

## ABSTRACT

Title of dissertation: *ILLUSTRATIONS OF TAIPING PREFECTURE* (1648):  
A PRINTED ALBUM OF LANDSCAPES BY THE  
SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY LITERATI ARTIST,  
XIAO YUNCONG (1596–1673)

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This dissertation analyzes a printed landscape album, *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* (Taiping shanshui tuhua 太平山水圖畫) by Xiao Yuncong 蕭雲從 (1596–1673), one of a few scholar-artists who designed prints in the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century China. This study attempts to explore Xiao's printed landscape album in the context of his landscape paintings, mostly grouped into topographical landscapes and *fanggu* 仿古 [follow ancient masters' styles] paintings.

Xiao's landscape album, commissioned by Zhang Wanxuan 張萬選 as a memento of the beautiful scenery of the Taiping area in 1648, contains forty-three landscape paintings: one panoramic view of the Taiping area and forty-two paintings depicting Dangtu, Wuhu, and Fanchang. Through a visual analysis of the album, I

argue that *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* exemplify the increasing accessibility of literati culture in the late Ming and early Qing periods. I point out five distinctive characteristics of the Taiping album that make it more easily understood and appreciated by a broad audience: first, it is a collection of topographical landscapes which depict the local scenery and include the specific topographical elements; second, it is the faithful, narrative visualization of poetry inscribed in the album with vivid pictorial images; third, it uses the *fangu* method, a simplified and objectified interpretation of the old masters' styles, for depicting real scenic views; fourth, it has descriptive and intriguing details that can easily draw the viewer's attention and provide a visual amusement; fifth, it is in the form of a printed album that can be widely circulated. Xiao's Taiping album not only contributed to the formation of Japanese literati painting, the Nanga tradition, but also provided many landscape motifs and compositions for the *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting*.

Unlike the literary art that contained metaphoric references understood mainly by the elite, Xiao's Taiping album presented familiar local sites in a manner that essentially decoded the abstract, symbolic meanings of the "classical" forms into more formulaic pictorial languages. The Taiping album played a significant role in helping to expand the breadth of scholarly culture during the seventeenth century.

***ILLUSTRATIONS OF TAIPING PREFECTURE (1648):***  
**A PRINTED ALBUM OF LANDSCAPES BY THE SEVENTEENTH-**  
**CENTURY LITERATI ARTIST, XIAO YUNCONG (1596–1673)**

by

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Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the  
University of Maryland, College Park in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
2006

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To My Parents

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It would not have been possible to complete this dissertation without the enormous help and encouragement of many friends, teachers, colleagues, and family.

I am grateful to Professor Jason Kuo, for always pushing me harder to excel in this project. His rigor always challenged me and helped me to work independently. He read my drafts carefully and provided useful suggestions. However, I am alone responsible for any inaccuracies in the dissertation.

My interest in Chinese wood block prints was initiated during my study of Korean painting at Seoul National University, since Chinese prints were important sources for the development of Korean painting in the Chosŏn dynasty. I followed up this interest in my master's thesis, which was a comparative study of the print production and the paintings of the Chinese artist, Chen Hongshou. My interest in Chinese prints in relation to paintings grew when I came to the United States to pursue a higher degree and met Professor Sandy Kita, a historian of Japanese art in the Ph.D. program at the University of Maryland, College Park. I am most indebted to Professor Kita for his assistance during the initial stages of my thesis. He inspired me through our many valuable discussions about Japanese and Chinese print culture and their relation to popular art which helped me to develop the idea of this thesis.

To Professor Sally Promey, I would like to express my very special gratitude for strong support and encouragement. Not only did Professor Promey advise me in numerous ways as Department Chair and as a scholar, but also she thoroughly read my drafts and gave insightful suggestions as a member of my dissertation committee.

Most of all, her trust in me and in my dissertation became a driving force to help me complete it. I will always remember her generosity and enthusiasm. I deeply appreciate Dr. Marilyn Wong-Gleysteen for her advice and encouragement. It is my great fortune to have met her at the beginning of my studies and to have a chance to learn and discuss Chinese paintings with her. Her passion and feeling for Chinese painting always surprised me as well as her endless curiosity and challenging questions, which inspired me to look at paintings and prints again and never to forget the main issue. Dr. Gleysteen read my first and later drafts thoroughly and offered many precious suggestions. Other members of my dissertation committee were Professor Marie Spiro and Professor Marlene Mayo. I am truly thankful to Prof. Spiro for providing helpful suggestions and kind encouragement. I feel grateful to Prof. Mayo for also reading my dissertation, and making suggestions for correction.

Important research for this thesis was made possible through a Smithsonian Pre-doctoral Fellowship. I would like to extend special thanks to Dr. Joseph Chang, Associate Curator of Chinese Art at the Freer Gallery of Art and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington D.C. He generously shared important materials with me and gave valuable advice and support. I also would like to express my appreciation to Ms. Jan Stuart, Associate Curator of Chinese Art at the Freer Gallery of Art and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery for her consistent support and encouragement. I am grateful to the library staff of Freer Gallery of Art for their kind assistance in obtaining research materials. A research travel grant included in my Pre-doctoral Fellowship allowed me to make a crucial research trip to the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University. I want to thank Ms. Melissa Moy, Assistant Curator at



the Arthur M. Sackler Museum who not only welcomed my examination of the Harvard edition of *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, but also provided the photocopies of the Harvard album leaves and important documentations.

I feel very privileged to have been a student of Professor Hwi-joon Ahn of Seoul National University, who laid the groundwork for the field of Korean painting history and is a fine example of a sincere scholar. Professor Ahn led my study of art history during my undergraduate and graduate years in the program at the Seoul National University, and advised my Master's Thesis. I also appreciate Prof. Söng-mi Yi of the Academy of Korean Studies who first introduced me to Chinese painting and showed me how to look at paintings with a warm heart.

I want to also thank my classmates and friends, especially, Dr. Kuo-sheng Lai, Ms. Tang Li, and Ms. Sohee Kim for their support and friendships. Dr. Lai helped me to obtain important material from Taiwan, and provided useful suggestions on my Chinese translations. Ms. Xiaoqing Zhu also kindly helped me with translations of Chinese texts. I would like to express my thanks to the faculty and the staff of the Department of Art History and Archaeology, University of Maryland, College Park, for their consistent help. Their kindness and care made an international student like me feel like the department was my hometown in the United States.

I would like to thank Ms. Kannie Chan who helped me to obtain important research material from Hong Kong. I appreciate Ms. Hilary Parkinson for her detailed copy-editing and proofreading my dissertation.

I would also like to add my gratitude to scholars who preceded me in their research on the painter Xiao Yuncong: Wang Shicheng, Yuen-kit Szeto, and Huang

Zhenyan. Their primary research on this important subject provided a secondary foundation for my own work. Scholarship is a communal endeavor and I am grateful to those who have preceded me and assisted me.

Finally, I truly appreciate my parents-in-law for their great support and understanding. Most deeply, there is no way to express sufficiently my sincere gratitude to my mother, Ms. Minja Kim. She helped me in endless, countless ways and always showed her belief in me as only a mother can. My warm thanks go to my brother and two sisters who tread the path of higher learning together. I feel deeply thankful to my husband, Mr. Chao-hao Chuang for his enormous support and patience. Lastly, my most affectionate thanks go to my lovely children, Albert, Brian, and Christine who endured their mother's years of studying and now are very excited to have Dr. Mom.

I dedicate this dissertation to my father, Mr. Hyeoncheon Shin, who always showed his pride and strong confidence in me while he was alive. I am very glad and relieved that I am able to accomplish his wish that all of his four children pursue the highest academic degree possible. I am sure my father will be proud of me in heaven.

2006

Seojeong Shin

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(*Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu* 中國古代書畫圖目, vol. 7, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe 文物出版社, 1986–, 蘇 24-0414)

Fig. 44 Colophon by Tang Yansheng and Xiao Yuncong, *Getting Cool under Wutong Tree* (Tongxia naliang tu 桐下納涼圖), 17<sup>th</sup> C, handscroll, ink and color on paper, 29.7 x 580 cm, Shanghai Museum, detail.

(*Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu* 中國古代書畫圖目, vol. 4, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe 文物出版社, 1986–, 滬 1-2285)

Fig. 45 Xiao Yuncong, *Going Home and Living Abroad Are the Same Thing* (Guiyü yiyuan tu. 歸寓一元圖), 1656, handscroll, ink and color on paper, 23.5 x 1302 cm, Museum of Rietberg, Zürich, detail.

(Chu-tsing Li, *A Thousand Peaks and Myriad Ravines: Chinese Paintings in the Charles A. Drenowatz Collection*. 2 vols., Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1974, 172–173)

Fig. 46 Xiao Yuncong, *Going Home and Living Abroad Are the Same Thing* (Guiyü yiyuan tu. 歸寓一元圖卷), 1656, handscroll, ink and color on paper, 23.5 x 1302 cm, Museum of Rietberg, Zürich, detail.

(Chu-tsing Li, *A Thousand Peaks and Myriad Ravines: Chinese Paintings in the Charles A. Drenowatz Collection*. 2 vols., Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1974, 172–173)

Fig. 47 Xiao Yuncong, *Clear Sounds among Hills and Waters* (Shanshui qingyin tujuan 山水清音圖卷, 1664, handscroll, ink and light color on paper, 30.8 x 781.7 cm, Cleveland Museum of Art, detail.

(Wai-kam Ho et al., *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting: The Collection of the Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, and the Cleveland Museum of Art*, Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1980, pl. 223)

Fig. 48 Xiao Yuncong, *Landscape*, 1658, hanging scroll, ink and light color on paper, 96 x 41.4 cm, Freer Gallery of Art.

(The Freer Gallery of Art TMS)

Fig. 49 Xiao Yuncong, *Blue and Green Landscape* (Qinglü shanshui 青綠山水), 1665, handscroll, ink and color on paper, 33.5 x 782.8 cm, Shanghai Museum 上海博物館, detail.

(*Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu* 中國古代書畫圖目, vol. 4, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe 文物出版社, 1986–, 滬 1-2277)

Fig. 50 Xiao Yuncong, *Traveling in the Mountain and River* (Jiangshan shenglan tu 江山勝覽圖), 1664, National Palace Museum, Taipei, detail.

(Guoli gugong bowuyuan 國立故宮博物院, ed, *Gugong shuhua tulu* 故宮書畫圖錄, vol. 20, Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan 國立故宮博物院, 1986— 219)

Fig. 51 Xiao Yuncong, *One Hundred Feet of Bright Rosy Clouds* (Baichi mingxia tu 百尺明霞圖), 1667, ink on paper, 124.7 x 46.3 cm, Shanghai Museum 上海博物館.

(Ma Bin, 馬彬 et al., ed., *Ming Qing Anhui huajia zuopin xuan* 明清安徽畫家作品選, Hefei 合肥: Anhui meishu chubanshe 安徽美術出版社, 1988, p. 93)

Fig. 52 Xiao Yuncong, *Landscape with Figures*, 1667, handscroll, Ching Yuan Chai Collection, Berkeley

(James Cahill ed., *Shadows of Mt. Huang: Chinese Painting and Printing of the Anhui School*, Berkeley: University Art Museum, 1981, fig. 16)

Fig. 53 Xiao Yuncong, *Displaying an Album on a Stone Bench* (Shideng tanshu tu 石磴攤書圖), 1669, hanging scroll, ink and light color on paper, 132 x 66 cm, Rongbao zhai 榮寶齋 collection.

(*Zhongguo meishu quanji* 中國美術全集, Huihua 繪畫, vol. 9, Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe 上海人民美術出版社, 1988, pl. 31)

Fig. 54 Xiao Yuncong, *Landscape, with Mountains and Rivers*, 1669, handscroll, ink and color on paper, 23.81 x 429.9 cm, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, detail. (James Cahill ed., *Shadows of Mt. Huang: Chinese Painting and Printing of the Anhui School*, Berkeley: University Art Museum, 1981, fig. 17)

Fig. 55 Xiao Yuncong, *Dark and Deep Mountain Torrent and Gorge* (Jiangu youshen 礮谷幽深), 1666, handscroll, ink and color on paper, 15.4 x 131.2 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing, detail. (Xu Bangda 徐邦達 ed., *Zhongguo huihuashi tulu* 中國繪畫史圖錄, xia 下, Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe 上海人民美術出版社, 1984, pl. 457)

Fig. 56 Xiao Yuncong, *Pine Trees and Rocks in the Huang Mountains* (Huangshan songshi tu, 黃山松石圖), handscroll, ink and color on paper, 47.5 x 490 cm, Zhejiang Provincial Museum 浙江省博物館. (Ma Bin 馬彬 et al, ed. *Ming Qing Anhui huajia zuopin xuan* 明清安徽畫家作品選, Hefei 合肥: Anhui meishu chubanshe 安徽美術出版社, 1988, p. 105)

Fig. 57 Xiao Yuncong, “Entire View of Taiping Scenery,” *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, 1648, album leaf, 24.3 x 31.1 cm. (Liu Xin 劉昕 ed., *Zhongguo gu banhua* 中國古版畫: *Dilijuan shanchuantu* 地理卷山川圖, Changsha 長沙: Hunan meishu chubanshe 湖南美術出版社, 1999, p. 49)

Fig. 58 Xiao Yuncong, “Sanshan,” *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, 1648. (Liu Xin 劉昕 ed., *Zhongguo gu banhua* 中國古版畫: *Dilijuan shanchuantu* 地理卷山川圖, Changsha 長沙: Hunan meishu chubanshe 湖南美術出版社, 1999, p. 86)

Fig. 59 Cover page “Taiping shanshui shihua,” *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, 1648. (Liu Xin 劉昕 ed., *Zhongguo gu banhua* 中國古版畫: *Dilijuan shanchuantu* 地理卷山川圖, Changsha 長沙: Hunan meishu chubanshe 湖南美術出版社, 1999, p. 47)

Fig. 60 Zhang Wanxuan, “Table of Contents,” *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, 1648. (Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社 ed., *Zhongguo gudai banhua congkan erbian* 中國古代版畫叢刊二編, vol. 8, Shanghai, Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 1994, p. 4–5)

Fig. 61 Zhang Wanxuan, “Preface,” *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, 1648. (Liu Xin 劉昕 ed., *Zhongguo gu banhua* 中國古版畫: *Dilijuan shanchuantu* 地理卷山川圖, Changsha 長沙: Hunan meishu chubanshe 湖南美術出版社, 1999, p. 48)

Fig. 62 “Separated Notes,” *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, 1648.

(Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社 ed., *Zhongguo gudai banhua congkan erbian* 中國古代版畫叢刊二編, vol. 8, Shanghai, Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 1994, p. 6–7)

Fig. 63 Map of Ming Dynasty Capital, woodblock print. After Ye Chucang and Liu Yizhi, *Shoudu zhi-fu tu*.

(Willow Weilan Hai Chang, *Passion for the Mountains*, New York: China Institute Gallery, 2003, fig. 2)

Fig. 64 Xiao Yuncong, “Qingshan,” *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, 1648.

(Liu Xin 劉昕 ed., *Zhongguo gu banhua* 中國古版畫: *Dilijuan shanchuantu* 地理卷山川圖, Changsha 長沙: Hunan meishu chubanshe 湖南美術出版社, 1999, p. 50)

Fig. 65 Xiao Yuncong, “Caishi,” *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, 1648.

(Liu Xin 劉昕 ed., *Zhongguo gu banhua* 中國古版畫: *Dilijuan shanchuantu* 地理卷山川圖, Changsha 長沙: Hunan meishu chubanshe 湖南美術出版社, 1999, p. 52)

Fig. 66 Xiao Yuncong, “Wuboting,” *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, 1648.

(Liu Xin 劉昕 ed., *Zhongguo gu banhua* 中國古版畫: *Dilijuan shanchuantu* 地理卷山川圖, Changsha 長沙: Hunan meishu chubanshe 湖南美術出版社, 1999, p. 76)

Fig. 67 Xiao Yuncong, “Epilogue,” *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, 1648.

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Fig. 68 Xiao Yuncong, “Mengriting,” *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, 1648.

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Fig. 69 Attributed to Jing Hao, *Mt. Kuanglu*, late 12<sup>th</sup> C–early 13<sup>th</sup> C, hanging scroll, ink on silk, 185.8 x 106.8 cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei.

(Yang Xin, at al., *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press and Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1997, fig. 85)

Fig. 70 Fan Kuan, *Travelers amid Mountains and Gorges*, Northern Song, hanging scroll, ink on silk, 206.3 x 103.3 cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei.

(James Cahill, *Chinese Painting*, Geneva: Skira, 1960, p. 33)

Fig. 71 Attributed to Wang Wei, *Wangchuan Villa*, ink rubbing of a stone carving made after Wang Wei’s drawing, 15<sup>th</sup> C, 31 x cm, Art Museum, Princeton University.

(Yang Xin, at al., *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press and Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1997, fig. 78)

Fig. 72 Anonymous, *Wangchuan Villa*, Ming dynasty, Section of handscroll, ink and color on silk, 29.9 x 408 cm, Seattle Museum

(Sherman Lee, *A History of Far Eastern Art*, 5<sup>th</sup> edition, New York: Prentice Hall, and Harry N. Abrams, 1994, fig. 388)

Fig. 73 Wang Hong, *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers*, ca. 1150, handscroll, ink on silk, 23.4 x 90.7 cm, The Art Museum, Princeton University, detail.  
(Alfreda Murck, “*Eight Views of the Hsiao and Hsiang Rivers* by Wang Hung,” *Images of the Mind*, Princeton: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1984, p. 222-3, fig. 4)

Fig. 74 Attributed to Mu Qi, “Evening Glow on a Fishing Village,” *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers*, Southern Song, handscroll, ink on paper, Nezu Art Museum, Tokyo, detail.  
(James Cahill, *Chinese Painting*, Geneva: Skira, 1960, p. 93)

Fig. 75 Zhao Mengfu, *Autumn Colors Over Qiao and Hua Mountains*, Yuan, ink and color on paper, 28.4 x 93.2 cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei.  
(William Watson, *The Arts of China 900–1620*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000, fig. 215)

Fig. 76 Huang Gongwang, *Dwelling in the Fucun Mountains*, 1350, handscroll, ink on paper, 33 x 639.9 cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei, detail.  
(Gabriele Fahr-Becker ed., *The Art of East Asia*, vol. 1, Germany: Könemann, 1998, p. 184)

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(Gabriele Fahr-Becker ed., *The Art of East Asia*, vol. 1, Germany: Könemann, 1998, p. 187)

Fig. 78 Shen Zhou, *Twelve Views of Tiger Hill*, Ming, album leaf, ink on paper, The Cleveland Museum of Art.  
(Craig Clunas, *Art in China*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1997, fig. 81)

Fig. 79 Shen Zhou, *Complete Views of the Landscape near Suzhou*, Ming, handscroll, ink and color on paper, National Palace Museum, Taipei, detail.  
(Richard Edwards, *The World Around the Chinese Artist*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 1989, fig. II-19)

Fig. 80 Xiao Yuncong, “Tianmenshan,” *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, 1648.  
(Liu Xin 劉昕 ed., *Zhongguo gu banhua* 中國古版畫: *Dilijuan shanchuantu* 地理卷 山川圖, Changsha 長沙: Hunan meishu chubanshe 湖南美術出版社, 1999, p. 56)

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(Liu Xin 劉昕 ed., *Zhongguo gu banhua* 中國古版畫: *Dilijuan shanchuantu* 地理卷山川圖, Changsha 長沙: Hunan meishu chubanshe 湖南美術出版社, 1999, p. 83)

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(Liu Xin 劉昕 ed., *Zhongguo gu banhua* 中國古版畫: *Dilijuan shanchuantu* 地理卷山川圖, Changsha 長沙: Hunan meishu chubanshe 湖南美術出版社, 1999, p. 51)

Fig. 87 Xiao Yuncong, "He'ershan," *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, 1648.  
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Fig. 88 Xiao Yuncong, "Shenshan," *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, 1648.  
(Liu Xin 劉昕 ed., *Zhongguo gu banhua* 中國古版畫: *Dilijuan shanchuantu* 地理卷山川圖, Changsha 長沙: Hunan meishu chubanshe 湖南美術出版社, 1999, p. 68)

Fig. 89 Mi Youren, *Cloudy Mountains*, 1130, handscroll, ink and slight color on silk, 43.5 x 193 cm, Cleveland Museum of Art.  
(Sherman Lee, *A History of Far Eastern Art*, 5<sup>th</sup> edition. New York: Prentice Hall and Harry N. Abrams, 1994, fig. 469)

Fig. 90 Xiao Yuncong, "Lingxushan," *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, 1648.  
(Liu Xin 劉昕 ed., *Zhongguo gu banhua* 中國古版畫: *Dilijuan shanchuantu* 地理卷山川圖, Changsha 長沙: Hunan meishu chubanshe 湖南美術出版社, 1999, p. 62)

Fig. 91 Attributed to Dong Yuan, *Mountain Paradise* (Dongtianshantang 洞天山堂), hanging scroll, National Palace Museum, Taipei.  
(Max Loehr, *The Great Painters of China*, New York: Harper & Row, 1980, fig. 57)

Fig. 92 Xiao Yuncong, "Eqiao," *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, 1648.

(Liu Xin 劉昕 ed., *Zhongguo gu banhua* 中國古版畫: *Dilijuan shanchuantu* 地理卷山川圖, Changsha 長沙: Hunan meishu chubanshe 湖南美術出版社, 1999, p. 89)

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(Liu Xin 劉昕 ed., *Zhongguo gu banhua* 中國古版畫: *Dilijuan shanchuantu* 地理卷山川圖, Changsha 長沙: Hunan meishu chubanshe 湖南美術出版社, 1999, p. 66)

Fig. 94 Wu Zhen, *Fisherman*, 1342, hanging scroll, ink on silk, 176.1 x 95.6 cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei.  
(Yang Xin, at al., *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press and Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1997, fig. 148)

Fig. 95 Wu Zhen, *Autumn Mountains*, Yuan, hanging scroll, ink on silk, 150.9 x 103.8 cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei  
(James Cahill, *Hills Beyond A River: Chinese Painting of the Yuan Dynasty, 1276–1368*, New York: Weatherhill, 1976, fig. 24)

Fig. 96 Xiao Yuncong, “Heshan,” *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, 1648.  
(Liu Xin 劉昕 ed., *Zhongguo gu banhua* 中國古版畫: *Dilijuan shanchuantu* 地理卷山川圖, Changsha 長沙: Hunan meishu chubanshe 湖南美術出版社, 1999, p. 63)

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(Liu Xin 劉昕 ed., *Zhongguo gu banhua* 中國古版畫: *Dilijuan shanchuantu* 地理卷山川圖, Changsha 長沙: Hunan meishu chubanshe 湖南美術出版社, 1999, p. 72)

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(Yang Xin, at al., *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press and Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1997, fig. 162)

Fig. 99 Xiao Yuncong, “Xiyanchi,” *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, 1648.  
(Liu Xin 劉昕 ed., *Zhongguo gu banhua* 中國古版畫: *Dilijuan shanchuantu* 地理卷山川圖, Changsha 長沙: Hunan meishu chubanshe 湖南美術出版社, 1999, p. 80)

Fig. 100 Ma Yuan, *A Scholar and His Servant on a Terrace*, Southern Song, album leaf, ink and light colors on silk, C.C. Wang Collection, New York.  
(James Cahill, *Chinese Painting*, New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1985, p. 83)

Fig. 101 Ma Yuan, *Landscape in Rain*, Southern Song, hanging scroll, ink on silk, 111.1 x cm, Seikado Library, Tokyo.  
(Sherman Lee, *A History of Far Eastern Art*, 5<sup>th</sup> edition, New York: Prentice Hall and Harry N. Abrams, 1994, fig. 478)

Fig. 102 Xiao Yuncong, “Niuzhuji,” *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, 1648.

(Liu Xin 劉昕 ed., *Zhongguo gu banhua* 中國古版畫: *Dilijuan shanchuantu* 地理卷山川圖, Changsha 長沙: Hunan meishu chubanshe 湖南美術出版社, 1999, p. 53)

Fig. 103 Xiao Yuncong, “Yangjiadu,” *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, 1648.  
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(Liu Xin 劉昕 ed., *Zhongguo gu banhua* 中國古版畫: *Dilijuan shanchuantu* 地理卷山川圖, Changsha 長沙: Hunan meishu chubanshe 湖南美術出版社, 1999, p. 91)

Fig. 105 Tang Yin, “Long Days in the Quiet Mountains,” *Worshipping Kuanyin*, Ming, album leaf, Collection of Nicole Chen, Taipei.  
(Anne De Coursey Clapp, *The Painting of T'ang Yin*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1991, pl. 1)

Fig. 106 Xiao Yuncong, “Longshan,” *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, 1648.  
(Liu Xin 劉昕 ed., *Zhongguo gu banhua* 中國古版畫: *Dilijuan shanchuantu* 地理卷山川圖, Changsha 長沙: Hunan meishu chubanshe 湖南美術出版社, 1999, p. 60)

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(Liu Xin 劉昕 ed., *Zhongguo gu banhua* 中國古版畫: *Dilijuan shanchuantu* 地理卷山川圖, Changsha 長沙: Hunan meishu chubanshe 湖南美術出版社, 1999, p. 78)

Fig. 108 Song Boren 宋伯仁, *Meihua xishen pu* 梅花喜神譜, 1261, album leaf, woodblock print, 14.6 x 10.2 cm, Shanghai Museum.  
(*Zhongguo meishu quanji* 中國美術全集, Huihua 繪畫, vol. 20, Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe 上海人民美術出版社, 1988, pl. 14)

Fig. 109 Min Qiji, *Xixiangji*, 1640, album leaf, woodblock print, 27.5 x 32.3 cm, Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Cologne.  
(Robert L. Thorp and Richard Ellis Vinograd, *Chinese Art & Culture*, New York: Prentice Hall and Harry N. Abrams, 2001, 9-4)

Fig. 110 Chen Hongshou, *Zhang Shen zhi zheng bei Xixiangji*, 1639, album leaf, woodblock print, 20.2 x 13 cm, Zhejiangsheng 浙江省 Library.  
(*Zhongguo meishu quanji* 中國美術全集, Huihua 繪畫, vol. 20, Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe 上海人民美術出版社, 1988, pl. 118)

Fig. 111 Hu Zhengyan ed., *Ten Bamboo Studio Manual of Letter Paper Design* (Shizhuzhai jianpu 十竹齋箋譜), 1644, album leaf, woodblock print, 21 x 14 cm, Shanghai Museum.  
(*Zhongguo meishu quanji* 中國美術全集, Huihua 繪畫, vol. 20, Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe 上海人民美術出版社, 1988, pl. 156)



Fig. 112 Xiao Yuncong, “Qiupu,” *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, 1648.  
(Liu Xin 劉昕 ed., *Zhongguo gu banhua* 中國古版畫: *Dilijuan shanchuantu* 地理卷山川圖, Changsha 長沙: Hunan meishu chubanshe 湖南美術出版社, 1999, p. 90)

Fig. 113 Xiao Yuncong, “Landscape 山水,” *Shanshui zahuace* 山水雜畫冊,” album leaf, ink on silk, 23.3 x 17.5 cm, Kurokawa Institute of Ancient Culture 黑川古文化研究所.  
(Suzuki Kei 鈴木敬, comp., *Chugoku kaiga sogo zuroku* 中國繪畫總合圖錄 [Comprehensive illustrated catalogue of Chinese paintings] 5 vols. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1982–1983, III-312, 8/11)

Fig. 114 Xiao Yuncong, “Wanshan feixue 萬山飛雪,” *Landscapes After Old Masters* (Nigu shanshui 擬古山水), 1653, album leaf, ink and color on paper, 23.7 x 14.7 cm, Anhui Provincial Museum 安徽省博物館.  
(Ma Bin, 馬彬 et al, ed. *Ming Qing Anhui huajia zuopin xuan* 明清安徽畫家作品選, Hefei 合肥: Anhui meishu chubanshe 安徽美術出版社, 1988, p. 99)

Fig. 115 Xiao Yuncong, “Songxi yuyin 松溪漁隱,” *Landscapes After Old Masters* (Nigu shanshui 擬古山水), 1653, album leaf, ink and color on paper, 23.7 x 14.7 cm, Anhui Provincial Museum 安徽省博物館.  
(Ma Bin, 馬彬 et al, ed. *Ming Qing Anhui huajia zuopin xuan* 明清安徽畫家作品選, Hefei 合肥: Anhui meishu chubanshe 安徽美術出版社, 1988, p. 98)

Fig. 116 Li Cheng, *Fishing on a Wintry Stream*, late tenth c., hanging scroll, ink on silk, 170 x 101.9 cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei.  
(William Watson, *The Arts of China 900–1620*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000, fig. 12)

Fig. 117 Xiao Yuncong, “Wangfushan,” *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, 1648.  
(Liu Xin 劉昕 ed., *Zhongguo gu banhua* 中國古版畫: *Dilijuan shanchuantu* 地理卷山川圖, Changsha 長沙: Hunan meishu chubanshe 湖南美術出版社, 1999, p. 54)

Fig. 118 Guo Zhongshu, *Yueyangloutu*, handscroll, ink and color on silk, 29.6 x 57.7 cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei.  
(*Gugong shuhua tulu* 故宮書畫圖錄, vol. 15, Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan 國立故宮博物院, 1986–, p. 179)

Fig. 119 Xiao Yuncong, *Shanshui tuce* 山水圖冊, 1653, album leaf, ink and color on paper, Sichuan Provincial Museum 四川省博物館.  
(*Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu* 中國古代書畫圖目, vol. 17, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe 文物出版社, 1986–, p. 62)

Fig. 120 Huang Gongwang, *Stone Cliff at the Pond of Heaven* (Tianchi shibitu 天池石壁圖), 1341, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 139.4 x 57.3cm, Palace Museum, Beijing.

(*Zhongguo meishu quanji* 中國美術全集, Huihua 繪畫 5, Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe 上海人民美術出版社, 1988, pl. 42)

Fig. 121 Xiao Yuncong, “Fufushan,” *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, 1648. (Liu Xin 劉昕 ed., *Zhongguo gu banhua* 中國古版畫: *Dilijuan shanchuantu* 地理卷山川圖, Changsha 長沙: Hunan meishu chubanshe 湖南美術出版社, 1999, p. 84)

Fig. 122 Xiao Yuncong, *Fanggu Landscape Album* (Fanggu shanshui ce 仿古山水冊), 1666, album leaf, Palace Museum, Beijing.

(*Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu* 中國古代書畫圖目, vol. 22, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe 文物出版社, 1986–, p. 41–42)

Fig. 123 Xiao Yuncong, *Landscape Album in the Manner of Song and Yuan Styles* (Fang Song Yuan shanshui ce 仿宋元山水圖冊), 1664, album leaf, ink on paper, 20.9 x 14.45 cm, Shih-tou Shu-wu collection.

(*Yuemu: Zhongguo wanqishuhua* 悅目: 中國晚期書畫, Taipei: Shitou chubanshe 石頭出版社, 2001, pl. 34)

Fig. 124 Xiao Yuncong, *Landscape Album in the Manner of Song and Yuan Styles* (Fanggu shanshui ce 仿宋元山水圖冊), twelfth leaf, 1664, album leaf, ink on paper, 20.9 x 14.45 cm, Shih-tou Shu-wu collection.

(*Yuemu: Zhongguo wanqishuhua* 悅目: 中國晚期書畫, Taipei: Shitou chubanshe 石頭出版社, 2001, pl. 34)

Fig. 125 Xiao Yuncong, *Landscape Album in the Manner of Song and Yuan Styles* (Fanggu shanshui ce 仿宋元山水圖冊), ninth leaf, 1664, album leaf, ink on paper, 20.9 x 14.45 cm, Shih-tou Shu-wu collection.

(*Yuemu: Zhongguo wanqishuhua* 悅目: 中國晚期書畫, Taipei: Shitou chubanshe 石頭出版社, 2001, pl. 34)

Fig. 126 Xiao Yuncong, *Fanggu Landscape Album* 仿古山水冊, 1669, album leaf, ink and color on paper, 19.5 x 14.5 cm, Shanghai Museum.

(*Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu* 中國古代書畫圖目, vol. 4, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe 文物出版社, 1986–, p. 182–183)

Fig. 127 Xiao Yuncong, *Landscape Album* 山水冊, album leaf, ink and color on paper, 35.7 x 23.4 cm, Shanghai Museum.

(*Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu* 中國古代書畫圖目, vol. 4, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe 文物出版社, 1986–, p. 182–183)

Fig. 128 Xiao Yuncong, *Going Home and Living Abroad Are the Same Thing* (Guiyü yiyuan tu 歸寓一元圖), 1656, handscroll, ink and color on paper, 23.5 x 1302 cm, Museum of Rietberg, Zürich, detail.

(Chu-tsing Li, *A Thousand Peaks and Myriad Ravines: Chinese Paintings in the Charles A. Drenowatz Collection*. 2 vols., Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1974, 172–173)

Fig. 129 Xiao Yuncong, “Nipo,” *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, 1648.

(Liu Xin 劉昕 ed., *Zhongguo gu banhua* 中國古版畫: *Dilijuan shanchuantu* 地理卷 山川圖. Changsha 長沙: Hunan mei shu chu ban she 湖南美術出版社, 1999, p. 59)

Fig. 130 Xiao Yuncong, “Jingshan,” *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, 1648.

(Liu Xin 劉昕 ed., *Zhongguo gu banhua* 中國古版畫: *Dilijuan shanchuantu* 地理卷 山川圖. Changsha 長沙: Hunan mei shu chu ban she 湖南美術出版社, 1999, p. 58)

Fig. 131 Xiao Yiyi, *Gazing at Waterfall in the Pine Forest* (Songlin guanpu tu 松林觀瀑圖), 17<sup>th</sup> C, hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 119 x 58.4 cm, Jilin 吉林 Provincial Museum.

(*Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu* 中國古代書畫圖目, vol. 16, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe 文物出版社, 1986–, 吉 1–150)

Fig. 132 Ike Taiga, “Tōfukuji,” *Six Sights in Kyoto*, hanging scroll, ink and light color on paper, 127.8 x 53.3 cm, Private collection, Japan.

(Melinda Takeuchi, *Taiga's True Views: The Language of Landscape Painting in Eighteenth-Century Japan*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992, pl. 13)

Fig. 133 Gu Bing, *Master Gu's Manual of Painting* (Gushi huapu 顧氏畫譜), 1603, album leaf, woodblock print, 26.8 x 18.3 cm, Shanghai Library.

(Gu Bing 顧炳, *Gushi huapu* 顧氏畫譜, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe 文物出版社, 1983)

Fig. 134 *Wuyi zhilue* 武夷志略, 1619, album leaf, woodblock print, 20.6 x 13.7 cm, Shanghai Library.

(*Zhongguo meishu quanji* 中國美術全集, Huihua 繪畫, vol. 20, Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe 上海人民美術出版社, 1988, pl. 48)

Fig. 135 *Tianxia mingshan shenggai ji* 天下名山勝概記, 1633, album leaf, woodblock print, 19 x 13.5 cm, Shanghai tushuguan.

(*Zhongguo meishu quanji* 中國美術全集, Huihua 繪畫, vol. 20, Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe 上海人民美術出版社, 1988, pl. 50)

Fig. 136 “The General Methods of Combining Various Kinds of Trees—Fan Kuan's style,” in the “Book of Trees,” *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting*, 1679, album leaf, woodblock print.

(Mai-mai Sze, *The Tao of Painting: A Study of the Ritual Disposition of Chinese*

*Painting, with a Translation of the Chieh Tzŭ Yüan Hua Chuan or Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting 1679–1701*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1956, p. 85)

Fig. 137 “Xiao Zhao’s style,” in the “Book of Mountains and Rocks,” *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting*, 1679, album leaf, woodblock print.

(Mai-mai Sze, *The Tao of Painting: A Study of the Ritual Disposition of Chinese Painting, with a Translation of the Chieh Tzŭ Yüan Hua Chuan or Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting 1679–1701*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1956, p. 177)

Fig. 138 Xiao Yuncong, “Fanluoshan” *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, 1648.

(Liu Xin 劉昕 ed., *Zhongguo gu banhua* 中國古版畫: *Dilijuan shanchuantu* 地理卷 山川圖. Changsha 長沙: Hunan mei shu chu ban she 湖南美術出版社, 1999, p. 69)

Fig. 139 “The Example of Painting Fields and Mountains,” in the “Book of Mountains and Rocks,” *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting*, 1679, album leaf, woodblock print.

(Sze, Mai-mai, *The Tao of Painting: A Study of the Ritual Disposition of Chinese Painting, with a Translation of the Chieh Tzŭ Yüan Hua Chuan or Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting 1679–1701*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1956, p. 197)

Fig. 140 “A Boat Carrying a Load of Wine,” “River Boats,” and “Junks,” in the “Book of Renwu,” *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting*, 1679, album leaf, woodblock print.

(Mai-mai Sze, *The Tao of Painting: A Study of the Ritual Disposition of Chinese Painting, with a Translation of the Chieh Tzŭ Yüan Hua Chuan or Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting 1679–1701*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1956, p. 303, 304, 306, 307)

Fig. 141 “Xiao Yuncong’s *Fanggu* Painting in the Manner of Guo Xi Style,” in the “Book of Renwu,” *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting*, 1679, album leaf, woodblock print.

