

TENSION IN 18TH CENTURY

CHINESE PAINTING

by

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## ABSTRACT

In Western scholarship, eighteenth century Chinese paintings have consistently been seen as playful, eccentric, and odd. This characterization has been based on the formal qualities of some of the paintings. At the same time, Chinese scholars have written of the scholarly virtues and ambitions of the painters producing the works. The contradiction between these two interpretations is in part consistent with the Western and Chinese approaches generally. But it also stems from the mixed signals and information generated in the eighteenth century. The nature of painting, not just formally, but socially has yet to be explained in a way which takes into account some actual historical contradictions of the eighteenth century.

In order to explain these historical tensions, I combine a biographical (Chinese) approach with a contextual approach (Western) in a study of two different scholar painters, Zheng Xie and Li Shan. I juxtapose biographical sources with artworks, and less official writings relating Zheng Xie and Li Shan, in order to describe the tensions involved in painting for the literatus within the merchant culture of Yangzhou.

These tensions existed between the literatus' expected status and that granted him, between his ideal of the role of painting in the scholar's life and the implications of commercial painting, and between his emphasis upon poetry

and his popularity as a painter. In all cases, the tensions in eighteenth century literati painting arise from the difficult relationship between the painter and patron, and between the painter and the ideas of a broader public. The lack of a clear definition of "scholar" and "scholar painting" amongst literati illustrates the literatus' loss of control over the definition of his lifestyle.



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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

During the eighteenth century, the rise of a merchant class altered the social fabric of China. Merchants profited mostly from the transportation of salt, and had been steadily increasing in numbers and wealth since the seventeenth century. By the eighteenth century, the most important center of transportation was the city of Yangzhou, nestled between the great canal and the Chang river. The merchants who resided there supported a thriving culture.

During the seventeenth century, merchants sought not only wealth but status. In China, status was synonymous with official rank. Thus, the merchants patronized the arts associated with the class of learned officials. Literati painting became the cultural currency of the day, being the art both closely associated with the scholar-official and most immediately recognizable as a sign of that status.

Meanwhile, the literati painting tradition underwent changes. Scholar-painters diversified their methods of production and sale, expanding the range of what could be called a scholarly community while retaining the ability to define literati painting. Thus, they were the purveyors of status.

In the eighteenth century, however, merchants began to dominate literati culture. This did not occur solely in the realm of art, but also socially through the acquisition of

official positions and wealth. With their dominance in the economic and social spheres, the merchants also became confident in their own taste and exerted the strongest influence upon literati life and painting.<sup>1</sup> The number of merchants increased dramatically at this time; and a burgeoning number of self-proclaimed scholars grew up to satisfy the needs and suit the tastes of these merchants.

Central phenomena of the time were the commonness of the title "scholar" and the economic and cultural power of the merchant. This could result in a life of conflict for scholars not from a merchant background who sought either office or retirement partly supported by the sale or trade of painting and calligraphy. These scholars were not accorded their traditional status. Instead, the individual scholar's status was lost amidst the commonness of the large number of scholars. The merchant dominance eliminated the traditional merchant "inferiority" which, along with that of the general populace, had previously given the scholar automatic cultural superiority.

In this thesis I will focus upon the tensions which existed between scholar-painters and patrons of Yangzhou, between the scholar's goals and the prevailing social realities, and between the status which the scholar sought and that which the situation allowed. I want to emphasize the existence of a number of merchant patronages in the eighteenth century which made this situation complex and challenging for the scholar.

I have focussed upon two contrasting scholars, Li Shan (1686-1760?) and Zheng Xie (1693-1765). A study of their lives and paintings illustrates the kinds of tensions which existed between their ideas or goals and the possibilities of the time.

Li Shan painted frequently because of his background as a painter at court, his personal inclination, and his financial need. However, he also had ideals which included serving as an official and living the life of a scholar. His frustration with his situation and the act of painting itself appear in his paintings.

Zheng Xie had greater success as an official. He also had the opportunity as well as the personal inclination to attempt to locate particular audiences more to his liking. He too, however, had to cope with the realities of the time. The difficulty he had accepting the practices of the day is shown by his anger at prevailing attitudes and popular opinions. Zheng Xie also responded against the identity of "painter" applied to him by the prevailing culture without his consent.

The paintings and writings which Li Shan and Zheng Xie produced disclose their particular methods of dealing with their situations, or mediating between their goals or ideas and the realities of the time. As well, Zheng Xie commented upon Li Shan in poems, prose, and letters, which clearly illustrate the tensions in the life of each man. It is their close and lifelong friendship which was the background

for their communication. Their friendship and the information it provides is a primary motive for my focussing upon them.

The tension which I detect within eighteenth-century society and the ideas and paintings of Li Shan and Zheng Xie is to me an important historical fact. This tension illustrates the impossibility of a complete reconciliation of the literati and merchant cultures in the eighteenth century. There was a conflict between the function of painting in the life of the literatus and the function and meaning which it took on when the literatus participated in the commercial sphere. These are the topics which I will address in this thesis.

In focussing my attention upon the social tensions of the eighteenth century, my interests, my handling of materials, and my method of argument lie between those of historians of painting and literature from China and one particular group of art historians in the United States.

The work of Chinese scholars can be represented by an article concerning Li Shan by Wang Luyu, which is translated as Appendix 8. Wang presents Li Shan as a scholar with aspirations for an official position who by circumstance was forced to paint for a living. This caused Li Shan to be embittered towards his situation.

Wang Luyu's treatment is idealized to an extent since he does not see a tension between Li Shan's painting activity and his official position, but rather a decided



embitterment towards the former. This places Li Shan in the role of brave martyr, or helpless victim. This is in accord with the principal traditional function of Chinese biographies, which was to set up moral standards and historical models. The victimized scholar is one of many biographical types which were used in official histories to confirm the righteousness of the scholar official. Even though Li Shan's situation as represented in the biographies implies disquiet in the empire, his maintenance of a moral ethic and endurance of moral hardship illustrate the moral principles on which the empire functioned.

In my thesis I will present material and paintings that modify Wang Luyu's presentation of Li Shan. This material manifests tensions which were not useful for official purposes. Instead it expresses Li Shan's dilemma over his sometimes happy acceptance of painting commercially and his regret over his dissolving opportunities for a life of officialdom, scholarly ease, and secure status.

The most methodologically motivated studies in the west, written by James Cahill and his student Ginger Cheng-chi Hsu, oppose the Chinese presentation of the eighteenth-century and its important figures.<sup>2</sup> Cahill and Hsu characterize painting in the eighteenth century as an economic act. They are responsible for the idea that eighteenth-century painting was the point of commercialization of the literati tradition at which the patrons began to determine the character of literati

painting. This period, as Cahill sees it, fell between the scholar-dictated commercial transactions of the seventeenth century and the patron-dictated commercial transactions of the nineteenth century. In this scheme, the eighteenth century is read as one more stage in a constant movement towards the commercialization of the literati tradition of painting.

Cahill's work more than any other scholar's has contributed to an understanding of Chinese paintings which is rooted in historical fact, as opposed to Eurocentric appreciation of formal characteristics. However, there are some problems with his approach to the eighteenth century which reflect the influence of a methodology shared by certain centers of scholarship active at present. This methodology implies that the meaning of history is its unavoidable economic reality. While this perspective illuminates much about history, it sometimes misses the cultural specificity or meaning of economic occurrences.

My goal is to present the particular response of Chinese scholar-artists to the rise of a merchant class. The situation in China, and what it meant, can not have been the same as in Europe. Thus there was not a "good life," as Cahill has called it in his recent interpretation of eighteenth-century painting, linking it to the seventeenth century in Holland.<sup>3</sup> Li Shan and Zheng Xie, were not members of a professional class of painters as in Europe. They were members of a scholar class in whose lives painting

held only one part of their attention. With the rise of the merchant class, the lives of these officials were filled with tensions which only the ideas and history of the literati tradition on meeting a rising merchant class could produce. The meaning of the historical occurrence was particularly Chinese.

A second problem with the western perspective on eighteenth-century painting is the way in which it dictates a description of the artist as a playful eccentric. This is clearly connected to Cahill's notion of the "good life" in the eighteenth century, and continues his early view of eighteenth-century painting which has not changed during his reformation of the field.<sup>4</sup> It also agrees unfortunately with formalist/psychological readings of images, taking oddness of paintings as a manifestation of the playful psychological state of the artist.

My paper attempts to bring the Chinese approach and the western approach together. I will give some credence to the biographical materials which qualify the interpretation of the painters as men engaged without complaint in the commercial production of art. I will also take into account the very real commercialization of the literati tradition in a way that will result in a more truthful version of "Li Shan" and "Zheng Xie" than the Chinese approach would allow. I am seeking to present the tensions between an established group and a rising merchant class, but with consideration of the particular Chinese ideas which members of each group

held, and with consideration of the particular function of Chinese literati paintings.

In this thesis I have used a thematic approach to the paintings in order to illustrate the connections between the paintings and the contexts in which they were painted. The result of this approach has been the uncovering of the painter's methods of dealing with the historical tensions of the eighteenth century. I have also tried to indicate that the significance of painting for each artist was different, and to give consideration to their overall stylistic developments. I have tried to remain open to other ways of reading images. One which I have made myself consciously include is the Chinese approach of reading both the calligraphy and painting as a unified statement. This approach was most important in the study of Zheng Xie's paintings in Chapter 4.

This thesis has four main Chapters. Chapter 2 presents the official biographies of Li Shan and Zheng Xie, and also contains evidence of their friendship. In this Chapter I will briefly suggest some of the tensions hidden in the official sources. I will also quote some eighteenth-century sources, including Zheng Xie's writings, in order to point out the increase in the number of scholars at that time, and to suggest the tensions which this phenomenon created. For the most part, however, this Chapter presents the official biographies in order to establish a foil against which I can oppose less official information and my own interpretations.

Chapter 3 presents an analysis of the functions and meanings of images of food in the painting of Li Shan and Zheng Xie. It concludes that these images acted as critiques of their patrons or as attempts to retain a didactic moral function for literati images. The different functions of these images depended upon the artist's situation and audience. Common to the works of both artists, however, is the polarization of the painter/patron relationship, or the opposition of the painter and patron. As well, both artists combined painting ideas from the "unorthodox" or non-literati tradition of painting with literati painting in order to achieve this polarization.

In Chapter 4, I concentrate upon a series of paintings and inscriptions produced by Zheng Xie while he was in Yangzhou. These exemplify many of the central issues of eighteenth-century painting for both Li Shan and Zheng Xie, but about which only Zheng Xie had the opportunity and reason to develop a coherent theoretical approach. Through his theory and painting Zheng Xie attempted to separate himself from the majority of the literati active at the time. He did so by moving outside of traditional literati modes of expression and thought in order to express literati ideas within a new framework. The purpose of this separation was also to criticize the many scholar-painters of the day, and to locate particular agreeable patrons with both elite literati and more innovative non-literati inclinations.

Chapter 5 is a comparison of the artists and their

works. The comparison focusses upon the polarization of the painter/patron relationship. In particular I point out how this relationship was qualified by the painter through his understanding of and participation in the workings of nature. He expressed his participation in the workings of nature in the painting, not only as a final visual and inscribed form, but as an activity. The shapes of the stylistic histories of Li Shan and Zheng Xie re-emphasize the fact that their styles were related to their backgrounds, and that their backgrounds, their attitudes, and expectations determined the nature of their artistic activity during their later years in Yangzhou. The tensions ensuing for both will be summarized through a study of unofficial written sources.

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1. James Cahill. Three Alternative Histories, 1988. Also see The Restless Landscape, 1981, edited by Cahill. This view is supported by his student Ginger Cheng-chi Hsu, in her article "Merchant Patronage," 1987, and also in her Ph.D., "Patronage," 1987.
  2. Ibid.
  3. Ibid.
  4. James Cahill, "A Rejected Portrait by Lo P'ing: Pictorial Footnote to Waley's 'Yuan Mei,'" 1959.

## CHAPTER 2

In this brief Chapter I do not want to describe how the culture of Yangzhou was flourishing. Nor do I want to show in detail that the eighteenth century was a time and Yangzhou a place pushed to the bustling limits by a newly risen merchant class. These points have been stated clearly in other writings.<sup>1</sup> Instead I want to present a more complex picture of patronage and briefly describe Yangzhou as a place of tension.

