST* pl. 3). Virtually the same inscription is found on another landscape hanging scroll painted in Nanjing for a different recipient in the seventh month of 1686 (*STHJ* no. 17, Shanghai Museum). This kind of standardization is in itself indicative of large demand for his work, obliging him to have ready-made solutions at his disposal.

20. On Yao Man, see Wu Qi 1982: 2/29a–30a.

21. Kong Shangren (1962: 38) records one meeting of the society in the spring of 1687 at which twenty-four people were present, including Shitao, Gong Xian, Zha Shibiao, Wu Qi, Ni Yongqing, and Zhuo Erkan. For a literary portrait of Wu Qi, see Jin Zhixing 1990; and for two contemporary biographies, Jiao Xun 1992: 473–7. Wu Qi's poem on climbing Mount Heng is in his *Linhui tang quanji* (1982: 13/19a–b).

22. Translation by Richard Strassberg (1983: 172–3).

23. Shitao evokes Zhang Lin's wealth and generous hospitality in a poem thanking him for an invitation to a gathering at his house; this poem he later transcribed onto *Calligraphies and Sketches by Qingxiang* (see Figure 72).

24. Zhang Jingjie later acquired other works by Shitao as well, including a landscape album (Shanghai Museum, see Figure 98) and a portrait (*DDZTHSB* 1/6–7). In this writer's opinion, two other works in the Shanghai Museum (*ST* 46, 92–5) are not genuine. Zhang was a distant relative of Gao Qipei, and was the go-between for the commission from a third party of Gao's album *Travel Impressions* (Shanghai Museum) in 1708. See Ruitenbeek 1992: 250.

25. See Du Cheng's colophons to two works: *The Conversion of Hariti to Buddhism* (see Figure 163); and a landscape hanging scroll now in a Hong Kong private collection (Sotheby's New York, *Paintings by Ming and Qing Masters from the Lok Tai Hsien Collection*, 22 April 1976, lot 42).

26. This coincides roughly with Zhang Chao's offer to publish some of his poetry. See Appendix 2, letter 1.

27. On Shitao's journey to Hefei, see Wang Shiqing 1982. Zhang Chunxiu, *zi* Zimin, *hao* Jianyang, was a Chinese bannerman originally from Liaoyang. According to the late-seventeenth-century *Tuhui baojian xuzuan*, Zhang painted in the modes of Dong Yuan, Mi Fu, and Ni Zan, and was good at copying old paintings, of which he was a collector. He was also a calligrapher and seal carver.

28. Xu Songling (*zi* Yimin, alternate *zi* Cangxue, *hao* Bo'an, Jing'an), was the son of Xu Chengyuan and nephew of Xu Chengxuan and Xu Chengjia. Although he obtained the rank of secretariat drafter (*zhongshu sheren*) as a stipend student (*linsheng*), he stayed in the business world, as had his father and uncles. See Wang Shiqing 1981a.

29. See Gong's inscription to the handscroll for Xu Yimin, recorded in Shao Songnian 1904: 8/5a–6b, cited in Silbergeld 1981.

30. Recorded in Huang Binhong 1961: 185–6. Silbergeld (1981) gives a very different interpretation of the relationship between Gong and Xu.

31. For the complete letter, see Liu Haisu and Wang Daoyun, eds. 1988: 177.

32. On Wu Jiaji, a well-known Yangzhou area loyalist and poet, see Chaves 1986. Shitao met Wu in Nanjing in 1683 and mentions him in a poem from that year (*Landscapes and Poetry,* Shanghai Museum, *ST* 70; *Calligraphy Manuscript for Monk Juhui,* 1692, Christie's New York, *Fine Chinese Paintings, Calligraphy, and Rubbings,* 18 September 1996, lot 189). Shitao's only known contact with Gong Xian was at his first visit to the Spring River Poetry Society in 1687.

33. Shanghai Museum, reproduced in *ST* 43.

34. Known works by Shitao for Xu Songling include *Orchids and Bamboo,* handscroll, 1695, Beijing Cultural Relics Bureau, cited in Wang Shiqing 1981a; *Long Whistling in the Breeze,* c. 1695 (reproduced in *ST* 43); *Landscape of Mount Huang,* handscroll, 1699 (this commissioned by Xu's friends as a gift) (see Figure 16); *Figure in Ink,* recorded in Jin Huan n.d.: *xiezhuan*; titleboard, recorded in Tao Wei, *Cuanxiang.* Passing through Yizheng on his way to Hefei, Shitao left behind an album of landscapes (formerly Zhang Daqian Collection) as a present for a certain Mr. Chaomin, who was not at home when he called. Mr. "Chaomin" has never been satisfactorily identified, but could conceivably (if Shitao was not yet well acquainted with Xu Songling) be an error for Yimin (the character *min* is the same in each case). If so, it provides a glimpse of the way in which Shitao introduced himself to an important patron.

35. For a biography, see *LHYFZ* 1748: 33/42a.

36. See Zhu Yizun's epitaph inscription (1983: 77/8b–10a).

37. For a now out-of-date list of Shitao's paintings for Huizhou patrons over the course of his life, see *SLW* 656–67.

38. The inscription is quoted in Chapter 5 (section "Yangzhou and Beyond: 1693–1696").

39. The book was by Zheng Yu (1298–1358). See Wang Shiqing 1981b.

40. See ibid. For Xian Zhu's sojourn at the River Village, which lasted for several years, see Xian's own account in Jiao Xun 1992: 696.

41. The handscroll is recorded in *QXLRTJ* 3b–4a and is discussed in Wang Shiqing 1981b. Shitao's accompanying poems were later appended to the entry on the estate in the Jiaqing edition of the local gazetteer for Yizheng, *Yizheng xian xuzhi.*

42. *Landscapes of the Highest Class,* leaf 3, Sumitomo Collection. The three albums for Huang You are *Landscapes of the Highest Class* (see Figures 64, 65, 80); *Flowers and Figures* (see Figures 192, 204, 206); *Landscapes in Ink and Color,* album, recorded in *DDZTHSB* 1/21–2. There is also a folding fan from the summer of 1695, reproduced in *Gugong bowuyuan cang Ming Qing shanmian shuhua ji,* vol. 3: pl. 81.

43. Inscription to a 1693 landscape painting for Wu Zhenbo (see Figure 93) cited in Chapter 5 (section "Yangzhou and Beyond: 1693–1696").

44. In addition to the inscription cited here, see the one just cited in n. 43.

45. This is Shitao's sole contribution to the commentaries included in Zhang Chao's *Shadows of Secret Dreams* (1991).

46. Unfortunately, there is as yet no general study of the economic practice of early Qing artists. However, the following studies provide useful information: *Master;* Rosenzweig 1974–5; Silbergeld 1981; Huang Yongquan 1984; Kim 1985, 1989, 1996; Cahill 1993; Burkus-Chasson 1994.

47. Silbergeld 1981.

48. A major contemporary source is Wu Qizhen 1962. For a modern study, see Kuo 1989.

49. Gong Xian noted in 1682 that Xu Songling was then "collecting paintings from everywhere." Apart from Gong himself, Luo Mu, Gu Fuzhen, and Shitao can also be associated with Xu Songling (see Shao Songnian 1904: 8/5a–6b, where both Luo Mu and Gu Fuzhen are mentioned). Cheng Jun, as we have seen, owned paintings by Hongren and Shitao; and several Huizhou figures owned works by both Bada Shanren and Shitao.

50. Kim 1996.

51. Song's collection included works by Cheng Zhengkui (1604–76), Wu Hong (active c. 1653–79), Liu Yu (active late seventeenth century), Luo Mu (1622–1708), Zha Shibiao (1615–98), and even such uncompromising loyalists as Kuncan and Bada Shanren. For Cheng Zhengkui's *Jiangshan woyou tu,* see Wang Maolin 1979: 14/6b; for two hanging scrolls presented to Song by Wu Hong, see Song Luo 1973; for Liu Yu's association with Song in Nanchang, see ibid.; for Luo Mu, see ibid.; for Zha Shibiao's association with Song, see Xiao Yanyi 1987: 252; for Kuncan's *Sleeping in a Tree,* see Song Luo, ibid.; for a set of six or possibly more scrolls by Bada Shanren owned by Song, see *Master,* 120–3. It is also worth noting that Song inscribed a painting by Mei Geng in 1700 when the latter visited him in Yangzhou (see Hu Yi 1984). Although Shitao is not known to have painted for Song Luo, it is almost unlikely that he did not, given Song's numerous visits to Yangzhou and the regularity with which Shitao painted for Qing officials before and after 1697. For Song's own painting see Wen Fong et al. 1984: 43–4. Another, less noteworthy example of an official who was a collector is Kong Shangren, who actively sought out Shitao, Zha Shibiao, and Gong Xian. When he left Yangzhou, local painters presented him with a collective album, which suggests that he had been a good patron to them (Strassberg 1983).

52. Useful information can be found in Andrews 1986.

53. For Zong Yuanding, see *YZHFL* 2, heading 14. For Zhang Xun's activity as a painter in Yangzhou, see Kim 1985: vol. 2, 125. For Gu Fuzhen, see *SLW* 530 n. 34, 632 n. 16; Wu Qi 1982: 6/19a–20a; Chou 1994: 61–3, 1998: 90–1.

54. For Wen Mingshi, Wu Qiusheng, and Huang Jun'an, see Zhang Geng 1963: *xulu,* 88–9; *YZHFL* 2, heading 33. For Jiao Xun, see Li Fang 1923: 3/3b. For Shi Yuan, see: *YZHFL* 2, heading 15; *Yiyuan duoying* 28 (1986): 42–3. For Wang Zheng, see Chou and Brown 1989: 72–3. Other less well-known Yangzhou artists include Xiong Minhui, a *juren* of 1645 (Li Fang 1923: 1/1b), and Shi Yue (Li Fang 1923: 1/4a).

55. For a study of Cheng Sui's activity as a calligrapher and painter in Yangzhou, see Andrews 1986: 10 ff. See also Sun Zhiwei 1979: *qianji,* 5/14b, *xuji,* 4/10a; Jin Zhixing 1990. Cheng Sui was already in Yangzhou when Zhou Lianggong served there in 1645–6 (see Kim 1985: vol. 1, 76). He moved from Yangzhou to Nanjing in 1679.

56. Andrews 1986: 14 ff.; Hearn 1992a; Sun Zhiwei 1979: *houji,* 6/5b.

57. Xiao Yanyi 1987: 261.

58. For Gong Xian's early activity as a painter in Yangzhou, see Kim 1985: vol. 2, 100 n. 358; Sun Zhiwei 1979: *qianji,* 5/14b; Zong Yuanding 1971: 302.

59. Kim 1985: vol. 2, 175; Rogers 1996a: 38–9. Rogers publishes an undated landscape hanging scroll with an admiring inscription by Zha Shibiao written in 1664. Rogers discusses a disagreement between Shi Lin and one of his more established commercial rivals that was cited by Zhou Lianggong in his *Duhua lu;* it should be noted that the disagreement was not with Zheng Zhong, as stated by Rogers, but with Zhang Chong. See Kim, ibid.

60. Wu Jiaji 1980: 196.

61. Xu Kai 1990: 477.

62. On Dian Daoren, see *YZHFL* 2, heading 31; Wen Fong et al. 1984: 410–11. In 1707, Dian Daoren inscribed an early painting by Shitao, now in the Kanaoka Collection, Tokyo. The two men also had a mutual friend in Tian Lin, who exchanged poems with Dian Daoren in 1702 (Tian Lin 1727: *shang*/44b).

63. Sun Zhiwei 1979: *qianji*, 5/9a; Wang Maolin 1979: 4/7b (1666 visit).

64. Sun Zhiwei 1979: *qianji*, 4/14b; Zong Yuanding 1971: 171–2, 388–39. See *JJZLJ* 131 n. 30.

65. For the Yangzhou activity of Wang Zunsu, *zi* Xuandu, see Liu Haisu and Wang Daoyun, eds. 1988: 18, 114.

66. Wu Jiaji 1980: 238.

67. Sun Zhiwei 1979: *xuji*, 5/16b (in 1674); Zong Yuanding 1971: 217; Liu Haisu and Wang Daoyun, eds. 1988: 33.

68. Wu Jiaji 1980: 81 (in 1664); ibid. 468. See *JJZLJ* 131 n. 28.

69. See the discussion of Gong Xian's relationship with Xu Songling in the earlier section "The Monk-Painter as Professional."

70. See the section "Shitao and Bada Shanren" in Chapter 5.

71. Shi Pang was from Taihu in Anhui, but lived in Yangzhou. *Master,* 64.

72. Andrews 1986: 7. See Whitfield 1969: 108 for an album painted by Wang Hui in Yangzhou; it bears a colophon by Ye Rong, there wrongly attributed to the better-known Ye Xin.

73. See, for example, a landscape hanging scroll dedicated to Wu Yuqiao (*Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 5, *Hu:* 1-3318).

74. See Yun Shouping's letter to Zhang Chao in *Yousheng chuji* (Zhang Chao, comp. 1780b), *jia*/7b.

75. Andrews and Yoshida 1981: 34 (in 1676); Christie's New York, 25 November 1991, lot 171 (undated).

76. Shitao's paintings, inscriptions, and colophons for Huang Ziqing (*zi* Suting) include *Illustrations to Poems by Du Fu,* album, c. 1703–4 (see Figure 116), Shoto Museum of Art (Ishikawa Jun et al. 1976: 43–5); *Illustrations to Song and Yuan Poems,* album, c. 1705–6 (see Figure 14), Hong Kong Museum of Art (Ishikawa Jun et al. 1976: 71–6); a 1706 inscription to one of Shitao's own early paintings, of two horses (Sotheby's New York, sale no. 5212, 13 June 1984, lot 44); *Landscapes,* 1706, of which four leaves (formerly Higashiyama Collection) are in the collection of the Shoto Museum of Art (Edwards 1967: cat. no. 40), another seven are in a Japanese private collection and are unpublished, and one was sold at Sotheby's New York (*Fine Chinese Paintings,* 29 May 1991, lot 35); and *Flowers and Fruit,* c. 1707 (see Figure 125), Shanghai Museum (*ST* 101–2). If the Mr. Huang who owned Facing-the-Verdure Hall (Wanglü Tang) was in fact Huang Ziqing, then three other works can be added to this list: *Landscapes Painted at Wanglü Tang,* 1702 (see Figures 9, 105, 200), Östasiatiska Museet, Stockholm (Edwards 1967: cat. no. 32; Ishikawa Jun et al. 1976: 168); a 1703 painting recorded as having been painted for the owner of Wangcai Tang, the *cai* very likely being an error for *lu* (*QXLRTJ* 19a); and *Cat and Butterfly,* hanging scroll, 1704, in collaboration with Cheng Ming and a painter surnamed Xie (Christie's New York, *Fine Chinese Paintings and Calligraphy,* 19 September 1997, lot 82), where the owner of Wanglü Tang is identified as a Mr. Huang. There also exists a hanging scroll dedicated to the owner of Wanglü Tang in the Drenowatz Collection, illustrating Tao Yuanming's *Returning Home,* but according to Li (1984: 214–17), it is not genuine.