(*Yuanban Jieziyuan huapu* 原板芥子園畫譜, Hong Kong: Xuelin youxian gongsi 學林有限公司, 1978, p. 60)

## I. Introduction

This dissertation examines an important instance which demonstrates how elite art of the educated class became accessible to commoners in seventeenth-century China. Literati culture is one of the most important intellectual traditions in China, and my thesis explores one way in which the elite arts become popularized. How this happened in the seventeenth century, even in this one example, is key to understanding the early modern era in China. I explore these changes by examining a printed album by the seventeenth-century scholar-artist, Xiao Yuncong 蕭雲從 (1596–1673), whose printed landscape album *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* (Taiping shanshui tuhua 太平山水圖畫) is distinctive in its illustrative characteristics of scenery, poetry, and use of the ancient masters' styles, as well as descriptive details that make his album easier to understand for a broad audience.

*Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, published in 1648, is one of Xiao Yuncong's best-known artworks. It includes forty-three landscape prints depicting three districts in central Anhui 安徽 province, where Xiao was born and lived: Dangtu 當塗, Wuhu 蕪湖 and Fanchang 繁昌 in the Taiping 太平 prefecture. As indicated in the table of contents in the album, Xiao described the scenic beauty of each of these real places by using specific painting styles associated with ancient Chinese masters. Moreover, each illustration also incorporates famous poetry related to the specific scene. Xiao's *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* uniquely combines a realistic description of specific scenic views using a method known as *fanggu* 仿古 [follow ancient masters' styles] with illustrations of poetry related to the scenery.

Xiao Yuncong was a versatile scholar-artist (*wenren huajia* 文人畫家) who was talented in poetry, music, calligraphy, and painting. Among the scholar-painters of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century China, when most printed illustrations for books were designed by professional artists (*huagong* 畫工), only a few, such as Ding Yunpeng 丁雲鵬 (1547–ca. 1628), Chen Hongshou 陳洪綬 (1598–1652), and Xiao Yuncong, are known to have made and designed prints.<sup>1</sup>

The starting point in this thesis asks why and how did particular scholar-artists in the late Ming period participate in the design and creation of prints for books. By looking at the significance of printed landscapes by scholar-artists of the time, I argue that Xiao Yuncong's printed landscape album is one of the most important examples

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<sup>1</sup> Unlike scholar-artists, who painted for their own enjoyment and not their livelihood, professional artists were commissioned by patrons to produce artwork. In the Ming dynasty, professional artists belonged generally to private or local governmental workshops (*gongfang* 工房) and produced wall paintings, sculptures, and other decorative art, especially in temples, as well as woodblock prints. In the traditional social hierarchy of gentry (*shi* 士), farmers (*nong* 農), artisans (*gong* 工), and merchants (*shang* 商), they ranked as artisans, nameless craftsmen. For a study on Ding Yunpeng's prints, see Sewell Oertling, "The Painting of Ting Yun-p'eng: A Chinese Artist of the Late Ming Dynasty" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1980); Li-chiang Lin, "The Proliferation of Images: The Ink-Stick Designs and the Printings of the *Fang-shih mo-p'u* and the *Ch'eng-shih mo-yuan*" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1998). For a study on Chen Hongshou's prints, see Huang Yongquan 黃湧泉, *Chen Laolien banhua xuanji* 陳老蓮版畫選集 (Beijing 北京: Zhongguo gudian yishu congshu 中國古典藝術叢書, 1957); Kobayashi Hiromitsu 小林宏光, "Chin Kōju no hanga katsudō 陳洪綬の版畫活動," *Kokka* 國華 1061 (1983): 25–39; 1062 (1984): 35–51; Kohara Hironobu 古原宏伸, "Chin Kōju shiron 陳洪綬試論," *Bijutsushi* 美術史 62 (1966); 64 (1967), translated by A. Burkus, "An Introductory Study of Chen Hongshou, Part I and II," *Oriental Art* 32.4 (winter 1986–87): 398–420; 33.1 (spring 1987): 67–83; Anne Burkus, "The Artefacts of Biography in Ch'en Hung-shou's Pao-lun-t'ang chi" (Ph.D. diss., Berkeley: University of California, 1987); Weng Wan-go 翁萬戈, *Chen Hongshou* 陳洪綬, 3 vols. (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997); Tamara Heimarck Bentley, "Authenticity in a New Key: Chen Hongshou's Figurative Oeuvre, 'Authentic Emotion,' and the Late Ming Market" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2000).

to represent the change of Chinese literati culture during the seventeenth century.

“Literati painting” (*wenren hua* 文人畫) is a concept that changed over time along with social, cultural, and economic changes, although the long-held view by scholars sees this educated class, generally described as “literati” (*wenren* 文人), as more or less homogenous and fixed.<sup>2</sup> In the Song dynasty (960–1279), the term literati referred to the class of educated high officials called “shidafu (士大夫).” If they practiced painting, their art was generally based on subjects derived from their study of the classics and carried traditional meanings that differed from the art of professionally trained painters of religious or functional subjects. In the Yuan dynasty (1260–1368), the term literati came to include ordinary scholars who were educated but who did not serve in the government. Under Mongol rule, not only were the civil service examinations suspended for a while, but many scholars refused to serve the Mongol government and lived as hermits, or made their living in other professions.

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<sup>2</sup> Susan Bush thoroughly discusses scholars’ painting including the definition in her book *The Chinese Literati on Painting: Su Shih (1037–1101) to Tung Ch’i-ch’ang (1555–1636)* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971). She particularly summarizes the definition of scholars’ painting by Teng Gu 滕固 as “(1) artists who are scholar-officials are distinguished from artisan painters; (2) art is seen as an expressive outlet for scholars in their spare time; (3) the style of scholar-artists is different from that of academicians.” She also introduces the definition by Aoki Masaru and by James Cahill: “Aoki Masaru claims that scholars’ painting is the art of amateurs... According to him [James Cahill] there are two basic concepts in this theory: 1. The quality of expression in a picture is principally determined by the personal qualities of the man who creates it, and the circumstances under which he creates it. 2. The expressive content of a picture may be partially or wholly independent of its representational content.” Susan Bush, *ibid.*: 1–2, and footnote 1. Teng Gu 滕固, *Tang Song huihua shi* 唐宋繪畫史 (Beijing: Zhongguo gudian yishu chubanshe 中國古典藝術出版社, 1958): 71–72; Aoki Masaru 青木正兒, *Chūka bunjinga dan* 中華文人畫談 (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1949): 18; James Cahill, “Wu Chen, A Chinese Landscapist and Bamboo Painter of the Fourteenth Century” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1958): 13.

The art practiced by scholars changed with the social changes and their own way of life. By the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, literati art had become a vehicle for expressing both personal and political feelings and ideals.

In the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), partly as an outgrowth of the changes during the Yuan period, the literati were more actively engaged in political, social, and economic activities. Based on my research, I observe that their painting, in turn, underwent changes from a highly personalized and generally introspective art into a more descriptive representational medium that could express human feelings and depict the experiences of human beings in many levels of society as well as engagement with nature.<sup>3</sup> One of the reasons for this transformation is that Ming scholar-artists no longer secluded themselves but interacted with other members of society and other social classes as shown in the increasing number of collaborative works among artists, paintings recording the events of scholarly gatherings, and paintings dedicated to merchants. The social ramifications related to literati painting cannot be overlooked.

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<sup>3</sup> James Cahill argues that the “ideal of quickness and spontaneity of execution,” by “a Taoist, or Chan Buddhist, or a cultivated Confucian scholar,” was chiefly associated with the artist of the “cultivated professional” type in the sixteenth century and “drawing [sketching] the idea (xieyi 寫意)” was a “cause of decline in later Chinese painting.” James Cahill, “Quickness and Spontaneity in Chinese Painting: The Ups and Downs of an Ideal,” in *Three Alternative Histories of Chinese Painting* (Kansas: Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, 1988): 70–99; James Cahill, “Afterword: Hsieh-I as a Cause of Decline in Later Chinese Painting,” in *ibid.*: 100–12. Michael Sullivan states that “Ming painting ... is now made to carry a much richer freight of poetic and philosophical content ... To help carry that freight ... the painter’s inscription became longer and more richly poetic or philosophical in tone. Thus did the art of painting at its upper levels become more and more inter-woven with the ideals and attitudes of the elite and more and more remote from the experience of the rest of society.” Michael Sullivan, *The Arts of China*, 4th edition (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1999): 218–9.



Xiao Yuncong's printed album, *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, demonstrates many of the characteristics of these changes in the late Ming and early Qing (1644–1911) scholarly art, which I will summarize here in three points. First, Xiao Yuncong depicted the real scenery of his hometown rather than idealized or imaginary landscapes. This expansion of the function of scenery is also related to a boom in travel to seek out famous scenic views, as well as the economic interests of developing cultural tourism as part of a flourishing local economy, not to mention the geometric increase in the number of educated scholars in specific regions of the Yangzi delta of south China during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.<sup>4</sup> Also not to be forgotten is the development of an attitude of self-awareness and confidence encouraged by trends in the later development of Neo-Confucianism, which helped to arouse local interest in specific regions, and the geography, products, and accomplishments of the local literati and culture.<sup>5</sup> Scholars from particular

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<sup>4</sup> For a discussion about the change of literati roles in the early Qing period, see Benjamin A. Elman, "The Transformation of Literati Roles," in *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Council on East Asian Studies, 1984): 167–75. For a brief explanation of the importance of the Yangzi delta, see Benjamin A. Elman, "The Context of Lower Yangzi Academics," in *ibid.*: 7–15. For a discussion about socio-economic development in the Ming period, see Martin Heijda, "The Socio-economic Development of Rural China during the Ming," in *The Cambridge History of China* 8, edited by Denis Twitchett and Frederick W. Mote (Cambridge, New York and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1996): 417–578.

<sup>5</sup> For a study on Neo-Confucianism, see William Theodore de Bary, *Learning for One's Self: Essays on the Individual in Neo-Confucian Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991); William Theodore de Bary ed. *Self and Society in Ming Thought* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1970); William Theodore de Bary ed., *The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1975); Chun-mai Chang, *The Development of Neo-Confucian Thought* (New York: Bookman Associates, 1962).

regions emphasized their own experiences, emotional reactions, and personal viewpoints and ideas, and recorded them in essays and poetry, which eventually made their way into printed books. These books readily lent themselves to illustration, and designs of local scenery had to be commissioned for this purpose. Thus illustrated albums of regional scenery such as Xiao Yuncong's *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, which depicted local scenic views familiar to residents, grew in demand, as they were accessible and easily appreciated by scholars and by general audiences.

Second, the fanggu method, using techniques inspired by ancient masters which Xiao used for describing real scenic views, was also a way of making more accessible something that had been previously only appreciated by the relatively few members of China's elite culture. Just as annotations in the vernacular allowed more people to understand the classic texts, the method of fanggu was a gloss used by contemporary artists in their interpretations on old masters' styles, making the depictions more easily appreciated by less visually educated viewers. In previous dynasties, the old masters' styles as found in original scrolls had been the exclusive privilege of the elite who had access to collections of art. However, as the practice of the fanggu method became more widespread among scholar-artists in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such paintings made possible reinterpretations that reworked, simplified, and objectified the characteristics of the old masters' styles, making them more easily transmittable and recognizable as shown in Xiao's album. This formularization made it easy to grasp the essence of the old masters' styles and simpler for the non-educated commoner class to appreciate.

Third, Xiao Yuncong's descriptive painting style provided another way to

enjoy the landscape subjects of his printed album without deep knowledge of the classics or the old masters' visual or poetic references. Because it was different from the literary art that contained metaphoric references understood mainly by the elite class, Xiao Yuncong's printed album *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* presented the familiar local sites in a manner that essentially decoded the abstract, symbolic meanings of the classical forms into more formulaic pictorial languages. The Taiping album is the illustrations of both scenic views and poetry, and his prints and paintings include many realistic details of ordinary life and topographical elements that make his art not only interesting and attractive, but also more accessible.

Lastly, Xiao's *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* circulated in several printed editions. Although much has been written about late Ming and early Qing literati art, the importance of books and prints in relation to scholarly art has been overlooked. My dissertation investigates later literati art through the relationship of scholars to the illustrations in printed books. In late Ming scholarly culture, illustrated book-making was not only one of the representative cultural activities of scholars, displaying their sociable characteristics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but also one of the main avenues leading to the spread of scholarly culture to the common people through the phenomenon of book dissemination. This also suggests that the involvement of scholar-painters in illustrated book-making led to a fundamental change in the scholarly culture of the late Ming and early Qing periods. The Ming dynasty was a turning point in the history of book culture, when during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the development of print culture reached its peak in

terms of artistic quality.<sup>6</sup> The Ming dynasty witnessed not only social and economic changes, such as a flourishing economy and the spread of education, but also the development of new printing techniques and a general prosperity in the publishing

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<sup>6</sup> For a study on Ming prints, see Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸 ed., *Zhongguo banhua shi tulu* 中國版畫史圖錄 (Shanghai: Zhongguo banhuashi she 中國版畫史社, 1941); Wang Bomin 王伯敏, *Zhongguo banhuashi* 中國版畫史 (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe 人民美術出版社, 1961); Chang Pide 昌彼得 ed., *Mingdai banhua xuan* 明代版畫選, 2 vols. (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan 國立故宮博物院, 1969); Zhou Wu 周蕪, *Zhongguo banhua shi tulu* 中國版畫史圖錄, 2 vols. (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 人民美術出版社, 1983); Zhou Wu 周蕪, *Zhongguo gudai banhua baitu* 中國古代版畫百圖 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe 人民美術出版社, 1982); Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸 ed., *Zhongguo gudai mukehua xuanji* 中國古代木刻畫選集 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe 人民美術出版社, 1985). For a study on printed illustrations in the literature, see Fu Xihua 傅惜華, *Zhongguo gudian wenxue banhua xuanji* 中國古典文學版畫選集, 2 vols. (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe 人民美術出版社, 1978); Sören Edgren ed., *Chinese Rare Books in American Collections* (New York: China House Gallery, China Institute in America, 1984); Zhou Wu 周蕪, *Zhongguo guben xiqu chatu xuan* 中國古本戲曲插圖選 (Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe 人民美術出版社, 1985); Guojia tushuguan 國家圖書館 ed., *Guojia tushuguan cang xiqu xiaoshuo banhua xuancui* 國家圖書館藏戲曲小說版畫選粹, (Taipei: Guojia tushuguan 國家圖書館, 2000); Guoli gugong bowuyuan 國立故宮博物院, ed., *Youban youyan shuo banhua- Gudai xiqu, xiaoshuo banhua tezhan* 有板有眼說版畫-古代戲曲小說版畫特展 (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan 國立故宮博物院, 2001); Guoli zhongyang tushuguan 國立中央圖書館, ed., *Mingdai banhua yishu tushu tezhan zhuanji* 明代版畫藝術圖書特展專輯 (Taipei: Wenjianhui 文建會, 1989); Guoli zhongyang tushuguan 國立中央圖書館, ed., *Mingdai banhua xuanji* 明代版畫選輯 (Taipei: Guoli zhongyang tushuguan 國立中央圖書館, 1990). For a study on regional prints, see Zhou Wu 周蕪, *Huipai banhua shi lunji* 徽派版畫史論集 (Anhui: Renmin meishu chubanshe 人民美術出版社, 1983); Zhou Wu 周蕪, *Jinling gu banhua* 金陵古版畫 (Nanjing: Jiangsu meishu chubanshe 江蘇美術出版社, 1993); Nancy, Berliner, “Wang Tingna and Illustrated Book Publishing in Huizhou,” *Orientalism* 25.1 (1994): 67–75. Particularly, K. T. Wu explains the four main achievements of Ming printing—colored printing, woodcut illustration, copper movable type, and woodcut facsimiles of earlier editions—in his article, “Ming Printing and Printers,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 7 (1943): 203–60.

business.<sup>7</sup>

All these changes accelerated the distribution of printed books. The availability of illustrated books to a broader readership gave commoners greater access to elite culture than ever before. Illustrated books gave books a new function—changing them from the object of classical study into a medium of popular entertainment.

Despite the significance of the printed album *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* in the history of Chinese prints and of Xiao Yuncong as a scholar-artist in the seventeenth century, relatively few studies have been done, especially by Western scholars. In recent times, the Chinese scholar Wang Shicheng 王石城 published *Xiao Yuncong* 蕭雲從 in Shanghai in 1979. This is the earliest study to introduce Xiao Yuncong's biography, paintings, and prints as a whole.<sup>8</sup> Wang's work is a general book from a series of monographs on the history of Chinese painters, entitled

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<sup>7</sup> For a study on the publishing business, see Lucille Chia, "Printing for Profit: The Commercial Publishers of Jianyang, Fujian (Song-Ming)" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1996); Lucille Chia, *Printing for Profit: The Commercial Publishers of Jianyang, Fujian (12th–17th Centuries)* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002). Ellen Widmer, "The Huanduzhai of Hangzhou and Suzhou: A Study in Seventeenth-Century Publishing," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 56.1 (1996): 77–122. For a study on education in the late Ming and Qing dynasties, see Kai-wing Chow, "Writing for Success: Printing, Examinations, and Intellectual Change in Late Ming China," *Late Imperial China* 17.1 (1996): 120–57; Benjamin A. Elman and Alexander Woodside eds., *Education and Society in Late Imperial China 1600–1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

<sup>8</sup> Wang Shicheng 王石城, *Xiao Yuncong* 蕭雲從 (Shanghai 上海: Renmin meishu chubanshe 人民美術出版社, 1979). In addition, two articles provide important literary sources on Xiao Yuncong: Hu Yi 胡藝, "Xiao Yuncong nianpu, 蕭雲從年譜," *Meishu yanjiu* 美術研究 1 (1969): 48–55 and Chen Chuanxi 陳傳席, "Youguan Xiao Yuncong ji Taiping shanshui shi hua zhu wenti 有關蕭雲從及太平山水詩畫諸問題," *Duoyun* 朵雲 25.2 (1990): 86–92.

*Zhongguo huajia congshu* 中國畫家叢書. Most importantly, Wang provided key literary sources for Xiao's biography and his paintings.

The most recent study on Xiao Yuncong is a master's thesis by Yuen-kit Szeto, titled "Xiao Yuncong ji qi shanshui huihua 蕭雲從及其山水繪畫."<sup>9</sup> Szeto's thesis contains new primary sources, particularly in investigating Xiao's friendship with other scholar-artists and merchants. Szeto discusses Xiao Yuncong's paintings by grouping them in chronological order. Szeto argues that Xiao achieved his individual style through a gradual stylistic evolution, and he summarizes Xiao's stylistic characteristics as abstracted blocky structures, bold and vigorous brushwork, and the depiction of human activities.

There are two articles on Xiao Yuncong's prints that deserve mention. One is Huang Zhenyan's 黃貞燕 master's thesis entitled "Qingchu shanshui banhua *Taiping shanshui tuhua* yanjiu 清初山水版畫《太平山水圖畫》研究" (1994).<sup>10</sup> Huang's thesis is the only work to deal solely with the Taiping album. She introduces important literary documents about the Taiping album. Huang analyzes the themes and the old styles related to Xiao's works, and provides useful information about poetry references.

The second article is "Yi zai tuhua: Xiao Yuncong *Tianwen* chatu de fengge yu yizhi 意在圖畫: 蕭雲從<天問>插圖的風格與意旨" (2001) by Ma Meng-ching

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<sup>9</sup> Yuen-kit Szeto, "Xiao Yuncong ji qi shanshui huihua 蕭雲從及其山水繪畫" (master's thesis, University of Hong Kong, 2000).

<sup>10</sup> Huang Zhenyan 黃貞燕, "Qingchu shanshui banhua *Taiping shanshui tuhua* yanjiu 清初山水版畫《太平山水圖畫》研究" (master's thesis, National Taiwan University, 1994).

馬孟晶.<sup>11</sup> Ma emphasizes that Xiao Yuncong's originality enabled him to illustrate the difficult text *Tianwen* 天問 by Qu Yuan 屈原 in the *Illustrations of Lisao* (Lisao tu 離騷圖), published in 1645. Ma found the origins of Xiao's imagery in early mythology, religious illustrations, and popular printed illustrations from novels and dramas. She observes that Xiao's prints have humor, rich imagination, strangeness, and peculiarity created by exaggeration and contortion.

Although the main focus of my thesis is Xiao Yuncong's printed album *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, which I analyze thoroughly in chapter 3, I also include a discussion of Xiao's biography and his paintings in chapter 2 to create a full context in which the Taiping album can be fully appreciated. Through visual and textual analysis of the printed landscape album, my thesis also deals with the crucial question of how Xiao Yuncong's *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* exemplifies the increasing accessibility of literati culture in the late Ming and early Qing periods.

My thesis consists of five chapters. Following this introductory chapter, the second chapter "Xiao Yuncong's Life and His Landscape Paintings" provides a brief biography of Xiao Yuncong based on available literary documents and discusses the characteristics of Xiao's landscape paintings. I include translations of important inscriptions and colophons on his paintings and look into the stylistic sources of Xiao's paintings, as well as offer stylistic analysis of his works in chronological order.

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<sup>11</sup> Ma Meng-ching 馬孟晶, "Yi zai tuhua: Xiao Yuncong *Tianwen* chatu de fengge yu yizhi 意在圖畫: 蕭雲從<天問>插圖的風格與意志," *Gugong xueshu jikan* 故宮學術季刊 18. 4 (summer 2001): 103–40.

The third chapter, “Xiao Yuncong’s Printed Album of Landscape, *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*,” gives the main part of my argument. Before discussing Xiao’s Taiping album, I present background information on the album, including literary sources, its relation to *Three Books of Taiping Prefecture* (Taiping sanshu 太平三書), the motivation for producing the album, and the contents of the album. Then I closely examine Xiao’s *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* through a detailed visual analysis. In Xiao’s printed album, each print depicts a different place of scenic beauty after a different old master’s style. It also illustrates the poetry which comments on the scenery. In addition, the album contains appealing and interesting details. Finally, it was published in the form of woodblock prints. These five distinctive characteristics of *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*—first, as illustrations of real scenery; second, illustrations of classical poetry; third, illustrations in the ancient masters’ styles; fourth, illustrations with interesting details; fifth, illustrations published as prints—are fully discussed in the third chapter. These five crucial features make Xiao’s *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* more easily understood and appreciated by a broad audience.

In the fourth chapter, “Xiao Yuncong’s Artistic Methods,” I explore two important artistic approaches used to create *Illustrations of Taiping Prefectures*: learning from tradition and learning from nature. I also discuss how Xiao Yuncong applied these two methods of artistic approach throughout his lifetime by comparing *Illustrations of Taiping Prefectures* with other landscape paintings by Xiao Yuncong.

The fifth chapter, “The Legacy of Xiao Yuncong,” suggests the influence of Xiao Yuncong’s painting style and his printed album *Illustrations of Taiping*



*Prefecture*. Xiao's painting style spread among his family members and local artists in Wuhu. However, many images from Xiao's Taiping album were borrowed in the *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting* (Jieziyuan huachuan 芥子園畫傳), which was widely circulated in China and Japan.

Finally, I conclude that Xiao Yuncong's printed album, *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, played a significant role as a painting manual in helping to spread scholarly culture to a broader audience during the seventeenth century in China. I anticipate that my investigation into Xiao Yuncong's printed album *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* and my study of his paintings can contribute to a deeper understanding of literati painting and scholarly culture in the late Ming and early Qing period. However, several questions remain about Xiao's Taiping album due to the lack of historical documentation, such as a detailed, critical examination of the different editions of the Taiping album and an inquiry into specific historical evidence to prove the circulation of Taiping album in China as well as in Korea and Japan, and I would like to leave these questions for future study.

## II. Xiao Yuncong's Life and His Landscape Paintings

### 1. The Life of Xiao Yuncong as a Literati Artist in the Late Ming Period

Scholar-artist Xiao Yuncong lived from the late sixteenth century through the seventeenth century, one of the most dynamic periods in the history of Chinese painting. He experienced great political upheaval during the fall of the Ming dynasty and rule by the Manchu under the Qing government. But by the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, several cities associated with Xiao in the Anhui and Jiangsu 江蘇 provinces in southern China enjoyed economic affluence and became commercial centers through the rising rich merchant class.<sup>12</sup> Along with political, economic, and social changes, Anhui province produced many artists who were later grouped as the Anhui school. This designation was based on the artists' native places rather than any particular stylistic affiliation.<sup>13</sup> Along with Hongren 弘仁 (1610–1663), Xiao Yuncong has been often named as a founder of the Anhui school. Shen Fu and later James Cahill pointed out that the “dry linear manner of painting” is one of the Anhui school's distinctive characteristic. Shen Fu and Cahill suggested that the development

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<sup>12</sup> For a study on the role of Anhui merchants as art patrons, see Jason Kuo, “Huichou Merchants as Art Patrons in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries,” in *Artists and Patrons: Some Social and Economic Aspects of Chinese Painting*, ed. Chu-ting Li (Lawrence: University of Kansas and University of Washington Press, 1989): 177–88; Sandi Chin and Cheng-chi Hsu, “Anhui Merchant Culture and Patronage,” in *Shadows of Mt. Huang*, ed. James Cahill (Berkeley: University Art Museum, 1981): 19–24.

<sup>13</sup> Osvald Sirén, *Chinese Paintings: Leading Masters and Principles* 5 (London: Lund Humphries, 1956; New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1956–58): 114.

of the linear manner of painting in Anhui resulted from a preference for the Yuan artists' austere style by the emerging merchant class of collectors and patrons who wanted to identify themselves with the gentry class.<sup>14</sup>

Xiao Yuncong was born in Wuhu 蕪湖, Anhui province, in the tenth month of 1596 in the lunar calendar. Wuhu is located upriver of Nanjing 南京, the southern capital of the Ming dynasty, and is included as part of the Taiping prefecture of central Anhui province (fig. 1).

According to *Huayoulu* 畫友錄 by Huang Yue 黃鉞 (1750–1841), “[Xiao Yuncong] passed away at the age of seventy-eight in the seventh year of the Kangxi 康熙 era, *yiyou* 乙酉” and so his birth year can be calculated as 1592.<sup>15</sup> However, many of Xiao's colophons on his paintings indicate that he was born in 1596.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, Xiao's seals on his paintings read “born in *bingshen* year [1596]” as “Qian *bingshen* sheng 前丙申生” and “sui *bingshen* sheng 歲丙申生.”<sup>17</sup> Xiao's birth year should be 1596.

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<sup>14</sup> Shen C. Y. Fu, “An Aspect of Mid-Seventeenth Century Chinese Painting: The ‘Dry Linear’ Style and the Early Work of Tao-chi” in *Proceedings of the Symposium on Paintings and Calligraphy by Ming I-min* (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1975): 579–616; James Cahill, *The Distant Mountains: Chinese Painting of the Late Ming Dynasty, 1570–1644* (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1982): 136.

<sup>15</sup> Huang Yue 黃鉞, *Huayoulu* 畫友錄, in *Huashi congshu* 畫史叢書 4, comp. Yu Anlan 于安瀾 編 (Taipei: Wen shi zhe chubanshe 文史哲出版社, 1974): 1.

<sup>16</sup> Chen Chuanxi 陳傳席 discussed Xiao Yuncong's birth year in “Youguan Xiao Yuncong ji Taiping shanshui shihua zhu wenti 有關蕭雲從及太平山水詩畫諸問題,” *Duoyun* 朵雲 25. 2 (1990): 86. Also see Hu Yi 胡藝, “Xiao Yuncong nianpu 蕭雲從年譜,” *Meishu yanjiu* 美術研究 1 (1969): 48.

<sup>17</sup> Pang Yuanji 龐元濟, *Xuzhai minghualu* 虛齋名畫錄, juan 卷 10 (Shanghai, 1909):

Xiao's family was part of the gentry class (*wenren* 文人). Xiao Yuncong's father Shenyu 慎餘 had a dream the night before Xiao was born. This event was recorded by Huang Yue in *Huayoulu*. Shenyu dreamed that a famous painter of the Five Dynasties era, Guo Zhongshu 郭忠恕 (?–977) came to the door of his house and said “Xiao (family) will be glorious and prosper in the future, and I will be as your heir” (fig. 2).<sup>18</sup> This short anecdote suggests that Xiao's father had an ability to appreciate old paintings, since he knew the name of this ancient tenth-century master. Therefore one can assume that the young Yuncong grew up in a family environment where he presumably received an education in the classics that other gentry-class sons would, and that it might also include some kind of painting education in his early years, in addition to the calligraphy lessons included in an educated child's training. Xiao Yuncong himself also seemed aware of the birth dream. One of his seals is inscribed with the phrase, “reincarnation of Guo Zhongshu (Guo Shu xian houshen 郭恕先後身),” and this implies that he regarded himself as a reincarnation of, or a successor to, Guo Zhongshu. This particular seal is found on several of his paintings, such as 1656's *Sparse Trees at the Yuntai* (Yuntai shushu tujian 雲臺疏樹圖卷) (fig. 3) and *Reclusion at the Qing Mountains* (Qingshan gaoyin tu 青山高隱圖) (1649). An album by Xiao Yuncong in the Anhui Provincial Museum includes a painting leaf, “Pavilion in the Immortal Mountain (Xianshan louge 仙山樓閣),” with an inscription

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10; Lu Xinyuan 陸心源, *Rangliguan guoyan xulu* 穰梨館過眼續錄, juan 卷 13 (Wuxing Lushijia shu kanben 吳興陸氏家塾刊本 1891): 4.

<sup>18</sup> “雲從始生之夕, 慎餘夢郭恕先至其門, 曰: 蕭氏將昌, 吾當為嗣。” Huang Yue 黃鉞, *Huayoulu* 畫友錄, in *ibid.*: 1.

that mentions Guo Zhongshu's painting (fig. 4).<sup>19</sup> Xiao and his brothers, who were born into a gentry-class family, received a traditional education in the Confucian classics, and we can assume that he became a versatile scholar like other Chinese literati of the era.<sup>20</sup> He was known to be good at poetry, music, and calligraphy as well as painting, however, most of his poetry has been lost, and any remaining work that has been collected and published is rare.<sup>21</sup> Thus what is found on his paintings, poems, calligraphy, and his autobiographical comments become doubly important in interpreting his work and contribution.

Unlike some eccentric late Ming and early Qing literati artists, such as Chen Hongshou or Shitao 石濤 (1642–ca.1718), whose art displays the criteria of

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<sup>19</sup> “郭恕先為，仙山樓閣，而李錦奴有此畫，錦奴學師訓，時號小將軍云。”

<sup>20</sup> Xiao Yuncong had two younger brothers, Yunqian 雲倩 and Yunlü 雲律. Yuanqian also painted landscapes, showing a similar style to Xiao Yuncong. Huang Yue 黃鉞, *Huayoulu* 畫友錄, in *ibid.*: 3. Zhang Geng 張庚 (1685–1760, praised Xiao Yuncong's scholarship as “援引古今，出入經史百家，考據誠精確矣.” *Guochao huazhenglu* 國朝畫徵錄, juan shang 卷上, in *Huashi congshu* 畫史叢書 3, comp. Yu Anlan 于安瀾 編 (Taipei: Wen shi zhe chubanshe 文史哲出版社, 1974): 18.

<sup>21</sup> Xiao's writings was compiled into *Yicun* 易存, *Yuntong* 韻通, and *Tulixi* 杜律細. *Yicun* was reprinted in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu: Jingbu erba* 四庫全書存目叢書: 經部二八 (Tainan, Taiwan: Zhuangyan wenhua shiye youxian gongsi 莊嚴文化事業有限公司, 1997). The posthumous work *Meihuatang yigao* 梅花堂遺稿, compiled by Zhang Xiubi 張秀壁 and Zhu Changzhi 朱長芝, is also not available. The titles were recorded in the Jiaqing 嘉慶 (1803) and Minguo 民國 (1918) *Wuhu xianzhi* 蕪湖縣誌, in *Zhongguo fangzhi congshu* 中國方志叢書 (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe 成文出版社, 1970). Also see, Wang Shicheng 王石城, *Xiao Yuncong* 蕭雲從 (Shanghai 上海: Renmin meishu chubanshe 人民美術出版社, 1979): 11 and footnote 1 and 2 on page 11. Some of his poetry was collected in *Xiao Tang erlao yishi hebian* 蕭湯二老遺詩合編, compiled by Huang Yue 黃鉞. *Xiao Tang erlao yishi hebian* 蕭湯二老遺詩合編, in *Yizhaiji* 壹齋集 (Wuhu 蕪湖: Xu Wenshen Xu Wencheng chong jiao kan [revised edition] 許文深 許文澄重校刊, 1859–1863).

“untrammelled (*yi* 逸),” Xiao seemed to stick to the literati merits in a rather conservative way, both in his personality and painting style. Following the example of Yuan literati who refused to serve for the Mongol government and instead spent their time with the brush, Xiao followed the pattern of the literati moral standard that had descended through Chinese Confucian history. Xiao’s moral reaction to the fall of the Ming dynasty seems to be a result of his personality as well as his Confucian education. Xiao Yuncong was not particularly outspoken, eccentric, extreme, untrammelled, or liberal; rather, he was an intellectual with a controlled and restrained temper. After the fall of the Ming dynasty, he did not seclude himself, but still enjoyed a social life with his friends.

During his lifetime, Xiao made several visits to Nanjing. From 1636 to 1642, he stayed in Nanjing for the civil service examinations. Xiao Yuncong took the provincial-level civil service examinations in 1636 and 1639, but he only achieved first on the supplementary list of candidates (*fubang diyizhungong* 副榜第一準貢). Three years later in 1642, he tried again for the higher rank, only to get the same ranking again, while his brother Yunqian 雲情 got a second-level degree in 1639, and his other brother Yunlü 雲律 got a third-level degree in 1642.<sup>22</sup> Although Xiao Yuncong had prepared for the civil service examination for more than ten years during his thirties and forties, he gave up hope of entering the civil service during the political chaos.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Hu Yi 胡藝, “Xiao Yuncong nianpu 蕭雲從年譜,” *ibid.*: 49. Wnag Shicheng, *ibid.*: 3.

<sup>23</sup> “入國朝不仕.” Huang Yue 黃鉞, *Huayoulu* 畫友錄, in *ibid.*: 1.

Xiao's early and middle years were during the Wanli 萬曆 and the Chongzhen 崇禎 reigns of the late Ming dynasty. It was a time of political disorder and particularly severe confrontation among political parties, such as the Donglin Party 東林黨, the Restoration Society (Fushe 復社), and a eunuch (*huangguan* 宦官) called Wei Zhongxian 魏忠賢 (1568–1672). The Restoration Society, established by Zhang Pu 張溥 (1602–1641) and Zhang Cai 張采 (1596–1648), led many political anti-Manchu activities in southern China. Xiao Yuncong and his brother Xiao Yunqian joined the Restoration Society in 1638.<sup>24</sup> Both names are found in *Fushe xingshi* 復社姓氏.<sup>25</sup> Yunqian was a signatory of the Nanjing Manifesto in 1639. As shown in *Strange View of Peaks and Gullies* (Yanhe qiguan tu 岩壑奇觀圖) (1643), some of Xiao's paintings are dedicated to “society comrade (*shemeng* 社盟)” or “society elder brother (*shexiong* 社兄)” (fig. 5). He also signed as “society younger brother (*shemeng di* 社盟弟)” on *Portrait of Manshu* 曼殊 (fig. 6).<sup>26</sup> Xiao Yuncong's participation in the political activity of the Restoration Society at Wuhu and Nanjing reveals his political and moral standpoint as a literatus.

In 1642, Xiao fled to Shihu 石湖 to avoid Zhang Xianzhong's 張獻忠 (1606–

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<sup>24</sup> Hu Yi, “Xiao Yuncong nianpu,” *ibid.*: 49.

<sup>25</sup> Inoue Susumu 井上進, “Fukusha seishi kōroku tsuki Fukusha kiryaku 復社姓氏校錄 附復社紀略,” *Tōhō Gakuhō* 東方學報 65 (1993, 3): 566.

<sup>26</sup> According to Xiao's inscription, Zeng Jing 曾鯨 (1568–1650) painted a portrait of Manshu and Xiao Yuncong painted a plum blossom tree.

1646) army which was planning to attack Nanjing from Wuhu.<sup>27</sup> In 1642, when he tried the civil service examination again at age forty-seven, the court was facing corruption created by Wei Zhongxian and the Donglin party in the scramble for political power. Soon after this he witnessed the fall of the Ming dynasty in 1644. Finally, around the transitional period between the Ming dynasty and the Qing dynasty, he decided to give up hope for an official career.