The patronages and the Yangzhou with which I am concerned will appear mainly through my analyses in the following chapters. Here, I want to mention the patronages already pointed out in the literature in order to establish a working notion of patronages, plural. I also want to give evidence for the burgeoning literati population and to introduce some evidence of the tensions inherent in this situation by quoting Zheng Xie's criticism of the multitude of scholars. Finally, I want to introduce Li Shan and Zheng Xie into this context through a discussion of their official biographies.

The different patronages which have been noted already in western scholarship include those patrons interested in scholarly writings and those interested in lewd entertainments.<sup>2</sup> There were those who were central in the scholarly gatherings of Yangzhou, but who played a smaller role in the perceived large-scale acquisition of paintings,



as well as the large "middle-class" who bought up those paintings.<sup>3</sup> Different patronages have also been suggested by classification of the artworks without specifically naming the patronages. For example, the more scholarly and more professional "sides" of Li Shan's paintings have been pointed out.<sup>4</sup> As well, a specific inherited style has been pointed out for Zheng Xie, which may well indicate an inherited patronage.<sup>5</sup>

It is not my goal here to agree or disagree with these interpretations, although I can say that they are all quite compatible and probably all existed simultaneously. I merely want to point out that within the larger group of individuals under the heading of "consumers of paintings," there were many different types of patrons. Of the conclusions in the scholarship summarized above, only the identification of a particular inheritance for Zheng Xie's works and the idea of more or less scholarly works for Li Shan strongly suggest this possibility. My analyses throughout the thesis will support these conclusions.

A second historical fact which I will be addressing in the thesis is the dramatic increase in the number of scholars in the eighteenth century. These were largely self-proclaimed scholars judging by the sources, interested in the patronage opportunities of the time. They radically changed the nature of the situation for the scholar who actually considered himself a scholar, or who had more lofty ambitions and elite expectations. Li Dou, an important

writer and historian of the time noted this phenomenon: "Yangzhou's calligraphers and painters are very numerous. Furthermore, they come and go as they please as guests, but belong to no-one..."<sup>6</sup> As well, Zheng Xie himself found the situation cause for consternation: "Now the city is full of painters and writers of calligraphy who are called 'famous scholars.' Would this not make Zhou Liang's (a famous sage) cheeks burn and turn the high-minded one's teeth cold?"<sup>7</sup>

The uniqueness of this situation in the history of China can not be underestimated. In the chapters following, and especially in Chapter 4, I will elaborate upon the specific problems which the increase in the number of scholars caused for the "true" or at least self-righteous Zheng Xie and his fellow countyman Li Shan.

Li Shan, whose paintings have always been recognized for their important influence upon nineteenth-century painting, has nonetheless been ignored in dissertations. Recently, he has received greater attention in exhibition catalogues.<sup>8</sup> Zheng Xie has received more attention than Li Shan, because of his prose which is lively, critical, and sarcastic, and because he discussed topics previously taboo in scholarly texts.

In treating the problem of painting in the eighteenth century, I have found it useful to focus upon a comparison of these two men and their friendship. By doing this I am able to insert the element of biography in a controlled way, treating their friendship as a real historical connection

which tells much of the nature of painting in the century.

Evidence is ample for the lifelong friendship between Zheng Xie and Li Shan and its convergence in some instances on the business of painting and the painting business. For example, the two men were from the same county and tested in the same year to become juren.<sup>9</sup> There are numerous poems and letters from Zheng Xie to Li Shan.<sup>10</sup> They also painted together several times when Li Shan was out of office.<sup>11</sup> After Li Shan's death, Zheng Xie remembered him in a poem which states that he would no longer have anyone with whom to discuss matters of painting.<sup>12</sup>

In an attempt to place these men into the historical context, one finds that the official biographical sources are of limited use, unless they are analyzed as being constructed for moral and imperial purposes. The particular historical tensions of the time are not written of in the biographies. But they can be recovered in part from the implications and discrepancies within them.

Zheng Xie's biography is in Qing shi liezhuan (Biographies of the Annals of the Qing Dynasty), volume 72, translated as Appendix 1, number 1. Li Shan's biography is in the Xinghua lishi zhuanlue (Historical Biographies of Xinghua), otherwise known as Li shi jiazhuan (Li Family Biographies), translated in Appendix 2, number 4. Both biographies present stock characterizations or idealizations of the scholar-artist. After reading the two biographies,

Li Shan and Zheng Xie seem to the reader to have been similar men. Both were able in writing poetry and had a secondary interest and ability in painting. Zheng Xie's painting method developed out of his calligraphy; while Li Shan was good at poetry, and also, that is secondarily, good at painting. This emphasis confirms the men's status as scholar's, since the ability to write was the most important attribute of the scholar.

A more blatant instance of idealization in the biographies is the painters' records as "pure" and "cherished" officials, which signify perfect morality and capability. Both were also discharged or left their offices because of disagreement with a senior official. This implies their unbending dedication to higher ideals or the people under their care. The honourable expulsion from office appears in most of the scholar-artist biographies, because of the need to explain their activities in the arts outside of office. There is also the idealistic characterization of Zheng Xie as a *literatus cum Santa Claus*.

The description of Yuan Mei's reaction when he heard of Zheng Xie's death, moreover, is utterly false. Zheng Xie met Yuan Mei several times during his life. The biographical account only serves to accentuate again Zheng Xie's writing ability, since, at that time, Yuan Mei was one of the greatest poets in China.<sup>13</sup>

In the biographies, Li Shan and Zheng Xie seem quite

similar in their interest in office, in their writing ability, in the secondary position of painting in their lives, and in the popularity of their paintings and calligraphy. The popularity of their painting and the priority of their writing implies that their writing functioned on a less popular and more elite level. Hence, we have the pleasant description of Zheng Xie's poetic activities in Yangzhou during his years of retirement.

In spite of the similarities between Li Shan and Zheng Xie as rendered in the biographies, their backgrounds, as presented in the biographies, are enormously different. The basic distinction to be made is between Li Shan's background as a painter at the imperial court and Zheng Xie's background as a constant scholar-official.

There is a discrepancy between these different "factual" backgrounds and the similar "idealized" characterizations of the men. I would argue that the historical realities are hidden somewhere within this discrepancy.

In the biographies, we do find some connections between the characterization and the background of both Li Shan and Zheng Xie. For example, Li Shan and Zheng Xie both valued their positions and were cherished officials, the ideal, but because of their differing degrees of success in office, the factual backgrounds, we find Li Shan in a state of sadness and Zheng Xie in a state of happiness during their retirement years. However, these are psychological

connections based on cause and effect, and, furthermore, they function only to aggrandize the idea of officialdom and the scholar. Thus, as in most Chinese biographical or historical writing, the connections between the individual and society are basically ahistorical. They explicate the universal truths of society under the Emperor more than they speak of the individual's circumstance or plight.

The historical realities for Li Shan and Zheng Xie are more available to us when we consider the implications of the ways in which certain ideals are presented within the biographies, and through the co-existence of potentially contradictory information. For example, there is the fact that Li Shan's greater ability in poetry than painting is presented as an argument near the end of the biography. The argument attempts to contradict a commonly held belief.

There are two kinds of historical tensions which are suggested by the presence of this argument; the tension between popular opinion and private ideals, and the tension between the act of painting and the scholar's ideal art form, poetry. Similar tensions are implied by the information in Zheng Xie's biography. Zheng Xie's emphasis upon poetry combined with the popularity of his painting raises the question of how these were reconciled. Of course, these questions can only be asked with conviction after one has been exposed to the facts mentioned at the beginning of this Chapter: the rise of the merchant class and the exponential growth in the number of scholars.

The tension between public and private ideas and painting and scholarly ideals are keys to understanding the painting of Li Shan and Zheng Xie, and, I would say, eighteenth-century painting in general. The tension appears more acute when we realize that painting as a non-popular art form, as an elite form of scholarly self-expression, was still important to Li Shan and Zheng Xie.

Throughout the thesis, I will attempt to break down the generalizations of the official biographies. I will do this through a study of paintings and less official documents in a way which uncovers the tensions which are only implied in the official biographies; in moments when the biographer could not successfully hide them.

1. Examples are: Ginger Cheng-chi Hsu, "Merchant Patronage," 1980, and her Ph.D. dissertation Patronage, 1987; William Henry Scott, "Yangchow and its Eight Eccentrics," 1964; and Yangzhou baguai Quanji, 1979.
2. Weinstein, "Eccentricity," 1972, 33 and 62. However, Weinstein does not pinpoint who the patrons of painting are.
3. Ginger Cheng-chi Hsu. Patronage, 1987, 2.
4. The Elegant Brush, 1985, 167.
5. Li Chu-tsing. "The Bamboo Paintings of Chin Nung," 1973-73, 67.
6. Weinstein, "Eccentricity," 59.
7. Weinstein, "Eccentricity," 125.
8. For example, The Elegant Brush, 1985.
9. See Zheng Xie's nianbiao under the year 1711 (Zheng Banqiao ji, 1962, appendix).
10. See Appendix 2.
11. For example in 1734 (Reproduced in Howard Rogers and Sherman E. Lee, Masterworks, 1988, catalogue number 63) and 1755, as listed in Zheng Xie's nianbiao (Zheng Banqiao ji, 1962, appendix).
12. See Zheng Xie's nianbiao under the year 1762 (Zheng Banqiao ji, 1962, appendix).
13. See Zheng Xie's nianbiao under the year 1763, where it is recorded that Zheng Xie did in fact meet Yuan Mei at a banquet held by Lu Jianzeng, Zheng Xie's friend and an important salt transport officer (Zheng Banqiao ji, 1962, appendix). Yuan Mei also tells a story that Zheng Xie heard about the death of a certain scholar who he had not met, when he burst into tears, illustrating his high estimation of that scholar's abilities. In Yuan Mei's story, it turns out that the scholar was still in fact alive, and he and Zheng Xie met twenty years later (Yangzhou Baguai Quanji, 1979, 268).



## CHAPTER 3

Why does Li Shan paint images of dead fish, as food? Why does Zheng Xie include in his images of bamboo elements and inscriptions which treat the subject matter in relation to food?

Both men illustrate innovation in subject matter and the handling of traditional subject matter, which is linked through the subject of food. There are several implications of the food imagery. It is a combination of the unorthodox and the literati traditions of painting. The unorthodox tradition was, in the simplest terms, professional painting which included untraditional or innovative painting styles and subject matter as distinct from the main stream of scholar painting. This combination of two traditions was developed because of the presence of the dominant merchant patronage and the overwhelming population of scholars.

With a combination of traditional and unorthodox painting, Zheng Xie and Li Shan could separate themselves from and could compete with the large numbers of scholars by producing interesting works that grabbed the buyer. As well, this combination allowed the painters to establish new meanings for new or partly traditional imagery. They could retain traditional literati ideals in salable paintings, or critique the patron's generally materialistic attitude and his materialistic attitude towards the painting in particular. Used for the latter purpose, images of food

linked up with a literary discourse on food which also critiqued the materialism of the wealthy. Food imagery, therefore, illustrates a combination of the professional or unorthodox and the scholarly traditions of painting and a tension between the scholar's private value system and the value systems of a broader merchant patronage and literati population.

An analysis of Li Shan's inscriptions on some of his paintings of fish, not all available in reproduction, suggests a tension between Li Shan's commercial activity and his hope for an official or a retired life. A study of some less official biographical materials on Li Shan, some of it written by Zheng Xie, possible prototypes for Li Shan's fish images, and the discourse on food criticising the eating habits of the wealthy confirms this interpretation, as do two later bamboo paintings by Li Shan. Jin Nong (1687-1764), a friend of Zheng Xie's, painted bamboo shoots which are related Li Shan's fish paintings.

Zheng Xie also takes part in this discourse on food and morality, but the different tone of his presentation depends upon a more scholarly background, conservative attitude, and, perhaps, select patronage.

Li Shan's fish paintings are usually published without any mention as to the significance of the subject matter. Yet, they are striking against the backdrop of previous Chinese painting, which generally lacked images of decayed or dead subject matter.