77. There do exist two letters to Cheng Jun from another painter, Zha Shibiao, which appeared at auction as part of an album of Qing artists' letters (Sotheby's New York, *Fine Chinese Paintings,* 29 November 1993, lot 43). In one, Zha Shibiao dismisses an attributed Dong Qichang calligraphy that had been sent to him for his authentication. In the other, he tries to set up a meeting with Cheng.

78. Two characters are unclear.

79. Wuxi Municipal Museum, reproduced in *STSHQJ* pls. 403–410. The scroll is undated, but judging by the seals dates from the beginning of the 1700s. The painting *Narcissus, Bamboo, and Rock* (*Zhongguo wenwu jizhen* 1985: 218–19), purportedly painted for Zheweng in 1702, appears to be a modern forgery. Its inscription corresponds to one recorded in *DDZTHSB* 3/57, which, if itself genuine, would establish Zheweng's date of birth as 1653.

80. On the use of alum to bring out mineral colors, see Wang Gai 1992.

81. *Wan zhi liezhuan gao* 2/39a.

82. On Jiang Shidong and the Jiang family, see *YZHFL* 12; and Wang Shiqing 1978. Perhaps the most famous member of the family is the great mid-eighteenth-century salt merchant and cultural patron Jiang Chun.

83. Zheng Wei 1962: 47–8; Han Linde 1989: 82–4. The letters were probably once part of a collection of *Letters from Former Friends of the Jiang Family* begun by Jiang Shidong. See Wang Shiqing 1978.

84. Yangzhou merchant demand for paintings is discussed in the first section ("The Yangzhou Market for Painting") of Chapter 7.

85. The only Fang to whom I am currently able to connect Shitao is Fang Xiong (b. 1631), a Daoist from a Shexian family, who inscribed the *Orchids* for Hong Zhengzhi. See *JJZLJ* 104, 133 n. 56.

86. For the 1759 price list of Zheng Xie, see Hsu 1987: 232–44. Price lists were certainly used in late-seventeenth-century Yangzhou, as seen from the example of Zhang Xun, who, "when [he] returned home from beyond the border . . . found his house destroyed. Thus he had to sell his paintings to earn a living. He pasted up a small sign, saying "for the price of 'so much' a fan" and "for a price of 'so much' a hanging scroll.'" See Kim 1985: vol. 2, 125.

87. Wuran 1966: 272, cited by Cahill (1994: 56). I have amended Cahill's translation, which translates *qian* as "cents,"

presumably mistaking *qian* for copper cash. The list also has prices for calligraphy and seal carving:

Calligraphy: Small-standard (*xiaokai*) script: 3 taels, down to 3 *qian*. Middle-sized cursive: 5 taels, down to 3 *qian*. Large-character calligraphy: 5 taels, down to 5 *qian*.

Seal-carving: Stone: 5 *qian*. Bronze: 1 tael, 5 *qian*. Jade: 2 taels.

88. The fact that Wan's cheapest fan cost 0.5 taels, whereas Wen Jia a hundred years earlier painted four fans for Xiang Yuanbian for the same price, is one measure of the effect of the intervening inflation on prices for painting. Letter from Wen Jia to Xiang Yuanbian, cited by Shan Guoqiang 1992: 3–10.

89. Lü Liuliang, *Mai yiwen*. Not all editions of Lü's collected works include the price lists attached to this text, which can conveniently be consulted in Huang Miaozi 1982. My thanks to Pierre-Henri Durand for supplying me with a reprint of Lü's full text. For his discussion of writing fees in the price lists, see Durand 1992: 122.

90. Huang Zongyan (1616–86), who was the younger brother of Huang Zongxi (see Huang Miaozi 1982), offered only: "Northern School landscapes: 0.3 taels per fan." The young Wu Zhizhen (1640–1717) offered paintings that were either of bamboo or of flowers, plants, and perhaps birds: "Bamboo paintings: 0.1 taels per fan. Studies from nature: 0.1 taels per fan. [The same] with color added: 0.2 taels per fan."

91. "A large hanging scroll costs 6 taels, a medium-sized one is 4, a small scroll costs 2. [Calligraphy] couplet and streamer are 1 tael a pair, while album leaves and fans are 0.5 taels each." Translation modified from Hsu 1987: 232–3. For the original text, see Wang and Zhou 1991: 421.

92. These calculations may help to explain why Wang Hui, in the 1660s, considered a sum of 1.6 taels to be an insulting payment for one of his labor-intensive handscrolls. The evidence as regards this incident is, I think, misconstrued by Hong-nam Kim (1989). The handscroll commissions are known through a surviving letter by the patron, Wang Shimin, first published by Victoria Contag. What the letter reveals is that Wang Shimin had set Wang Hui to work on five handscrolls and had wanted to pay him 8 taels for the five. Wang Hui, furious, stopped working on the scrolls and returned home, effectively forcing Wang Shimin to raise more money to pay him properly. He did come back to finish the scrolls, apparently on the promise of a further payment, which did not fully meet his expectations. Kim wrongly assumes that Wang Hui accepted the 8 taels as full payment, and goes on to use this as the basis for an estimate of the painter's annual income that drastically underestimates his earning capacity. Thirty years later, when Wang Hui was widely spoken of as the greatest painter in the empire, Gao Shiqi spent 4 taels to acquire a handscroll, probably secondhand. Kim judges Gao Shiqi's 4-tael payment for a Wang Hui handscroll to be "a fabulous sum," but this is unlikely unless it was a minor work. (Incidentally, a secondhand handscroll by Wan Shouqi cost him only 1 tael.)

93. For court artists' salaries, see Yang Boda 1991: 341–2.

94. Xue Yongnian 1991: 32.

95. On the basis of a 2-tael unit price for hanging scrolls and a 1-tael unit price for small formats.

96. *DDZTHSB* 4/81.

97. Shanghai Museum, see *ST* 107.

98. *DDZTHSB* 4/84–5. For a partial translation of the inscription, see below, Chapter 8 (section "The Functionalist Ethic"). On the Huang Gongwang composition in question, see Xu Bangda 1984a: vol. 2, 72–6.

99. Xiang Yin, from Yizheng (ancestral home Shexian). My thanks to Wang Shiqing for this identification. Xiang was related to the former official and painter Qiao Lai (1642–94), from the Baoying Qiao family (see *DDZTHSB* 4/81–2). He must have been a man of some considerable means, since he was the publisher of several works, including editions of the *Shuijing zhu* and the *Shanhai jing*, poetry by the Tang poets Wang Wei (*Wang Moji ji*) and Wei Yingwu (*Wei Suzhou ji*), an eight-volume work on clerical script calligraphy by a contemporary writer, Gu Ai (*Li bian*) (for the above, see *YZFZ* 35/18a), and a collection of poetry by the remnant subject Huang Kui (*YZFZ* 33/16a). Xiang later served as prefect of Yan'an in Shenxi (see *LHYFZ* 1748: 36/14b). Shitao dedicated a poem to him in 1697 (*Ming and Qing Painting from the Guangzhou Art Gallery*, 1986, cat. no. 38), and in 1699 at Dadi Tang, Xiang identified an anonymous plum-blossom painting that Shitao had inscribed as the work of his relative, Qiao Lai.

100. Wang Maolin 1979: 15/11a–13b (in 1677).

101. This practice is described in great detail in the mid-eighteenth-century novel *The Dream of the Red Chamber* (*Honglou meng*), or *The Story of the Stone* (*Shitou ji*) by Cao Xueqin.

102. Fan Lai, cited by Hsi 1972: 167. Hsi notes that "when Fan Hao retired from business . . . his life became much simpler and his household staff was greatly reduced" (169).

103. For Cheng Daoguang's names (*zi* Daixi, *hao* Tuifu) and biographical information, see Li Lin 1708: 18/117. The circle of friends is documented by numerous texts in the same source. Another possible candidate is a certain Wu Tuizhai, who accompanied Shitao on an outing to the site of Zhuxi Pavilion (see Figure 11) in 1701, along with Huang You and one of Shitao's students, Wang Jueshi. Unfortunately, nothing more is known about this individual.

104. Cheng Daoguang is here identified as Tuilao.

105. In his preface to a posthumous collection of Huang You's poetry, Huang Jixian identifies Huang You as a relative of his grandfather's generation and Cheng Daoguang as his elder sister's husband. See Jiao Xun 1992: 690–1. In addition to the patronage of painting, one might note that Huang Jixian contributed 30 taels toward printing Li Lin's collected works.

106. *YZFZ* 31/30b–31a.

107. Ibid. 31/31a–b.

108. Jin Xingyao 1989: 226–30.

109. Li Lin 1708: Preface.

110. Cheng contributed a colophon to Shitao's portrait of Huang You, *Crossing the Ridge* (see Figure 33), and a preface to Wang Zhongru's *Xizhai ji*.

111. See Kohara Hironobu 1990, fig. 29, for the painting. On the 1662 Red Bridge gathering, see Meyer-Fong 1998. For Huang's friendship with Wang Shizhen, see Jiao Xun 1992: 690.

112. Su Pi (*zi* Yimen) was one of Shitao's companions in the outing represented in *Drunk in Autumn Woods*. See above, the section "The Staging of Literati Life" in Chapter 2. "Ruolao," Old Ruo, may be one of the participants in the exchange

from *Shadows of Secret Dreams* (Zhang Chao, 1991) cited at the head of this section, Li Ruojin (Li Gan, 1626–?), who belonged to the same family as Li Lin.

113. On the *Anwan* album, see *Sen-oku hakko kan: Chugoku kaiga, sho* 1981: cat. no. 15.

114. For a letter to his physician, Yüjun, see Appendix 2, letter 25.

115. Cahill 1994. See, for example, Shitao's 1705 calligraphy executed following the gift of a Ming imperial porcelain-handled writing brush (Edwards 1967: cat. no. 34).

116. For a list of the relevant inscriptions, see *SLW* 211 n. 97. For the illness in the early summer of 1699, see a painting inscription recorded in Fu Baoshi 1948: 87.

117. "On a spring day in the year *jimao* [1699], amid wind and rain, I took pleasure in the fact that no visitors had come." Inscription to a landscape fan in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. See also the inscription to the *Landscapes Painted during Leisure from Illness,* 1701, in Fu and Fu 1973: 244, 254.

118. See ibid.: 244, 254. For a longer excerpt from the inscription, see the end of this section.

119. For a negative view of this development in Yangzhou painting from Shitao and Zha Shibiao onward, see Cahill 1990.

120. In Shitao's time, the term *xieyi* did not yet have its later implication of free, gestural execution; rather, it was applied more widely to abbreviated images of all sorts, even ones that were painstakingly painted.

121. Whereabouts unknown, reproduced in *Shitao heshang lanzhu ce* (n.p., n.d.), Central Academy of Fine Arts Library, Beijing.

122. Yangzhou painters had long used analogous strategies: At the end of the Ming dynasty, for example, the impoverished Yangzhou artist Zhang Qi (*zi* Zhengfu, 1575–1648) "daily accompanied in leisure the *shidaifu* worthies of the prefecture. These gentleman brought along singing girls and witty guests, and as they drank poked fun at each other. Once [Zhang] was tipsy he sang songs and chanted poems, or took up a brush and painted figures, grasses and trees, and insects and fish, all bold and free [*xiaosa*] with unusual accomplishment. Those who liked them competed in taking out money to request them; their requests were immediately granted, and when he received the money he went back to drinking, submissive and contented." Wang Maolin 1979: 5/16a, and see also Jiao Xun 1992: 8/17b–20a. For decades before Shitao settled in Yangzhou, Zha Shibiao had been a master of extemporaneous *xiaosa* painting. When Wang Shidan, a younger relative of Wang Zhongru and Wang Xiru, visited the studio of Gu Fuzhen, Shitao's contemporary, Gu obligingly turned out a work in the Mi style – which, among the narrow range of modes of this very careful painter, was probably the one best suited to extemporary painting. Although one suspects that it would have seemed to us quite tame, nevertheless, as described by Wang Shidan, the performance was a spectacular event. Wang Shidan 1979: 2/4a ff.

123. Fraser 1989.

124. See also *SLW* 480–7.

125. See also ibid., 487–9. The recipient, Wu Qipeng, *zi* Yunyi, was a "nephew" of Wu Qi, as seen from a poem by the latter dedicated to him (1982: 20/33a).

126. Sotheby's New York, *Fine Chinese Paintings and Calligraphy,* 23 March 1998, lot 15.

127. *Hua pu* (Shitao 1962a), Chapter Fourteen, "The Seasons."

128. See Fu and Fu 1973: 244, 254, for the album leaf and a discussion.

129. According to the *Xinghua xianzhi* (1970 reprint), Wu Xiangfeng, who contributed a colophon to Shitao's *Orchids* for Hong Zhengzhi, studied painting with Lan Ying when Lan stayed at his family's home. Gong Xian's close follower, Lu Qian, who later became a Qing official, probably studied with Gong in Yangzhou. Zha Shibiao had many students; for a list, see Xiao Yanyi 1987: 261.

130. On this painting, of which a version is in the Palace Museum, Beijing, see *SLW* 133–8; Wang Shaozun 1982.

131. See *Zhongguo shufa dacheng* 1995: 164–5. The two sides of the fan appear to have been inscribed at different dates: The two poems on one side of the fan were inscribed in 1705, but the citations from Daoist texts on the other side were probably transcribed some years earlier.