Following Li Zicheng 李自成 (1606–1645), the Qing army moved to the south and finally arrived in Nanjing and Wuhu in May of 1645. Xiao Yuncong left his hometown and fled to Gaocun 高淳, a center for resistance against the Qing force. In the lunar month of August, he made the album *Illustrations of Lisao* (Lisao tu 離騷圖) in the Wanshi Mountains 萬石山. This album, *Illustrations of Lisao*, includes sixty-four illustrations of Qu Yuan's 屈原 *Lisao* 離騷. In the preface and the epilogue, as well as in the illustrations, Xiao expresses his frustration and patriotic feelings about the fall of the Ming dynasty (fig. 7).<sup>28</sup>

Xiao returned to his hometown, Wuhu, from Gaochun in the fall of 1647. When he came back, he found that his home, “Plum Blossom Studio (Meizhu 梅築),” had been destroyed by the Qing army. His frustration and sadness was eloquently

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<sup>27</sup> Xiao signed *Strange View of Peaks and Gullies* (Yanhe qiguan tu 岩壑奇觀圖) as “崇禎十六年癸未春中避寇石湖之濱.” Shihu 石湖 is probably Shijiuhu 石臼湖 in Dangtu 當塗, Anhui Province.

<sup>28</sup> Xiao wrote “吾尊為經, 則不得不尊, 而為圖矣” in the preface in the album and “余老畫家也, 無能為矣... 取離騷讀之, 感古人之悲鬱憤懣, 不覺潛然淚下” in the epilogue of “Illustrations of Nine Songs,” in the album *Illustrations of Lisao* (Lisao tu 離騷圖).



expressed in the preface and six poems, “Moving My Residence 移居詩,” written in 1647.<sup>29</sup>

In former days I had a small house at East Bank very near the pond of Wang Dun’s Dreaming-of-the-Sun Pavilion. Sometime after the year 1644, it was seized by the occupying troops who ruined it by stabling their horses there. Not until the fall of 1647 was I able to bring my sons and clean the book-boxes and mats of dirt and filth and repair the walls enough to ward off wind and rain to live within. Forced by the chaos to leave for other places, relatives and friends became exhausted and broken, offended by their circumstances and injured within. Suddenly my grief and anger are aroused against these miseries and tribulations and by the evils which come without end. Besides, I am now old, sick, and capable of nothing; without resources my sun is setting...<sup>30</sup>

His renunciation of further attempts to enter the bureaucracy turned him toward the artistic world. His earlier relationship with art, particularly painting, had already been shown in the anecdote of his father’s dream as recorded in *Huayoulu*. Xiao also liked to paint and practiced hard, according to his inscription on *Reclusion at the Qing Mountains* (Qingshan gaoyintu 青山高隱圖) (1649). It reads:

Painting also is a playful thing to do. It is also imbued with melancholy feelings. In my youth I practiced painting in my leisure time. I was so determined in doing painting that neither hot days nor cold days could stop me. Recently I was forced to move from place to place. My teeth fell out and my eyesight became weak. I am fifty years old but act as an old man of eighty or ninety years old. Therefore I cannot hold and move the brush well. If someone demands a painting, I ask Yiyun to paint for me... Being in this turbulent days... best thing

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<sup>29</sup> Huang Yue 黃鉞 comp., *Xiao Tang erlao yishi hebian* 蕭湯二老遺詩合編, *ibid.*: 5a.

<sup>30</sup> Translation of the poem is from Sherman Lee and Howard Rogers, *Masterworks of Ming and Qing Painting from the Forbidden City* (Lansdale, PA: International Arts Council, 1988): 158.

can do is travel around, drawing Qing Mountains and secludes oneself from the world. I and Yiyun loose our clothes and become fullness, close each other to like Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (ca. 345–406) and Lu Tanwei 陸探微 (?– ca. 485), it is just enough and I will not care for other things.”<sup>31</sup>

The inscription also clearly shows Xiao’s wish to avoid a political life and instead live as a hermit-artist.

Xiao Yuncong’s *zi* 字 [style name] is chimu 尺木. He used several *hao* 號 [sobriquets or pennames] in his inscriptions and seals on his paintings, such as “Mosi 默思,” “Wumen daoren 無悶道人,” “Shiren 石人,” “Jian xiaozi yaoqi 謙小字咬臍,” “Wuhu yuren 蕪湖漁人,” “Meishi daoren 梅石道人,” “Qianweng 謙翁,” “Donghai Xiaosheng 東海蕭生,” “Menglü 夢履,” “Mei zhuren 梅主人,” “Zhongshan meixia 鍾山梅下” and “Zhongshan laoren 鍾山老人.” “Wuhu yuren 蕪湖漁人” is a clue that his native place is Wuhu.<sup>32</sup> “Yuren 漁人” or “fisherman” had been used widely among Chinese scholars as a metaphor for a scholar who is seeking an excuse to retire from, or refuse, an official position. Several of Xiao’s *hao*, such as “Meishi daoren 梅石道人,” “Mei zhuren 梅主人,” “Zhongshan meixia 鍾山梅下” and “Jiangmei 江梅” relate to plum blossoms (*mei* 梅). Since the plum tree blooms in the cold winter to signal that spring is on its way, it has been regarded as one of the four

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<sup>31</sup> “畫亦戲事也, 而感慨係之. 少時習以業之暇, 篤志繪事, 寒暑不廢. 近流離遷播, 齒落眼矇, 年五十而諄諄然居八九十者, 遂握筆難澀. 人間有索者, 則假手僇子一芸... 人處亂世... 而僇游塵土, 畫青山而隱, 則吾與芸子解衣磅礴, 詳附于長康, 探微之類, 亦足矣. 他復何顧.”

<sup>32</sup> Chen Chuanxi discusses the question about Xiao’s birthplace in his article, “Youguan Xiao Yuncong ji *Taiping shanshui shihua zhu wenti* 有關蕭雲從及太平山水詩畫諸問題,” *ibid.*: 87–8.

gentlemen, symbolizing a scholar's merits and his hope during political harshness. Xiao also named his residence Plum Blossom Studio (Meizhu 梅築) and planted plum trees around it. His house was located near the "Dreaming-of-the-Sun Pavilion" built by Wang Dun (d. 324). Xiao also called himself the "owner of plum tree [studio] (Mei zhuren 梅主人)." Xiao's affection for plum blossoms was shown in his paintings depicting plum trees. He painted a spray of plum blossom, an album of plum blossoms, and plum blossom trees with pine trees and bamboos in *Three Purities* (Sanqing tu 三清圖). Sometimes he drew a scholar's humble thatched studio surrounded by plum blossoms in a landscape setting. An album leaf from the *Album of Seasonal Landscapes*, dated 1688, describes Xiao himself looking at plum blossoms in front of his studio (fig. 8). A poem on the leaf reads,

When the winter sun warms up the door, the day begins;  
I clean up my black leather shoes to break off from the dusty world.  
Prunus blossoms again bloom on the tree in front of the pavilion;  
Their fragrance penetrates the eaves and satisfies my innermost self.  
In the wu-shen year [1668], tenth month, the old man of  
seventy-three, Yuncong.<sup>33</sup>

While his hao and paintings of plum blossoms in the early Qing dynasty carried a subtle political implication beyond their general symbolic meaning or personal preference for the subject, Xiao's other hao included "Zhongshan 鍾山," an explicit statement of his political standpoint. In 1648, he used a seal carved as "Old

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<sup>33</sup> The poem was translated by Wen Fong, Henry Kleinhenz, and Wai-kam Ho. The *Album of Seasonal Landscapes* is now in the Cleveland Museum of Art. Wai-kam Ho et al., *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting: The Collections of the Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum of Art* (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1980): 301 and fig. 224 H.

Man from Zhong Mountains (Zhongshan laoren 鍾山老人)” on *Yanman qiuse juan* 煙鬢秋色卷 (fig. 9).<sup>34</sup> Later in 1651, he also frequently used the seal “Under the Plum Blossom Tree in the Zhong Mountains (Zhongshan meixia 鍾山梅下),” and wrote eight poems, “Zhongshan meixia shi bashou 鍾山梅下詩八首.”<sup>35</sup> The Zhong Mountains are located near Nanjing, the southern capital of the Ming dynasty. Xiao Yuncong had traveled to, and briefly lived in, Nanjing during his thirties and forties. When he had lived in Nanjing before 1648, he was included as a distinguished sojourner in the local histories. However, the fact that he used “Zhongshan laoren” during his fifties implies there is more to the name than the place where he resides. Rather, since the founder of the Ming dynasty was buried in the Zhong Mountains, it had become a symbolic place to Ming loyalists and Ming *yimin* 遺民 [leftover people]. The use of the name shows Xiao’s affectionate memories of the time when his native land belonged to the Ming and his loyalty toward the Ming dynasty. It also hinted at his personal connection to Nanjing, previously a capital of the Liang dynasty (502–557), which was established by the Xiao clan.

After the fall of the Ming dynasty, Xiao gave up pursuing a civil service career, and he probably made his living by painting and teaching. One of his earliest commissioned works is *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, done in 1648. A judge of

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<sup>34</sup> Hu Yi and Wang Shicheng recorded that the seal “Zhongshan laoren” appeared in *Winter Landscape* (Xuejingtu 雪景圖) done in 1650. Hu Yi, “Xiao Yuncong nianpu 蕭雲年譜,” *ibid.*: 50; Wang Shicheng, *ibid.*: 1.

<sup>35</sup> “蕭子性喜梅花, 而梅花無如鍾山之麓之盛. 小時縱遊其處, 遇王孫築草閣數椽, 引余登之, 仰望鍾山...” Huang Yue 黃鉞 comp., *Xiao Tang erlao yishi hebian* 蕭湯二老遺詩合編, *ibid.*: 3b.

Taiping prefecture, Zhang Wanxuan 張萬選, asked Xiao to paint landscapes of the Taiping area, and the paintings were reproduced as a woodblock printed album. Xiao was also involved in another printed work, *Illustrations of Lisao*, in 1645. Wide circulation of Xiao's two albums brought fame to Xiao Yuncong as an artist and he left many inscriptions including dedications to friends or patrons on his paintings.

One of the most well-known paintings by Xiao Yuncong is *Wall Painting at Taibai Pavilion* 太白樓 at Caishi 采石. When the chief official of Taiping prefecture, Hu Jiying 胡季瀛, repaired Taibai Pavilion in 1662, he requested Xiao Yuncong to paint the wall painting.

In the days when Hu Jiying was Prefect of Taiping he greatly admired Xiao Yuncong's ability in painting and called on him three times. Xiao declined to see him, so Hu became incensed. Restoration of the Taibo Tower at Caishi had just been finished, so Hu inserted Xiao's name into the labor records. Xiao was brought to the site and sent into the tower with the order: 'When the wall-paintings are done, you must then write an explanation for them.' Xiao was already more than seventy and had just been ill in bed, but there was nothing for it but to paint personally the four great mountains of Kuanglu, Emei, Taidai, and Hengyue. The paintings were completed after seven days of work, and they were masterpieces. Even today visitors who climb the tower sigh in admiration, and the paintings will be handed down [as treasures] along with the tower itself. Xiao's experience was very similar to that of Shen Zhou.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Translation is from Sherman Lee and Howard Rogers, *Masterworks of Ming and Qing Painting from the Forbidden City* (Lansdale, PA: International Arts Council, 1988): 159. “胡季瀛守太平日，慕蕪湖蕭尺本能畫，三訪辭不見，胡怒...不得已畫匡廬峨嵋太岱衡岳四大名山。凡七日而就...畫與斯樓俱傳矣。事與沈啓南絕相類。” Chen Yan 陳琰, *Kuangyuan Zazhi* 曠園雜誌 (1703), in *Biji xiaoshuo daguan sanbian* 筆記小說大觀三編 (Taipei: Xinxing shuju 新興書局, 1974): 6641. “Taibai lou huabi ji 太白樓畫壁記” by Lu 陸 also recorded Xiao's wall paintings of the Four Great Mountains. For a discussion on wall painting at Taibai Pavilion 太白樓 壁畫 with the historical records, see Wang Shicheng, *ibid.*: 8–11. Szeto also cites this in his thesis. Szeto, *ibid.*: 18–19 and chapter 1, footnote 83.

Although Xiao withdrew from political life, he still kept close ties with several friends who shared his passion for painting, poetry, and calligraphy. He traveled, seeking out famous sites and mountains, and actively attended literati gatherings and accepted invitations from well-known local scholars, art collectors, and rich merchants. The many colophons and inscriptions on his paintings reveal Xiao's broad social relationships with local scholars and merchants. Most of Xiao Yuncong's close friends were Anhui and Nanjing artists and scholars as well as other participants of the Restoration Society. Several times during the 1650s and early 1660s, Xiao visited friends in Nanjing and Yangzhou 揚州, where he was acquainted with many scholar-artists including the well-known poet Tang Yansheng 湯燕生 (1616–1692); a Xiuning 休寧 artist, Li Yingchang 李永昌 (ca. 1576–1652); and Anhui painters Sun Yi 孫逸 (?–ca. 1658) and Hongren.<sup>37</sup> For example, Xiao's painting is included in the album dedicated to Chen Yingqi 陳應頤, along with paintings by other Anhui artists, such as Hongren, Wang Zhirui 汪之瑞, Zha Shibiao 查士標, and Li Yongchang 李永昌.<sup>38</sup> Xiao also praised the simple and plain style of Li Yongchang by comparing his work with Ni Zan 倪瓚 and Mi Fu 米芾.<sup>39</sup> Li

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<sup>37</sup> Xiao Yuncong wrote a colophon on *Tang Liuru helin yulu ce* 唐六如鶴林玉露冊, imitating Tang Yin's album by Sun Yi 孫逸. Lu Xinyuan, *ibid.*, 13: 4.

<sup>38</sup> Szeto discusses this album in detail in his master's thesis "Xiao Yuncong ji qi shanshui huihua 蕭雲從及其山水繪畫" (master's thesis, University of Hong Kong, 2000): 13 and footnote 57.

<sup>39</sup> “周生墨妙簡澹優於倪米”

Yongchang, a teacher of Wang Zhirui, is known to have owned several ancient paintings by Guan Tong 關同 (act. early 10th c.) and Wu Zhen 吳鎮 (1280–1354).<sup>40</sup>

Xiao's relationship with Tang Yansheng 湯燕生 seems special. The poetry of Xiao and Tang was compiled together by Haung Yue as *Xiao Tang erlao yishi hebian* 蕭湯二老遺詩合編. Through Tang Yansheng, Xiao was acquainted with monk Zhen'an 珍庵 and artists Sun Yi and Hongren (fig. 10).<sup>41</sup> Xiao also maintained a friendship with Peng Daohuai 彭旦兮 from Jiangsu 江蘇 province. Peng was a renowned calligrapher, and was particularly good at emulating Han dynasty clerical script calligraphy 漢隸書. Although he was a second-degree graduate (*xiaolian* 孝廉) in the late Ming period, Peng retired from the civil service and became a hermit after the fall of the Ming dynasty. Xiao Yuncong had a high regard for Peng's calligraphy and, in a show of respect, he exchanged his landscape handscrolls for Peng's calligraphy works as a model to teach himself.<sup>42</sup> Xiao also respected the *yimin*

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<sup>40</sup> For a discussion on Li Yongchang and his collections, see Jason Kuo, *The Austere Landscape: The Paintings of Hung-jen* (Taipei and New York: SMC Publishing, 1990): 20–21.

<sup>41</sup> For Xiao's relationship with Tang Yansheng and Zhen'an, see the inscription on *Tongxia naliang juan* 桐下納涼卷 by Xiao Yuncong. Xiao Yuncong and Hongren jointly painted *Shanshui meihua hebi juan* 山水梅花合璧卷 for Zhen'an, and Tang Yansheng wrote the inscription as “嶽色開生面, 梅花發古香... 從珍庵師觀尺翁漸老人墨跡, 慨念久之. 因書其上 湯燕生.” Yuen-kit Szeto, *ibid.*: 21 and footnote 95. *Xiao Tang erlao yishi hebian* 蕭湯二老遺詩合編 includes Xiao's poem “Ti Jianjiang wei Tang Xuanyi xiemei 題漸江為湯元翼寫梅.” Huang Yue 黃鉞 comp., *Xiao Tang erlao yishi hebian* 蕭湯二老遺詩合編, *ibid.*: 3b. Xiao Yuncong also wrote a colophon on Hongren's album *Huangshan tuce* 黃山圖冊 in 1665. For a discussion on the relationship between Xiao Yuncong and Hongren, also see Jason Kuo, *ibid.*: 52.

<sup>42</sup> Wang Shicheng, *ibid.*: 4.

scholars Tang Zuming 唐祖命, who retired after the fall of the Ming dynasty, and Linsheng 麟生, who later became a monk.<sup>43</sup>

Xiao kept a close friendship with Zheng Xiaru 鄭俠如 (1610–1673) in Yangzhou. He stayed at Zheng Xiaru's garden, Xiuyuan 休園, for several months in 1653.<sup>44</sup> During his stay, Xiao painted an album, *Landscapes After Old Masters* (Nigushanshui 擬古山水), for Zheng Xiaru (fig. 11). *Farewell at the Riverside Pavilion* (Jiangting songbie tu juan 江亭送別圖卷) (1653) and *Chenfengtu* 陳風圖 were also painted for Zheng Xiaru.<sup>45</sup> Xiao visited Zheng Xiaru again in 1666 and met Mao Xiang 冒襄 (1611–1693), who frequently invited scholars such as Tang Yunjia 唐允甲 and Wang Shizhen 王士禎 (1634–1711) to his garden Shuihuiyuan 水繪園.

Also notable is Xiao's personal relationship with Hu Zhengyan 胡正言 (1584–1674), who edited and published the printed albums *Ten Bamboo Studio Manual of Painting* (Shizhuzhai shuhuapu 十竹齋書畫譜) (1627) and *Ten Bamboo Studio Manual of Letter Paper Design* (Shizhuzhai jianpu 十竹齋箋譜) (1644) (fig. 12).<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> “麟生社兄精六法,” from Xiao's inscription on *Tang Liuru helin yulu* 唐六如鶴林玉露冊 imitated Tang Yin's album by Sun Yi. Lu Xinyuan, *ibid.*, 13: 4.

<sup>44</sup> Zheng Xiaru signed Xiao's paintings using his zi 字, “Shijie 士介.” Szeto discusses the relationship between Zheng Xiaru and Xiao Yuncong in his thesis. Yuen-kit Szeto, “Xiao Yuncong ji qi shanshui huihua 蕭雲從及其山水繪畫” (master's thesis, University of Hong Kong, 2000): footnote 63.

<sup>45</sup> Xiao painted *Chenfeng tu* imitating the style of Ma Hezhi 馬和之 (act. 1130–1170). Szeto, *ibid.*: 14 and footnote 65.

<sup>46</sup> For a study on Hu Zhengyan's *Ten Bamboo Studio Manual of Painting* (Shizhuzhai shuhuapu 十竹齋書畫譜) (1627) and *Ten Bamboo Studio Manual of Letter Paper Design* (Shizhuzhai jianpu 十竹齋箋譜) (1644), see Robert Treat Paine, Jr., “The Ten



Hu Zhengyan was close to many artists, such as Wu Bin 吳彬, Yang Wencong 楊文驄, Wen Zhenheng 文震亨, Mi Wanzhong 米萬鍾, and Gao Yang 高陽. Xiao met Hu Zhengyan when he went to Nanjing to take the civil service examination in 1636. He visited Hu Zhengyan again at age seventy-two and he expressed his respect for Hu in the inscription on the 1667 landscape painting dedicated to Hu.<sup>47</sup>

In the last moment of his life, Xiao Yuncong was known to say to his disciples that “the way of life is in the ‘Six Classics (*Liujing* 六經),’ and the essence of behavior is captured in the saying: ‘ethical behavior originates in the five human relationships (*Wurun* 五倫).’”<sup>48</sup>

Xiao Yuncong was a versatile scholar-artist who tried to identify himself as a member of the literati and live in their tradition. His lofty mind and moral sense as a Confucian scholar are reflected in his paintings. He also kept a wide and active acquaintance with scholars, artists, and merchants around the Anhui and Jiangsu areas.

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Bamboo Studio,” *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts of Boston* 68 (1950): 72–79; Robert Treat Paine, Jr., “The Ten Bamboo Studio: Its Early Editions, Pictures and Artists,” *Archives of Chinese Art Society of America* V (1951): 39–54; Ma Meng-ching 馬孟晶, “Wenren yaqu yu shangye shufang: *Shizhuzhai shuhuapu* he *jianpu* de kanyin yu Hu Zhengyan de chuban shiye 文人雅趣與商業書坊: 十竹齋書畫譜和箋譜的刊印與胡正言的出版事業,” *Xinshi xue* 新史學 10. 3 (Sept. 1999): 1–54; Suzanne E. Wright, “Visual Communication and Social Identity in Woodblock-Printed Letter Papers of the Late Ming Dynasty” (Ph. D. diss., Stanford University, 1999); Suzanne E. Wright, “Luoxuan biangu jianpu and Shizhuzhai jianpu: Two Late-Ming Catalogues of Letter Paper Designs,” *Artibus Asiae* LXIII. 1 (2003): 69–122.

<sup>47</sup> “曰從先生長余十二歲。別三十年, 偶來金陵。拜瞻幾杖... 丁未九月區湖七十二弟蕭雲從詩畫呈教。” Pang Yuanji 龐元濟, *Xuzhai minghualu* 虛齋名畫錄 (1909), juan 卷 10: 9-10.

<sup>48</sup> “道在六經, 行本五倫。” *Wuhu xianzhi* 蕪湖縣誌, juan 卷 15. Quoted from Wang Shicheng, *ibid.*: 11 and footnote 3.

## 2. Landscape Paintings by Xiao Yuncong

More than one hundred paintings are known to have been painted by Xiao Yuncong. Most of them are landscape paintings in the long horizontal handscroll format, the vertical hanging scroll format, or as album leaves. Many of his landscapes depict riverside mountains near the Yangzi Rivers 揚子江 of the Anhui and Jiangsu provinces where he lived and traveled. Xiao Yuncong also enjoyed painting subjects related to scholars' virtues, such as plum blossoms, bamboo, pine trees, and rocks. His figure painting is rarely known, except those accompanying poems as in *Illustrations of Lisao* (Lisao tu 離騷圖) printed in 1645 (fig. 7).<sup>49</sup> *Illustrations of Lisao* consists of sixty-four illustrations of famous literary works by scholar-poet Qu Yuan 屈原 (late 4th–early 3<sup>rd</sup> c, BC).<sup>50</sup>

Nearly seventy paintings by Xiao Yuncong are dated. However, most of his dated works are from the late period of his sixties. His paintings can be

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<sup>49</sup> For studies on Xiao Yuncong's *Illustrations of Lisao* (Lisao tu 離騷圖), see Ma Meng-ching 馬孟晶, "Yi zai tuhua: Xiao Yuncong *Tianwen* chatu de fengge yu yizhi 意在圖畫: 蕭雲從<天問>插圖的風格與意志," *Gugong xueshu jikan* 故宮學術季刊 18. 4 (summer 2001): 103–40; Wang Shicheng, *ibid.*: 32–46.

<sup>50</sup> These include nine leaves from "Jiuge 九歌," fifty-four leaves from "Tianwen 天問," and one leaf from "Buju 卜居" and "Yufu 漁父."

chronologically ordered in ten-year groupings.<sup>51</sup> During the early period of his thirties and forties, Xiao took up painting as a hobby while he prepared for the civil service examinations. His middle period starts at the end of the Ming dynasty, when he retreated from public life and regarded himself as a Ming loyalist and a *yimin*. During this period in his fifties, his painting not only provided his means of living, but also functioned as a vehicle of self-expression and a spiritual and emotional shelter for him as a *yimin* painter. In the late period of his sixties, Xiao's life was much more settled, and he acquired fame as a local painter. During his last few years in his seventies, Xiao Yuncong still produced several masterpieces.

#### **(1) Early period (1626–1644), Xiao in his thirties and forties.**

Relatively few paintings from Xiao's earliest period are extant. It is probably because many of his early works were damaged when his house was destroyed by the Qing army in 1647. It is not clearly known from whom Xiao learned painting. Since he is the oldest among the well-known Wuhu 蕪湖 artists recorded in *Huayoulu* 畫友錄 by Huang Yue 黃鉞 (1750–1841), it is possible that rather than having a particular teacher, Xiao taught himself by studying the ancient paintings.<sup>52</sup> Earlier literature

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<sup>51</sup> Szeto also groups Xiao's paintings into four stages: before forty-years-old, around fifty-years-old, from fifty to before seventy-years-old, and around seventy-years-old. Yuen-kit Szeto, "Xiao Yuncong ji qi shanshui huihua 蕭雲從及其山水繪畫" (master's thesis, University of Hong Kong, 2000).

<sup>52</sup> Huang Yue 黃鉞, *Huayoulu* 畫友錄, in *ibid.*: 1–17.

also evaluated Xiao's stylistic source as "not in one school's style, but establishing his own style 不專宗法, 自成一家," and "[Xiao's stylistic affiliation is] not in Song style or Yuan style, but achieved his own rank 不宋不元, 自成一格," and "the source is in the ancient works, but came out from his own idea 源本古人, 自出己意."<sup>53</sup>

The earliest extant work by Xiao Yuncong is *Travellers in Autumn Mountains* (Qiushan xinglü tujian 秋山行旅圖卷), painted in 1626 (fig. 13).<sup>54</sup> The inscription, signed as "Zhongshan 鍾山," was written thirty years later when Xiao Yuncong was in his sixties, and here Xiao reminisces about his earlier work and admits his pride in it. The inscription of 1657 can be read:

Several decades have passed since I painted this landscape. At that time I put it among the useless books as if it did not exist. Now I am sixty-two and happened to look at this painting again. Because I am not able to do it again, I am amazed that I was physically so strong and was able to paint refined brushstrokes. Who said that painters need to be old to be better?"<sup>55</sup>

This painting was seen by the Qing emperor Qianlong 乾隆 and bears his complimentary inscription.

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<sup>53</sup> Zhang Geng 張庚, *Guochao huazhenglu* 國朝畫徵錄, in *ibid.*: 18; Lan Ying 藍瑛 and Xie Bin 謝彬, *Tuhui baojian xuzuan* 圖繪寶鑑續纂, in *ibid.* 2: 40; Zhang Wanxuan's preface from *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* 太平山水圖畫.

<sup>54</sup> For a study on Xiao Yuncong's *Travellers in Autumn Mountains*, see Akiyama Teruo 秋山光夫, "Sho Shakuboku no shuzan koryo zu maki 蕭尺木の秋山行旅圖卷," *Nihon bijutsu ronkō* 日本美術論考 (Tokyo: Dai-ichi shobō, 1943): 407–34.

<sup>55</sup> "作此畫幾十年矣, 當時偶沒之廢冊中, 若不知有此. 今余年六十有二, 重一相遇閱之, 不能復得, 因此嘆昔直脛力強狀, 工細自適, 誰謂畫師必老而後佳耶?"

In this work from his early thirties, Xiao depicted a panoramic view of mountains and river with architecture and human figures in the long, narrow handscroll format. One can already detect his unique style in the rhythmic up-and-down, diagonal composition, using a bird's-eye-view for the deep gorges and valleys, with square-shaped rocks piling up. The painting is filled with small, interesting details inside an overall composition of a grand nature, with travelers riding horses, figures inside houses, a tall pagoda, houses, bridges, and boats. This painting was done in the subtle but strong and refined brushwork that Xiao mentions in the colophon. The light touch of bright blue and red colors creates a refreshing mood of fall.

The theme of “traveling in the mountains” was one of Xiao Yuncong’s favorite subjects. A painting in the Shanghai Museum, done when he was forty-seven years old in 1642, is also entitled *Traveling Among the Mountains* (Guanshan xinglü tu 關山行旅圖) (fig. 14). On the top part of the handscroll, Xiao inscribed the title, the date, and signed his name.<sup>56</sup> He also wrote the place name where he painted as “Fangzai 舫齋 of the Lingyang 陵陽 Hostel.” Thus, like an essay in a travel diary, this painting seems to be a commemoration of his journey.<sup>57</sup> However, the stylized and repeated mountain peak shapes, and the lack of specific topographic details, makes this painting a generalized and idealized landscape rather than a record of real scenery or a journey.

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<sup>56</sup> “關山行旅圖。崇禎壬午寫于陵陽寓館之舫齋，蕭雲從。”

<sup>57</sup> Kenneth S. Ganza discussed “travel paintings” in his Ph.D. dissertation, “The Artist as Traveler: The Origin and Development of Travel as a Theme in Chinese Landscape Painting of the Fourteenth to Seventeenth Centuries” (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1990).

As seen in these two paintings, one of the characteristics of Xiao's earlier landscapes is the generalization of specific scenery. Although his paintings in the earlier period were based on travel to places well known to him, they are also memory landscapes which focused on the magnificent spectacle of nature rather than recording the realistic topographical details of scenery.

Although 1642's *Traveling Among the Mountains* is a more distant view of the landscape than 1626's *Travellers in Autumn Mountains*, both still share a rhythmical composition using up-and-down contours of mountains, and opened and closed space. One of the typical devices frequently used by Xiao is a close-up section of rocks or mountains without space of sky or water and creates dynamism on the surface effectively. Terrain rolls from mountain peaks to ravines which run again into another peak, creating an organic movement. This way of describing peaks with lumpy rock on the mountaintop, and the use of black dots and short strokes is derived from the style of Dong Yuan 董源 (?–ca. 962) and Juran 巨然 (act. ca. 960–980), which later scholar-artists preferred to follow (fig. 15). However, Xiao's mountains and peaks are more constructed and structural, and have a massive quality to them. This feature can be connected to the contemporary style of Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555–1637) and other artists in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Through the distorted and twisted depiction of mountains in this manneristic way, Xiao creates an impression of fantastic scenery. The strangeness of these contorted mountains makes an odd harmony with the highly refined, detailed brushstrokes and meticulous, specific rendering of ordinary elements such as small figures, animals, and architecture.

Another handscroll in the National Palace Museum, Beijing, also belongs to Xiao's earlier works (fig. 16). It is dated 1643, when he was forty-eight years old. This handscroll has the title section written as *Strange View of Peaks and Gullies* (Yanhe qiguan tu 岩壑奇觀圖) by Xu Lai 徐來 (act. mid-17th c.), and also has colophons by Xu Lai and other Qing scholars. Xiao's inscription at the end of the painting informs us of an anecdote related to the painting. It reads:

In the spring of 1643, when I fled from the burglar [Manchu] to nearby the Shi Lake, one of the Society comrades, Muzhan [?] already provide a place to stay, and asked me to paint in the style of Huang Gongwang 黃公望 (1269–1354). Since summer till already fall, I painted playfully, but could not finish it. On July 22nd, when I decide to take a boat to go back to my hometown, Wuhu, I sit in his studio and finally completed the painting. Thoughts for completion suddenly came out like a storm of wind and shower. My heart was filled with sorrows for parting. An old poem, "Mountains and clouds let off the sorrow of parting" should mean this. Written by younger brother Xiao Yuncong at the lake.<sup>58</sup>

This painting also expresses the magnificence of mountains. However, as Xiao painted at the Shi Lake 石湖, he described the landscape of moisture and the mood of the lakeside with wet and softened brushstrokes. He also arranged clouds and mist around the mountains and hills. He opened the space at the end of the scroll as the expanded river or lake. Inside a pavilion, the two people who watch a far-off boat are likely the friend who requested this painting and Xiao himself. The end scene of the handscroll matches the explanation of his inscription, and might be the farewell scene

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<sup>58</sup> “崇禎十六年癸未春中，避寇石湖之濱時，牧□旃社盟先已付出卜處，出所藏紙命寫黃公望法。自夏暨秋隨意點染，猶未竟筆。七月二十二日戒艇還蕪，乃坐士之齋閣，卒成之思，風雨驟發，悵懣離懷。古人有‘山雲饒別愁’之詩，應如是耶。於湖弟蕭雲從識。”

that took place shortly after Xiao finished the painting. The disappearing boat also implies their parting in the near future. This landscape could be a wet rainy scene, the same as the real event of July 22nd, 1643. Like the old poem that Xiao quoted, clouds all around the mountains add to the melancholy mood. This poetic landscape is an excellent combination of a real event, emotional expression, poetry, and the grandeur of nature.

Another important element of this painting is Xiao's effort to try to follow Huang Gongwang's 黃公望 (1269–1354) style according to the recipient's request, as indicated in the inscription. However, Huang Gongwang's typical stylistic features appear only in the details, such as rocks or trees.

One year later, Xiao painted *Landscape* (Shanshui 山水), now in the Palace Museum, Beijing, using a very different style compared to earlier handscrolls (fig. 17). Xiao's poem and inscription on *Landscape*, done in 1644, reads:

In spring, beautiful trees grow all over the island;  
Groves of orchids exude subtle fragrance in secret.  
The Immortals have come to reside here;  
In the tent of clouds, they dine in the house of fungi.  
Ancient pines spread out their green draperies;  
Entwining pearls grow long strings of their offspring.  
Half the cliff opens into a picture;  
Morning mists surround rattan beds.  
Steep pavilions are away from the sounds of bells;  
The dragons return, bringing cool rains.  
The hibiscuses cast their shadows on rocks;  
Tasty wine fills shell-shaped goblets.  
[I wish] to get drunk and sleep along the bank of Peach Blossom,  
As heavily as thousand-day-old wine.

On the eighth day of the first month of the Jiashen year of the Chongzhen era [February 15, 1644], after having a few drinks at the



Shoushu Studio, I selected this paper to paint the Green Mountains.  
Grieving over the separation of family and friends during the turmoil,  
I put down my thoughts in these remarks so people might know of my  
longing for the Peach Blossom Spring of Wuling. Inscribed by Shiren  
Xiao Yuncong.<sup>59</sup>

As Xiao states in the inscription, the poem expresses Xiao's longing to retreat to the legendary peach blossom paradise, "Wuling yuan 武陵源," from the turbulence of the late Ming dynasty.<sup>60</sup> This painting clearly displays a decorative effect with bright colors and flatness. Xiao also used thin, careful, and meticulous brushstrokes. The painting contains some archaic features connected with the blue-green landscape 青綠山水 tradition which can be traced back to the Tang artist, Li Sixun 李思訓 (651–718), then followed by the Song artist, Zhao Boju 趙伯駒 (1120–1182), and revived by a scholar-artist, Qian Xuan 錢選 (1235–after 1301) in the early Yuan dynasty (fig. 18). This decorative, colorful, and elaborate style is frequently adopted in depicting a fantastic Utopian land called Wuling (fig. 19). Xiao's landscape style is often

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<sup>59</sup> “春島榮琪樹，蘭蓼秘細香。仙人來卜宅，雲幄飯芝房。翠嶺松羅古，縈珠結子長。畫圖開半壁，曉霧繞藤床。峻閣鐘鏐遠，龍歸帶雨風。芙蓉留石影，美醞盈螺椿。醉臥桃花鵝，如沈千日釀。崇禎甲申穀旦，坐授書堂小酌，捨此素紙，圖厥青山。因感念亂離，致數語紀願，知我有志於武陵源矣。石人 蕭雲從。” Translated by Jason Kuo. Wai-kam Ho ed., *The Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang 1555–1636* 2 (Kansas City and Seattle: The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art and University of Washington Press, 1992): 121–2.

<sup>60</sup> “Peach Blossom Spring, Wuling yuan 武陵源” is a symbolic place where immortals reside, from the essay “The Account of Peach Blossom Spring 桃花源記” by Tao Qian 陶潛 (365–427).

discussed in relation to the complex rendering of mountains with fine and delicate line by Wen Zhengming 文徵明 (1470–1559) (fig. 20).<sup>61</sup>

Xiao Yuncong painted many landscapes following the old masters' styles in his middle and late periods. It was the popular practice among Wu school painters as represented by Shen Zhou 沈周 (1427–1509) and Wen Zhengming, and Songjiang 松江 painters centering on Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555–1636).<sup>62</sup> Xiao lived in Anhui but he made several trips to Nanjing 南京 where he met other painters from Suzhou 蘇州 and Songjiang, as well as artists who lived at Nanjing.<sup>63</sup> Xiao was probably very much aware of contemporary art trends, including the style of the Wu school.

## **(2) Middle period (1645–1654), Xiao in his fifties**

As with many scholar-artists of the late Ming period, the year 1644 represented the fall of the Ming dynasty and was an important turning point for Xiao

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<sup>61</sup> For a discussion about the relationship between Xiao Yuncong's style and Wen Zhengming's style, see Akiyama Teruo 秋山光夫, "Sho Shakuboku no shuzan koryo zu maki 蕭尺木の秋山行旅圖卷," *ibid.*: 407–34; James Cahill, "Introduction," in *Shadows of Mt. Huang: Chinese Painting and Printing of the Anhui School*, ed. James Cahill (Berkeley: University Art Museum, 1981): 11; Jason Kuo, *ibid.*: 53.

<sup>62</sup> Szeto argues Xiao's *Fang Dachi tianchishibitu* 仿大癡天池石壁圖 (1633) is stylistically closer to Dong Qichang's interpretation of Huang Gongwang's style than Huang Gongwang's original work. Szeto, *ibid.*: 35–37 and fig. 1.

<sup>63</sup> Shi Shoujian 石守謙 and Chen Baozhen 陳葆真, *Jinling huihua – Zhongguo jinshi huihuashi quye yanjiuzhiyi* 金陵繪畫- 中國近世繪畫史區域研究之一 (Taipei: Taiwan daxue yishushi yanjiusuo 臺灣大學藝術史研究所, 1994): 59.