Judging by some of Li Shan's inscriptions, fish were central to some paintings he did on festival occasions. Inscriptions from paintings which I have not yet seen in reproduction suggest a tension between the lifestyle of which Li Shan dreamed and both the act of selling paintings itself and the patron's attitudes towards the paintings.<sup>1</sup>

Compare for example two such inscriptions:

Strange this change, lament the wounded peony,  
The work of transformation (in painting) cleverly  
matches the intention,  
The essence is different from the many.  
Fish foretell of a thousand years...  
This is a painting that will bring riches and  
honour year after year.<sup>2</sup>

Month by month the spring is suitable for flowers  
in an ancient vessel.  
Abundance is portended--bring out the fishing rod.  
Writing these two lines I obtain the idea,  
The Heaven and the Earth are peaceful throughout  
the four seasons.<sup>3</sup>

In the first inscription, the fish symbolizes auspiciousness generally, while in the second abundance is associated with fishing and, therefore, the fish itself. In the first, abundance will persist for "a thousand years," while in the second it is really connected to the seasonal cycle, of flowers, and of the harvest of fish. There is a difference between the two then, in that the latter is more earthly or worldly, with connotations of rusticity--fishing and viewing flowers. Another inscription illustrates the ambiguity between these two inscriptions:

In the small garden, the colours of flowers can be  
praised to the greatest extent;  
This year on the Duanyang festival I stayed at  
home.

But laugh at an old fellow like me not having a  
place to hide away--  
Everyone seeks me out to paint fish and shrimp!<sup>4</sup>

The fish imagery and the enjoyment of flowers which seemed compatible (and both are symbolic of a rustic lifestyle in the previous poem) are placed in seeming opposition in this inscription. In the present poem the painter's enjoyment of flowers is interrupted by buyers seeking paintings of fish and shrimp. I would suggest that it was the buyer's interest in the auspiciousness of Li Shan's paintings which caused them to seek after him, and not the associations of rusticity, which the fish, like flowers, could have for the painter himself.

In both poems, viewing flowers is followed by some mention of fishing. In the first, the painter's dedication to the connection between the seasonal involvement in flowers and fishing is denoted by his statement that in combining these two, or "writing these two lines," he, the painter, obtains the idea. In the second, the painter's own involvement in viewing flowers is interrupted by others obviously not interested in quiet seclusion, but in the auspiciousness of his paintings of fish and shrimp.

It is the dual function or significance of fish which made them useful to the painter; they were symbolic of rustic life and auspicious and, thus, salable to the patron. This duality explains the compatibility and then opposition of flowers and fish, depending upon which meaning the fish assumed, or to which group of people the fish images had to

appeal in a given circumstance. Li Shan's selection of this subject was no doubt governed by its capacity to express two sets of ideas.

A poem by Zheng Xie about Li Shan illustrates the particular association between fishing, fish, and retired life. The beginning of the passage was meant to remind Li Shan to continue to paint during his retired life:

When leading the ox out to plough the fields, do a painting as before--play with the brush. Your tattered straw cape, hang outside upon the clouds. The half piece of paper, once you have wine inside you, you cut. Green spring is in your eyes, and your childlike heart is enthusiastic. Your white hair overflows your shoulders--the lofty ideal (for officialdom) is but ashes. Only water shield and perch can be unrestrainedly eaten. The retired official also returns to eat fish.<sup>5</sup>

The leisurely life with which fish were associated was clearly being disturbed by Li Shan's customers and by the painting business, as his inscriptions testify. An example of Li Shan's desire for escape, this time from official life, utilizes the same vocabulary as his poem about viewing flowers and not being able to hide away:

The sweet and fragrant is obtained from the tasteless remainder,  
With the jade cauldron in the official's kitchen the taste is not as good.  
On another day in my life I will sing within my ten mu (of land),  
Shut (the door) and read old agricultural books.<sup>6</sup>

Li Shan's dream, the same romantic dream of all scholars throughout Chinese history, is for rustic seclusion in nature. The simplicity and purity of the lifestyle produces natural foods through one's own involvement in

agriculture and fishing. The tension between certain passages in Li Shan's inscriptions illustrate his inability to reconcile this ideal with his painting business, or his patrons' attitudes towards himself and his paintings. As a result, he settled on a subject which would convey his ideals as being contradictory to those of his patrons.

This tension between the various presentations of the fish subject matter also occurs in album leaves of Li Shan's fish paintings. An identical inscription appears on two of these, one of which is dated to the sixth year of the reign of the Yongzheng emperor (1725) (Figures 1 and 2):

Leek, tender ginger sprout, huge mouth  
and slender scales to be eaten when fresh.  
Who will share this with the painter Li Shan?<sup>7</sup>

There had been representations of fruit preceding this time, but here the food, including the novel element of the fish, is depicted as if it is domestic spoils poured out onto a table which is implied in its arrangement. The simplicity and freshness of the items symbolize the rustic, natural world of the painter, who identifies himself with them, when he offers to share them. This offering perhaps explains the suggestion of domesticity, not in the preparation of the food, but in the placement of it in a still-life arrangement.

There is an ambiguity here between sharing and buying. Sharing in the simple food depicted and thus in the gentle and thoughtful lifestyle associated with it, and buying the painting--the true function of the inscription being a

clever means to invite purchase. The invitation suggests the patron's identification with the painter, while its acceptance would reveal the true relationship between the two.

The only prototype for the fish imagery of which I know also occurs within the context of a painter/patron relationship (Figure 3). Xu Wei (1521-93), an unorthodox Ming dynasty painter whom Li Shan emulated on occasion, did an image of food including a pair of fish:

Fish, crabs, melons, vegetables, bamboo shoots,  
peas,  
all smell so good....  
But, after all, they suit a poor man's taste.  
Nevertheless, one can only get food like this in  
Jiangnan.<sup>8</sup>

The inscription mentions the deliciousness of the fish, vegetables, etc., of the Jiangnan region, "But then they suit a poor man's taste." The particular meaning may be that only the poor man can truly appreciate the qualities of these natural foods, and so Xu Wei explains why they smell so good to him. As Judith Whitbeck has noted, this is a reference to the gifts of food patrons sometimes gave to painters in exchange for their paintings.<sup>9</sup> This trade was meant to symbolize the equal ideas of patron and painter, but the sharing here was perhaps too great an assumption on the part of the patron to be tolerated utterly by Xu Wei. Thus the image is important to an understanding of the tension between sharing and selling in Li Shan's paintings.

The stylistic prototype for Li Shan's fish paintings

are the fish paintings by Badashanren (1626-c. 1705/6), who lived up until Li Shan's time. Badashanren's influence can also be found in Li Shan's paintings of pine trees and the few landscapes which he attempted.<sup>10</sup> An example of Badashanren's fish suggests that Li Shan may have borrowed the posturing of the fish from this source as well as the basic style (Figure 4).<sup>11</sup> The difference between the two is that Badashanren's fish is a swimming carp, with the traditional associations of the carp, and Li Shan's fish is a freshly caught hilsa herring. The alteration of Badashanren's images using Xu Wei's idea illustrates, I think, the conscious expansion and application of the fish imagery to suit Li Shan's particular situation.

Biographical material on Li Shan, contained in writings by Zheng Xie and official sources, suggest that Li Shan was concerned with having money, wine, and women, to put it bluntly, but within the framework of an official or retired lifestyle.

Li Shan complained when he was without an official position, and also when occupying the lower official positions he was granted. He failed to retire peacefully onto the remaining family land because of economic difficulties, and consequently he turned to painting to make a living. He painted energetically, no doubt to support the lifestyle he enjoyed, for which Zheng Xie chastised him in letter and poem.<sup>12</sup> His frustration with painting was also intense at times, and illustrates most clearly the



tension between the lifestyle he sought and the methods of survival or profit that were at his disposal. The evidence for these states in the life and thought of the painter is put forth in a biographical account rendered in verse by Zheng Xie (Appendix 2, number 5).

In Zheng Xie's account we find a Li Shan who is not particularly virtuous or respectable. After leaving the court around 1715, Li Shan's enjoyment of sexual pleasures continued for what Zheng Xie calls "twenty years."<sup>13</sup> Painting accounted for a good deal of Li Shan's success at court and survival out of office. In spite of Zheng Xie's unflattering presentation of Li Shan's motive for holding office in his later years (not being able to bear poverty), he also suggests that Li Shan had true ambitions for an important post. Thus he suggests that although Li Shan received a position, it was not a position which granted Li Shan the high rank which he sought. Instead, he spent years outside the capital in a lower position, for which "the taste is mild like water."<sup>14</sup>

Other evidence for Li Shan's interest in attaining a position for the sake of his family prestige and personal notions of honour and status appear in a partially flattering jueju written by Zheng Xie which begins with a brief biography of Li Shan and in Li Shan's personal seals, analyzed by Xue Yongnian. Zheng Xie's short biography and jueju illustrate some of the difficulties Li Shan must have had in his official positions, and the ensuing frustrations

of being unable to regain his early fame at court:

Called Futang, a Xinghua man, he is filial and honest. He worshipped at the inner court and later was the magistrate of Teng county. His brush is skilled and matchless.

Twice expelled from administration and a once demoted official,

His dreary hair is frosty (grey) in the reflection.

He remembers and bewails Ren Huangdi (the Kangxi emperor),

And long takes his soul to be like the colours of the willow.<sup>15</sup>

In the jueju, Zheng Xie mentions that Li Shan thought back with longing to his years in office at the inner court in the reign of the Kangxi emperor. The two expulsions and one demotion of which Zheng Xie speaks are probably Li Shan's leaving office after his early service around 1715, his leaving office after serving in Teng county for three years, and his transfer from Linzhi county to Teng county at the end of 1738.<sup>16</sup> These offices indicate, as Xue Yongnian and Wang Yulu have deduced, Li Shan's constant interest in office, and the central role and significance of officialdom in his outlook until and even after his retirement from office in Teng.<sup>17</sup> The incompatibility of office and painting for Li Shan has been suggested with some degree of persuasiveness by Wang Yulu, based on a poem by Li Shan and a rendering of Li's person in the Linzhi Gazeteer. The account in the gazeteer can say little of Li Shan's painting save that Zheng Xie had said it was refined.<sup>18</sup>

As well, there is a phrase written by Li Shan which represents his mental state at the beginning of the reign of

the Qianlong emperor. This is the moment of Li Shan's seeking office which Zheng Xie discribed in negative terms. Here we can let Li Shan speak for himself, "after this day my morale will rise like fire."<sup>19</sup>

Li Shan, like Zheng Xie, also took his office seriously and was memorably honoured in various ways. Examples are his inclusion in the list of famous officials in the Linzhi gazeteer, and his building of the Confucian temple in that county.<sup>20</sup>

Li Shan's frustration with painting appears most noticeably in Zheng Xie's biographical verse (Appendix 2, number 5) which suggests that Li Shan may have had to respond to the whims of servants and merchants. Further examples of the conflict of painting and Li Shan's official goals are found in his personal seals which Xue Yongnian analyzes. In particular there is the seal chen fei lao hua shi or "the official is not an old painting master." Xue Yongnian states that this seal was done prior to Li Shan's entering the inner court, in order to "restore the prestige of his family name as officials."<sup>21</sup> More interesting is that Xue notes that after Li Shan left the capital for the first time, he acknowledged that "after drinking he was often called the old painting master." This brings to life the already lively description by Zheng Xie of Li Shan's painting activities: "The servants and merchants discussed whether they were good or bad. Yesterday he painted a pair of pines which were not yet half completed; On becoming

drunk he got angry and tore up the (special) paper from Dengxin" (Appendix 2, number 5).

Li Shan's fish paintings range from 1725 until 1740, between and near the completion of his official positions. The tension in these works is probably related to his desire for officialdom or retired life, his inability to achieve these aims, and his resulting use of painting to make a living.

In his article in the anthology Food in Chinese Culture (1977), Jonathan Spence points out the existence of a discourse on food in the eighteenth century.<sup>22</sup> This discourse surrounded the immorality and bad taste in the preparation and amounts of foods as consumed by the wealthy, usually merchants. Moral eating depended upon small portions of fresh products, the natural qualities of which were untampered with.