132. The four known paintings for Cheng Zhe (*zi* Shengji) are *Love of Lotuses* (see Figure 109); *Clouds and Mountains without End,* handscroll, recorded in Lu Xinyuan 1891: 36/10b; *Sitting on a Bridge* (see Figure 106); and *Landscape Fan,* 1706, reproduced in *Shina nanga taisei* 1935–7: vol. 8, 140. Cheng Zhe as a tribute student eventually served as departmental vice magistrate (*LHYFZ* 1748: 32/24a; Zhu Yizun 1983: 77/9b–10a). For the anthology of poetry edited by Wang Shizhen see *YZFZ* 35/18a. Cheng's own book was entitled *Rongcha lishuo.*

133. Like Cheng Zhe, Cheng Qi obtained a post as departmental vice magistrate (Zhu Yizun 1983: 77/9b–10a).

134. The plum-blossom album and landscape hanging scroll are mentioned by Hong himself in a colophon recorded in Pang Yuanji 1971a: 15/17a.

135. His continuing contacts with his two monk students, Donglin and Gengyin, are discussed in Chapter 6 (section "The Artist as Chan Master"); those with the Manchu Tu Qingge, in Chapter 3 (section "The Floods of 1705").

136. Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced in Fu and Fu 1973: 50.

137. *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu,* vol. 5, *Hu:* 1-3428.

138. Correspondence between Zhang Chao and Yueduan published in *Chidu oucun* (Zhang Chao, comp. 1780a) shows that he used Zhang as an agent to acquire a screen by Zha Shibiao, as well as old paintings (Xu Wei; anonymous Yuan). Yueduan also sent Zhang two of his own paintings on satin. The same source contains correspondence between Zhang and Bordu.

139. *DDZTHSB* 3/71–5; *SLW* 670–9.

140. *QXLRTJ* 12b–13a.

141. *DDZTHSB* 3/77–9.

142. Ibid., 3/75–7.

143. On Zha Shibiao's lavish life-style, see Jin Zhixing 1990.

SEVEN. PAINTINGS AS COMMODITIES

1. In the absence of a catalogue raisonné, and of any systematic scholarly treatment of the main groups of forgeries

(with the partial exception of Zhang Daqian's), any estimate must be speculative.

2. Cahill 1963, 1967; Andrews 1986; Rogers 1996a,b.

3. On Xiao Chen, see *YZFZ* 33/24b; Sun Zhiwei 1979: *wenji*, 4/9b; Rogers 1996b. For Wang Jiazhen, see Wu Jiaji 1980: 238.

4. Wang Maolin, for example, in his *Bai chi wutong ge ji* (1979), includes the texts of his colophons and poems to some thirty or forty contemporary portraits.

5. Sun Zhiwei 1979: *xuji*, 5/16b (in 1674), 5/25a; *shiyu*, 1/6a; Wang Maolin 1979: 14/4b (in 1676); Vinograd 1992a.

6. For Dai Cang, see Sun Zhiwei 1979: *qianji*, 3/13b, 3/21b, 9/18a (two references); *xuji*, 1/2b (in 1666), 4/4a (in 1671); *shiyu*: 2/1b; Wang Maolin 1979: 13/13b (two references for 1674 and 1675); Wu Jiaji 1980: 91, 98 (in 1666).

7. Typical examples are Xiao Chen's designs for a 1684 guidebook to Mount Huang, and Gu Fuzhen's 1689 handscroll depicting a nearby Yangzi River landscape including the islands of Jiaoshan and Jinshan (Chou 1998: cat. no. 7).

8. See *YZFZ* 32/35a. For Gu Fuzhen as portraitist, see Fang Junyi 1877: 21/25a.

9. Zhou Lianggong discusses Zhang's workshop in Yangzhou in relation to another painter, Shi Lin. See Kim 1985: vol. 2, 175–6.

10. For Zhang Gong, see Zong Yuanding 1971: 793.

11. For an album painted in Yangzhou in 1642, see Christie's Swire Hong Kong, *Fine Chinese Classical Paintings and Calligraphy*, 30 October 1994, no. 72. For his early Qing sojourn, see Zong Yuanding 1971: 228–30.

12. See Cahill 1963, 1966; Murck 1991. Yuan Yao's dates are controversial – see Barnhart 1983: 113; Chou and Brown 1985: 117–18. One artist working in this direction, Wang Yun (1652–1735), left the city for the court, and eventually participated in the team of artists who worked on the Southern Tour project under Wang Hui's direction.

13. *YZHFL* 2, heading 17, also notes a painter of flowers and plants, Tang He.

14. For Yu Yuan, *zi* Wanzhi, see *YZHFL* 2, heading 34; Zhang Geng 1963: *xulu*, 89.

15. Wang Maolin 1979: *Jinqin ci* (1676 preface), *zhongdiao*/1b.

16. See, for example, Wang Maolin's 1677 colophon to an insect and bird album in 1979: 15/13b.

17. *DDZTHSB* 3/72. This proud claim, it should be said, appears in his inscription to a copy of a figure composition known as *One Hundred Beauties* in a version attributed to that most artisanal of career painters, Qiu Ying (which is discussed in Chapter 6, section "The Dadi Tang Enterprise: Students as Patrons").

18. Zhou Lianggong 1979: *xia*/15/17a.

19. Xiao Yanyi 1987: 252.

20. Ho and Delbanco 1992: 35.

21. See the landscape fan reproduced in *ST* 105.

22. This is a line from a poem that he inscribed, together with others, on a 1699 hanging scroll of plum blossom in the Shanghai Museum (*ST* 45) as well as a much later album entirely devoted to plum blossom (The Art Museum, Princeton University; see Fu and Fu 1973: 294–301).

23. China Art Gallery, Beijing. Reproduced in *Yiyuan duoying* 28 (1986): 28–33.

24. Jin Zhixing 1990: 494.

25. Shanghai Museum, reproduced in *ST* 34.

26. Christie's New York, *Fine Chinese Paintings and Calligraphy*, 2 June 1992, lot 75. One can see Shitao pushing the iconography of virtue in a popular direction in the hanging scroll *Orchids and Bamboo*, where he begins the inscription with a couplet by Wang Wei. See *ST* 44.

27. If, as I suspect, such illustrations of Li Bai's songs were a staple of his decorative production, this would explain why Shitao in 1701, writing specifically about his life as a painter in Yangzhou, mentions that he has been happy "singing the songs of Li Bai" – Li Bai (*hao* Qinglian), after whom he named one of his painting studios, the Qinglian Caotang (*SLW* 136; Wang Shaozun 1982).

28. Wang Shidan, friend and patron of Gu Fuzhen, refers to Gu as a specialist of "planked road" and Taohua Yuan pictures (1979: 12/9b–10b).

29. *QXLRTJ* 1a–1b. The Qiao family also patronized Yu Zhiding (Vinograd 1992a: 51–3), Gu Fuzhen (Fang Junyi 1877: 2/25a), and Zha Shibiao (Xiao Yanyi 1987: 253).

30. For the hibiscus painting, formerly in the Shanghai Museum, see *ST* 51.

31. *SLW* 301–8.

32. One also finds this in an album of illustrations to Du Fu's poems by Gu Fuzhen in his customary jeweled style, now in the Shanghai Museum.

33. One album of illustrations to poems by Du Fu in the collection of the Guangdong Provincial Museum is illustrated in *STSHQJ* pls. 353–359, and another was recently sold at auction (Sotheby's New York, *Fine Chinese Paintings and Calligraphy*, 23 March 1998, lot 15). The Appendix to *QXLRTJ* records an album of illustrations to poems by Li Bai. Shitao's illustrations to Song and Yuan poems may in some way be related to a book that had recently been published with some fanfare in Yangzhou: Wu Qi's anthology of Song, Jin, and Yuan poetry, *Song Jin Yuan shiyong* (30 *juan*). See Wu Qi 1982: 2/10a–b; Jiao Xun 1992: 772.

34. One also notes his formal calligraphic transcription of the *Daode jing*, again in the booklike form of an album (see Figure 187). The process went full circle when what was presumably originally an album-format transcription of his own treatise on painting became the basis in 1710 for a facsimile printed edition, *Hua pu* (see Figure 186).

35. For the portrait of Zhang Jingjie, see *DDZTHSB* 1/6–7. For the portrait of Xiao Cuo, see *SLW* 278–80.

36. Shitao also supplied the setting for a now-lost *Portrait of Yingfu Listening to the Sounds of Autumn*. See Wang Shishen's (1686–1759) later inscription in Bian Xiaoxuan, ed. 1985: 73.

37. For the painting of Li Lin's studio, see Vinograd 1995; for the depiction of Li Pengnian's studio, see Fu and Fu 1973: 220; and for the depiction of Wu Zhenbo's home, see Christie's New York, *Fine Chinese Paintings, Calligraphy, and Rubbings*, 18 September 1996, lot 189.

38. On this painting, see *SLW* 346–50.

39. In the Lanqian Shanguan Collection, Taiwan. The painting is reproduced in Ishikawa Jun et al. 1976: fig. 13.

40. See Jiang Chenying 1982: 15/11a on professional writing in Yangzhou.

41. Li Lin 1708.

42. Formerly Christie's New York. Baoweng is the *hao* of Luo Qingshan, *zi* Youzhang, born 1642. For the same patron, Shitao illustrated some of the poems solicited by Cheng Sui's uncle, the celebrated Ming official Zheng Yuanxun, to commemorate the yellow peonies in his Ying Yuan garden (see Figure 114).

43. For the same patron, Wu Qipeng (*zi* Yunyi), Shitao painted a very fine parting painting on the occasion of his return to Huizhou in 1699 (Omura 1945: vol. 7). Above a parting scene rise the mountains of Huangshan. The Yangzhou departure and Huizhou destination are thus fused within a single image faithful to the close social relationship between the two areas.

44. The Huizhou painter and calligrapher Wang Zhanruo and Shitao's Xinghua friend Wang Xiru are two of the Yangzhou-based calligraphers who produced copies of early calligraphies on the basis of rubbings. For Wang Zhanruo's calligraphic facsimiles, see Sun Zhiwei 1979: *qianji*: 5/8b, 9/10a; *wenji*: 2/25a. Xiao Chen's copy of Li Tang's *Caiwei tu* is in the collection of the Shanghai Museum. According to Wu Rongguang, cited in Sun Dianqi, ed. 1982: 447–8, the Kangxi-period owner of this scroll commissioned several facsimile copies. For a superb copy by Zha Shibiao of a handscroll attributed to the Song artist Mi Youren, complete down to the colophons, see Sidney Moss, Ltd. 1991. For Zheng Min's (1633–83) facsimile copy of Hongren's copy of a Huang Gongwang handscroll, see Christie's New York 1994. Shitao's colophon to a Zheng Min facsimile of a Ni Zan painting is recorded in *DDZTHSB* 4/83–4.

45. Li Lin 1708: *juan* 19.

46. On this painting, see Fu and Fu 1973: 256–60.

47. Appropriations were, it should be said, par for the course in Shitao's Yangzhou. James Cahill long ago pointed out (1966) that an uncharacteristic landscape by Yuan Jiang, using rounded forms and "alum dots," must be Yuan's attempt at a "Shitao." Li Yin, for his part, tried his hand at Zha Shibiao's style with a Ni Zan–type river landscape on which he declared: "I have rarely practiced Ni's old-fashioned simplicity,/I leave it to Zha Biao [*sic*] to build up his capital./. . . ./ If Zha gets up and sees my brushwork too/It's sure to make both of you open your eyes!" (Li Yin, *Autumn Landscape*, private collection, Japan).

48. Hashimoto collection, Shodo Museum of Art, reproduced in *Chugoku kaiga ten* 1980: 59.

49. Perhaps it was in reaction to these claims by an artist used to large-scale decorative formats that Zha Shibiao, echoing Shitao, insists on the difficulty of the small-scale format: "When painters try to capture the structure of a thousand miles in a square foot of paper, their greatest difficulty is with album leaves. Both the hills and valleys [i.e., the illusion] and the brush and ink [i.e., the material surface] have to be equally successful to create a harmonious result. People today who specialize in the Six Laws [of painting] should not disregard my words" (Hu Jitang c. 1839: 1/15a).

50. Translation by Cahill 1963: 269.

51. For an alternative translation, see Burkus-Chasson 1996: 186.

52. In a recorded 1699 inscription, Shitao makes a comment on the connoisseurship of his fellow painters that immediately brings to mind Li Yin: "In fact, they have never seen the true appearance of the Ancients; the works they have seen are all fakes. If they had a real work in front of them, they wouldn't recognize it." *DDZTHSB* 4/84–5.

53. An earlier version of this argument on the similarities between the two artists' inscriptions was presented in *SLW* 559–62. In a more recent discussion, Anne Burkus-Chasson, who translates the relevant part of Shitao's inscription rather differently, has instead stressed the differences (1996: 181).

EIGHT. THE PAINTER'S CRAFT

1. On this painting, of which a version is in the Palace Museum, Beijing, see *SLW* 133–8; Wang Shaozun 1982.

2. "Qingxiang had a song which he chanted east of the Yangzi [i.e., in Anhui],/Early on four gentlemen of Xuanzhou wasted their time [with me] (Xiao Zipei, Li Yonggong, Xu Shangwen, Liu Xuexi)./From the temples of Qin–Huai [Nanjing]/Three talents emerged (Suiyuan, Donglin, Xuetian)." Though most of the men mentioned here remain unidentified, Donglin's name appears in the manuscript of poems that Shitao presented to Zheng Hushan in 1683; many years later, in 1701, he would join Shitao on an outing in Yangzhou (see the end of the section "The Artist as Chan Master" in Chapter 9).

3. An album of orchids and bamboo – Tu Qingge's speciality – that Shitao painted for Tu a decade later at the government hostel in Tianning Monastery in Yangzhou in 1701 was not only an extemporaneous performance for the needs of a social occasion, but also a demonstration work for a student. Reproduced in Gao Yong 1926–9.

