

Wen Zhengming's Aesthetic of Disjunction

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Two paintings by Wen Zhengming 文徵明 (1470–1559) were included in the exhibition of artwork sent by the National Palace Museum to the United States in 1996. One was a hanging scroll, *Cascading Falls in a Pine Ravine* (*Songhuo feiquan tu* 松壑飛泉圖; 1527–31; Fig. 1), the other a handscroll, *Heavy Snow on Mountain Passes* (*Guanshan jixue tu* 關山積雪圖; 1528–32; Fig. 9).¹ Both works were unusually ambitious projects, took several years to paint, and were completed at the beginning of the 1530s. Connecting the two scrolls more directly are their dedications to the same man, Wang Chong 王寵 (1494–1533). There was, therefore, a somewhat long period—1527 to 1532—when Wen Zhengming was working intermittently on two important paintings for a single recipient. Why did they take so long, and what was the relationship between the two men that led to such ambitious works?

Straightforward as they are, these questions cannot be satisfactorily answered without bearing in mind several contexts, all interrelated. The first is Wen's friendship with his student Wang Chong, which has been little explored in the modern literature, yet was without any doubt one of the most important friendships of Wen Zhengming's long life. When Wang Chong died in 1533, at the age of only forty *sui* 歲, Wen was little less than heartbroken. Friendship of this intensity already explains a great deal, but Wen's relationship to Wang also had a significant art-world dimension. Wen's relationship to his public was conditioned by the lack of any form or system of public exhibition for secular paintings. The proving ground for his art lay at a precise point within the highly differentiated field of particular artist-audience relationships. There were certain viewers, certain recipients of his paintings, whose approval of his art Wen Zhengming desired. These individuals cannot ever have been many, but Wang Chong, I am certain, was one of them.² So great a challenge did an important work for Wang represent (as against several other known, less ambitious paintings for him) that Wen took five years to complete each of these two. These were paintings in which Wen Zhengming tested his own limits, knowing that his friend and student expected nothing less of him.

Also important is the physical and social context provided by a particular place, Stone Lake (Shihu 石湖), located to the south of the city of Suzhou. The importance of Stone Lake in mid-Ming Suzhou culture has been obscured by a modern fixation on two other places, Tiger Hill (Huqiu 虎丘) and Lake Tai (Taihu 太湖). Its particular significance

1. Wen C. Fong and James C.Y. Watt, *Possessing the Past: Treasures from the National Palace Museum, Taipei* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art and The National Palace Museum, Taipei, 1996), pp. 388–94.

2. For a related discussion of “inside” versus “outside” publics, see Jonathan Hay, *Shitao: Painting and Modernity in Early Qing China* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 230–36.

for Wen lay in its being the center of activity of a group of like-minded artists and intellectuals, including Wang Chong and Wen himself, whom I shall refer to as the "Stone Lake Group."³ Yet another context, which has been explored by Shih Shou-chien 石守謙 in an important, densely argued article, is the impact on Wen Zhengming's art of his unhappy experience of politics in Beijing at the beginning of the Jiajing 嘉靖 reign, between 1523 and 1526.⁴ A final context to take into account is Wen Zhengming's engagement in the art market. Although neither of the two paintings for Wang Chong was produced as a commercial item, part of their meaning derives precisely from their privileged status as a financially disinterested investment of labor. Moreover, in analyzing the attitude toward moral practice and public responsibility in early sixteenth-century Suzhou that is articulated in the two scrolls, it is misleading to cite the artist's political disaffection without also taking into account his attention elsewhere to the material rewards of cultural mastery.

In the article just mentioned, Shih Shou-chien has argued that *Cascading Falls in a Pine Ravine* marked a decisive break in Wen Zhengming's practice of art, involving a sharp shift toward a stance of deliberate disengagement from politics—what might be termed an activist form of reclusion. This essay builds on Shih's thesis by expanding the interpretation beyond the narrowly political to include a wider range of considerations, and by relating *Cascading Falls in a Pine Ravine* to a different set of paintings, including *Heavy Snow on Mountain Passes*; clarifying the relation between these two works in particular is essential to understanding the full significance of each. My discussion will therefore have different emphases from Shih's, and in the end a different, not entirely compatible, thrust. Wen Zhengming's two great paintings for Wang Chong initiated—so I shall propose—an artistic exploration of disjunction that would preoccupy Wen and Suzhou artists close to him throughout the 1530s, 1540s, and 1550s. It is no exaggeration to say that these two paintings helped to change the course of Chinese painting history, if only because what Wen first achieved here opened the way for the later achievement of Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555–1636). A further theme of this essay, therefore, is the role and significance of an aesthetics of disjunction in early modern Chinese painting. In the author's view, its significance lies partly in a reassessment of moral and cultural authority that relativized the importance of the values associated with the hierarchical imperial cosmos by confronting them with the more fluid values of the commercial city.

Cascading Falls in a Pine Ravine

Wen Fong, following Shih Shou-chien, has described *Cascading Falls in a Pine Ravine* as "a lyrical and expressionistic projection of the reclusive life [Wen Zhengming] led in his later years." In support of this idea, Fong sug-

3. The longer version of the present essay that was distributed at the Taiwan 2002 Conference includes a discussion of the literati coterie associated with Stone Lake to which Wen Zhengming and Wang Chong belonged, and identifies twenty-eight paintings attributed to Wen that can be linked to this "Stone Lake Group."

4. Shih Shou-chien, "Jiajing xingzheng yu Wen Zhengming huafeng zhi zhuanbian (The Jiajing Ritual Controversy and the Transformation of Wen Zhengming's Painting Style)," *Yishu xue*, 1988, no. 2, pp. 111–40.

gests that the upper half of the composition derives from the composition of the “mind landscape” of Xie Kun 謝鯤 (280–322), as painted by Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254–1322).⁵ Shih proposes a different (and to my eyes more plausible) connection, with Shen Zhou’s 沈周 (1427–1509) *Lofty Mount Lu* (*Lushan gao tu* 廬山高圖; Fig. 2) of 1467, painted for his teacher, which shares a similarly involuted mountain structure and, like *Cascading Pines in a Pine Ravine*, is also in the Wang Meng 王蒙 (ca. 1308–1385) style. Shih also convincingly argues, and here is joined by Fong, that the lower half of the composition incorporates an allusion to Wang Xizhi’s 王羲之 (303–361) “Gathering at the Orchid Pavilion (Lanting 蘭亭)” of 353—a common mid-Ming theme in its own right (see Wen Zhengming’s *Gathering at the Orchid Pavilion* [*Lanting xiuqi tu* 蘭亭修禊圖]; Fig. 3).⁶ Wen Zhengming is unarguably deploying a rhetoric of reclusion in this painting; however, his relationship to reclusion as an ideal seems to me to be rather more distanced and ambiguous than has been suggested by Shih and Fong.

In the first place, Wen Zhengming’s inscription to *Cascading Falls in a Pine Ravine* presents the painting as the memory of a memory—his memory now in Suzhou of his memory a few years before in Beijing of his previous life of reclusion in Suzhou. This layering of memory in his inscription highlights the distance he feels from his pre-Beijing life, so it is not surprising that the inscription goes on to insist on the enormous difficulty of making contact again with his past self:

When I lived in the capital, I would often recall how, among the ancient pines and waterfalls, my spirit and feelings wandered. In the *dinghai* year [1527], after returning to get old in Suzhou and speaking of this to Lüji [Wang Chong], I began to paint this picture for him. Several times I started, then stopped. Only after five changes of season, in the year of *xinmao* [1531], did I finally finish the work. Some say it takes five days to paint water and ten days to paint a rock; my pictures seem to take a hundred times longer! Painting is no easy pursuit. How it resists being hurried! Only after [such a long struggle] can I make Lüji appreciate my music. On the tenth day of the fourth month, signed by Zhengming.⁷
余留京師，每憶古松流水之間，神情渺然。丁亥歸老吳中，與履吉話之，遂爲寫此；屢作屢輟，迄今辛卯，凡五易寒暑始就。五日一水，十日一石，不啻百倍矣。是豈區區能事，真不受促迫哉！於此有以見履吉之賞音也。四月十日徵明識。

This text speaks not only to the divide that had opened up within Wen Zhengming himself between his pre-Beijing past and his post-Beijing present, but also to the parallel divide that now intervened between him and Wang Chong, which it was the purpose of the painting to overcome. Wen Zhengming places himself in a deferential position. Wang Chong, who has never gone to Beijing and who would take the provincial examination for the last time that same year of 1531, is the one whom Wen has to please; Wang is also the one who, by implication, is as yet untainted by the experience of politics and is thereby able to judge the value of Wen’s evocation of the ideal of reclusion. The evocation itself, however, is far from idealistic—the painting is a troubled one, with trees that function as barriers and a mountain that twists with tortured energy.