Yuan Mei, who was a famous writer and official from Hangzhou, comments on the importance of tasteful eating and its relationship to noble living in his cookery book:

A good cook cannot with the utmost application produce more than four successful dishes in one day and even then it is hard for him to give proper attention to every detail; and he certainly won't get through unless everything is in its right place and he is on his feet the whole time. It is no use to give him a lot of assistants; each of them will have his own ideas and there will be no proper discipline. The more help he gets, the worse the results will be. I once dined with a merchant. There were three successive sets of dishes and sixteen different sweets. Altogether, more than forty kinds of food were served. My host regarded the dinner as an enormous success. But when I got home I was so hungry that I ordered

a bowl of plain rice-gruel. From this it may be imagined how little there was, despite this profusion of dishes, that was at all fit to eat...Once I was once asked to a party given by a certain governor...If our host's object was simply to impress it would have been better to put a hundred pearls into each bowl.<sup>23</sup>

The over-handling and large amounts of food parallel the general auspiciousness of Li Shan's paintings. Li Shan's fresh fish, associated with the life he wished to lead, are in keeping with Yuan Mei's criteria for cooking. The discourse surrounding food, in general, depends upon a dichotomy of natural and domestic, or rural and urban, which Li Shan's preferred rustic life and his life of painting parallel. The dual meaning of his fish illustrate this natural/domestic opposition, being symbolic of rustic living as well as his dealings with a domestic society. Painting for others of unlike sentiments was not a satisfactory substitute for rustic seclusion.

Yuan Mei gives evidence for an overzealous appetite for fish of the people of Nanjing, when writing to Jin Nong of the unlikelihood of the successful sale of Jin's painted lanterns:

The people of Jinling (Nanjing) know only the taste of duck and salt fish and that's all. If even in broad daylight they don't know what a work of art is, how much less will they understand in the dark of the night!<sup>24</sup>

Here, the attitude towards food is related to an attitude towards art. Li Shan's fish paintings illustrate as well the use of food to express ideas about painting, but in a more direct relationship with painting. The "sharing" of

fresh fish with the painter actually results in the purchase of the painting on his terms. This was Li Shan's attempt to overcome the same attitudes, although not difficulty in selling perhaps, which Jin Nong encountered.

It has been pointed out that arrangement of the food in the album leaves suggests its placement upon a counter. This device may suggest bringing fresh fish into the realm of the domestic world where the painter "shares" it with the patron. This does not deny the freshness of the fish or its connection to rustic life, but rather the painter's state in between that life, which he finds unattainable, and a life in "society."

Another feature of the works which suggests this idea is the string, or organic binding which is used to carry the fish, and is depicted still in the fish's mouth in some of Li Shan's album leaves. We find this binding in the relatively large number of paintings of bamboo shoots done by Jin Nong (1687-1764), Luo Ping (1733-1799), and Huang Shen (1687-1772), who were also active in Yangzhou. These painters painted shoots alone in the album leaf context in the same way Li Shan painted fish.

Huang Shen was an acquaintance of both Zheng Xie and Li Shan (Figure 5). So too was Jin Nong; while Luo Ping was Jin Nong's student.<sup>25</sup> In two album leaves of bamboo shoots by Jin Nong and another similar leaf by Luo Ping, the shoots are bound by string which is identical to that used in Li Shan's fish paintings (Figures 6 and 7). The same

inscription appears on each of these, with slight variation in the rendition of the same characters:

With the first sounding of the thunder of spring,  
New bamboo shoots fill the mountain--ridge after  
ridge of jade.

When you buy a portion to cook with fragrant pig  
meat,

Do not ask the kitchen help, ask the old monk.

Old Monk...(Jin Nong), after  
painting inscribed this.

The painting is clearly related to Li Shan's paintings of fish, and it continues the painter's discussion with the patron. Here, the painter, Jin Nong, acts from the natural world in offering to provide fresh bamboo shoots for the patron. Like Li Shan's fish, Jin Nong's bamboo shoots have a dual associations of scholarly rustic life and food. This is clear from the garnish of grown bamboo attached to the shoots in the painting.

Furthermore, Jin Nong wrote a phrase about Confucius and bamboo, indicating that the offering in the album leaf was not, like Li Shan's fish paintings, without its tension and subtle criticism of the patron:

To live without having bamboo, to eat without  
having meat.

To live without having bamboo is superfluous.  
To eat without having meat is always lean.<sup>26</sup>

This poem illustrates that in offering bamboo shoots to accompany the patron's meat, Jin Nong was probably criticizing the patron. We should also recall Yuan Mei's words to Jin Nong about the people of Hangzhou being interested only in salt-fish and duck and not in works of art.

What Li Shan and Jin Nong essentially did was to satirically offer the buyer the fresh foods symbolic of rustic purity, but in a form which illustrated the patron's lack of adherence to that purity. That is, in purchasing the paintings the patron manifested their separation from the painter, their interruption of his lifestyle, and their own placement in the domestic setting, indicated by the way in which the painter presented the food.

Earlier, Shitao had made a distinction between the fruits of the wild and those of domestication, which was perhaps the source of the idea. In the image, the binding for the fruits is similar to those in the works of those later artists also functioning around Yangzhou (Figure 8):

Purple melon, purple melon--they have an exceptionally fine flavour.  
You tell me how much salt and pickle sauce they need--but I made a mistake.  
I picked them up and swallowed them raw as if they were wild plants.  
I hope they will not sprout and take root inside me!<sup>27</sup>

Two paintings of bamboo by Li Shan, one dated to the fourteenth year of the Qianlong reign, or 1749, include passages in the inscriptions which develop his ideas about food and fish (Figures 9 and 10). Both paintings are more complex than the earlier images of fish within albums by virtue of their long and allusive inscriptions. This suggests that these works were for patrons of a different type than those who bought his earlier albums.<sup>28</sup>

In the undated hanging scroll Li Shan mentions



Confucius' love of bamboo as opposed to meat.<sup>29</sup> This is an interesting phrase to call upon considering Li Shan's development of the genre of food in painting, and Jin Nong's use of it. Li Shan also expands the phrase in the dated hanging scroll:

One joint, two joints, and yet another joint.  
The virtue of Qu Yuan, Su Wu, Boyi, and Suqi.  
One leaf, two leaves, and yet another leaf.  
The rain god, the wind god and the grotto of Chang'e.

The phrase "without bamboo [life] is vulgar" has been received respectfully from Confucius down through the ages.

The old fishing pole is lost at the shore of the Wei River.

The bamboo with the blood and tears of Nuying and Ewang had already withered

When, in his anger, the dragon founder (Qin Shihuang di) turned the green hillside into bare red soil.<sup>30</sup>

The models of virtue who were selected by Li Shan to symbolically constitute the joints of the bamboo are significant in the context of food. Boyi and Suqi refused to eat the food of the dynasty established, they felt, by an unfilial son. Instead, they "lived in the mountains, ate ferns and later died of starvation."<sup>31</sup>

The full explication of the same phrase is found in the next two lines of Confucian content which expand upon the reference to these Confucian exemplars. The first line expresses Confucius' feelings about bamboo, while the next line about the fishing pole refers to another exemplar. "This refers to the story of Taigong Wang, an old man in his seventies, who fished at the shore of the Wei River for three days and three nights but could not catch a single

fish. Later he assisted Wenwang of the state of Zhou to overthrow the corrupt last emperor of the Shang Dynasty."<sup>32</sup> Here Li Shan connects Confucius' feelings for bamboo with Taigong Wang's inability to catch fish and his eventual moral distinction. The meat which is of no interest to Confucius is, in this instance, fish. Of course, the interest in meat is compared to the interest in the bamboo, and is said to infringe upon it. In Li Shan's fish paintings the same moral ideal is present. The patron did not observe this moral idea, and so the fish simply became a domestic good, like the painting which they bought. The painting and the subject depicted both became mere objects.

An undated bamboo painting by Zheng Xie demonstrates his participation in the same discourse (Figure 11). In general, Zheng Xie retained the traditional painting subject matter of the scholar-painter. Yet he also appropriated the less orthodox visual and written language developed in Yangzhou previously by Shitao. In the bamboo painting, Zheng Xie includes a brief depiction of the earth from which the bamboo grows. The most conspicuous element in the painting is the group of bamboo shoots flanking a bent rock. The depiction of earth and bamboo shoots departs from the sparseness of the traditional bamboo painting. In the upper portion of the painting there are two stalks of bamboo, one darker in tone echoing the shape of the rock and a second lighter stalk rising up beyond the edge of the paper. The bamboo shoots modify the meaning of these stalks of bamboo

by introducing the visual subject matter of food. Zheng Xie's inscription at the right qualifies the painting:

Yangzhou's fresh bamboo shoots and rich in hilsa  
herring,  
Mashed and cooked at the start of the east wind's  
third month,  
Making it ask the kitchen help to stop from  
chopping it up to the utmost,  
Clear and bright leave this (painting/bamboo) to  
light the outspread book.

Huan old scholar elder brother, please correct  
this. Bangiao Zheng Xie.<sup>33</sup>

The traditional literati bamboo painting expresses the more erudite symbolism of the bamboo, which concerns the moral ideals of the literatus. Zheng Xie's poem can be described as an admonition against the abuse of naturally delicious foods in the cooking process. Zheng Xie suggests that a modicum of restraint is in order, even when dealing with the naturally rich foodstuffs of Yangzhou prefecture. In fact, this restraint preserves the bamboo plant, and thereby the scholarly activities, the thought of which the bamboo is symbolic, and the bamboo painting. In Zheng Xie's painting and inscription he expresses traditional literati ideals within an untraditional image which incorporates the subjects of food and eating.

Another inscription by Zheng Xie concerns similar moral ideals. Zheng Xie himself exemplifies the moral attitude in keeping with the symbolic meanings of the bamboo, unlike those who harvest the hills of bamboo shoots and vegetables, and lack this attitude when they attain and prepare the plant for eating. There are three different recorded

versions of the same inscription which reiterate the necessity of retaining the moral significance of the bamboo.

I will quote two of these:

Bamboo shoots along the river in the second month  
are new.

Family after family's kitchens cook and peel the  
spring bamboo.

I am hoping to cut one thousand threads of thin  
bamboo strips,

To weave into a curtain to protect beautiful  
women!<sup>34</sup>

Cook meat and boil fish, cut up bamboo shoots  
fresh.

In the kitchen on the pot shelf they lose Heaven's  
genuineness...

Banqiao Zheng Xie plays with the brush.<sup>35</sup>

The primary subject matter of the three inscriptions is the abuse of naturally fine foods, especially the freshly picked bamboo, by the kitchens of well to do households. In the first version cited, the abuse of food is not mentioned specifically. But in the second inscription it is the abuse of the raw materials within a fancy cooking process that causes the genuineness of these foods to be lost. This genuineness is referred to as being that of "Heaven," or that of the painter and like-minded ones, "our genuineness" (in the third version not quoted; Appendix 3). "Genuineness" in both cases refers to the natural qualities of things, or the way of enjoying these qualities, if it is the painter's genuineness. "Genuineness" thus implies correctness and morality, and the families' lack of taste is also a lack of morality.

The moral aspect of the inscription becomes clearer in

the second part, in which Zheng Xie demonstrates a more thoughtful and moral attitude towards the bamboo. Zheng Xie's gesture of using the bamboo to make a curtain to protect women related to the famous story of Nuying and Ewang, the wives of Shun. These two women became symbols of moral virtue when they cried at the death of their husband and left spots on the bamboo in which they stood. The shoots of the spotted bamboo of Hunan, which was identified with the particular bamboos of the story, were said to be the most delicious of all bamboos.<sup>36</sup> So it happened that naturally delicious shoots were associated with a type of bamboo which had particular moral significance. Thus, Zheng Xie's actions pay tribute to the wives of Shun and are in keeping with the moral significance of the bamboo.

The issue for Zheng Xie was the need to appreciate the meaning of that which is eaten, and to retain simplicity in one's eating habits. While making his point, he was not adverse to foods which are delicious by nature, but rather the over-preparation of these foods and the materialistic attitude towards them, which influences the very existence of scholarly thought and scholarly painting. In fact, Zheng Xie's love of dog meat is illustrated in a comical anecdote which has him enjoying the meat, prepared simply, with a man whom he thinks is a rustic, and for whom he paints with pleasure, free of charge. (Only to realize later that he had been duped into painting for a wealthy merchant) (Appendix 1, number 4).