4. Chengchou Gengyin was a (Buddhist) nephew of Yuanzhi Poyu, the abbot of Jinghui Monastery. Today there survives a teaching album, apparently painted for Gengyin in early 1693, which has been published independently under the title *Shitao shanshui tuyong* (Japanese private collection). There also exists a double-album leaf calligraphy commissioned in the 1700s by three members of the Lu family from Hai'an, to the east of Yangzhou, to commemorate a sutra reading by Gengyin in the South Garden (Sotheby's New York, *Fine Chinese Paintings*, 1 June 1992, lot 57). He would later take over the Ciyun Retreat in Yangzhou (Mingfu 1979: 159–60), whose Pavilion of the Twin Purities Shitao depicted in a handscroll of the 1700s now in the Palace Museum, Beijing (Xu Bangda, ed. 1984b: 772–3). See also *QXLRTJ* 11b for an outing to Pingshan Tang in Gengyin's company.

5. Shitao also painted two fine landscape fans for this student, and when Wu needed an important painting as a gift for his mother it was naturally to Shitao that he turned: *Lake Poyang Seen from Mount Lu*, fan, 1700, Shanghai Museum (*ST* 105); landscape fan, 1705 (Rao Zongyi 1975, pls. 1–2); *Auspicious Orchid*, hanging scroll, 1699, recorded in *DDZTHSB* 2/55.

6. Wang Shuxia was the recipient of a calligraphy handscroll, collection unknown, reproduced in Li Yeshuang 1973: 156–7.

7. Li Lin (1708: 15/85) recounts that Shitao introduced to him a young poet resident in Yangzhou named Wu Ai (*zi* Jiren) from a Xi'nan family who wanted Li Lin to write a preface for a collection of poems. Li Lin describes Wu Ai as a long-time student of Shitao. On Wu Ai, see Wang Shiqing 1987: 10–11.

8. One fan in the Matsumaru Collection, Tokyo, is inscribed with Chapter Eight of the treatise; another in the Shanghai Museum (see Figure 185) bears a transcription of an early version of Chapter One. Among the likely one-off demonstration works is *Clouds and Mountains* (see Figure 184), painted for an unidentified recipient during his trip to Nanjing in 1702.

9. Following Liu's colophon in Figure 77 is a seal reading "Liu Lang," probably alluding to the legendary Liu Chen, who returned from a brief visit to faryland to discover that the dynasty had changed. See note 11 for Liu's likely identity.

10. Wang Yichen, the compiler of *DDZTHSB*, saw a version of the treatise at Liu's home in Guangdong. According to Zheng Zhuolu (1961: 108) this is noted by Wang Yichen in his 1731 preface to the treatise's Nanjing Library manuscript.

11. Shitao's dedicatory leaves in these albums (discussed below, in the section "The 1703 Albums for Mr. Liu") identify Liu as a wealthy man. One plausible identification of Mr. Liu (discovered at the proof-reading stage) is Liu Xiting, *zi* or *hao* Xiaoshan, National Univerity student, who, along with Zhang Chao, was among those who helped pay for the printing of a book compiled by Yueduan, *Zhongxiang ci* (Song Lyrics by Ladies), c. 1690, fascimile reprint, Shanghai: Dadong shuju, 1933: *fanli*/3a.

12. My argument in this section is again indebted theoretically to Pierre Bourdieu (1993a,b).

13. For his studies of orchid and bamboo painting with the former official Chen Yidao, see above, Chapter 4, n. 12. The unidentified "Pan Xiaochi of Wuchang" is mentioned in the appendix to his 1701 inscription listing his own students (see below, n. 14). So, too, is Chaoren Luzi under the name "Luzi Ren of Zhongjiang." Chaoren Luzi was a Linji Chan master of the thirty-sixth generation who at one point taught at Huanggang in Hubei (*WDQS, juan* 92; Mingfu 1978: 173). Liang Hong (Liang Chongci) was a seal carver and calligrapher as well as Buddhist layman (*WDQS* 491; Mei Wending 1995: 157–8).

14. One source is the appendix to his 1701 inscription to the handscroll *Account of My Feelings*, which lists his own students and states: "I think back on my friends and teachers, people who understood painting. Starting in Xuancheng, in our painting group there were Mei Qushan [Mei Qing], Mei Xueping [Mei Geng], Gao Yuanhuai [Gao Yong], Cai Xiaoyuan, Lu Dingsheng, Wang Zhichu, and Xu Banshan who followed the same path in poetry and painting. As for those who gave me advice separately, such as Luzi Ren of Zhongjiang, Liang Chongci of Yunzhong, or Pan Xiaochi of Wuchang, how could I enumerate them all?" (*SLW* 133–8; Wang Shaozun 1982). A second source is an assessment of Xuancheng masters, of uncertain date of composition, originally sent to an interested friend in Huizhou and later included in a poetry manuscript c. 1693 (private collection, Princeton). The poem reads as follows: "For literature and painting/Recently the Xuancheng area has been recognized as outstanding./I particularly like [Xu] Banshan,/Who splashes the ink and . . ./He emulates the brushstrokes of [Wang] Xizhi/[Turning out] ten thousand just as easily as a single one./Independent and in healthy old age/Is the untrammeled old Quyan [Mei Qing];/I also like Xuepingzi [Mei Geng]/Whose brush descends like the pure breeze./Xiaoyuan [Cai Yao] comes from Huangshan –/His spirit has absorbed supernatural skills. . . ." Lu Hui (*zi* Dingsheng), known for his figures and flowers, and the landscapist Cai Yao (Yuyou, Xiaoyuan) were both from Xuancheng (*Xuancheng xianzhi* 1739 22/4a; Yao Wengwang c. 1979: 310–11); Wang Zhichu is still unidentified. Jiang Zhu met Shitao when he visited Xuancheng in the 1675; see Jiang Zhu 1932: 6a–b.

15. Shitao mentions Cheng Sui and Dai Benxiao in his 1683 album of poetry and painting in the Shanghai Museum (*ST* 69–70). On his friendship with Dai, see Xue Yongnian 1987. He recalls a poem presented to him by Wang Gai in the album *Wilderness Colors* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fong and Fu 1973). Among the monk-painters who can be linked to him are Chengxue (Hu Jing), who inscribed a 1680 landscape album by Shitao (*STSHQJ* pl. 14; on this artist, see Rogers 1998: 48, 200; and Shuangxiao, whose album Shitao inscribed (*ST* 83–4).

16. *Landscapes of the Highest Class* (colophons reproduced in *Shina Nanga taisei* 1935–7: suppl. vol. 1, pls. 158–69), and *Flowers and Figures* (see Fu and Fu 1973: 186–201).

17. On Huang Kui, a sojourner in the larger Yangzhou area who was originally from Shanyin in Zhejiang, see *YZFZ* 33/16a. His writings were published (see Appendix 1, n. 1) by a wealthy Yizheng friend of Shitao, Xiang Yin.

18. Sotheby's New York, *Fine Chinese Paintings*, 18 March 1997, no. 21. Song Cao, from Yancheng near Yangzhou, was one of the Yangzhou-area remnant subjects nominated for the *boxue hongru* examination in 1679.

19. *Cat and Butterfly*, hanging scroll, 1704, collaboration among Shitao, Cheng Ming, and an artist surnamed Xie (Christie's New York, *Fine Chinese Paintings and Calligraphy*, 19 September 1997, lot 82).

20. It was Mr. Liu who asked Shitao in 1702 to add a colophon to Puhe's (1593–1683) landscape hanging scroll (*Dandang shuhua ji* 1963: 23). For his 1696 colophon to a handscroll by Hongren, see *JJZLJ* 79; for his colophon to a landscape handscroll by Zheng Min in the Shanghai Museum, see *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu* (vol. 5, *Hu:* 1-3072); for his inscription to a large hanging scroll of Huangshan pines by Yizhi, a Huangshan monk-painter and follower of Xuezhuang, see *DDZTHSB* 4/84; for his inscriptions to Bada Shanren's *Narcissus* handscroll (see Figure 73), see above, Chapter 5 (section "Shitao and Bada Shanren"). In 1699 Shitao wrote a colophon for a copy of a Huang Gongwang composition by a Huizhou artist, Wang Jun (Qiujian) (*DDZTHSB* 4/84–5), who is identified by Zhou Lianggong in his *Duhua lu* as the teacher of Yao Ruoyi (Kim 1985: vol. 2, 160–1). A few years later, in 1704, Shitao completed Wang's unfinished copy of Huang Gongwang's *Fuchun Mountains* handscroll, adding a highly informative and admiring inscription (Sotheby's New York, *Fine Chinese Paintings*, 1 June 1992, lot 56. Pre–Dadi Tang–period inscriptions and colophons for paintings by Zheng Min and Kuncan are recorded in *DDZTHSB* 4/82–3; a landscape hanging scroll by Kuncan with a Nanjing-period inscription by Shitao is reproduced in Sirén 1958: vol. 6, p. 380; a landscape hanging scroll by the Huizhou artist Wu Youhe bearing a 1688 inscription by Shitao is reproduced in *Zhongguo meishu quanji, huihua bian* 1988: 9, no. 153 (Shanghai Museum); and a fan painting by Shitao of plum blossom and bamboo in the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst,

Köln, bears an inscription by the artist transcribing another inscription that he had originally written for a handscroll by the Anhui artist Zhao Cheng (1581–1654 or later).

21. See Kim 1985, 1996.

22. Song Wan, cited by Kim 1985: vol. 1, 170.

23. The artists Lan Ying (Hangzhou) and Xie Bin (from Fujian, but Nanjing-based) were both involved in the compilation of *Tuhui baojian xuzuan*. One can observe the same transregional awareness in literature, in the late-seventeenth-century passion for anthologizing specific kinds of contemporary writing – letters, essays, poems, biographies – by writers from all over the country. See, for example, Zhang Chao's various publications.

24. The painter was Wang Jun (see above, n. 20). The colophon translation appears within the section "The Functionalist Ethic."

25. Huang Lü was a nephew of Huang Yun. The leaf is reproduced in Edwards 1967: 108. Translation of Shitao's inscription slightly modified from Fu and Fu 1973: 52–3, where the critical terminology used by Shitao is discussed. Kuncan (from Hubei), Cheng Zhengkui (from Hubei, 1604–76), and Chen Shu (from the Songjiang area, still active 1687) were all based in Nanjing. Zha Shibiao, Hongren, and Cheng Sui were all of Huizhou ancestry, but Zha Shibiao spent most of his career in Yangzhou, and Cheng Sui spent most of his in Yangzhou and Nanjing. Bada Shanren was based in Nanchang, Mei Qing in Xuancheng, but Mei Geng, being an official, was more peripatetic.

26. Zhang Chao, preface to "Secrets of Painting" by Kong Yanshi (son of Kong Shangren), in Zhang Chao, ed. 1990 (*yiji*, 1700): 277.

27. The Kangxi court was summoning artists at least as early as 1667. Entries in the *Tuhui baojian xuzuan* (*juan* 2) show that summonses in that year were a source of prestige for three artists: Cheng Hu, Shen Shuyu, and Wang Chongjie. So, too, was the 1671 summons to Gu Ming to paint a portrait of Kangxi, and an undated summons to Yang Zhimao for the same purpose.

28. Rosenzweig 1973.

29. That Wang Yuanqi's remark also had negative implications was pointed out by Joseph Chang (Zhang Zining 1988). Note that there also exists what purports to be a Dadi Tang–period collaboration between Shitao and Wang Yuanqi, a hanging scroll depicting bamboo and rocks (whereabouts unknown) that is dedicated by Shitao to Wang Shan (1645–1728), 1670 *jinshi*, who in addition to a successful political career at the capital was also an amateur painter. Wang Yuanqi himself is one possible candidate to be the dedicatee of another late bamboo painting in the Palace Museum, Beijing (*STSHQJ* pl. 380).

30. Wang Hui commemorated his own double prominence in the transregional and national art worlds by printing a vast collection of the admiring words of praise that he had received over the years, *Qinghui zengyan* (Wang Hui, comp. 1994). Naturally, the first entry is the emperor's.

31. The situation of Chinese professional painters seems broadly comparable to that of their Renaissance–early modern counterparts in Europe, who did their best to have the choice between the patronage of the cities and that of the court. See Warnke 1993.

32. Shitao's admiration for Chen is attested by an undated colophon to one of Chen's paintings, known through a later transcription in an unpublished album in the Shanghai Museum: "'Without reading ten thousand chapters, how can one execute paintings? Without traveling ten thousand *li*, how can one compose poetry?' Thus ordinary men understand ordinary principles, and say and do ordinary things, whereas men who are out of the ordinary have insights that are out of the ordinary. Zhanghou [Chen Hongshou] painted figures with strange forms and eccentric faces. In the past, people had a saying: 'Tears will kill a beautiful woman, laughter will kill a ghost.' It is precisely the 'water without the ripples' [a straight face?] that gives a flavor beyond the idea. Zhanghou is the one who inherited the robes and begging bowl of [Wu] Daozi and Longmian [Li Gonglin]." Cited by Zheng Wei 1990: 118. Shitao's earliest response to Dong Qichang (whom Shitao cites at the beginning of the above text) is a 1671 landscape hanging scroll (Musée Guimet, see Edwards 1967: cat. no. 2).

33. For Muchen's formulation of this problem in terms of local dialects, see Du Jiwen and Wei Daoru 1993: 588. Shitao's discussion of regional schools, quoted below, directly echoes Muchen's text.

34. Cahill 1982a.

35. In this can be seen the influence of a certain "heroic" interpretation of abstract expressionism on postwar studies of Chinese painting, as well as the heritage of a late Qing and Republican period interpretation of the Individualists as precursors of a modern iconoclastic attitude. See J. S. Hay 1994a.

36. One did not have to come from the gentry to be a literatus: Tang Yin's father was a restaurant owner. Literati status was acquirable.

37. Dong Qichang, *Huachan shi suibi*.

38. I am indebted here to Craig Clunas's argument on status anxiety with regard to the related phenomenon of literati "tastemaking" in the late Ming. See Clunas 1991.

39. For a particularly clear example, see Lü Liuliang's "On the Selling of One's Artistic and Literary Skills" (*Mai yiwen*), to which some of the price-lists discussed in Chapter 6 are appended (Huang Miaozi 1982).