Yuncong. The following year, Xiao fled from the Qing army to Gaochun 高純, and in 1647 he returned to his home. Although political and social turmoil had started to increase during the late Ming period, Xiao still was preparing for the civil examinations, aiming for the life of a scholar-official. However, after he witnessed the change of dynasties, Xiao's life was diverted to following his principles of loyalty to the conquered Ming as an yimin. For Xiao Yuncong, painting became the vehicle to express his frustration over the fall of the dynasty and his inability to serve it, as well as becoming his means of earning a living. *Illustrations of Lisao*, printed in 1645, served as a metaphor, reflecting Xiao's emotional frustration and indignation against the fall of the Ming dynasty. Most of Xiao's extant works belong to this period in his fifties when he devoted himself to painting.

Xiao's paintings during his fifties show the intentional connection to the literati painting (wenrenhua 文人畫) tradition. This tradition entails a mastery and understanding of the specific styles of earlier painters, especially those of the Yuan period. Xiao liked to make obvious formal references to these masters by frequently "quoting" the motifs and brushwork that make up the styles of these scholar-painters, such as Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1306–1374) and Huang Gongwang 黃公望 of the Yuan masters, and Shen Zhou 沈周 and Wen Zhengming 文徵明 of the Ming Wu school 吳派 masters.

A work from his early fifties, *Landscape with Man Crossing Bridge* (1647) in the Ching Yüan Chai Collection, Berkeley, is close to the Wu school's tradition in terms of style (fig. 21). In particular, several motifs such as a humble house, a few leafy trees, and a figure holding a staff and crossing a bridge are similar to the middle

ground of *Fang Dong Ju shanshui tu* 仿董巨山水圖 (1473) by Shen Zhou (fig. 22).

Two years later in 1649, another work, *Living at the Village in Dark Gorge* (Yougu cunju tu 幽谷村居圖), now in the Shenyang Palace Museum 瀋陽故宮博物院, bears Xiao's inscription about Shen Zhou (fig. 23).<sup>64</sup>

The important influence of the late Ming painter, calligrapher, and high official Dong Qichang 董其昌(1555–1636) can be seen in Xiao's paintings in a compositional practice in which the foreground and upper half of the landscape are divided by space and dry brush strokes to create a pattern of dark and light on the rocks (fig. 24). This feature can be found among some other Anhui artists' paintings in the 1640s and in Xiao's 1647 *Landscape with Man Crossing Bridge*.<sup>65</sup> However, Xiao's painting remains at a distance from Dong Qichang's formal, experimental practices, such as his constructed, abstract landscapes without a single human being. Rather, Xiao Yuncong's landscape is closer to Shen Zhou's humanism. Although a figure is small, its addition to a landscape is always an important motif in Xiao's paintings.

*Farewell at the Riverside Pavilion* (Jiangting songbie tu juan 江亭送別圖卷) (1653) also shows Xiao's close connection to the Wu school tradition (fig. 25). Xiao

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<sup>64</sup> “吳門沈石田...”

<sup>65</sup> “This formula of setting a foreground enveloped in space against a background enveloping space was probably originated by Dong Qichang and is seen in his landscapes, especially one dated 1617. The use of the dry brushstrokes that ... provide an interestingly patterned alternation of dark and light (the unpainted silk), is also a device initiated by Dong.” Sandi Chin et al., “The Older Anhui Masters,” in *Shadows of Mt. Huang: Chinese Painting and Printing of the Anhui School*, ed. James Cahill (University of Art Museum, Berkeley, 1981): 67 and footnote no. 6.

painted the farewell scene in the long handscroll format for his society comrade, Zheng Xiaru.<sup>66</sup> This painting displays the distinct stylistic characteristics of Xiao, such as delicate and controlled linear brush strokes, clean and fresh moods created by applying light blue and green colors, and the typical depiction of big angular rocks piled up in a mass in the middle of the scroll, as well as the composition of a panoramic view of rolling hills and peaks.

*Walking with a Staff Among Sparse Trees* (1648), now in the Tianjin Art Museum, uses simple drawing with dry brush strokes, evoking the simplicity of Ni Zan's style (fig. 26 and fig. 27). However, Xiao drew a figure wearing a black hat and carrying a staff on the bottom left side. The zigzag path leads our eyes into the houses in the middle ground. A few tall, thin, sparse trees in the front draw the eye to the middle part. The big, up-ended triangle shape of the overhanging cliffs in the central top confuses the eye with this unusual spatial order, compared with the small distant mountain on the middle left. Although it recedes in a zigzag from the foreground to the middle part, the background cliff makes a flat surface. Xiao's linear, dry brush strokes, simple composition and flatness show an affiliation with the Anhui painter Hongren's 弘仁 (1610–1664) style, which is also derived from Ni Zan's style (fig. 28).<sup>67</sup>

Most of Xiao's paintings, however, have more complex compositions than Ni Zan's simple and desolate landscapes. *Reading in Snowy Mountains* (Xueyue dushu

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<sup>66</sup> “癸巳閏六月朔，客廣陵歸矣。士介[Zheng Xiaru]年盟，為出此卷... 別離之慨也... 區湖第蕭雲從。”

<sup>67</sup> For a study on Hongren, see Jason Kuo, *The Austere Landscape: The Paintings of Hung-jen* (Taipei and New York: SMC Publishing 1990).

tu 雪岳讀書圖), done in 1652, depicts the wrinkled, distorted, and angular shapes of peaks and cliffs, and all of the surface is packed full (fig. 29). Sherman Lee and Howard Rogers point out that the style and technique of this painting relate to the styles of Suzhou artists, particularly the characteristics of Wen Zhengming's paintings such as "strongly vertical composition which fills the format with evenly distributed forms" (fig. 30).<sup>68</sup> The white snow contrasts with the dark shade of the wrinkles in the rocks. A scholar reads a book in a house surrounded by trees and rocks deep in the mountains. This is a different way of expressing seclusion compared with Ni Zan's devastated solitary landscape. This painting is similar to *Winter Landscape* (Xuejing shanshui 雪景山水), done in 1650, and *Fall Landscape* (Qiuqing Shanshui 秋景山水) in terms of composition and description of trees, rocks, and wrinkled peaks in the center (fig. 31 and fig. 32). Both paintings in the Palace Museum, Beijing, are similar to the monumental landscapes of the Northern Song dynasty. Eleventh-century artist Fan Kuan 范寬 is well known for his snowy landscapes and angular rocks (fig. 33). Xiao's style is also connected with the late Ming artist Wu Bin's 吳彬 eccentric landscapes.

His inscription after a four-stanza poem reads:

During the summer solstice of the year 1652, I did this 'Reading in Snowy Mountains' picture for my society brother Yizhi. At that time I wrote some verses with a good rhyming scheme that I append here as a small song and ask for his instruction. Xiao Yuncong, his younger brother from Meixia at Zhongshan.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Sherman Lee and Howard Rogers, *Masterworks of Ming and Qing Painting from the Forbidden City* (Lansdale, PA: International Arts Council, 1988): 158.

<sup>69</sup> This painting was also recorded in the eighteenth-century catalogues *Shibaizhai*

One of the important works by Xiao Yuncong in his late fifties is *Landscapes After Old Masters* (Nigu shanshui 擬古山水), done in 1653. The album, in the Anhui Provincial Museum 安徽省博物館, consists of eight leaves of landscapes. The album also has the title page in the front part and a two-page colophon at the end, both written by Wu Guodui 吳國對 (fig. 34). Each landscape is accompanied by another leaf containing Wang Shizhen's 王士禎 colophons (fig. 35). Xiao Yuncong wrote the title in the seal script and indicated the reference of the particular style on each landscape. He followed the old masters' style, particularly from the Five dynasties and the Song dynasty, such as Zhao Mengjian 趙孟堅, Li Cheng 李成 (919–967), Guan Tong 關同, Guo Zhongshu 郭忠恕 (?–977), and Jing Hao 荆浩. Xiao's inscription on the album reads “in early summer of 1653, when I visit older comrade Shijie 士介 [Zheng Xiaru], I paint this to show my respect.” This album was painted for Zheng Shijie, whose name also appears in the Freer Gallery handscroll (fig. 25).<sup>70</sup> Xiao used several seals, including “Xiao Yuncong 蕭雲從,” “Chimu long 尺木龍,” “Gumei jiangshang, shishi huashi 古梅江上 詩史畫師,” “Yuncong 雲從,” and “mosi 默思.”

The inscription on one leaf, “Close the Door and Refuse Visitors (Bimen juke tu 閉門拒客圖),” shows Xiao's moral standard as a Confucian scholar-artist by

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*Shuhua* and *Bixiaoxuan Shuhualu*, published in 1839. Translation of the inscription is from Sherman Lee and Howard Rogers, *ibid.*: 158.

<sup>70</sup> “癸巳夏初訪士介年兄寫此致意。區湖蕭雲從。”

comparing his situation during the Ming-Qing changeover with the survivors of the previous Song-Yuan predicament (fig. 35). It reads:

“Zhao Longlu [Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254–1322) and a member of the Song royal family] who served the Yuan, was visiting his cousin Zigu [Zhao Mengjian 趙孟堅 (1199–1264), also a member of the Song clan], but Zigu stayed in his house made of banyan tree and closed the door refusing to see visitors. Today I choose Zigu’s style to paint. Although Longlu’s brushwork is better, but I will not follow that.”<sup>71</sup>

Xiao depicted a scholar reclining in a humble house surrounded by trees and bamboo deep in the mountains. An official wearing red clothes and a black hat is leaving after failing to meet the scholar. The scholar could be the image of Xiao himself as well as Zigu [Zhao Mengjian]. By comparing himself with Zigu, who was born in the Song dynasty and who refused to serve the conquering Yuan though his kinsman Zhao Longru [Zhao Mengfu] did, Xiao expressed his wish for seclusion from the Qing world and his loyalty toward the Ming dynasty. The subject matter and the stylistic reference of this painting show how the selection of a painting style can express the moral engagement of an artist.

Another leaf, “Crying from Sorrow at the West Platform (Xitai tongku tu 西台慟哭圖),” also reflects Xiao’s frustration over the loss of his country to the Manchus (fig. 36). He painted this leaf based on the writing of Xie Gaoyu 謝皋羽 (1249–1295), “Deng Xitai tongku ji 登西台慟哭記.” Xie Gaoyu wrote it in memory of Wen Tianxiang 文天祥 (1236–1283) who was considered a symbolic figure of

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<sup>71</sup> “趙榮祿仕元, 省其睇子固, 子固高臥榕檐, 閉門拒客. 今就子固畫法為圖. 榮祿筆意雖優, 余無取焉.”



loyalty. When Wen Tianxiang was captured by the invading Mongol armies in 1278, he refused to convince the remaining Song forces to surrender and denied the Yuan post. He spent four years in the prison before his execution in 1283.

The album dated 1653 from the Anhui Provincial Museum is done in the fanggu method. It is different from earlier handscrolls that focus on and reflect his personal experiences of nature. The 1653 album is not a series of travel paintings depicting scenery, but a representation of his ideas and emotions through metaphors that reference and comment on the old masters' styles.

Xiao's *Landscape Album* (Shanshui ce 山水冊), done in 1654, is a different artistic practice (fig. 37). This Shanghai Museum 上海博物館 album includes ten landscapes. Only the last leaf bears Xiao's inscription while the other leaves contain Xiao's seals. The inscription indicates that he painted it for Ziwing 子翁, a senior member of the Society.<sup>72</sup> The album is based on the scenery of the Huang Mountains 黃山. It is not clear whether or not Xiao Yuncong climbed the Huang Mountains. It is hard to find inscriptions on his paintings that indicate he had been there. The Huang Mountains are located in the southern part of Anhui province and are not that far from Xiao's hometown Wuhu, which is in central Anhui. The Huang Mountains are famous for their scenic beauty and were a pilgrimage site as well as a popular place to visit for scholars and artists, both during and well before the seventeenth century. However it appears that Xiao did not travel very far away from his hometown, although he frequently visited friends in Nanjing and nearby Xuancheng 宣城.

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<sup>72</sup> “甲午新秋，為子翁老社台畫。蕭雲從。”

In fact, Xiao painted landscapes depicting the Huang Mountains. One of them is *Strange Peaks* (Qifeng tu 奇峰圖) in the Nelson Gallery. Xiao inscribed a “seven character after the style of ancient poems” (七言古詩) on the upper left of the painting. Chu-tsing Li noticed that Xiao’s poem is a slight modification of a similar poem by the prominent contemporary scholar Qian Qianyi 錢謙益. Qian Qianyi composed several poems after visiting the Huang Mountains in 1641.<sup>73</sup> Chu-tsing Li also advanced the viewpoint that since Xiao’s use of exaggerated odd forms and brushwork to describe rocks on the mountains are different from the real view of the Huang Mountains, his understanding of this mountain range was actually through other paintings by Hongren, his artist-friends, or students.<sup>74</sup>

A colophon that Xiao wrote on a painting by Hongren, *Huang Mountains Album* 黃山圖冊 in the Palace Museum, Beijing, informs us that Xiao had actually never visited the Huang Mountains (fig. 38).<sup>75</sup> The album includes sixty views of these famous peaks and eight colophons by fellow contemporaries Zha Shibiao 查士標 (1615–1698), Tang Yunjia 唐允甲, Yang Zifa 楊自發, Wang Zisui 汪滋穗, Rao

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<sup>73</sup> Chu-tsing Li 李鑄晉, “Na’erxun meishuguan [Nelson Gallery] suocang Xiao Yuncong *Qifengtuzhou* yu Jianjiang *Shanshuitu ce* 納爾遜美術館所藏蕭雲從《奇峰圖軸》與漸江《山水圖冊》,” in *Lun Huangshan zhu huapai wenji* 論黃山諸畫派文集, ed. Anhuisheng wenxue yishu yanjiusuo 安徽省文學藝術研究所 (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1987): 352–54.

<sup>74</sup> Chu-tsing Li, *ibid.*: 354–5.

<sup>75</sup> For a discussion about the artist of *Huangshan tuce*, see Xu Bangda 徐邦達, “*Huangshan tuce* zuozhe kaobian 《黃山圖冊》作者考辨,” *Duoyun* 朵雲 9 (Dec. 1985): 125–29.

Jing 饒璟, Wang Jiazhen 汪家珍, and Cheng Sui 程邃 as well as Xiao Yuncong.

Xiao wrote the colophon when he was seventy at the Wumen 無悶 studio.<sup>76</sup> It reads:

Traveling to mountains and rivers seems to be my destiny. I frequently climbed the Mount Tai range in the east, boated to Qiantang in the south, but the neighbor place, the Huang Mountains, after all I have not been there. Now I am old and exhausted, leaning on my bamboo stick, difficult to walk around. Only joy is hearing the strangeness [of Huang Mountain] from others ... Layers of mountains, strange stone, old trees, twisted pines, flowing water, pure pond, red rocks, and big peaks, there is nothing that is not equipped. Heavenly place or strange marvelous realm, I don't have to be there, already as if I see with my eye. Sincerely, in the painting, it is the state of concentration. I, an old painter, also can paint and not less than predecessors, but when I see this one, I am deeply humbled.

Xiao painted the Shanghai Museum album at the age of fifty-nine, ten years before he saw and inscribed the Hongren album of the Huang Mountains. If he never visited the Huang Mountains, his landscapes of the Huang Mountains would be entirely based on the visual sources of other artists' paintings and literary sources such as poetry or travel essays describing the Huang Mountains. A topographical album *Tianxia mingshan tu* 天下名山圖, printed in 1633, also could be a reference for Xiao (fig. 39).<sup>77</sup> The Huang Mountains are famous for their thirty-six rocky peaks, seas of clouds, and twisted pine trees (fig. 40). The 1654 Shanghai Museum album includes topographical elements of the Huang Mountains, such as twisted

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<sup>76</sup> “山水之遊, 似有前緣。余常東登泰岱, 南渡錢塘, 而鄰界黃海, 遂未得一到, 今老憊矣, 扶筇難涉, 惟喜聽人說斯奇耳... 層巒怪石, 老樹虬松, 流水澄潭, 丹巘巨壑, 靡一不備。天都異境, 不必身歷其間, 已宛然在目矣, 誠畫中之三昧哉! 余老畫師也, 繪事不讓前哲, 及觀斯圖, 令我歛手。鍾山梅下七十老人蕭雲從題于無悶齋。”

<sup>77</sup> Jane DeBevoise and Scarlett Jang, “Topography and the Anhui School,” in *Shadows of Mt. Huang: Chinese Painting and Printing of the Anhui School*, ed. James Cahill (Berkeley: University Art Museum, 1981): 43.

overhanging trees on cliffs, angular rocks, peaks and valleys, and clouds enveloping peaks and mountains (fig. 41). However, whether or not they were based on other paintings, his imagination, or poetry, Xiao transformed them into his own distinctive style.

In summary, the middle period of Xiao's fifties seems to be an experimental period. He tried to find an artistic solution for the description of forms and brushwork through the fanggu method. He preferred the Yuan and Ming literati painting styles, including Huang Gongwang, Ni Zan, Shen Zhou, and Wen Zhengming, as many Anhui artists did. However, in his later years he also followed the Five dynasties and Song painting styles, such as those of Li Cheng, Guo Zhongshu, and Jing Hao. Moreover, his practice of the fanggu method was related to inherited literati (*wenren* 文人) tradition, not only in terms of artistic styles but also in the spirit of scholar-artists.

### **(3) Late period (1655–1664), Xiao in his sixties.**

In his sixties, Xiao developed the distinctive characteristics of his painting style. He also became more interested in his environment and himself, frequently expressing his personal experience and ideas in his paintings. In terms of subject matter, he chose the scenery that he had visited, or he combined the familiar views with imaginary landscapes. Sometimes he depicted himself or his friends in these landscapes.

An early work from his sixties, *Sparse Trees at the Yuntai* (Yuntai shushu tujuan 雲臺疏樹圖卷) (1656) in Nanjing Museum 南京博物院, is Xiao's own transformation of the style of the Yuan master Ni Zan, and Huang Gongwang as Tang Yansheng 湯燕生 wrote the title as "In the styles of Ni Zan and Huang Gongwang 大類倪黃" (fig. 42 and fig. 43). Tang Yansheng, a native of Taiping prefecture of Anhui province, was good at poetry, classics, and seal carving. Huang Yue 黃鉞 compiled poetry by Xiao Yuncong and Tang Yansheng, and titled it *Xiao Tang erlao yishi hebian* 蕭湯二老遺詩合編. Xiao kept a close relationship with Tang Yansheng, who was from the same hometown and shared his artistic passions of poetry, classics, and painting. Tang also wrote a colophon after Xiao's inscription. Interestingly, Tang mentioned the famous Anhui artists, Hongren and Sun Yi 孫逸 (?–ca. 1658).<sup>78</sup> He also wrote titles and colophons on Xiao Yuncong's *Landscape* (設色山水圖卷) (1667) in the Liaoning Provincial Museum 遼寧省博物館, *Getting Cool under Wutong Tree* (Tongxia naliang tu 桐下納涼圖) in the Shanghai Museum, and *Clouds Rising Among the Yangzi River* (長江雲起圖詩畫卷) in the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Berlin (fig. 44). Tang Yansheng also kept a close relationship with Hongren. He wrote colophons several times for Hongren's paintings, including *Pine Tree and Plum Blossoms* (1656) and *Old Trees and Short Reeds*, both in the National Palace Museum, Taipei.

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<sup>78</sup> “漸公[Hongren]已逝孫逸[Sun Yi]隨老, 畫師當屬, 阿誰惆悵白頭蕭賁在流傳, 矜慎似當時...”

Sun Yi, a native of Xiuning 休寧, later lived in Wuhu, Xiao's hometown, and became his friend. Sun Yi also followed the styles of Ni Zan and Huang Gongwang, and he was called "a reincarnation of Wen Zhengming." Sun Yi is often paired with Xiao Yuncong as "Sun and Xiao 孫蕭," or grouped with Zha Shibiao, Hongren, and Wang Zhirui as the "Four Great Masters of Xinan." Xiao Yuncong also wrote a colophon on Sun's painting, copied as *Helin yulu ce* 鶴林玉露冊 by Tang Yin 唐寅 (1470–1524). Xiao, who also had copied the same album by Tang Yin, praised Sun's paintings and his style, comparing them to the fanggu practice by artists such as Mi Fu and Mi Youren who followed the style of Wang Wei.<sup>79</sup>

Xiao's *Sparse Trees at the Yuntai* describes the scenery of the Yuntai Mountains. According to the inscription, he had climbed the Yuntai Mountains on New Year morning of 1656 and painted them in an instant.<sup>80</sup> The Yuntai Mountains are located south of Jiangning xian 江寧縣, south of Nanjing in Jiangsu 江蘇 province. Xiao creates the panoramic scenery of the Yuntai Mountains in the cold, early morning using by using a bird's-eye-view and applying light colors. Upright, thin, and sparse trees, horizontally cut cliffs, and rectangle-shaped lumps of rocks show the topographical features of the Yuntai Mountains. The composition, with terraces of square rocks and cliffs, and brushstrokes and washes depicting the massiveness of the rocks, reveals Xiao's style as more individualized now than his

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<sup>79</sup> “余髫時便模唐解元此冊，不能淡遠，與子西所云超軼塵外之意殊失也。無逸靜者也... 故落墨有青藍之異。昔<輞川圖>出右丞手，以米氏父子臨之，獨自嘆為刻畫。” Lu Xinyuan, *ibid.*, 13: 4.

<sup>80</sup> “朝起見紅日，氣象殊佳哉。世事不我與，獨登書雲台... 丙申元旦晴和，胸中浩然，知世外有余樂，伸紙作畫，頃刻而成。”

earlier works. The painting is a record of Xiao's response to the real scenic view rather than an exercise in the old masters' styles.

*Going Home and Living Abroad Are the Same Thing* (Guiyü yiyuan tu 歸寓一元圖卷) in the Museum of Rietberg, Zürich, also demonstrates Xiao's unique style (fig. 45). Xiao painted this panoramic view of the Yangzi river area in the nearly 1302 cm long handscroll. His colophon at the end explains his motivation and the source of this painting. It reads:

In the second month of spring in the year bingshen [1656], I disembarked at Wanling [now, Xuancheng xian] in response to an invitation from the Prefect. When I had some leisure time, I visited places famous for their scenic beauty, and I managed to see all the peaks of Jingting Mountain. Two or three friends and I indulged in poetry and wine. Happily we climbed to the White Cloud Mountain, and walked to Fengsheng Chan Monastery, where we met the Monk Jingru. We talked with him for a while, and found that he was like Reverent Yuan [Monk Huiyuan, of the Qin Dynasty (265–419), who lived at the Tunglin Monastery at Mt. Lu] in his understanding of Buddhist thought. Toward the end of our conversation, we touched on such matters as calligraphy and painting, which were of particular interest to us. Jingru then instructed an attendant to bring out a scroll which he had painted himself, entitled *Going Home and Living Abroad Are the Same Thing*, and he asked me to judge the work and write something on it. As I unrolled the scroll, I was delighted by its vigorous style. Further inspection of the misty passages made me feel as if I was entering the realms of wisdom itself. I wrote these lines for the picture:

‘Calmly, I cultivate an impartial mind

While reading your poems, like chilly mist and cold snow.’

Upon returning to the Qiu River [located about 20 miles east of Wuhu, in Anhui Province, the native town of the painter], I sat down in my little study, and kept thinking of the painting, which I seemed to see right before my eyes. Inspired, I painted the present picture in imitation of Jingru's, inscribing on it revised versions of his original poems. I've worked hard at painting all my life; dare I hope that this work of mine will be transmitted through the generations together with Jingru's picture? Perhaps it will be said that I have only ‘imitated the way he knits his brow,’ but one day the monk and I meet, and we will clap our hands in joy

when he realize that the scrolls complement each other like the two halves of a tally. Written by Xiao Yuncong of Quhu.<sup>81</sup>

In the inscription Xiao clearly states that he liked to visit famous places for their scenic beauty and that he had climbed the Jingting Mountains and the Baiyun Mountains. Xiao's painting was inspired by Jingru's 淨儒 *Going Home and Living Abroad Are the Same Thing*. However, Xiao's painting is not just a copy of Jingru's painting of the same title, as mentioned in the inscription. The twenty-four particular spots around the Yangzi River were in an area familiar to Xiao Yuncong. He traveled to Nanjing several times and his hometown is near the Gushu 姑熟 River. Rather, Xiao's painting is a "response 和答" to Jingru's painting, as well as to the natural scenic view of Yangzi River. Two paintings can "complement each other like the two halves of a tally" as Xiao himself comments in the inscription. Unfortunately the painting by Jingru is not available, but his poetry and inscription were recorded on Xiao's painting.<sup>82</sup> The inscription by Jingru explains the profound Buddhist meaning

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<sup>81</sup> "丙申春仲, 就棹宛陵, 應郡侯之約。暇則尋幽探勝, 歷覽敬亭諸峯, 與二三同人放情詩酒, 快登白雲巔, 步奉聖禪房。晤僧淨儒, 接談傾蓋, 大有遠公妙諦遺風, 終及書畫, 津津。復呼侍者, 捧所作自作歸寓一元圖, 索余品題。展卷縱觀擊節, 頗稱遒勁, 熟視氣蒸冉冉處, 真令人引伸于慧心之域。曾贈之以, "靜習平心法, 寒煙冷雪詩" 之句。繼續鳩江, 坐小齋, 神怡, 僧卷恍在目前, 仿佛運筆, 遂成一轍, 乃將僧所題原卷之詩, 刪訂列載, 敢云生平攻苦, 獲為並傳於世耶? 亦曰聊為效顰, 或可異日逢僧相晤, 同心鼓掌, 若合一契也云爾。區湖雲從並題。" Translation of the inscription is from Chu-tsing Li, *A Thousand Peaks and Myriad Ravines: Chinese Paintings in the Charles A. Drenowatz Collection* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1974): 172-73.

<sup>82</sup> "The seventh day of the seventh month of the year yiwei [1655] was my fiftieth birthday. Living among the clouds and mist with nothing but a monk's robe, I felt like a stranger in a foreign land. The ancients said, 'The heart of a sage is unattached; foreign lands are home to him.' This is an eternal truth, and yet I had accomplished nothing in my attempt to follow the Tao, that I was wasting my time. Also, how could



of the title, *Going Home and Living Abroad Are the Same Thing*. Interestingly, in the same way that going home to Wanling and living abroad in Gushu were the same to Jingru, Xiao also felt that going home to Gushu and living abroad or traveling to Wanling and Nanjing were the same.

Although Xiao liked to paint panoramic landscapes in the long handscroll format from his early period, such as *Traveling Among the Mountains*, here he is more focused on the topographical features of the Yangzi area and depicts numerous details such as figures, animals, boats, temples, pagodas, houses, and villages. Xiao also described ordinary activities of villagers within endlessly unfolding landscapes. His painting has a lyrical mode and realistic details beyond map-like topographic illustrations. Chu-tsing Li called this characteristic of Xiao's painting "poetic realism."<sup>83</sup>

Xiao painted twenty-four scenic views in the handscroll, and each scene naturally connects to the next one and finally ends with the grand spectacle of the

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I help but feel homesick for the scenes of my home country? So when I had some free time, I painted a picture called *The Thatched Hut in the Tall Pines on White Cloud Mountains*, as well as of the famous scenes of the Wanling region. Thus when I unrolled this scroll, the homes and graves of my ancestors, and the sights of my home town, seem to be right before my eyes. In addition, I completed the scroll by adding a few famous scenes of the Ku River region, where I am now staying. For me, living abroad is the same as going home, and going home is the same as living abroad, so I have named the picture, *Going Home and Living Abroad Are the Same Thing*. Written by Jingru of Fengsheng Monastery on White Cloud Mountain in Wanling, copied by Xiao Yuncong of Juhu." "乙未秋七月廿日余誕長。五十初度也。煙霞瓢衲。異地蕭然。古人云：‘達士心無滯，他鄉總是家。’雖至理攸存，而自念學道無成，徒虛歲月，又何能無故地風煙之感耶？因暇日自作白雲山長松草堂圖，並宛陵全概，俾得一展卷，而先人廬墓，桑梓風光，恍如目接，繼以寓地姑溪名勝，共成一卷，寓即歸也，歸即寓也，合名歸寓一元圖。宛陵白雲山奉聖寺淨儒識。區湖蕭雲從錄。” Translation of the inscription is from Chu-tsing Li, *ibid.*: 174.

<sup>83</sup> Chu-tsing Li, *ibid.*: 178.

Yangzi riverbank. He also specified the locality by writing the title for each scene, with its poetic reference (fig. 46). He wrote titles in seal script and poems in clerical script. Forty-seven poems written on the painting are collected references for local history, legend, and literature relating to scenic beauty. In this painting, the poetry, calligraphy, and painting form a harmonious unit.

*Going Home and Living Abroad Are the Same Thing* is stylistically connected with Xiao's earlier *Farewell at the Riverside Pavilion* (Jiangting songbie tu juan 江亭送別圖卷) (1653) in the Freer Gallery of Art, and *Clear Sounds among Hills and Waters* (Shanshui qingyin tujian 山水清音圖卷) (1664) in the Cleveland Museum of Art (fig. 47).

*Landscape* in the Freer Gallery of Art is also an example of Xiao's ability to show personal experience (fig. 48). According to the inscription, this hanging scroll was painted in 1658 on the departure of a friend who had received a new official position. The poem reads:

What evening will I find a twig to rest on?  
Who is it who talks of 'peace beyond this world'?  
I gaze at clouds, grieve for the road I travel.  
Depressed by our parting, I recall [?] your former post.  
I think of you, together  
with the lonely crane, flying so high you cannot be drawn back.  
Like floating weed, you leave no trace behind you.  
How can I know what day you will return?<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> “一杖行何晚? 誰云世外閒? 看雲愁去路. 俚別鬢先班, 念子同孤, 鶴高飛不可. 攀萍蹤杳無定實, 計幾時還?” Translated by James Cahill, from the collection database, The Freer Gallery of Art and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery.

The figure with a crane in the secluded mountains is Xiao himself, missing his friend. Xiao used a simple composition and a technique of dry brush strokes evoking Ni Zan's style, but it differs from the Yuan painter's style in that Xiao adds the figure as a focal point. The dry linear brushwork as well as the geometric form of the rocks also shows his close relationship with the styles of Hongren and other Anhui artists.

Xiao Yuncong's late period paintings are most associated with the style that Xiao had developed, and they include the ideas and experiences of nature that go beyond his previous periods' methods of following the old masters' styles.

#### **(4) Last Period (1665–1673), Xiao in his seventies.**

Although Xiao was in his seventies, he still produced many astonishing landscapes during this period. When he turned seventy in 1665, he painted *Blue and Green Landscape* (Qinglü shanshui 青綠山水) in the Shanghai Museum 上海博物館 (fig. 49). Long and meticulously painted, this landscape is surely one of his most labor-intensive pieces, and it is hard to believe that it was done in his seventies. The impression is rather similar to the Shanghai Museum's *Travelling Among the Mountains* (Guanshan xinglü tu 關山行旅圖) (1642) done more than twenty years earlier. Although the paintings share the complex and organic composition of the landscapes, the work of his seventies shows a more naturalistic, though still dynamic description. His skillful and effective management of space and views of zoom lens create lively, dynamic scenery. Landscapes of the area around the Yangzi River of

southern China show not only a series of low hills but also softer, misty, and wet scenery familiar to Xiao as a native of Anhui. He creates a strong and powerful landscape with the rhythmical combination and diagonal compositions of layers of rocky mountain peaks and a serene river continued far away. The painting provides two imaginative spaces to viewers: the deep interior of mountain wrinkles and the open river in the far distance. He also expresses the vitality and clear feeling of spring in the Yangzi River area with the use of bright blue and green colors.

In the inscription, Xiao discusses the style of *Wangchuan Villa* (Wangchuan tu 輞川圖), a theme associated with the Tang poet-painter Wang Wei 王維, who was regarded as the founder of the Southern school of painting by Dong Qichang.<sup>85</sup> Since Xiao doesn't mention any specific places in the inscription, this painting is different from previous topographical landscapes. Presumably Xiao painted it following the style of Wang Wei's *Wangchuan Villa*, and he was aware of the theories of the Southern school and the Northern school. However, this painting still shows the distinctive style of Xiao Yuncong based on his experiences and the scenic views of his native land.

*Traveling in the Mountain and River* (Jiangshan shenglan tu 江山勝覽圖) (1664) in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, also has references to old masterpieces (fig. 50). The inscription reads, "When Huang Yifeng [Huang Gongwang] was visiting Liangxi, he and Ni Zan collaborated on a painting. At that time Ni [Zan] was here on his way home from Chu. This painting is called *Jiangshan*

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<sup>85</sup> “自唐摩詰[Wang Wei]末開南宗一派。其輞川圖，山峰盤回... 予閑居，偶爾經營位置，意在諸法悉準備...”

*shenglantu* [Traveling in the Mountain and River], I always admire it ...”<sup>86</sup> Xiao painted this handscroll based on the collaborative work *Traveling in the Mountain and River* by Ni Zan and Huang Gongwang. The painting lacks topographical elements, but it is also different from the style of Huang or Ni. This is Xiao’s creative interpretation of Huang and Ni. Xiao’s intricate landscape describes his typical flat level terraces, steep rocky cliffs, and towering square-shaped angular rocks.

Xiao also did several hanging scrolls in his seventies. One of them is *One Hundred Feet of Bright Rosy Clouds* (Baichi mingxia tu 百尺明霞圖) in the Shanghai Museum 上海博物館 (fig. 51). He painted this work for Ziyuan 子遠 in 1667.<sup>87</sup> In the front, a scholar plays the zither (*qin* 琴) under a pine tree while his young servant plays with a crane near the bridge and cliff. The middle and background overhanging cliffs are lumpy like clouds, creating an odd and fantastic mood. The bright reflection on the surface of the rocks expresses the “bright rosy clouds (mingxia 明霞).” He gives a three-dimensional quality and complexity to the painting with his refined and detailed brushstrokes. He creates a transcendental setting in nature for a hermit who could be Xiao himself. Xiao’s self-images are also found in several paintings of his late period works including *Landscape with Figures* (1667) in the Ching Yuan Chai Collection, Berkeley, and *Displaying an Album on a Stone Bench* (Shideng tanshu tu 石磴攤書圖, 1669) in the Rongbao zhai 榮寶齋 collection (fig. 52 and fig. 53).

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<sup>86</sup> “黃一峰客梁谿, 與倪荊蠻合筆, 以倪自楚遊還為此, 謂之江山勝覽圖。余素所宗服..”

<sup>87</sup> “附韻以紀于梅築寄贈子遠季第清玩”

The paintings of his mid-seventies show more expressionistic brushwork than before. *Landscape, with Mountains and Rivers*, now in the Los Angeles County Museum, was painted in 1669 and is a representative piece of his last period (fig. 54).<sup>88</sup> Xiao's inscription, written in 1669, and two other colophons are at the end of the painting. According to the inscription, this painting was dedicated to his son-in-law Zhengni. One of the colophons was written by Xiao's contemporary, Fang Zhaozeng 方兆曾.<sup>89</sup> Fang Zhaozeng had kept a close relationship with Xiao Yuncong from his youth and had become one of Xiao's friends and patrons. Several inscriptions show that Fang Zhaozeng frequently asked Xiao for paintings. One of them is *Flowing Water in Deep Mountains* (Shenshan xiliutu 深山溪流圖) painted when Xiao was in his sixties.<sup>90</sup> Two years later, Fang wanted another of Xiao's paintings, and Xiao painted *Landscape*, now in the Shanghai Museum.<sup>91</sup>

*Landscape, with Mountains and Rivers* presents an endless panoramic view of rising and falling mountains and valleys and a widening river. Compared with earlier handscrolls done in the 1650s, this 1669 painting shows stylistic changes: the contours of the mountains are drawn with more natural curves, and rocks have

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<sup>88</sup> *Landscape, with Mountains and Rivers* in the Los Angeles County Museum was introduced in the articles by Henry Trubner, "Two Chinese Landscape Paintings," *Los Angeles County Museum Bulletin of the Art Division* 6. 4 (fall, 1954): 3–8 and "A Chinese Landscape by Hsiao Yün-ts'ung," *Oriental Art* 1. 3 (autumn, 1955): 104–7.

<sup>89</sup> "方兆曾, 字沂夢, 號省齋... 少為蕭尺木所稱賞。" Huang Yue 黃鉞, *Huayoulu* 畫友錄, in *ibid.*: 4. For a discussion of the relationship between Xiao Yuncong and Fang Zhaozeng, see Wang Shicheng, *ibid.*: 6–7.

<sup>90</sup> "乙未三月十七日, 沂夢先生以藏墨二筍, 下易余畫..."

<sup>91</sup> "沂夢先生出之索畫, 隨手應教不足觀也。丁酉七月于西崖, 鍾山梅下蕭雲從。"

become less angular and simplified. Bold and strong brushwork is used here instead of the meticulous thin lines of his earlier period. However, his brushstrokes are still delicate and sensitive. Architecture, figures, and trees are emphasized by their bigger scale in a more close-up view. The 1669 Los Angeles County Museum handscroll can be compared to *Clear Sounds among Hills and Waters* (Shanshui qingyin tujian 山水清音圖卷, 1664) in the Cleveland Museum of Art. This later painting represents Xiao's mature style, showing his mastery of space, formal depiction, and freedom of brushwork.