5. Fong and Watt, *Possessing the Past*, p. 392.

6. Shih, “Jiajing xinzheng,” pp. 129–33; Fong and Watt, *Possessing the Past*, pp. 388–92.

7. Translation partly based on Fong’s in Fong and Watt, *Possessing the Past*, p. 389.

The upper section is centered on a solitary figure contemplating the waterfall (*Fig. 4*); the lower shows a group of five literati, accompanied by three servants (*Fig. 5*). Because the painting is so clearly and problematically divided between top and bottom, it does not seem quite natural to see the solitary figure and the group as making up a larger group of six. In the five literati figures below, I believe we must see a specific reference to the “inner” circle of the Stone Lake group, comprising Wen Zhengming, Wang Chong, Wang Shou 王守, Cai Yu 蔡羽 (d. 1541), and Tang Zhen 湯珍.⁸ Of the five figures in the painting, one seems particularly important—a standing figure facing in the viewer’s direction and engaged in conversation with another man. This figure is not only centrally placed and exposed to our view, but is neatly framed by two tree trunks. This standing figure and the solitary figure high in the mountains can perhaps be understood as alter egos of each other; the recluse in conversation with his friends below and in solitary communion with nature above, illustrating the two sides of the recluse ideal. Tellingly, given the iconography of court paintings contemporary with this one, the recluse is not approached here by any emissary of the state.⁹ Although it seems certain that these two focal figures, one above and one below, have some connection to the real-life figures of Wen Zhengming and Wang Chong, it is not at all clear what the connection was intended to be. Was one the artist and the other Wang Chong? Were both figures potentially to be identified with both Wen and Wang Chong, or would Wen have wanted us to see in them either only himself or only Wang Chong? The rather abstracted representation does not give the viewer any clues to decide—which might itself be interpreted as a deliberate openness to different interpretations or, on the contrary, as something an artist could permit himself to do because the rules of decorum operative in his world would have specified the proper direction of interpretation for his audience. I sense that mid-Ming decorum would have countenanced a teacher presenting a student with a painting that places the teacher (Wen Zhengming) at the center, but also that a recipient of the long-expected gift of a painting from a painter-friend might with equal propriety have expected to occupy the painting’s center. Since Wen and Wang were linked by something “between a teacher-student relationship and friendship” (*shi you zhi jian* 師友之間), decorum does not seem to point toward the meaning, which I therefore conclude was deliberately left open.

In fact, the image as a whole relates as easily to one man as to the other. In order to see the painting as basically self-referential, one need only bring to mind Wen Zhengming’s reference in his inscription to his spirit and feelings wandering “among the ancient pines and waterfalls,” a formulation that neatly summarizes the two parts of this figure-in-landscape composition. The painting also, however, resonates with a passage in the epitaph that Wen Zhengming later wrote for Wang Chong:

By temperament he disliked promoting himself and did not care to live in a commercial environment. When he was young, he studied with Mr. Cai Yu, staying at Lake Dongting for three years. Then he

8. What makes this identification almost unavoidable is the central place of *Cascading Falls in a Pine Ravine* within a larger group of works related to the Stone Lake group. See above, Note 3.

9. Scarlett Ju-yu Jang, “Issues of Public Service in the Themes of Chinese Court Painting” (Ph.D. diss., University of California Berkeley, 1989).

studied at Stone Lake for twenty years, coming into town only rarely and at odd times. When he encountered fine scenery, he would always lose himself listening. On occasion he would lie down in the forests and the high grass. He would burn incense and compose poems and, leaning on his seat, would sing. Carried away with thousand-year-old thoughts, how could his acts be those of some commonplace and ordinary scholar?¹⁰

性惡喧囂，不樂居塵井。少學於蔡羽先生，居洞庭三年。繼而讀書石湖之上二十年，非歲時省侍，不數數入城。遇佳山水，輒忻然忘去，或時偃息於長林豐草間，含醺賦詩，倚席而歌，邈然有千載之思。跡其所爲，豈碌碌尋常之士哉！

Nor is the symbolic (self-) portrait dimension of the painting exhausted by the figure-in-landscape theme. This is suggested by its connection to Shen Zhou's *Lofty Mount Lu*. In that painting, the landscape itself, or rather the mountain, was meant to be read as a metaphoric portrait of Shen's teacher, and from this point of view the title could also be translated as *Lofty as Mount Lu*.¹¹ The example of Shen Zhou's earlier landscape helps to explain the most striking formal features of Wen Zhengming's painting—the anthropomorphic character of the mountain, with its reminiscences of bodily forms and overall suggestion of a bodily presence. One way of interpreting this would be to say that *Cascading Falls in a Pine Ravine* incorporates a mountainscape portrait of the recipient, Wang Chong. But the precedent of Shen Zhou's painting also authorizes a reading of the mountain as self-portrait, since Wen Zhengming was Wang Chong's teacher. Either way—and I believe that both interpretations are valid—this was an extremely bold move for Wen Zhengming to make, Shen Zhou's precedent notwithstanding. Traditionally, mountains were reserved metaphorically for the representation of the emperor, scholars being represented as trees. Here, I believe, the trees are indeed in play symbolically, and correspond to the five literati in their shade; correspondingly, the mountain corresponds to the tiny figure in its shade—at its heart, so to speak. Where, then, is the emperor in this monumental metaphoric landscape? One may well ask, for he is absent. Only the Stone Lake group, and what the painting implies to be certain shared values of its members, are monumentalized here.

What justified this form of treatment? *Cascading Falls in a Pine Ravine* was, I think, in part an attempt by Wen Zhengming not just to visualize Wang's qualities but also to make of those qualities, and his own empathetic identification with them, an emblem of something much larger—a kind of moral alternative to what he had seen at the capital. Shih Shou-chien has related the painting to Wen's experience of the Great Ritual (*dali* 大禮) controversy of the early 1520s, in which his lack of sympathy with both the opposing factions cost him the chance of promotion.¹² According to Shih, the view of reclusion advanced by Wen Zhengming in *Cascading Falls in a Pine Ravine* gives lyrical form to his troubled psychological state of disillusionment in the post-Beijing years. In Wen Fong's words, "In 1526, Wen returned to Soochow, where he lived as a retired scholar-artist, viewing art as a moral anchor in an age

10. Wen Zhengming *ji* (Collected Works of Wen Zhengming), vol. I, pp. 713–15.

11. Indirect confirmation of the connection comes from the fact that earlier, in 1508, Wen had painted a landscape for a teacher of his own, entitled *Lofty Leisure in Hills and Valleys*, which Shen Zhou inscribed with a poem on the *Lofty Mount Lu* theme. See Wen Zhengming *ji*, vol. I, pp. 67–68.

12. Shih, "Jiajing xinzheng."

of political cynicism.”¹³ I would go even further than either Shih or Fong—I believe that in Wen’s eyes the nation’s best talent was being wastefully ignored, and his post-1527 paintings were to stand both as a condemnation of that situation and as a manifesto for an alternative. In other words, this is not an escapist vision. Wen’s aims—his theme, his underlying “idea” (*yi* 意)—had everything to do with who Wang was, and what he represented. *Cascading Falls in a Pine Ravine*, I believe, is an attempt to monumentalize in the most uncompromising fashion a certain concept of the moral individual, which Wen himself aspired to and, along with other members of the Stone Lake group, saw embodied in Wang Chong.¹⁴

In post-structuralist terms, *Cascading Falls in a Pine Ravine* can be said to announce a shift of subject position. Before and after Beijing, Wen Zhengming was in the position of a literatus whose gentry heritage did not prevent the need to supplement his income by the commercial exploitation of his cultural skills. The principal change brought about by his Beijing sojourn was a rise in both his social status and his reputation, which made his writing and art commercially more desirable. His basic social profile, however, remained the same—he continued to be a combination of property owner and cultural professional.¹⁵ The more important change lay in the way he interpreted for himself his dual circumstances. At the start of his career, he had followed Shen Zhou in presenting himself in his paintings as a member of the local gentry elite, someone who was socially inscribed in an order that was above question. This type of self-presentation can still be seen in the 1516 painting *Thatched Cottage in Green Shade* (*Luyin caotang tu* 綠蔭草堂圖; Fig. 6). But very soon after this, in works such as *Deep Snow over Mountains and Streams* (*Xishan shenxue tu* 溪山深雪圖; Fig. 7), dated to 1517, and *Gathering for Tea at Mount Hui* (*Huishan chahui tu* 惠山茶會圖; Fig. 8), circa 1518, a theatricality crept into his work that implies the arrival of distance and doubt. The self-consciously mannered, archaistic style creates an effect of staginess, so that we see not scholars in a landscape but “scholars” in a “landscape.” They seem to be playing a gentry role. Subsequently, in *Cascading Falls in a Pine Ravine* and other post-Beijing paintings, Wen Zhengming took up a far more ambiguous position in relation to the social order promoted by Shen Zhou’s work. While continuing to inscribe himself within it, he also assumed a critical distance, affirming an independent, critical individuality quite different from the socially networked individuality analyzed by Craig Clunas in a recent article.¹⁶ To see this critical distance simply as disillusionment or doubt is to characterize it negatively, by what it rejects, without taking into account its more positive rooting in a particular social experience. As I would instead tentatively describe his new stance, after 1527 Wen Zhengming began to present himself—doubtless reluctantly—as someone whose social identity was not straightforwardly clear, but was instead

13. Fong and Watt, *Possessing the Past*, p. 389.

14. See Wen’s epitaph for Wang Chong in *Wen Zhengming ji*, vol. I, pp. 713–15.

15. On Wen Zhengming’s post-Beijing professionalism, see the discussion by Howard Rogers in *Masterworks of Ming and Qing Paintings from the Forbidden City*, ed. Howard Rogers and Sherman E. Lee (Lansdale, Pa.: International Arts Council, 1989), pp. 128–29.