40. Sun Zhiwei 1979: *qianji*: 5/12b–13a.

41. I borrow this term from Pierre Bourdieu's discussion of the European case: "The autonomization of intellectual and artistic production is thus correlative with the constitution of a socially distinguishable category of professional artists or intellectuals who are less inclined to recognize rules other than the specifically intellectual or artistic traditions handed down by their predecessors, which serve as a point of departure or rupture." (1993a: 112–13).

42. See Gong Xian's famous 1669 inscription to Zhou Lianggong's album of paintings by contemporary artists, in Liu Haisu and Wang Daoyun, eds. 1988: vol. 1, 158–9. The most accurate English translation of this long and important text is Kim 1985: vol. 3, 10–11.

43. *JJZLJ* 97; *Paintings of the Ming and Qing Dynasties from the Guangzhou Art Gallery*, cat. no. 31.

44. *JJZLJ* 98. Wang Ji, patron of Shitao and Yu Zhiding, begins his poem on Hongren's grave with the words, "A hundred flowering plums upon a painting master's grave." (*JJZLJ* 169). For a contemporary description of Cheng Sui as a *huashi*, see Cai Xingyi 1987: 269.

45. Colophon to Wang Jun's 1699 copy of a composition by Huang Gongwang (see above, n. 20), recorded in *DDZTHSB* 4/84–5.

46. Benjamin Elman, in an important analysis of the professionalization of scholarship in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (1984: 88–137), has sought to define professionalism on the basis of Western sociological definitions. It seems to me that a historically and culturally specific definition cannot avoid the traditional Chinese sociological discourse of the *simin*, "the four categories of the people."

47. From the artist's postscript to an album recorded in Pang Yuanji 1971b. Translation by Jerome Silbergeld (1974: 265–6), slightly modified.

48. In a Japanese private collection. Reproduced in Tanaka Kenrō 1945: vol. 2.

49. For particularized contemporary statements of this view, see Hsi 1972: 143.

50. On Wang Daokun and other defenders of the social worth of commerce, such as the Yangzhou philosopher Wang Gen, see Hsi 1972.

51. My summary is based on the following essays in *LHYFZ* 1693: "Merchants' Feelings" (Shang qing) 15/4a–6b; "Brief Account of the Complaints of Liang-Huai Salt Merchants" (Liang-Huai yanshang kuqing shulue) 26/39a–49b; "Response to the Brief Account of Complaints" (Kuqing shulue huo wen) 26/50a–56a; and numerous biographies of merchants in the same work.

52. Peterson 1979: 72–3; Rawski 1985: 28; Ch'ien 1986.

53. Elman 1984. See also Guy 1987.

54. There are many studies of "practical" statecraft, including, on the Kangxi goverment side, Spence 1966; Song Dexuan 1990; and, on the "wilderness" side, Wakeman 1985.

55. For the latter areas, a convenient summary is Chang and Chang 1992: 285–303; see also Henderson 1977: 122–41.

56. Brook 1988; Clunas 1991; Widmer 1992. Numerous manual-type texts are included in Zhang Chao's two anthologies published in Yangzhou, *Tanji congshu* (Zhang Chao and Wang Zhuo, eds. 1992) and *Zhaodai congshu* (Zhang Chao, ed. 1990; Zhang Chao and Zhang Jian, eds. 1990).

57. Xiao Gang 1989.

58. Kong Yanshi 1700; Pang 1976; Gong Xian 1990; Wang Gai 1992: 29/1a–17b.

59. See Kim 1985.

60. On the *Huafa beiyuan*, see the section "Oneness and the Perfected Man: Shitao's Treatise on Painting" in Chapter 9. With the exception of the *Hua pu*, the earliest surviving manuscript versions are one with a 1728 postscript in the National Central Library, Taipei, and another with a 1731 postscript by Wang Yichen in the Nanjing Library. On the authenticity of the *Hua pu* and the question of the treatise's various recensions and titles, see *SLW* 447–50; Huang Lanpo 1963: 70–4; Kohara Hironobu 1965; Ryckmans 1970: 167–73; Chou 1977: 162–71; Nakamura Shigeo 1985: 135–8; Strassberg 1989: 123–5. There are English translations of the treatise by Earle Coleman (1978) and more recently by Richard Strassberg (1989), but the best translation into a Western language remains that by Pierre Ryckmans into French (1970). On the interpretation of the text see: Huang Lanpo 1963; Chou 1969, 1978; Ryckmans 1970; Coleman 1978; Jiang Yihan 1982; Nakamura Shigeo 1985; Strassberg 1989.

61. From Chapter Six of the treatise. Translation from Strassberg 1989: 69.

62. Translation from ibid.: 66, modified.

63. Ryckmans 1970; Strassberg 1989.

64. The thirty leaves are divided today among four collections: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (twelve), Nelson–Atkins Museum of Art (twelve), Beishan Tang Collection, Hong Kong (four), and Östasiatiska Museet, Stockholm (two). Chu-tsing Li has suggested that there were originally three twelve-leaf albums, which would mean that the six Stockholm and Hong Kong leaves belong to a third twelve-leaf album, of which the other six leaves have been lost (1992: 172–7). Since one of the Boston leaves is dated to the spring of 1703, one of the Kansas leaves to the fall of 1703, and one of the Stockholm leaves to a summer day, this is certainly plausible. However, it is also possible that the leaves, whatever total number they eventually reached, were originally mounted together or in some other combination that has since been disrupted. All four surviving groups of leaves passed through the Yangzhou collection of Ma Yueguan (1688–1755) and his brother Ma Yuelu, presumably together.

65. On Wang Yuanqi's writings on painting, see Pang 1976.

66. A. J. Hay, 1992, 4.12–4.13.

67. Like all important philosophic terms, *li* and *ch'i* are semantically very rich. These particular translations, though obviously inadequate, seem to me less misleading than many other choices that could have been made. I use the Wade–Giles transliteration *ch'i* here to distinguish this character from *qi*, meaning "strange" or "extraordinary."

68. Cheng 1970.

69. A. J. Hay 1985, 1991.

70. Ho and Delbanco 1992: 35.

71. Cheng 1970.

72. Translation from Tomita and Tseng 1961: 24, slightly modified.

73. Translation from Cahill 1982b: 99, slightly modified.

74. Translation from Strassberg 1989: 61–2.

75. From ibid.: 71, modified.

76. Translation from Li 1992: 173, slightly modified.

77. For explanations of these terms, see Strassberg 1989: 116–18.

78. Shitao's relationship to Dong Qichang is discussed in Chapter 9 (section "The Artist as Chan Master").

79. Translation from Strassberg 1989: 80–1, slightly modified.

80. See *Chaizhang's Talks on Painting*, translated by Jerome Silbergeld (1974: 200); *Banqian's Instructional Remarks on Painting* (ibid.: 177).

81. From Gong Xian's inscription on the facing page to leaf H of his album *Landscapes and Trees* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1979.499).

82. In this context Wang Fuzhi's (1619–92) thought provides a revealing parallel. Both Frederic Wakeman (1985) and Jean-François Billeter (1970) have insisted upon Wang's "relationism." As Wakeman puts it: "Wang Fuzhi . . . firmly believed that universalities were imbedded in the pluralities of particular relationships. Individual relationships held their own exigency, and acted according to their own laws" (1985: 1087–8).

83. Cahill 1982a.

84. Vinograd 1992b: 18/7–9. The term "emic" refers to a an ethnographical perspective that uses the concepts and categories relevant and meaningful to the culture under analysis (vs. that of the anthropologist, which would be "etic").

85. On Shitao's approach to vision and visual cognition, see Burkus-Chasson 1996.

86. Reinforcing the Song reference, Shitao here echoes Guo Xi's famous statement on illusionism: "To look at a particular painting puts you in the corresponding frame of mind, as though you were really on the point of going there; this is the wonderful power of painting beyond its mere mood" (translation from Bush and Shih 1985: 153–4).

87. Cahill 1982a.

88. Zhang Chao, preface to You Tong's "Bamboo Stalk Poems on Foreign Countries" (Waiguo zhuzhi ci), in Zhang Chao, ed. 1990: 54. In his colophon following the text, Zhang describes the Western concept of a world that is round, and of round-the-world travel. Following You Tong's text in this compilation is "An Essential Account of the Western Regions" (Xifang yaoji) by Père Verbiest and two other missionaries. Zhang's preface to this text speculates that if the Chinese take China to be the center and Europe to be the West, perhaps Europeans take Europe to be the center and China to be the East. His colophon praises Western technology, mathematics, and astronomy, and advocates contact with Chinese-speaking Westerners to elucidate difficult questions.

89. I would like to acknowledge my debt here to Burkus-Chasson (1996). Burkus-Chasson views Shitao's theories of vision as relatively conservative, in contrast to explicit contemporary engagements with Western visual technologies, whereas I would like to argue for a disguised experimentation.

90. "On the water's surface, reflections of clearing clouds, and on the rocks, moss –/Layer upon layer, heaped up in the painting./Struck by the loveliness of the autumn light, this hermit remains;/Twilight, and I still cannot bear to return home."

91. The introduction of an almost theatrical handling of light, itself a scenic device, links Shitao to such other masters of dramatic lighting effects as Yuan Jiang in Yangzhou, Lu Wei in Songjiang, and the scholar-official and finger painter Gao Qipei. Time will tell whether this phenomenon of the 1690s and 1700s is related to the arrival of Jesuit painters at court, with their use of a fixed light source.

92. The winter example, "When the road is endless, the brush precedes [the traveler];/The cold chills the pond but his ink flows all the smoother," is illustrated in the 1702 *Landscapes Painted at Wanglü Tang* (see Figure 105).

93. See Chaves 1983.

94. See Vinograd 1992b.

95. For Dong Qichang, see particularly Ho and Delbanco 1992; Vinograd 1992b. For Gong Xian, see particularly Wilson 1969.

96. This text is also inscribed on a spring 1692 landscape hanging scroll for a Mr. Bochang (see Figure 170). My translation draws on that of Richard Strassberg (1989: 31).

97. Translation modified from Tomita and Tseng 1961: 24.

98. Translation from ibid.: 23, with interpolations.

99. Shitao was favorably compared with Yun Shouping in 1693 by one of Shitao's friends and patrons, Zhang Jingjie (*Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 5, *Hu:* 1-3120 [7], Shanghai Museum).

100. It is worth noting that one of Wang Shimin's sons, Wang Shu (1636–99) paid a visit to Shitao in Xuancheng in the 1670s. See Wang Shu 1981: 4/2b.

101. Bourdieu 1993a: 116–17.

102. An earlier version of the same text appears on a fan in the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Köln.

103. Three other leaves from the same album, in a private collection, are illustrated here (see Figures 24, 30, 181). The album is likely to date from around 1698–9. The poem in question also appears together with several others on a fan face in the Cheng Xun Tang Collection (*The Cheng Xun Tang Collection of Painting and Calligraphy on Fans*, cat. no. 134), which probably dates from the late 1690s. The poem is there followed by the dedication: "Painted under the flowering plum at the Leisure-Cultivation Pavilion, and given to the Owner of the Stone Pavilion." The other face of the fan is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

104. *DDZTHSB* 3/71–5.

NINE. PAINTING AS PRAXIS

1. The term "reexperiencing" is Richard Vinograd's. See his theoretical discussion of this issue in Vinograd 1991b.

2. Only two scholars, Mingfu and Nakamura Shigeo, neither of them art historians, have taken Shitao's Chan practice of painting seriously enough to delve into it in detail. I am indebted to both in the account that follows.

3. On the Caodong–Linji division, see Buswell 1987.

4. For a vivid description of a visit to Lü'an Benyue by local Songjiang literati, see Ye Mengzhu n.d.: 9/12a–13b. On the Tiantong Monastery tradition of monk-poets, see the numerous references in Li Yesi (1622–80) 1988. Two collections of poetry by Muchen are extant today: see Appendix 1, n. 1.

5. On late Ming lay Buddhism, see Brook 1993.

6. Faure 1991: 63–5.

7. On *The Sixteen Luohans*, see Hearn 1992; Zhang Zining 1993; Kent 1995: 223–64. On the Chan cult of arhats (*luohans*), see Faure 1991: 266–72.

8. See Zhang Zining 1993; Kent 1995: 284–8.

9. Hearn 1992.

10. For a vivid and awestruck description of a gathering of Linji masters (at which Muchen would certainly have been present) on the occasion of the death of Miyun Yuanwu at Tiantong Temple, Mizu, see Li Yesi 1988: 644–5.

11. Following this line of interpretation, it would not be surprising if Shitao's personal aspirations to join their number, made explicit in the inscription, were also embodied within the picture through a self-representation as arhat. The suggestion has been made by Maxwell Hearn (1992), logically enough, that this should be the arhat holding the bottle from which the dragon surges, but this seems to me unlikely given the hirsute appearance of the arhat; on the other hand, there is another, young-looking arhat seated in meditation within a cave, whose appearance is more compatible with Shitao's many other self-representations.

12. For Hongren, see Kuo 1990. For Xuezhuang, see Zhu Yunhui 1980; Wai-kam Ho, ed. 1992: vol. 2, 191. For Kuncan, see Zhang Zining 1987; Cahill 1991. For the Buddhist character of Dai Benxiao's Huangshan paintings, see Nishigami Minoru 1981, 1987; Edwards 1992: 149–51.

13. On the date of the Sumitomo Huangshan album, see *SLW* 431–2 n. 64; Ishikawa Jun et al. 1976: 160.

14. On Tang Yansheng, see Jin Zhixing 1990. Long before Shitao became interested in the Dadi name, Tang used it for his studio. See Shi Runzhang 1982: 22/8b–9a, where it is also noted that one of Tang's sobriquets was the Woodcutter of Huangshan.

15. For example, a 1672 hanging scroll for Wang Jie depicting a figure on a natural rock bridge, bringing to mind the famous rock bridge at Mount Tiantai (Edwards 1967: 29).

16. Mei Qing 1691, *juan* 12.

17. As far as the image is concerned, that is; a further four-character inscription reads "*dingsi* [1669] at Shuixi," which is presumably a reference to the Shuixi Academy reconstructed by Deng Qifen in Jingxian. Perhaps Shitao means that the association with the Iron-Feet Daoist came to him in Shuixi (Jingxian), following his second ascent of Huangshan.