*Dark and Deep Mountain Torrent and Gorge* (Jiangu youshen 礮谷幽深) in

Palace Museum, Beijing, reveals Xiao's pride in his own painting (fig. 55). The inscription reads:

The ninth month in bingwu year [1666], I was staying in the Jingzhai Studio, thinking, when suddenly I remembered that Li Xigu 李晞古 [Li Tang 李唐 (1066–1150)] of Heyang 河陽 was almost at age eighty. He liked to paint long handscrolls and big screens. Gaozong 高宗 particularly liked him. The colophon by him [Gaozong] in the scroll reads, “Only Li Tang 李唐 can be compared with Li Sixun 李思訓 (653–718).” I am just a commoner. There is no way to present my painting to the emperor. Recently, although I'm getting weak and old, I especially don't want to surrender to the ancients. So I try my best to compose and finally finish this scroll. I myself think I paint with restrain and care. Mountain torrent and valleys are dark and deep, mountain peaks are clear and elegant. This is the only one I have achieved in my whole life. I preserve it waiting for the one who can appreciate me.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> “丙午菊月，臥居靜齋，倏憶河陽李晞古年近八十，多喜作長圖大障，至為高宗所眷愛，爰題其卷曰：李唐可比李思訓。余草野中人，無緣獻納。近雖衰老，猶不肯多讓古人。于是極力經營，勉為此卷。自覺落筆矜慎，礮谷幽深，峰巒明秀，亦平生所僅有者，藏之以俟知我。區湖蕭雲從畫並記。”

Indeed, Cao Wenzhi 曹文植 presented this handscroll to Qing Emperor Qianlong 乾隆 in 1773. The emperor wrote an inscription, and finally Xiao Yuncong's paintings were collected in *Shiqu baoji* 石渠寶笈.

Another of Xiao's inscriptions also shows his attitude and ideas on painting. The passage from his inscription on *Flowing Water in Deep Mountains* (Shenshan xiliutu 深山溪流圖) reads:

Mr. Yimeng gave me two sticks of ink that he had preserved in exchange of my painting. I returned to the temple in the mountain, loosened my robe, quietly sat down and loosened my hair [to paint]. After five days I dropped the brush. When the strong wind and rainstorm arouse, my mind is rather peaceful and I am more than content. However, I don't care of the appearance, just follow my temperament (xingqing 性情). An ancestor of my family [Xiao] Yingshi's (ca. 717–760) 'Poetry on Plum Blossom' says, "Shockingly eccentric and ugly can be more attractive." The idea of this phrase also applies to painting landscapes. When people paint landscape, they focus on spirit of ink (moqi 墨氣), but don't know the spirit of the brushstroke (biqu 筆氣). I saw Dachi [Huang Gongwang] using his three-inch weak brush to paint masterpieces...<sup>93</sup>

As this inscription implies, Xiao would prefer to rely on the natural temperament (xingqing 性情) than the imitation of appearance, and he emphasized the delicate, textural brushstrokes.

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<sup>93</sup> “乙未三月十七日，沂夢先生以藏墨二筍，下易余畫。乃歸山寺，解衣靜坐紛披，五日擱筆，而風雨大作時，心寂去取間，遂多稱意，蓋不務修飾，獨攄性情也。昔吾家穎士梅畫詩云：‘醜怪驚人能嫵媚’此語與寫山水甚合。第世人畫山水務墨氣而不知筆氣，余見大痴全以三寸弱翰位千古擅場...”



One of Xiao's last works, *Pine Trees and Rocks in the Huang Mountains* (Huangshan songshi tu, 黃山松石圖), in the Zhejiang Provincial Museum 浙江省博物館 can be considered a masterpiece (fig. 56). In the inscription, Xiao explains his thoughts and intentions. An ink stick maker in the Five Dynasties (907-960) and Ten Kingdoms (907-979), Xi Tinggui 奚庭珪 [Li Tinggui 李庭珪], had used pine trees in the Huang Mountains to make good ink cakes, and the supernatural power of pine and ink in the Huang Mountains was famous. Xiao comments that

Ink [stick] makers are excellent in choosing pine trees [for making ink stick]; pine essence [ink] is transformed into a dragon in the clouds...Pine trees and rocks in the Huang Mountains are themselves the natural ingredients for ink, which is a self-evident truth, *li* [principle], beyond my ability and technical skill to achieve. A seventy-four-year-old man, Xiao Yuncong.<sup>94</sup>

Xiao describes the relationship between the high quality ink and the lively depiction of pine trees in the inscription. Indeed, his contorted pines surround rocks that resemble the twisted dragon within the clouds just as the “pine essence [ink] is transformed into a dragon in the clouds.” Interestingly, it seems to imply that Xiao is a dragon as well as a master of his ink, because one of his seals reads “dragon following the cloud (yuncong long 雲從龍).”

During his early period, when Xiao Yuncong was in his thirties and forties, he painted magnificent panoramic views of scenic beauty. Although he described the mountains and rivers of southern China, there is a lack of elements of specific locality.

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<sup>94</sup> “製墨之人妙選松，松精變化為雲龍... 黃山松石便是墨，一種至理，非我能手莫得。七十四翁蕭雲從。”

However, he used highly refined and strong brushstrokes and depicted interesting details of human figures, animals, and architecture in a realistic way. In his fifties, when he spent most of time and effort in painting, Xiao frequently practiced the fanggu method to look for artistic solutions as well as to show respect to the old masters. Mostly, he emulated the style of scholar-artists, including Huang Gongwang, Ni Zan, and Shen Zhou. However, his *fang* 仿 is different from imitation. He had been developing his distinctive style based on the understanding of the old masters' styles. His fang was not limited to the artistic, technical skills of the old masters' styles, but also included the spirit of scholar-artists. His practice of the fanggu method continued until his sixties. Moreover, he combined fanggu methods with the description of real scenery. Both art historical knowledge and personal experiences became true sources of Xiao's distinctive landscape style.

Xiao Yuncong also produced many hanging scrolls. Most of them repeat a similar composition; in the foreground a scholar playing the *qin* or zither has a conversation with a friend under some trees, or walks with a staff. The scholar is usually accompanied by a young servant or a white crane. The left side of the front of the composition has a bridge, and a zigzag path that leads deep into the mountains. Following the path, there are big piles of rocks, and houses or a monastery in the central middle ground. As background he put precipitous peaks of mountains. This composition is affiliated with the paintings of Wu school artists. Although figures were depicted on a relatively large scale in Xiao's hanging scrolls, many of his paintings capture the grand sense of nature like the monumental landscapes of the Northern Song dynasty. The surface complexity can be connected to Wen

Zhengming's landscapes done in the narrow format. However, unlike Wen Zhengming's flat surfaces from foreground to the back mountain, Xiao's landscapes have spatial depth created by a path.

In addition, Xiao created several albums in the old masters' styles or sometimes depicting seasonal landscape. His fanggu album will be discussed in the chapter 4.

The formation of the stylistic features of Xiao's paintings was through the fanggu practice that he learned from the old masters' styles, including those from the Five Dynasties, the Song, the Yuan, and the early Ming dynasty artists. His style is also related to contemporary styles developed by artists from Nanjing, Suzhou, and Songjiang. Xiao's paintings also show some of the common features of his fellow painters of Anhui or Xinan. However, a few generations later the important Qing critic, Zhang Geng 張庚 (1685–1760) commented on Xiao's style in his *Guochao huazheng lu* 國朝畫徵錄: “[Xiao was] a good landscape painter who did not follow any of the common trends but formed a manner of his own style, which was very pleasant and attractive.”<sup>95</sup> Xiao achieved a distinctive and individual style which is closely tied to his native hometown. His compositions are intricate, but rhythmical and harmonious. His brushwork is sensitive, delicate, controlled, and strong. His light colors create a clean, refreshing, and pleasant atmosphere. His painting has a warm sympathy and humanism through the depiction of figures and details from ordinary life. Xiao's painting can be said to be his pictorial response to the nature around him.

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<sup>95</sup> “...善山水, 不傳宗法, 自成一家, 筆亦清快可喜。” Zhang Geng 張庚, *Guochao huazheng lu* 國朝畫徵錄, juan shang 卷上, in *ibid.*: 18.

### III. Xiao Yuncong's Printed Album of Landscape, *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* (Taiping shanshui tuhua 太平山水圖畫)

One of the most well-known art works produced by Xiao Yuncong is a printed landscape album, *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* (Taiping shanshui tuhua 太平山水圖畫). It is also regarded as one of his earliest commissioned works, published in 1648. The album includes a total of forty-three landscape prints, describing three districts in Taiping Prefecture, including Dangtu 當塗, Wuhu 蕪湖, and Fanchang 繁昌.

The first part of this chapter contains background information on Xiao's printed landscape album. It introduces briefly a few of the different titles associated with Xiao's album, its relation to *Three Books of Taiping Prefecture* (Taiping sanshu 太平三書), the motivation behind and intention to produce the album, and finally the contents of the album.

Then, Xiao's landscape prints are closely examined through a visual analysis of both subject matter and style. The album shows several distinctive characteristics. First of all, each print depicts a different place of scenic beauty by employing a different old master's style. Each print includes an inscription which contains poetry related to the scenery. Each print contains appealing and interesting details of the location that set each apart from the other. Finally, the fact that it is published in the form of woodblock prints is significant for several reasons, which will be discussed.

In the second part of this chapter, I discuss how Xiao uses five different approaches to depiction: first, illustrations of real scenery; second, illustrations of classical poetry; third, illustrations using the *fanggu* method; fourth, illustrations with interesting picturesque detail; and fifth, the medium of the woodblock print and its implications. All of these features combined in one album make Xiao's *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* unusual for its time, and yet also more accessible and appealing to a broad audience.

*Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* was first published in 1648, the fifth year of the Shunzhi 順治 reign of the Qing dynasty. Although this printed landscape album is one of the most well-known and representative works by Xiao Yuncong, only a few copies survive. A supplemental version was reprinted in the Qianlong 乾隆 era (r. 1736–1795). The extant copies of Xiao's *Illustration of Taiping Prefecture* can be found in the following institutions: the Arthur M. Sackler Museum at Harvard University, the Beijing Library 北京圖書館 in China, a Japanese private collection, and in the Anhui Provincial Museum 安徽省博物館, China.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Huang Zhenyan 黃貞燕 used photographs taken of the copy in the Japanese private collection in her master's thesis. She mentions that the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston has one copy of *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, citing Chen Chuanxi's article, but the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston does not have Xiao's printed album. Huang also notes that Fu Sinian Library of the Academia Sinica (臺北中央研究院傅斯年圖書館) in Taipei, Taiwan has *Three Books of Taiping Prefecture* (Taiping sanshu 太平三書). Huang Zhenyan 黃貞燕, "Qingchu shanshui banhua *Taiping shanshui tuhua* yanjiu 清初山水版畫《太平山水圖畫》研究" (master's thesis, National Taiwan University, 1994): 4; Chen Chuanxi 陳傳席, "Youguan Xiao Yuncong *Taiping shanshui shihua* zhu wenti 有關蕭雲從太平山水詩畫諸問題," *ibid.*: 91. For a discussion on the different versions of the Taiping album, see Appendix 2.

Although extant copies are rare, the title of Xiao's printed landscape album was recorded in various forms with slightly different names such as "Taiping jing 太平景" in the *Guochao huazhenglu* 國朝畫徵錄, "Taiping sanshu tu 太平三書圖" in the *Huayoulu* 畫友錄, "Taiping shanshui quantu 太平山水全圖" in *Tongyin lunhua* 桐陰論畫, and "Taiping sanshan tu 太平三山圖" in the *Tuhui baojian xuzuan* 圖繪寶鑑續纂.<sup>97</sup> The title "Taiping jing 太平景," which means "The Scenery of Taiping Prefecture" is a rather generalized name to indicate the subject matter of the album. On the other hand, "Taiping sanshu tu 太平三書圖," which means "Illustrations from *Three Books of Taiping Prefecture*" reveals that Xiao's album is part of a three-volume series about Taiping prefecture and focuses on its relationship to the other books as illustrations. The title, "Taiping shanshui quantu 太平山水全圖," which means "Entire View of Taiping Scenery," not only derives its name from the title of the first illustration in Xiao's album, but also integrates all forty-three individual landscapes of the Taiping area from the album (fig. 57). "Taiping sanshan tu 太平三山圖" is also the same title as a landscape print from his album (fig. 58). Among them, "Taiping shanshui tuhua 太平山水圖畫 [Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture]" and "Taiping shanshui shihua 太平山水詩畫 [Illustrations of Poetry about Taiping Prefecture]" are the most well-known titles for Xiao's printed landscape album.

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<sup>97</sup> Zhang Geng 張庚, *Guochao huazhenglu* 國朝畫徵錄, in *Huashi congshu* 畫史叢書 3 (Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe 文史哲出版社, 1974): 18; Huang Yue 黃鉞, *Huayoulu* 畫友錄, in *Huashi congshu* 畫史叢書 4 (Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe 文史哲出版社, 1974): 1; Qin Zuyong 秦祖永, *Tongyin lunhua* 桐陰論畫 (preface dated 1864, published 1880): 37780, (Shanghai: Saoye shanfang 掃葉山房, 1918); Lan Ying 藍瑛 and Xie Bin 謝彬, *Tuhui baojian xuzuan* 圖繪寶鑑續纂, in *Huashi congshu* 畫史叢書 2 (Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe 文史哲出版社, 1974): 40.

It is hard to know whether the different titles are due to different editions or not. While a few extant copies have a cover page with the title reading “Taiping shanshui shihua 太平山水詩畫 [Illustrations of Poetry about Taiping Prefecture]” (fig. 59), the title “Taiping shanshui tuhua 太平山水圖畫 [Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture]” was derived from the table of contents page (mulu 目錄) (fig. 60). This page starts with “Taiping shanshui tuhua mulu 太平山水圖畫目錄 [Contents of Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture].” In the *Three Books of Taiping Prefecture* (Taiping sanshu 太平三書), the volume of illustrations was called “tuhua 圖畫,” so both names reveal a close connection with the book, *Three Books of Taiping Prefecture*, that includes the album *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* (Taiping shanshui tuhua 太平山水圖畫).

As mentioned earlier, *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* is part of a three-volume book, *Three Books of Taiping Prefecture*, edited by Zhang Wanxuan 張萬選. Little is known about the life of Zhang Wanxuan. He was appointed as a provincial government officer to Taiping prefecture, Anhui province in the second year of Shunzhi 順治 era [1645].<sup>98</sup> When he resigned from his official position to accept another position at Jinan 濟南, Shandong 山東 province in the third year of Shunzhi 順治 era [1646], Zhang Wanxuan commissioned this book as a memento of the beautiful scenery of Taiping prefecture.<sup>99</sup> Besides the landscape painting portion

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<sup>98</sup> Song Xiang 宋驤 et al. com., *Taiping fuzhi* 太平府志 (1663), in *Zhongguo fangzhi congshu* 中國方志叢書 (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe 成文出版社, 1974): 251.

<sup>99</sup> “Taiping sanshu zixu zhonglue 太平三書自序總略,” in Zhang Wanxuan ed.,

[tuhua 圖畫] which constitutes *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, *Three Books of Taiping Prefecture* has two more parts, “Shenggai [Beautiful Scenery] 勝概” and “Fengya [Elegant and Cultured] 風雅.” These two volumes are collections of poetry about the famous places of Taiping prefecture. Particularly, “Shenggai” is a compilation of poetry related to traveling in search of official employment at a place away from home, while “Fengya” is a compilation of poetry by Taiping native scholars or officials about their native places.

*Three Books of Taiping Prefecture* was published by Huaigutang 裱古堂. The cover page of *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* records the publisher’s name (fig. 59). Huang Zhenyan suggests that because Zhang Wanxuan edited this book and signed it as “the owner of Huaigutang recorded 裱古堂主人記,” *Three Books of Taiping Prefecture* would be a private publication and that Huaigutang 裱古堂 is Zhang’s studio name.<sup>100</sup> However, as several artists used “Huaigutang” as their pen names and Huaigutang was a popular name among scholars, it is hard to say whether this album was published at Zhang’s private expense or not. Although there are not many copies extant, *Three Books of Taiping Prefecture* was collected as a part of the

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*Taiping sanshu* 太平三書 (Qianlong 乾隆 3, 1738).

<sup>100</sup> *Three Books of Taiping Prefecture* (Taiping sanshu 太平三書) was first published in 1648 by Huaigutang. Taiping prefecture chief official Zhang Xianzhong 張獻重 revised this book and published it in 1697. When the original blocks and contents of this were lost during the Qianlong reign, Taiping prefecture chief official Xiong Tongren 熊同仁 gathered materials from the collections of local officials, and made amendments in another edition for publication in 1738. For the publishing history of *Three Books of Taiping Prefecture*, see Huang Zhenyan, “Qingchu shanshui banhua *Taiping shanshui tuhua* yanjiu 清初山水版畫《太平山水圖畫》研究” (master’s thesis, National Taiwan University, 1994): 6–7 and footnote 17.



district's official collection and was regarded as representative of the local literature of Taiping prefecture.

*Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* consists of a “Preface (Tuhua xiaoxū 圖畫小序)” by Zhang Wanxuan; “Contents (Taiping shanshui tuhua mulu 太平山水圖畫目錄)”;

“Entire View of Taiping Scenery (Taiping shanshui quantu 太平山水全圖)”;

“Separated Notes (Taiping shanshui fenzhu 太平山水分注)”;

fifteen landscape paintings of the Dangtu 當塗 area, fourteen landscape paintings of the Wuhu 蕪湖 area, thirteen landscape paintings of the Fanchang 繁昌 area; and an “Epilogue (ba 跋)” by Xiao Yuncong.

The preface of the album was written by Zhang Wanxuan, who also edited *Three Books of Taiping Prefecture* (fig. 61). The idea of producing the album is clearly explained in the preface. First, Zhang Wanxuan emphasizes the importance of traveling to famous mountains by quoting earlier scholars of antiquity such as Xiang Ziping 向子平, who traveled to the Five Sacred Mountains, and Zong Bing 宗炳 (375–443), who painted the Five Mountains on his studio wall.<sup>101</sup> Zhang also mentions the old phrase: “it is only after traveling to all the famous mountains in the world and after reading all the great books in the world that you can avoid being vulgar (*su* 俗).” Zhang Wanxuan explains why he wanted to commission this album

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<sup>101</sup> Xiang Ziping 向子平 is a scholar who retired in the Eastern Han dynasty and is well known for traveling to famous mountains after finishing the marriage ceremonies of his sons and daughters. *Hashu* 漢書, “Xiangchang zhuan 向長傳.” Zong Bing 宗炳 (375–443) was a Song dynasty 南朝 宋 (420–479) artist who also wrote about painting theory in *Introduction to Painting Landscape* (Hua shanshui xu 畫山水序).

and why he chose Xiao Yuncong to paint it. Zhang enjoyed traveling around the beautiful places in the Taiping area while he was posted there. When he had to move north, he asked Xiao Yuncong, who as a native of the Wuhu area was someone who could best paint the Taiping region. Zhang also compared Xiao Yuncong with Zong Bing, who had traveled to the Five Mountains before making his wall paintings.<sup>102</sup> This reference to Zong Bing is important because it links the artists over the centuries and establishes the motivation to ask an artist like Xiao Yuncong to design the landscape pictures.

The contents page has the title “Contents of Illustrations of Landscape of the Taiping Area” followed by two maps “Entire View of Taiping Scenery (Taiping shanshui quantu 太平山水全圖),” and “Separated Notes (Taiping shanshui fen zhu 太平山水分注),” where forty-two names of places are grouped by the three main regions Dangtu, Wuhu, and Fanchang (fig. 60). Every place name is followed by a quote from a poet with the title of his poem and an indication of which old master’s style is used as a landscape model (appendix 1). For example, under the Dangtu area, “Dongtian 東田” appears with the explanation “[quoting] Xie Tiao’s old verses with five characters to a line, [painted] following the style of Fan Kuan 謝朓五言古詩學范寬法.”

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<sup>102</sup> “When I [was] deeply attached to the Lu and Heng mountains, and roamed with abandon the peaks of Ching and Wu, I did not realize that old age was approaching. Ashamed of being unable to concentrate my vital breath and attune my body, I am afraid of limping among the Stone Gate. Therefore, I paint images and spread colors, constructing cloudy peaks.” From Zong Bing, *Introduction to Painting Landscape* (Hua shanshui xu 畫山水序). Translation is from Susan Bush and Hsio-yen Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1985): 36–7.

While “Entire View of Taiping Scenery” is a painting showing an overall view of the Taiping area using a bird’s-eye-view that resembles a “pictorial map,” every place name in “Separated Notes” indicates the location like a “lettered map” (fig. 57 and fig. 62). It is different from old Chinese maps, which usually combined these two pages together in one painting depicting topographic images with writing indicating the place name next to the depicted image (fig. 63).

There are forty-three landscape paintings in the album: one panoramic view of the Taiping area and forty-two paintings depicting Dangtu, Wuhu, and Fanchang, the three districts in the Taiping prefecture. Every landscape has a title indicating the specific place in seal script and an inscription referring to the famous poem related to each scene (fig. 64). The inscriptions are written in several different script types, such as regular script, clerical script, running script, or cursive script, and they are all done in Xiao Yuncong’s calligraphy style showing his versatility as a calligrapher. Xiao’s seal impressions are also carved after each inscription. The names of the block carvers appear in several leaves, such as “Liu Rong 劉榮” in “Caishi 采石,” in “Tianmenshan 天門山,” in “Hengwangshan 橫望山,” in “Lingxushan 靈嘯山,” in “Zheshan 赭山,” in “Lingzeji 靈澤磯,” in “Xingchunwei 行春圩,” in “Fenghuangshan 鳳凰山, and in “Banziji 阪子磯,” “Tang Shang 湯尚” in “Wuboting 吳波亭,” and “Tang Yi 湯義” in “Lingshan 靈山” (fig. 65, fig. 66, fig. 80, fig. 81, fig. 82, fig. 83, and fig. 85).

Xiao Yuncong not only designed the illustrations but also wrote the epilogue (fig. 67). At the end, he gave the date as “summer May 1648 順治戊子歲夏五” and signed as “zhinian jiashe wansheng Xiao Yuncong shi 治年家社晚生蕭雲從識.”

This date of 1648 also appears in the inscriptions on “Xingchunwei 行春圩” as “1648 spring” and on “Beiyuan zaijiu 北園載酒” as the specific date “April 4th, 1648” (fig. 82 and fig. 104). In the leaf “Mengriting 夢日亭,” the date is recorded as “the last day of 1647 丁亥除夕” (fig. 68). Xiao Yuncong praises Zhang Wanxuan’s personality, knowledge, and achievement as an official. He also explains that Zhang Wanxuan did not mind climbing or traveling to faraway places to see exciting scenery or to find well-known sites, where famous scholars such as Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101) or Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045–1105) left their traces. He also points out the relationships among scenery, poetry, painting, and the old masters’ styles, remarking that “as the master [Zhang Wanxuan] verbally points out about the painting, these mountains and rivers surely resemble some poems and are also similar to the styles of Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (ca. 344–ca. 406) and Lu Tanwei 陸探微 (act. 460–early 6th c.), all the way to Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1306–1374) and Huang Gongwang 黃公望 (1269–1354). Whether free or detailed, the styles surely resemble some mountains and rivers as well as that of poetry.”<sup>103</sup> Xiao also emphasizes the importance of travel before quoting Zhang Wanxuan’s words about the landscapes and poems in the album. Xiao’s epilogue shows his close friendship with Zhang Wanxuan, and is evidence that Xiao shared the idea of producing this album with him.

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<sup>103</sup> “先生口語指畫謂，某山某水確有肖乎某詩，而簡其顧陸以下，倪黃以上。莫寫莫工，確有肖乎某山水與某人詩者。”

## 1. Illustrations of Real Scenery

One of the significant characteristics of Xiao's album *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* is the collection of topographical landscape paintings depicting the three districts in central Anhui province: Dangtu, Wuhu, and Fanchang in the Taiping prefecture.

There are several terms that have been used in landscape painting to describe particular places, such as “real-view landscape painting (shijinghua 實景畫),” “true-view landscape painting (zhenjinghua 真景畫),” “painting of famous places (mingshengtu 名勝圖),” and “travel painting (jiyoutu 紀遊圖).” Western scholars have used the term “topographic” or “topographical” paintings for landscapes depicting particular places.<sup>104</sup> Topographical painting depicts a particular locality but is also concerned with the artistic value of the rendering. The real-view landscape or the topographical landscape is close to the Chinese term “*tu* 圖.” The Chinese term “*hua* 畫” is related to an artistic description with aesthetic value, while “*tu* 圖” indicates a map, a diagram, a chart, or a portrait that focuses more on informative features or likeness in a depiction.

In general, Chinese landscape paintings by scholar-painters have been considered to be vehicles for scholar-artists' self-expression of their ideas or emotions and to reflect the artists' intentions. These landscapes also happen to be called “the

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<sup>104</sup> Ganza also discusses the “toponymic landscape” in his dissertation. Kenneth Stanley Ganza, “The Artist as Traveler: The Origin and Development of Travel as a Theme in Chinese Landscape Painting of the Fourteenth to Seventeenth Centuries” (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1990).

images of the mind.”<sup>105</sup> However, the tradition of *depicting particular places* which can be traced back as early as the period when landscape was developed as an independent painting genre in China. One of the earliest examples of a painting title to mention a specific place is *Hua Yuntai shan ji* 畫雲臺山記 by a Six dynasties artist, Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (ca. 344–ca. 406). This painting was recorded in an important text published in 847, the *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記 by Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠.<sup>106</sup> Several other paintings of particular places from the pre-Tang period are also recorded, such as scenes of Mt. Lu 廬山.<sup>107</sup> Although the titles of Gu Kaizhi’s paintings indicate that he described particular places, such as Mt. Yuntai or Mt. Lu, these paintings are possibly closer to idealized or conceptualized landscapes than to topographical landscapes containing specific geographical features of particular sites. Extant works that show some of the pre-Tang landscape styles, such as *Admonitions of the Instructress to the Ladies of the Palace*, or the *Nymph of the Lo River*, both attributed to Gu Kaizhi, show an archaic and primitive description of landscapes as the background to narrative figure paintings. Because earlier examples are either only recorded by their titles in later literature or are of questionable authenticity, there

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<sup>105</sup> One of the scholar-artists in the Song dynasty, Mi Fu wrote that “[the landscape] is a creation of the mind and is intrinsically a superior art.” Marilyn Fu and Shen Fu, *Studies in Connoisseurship: Chinese Paintings from the Arthur M. Sackler Collection in New York and Princeton* (Princeton: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1973): 57.

<sup>106</sup> Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠, *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記 (847), in *Huashi congshu* 畫史叢書 1 (Taipei: Wen shi zhe chubanshe 文史哲出版社, 1974): 72.

<sup>107</sup> For a list of painting depicted particular places, see Michael Sullivan, *The Birth of Chinese Landscape Painting* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962): 117–8.

is a limitation in clearly defining the characteristics of the earlier landscapes which depict real places.

Several important landscape paintings from the Five dynasties (907–960) and the Northern Song dynasty (960–1127) also have titles indicating specific places, such as *Mt. Kuanglu* 匡廬山, attributed to Jing Hao 荆浩 (fig. 69). However, his painting includes many conventional elements of conceptualized landscape of the Five dynasties or the Northern Song dynasty, such as temple, rocks, trees, waterfalls, and small passages, rather than depicting specific topographical elements. The idea of describing nature or an attitude toward nature in *Mt. Kuanglu* is probably similar to that of Fan Kuan's *Travelers amid Mountains and Gorges*, which is thought to depict Mt. Hua (fig. 70). Whether it is Mt. Lu or Mt. Hua, it seems to make little difference; rather it is about the symbolic or sacred places of nature and a landscape which shows the powerful monumentality of nature. As the paintings are concerned with harmony between nature and the humans who are a part of nature, the individualized voice of the artist is not important in these monumental landscapes.

However, there is an early landscape painting containing recognizable, specific topographical elements. It is a painting depicting the artist's own villa, *Wangchuan Villa* (Wangcuan tu 輞川圖), by Tang dynasty scholar-artist Wang Wei 王維 (699–759).<sup>108</sup> Wang Wei's *Wangchuan Villa*, remaining only as stone engravings, is considered to be one of the earliest true Chinese landscapes. Various copies of *Wangchuan Villa* are known. Among them, the closest reflection of the

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<sup>108</sup> For a detailed discussion of *Wangchuan tu*, see Berthold Laufer, "The Wang-ch'uan-t'u: A Landscape of Wang Wei," *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* I (1913): 28–55.

original is believed to be a stone engraving dated 1617, which is based on the tenth-century painting by Guo Zhongshu (fig. 71). One Ming copy in the Seattle Art Museum, done in color on silk, shares similarities to the 1617 engraving (fig. 72). Specific descriptions of buildings, architectural plans, and the placement of fences and a bridge suggest topographical treatment of the real place.<sup>109</sup> Interestingly, in the copies of *Wangchuan Villa* each section has a name of the estate following the format of the Chinese map. The Chinese maps include cartouches or inscriptions of site names accompanying pictorial descriptions of places.<sup>110</sup> Repeated copies of Wang Wei's realistic description of the scenery of his own villa gain symbolic meaning as the ideal scholar's ideal life with nature, and Wang Wei's *Wangchuan Villa* finally became a model for later scholar-painters' paintings, such as *Shanzhuang tu* 山莊圖 by Li Gonglin 李公麟 (1049–?) and *Ten Views From a Thatched Hut* 草堂十志圖, attributed to Lu Hong 盧鴻 (ca. 712–728).<sup>111</sup>

“Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers (Xiao xiang bajing tu 蕭湘八景圖)” is one of the popular themes related to a specific locality.<sup>112</sup> The eight beautiful

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<sup>109</sup> Sherman Lee, *A History of Far Eastern Art*, 5<sup>th</sup> edition (Prentice Hall and Harry N. Abrams, 1994): 303–4.

<sup>110</sup> Because of this feature in *Wangchuan Villa*, Laufer suggests the relation of the development of Chinese landscape to the map. Berthold Laufer, 51–5.

<sup>111</sup> Robert Harrist, “A Scholar's Landscape: Shan-chuang t'u by Li Kung-lin” (Ph. D. diss., Princeton University, 1989). *Ten Views From a Thatched Hut*, attributed to Lu Hong, is reproduced in *Three Hundred Masterpieces of Chinese Painting in the Palace Museum* 故宮名畫三百種 (Taizhong: National Palace Museum and National Central Museum, 1959): plates 5–14.

<sup>112</sup> For a detailed discussion on *Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang Rivers*, see Alfreda Murck, “Eight Views of the Hsiao and Hsiang Rivers by Wang Hung,” in Wen Fong,



scenes near the Xiao and Xiang Rivers are usually described in a long handscroll format, including eight scenes, or in an album of eight leaves. Song Di's 宋迪 (ca. 1015–ca. 1080) *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* is known as the earliest example bearing this title, although it is no longer extant. The story of Song Emperor Huizong 徽宗 (r. 1101–1125) requesting a court painter, Chang Jian 張戢, to describe the Xiao and Xiang Rivers' scenery was recorded in the *Tuhui baojian* 圖繪寶鑑, published in 1365.<sup>113</sup> Wang Hong's 王洪 (fl. ca. 1131–1161) *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* in the Edward L. Elliott Family Collection is the earliest extant example (fig. 73). Although the theme, “Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers,” is the depiction of real views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers, it is also related to the lyrical eight verses of poetry. Later paintings of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers are closer to poetic descriptions and include literary and cultural implications, rather than focusing only on the rendering of real scenery. *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* by Chan 禪 Buddhist Monks Mu Qi 牧谿 and Yu Jian 玉澗 from the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279) are not necessarily realistic descriptions of the scenery, but instead show the essence of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers and have strong stylistic connections with the Chan painting, including the abbreviated and spontaneous splash ink technique (fig. 74).

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et al., *Images of the Mind: Selections from the Edward L. Elliott Family and John B. Elliot Collections of Chinese Calligraphy and Paintings at the Art Museum, Princeton University* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984): 214–35.

<sup>113</sup> Xia Wenyan 夏文彥, *Tuhui baojian* 圖繪寶鑑 (preface dated 1365), juan 卷 3, in *Huashi congshu* 畫史叢書 2 (Taipei: Wen shi zhe chubanshe 文史哲出版社, 1974): 89.

Landscape paintings by scholar-artists in the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368) are more conceptualized, being associated with the theory of literati painting. As Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 followed Dong Yuan's 董源 style in his *Autumn Colors Over Qiao and Hua Mountains*, the old masters' styles became a subject of Yuan literati paintings (fig. 75).<sup>114</sup> Although the triangle-shaped mountain and the loaf-like mountain represent the distant view of the actual Qiao and Hua mountains, the main concern of Zhao Mengfu's painting was not the real description of nature, but the practice of the styles of ancient masters in a Blue-and-Green landscape painting tradition.

The paintings by the Four Great Masters of the Yuan 元四大家 also focused on brushwork. In the landscape paintings based on real places, such as Huang Gongwang's 黃公望 *Dwelling in the Fucun Mountains* and Ni Zan's 倪瓚 *Rongxi Studio*, it is hard to find topographical elements.<sup>115</sup> Huang Gongwang's three-year painting effort created subtle changes in the tonality of the ink through the contrast between dry strokes and wet washes in his long handscroll, *Dwelling in the Fucun Mountains* (fig. 76). Huang Gongwang had added and added brushstrokes, until at some point, recreating the natural scenery of the Fucun Mountains was no longer the artist's intention. Huang Gongwang's painting exemplifies a subjective approach to nature and also a subjective attitude toward creating paintings. *Dwelling in the Fucun*

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<sup>114</sup> For a detailed discussion of *The Autumn Colors on the Qiao and Hua Mountains*, see Chu-tsing Li, "The Autumn Colors on the Ch'iao and Hua Mountains": A Landscape by Chao Meng-fu (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1965).

<sup>115</sup> For a study on Huang Gongwang's *Dwelling in the Fucun Mountains*, see John Hay, "Huang Kung-wang's 'Dwelling in the Fu-ch'un Mountains': Dimensions of a Landscape" (Ph.D diss., Princeton University, 1978).

*Mountains* was written rather than painted.

Ni Zan's *Rongxi Studio* also does not contain any topographic features (fig. 77). It was done in Ni Zan's typical delicate dry brushwork and used "Zedai cun 折帶皴." The landscape shows Ni Zan's so-called trademark simple and repeated composition: big rocks in the front, several bare trees, an empty pavilion, water in the middle, and distant mountains in the background. Except for the inscription, there is no clue to indicate that the empty pavilion is Ni Zan's Rongxi studio. The pavilion is formed using only a few strokes without giving the building any individual identity. The scholar-artists codified calligraphic techniques in their paintings. Although the Four Great Masters of the Yuan mainly did landscapes with titles showing specific places, their landscapes show a lack of specific depictions of localities and are difficult to place in the topographical landscape category, being generalized and idealized images of nature. Literati painting theory transformed the definition of landscape painting from a picture of a representation of a subject in nature, to an intellectual practice associated with calligraphy and art-historical implications.<sup>116</sup>

However, from the fifteenth century many Wu school 吳派 artists depicted the Suzhou 蘇州 area, and Shen Zhou 沈周 (1427–1509) led this new trend to revitalize topographic landscape.<sup>117</sup> By quoting Dong Qichang's 董其昌 comment, "it is hard

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<sup>116</sup> Max Loehr, "Phases and Content in Chinese Painting," in *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Chinese Painting* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1972): 285–310.

<sup>117</sup> Shen Zhou's topographical landscapes are discussed in Ma Jen-Mei, "Shen Chou's Topographical Landscape" (Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 1990). Ma Jen-Mei's master's thesis focuses on Shen Zhou's three albums: the *Tiger Hill* album in the Cleveland Museum, the *Famous Sights on Two Rivers* album in the Shanghai

for one to master painting both mind landscapes and realistic sketches from nature .... in our (Ming) dynasty, there has been only one person—Shen Zhou, who could be the master of both arts,” Ma Jen-Mei states that Shen Zhou combined the depictions of Suzhou scenery with the literati spirit and taste in his topographical landscapes.<sup>118</sup> Shen Zhou’s classical literary education and family fortune made it possible for him to travel at a leisurely pace, and Shen Zhou produced many paintings depicting the scenery around his hometown of Suzhou. As *Thousand Buddha Hall and Pagoda* from *Twelve Views of Tiger Hill* demonstrates, Shen Zhou’s topographical landscapes “portrayed recognizably some features of the natural setting” and showed “poetic intimacy” (fig. 78).<sup>119</sup> Ma also argues that Shen Zhou “brought a new direction to literati landscapes. As a literati artist, Shen Zhou must have kept in mind ideals such as *li* (the principles [理]), *yun* (rhythm [韻]), *cho* (clumsiness [zhuo 拙]), *ku-i* (antique spirit [guyi 古意]), and *p’ing tan* (plainness [pingdan 平淡]) when executing his

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Museum, and the *Dongzhuang* 東莊 album in the Nanjing Museum. For other important studies on Shen Zhou, see Richard Edward, *The Field of Stones: A Study of the Art of Shen Chou (1427–1509)* (Freer Gallery of Art, 1962); Richard Edward, *The World Around the Chinese Artist: Aspects of Realism in Chinese Painting* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 1987): 55–101. There is an important topographic painting album entitled *Mt. Hua* by Wang Lü (b. 1332). The *Mt. Hua* album’s inscriptions and preface give it the characteristics of a travel diary. For a detailed discussion of the album, see Kathlyn Maureen Liscomb, *Learning from Mount Hua: A Chinese Physician’s Illustrated Travel Record and Painting Theory* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

<sup>118</sup> Dong Qichang’s comment on Shen Zhou is quoted from Ma Jen-Mei, “Shen Chou’s Topographical Landscape” (Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 1990): 1 and footnote 1. Dong Qichang, *Huachanshi siupi* 畫禪室隨筆, ch. 2.

