HE CHENG AND HIS ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE HOMECOMING ODE

by

C HUGH DICKSON HALL

B.A., The University of British Columbia, 1976

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

( Department of Fine Arts )

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

SEPTEMBER 1980

© Hugh Dickson Hall, 1980
In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the Head of my Department or by his representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of Fine Arts

The University of British Columbia
2075 Wesbrook Place
Vancouver, Canada
V6T 1W5

Date Sept 22, 1980
ABSTRACT:

He Cheng and his Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode are newly rediscovered additions to the short list of painters and paintings of the Yuan dynasty court from the beginning of the fourteenth century. Artists and paintings from this category have received little attention from traditional Chinese connoisseurs or modern art historians. This oversight has led to an overly simplified view of the period as one in which the scholar-amateur painter innovatively created a new direction for Chinese painting while court and professional artists continued to paint conservative imitations of past styles, particularly those of the Southern Song. He Cheng's Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode reveals a more complicated situation in which court and professional artists partook of and contributed to this new direction, sharing many ideas and techniques.

Chapter one of this essay is an examination of the biographical sources concerning He Cheng's life. This information, in some cases contradictory, has been assessed and a date given for the artist's birth, period of known activity and death. The titles and dates of assignment of He Cheng's various official positions are also noted. Information concerning He Cheng's painting of figures, horses and architectural studies is presented with assessments by his contemporaries and later connoisseurs of his artistic achievements. These are recorded to understand reasons for his popularity while alive and subsequent decline into anonymity.

Chapter two is a discussion of the painting Illustrations
to the Homecoming Ode. This section consists of an examination of the painting's relationship to the poem by Tao Qian, compositional and stylistic analysis and a discussion of the painting's relationship to various other paintings based on the same literary theme. He Cheng's painting is judged to be pictorially, stylistically and emotionally related to the Northern Song literati painter and muse of the Yuan dynasty scholar-amateur, Li Gonglin, and his tradition.

The third chapter is an examination of literary evidence for pre-Yuan dynasty paintings based on the Homecoming Ode. This evidence indicates that Li Gonglin was an important figure who contributed to the popularity of this theme and confirms that He Cheng, in his Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode, was following the tradition of Li Gonglin.

Chapter four is a discussion of two further works attributed to He Cheng: The Taoist Divinity of Water and a painting of Samantabhadra sitting on an elephant. The traditions and styles of these paintings are discussed as well as reasons for accepting or rejecting them as paintings by He Cheng.

An Appendix of three parts is included. Part one is a discussion of the inscription found at the end of the painting of the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode. Part two of the Appendix is an identification of the seals of collectors and connoisseurs on the painting and colophon sections of the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode. This part includes a discussion of the original format of the handscroll and various later additions. Part three is translations of the most important colophons from the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode, one important colophon from the Taoist
Divinity of Water, and a translation of the most important literary source concerning He Cheng: Cheng Qufu's postscript to Three Verses on the 'Jie Hua' of He Cheng.
### Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table of Contents</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Illustrations</td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgement</td>
<td>VIII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 1 - He Cheng: Yuan Dynasty Court Painter</td>
<td>6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 2 - Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode</td>
<td>25.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 3 - Literary Evidence for Pre-Yuan Dynasty Paintings of the Homecoming Ode</td>
<td>54.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 4 - Taoist Divinity of Water and Samantabhadra</td>
<td>67.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>75.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>76.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 1</td>
<td>77.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 2</td>
<td>83.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 3</td>
<td>93.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 4</td>
<td>99.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>102.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part I</td>
<td>109.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part II</td>
<td>113.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part III</td>
<td>126.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS:

Figure 1. A to N. The Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode.
   c. 1312-1315. Painted by He Cheng (c. 1222-1315).
   Ink on paper, 723.8 cm. by 41 cm. Collection of the
   Jilin Provincial Museum.

Figure 2. A to C. The Taoist Divinity of Water. Attributed to
   He Cheng. Ink on paper, 263.5 cm. by 49.9 cm. Collection
   of the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Figure 3. A to D. Samantabhadra Sitting on an Elephant.
   Attributed to He Cheng. Ink on silk, dimensions
   unknown. Collection of Li Chu-tsing, Lawrence, Kansas.

Figure 4. A to H. Tao Yuan-ming Returning to Seclusion.
   Anonymous, Ming Dynasty. Ink and colour on silk, 518.5 cm.
   by 37.0 cm. Collection of the Freer Gallery of Art,
   Washington, D.C.

Figure 5. An illustration to the Homecoming Ode of Tao Qian.
   Yuan dynasty or later. Ink on silk, dimensions
   unknown. Once attributed to Liu Songnian. Collection
   of Ding Chengru.

Figure 6. Home Again. Painted by Qian Xuan (c. 1235 after 1300).
   Ink and colour on paper, 106.7 cm. by 26 cm. Collection
   of the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

Figure 7. An illustration to the Homecoming Ode of Tao Qian.
   Attributed to Qian Xuan. Ink and colour, dimensions
   unknown. Collection of Guan Mianjun.
Figure 8. Whiling Away the Summer. Painted by Liu Guandao (late 13th century). Ink and colour on silk, 71.1 cm. by 30.5 cm. Collection of the Nelson Gallery, Kansas City.

Figure 9. Wind and Snow in the Fir-Pines. Painted by Li Shan (act. 13th century). Ink and colour on silk. Collection of the Freer Gallery of Art. 79.2 cm. by 29.7 cm.

Figure 10. Herb Gathering at the Cliffs of the Immortals. Attributed to Li Tang (c. 1049-1130). Ink and colour on silk, album leaf. Collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan.

Figure 11. Marquis Wen-kung of Chin Recovering His State. Painted by Li Tang. Ink and colour on silk, 114.9 cm. by 45.2 cm. Collection of the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

Figure 12. The Odes of Bin. Anonymous, 13th century. Ink on paper, Collection of John M. Crawford, Jr., New York.

Figure 13. A to J. Colophons to He Cheng's Illustration to the Homecoming Ode.

Figure 14. Colophon to the Taoist Divinity of Water. Written by Zhang Zhongshou.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT:

I would like to acknowledge the inspiration and assistance of Dr. James Caswell and Dr. Moritaka Matsumoto during the writing of this thesis and during the time of my studies in the Department. I would also like to acknowledge the support of the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada who, with the federal government, administer the exchange scholarship which allowed me to study in the Peoples Republic of China for three years. Professors Jin Weinuo and Bo Songnian of the Central Institute of Fine Arts and Xu Bangda of the Painting Research Bureau of the Palace Museum in Peking were very generous in giving of their time and wide experience. Xue Yongnian, formerly of the Jilin Provincial Museum, and Zheng Guo, assistant curator of that institution, were both very kind in helping me to read the colophons on He Cheng's painting. Christine Moore organized, edited and helped with the transliteration, a formidable task.

This thesis is dedicated to Zhong Ming, a painter like He Cheng, able to transcend the aesthetic limits imposed by others.
INTRODUCTION:

"For the Chinese people, the Yuan was an age of economic decline, physical hardship, and spiritual anguish. It was also, however, a period of intense cultural creativity in several of the arts, especially drama, calligraphy, and painting. Painting, in particular, underwent a major revolution, the most decisive in all of its history; post-Yuan painting was never to resemble very closely, except through deliberate imitation, anything done before the year 1300."¹

In the history of Chinese painting, the Yuan dynasty is considered a period of revolution. The causes of this revolution were many-faceted, ranging from the socio-economic to the political. The whole of China was dominated by a foreign power, the Mongols, who humiliated the Chinese with an overt policy of racial discrimination. Society at all levels was in upheaval. This was particularly true for the scholar class who were denied access to their traditional role as officials in government service. This class retreated into the artistic world as a means of self-assertion and painting became a favourite means of expression. Important to the painting revolution was the loss of widespread patronage of the arts and the dispersal of the Imperial Painting Academy at the collapse of the Southern Song. There was no longer an all-encompassing system of patronage, both royal and private, supporting large numbers of acknowledged professional and court masters who painted in officially sanctioned styles. In contrast to the homogeneity and orthodoxy of Southern
Song art, painting during the Yuan became a medium of individual expression for a new group of painters—the scholar amateur or literati. The rise to artistic domination by the literati "with all the attendant adjustments in taste, style, and preferred subject matter"\(^2\) was central to the painting revolution.

That there was a revolution affecting the course of painting history ever after is undeniable, but a question for debate is the actual scope and extent of this revolution at the time of its occurrence. Did this revolution, as is usually believed, exist only amongst the literati? Were the ideas and techniques promulgated by the literati so exclusive that they do not appear in the art of the court and professional painters? Did the non-literati painters participate and contribute to the revolution at its inception and during its early years? These questions, due to a paucity of literary and visual information, are not easy to answer. The traditional Chinese collector and connoisseur, himself a part of the literati tradition, was subjective and selective in his approach to painting history. The paintings, biographies, literary works and other records of the non-literati painters were never preserved with the seriousness of a purpose reserved for the relics of the true literati, many of whom were enshrined in legend, or elevated to the status of myth.

To understand the complicated situation existing at the beginning of the fourteenth century, an examination should be made of the surviving materials concerning some of the non-literati painters. An analysis of this material will confirm the opinion of at least one authority who wrote:
"Extending and interpreting the stated attitudes of a limited group of Soochow intellectual (i.e. the literati leaders of the revolution) into a general condition...distorts a great amount of material that lies outside the original context and even, perhaps, much that would lie within it."

Alongside the true literati artists were many painters of substance, some of whom were minor officials at court appointed for their artistic ability. These artists worked in an eclectic variety of styles and traditions in order to suit the tastes and demands of commercial buyers and the limited patronage of the court. They used a wide variety of subject matter in their art. They painted landscapes, architectural studies, flowers and birds, horses, and figure paintings of Confucian, Taoist and Buddhist types. Although many worked in conservative traditions long associated with professional painters, many artists, affected by the new trends of the burgeoning revolution, adapted to the changing circumstances of the artistic world and produced works of art that both reflected and contributed to the new artistic attitude that would eventually come to be recognized and called literati painting (wen ren hua).

The publication in 1973 of a painting by He Cheng, the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode, with an article identifying the artist, outlining his period of activity and discussing the importance of this painting in the context of the painting history of circa 1300, introduced an important non-literati artist of the early Yuan period. A second article, published in 1978, presented further material for the study of He Cheng's life and
painting. The visual information provided by the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode and the biographical evidence unearthed in the two Chinese studies made clear the necessity of preparing a summary and interpretation of the known biographical facts and an analysis of his painting. This was felt to be particularly important as the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode certainly partakes of a tradition, techniques and ideas considered to fall within the realm of the literati, and his biography indicates that he was, at the least, acquainted with many of the leading literati exponents of the Yuan dynasty painting revolution.
CHAPTER 1:

The information available on He Cheng 何澄 and his art is vague and often contradictory. Nevertheless it does provide an outline of his active period, the subjects he painted, his different styles of painting and his contemporaries' assessments of his work. The corroborating but limited visual evidence, along with what little is known of non-literati painting in the north of China during the early Yuan 元 period (1279-1368) provides interesting insights on He Cheng's life and painting. This visual material is also useful for the understanding of long ignored paintings credited to mere "professional painters" of the early Yuan.

To determine the approximate dates of the birth and death of He Cheng, his period of artistic activity and the ascertainable details of his official career, it is necessary to collate the information available in various sources. This information is found in the official history of the Yuan dynasty, the Yuan Shi 元史, in the personal writings of various of He Cheng's contemporaries and in colophons on paintings which are associated with He Cheng.

The most detailed records concerning He Cheng are found in the Xue Lou Ji 雪樓記, written by the Yuan dynasty official Cheng Qufu 程鉅夫 (1249-1318). In Poems Written at the Emperor's Request, there are four praising paintings by He Cheng which were kept in the Yuan dynasty Imperial collection. The postscript to the first three poems states that they were written in the second month of the first year of the Huang Qing reign era (1312):
The Da xue shi (grand secretary) of the Zhao wen Guan of the right, Zhongfeng Daifu 中奉大夫 (commissioner-in-charge) was ninety years of age when he presented these paintings to the Emperor.\(^2\)

If it were to be assumed that these paintings were presented to the Emperor at the same time Cheng Qufu wrote his poems (1312), He Cheng would have been born ninety years previously in approximately 1222.

Collateral evidence for this approximate date of He Cheng's birth is provided by Zhang Zhongshou 张仲寿 (1252-1324). Zhang Zhongshou was a member of the Hanlin Academy and a noted calligrapher. He wrote a colophon on the Taoist Divinity of Water, a painting attributed to He Cheng now in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington. The colophon, written in the autumn of 1310, states the painting is from:

"the brush of Gentleman He, Taizhong Daifu 太中大夫 (Master Scribe) He is now eighty seven years old. He walks without a cane, sits without slouching and eats like a man of fifty or sixty."\(^3\)

Subtracting He Cheng's age of eighty-seven from the date of 1310, substantiates the artist's birthdate at approximately 1223.

To estimate the date of He Cheng's death is a more difficult matter. In a colophon written by the noted scholar official Yu Ji 虞集 (1272-1348) in 1325, it is stated:

"The Da xue shi of the Zhao wen Guan was over ninety when he died."\(^4\)
Yu Ji's comment proves that He Cheng lived to a great age, and that he died prior to 1325. Furthermore we can ascertain from the colophon written by Zhao Mengfu (1254-1322) on the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode by He Cheng, that he must have died between 1315 and 1325. The colophon is dated the seventh day of the ninth month of 1315, and states:

"The general administrator of paintings, He Cheng, a man of Yan (Peking), painted this scroll when he was over ninety years of age."⁵

The tone of the colophon seems to indicate that He Cheng was still alive at this time. Zhao Mengfu, in mentioning that He Cheng had painted the scroll, does not indicate that the artist had recently died, which would have been the custom. Had He Cheng already died, Zhao Mengfu would have worded his colophon accordingly. Many of the later colophons, for example, bemoan He Cheng's death. It would seem probable that He Cheng would have died therefore at some point after 1315. Thus, it can be assumed that the dates of his life are c. 1222 to c. 1315.

There are no accounts of He Cheng's artistic and official activities until the Yuan Dynasty, specifically the time of Kubilai Khan, known as Shizu, the Mongol who conquered all of China and ruled from 1279 until his death in 1294. Cheng Qufu states that He Cheng had achieved artistic recognition by the time that Kubilai Khan had declared the founding of the Yuan dynasty in 1279:

"(He Cheng) was already famous during the reign of Shizu when he was requested to enter the palace."⁶
The first specific date mentioned in He Cheng's career, is found in the Yuan Shi. According to an anecdote involving the artist He Cheng was in court service as a painter in 1288. Confirmation of He Cheng's service during the reign of Shizu is found in the Xin Yuan Shi 新 元史:

"When He Cheng was over ninety, Shizu summoned him, and rewarded him with some fine wine. He Cheng prostrated himself before the Emperor, and was then unable to get up. The Emperor made a request, but He replied: 'I am old, my apprentice Liu Zhongjian 刘仲謙 should be summoned. Thereupon Liu was named (to office) and moved to the capital." 

That He Cheng's recommendations to have his apprentice, Liu Zhongjian named to an official post were so promptly affected, shows how highly he was esteemed and favoured by the Emperor. Although he complained at this time of being too old to fulfill the Emperor's request, there is evidence that some years later He Cheng was still considered a revered figure in court circles:

"At the beginning of the Zhi Da reign era (c. 1308), the Xingsheng Guan 興聖宮 was completed. The Empress Dowager commanded He Cheng to manage the painting affairs. He was promoted to the position of Taizhong Daifu and Mishu jian (Keeper of the Imperial Library) before he retired."

The Xingsheng Guan was a palace on the west bank of the Tainong Chi 太浓池 (present day Zhongnan hai 中南海). The complex consisted of the XingshengDian 興聖殿 which was the main building with inner apartments connected by covered,
pillared corridors. This was flanked on the east and west by nuandian (small pavilions). The plan was modelled on the main Yuan palace, though smaller in scale. The complex to the south of the Xingsheng Guan was the residence of the Empress Dowager, and the Xingsheng Guan itself was also for her own or close family members' use. The areas of responsibility given to He Cheng would have included wall paintings and decorative elements on the lintels and joists of the buildings and covered corridors. The plan to decorate such a complex was large in scale and numerous artists would have been required to paint the designs supplied by He Cheng.

He Cheng continued to find favour at the court of the Emperor Ren Zong (reigned 1312-1320) whom he served until his death in c. 1315. In 1312, Cheng Qufu's preface states:

"Today He Cheng has presented these paintings. The Emperor has thought them extraordinary and bestowed (upon He Cheng) a new title (Zhongfeng Daifu). He has requested that I write poems for the paintings and that they be stored in the Mige (Imperial Storehouse). This is to proclaim to all those of the present and the future his subtle skills."  

He Cheng's artistic life fits into a crucial and formative period in the history of Chinese painting. The latter part of his career was dominated by Zhao Mengfu and his advocacy of archaism, the practise of imbuing a work of art with "learned references to the works of illustrious predecessors." This period, tentatively starting in 1296 with Zhao Mengfu's painting
Autumn Colours on the Ch'iao-Hua Mountains, has perhaps attracted more attention from art historians than any other in the history of Chinese painting. He Cheng's early career falls into a dark and basically uncharted area, that is to say the history of painting in the north of China during the latter part of the Jin dynasty (1122-1234) and the early years of the Yuan. Few paintings have survived from this period, although those that have reveal a strong adherence to the styles and traditions derived from the Northern Song (960-1127). Landscape, figure, horse, flower and bird paintings are all very different to contemporary paintings from the Southern Song (1127-1279), particularly those from the academy at Hangzhou where the elegant refined paintings most typical of the period evolved.

The impressions gathered from the few records available which describe paintings by He Cheng tally well with our understanding of the painting of the period and region. He Cheng appears to have painted in a number of styles, and worked on various subjects. This versatility would have been expected of a painter serving at court. In such a position he would be subject to the demands of the Emperor and his nobles. The subjects of He Cheng's paintings are those which would have found favour at the court of a former nomadic people, his specialities were figures, horses and "jie hua" or "boundary painting", the latter usually associated with architectural studies.

The three extant paintings associated with He Cheng attest to his interest and ability in figure painting. Although these three paintings belong to different traditions in figure
painting, they share some common stylistic tendencies. The "Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode is painted in the "bai miao" technique associated with Li Gonglin (act. c.1070-1106). The Taoist Divinity of Water in the Freer Gallery, is also painted in "bai miao", although its style and origin is in the tradition of the legendary Tang master Wu Daozi (c. 680-after 755) with characteristic short, choppy, agitated and energized brush strokes. Both are hand scrolls. However, the former is of figures in a landscape, whereas the latter is pure figure painting without the landscape content. The third painting is a hanging scroll. It depicts Samantabhadra seated on an elephant and accompanied by an attendant. This is also painted using the "bai miao" technique with the addition of slight touches of colour. Each of these paintings will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

Written evidence that He Cheng was a painter of figures is to be found in the Yuan Shi. In the biography of Yue Zhu, 岳柱 (1280-1333), the son of A Lu Hui Sa Li 阿鲁浑萨里, a high official of Uighur nationality, an incident is recorded that involved He Cheng. In language typical of the official histories, the young Yue Zhu's intellectual prowess is described:

"When Yue Zhu was eight years old he saw a painting by the official He Cheng called Tao Mu cutting her Hair. Yue Zhu pointed at the golden bracelet on Tao Mu's arm and said to He: 'A golden bracelet can easily be exchanged for wine, what is the reason for cutting her hair?' He Cheng
was very startled, he immediately corrected the painting."