18. Shi Runzhang, too, cites the story of the Iron-Feet Daoist in a poem entitled "Gazing at Mount Heng" (Shi Runzhang 1982: 34/4a). Much later in his life, Shitao created a memorable depiction of Zhuchong Peak in leaf 11 of his *Illustrations to the Poems of Huang Yanlü* in the Zhile Lou Collection.

19. On the Chan analogy in poetry, see Lynn 1987.

20. On Tan Yuanchun, and this album, see Fong 1991. Jiweng has not been identified, but one candidate is a certain Jiang Jihu who makes several appearances in the poems that Jiang Zhu wrote during his visit to Xuancheng in the 1670s (Jiang Zhu 1932), and who studied calligraphy with Wu Sugong (Mei Wending 1995: 148).

21. The album may have been painted for Wu Yanhuai, who is mentioned by Shitao in an inscription to a Xuancheng-period album in the Shanghai Museum (*Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 5, *Hu:* 1-3147 [6]). On Su Shi and Chan see Lynn 1987.

22. In his early album in the Guangdong Provincial Museum, reproduced in *STSHQJ* pl. 363.

23. The handscroll is in the collection of the T. Y. Chao Family Foundation, Hong Kong. Shitao wrote his poems in the company of Wu Zhenbo from Shexian. On Wu Zhenbo and his family, see above, Chapter 6 (section "The Monk-Painter as Professional"). Wang Shiqing 1979b, 1987.

24. Faure 1991: 41 n. 17.

25. Buswell 1987.

26. *WDQS;* Nakamura Shigeo 1985.

27. Shitao kept *The Conversion of Hariti to Buddhism* in his own possession (it bears a colophon written for Shitao in 1693), along with his second version of *The Sixteen Luohans* (stolen in 1687), and his 1674 "self-portrait" (see Figure 53), which bears various inscriptions postdating his return from Beijing.

28. On the Hariti theme, see Murray 1981.

29. The painting is reproduced in *ST* 135. It appears to be based on a woodblock print from one of the series of "Fifty-three Manifestations of Guanyin" (*Chugoku no yofuga ten:* 336–54). Richard Kent (1995) has argued that some figures in *The Sixteen Luohans* also have a woodblock print source, as is certainly the case for the undated *Luohan Leaning on an Old Tree* (*ST* 22) as well.

30. The portrait is known from a poem by Shi Runzhang (1982: 21/4b–5a).

31. This seal reappears on a number of much later works. See *SLW* 330 n. 96.

32. McCausland (1994).

33. See Shitao's inscription to Shuangxiao's painting of pomegranate and bamboo in the Shanghai Museum (*ST* 84).

34. The fact that Shitao's teacher, Lü'an, had been based near Dong's home town of Songjiang may also have played some role in his interest in Dong. His most explicit references to Dong before the 1680s are two paintings (1671, 1679) illustrating a text that evokes the Southern School lineage. The 1671 painting (*Mountain Landscape*, Musée Guimet, reproduced in Edwards 1967: 100) visually alludes to Dong's painting; the 1679 painting (*Qiujian lanying tu*, Shanghai Museum, reproduced in *ST* 26) makes a point of not doing so.

35. Translation modified from Edwards 1967: 36–7.

36. The album was painted for Wu Zhenbo. See Jin Huan n.d.: *xiahan, chouji.*

37. On Dong's theory of "raw" and "ripe," see Yang Xin 1992.

38. *DDZTHSB* 1/30.

39. This text is recorded in *DDZTHSB* as a colophon to a painting executed in Hangzhou in 1657/1717. In 1657 Shitao had not yet left the Hunan–Hubei area and by 1717 he was dead, so it must be assumed that the painting is spurious.

40. Du Yin, *zi* Canglue, from Huanggang in Hubei, was the younger brother of the more famous Du Jun (1611–87), whom Shitao mentions in a 1683 poem, and was probably related to the poet Du Cheng, whom Shitao frequented in 1693, at which time he wrote a colophon for *The Conversion of Hariti to Buddhism*. For a biography of Du Yin, see Fang Bao 1963: 122.

41. The pairing of Dong Yuan and Mi Fu is anticipated in an inscription to one leaf in a 1682 album of landscapes (collection unknown). Reproduced and discussed in Fu and Fu 1973: 44–6.

42. Translation from ibid.: 46, modified.

43. On Wu Zhenbo and Wu Chengxia, see above, Chapter 6 (section "The Monk-Painter as Professional"). The latter's Daoist commitment is noted by Shitao in the inscription to a painting for Wu Zhenbo (see Figure 93). Although the *Landscapes for Yu Daoren* has been attributed to the mid-1690s (Cahill 1982a), both the *fa*-centered discourse of the inscription and the improvised, organic landscapes seen in leaves 2–4 are more at home in the period before his Beijing journey than after his return to the South. Compare leaf 2 of a 1684 landscape album in the Palace Museum, Beijing (Xu Bangda, ed. 1984b: 770); *Ten Thousand Ugly Inkblots*, 1685 (see Figure 167); *The Island Mountain of Penglai*, hanging scroll, 1687, Shanghai Museum (*STHJ* no. 19).

44. The earliest dated appearance of the seal known to me follows Shitao's 1680 colophon to his album *Landscapes for Wu Canxi* of the same year. *STSHQJ* pl. 13.

45. On the Shitao canon and its place in modern(ist) narratives of Chinese painting history, see J. S. Hay 1994a.

46. Recorded in Hu Jitang c. 1839: *shang*/41b–42a.

47. Muchen Daomin 1980: 78; Wang Shiqing 1987: 11.

48. Wu Qi 1982: 11/5b–6b.

49. See above, n. 21.

50. The name of Wu Canxi is very similar to that of Wu Canru, a lay-Buddhist friend of the painter Hongren who had

at least one brother who was also a lay Buddhist (*JJZLJ* 128 nn. 32, 35); however, the eventual family connection is still unclear.

51. See Wang Shiqing 1987.

52. From *Jinmen shichao*, cited in Cui Jin 1987: 313.

53. The poem continues: "Your painting doesn't try to be charming,/It falls outside the ancient *fa* and comes instead from your self./One can't use the criteria of ancient *fa* to judge it:/You're happy with it – why would you care if it pleases your contemporaries or not?/I remember when I first saw one of your works/All I could find to say was that it was just a game./How could I have guessed that when I saw you brush in hand/It would be as far from careless as this?/You capture the idea beyond the idea/And even the irreality in reality./If there are any traces that can be traced back [to formulae]/[For you] it would be as if you had collected the dregs of the Ancients./With your strange character you make your own solitary way,/Your extraordinary brush strikes the paper and jumps up again./Vulgar silk and satin you leave empty in piles,/Only painting the palace paper of the Song and Ming dynasties./Who is there in the world to appreciate your painting?/You just shake your head and laugh endlessly!"

54. On the Chan metaphor of the circle, the classic study is by Paul Demiéville, translated as "The Mirror of the Mind" (Demiéville 1987).

55. *Suojin qifeng da caogao*, handscroll, 1691, Palace Museum, Beijing (*STSHQJ* pl. 60). See Vinograd 1992b.

56. For other discussions of this text and the development of Shitao's art theory, see Chou 1977; Cahill 1982a; Zhang Zining 1988; Strassberg 1989; Vinograd 1992b.

57. Faure (1991: 24) points out the centrality of "erring" as an early Chan ideal.

58. Vinograd 1978. Another example of his response to classicizing painting is his monumental 1691 landscape handscroll for the same patron, entitled *Suojin qifeng da caogao* (see n. 55).

59. *Landscapes* (twelve leaves), now in a Japanese private collection. This album has been published as *Shitao shanshui tuyong*. On Gengyin's lineage, see Mingfu 1978: 159–60.

60. See, notably, an undated album of landscapes in the Tang Family Collection.

61. Yang 1994.

62. In 1699, for example, he was visited by the Tianjin monk Shigao, whom he had known in the North (see Cui Jin 1987), and in 1705, a monk whom Shitao calls Jiaogong presented him with an imperial Ming porcelain-handled brush (Edwards 1967: 168). For his ongoing contact with his monk-student Gengyin, including a thoroughly Chan encomium to commemorate a sutra reading by Gengyin, see above, Chapter 8, n. 4.

63. The poems are inscribed at the end of his superb plum-blossom handscroll from that year in the Palace Museum, Beijing (see Figure 213).

64. Particularly noteworthy are two exuberant landscape hanging scrolls from the later 1680s, one depicting the sacred island-mountain of Penglai, that were probably intended as birthday paintings but whose Daoist significance is not for that reason to be discounted (*STHJ* no. 19, Shanghai Museum; *ST* 2, Shanghai Museum). See also a hanging-scroll depiction of Mount Huayang near Jingxian in Anhui, which he had visited in the later 1660s or 1670s, painted at the beginning of the 1690s in Tianjin (*ST* 4, Shanghai Museum).

65. On Huang Gongwang's Daoist career, see A. J. Hay 1978.

66. On the art-historical note that he added after the Li Bai poem, see *SLW* 559–61.

67. Unidentified private collection, mainland China, photograph in author's possession.

68. The experiments with a Daoist iconography include *Long Whistling in the Breeze*, a hanging scroll of bamboo painted at Xu Songling's Liugeng Garden, on which is impressed the seal "preserve and nourish divine harmony" (reproduced in *ST* 43).

69. The dating of this handscroll is difficult. The earliest dated appearance of the oval "Dadizi" seal is 1702, but it seems likely that it came into use much earlier. The calligraphy may be compared with the 1697 poetry manuscript in the Guangzhou Art Gallery (*Ming and Qing Painting from the Guangzhou Art Gallery*, cat. no. 38.9–14), and with the inscription to a 1698 bamboo hanging scroll (Christie's New York, *Important Classical Chinese Paintings*, 28 November 1990, no. 30).

70. See Strassberg 1994: 297–302.

71. See Richard Barnhart's discussion of this painting (1983: 103–4).

72. This painting is sometimes doubted, in part because it was once owned by Zhang Daqian. However, it carves out space and structures form in a way entirely alien to Zhang, who had a twentieth-century fascination with surface. There is one early collector's seal, only partly decipherable, in the lower right-hand corner.

73. Schipper 1982: 145.

74. In addition to this painting and his 1697 reinscription of the 1667 hanging scroll, a number of other paintings and descriptions of Huangshan from the Dadi Tang years show that it took on an intense Daoist significance for him. See in particular his 1699 Huangshan handscroll for Xu Songling (see Figure 16), which bears a long inscription, and his 1700 Huangshan handscroll for Su Pi (*zi* Yimen) (see Figure 107), in the inscription to which he remembers his decisive visit to the Peak of First Realization (which inspired his thoughts of the Iron-Feet Daoist).

75. On Mount Tiantai, see Munakata 1990: 122–3.

76. For earlier studies of this painting in relation to Daoist inner alchemy, see *SLW* 155–62, 576–7; Kuo 1987; Burkus-Chasson 1996. The following discussion is indebted to Burkus-Chasson's research and translations, and follows her in the use of the term "visuality." My convergent conclusion on the importance of luminosity in the painting, on the other hand, was arrived at separately and by a different route.

77. Tiantong Temple in Zhejiang, of which Muchen became the abbot, was popularly known as Little Mount Lu. See Li Yesi 1988: 443, 646.

78. Burkus-Chasson 1996: 189 n. 3.

79. Owen 1981: 136.

80. In regard to some correspondences, see *SLW* 158–9.

81. Translation modified from Burkus-Chasson 1996: 186.

82. Burkus-Chasson 1996: 178.

83. Burkus-Chasson, commenting on the relationship between the image and this part of the text, instead stresses the

disjunction between the two: "The reader/spectator . . . moves back and forth between two competing forms of attention, the subject of the poem's ecstatic flight to the stars and the watchful figures in the mountainscape who observe misty trees" (ibid.: 176).

84. Schipper 1982: 221–6.

85. Xia Wenyan's *Tuhui baojian* (c. 1365). See Burkus-Chasson 1996: 188 n. 32.

86. The color reproduction in *ST* 5 of this painting, a hanging scroll in the Shanghai Museum, is entirely misleading.

87. From an undated monochrome landscape painting in a Hong Kong private collection.

88. See Ryckmans 1970: 48.

89. The terms *meng* and *mengyang* originate in the *Yijing* (*Book of Changes*), in the sentence: "The work of the sage is to cultivate [*yang*] rightness from the basis of chaos [*meng*]." For an excellent discussion of *mengyang*, see Ryckmans 1970: 48.

90. The fan is undated, but not undatable. Shitao signs it as having been written in the Great Cleansing Hall, thus placing it after 1696. The distinctive calligraphy, meanwhile, is closely comparable to that of certain other texts he wrote out at the beginning of his Dadizi period, placing it in 1697, or at latest 1698. Shitao wrote out the fan for a certain Xiyu, "elder brother in the *Dao*," who can possibly be identified with a minor Nanjing calligrapher of the time, Wang Guan. A fan painting in the Shanghai Museum dedicated to Xiyu that may originally have been the other side of the same fan is reproduced in *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 5, *Hu*: 1-3189). The same Xiyu requested a second fan from Shitao in 1700, and though the painting itself cannot be seen, a very interesting inscription is recorded that bears on our discussion: "My elder brother Xiyu sent this fan to me. In the past I was willing to 'explicate the yellow' [i.e., explicate the Daoist principles of the Way of the Yellow Emperor]. Today I use my hand to explain, while you must use your eyes to listen, because I do not want others to know. Is this how it should be or not? In jest!" (*QXLRTJ* 2a). It is tempting to think that the *Huafa beiyuan* fan is a memento of the earlier occasion Shitao mentions, when he "explicated the yellow" to Xiyu. Is it only coincidence that "explication" (*shuo*) is the term he uses to describe the text in his dedication?