<sup>119</sup> James Cahill, *Parting at the Shore: Chinese Painting of the Early and Middle Ming Dynasty, 1368–1580* (New York and Tokyo, Weatherhill, 1978): 85.

work.”<sup>120</sup> Shen Zhou’s literati-style topographic landscapes extended the literati painting tradition after the Four Great Masters of the Yuan.

Traveling to famous sites around Suzhou and rendering the scenery there became a popular activity among artists living in Suzhou during the middle and late Ming dynasty. Economic prosperity brought educational opportunity and an increase in the number of literati in the middle Ming period. Scholars who failed in the competition for the civil examination had to search for another way to make a living.<sup>121</sup> These scholars became associated with the literary activities of recording travel documents or writing travel literature. Traveling to famous places became an important cultural activity among literati, on a par with collecting books, paintings, or antiquities.<sup>122</sup>

A large number of paintings by other important artists depicted famous places such as Stone Lake or Tiger Hill around Suzhou, including Wen Zhengming’s 文徵明 (1470–1559) *Picture of Stone Lake* (1554) and *Garden of the Unsuccessful Politician* (1533), Qiu Ying’s 仇英 (act. ca. 1522–ca. 1552) *Tiger Hill* in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, Qian Gu’s 錢穀 (1508–1578) *Tiger Hill* (1569) in the National Palace Museum, Beijing, Lu Zhi’s 陸治 (1496–1576) *Stone Lake* (1558) in the

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<sup>120</sup> Ma Jen-Mei, *ibid.*: 168.

<sup>121</sup> For a detailed discussion about the competition for the civil examination during the middle Ming period, see Ping-ti Ho, *The Ladder of Success in Imperial China: Aspects of Social Mobility, 1368–1911* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962): 71–82.

<sup>122</sup> Li-tsui Flora Fu, *The Representation of Famous Mountains* (Berkeley: University of California, 1995): 82–5.

Boston Museum of Fine Art, and Li Liufang's 李流芳 (1575–1629) *Ten Views of Wu* in the Shanghai Museum. Most of these topographical landscapes reveal the influence of Shen Zhou's paintings in terms of style or composition to some degree and their topographic landscapes also show more intimate and personalized interpretations of nature.<sup>123</sup> Finally, the popularity of topographic landscapes of Suzhou made the famous sites “a theme” for Shen Zhou's followers to choose for their painting. No longer did they emphasize the active “depicting” of real scenery.

The subject matter of Xiao's album, *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, features forty-three specific sites in the Taiping area. Xiao's album belongs to the long tradition of landscapes depicting real places, which have been discussed above. Xiao's album also can be understood in relation to the increase in topographical landscapes among Suzhou artists in the middle and late Ming dynasty. However, Xiao's album displays a strong characteristic of pictorial recording of definite places. Although the forty-three locations around the Dangtu, Wuhu, and Fanchang area are beautiful spots, they are not as well-known as Suzhou, whose fame is noted in the saying: “Above there is heaven, below there are Suzhou and Hangzhou.” Suzhou is not only known as one of the most beautiful places in China, along with Hangzhou, but also it has been an important city in terms of politics, economics, and history, as well as a cultural center. On the other hand, Taiping prefecture is a regional area, more like the countryside in comparison to the city of Suzhou. Xiao's depiction of the specific, real scenery of his hometown can be interpreted as an increase of local

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<sup>123</sup> For a discussion of the influence of Shen Zhou, see Ma Jen-Mei, “Shen Chou's Topographical Landscape” (Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 1990): 159–68 and pl. 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 59.

knowledge and interest in local culture, and demonstrates one aspect of change in the scholarly art and culture of late Ming and early Qing China.

The first landscape in the album is “Entire View of Taiping Scenery (Taiping shanshui quantu 太平山水全圖),” following the preface (fig. 57). In the top part, the title of the leaf, “Taiping shanshui quantu 太平山水全圖” is written in seal script and includes a transcription of a poem by a Song dynasty poet named Yang Wanli 楊萬里 (1124–1206).

Embanked fields every year just meet autumn [harvest],  
Every household by banks doesn’t know the sorrow.  
The road lined with weeping willows [leads] one thousand *li*,  
Romantic, poetic country (*fengliu guo* 風流國) is Taiping Prefecture.

An overall view of the Taiping region is depicted, almost like a topographical map with a bird’s-eye-view. Interesting details of bridges, gates, buildings, towers, boats, and flags as well as mountains, hills, rocks, trees, and rivers are based on the real scenery of the Taiping area. On a traditional Chinese map, it is a convention to label the names of places next to the pictorial rendering of scenery and architecture. Some Ming topographic paintings by literati artists also include the names of sites such as Shen Zhou’s *Complete Views of the Landscape near Suzhou* (fig. 79). However, Xiao’s “Entire View of Taiping Scenery” does not use labels. In the well-composed overall view, Xiao put much more thought into capturing dynamic, rhythmic, and even poetic feelings of peaceful daily life in the Taiping area. In harmony with Yang Wanli’s poem, Xiao’s painting reveals the literati taste that can be found in Shen Zhou’s landscape painting. This characteristic is clear when his work is

compared to conventionalized, rather stiff, and repeated maps or other illustrations of scenery designed by artisans (*huagong* 畫工).

It is an interesting fact that “Entire View of Taiping Scenery” and “Separated Notes” can overlap each other (fig. 62). This surprising match between the pictorial map and the lettered map clearly confirms that Xiao’s painting is a faithful representation of real scenery. The top part shows Dangtu sites, the middle Wuhu sites, and the bottom Fanchang sites. Moreover, some sections of “Entire View of Taiping Scenery” can be identified as miniatures of individual leaves of the album. For example, two mountain peaks divided by a river in the upper left of “Entire View of Taiping Scenery,” labeled as “West Tianmen” and “East Tianmen” on the lettered map, are identical to the painting of two peaks facing each other in “Tianmenshan 天門山” (fig. 80). In the lower left, a small island with a tower is similar to a rocky island surrounded by water with a tower at the top in “Banziji 板子磯” (fig. 81). Also, the field in the lower right is close to “Xingchunwei 行春圩” (fig. 82).

Other leaves depicting scenic views also faithfully describe the specific topographical elements. For example, the album leaf titled “Caishi 采石” shows the geographical specificity of the area, such as the mouth of the Caishi river in the Dangtu region (fig. 65). On the side of the river, elevated houses over the water are probably a type of local housing that also can be easily found around the Suzhou area. On the top of the rocky cliff, there is a large pavilion. It can be identified as Zhexianlou 謫仙樓, originally built in the Tang dynasty and later called Taibailou 太白樓. When Hu Jiying 胡季瀛 rebuilt this pavilion in 1662, he asked Xiao Yuncong to create wall paintings for it, and according to “Taibaihua biji 太白樓畫壁記,” Xiao



painted four famous mountains, Kuanglu 匡廬, Emei 峨嵋, Taidai 泰岱, and Hengyue 衡岳.<sup>124</sup>

In “Zheshan 赭山,” the placement of buildings, including a two-story building, an open pavilion, a staircase, a gate and wall, a five-story pagoda, a main building, and sub-buildings, seems to follow the specific temple layout in Zheshan (fig. 83). A figure sitting in the two-story pavilion and facing the tall pagoda could be Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅, who had studied in Zheshan. The main blunt peak is clearly a geographical feature of Zheshan, which is known as “the movement of sword-making 鑄劍之勢.”

Xiao Yuncong depicted the famous early plum blossoms in Jiangyu 江嶼, which is also praised in Wang Anshi’s 王安石 (1021–1086) poem in “Jiangyu gumei 江嶼古梅.”<sup>125</sup> Xiao also described well-known plum blossoms on the rocky island in “Banziji 板子磯,” which appears in Zhang Shunmin’s 張舜民 poem.<sup>126</sup>

As exemplified by several paintings from the album *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, Xiao depicted the real scenery of his hometown based on specific topographical elements. He was faithful in portraying the geographical features of mountains and rivers in Taiping and was very specific in depicting the cultural and

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<sup>124</sup> Xiao Yuncong’s wall painting on “Taibailou 太白樓” was discussed by Wang Shicheng 王石城, *ibid.*: 8–11. *Guochao huashi* 國朝畫識 also records Xiao’s Taibailuo wall painting of four famous mountains by quoting Chen Yan’s 陳琰 *Kuangyuan Zazhi* 曠園雜誌. Feng Yetang 馮冶堂 com., *Guochao huashi* 國朝畫識, 卷 3 (reprint, Taipei: Guangwen shuju 廣文書局, 1978): 1.

<sup>125</sup> “大梁春費寶刀催, 不似湖陰有早梅, 今日盤中看翦綵, 當時花不就傳杯.”

<sup>126</sup> “石上紅花低照水...”

historical sites. They are neither monumental landscapes of nature of the Northern Song dynasty, nor the poetic, lyrical landscapes of the Southern Song dynasty. They are also far from the idealized, imaginary landscapes by Yuan literati painters. Moreover, they are also different from traditionally established thematic topographical landscapes like “Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang Rivers.” They are not the conventionalized views of the Ming Wu school painters’ topographical painting of the Suzhou area, either. The Taiping area has beautiful scenery and has been known for its historical sites, but it has retained its strong local character, and this was captured by Xiao in his depictions.

This development of local culture was connected with a boom in travel during the Ming dynasty. Many literati searched for famous scenic views and well-known historical sites and followed in the footsteps of ancient scholars. Moreover, an increasing number of the educated scholars in southern China during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries turned their attention to the development of their local culture. The travel boom also helped the development of cultural tourism which further contributed to the prosperity of the local economy.

The increasing interest in local culture in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is not only related to the social and economic background of the literati class, but also is connected to a new trend of the philosophical movement spreading among the literati class in the Ming dynasty. A later phase of Neo-Confucianism in the middle Ming period was closely associated with the development of an attitude of self-consciousness and self-confidence.<sup>127</sup> Awareness of “self” as well as emphasis on

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<sup>127</sup> For a study on Neo-Confucianism in the Ming dynasty, see footnote 5.

diversity and individuality naturally encouraged the literati to pay attention to their regional heritage, including their geographical origins, local products, history, and accomplishments of the native literati culture. Scholars from particular regions made extensive records and published their findings as books, such as various local gazetteers or Difangzhi 地方誌, Xianzhi 縣誌, and travel literature (Jiyou wenxue 記遊文學). These books occasionally included illustrations of woodblock prints.

Although there is a tradition of literature praising this area, it is hard to find other paintings devoted to depicting the Taiping area. This fact strongly suggests that this album is based on Xiao Yuncong's own perspective in composing the views for each scene. The variety of dynamic and effective compositions shown in the forty-three paintings derives from Xiao Yuncong's own creativity. They do not belong to the category of travel paintings. Xiao lived in Taiping prefecture, and every day he looked at the Taiping scenery. The album is much like a daily diary recording his affection for his hometown. Xiao emphasized his own experience, pictorialized his own emotional reaction to nature, and expressed his personal viewpoints and ideas on nature. His beautiful and faithful representation of Taiping's regional scenery, *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, became familiar to residents and demand for it grew, as it was accessible and easily appreciated by scholars and by general audiences.

## **2. Illustrations of Classical Poetry**

Xiao Yuncong quoted a famous ancient poem on each painting in the album. The poems that are related to specific scenery are found in the *Three Books of Taiping Prefecture*'s other two volumes, "Shenggai [Beautiful Scenery] 勝概" and "Fengya [Elegant and Cultured] 風雅." As the title of the cover page reads "Taiping shanshui shihua 太平山水詩畫," Xiao's landscapes also can be considered as illustrations of poetry. While the title "Taiping Shanshui tuhua 太平山水圖畫" seems to emphasize its relation to scenery, the title "Taiping shanshui shihua 太平山水詩畫" seems to focus on the illustrations of the poetry written on the paintings.

Literature describing famous places has a long history in China. One of the earliest texts on scenery is *Classics of Mountains and Seas* (Shanhai jing 山海經), compiled during the fifth to third centuries B.C. Journeys to famous places are usually inspired by the historical and cultural background of the particular destination or are sometimes related to religious pilgrimages to sacred sites.<sup>128</sup> Travel writing was composed mostly by scholars who were expected to "travel one thousand *li* and read ten thousand volumes." In the mid-eighth century, it was conventional for scholars to represent in prose that which could "articulate fully the autobiographical, aesthetic, intellectual, and moral dimensions of their journeys in first-person narrative," and finally the travel diary began to flourish during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>129</sup> At the end of the Song period, travel accounts and diaries were

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<sup>128</sup> For a detailed discussion of the religious and historical background of travel to sacred sites and the literary accounts of these travels, see Susan Naquin and Chün-fang Yü, *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China* (University of California Press, 1992).

<sup>129</sup> Richard Strassberg, *Inscribed Landscapes: Travel Writing From Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994): 4.

regarded as the “vehicles for their [writers’] broader views about nature, writing, intellectual thought, and politics.”<sup>130</sup> In the Ming dynasty, travel writing became even more popular with the expansion of the literati class, the flourishing of printed books, and the popularity of tourism.

Most poems written in the album *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* are by well-known poets from the Tang dynasty and the Song dynasty such as Xie Tiao 謝朓 (464–499), Li Bai 李白 (701–762), Du Mu 杜牧 (803–852), Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086), Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101), Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045–1105), and Yang Wanli 楊萬里 (1124–1206).

In the illustration of “Jingshan 荆山,” Xiao transcribes a poem by Ouyang Xuan 歐陽玄 (1273–1357) (Fig. 84). It reads:

One mountain juts out on the west, one mountain on the east,  
Clearly inscribing the character “eight” right on the water’s surface!  
Coming and going, past and present—how much suffering?  
The travelers’ sadness is entirely contained in these “eyebrow” peaks!<sup>131</sup>

In the poem, Ouyang Xuan describes the two mountains, separated by a running river, similar to both the shape of the Chinese character “ba 八 (eight)” and eyebrows.

Indeed, Xiao’s composition of two mountain peaks matches the description of Ouyang Xuan’s poem. The two mountain peaks are placed facing each other. The

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<sup>130</sup> Richard Strassberg, *ibid.*: 56.

<sup>131</sup> Translation of the poem is from Jonathan Chaves, *The Chinese Painter as Poet* (New York: China Institute in America, 2000): 100.

river is running from north to south as a small boat is headed downriver, almost vertically. As the river opens wide into a triangular shape, the two peaks truly portray the Chinese letter “eight” and the shape of downward eyebrows alike.

Another landscape entitled “Fenghuangshan 鳳凰山” bears Yang Wanli’s 楊萬里 (1127–1206) poem (fig. 85). It reads:

Banks of smartweed, vine-hung coves  
cut off from the world of men;  
great River, little channels,  
winding round in spirals.  
Vegetables fenced in so wild reeds  
do not contest the ground;  
willows planted to strengthen embankments,  
not to “buy spring fun!”  
Gourds and melons, allowed to spread,  
creep up onto the roof;  
fishermen and woodcutters, close to each other,  
naturally make good neighbors.  
Last night, there must have been west winds  
bringing sudden snowfall:  
on tips of buckwheat, everywhere  
ten thousand bits of jade!<sup>132</sup>

Just as in Yang Wanli’s poem, Xiao filled his illustration with lots of vegetation and trees, such as hanging vines, gourds, melons, reeds, and willows. Other elements from Yang’s poem like banks, coves, the river, channels, fishermen, and woodcutters are also depicted in a realistic manner.

Xie Tiao’s 謝朓 poem is also illustrated in the “Dongtian 東田” (fig. 86). It reads:

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<sup>132</sup> Translation of the poem is from Jonathan Chaves, *ibid.*: 101–2.

Smitten with sorrow, overcast with gloom  
Hold hands to go out for fun  
To search for clouds, up serried terrace,  
Along mountains to view the mushroom towers.  
Distant trees, misty, file over file.  
Growing smoke, drifting, silk weaving silk.  
Fishes sport: new lotus-leaves stir.  
Birds scatter: last flowers fall.  
No more flower-spring-drinking,  
Look toward green mountain walls.<sup>133</sup>

Xiao's "Dongtian" is also a faithful illustration of Xie Tiao's poem. As if in a game of finding hidden things, one can search for the physical elements mentioned in the poem or can imagine the scene by following the poem line by line. In the middle, two figures holding hands leave their study rooms to "go out for fun." The books on the table are closed and neatly piled up in the house, seeming to wait for their owner, who will spend some time outside. Following a path across the fields, there is the building mentioned in the poem as "mushroom towers," which is the destination of the two scholars. The swelling clouds and mist surrounding the trees and fields represent the mist and growing smoke in the fifth and sixth lines. Inside the running stream there should be fish playfully swimming, and birds are supposed to be flying and singing around the trees. It is pleasant to imagine the falling petals as the birds scatter and to feel the summer coming fresh and green through the thick trees.

Xiao quoted Su Shi's 蘇軾 well-known poem "Appreciating Peonies at the Jixiang Temple," when he depicted "He'ershan 鶴兒山" (fig. 87). It reads:

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<sup>133</sup> The translation of the poem is from Wai-lim Yip, *Chinese Poetry: An Anthology of Major Modes and Genres* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997): 156–57.

Though the man is old, he feels no shame in sticking flowers in his hair.  
The flowers must be embarrassed to be on an old man's head.  
Returning drunk, helped along the road: I am sure people will laugh.  
For ten *li* the bead curtains are half rolled up.<sup>134</sup>

The two-story building surrounded by bamboo and Taihushi 太湖石 is Jixiangsi 吉祥寺 at the foot of He'ershan and the nearby river. Xiao depicted the drunken poet Su Shi, with his famous hat. Su Shi, leaning on his servant, is talking with a boy who holds a cut flower. In the building, a figure rolls up the curtain and looks down at Su Shi.

Xiao's paintings also can be illustrations of the poetry inscribed in the album *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*. His paintings are faithful representations of poetry and enrich the poems with vivid pictorial images. By illustrating poetry or the classics, Xiao makes the rather abstract literature more concrete through specific, materialized depictions and more accessible to those not able to visualize the images through the text alone. Such illustrations seem close to decoding the classics and increasing the chances for a poetic experience for an ordinary audience with less education. Moreover, these visual elements can also provide a different dimension of emotional experience than pure literature, and offer rich imaginary spaces for the story as well.

### 3. Illustrations of the Ancient Masters' Styles, *Fanggu* 仿古

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<sup>134</sup> Translation of the poem is from Michael Fuller, *The Road to East Slope: The Development of Su Shi's Poetic Voice* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990): 157.



In *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, not only did Xiao Yuncong describe particular scenery relating to classical poetry, but he also depicted the scenic beauty of each place by using specific painting styles associated with the old masters of the Chinese painting tradition. From as early as the fourth century, the concept of “copying” was discussed in Chinese writing about art or the theory of art. The phrase “transmission by copying, that is to say the copying of models” was included in the Six Laws of Painting codified by Xie He 謝赫 (act. ca. 500–535).<sup>135</sup> There are several terms and techniques used to explain this concept, based on relative closeness to the original. While “lin 臨 [to copy in a freehand manner]” means “confronts the original and transfer its forms by free-hand imitation,” “mo 摹 [to copy by tracing]” means “places a sheet of paper over the model, and copy by tracing.” On the other hand, “fang 仿 [to imitate]” means “demonstrates the master’s style in a free-hand manner,” often after training by copying. Then, “zao 造 [to invent]” means to “adopt the style of a master, with the intention not to reproduce but rather to create a ‘new’ work.”<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> “What are these Six Elements [Laws]? First, Spirit Renounce which means vitality; second, Bone Method, which is [a way of] using the brush; third, Correspondence to the object which means the depicting of forms; fourth, Suitability to Type which has to do with the laying on of colors; fifth, Division and Planning, that is placing and arrangement; and sixth, Transmission by Copying, that is to say the copying of models.” Xie He, *Guhua pinlu* 古畫品錄, preface, in Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠, *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記 (847), in Yu Anlan comp. 于安瀾 編, *Huashi congshu* 畫史叢書 1 (Taipei: Wen shi zhe chubanshe 文史哲出版社, 1974). The translation is from Susan Bush and Hsio-yen Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1985): 40.

<sup>136</sup> Quotations are from Shen Fu et al., “Reproduction and Forgery in Chinese Calligraphy,” in *Traces of the Brush: Studies in Chinese Calligraphy* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1977): 3–4. For further discussion of these terms see also Wen Fong, “The Problem of Forgeries in Chinese Painting,” *Artibus Asiae* XXV (1962): 95–140.

Xiao Yuncong used thirty-nine different styles of old masters from the Six dynasties to the Ming dynasty when he created the forty-three leaves in *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*. The selected artists are Xiao Ben 蕭贇 (early 6th c.) from the Six dynasties; Li Sixun 李思訓 (653–718), Wu Daozi 吳道子 (685–758), Wang Wei 王維 (701–716), Zhou Fang 周昉 (late 8th c.–early 9th c.), Xue Ji 薛稷 from the Tang dynasty; Jing Hao 荆浩, Guan Tong 關同, Dong Yuan 董源 (?–962), Huang Quan 黃筌 (?–965), Xu Xi 徐熙 from the Five dynasties; Li Cheng 李成 (919–967), Juran 巨然 (late 10th c.), Guo Zhongshu 郭忠恕 (?–977), Fan Kuan 范寬, Wen Tong 文同 (1018–1079), Guo Xi 郭熙 (1023–1085), Li Gonglin 李公麟 (1049–1106), Gou Longshuang 勾龍爽 from the Northern Song dynasty; Liu Songnian 劉松年 (late 12th c. –early 13th c.), Li Tang 李唐 (1066–1150), Ma Yuan 馬遠 (late 12th c. –early 13th c.), Xia Gui 夏圭 (late 12th c. –early 13th c.), Mi Youren 米友仁 (1072–1151), Xiao Zhao 蕭照, Chen Juzhong 陳居中 from the Southern Song dynasty; Qian Xuan 錢選 (ca. 1239–1299), Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254–1322), Gao Kegong 高克恭 (1248–1310), Huang Gongwang 黃公望 (1269–1354), Wu Zhen 吳鎮 (1280–1354), Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1306–1374), Wang Meng 王蒙 (?–385), Sheng Mao 盛懋, Xin Shichang 信世昌 from the Yuan dynasty; Shen Zhou 沈周 (1427–1509), Tang Yin 唐寅 (1470–1523) from the Ming dynasty, and two lesser known painters, Yan Zhongmu 燕仲穆, and Xu Hanshan 鄒寒山 are also included. Among these the styles of Xu Xi 徐熙, Guo Xi 郭熙, Ma Yuan 馬遠, and Wang Meng 王蒙 are used twice.

On the contents page, he recorded which artist's style was used for each scene. To indicate his intention to follow the old masters' styles, Xiao used "learn (xue 學)" for the style of Fan Kuan, Shen Zhou, Wang Meng, Chen Juzhong, Wu Zhen, Mi Youren, Li Gonglin, Li Sixun, Wu Daozi, Ma Yuan, Li Cheng, Ju Ran, and Tang Yin and then used "copy (lin 臨)" for most of the other artists' styles. For the majority of the leaves, Xiao only recorded the names of artists whom he followed, but in some inscriptions he also mentions particular paintings of these artists, such as "Shudao tu 蜀道圖" by Wen Tong, "Baima dongtian tu 白馬洞天圖" by Wang Meng, "Youfeng tu 幽風圖" by Sheng Mao, and "Wuyi jingshe tu 武夷精舍" by Li Tang. Since some paintings are not extant, it is hard to compare the illustrations directly with the specific paintings mentioned in the inscription.

Xiao Yuncong's use of the fanggu method can be seen chiefly in his practice of using distinctive features of the old masters' brushwork and techniques rather than copying styles from specific paintings. Mostly Xiao selected the styles of the Song masters and the Yuan Four Great Masters. For example, "Shenshan 神山" is based on the style of Mi Youren 米友仁 that is identified by a technique known as the Mi "dot" 米點 (fig. 88). Like his father Mi Fu (1052–1107), Mi Youren used the brush at a slant to produce horizontal dots or dashes to suggest a mass of mountains and rocks. Xiao derived the shape of the mountains from this technique of the Mi family, especially the rolling low hill-like mountains, usually surrounded by mists and clouds, that were suitable to describe the wet scenery of the Jiangnan area of southern China (fig. 89). In "Shenshan," Xiao successfully expressed the feeling of a rainy day using Mi Youren's style with wet horizontal dotting strokes and a few clouds entwined

among the peaks. Scattered horizontal dots make a rhythmic match with horizontal triangular bamboo leaves. Xiao wrote the title as “Shenshan qingyutu 神山青雨圖,” which means “painting of rain dropping on the bamboo leaves in the Shenshan.” It is meant to create a poetic mood as well an imagined experience of the sound of rain dropping.

One should note that, though based on the original, Xiao’s Taiping album was translated into woodcuts by the woodcarver’s knife. Thus, Xiao used the old master’s styles in a schematic way and he was further translating the basic features of that style in a manner that would eventually be carved. For example, the Mi dots in “Shenshan” are highly schematic, even look the same as the bamboo foliage, and they also reflect the simplification and interpretation of the Mi family style by the Yuan artist Gao Kegong 高克恭 and the Ming artist Chen Chun 陳淳 (1483–1544).

“Lingxushan 靈嘯山” is borrowed from Dong Yuan’s 董源 style (fig. 90).

This painting calls to mind *Mountain Paradise* (Dongtianshantang 洞天山堂) in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, attributed to Dong Yuan, but possibly painted by a Yuan master such as Gao Kegong, who specialized in southern scenery (fig. 91). Piles of overlapping triangular rocky peaks and long vertical strokes with very short crossed horizontal lines, as well as using the reserved white space along the outlines, are similar to the style seen in the *Mountain Paradise*.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> Huang Zhenyan also points out contemporary artists’ influence on Xiao’s fanggu style in the Taiping album. She argues that Xiao’s interpretations of Dong Yuan’s style and Mi Youren’s style are closer to Dong Qichang’s interpretation rather than the styles of original works. Huang Zhenyan, *ibid.*: 15–8.

The styles of the Four Great Masters of the Yuan are also clearly identifiable. For example, Ni Zan's 倪瓚 typical treatment of trees and his brushstrokes, such as a few bare trees and horizontal strokes that are then broken sharply downward, "Zedai cun 折帶皴," can be found in "Eqiao 峨橋" (fig. 92). But, unlike Ni Zan's landscape paintings, which are famous for empty pavilions and no figures, there are two figures in the center of Xiao's "Eqiao" (fig. 77): a figure wearing a headdress is riding a donkey and is about to cross a bridge with his servant. Such a figure on a donkey in the snowy mountains is a well-known motif for "Baiqiao xinmeitu 灞橋尋梅圖," based on the famous anecdote about the Tang poet Meng Haoran 孟浩然, who was about to cross a bridge, *baiqiao* 灞橋, to go to the snowy mountains in search of plum blossoms in the cold winter. However, Xiao Yuncong's two figures do not seem to be going to find plum blossoms; at the other end of the bridge, there is a house with a flag with "wine" written on it. As Xiao Yuncong explains in the inscription, this "Eqiao" scene is based on the poem "*Eqiao xueji* 娥橋雪霽" by Yan Yunxie 嚴允諧. Xiao writes that "because Ni Zan was not good at figure painting, so frequently other people (*jiashou* 假手) did it. And a letter for wine (*jiu* 酒) on the flag instead follows Liu Songnian's painting." Therefore this painting is an interesting combination which reflects Xiao's own combination of poetry and paintings. Xiao selected a narrative story based on Yan's poem and the poem's background; he then chose Ni Zan's style for cold winter landscape including his typical bare trees. To describe a snow-covered scene, Xiao used the reserve method in the distant mountains, river surface, road, bridge, and part of the roof of the wine shop. Xiao creatively and effectively used Ni Zan's style here to illustrate Yan's poem related to Eqiao scenery.

Xiao also followed other Yuan Four Great Masters' styles. "Shirentu 石人渡" is based on the style of Wu Zhen 吳鎮 (1280–1354) (fig. 93). In the inscription, Xiao points out the similar feeling or quality of "vast expanse (cangmang zi se 蒼茫之色)" in Wu Zhen's paintings. "Shirentu" not only exhibits the overall expression of Wu Zhen's style, but also displays specific features of Wu Zhen's painting. For example, bold brushwork with black dots like a "fantou cun 饅頭皴 [textural brushstroke resembling lump of alum, or Chinese steamed bread]" is characteristic of Wu Zhen's brushwork, and the grouping of leafy trees in the center is similar to the description of trees from *Fisherman* and *Autumn Mountains* in the National Palace Museum, Taipei (fig. 94 and fig. 95).

To depict both "Heshan 褐山" and "Baimashan 白馬山," Xiao selected Wang Meng's 王蒙 (1308–85) style (fig. 96 and fig. 97). Xiao's close-knit textural hemper-like brushstrokes and complex and dynamic, even chaotic, surface is derived from Wang Meng's *Dwelling in the Qingbian Mountains* (Qingbian yinju tu 青卞隱居圖) and *Landscape* in the Shanghai Museum (fig. 98). Various rich, curling strokes create a rhythmic, flowing, and energetic movement in "Heshan" and "Baimashan."

Unlike Dong Qichang 董其昌, Xiao referred to the style of court or professional artists. "Xiyanchi 洗硯池" illustrates the story of the famous calligrapher Wang Xizhi 王羲之, who washed his ink stone in the pond (fig. 99). The composition of "Xiyanchi," with a scholar sitting down to look at the water under the pine tree with a boy servant, is actually representative of compositions by Southern Song court artists, such as Ma Yuan 馬遠 (active ca. 1190–1225) or Ma Lin 馬麟 (Fig. 100).

Not only did Xiao choose the composition of Ma Yuan, he also adopted Ma Yuan's style, particularly when he described a pine tree and rock as mentioned in his inscription.<sup>138</sup> In fact, the twisted, slender pine tree and eccentric rocks in strong black and white contrast with "ax cut" brushwork recall Ma Yuan's *A Scholar and His Servant on a Terrace* and *Landscape in Rain* (fig. 101). Ma Yuan's treatment of rocks with typical "ax cut strokes" and his depiction of swirling waves are found in another painting entitled "Niuzhuji 牛渚磯," which also refers to Ma Yuan's style (fig. 102).

Xiao Yuncong chose two styles by Shen Zhou 沈周 and Tang Yin 唐寅 from the close of the Ming dynasty. When he depicted "Yangjiadu 楊家渡" he referred to Shen Zhou's style and indeed the architecture, particularly in the lower left, is close to the buildings in the *Thousand Buddha Hall* and *Pagoda from Twelve Views of Tiger Hill* by Shen Zhou (fig. 103 and fig. 78). However, unlike Shen Zhou's close-up views with clear, neat brushwork, Xiao created an overall view of the hills, mountains, river, and pathways of his local equivalent, Yangjiadu.

The style of another Ming artist, Tang Yin, was selected for the last page of the illustration, "Beiyuan zaijiu 北園載酒" (fig. 104). In the inscription Xiao records that "when I first planned the painting, the idea was not clear and feel dispirited, but I dreamed Tang Yin giving me this draft. Thus pavilions, bamboo and trees are better [expressed] 初經營此圖, 意甚慘澹, 夢唐六如解元授以本稿, 故亭榭竹樹多出藍之義云." The pavilion in the garden on the left side and the bamboo grove above the

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<sup>138</sup> "右宋傑詩, 其山松瘦石奇, 似馬遠[Ma Yuan]筆法, 故取配焉."

wall closely resembles the description and composition of “Long Days in the Quiet Mountains” by Tang Yin (fig. 105). The inscription also includes the specific date and year it was painted as “fourth month, fourth day in 1648 戊子四月四日.”

The reason why Xiao Yuncong liked the fanggu method, with its use of techniques inspired by ancient masters to describe real scenic views, is explained in the epilogue of the album.<sup>139</sup> In the same way that beautiful scenery evokes poetic inspiration, natural beauty can recollect the old masters’ paintings. Different geographic features can be effectively portrayed by selecting the proper styles of the ancient masters. To choose a suitable style, or recall a style appropriate for specific scenic views, the artist should understand the history of Chinese painting. To be able to describe nature using the old masters’ styles, not only must the painter have memorized particular paintings from the past, but he must be able to articulate and adapt characteristics of the old masters to new purposes and compositions. Once formularized or schematized, an old master’s distinctive style becomes easier to distinguish. This process is one way of making more accessible the art that had been previously been appreciated only among members of the elite culture. Just as annotations in the vernacular for classics allowed more people to understand the classic texts, paintings using the method of fanggu were adapted and simplified for viewing by contemporaries and so could be more easily appreciated by those with less visual background in the old paintings. Fanggu paintings are contemporary

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<sup>139</sup> “As the master [Zhang Wanxuan] verbally points out about the painting, these mountains and rivers surely resemble some poems and are also similar to the styles of Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (ca. 344–ca. 406) and Lu Tanwei 陸探微 (act. 460–early 6th c.), all the way to Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1306–1374) and Huang Gongwang 黃公望 (1269–1354). Whether free or detailed, the styles surely resemble some mountains and rivers as well as that of poetry.” For the Chinese text, see footnote 103.



artists' interpretations or glosses on the old masters' styles. In this way the painter pre-digests the style by finding the physical characteristics of the old masters' styles, abstracts their essence in visual terms, and enumerates them with new compositions related to easily recognizable local scenery. Previously it had been the exclusive privilege of the scholar class to have access to the collections of original scrolls by old masters. However, as the practice of the fanggu method became more widespread among scholar-artists in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the physical characteristics of the old masters' styles became clarified, simplified, and objectified, and finally became more easily transmittable and recognizable. This formularization of the old masters' styles through reinterpretation made it easier to grasp the essence of the old masters' styles and simpler for the non-educated commoner class to appreciate. In this way, Xiao Yuncong's *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, which used the fanggu method extensively, not only became a popular item in itself, but through its popularity was circulated widely among painters, who subsequently drew on it like a painting manual, thereby increasing its influence on other painters in various ways.

#### **4. Illustrations with Interesting Details**

Xiao Yuncong's descriptive painting style provided another way to enjoy the landscapes of his printed album without deep knowledge of the classical or the old masters' visual or poetic references.

When Xiao Yuncong depicted the scenery of “Xingchunwei 行春圩,” its date inscribed as 1648, he added several figures to create an interesting episode (fig. 82). In the foreground, one man rides a horse and another man rides in a sedan chair carried by two bearers with a porter and a man leading the way. They seem to be visiting or returning to the house in the middle ground, where inside a woman is spinning yarn and another woman is holding two children. On the way, a dog is barking a welcome. There are other figures: a man is plowing with a cow, a man is fishing, and a man carries two water buckets. As described earlier, these details are prompted by a poem by Yang Wanli 楊萬里, but without knowing the full poem as found in the inscription or “Youfengtu 幽風圖” by Sheng Mao 盛懋, one can still appreciate the semi-narrative details that capture a viewer’s attention.

As discussed in the previous section, “Eqiao” also includes intriguing details which are not necessarily related to Yan’s poem or the natural scenery (fig. 92). Creeping vines winding up a bare tree are not an element of Ni Zan’s style, but are an intriguing device to lure our attention away from Ni Zan’s trees and rocks and towards two figures who are conversing under the vines as well as lead our eyes to the other side of a river, and point out the “wine” signs of the tavern. These small details provide various imaginary spaces for the different levels of audience. Without knowing Ni Zan’s literati painting style or Meng Haoran’s poetic story about seeking plum blossoms or Yan Yunxie’s poem in the inscription, “Eqiao” can be enjoyed as a painting in itself with these narrative elements. Anyone can share the happy and relieved feeling of two people who have found a resting place to buy wine to warm up their frozen bodies after a long walk on a cold day.

“Longshan” is another eye-catching painting (fig. 106). Even without reading Yang Hong’s 楊洪 poem describing the autumn scene of Longshan or knowing about Guo Xi’s monumental landscape style as shown in *Early Spring*, audiences can be pleased by the dynamic composition of “Longshan.” Like a huge stalagmite, a big rock dominates the center next to a waterfall and at the bottom swirls a swift river. Above the swirling wave, covered bridges have been built perilously alongside the cliff. Two figures sitting inside an open pavilion at the top of the high hill look down on this magnificent view. A servant serves tea and a figure leans back over the railing with his arms open. The relaxed pose of this figure is an interesting contrast to the dynamic and dangerous scenery of Longshan.