Food imagery illustrates Li Shan, Jin Nong, and Zheng Xie's participation in a new mode of social criticism, seen also in literature, which focussed on the materialism and lack of scholarly ideals of the wealthy. It also illustrates their attempts at selling paintings. These two acts were a reaction to the change in the social structure; the rise of the merchant class and the subsequent situation of the scholar. The food imagery also illustrates a basic change in the nature of the scholarly painting tradition and the painting medium that would allow the influx of such discourse and functions in this context. As we have seen, this change was the combination of the unorthodox and the scholarly painting traditions.

These were the basic historical factors, but each artist approached them or confronted them from his own unique position. These different positions suggest to us the complexity of the basic historical factors, or their human implications. Li Shan and Jin Nong's more sarcastic double meaning in their paintings illustrates their difficult living situations and their need to be quite active professionally as painters. Zheng Xie's more overt moralizing seems to be in accord with his official reputation and what may have been his greater success in locating a more select patronage.

1. Zhuang Shen, "Li Shan shichao," 1972, 53-60 (Appendix 4). The majority of these collected poems are in fact inscriptions. The danger of using these inscriptions without having the images at my disposal is evident. However, much of their content is a brief suggestion of the visual content and a more literal expansion upon it. Thus, I use the information in only a general way to suggest some of the meanings of fish in Li Shan's thought and painting. As well, some of the information in the inscriptions is autobiographical and entails more commentary about the context of the images than the images themselves. Whether the paintings are in fact authentic is another problem. At present, I can point out the existence of authentic fish paintings by the painter in album leaf form, as well as the similarity in poetry style to inscriptions on authentic works.
2. Zhuang Shen, "Li Shan shichao," 55 (Appendix 4).
3. Zhuang Shen, "Li Shan shichao," 59 (Appendix 4).
4. Zhuang Shen, "Li Shan shichao," 55 (Appendix 4).
5. Appendix 2, number 2, the first of two sections. The date of 1745 listed above is obtained from Zheng Xie's nianbiao (Zheng Bangqiao ji, 1962, appendix).
6. Zhuang Shen, "Li Shan shichao," 58 (Appendix 4).
7. Appendix 4.
8. Judith Whitbeck, "Calligrapher-Painter-Bureaucrats in the Late Ming," The Restless Landscape, 1971, 115-132, entry 51.
9. Whitbeck, 1971, 116.
10. An example of a landscape by Li Shan that follows Basashanren is reproduced in Comprehensive Index of Chinese Paintings, 1982, JP14-029. There are also similarities between one type of pine by Li and those by Badashanren. For example, we can compare the pine album leaf in Li Shan huaniao ce, 1964, leaf 4 to Badashanren's pine album leaf reproduced in Mr. Fred Fang-yu Wang's article "The Album of Flower Studies Signed 'Ch'una-ch'e" in the National Palace Museum and the Early Works of Chu-ta," 1970. (This latter work is believed to be authentic by Wen Fong, as he states in the same proceedings.) On Badashanren's pines see Oswald Siren, Chinese Painting, 1973, volume 5, 152. Siren quotes Zhang Geng: "It has been said that his best pictures represent pine-trees, lotus and stones, a statement which, however, does not include all his works."
11. It is possible that Li Shan's use of this style had to

do with the perceived overpopularity and superficiality of Badashanren's paintings, as described by Zheng Xie. (Chut-sing Li, "The Bamboo Paintings of Chin Nung," 1973-73, 67). While Li Shan does not intimate in writing the motivation behind his choice of style, the harking back to Badashanren in his capacity as a painter of great popularity would fit into Li Shan's more apparent interest in a slightly critical or sarcastic handling of imagery.

12. A letter to Li Shan in which Zheng Xie scolds his overindulgence in the painting business is in Quanji, 1985, Banqiao ji wai shiwen (Poems and Prose outside the Collected Works of Banqiao), Shu (Letters) section, 269. The letter is listed as being a facsimile in the Beijing xidan wenwu shangdian cang (Beijing West List Cultural Artifacts Store Collection). It is quoted in Chapter 4 (Appendix 2, number 6).

13. Understandably enough, the licentious behaviour of Li Shan is not recorded in the records of the Li family of Xinghua discovered by Xue Yongnian and reproduced in his important article, "Li Shan de jiashi yu zaoqi zuopin," 1986, 80-85 (Appendix 2, number 4). In the two official biographies the period of licentiousness and troubles is neatly skipped over.

14. Howard Rogers has found poems by Li Shan dated to this period which express Li Shan's displeasure with his position. See Howard Rogers and Sherman E. Lee, Masterworks of Ming and Qing Painting, 1988, entry 63.

15. Appendix 2, number 6.

16. There is some problem ascertaining the incidents of and the reasons for Li Shan's leaving office. His early office is clearly recorded in both biographies and Zheng Xie's account. However, the biography mentions nothing of his leaving office the first time, but only mentions his begging to return to office before being assigned the post of magistrate of Linzhi county, and his later expulsion from office in Teng. In Li Shan's nianbiao Wang Luyu states that Li asked to return, or to leave the court, and was given leave to return home in 1719 (Wang Luyu, "Li Shan huan ji buyi," 1986, 75-78 and 57). However, this is probably a misreading of the biography reproduced in Xue Yongnian's article which does not say why Li Shan left, but rather that he asked to return to office, and was thus given office in Linzhi county (Xue Yongnian, "Li Shan de jiashi yu zaoqi zuopin," 1986). This can be proven by the sentence qi qi hou or "after begging to return," the following phrase being "was selected to be the magistrate of Linzhi county." The year 1719 is arrived at by Wang Luyu probably through counting his "few years" in court, recorded in his



biography, as an exact three. In possible disagreement with the nianbiao is Zheng Xie's version of Li's early stay at the court, which suggests that he may have been removed. Zheng Xie's biographical poem states that Li, "with his bag and brush served directly before the emperor. His talent and grandiosity were quite envied by the world. But although the mouths praised and sighed, the hearts were not like that. Rumbling horses left the capital (Li left)..." (Appendix 2, number 5). Thus Zheng Xie suggests that Li was slandered, as Howard Rogers has noticed (Howard Rogers and Sherman E. Lee, Masterworks, 1988, entry 63). Rogers also suggests that the reason for this may have been Li Shan's impropriety as narrated in the subsequent lines of Zheng Xie's poem from which the information of his discharge is taken. However, Li's impropriety can only be ascertained for the period following his discharge, for Zheng specifies it occurred after this on the river, probably in the south. Roger's interpretation should be seen as only an unstated possibility. An expulsion may also be suggested by Zheng Xie in his jueju on Li where he states that Li was twice expelled, only one of which can be accounted for by the better-known expulsion from his post in Teng in 1740 (Quanji, Banqiao ji (Collected Works of Banqiao) Shichao (Collected Poetry) section, 99 [Appendix 2, number 6]). The different interpretations probably stem from the subtlety of the two lines in Zheng's poem quoted here concerning the possible slander and then horses leaving the capital. It could be that Li was disliked but chose to leave on his own. However, it is clear from Zheng Xie's jueju that Zheng thought that Li was expelled twice and that Li's leaving the court is a likely candidate for one of these expulsions.

The years of his later office in Linzhi and Teng counties clearer. Wang Luyu has discovered a passage in the Linzhi xianzhi--Ming chuan zhi (Linzhi County Gazetteer--Record of Famous Officials) which states:

In the second year of the reign of the Qianlong emperor (1737) he became the magistrate at Linzhi county. He was praised in the public realm, and was graceful but showy. Banqiao said that his painting brush was extremely skilled.

In the tenth month of 1738 Li Shan was transferred to Teng, as recorded in the Teng xianzhi (Teng County Gazetteer):

In the tenth month of the third year (of the reign of the Qianlong emperor, or 1738-1740) he took office, and served for four years (four years from the beginning of his service in Teng).

17. Xue Yongnian, "Li Shan de jiashi yu zaoqi zuopin," 1986, 80-85 and Wang Luyu, "Li Shan huan ji buyi," 1986, 75-78 and

57 (Appendix 5).

18. Wang Luyu quotes the Linzhi xianzhi--Ming chuan zhi (Linzhi County Gazetteer--Record of Famous Officials) to illustrate that Li Shan seldom painted in Linzhi: "Banqiao said that his painting brush was extremely skilled." This idea is supported by the list of paintings as recorded by Wang Luyu in his nianbiao of Li Shan (Wang Luyu, "Li Shan huan ji buyi," 1986, 75-78 and 57 [Appendix 5]). As well, Wang Luyu presents a poem which illustrates Li's intent to stop painting during his office in Linzhi, and which also enabled Wang to ascertain that it was after the third month of the year that Li took office:

Submerging the empty rooms, the floodwaters of the  
excessive rains remain...  
I check my bag, for the earnings of the abundant  
times in the past.  
Painting has ended for me, the swallows on the  
branch...I leave to be an official,  
I will not bring the colours when I go to  
Qingzhou.

19. Xue Yongnian, "Li Shan de jiashi yu zaoqi zuopin," 1986, 80-85.

20. Wang Luyu, "Li Shan huan ji buyi," 1986, 75-78 and 57 (Appendix 5).

21. Xue Yongnian, "Li Shan de jiashi yu zaoqi zuopin," 1986, 80-85.

22. Food in Chinese Culture: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives, 1977. The section on Qing Dynasty food is written by Jonathan Spence.

23. Arthur Waley, Yuan Mei, 1956, 195-197. This is part of Yuan Mei's cookery book, which he completed in 1796.

24. William Henry Scott, "Yangchow and Its Eight Eccentrics," 1964, 9-10. The author refers to Yuan zicai, xiao canq shanfang zhidu, juan I.

25. Evidence of Jin Nong's friendship with Zheng Xie comes in the form of three letters written by Zheng Xie to Jin Nong collected in Quanji, 1985, Banqiao ji wai shiwen (Poems and Prose outside the Collected Works of Banqiao) Shu (Letters) section, 271-2.

26. Vicki Frances Weinstein. "Eccentricity," 1972, 253.

27. Shitao also painted interesting combinations of traditional subject matter and food. For example in Marilyn

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and Shen Fu's Studies in Connoisseurship, 1973, catalogue number XXXI, 280-283.

28. This has been called the difference between "the more scholarly and poetic side of Li Shan, as distinct from his popular or "professional" works, which are usually accompanied by shorter and less allusive poems." See the section on Li Shan written by Wai-fong Anita Siu, The Elegant Brush, 1985, entry 53, text. The difference is also found in the method in which Li Shan signs his works, "Futang Aodaoren Li Shan," his proper name, on the bamboos, versus, "the painter Li Shan," on the albums.

29. Reference to this portion of the inscription on the same image is in The Elegant Brush, 1985, entry 53, footnote 4.

30. The translation of the inscription is in The Elegant Brush, 1985, 167.

31. According to the writers of The Elegant Brush catalogue, 1985, in which the image appears, "Boyi and Suqi were brothers who criticized the military action of Zhou Wenwang against the Shang Dynasty right after the death of his father, viewing it as an act of disloyalty reflecting a lack of filial piety."

32. The Elegant Brush, 1985, entry 53, footnote 5, refers to Sima Qian, Shiji: Qishijia (Ershiwushi edition), ch.32., p.1 as the source of this information. In footnote 4 the authors explain the origin of the phrase: "The phrase 'without bamboo [life] is vulgar' was wrongly attributed to Confucius, and actually is by Su Shi."

33. Appendix 3. Two other paintings with similar inscriptions are recorded in Quanji, 1985, Bangqiaoji (Collected Works of Bangqiao) Tihua (Inscriptions) section, 205.

34. All three variants cited are found in Quanji, 1985, Bangqiaoji (Collected Works of Bangqiao) Tihua (Inscriptions) section, 205-6 (Appendix 3).

35. This variant is from a Beijing Xidan Wenwu Shangdian Cang painting of ink bamboo.

36. Jonathan Spence's article in Food in Chinese Culture, 1977, 91.

## CHAPTER 4

In Chapter 3, I concentrated mostly upon Li Shan's paintings. In this chapter, I will focus upon Zheng Xie. As indicated by his bamboo shoot hanging scroll, Zheng Xie was a more traditional literatus than Li Shan. Zheng Xie's background as an official of renown allowed his scholarly reputation to solidify, and granted him opportunities or options not open to Li Shan. He deserves detailed study because of this.