There are, unfortunately, no recorded details to give an idea of the possible format, style, or technique of this painting. Tao Mu is not identified in any way. From the title of the painting, it can be assumed that the painting must illustrate an anecdote involving an impoverished woman reduced to selling her hair in order to survive. Paintings of the didactic type, with moral lessons drawn from history, were the stock in trade of the court artist.

In the biography of Li Shi 李時, in the Xin Yuan shi, there are indirect references to He Cheng's fame as a figure painter:

"Li Shi, who excelled at the painting of spirits, demons and figures, studied under Liu Zhongjian." It has been mentioned previously that Liu Zhongjian was He Cheng's most outstanding apprentice and had been recommended by He Cheng as his replacement at the court of Kubilai Khan. It can be assumed that if He Cheng's pupil excelled at figure painting, then the master too would have been skilled in this subject.

He Cheng was also renowned as a painter of horses. It is not surprising that an artist closely associated with, and appointed by the Mongol court should specialize in this subject. James Cahill has noted that the Mongols:

"partiality toward this subject (horse painting), considering their nomadic background, is easy to understand."
The *Tu Hui Bao Jian* 四徽宝鑒, written by the fourteenth century collector, Xia Wenyan 夏文彦 and prefaced 1365 refers to He Cheng as "He Dai fu 何大夫 a painter of figures and horses." The *Tu Hui Bao Jian* also refers to a poem by Yu Ji about the horse painting of He Cheng. In the *Dao Yuan Xue Gu Lu 道园学古录*, the collected writings of Yu Ji, the following poem is recorded:

"He Daifu, a painter of this dynasty, personally copied Boshi's (Li Gonglin) 伯時 'yue ma tu' 阅马图. This gentleman of the capital is eighty or ninety years old. There are ten thousand horses contained in his heart."  

Cheng Qufu in the *Xue Lou Ji* 雪楼记 was also inspired to write a poem on viewing a horse painting by He Cheng. Although the poem has no description of the detailed aspects of the painting, it does provide an indication of He Cheng's skill in capturing the spirit, likeness and temperament of the animal:

"This painted horse is not a real horse. If it were, its value would be one thousand pieces of gold. Riding this horse to the hunt, one could pacify the wild tigers of the southern regions."  

Cheng Qufu also records He Cheng's abilities in the field of "jie hua". There were three paintings which attracted the attention of the Emperor Ren Zong and caused him to bestow upon He Cheng the new title of "Zhongfeng Daifu". The Emperor requested Cheng Qufu
"proclaim to all those of the present and the future, his (He Cheng's) subtle skills."^{26} Cheng Qufu wrote a long poem on the subject of each of the paintings, but he gave little detailed impression of their actual appearance. The three paintings depicted famous buildings from Chinese history: the Afang Gong 阿房宫, the Gusu Tai 姑苏台, and the Kunming Chi 昆明池.^{27} Although the poems by Cheng Qufu do not describe the paintings, his postscript does give an inkling of their quality and He Cheng's possible reason for painting these subjects at this particular time.

"He Cheng's paintings possess naturalness...the men of ancient times (in their paintings) did not approach the standard of beauty achieved by those of the present day. It is my humble opinion, that though there have been many since ancient times who have used brush and ink to depict the world 見, He Cheng has individually used the subject of the Gusu Tai, the Afang Gong and the Kunming Chi to lodge his ideas 寓意. He seems to be using works of art to remonstrate with the Emperor."^{28} There are two notable points of particular interest in this passage: the first is the use of "to lodge his ideas". This term is one usually applied to literati artists and indicates their profound emotion and intellectual ideas which they were said to transfer from mind to paper. It is a term rarely used to refer to anyone who might have been considered a "professional artist"
or a "court painter". 29

The second notable point is the suggestion that He Cheng used his painting to "remonstrate with the Emperor". These three paintings were all subjects imbued with deep historical meaning, each representing a famous physical structure built by a former Emperor to symbolize the power and authority of his rule. It is possible that He Cheng used these three paintings to encourage the Emperor to undertake great building projects. But it is more probable that the ninety year old artist was commenting on the insignificance of physical things - particularly monumental building projects. He Cheng was alive at the time of the destruction of the Southern Song dynasty and, as a native of Yan, was familiar with the ruins of the Jin capital. Perhaps he was reminding the Emperor that these huge and costly projects of former rulers were now no more than vague memories kept alive in poetry and painting. The actual structures of the Afang Gong, the Fusu Tai and the Kunming Chi had been destroyed long ago and were at that time already covered with the debris of history. He Cheng's remonstration presumably criticized the huge building projects embarked upon by the Mongol Emperors. Furthermore, He Cheng was likely very familiar with the costs of such projects, having managed the decoration of the Xingshing Guan at the time of the ascension of the previous Emperor. According to Cheng Qufu's poems and postscript, the three paintings were painted and presented to the Emperor within weeks of his ascension to the throne (the second month of Huang Qing - 1312). The presentation of the paintings with their remonstrative plea for austerity was thus particularly apt and timely.
It is worthwhile to note the assessments of He Cheng's skills by other artists and connoisseurs. Of particular interest is a comparison between the comments of He Cheng's contemporaries and those writing about him three or four centuries later. These comparisons reveal shifting attitudes toward him and his art which reflect different understandings or knowledge of the technical problems of painting, and different views on art and its function. Furthermore, they show profound changes in the understanding of art history.

Zhao Mengfu, leading luminary of the Yuan dynasty, wrote the first colophon to He Cheng's more important and reliable extant painting, the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode. In the colophon, he comments:

"The figures, trees and rocks are all of great interest. The officials of the capital are extremely well disposed to his paintings. (This scroll) also has at its end a calligraphic rendering of Yuanming's Homecoming Ode, written by the official Zhang (Zhongshou). These are two exceptional things."  

Zhao Mengfu's comment that He Cheng's figures and landscape are of interest should be set against the background of the painting styles prevalent at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The attitude which we now understand to lie behind and inform the diverse styles of literati painting was at that time in a formative and transitional phase. There were no hard and fast definitions which painters of the fourteenth century recognized. The categorization of the present day is based, in part, on the assessment
of a small number of extant paintings by a mere handful of artists and, in part, on attitudes formed under the influence of traditional Chinese connoisseurs, such as Dong Qichang (1555-1636). Subsequently, the complicated situation within the field of painting history has only been outlined in a general way. It seems clear as research among the non-literati painters of the Yuan dynasty continues, that there are more and more painters and paintings which fail to fit into the generalized categories. There must have been a greater interchange of ideas and techniques between the literati and the professional artists at the beginning of the fourteenth century than generalization has permitted. The Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode, although the work of a court artist, is clearly based on artistic ideas similar to those used by the literati painters. Many stylistic tendencies, particularly in the painting of landscape, reveal direct relationships to the literati modes. However, He Cheng, as a result of his status as a court artist, was not considered by later connoisseurs to be a painter worthy of their admiration. Gu Fu (act. late 17th century) and Wu Sheng (c. 1633 - c. 1712) are representative of connoisseurs writing in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Their viewpoints are strongly influenced by the ideas of the "Orthodox School", followers of Dong Qichang, who believed that calligraphic use of ink and brush and adherence to the styles of past masters were the most important aspects of a painting. Their belief that only the scholar-amateur, trained in the gentlemanly arts of calligraphy, poetry and painting and steeped in the intellectual atmosphere of literati ideas, could adequately fulfill the requirements of paint-
ing led them to disregard the previously high rating and obvious artistic and technical skills of court and professional painters such as He Cheng. In the Ping Sheng Zhuang Guan of 1692, Gu Fu, friend of Wang Shimin (1592-1680), Wang Hui (1632-1717) and Wu Li (1632-1718), among the principal exponents of the Orthodox approach, castigated He Cheng's Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode in this way:

"He studied Fan Long (mid 12th century) but (his) brush (skill) does not reach as high a level. The trees, rocks, hills and ponds are painted using ink that is coarse, brusque and abnormal. The famous gentlemen of the Yuan dynasty who wrote colophons on the painting, praised it but did not analyse its shortcomings."  

Wu Sheng, also a friend of Wang Shimin and his circle, wrote a few years later that He Cheng's,

"trees, rocks and dwellings were painted with a brush that was weak and scattered; there are no places where the brush is spirited or extraordinary. I do not know why Wenmin (Zhao Mengfu) and the other gentlemen praised the painting."  

With our knowledge of the mastery of brush and ink techniques achieved by the literati painters of the late Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties it is difficult to dispute some of the above comments. He Cheng's landscape is singled out for particular criticism. It does appear "coarse, brusque and abnormal" when compared to the refinement and technical perfection of his figures. But, Gu Fu and Wu Sheng have
misinterpreted He Cheng's reason for painting the landscape in such a manner. It was not lack of skill, but a purposeful exercise in a tradition associated with Li Gonglin.35 One must agree with Xue Yongnian 薛永年 that these criticisms are ...."written with a formalist slant with regard to brush and ink", and also that they"make demands of a technique still in the process of change."36 The comments reveal little sense of awareness by Gu Fu or Wu Sheng of the place the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode has in the historical development of painting. No credit is given to He Cheng's capability, versatility and responsiveness during a period when painting styles and techniques were being questioned and reviewed.

The assessments of the colophons attached to He Cheng's paintings by those writing in the decades following his death put his painting skills into proper perspective. They reveal his position in art historical criticism prior to the limitations imposed by Dong Qichang and his disciples.

Yu Ji, the author of a poem in praise of He Cheng's horses, wrote a colophon on the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode in 1325:

"The officials of the capital revere and respect the paintings of old He. At the time that he lived, every scroll commanded a price of a thousand pieces of gold. The Da Xue Shi of the Zhaowen Guan was over ninety years of age when he died. His paintings have daily increased in value, now they are worth several times (the original price)."37
He Cheng's esteemed position is confirmed by Jie Xisi (1274-1344) writing in 1336:
"During He Cheng's lifetime, his paintings were greatly respected, and up till the present day scholars of the capital still hold exactly the same feeling."\(^{38}\)

Ke Jiusi (1290-1343) added that:
"He Mijian became famous in the north through his paintings."\(^{39}\)

The last word is provided by Zhang Zhongshou:
"As (He Cheng) usually exercised his brush every day, he surpassed other people, and his brush strength did not decline. In brushwork and painting many younger artists were not up to his standard. One hundred years from now, the painting can be unrolled and enjoyed. It can be compared without disgrace to the paintings of the Tang masters."\(^{40}\)

It can be clearly seen that during his lifetime and in the decades following his death, He Cheng's skill was widely acclaimed. His technical ability and versatility won the praise of three Emperors, the Mongol court and various literati, amongst them the foremost painter of the period, Zhao Mengfu. The subsequent decline of He Cheng's reputation can be attributed to his birth in the north of a divided China, his consenting to serve the Mongol Emperors as a court painter and his willingness to paint according to the whims of taste and commercial profitability. These "shortcomings" placed He Cheng and other painters with similar background in great disfavour with the literati of a later period. These literati were people who, as the self-styled preservers of
high culture and the supreme arbiters of artistic taste, wrote the histories of Chinese painting to support and elevate their own artistic conceptions and social positions.

The Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode is the undisputed evidence of the quality of the art of the neglected artist, He Cheng. As a detailed examination of the painting's composition, techniques, basis in tradition and artistic expression will confirm, it is a painting worthy of attention in the records of the interchange of ideas between the literati and court artists at the beginning of the fourteenth century.
IMPORTANT DATES IN THE LIFE OF HE CHENG:

1222 - approximate date of He Cheng's birth. This date is ascertained by subtracting He Cheng's age from a recorded date.
   (a) 1310 He Cheng was 87. (Zhang Zhongshou's colophon on the Taoist Divinity of Water)
   (b) 1312 He Cheng was 90. (Cheng Qufu's Poems Written at the Emperor's Request).

1288 - He Cheng painted Tao Mu Cutting her Hair. Recorded in the Yuan Shi in the biography of Yue Ju.

1294 - He Cheng entered the palace prior to this date, the death of Kubilai Khan. Cheng Qufu states that He was famous during Kubilai's reign. The Xin Yuan Shi also records that He Cheng was summoned to an audience by Kubilai Khan.

1308 - He Cheng was appointed by the Empress Dowager to manage the painting of the Xingsheng Guan. He was promoted to the office of
   (a) Taizhong Daifu
   (b) Mishu Jian

1310 - He Cheng painted the Taoist Divinity of Water at the age of 87.

1312 - He Cheng 90 years old according to Cheng Qufu. He painted and presented to the Emperor three paintings: Afang Gong, Gusu Tai, Kunming Chi
As reward he was promoted to the office of Zhongfeng Daifu.

1315 - Zhao Mengfu noted on his colophon on the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode that He Cheng had passed the age of 90 when he painted the scroll. Therefore, it can be deduced that the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode was completed between 1312 and 1315. He Cheng must have died at about this time. Yu Ji stated that He was over 90 when he died, but, as Zhao Mengfu didn't note his death it must have occurred after Zhao wrote his colophon.
CHAPTER 2:

He Cheng's most important painting, the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode (fig. 1A to 1N) is a handscroll depicting The Homecoming Ode (Gui qu lai ci), a poem by Tao Qian 陶潜. The painting, fully documented through colophons, is one of a small number of extant works by artists active at the Yuan dynasty court in the early fourteenth century. The painting is now in the collection of the Jilin Provincial Museum, Changchun, People's Republic of China.

The Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode is a handscroll of dimensions 41 centimetres high and 723.8 centimetres long. It is a narrative scroll of figures in settings of landscapes and buildings. The scroll is painted entirely in ink on paper and there is no colour.

The subject of the painting, The Homecoming Ode is a well-known poem of the type known as "fu" written in 405 AD. by the Six Dynasties poet, Tao Qian often called by his sobriquet Tao Yuanming 陶渊明 (1) In this poem Tao Qian describes the circumstances which caused him to seek official appointment, his misery in his position and his joy at abandoning office to return home to family and a simple, rustic life. The poem begins as a narrative account of his homeward journey, his meeting with family and his feelings of content with his daily activities. It finishes as a philisophic statement of his understanding of his role in nature, and his acceptance of the temporal limitations of human life.
He Cheng's painting follows the narrative of the poem very closely. Although the artist's interpretation is often very literal, much of the spirit and emotion of the poem is captured. This has been achieved through a clever composition which gives the painting a subtle rhythm and dynamic which reflects the original feeling of the poem and emphasizes the importance of specific scenes.

The Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode is a continuous scroll in which important figures appear and re-appear as the narrative unfolds through time and space. This form of narrative is relatively rare in Chinese art, although by no means unknown. When used it has often been in paintings illustrating literary themes.²

As He Cheng's painting follows the basic narrative, individual scenes from the poem are clearly identifiable. As well they are carefully delineated within a space cell. These cells are isolated from each other and at the same time linked together by landscape elements such as hills, trees and water. These structural devices usually intersect the painting, stretching from top to bottom on a diagonal line. This firstly halts the viewer's eye and serves to isolate the motif. Secondly, the eye is led onward through the scroll to the subsequent scene. The varying diagonals and the solidity of the mass of these structural devices are important to the painting's rhythm, and hence to its expressive impact.

As an aid to viewing the narrative scroll and with an eye to analysing the compositional and structural devices,
pictorial motifs, iconographic elements and emotional content of the painting, it is necessary to separate and enumerate the main scenes and sequences. This will be done by identifying the individual scenes and noting their relationship to the original poem.

In the first scene Tao Qian and his servant boy meet two travellers on the path:

"I ask a passer-by about the road ahead, grudging the dimness of the light at dawn."\(^3\) (fig. 1A)

The four figures are set in a narrow defile between two barren, jagged cliffs. Dense foliage at the leading edge of the painting frames they scene and branches twist outwards to indicate the figures. The stubby branches of a gnarled tree on the left side cliff also lead the eye inwards to the group. This cramped setting for the poet's enquiry as to the way home, provides a frame for the emotional attitude reflected in the pose and demeanor of the main figure. Tao Qian, wearied by his official travails and the long route home, leans heavily on his staff with his shoulders hunched. The poet wears an expression of fatigue which has been emphasized by the painter in his portrayal of Tao Qian with sloping shoulders and drooping sleeves.

In the second scene Tao Qian and his servant boy emerge in a boat from behind a cliff:

"My boat rocks in the gentle breeze
Flap, flap the wind blows my gown."\(^4\) (fig. 1B)

On the shore, family members and servants in poses of excitement and welcome, wait for their master to arrive.
"Then I catch sight of my poor hut
...the servant boy comes to welcome me
My little son waits at the door." 5 (fig. 1C)

In this illustration the setting is larger and depicts a greater amount of human activity. This activity conveys the heightened emotion of the poet's first glimpse of home and the welcome extended by the members of his household. The cliff barrier which contained the emotions in the first scene falls away as the boat reaches the shore. The figure of the poet, standing upright in the bow of the boat, is in sharp contrast to his first appearance. Tao Qian stands tall with his shoulders back and his head high. His gaze is firmly fixed on the activities taking place on the shore. The wind blows his robes which cascade about his body, further reflecting his agitated and expectant mood. The artist is very careful in his attention to the effect of drapery. In the previous scene, the lines depicting the poet's clothing were straight and rather weak in striking contrast to the strong curving brush strokes which depict the clothing in the second scene. Here the ink flows with increased strength and the swirling drapery is inlivened by the variations in density and thickness of the line. It is also of interest to note the peculiar style of robe which Tao Qian wears in this and other section of the painting. There are two pairs of sleeve to the robe. One pair is long and flowing from which the arms extend, and the other is short and hanging from the shoulder. Ellen Johnston Laing comments:

"Early portrayals of Tao usually show him dressed in this strange garment with its seemingly superfluous
second pair of sleeves."\(^6\)

The welcoming scene on the river bank reveals He Cheng's mastery of figure painting at its highest level. The pose of each figure is free and easy with a lively degree of spontaneity. The variety of poses and the inter-relationships of the figures clearly show He Cheng's fine ability to create animated form. The servant boys strain to pull the mooring ropes of the boat, as their master approaches. The three older peasants are painted with contours starting in triangles of ink and continuing as strong, high tension strokes imbued with feeling. The animation of the figures is heightened by the entwined trees in the background, echoing the poses of the peasants. The twisting pose of the woman in front of the gate to the homestead is enhanced by her clothing as it swings with her movement. There is a poignant touch in the presence of the children at the gate. The younger child, perhaps not fully aware of the reason for the excitement, hesitates in the shadows. The elder points to their father, by way of explanation.

The third scene is divided into two sections; in the first two cows, a donkey and an elderly man supported by a servant and young boy enter a courtyard through a gate. Behind them two servants are cleaning a house (fig. 1D). In the second section Tao Qian, accompanied by two small children, is greeted by a group of servants:

"Leading the children by the hand I enter my house
Where there is a bottle filled with wine."\(^7\) (fig. 1E)
The temporal and spatial movement into this scene is aided by the transitional section describing the activities in the courtyard. The gated wall, a rigid structure device clearly dividing the homecoming activities from this section, is gradually broken by trees gently bending into the inner courtyard. The courtyard hums with peaceful domestic activity: a maid is sweeping, cattle are resting and an old man slowly strolls within. After the joy and excitement of the master's welcome, we are being prepared for the quieter mood of the subsequent scenes of family comfort and intellectual contentment.