16. Craig Clunas, “Artist and Subject in Ming Dynasty China,” *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. 105 (2000), pp. 43–72.

socially complex and defined by the negotiation of different pressures and desires. Disillusionment with the state freed him to acknowledge as one part of his identity his urban condition of self-reliance and insecurity.¹⁷

This is why it is so important to resist the notion that the economics of Wen Zhengming's art are somehow irrelevant to its deeper meaning. Shih Shou-chien has recently made an elaborate attempt to marginalize the significance of Wen's commercial practice as an artist. In an article on Wen Zhengming's calligraphy that incidentally increases the evidence for his engagement in commerce, Shih ingeniously presents Wen's professionalism as little more than a by-product of the larger social practice of creating artworks as gifts within an economy of reciprocal gift exchange.¹⁸ By characterizing as gifts rather than commercial products even those art works for which the reciprocal gift is likely to have been money or the equivalent, Shih is able to present Wen Zhengming as being essentially disinterested in financial gain—thereby confirming the Confucian self-image that Wen claimed and deflecting attention from the unpalatable fact that widespread market demand for his art, reflected in his use of ghost painters, helped to make Wen Zhengming rich in later life. Those of us less scandalized by commerce may see the disinterestedness of Wen's "reclusion" as a rhetorical posture; the money to support his comfortable recluse lifestyle had to come from somewhere, and if it was not coming significantly from calligraphy and painting, why then did he produce so many works for people with whom his personal acquaintanceship was slight or nonexistent? Clunas argues that Wen Zhengming's *qing gao* 清高 ("pure and lofty") recluse behavior represents a symbolic refusal of social engagement "that functions to create opportunities for re-engagement, for reintervention in the mundane sphere."¹⁹ Taking this argument a step further, reclusion was a synonym for independence, and the "wilderness" ideally inhabited by the "recluse" was often in real life the open market, which provided income outside of government service. A work like *Cascading Falls in a Pine Ravine* was presumably created with no thought of commercial gain, but commerce is nonetheless part of the painting in the sense that its particular quality of critical distance affirms a self-reliance that bespeaks Wen's acceptance of his engagement in commercial activity. Wen Zhengming could repress this acceptance at the rhetorical level of recluse iconography, but the power and historical importance of *Cascading Falls in a Pine Ravine* come from the fact that he allowed it to surface in the very structure of the painting.

Heavy Snow on Mountain Passes

Heavy Snow on Mountain Passes (Fig. 9) has, if anything, an even more fascinating inscription than *Cascading Falls in a Pine Ravine*:

17. I have explored the relevance of this hybrid social identity to painting in *Shitao*, pp. 19–25, 205–9, 282–86.

18. Shih Shou-chien, "Calligraphy as Gift: Wen Cheng-ming's (1470–1559) Calligraphy and the Formation of Soochow Literati Culture," in *Character and Context in Chinese Calligraphy*, ed. Cary Y. Liu, Dora C.Y. Ching, and Judith G. Smith (Princeton: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1999), pp. 254–83.

19. Clunas, *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), pp. 106–7.

The lofty scholars and recluses of the past often liked to take up the brush and paint landscapes for their own pleasure, but when they chose snow scenes it was usually to embody a feeling of noble loneliness, of freedom from vulgarity. For example, Wang Mojie's [Wang Wei 王維; 699–759] *Snow Along the River*, Li Cheng's [919–967] *Flying Snow in Ten Thousand Mountains*, Li Tang's [ca. 1050–after 1130] *Pavilions in Snowy Mountains*, Guo Zhongshu's [ca. 910–977] *Along the River in Clearing Snow*, Zhao Songxue's [Zhao Mengfu] *Yuan'an Sleeping in the Snow*, Huang Dachi's [Huang Gongwang 黃公望; 1269–1354] *Clearing Snow in Nine Mountains*, and Wang Shuming's [Wang Meng] *Planked Roads in Sword Mountains*—all of these are works famous past and present, their names on everyone's lips, and I have been fortunate to see them all. In every case, I have wanted to copy them, but to my shame I have been unable to set brush to paper. In the winter of *wuzi* [1528], while Wang Chong and I lodged at a priest's cottage on Mt. Lengjie [i.e., Zhiping Temple], snow was piled up several feet deep, a thousand mountain peaks had turned from emerald to white, and myriad trees lay frozen and prostrate. Chong brought out some fine paper and asked me to paint. Contentedly, moistening my brush, I started this composition, *Heavy Snow in Mountain Passes*. Unable to complete the work, I took it home. I worked on it on and off for five changes of season before it was completed. My brushwork is awkward and flawed, and I have been incapable of capturing more than a ten-thousandth of the ancients; still, my intention to convey feeling and illuminate moral purity is probably not completely unachieved.

古之高人逸士，往往喜弄筆作山水以自娛，然多寫雪景者，蓋欲假此以寄其孤高拔俗之意耳。若王摩詰之《雪谿圖》、李成之《萬山飛雪》、李唐之《雪山樓閣》、閻次平之《寒巖積雪》、郭忠恕之《雪霽江行》、趙松雪之《袁安臥雪》、黃大癡之《九峰雪霽》、王叔明之《劍閣圖》，皆著名今昔，膾炙人口，余幸皆及見之，每欲效倣，自歎不能下筆。曩於戊子冬同履吉寓於楞伽僧舍，值飛雪幾尺，千峰失翠，萬木僵仆，履吉出佳紙索圖，稱興濡毫，演作關山積雪，一時不能就緒，嗣後攜歸，或作或輟，五易寒暑而成，但用筆拙劣，不能追蹤古人之萬一，然寄情明潔之意，當不自減也。

Wen is seemingly quite explicit about the problem that preoccupied him during the five years it took him to paint the scroll; but it might be more accurate to say that he is explicit about one problem that preoccupied him, since the real difficulty of the project may have lain elsewhere—the talkativeness on one point may, in other words, have as part of its purpose to distract our attention from a reticence on some other, perhaps more important issue. The point on which he is forthcoming is one of ancients and moderns. He tells us that he took Wang Chong's request as an opportunity to come to terms with a genre of painting that went back to the Tang dynasty, of which he had been able to see seven examples that in his time were considered to be masterpieces. The genre was that of the snowy landscape; he apparently had the history of this genre in his mind from the moment he started the composition in 1528. On the surface at least, it was the difficulty of doing justice to the tradition of snow-covered landscapes that dragged out the project.

There is nothing inherently improbable in this. The antecedent paintings that Wen lists, insofar as they are knowable today, are very diverse, and it would have been no easy matter for him to develop a new work that spoke to this diversity. At the simplest level, some are handscrolls, others hanging scrolls; some are works on paper, others on silk; most are landscapes, but at least one is a genre painting; and the styles, covering several centuries, are necessarily widely divergent. One may be sure, therefore, that Wen saw the snow-covered landscape tradition as a challenge, yet one for which he found a straightforward solution. Despite the variety of models he cites, his own composition is clearly based on one attributed to Wang Wei, which he would have known through one of several versions entitled *Riverbank After Snow*, *After Wang Wei* (*Mo Wang Mojie Jianggan xueji tu* 摹王摩詰江干雪霽圖); these purported

to be copied by Yan Wengui 燕文貴 (fl. ca. 970–1030) of the Wang Wei original (Fig. 10). No fewer than three of these are today in the collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei.²⁰ It is not surprising, therefore, that the first artist he cites is Wang Wei. In fact, in 1539, when Wen Zhengming came to make a second version of his painting for Wang Shou, he added an inscription to the new painting that presents it specifically as a response to Wang Wei without mentioning any other artists.²¹ Although in both cases Wen specifically mentions a composition entitled *Snow Along the River* (*Xuexi tu* 雪溪圖), this title corresponds to none of the surviving Wang Wei snowscape attributions, and judging by the visual evidence should probably be taken as a reference to the *Riverbank After Snow* (*Jiangan xueji tu* 江干雪霽圖) compositional type.

Wen Zhengming's greatest challenge lay outside the realm of style. Early in his inscription, he obliquely mentions this. Introducing the masterpieces of the past, he attributes to them a shared purpose: "to embody a feeling of noble loneliness, of freedom from vulgarity." Then, toward the end of the inscription, he returns to this idea when he assesses, with understated but unmistakeable pride, the results of his efforts: "still, my intention to convey feeling and illuminate moral purity [*jiqing mingjie zhi yi* 寄情明潔之意] is probably not completely unachieved." This articulates the concept of the moral individual that was a central concern of the Stone Lake group.²² Wen's comments are not only relevant to the style of the painting; they also speak to the iconography and to the theme of the painting. Consider what is represented: isolated houses, temples, villages, a city, iced-in boats, hermits, and, above all, travellers. All of these are knit together into a narrative. The first section (Figs. 9-1, 9-2) is built around a solitary rider passing over a planked bridge; this is followed by a second section, the thematic center of which is a second rider emerging from the lakeside forest (Fig. 9-3). The third section is dominated by three riders setting out across the ice (Fig. 9-4); the fourth is keyed to the solitary rider arriving at the other side (also in Fig. 9-4). A fifth section has two riders, following different paths (Fig. 9-6); a pair of intertwined trees ahead suggests a friendship between them, interrupted by separation—are these trees a symbol for the friendship of Wen Zhengming and Wang Chong? The figures of the sixth section are not travellers but inhabitants of the homes shown (Fig. 9-8). The seventh section has figures on foot, near a city gate (Fig. 9-9). The eighth and last section (Figs. 9-10, 9-11) takes us back out into the wilderness, here sheer mountains. The heroes of this painting wander, for the most part, through the wilderness; not aimlessly, but toward the city. What kind of metaphor is this?

The terms of the argument I have been developing here suggest a layered interpretation. The protagonists of the narrative can be taken to be, on one level, members of the Stone Lake group, and on another level some wider community of literati, whether of Suzhou alone or the region or even the nation. The pines and other trees and bamboo,

20. *Gugong shuhua tulu* (Illustrated Catalog of Painting and Calligraphy in the National Palace Museum), vol. 15 (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1997), pp. 209–12, 219–21, 223–25.

21. National Palace Museum, *Ninety Years of Wu School Painting* (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1975), pp. 266–67.