Zheng Xie had both the opportunity and reason to create a theoretical framework for his painting while in Yangzhou. A theoretical position appears clearly in a series of recorded inscriptions and their variants written after Zheng Xie went to Yangzhou, between the years 1756 and 1762.<sup>1</sup> To date, there has been no analysis of this body of texts in spite of their temporal and spacial specificity and common focus.

A study of these texts allows us to understand in detail the nature of the combination of unorthodox and scholarly traditions of painting in Chapter 3. This demands a detailed textual analysis. The result of this analysis is the proposition that Zheng Xie had three goals in writing his theory: 1. To combine the scholarly and unorthodox traditions of painting. In particular, Zheng Xie combined the ideas of the first scholar painters of the Northern Song Dynasty (1127-1279) with the theoretical framework developed

by the unorthodox painter Shitao (1641-1711), who had worked in Yangzhou in the early eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup> 2. To use this transformed mode of scholar painting to separate himself from and criticize his contemporaries. 3. To use this separation from the crowd to locate new patrons of two kinds: either those who, like the artist, sought a more elite scholarly identity, who I will call "refined" scholar patrons, or those who had previously patronized Shitao.

Thus, a study of Zheng Xie's goals lead us from the intellectual construction of the text to his construction of a social position. These goals will be illustrated as well through a visual analysis of a bamboo painting bearing one of Zheng Xie's theoretical inscriptions.

Zheng Xie's combination of the painting theories of the Northern Song literati and Shitao is not made explicit by Zheng Xie himself. He refers to specific Northern Song painters, and thus establishes a connection between his own theory of painting and theirs. But, he does not explicitly name Shitao in his texts. Nonetheless, his painting theory is a combination of the two.

The purpose of the theories of the Northern Song literati, Shitao, and Zheng Xie was the same. They all pointed out the central principle of painting and described the act of painting. For all three, the central principle of painting was the dao or "the workings of nature." The Northern Song painters and Shitao shared this idea, and Zheng Xie continued it. Where the Northern Song literati

and Shitao differed is their particular descriptions of the act of painting.

In their painting theory, the Northern Song men emphasize the painter; his developement of the ability to paint according to the dao, and the expression of his ideas in his painting. Shitao emphasizes the painting; the way in which the dao is manifested in the very brushstrokes upon the paper or silk. In keeping with their emphasis, the Northern Song men describe the act of painting as a sudden application of ink in response to the painter's unpredictable inspiration. Shitao describes the act of painting as a direct link between the universal principle of the dao and the application of ink. In Shitao's description, painting is not enacted suddenly. Instead, painting is a constant movement from the dao, to the painter's mind, to the movement of his wrist, to the application of ink, which are described with equal emphasis. The Northern Song men also mention particular subject matter, which symbolizes the scholar's thought, i.e. bamboo. Shitao does not mention subject matter, but focusses upon brushstrokes.

Zheng Xie combined the Northern Song and Shitaoian emphases in his painting theory. In it, he emphasizes the painter and the painting equally. He does so by focussing upon the painter's constant interaction with the dao throughout a series of stages in the painting process. The painting is important, as in Shitao's theory, because of

Zheng Xie's description of the application of ink, and not just the painter's inspiration. The act of painting is not characterized as a sudden rush which emphasizes the painter alone, but, rather, as a constant movement from the inception of the idea to the application of ink, equally emphasized. The painter is important, as in Northern Song theory, because of Zheng Xie's description of how a particular scholarly subject matter, the bamboo, changes at each stage of the painting process, as the painter interacts constantly with the dao. This change throughout the painting process is unique to Zheng Xie's own theory. It does not appear in the Northern Song theory nor in Shitao's in which the connection between the source of inspiration and the painting is more direct. The equal emphasis on painter and painting in this framework means that both are important, as they manifest the painter's constant interaction with the dao.

The differences between the painting theories of the Northern Song men, Shitao, and Zheng Xie, result from the particular contextual factors which the theories were designed to address. In the Northern Song dynasty, painters struggled to elevate the importance of the mind of the painter over the skill of the professional artisan. This was tantamount to suggesting the superiority of the scholar coming out of the examination system to the aristocrat at court who inherited his position.<sup>3</sup> Shitao sought to aggrandize painting and paintings for the sake of his

professional success. Zheng Xie, however, sought to elevate himself and his paintings above the literati and literati paintings of his time, in order to retain the past literati ideals and status, and to sell paintings which expressed those ideals and status.

The agreement of the Northern Song literati, Shitao, and Zheng Xie that the dao is the underlying principle of the painting method is evident through a cursory reading of their texts. I will not prove this point in the body of this chapter.<sup>4</sup> The differences between the three descriptions of the act of painting are, however, subtle and complex, and require some discussion. One of Zheng Xie's inscriptions dated to 1756 exemplifies his description of the painting process:

At the guest house in new clear (weather),  
 I rise in the early morning to view bamboo.  
 Dew floats on the leaves,  
 Light on the branch tips.  
 In my mind I am exuberant...  
 Subsequently I have a painting idea.  
 In reality, the bamboo in my mind  
 Is altogether different from the bamboo within my  
 sight.  
 Thus I grind ink and unfold some paper move the  
 brush--  
 Again it is another style.  
 In reality, the bamboo in my hand  
 Is not the bamboo in my mind.  
 Step by step metamorphosis...  
 No one can have an inkling.  
 Its destiny shows unintentionally,  
 There is no one who knows its how or why.  
 Alone paint the clouds!<sup>5</sup>

A key to Zheng Xie's theory of painting is the inspiration he finds in the natural world, in particular from the scene with bamboo. In describing the creative



process which ensues, Zheng Xie gives a full description of stages within the painting process. Throughout these stages the specific subject matter in nature and of the painting, bamboo, is constantly transformed. The different bamboos and the stages of painting are created by the painter's interaction with the dao; in nature, in his mind, and in the act of applying ink. The painter's interaction with the dao is, in fact, the important meaning of the painting, and manifests his ability.

In his theory, Zheng Xie borrowed elements from both Northern Song painters and from Shitao. Texts by the Northern Song men and Shitao illustrate how Zheng Xie combined the Northern Song interest in bamboo and inspiration with Shitao's idea of equal stages in the process of painting and a constant movement between these. An example of Northern Song painting theory is provided in a passage by Wen Tong (?1019-1079):

In the morning the bamboo were my friends, in the evening, my companions; I drank and ate amongst them and stopped and rested in their shade. If one looks at the different aspects of bamboo, there are many..." (He describes them and continues)..."These are the ways in which bamboo is bamboo. At first I looked and enjoyed it, then I enjoyed it and was not conscious of doing so. Suddenly forgetting the brush in my hand and the paper in front of me, I rose up instantly and made quantites. How is the impersonality of the Creator any different than this?<sup>6</sup>

As in Zheng Xie's inscription, Wen Tong emphasizes the painter's inspiration in nature and his familiarity with the natural form of bamboo, or the subject matter, which is

selected because of its scholarly associations. Zheng Xie borrowed these ideas.

However, in Zheng Xie's text there is not an emphasis upon constant mental preparation for inspiration, that is, an emphasis on the scholar's thought alone. Nor do we find in Zheng Xie's text a similar passage to Wen Tong's description of the act of painting as a sudden rush. Unlike Zheng Xie's text, Wen Tong does not mention grinding ink, or physical preparation.

The equal stages of the painting process in Zheng Xie's text are also absent from Wen Tong's text. Instead, Wen Tong emphasizes less well-defined stages of the process of painting unequally. The physical act of painting seems to be less important than the other moments because of Wen Tong's less intensive treatment of it. From what Wen Tong tells us, we do not know, as we do in Zheng Xie's text, what occurs between the various stages of painting. Neither Zheng nor Wen Tong characterize the nature of inspiration (save referring to the palpable natural context which is suggestive of natural creation itself). In Zheng Xie's text inspiration initiates the generation of different bamboos, which is the first stage in Zheng Xie's description. It is this notion of changing bamboos which is the constant characteristic of the painting process in Zheng Xie's description. Zheng Xie's handling of inspiration is not as jarring as Wen Tong's, which does not link up descriptively with the subsequent act of painting. Zheng Xie's

description of the act of painting provides a more even handling of the entire act of painting. This is largely because of Zheng Xie's concern for the process of painting as it manifests the dao, and not just the ideas of the painter.

The framework and emphasis in Zheng Xie's theory, relative to that of Wen Tong, is his equal attention to the entire process of painting through the description of stages within this process, and the movement through these stages. Zheng Xie borrowed these features from the painting treatise of Shitao, developed just before Zheng Xie's lifetime:

Painting is transmitted by ink, ink is transmitted by the brush, brush is transmitted by the wrist, and the wrist is transmitted by the mind, just as heaven creates life and earth completes it. This is creative intuition.<sup>7</sup>

The clear demarcation of stages and the emphasis upon constant movement between them which we find in Zheng Xie's text derives from this passage in Shitao. As in Zheng Xie's description, there is no emphasis here upon a sudden eruption of painting activity in the course of the painter's inspiration. Shitao gives importance to the physical act of painting through a concentration of stages around the application of ink, and by beginning the description of the painting process with the painting and not the painter. Zheng Xie similarly gives the stage of "the hand" importance while retaining as well the importance of the painter as expressed in the Northern Song text.<sup>8</sup>

The combination of the theories of the Northern Song

and Shitao allowed Zheng Xie to give a balanced emphasis to the painter and the painting.

There is also a unique element in Zheng Xie's description. This element is the constant change which occurs between and during the stages of the painting process, as manifested by the constant transformation of the bamboo subject matter. The changing bamboo is the feature that most allowed Zheng Xie to combine the Northern Song and Shitaoian theories since it both determines stages and acts as a scholarly symbol. However, this constantly changing element of Zheng Xie's description makes the movement between stages seem less direct than in Shitao's description. Zheng Xie describes "different" bamboos at each stage, while Shitao describes the movement from stage to stage using the verb "transmit." Wen Tong's description of the rapid action of applying ink also emphasizes directness. Shitao emphasizes the directness of the connection between the painting and the dao, while Wen Tong emphasizes the directness of the connection between the mind of the painter and the painting.

A text of the Northern Song and one written by Shitao, illustrate how different Zheng Xie's constantly changing bamboo is from the more direct connection between inspiration and the application of ink in the texts of the Northern Song and Shitao.

A lesser known literati named Tong Yu presents a description of the painting process which illustrates that

the change and growth of the conception of the bamboo is restricted to the mind:

In general, the process of painting issues from a sense of life (shengyi) and comes through naturalness (ziran), and one has to wait for the forms to appear in one's mind: it is like the unfolding and blooming of leaves and flowers. Only after this is it externalized by making use of the hand and colors.<sup>9</sup>

In the passage, the artist seems simply to copy what is already in his mind onto the paper. The act of applying ink is simplified to the verb "externalize." The text emphasizes the single moment of mental preparation or having the dao, while the function of the description is, thus, the emphasis upon the mind of the painter alone. The painting, as in all of the twelfth century texts here cited, seems to be dependent on but not demanded by this previous stage.<sup>10</sup>

In Zheng Xie's description, the importance of stages other than that of the mind (for example the hand, wrist, and brush) disallows focussing only upon the achievement of the mind.

If we apply the idea of blossoming found in Tong Yu's description to Zheng Xie's description, we would have to say that this blossoming or changing extends beyond the inception of the idea, or the preparation, into the subsequent stages of painting. Hence, in Zheng Xie's description the bamboo constantly changes. Unlike the Northern Song description, "the bamboo in (Zheng Xie's) hand is not the bamboo in (his) mind."

The changing bamboos in Zheng Xie's description are

connected through his constant interaction with the dao which produces the bamboos. This becomes clear when we compare Shitao's idea of transmitting between the stages with Zheng Xie's idea of the changing bamboo. In Shitao's description, there is a beginning and an end, "heaven and earth." The emphasis, of course, is upon the end. In Zheng Xie's description, each stage is the same as the next in its expression of the painter's interaction with the dao.

Shitao's ink forms directly express the dao, while Zheng Xie's would refer to the painter's interaction with the dao. In a sense, Zheng Xie's painting would only fully illustrate the painter's interaction with the dao if one considered all other moments in the painting process as well. This is because the dao action is manifested through the change at and between each stage; or the painted bamboo relative to the bamboo in the mind, relative to that in nature. Thus, we do not look at the painting and consider only how it expresses the dao, as in Shitao's description, but how the painted bamboo is one of the different bamboos or stages which together manifest the painter's interaction with the dao. The constantly changing bamboo thus unifies the importance of the painter and the painting. Both are important only in the way they interact or illustrate the dao.