As discussed previously, “Shenshan 神山” also includes humorous details (fig. 88). Without depicting raindrops, Xiao still effectively expressed the wet feeling of a rainy day with wet horizontal dots and swirling clouds. The viewers do not have to be familiar with the Mi family’s style to feel the rain in this painting. If the viewers do not know about the implication of “raindrop on the bamboo leaves (qingyu 青雨),” they can still feel the freshness of green bamboo leaves after soaking in the rain through the expression of the wet dark ink. Some of the most interesting details are the two figures on the bridge. Together they are holding an umbrella and are looking down at the water. They seem to be in no hurry to go anywhere. They may want to check how high the water level is in the river or they may want to hear the sound of the roaring, running waves. A figure sitting in the house in the middle of the bamboo grove is probably enjoying the sound of raindrops on the bamboo leaves.

“Xiongguanting 雄觀亭” portrays surging waves without sky in an unusual composition (fig. 107). The rushing waves look like they might swallow the pavilion on the shore. Just as Xiao wrote “in the past, when Wu Daozi was painting water, the sound of the water could be heard at night,” the roar of waves can reach our ears in “Xiongguanting.”<sup>140</sup> Xiao expressed a vivid, dynamic, and powerful energy in the painting. On the other hand, he can create a peaceful farming village in the mountains in “Qingshan 青山” (fig. 64). In front of the thatched house, a black ox lies flat on the ground and a boy holding a stick seems to be rousing her. Xiao’s humor is shown in his expression of the lazy spring afternoon and the slack ox casting an upward glance at the boy.

Besides landscapes that include high peaks, trees, rocks, rivers, and waterfalls, Xiao liked to draw a wide variety of architectural shapes in his houses, pavilions, bridges, towers, temples, gates, walls, and stairs that punctuate the landscape elements. He also liked to liven the scene with figures and animals in a multitude of activities, such as sitting or studying in buildings, traveling with horses, having conversations with friends, riding boats, or working on the fields. Xiao’s illustrations are always filled with rich narrative stories and reveal his attention to literary as well as artistic content and his desire to capture the reader’s attention with lively visual details.

These descriptive details themselves provide small amusements that common viewers can identify with, without knowing poetry or the stylistic references or specific topological signs. Because Xiao’s album contains illustrations of both scenic

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<sup>140</sup> “昔吳道玄[Wu Daozi]畫水中夜有聲”

views and poetry, his paintings present realistic details of ordinary life and topographical elements that characterize his art in a special way.

## 5. Illustrations Published as Prints

Finally, one of the important features of Xiao's *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* is that it is in the form of a printed album. As such it was circulated in several printed editions.

The history of Chinese printed woodblock illustration can be traced back to the Tang dynasty. A copy from a page illustrating the *Diamond Sutra*, dated 868, is one of the earliest illustrated texts.<sup>141</sup> Later, illustrations were included not only in religious texts, but also in works of historical and fictional literature, as well as in such practical books as encyclopedias, and agricultural and medical books. In the Song dynasty, with the invention of the movable-type printing technique and the development of an urban economy, the printing industry also prospered.<sup>142</sup> Book illustrations rapidly grew to have aesthetic value. A manual of plum blossoms,

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<sup>141</sup> For a study on the depiction of earlier landscapes in Buddhist texts, see Max Loehr, *Chinese Landscape Woodcuts: From an Imperial Commentary to the Tenth-Century Printed Edition of the Buddhist Canon* (Boston: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1968).

<sup>142</sup> For information about the printing industry in the Song dynasty, see Lucille Chia, "Printing for Profit: The Commercial Printers of Jianyang, Fujian (Song-Ming)" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1996); Lucille Chia, *Printing for Profit: The Commercial Publishers of Jianyang, Fujian (12th–17th Centuries)* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002).

*Meihua xishenpu* 梅花喜神譜 by Song Boren 宋伯仁 (act. ca. 1240), included one hundred poems and plum blossom images, which were considered the earliest illustrations (Fig. 108). This illustrated text of plum blossoms was first published in 1238 and reprinted in 1261.

The Ming dynasty witnessed not only social and economic changes, such as a flourishing economy and the spread of education, but also the development of new printing techniques, such as the multi-colored block printing that led to a general prosperity in the publishing business (fig. 109). All these changes contributed to the increasing popularity of illustrated books and accelerated their distribution. The wide circulation of printed books made a crucial contribution to the dissemination of scholarly culture among other classes. Commissioning and making illustrated books became a cultural activity across the social classes: illustrated books were written and edited by famous scholars, published by rich merchants, designed by famous painters and by professional print-designers, and carved by artisans. This suggests that the involvement of scholar-painters in illustrated book making led to a fundamental change in the scholarly culture of the late Ming and early Qing periods.

The Ming dynasty was a turning point in the history of book culture. During the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the development of printed illustrations reached its peak in terms of artistic quality (fig. 110 and fig 111). Some of the scholar-artists who participated in designing illustrations were Ding Yunpeng 丁雲鵬 (1547–ca. 1628) and Chen Hongshou 陳洪綬 (1598–1622), and along with Xiao Yuncong, they contributed to raising the standard of the artistic quality of printed illustrations.

A flourishing urban economy and the highly competitive printing industry of southern China in the late Ming period made it possible to build a broad readership who liked to own books. To survive in this keenly competitive market, publishers asked famous scholars to edit, compile, and write prefaces and annotations. Many publishers also tried to attract readers by commissioning illustrations by popular artists. Many books with illustrations became available at affordable prices. Wang Sande's 王三德 preface to the volume on "Stones" in the *Ten Bamboo Studio Manual of Painting* (Shizhuzhai shuhuapu 十竹齋書畫譜), dated 1627, provides information on the availability of this well-printed manual: "This is now being published and maybe acquired for a few cents by poets and painters, who thus can take it home with them and keep it on their table, together with the Five Classics and the Three Histories. Hu Zhengyan 胡正言 rendered them a great service."<sup>143</sup> The availability of illustrated books like Xiao's *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* gave commoners greater access to elite culture than ever before. Illustrated books gave books a new function—changing them from the objects of classical study into a medium of popular entertainment.

In conclusion, because it was different from the previous literary art that contained metaphoric references understood mainly by the elite, Xiao's *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* presented familiar local sites in a manner that essentially decoded the abstract, symbolic meanings of the classical forms into a more formulaic pictorial language. Xiao Yuncong's *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, with its

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<sup>143</sup> Translation is from Osvald Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles* 5 (London: Lund Humphries, 1956–1958): 75.

distinctive features such as illustrations of real scenery, classical poetry, and use of the old masters' styles as well as descriptive interesting details, played a significant role in helping to expand the breadth of scholarly culture during the seventeenth century.



## IV. Xiao Yuncong's Artistic Methods

As I open [once] pointed out, a painter must pass two critical tests: first he must imitate the ancient masters [to take the ancients as teachers]; then he must imitate nature [to take nature as teachers].

子嘗論畫家有二關: 最始當以古人為師; 後當一造物為師.

Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555–1636), 1596.<sup>144</sup>

This phrase by Xiao Yuncong's contemporary Dong Qichang, an influential high official, scholar, calligrapher, artist, and art critic in the late Ming period, summarizes two crucial methods that Xiao Yuncong used in *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*: fanggu method and topographical feature. In this chapter, I explore how Xiao Yuncong followed these two artistic traditions and how Xiao's approach was different from his predecessors and contemporary artists by discussing *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* and other paintings by Xiao Yuncong.

### 1. Learning from Tradition

The educated scholars' attitude toward tradition, represented by Confucius' (551–479 B.C.) famous phrase "The master said, 'I transmit rather than create; I

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<sup>144</sup> From Dong Qichang's colophon on the album *Eight Views of Yen and Wu*. Translation is from Wen Fong, "Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and Artistic Renewal," in *The Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang 1555–1636* vol. 1, ed. Wai-kam Ho (Seattle and London: The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art and The University of Washington Press, 1992): 50.

believe in and love the ancients” in the *Analects*, is one of the distinctive characteristics of Chinese culture. Tradition became a crucial theoretical base of art as well as a practical method for literati artists. It also became an important criterion of artistic creation and for the judgment of artistic value. The importance of what was past started to be emphasized in the Tang dynasty when the discussion of the term “ancient (*gu* 古)” and ancient artists appeared in the literature about art critics and art history such as *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記 compiled in 847 by Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠.<sup>145</sup> A Song dynasty artist, Li Gonglin 李公麟, regarded as one of the important figures who established literati art theory, consciously used various styles of the ancient masters in his paintings.<sup>146</sup>

After experiencing the fall of the Song dynasty and rule of the Mongols, an early Yuan scholar-artist, Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫, sought a new direction from the ornamental, emotional art by Southern Song artists and the simple, abbreviated expression by Chan monks. Zhao Mengfu stressed the study of the spirit of the ancient masters as well as their styles. Chu-tsing Li considers Zhao’s fanggu method as “classicism” and the “crystallization of his contact with the past rather than direct imitation of any one master or his work.”<sup>147</sup> The Four Great Masters of the late Yuan,

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<sup>145</sup> Alexander Soper reviewed texts about art in detail in his article “The Relationship of Early Chinese Painting to its Own Past,” in *Artists and Tradition*, ed. Christian F. Murck (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976): 21–47.

<sup>146</sup> Names of ancient masters who were imitated by Li Gonglin are enumerated based on the historical texts in Richard Banhart, “Li Kung-lin’s Use of Past Styles,” in *ibid.*: 51–71.

<sup>147</sup> Chu-tsing Li, “The Use of the Past in Yuan Landscape Painting,” in *ibid.*: 86.

Huang Gongwang, Wu Zhen, Ni Zan, and Wang Meng, followed Zhao's idea of tradition as well as his personal mastery of calligraphy in painting which emphasized "writing the ideas (*xieyi* 寫意)." Zhao Mengfu's art exhibited a close relationship between painting and calligraphy. This was an entirely new way to approach painting. Other Yuan artists mostly followed the Li [Cheng]-Guo [Xi] tradition, the Dong Yuan or Dong [Yuan]-Ju [ran] tradition. As Chu-tsing Li states, because a Yuan artist's approach to past tradition was a "more personal and individual expression as a vehicle for his feelings in his own world," the formation of an "orthodox" had to wait until Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555–1636) formulated the "Southern and Northern Schools Theory 南北宗論." Dong's theory was then practiced and developed by a group of early Qing masters who became the so-called "Orthodox school," centering on the Four Wangs: Wang Shimin 王時敏 (1592–1664), Wang Jian 王翬 (1598–1677), Wang Hui 王翬 (1632–1717), and Wang Yuanqi 王原祁 (1642–1715).<sup>148</sup>

The leading late Ming scholar-artist Dong Qichang formulated the theory of the Southern and Northern schools 南北宗論 by developing the ideas of Zhao Mengfu.<sup>149</sup> Dong Qichang classified artists into the Northern school or Southern

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<sup>148</sup> Chu-tsing Li, "The Use of the Past in Yuan Landscape Painting," in *ibid.*: 88. For further study on Dong Qichang and the Orthodox school, see Wen Fong, "The Orthodox Master," *Art News Annual* 33 (1967): 33-9; Wen Fong, "Dong Qichang yu Zhengzongpai huihua lilun 董其昌與正宗派繪畫理論," *National Palace Museum Quarterly* 23 (Jan., 1968): 1–26. For a study on the art theory of the Orthodox school, see Ann Barret Wicks, "Wang Shih-min (1592–1680) and the Orthodox Theory of Art: The Six Famous Practitioners" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1982).

<sup>149</sup> Dong Qichang's "Theory of Southern and Northern School 南北宗論" appeared in his *Huachanshi suibi* 畫禪室隨筆. Wai-kam Ho points out that Dong's theory first appeared in *Lunhua suoyan* 論畫瑣言, possibly dated between 1593–1598. Wai-kam

school by applying the term from the Northern and the Southern schools of Chan Buddhism in the Tang dynasty, which was not based on geographical division. Dong's lineage of the Southern school included Wang Wei, Jing Hao, Guan Tong, Dong Yuan, Juran, Guo Zhongshu, Mi Fu, Mu Youren, and the Four Great Masters of the Yuan. On the other hand, the Northern school painters were listed as Li Sixun, Li Zhaodao, Zhao Boju, Liu Songnian, Li Tang, Ma Yuan, and Xia Gui.<sup>150</sup> While the Northern school painters, who mostly served the court or earned their livelihood as professionals, painted works that could be characterized as realistic, decorative, colorful, and romantic in style, the Southern school painters, who were mainly scholars, emphasized a subjective, self-expressive, and calligraphic approach to art.

Many of Xiao Yuncong's albums done in the manner of the old masters' styles can be understood as the extension of a popular trend introduced in an earlier chapter,

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Ho, "Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's New Orthodoxy and the Southern School Theory," in Christian F. Murck ed., *Artists and Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976): 114. Also see James Cahill, *The Distant Mountains: Chinese Painting of the Late Ming Dynasty, 1570–1644* (New York: Weatherhill, 1982): 13 and footnote 17. Mo Shilong 莫是龍 (1537?–1587) is also known to have written similar ideas as Dong Qichang in his "Huashuo 畫說," *Baoyantang biji* 寶顏堂秘笈. Unlike Dong Qichang, Mo Shilong, and Li Rihua 李日華 (1565–1635) who claimed the superiority for literati paintings over the Song academy and Ming court paintings, Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1526–1590), Hu Yinglin 胡應麟 (1551–1602), and Li Kaixian 李開先 (1502–1568) supported paintings by Song academy painters as well as Ming Zhe school and court painters.

<sup>150</sup> “文人之畫自王右丞始 [Wang Wei], 其後董源 [Dong Yuan] 僧巨然 [Juran] 李成 [Li Cheng] 范寬 [Fan Kuan] 為嫡子, 李龍眠 [Li Gonglin] 王晉卿 米南宮 [Mi Fu] 及虎兒, 皆從董巨得來, 直至元四大家, 黃子久 [Huang Gongwang] 王叔明 [Wang Meng] 倪元鎮 [Ni Zan] 吳仲圭 [Wu Zhen], 皆其正傳, 吾朝文 [Wen Zhengming] 沈 [Shen Zhou] 又遠接衣石本. 若馬 [Ma Yuan] 夏 [Xia Gui] 及李唐 [Li Tang] 劉松年 [Liu Songnian], 又是大李將軍 [Li Sixun] 之派, 非吾曹所當學也.” Dong Qichang 董其昌, *Huayan* 畫眼.

known as fanggu, an approach to painting developed in the late Ming dynasty by Dong Qichang and his followers. It is related to a movement called *fugu* [return to the archaic] 復古, and in Chinese art it can be traced back to the Tang dynasty; however, the earliest example mentioning a specific model in the mode of fanggu is an inscription reading “following Wen Tong’s brushwork 擬與可筆意” found in the *Painting Manual of [Ink] Bamboo* (Mozhu pu 墨竹譜) by the Yuan artist Wu Zhen (1280–1354). In the Ming dynasty, paintings bearing the title “imitating ancient masters, *fanggu* 仿古” also appeared, and in some cases even indicated the modeled artists’ names or specific paintings they followed.

Shen Zhou and his pupil Wen Zhengming produced many fanggu paintings, but only a few of these paintings mention specific masters’ names, such as Shen Zhou’s *Landscape in the Manner of Huang Gongwang* (Fang Huang Gongwang shanshui tu 倣黃公望山水圖) and Wen Zhengming’s *Landscape in the Manner of Wang Meng* (Fang Wang Meng shanshui tu 倣王蒙山水圖). While late Wu school painters like Wen Jia 文嘉 continued the styles of Shen Zhou and Wen Zhengming, many painters in the circle of Dong Qichang in the Songjiang 松江 area followed the styles of the Four Great Masters of the Yuan and frequently used the title of “following □□’s style.” Criticism of late Wu school artists by contemporary theorists in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also stimulated the practice of fanggu methods by scholar-artists who wanted to belong to the literati artist group or who tried to justify their paintings as literati art.

However, Xiao Yuncong's practice of the fanggu method is different from those of the late Ming Wu school or early Qing Orthodox school painters as he did not fall under either of the main artistic schools during the late Ming and early Qing periods. *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* is Xiao's early work based on the fanggu method. The ancient masters that Xiao imitated in the Taiping album are different from the fanggu paintings by Dong Qichang and his followers, who mainly followed the tradition of the Southern school, particularly the styles of Dong Yuan and the Four Great Masters of the Yuan. For example, in *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, Xiao Yuncong included the styles of Li Zhaodao, Liu Songnian, Li Tang, Ma Yuan, and Xia Gui, who were classified as Northern school painters and the artistic quality of their work was underestimated by Dong Qichang. Although Xiao Yuncong particularly preferred the style of Huang Gongwang and Ni Zan, and his style is also related to Shen Zhou and Wen Zhengming of the Wu school, Xiao did not hold a biased view against court academy or professional painters. In the Taiping album, Xiao even chose Ma Yuan's style twice in "Niuzhuji" and in "Xiyanchi" (fig. 102 and fig. 99). Xiao also selected the styles of Gou Longshuang and Xin Shichang, who were hardly mentioned by Dong Qinchang and other literati artists (fig. 68). The fact that a range of styles from thirty-eight artists were chosen for the *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* implies that Xiao's intention of using fanggu method was not merely to show respect to the masters and follow in their spirit, nor a wish to be identified as a scholar-artist through the fanggu paintings. Unlike Dong Qichang, Xiao's idea of fanggu in the *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* was not merely based on a moral judgment of the artists' social status.

In some cases, an indicated ancient artist as a stylistic source does not match with Xiao's fanggu paintings. For example, "Qiupu 荻浦," depicting a riverside landscape with boats and houses, has an inscription claiming the stylistic source as Zhou Fang (fig. 112). However, Zhou Fang is a Tang dynasty artist who is famous for his paintings of court ladies and whose landscape style is not much known. Whether Xiao misunderstood some of the old masters' styles because of the limitation of his access to the originals, or if ideas about old masters' styles in the late Ming and early Qing periods were different from ours, Xiao did not intend to produce literal imitations of old masters, as already discussed in the previous chapter. For example, because Xiao added narrative figures in the center of "Eqiao," done in the manner of Ni Zan's style, the composition of the painting is not typical Ni Zan's, although the description of trees is related to Ni Zan's style (fig. 92). Xiao's understanding of Ni Zan's typical style is more clearly displayed in the "Landscape 山水" leaf from the album *Shanshui zahuace* 山水雜畫冊 (fig. 113). Many elements such as a few tall bare trees in the front, water in the middle, mountains in the background, and dry brushstrokes can be found in Xiao's painting and demonstrate that Xiao's understanding of Ni Zan's style is close to that of other artists and ours. "Eqiao" is an example which shows Xiao's selective practice of the fanggu method.

After *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* in 1648, Xiao continued to practice fanggu methods in his paintings throughout his life. The album *Landscapes After Old Masters* (Nigu shanshui 擬古山水) in the Anhui Provincial Museum 安徽省博物館

was painted in 1653, a few years after the Taiping album.<sup>151</sup> It consists of eight leaves done in the manner of the old masters, such as Zhao Mengjian 趙孟堅, Li Cheng 李成 (919–967), Guan Tong 關同, Guo Zhongshu 郭忠恕 (?–977), and Jing Hao 荆浩. However, this album is not merely literal imitations of styles of named artists. For example, as discussed previously in chapter 2, Xiao Yuncong chose Zhao Mengjian’s style in “Close the Door and Refuse Visitors (Bimen juke tu 閉門拒客圖)” and in “Crying from Sorrow at the West Platform (Xitai tongku tu 西台慟哭圖),” because of Zhao Mengjian’s biography.<sup>152</sup> Zhao was an uncompromising scholar born into the Song royal family who refused to serve the Mongols when they conquered China. This was a painter whose style could be taken as a metaphor for Xiao’s own situation, and this was probably the reason he chose Zhao, not merely for stylistic superiority or random preference (fig. 35 and fig. 36).<sup>153</sup> Here, fanggu is not limited to style but includes the subject matter and spirit or moral standard of an ancient master whom Xiao chose to follow.

Other model artists in the *Landscapes After Old Masters* (Nigu shanshui 擬古山水) painted in 1653 are from the Five dynasties and Northern Song dynasty who were

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<sup>151</sup> While “fanggu 仿古” takes the old masters as inspiration using some forms, the literal meaning of “nigu 擬古” implies a much closer adherence to specific masters and styles. For an explanation of similar terms, see chapter 3, pp. 94–5.

<sup>152</sup> Xiao Yuncong’s inscription on “Crying from Sorrow at the West Platform” reads as “宋謝臯父事用趙子固[Zhao Mengjian]筆法為之蓋具志同也。”

<sup>153</sup> The inscription reads “Today I choose Zigu’s [Zhao Mengjian] style to paint. Although Longlu’s [Zhao Mengfu] brushwork is better, but I will not follow that 今就子固畫法為圖，榮祿筆意雖優，余無取焉。” See chapter 2, p. 44 and footnote 71.



famous for monumental landscapes depicting barren mountain areas of northern China. Xiao effectively described the snow-covered winter landscape using Li Cheng's style of monumental depiction (fig. 114).<sup>154</sup> Another album leaf "Songxi yuyin 松溪漁隱" also modified Li Cheng's composition, with elements such as boats behind a few trees in the foreground and a cliff with a waterfall in the background that resembles an extant work with a Li Cheng attribution, *Fishing on a Wintry Stream* (fig. 115 and fig. 116). The first leaf from the album is "Pavilion in Immortal Mountain (Xianshan louke 仙山樓閣)" following the style of Guo Zhongshu (fig. 4). The shape of the diagonally twisted and protruding rocky cliff over the water is similar to "Wangfushan 望夫山" from *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, which was done in the manner of Guo Zhongshu (fig. 117). Guo Zhongshu is well known for his architectural painting or ruled drawing (*jiehua* 界畫), and indeed Xiao drew various types of architecture on the cliff in detail with refined brushwork (fig. 2 and fig. 118). "Pavilion in Immortal Mountain" also has an almost identical composition with the rocky cliff in "Menggriting" from the Taiping album (fig. 68). Like the use of Ni Zan's conventionalized style among literati artists, Xiao created a representative type for Guo Zhongshu's style that was not as popular as a fanggu model and repeatedly used it for his other fanggu paintings.

In the same year of 1653, Xiao Yuncong also painted another *Landscape Album* (Shanshui tuce 山水圖冊) now in the Sichuan Provincial Museum 四川省博物館, basing the compositions on the fanggu method (fig. 119). This album includes

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<sup>154</sup> "'*Wanshan feixue*' is painted in the Yingqiu's [Li Cheng] brushwork. It reduced the monumental landscape in an album." "萬山飛雪, 為營丘[Li Cheng]之筆, 縮巨幅於一冊."

six leaves done in the styles of Gou Longshuang and Guo Xi from the Northern Song dynasty, and Huang Gongwang and Wang Meng from the Yuan dynasty. The first leaf is based on Gou Longshuang, who was a court painter and was known for his Buddhist and Taoist figure paintings. According to the inscription, the narrative illustration shows two Taoist fairies stepping on vines in the water, a story based on Gou Longshuang's *Xianping caihuatu* 仙僊采花圖.<sup>155</sup> The landscape in the fourth leaf follows Huang Gongwang's style and shows a stylistic affiliation with Huang's *Stone Cliff at the Pond of Heaven* (Tianchi shibitu 天池石壁圖) (fig. 120).<sup>156</sup> Xiao's landscape in this album is a more faithful rendition of Huang Gongwang's style compared to the graphic and formulaic style of Huang Gongwang as done by Xiao in "Fufushan" from *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* (fig. 121). Huang's composition, such as the few tall pine trees in the front and the towering rocks arranged from front to back, creating a central main mountain peak, are adopted in Xiao's album leaf with Huang's typical dry brushworks. As also shown in the fifth landscape in the manner of Wang Meng, Xiao Yuncong's 1653 album in the Sichuan Provincial Museum has a complex composition filled with many details. Xiao mainly used dry brushstrokes when he imitated the Yuan masters' styles.

Fanggu albums done in his later years, such as *Fanggu Landscape Album* 仿古山水冊 in the Palace Museum, Beijing, display plain (*pingdan* 平淡) taste with rather simple compositions (fig. 122). According to the inscriptions on the ninth and

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<sup>155</sup> “勾龍爽[Gou Longshuang]作仙僊采花圖，飛行於枯藤之上。”

<sup>156</sup> “Huang Gongwang's brushwork is dry and his ink is light 大癡[Huang Gongwang]筆燥而墨澹...”

tenth leaves, this album was done in 1666 for a Yangzhou scholar and collector, Zheng Xiaru [Shijie]. Xiao Yuncong also dedicated a 1653 album now in the Anhui Provincial Museum to Zheng Xiaru when he visited him. Along with his earlier experience of producing *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, the opportunity to view the masters' works from Zheng Xiaru's collection possibly stimulated Xiao to again create paintings based on the ancient masters' styles. In the 1666 *Fanggu Landscape Album*, only four leaves bear Xiao's seals, while another four leaves have short inscriptions indicating the stylistic sources. Although Xiao mentions Fan Kuan in the fourth leaf and Ma Hezhi in the eighth leaf, it is hard to find the stylistic connection between these two artists' styles and Xiao's paintings. However, the sixth landscape is described with Wu Zhen's bold wet ink dots and leafy trees, and the seventh landscape successfully displays Ni Zan's simple composition with dry brushstrokes. Through ten landscapes in the 1666 album, Xiao Yuncong effectively expressed literati tastes by crystallizing the styles of Yuan literati artists and the Ming artist Shen Zhou.

Xiao Yuncong developed his own style by practicing the fanggu method. *Landscape Album in the Manner of Song and Yuan Styles* 仿宋元山水圖冊 exhibits the beginning of Xiao's mature style at age sixty-nine in 1664 (fig. 123). The album includes twelve landscapes. Xiao Yuncong wrote on the last leaf (fig. 124):

In the process of mastering painting, at first, I dare not copy these ancient masters. Now I get the original paintings of the Song and the Yuan Dynasties, I try my best to follow the canons and principles. I put all my efforts in learning its brushworks.

余之精丹青也，初不敢擬此名家。今春得宋元真跡，力追典則，無在不摹其筆法。

Although Xiao says this album is based on the original paintings from the Song and Yuan dynasties, he only mentions Li Cheng, Guo Xi, and Wu Zhen in the ninth leaf and the twelfth leaf (fig. 125). Unlike *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, it is hard to figure out which artist's style is imitated in which landscape. Thus, the 1664 album can be considered Xiao's response to looking at the ancient masters' works, rather than copying from originals.

The Shanghai Museum's *Fanggu Landscape Album* 仿古山水冊, dated 1699, illustrates Xiao's poem in each painting in the manner of the ancient masters' styles (fig. 126). Each inscription contains a phrase related to the painting along with information about its stylistic source. The styles of Four Great Masters of Yuan are mainly used in this album. Although the inscription on the first leaf bears the name of the Northern Song artist, Guo Xi, the landscape draws on the simple composition of Ni Zan using the texture strokes *zhedaicun* 折帶皴 [horizontal, then downward strokes] plus dry brush strokes, creating an effect almost identical with the seventh leaf from 1666 album (fig. 122). The complex, textural brushstrokes on the rocks shown in the second leaf come from Wang Meng's style, as mentioned in the inscription.<sup>157</sup> Wet bold ink dots and trees shown in the seventh leaf are derived from Wu Zhen's style; Wu Zhen's style is also adopted in the ninth leaf in the 1664 album and the sixth leaf in the 1666 album (fig. 125). The tenth leaf of the 1699 album used Huang Gongwang's characteristic dry, long brushstrokes combined with horizontal short strokes and a description of towering rocks in the center. A similar stylistic

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<sup>157</sup> “紅日千海炤, 青齊九點煙, 山樵[Wang Meng]遺法在, 觀者著先鞭,”

adoption of Huang Gongwang also appears in the 1653 album in the Sichuan Provincial Museum (fig. 119). As shown in the examples above, Xiao preferred to select the styles of Four Great Masters of Yuan in his later period fanggu albums. He formulated a stylistic convention for each style of the Four Great Masters and used these conventions repeatedly in his later fanggu albums.

In summary, Xiao Yuncong made several fanggu albums throughout his lifetime. *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* is one of the earliest examples using the fanggu method. It is a comprehensive album applying various styles of ancient masters. Although he preferred to adopt the Northern Song tradition, showing a monumental landscape style and plain literati painting style by the Four Great Masters of the Yuan, Xiao selected a broad range of artistic styles including the styles of professional painters and literati painters. According to the inscription on another album in the Shanghai Museum, it is certain that Xiao Yuncong was aware of Dong Qichang's theory of the Southern and Northern schools (fig. 127).<sup>158</sup> However, Xiao's idea and intentions in using fanggu were slightly different from Dong Qichang's idea, which was broadly spread among literati artists during the late Ming and early Qing periods. Xiao considered fanggu to be not only a philosophical ground for literati art, but also an artistic technical method, particularly in *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*. The practice of fanggu required the understanding of ancient paintings and the ability to formulate them into recognizable codes. Xiao's *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* is a comprehensive fanggu album that shows characteristics of a painting manual. The imitation of ancient paintings is a basic step

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<sup>158</sup> “董北苑[Dong Yuan]筆墨乾澹, 遂與右丞[Wang Wei]分南北宗, 國朝惟華亭太史 [Dong Qichang]獨能闡揚, 後來者濫觴矣。”

in the practice of fanggu. Furthermore, Xiao selected styles to match the natural Taiping scenery and he differentiated the local scenery by careful selection of ancient masters' styles. Learning from tradition through the fanggu method is an intellectual practice based on the knowledge of art history. His *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* is an example of Xiao's art historical practice. It is a painted treatise about Chinese art history.

## 2. Learning from Nature

Painting using the fanggu method widely prevailed as a conservative artistic trend in the early Qing period among the artists of the Orthodox school, particularly the Four Wangs, Wu Li 吳歷 (1632–1718), and Yun Shouping 惲壽平 (1633–1690), the Six Masters who developed Dong Qichang's idea about past masters. Dong said:

Some say: one should establish one's own style (of painting). This cannot be so. For example, for willow trees [one follows] Zhao Boju; for pine trees [one follows] Li Cheng. A thousand years cannot change this ... How can anyone put aside the ancient methods and start [anew] on his own.<sup>159</sup>

However, several individual artists in the seventeenth century opposed this debt to tradition, preferring to emphasize their own ideas and styles. Refusing to be

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<sup>159</sup> Dong Qichang, *Huachanshi suibi* 畫禪室隨筆, chapters 2, 2b, and 3a. Translation is from Wen Fong, "Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and the Orthodox Theory of Painting," *National Palace Museum Quarterly* II. 3 (Jan. 1968): 18–9.

tied down to imitation of the ancient masters' styles, Shitao 石濤 (1641–ca. 1720), a monk-painter, strongly stated that:

For the self to be self, there must be a selfhood. The beards and eyebrows of the ancients may not grow in my face, nor could their lungs and bowels be placed in my torso. I shall vent my own lungs and bowels, and display my own beard and eyebrows. Though at times my painting may come near to so-and-so, it is he who comes to accommodate me, and not I who willfully imitate his style. It is naturally so! Wherefore indeed have I studied the past without attempting [for] transformation?"<sup>160</sup>

The late Ming Individualists' thoughts derived from the ideas of the radical Confucian Li Zhi 李贄 (1527–1602), who emphasized the "truth (*zhen* 真)" and the "childlike-mind (*tongxin* 童心)."<sup>161</sup> The anti-revivalist Gongan school 公安派, centering on the three Yuan brothers Yuan Zongdao 袁宗道 (1560–1600), Yuan Hongdao 袁宏道 (1568–1610) and Yuan Zhongdao 袁中道 (1570–1624), developed Li Zhi's ideas for their theory of poetry. The Gongan school stressed that one should be truthful to his surroundings and his own mind and avoid mere imitation of the ancients. This idea was expressed in Yuan Hongdao's phrase that "a good painter learns from his object not from people; a good scholar learns from his own mind and not from the 'Tao'; a good poet learns from the myriad forms of nature and not from

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<sup>160</sup> Shitao, *Huayulu* 畫語錄, ch. 3. Translated by Ju-hsi Chou, "In Quest of the Primordial Line: The Genesis and Content of Tao-chi's *Hua-yü-lu*." (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1969): 154.

<sup>161</sup> For a discussion on Li Zhi and the Gongan school, see William Theodore de Bary, "Individualism and Humanitarianism in Late Ming Thought," in *Self and Society in Ming Thought*, William Theodore de Bary et al. (New York: Columbia University Press): 188–255.

the ancient masters.”<sup>162</sup> The development of topographical landscapes can be traced back as early as the Tang dynasty, but it became a particularly popular theme with the depiction of specific topographical features among Suzhou artists in the Ming period and later among Individualists in the late Ming and early Qing periods.

These two opposing trends, fanggu paintings by Orthodox masters and topographical landscape by Individualists, became the dominant artistic practices in the late Ming and early Qing periods. Although the Orthodox school developed from Dong Qichang’s theoretical foundation, Dong Qichang himself was aware of the Gongan school theory through his personal relationship with the Yuan brothers and his own profound knowledge of Chan Buddhism. Finally Dong Qichang tried to find a compromise between the two contradictory methods. He said:

“Those who imitate the ancients can never go beyond the words of the ancient; and thus these words never equal those of the ancients; even if their knowledge equals that of the ancients, their achievement can only be half that of the ancients. For only when their knowledge exceeds that of ancients will they have something to pass on to others. Only those who imitate nature may expect to surpass the ancients. Only they may be called the true imitators of the ancient!”<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> Translation is from Wai-kam Ho, “Tung Ch’i-ch’ang’s New Orthodoxy and the Southern School Theory,” in *Artists and Tradition*, ed. Christian F. Murck (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976): 122.

<sup>163</sup> “夫師古者，非過古人之言也；不及古人之言也。見與師齊，減師半德。見過於師，方堪傳授。惟以造物為師，方能過古人，謂之真師古不虛耳。” Translation is from Wen Fong, “Tung Ch’i-ch’ang and Artistic Renewal,” in *The Century of Tung Ch’i-ch’ang 1555–1636* 1, ed. Wai-kam Ho (Seattle and London: The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art and The University of Washington Press, 1992): 50.



Dong Qichang warned about the limits of mere imitation of the ancient masters' styles, and he suggested a solution similar to the Gongan school's "back to the original," or "seeking to learn from Nature." Dong Qichang's famous phrase, "read ten thousand books and travel ten thousand *li* [miles]" became a basic requirement for scholars. Reading books is one way to transmit the ancient canon, and it has the same function as the *fanggu* method in art. Traveling enriches one's personal experience with nature and self-experience enhances the artist's sense of self.

How Xiao learned from nature can be seen in the many paintings he produced based on real scenery. *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* is his representative artwork in the category of topographical landscape. The Taiping album, depicting forty-three scenes of Taiping prefecture including the Dangtu, Wuhu, and Fanchang areas, is one of a number of important works of specific sites. While Xiao described each scene in each album leaf in the Taiping album, most of his landscapes were based on real scenery and were produced using the long handscroll format as *Going Home and Living Abroad Are the Same Thing* in the Museum of Rietberg, Zürich (fig. 45, fig. 46, and fig. 128). This 1656 long handscroll describes the panoramic view around the Yangzi River. Among twenty-four particular spots from Dangtu to Xunchang in the 1656 handscroll, eleven places—"Nipo," "Jingshan," "Baizhushan," "Hengshan," "Lingxushan," "Wangfushan," "Caijiang," "Tianmenshan," "Huangshan," "Longshan," and "Qingshan"—are also depicted in *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*. While the Taiping album uses various angles and different perspectives with close-up views to describe each spot, *Going Home and Living Abroad Are the Same Thing* had to keep a limited viewpoint—the panoramic views found in the long handscroll. In

other words, any single specific place was not to be viewed and appreciated on its own, but rather it was designed as a passing scene, such as one might see looking out from a floating boat, creating a rhythmic and harmonious connection between places. Despite the different formats and different intentions of the Taiping album and the 1656 handscroll, most of the eleven scenes share similar depictions of specific places with identifiable topographical features. For example, the close-up bridge in “Nipo” can be found in both the album and the handscroll (fig. 129). The plan of the temple surrounded by hills and a pavilion on the top of the peak in “Jingshan” is also similar to the real temple plan (fig. 130). Scenery around the Cai River and “Tianmenshan” are also easily recognizable in both paintings (fig. 65 and fig. 80). These similarities exemplify Xiao’s second important method, direct inspiration from nature. Xiao’s *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* is based on real scenery with his own observation and interpretation.

Grandeur and beauty in nature can evoke poetic inspirations. Just as poetry is an emotional response to nature by poets, landscape painting is also an emotional reaction to nature by artists. *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* is Xiao Yuncong’s response to nature and a show of affection for his hometown. It is parallel to the response of the ancient poets who were moved to write verse when they faced the same scenic views. Furthermore, Xiao Yuncong was inspired not only by scenic beauty, but also by such ancient poems as well.

Xiao’s design for each illustration in the Taiping album is a combination of his response to nature and to the poem. The designs represent his conversations with nature and the ancient poets, as well as with ancient artists. *Illustrations of Taiping*

*Prefecture* shows Xiao's harmonious response to the intrarelationship of nature, poetry, and the artist.

Xiao Yuncong did not belong to the Orthodox school nor was he an Individualist in the early Qing period. *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* is an example of how these two opposing methods of approaching painting—learning from tradition and learning from nature—can be successfully combined. As discussed in the previous chapter, Xiao Yuncong also expressed his ideas about the relationship between scenery, poetry, painting, and old masters' styles in the epilogue of the Taiping album, where he quotes the words of his patron Zhang Wanxuan.