91. The text is as follows: "In remote antiquity there were no methods [*fa*]; the Primordial Simplicity [*Taipu*] had not yet disintegrated. When the Primordial Simplicity disintegrated, then methods were established. When methods were established, they were established by men who had left the world. What does this have to do with me? It is not to bring about the disintegration of the Primordial Simplicity that I establish methods. Nor does Oneness [*Yi*] establish methods in order to reintegrate the Primordial Simplicity. [Instead], this is the establishment of the One-stroke [*yihua*] in the present, as Oneness casts off the past. If the past is not cast off, then the present cannot establish a means of painting. Painting is guided by the heart-mind [*xin*]; the One-stroke is visible in Heaven. When people have painting in them but do not paint, then they go against their Heaven-given heart-mind, placing the *Dao* in peril. Now, the *Dao* and painting are completely commensurate. The One-stroke gives birth to the *Dao*. Outside the *Dao* there can be no painting; outside painting there can be no *Dao*. When painting is complete, the *Dao* is complete. Of the thousand skills and the ten thousand transformations, there is not one that does not begin and end in painting. The cyclical revolutions of past and present are fixed in painting. When painting receives fixity, and cycles begin to revolve, this is painting. Painting is the root of the ten thousand phenomena. It banishes the blindness in the ignorant, and gives residence to mysterious subtlety [*xuanwei*] on the basis of the One-stroke. Thus men do not realize that the One-stroke comes from the establishment of methods in the wake of the disintegration of the Primordial Simplicity. However, in painting, though I possess methods I am not restricted to them." Shitao begins by interpreting "methods" (*fa*) in anthropological terms as fundamental patterns of purposeful human behavior. It is only in the final sentence that *fa* is allowed to become simply the painting methods of the treatise's title. The elasticity of meaning of *fa*, passing from a philosophical to a merely theoretical level, is paralleled in the way Shitao speaks of painting, though here he uses two separate terms, *yihua* (the One-stroke) and *hua* (painting). Both the vocabulary (the Primordial Simplicity, Oneness, the *Dao*, mysterious subtlety) and the logic of Shitao's argument make it absolutely clear that the philosophical-religious context is Daoist.

92. Schipper 1982; Kohn 1993.

93. "What people know of Qingxiang [Shitao] is that his use of brush and ink is lofty, archaic, strange and original; they see his painting as inaccessible and difficult. They do not realize his extreme detachment, his transcendence of thought, his attainment of nonaction. He nourished his awareness at Kuanglu [Mount Lu] and Jingting, living with the trees and the stones, wandering with the deer and the wild pigs. He long submitted his destiny to the eight trigrams of Heaven and Earth. Then, when he came to be stimulated to encompass the principles of the world, he painted decisively, and had the means to do so."

94. These conceptual changes are accompanied by important modifications of the rhetorical presentation of the argument. Largely eliminated from this version is his earlier concern with the issue of Ancients and Moderns, rooted in his individualist quarrel with classicizing artists. Not that the issue is abandoned – it survives at the end of the first paragraph, and receives separate, monumental treatment in Chapter Three of the treatise – but its subordination here allows Shitao to focus his argument more narrowly on the significance of praxis.

95. Strassberg 1989: 54–6.

96. Ibid.: 57.

97. The *Hua pu* version of the first chapter significantly abbreviates the text at a number of points, in the interest, it would seem, of eliminating repetitions and arriving at a more economical expression of Shitao's ideas. The final citation is also clearly attributed to Confucius, which is not the case in the *Huayu lu* version.

98. Ryckmans 1970; Strassberg 1989.

99. For more comprehensive interpretations of the text see: Huang Lanpo 1963; Chou 1969, 1977; Ryckmans 1970; Chou 1978; Coleman 1978; Jiang Yihan 1982; Nakamura Shigeo 1985; Strassberg 1989.

100. *Yinyun* is another term derived from the *Yijing* (*Book of Changes*). See Ryckmans 1970: 58–9.

101. Schipper 1982: 59.

102. Chapters Nine through Eleven form a group devoted to the structure of the pictorial illusion, from the microstructural level of texturing, to composition, and then the combination of motifs within the composition. In Chapters Twelve to Fourteen, Shitao turns to the motifs themselves, with separate discussions of forests and trees, ocean waves, and the ways of creating atmosphere and mood.

103. One has the impression that Chapter Seventeen, "Integrating Calligraphy," was included at this point because there was no other place for it, yet it could not be left out.

104. Secularization is especially clear in scientific thought. Chang and Chang (1992: 295) argue for the emergence of a new cosmology in the work of the scientific writers Zhu Caiyu (1536–1611), Tang Hezheng (1537–1619), Wang Zheng (1571–1644), and Song Yingxing: "They raised fundamental doubts about the intellectual ground and validity of traditional Confucian conceptions and interpretations of the supreme supernatural *T'ien* (Heaven), redefined the relations between nature and man, and advanced new theories about the structure of the universe." See also Henderson 1977, 1984.

105. Furth 1990: 206. See also Rowe 1992: 7–8.

106. Writing on intellectual dissent against orthodox family values in the Qing, Furth (1990: 206) states: "Dissent . . . involved no religiously or cosmically based belief system. The dissenters' weapon was satire directed at ritual hypocrisy; their rebellion led more to an evasion of the core structure of Chinese familialism than to demands for its transformation."

107. For example, the late Ming novel *The Romance of the Three Teachings*, studied in Berling 1985.

108. Rowe 1992.

109. A good example of this discourse is the Yangzhou-merchant apologia, "Account of the Bitter Feeling of the Liang-Huai Salt Merchants," in *LHYFZ* 1693: 1985–2006. Merchants on long journeys "risked their bodies [*shi qi shen*]." The average consumer was "the single body of a standard person [*zhangren yi shen*]" (1997–8). The merchant needs middlemen because he is "only one body [*bu guo yi shen er*]" who "has no means of dividing up his body [*wu fenshen zhi fashi*] (1992). The fragile finances of most salt merchants mean that "they are like men with an internal illness. To look at them physically from the outside, they all seem strong men. To watch them eat and move around they also seem to surpass ordinary men. But when their inner illness strikes, they die suddenly and no medicine can save them" (1994). On the individual struggle for survival, see also Berling 1985: 214. Also relevant is the new importance of autobiography; see Wu 1990.

110. Berling 1985: 216. The theme of self-reliance recurs constantly in writing by and about Huizhou merchants.

111. On prices and societal "illness," see *LHYFZ* 1693: 1998.

112. On social roles as noninterchangeable, see *LHYFZ* 1693: 2007. On commerce as a naturally self-regulating organism that government intervention was likely to damage, see ibid.: 1193.

113. The numerous accounts of merchant philanthropy in *LHYFZ* 1693 make recurrent reference to the numbers of bodies saved (and the amount of money spent). For a comprehensive example, see the biography of Fang Ruting by Shitao's patron, Cheng Jun (ibid.: 2123–7).

114. Brokaw 1991: 240.

115. Ibid.

116. For an extensive compilation of official and private texts documenting the attempts at control, see Wang Liqi 1981.

117. Furth 1990: 198.

118. Holmgren 1985; Rowe 1992.

119. Struve, ed. and trans. 1993.

120. Translation from Brokaw 1991: 18–19.

121. A. J. Hay 1992: 4.12.

122. Among plentiful examples: On the Donglin thinker Liu Zongzhou's emphasis on physical appearance and deportment, see Brokaw 1991: 128–38; on Donglin support for commercialism, see Peterson 1979: 71–3; on Li Zhi's championing of so-called heterodox literature, see Billeter 1979; on Wang Fuzhi's moral philosophy, see Wakeman 1985: 1087–90, who uses the term "functionalist" to describe it.

123. A. J. Hay 1984.

124. A. J. Hay 1992: 4.15.

125. Ibid.: 4.14–4.15.

126. Wang Yuanqi's landscape structures are notable for their accommodation of the autonomy of individual components; the overall hierarchical order is negotiated rather than simply conforming to a preexisting schema.

127. Of course, forms can play an integrative role, too. As James L. Watson (1988) points out, the *performance* of ritual could be as important as belief. Nonetheless, this is integration at a different level, and of a different kind, from that of an operative belief system. In my view of the rhetorical nature of Qing orthodoxy, I owe a methodological debt to Michel de Certeau's (1988) interpretation of the evolving relationship between French rulers and Catholicism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

128. As such, Shitao's utopianism owed much to that of Li Zhi who, as Jean-François Billeter (1979) has shown, aimed at a renewal of public ethics, not hesitating to expose the multiple contradictions of the ideology of the dynastic cosmos in the process. However, whereas the political problem of the state was central in Li Zhi's thinking, Shitao's reference point beyond painting and religion was the social problem of economic survival within urban society.

TEN. PAINTINGS AS COMMODITIES

1. *Master*, 15–16.

2. Vinograd 1992a: 55.

3. Vinograd 1991b: 176–202.

4. Clunas 1991.

5. The charge of eclecticism that used to be made against later Chinese painters is about as close to a general recognition of this practice as art history has come.

6. *Landscape Album*, 1702, leaf 12, China Art Gallery, Beijing (reproduced in *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 1: 48).

7. See above, Chapter 1 (section "Painting and Modernity in Jiangnan").

8. The text continues: "Zhanghou [Chen Hongshou] is the one who inherited the robes and begging bowl of [Wu] Daozi and Longmian [Li Gonglin]." Both of these artists were famous as lay-Buddhist artists. This text was originally composed by Shitao for a colophon to one of Chen's paintings of

women and later transcribed on one of a group of album leaves in the Shanghai Museum (reproduced in *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 4, *Hu:* 1-2747). The other texts transcribed on these album leaves predate the album to which they originally belonged (they are now mounted together with album leaves by Bada Shanren) by some years.

9. My argument in this chapter owes a theoretical debt to Guattari (1984) and de Certeau (1984).

10. Translation from Silbergeld 1974: 268.

11. I borrow here the terminology of Teresa Brennan (1993: 82 ff.), but cannot agree with her speculation that "the notion of psychical containment . . . may be historically and culturally specific to the modern West."

12. *Master,* 19.

13. I noted earlier that externally the construction of a female aesthetic in painting permitted the constitution of the pictorial self as male territory; while the development of Sino–Western painting similarly isolated the ethnically foreign in a way that made possible a self-conscious conception of painting as Chinese. To which it might be added that both of these forbidden realms were nonetheless constantly plundered, a fact that had to be repressed internally in order to preserve their "inferior" alterity as a source of authority. The cracks in the system became more visible in the eighteenth century.

14. Translation modified from Vinograd 1995: 67.

15. See also the autobiography of Mao Qiling (1623–1716), discussed by Wu (1990: 173–86).

16. Li Lin also gives another account of a dream by Shitao in his "Record of a Dream Journey of Dadizi." The journey took Shitao on a dream visit to Li Lin, and was recorded by the artist in the form of a painting. The text, the painting, and Shitao's other reported dreams are discussed in Vinograd 1995.

17. Yuan Qixu (*zi* Shidan, *hao* Zhongjiang), from Xuancheng, lived in Wuhu. According to Jin Zhixing (1703: 495–6) he cultivated a heroic, virile persona in his poetry, prose, and calligraphy.

18. *Compendium of Literature from the Sandalwood Table* (Zhang Chao and Wang Zhuo, eds. 1992) was first published in three volumes between 1695 and 1697; *Compendium of Literature of the Present* Age (Zhang Chao, ed. 1990; Zhang Chao and Zhang Jian, eds. 1990) followed, again in three volumes, between 1697 and 1703.

19. Jiang Zhilan, "Xiangxue tang leshi," in Zhang Chao and Wang Zhuo, eds. 1992: *yuji, shang*/10a–b; Shi Qing, "Yiquan yashi," ibid.: *shang*/14a–b

20. Ding Xiongfei, "Jiuxi ta ji," in Zhang Chao and Wang Zhuo, eds. 1992: *erji, juan* 38.

21. For ink, see Zhang Renxi, "Xue tang mo pin" (Zhang Chao and Wang Zhuo, eds. 1992: *erji, juan* 40); Song Luo, "Man tang mo pin" (ibid.: *erji, juan* 41). For seal paste, see Wang Haojing, "Zini fa dingmu" (ibid.: *erji, juan* 45). For inkstones, see Gao Zhao, "Duanxi yanshi kao" (ibid.: *chuji, juan* 45); Yu Huai, "Yan lin" (Zhang Chao, ed. 1990: *jiaji,* 76–80). For litchis, see Chen Ding, "Lizhi pu" (ibid.: *jiaji,* 87–9). For hortensia, see Zhu Xianzu, "Zhanhua zhi" (ibid.: *bingji,* 500–2). For crabs, see Zhu Renhuo, "Xu xie pu" (ibid.: *bingji,* 508–9). For fish, see Chen Jian, "Jiangnan yuxian pin" (Zhang Chao and Wang Zhuo, eds. 1992: *chuji, juan* 48). For Yinshan tea, see Zhou Gaoqi, "Yin cha xi" (ibid.: *erji, juan* 47); Mao Xiang, "Yinshan huichao" (Zhang Chao, ed. 1990: *jiaji,* 75–6).

22. Ding Xiongfei, "Guhuan she yue," in Zhang Chao and Wang Zhuo, eds. 1992: *erji, juan* 31.

23. Shi Chongjie, "Qing xie," in Zhang Chao and Wang Zhuo, eds. 1992: *yuji, shang*/19a–b; Fang Xiangying, "Gen tang shi xie," ibid.: *yuji, shang*/33a–35a; Wu Sugong, "Doufu xie," ibid.: *yuji, shang*/17a–18b.

24. Zhang Jin, "Fangyuan qingyu," in Zhang Chao and Wang Zhuo, eds. 1992: *erji, juan* 32.

25. Song Qin, "Renpu butu," in Zhang Chao and Wang Zhuo, eds. 1992: *erji, juan* 3.

26. For a poem thanking Shitao for a meal, see Li Lin 1708: 7/49.

27. Finnane 1985: 297.

28. I wonder if all the citations are not an indication that the Cloud Cliff Library (Yunyan Shuwu) where Shitao painted the album was a bookshop that sold paintings. On another occasion at the same site Shitao wrote a colophon for a painting of Huangshan pines by Xuezhuang's student, the monk-painter Yizhi. See *DDZTHSB* 4/84.

29. This painting is badly damaged and much retouched.

30. The essay is translated in full in *SLW* 288–90.

31. From his album of orchid paintings, discussed above in Chapter 5 (section "Jingjiang Descendant"). See *DDZTHSB* 2/42–3.