The eye is guided leftwards by the diagonal setting of a room. A wine jug, symbol of escape often to be noted in Tao Qian's poetry, can be seen through the open window. The poet and two children, one holding a book, the other a scroll, stand under a grove of trees resplendent in the thick leafy foliage of spring. A group of four servants, one of whom holds a type of broom still used in China today, stand stiffly, as if waiting orders or inspection by their master. The full beard, now worn by Tao Qian, represents a time frame removed from that of the homecoming scene. (The artist's treatment of Tao Qian's beard reveals an inconsistency in the handling of the passage of time within the scroll. The dense foliage of spring or summer, seen in the opening sections of the painting (fig. 1A to 1G), gives way to the barren trees of autumn or winter (fig. 1H to 1L). The last section of the painting seems to show the early growth of spring (fig. 1M to 1N). This orderly progression of nature and time is disrupted by the appearance of the poet in full beard in fig. 1E, 1F, 1K and 1N and in partial beard in the other sections).
In the fourth scene, Tao Qian is seated on a raised platform in his studio. He is accompanied by two children and is conversing with a gentleman:

"Seeing the trees in the yard brings joy to my face. I lean out the south window and let my pride expand I consider how easy it is to be content with a little space."⁹ (fig. 1F)

The theme of this section is, in the literal sense, contentment with the small, confined space of one's own private garden, but to take a broader view, it is contentment with one's place in the world. The artist has conveyed this by creating a setting which stresses a three-dimensional space within which movement is possible. The spacious setting is enhanced through contrast with the previous section where the figures are arranged close to the picture plane in a closed, limited composition. The illusion of space in the fourth scene is created by the compositional device of placing a large dark object at the picture plane, which in this case is a rock. In addition, the viewpoint has been elevated to allow the viewer to look into the garden which is surrounded by thick growth. The dense decorative pattern of a variety of leaves contrasts with the openness of the courtyard. At the back of the garden Tao Qian, the top of his head hidden by the roof, sits in his study. The perspective of the building and the deployment of his children and friend about him also encourages the feeling of space. The relaxed, contented feeling of the poem is conveyed through the post's posture. He sits with his legs crossed in front of him in a gentle slouch, his outer robe untied as an indication of his informality.
In the fifth scene Tao Qian stands on an exposed hillside:

"Everyday I stroll in the garden for pleasure
...Cane in hand I walk and rest
Occasionally raising my head to gaze into the distance."\(^{10}\) (fig. 1G)

The heavy foliage which framed Tao Qian's studio in the previous section, grows in a shallow horseshoe shape towards the lower part of the painting. This shallow curve cradles a bald hillock upon which stands the solitary figure of Tao Qian, staff in hand. Behind him a ragged cliff falls away upon a distant vista. The concentration of a dark mass in the lower half emphasized the open distance into which the poet gazes. This open, light and airy scene contrasts effectively with the previous enclosed, dark volume. These contrasts and variations in composition enhance the rhythmic movement in the handscroll.

The figure of the poet adheres closely in pose to that seen in the second section, where he is standing in the bow of the boat. The subtle differences expressed in a more relaxed drapery flow, an untied robe and a more carelessly held staff alter the mood to one of contemplative introspection.

In the sixth scene, the poet and four gentlemen are seated on the porch of the main hall engaging in discourse. In the courtyard a group of servants prepare wine and food:

"Back home again!
...Here I enjoy honest conversation with my family
And take pleasure in lute and books to dispel
The composition of this section is the most solidly constructed of the illustrations to the poem. After the open, contemplative mood established in section five, one is compelled by the tight-knit composition of buildings, trees and figures to dwell at length on the painting and poem. It is at this point, seeking relaxation and friendship with colleagues and family, solace in wine and pleasure in literature and music, that the poet begins to arrive at his philosophic understanding.

Tao Qian is seated with his legs crossed in front of his body. In one hand he holds a rolled up scroll, and with the other he emphasizes his discussion. His body is tilted towards the gentleman on his left. Tao Qian's pose is based on a well-known prototype signifying the morally superior, the educated gentleman at leisure. From the time of the Six Dynasties, artists had used this posture in the representations of the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove.\(^{12}\) The Seven Sages were Taoist recluses at a time of political ferment in the fourth century. They repudiated political or official careers and instead sought an intellectual life in wine, poetry and music.\(^{13}\)

In the seventh scene, a servant boy stands by a wooden gate in the wall of Tao Qian's estate. It is unclear, however, whether the boy is locking or unlocking the gate:

"Everyday I stroll in the garden for pleasure
There is a gate there, but it is always shut."\(^{14}\)
(fig. II)

This section has been moved by the artist from its earlier occurrence in the poem to this place in the painting's
composition. Here the gated wall marks a change in the distinction of individual scenes. A series of smaller space cells, less rigidly discrete than the first seven, follow in rapid succession. This change in rhythm indicated by the wall, is paralleled in the poem at the break between lines forty and forty-one. This section of the poem and painting reflect the poet's philosophical realization. It is summed up by these lines:

"I admire the seasonableness of nature
And am moved to think that my life will come to its close.
It is all over!
So little time are we granted form in the world.
Let us then follow the inclinations of the heart:
Where would we go that we are so agitated?
I have no desires for riches
And no expectations of Heaven."  

The eighth section depicts Tao Qian and a servant standing outside the wall (fig. 1J). They appear to be waiting to enter the gate. Behind a hill three grooms sit with their horses. This scene is not specifically connected to any lines in the poem, but is a linking sequence to the following sections. A feature of this short scene is the arrangement of horses and grooms half hidden by the sloping hill. The device used is a standard convention used during the Song and early Yuan periods to indicate the recession of depth. It is used in paintings such as: the Hundred Horses scroll by Li Gonglin (c.1049-1106)\(^\text{16}\) an album attributed to Ma Yuan 马远 (act. c. 1190-1230) in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston\(^\text{17}\) and in Kubilai Khan on the Hunt by Liu Guandao 刘贯道 (act. 1300)\(^\text{18}\) amongst others. In the
Hundred Horses hand scroll by Li Gonglin, this convention is used as a transitional device between two sections of the scroll in a manner very similar to that used by He Cheng.

In the ninth scene, Tao Qian stands on a hillside looking into the sky. He holds his staff in his right hand and with his left he caresses a tree:

"The clouds, impersonal, rise from the peaks
The birds, flying wearily, know it is time to come home.
As the sun's rays grow dim and disappear from view
I walk around a lonely pine tree, stroking it."¹⁹
(fig. 1K)

James Hightower has pointed out that the pine tree often appears in Tao Qian's poetry as a symbol of steadfastness in adversity or, to represent refuge. In quoting the line illustrated by He Cheng in this section, he refers to the stroking of the pine as,

"a spontaneous gesture of affection, not for vegetation indiscriminately, but for a tried friend with whose solitary state he can identify himself."²⁰

The artist has captured Tao Qian's identification with the pine in a very subtle manner. The poet stands firmly, feet spread apart, body straight and head tilted back. The same configuration is reflected in the tree. The trunk is straight, then tilts backwards above the first main branch, which parallels the angle of the poet's staff.

In the tenth scene Tao Qian is seen riding in an ox-cart, accompanied by a groom and two servants. The servants carry his
qin 弹 or lute and some food baskets:

"Sometimes I call for a covered cart."\(^{21}\) (fig. 1K)

In the distance behind a low hill, Tao Qian is seen sitting in a wooden boat, rowed by two boatsmen. The poet is attended by his serving boy:

"Sometimes I row a lonely boat

Following a deep gully through the still water."\(^{22}\)

(fig. 1L)

In this series of sections, the artist has been extremely careful to isolate the images while at the same time preserving the rhythmic integrity borrowed from the poem. The cliff descending from the top of the scroll curves around the ox-cart and the dark foreground rocks and low twisting, gnarled trees serve to define the space cell. The cleft in the background cliff-face opens wide as it nears the cart, to point at the figure of Tao Qian. In the boating section, the same cliff opens into a shallow "v" to reveal the poet in his boat. The tree dividing the ox-cart from the rice paddy section also spreads its upper branches below the seated figure of Tao Qian. Again and yet again, the artist has provided signposts indicating the figure of the poet.

The eleventh scene shows Tao Qian, in the centre of a group of figures planting rice shoots in a low field surrounded by hills. He is accompanied by three servants who prepare the food and wine to refresh him, and by a small boy who echoes his master's actions. There are also three farmers hoeing. This scene is a composite of those lines in the poem which refer to agricultural activities:

"The farmers tell me that now spring is here
There will be work to do in the west fields."\textsuperscript{23}
"The spring begins to flow in a trickle
I admire the seasonableness of nature."\textsuperscript{24}
"Now planting my staff to take up a hoe..."\textsuperscript{25} (fig. 1M)
Here, a harmonious composition is achieved through the arrangement of the figures in a gentle arc, which follows the same shape as the hills enclosing the rice paddy. Dark foreground rocks, modelled with wet ink strokes at the lower picture plane, develop the spacial dimension of the stage-like setting. An opening into the paddy field from between two hills focuses the eye on the central figure of Tao Qian.

The figural grouping in this section is related to the homecoming scene on the river bank (see section two above). In both sections there is an obvious interest on the part of the artist to indicate his skill at figure painting. The group of three servants echoes the triad of elderly men at the river bank. The serving ladies of section six are also arranged in a similar fashion, and again the three farmers working in the field are also in the same basic grouping pattern, although they are placed slightly more distant from each other. Nevertheless their postures link them even more closely than the other groups of three, for here there is only one figure painted from three different angles, a figure study of the "hoeing farmer". Each group is seen to have two profiles and a frontal view. This triangular grouping is one favoured by the artist as an ideal method of varying postures and enlivening a scene.

The close relationship in composition between sections
The portrayal of the poet in this section captures the spirit of the poem to a remarkable degree. Tao Qian has decided to escape the life of the official and to live a simple, rustic life close to nature. He identifies his life as being childlike and undivorced from

"...the inclinations of the heart."\textsuperscript{26}

Hence, He Cheng has painted the poet and the small boy in the same posture and, to complete their identification with nature, their shapes are correspondingly reflected in the banks of the hills.

In section twelve, the final scene, the poet sits under trees on the bank of a stream. He is accompanied by three servants:

"...Or composing verses beside the clear stream:
So I manage to accept my lot until the ultimate homecoming
Rejoicing in Heaven's command, what is there to doubt?"\textsuperscript{27} (fig. 1N)

Tao Qian sits cross-legged, his hands on his knees. Beside him are a bowl of peaches and a wine cup. The kneeling servant pours wine from a jug into another bowl. The two servants behind the
poet are affected by Tao Qian's meditative mood and they, too, contemplate the flowing stream. The younger of the two supports himself on the poet's staff, the elder leans against a bamboo carrying pole used to carry the poet's basket chair.\textsuperscript{28}

The composition of this section is of four trees placed at the corners of the flat bank from which the poet and retainers watch the stream. These four trees frame the figure grouping and at the same time, the two to the left of the section direct the poet's and the viewer's gaze to the waterfall and receding stream. The stream flowing into the distance gives the impression of carrying the poet's thoughts beyond the limitations of the painted scroll.
PART TWO

He Cheng's painting of the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode is not unique in the history of Chinese painting and, more specifically, in the painting history of the Yuan dynasty. There are, in fact, numerous records and a few extant paintings which provide much information on the many early paintings based on this theme. From this information it is possible to discover indications of origins for composition, pictorial motifs and style. The literary evidence for pre-Yuan dynasty paintings based on The Homecoming Ode will be discussed in a subsequent chapter. An examination of some extant paintings relevant to the handscroll by He Cheng will provide information on that painting in particular, and furthermore on the process of borrowing and transforming ideas and images, so common to Chinese painting in general.

The painting most directly related to the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode by He Cheng is Tao Yuanming Returning to Seclusion in the Freer Gallery, Washington (fig. 4A to H). This work is also a set of illustrations to the complete poem, The Homecoming Ode, painted in ink and colour on silk. Each individual illustration is divided from the subsequent one by the appropriate lines from the poem, and the entire scroll is painted in heavy colour. It shows an obvious and striking pictorial relationship to the painting by He Cheng. The compositions of some individual illustrations are almost identical. Figural groupings and poses are similar and shared motifs are common to both paintings. Some of these similarities can be seen in the following comparisons: the figure groups on the riverbank in He Cheng's Illustrations
to the Homecoming Ode (fig. 1C) and Tao Yuanming Returning to Seclusion (fig. 4A), the compositions and figure groups in Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode (fig. 1H) and Tao Yuanming Returning to Seclusion (fig. 4C).

The Freer painting is placed in the Song period by the gallery on the basis of a dated colophon (1110), calligraphic similarities between colophon and inscriptions and on figural style. The first colophon by Li Peng (act. early 12th century) states that this painting bears a close resemblance to one by Li Gonglin. That being the case, the Freer painting is a recension, reflecting the pictorial format and composition of one of the first and most influential artists to produce a work based on the Tao Qian poem.

A second painting directly related to the painting by He Cheng is a work attributed to Liu Songnian (active c. 1174-1224) by Osvald Siren. This painting shows a man in an ox-cart with four servants walking behind. It was once in the collection of Ding Chengru, although its present whereabouts are unknown. There is an extremely close relationship between this painting and scene ten (which might be titled "Tao Qian riding in an ox-cart") of the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode by He Cheng. Consequently the scroll attributed to Liu Songnian should be properly identified as an illustration of The Homecoming Ode by Tao Qian. It may have once been part of a longer scroll to illustrate the complete poem.

Another painting showing a close relationship on the
basis of common pictorial grounds to He Cheng's Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode is Home Again by Qian Xuan 甲选 (c. 1235- to after 1301). This is a short, archaistic, blue and green handscroll in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.\(^{33}\) (fig. 6) There is also the painting traditionally attributed to Qian Xuan, but almost certainly a later copy, which shows the poet out walking, accompanied by a servant. This painting was once in the collection of Guan Mianjun.\(^{34}\) The common features of these paintings point to a well-known earlier prototype.

Although the authorities at the Freer Gallery are convinced of the early date of the painting Tao Yuanming Returning to Seclusion, it fits more comfortably into the late Yuan or Ming periods.\(^{35}\) The painting appears to be a copy of an earlier work. There are similarities in figural style to such well-known Song paintings as Lady Wen-chi's Capture and Return to China in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston\(^{36}\) and the painting of the same theme in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.\(^{37}\) The indications of a Song date are negated by various mannerisms in the landscape painting which are at best Yuan dynasty characteristics, but more probably signify the Ming period. The pine trees are painted in a style related to that seen on the walls of the mid-fourteenth century Yong Le Gong 永乐宫.\(^{38}\) There is a highlighting on the central area of the trunk which is a technique used to indicate roundness and volume. This is particularly pronounced on the painting in the Freer Gallery. Another characteristic of Ming painting is the symmetrical radial clusters of the pine needles as a patternistic decorative element. Systematisation and regularisation of foliage is even more apparent in the painting of
deciduous trees, while washes, dry strokes and "axe-cut cun" are used to depict rocks and hills, showing little regard for fidelity to nature. This dull and academic handling of landscape is seen on paintings by the professional painters of Suzhou during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. All of these combined features indicate the hand of a Ming artist, whose painting is based on an early prototype.

The painting attributed to Liu Songnian, on close examination, also appears to be a later copy. The composition is inconsistent with Song conventions: the low-lying landscape built up of a heavy contour line, over which is painted a regularised feather-like border of grass, is not to be found in the conventions of Song painting. Furthermore, an indication of a later date is the emphasis on the figures and the subordination of background detail. The cart is central, pulled flat to the picture plane, the top cut off by the edge of the scroll. Whether this painting was part of a longer scroll, or a representation of The Homecoming Ode in itself, it is a conventionalised recension from an early prototype.

The painting attributed to Qian Xuan in the Guan Mianjun collection, is another conventionalised recension of this type. The large figure of the poet is strikingly similar to the figure in the opening scene of the Freer Gallery scroll. Tao Qian stands in the bow of the boat, only the staff has changed hands, the stance and flowing robes bear a close resemblance. The servant boy carrying a wine jug is also common to both the Freer Gallery painting and He Cheng's Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode.
Home Again is generally acknowledged to be an authentic painting by Qian Xuan, and is of interest to this discussion on prototype and recension. Tao Qian, the boat and the boatman in Home Again have similarities to the Freer Gallery painting and the painting attributed to Qian Xuan. It is possible that Home Again is also a variation of an earlier example.

The considerable number of conventionalised works illustrating both the complete poem and well-known sections painted during the Yuan and Ming dynasties, can lead to one conclusion. The Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode by He Cheng must also rely heavily on paintings of earlier generations which ultimately were based on a prototype originating in the Northern Song dynasty. However, that the basis of He Cheng's painting was an earlier prototype, detracts not at all from the quality or originality of the work. His use of conventionalised images, his references to the prototype and his unique handling of traditional styles provide much of the painting's interest and, in fact, takes the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode beyond the limitations expected of the work of a court artist.

An analysis of the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode reveals that He Cheng's painting is charged with references and allusions, both direct and indirect, to the great Northern Song painter Li Gonglin. The most obvious reference is the "bai miao" technique used to paint figures, a technique long associated with Li Gonglin. In addition, the overall style of the scroll, composed of figures and buildings drawn in a realistic and technically proficient manner, set against sketchy and non-descriptive land-
scape motifs, is also based on a tradition believed to have originated with Li Gonglin. That He Cheng, the court artist, has paid homage to Li Gonglin through the use of traditions, techniques and ideas from the preserve of the amateur literati says much about He Cheng and the artistic climate of the time. This period of the Yuan dynasty is thought to be rigidly divided into two camps; that of the amateur literati artists who explored new directions by "returning to the past" (fugu 复古), and that of the professional and court artists who conservatively continued to paint in the styles of earlier periods. He Cheng, in the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode shows himself to be flexible and receptive to the new directions, therefore showing an unconventional attitude to his role as a court artist. His choice of a theme and painting style associated with the amateur literati and its subsequent acceptance by his contemporaries, both within and without court circles, indicates his ability to move beyond the limitations imposed on the court artist. This reveals a less rigid division between the amateur literati and the court artists than has previously been believed.

Li Gonglin's "bai miao" technique is the use of line alone to describe the figure. He Cheng used a modification of this technique by applying a thin wash in certain chosen areas to give the effect of shading. This wash emphasized the volume of the figure. There are two basic figural types seen in the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode. One may be characterised as "austere", and is used to describe the figure of Tao Qian, women and dignitaries, while the other as "lively", describing the figures of servants particularly in scenes of high emotion and
fast action.

The figures painted in the "austere" style are drawn with a long, flowing line, with little variation in thickness and density, except for a slight flourish at the trailing edge of drapery to articulate the folds. Internal striations often consist of a series of parallel strokes originating at the chest-knot of a figure's robe. The "lively" style is a crisper, and more animated line varying in both length and width. It is often cursive, particularly at the lower leg. A characteristic feature is the two parallel lines painted at the cuff of the robe. Short, choppy strokes and crisp, acute angles are common; three radial strokes under the arm are features most clearly seen in the group of three elderly men near the riverbank in the emotionally charged homecoming scene.

The figure painting of the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode not only follows the tradition of Li Gonglin, but also show a resemblance to the style of the Yuan court painter, Liu Guandao (active c. 1300), who preceded He Cheng by only a few years. The figures of the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode can be closely compared to those of Whiling Away the Summer by Liu Guandao. 42 (fig. 8) When painting figures, Liu Guandao may be said to use a brush stroke more crisp and taut than that of He Cheng. Nevertheless, there is a fundamental similarity. The long, unwavering strokes widen into triangles as the robe touches the floor, and, there are parallel striations. More significantly, both Liu Guandao and He Cheng show a striking similarity in their depiction of young servants. The poses, the basic contour lines,
the three strokes radiating from under the arm, and the two brush strokes at the cuff are common to the styles of both painters. The appearance of these features in two, contemporary works, display in itself, an early Yuan convention. It can only be found in one other painting - the previously mentioned Man in an Ox-cart attributed to Liu Songnian. Since it has been concluded that this is an early Yuan convention, therefore the painting by Liu Songnian cannot come from the Song period, but must belong to the Yuan or later. It may, in fact, be a painting by, or a copy of a painting by Liu Guandao, He Cheng or a contemporary Yuan court artist.