Zheng Xie encapsulated his combination of Northern Song and Shitaoian ideas, his emphasis on both the painter and painting, and his unique emphasis upon the way the bamboo

changes throughout the process in a phrase which he used often to express his relationship to Northern Song painters:

Wen Yuke (Wen Tong) paints bamboo--  
 In his mind he has a completed bamboo.  
 Zheng Bangqiao paints bamboo--  
 In his mind he does not have a completed bamboo.  
 Having a completed bamboo and not having a  
     completed bamboo,  
 Is in reality only a single principle.<sup>11</sup>

We can probably guess at the meaning of this phrase, after the above analysis, but a passage by Su Shi (1037-1101) makes the meaning of "having the completed bamboo" abundantly clear:

When bamboo first comes into being it is only an inch-long shoot, but the joints and leaves are all in it. It develops from cicada chrysalises and snake scales to swords drawn out eighty feet, when painters do it joint by joint and add to it leaf by leaf, will this be bamboo? Thus, in painting bamboo one must first have the perfected bamboo in mind. When one takes up the brush and gazes intently, one sees what one wants to paint. Then one rises hurriedly and wields the brush to capture what one sees...<sup>12</sup>

"Having the completed bamboo in one's mind" indicates the ability to paint in accordance with the dao or having the dao at the moment before painting. It stands for an understanding of growth in nature, similar to the idea of "blossoming" in the mind. This understanding gives the painter the same "forsight" which the shoot of the bamboo itself has of its full grown state. Knowing where he will end up, the painter can paint towards the state of completion in the same manner in which bamboo's inevitably grow. Thus, Su Shi states, "If one has dao, things have been formed in one's mind."<sup>13</sup>

Given the meaning of "having the completed bamboo," and its link with the idea of blossoming, we can see that Zheng Xie's "not having the completed bamboo" indicates how the bamboo changes throughout his description of the painting process (i.e. his constant interaction with the dao throughout the painting process and not the creation of the bamboo in his mind alone).

In spite of their different descriptions of the painting process, Wen Tong's "having the completed bamboo" and Zheng Xie's "not having the completed bamboo" both indicate the idea that the dao is the principle of painting method, and are thus a "single principle."<sup>14</sup>

Compared to Yuan and Ming dynasty texts on painting, the Northern Song literati, Shitao, and Zheng Xie focus more upon the act of painting. It is their interest in the act of painting, as opposed to what Susan Bush sees as the Yuan interest in the style of painting and the Ming interest in art history, which brings into focus the importance of the dao in the painting process.<sup>15</sup>

The particular functions of the emphases upon painting according to the dao depended upon the contextual factors of the time as I mentioned. Huang Tingjian illustrates the goal of the Northern Song theory by utilizing the metaphor of "having the completed bamboo within one's mind":

The retired scholar Dongpo played with Master Brush and Master Paper, making a dried out stump, an old tree, a clump of dwarf bamboo, and bits of hills. The force of his brush is unrestrained in lonely sites with windblown mist. Perhaps what is



easy for an enlightened man and hard for an artisan is like impressions made in seal paste: frosty branches and windblown trees had first formed in his breast.<sup>16</sup>

Shitao's theory emphasized that his paintings, which were outside what had at that time been defined as the literati tradition, had the great significance of expressing the universal dao. This elevated them above professional painting which had no concern greater than representation.<sup>17</sup>

Zheng Xie's seeming perception of the connection between Shitao and the Northern Song literati and his combination of them has the result of transforming the Northern Song ideas.<sup>18</sup> Zheng Xie's use of the later theory of Shitao to update the earlier Northern Song theory indicates some interest in appealing to his later context, as his models had done.

Zheng Xie's writings which emphasize the individual's need to live and write in accord with their particular time and place supports this view.<sup>19</sup> Zheng Xie also continued Shitao's idea that in order to meaningfully learn from and utilize the ideas or art of one's predecessors one must transform them.<sup>20</sup> Thus, it seems that his goal was to make Northern Song ideas functional within his eighteenth-century context.

This leads us to the second objective behind Zheng Xie's particular transformation of twelfth century ideas: to separate himself from and criticize his contemporaries.

Zheng Xie's fresh exposition of Northern Song ideas would in itself distinguish him from other scholar-painters.

Scholars of Zheng Xie's time utilized the method of painting known as xieyi (idea writing/painting), which could clearly advertise the painter's scholarly status. This could then be used to entice or satisfy patrons with scholarly inclinations. The xieyi mode of painting had its roots in the Northern Song ideas which Zheng Xie transformed.<sup>21</sup> The basic characteristics of xieyi were the sudden inspiration of the painter, his rapid application of ink, and his claim that his ideas were directly expressed in the painting. Zheng Xie's transformation of the Northern Song source of these ideas would not only separate him from the crowd of mimics, but would undermine their simplistic application of Northern Song ideas.

Evidence of Zheng Xie's displeasure with the use of xieyi appears in one of his theoretical inscriptions. In the inscription, Zheng Xie openly criticizes contemporary scholars for their misuse of the xieyi mode, and suggests that his contemporaries' inability to paint and their misunderstanding of the principles of scholar painting were disguised within this spontaneous mode:

People of today paint thick branches and large  
leaves,  
There is almost no place where there is a break.  
Then they add to it by applying colours.  
Therefore, the snow and bamboo do not  
interpenetrate.  
This results in what painting method?  
It also lacks craftsmanship.  
If they are not willing to try hard,  
How can they hope to exhaust the marvels!  
If one asks them the reason for this,  
They say:  
"My kind (of painter) does xieyi."

We do not wish to be restricted in this."  
 They do not know these two words (xie and yi),  
 And this causes them to err in so many things.  
 They deceive other people and hide the truth from  
 themselves.

Moreover, they do not seek to progress...  
 Because of this all of them are sick.  
 One must necessarily reach a level of skill and  
 afterwards one will be able to write ideas.  
 One cannot be unskilled and subsequently be able  
 to write ideas.<sup>22</sup>

Zheng Xie implies that the spontaneity of the method was the reason for its common abuse. The painter's lack of skill goes unnoticed by the audience, because it is disguised within the spontaneous mode and the pretense of individual expression. It is the lack of qualification of this mode and the painter's lack of understanding of it which yield ink paintings covering the entire surface of the paper without actually resulting in an expressive image.

Zheng Xie does not just criticize and undermine the contemporary practice of xieyi. His new description of the process of painting, which he stated was based upon the same principle as that of the Northern Song literati, is an explicit challenge to the contemporary practice of scholar painting. This is manifest in the particular features of his description of the painting process.

Zheng Xie's emphasis upon the involvement of the painter in the dao throughout the painting process persistently manifests the greater meaning behind his own painting and that of the Northern Song literati. It implicitly criticizes spontaneous painting which does not express the dao throughout the process of painting and in the final

painted form.

The general emphasis upon the act of painting in Zheng Xie's description downplays the importance of the painter alone. According to Zheng Xie, the over-emphasis upon the painter's ideas was debasing the meaning and quality of the application of ink.

Perhaps related to Zheng Xie's criticism is Shitao's criticism of his contemporaries:

Although men seize the methods of former and later heaven, still they fail to grasp the real meaning of method. Therefore, even though there is method, men cannot be free from it; to the contrary, method obstructs them.<sup>23</sup>

Both Zheng Xie and Shitao attempted to illustrate a general failing of the majority of the artists of their time by illustrating their lack of understanding of past methods. In their view, this lack of understanding deceived the painters themselves, and either obstructed them or caused them to not seek to progress.

The difference between Shitao and Zheng Xie's criticisms of their contemporaries is that Shitao criticized a thoughtless adherence to methods while Zheng Xie criticized a lack of concern for method. In another instance, Shitao criticized his contemporaries' use of painting manuals, instructional guides to painting.<sup>24</sup> This agrees with his criticism of over-adherence to methods.

Who were these painters whom Shitao and Zheng Xie criticized so differently, and from what source did they draw their painting approaches?

Fan Yunlin, a friend of Dong Qichang's (1555-1636), indicates the existence in the sixteenth century of the two types of painters whom Shitao and Zheng Xie criticized.<sup>25</sup> These painters, according to Fan, either abused spontaneous ink painting, xieyi, or relied too heavily upon models, fang. Both types were descendants of the Wu school, the literati painting tradition of the Ming dynasty, which apparently had declined by Fan's time. Dong Qichang developed a school in opposition to these, what he agreed were, more debased and commercial forms of the earlier Wu school.

By Shitao's time, Dong Qichang's school, in an altered form, had become the dominant literati tradition, and had been instituted as the official imperial court style. The two types of literati painters practicing the debased modes of xieyi and fang, must have continued outside of the court, satisfying the great demand of the merchant class for literati painting. They were the descendants of the debased Wu school whose members had sold their works in marketplaces according to Fan Yunlin.

In this situation, there were new challenges for painters operating outside the court. New methods of self-positioning and purification were needed to compete with and criticize the practitioners of the debased modes of literati painting.

Shitao and Zheng Xie's criticisms were directed towards painters from one of these two distinct traditions,

who either abused xieyi or fang, emulation and the use of painting manuals.

At the same time that Zheng Xie criticized the practitioners of a debased xieyi mode, Li Shan criticized the use of painting manuals. The reason for their directing criticism at one of these groups, and not the other or both, has to do with their own positions and backgrounds.

Li Shan made his criticism of painting according to manuals, at the same time that he championed selective and synthetic emulation and, most importantly, the creation of his own individual "school," or style.<sup>26</sup> It is likely that Li Shan's criticism was intended to establish his individuality above the mere skills of painting, which he would have mastered as a painter at court. This necessary realignment also takes place in discussion on his style, which I will discuss in Chapter 5. Zheng Xie, however, as a less trained literati painter amongst many literati painters who were, according to him, unskilled, sought to reintroduce the greater skill and meaning of the act of painting.<sup>27</sup>

Shitao's criticism of his contemporaries is of yet another kind. It is phrased as a response to the hypothetical criticism of the artist himself, that his grand method according to the dao ignores the rudimentaries of painting technique. Shitao's comments have to do with his attempt to establish a mode of painting with its own particular significance, operational outside of the various strands of the literati tradition, but distinct from skilled

professional painting.

Zheng Xie's method of opposing the debased literati traditions purified the method of painting. Zheng Xie still emphasized individuality, as did all artists who did not cling to the main tradition at court, based upon Dong Qichang's school. However, Zheng Xie's individuality was combined with the greater meaning of the act of painting. Zheng Xie empowered his purification by recalling the originators of the literati tradition in a way that pointed out the impurity of his contemporaries.

Zheng Xie's criticism of his contemporaries also suggests a third goal of his theory: to locate patrons. In particular, he attempted to locate two groups of patrons outside the general sponsorship of debased literati painting and the prevalent attitudes and activities of the time.

Firstly, Zheng Xie could attract more refined scholar patrons by establishing a new standard of scholar painting. Secondly, he could win the favour of those who previously patronized Shitao, and who may have been attracted by his use of Shitao's ideas and style.<sup>28</sup> This second group, Shitao's patrons, were likely merchants who remained outside the scholar tradition during the continual rise of the broader merchant class, most of whose members aspired to scholarly status.

I would like to suggest Zheng Xie's search for these groups of patrons in a more tangible way. A visual analysis of a painting with one of Zheng Xie's theoretical

inscriptions will illustrate why the painting would be attractive to both more refined scholar patrons and Shitao's previous patrons (Figure 12).

I will quote the entire inscription here in order to refresh our memory of the contents of the theory, and to present the image with all of the information which would have been important to the viewer:

One-half green mountain one-half bamboo,  
One-half green shade one-half jade.  
Please sir when you awake from deep sleep,  
Face this and treat it as if amongst cliffs and  
gorges.

I receive elder brother's corrections.  
Bangqiao the Daoist Zheng Xie.  
In the ren-wu year of the reign of the  
Qianlong emperor (1762), in the fifth month  
of summer in the afternoon I wrote this.