22. For Wen Zhengming's moral credo written in 1542, see *Wen Zhengming ji*, vol. II, p. 1307.

growing amid the snow and ice, function as symbolic doubles and multiplications of the few human figures. In a number of cases, figures and trees are brought into a conspicuously close formal relationship, as if to underscore the point. The wilderness landscape through which the men move is thematically ambiguous in a way that complements the ambiguity of the figures. One can equally and easily read it as a local landscape outside the protective walls of the city, or as a national landscape on the model of monumental Song landscape compositions. Interpretation has to include both, and ultimately depends on one's understanding of the wintry wilderness as social metaphor. Few will disagree, I think, that the wilderness here alludes not only to the travails of the examination process, but also to the disappointments of "success." As such, it is a far bleaker commentary on contemporary life than Wen's pre-Beijing (1517) snowscape for Cai Yu, *Deep Snow over Streams and Mountains* (see Fig. 7), which he constructed as a metaphor of the arduous circumstances resulting from repeated failure in the examinations, in which the gentlemen-protagonists nevertheless pursue their study undaunted.

The above bleak interpretation of the wilderness, however, to my mind coexists in the handscroll with the second and rather different one that I suggested earlier for *Cascading Falls in a Pine Ravine*. "Wilderness" was not simply the opposite of the "state's" orbit—*ye* 野 was not simply the opposite of *chao* 朝. Wilderness was equally a space of independence and self-reliance, and in the world of Wen Zhengming and his circle, that space was fundamentally urban and commercial. It seems reasonable, therefore, to characterize the protagonists of this narrative as engaged in a difficult moral journey in which they had to balance their attraction to what the state and the city each had to offer them with their inability to wholeheartedly embrace the values of either. Here, too, Wen Zhengming was seeking to exalt a type of moral integrity that he believed Wang to embody, and was seeking to embody himself. The hanging scroll of the previous year monumentalizes reclusion; its concern is with social and moral positioning. The handscroll shifts the emphasis onto the passage of time; it monumentalizes the moral journey through life. It also—and this is no small feat—places that journey on the stage of history. This is why the elaborate art historical references were necessary, even though in strict art historical terms they might easily have been dispensed with. The lineage that they establish is ultimately one of literati as moral actors.

The Aesthetic of Disjunction

In conclusion, let us consider the two paintings within a larger art historical context. Their lasting significance for the history of Chinese painting lies, I believe, in their structural experimentation, and more specifically in Wen Zhengming's introduction of disjunction as a structural principle. In *Heavy Snow on Mountain Passes*, the disjunctiveness is partly a matter of scale, which is not nearly monumental enough for its subject. Moreover, as one proceeds through the scroll, one becomes aware of a second type of disjunction as well. The spatial structures of the successive sections making up the landscape are willfully contrasted, in some places almost to the point of incoherence. As a result, the narrative continuity centered on the figures is given a troubled and troubling psychological

undercurrent. In *Cascading Falls in a Pine Ravine*, the compositional structure is itself disjointed: treetops visibly suture the break between the upper and lower sections, but the unity of the whole remains in question. Moreover, the artist uses tree trunks both to frame and to separate the figures in the foreground, thereby simultaneously binding the figures together and alienating them from one another. What should be a vision of contentment is instead shaded by anxiety. Traditionally, of course, the kinds of stylistic feature to which I am pointing have been explained as archaic. Archaism, however, cannot account for their psychological effects, which would necessarily have been felt as contemporary—or, if one wishes—modern. In both paintings, it is as if the project of monumentalizing a certain ideal could only be achieved at the price of keeping the ideal at a psychological distance. The formal disjunctions are thus symptomatic of a still deeper disjunction in the thematics of the works. *Heavy Snow on Mountain Passes* and *Cascading Falls in a Pine Ravine* together mark the point at which Wen Zhengming's practice expanded from one that was still basically affirmative in the Shen Zhou mode, although a certain self-consciousness had already crept in by the late 1510s, toward one that was more complex, accommodating also a new type of painting in which he tried both to affirm and to face up to the limits of possibility of its realization. From 1527 until his death in 1559, the latter, conflicted approach would characterize his most ambitious works.

Since pictorial structure is fundamentally concerned with order, much was at stake in Wen Zhengming's experimentation. Painting in China, on the model of the *shi* 詩 form of poetry, had an age-old function of revealing the underlying order of the world.²³ This function was only rarely thematized explicitly; rather, it provided the substratum of meaning on which all the other specific thematic work of painting was undertaken. Visually, the revelatory work took form in the deep structure of the picture, governing aspects as basic as the use of the primary axes, relations of scale, integration of space and time, and narrative relation of figures to their environment. Elsewhere, I have suggested that what is involved is a cosmology specific to painting; by this I mean the capacity of painting to articulate a social and metaphysical cosmology in its visual structure.²⁴ To create pictorial order had ramifications far beyond the internal logic of picture-making. The many accounts of Chinese painters approaching the act of painting as a ritual activity are bound up with this issue, for to *reveal* was either to externalize or to internalize an order in which much more was at stake than merely formal concerns.

Down the centuries, the revelatory function of Chinese painting was radically reconceived several times, and therefore was very different in 1550 from what it had been in, say, 950, when Li Cheng was painting. By the sixteenth century, order was starting to become explicitly tied to subjectivity.²⁵ A particular aspect of this problem con-

23. Stephen Owen, *Traditional Chinese Poetry and Poetics: Omen of the World* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).

24. Hay, *Shitao*, pp. 279–80.

25. On this historical development, see John Hay, "Subject, Nature, and Representation in Early Seventeenth-Century China," *Proceedings of the Tung Ch'i-ch'ang International Symposium*, ed. Wai-ching Ho (Kansas City, Mo.: Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, 1992), pp. 4.1–4.22.

cerns the place that is held within the pictorial order by the human figures that signify subjectivity iconographically. With Shen Zhou's work, we are still in a world where the experiencing subject aligns itself with, or at least situates itself in relation to, a stable and coherent pre-existing order—an order that can be traced directly back through Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1301–1374), Huang Gongwang, and Wang Meng to the monumental landscapes of the tenth and eleventh centuries (see *Walking with a Staff* [*Cezhang tu* 第杖圖]; Fig. 11). Of course, there are important historical differences between the Ming painter and his Yuan predecessors. The visual order of Shen Zhou's paintings is more intimate and local, though this has its origins in what Richard Vinograd has called the “landscape of property” of Wang Meng.²⁶ It functions as a visual counterpart to a social order centered on a gentry class that assumed paternalistic responsibilities toward its tenants and toward the land of which it had the stewardship. Nonetheless, the emphasis on stability and unity is symptomatic of an underlying continuity with the pre-Ming past. Only the prominence of the self-referential figure, seen in its centrality and scale, quietly announces the arrival of a world in which the subject will claim the right to reinvent in its own image the order it inhabits.

This reinvention first becomes visible in the early sixteenth century, in the more dynamic of Tang Yin's 唐寅 (1470–1524) landscapes and the more theatrical of Wen Zhengming's figure-in-landscape compositions. However, Wen Zhengming post-1527 paintings for Wang Chong opened the way for the far more radical exploration of new aesthetic territory in the increasingly disjunctive of the artist's late works. In these paintings, the psychological center as defined by the focal human figure or figures, which in Shen Zhou's work had always been a safe position, is transformed by Wen Zhengming into a position of insecurity and anxiety. The figural embodiments of subjectivity in the paintings are either marginalized, as in a work for Wang that I have not discussed here, *Farewell at the Halting Clouds Lodging* (*Tingyun guan yanbie tu* 停雲館言別圖) of 1531; or they are left exposed (*Heavy Snow on Mountain Passes*); or they are placed under spatial pressure from the surrounding environment (*Cascading Falls in a Pine Ravine*). This exploration of insecurity reaches an extreme in such late masterpieces as *Verdant Pines by a Clear Stream* (*Maosong qingquan tu* 茂松清泉圖) of 1542 (Fig. 12) and *A Thousand Cliffs Contend in Splendor* (*Qianyan jingzhu tu* 千巖競秀圖) dated to 1548–1550 (Fig. 13). In the latter paintings, the problematization of the psychological center is echoed in the larger formal structure of the landscape, which in several places takes a disjunctive pictorial vision to the edge of incoherence and instability. There seems to be an inescapable connection between this pictorial disquiet and the fact that the real-life referents of the protagonists of Wen Zhengming's paintings were often elite males who did not have the security of a stable gentry existence. To one degree or another, theirs was instead either the literati insecurity of surviving on the symbolic capital of their education and culture, or the equivalent mercantile insecurity of knowing their social privilege to depend on commerce. These men played a gentry role, but self-consciously, knowing there to be—to one degree or another—a disjunction between image and reality. By giving

26. Richard Vinograd, “Family Properties: Personal Context and Cultural Pattern in Wang Meng's *Pien Mountains* of 1366,” *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 13 (1982), pp. 1–29.

their insecurity (which was also his own), visual form as disjunction, Wen Zhengming may be said to have problematized the ideological assumptions of literati painting as he had inherited them from Shen Zhou.