The close relationship of style of both Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode and Whiling Away the Summer reflect their contemporaneousness and place of origin. In addition, it suggests a close working relationship between the two artists. There is, however, no literary evidence or further extant paintings as yet uncovered to explore this possibility.

The drawing and description of architecture features importantly in the painting of the handscroll. This is the only extant evidence of He Cheng's noted prowess as a "jie hua" or "boundary line" painter. The painting of the architecture in the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode tell us that He Cheng was a follower of the tradition established by Guo Zhongshu 郭忠恕 (c. 930-977) of the Northern Song period. This was a tradition characterised as realistic and was, at the beginning of the fourteenth century considered to be conservative. It was being challenged by a new, highly decorative and
phantasmagorical style whose prime exponent was Wang Zhenpeng 王振鹏 (act. c. 1310-1330) younger contemporary of He Cheng, belonging to the next generation of court painters and overlapping with He Cheng during the last decade of his court life. 45

The "jie hua" painting of He Cheng is a combination of sketchy, medium size strokes for roofs and walls, and fine, meticulous lines used to accurately and realistically detail bracketing systems, foundations wall, stairs, screens, pillars and roof ends. A comparison of the painting of these architectural features with those in the Odes of Bin in the Crawford Collection points to a common stylistic heritage. 46 (fig. 12) This painting has in the past, been attributed incorrectly to Li Gonglin, but is now believed to be the anonymous work of a thirteenth century artist working in the Li Gonglin tradition. The stylistic similarity between these paintings is not limited to the architectural studies alone, it is further confirmation of He Cheng's use of the traditions associated with Li Gonglin. Further links between these two paintings with their references to Li Gonglin will be examined later.

The pine trees of the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode are the most clearly identifiable landscape element, and are directly related to the Li Cheng 李成 (c. 960-990) - Guo Xi 郭熙 (c. 1060-1075) mode as it was transmitted by painters working in this tradition during the Jin period. The pines in sections one, five and nine can be compared to the pines in Li Shan's 李山 (late 12th century) Wind and Snow in the Fir-pines. 47 (fig. 9) Although they lack the same monumental stature of the
pines of Li Shan, and the branches are blunt, often truncated, less detailed and lacking the same grace, they do share a similar technique in the convincing treatment of the volume of the trunk and the texture of the bark. This is a technique of circles and semi-circles of ink applied over modulated outlines on the outside edges of the trunk highlighting the central portion to give an impression of roundness. This is a common feature of pine trees painted during the Jin and Yuan periods. Other paintings displaying this technique are Clearing after Snow in the Min Mountains, a mid-twelfth century Jin landscape, The Red Cliff, attributed to Wu Yuanzhi (act. prior 1190), also of the Jin period, in the early Yuan period Twin Pines by Zhao Mengfu, and the wall paintings of the Yong Le Gong in Shanxi Province, dated 1358. In all of these paintings pine trees are depicted using the same technique of circles and semi-circles on the outside edges of the trunks.

He Cheng was never noted for his ability to paint landscapes and he falls below the standards set by Guo Xi and Li Shan. However, He Cheng's depiction of pine trees, with their almost awkward simplicity can be seen as part of a tendency or a general trend of painters of the Guo Xi tradition to simplify the complicated, organic forms with each succeeding variation of Guo Xi's original. Furthermore, this simplicity has been exploited for its antique or primitive effect.

The setting of Tao Qian's home in the Jiangnan area of south China required the painting of deciduous trees. The Guo Xi tradition, suited to the portrayal of the pine trees of the north
of China was exchanged for the derivative tradition of Li Tang 李唐 (act. 1120-1140) which was more suitable for describing the lush landscape of the south. Li Tang, originally a follower of Guo Xi, had adapted the harsh style of the north to his new environment when he moved to the south at the fall of the Northern Song dynasty.  

The deciduous trees in the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode are described in full verdure, covered with densely patterned leaves. Different types of tree are identifiable by leaf pattern; some are a succession of triangles, while others are tripartite like a clover leaf. Pictorial interest is achieved by variation in line, size and colour in depicting the different sorts of leaves, lending a certain animation, unlike the decorative flatness of the paintings of later centuries. Rather, it is more useful to compare He Cheng's style of painting of deciduous trees to that found at the latter end of the Northern Song period or at the beginning of the Southern Song era in paintings attributed to Li Tang and his followers. 

Herb Gathering at the Cliffs of the Immortals attributed to Li Tang shows deciduous trees depicted with a similar style of patterned leaves. (fig. 10) There is the same differentiation of pattern for the differing leaf types. Similar trees are found in a second painting attributed to Li Tang, Marquis Wen-kung of Chin Recovering his State, which is now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. (fig. 11) In this scroll, the painting of the sharp, flatsided, crystalline rocks can be compared to the painting of those found in the foreground near the end of the
Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode handscroll. (fig. 1N) The wet texturing is a reminder of the early depictions of the "axe-cut cun" before they evolved into the hard, conventionalised forms seen in much of Southern Song Academy painting. The appearance of the early form in this context, may point to its preservation in the conservative traditions in the north during the Jin dynasty.

There are also similarities to be found in the dry, scratchy, blunt strokes which texture the stone surfaces, and the dark lines of varying width and density which contour the rocks. Wen Fong, in describing the scroll attributed to Li Tang, said that the rock forms clearly followed the Guo Xi idiom.57 This confirms the opinion that He Cheng was following the landscape tradition of Guo Xi as it was transmitted by his followers in the north.

This examination of the specific elements of He Cheng's figure and landscape styles in the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode has shown that, while a number of different traditions have been followed, all of these are ultimately related to the seminal figure, Li Gonglin. Now it seems necessary to place all these diverse elements back in the handscroll and to take a more general or overall view of the painting.

One of the most striking features of the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode is the apparent contradiction between the austere, finely detailed and technically skilful drawing of figures, architecture and some trees and the sparse, scratchy, often clumsy treatment of much of the landscape and foliage. This
contradiction is heightened by He Cheng's predilection for strong contrasts in both composition and ink colour. This is seen in the movement from large areas of dense painting, where much dark ink is used to open areas barely touched by a light wash or a few brush strokes. It can also be seen in smaller, confined areas where dark ink is used on trees and foreground rocks to create space cells, isolating figures against a light background. This dialectic of open, light space and dark, dense structure, of realistic and non-realistic could have proved discordant and unpleasing to the eye. However, in the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode, they add up to a cohesive and effective painting.

The harmony in the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode is a result of He Cheng's adherence to tradition and historical precedents. Paintings based on the merging of diverse elements and traditions, painted in both skilful and primitive styles, are not unknown to early Chinese painting history. However, extant examples are few, whether or not there were ever enough to warrant calling them a school in their own right. One of these few examples is the Odes of Bin, in the Crawford collection. This painting is only slightly earlier than the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode, and also has as its base a classical literary theme. According to James Cahill, the painting is a blend of the "amateurish" and "primitivist" with "very sensitive and refined passages which reveal the hand of a highly accomplished master."\(^{58}\)

The Odes of Bin is a long handscroll of ink on paper, and is composed of episodic scenes of figures in a setting of
buildings and landscape. Many of the compositional methods noted in the He Cheng scroll are to be found in this painting. Architectural motifs are used as structural devices, there is a similar movement from dark to light areas and the view on occasions, shifts abruptly from near to far. The realistic style of the "jie hua" technique on buildings and the sketchy, non-descriptive treatment of landscape is also common on both paintings. These common features are more than coincidental, and James Cahill says of the techniques applied to the Odes of Bin:

"(the) tempering of technical skills with calculated gaucheries, the interspersing of what is almost a kind of literary allusion with fairly accurate pictorial representations, may have been the practice of Li Gonglin himself, and was certainly that of his followers."\(^{59}\)

It can be seen that the overall technique of paintings similar in style to the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode bears direct relation to the tradition of Li Gonglin.
CHAPTER 3:

Tao Yuanming's Homecoming Ode (Gui qu lai ci) was a subject often painted during the classical period of Chinese history. The poem was one well known to all literate Chinese from the fifth century onwards. It was of particular significance to all those who aspired to or succeeded in obtaining an official career. The theme of retreat from the "dusty world" of civil affairs in order to lead a simple life close to one's family and nature was close to the heart of those embroiled in the day to day workings of a monolithic bureaucracy where corruption, compromise, and personal danger were the norm. The themes of the poem and its idyllic imagery naturally lent itself to brush and ink. Perhaps first painted soon after Tao Qian's lifetime, the subject developed into one of the most famous and important literary themes of painting history. The various types of paintings based on the Homecoming Ode which frequently appeared during the Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties are based on prototypes which emerged during the era of figure paintings greatest achievements, the period of Tang to Song dynasties. Though there are only one or two paintings from this period (and even these are problematic), it is possible to obtain a general understanding of the basic types from literary sources.

The earliest reference to a painting of the Homecoming Ode occurs in the Hua Shi 画史, a text written by Mi Fei 米芾 (1051-1107). In this book, dated approximately 1100 AD., the great Northern Song scholar and connoisseur made comments on many paintings preserved in his own collection and the collections of his contemporaries. He recorded that a member of the Imperial
household, Zhongshou, whose sobriquet was Junfa, possessed:

"a Tang dynasty painting of Tao Yuanming's Homecoming Ode. The painting's depiction of Lu shan (Mount Lu) has great interest, the work is not at all ordinary."  

Mi's description of the painting is very superficial, a shortcoming of many early works of painting history. It is therefore difficult to know much about the format, technique or style of the painting. Nonetheless, certain general assumptions can be made. Mi Fei's stress on the depiction of Lu shan seems to indicate that the painting was not primarily a portrait or figure study of the poet. It is possible to suggest that the painting was a handscroll showing the landscape of the Lu shan area which the poet had to pass through on his way home from his post at Pengze. With hindsight based on the paintings of later times it can be imagined that the figure of the poet was shown more than once.

This painting is also recorded in the Yun Yan Guo Yan Lu, a text by the important scholar of the late Southern Song and early Yuan, Zhou Mi (1232-1308). Zhou Mi recorded the paintings and calligraphy that he had seen in forty-five collections. Amongst these was the collection of Zhang Shouyi, who owned three paintings titled Guiqu lai tu. Amongst the three

"two of these are said to be the works of Tang dynasty artists, see the entry in Hua Shi."  

The details of the provenance of Zhang Shouyi's collection are not available but it would seem that at least one painting was the one seen by Mi Fei.
Zhou Mi's text provides the first name for an artist of the Gui qu lai tu. He notes that in the collection of Si De Yongjin there was a painting titled Gui qu lai tu by the Tang artist Han Huang. Unfortunately there are no details recorded. Han Huang (723-789 AD.) was prime minister during the De Zong reign era of Tang. He was posthumously enfeoffed as the Duke of Jin. Han was famous as a painter of figures, animals, pastoral genre scenes and literary subjects. Han Huang's interests, his social position and his artistic skill (the ability to portray the diverse forms required for the composition) would certainly indicate the possibility that he painted the subject, but the late date of the first record of the painting, six hundred years after his death, renders the attribution questionable. There is no record of a Gui qu lai tu by Han Huang in the Li Dai Ming Hua Ji (845), the Tu Hua Jian Wen Zhi (mid-eleventh century) or the Xuan He Hua Pu (1120).

Though there are, unfortunately, no extant paintings, there is very good evidence that Li Gonglin often produced paintings in at least two types that were based on the subject of the Homecoming Ode. In fact, it is to Li Gonglin that much of the credit must be given for the creation of the type of Gui qu lai tu most popular in later times. His importance in the development and populatization of the Homecoming Ode theme is shown by the constant evocation of his name and memory through literary mediums (poems, inscriptions and colophons) and through stylistic allusions in numerous paintings of successive dynasties.
The most reliable evidence for Li having painted the *Homecoming Ode* is found in the catalogue of the Xuan He reign era's Imperial collection. The *Xuan He Hua Pu*, preface dated 1120 AD., was compiled under the auspices of Emperor Huizong, a noted painter, calligrapher and connoisseur. There were one hundred and twenty seven paintings by Li Gonglin in the collection, two were titled *Gui qu lai tu*. The compilers of the catalogue offered this comment on one painting by Li,

"Gonglin painted Tao Qian in the *Gui qu lai tu*, he was not in fields or a garden surrounded by pines and chrysanthemums but at a place where pure waters flowed."  

This type of rendition apparently reached the essence of the *Homecoming Ode* by portraying the poet seated in contemplation far removed from the "dusty world".

A second type of painting by Li Gonglin based on the *Homecoming Ode* is indicated by the painting in the Freer Gallery. Though attributed to a Northern Song contemporary of Li Gonglin's, it is likely a Ming copy. The colophon of 1110 AD. appears to be authentic. It was probably added to the present painting at the time of copying.

"Once in the home of Shangu (Huang Tingjian 1050-1110 AD.) I saw a small screen by Li Boshi (Gonglin) illustrating the *Gui qu lai*. Its touch was light but its flavour subtle, and it is quite similar to this painting....Li Peng Shan lao, of Nan shan."  

The cyclical date of this colophon is March 26, 1110. The painting is a handscroll illustrating narratively Tao's return, his family's welcome and his activities in retirement. The
painting is divided into sections, each section is followed by an inscription containing the appropriate lines from the poem.

Zhou Mi's Yun Yan Guo Yan Lu provides important evidence that the Freer Gallery painting and its pictorial organization reflects a Li Gonglin prototype. Zhou Mi states that he had seen:

"Li Boshi's Gui qu lai tu, at the front Song Gaozong had personally written the title. In the middle, following each section (of painting) Xue Shaopeng had written the lines of Tao's poem. As well he signed the inscription."\(^{11}\)

This description indicates a painting according to the type indicated by the Northern Song painting discussed above. In addition, this format, a section of painting followed by appropriate poetic lines, is consistent with Li Gonglin's treatment of The Classic of Filial Piety.\(^{12}\)

Evidence that Li Gonglin painted numerous works based on the theme of the Homecoming Ode is substantiated in various texts. Zhang Chou 張丑 (1577-1643 AD.), the author of the Qing He Shu Hua Fang 清河书画舫 preaced 1616 AD., quotes from the works of Su Shi 苏轼 (1036-1101 AD.):

"In Su Shi's library there were two works by Li Boshi; the Gui qu lai tu and the Yang quan tu 阳关图. In addition, he quotes from a colophon written on a painting by Li of the Homecoming Ode. This was signed by Zhou Bangyan 周邦彦 who saw the painting during the ninth month of 1113 AD.\(^ {13}\)

Later texts provide more detailed information on paintings by Li. The Da Guan Lu of 1720 AD. records a Gui qu lai tu which was a long handscroll painted in the"bai miao" technique. This
painting had a colophon written by Shen Du, a famous Ming painter, dated 1422 AD. The Qian Long era Imperial catalogue, Shi Qu Bao Ji of 1745, records a painting by Li in "bai miao" technique on paper. It also notes that the painting was unsigned and had a colophon by Wen Zhengming in addition to that of Shen Du. This is presumably the same painting attributed to Li Gonglin in the Da Guan Lu. These descriptions form a pattern indicating a favourite Li Gonglin composition for paintings of the Homecoming Ode: a handscroll, painted in "bai miao" technique, in which sections of the poem were illustrated. Between each illustration the appropriate lines of the poem were written. It is this prototype which the Freer painting reflects and which forms the basis for He Cheng's continuous narrative composition.

There is one additional early source which not only provides evidence of Li Gonglin's painting activities in relation to Tao Yuanming's Homecoming Ode, but also provides a glimpse of the literary and artistic importance of the poem to the literati of the Northern Song period. The famous painting of the Elegant Gathering at the Western Garden depicts Mi Fei, Wang Shen, Huang Tingjian, Su Shi and other illustrious talents of the literati and official worlds in the Northern Song who gathered together and engaged in gentlemanly pursuits at Wang Shen's Western Garden. In the painting Li Gonglin is depicted painting a Gui qu lai tu handscroll.

The Xuan He Hua Pu records the existence of one further painting of the Homecoming Ode in the Imperial collection. Though there are no details of the style, format, or technique used in
the painting, the introduction to the artist strengthens the argument that the theme of the poem was one treasured by a particular type of man. The painter of this scroll was Sun Keyuan occasionally recorded as Sun Kexuan (Presumably the latter was his correct name, due to the prohibition on the use of characters with the same sound as those in the Emperor's name it was changed to Keyuan). In juan 11 of the Xuan He Hua Pu it states:

"Sun Keyuan; his place of origin and dates are not known. His paintings of the landscape between Yue and Wu are very good. Though the strength of his brush cannot be said to have arrived at the vigorous and unrestrained, nonetheless his qi yun (spirit consonance) was lofty and ancient. He liked to paint ancient scholars and hermits in their remote dwellings and fishing lodges. One can see in looking at the painting Spring Mists Issuing from Mountain Caverns his lofty ideas and feelings; from them one can know he was without feeling or cares for the affairs of the world. Playing with brush and ink was his reality. Therefore if a man was not of the type of Tao Qian or Qi Hao (a scholar of the Han) he will not have been portrayed by his brush." 17

This passage reveals something of the philosophical biases of the scholarly elite and the esteem with which Tao Yuanming was held by the literati.

Seven years after the completion of the Xuan He era catalogue the Song court was forced to flee to Hangzhou by the invading Jin armies. The ideas of the literati which had
flourished at the end of the Northern Song naturally continued
to exert influence during the early years of Song Gaozong's
reign. Poetry, prose, calligraphy and painting all continued
in styles similar to those in vogue at the time of Huizong.
Naturally one would expect to find records of the existence of
paintings of the **Homecoming Ode**.

The *Yun Yan Guo Yan Lu* records a *Gui qu lai tu* painted
by the monk Fan Long **梵隆**, well known follower of Li Gonglin,
who painted at the time of Gaozong.18 Though Zhou Mi provided no
details of the painting, an entry in the Qing Imperial catalogue,
*Shi Qu Bao Ji*, may refer to the same painting.

"*Gui qu lai tu*, handscroll on paper, "bai miao"
technique, no signature. Prior to the painting is a seven
character inscription written by Song Gaozong:'Fan
Long: Tao Quan's *Gui qu lai tu*". On the scroll is a
"Qainguà 乾卦 " seal (Imperial seal of Gaozong),
the scroll is in a total of nine sections. Each section
has an inscription in the calligraphy of Gaozong..."19

The format of this painting is in the tradition established by Li
Gonglin as mentioned by Zhou Mi and as seen in the *Classic of
Filial Harmony*.

There are a number of paintings attributed to Fan Long,
unfortunately his *Gui qu lai tu* is no longer extant. Perhaps most
representative of Fan Long's painting style is the *Arhats in the
Forest* scroll, now in the Freer Gallery. It is painted in the
"bai miao" technique descended from the style developed by Li
Gonglin.20
Another artist active at this time was Jia Shigu (active 1130-1160 AD.), one of four academicians in Gaozong's court who specialized in scholarly subjects. Amongst the properties confiscated from the disgraced Yan Song (1480-1565 AD.), grand secretary from 1542-1562, and recorded in Qian Shan Tang Shu Hua Ji 铃山堂书画记 (1501-1583) was a Gui qu lai tu by Jia Shigu.