As the master [Zhang Wanxuan] verbally points out about the painting, these mountains and rivers surely resemble some poems and are also similar to the styles of Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (ca. 344–ca. 406) and Lu Tanwei 陸探微 (active 460–early 6th c.), all the way to Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1306–1374) and Huang Gongwang 黃公望 (1269–1354). Whether free or detailed, the styles surely resemble some mountains and rivers as well as that of poetry.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> “先生口語指畫謂，某山某水確有肖乎某詩，而簡其顧陸以下，倪黃以上。莫寫莫工，確有肖乎某山水與某人詩者。”

## V. The Legacy of Xiao Yuncong

As a seventeenth-century scholar-artist, Xiao Yuncong produced many landscape paintings belonging to the category of topographic landscape or fanggu painting. Both were popular among artists of the late Ming and early Qing periods. Many Wu school artists depicted the scenery of the Suzhou area, and several Anhui artists frequently depicted the Huang Mountains, while Orthodox school artists painted fanggu paintings following Dong Qichang. However, since the fifteenth century when a literati artist like Shen Zhou painted both fanggu paintings in the manner of the Four Great Masters of the Yuan as well as topographic landscapes of Suzhou in the literati painting style, not many artists had successfully combined both categories of paintings until Xiao Yuncong. Furthermore, Xiao Yuncong's printed album *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* was an extraordinary combination of both topographic features and fanggu style into one album. While Shen Zhou brought literati tastes to the topographic landscape and elevated it to the level of elegant literati art, Xiao Yuncong brought a more schematic approach of literati art, with its formulaic and distinctively concrete shapes, and applied them to the topographic landscapes of the Taiping area. The combination of these two categories of paintings in the Taiping album made the literati art tradition more accessible and understandable to a broad audience.

Ultimately, Xiao Yuncong can be considered an independent artist in the early seventeenth century. Although Xiao had visited Nanjing and met several artists there, and was aware of the theories of Dong Qichang and his followers in Songjiang, Xiao

was not grouped by later critics into any major artistic schools of the seventeenth century. His contemporary Zhang Geng (1685–1760) pointed out that “[Xiao] did not specialize in [one] school, [he] created a school of his own 不專宗法 自成一家.”<sup>165</sup> One of the reasons he was not classified with other artistic groups, and ultimately created his own style, is that he remained in his hometown of Wuhu throughout his whole life. In his *Minghualu* 明畫錄 Xu Qin 徐沁 identified Xiao as a founder of the Gushu school 姑熟派.<sup>166</sup> When Huang Yue introduced forty-eight artists living near the Taiping area in *Huayoulu* 畫友錄, he placed Xiao Yuncong first. Among these artists, Xiao was the oldest and the most well-known. Xiao left a personal legacy of influence through his family. Five members of his family—his brother Xiao Yunqian 蕭雲倩, his son Xiao Yiyang 蕭一陽, and his three nephews Xiao Yijian 蕭一薦, Yiji 一箕 and Yiyi 一藝—painted landscapes showing a close stylistic affiliation with Xiao Yuncong.<sup>167</sup> In *Gazing at a Waterfall in the Pine Forest* (Songlin guanpu tu 松林觀瀑圖), Xiao Yiyi used several elements similar to those found in Xiao Yuncong’s hanging scrolls, such as a figure on the bridge walking toward the house surrounded by bamboo groves, or a pavilion on a strange, towering peak (fig. 131). Xiao Yuncong gained artistic fame around the Wuhu area, and according to Huang Yue’s record, after Xiao’s death many art collectors sought his paintings. Huang Yue

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<sup>165</sup> Zhang Geng 張庚, *Guochao huazhenglu* 國朝畫徵錄, in *ibid.*: 18.

<sup>166</sup> Xu Qin 徐沁, *Minghualu* 明畫錄, juan 卷 5 in *Huashi congshu* 畫史叢書 2: 67. Gushu 姑熟 is another name of Wuhu 蕪湖.

<sup>167</sup> Huang Yue 黃鉞, *Huayoulu* 畫友錄, in *ibid.*: 1–4.

also warned against forgeries by a certain Wang Heng 王宏.<sup>168</sup> That a painter has his work counterfeited soon after his death is a good indication that he has become famous and collectable.

If most of Xiao Yuncong's direct pupils were his family members or were artists who lived in the Wuhu area, and if his followers' paintings are rarely extant, it is his printed albums, such as *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, that were broadly circulated and influenced his wider reputation. The Taiping album contains illustrations of real scenery, poetry, and landscapes in the ancient masters' styles that present a rich variety of picturesque forms with illustrative features, making Xiao's Taiping album more accessible to a much broader audience than previous printed landscape albums without figures or narrative motifs.

Furthermore, Xiao's Taiping album played an influential role as a painting manual for later artists, both in China and in Japan. His *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, discussed in detail in this dissertation, was known among Japanese Nanga 南畫 artists by the early eighteenth century.<sup>169</sup> One of the well-known first-generation artists of the Nanga school, Gion Nankai 祇園南海 (1677–1751), had a copy of Xiao's Taiping album. Gion Nankai, a calligrapher and poet who studied Confucianism and Chinese literature, chiefly learned painting through printed

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<sup>168</sup> “雲從卒後，東南鑒賞家多求其畫。時有王宏字于高者，取其畫偽為之以牟利。今所見用筆枯澀，不甚皴染者宏作也。” Huang Yue 黃鉞, *Huayoulu* 畫友錄, in *ibid.*: 2–3.

<sup>169</sup> “Nanga 南畫” is an abbreviation of “Nanshū-ga 南宗畫” which means “Southern school painting.” For a study of the Nanga school, see James Cahill, *Scholar Painters of Japan: The Nanga School* (New York: Asia House Gallery, 1972).

painting manuals, particularly *Eight Different Manuals of Paintings* (Bazhong huapu 八種畫譜) printed in the 1620s in China, and the *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting* (Jieziyuan huachuan 芥子園畫傳) printed in 1679 in China.<sup>170</sup> In 1750, Yanagisawa Kien 柳沢淇園 (1706–1758), who is also regarded as the first generation of the Nanga school and who also learned landscape painting from *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting*, introduced Gion Nankai to the twenty-six-year-old Ike Taiga 池大雅 (1723–1776).<sup>171</sup> When Ike Taiga asked for painting advice, Gion Nankai suggested the study of Chinese literati paintings and gave him a Chinese woodblock printed album. One of several different opinions among Japanese scholars about the identification of the printed album given to Ike Taiga is that it was Xiao Yuncong's *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* [also known as “Taiping sanshan tu 太平三山圖”].<sup>172</sup> In the same way as Xiao Yuncong depicted real scenery with the

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<sup>170</sup> James Cahill, *ibid.*: 15. The first landscape painting section of *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting* (Jieziyuan huachuan 芥子園畫傳) was printed in 1679 and the second and third parts, including the subjects of bamboo, plum blossoms, and birds-and-flowers, were printed in 1701. *Eight Different Manuals of Paintings* (or *Hasshū Gafu* in Japanese) was reprinted in Japan in 1671, and *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting* was printed in Kyoto in 1748. For a study on *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting*, see Dawn Ho Delbanco, “Nanking and the *Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manual*” (Ph.D. diss. Harvard University, 1981).

<sup>171</sup> Ike Taiga studied Nanga painting with Yanagisawa Kien from 1738 to around 1740 and at the young age of fifteen, he produced fan designs based on *Eight Different Manuals of Paintings*. See James Cahill, *ibid.*: 27; Melinda Takeuchi, *Taiga's True Views: The Language of Landscape Painting in Eighteenth-Century Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992): 2.

<sup>172</sup> This opinion was based on *Gajō yōryaku* 画乗要略 [Abbreviated essentials of the vehicle of painting] by Shirai Kayō 白井華陽 (fl. early nineteenth century). Melinda Takeuchi summarized these debates in her book, *Taiga's True Views: The Language of Landscape Painting in Eighteenth-Century Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992): 176, footnote 55. James Cahill also agrees that Nankai owned Xiao's

fanggu method in his Taiping album, Gion Nankai and Ike Taiga often depicted Japanese local scenery using the styles of Chinese masters such as Jing Hao, Guan Tong, Dong Yuan, and Li Cheng.<sup>173</sup> For example, Ike Taiga described the scenery of Kyoto following the styles of Fan Kuan, Juran, Li Gonglin, Mi Fu, Li Tang, and Xia Gui in *Six Sights in Kyoto* 京都名勝六景 (fig. 132). Ike Taiga's six paintings of *Six Sights in Kyoto*, done after Nankai's death in the mid-1750s, were based on the calligraphy of Gion Nankai transcribing his own six poems. The similar format of real scenery, fanggu method, and poetry shown both in Ike Taiga's *Six Sights in Kyoto* and in Xiao Yuncong's *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* suggests that Ike Taiga knew about Xiao Yuncong's Taiping album, most likely through Gion Nankai.<sup>174</sup> Moreover, in the same way as Xiao Yuncong selected styles of artists classified as Northern school as well as Southern school, Ike Taiga also used court artists' styles

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Taiping album and gave it to Ike Taiga. See James Cahill, *ibid.*: 28. Other Chinese scholars have also discussed the influence of Xiao Yuncong's Taiping album on Gion Nankai and Ike Taiga. See Wang Shicheng, *Xiao Yuncong* 蕭雲從 (Shanghai 上海: Renmin meishu chubanshe 人民美術出版社, 1979): 53–55; Kao Mayching 高美慶, “Wenrenhua: Zhong Ri meishu guanxi zhi tantao 文人畫: 中日美術關係之探討,” in *Riben wenrenhua* 日本文人畫 (Hong Kong: Zhongwen daxue 中文大學, 1974): 13; Chen Chuanxi 陳傳席, “Youguan Xiao Yuncong ji Taiping shanshui shi hua zhu wenti 有關蕭雲從及太山水詩畫諸問題.” *Duoyun* 朵雲. Vol. 25, no. 2 (1990): 90.

<sup>173</sup> For a discussion about such paintings by Gion Nankai, see Tsuji Nobuo, “Nihon bunjinga kō: Sono seiritsu made,” *Bijutsushigaku* 7 (1985): 19–20 and Melinda Takeuchi, *ibid.*: 22.

<sup>174</sup> Tsuji Nabuo 辻 惟雄 also pointed out the relation between Taiga's *Six Sights in Kyoto* and Xiao's Taiping album. “‘Shinkei’ no keifu: Chūgoku to Nihon 真景の系譜: 中國と日本(下),” *Bijutsushi ronsō* 美術論叢 3 (1987): 51–2. Takeda Kōichi 武田光一 also discussed the influence of the Taiping album to Taiga's paintings. “Ike Taiga ni okeru gafu ni yoru seisaku 池大雅における畫譜による制作,” *Bijutsu kenkyū* 美術研究 348 (August, 1990): 39–60.



such as Li Tang and Xia Gui.<sup>175</sup> Wang Shicheng and Matsushita have pointed out the possibility that Ike Taiga knew of Xiao's Taiping album, based on the similarities of brushwork and composition between Xiao's paintings and Taiga's paintings.<sup>176</sup>

Xiao Yuncong's *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* is not only an important album in the history of Chinese painting, but also should receive due notice in the history of Chinese prints. In the Ming dynasty, increasing numbers of printed books spread knowledge to a broader class of readers. As publishers competed for profits, many books included more illustrations to attract readers. Following the production of the encyclopedic books with many illustrations published in the Ming dynasty, books about the arts that provided canonical lists of the styles of masters also appeared in the late Ming period. One earlier example of these books is *Master Gu's Manual of Painting* (Gushi huapu 顧氏畫譜) published in 1603, which included paintings in the styles of one hundred and six artists from Gu Kaizhi, a fourth century artist, and of contemporary Dong Qichang (1555–1636), all accompanied by short biographies of the artists (fig. 133). As stated in the preface, this album was a form of connoisseurship to help novice collectors to understand the early masters' styles and prevent the purchase of fakes. Unlike *Master Gu's Manual of Painting* (Gushi huapu 顧氏畫譜) which was like an encyclopedia and showed features in chronological order, Xiao's *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* is the application of his personal

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<sup>175</sup> Melinda Takeuchi argues the influence of *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting* (Jieziyuan huachuan 芥子園畫傳) as “the view of Chinese painting presented in the *Mustard Seed Garden* explains the eclectic approach of the first- and second-generation Japanese literati masters.” Melinda Takeuchi, *ibid.*: 23–4.

<sup>176</sup> Wang Shicheng, *ibid.*: 54–5; Matsushita Hidemaro, *Ike Taiga* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1967): 65.

knowledge of all the masters' styles to real scenery. Xiao's album is not a reference work, but a series of individual landscape paintings. While *Master Gu's Manual of Painting* rendered old masters' styles in a faithful way, Xiao's album exhibits his personal idiosyncrasies of style and his own way of interpreting the old masters' styles.

Early in the seventeenth century, shortly before Xiao's Taiping album, several albums of illustrations of poetry were also printed. For example, *Shiyu huapu* 詩餘畫譜, published in 1612, was known to contain pictures following the old masters' styles without specifying all the stylistic references. However, this album consisted chiefly of illustrations of well-known poetry from the Tang and Song periods.

Most printed albums in the Ming dynasty are illustrations of novels and dramas. Because of this narrative feature, the human figure is the main subject in the printed illustrations, and the landscape only appears as a background in outdoor scenes. However, as more travel literature was produced due to the travel boom in the late Ming period, printed landscape albums that depicted famous places and mountains increased in number, such as *Hainei qiguan* 海內奇觀, published in 1610, *Wuyi zhilue* 武夷志略, published in 1619, and *Tianxia mingshan shenggai ji* 天下名山勝概記, published in 1633. Many local gazetteers (*difang zhi* 地方志) also included map-like topographic landscapes such as *Huangshan zhi* 黃山志. These illustrations of travel literature show informative characteristics typical of travel guides. For example, in the *Wuyi zhilue* 武夷志略, every site is named like a map (fig. 134). Although these landscapes are based on real scenery, they have no artistic intent, and linear indications are repeatedly used without any intent to create the effect of various

textural brushworks (*cun* 皴). This is the case in *Tianxia mingshan shenggai ji* 天下名山勝概記 as well as *Wuyi zhilue* 武夷志略 (fig. 135). *Tianxia mingshan shenggai ji* 天下名山勝概記 only introduced the natural scenery without any human figures. Compared with these earlier landscape prints, Xiao Yuncong's album achieved an high artistic quality, especially in the woodcuts' expression of the different brushstrokes necessary to evoke the old masters' styles on the original landscape scrolls.

The extent of Xiao's legacy and the important achievement of his *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* can be seen in the extensive borrowing and referencing found in the influential *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting* (Jieziyuan huachuan 芥子園畫傳), compiled by Wang Gai 王概 (ca. 1650–ca. 1710).<sup>177</sup> Wang Gai 王概 adapted numerous elements and compositions from Xiao Yuncong's Taiping album for inclusion in his *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting*. The *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting* is regarded as the most comprehensive encyclopedia of Chinese painting techniques that classified various subject matters and was based on the ancient masters' styles. *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting* was widely circulated and was reproduced in more than twenty editions in China and Japan.<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>177</sup> Shi Jun 石峻, "Jieziyuan chuji tupu zhi lai yuan 芥子園初集圖譜之來源," *Shuhua lungao* 書畫論稿 (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1978): 186–9; Kobayashi Hiromitsu 小林宏光, *Chugoku no hanga: Todai kara- Shindai made* 中國の版畫: 唐代から清代まで (Tokyo: Tōshindo 東信堂, 1995): 113; Szeto, *ibid.*: 77 and conclusion footnote 12.

<sup>178</sup> For a study of the different editions of *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting*, see A. K'ai-ming Ch'iu, "The Chieh Tzu Yüan Hua Chuan (*Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manual*)," *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America* 5 (1951): 55–69; Dawn Ho Delbanco, "Nanking and the *Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manual*"

For example, frequent references to the Taiping album are found in the *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting* in the section “the general methods of combining various kinds of trees” in the “Book of Trees (樹譜)” in the *Manual*’s first volume, we find “Fan Kuan’s style” borrowed from “Dongtian” in Xiao’s Taiping album (fig. 136 and fig. 86). The *Manual*’s second volume, “Book of Mountains and Rocks (山石譜),” also contains several descriptions from the ancient masters’ styles which are similar to those of the Taiping album; for example, “Dong Yuan’s style” is taken from the two central peaks in “Lingxushan,” and “Guan Tong’s style” also borrows the central peaks and bottom part of the trees in Xiao’s “Shuangguifeng 雙桂峰.” “Xiao Zhao’s style” is from a strange peak depicting with curving and swirling brushstrokes in Xiao’s “Fanluoshan 范蘿山,” “Huang Gongwang’s style” is from a rocky peak of Xiao’s “Fufushan 覆釜山,” and “Li Cheng’s style” is from Xiao’s “Wufengshan 五峰山” (figs. 137 and 138). “The example of painting fields and mountains (hua shantian fa 畫山田法)” is also modified from the composition of Xiao’s “Shirentu,” while “the method of representing overhanging cliffs and waterfalls (xuan ai gua quan fa 懸崖掛泉法)” is selected from Xiao’s “Longshan,” and “the method of painting billows (jianghai bo 江海波)” is chosen from Xiao’s “Xiongguanting” done in Wu Daozi’s style (fig. 139 and fig. 93). In the *Manual*’s “Book of *Renwu* (renwu yuwu pu 人物屋宇譜),” descriptions of the boats in “a boat carrying a load of wine (zai jiu chuan 載酒船),” “river boats (jiang chuan 江船),” and

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(Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1981). For an English translation of the album, see Mai-mai Sze, *The Tao of Painting: A Study of the Ritual Disposition of Chinese Painting, with a Translation of the Chieh Tzū Yüan Hua Chuan or Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting 1679–1701* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1956).

“junks (jujian 巨艦)” are very close to the Taiping album’s boats in “Niuzhuji,” “Tianmenshan,” and “Qiupu 荻浦” (fig. 140, fig. 102, fig. 80, and fig. 112). Most clearly of all, the *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting* cited Xiao Yuncong’s “Wangfushan” done in the manner of Guo Xi, and it also adapted Xiao’s “Jingshan” to represent the style of “Li Gonglin” (fig. 141 and fig. 117). These examples are evidence of the significant contribution of Xiao Yuncong’s *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* in spreading the tradition of literati art through the extensive circulation of the *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting*.

## VI. Conclusion

Xiao Yuncong was one of a handful of scholar-artists who participated in the design of prints in the book culture of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century China. His printed album, *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, first published in 1648, was commissioned by Zhang Wanxuan, a government officer of Taiping prefecture, as a memento of the beautiful scenery of the Taiping area. The album contains forty-three landscape paintings: one panoramic view of the Taiping area and forty-two paintings depicting Dangtu, Wuhu, and Fanchang. Each album leaf contains the place name as a title, a quote from a poem related to the scenery, and Xiao's inscriptions indicating the stylistic reference he used for the each scene.

Through the visual analysis of Xiao's Taiping album I argue in my thesis, how Xiao Yuncong's *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* exemplifies the increasing accessibility of literati culture in the late Ming and early Qing periods. I pointed out five distinctive characteristics of the Taiping illustrations that make Xiao's designs for the album easier to understand and therefore more easily appreciated by a broad audience.

The first significant characteristic of Xiao's *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* is the collection of topographical landscape paintings depicting the local scenery of Taiping prefecture. Xiao's album is distinctive in its recording of characteristic places by depicting specific topographical elements. His album is a result of the fondness for local culture developed by scholars in the late Ming and early Qing periods, the increasing prosperity of the local economy, and scholars' increased participation in

the philosophical movement characterized as a later phase of Neo-Confucianism.

Xiao's Taiping album depicted regional scenic views familiar to residents and was easily appreciated by scholars as well as by general audiences.

The second characteristic of the Taiping album is the inclusion of narrative illustrations of poetry inscribed in the album. His paintings are not only faithful realizations of verbal imagery but they also enrich the poetry with their vivid portrayals. By visualizing the poetry through specific materialized depictions, Xiao's landscapes enhance the poetic and emotional experience, and also provide imaginary spaces for a less educated audience to experience the story.

The third distinctive characteristic of the Taiping album is the use of specific painting styles associated with the ancient masters to depict the scenic beauty of each place. Xiao Yuncong chose thirty-nine different styles of ancient masters from the Six dynasties to the Ming dynasty and selectively abstracted distinctive features of the old masters' brushwork and techniques. The fanggu method that Xiao used for depicting real scenery was a re-interpretation of the old masters' styles. By reworking, simplifying, and objectifying distinctive characteristics of the old masters' styles, Xiao made the pictures more easily transmittable and recognizable, and simpler to appreciate by less educated viewers.

Fourth, Xiao Yuncong's descriptive painting style provided another way to enjoy the landscape subjects of his Taiping album without needing a deep knowledge of the classical or the old masters' visual or poetic references. Intriguing details, such as the lively depiction of animals and figures in a multitude of activities, and various forms of architecture, which are not necessarily related to specific scenery or poetry

can capture a viewer's attention. These descriptive details themselves can easily attract viewers' attention and provide a visual amusement

The fifth important feature of the Taiping album is its very form as a printed album. Xiao's work was the direct result of the technical and artistic achievement of the highly developed late Ming print culture and the general prosperity in the publishing business. The wide circulation of printed books with illustrations made a crucial contribution to the dissemination of scholarly culture among all classes. The availability of illustrated books like Xiao's *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* to a broader readership gave commoners greater access to elite culture than ever before.

Xiao Yuncong produced many landscape paintings following two important artistic approaches—learning from tradition and learning from nature—which he used to create *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*. He was known as a founder of the Gushu school and his landscape painting styles influenced his family members and artists who lived in the Wuhu area. Although few of his followers' paintings are rarely extant, Xiao's printed album *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* was widely circulated and contributed to the formation of Japanese literati painting, the Nanga tradition, developed by Gion Nankai and Ike Taiga. Furthermore, many landscape motifs and compositions from *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* were adapted in the *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting*, and later reproduced in more than twenty editions in China and Japan. Frequent references to the Taiping album can be found in the *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting* and show the important contribution of Xiao Yuncong's Taiping album to the spread of the tradition of literati art.



In conclusion, because it was different from literary art with its metaphoric references understood mainly by the elite, Xiao's *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* presented familiar local sites in a manner that essentially decoded the abstract, symbolic meanings of the classical forms into more formulaic pictorial language. Xiao Yuncong's Taiping album, with its distinctive features such as illustrations of real scenery, classical poetry and the old masters' styles as well as interesting descriptive details, played a significant role in helping to expand the breadth of scholarly culture during the seventeenth century. *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*, brought together numerous aspects of Xiao Yuncong's insightful vision, embodying an alternative course for literati art in the seventeenth century, and through the print medium, eventually led to an art that was more accessible to a wider audience.

## APPENDIX 1

### List of Poetry and *Fanggu* References in the *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*

Title	Poet and Poem	Styles of Ancient Masters
1. 太平山水全圖 <當塗>	楊萬里七言絕句	臨蕭賁五岳四瀆圖
2. 青山	謝朓治宅五言古詩	臨郭熙畫法
3. 東田	謝朓五言古詩	學范寬法
4. 采石	蘇軾謫仙樓七言古詩	臨文與可蜀道圖法
5. 牛渚磯	李百五言古詩	臨馬楹法
6. 望夫山	李百五言古詩	臨郭忠恕法
7. 黃山	李白天夜泊黃山聞殷十四吳吟 七言古詩	臨信世昌泰嶠祠圖法
8. 天門山	李白七言絕	臨夏圭法
9. 白紵山	本郡誌載王安石五言古詩之半	臨王維法
10. 景山	李觀七言絕	臨鄴復
11. 尼坡	李宗茂七言律詩	臨荆浩灞橋驛背圖法
12. 龍山	楊洪五言律	臨郭熙法
13. 橫望山	楊傑詠丹竈寒煙七言律	臨趙孟頫法
14. 靈墟山	李百五言古詩	臨董源法
15. 褐山	梅堯臣五言律詩	學王蒙法
16. 楊家渡	楊萬里七言絕句	學沈周法

<蕪湖>

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| 17. 玩鞭亭  | 溫庭筠湖隱曲               | 學陳居中法      |
| 18. 石人渡  | 梁元帝汎蕪湖五言古詩<br>丹鉛錄為律祖 | 學吳元鎮法      |
| 19. 赭山   | 黃庭堅讀書赤鑊山五言律詩         | 臨鍾松年雪圖     |
| 20. 神山   | 歐陽玄詠神山時雨七言律          | 學米友仁江南景法   |
| 21. 范蘿山  | 蕭照七言絕句               | 並[蕭照]畫法    |
| 22. 荊山   | 歐陽玄七言絕               | 學李伯時法      |
| 23. 靈澤磯  | 歐陽玄詠蠓磯煙浪七言律          | 學李師[思]訓法   |
| 24. 白馬山  | 王蒙詠白馬洞天五言古詩          | 原有此圖今襲之    |
| 25. 行春圩  | 楊萬里行春七言絕             | 臨盛懋幽風圖法    |
| 26. 鶴兒山  | 蘇軾賞花吉祥寺七言絕           | 臨錢選法       |
| 27. 夢日亭  | 蘇轍五七言古詩              | 臨勾龍爽法      |
| 28. 吳波亭  | 歐陽玄詠吳波秋月七言律          | 臨薛稷畫法      |
| 29. 江嶼古梅 | 王安石七言律               | 臨燕仲穆怪石古梅圖法 |
| 30. 雄觀亭  | 黃禮詠雄觀江聲七言律詩          | 學吳道玄水法     |

<繁昌>

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|---------|-------------|------------|
| 31. 雙桂峰 | 徐傑五言古詩      | 臨關仝畫法      |
| 32. 洗硯池 | 徐傑五言古詩      | 學馬遠法       |
| 33. 五峰  | 李百五言古詩      | 學李咸熙匡熙半折圖法 |
| 34. 隱玉山 | 嚴允諧浮丘丹井七言古詩 | 臨高房山法      |
| 35. 鳳凰山 | 楊萬里七言律詩     | 臨徐熙畫法      |

36. 覆釜山	嚴允諧七言古詩	臨黃公望法
37. 霧山	杜牧之七言律	臨李唐武夷精舍圖法
38. 三山	嚴允諧三山秋月七言古詩	學巨然師法
39. 阪子磯	張舜民七言絕	臨徐熙法
40. 繁浦	本郡誌載劉孝綽五言古詩之半	臨黃荃法
41. 峨橋	嚴允諧七言古詩	臨倪瓚法
42. 萩浦	嚴允諧七言古詩	臨周昉法
43. 北園載酒	徐迪五言古詩	學唐寅法

## APPENDIX 2

### ***Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture in the Collections of the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University And Collated Finding List***

One edition of the *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* is in the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University (accession no. 1981.36.1).<sup>\*</sup> It is known to be one of three original copies, along with one in a Private Collection (Nakayama Bunkado 中山文華堂), Japan, and one in the Beijing Library, China.<sup>\*\*</sup> The Harvard edition is mounted as an accordion-fold album. When the leaves to this album were remounted in Japan at some point, the original order of the album as based on the table of contents was mixed up. The Harvard edition also lost the preface, table of contents, separated notes, epilogue, and four illustrations including “Shenshan,” “He’ershan,” “Xiongguanting,” and “Banziji” (see the table below). However, this album has title pages and colophons by Japanese scholars and collectors.<sup>\*\*\*</sup> In the front of the Taiping album, the Harvard edition includes the inscription, “澄懷臥遊,” by Tani Tetsuomi 谷 鋈臣 (1822–1905) who signed as “Nyoï Hachijūō 如意八十翁,” dated 1901. Thirty-six landscape leaves are followed by two colophons written by Kikuchi Gozan 菊地 五山 (1772–1855) and Tani Tetsuomi. The album also has an accompanying handscroll with frontispiece writing, “Taiping sanshan ge 太平三山閣,” and colophons written by the Japanese scholars, Kōkoku Denshuku 香谷 田叔 (Murata 村田) (1831–1912) and Tessai Hyakuren 鋈齋 百鍊 (Tomioka 富岡) (1836–1924) in 1901. The frontispiece writing was written in 1863 by Nukina Kaioku 貫名

海屋 (1778-1863), and requested by Tōzan Yamaguchi 東山 山口 [also known as Yamaguchi Jinroku 山口 仁六] (active ca. 1863).

The preface in *Taihei sansui shiga* 太平山水詩畫 [*Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture*], reproduced 1648 Taiping album by Japanese publisher Kagerōsha 蜻蛉社 in 1931, records the important collection history of the album in Japan, before it was acquired by the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University in 1981. According to the preface, Ike Taiga received *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* from Gion Nangai, and after Taiga's death, it became the collection of Kenkado 兼葭堂. Then, it was transferred to the Yamaguchi 山口 family in Kyoto. In the beginning of Meiji 明治 period, an artist Murata Kōkoku 村田香谷 [Kōkoku Denshuku 香谷 田叔] from Osaka 大阪 heard about this album, and was eager to look at it. Tani Nyoi 谷如意 [Tani Tetsuomi 谷 鉄臣] introduced Kōkoku to the Yamaguchi family, and Kōkoku finally was able to look at the Taiping album. Kōkoku went to China to search for Xiao's Taiping album, but could not find it. Several years later, the Yamaguchi family gave the Taiping album to Kōkoku, so that the album became the property of the Murata 村田 family. Since it contains accompanying colophons by Kōkoku, Tani Tetsuomi and Nukina Kaioku, whose writing which was requested by the Yamaguchi family, the Harvard album is considered the very album that Gion Nangai and then Ike Taiga saw and owned. The preface written in 1931 also mentioned that Kōkoku's Taiping album was missing two pages. *Taihei sansui shiga* 太平山水詩畫 is a reproduction of another complete set of Taiping album owned by Hitomi Shōka 人見少華, now in the Nakayama [Zenji] Bunkado collection in Kyoto.

The Harvard edition Taiping album is almost identical to the Taiping album published in the book *Zhongguo gu banhua* 中國古版畫: *Dilijuan shanchuantu* 地理卷山川圖 except very few minor differences in the block. For example, the inscription indicating the name of carver, Liu Rong is abraded and difficult to read in ““Fenghuangshan” and two houses between background mountains are omitted in “Xingchunwei” from *Zhongguo gu banhua* 中國古版畫: *Dilijuan shanchuantu* 地理卷山川圖.

Another version of the Taiping album which was owned by Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸, and now in the Beijing Library, is reproduced in *Zhongguo gudai banhua congtan erbian* 中國古代版畫叢刊二編. This album has a seal reading “the collection of Beijing Library 北京圖書館” in both Zhang Wanxuan’s preface and Xiao Yuncong’s epilogue, as well as the collector Zheng Zhenduo’s seal in the contents page. Fan Zhimin 范志民 wrote that the reproductions were based on the Zheng’s 1648 Taiping album in the 1993 epilogue. However, several parts of the blocks were damaged and sometimes titles in regular script replaced lost titles that were originally carved in seal script, such as in “Niuzhu,” “Jingshan,” “Zheshan,” and “Xiongguanting.” Different from fine, neat, and delicate lines in the Harvard edition, the lines of the Zheng edition are coarser and rough and relatively dark.

In addition, another versions of the Taiping album in the Yamato bunkakan 大和文華館 in Nara 奈良, Japan, and in the Anhui Provincial Museum 安徽省博物館, China are also known. The several leaves of the Taiping album in the Anhui

Provincial Museum were reproduced in the *Huipai banhuashi lunji* 徽派版畫史論集 (Anhui 安徽: Renmin meishu chubanshe 人民美術出版社, 1983) by Zhou Wu 周蕪.

Complete sets of *Illustrations of Taiping Prefecture* were reproduced in the books cited below followed by their location and call numbers in parentheses:

(1) Liu Xin 劉昕 ed., *Zhongguo gu banhua* 中國古版畫: *Dilijuan shanchuan tu* 地理卷山川圖. Changsha 長沙: Hunan meishu chubanshe 湖南美術出版社, 1999. (Freer Gallery of Art Library, NE1183.Z466 1999 V. 4)

(2) Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社 ed., *Zhongguo gudai banhua congkan erbian* 8 中國古代版畫叢刊二編. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 1994. (Freer Gallery of Art Library, NE 1300.8.C6C667 1994 V. 8)

(3) Shū Unjū saku [Xiao Yuncong 蕭雲從]; Chō Mansen henchū [Zhang Wanxuan 張萬選] ed., *Taihei sansui shiga* [Taiping shanshui shihua 太平山水詩畫 (1648)], 2 vols. Osaka 大阪: Kagerōsha 蜻蛉社, 1931. (Chinese Japanese Library of Harvard-Yenching Institute, Harvard University, T 3035.27/1343; Gest Library, Princeton University Library, NE 1183.H72 1931)

(4) *Taiping shanshui tuhua* 太平山水圖畫, in Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸 comp., *Zhongguo banhua shi tulu* 中國版畫史圖錄. Vol. 16. Shanghai: Zhongguo banhua shi she 中國版畫史社, 1940-42. (University of California, Berkeley, NE 1183.C488; University of California, Los Angeles, 6351C42; Princeton University, ND1043.C43q; Chinese Japanese Library of Harvard-Yenching Institute, Harvard University; Yale University; Library of Congress, microfilm)

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\* The Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University acquired the Taiping album in 1981. It was the partial gift through the Philip Hofer and partial purchase through the Ernest B. and Helen Pratt Dane Fund for the Acquisition of oriental Art.

\*\* I was able to examine Harvard edition of the Taiping album in the original and all the others in reproduction form.

\*\*\* The information about the Harvard Taiping album is based on the documentation written by Fumiko Cranston to Prof. J. Rosenfield and Mr. S. Owyong in July 1981.



<b>Title</b>	<b><i>Zhongguo Gubanhua</i> (1) (page no.)</b>	<b>Harvard edition (mounted order)</b>	<b><i>Taihei sansui shiga</i> (3)</b>	<b><i>Zhongguo gudai banhua congkan</i> (2) (page no.)</b>	<b>Fig. no. in this thesis</b>
Cover page	47	x	v.1	x	59
Preface	48	x	v.1	2-3	61
Table of Contents	X	x	v.1	4-5	60
Separated Notes	X	x	X	6-7	62
Entire View of Taiping Scenery (太平山水全圖)	49	1	v.1	8-9	57
Qingshan (青山)	50	2	v.1	10-11	64
Dongtian (東田)	51	9	v.1	12-13	86
Caishi (采石)	52	18	v.1	14-15	65
Niuzhuji (牛渚磯)	53	6	v.1	16-17	102
Wangfushan (望夫山)	54	35	v.1	18-19	117
Huangshan (黃山)	55	28	v.1	20-21	
Tianmenshan (天門山)	56	16	v.1	22-23	80
Baizhushan (白紵山)	57	29	v.1	24-25	
Jingshan (景山)	58	23	v.1	26-27	130
Nipo (尼坡)	59	11	v.1	28-29	129
Longshan (龍山)	60	20	v.1	30-31	106
Hengwangshan (橫望山)	61	14	v.1	32-33	
Lingxushan (靈墟山)	62	7	v.1	34-35	90
Heshan (褐山)	63	15	v.1	36-37	96
Yangjiadu (楊家渡)	64	10	v.2	38-39	103
Wanbianting (玩鞭亭)	65	32	v.2	40-41	
Shirentu (石人渡)	66	36	v.2	42-43	93
Zheshan (赭山)	67	13	v.2	44-45	83
Shenshan (神山)	68	x	v.2	46-47	88
Fanluoshan (范蘿山)	69	15	v.2	48-49	138
Jingshan (荊山)	70	24	v.2	50-51	84
Lingzeji (靈澤磯)	71	19	v.2	52-53	
Baimashan (白馬山)	72	8	v.2	54-55	97
Xingchunwei (行春圩)	73	3	v.2	56-57	82
He'ershan (鶴兒山)	74	x	v.2	58-59	87
Mengriting (夢日亭)	75	22	v.2	60-61	68
Wuboting (吳波亭)	76	4	v.2	62-63	66
Jiangyu gumei (江嶼古梅)	77	37	v.2	64-65	

Xiongguanting (雄觀亭)	78	x	v.2	66-67	107
Shuangguifeng (雙桂峰)	79	17	v.2	68-69	
Xiyanchi (洗硯池)	80	26	v.2	70-71	99
Wufeng (五峰)	81	21	v.2	72-73	
Yinyushan (隱玉山)	82	27	v.2	74-75	
Fenghuangshan (鳳凰山)	83	31	v.2	76-77	85
Fufushan (覆釜山)	84	34	v.2	78-79	121
Lingshan (靈山)	85	25	v.2	80-81	
Sanshan (三山)	86	5	v.2	82-83	58
Banziji (阪子磯)	87	x	v.2	84-85	81
Fanpu (繁浦)	88	33	v.2	86-87	
Eqiao (峨橋)	89	39	v.2	88-89	92
Qiupu (萩浦)	90	30	v.2	90-91	112
Beiyuan zaijiu (北園載酒)	91	38	v.2	92-93	104
Epilogue	92	x	v.2	94-95	67

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