Modern art history has tended to associate formal disjunction with the seventeenth century, presenting Dong Qichang as its paradigmatic exponent. Dong went much further than Wen Zhengming—not surprisingly, in terms of the argument presented here, since he lived out a much sharper dichotomy between engagement in state values and urban professionalism.²⁷ His paintings achieve coherence through the relations among autonomous and sometimes unstable elements—relations which must be established by a participatory viewer (see *Poetic Feeling at the Qixia Monastery* [*Qixiasi shiyu tu* 棲霞寺詩意圖]; Fig. 14). As for the center (in the sense of an organizing focal point), it is abandoned in Dong's work: there are no figures to embody subjectivity, and no central position to accommodate such figures if they had existed. Instead, subjectivity is divided between a *nomadic* presence, potentially occupying any spot within the picture either as trace or as narrative implication, and a *somatic* presence, embodied in the totality of the form as landscape image.²⁸ Dong Qichang's debt to Wen Zhengming is so great that the relative silence with which Dong passes over the debt can only be explained as the result of an anxiety of influence. It was Wen Zhengming's late experiments in disjunction that made possible Dong Qichang's more radically disjunctive art. The fundamental contribution of Wen Zhengming's late work was the dismantling of the hierarchical cosmology that had descended in painting from the Song to the mid-Ming. For Dong Qichang, that dismantling was no longer enough—it was necessary to constitute a new coherence. Dong succeeded, as we know, but only at the price of establishing disjunction as the very principle of subjectivity.

Behind these questions of disjunction and subjectivity lurks the issue of authority. In *Snow on Mountain Passes* and *Cascading Falls in a Pine Ravine*, Wen Zhengming took the decisive first step in a longlasting pictorial reassessment of moral and cultural authority, without which Dong Qichang's later iconoclasm would have been unimaginable. At the beginning of this study, I wrote that this reassessment, in its broad lines, relativized the importance of the values associated with the hierarchical imperial cosmos by confronting them with the more fluid values of the commercial city. In effect, Wen used his paintings for Wang Chong to assert Wang Chong's practice and his own, and more generally the practice of the Stone Lake group, as embodiments of a moral and cultural authority that claimed relative autonomy with regard to both the state and the market. This authority looked for no legitimation other than its own claim and the resonance that this claim inspired in his contemporaries—a precedent that was not lost on Dong Qichang.²⁹

27. Dong's intense engagement in painting as a commercial activity is now beyond doubt. See Shan Guoqiang, "The Tendency toward Mergence of the Two Great Traditions in Late Ming Painting," in *Proceedings of the Tung Ch'i-ch'ang International Symposium*, ed. Wai-ching Ho, pp. 3.9–3.10.

28. As John Hay has written ("Subject, Nature, and Representation in Early Seventeenth-Century China," pp. 4.15–4.16): "Tung Ch'i-ch'ang uses both trees and mountains as a body, and a physiological representation is essential to both."

29. See Richard M. Barnhart, "Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's Connosseurship of Sung Painting and the Validity of His Historical Theories:

Consider, for example, Dong Qichang's connoisseurship, which Richard Barnhart has demonstrated to be deeply flawed. Yet Dong's opinion had authority, essentially because he claimed this authority with unparalleled effectiveness, asserting his ability to recognize the true masterpieces of the past, and to know how the masters of the past were related to each other historically. By incorporating these claims into his practice of painting, he was also to legitimize his own art and reinforce his reputation as a connoisseur. Masterpieces by definition had authority, to which one gained access by being able to recognize or, better still, to own them. But what one notices, reading Dong Qichang's writings or his inscriptions, is that every painting that ever inspired him was by definition a masterpiece: *because* it had inspired him, it had to have that status. In other words, Dong's collecting, connoisseurship, theorizing, and practice of painting all mutually supported each other in asserting his general claim to an authority that was not only cultural but ultimately moral as well. Dong was helped, of course, by the extremely limited circulation of putatively early paintings. Few other individuals of the time had his opportunities to see so many of them, and by his later years, he had owned more of them at one time or another than any of his contemporaries. Increasingly, he was able to appeal to his *own* authority, and did. Finally, without trying to decide whether it functioned as a catalyst or a by-product, we should note that authority had value—it was desirable and profitable. In his paintings and calligraphy, Dong was selling not only the private creativity that we so admire today, but also a self-created guarantee that his own creative engagement with cultural tradition was significant for society. If the claims made by Wen Zhengming seem by comparison to be understated and relatively restrained, they nonetheless opened the road to Dong's more extravagant ambition.

Depending on the historical prism through which we view Wen Zhengming's art, different characteristics emerge. We have long known him to be a key figure in the history of "post-classical" Chinese painting, and as such a major "later" Chinese painter working in a context of cultural belatedness. More recently, Shih Shou-chien has viewed Wen Zhengming's painting through a dynastic prism and demonstrated in new ways that he also occupied a central place in the art history of the Ming dynasty. In this study, I, like Craig Clunas in some of his writing on the artist, have chosen the historical prism of modernity. Without suggesting that a view of Wen Zhengming's art through this prism in any way exhausts its significance, this essay has made the claim that certain important features of his painting can only be explained within a history of early modern painting in China. Our ultimate goal must be to integrate this type of explanation, like those offered by other kinds of analysis, into a broader, multifaceted history of Chinese painting that does justice to the manifold historical frames of reference in which painting was implicated at any moment.³⁰

A Preliminary Study," in *Proceedings of the Tung Ch'i-ch'ang International Symposium*, ed. Wai-ching Ho, pp. 11.1–11.20.

30. For more detailed discussions of the theoretical problems involved in creating a multifaceted history of Chinese art along the lines suggested, see Jonathan Hay, "Toward a Disjunctive Diachronics of Chinese Art History," *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, vol. 40 (Autumn 2001), pp. 101–12; and "The Diachronics of Early Qing Art: Palaces, Porcelain, Painting," in *The Qing Formation in World-Historical Time*, ed. Lynn Struve (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004).

文徵明「斷裂」的審美特質

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文徵明(1470–1559)兩件最有名的作品《松壑飛泉圖軸》(1527–1531)與《關山積雪圖卷》(1528–1532)，皆為亦徒亦友的王寵(1494–1533)而作。本文欲提出這兩件作品在文徵明轉而探索「斷裂」之審美特質的關鍵地位，因為此番探索是1530、40至50年代時縈繞著文徵明與文派蘇州畫家的藝術追求。這兩幅畫可說改變了中國繪畫史的走向，因為文氏在此處的成就很可能為後來的董其昌(1555–1636)鋪路。故本文的另一主題即是探討「斷裂」的審美特質在早期現代(early modern)中國畫裡所扮演的角色與重要性。依筆者之見，其重要性有部分在於對道德與文化權威的重新評估；他們以更具流動性的商業城市價值，來因應具有強烈位階性格的帝國秩序，進而將帝國價值的重要性給相對化。

本文並不認為透過「現代性」的歷史透析便足以窮盡文徵明藝術的一切意義，而是主張文氏繪畫中某些重要的特色只有從中國早期現代繪畫史(history of early modern painting)的觀察角度才得以解釋。我們的終極目標必得要整合這種類型的解釋，就像我們去整合其他分析方法而得的詮釋一樣，要將它們匯成更寬廣多面的中國繪畫史，才得以全盤了解這些畫作無時無刻不暗示著的多元歷史架構。

文徴明の分裂の美学

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文徴明(1470–1559)の最も有名な絵画の二点は、画軸「松壑飛泉図」(1527–1531)と長巻「關山積雪図」(1528–1532)である。どちらも弟子であり友人であった王寵(1494–1533)のために描かれた。本論では、文徴明が芸術的な分裂の探求に移行する上でこの二作品が決定的な位置を占めることを論じる。その分裂の探求とは1530、1540、1550年代を通して文徴明とその周囲の蘇州の画家達の心を満たしていたものと思われる。文徴明がここで達成したものが後の董其昌(1555–1636)の功績の道を開いたと言えるにしても、この二点の絵画は中国絵画史の方向を変えるのに貢献した。したがって本稿のさらなるテーマは、近代初期中国絵画における分裂の美学の役割と重要性である。筆者の見解では、その重要性は一つには道徳的、文化的権威の再評価にある。その再評価は、階層的な王室の秩序に関連する価値観の重要性を、商業都市のより流動的な価値観に直面させることにより相対化させた。

本論では、近代という歴史的プリズムを通して見ると文徴明の芸術の意義が解消されるとは決して言うことなく、彼の絵画のいくつかの重要な特徴は、中国近代初期絵画史においてのみ説明可能であると主張する。われわれの最終的な目的は、他の種類の分析から提示されるものと同様、こうした説明をより広く多角的な中国絵画史へと統合することでなければならない。そうした絵画史とは、何時であれ絵画が関係した多様な歴史的視座を公平に評価するものである。

Fig. 1. Wen Zhengming (1470–1559). *Cascading Falls in a Pine Ravine*, dated to 1527–1531. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 108.1 × 37.8 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei. (detail on page 315)