"The brushwork was elegant and refined, it is stylistically descended from Li Gonglin." Jia Shigu was a native of Kaifeng who moved south with court in 1127. It is probably that he knew Li Gonglin and certainly was familiar with his work. The Tu Hui Bao Jian noted that Jia Shigu was "a painter of Buddhist and Taoist subjects. He took Li Gonglin's "bai miao" technique as his model. His figures were powerful, their depiction superlative." Though Jia Shigu's paintings in "bai miao" are no longer known, an idea of his importance and influence on later painting can be seen in the work of his most illustrious student, Liang Kai (act. 1200-1250). Li Tang (act. 1100-1140) a seminal figure in the transfer of artistic styles from the Northern to Southern Song courts also had a Gui qu lai tu in the Yan Song collection. Though there is no description of the painting other than the title, it is possible that this painting followed a Li Gonglin prototype. As evidenced by the Marquis Wen-kung of Chin scroll, Li Tang followed the Li Gonglin tradition in his figure painting.

The last pre-Yuan dynasty painter in the south of China
to have painted the *Homecoming Ode* was Zhao Boju (act. 1100-1140). The *Qing He Shu Hua Fang* records a *Gui qu lai tu* painted by Zhao Boju which included Zhao Mengfu's calligraphic rendering of the Tao Qian poem. Though there are no further details it is fairly safe to assume that the painting was a handscroll in blue and green, Zhao Boju's usual style. Collateral evidence for this assumption is provided in a colophon on a blue and green style *Gui qu lai tu* handscroll painted by Zhao Mengfu. In commenting on the painting Wen Jia said:

"In this painting the application of colour is detailed and superlative. (Zhao Mengfu) has studied Zhao Boju, in various ways he has captured the masters spirit but has not stopped at that point.'

After this initial period of enthusiasm for the ideas and practices of the literati of the late Northern Song their influence diminished in all of the arts. In painting of the late Southern Song significant changes in style, format and subject matter occurred. In searching the literature for references to paintings of the *Homecoming Ode* an interesting discovery was made. After the time of Fan Long, Jia Shigu and Zhao Boju paintings based on the poem were not complete depictions of the manly phases of the poem as earlier paintings had tended to be. Instead they were paintings of isolated images, often that of Tao Yuanming enjoying chrysanthemums. Though this image can be related to the *Homecoming Ode*, there is an obvious change of emphasis based primarily on artistic taste but perhaps there is also a different psychological attitude. This change of format, from complete depictions of the poem to isolated images, may also be explained as a process where the figure, or main icon, comes to
represent the whole. The added importance given to the main icon is a natural result of the copying and re-copying of recensions from a single prototype.

The most usual Southern Song representations of Tao Qian or his poems are described by the following examples.

Liang Kai was responsible for a small painting on silk which depicted Tao Qian holding a chrysanthemum while walking under a pine tree. In juan 5 of the Nan Song Yuan Hua Lu 藝術院畫錄 it states:

"the brush method is fine, delicate and spirited. This can be taken as one of his better works." 29

A small painting by Ma Yuan 馬遠 (act. 1190-1230) of Tao Yuanming Enjoying Chrysanthemums was also amongst the works confiscated from Yen Song. 30 In the Yu Shi Shu Hua Ti Ba Ji 虞氏書畫題跋記, preaced 1633 AD., there is a description of a handscroll by Zhao Danian 趙大年 (act. 1070-1100). This painting portrayed Tao Qian seated with friends in a pavilion in front of which grew chrysanthemums. Behind the pavilion was a dense grove of bamboo. The painting was said to be detailed and colourful. 31

These three brief descriptions indicate that during the latter period of the Southern Song the long handscroll, often painted in "bai miao" technique, had given way to the typical Southern Song format of a single, small, isolated scene of static composition and refined execution.

Records of painting activity in the north of China under the contemporary Jin dynasty are scarce and paintings very rare.
Nonetheless there is some literary evidence to suggest that a different situation existed in the north of China with regard to paintings of the Homecoming Ode. It is well known that many of the cultural norms and ideas which held forth and developed in the Jin were continuations of those first proposed by the Northern Song literati. In painting, many of the landscape traditions which faded out of fashion in the Southern Song were carried on by Jin dynasty artists. Northern Song and Five Dynasties artists such as Li Cheng, Dong Yuan, Ju Ran, Li Gonglin, and Su Shi were held in esteem in the north at a time when they were scarcely noticed in the south. The preservation of many paintings of these periods and the perseverance of Northern Song styles in the Jin period were two factors which exerted strong influence on Zhao Mengfu and his mid-Yuan attempts to "return to the past" in painting styles.

Literary evidence indicates that there were a number of paintings of the Homecoming Ode in the collections of Jin dynasty connoisseurs. The Yu Ding Li Dai Ti Hua Shi Lei, a bibliographic compilation commissioned by Qian Long emperor, records the authors and titles of poems or colophons found on paintings or in books stored in the Imperial libraries or collections. This bibliographic source records the names of four Jin dynasty scholars whom added colophons to paintings of the Gui qu lai tu. This text confirms the existence of paintings illustrating the Homecoming Ode during the Jin dynasty. Though there are no descriptions of any of these works, the cultural environment of the Jin dynasty makes it likely that these or other related paintings, were recensions of Northern Song prototypes. If so, there were important in the re-appearance of
the Northern Song type of long handscroll illustrating the complete Homecoming Ode when it re-surfaced in the early Yuan dynasty. The four men who wrote the colophons on the Jin dynasty paintings of the Gui qu lai tu were Liu Ying 刘迎, Wang Ruoxu 王若虚, Lu Duo 鲁铎, and Liu Jiong 刘迥. Two of these men, Wang Ruoxu and Lu Duo, were well known scholars and members of the Hanlin Academy. The official positions and social status of these men confirms that the popularity of paintings based on the Homecoming Ode continued to be within the realm of the literati.

The texts of painting history do not record any further paintings based on the poem until the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth centuries. At that time Qian Xuan, Zhao Mengfu and He Cheng each produced paintings of the Gui qu lai tu. The re-emergence of the theme came at a time when artists, particularly literati artists, were turning back to the Northern Song and earlier periods for inspiration. It was also a time when the political climate made the theme of the poem, and hence of the painting, particularly significant to the literati and other patriotic Chinese who served in official positions for the foreign dynasty. The merging of these two factors, the artistic and the political, was perhaps responsible for the new popularity of the subject of the painting.
CHAPTER 4

In addition to the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode, there are two further paintings associated with He Cheng: the Taoist Divinity of Water (fig. 2) in the Freer Gallery, Washington, and a painting of Samantabhadra seated on an elephant (fig. 3A) in the collection of Li Chu-tsing in Laurence, Kansas. Both of these paintings are only attributed to He Cheng and problems of authenticity and dating are numerous. These problems result in there being no consensus of opinion amongst scholars, who hold instead, various viewpoints which will be outlined below.

The Taoist Divinity of Water is a handscroll 263.5 centimetres in length and 49.9 centimetres in height. The painting is a composition of figures against a background of clouds, and it is painted entirely in ink on paper. The title piece of the handscroll indicates the subject is the Water Diety, one of the Three Taoist Agents. The Three Taoist Agents are:

"transcendental powers, capable of bestowing happiness, protecting from evil and remitting the wages of sin." The painting shows a procession of demons, mythological animals, armoured warriors, the Wind and Thunder Gods and the Deity of Water, who was endowed with the power to protect the faithful from evil. The composition is tightly packed and full of frenetic action.

The painting is closely related to the Wu Daozi tradition. It can be compared to a rubbing of a demon, reputed to be from a Wu Daozi original in the Bei Yue Temple, Qu Yang, Hebei. The painting of the figures is in the "bai miao" technique using angular, calligraphic brush strokes. Ink washes
are applied to highlight various figures and to depict clouds. Thomas Lawton feels the figures in the painting, and in the above mentioned rubbing "give the impression of extraordinary energy," achieved through the movement of both the drapery and the figure.⁶

The painting has appended colophons written by Zhang Zhongshou and dated 1310; Li Yong 李用, dated 1446, 1449 and 1450;⁷ Li Wenzheng 李文正, undated; Wu Jin 吴觐, dated 1815, and Peng Minsun 彭汝孫, dated 1905. The painting is not recorded in any of the standard sources.

The colophon of Zhang Zhongshou is of particular importance. It will be remembered that Zhang Zhongshou was the calligrapher of The Homecoming Ode, the first colophon of He Cheng's Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode. Zhang Zhongshou indicates that the Taoist Divinity of Water was originally a complete representation of all the Three Taoist Agents. He also states:

"This painting is from the brush of the gentleman He, Taizhong Daifu. He is now eighty-seven years old."⁸ (fig. 14).

The artist mentioned can only be He Cheng. This official title, Taizhong Daifu awarded to He Cheng in 1308, was often used in reference to him. The age of eighty-seven in 1310 corresponds to the ninety years ascribed to He Cheng in 1312 by Cheng Qufu.⁹ In addition, the appearance of writings by Zhang Zhongshou on both paintings cannot be coincidental. A comparison of the calligraphy of the two Zhang Zhongshou colophons show they are definitely by the same hand. While this colophon can be judged as authentic evidence for He Cheng's period of activity, it cannot
by itself prove that the **Taoist Divinity of Water** is a painting by He Cheng. Although the painting has never been the subject of a thorough scholarly investigation, various authorities have made brief comments. Their viewpoints are summarized below.

Thomas Lawton states:

"In spite of the dates provided by the colophons, the style of the Freer handscroll does not appear to be earlier than the Ming dynasty. The colophons by Chang Chung-shou (Zhang Zhongshou) and Li Yung (Li Yong) are probably later additions."\(^{10}\)

James Cahill, too, once believed the painting to be of the Ming period,\(^ {11}\) and Li Chu-tsing's opinion is that the **Taoist Divinity of Water** and the **Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode** are not be the same artist. He also states:

"The Freer painting does not have any definite attribution, and the attribution of He Cheng in the colophon is not very firm."\(^ {12}\)

All of these opinions combine to suggest that the artist of the scroll was not He Cheng. However, Xu Bangda holds a different view. Although he concedes that the techniques of the painting in the two scrolls are not the same, he feels that there are some points of similarity. In particular, he describes the brush method seen on the drapery of various mythological figures in the **Taoist Divinity of Water**, and the contour lines on figures in the **Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode** as:

"strong and fluid: It is the work of one man's brush."\(^ {13}\)

The date of the painting is easier to judge than the
identity of the artist. Lawton's suggestion of the Ming dynasty as a possible date can be challenged, should the painting be compared to the Taoist wall paintings of the San Qing Dian at the Yong Le Gong. These murals, representing the Taoist pantheon, were painted in the first part of the fourteenth century. In fact, there is an inscription of 1325 on one wall of the San Qing Dian. Although the actual brush style of these figures and those of the Taoist Divinity of Water is not the same, the depiction of the figures springs from a common tradition, and the two works have many common morphological features. Particular attention should be paid to the structure of faces. A comparison of the figures astride the qilin and lion in the Taoist Divinity of Water, with the figures of the San Qing Dian mural reveal a similar emphasis on three diminsional structure and exaggerated expression. Furthermore the monumental, elongated form of the figures, facial hair, armour and the patterned mane of lions are all features common to both paintings. The similarities of the murals at the San Qing Dian and the painting, the Taoist Divinity of Water, suggest their contemporaneousness, and since the San Qing Dian has unequivocably been dated as circa 1325, there is a definite suggestion that the Taoist Divinity of Water should also be placed in the early fourteenth century.

The question of identifying the hand of the same artist in the Taoist Divinity of Water and the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode, two paintings of such disparate subject-matter and figural tradition, is compounded by the great difference in their expression and feeling. The unhurried, strong and flowing lines, the easy, controlled poses of figures, and the independent yet complementary nature of the landscape in the Illustrations
to the Homecoming Ode reveal the hand of a sympathetic artist, who feels for the humanistic emotion of the poem. The artist revealed in the Taoist Divinity of Water, on the contrary, seems constrained and meticulous. The brush strokes are tense and purposeful and have been applied with a precise care for every detail.

This same precision may have been dictated by the iconography and traditions of Taoist figure painting, but it could also point to the hand of an artist engaged in copying. Thomas Lawton has suggested that the origin of the composition may have been a wall painting of the Wu Daozi tradition. He observes:

"there is a sense of overstatement in the brushwork of the handscroll that may result partially from the reduction in size. Some loss of craftsmanship is also apparent in the drawing, where many lines are redundant or unnecessarily tremulous." 16

Many of the lines reveal an "olive-pit" stroke, which describes the inside of the line as tremulous, while the outside is smooth. This is the result of a tense and concentrated hand, and is a characteristic often associated with direct copying or tracing. "Olive-pit" strokes are particularly noticeable on folds of flowing drapery. A second indication of the hand of the copyist is seen in the dotted contour line which describes the rump of the lion. Here the line is composed of a series of connected dots, clearly displaying draughtsmanship prior to the actual application of the brush stroke. In freehand brush stroke painting, this would be considered unusual. 17 These telltale clues may serve to strengthen Dr. Lawton's suggestion that the painting originated from a larger
composition, such as a wall painting. But, on the other hand, they point towards a second possibility, if He Cheng's activities as a court artist are to be taken into account.

In chapter one it was noted that He Cheng was responsible for "the painting affairs", during the construction and decoration of the Xingsheng Guan. This duty would have included the design of wall paintings. It is possible the Taoist Divinity of Water is a finished drawing or design for a wall painting. This would explain many features like the elongated forms, belaboured brush strokes and over attention to detail, causing the painting to appear overstated. In addition, it would account for those areas, identified by Xu Bangda as by the hand of He Cheng, artist of the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode. The third painting of importance to this discussion of paintings associated with He Cheng, is the Buddhist hanging scroll in the collection of Li Chu-tsing. The painting depicts Samantabhadra holding his usual attribute, the ruyi 原意, while seated on the back of a crouching elephant. The Bodhisattva is accompanied by an attendant who holds a bamboo standard topped by a piece of cloth. The painting is very dark, with contour lines painted in ink; any traces of colour now indecipherable. In the lower left corner there is a signature that reads "He Cheng". (fig. 3C) In the lower right corner are four seals. (fig. 3D).

The uppermost seal, "Xian Yu", is similar to the seals of Xian Yushu 鮮于枢 (1256-1301). Xian Yushu was a well known calligrapher of the mid-Yuan period who excelled at cursive and grass styles of calligraphy. Below this seal are three seals belonging to Wang Chou, a son of the famous Qing painter Wang Hui.
The three seals read as follows:
"Ban Ri Jing Sheng, Ban Ri Du Shu" 简静生半日读书
"Wang Chou Zhi Yin" 王畴之印
"Chou"

The painting agrees morphologically and stylistically with many fourteenth century figure paintings of the Buddhist and Taoist types. The strong emphasis on a sculptural, three-dimensional, realistic face and hands is a recognizable characteristic of the period. Similar tendencies are seen in the wall paintings at the Yong Le Gong, the Guanyin attributed to A Jiajia 阿加加 and the Mahaprajapati by Wang Zhenpeng. Li Chu-tsing confirms that

"the painting in style matches a number of paintings of the same subject, Samantabhadra, in many Japanese collections from the Yuan period. This style may be characterized as a juxtaposition of realism in the painting of the exposed body (hands, neck, face), and decoration in the painting of the covered body. The robes of Samantabhadra are contoured in busy parallel lines which decorate the figure rather than convincingly depicting anatomy. Areas between the parallel striations or, more precisely, the sides of the inner contours, are heavily washed to indicate concavities in the drapery.

Although the painting appears to be of his period, the attributions to He Cheng is difficult to accept, as the brushwork and technique is so different from that seen in the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode. Li Chu-tsing feels "puzzled" by the painting as "the brushwork seems to be quite different" from that of the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode scroll. Xu Bangda
is more forceful in his opinion. He denies any possible relationship between the painting of Samantabhadra and He Cheng on the basis of the conflicting styles between it and the *Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode*.²⁵

The problems surrounding this painting are compounded by the possibility that the signature does not refer to the Yuan dynasty He Cheng. There is a second painter of figures named He Cheng, a man from Changsha who was noted for his Buddhist figures during the Northern Song period.²⁶ (A third artist named He Cheng can be discounted in this discussion. He was active during the Xuan De period of the Ming dynasty (1435-1464) and served as governor of Yuanzhou. He was a follower of Mi Fei and Gao Kegong 高克恭 in landscape painting. There are no records indicating that he painted Buddhist figures.)²⁷

It is possible that the painting is a copy, albeit a very good copy, of the late Yuan to Ming periods. The scroll may be based on a work by one of the two figure painters to share the name He Cheng. This proposal might account for the signature and the "Xian Yu" seal, judged to be spurious.²⁸
CONCLUSION:

In this thesis we have discussed what is known of the life and art of the Yuan dynasty artist, He Cheng. His most important extant painting, the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode, has been thoroughly analyzed and discussed and found to allude directly to the ideas, tradition and technique of the famous Northern Song literati painter, Li Gonglin. The evidence of this painting and the comments of various literati contemporary with He Cheng, indicates that the artist, though a court painter, responded to and was involved in the painting revolution of the Yuan dynasty which led to the forming of the new artistic attitude later recognized as literati painting. This evidence provides some answers to the questions posed in the introduction. That the painting revolution existed solely amongst the literati is evidently untrue, at least in the particular case of this court artist. The Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode demonstrates that the techniques and ideas now associated with the literati, were shared by the court artists even during the early years of the revolution. These answers can only lead to one conclusion with regard to the third question posed in the introduction; did the non-literati painters participate and contribute to the revolution? The answer, provided by this study of one artist must surely be yes. Although an affirmative answer based on the examination of one painter and painting cannot be judged conclusive, there is a high probability that further research amongst other little known non-literati painters of the Yuan dynasty will lead to a similar answer.
INTRODUCTION NOTES:


2. Cahill, James, *Ibid.* p. 4


CHAPTER ONE NOTES

1. Cheng Qufu. *Xue Lou Ji*. Vol. 3, juan 9 (unpaginated) Facsimile reprint of Hong Wu edition. Cheng Qufu (1249-1318), an important official, is remembered as the leader of the government mission to the Jiangnan area in 1286. His duty was to recruit officials from the Song loyalists and disaffected literati of that economically important area. It was Cheng Qufu who convinced Zhao Mengfu to go to Peking. (see Shen C.Y. Fu, "The Painting and Calligraphy Collection of the Grand Princess of Lu-kuo, Sengge." National Palace Museum Quarterly, Vol. XVIII #1., Autumn 1978, p. 3.


4. Yu Ji 庾集. Yu Ji's colophon to *Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode* is translated in the Appendix. Yu Ji was a scholar and official who was a member of the group gathered by the Emperor Wenzong (reigned 1328-1331) to discuss calligraphy and painting.

5. Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫. A translation of Zhao Mengfu's colophon appears in the Appendix. Zhao Mengfu, a high official, dominated the artistic world in Peking during the mid-Yuan period. He is acknowledged to be the most influential of
post-Song painters. His life and art are discussed in many sources. i.e. Li Chu-tsing. *Autumn Colours on the Ch'iao and Hua Mountains*, Ascona, Artibus Asiae Supplementum, 1965.

6. Cheng Qufu. Ibid., See Appendix.

7. *Yuan Shi* (元史), Peking: Zhongguo Shu Ju edition, 1976. p. 3178. He Cheng is mentioned in the biography of Yue Zhu 岳桧, a man of Uighur nationality whose father, A Lu Hui Sa Li 阿鲁渾薛里, was a high official under Kubilai Khan.