32. A note by Shitao to this line reads: "In the old city of Yangzhou there is a Makeup Pavilion where the wife of Chang Yuchun lived at the beginning of the Ming dynasty." Chang Yuchun (1330–69) was one of Zhu Yuanzhang's leading generals.

33. Xiao Cuo, for example, had a vegetable gardener deliver vegetables to Li Lin as a gift. Li Lin 1708: 7/68a.

34. Reproduced in *Exhibition of Paintings of the Ming and Ching Periods*, cat. no. 46(a).

35. Four leaves are reproduced in *ST* 85–6. The album is dedicated to a certain Feng Liao'an, who is also mentioned in a poem in a 1683 album of poetry, also in the Shanghai Museum (*ST* 69).

36. Translation modified from Fu and Fu 1973: 241.

37. It is perhaps worth noting that one of his most tender early memory paintings, an illustration of a 1667 poem in the 1680 *Landscapes for Wu Canxi* (Palace Museum, Beijing), depicts a young servant waiting anxiously at the gate for the artist, who had lost track of the time and was late in returning home (*STSHQJ* pl. 10).

38. A. J. Hay: 1994a. The same went for rocklike mountains, bringing to mind the phallic "sugarloaf" mountains that served Shitao as a lifetime landscape signature. The furious energy that sometimes went into them betrays the displacement from a libidinal realm. Then again, a sexual metaphor was fundamental to the Chinese concept of landscape, written into its cosmogonic structure as a process of yin–yang interaction between mountain and water. If this metaphor was highlighted by Shitao in a Daoist rhetoric of landscape representation, and thus had a respectable philosophic alibi, there exist paintings in which the metaphor itself was pushed toward a more explicitly sexual formulation than the rhetoric required, incorporating allusions to the most private recesses of the body. In the *Landscapes for Yu Daoren* (c. 1686–9) is one, a cleft hill reminiscent of thighs or buttocks, the thin line of the waterfall opening around a slitlike form, as shrubs sprout hairlike above (Edwards 1967: 147). This is one waterfall at which the male

inhabitants of the painting do gaze. Hardly less explicit is the shrub-covered mound in a leaf of the *Landscapes for Yao Man* (1693), in the folds of which nestles a bubbling spring (*Ming and Qing Painting from the Guangzhou Art Gallery*, 1986: cat. no. 34.4). Nestled against it, an iconic building stares out like a displaced human face. The inscription admits literally to the unspeakable: "When a painting reaches the soundlessness [of poetry], how does one dare add a poem?" In Shitao's 1698 portrait [with Jiang Heng] of Wu Yuqiao, the slit of the front of the young man's overrobe is echoed by a cleft in the bank on which he stands, at the end of which sits an appropriately phallic rock to provide a displaced metaphor of virility (see Figure 28).

39. I here borrow John Hay's "dictionary-equivalent" translation (A. J. Hay 1984: 103). He also offers an explanatory rendering on p. 135. Hay's article is the best discussion of the issues surrounding the aesthetics of the trace in Chinese painting.

40. Cahill 1982a: 218–25.

41. From Chapter Sixteen of Shitao's treatise, translated above, Chapter 9 (section "Oneness and the Perfected Man: Shitao's Treatise on Painting").

42. Chaves 1983.

43. Palace Museum, Beijing. Reproduced in folio form as *Daoji huace* (1960). A similar album, of landscape subjects, painted just a couple of months later, is in the National History Museum, Taiwan.

44. *Plum Blossom*, hanging scroll, 1699, Shanghai Museum (*STHJ* no. 48; *ST* 45).

45. *Hibiscus, Lotus, and Rock* (see Figure 194).

46. *Flowers*, dated 1707, leaf 12, formerly Christie's. Reproduced in Edwards 1967: 186.

47. See *Wanli's Porcelain-handled Brush*, a calligraphy hanging scroll from 1705 in the University of Michigan Museum of Art (Edwards 1967: 168), and other examples discussed later in this section.

48. Ryckmans 1970: 87–8.

49. Other extreme works include a 1706 landscape album painted for Huang Ziqing in 1706, now split between the Hashimoto Collection and another Japanese private collection (see Edwards 1967: 178–9 for four leaves); and an unpublished landscape hanging scroll in the Zhenjiang Museum.

50. *Illustrations to Poems by Zhu Yunming*, album, c. 1707, formerly Christie's (see Figure 118 for one leaf).

51. See A. J. Hay 1994b.

52. On the economy of psychical energy, see Brennan 1993: 102–17.

53. Gu Guorui and Liu Hui 1981b.

54. Cynthia Brokaw (1991: 176) notes in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century moral ledgers an "effort to persuade ledger users to 'rest in their status' (*anfen*) or 'take pleasure in the fate bestowed by heaven' (*letian anming*)."

55. For the concept of habitability, see de Certeau 1984.

56. For vivid descriptions of this situation, see the early-eighteenth-century novel *The Unofficial History of the Scholars* (*Rulin waishi*).

57. I borrow this distinction between strategies and tactics from de Certeau 1984.

58. Yu Binshuo 1983.

59. Reproduced in Fu and Fu 1973: 306.

60. Li Lin 1708: 7/67.

61. Vinograd 1991b.

62. Although Cangzhou is the *hao* of Chen Pengnian, Chen was still under house arrest in Nanjing in the autumn of 1705 and could not have made a visit to Yangzhou. The Cangzhou in question is someone whom Shitao knew in Beijing: See Shitao's 1691 handscroll (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) for the birthday of a certain Tongjun, which bears an inscribed poem matching Cangzhou's rhyme (Ishikawa Jun et al. 1976: 62–3).

63. *Flowers*, dated 1707 formerly Christie's (see Figures 198, 220); *Reminiscences of Jinling*, Sackler Collection (see Figures 214–219); *Flowers and Fruit* (see Figure 125; dated simply to autumn, this album bears seals that were not in use until after the autumn of 1706); *Chrysanthemums*, bequeathed to Li Lin, recorded in Li Lin 1708: 7/67; *Landscapes and Calligraphies* (twelve each), remounted as a handscroll, recorded in Cheng Linsheng, ed. 1925; *Terrace of the Yellow Emperor at Huangshan*, hanging scroll, Tianjin Municipal Museum (see Plate 15; dated to the tenth month, again this work bears seals that were not in use as early as that month of 1706); *Landscape*, hanging scroll, Zhenjiang Museum (unpublished).

64. From another of his four elegies. Li Lin 1708: 7/67.

65. *QXLRTJ* 18b; Ruan Yuan 1920.

66. See Wu Jiaji 1980: 75.

67. Barnhart 1972: 63. The poem speaks in fact of two trees, and there exists another illustration of the same poem, in an album from late 1704 for his student Wang Jueshi, in which he painted both (Jingyuan Zhai Collection, reproduced in Suzuki, ed. 1982–3: vol. 1, 331 [A30-003, 5/10]).

68. Reproduced in Fu and Fu 1973: 304.

69. Reproduced in Edwards 1967: 184.

APPENDIX ONE. **CHRONOLOGY OF SHITAO'S LIFE**

1. The following is a list, by author's name and entry number, of collected poetry and/or prose works by thirty-six friends and acquaintances of Shitao that could not be consulted for this study but are listed in a recently published index of rare books and manuscripts (*Zhongguo guji shanben shumu* 1996): Chaoyong 12973; Chen Ding 11517; Chen Pengnian 12852, 12853, 12854; Chen Yixi 12684, 12685, 12686; Dai Benxiao 11560; Fei Xihuang 13421; Gao Yong 12433; Gong Xian 10938; Huang Kui 11565, 12699; Huang Sheng 11583; Huang Yun 11561; Li Guosong 12790; Li Tianfu 11921; Mei Geng 12765; Mei Qing 11855, 11856, 11857, 11858; Muchen Daomin 10902, 10903; Qu Dajun 12103, 12104, 12107, 12108; Sang Zhi 11448; Shi Pang 13438, 13439; Tang Zuming 13410; Wang Fengrong 11920; Wang Hongdu 12969; Wang Shihong 12919, 12920; Wang Zehong 11811; Wang Zhongru 12175, 12176; Wang Wei 12779; Wu Canxi 12241; Wu Chengli 12535; Wu Sugong 11633, 11634; Xian Zhu 13480; Yang Zhongna 12848; Yueduan 13445, 13446; Zha Shibiao 11357; Zhang Chao 12711, 12712, 12713; Zhang Zhu 12705; Zhou Sisheng 11978, 11979.

APPENDIX TWO. **LETTERS**

1. On the basis of the close similarity of the calligraphy to letter 21.

2. Shitao appears to have written by error the character *wan*, "evening, late" instead of *wan*, "to complete."

Glossary

an 安
anfen 安分
Azhang 阿長
bafen 八分
baimiao 白描
banqiao 板橋
baoyang tianhe 保養天和
bense 本色
biluo 薜羅
bian 變
biehaotu 別號圖
bimo 筆墨
boxue hongru 博學鴻儒
bu gongsheng 補貢生
bu guo yi shen er 不過一身耳
bu ru guiqu 不如歸去
buyi 布衣
cairen 才人
cang 藏
caogao 草稿
ch'i 氣
chao 朝
chi (mad) 痴
chi (unit of length, just over 1 ft) 尺
chou 愁
ci 詞
Daben Tang 大本堂
Dadi Caotang 大滌草堂
Dadi Tang 大滌堂
daibi 代筆
Dao 道
daochang 道場
daoshi 道士
dian (crazy) 顛
dian (dot; blot) 點
ding 鼎
dongtian 洞天
duoshi 多事
fa 法
fanhua 繁華
fangwai 方外
fengwei 風味
fugongsheng 附貢生
furen 富人
gao 稿
Gengxin Caotang 耕心草堂
gong 工
gongan 公案
gongsheng 貢生
guai 怪
guan 觀
guren 故人
hangdang 行當
hanmojia 翰墨家
hao 號
He kan di 何堪滌
hu 壺
hua 畫
huajia 畫家
huafa beiyuan 畫法背原
huan 幻
huan su 還俗
huaren 畫人
huashi 畫師
huizhe 繪者
ji 濟
jia 家
jianmin 賤民
jieren 解人
jin (unit of currency = 1 tael of silver) 金
jin (today; modern) 今
jing (scene; view) 景
jing (stillness) 靜
jingshen 精神
jinren (people of recent times) 近人
jinren (Moderns [vs. Ancients]) 今人
jinshi 進士
juan 卷
junzi 君子
juren 舉人
kai tang 開堂
kuang 狂
kuang Chan 狂禪
kuangren 狂人
Kugua Heshang 苦瓜和尚
kun (female cosmic principle) 坤

kun (giant mythological fish) 鯤
kunpeng 鯤鵬
letian anming 樂天安命
li (plum) 李
li (unit of length, about 1/3 mile) 里
li (structural order) 理
liang (unit of currency, just over 1 oz. of silver) 兩
liang (good) 良
liangzhi 良知
ling 靈
lingding 零丁
lingqi 靈氣
lingzhi 靈芝
linli 淋灕
linsheng 廩生
luowen 羅文
meng 蒙
mengyang 蒙養
ming (name; fame) 名
ming (destiny) 命
mingzhu 明珠
mu 畝
nong 農
nuzi 女子
peng 鵬
pi 癖
pian 偏
pin 品
ping 屏
pinghua 評話
po 魄
qi 奇
qian (male cosmic principle) 乾
qian (unit of currency, 1/10 tael of silver) 錢
qian xing wei kuai 遣興為快
qilin 麒麟
qin 琴
qing 情
Qingxiang 清湘
Qingxiang Daoren 清湘道人
qishi 奇士
qiyun shengdong 氣韵生動
qu 趣
shang 商
shancai 善財
shanshui 山水
shen (body) 身
shen (divine; spirit; imagination) 神
sheng (raw) 生
sheng (musical instrument) 笙
shenshang 紳商
sheren 舍人
shi (scholar; member of educated elite) 士
shi (dynamic force of forms) 勢
shi (exterior appearance; decoration) 飾
shi (lyric poem; poetry) 詩
shi (master; teacher) 師
shi (practicality) 實
shi min gong shang 士民工商
shi qi shen 失其身
shidaifu 士大夫
shihua she 詩畫社
shihuazhe 事畫者
shimin sixiang 市民思想
shiren 詩人
Shitao 石濤
shixue 實學
shou (receptivity) 受
shu 熟
shuo 說
si 私
sihao 私好
simin 四民
su 俗
sui 歲
Taipu 太樸
taixuesheng 太學生
tie 帖
tongjing 通景
wang 亡
wangsun 王孫
wanxiang 萬象
wenren 文人
wenren hua 文人畫
wo 我
wu 無
wu fenshen zhi fashi 無分身之法式
wufa 無法
xi 戲
xian (transcendent; immortal) 仙
xian (county) 縣
xian (leisure) 閑 and 閒
xiang 象
xianqu 仙去
xiaoji 小技
xiaokai 小楷
xiaosa 瀟灑
Xiazunzhe 瞎尊者
xibi 戲筆
xieyi 寫意
xing 興
xingqing 性情
xinyan 心眼
xiucai 秀才
Xuan 宣
xuanwei 玄微
xuling 虛靈
ya 雅
yao 腰
yaobing 腰病
ye 野
yeren 野人
yeshi 野史
yi (idea; conception) 意
Yi (Oneness) 一
yi (untrammeled) 逸
yihua 一畫
yimin (remnant subject) 遺民
yimin (hermit) 逸民
yingchou hua 應酬畫
yingxiong bense 英雄本色
yinyang 陰陽
yinyun 氤氳
you 有
yu 欲
yuanji (planning ahead) 遠計
Yuanji (name) 原濟
yuefu 樂賦
yun 運
zhang (older; oldest) 長
zhang (unit of length, just over 10 ft) 丈
zhangren yi shen 長人一身
zhen 真
Zhen kan di 真堪滌
zheng 正
zhenren 真人
zhi 質
zhiji 知己
zhiren 至人
zhixian 知縣
zhonghan 中翰
zhongshi zhi dao 中實之道
zhongshu sheren 中書舍人
zhongtang 中堂
zhou tongzhi 州同知
zhu 硃
zhuzhi ci 竹枝詞
zi 字
zifu 紫府
ziran 自然
zixiu 自修
zongyou 總有
zuihou bi 醉後筆
zunzhe 尊者

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