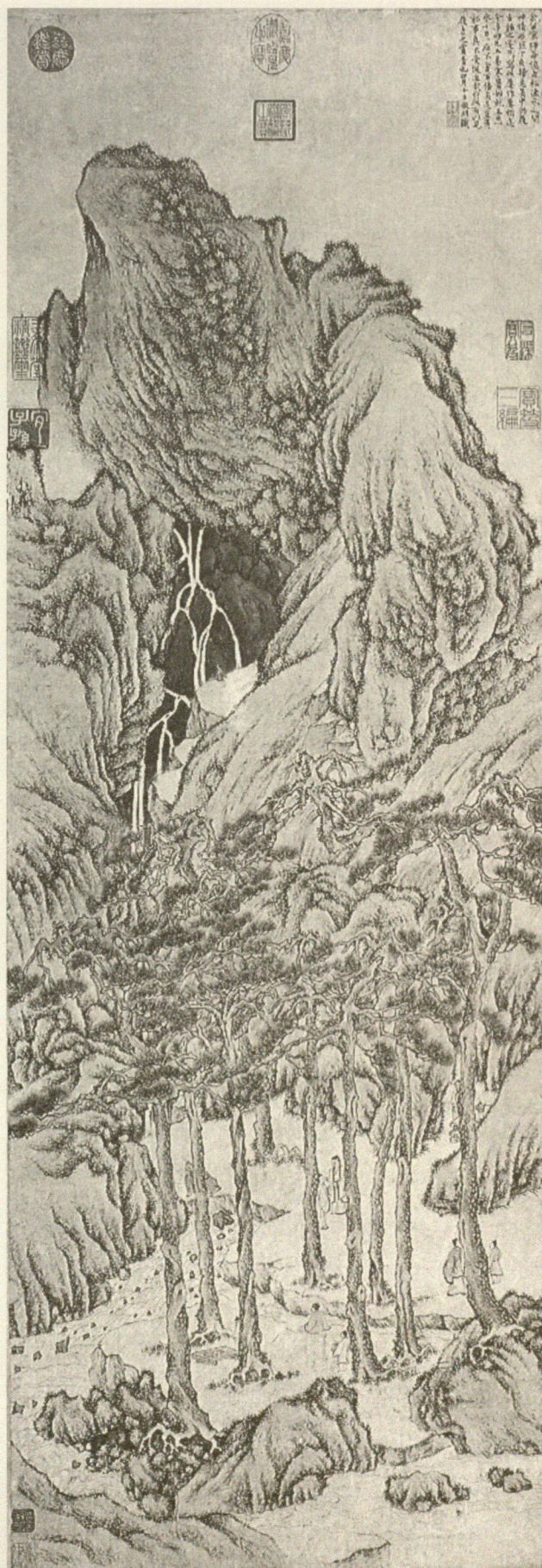




Fig. 2. Shen Zhou (1427–1509). *Lofty Mount Lu*, dated to 1467. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 193.8 × 98.1 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

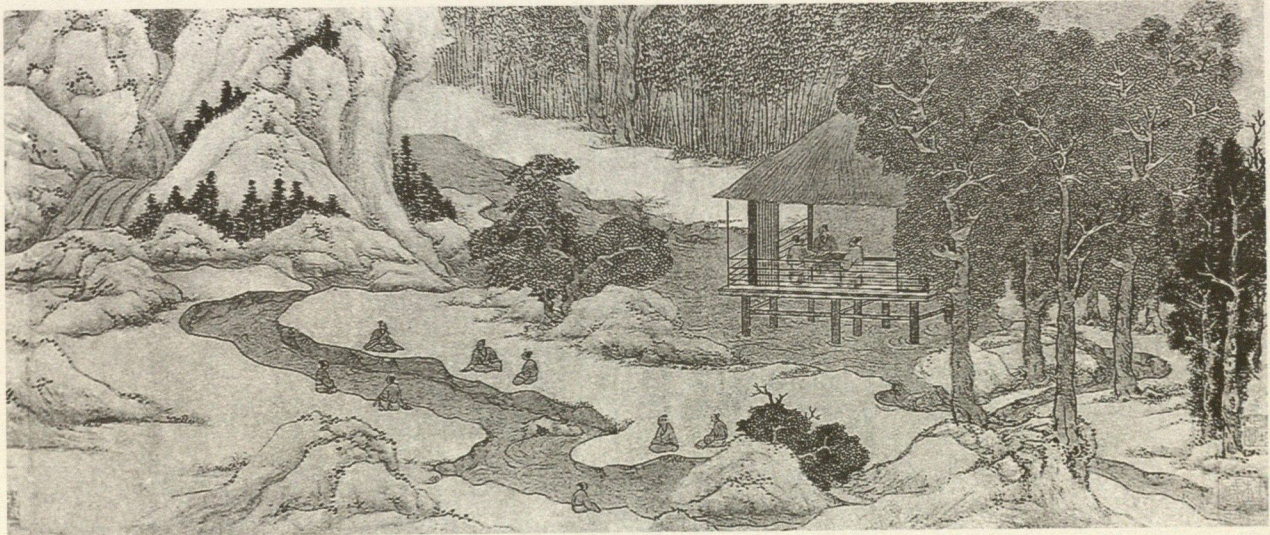


Fig. 3. Wen Zhengming (1470–1559). *Gathering at the Orchid Pavilion*. Handscroll, ink and color on gold paper, 24.2 × 60 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.



Fig. 4. Detail of Figure 1.



Fig. 5. Detail of Figure 1.



Fig. 6. Wen Zhengming (1470–1559). *Thatched Cottage in Green Shade*, ca. 1516. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 58.2 × 29.3 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Fig. 7. Wen Zhengming (1470–1559).
*Deep Snow over Mountains and
Streams*, dated to 1517. Hanging scroll,
ink and color on silk, 94.7 × 36.3 cm.
National Palace Museum, Taipei.



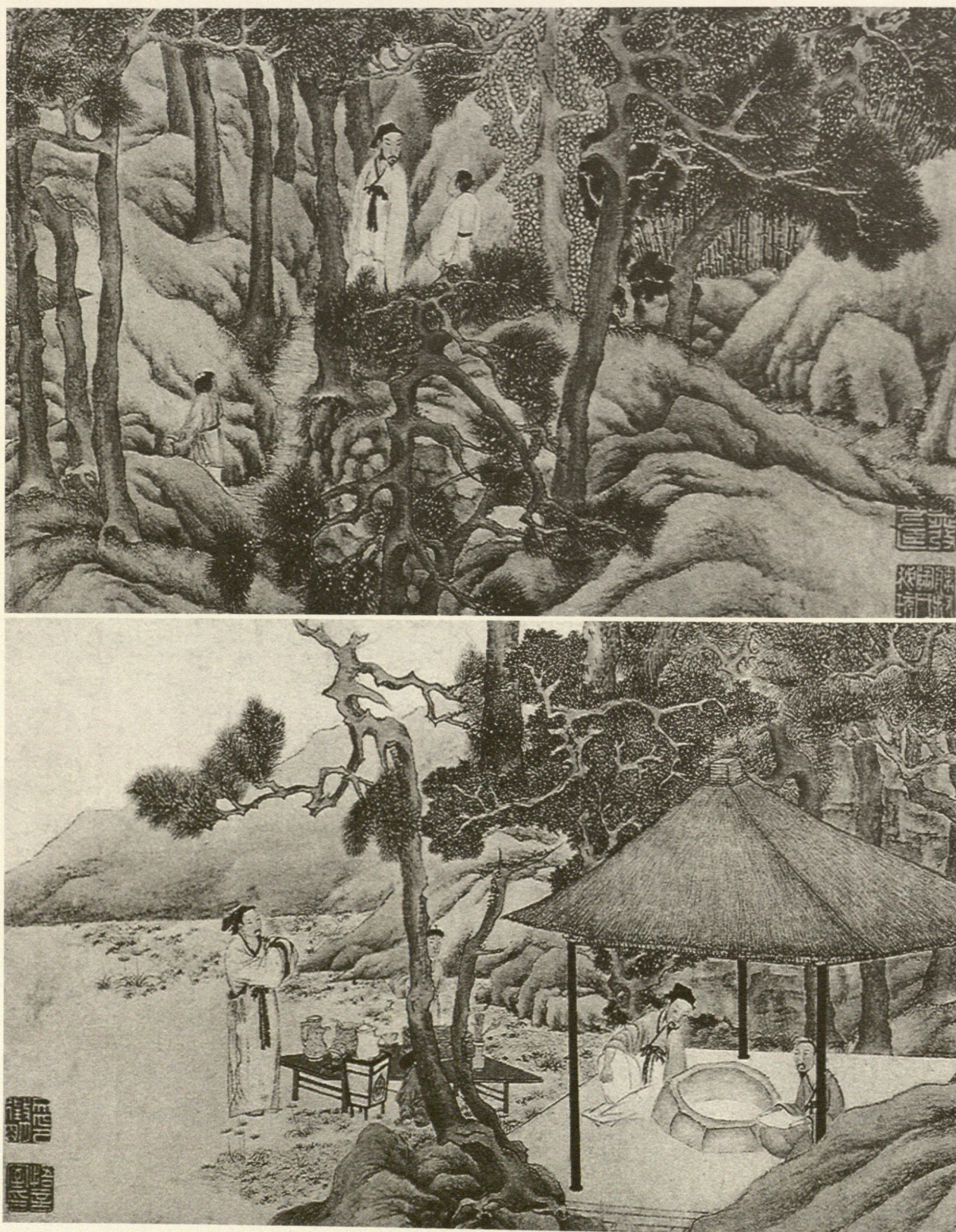


Fig. 8. Wen Zhengming (1470–1559). *Gathering for Tea at Mount Hui*, ca. 1518. Handscroll, ink and color on paper, 21.8 × 67 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.