8. Ke Shaomin 柯劭忞, editor. *Xin Yuan Shi* 新元史, Tai bei, Taiwan: Yi Wen Yin Shu Guan, 1957. Juan 242, p. 2158. Biography of Li Shi 李時. This anecdote is somewhat puzzling as it states that He Cheng was over 90 during the reign of Shizu (i.e. prior to 1294). This seems impossible based on the evidence provided by Cheng Qufu, Zhang Zhongshou and Zhao Mengfu. There are two possible explanations for the discrepancy in dates between those noted by Cheng Qufu and Zhang Zhongshou and the date in the *Xin Yuan Shi*: (1) The age of 90 has been used in an honorific way. It is certainly not uncommon in China to venerate an older person by exaggerating their age. If this incident took place near the end of Shizu's reign then He Cheng would have been approaching seventy. (2) The information in the *Xin Yuan Shi*, published in 1911, is mistaken. Ke Shaomin, the editor, fails to mention the origin of much of his material, it is therefore impossible to verify his information by examining the original source.
9. Cheng Qufu. *Ibid.* See Appendix. Taïzhong Daifu (Master Scribe) was an official position concerned with literary affairs. Duties included the writing of official documents, hence the position required outstanding calligraphy. The rank was of the third subordinate degree. Mishu Jian (Keeper of the Imperial Library) was a position in the building of the same name. Duties included the management or control of historical records, ancient charts, magical books and prescribed texts. See the Bai Guan Zhi 百官志 section of the *Yuan Shi.*


15. Texts which discuss Southern Song painting are numerous. See: Cahill, James, *The Art of Southern Song China,* New York;

16. The *Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode* is published in: *Wenwu* No. 8, 1973., and *Yi Yuan Duo Ying* No. 6, 1979.

17. Wu Daozi and his painting are discussed in: Lawton, Thomas. *Chinese Figure Painting*, p. 156-160.

18. The painting of Samantabhadra has never been published. Dr. Li Chu-tsing generously provided photos of the painting in his collection.


27. The Afang Gong was the palace built by Qin Shi Huangdi during the Qin dynasty (221-207 B.C.). The palace was never finished. It is described in Qin Shi Huang's biography in the *Shi Ji*. The Gusu Tai was built by the King of Wu during the Spring and Autumn Period (770-476 B.C.) The Kunming Chi was the lake within the palace of Han Wudi. It was the subject of a poem by Tu Fu, the Tang dynasty poet.


29. Bush, Susan, *The Chinese Literati on Painting*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971. p. 79. Susan Bush states: "the phrase "yu yi" to lodge ideas in something (for the time being), describes an avocation, an art practiced by the amateur in his free time. There are also expressive implications, since it is what is done for pleasure."


theories of art history, (The Northern and Southern Schools) and his influence are discussed in detail by Susan Bush.

32. Gu Fu 顾复. Ping Sheng Zhuang Guan 平生壮 见, 10 juan, 1692. Edition based on manuscript copy of the Zhejiang Cultural Bureau, Shanghai: 1962. Gu Fu recorded the paintings he had seen in the Nanjing and Suzhou areas in the mid-17th century.

33. Wu Sheng 吴升. Da Guan Lu 大观录, preface dated 1712. Facsimile reprint of manuscript in National Central Library, Taiwan. Wu Sheng's dates are not known, he probably died about 1712. The text is Wu Sheng's notes on paintings and calligraphies that he saw. More than 450 paintings are recorded.

34. Gu Fu. Ibid. Juan 8, p. 87.


36. Xue Yongnian. Ibid. p. 29.

37. Yu Ji. Yu Ji's colophon is translated in the Appendix.

38. Jie Xisi 江西司. Jie Xisi's colophon on Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode is translated in the Appendix.


40. Zhang Zhongshou. Ibid., See Appendix.
CHAPTER TWO NOTES:

1. The poem is one of Tao Qian's best known works and has often been translated. The version cited in this text is: Hightower, James Robert. "The Fu and T'ao Ch'ien." Harvard Journal of Asian Studies. Vol. 17, 1954, p. 169-230. The same version is also found in: Hightower, James Robert, The Poetry of T'ao Ch'ien, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970. A second version can be found in: Chang, Lily Paohu and Sinclair, Marjorie. The Poems of T'ao Ch'ien, Honolulu: 1953. The title of the poem is variously translated as The Return or The Homecoming Ode. In this thesis the painting by He Cheng based on the Tao Qian poem is titled Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode. This in accordance with the title used when the painting was first mentioned in an English text. Cahill, James, Hills Beyond a River, New York: Weatherhill, 1976, p. 181, note 8.

2. The earliest extant painting to use a continuous narrative composition is the Nymph of the Lo River, attributed to Gu Kaizhi (346-407). While it is generally agreed that extant versions of this painting (one version in Peking is published in: Gu Gong Bo Wu Yuan 故宮博物院, editors. Zhongguo Li Dai Hui Hua: Gu Gong Bo Wu Yuan Cang Hua Ji, 中國历代繪畫：故宮博物院藏畫集 Vol. 1, Peking: 1978, p. 1 - 19. A second version is published in: Lawton, Thomas, Chinese Figure Painting, Washington: The Freer Gallery of Art, 1973, p. 18 - 29) are no earlier than the Song period, they are probably based on a fourth or fifth century prototype. (Gu Kai zhi's name was not associated with the theme until the thirteenth century. See: Lawton, Thomas, Ibid. p. 25.)

In the Peking version of the scroll, one of the most
complete, the figure of the nymph and the author of the poem are repeated a number of times. The background and landscape details of the painting are very primitive, yet they act to separate the composition into individual sections. As much of the background is left blank, the transitions of time and space are not very smooth.

A later, more sophisticated example of a continuous narrative is *The Night Revels of Han Hsi-tsai*, a painting by Gu Hongzhong, a tenth century artist at the Southern Tang court of the Five Dynasties. (See: Gu Gong Bo Wu Yuan, editors. *Ibid.* p. 84-93). In this painting, set entirely indoors, the main figures reappear in various space cells which have been created by room dividers, standing screens and tables. These objects are placed at oblique angles to break the horizontal flow of action. This isolates figures in space cells and, at the same time, creates smooth transitions from section to section. Colour was used to strengthen these compositional devices. Solid black and opaque green screens and furniture, cutting across the pale silk, contrast with the brightly painted robes of the figures. The techniques used in this painting (probably a Southern Song copy) seem to be derived from techniques developed during the Wei, Sui and Tang periods.

The *Ode to the Red Cliff*, attributed to the Northern Song painter Qiao Zhongchang, is an example based on a literary theme. (See: Sickman, Lawrence, *Chinese Calligraphy and Painting in the Collection of John M. Crawford, Jr.*, New York: Pierpoint Morgan Library, 1962, No. 14.) In a composition
dictated by the needs of the poem, Su Dongpo is seen a number of times in an unbroken landscape. In this scroll it is the landscape elements that are used to form the space cells within which the poet moves. This painting, in ink on paper, provides an indication of the nascent stages of Northern Song literati painting. Paintings of this type had profound influence on artists of the Yuan dynasty, particularly on the literati painters who looked to the Northern Song for ideas to use in their archaistic revivals. As well, paintings of the Qiao Zhongchang type influenced artists such as He Cheng who continued in this tradition as it had been preserved and transmitted in the north during the Jin.


4. Ibid., Lines 9 - 10.

5. Ibid., Lines 13, 15 - 16.

6. Laing, Ellen Johnston, "Six Late Yuan Dynasty Figure Paintings", Oriental Art, Vol. XX, #3, Autumn 1974, p. 305.


Chapter Two Notes continued:

10. Ibid., Lines 25, 27 - 28

11. Ibid., Lines 33, 37 - 38.


13. Ibid., p. 11, The Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove are: Wang Rong 王戎 (234-305), Shan Tao 山涛 (205-283), Ruan Ji 阮籍 (210-263), Xi Kang 程康 (223-263), Xiang Xiu 向秀 (221-300), Liu Ling 刘伶 (225-280), and Ruan Xian 阮咸.

Laing says:
"...their actions and words were strongly anti-Confucian and they were widely acclaimed for the purity of their recluse spirit in the Taoist sense."


15. Ibid., Lines 47 - 56.

16. Li Gonglin's Hundred Horses scroll is in the Palace Museum, Peking. It is produced in the Cahill Photos, "O".


18. Joint Board of Directors of the National Palace Museum and the National Central Museum, editors. Gu Gong Ming Hua San Bai Zhong 故宮名畫三百種 Taichung, Taiwan: 1959, p. 158.

Chapter Two Notes continued

20. Ibid., p. 227.

21. Ibid., Line 41.

22. Ibid., Lines 42 - 43.


24. Ibid., Lines 46 - 47.

25. Ibid., Line 56.

26. Ibid., Line 51.

27. Ibid., Lines 58 - 60.

28. In a painting by Chen Hongshou (1598-1652), Scenes From the Life of Tao Yuanming, in the collection of the Honolulu Academy of the Arts, there is one picture of Tao Qian being carried in a basket chair of similar design. Tseng Yu-ho Ecke notes that at some point in his life Tao had foot trouble so his son and two students carried him about in a chair. This was a well known incident in his life and was therefore incorporated into the painting. (See: Tseng Yu-ho Ecke. "A Report on Ch'en Hong-shou." Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America, XIII 1959, p. 87.

29. Lawton, Thomas, Ibid., p. 38

30. Ibid., p. 38. The colophon is signed by Li Peng and dated March 26, 1110. It reads:

"Once in the home of Shangu (Huang Tingjian 1050-1110) I saw a small screen by Li Boshi
illustrating the Homecoming Ode. Its touch was light but its flavour subtle, and it is quite similar to this painting...Wang Xing, a gentleman of Ruyin, showed me this painting. Seeing the pleasures of fields and gardens, I feel that this old gentleman (Tao Qian) is not far removed. The fifth day of the third month, fourth year of Da Guan. Li Peng, Shanlao of Nanshan."

The author of the Freer catalogue writes that:
"the similarity in the style of the calligraphy in the colophon (Li Peng) and the text (on the painting) justifies extending the early twelfth century date to the text, even if it is not possible to suggest that both were written by Li Peng."

31. See Chapter Three: Literary Evidence For Pre-Yuan Dynasty Paintings of the Homecoming Ode. Li Gonglin often painted works based on the Homecoming Ode.


33. Lee, Sherman, E., Chinese Landscape Painting, New York: 1962, Colourplate III.

34. Harada, Kinjiro, Ibid., p. 278

35. This opinion was expressed in conversation with the author by three authorities:
Chapter Two Notes continued

Moritaka Mausumoto, July 31, 1980, Vancouver

36. Tomita, K., Ibid., ps. 61 - 64.


39. A painting which exhibits these tendencies is the North Sea by Zhou Chen (c. 1460-1535) in the Nelson Gallery, Kansas City. (See: Cahill, James. Parting at the Shore, New York: Weatherhill, 1978. p. 84)

40. Sickman, Lawrence, Ibid., p. 90 - 92, James Cahill discusses the association of Li Gonglin with paintings of this type.

41. "Bai miao" is a technique in which figures are given form only through the use of ink contour lines. Although the technique existed prior to the time of Li Gonglin, it was Li who first explored the calligraphic possibilities of "bai miao" and merged it into his painting style. This "intimate relationship (between calligraphy and painting) bestowed totally new connotations on the technique. No longer was "bai miao" merely one of the modes available to the artist. It became, instead, the technique most favoured by literati painters." (See: Lawton, Thomas. Ibid., p. 11).
Chapter Two Notes continued

The paintings generally accepted as closest to Li Gonglin's own style are the Five Horses scroll (destroyed in Japan during the Second World War but published in: Siren, Osvald. Ibid., Vol. 3, p. 191 - 192) and the Classic of Filial Piety in the Princeton University Museum (See: Chugoku Bijutsu 中國美術 Vol. 1).


42. Lee, Sherman E., Chinese Art Under the Mongols: The Yuan
Chapter Two Notes continued

Dynasty, Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1968, Entry 198.


45. Lee, Sherman E., Ibid., Entries 198, 200, 201. Wang Zhenpeng was active as early as 1310 and continued to paint at court for a number of decades. He was given an official position during the Yan Yu reign era (1314 - 1320) and rose to become Registrar of the Imperial Library.


Chapter Two Notes continued

51. Shanxi Sheng Wenwu Guanli Gongzu Huiyuan Hui, editors. Ibid.

52. Bush, Susan., Ibid., p. 163.

53. Li Tang's life, paintings and relationship to Guo Xi are discussed in: Fong, Wen and Fu, Marilyn. Ibid., p. 30 - 34.

54. Paintings that exhibit the decorative flatness associated with foliage patterns of this type are numerous. Extreme examples may be found in: Sze, MaiMai. The Tao of Painting, New York: Pantheon Books, 1956. This text includes reproductions from the painting manual Jie Zi Yuan Hua Zhuan, (The Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manual.)

55. National Palace Museum, Taiwan, Chinese Painting Archives, photo VA 3(g).

56. Fong, Wen and Fu, Marilyn., Ibid., p. 52.


58. Sickman, Lawrence, Ibid., The catalogue entry is written by James Cahill. The Odes of Bin is (according to A. Waley, quoted by Cahill): "a song made out of sayings. about work and days, about the occupations belonging to different seasons of the year which is from the Shi Jing (Book of Songs).

59. Sickman, Lawrence, Ibid., p. 92.
CHAPTE R THREE NOTES:


M i Fei, a famous painter, calligrapher and critic lived from 1051 to 1107. The Hua Shi is a collection of his writings on painters, paintings, silks, mountings, and other topics not directly related to painting. The text has been translated into French, see Vandier-Nicolas, Nicole. Le Houa-che de Mi Fou, Paris, 1964.

2. The He Cheng painting in the Jilin Museum and the Freer painting of the Homecoming Ode were both shown to be based on earlier prototypes in the previous chapter. In each of these paintings Tao Qian is seen more than once. Further examples of early paintings based on literary themes in which the main character is repeatedly depicted are the ‘Nymph of the Lo River’ attributed to Gu Kaizhi (The Peking version is published in: Gu Gong Bo Wu Yuan, editors. Zhongguo Li Dai Hui Hua: Gu Gong Bo Wu Yuan Cang Hua Ji, Vol. 1, Peking: 1978, p. 2 - 19. A second version in the Freer Gallery is published in: Lawton, Thomas, Chinese Figure Painting, Washington: The Freer Gallery of Art, 1973, p. 18 - 29., and Qiao Zhongchang's painting of Su Dongpo's 'Ode on the Red Cliff' (See: Sickman, Lawrence. Chinese Calligraphy and Painting in the Collection of John M. Crawford, Jr. New York: Pierpoint Morgan Library, 1963, p. 72 - 75.


Zhou Mi, (1232-1308) was a well known scholar, poet and connoisseur of painting. The text is a catalogue of paintings, calligraphy, jades, bronzes, ceramics and musical instruments in 45 collections
that he had viewed.


7. Guo Ruoxu 郭若虚, *Tu Hua Jian Wen Zhi 图画见闻志* 6 juan, circa 1070 AD. Guo Ruoxu was a minor official at the Northern Song court. His text includes notes of 291 artists from late Tang to 1070 and can be used as a sequel to *Li Dai Ming Hua Ji*. The text has been translated and discussed by Soper, Alexander C. *Kuo Juo-hsu's Experiences in Painting*, Washington, 1951.

8. Xuan He Hua Pu 宣和画谱 20 juan, preface 1120. Hua Shi Zong Shu edition. Peking: 1973. This is the catalogue of paintings in the Imperial collection of Hui Zong (reigned 1101 - 1126). It has been suggested that Mi Fei was the compiler. A total of 6,396 paintings by 231 artists are recorded.
Chapter Three Notes (continued)


10. Lawton, Thomas, Chinese Figure Painting, Washington: The Freer Gallery of Art, 1973, p. 38.

11. Zhou Mi., Ibid., juan 1, p. 25.


juan 16, p. 2., This is a catalogue of the paintings and calligraphies in the Imperial collection at the time of Qian Long. It was commissioned April 23, 1744.


17. *Xuan He Hua Pu*, juan 11, p. 125.


Wen Jia (1501-1583) a son of Wen Zhengming, was asked in 1565 to go over the paintings and calligraphies of Yán Song (1480-1565). Yán had been Grand Secretary from 1542 to 1562 and a great favourite of Jia Qing. He amassed a great fortune, including substantial numbers of paintings, before he fell from power. The text is Wen Jia's lists and brief descriptions of these paintings and calligraphies.

Chapter Three Notes (continued)

24. There are two paintings in the National Palace Museum, Taiwan attributed to Jia Shigu. One is a Kuanyin seated on a rock (reproduced: Photo Archives of the National Palace Museum, SV80.) the other two figures in a landscape (reproduced: Photo Archives of Chinese Art Treasurers, # 38). The reliability of these two paintings has never been substantiated. Neither of them corresponds to the Li Gonglin "bai miao" tradition.

25. Li E 莊菊, Nan Song Yuan Hua Lu 南宋院画錄 8 juan, 1721. MSZS, Vol. 7, IV/4, Juan 2. Li E (1692-1752) was a poet and a scholar. The text is a compilation from diverse sources of material about painters and paintings of the Southern Song Painting Academy. 97 painters are listed; the information about them is drawn from 91 texts written between the Song and Qng.


28. Yu Fengqing 郁逢庆, Yu Shi Shu Hua Ti Ba Ji 郁氏书画题跋记 12 juan, postscript 1363. YSSJXZ edition, 1970., juan 7, p. 8; Yu Fengqing was a late Ming connoisseur. The text is a compilation of inscriptions and colophons from paintings Yu Fengqing had seen.
Chapter Three Notes (continued)


33. Yu Ding Li Tai Ti Hua Shi Lei 御定历代画诗类 Early edition in the Central Institute of Fine Arts, Peking, juan 36.

34. Jin Shi 金史, Zhongguo Shu Ju edition, Peking: 1976. Liu Ying's biography is found in juan 100. Wang Ruoxu's biography is found in juan 126. Lu Duo and Liu Jiong are not found in any of the standard reference sources.
CHAPTER 4 NOTES:


2. Unpublished. Photos were generously supplied by Dr. Li Chu-tsing.


12. Li Chu-tsing, Letter of March 11, 1980. On the contrary, as described above, the attribution to He Cheng in Zhang Zhongshou's colophon seems very firm.

13. Xu Bangda, Ibid. p. 53


16. Lawton, Thomas, Ibid. p. 158

17. Matsumoto, Moritaka, Dr. Matsumoto, in a conversation August 15, 1980, indicated that dots in a series, similar to those seen on the Taoist Divinity of Water, are found on numerous copies and tracings of Buddhist paintings in Japan.


20. Wenwu Chu Ban She, editors. Ibid. See the figures of the San Qing Dian hall (1325).


28. Li Chu-tsing, Letter of March 11, 1980. The seal does not correspond to any of the recorded seals of Xian Yushu. Li Chu-tsing points out that "The seal is in an illogical position (it should be in the corner, if it is an original Yuan seal, rather than above those Qing seals.")"
BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following abbreviations are used: MSCS, Mei Shu Cong Shu (Compiled by Deng Shi and Huang Bin hong, 黄宾虹), 1912-36. Reprint of the 1947 enlarged edition, Taipei, n.d.


Li Kung-Lin's "Hsiao Ching T'u" (Doctoral Dissertation, Princeton University, 1967)


Cahill, James., "Chien Hsuan and His Figure Painting", Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America, XII, 1959, p. 11-29.


Chen Jiru  陈继儒  Ni Gu Lu 妮古录 4 juan, MS'CS, Vol. 5 I/10.


Gao Shiqi 高士奇, Jiang Cun Shu Hua Mu 江村书

Jiang Cun Xiao Xia Lu 江村小夏录 3 juan, 1693.

Gu Gong Bo Wu Yuan, editors., Zhongguo Li Dai Hui Hua: Gu Gong Bo Wu Yuan Cang Hua Ji 中国历代绘画: 故宫博物院藏画集

Gu Fu 顾复, Ping Sheng Zhuang Guan 平生壮观

Guo Ruoxu 郭若虚, Tu Hua Jian Wen Zhi 图画见闻志


"T'ao Ch'ien's 'Drinking Wine' Poems" Wen-lin, 1968, p. 3-44.

Hou, Renzhi 侯仁之 "Dadu, Capital City of Yuan Dynasty and Beijing, Capital City of the Ming and Qing Dynasties." 元大都与明清北京

Joint Board of Directors of the National Palace Museum and National Central Museum., Signatures and Seals on Painting and Calligraphy 联合举办书画家签名款印谱

Gu Gong Ming Hua San Bai Zhong 故宫名画三百种 (Three Hundred Masterpieces of Chinese Ptg. in
the Palace Museum) Taichung, Taiwan: 1959.


"Six Late Yuan Dynasty Figure Paintings", Oriental Art, Vol. XX, #3, Autumn, 1974.

Lawton, Thomas., Chinese Figure Painting, Washington: Freer Gallery of Art, 1973.


Li E., Nan Song Yuan Hua Lu 南宋院画录 8 juan, supplement 1 juan. 1721. MSCS, Vol. 7 IV/4.


Mi Fei 米芾 Hua Shi 画史 1 juan, circa 1100 A.D., MSCS, Vol. 10 II-9.


Wang Yuanqi *Pei Wen Zhai Shu Hua Pu* 佩文齋畫譜 100 juan., Early undated edition printed from original blocks, Central Institute of Peking. Fine Arts.


Wen Wu Chu Ban She *Yong Le Gong Bi Hua Xuan Ji* 永樂宣德畫選集 Peking: 1958.
Wu Sheng Da Guan Lu 大观录 reprint of manuscript in National Central Library, 1970.


Yi Yuan Duo Ying 艺苑掇英 Number 6, Shanghai: 1979.

Yu Ding Li Dai Ti Hua Shi Lei, (Compiled under the auspices of Emperor Kang Xi.) Early edition in the Central Institute of Fine Arts, Peking.

Yu Fengqing 郁逢庆 Yu Shi Shu Hua Ti Ba Ji 郁氏书画题跋 12 juan, 1633. YSSJXZ, Facsimile reprint of manuscript in National Central Library, 1970.

Yu Ji 虞集 Dao Yuan Xue Gu Lu 道园学古录 Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1935.


Zhang Chou 张丑 Qing He Shu Hua Fang 清河书画舫 12 juan, 1616. Edition of 1875 in the Central Institute of Fine Arts, Peking.

Zhang, Zhao 张照 Shi Qu Bao Ji Chu Bian 石渠宝笈
初编 44 juan., Early (undated edition in Central Institute of Fine Arts, Peking).

Zhou Mi 周密 Yun Yan Guo Yan Lu 烟过眼录
2 juan., MSCS, Vol. 6 II/2.

Zhou Shilin 周石林 Tian Shui Bing Shan Lu 天山
冰山录 1 juan, in: Zhi Bu Zhai Cong Shu
(Compiled by Bao Tingbo, 1776).
APPENDIX - PART 1:

At the trailing edge of the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode, positioned in the centre of the scroll is an eight character inscription that reads "Painted by the Taizhong Daifu He Mijian" (Taizhong Daifu He Mijian Bi 太中大夫 何秘监笔 ). The inscription is written in regular "li" script in a hand that can be characterized as lacking force and grace. Individual strokes appear clumsy and without fluency.

It is generally agreed that the inscription was not written by the artist⁴, although the notion has been defended by others.² It is improbable that an artist, either as a high court official or lowly painter-in-attendance, amateur or professional would use his official titles in writing his personal signature. This form of signature, rich with bureaucratic title, seems especially inappropriate on a painting whose stated theme is withdrawal or retirement from the official world.

Furthermore, examination of various signatures of artists active at the Yuan court at approximately the same time confirms that this inscription is not the personal signature of He Cheng. An official painting by a court artist, Liu Guandao (Liu Kuan-Tao). Kubilai Khan Hunting was presented to the Emperor in 1281. This painting is signed by the artist in the following manner:

"Respectfully painted by the Keeper of the Imperial Wardrobe, your servant Liu Guandao" (Yu Yi Ju Shi 陈 Liu Guandao Gong Hua. 御衣局使臣刘贯道 恭画 ).³ A second painting by this same artist Whiling Away the Summer,
in the Nelson Gallery, is signed with the personal name "Mu-Tao" (Guandao). This personal and unofficial signature is entirely appropriate to the theme of this painting of the scholar at leisure.

Wang Zhenpeng (Wang Chen-p'eng), a court artist active just after He Cheng uses the same conventions to sign his paintings. The Dragon Boat Regatta in the Chin-ming Pond of 1323 was painted on the instruction of the Grand Elder Princess (Princess Sengge) and is signed:

"Lin-chi-ling (In charge of the Granary), Wang Chen-p'eng, prostrating himself, respectfully painted and wrote this."  

Wang Zhenpeng signed the Mahaprajapati Nursing the Infant Buddha, now in the Museum of Fine Arts of Boston, with the personal signature "Chen-p'eng". A third example, The Ta-Ming Palace in the Crawford Collection is signed "Wang Chen-p'eng, Ku-yun ch'u-shih...The Solitary Cloud Hermit."  

The above examples show that the official title was used on the occasion of presenting a work to the court. Nonetheless, it was used in conjunction with the artist's family name (xing 姓) and given names. In the signing of less official or personal paintings, the artist discarded his bureaucratic title in favour of his given name or style name. (For example one of Wang Zhenpeng's style name was "the Solitary Cloud Hermit"). These examples confirm that the inscription of Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode with its inclusion of not one, but two official titles (the second one, following He Cheng's family name,
usurps the place of his given name) is not an appropriate personal signature of the artist.

If one accepts the inscription was not written by the artist, is it possible to ascertain who added it, at what time and why the artist's official titles were used?

Xue Yongnian believes that the inscription was added sometime during the Yuan dynasty, perhaps in the latter decades. He bases this judgment on a number of factors. The ink colour and calligraphic style are quite similar to the brushwork of the painting itself. Fading of ink is consistent throughout which should point to a similar age. The penetration of ink through the paper and its resultant appearance is also consistent with the penetration seen in the painting where similar densities can be observed.

Of further importance in ascertaining the date and authorship of the inscription is its wording and tone. The use of the official titles extends logically from their use in the colophons on the paintings by He Cheng, and in historical sources. In the earliest colophon to mention He Cheng, that of Zhang Zhongshou on the Taoist Divinity of Water, the artist is referred to affectionately as "old He, Taizhong Daifu". Cheng Qufu, on the formal occasion of writing poems for the Emperor, used He Cheng's name and included three titles: Zhongfeng Daifu, Taizhong Daifu and Mishu jian.

Zhao Mengfu, a personal acquaintance of He Cheng, used the artist's personal name on his colophon. This colophon is, in
fact, the earliest piece of writing on the Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode to mention the artist by name. After He Cheng's death, his personal name is no longer used, but instead his official titles are included with his family name. For example, Wei Su, writing in 1364, calls the artist He Zhaowen. Wu Mian, writing a few years later, calls him He Mijian, as in the inscription. These examples indicate that during the last decades of the Yuan dynasty, the artist was remembered not by his personal name, but only by the official titles recorded on the scroll.

There are two reasons for believing the inscription dates from the latter part of the Yuan dynasty. There are Xue Yongnian's observations that the calligraphy dates from that period, and furthermore, the above examples of Wei Su and Wu Mian indicate that colophons of that period use firstly the family name followed by one or more official titles. It is impossible to identify the writer of the inscription, but it does not belong to any of the authors who wrote colophons on the scroll. The calligraphic style of the inscription does not match the styles of the calligraphy on any of the colophons.
APPENDIX - PART 2:

The Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode handscroll bears a number of seals attesting to the age and provenance of the painting. Unfortunately however, there is no personal seal of the artist, but there are various seals of early Yuan scholars, painters and connoisseurs which evidence the early date of the scroll. In addition, seals of important collectors, from the Yuan to the Qing dynasty and imperial seals of different reigns provide a record of ownership from the time of painting down to the present century. The seals of the painting proper, and the calligraphic section will be enumerated and discussed independently.

The earliest seals on the painting are those of the noted Qing collector Gao Shiqi (高士奇) (1645-1704). The painting was apparently mounted in its present form during the time it was in his possession. At least one of Gao Shiqi's seals is found on each of the paper joints on the painting as well as in the colophon section. The following seals are seen on the painting.

Gao Shiqi (Kao Shih-ch'i 高士奇)¹

This square seal appears six times on the painting: low on the title section where the paper joins the silk mounting, covering the joint of the second and third sheets of paper (lower), the third and fourth sheets (lower), the sixth and seventh sheets (lower, by the tree trunk), the seventh and eighth sheets (lower portion) and eighth and ninth sheets (lower). There is a possibility that the joint between the ninth and tenth sheets is uncovered, or perhaps, the faded seal is indecipherable. The seal is also found immediately after the piece of silk which
separates the painting from the calligraphic section.

Bei Shu (Pei Shu 北墅)\textsuperscript{2}

This seal bears the name of Gao Shiqi's retreat in Zhejiang (Chekiang) province and is the upper seal on the title paper and after the silk mounting at the beginning of the calligraphy section. It is also used to cover the paper joints at the seam between the fourth and fifth sheets of paper.

Zhu Chuang (Chu Ch'uang 竹窗)\textsuperscript{3}

The Zhu chuang (Chu ch'uang) or Bamboo Window seal depicts one of Gao Shiqi's brush names and is also found covering seams. It is seen at the upper border covering the joint between the first and second pages and near the bottom of the seam between the fifth and sixth sheets.

Jiang Cun Mi Cang (Chiang'ts'un Mi Ts'ang 江村秘藏)\textsuperscript{4}

This medium size square seal is positioned on the lower leading edge of the painting, covering the joint formed by the mounting paper and the painting proper.

Gao Shiqi Tu Shu Ji (Kao Shih-ch'i T'u Shu Chi 高士奇图书记)\textsuperscript{5}

A rectangular seal impressed over the seam at the lower trailing edge of the painting and the mounting paper.

The total number of seals belonging to Gao Shiqi is twelve.

There are four imperial seals of the Qian Long
(Ch'ien-lung) emperor who reigned from 1736 to 1795. Impressed on the leading edge of the painting, at the seam where the painting and the mounting meet are:

Shi Qu Bao Ji (Shih Ch'u Pao Chi)
Bao Ji San Pian (Pao Chi San P'ien)

Both of these seals are Palace seals of the Qing and were customarily placed in this position at the time the painting was recorded in the Qian Long imperial catalogue, Shi Qu Bao Ji.

At the end of the scroll two additional Qian Long seals are located:

San Xi Tang Jing Jian Xi (San Hsi T'ang Ching Chien Hsi)
Yi Zi Sun (I Tzu Sun)

The painting passed into the Jia Qing (1196 - 1820) at the end of the Qian Long period. There are two Jia Qing imperial seals.

Jia Qing Yu Lan Zhi Bao (Chia Ch'ing Yu Lan Chih Pao)
This seal is found in the opening segment of the painting in the upper level.

Jia Qing Jian Shang (Chia Ch'ing Chien Shang)
This seal is printed in the upper portion of the scroll near the terminus.
Three seals of the Xuan Tong (Hsuan-t'ung) emperor, Pu Yi (P'u-i) were placed on the painting while in his possession during the short-lived Japanese dynasty in Manchuria.

Xuan Tong Yu Lan Zhi Bao (Hsuan-T'ung Yu Lan Chih Pao)

This seal is on the first sheet of the upper portion of the painting, and the following two seals are placed under the two Qian Long imperial seals at the end of the painting.

Xuan Tong Jian Shang (Hsuan-T'ung Chien Shang)

Wu Mian Zhai Jing Jian Xi (Wu Mien Chai Ching Chien Hsi)

There are a total of nineteen seals on the painting; an additional four, all belonging to Gao Shiqi, are on the surrounding mounting.

The second portion of the handscroll is the calligraphic or colophon section. The earliest seals to be seen here are those belonging to Zhang Zhongshou, a noted calligrapher and Hanlin scholar active at the beginning of the fourteenth century. His calligraphy was said to be second only to that of Zhao Mengfu.

The three seals used by Zhang Zhongshou are as follows:

Chou Zhai (Ch'ou Chai)

Chou Zhai was the "hao"of Zhang Zhongshou, and this seal is found after the signature (the first of three), and is also impressed across the seems where paper is joined. It is used
seven times.

Zi Yi Sou (Tzu I Sou 自怡叟 )

This seal is the middle seal found after the signature.

Qing Li Lu Zhaun (Ch'ing Li Lu Chuan 青笠绿毯)

This seal is also found on the Taoist Divinity of Water attributed to He Cheng in the Freer Gallery, Washington.\textsuperscript{11}

The colophon by Yao Sui 姚遂, head of the Hanlin Academy during the Zhi Da reign era, is followed by a seal which is difficult to decipher, but according to the \textit{Shi Gu Tang Shu Hua Hui Kao} 式古堂书画故考, it reads as follows:

Cao Shu (Ts'ao Shu 草书 )\textsuperscript{12}

Neither Yao Sui's name or seal are recorded in the usual seal reference texts. However, Yao Sui's biography is recorded in the \textit{Yuan Shi} (Yuan Shih).

The seal of Deng Wenyuan 邓之原 follows his colophon. Deng was a member of the literati and a friend of the painter Gao Gegong.

Ba Xi Deng Shi Shan Zhi (Pa Hsi Teng Shih Shan Chih 巴西邓氏善之 )\textsuperscript{13}

Liu Bida 刘伯大, also writing in 1309 used the following seal after his colophon:

Ju Li (Chu Li 菊里 )

It is unrecorded.

The well-known seal of Zhao Mengfu follows his colophon
of 1315:

Zhao Shi Zi Ang (Chao Shih Tzu Ang 趙氏子昂) 14

The colophon of Yu Ji 虞集 is sealed with the following:

Yu Ji Bo Sheng Fu (Yu Chi Po Sheng Fu 虞集仲生父) 15

The following two seals come after the colophon of Zhang Sizheng 張嗣成, a calligrapher noted for his cursive script, whose style name was Tai Xuanzi 太玄子.

San Shi Jiu Dai Tian Shi (San Shih Chiu Tai T'ien Shih 三十九代天师)
Tai Xuanzi (T'ai Hsuan Tzu 太玄子) 16

Ke Jiusi 柯九思, a well-known literati and art critic, was particularly famous after 1330, when he was appointed Master Connoisseur of Calligraphy (Jian Shu Boshi 鉴书博士) by Emperor Wen Zong (Wen-tsung). His colophon was probably written prior to that date, for after 1330 his signature and seals reflected his new official status. 17 The three seals on the scroll are as follows:

Ke Shi Jing Zhong (K'o Shih Ching Chung 柯氏敬仲)
Wen Zhen Zhai (Wen Chen Chai 温真斋)
Ji Yang Jun Tu Shu Yin (Chi Yang Chun T'u Shu Yin 濟陽郡图书印)

Wu Mian 吳勉, a name not found in standard biographical sources, wrote a colophon to which is added the following three seals:
Fan Jun Shi Yi (Fan Chun Shih I)
Wu Mian (Wu Mian)
Zhong Si (Chung Ssu)

None of these seals is recorded.

Following these early colophons are a number of comments by noted collectors of the Qing dynasty. These comments are written on a section of paper added by Gao Shiqi and separated from the early colophons by a segment of silk border. One can assume from the position of the seals of Gao Shiqi that this extra section was added during the time the painting was preserved in his collection.

Gao Shiqi's seals on the colophon section appear as follows:

Xiu Xiang Zhai (Hsiu-hsiang chai)

This seal is found below the three seals of Zhang Zhongshou at the end of his colophon. Gao's seal covers the seam, it is the only one of the four seals at this seam which is not cropped at the seam.

Gao Shiqi Tu Shu Ji (K'ao Shih-Čh'i T' u Shu Chi)

This seal is found immediately after Wu Mian's colophon covering the joint between the paper and the silk border.

Bao Wengweng (Pao Weng-weng)

This seal is found at the trailing edge of the silk
border covering the seam immediately prior to the first of Gao Shiqi's two colophons. This first colophon, dated 1674, is followed by two seals:

Gao Shiqi Yin (K'ao Shih-ch'i Yin 高士奇印 )
Tan Ren (T'an Jen 滇人 )22

The second colophon, consisting of three lines, is neither dated nor followed by seals.

In addition to those described above, Gao Shiqi also impressed seals in a number of other places on the scroll. Between the colophons of Yao Sui and Zhao Mengfu is the following seal:

Lang Run Tang Yin (Lang Jun T'ang Yin 朗潤堂印 )24

Near the end of Liu Bida's colophon, at the lower edge of the scroll covering a joint in the paper is the following seal:

Tan Ren (T'an Jen - see above)

At the next paper seam, after the colophon by Jie Xisi, is the following seal:

Zhu Chuang (Chu Ch'uang - see section of seals on painting)

Covering the paper seam between the colophons of Zhang Sizheng and Ke Jiusi is the following seal:

Jiang Cun Mi Cang (Chiang Ts'un Mi Ts'ang 江邨秘藏 )

Zhang Zhao (張照) followed his colophon with two seals:

Zhang Zhao Zhi Yin (Chang Chao Chih Yin 張照之印 )
The last colophon, that of Wang Wenzhi 王文治, is also followed by two seals:

Wang Shi Yu Qing (王氏禹卿) 
Meng Lou (夢樓)

In addition, there is one seal of the seventeenth century collector Bi Long (毕泷). He did not write a colophon and the seal is to be found covering a paper seam at the lower edge of the handscroll between the colophons of Jie Xisi and Zhang Sizheng:

Bi Long Shen Ding (毕泷审定)

The seals on the painting and calligraphic sections of the handscroll, while limited as evidence of its absolute authenticity, provide information about the original format and subsequent re-mountings. Careful scrutiny of the seals reveals one important problematic area where there are more questions than answers.

The present lay-out of the handscroll must exist from the time of Gao Shiqi. It is very probable that he had the scroll re-mounted during the time it was in his possession. The presence of his seals on all but one of the seams within the painting proper, and on many of the seams in the colophon section attests to its re-mounting at that time. The four seals placed at the intersection of the mountings (in front of, and behind the painting) also attest to this wish to establish the authenticity of the painting. Other clues indicating the re-mounting are visible
in the slight mis-matching of brush strokes and jarred motifs at various seams between sheets of paper. In each case Gao Shiqi's seal is undisturbed, indicating that it was applied after the re-mount. The fact that there is no seal on the surface of the painting prior to the early Qing period may seem rather puzzling, particularly as the painting bears an impressive group of early Yuan colophons. However, logic would seem to rule out the possibility of a later copy or forgery pretending to be a Yuan painting. Going to the extremes of attaching a forged painting to an early group of colophons, would intimate the deception, and increased chance of profit, should have extended to the inclusion of faked Yuan seals.

The first group of colophons from Zhang Zhongshou to Wu Mian, the first eleven sheets of paper and, in fact, all of the Yuan dynasty writings, must have existed in that form from the end of that dynasty. (The Qing colophons are mounted separately and divided from the Yuan colophons by a length of silk border.)

The seals indicate that at the time that Zhang Zhongshou was writing, there were already eight or nine sheets of paper mounted as a scroll. Zhang Zhongshou's "Chou Zhai" seal covers the seams formed by the joining of these eight sheets. The dates of some of the colophons also indicate that originally only the writings of Zhang Zhongshou (1309), Yao Sui (1309), Deng Wenyuan (1309) and Liu Bida (1309) were included. In fact, these dates, the Zhang Zhongshou "Chou Zhai" seal and the content of the writings of the above four, prove conclusively that this section was the original handscroll. There was no painting
attached to the front of the scroll and none of the above four
writers mention a painting or an artist. It is not until 1315
when Zhao Mengfu, in writing his colophon in the space between
those of Yao Sui and Deng Wenyuan, mentions He Cheng and the
painting *The Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode*. That the paint-
ing was attached to the original handscroll is confirmed by Yu
Ji writing in 1325. His rather cramped colophon was written
between those of Deng Wenyuan and Liu Bida. Because there are
no further Zhang Zhongshou "Chou Zhai" seals subsequent to the
writings of Liu Bida, it can be assumed that the handscroll was
extended after 1309.