Fig. 9-1. Wen Zhengming (1470–1559). Section 1 of *Heavy Snow on Mountain Passes*, dated to 1528-1532. Handscroll, ink and color on paper, 25.3 × 445.2 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

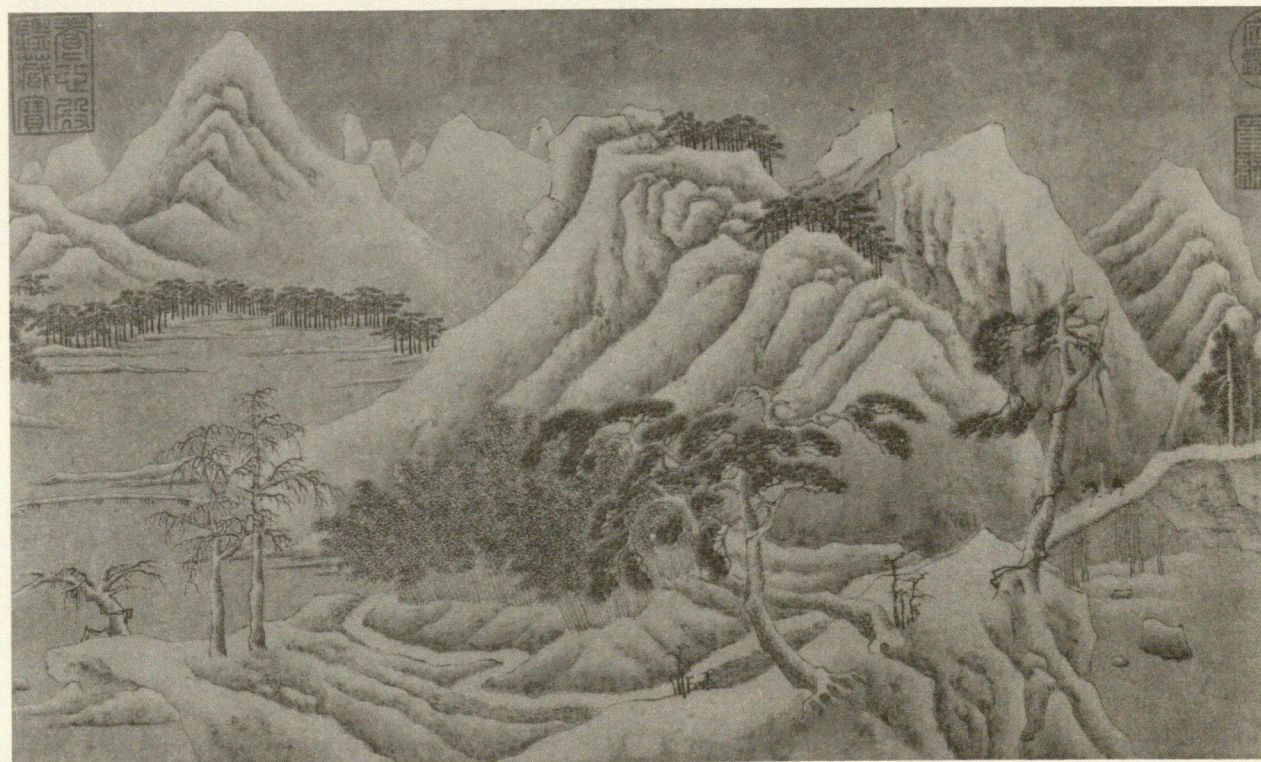


Fig 9-2. Section 2 of *Heavy Snow on Mountain Passes*.



Fig 9-3. Section 3 of *Heavy Snow on Mountain Passes*. (detail on page 331)



Fig. 9-4. Section 4 of *Heavy Snow on Mountain Passes*.



Fig. 9-5. Section 5 of *Heavy Snow on Mountain Passes*.

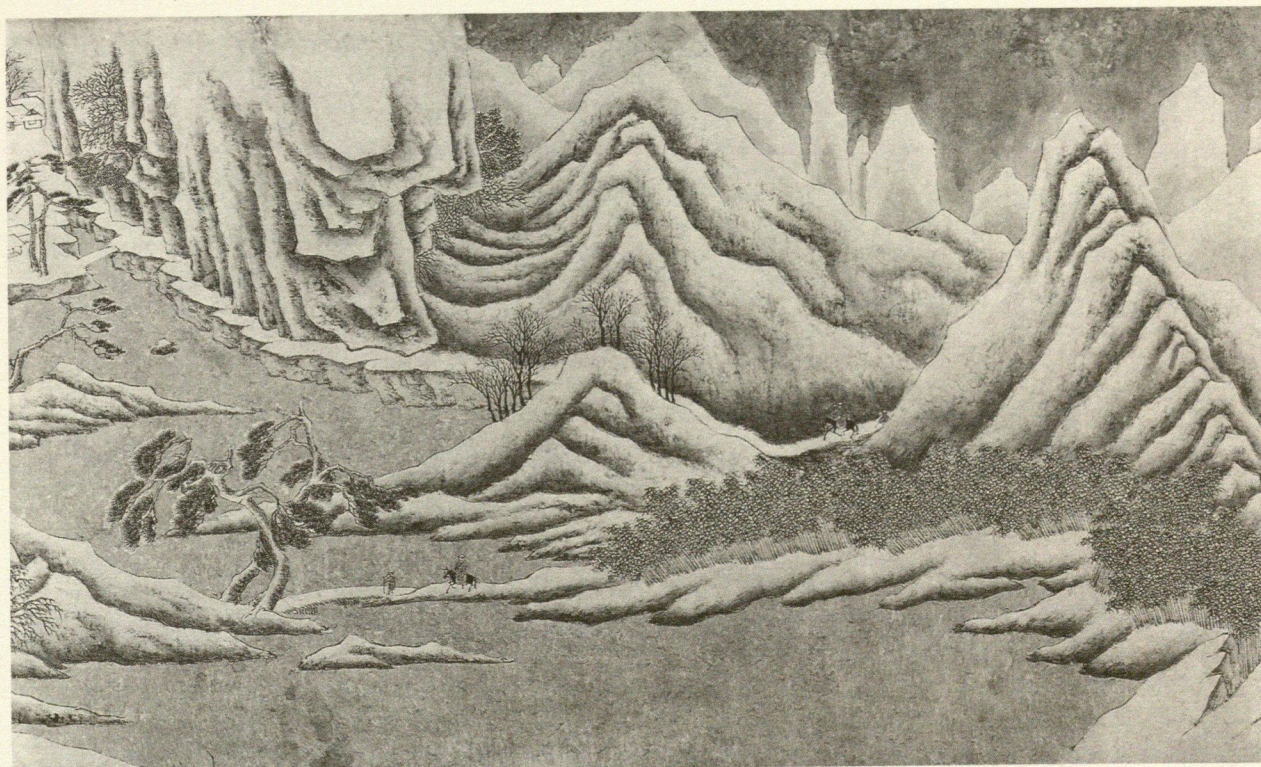


Fig. 9-6. Section 6 of *Heavy Snow on Mountain Passes*.



Fig. 9-7. Section 7 of *Heavy Snow on Mountain Passes*.



Fig. 9-8. Section 8 of *Heavy Snow on Mountain Passes*.



Fig. 9-9. Section 9 of *Heavy Snow on Mountain Passes*.

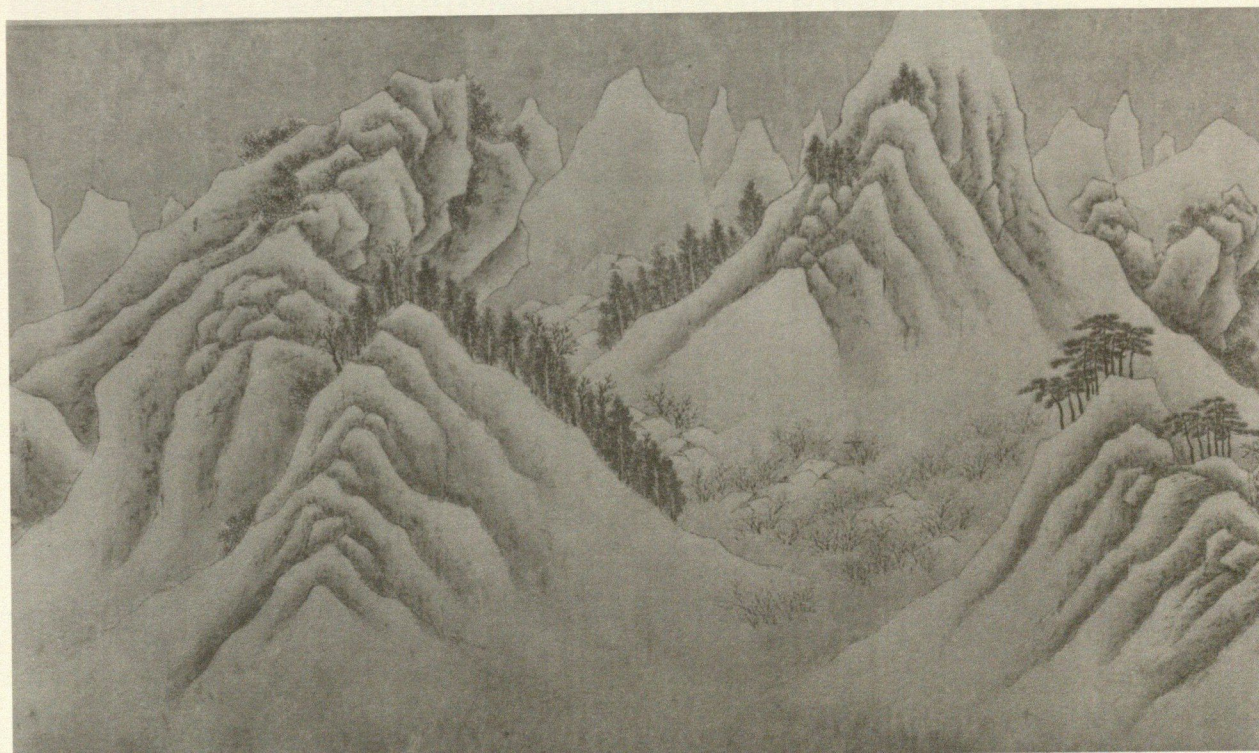


Fig. 9-10. Section 10 of *Heavy Snow on Mountain Passes*.



Fig. 9-11. Section 11 of *Heavy Snow on Mountain Passes*.