Careful examination of the date and signature at the end of the poem written by Zhang Zhongshou reveals a difference in the density and penetration of inks when compared to the writing in the main body of the text. It can be seen that the ink of the signature has been applied with a dry brush, traces of the underlying paper are visible through the ink and there is an uneven penetration into the paper, particularly at the outer edges of the characters. This problem of ink appearance could be a result of Zhang Zhongshou using different inks and brushes for his signature from those used in the main text of the poem. After writing out his calligraphic version of the poem, he could have changed to a finer, drier brush. This is a measure commonly employed by calligraphers to separate the art of the writing from the more prosaic, although not unaesthetic, style of the signature.

Further examination of the signature show a marked stylistic difference in the writing of the character "chou" (ch'ou 田寿 ). For example, in the main body of the poem, "chou"
is written with a more cursive flourish and in the graphically more simplified form. This form can be found repeated in the signature of a colophon by Zhang Zhongshou on the painting Taoist Divinity of Water attributed to He Cheng and to be found in the Freer Gallery, Washington. It is also recorded in this form on a work by Zhang Zhongshou in the National Palace Museum, Taipei. The form of the character "chou" to be found in the signature at the end of Zhang Zhongshou's colophon on The Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode has a more complex and regularized form. Unless this signature is to be discounted as unauthentic, this disturbing discrepancy can best be explained as an unrecorded variant of Zhang Zhongshou's normal style.

Adjacent to the signature are the three seals previously described, "Chou Zhai", "Zi Yi Sou" and"Qing Li Lu Zhuan". It can be seen that the latter two of these seals have been cropped on the left side border. At the top of the adjoining paper is a second "Chou Zhai" seal in its customary position covering a seam joint. The right half of this seal is missing, therefore the seam joint is uncovered, or more specifically tells us that it was once covered, but underwent subsequent changes. The cropped seals indicate trimming of the papers at both edges. It has been suggested that Gao Shiqi, on remounting, removed a colophon from this section. This would explain the loss of the right side of the "Chou Zhai" seal, but, if this theory is correct, what might the removed section have been. The authors of the later colophons often mentioned the names of those who had previously written on the scroll and this is particularly true of Yu Ji, who praised by name each of those whose brush had touched the paper prior to his own. They were He Cheng, Zhang Zhongshou,
Yao Sui, Zhao Mengfu and Deng Wenyuan and they are depicted in exactly the same order as the handscroll stands today. Had there been a colophon between the writings of Zhang Zhongshou and Yao Sui, the meticulous Yu Ji would most certainly have recorded its existence.

It is possible that a removed section might have contained a further passage by Zhang Zhongshou, perhaps a dedicatory inscription. As Zhang Zhongshou's calligraphic art was well-known and his work highly valued, it is possible that one work may have been divided. This practice was certainly not uncommon.

The variables of possible alterations to Zhang Zhongshou's work are somewhat numerous, but that an alteration has been made is indisputable. The differences of ink appearance in the signature from the main body of text, the change in style of the character "chou" and the cropping of the seals lead to many speculations of possible removals and re-insertions. These speculations are impossible to clarify unequivocally. The literary evidence, both on the scroll and in the essays of collectors, neither satisfy nor offer any further solution to the abnormalities.
APPENDIX - PART THREE:
ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE HOMECOMING ODE

Colophon 1
Zhang Zhongshou 張仲壽
(The colophon is a complete transcription of Tao Yuanming's Homecoming Ode.)

Zhi Da reign era, summer of "yiyu" year. Written by Chou Zhai 智齋. (1309 A.D.)

ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE HOMECOMING ODE
Colophon 2
Yao Sui 湯遂.

Chou Zhai's calligraphy is in the style of Li Beihai 李北海 (a Tang dynasty calligraphy), but his "yun" (spirit) surpasses that of Li. Chou Zhai said: "I have often written out the Homecoming Ode and given it to other people." Even if he hadn't said this others would have known of it. How? He has taken "chou" as the name of his studio. He took this character from the words of the poem: "The farmers tell me that now spring is here there will be work to do in the west fields."

Zhi Da reign era, "yiyu" year. Yao Sui saw this at the Yu Su in Shenzhou. (1309 A.D.)

ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE HOMECOMING ODE
Colophon 3
Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 1254 - 1322 A.D.

The general administrator of paintings, He Cheng, a man of Yan, painted this scroll when he was over ninety years of age. The figures, the trees, the rocks, all are of great interest. The officials of the capital are extremely well disposed to his
Appendix - Part Three Notes (continued)

paintings. (This scroll) also has Tao Yuanming's Homecoming Ode written out by the official Zhang (Zhongshou). These are two exceptional things.

The seventh day of the ninth month of "yimao" year, Yan You reign era. Written by Wuxing 吴兴, Zhao Mengfu. (1315 A.D.)

ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE HOMECOMING ODE
Colophon 4
Deng Wenyuan 邓文原 1258 - 1328 A.D.

In all of their activities the ancient sages were true of heart, they were without affectation. This can be seen when one reads the preface to Tao Yuanming's Homecoming Ode. The Chou Zhai official happily wrote this to present to a friend. What feeling it has, too!

The first day of the eighth month of "yiyu" year, Zhi Da reign era. Written by Gufu 古涪, Deng Wenyuan. (1309 A.D.)

ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE HOMECOMING ODE
Colophon 5
Yu Ji 虞集 1272 - 1348 A.D.

The officials of the capital revere and respect the paintings of old He. At the time that he lived every scroll commanded a price of a thousand pieces of gold. The Daxue shi 大学士 of the Zhao Wen Guan 昭文官 (He Cheng) was over ninety years of age when he died. His paintings have daily increased in value, now they are worth several times (the original
price). Zhang Chou (Zhang Zhongshou) paid much attention to his calligraphy, he collected numerous old specimens. He had personally seen the previous dynasty's (Song) Imperial collection of old books and calligraphy. The inkstones, inks, papers, and brushes that he used were all of the highest quality. These were the methods that he used in his calligraphy. The official of the Hanlin was over eighty when he died. Yao Muan (Yao Sui) was imposing in stature and emotions, yet he loved to talk about other peoples' good characteristics. The gentleman of Wuxing, Zhao Songxue (Zhao Mengfu) was precise, penetrating and strict in his assessments (of paintings and calligraphy). He never went back on his word. Nowadays none of these men are to be seen again. Deng Jijiu (Deng Wenyuan) is alone with the beauty of the brush and calligraphy. Today there is this scroll, how can I not be filled with emotion!

Seen the second month of "yichou", Tai Ding reign era.
Written by Yu Ji. (1325 A.D.)

ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE HOMECOMING ODE

Colophon 6

Liu Bida 刘必大

Chou Zhai wrote out this poem. He also said that some time in the past Dongpo (Su Shi) had written a poem in accordance with the emotion of the Homecoming Ode. The poem was in five character lines and ten stanzas long. Chou Zhai didn't know that aside from this poem based on Tao Yuanming's poem, Dongpo also wrote another essay in accordance with the Homecoming Ode.

Ziyou 子由 (Su's brother) had been demoted and was
living at Haikang. At that time Zizhan (Su Shi) requested Yingbin to write a poem together with him. It has been said that Yuanming's bold and unconstrained nature and Su Dongpo's eloquence cannot be matched by other people. When old Dong wrote his version of Tao's poem he had already been demoted and was living at Zhanghua. As he was making his home far away from his native place and was exiled in Hainan he couldn't speak of returning to his home.

Today I have written this and copied out Dong's poem to pair it with the poem of Tao Yuanming.

Written out with reverence on a day in mid-autumn of the year "yiyu," Nanyue Laoren, Juli, Bida (1309 A.D.)

ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE HOMECOMING ODE

Colophon 7

Jie Xisi 楊傑斯 1274 - 1344 A.D.

The Homecoming Ode by the esteemed Yuanming is a scroll of painting and calligraphy. The painting is by He Zhaowen 何昭文 and the calligraphy is by Zhang Chengzhi 張承旨. During He Cheng's lifetime his paintings were greatly respected. Nowadays scholars in the capital have just the same feeling. In calligraphy, Zhang Chengzhi is said to have walked just behind Zhao Mengfu. At that time it was impossible to find anyone amongst the palace officials who could surpass Zhang. Zhao Wuxing's assessment of this painting and calligraphy as "two extraordinary things" is very important to the value of the scroll.

Li Shihong 李士弘 often sketched bamboo and copied
ancient calligraphy. For each piece of paper he requested that Zhao Mengfu write a colophon. Later he gave the paintings to other people. He relied on Zhao's colophons to prove that his paintings had their origin in ancient styles and therefore were not worthless. Other people also did this, so I have recorded it here.

The evening of the twenty-seventh day of the ninth month of the second year of Zhi Yuan. Jie Xisi. (1336 A.D.)

THE ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE HOMECOMING ODE

Colophon 8
Zhao Mengfu

Qingjie (Tao Yuanming), knew and had mastered his fate. His writing was relaxed and elegant. This is his poem of returning from Pengze. Famous scholars of this dynasty have written out the poem and painted illustrations. The painting and the calligraphy should also be praised (with the poem).

Tai Xuanzi 太玄子 (Zhang Sicheng)

THE ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE HOMECOMING ODE

Colophon 9
Ke Jiusi 柯九思 1290 - 1343 A.D.

He Mi Jian became famous to the north through his painting. Zhang Zhengzhi felt that his calligraphy was better than others of the time. Yaowen and Zhao Wenmin (Zhao Mengfu) were both venerable old men. Venerable old gentlemen would never decieve me. I have taken this scroll, unrolled it and enjoyed it.

Danqiu 丹丘, Ke Jiusi.
ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE HOMECOMING ODE

Colophon 10

Yu Li, Wu Qizong, Zhang Shiming, Hu Yi, Wang Zhang, and Jiu Xin saw this painting together during the tenth month of the twenty-third year of Zhi Zheng. (1363 A.D.)

---

ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE HOMECOMING ODE

Colophon 11

On the sixth day of the eleventh month Yuzhang, Wang Wu heard (of this scroll) and went to see it at Wu Zhangshi's Yusu in the Xuegu Zhai. (1363 A.D.)

---

ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE HOMECOMING ODE

Colophon 12

Wei Su 1295 – 1372 A.D.

I was late in arriving at the capital to serve as an official. He Zhaowen and Zhang Zhongshou were already dead. In looking at their brush and ink traces fifty years later I am very delighted. How could I dare to place any criticism amongst their work.

The eighth month of the twenty-fourth year of Zhi Zheng reign era. Linzhuan, Wei Su wrote this. Seen together with the Guozi Boshi, Wu Xiaolong. (1364 A.D.)

---

ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE HOMECOMING ODE

Colophon 13

Wu Mian.
Those who have painted illustrations for the Homecoming Ode have been numerous, but only He Mijian could have painted this scroll. His composition is very unique, the changes and variations are many. The paintings of other artists cannot be compared to this one. Therefore I sigh in praise of this painting's beauty and am moved to write the following poem:

"Pengze's (Tao Yuanming) returning home from office wasn't really strange. His poem has been handed down for over a thousand years. Jinu (Song Wendi, reigned 424-453 A.D.), used his sword to conquer the barbarians and the Chinese, only Tao Qian in his drunkenness was unaware."

ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE HOMECOMING ODE

Colophon 14

Gao Shiqi 高士奇. He Mijian Cheng 何梅監澄, Tu Hui Bao Jian 杜惠寶全 doesn't record this man. In the collected works of the Jiuling Shanren, Dai Liang there is a poem in praise of the landscapes of He Jiancheng 何監澄 which states: "Mijian He Hou 何侯 has been painting landscapes since the Zhi Zheng era, his paintings are unique in their beauty. The Emperor Xuanwen 帝御宣文 frequently called him to audience, unrolling a few scrolls the Emperor's expression would show great happiness." The poem also states: "Within the country the artists are uncountable, but how many are there as able as He Hou? Nobles and high officials leave empty the seat of honour in their halls he is often requested to cover their walls with fog and mists." Now, the colophons of the gentlemen written on this scroll prove that it is this man.
The Tu Hui Bao Jian is disordered, there are also many errors and omissions. For instance, in the works of Zhuhui (Zhu Xi) (1130–1200) a famous Neo-Confucian philosopher) there is a poem about the paintings of Zhu Sheng which says: "I asked the gentleman where he had obtained this painting, beautiful jade and precious pearl couldn't compare to it. He replied that it was from the old gentleman Zhu of Quzhou, an artist whose naturalness was that of the Yin and Yang." There is also a two couplet poem written after seeing a painting by Zhu Xiaoyou (Zhu Sheng). "In the heavens the clouds surround the mountains, on the river the mists obscure the trees, it is not the light of the dawn which can be seen, who knows the depth of the layers (of mists). The grass hut stands at the waters edge, in the river's stillness the autumn moon is cold. One knows that this remarkable scene is not for everyone to appreciate." There is also a poem about a small screen titled, "Dew on Verdant Trees", it was also painted by Zhu Xiaoyou. Who was this man Zhu Sheng that Zhu Xi would trouble himself to write not just one, but three poems? There is no entry for Zhu Sheng in the Song section of the Tu Hui Bao Jian. It can be seen that the book is not complete. Therefore I have written about He Mijian and his Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode.

Jiangcun, Gao Shiqi.

TAOIST DIVINITY OF WATER

Colophon 1
Zhang Zhongshou 张仲寿

The Three Taoist Agents of the great Emperor on the
march. Tang, Ke and Zhou were three true and lofty sages. This painting is from the brush of the gentleman He, Taizhong Daifu 韓. He is now eighty-seven years old. He walks without a stick, sits without slouching and eats as if he was only fifty or sixty. As he usually exercised (his brush) every day he surpassed other people, his brush strength didn't decline. In brushwork and painting many younger painters were not up to his standard. A hundred years from now this painting can be unrolled and examined, it can be compared without disgrace to the paintings of the Tang dynasty masters.

Late afternoon in the eighth month, autumn of the third year of Zhi Da. Qiantang 錢 庚 , Chou Zhai 梓 甚 , Zhang Zhongshou. (1310 A.D.)

THREE VERSES ON THE "JIE HUA" OF HE CHENG
(postscript)
Cheng Qufu 程鉉夫 1249-1318 A.D.
Xue Lou Ji 雪楼记.
juan 9 (unpaginated)
"Poems Written at the Emperor's Request"

The Daxue shi of the Zhaowen Guan of the right, Zhongfeng Daifu 中 奉 大 夫 , He Cheng, was ninety years of age when he presented these paintings to the Emperor. Cheng's paintings are very natural, he was already famous at the time of Kubilai Khan when he was requested to enter the palace. At the beginning of the Zhi Da reign era (1308 A.D.) the Xingsheng Guan 興聖官 was built. The Empress Dowager commanded him to manage the painting affairs. He was promoted to the position of Taizhong Daifu 太 中 大 夫 and Mishu jian 稽 书 監
before he retired. How, today He Cheng has presented these paintings. The Emperor has thought them extraordinary and bestowed (upon He Cheng) a new title (Zhongfeng Daifu). He has requested that I write poems for the paintings and that they be stored in the Mige (Imperial Storehouse). This is to proclaim to all those of the present and the future his subtle skill. The men of ancient times (in their painting) did not approach the standard of beauty achieved by those of the present day. It is my humble opinion, that though there have been many since ancient times who have used brush and ink to depict the world, He Cheng has individually used the subject of the Gusu Tai, the Afang Gong and the Kunming Chi to lodge his ideas. He seems to be using his art to remonstrate with the Emperor.

I am happy to write poems for these paintings and to add them to the scroll so that they too will be handed down to later generations. The second month of the first year of the Huang Qing reign era. (1312 A.D.)
APPENDIX - PART ONE NOTES

1. Xue Yongnian, "He Cheng and His 'Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode', Wenwu, No. 8, 1973, p. 27.

2. Su Xingjun, Yi Yuan Duo Ying, No. 6, 1979, p. 46.

3. Joint Board of Directors of the National Palace Museum and the National Central Museum. Gu Gong Ming Hua San Bai Zhong, Taichung, Taiwan: 1959, p. 158. The painting is dated the seventeenth day of Zhi Yuan (1281).


5. Ibid., Entry No. 201.

6. Ibid., Entry No. 200.


8. Xue Yongnian, Ibid. Xue Yongnian also elaborated on this opinion in a conversation in Peking, April, 1980.


10. Cheng Qufu. A translation of this poem is in the Appendix, Part Three.

11. Zhao Mengfu. A translation of this colophon is in the Appendix, Part Three.
12. Wei Su. A translation of this colophon is in the Appendix, Part Three.

13. Wu Mian. A translation of this colophon is in the Appendix, Part Three.
APPENDIX - PART TWO NOTES:


10. Jie Xisi, Colophon to He Cheng's Illustrations to the Homecoming Ode. A translation is found in the Appendix, Part Three.

11. Signatures and Seals, Taiwan. Vol. 1, p. 262. (Chou Zhai). The second seal is not recorded. The third seal is not recorded but is found on the Taoist Divinity of Water, which is reproduced in Lawton, Thomas: Chinese Figure Painting, Washington: The Freer Gallery of Art, 1973. p. 156-159.
Appendix - Part Two Notes (continued)


15. This seal is not recorded in Contag and Wang or Signatures and Seals, Taiwan. Some seals of Yu Ji are recorded in the latter text. Vol. 1, p. 312-313.

16. Zhang Sicheng's seals are not recorded in either source.


22. Contag and Wang, p. 567, No. 34.

23. Contag and Wang, p. 567, No. 3 (variant).


25. Signatures and Seals, Taiwan, Vol. 3, p. 141. (Zhang Zhao Zhi Yin). The second seal is not recorded.
Appendix - Part Two Notes (continued)


Figure 1E

Figure 1F
Figure 1M

Figure 1N
Figure 1II detail

Figure 1IM detail
Figure 3A
Figure 3C

Figure 3D
Figure 4II
Figure 9
Figure 13A (Zhang Zhongshou)
百里之田，利足以为酒
故便求之，及少，日舂继有
便求之，及少，日舂继有
便求之，及少，日舂继有
便求之，及少，日舂继有
便求之，及少，日舂继有
便求之，及少，日舂继有
便求之，及少，日舂继有
便求之，及少，日舂继有

Figure 13B (Zhang Zhongshou)
悟己注之不谏知来者之可追定适途
未高觉今是而非非
舟遥以轻飙风飘而
吹衣问征夫以前路
恨晨光之熹微乃曙
衡宇载欣载奔役
迎接稚子候门三逐
欢盈树菊梅存携初
易室有酒盈樽引壶
以自酌眄庭柯以
风

Figure 13C (Zhang Zhongshou)
Figure 13D (Zhang Zhongshou)
貴非吾願帝鄉不可
期懷良辰以弘淫成
植枝而耘耔登東皋
以舒嶠臨清流而賦
詩聊乘化以歸去樂
夫天命奚可疑

（Yao Sui）

（Zhang Zhongshou）

Figure 13F

（Deng Wenyuan）

（Zhao Mengfu）
略

（未完）
Figure 13J (Gao Shiqi)
图15K (Zhang Zhao)
夫天命渡疑，
玉大已面夏畴，
inishu

三官大帝道家者流以以为唐 booze

于唐名手也至大三撰秋八月下渐日

Figure 14 (Zhang Zhongshou)