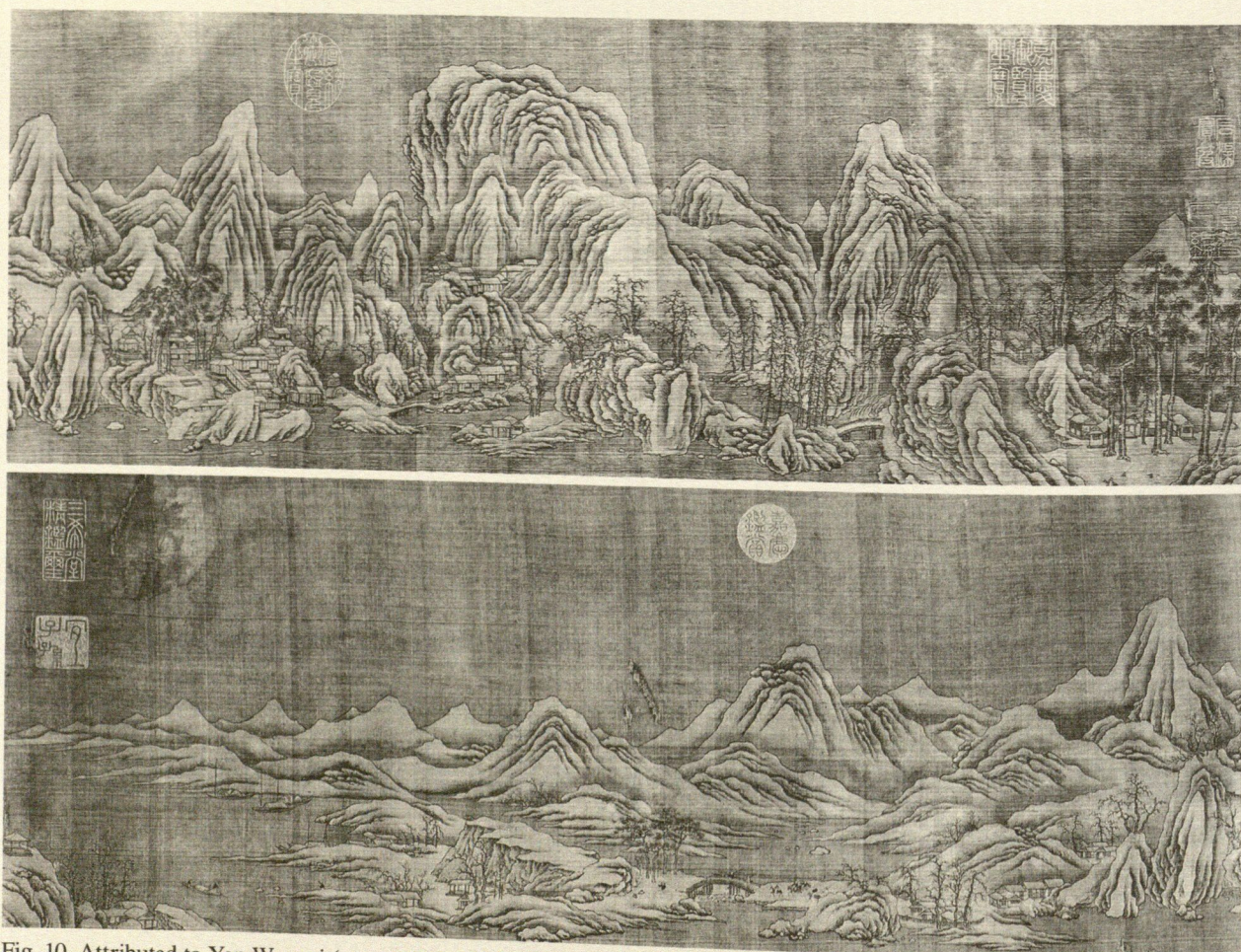


Fig. 10. Attributed to Yan Wengui (act. ca. 980–1010). *Riverbank After Snow*, After Wang Wei. Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 24.8 × 151.1 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Fig. 11. Shen Zhou (1427–1509). *Walking with a Staff*, ca. 1485. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 159.1 × 72.2 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.





Fig. 12. Wen Zhengming (1470–1559). *Verdant Pines by a Clear Stream*, dated to 1542. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 89.9 × 44.1 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

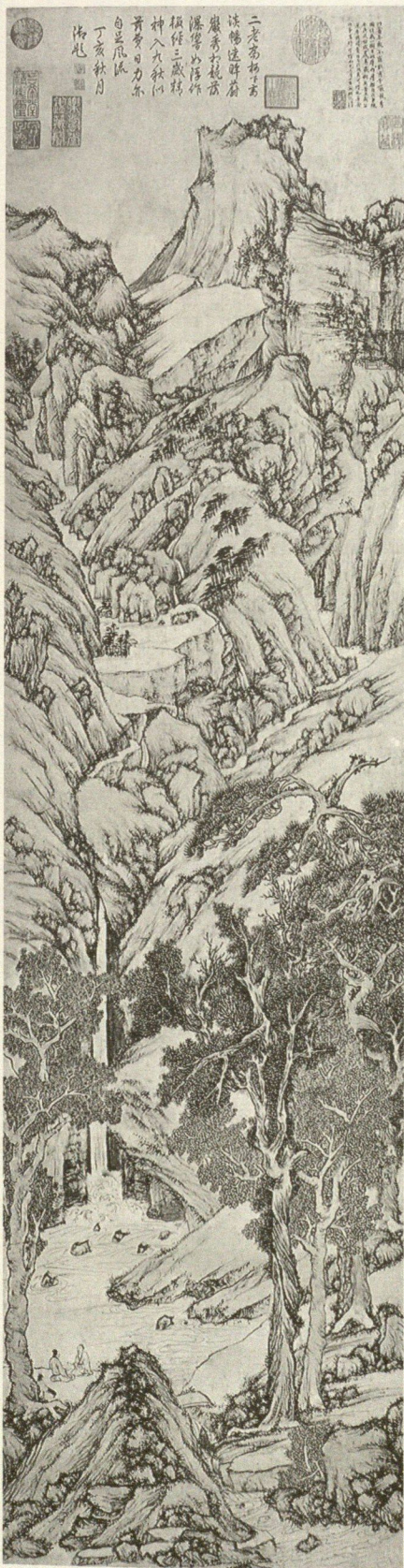


Fig. 13. Wen Zhengming (1470–1559). *A Thousand Cliffs Contend in Splendor*, dated to 1548–1550. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 132.6 × 34 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

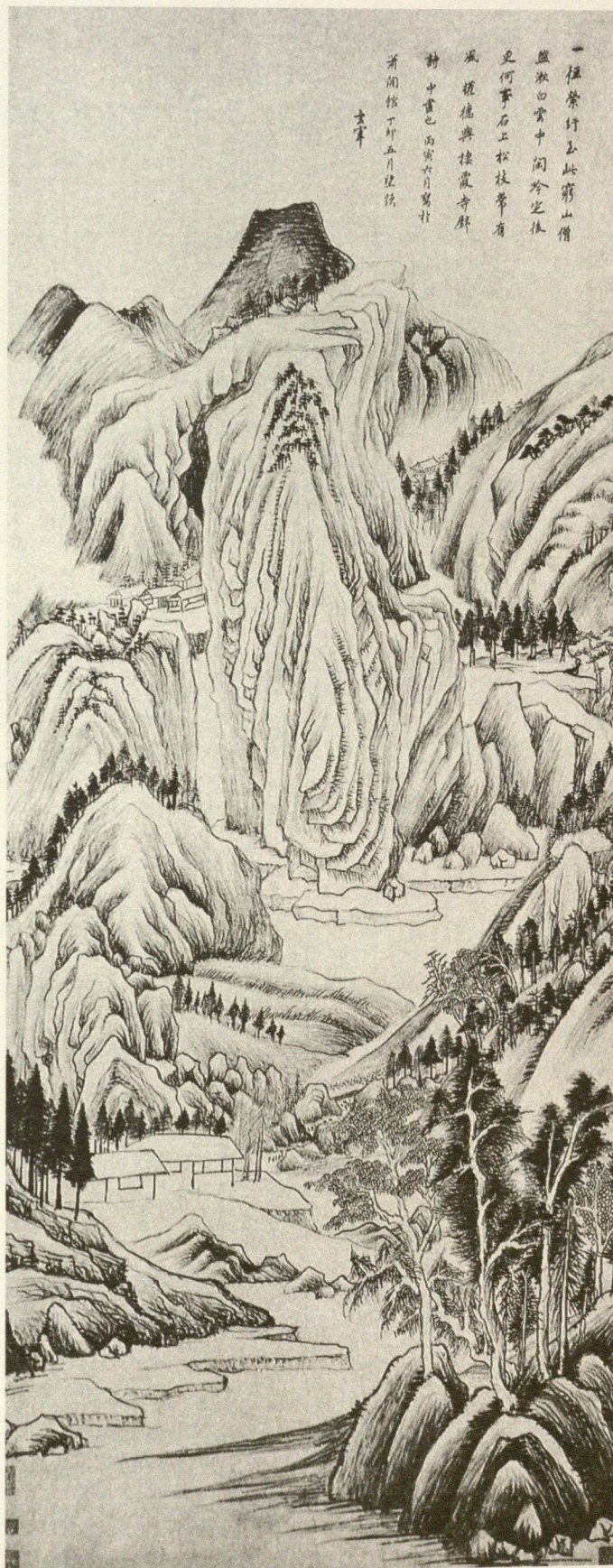


Fig. 14. Dong Qichang (1555–1636). *Poetic Feeling at the Qixia Monastery*, dated to 1626. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 133.1 × 52.5 cm. Shanghai Museum.