Wen Yuke (Wen Tong) paints bamboo--  
In his mind he has a completed bamboo.  
Zheng Bangqiao paints bamboo--  
In his mind he does not have a completed bamboo.  
Yuke's having a completed a bamboo  
Is what is called "one-thousand mu of the wei  
river in one's mind."  
Bangqiao's not having the completed (bamboo)  
Is like a thunderclap...  
Grass and trees raging grow.  
There is no one who knows its how and why.  
It is probably the flux of the dao  
That its way is like this.  
Yuke's having,  
And Bangqiao's not having...  
Is one, is two.  
Those who understand will know it.  
Xie again records.  
Receives elder brother's corrections.  
Bangqiao Daoren Zheng Xie.<sup>29</sup>

The style of Zheng Xie's painting is indebted to Shitao. We should see the style as the visual framework which, like Zheng Xie's theoretical framework, depends upon



Shitao. Previous patrons of Shitao, and others, would have recognized this connection immediately. The inscription, or theory, tells us of Zheng Xie's connection to Northern Song literati and his development of their ideas. Thus, Zheng Xie's continuation of scholar painting, his identity as an innovator, and his association with Shitao are evident immediately and simultaneously.

Zheng Xie expresses a new version of Northern Song ideas in the theoretical framework indebted to Shitao. He also expresses these same Northern Song ideas visually within the painting style of Shitao, thus making the image attractive to literati patrons seeking something new and elite and Shitao's previous patrons.

The idea shared by the Northern Song literati, Shitao, and Zheng Xie is that the dao is the underlying principle of painting. Zheng Xie, moreover, emphasized the painter's interaction with the dao throughout the painting process. Thus this interaction should be evident in the painting itself.

The painter's interaction with the dao is expressed first in the handling of subject matter, the presence of young bamboo and fullgrown bamboo. We should remember that for Zheng Xie there is never any completed bamboo during the painting process. The same idea that the painter is always participating in the dao is given visual form through the handling of ink. Patches of ink which rest upon the paper as vivid marks of the brush are juxtaposed with

representational stalks of bamboo. This juxtaposition gives visual form to the idea that the represented subject matter arises out of the earth represented in the painting and out of the ink which the painter manoeuvres, constantly changing according to the painter's next impulse as guided by the dao. Zheng Xie clearly manifests the ideas expressed in the inscribed theory in visual form.

These visual aspects of the painting would appeal both to the "refined" literati patron, who could witness original ideas of Northern Song literati brought to life, and to Shitao's patrons, who would recognize the use of Shitao's painting ideas and the kind of fresh application of his ideas which he himself would have commended.

As so often happens in history, the records, written or visual, which survive or are most available to us are those produced by the economically and politically victorious. Zheng Xie did triumph over his contemporaries in terms of renown, and there are few paintings of note in western sources by those whom Zheng Xie considered to be "hacks." (Perhaps they produced paintings of greater quality than he did?) Chinese sources which in the future may provide some examples are still not very accessible.

Nonetheless, we can suppose that next to most "hack" scholar paintings of the time Zheng Xie's paintings would stand out for their innovation in painting and idea. Contemporary paintings of evenly handled and jumbled bamboo, according to Zheng Xie, which completely covered the entire

paper without skillful integration of painted forms, would seem flat, automatic, and impotent.

Other Northern Song ideas were also important to Zheng Xie. These illustrate perhaps the primacy of his interest in the scholarly painting tradition of the Northern Song. Two of the most important ideas of the Northern Song to which Zheng Xie continued in his own theory are the interconnectedness of calligraphy and painting and the interconnectedness of poetry and painting.<sup>30</sup>

For the Northern Song literati, calligraphy and painting were intrinsically connected because of the use of the same brush to create both, and because of the literatus' ability in both arts arising from his possession of the dao. Su Che, of the Northern Song had said:

If one's heart is in harmony with dao, one can know how to do it. There is surely one principle in literature, calligraphy, and painting.<sup>31</sup>

This idea had been expressed in writing, but in painting the calligraphy remained visually separate from the painted subject matter. This was due to the greater importance of the artist and less attention paid to the act of painting and the application of ink in the Northern Song.

Zheng Xie's painting visually manifests the Northern Song idea in a way that is much clearer than any previous, or we may assume eighteenth-century, scholar painting. This was because of his application of Shitao's ideas and style, and his own idea of constant interaction with the dao. In Zheng Xie's painting, the calligraphy and painting are

thoroughly integrated visually. This visual integration suggests that both are directly linked to the dao with which the painter interacts.<sup>32</sup> Shitao summarized this idea in a phrase which parallels Su Che's statement, but which treats the visual implications of the Northern Song idea:

Oneness of brush strokes is the prerequisite and foundation for calligraphy and painting. Calligraphy and painting are the subtle manifestations of oneness of brush strokes which has been acquired. Those who know the subtle manifestations, but forget the origin of the fundamental principle of oneness of brush strokes, are like children who forget their ancestors...ancient and modern works of calligraphy and painting originated from heaven and were completed by man.<sup>33</sup>

This idea is expressed still more dynamically in some of Zheng Xie's other theoretical inscriptions. Zheng Xie directly connects the visual qualities of calligraphy to those of bamboo, and thus to the principles of nature. In so doing, Zheng Xie illustrates the connection of ink forms and, thus, both painting and calligraphy to the dao:

If calligraphy is profuse and thin,  
Bamboo moreso will be profuse and thin.  
If calligraphy is dense and sparse,  
Bamboo moreso will be dense and sparse.  
This painting I present with respect to...  
    master Youbei.  
Youbei is good at painting, but does not paint.  
However, he uses painting's connection  
To penetrate into calligraphy.  
Xie moreover uses calligraphy's connection  
To penetrate into painting.<sup>34</sup>

The integration of painting and calligraphy as expressed in Zheng Xie's painting would be attractive to scholar patrons. This integration is doubly important to Zheng Xie, since the text, that is, the theory, more

directly qualifies our reading of the image when it is presented as part of the painted subject matter and brushwork.

The interconnection between poetry and painting was of greater importance to the Northern Song literati than that of calligraphy and painting. For it enabled them to qualify their paintings as being unconcerned with external forms and expressive of the painter's thought. Poetry was traditionally an art of scholarly status like calligraphy, and its relationship to painting could similarly buttress the status of painting. Thus, Su Shi said:

Yuke's literary work is the least of his accomplishment, and his poetry, the minor part of his writing. What is not used up in poetry overflows to become calligraphy and is transformed to become painting, both are what is left over from poetry. Those who appreciate his poetry and literary work are increasingly few. As for those who love his accomplishment as they love his painting--alas!<sup>35</sup>

The hierarchy of the scholar's arts is clear in this passage which places painting last among them, in spite of the growing importance of painting which warranted its inclusion. Su Shi's comment relates to some of Zheng Xie's theoretical inscriptions which imply that the importance of the painting was somewhat below that of poetry:

Wen Yuke's (Wen Tong's) ink bamboo poem says:  
"I plan to play with a section of Exi thin silk,  
Sweeping with the brush obtain 10,000 chi of long  
chilly branches."

Mei Daoren (Wu Zhen) said:

"I also have a pavilion deep in the bamboo,  
Also long to return to the sounds of autumn."  
Both poetry ideas are extremely pure,  
Not only use painting to pass it on.

Not only use painting to pass it on  
 But the painting all the more passes it on.  
 Xie both can not do poetry,  
 And can not paint,  
 But also strives to inscribe a few words...  
 The words are exhausted the idea is poor,  
 I have shamed previous sages.<sup>36</sup>

The idea that painting all the more passes on the idea of poetry suggests that poetry still takes precedence over painting. Zheng Xie felt that it was the weakness of his words and idea that would upset previous sages. The frequency of this particular inscription relative to the other theoretical inscriptions may indicate Zheng Xie's utilization of the poetry/painting hierarchy to restrict the importance of painting as an art on its own.

In the context of Yangzhou, Zheng Xie wanted to retain his status as a scholar and the ideas which were a part of the scholar lifestyle which he sought. He wished to include painting in this scholarly lifestyle not only as a meaningful scholarly pursuit but also as a successful commercial activity. This goal was in keeping with his scholarly background, which also gave him the opportunity to develop a coherent theoretical position. Zheng Xie formed this position by developing Northern Song ideas, using the contemporary theoretical framework of Shitao, into statements relevant to his own situation.

1. See Appendix 6.
2. It was as late as 1710 that Shitao's latest text the Huapu was printed (Earle Jerome Coleman, Philosophy of Painting by Shih-t'ao, 1978, Introduction, 28-29).
3. James Cahill, Three Alternative Histories.
4. Information on the common use of the dao as the principle of painting method is plentiful. For the Northern Song painters and Shitao see Susan Bush, The Chinese Literati on Painting, 1971 and Earle Jerome Coleman, Philosophy of Painting by Shih-t'ao, 1978, respectively. For Zheng Xie, there is the inscription by Zheng Xie cited below. The notion of metamorphosis is directly connected to the dao, which is the force behind all the transformations and changes in the universe. More telling is the unpredictability of the impulses or changes which is emphasized in three of the lines. This quality is distinctly connected to the impersonality of the dao. The painter taps into this unpredictable force which enables him to participate in the primary act of creation suggested by the phrase, "paint the clouds." In another inscription, the impersonality of the dao is suggested through phrases such as, "having delight beyond method is the decree of Heaven" (Appendix 6, number 1).
5. Appendix 6, number 1a.
6. Susan Bush, The Chinese Literati on Painting, 1971, 38-39. The parenthetical information is Susan Bush's. Bush's translation of tianzao as "the Creator" is problematic. The literal translation is "heaven-made," and probably refers to that which is generated by the dao.
7. Earle Jerome Coleman, Philosophy of Painting by Shih-t'ao, 1978, "The Value of Inborn Nature," 53.
8. In Zheng Xie's interest in elaborating the description of the stage of applying ink, he borrowed some phrases from Shitao. Zheng Xie described the movement of the brush as "separating or combining" (Appendix 6, number 3). This action was meant to produce forms as nature produces life. This is similar to Shitao's description of the movement of the brush, with its Daoist procreative connotations: "When the brush moves outward it is like cutting something; when the brush moves inward it is like lifting something" (Earle Jerome Coleman, Philosophy of Painting by Shih-t'ao, 1978, "Oneness of Brush Strokes," 115).
9. Susan Bush, The Chinese Literati on Painting, 1971, 56.
10. Susan Bush, The Chinese Literati on Painting, 1971, 37.

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11. Appendix 6, number 2.

12. Su Shi, "Record of Wen Yuke's Painting the Bent Bamboos of Yundang Valley" (Susan Bush, The Chinese Literati on Painting, 1971, 37).

13. Susan Bush, The Chinese Literati on Painting, 1971, 37. The text is really about the relationship between dao and skill, or yi. However, the passage makes it clear that dao is equivalent to the formation of things within the mind. Zheng Xie does not focus upon the issue of technical skill versus dao in his texts. But he does state that skill is required in order to paint according to the dao, and so agrees with Su Shi.

14. The equality of "having" and "not having the completed bamboo" is conspicuous in the way in which the metaphors transcend the subject matter of bamboo. The metaphor "not having" illustrates focussing on every aspect of the bamboo in a process of creation. This process transcends the bamboo since the process is the focus, the only complete element, but it assumes the existence of the bamboo, which is something to create. Conversely, the Northern Song transcendence has to do with exceeding the complete bamboo in order to put into creative action the potential growth, dao or series of stages inherent in it. Wen Tong expresses this idea clearly as recorded in Su Che's "Ink Bamboo Fu" from which I have already quoted: "Why, what I love is dao: I have gone beyond bamboo." Su Shi agrees with Wen Tong's recorded self-appraisal when he comments upon Wen's mastery of the dao by saying, "Now, when you make use of these bamboos and I take you to be a man of dao, is this wrong?" (Susan Bush, The Chinese Literati on Painting, 1971, 37, again from Su Shi's "Record of Wen Yuke's Painting the Bent Bamboos of Yundang Valley").

15. Susan Bush, The Chinese Literati on Painting, 1971, 184.

16. Huang Tingjian's poem "A Fu on the Retired Scholar Dongpo's Moxi (Inkplay)" (Susan Bush, The Chinese Literati on Painting, 1971, 71).

17. For this interpretation of the significance of Shitao's painting theory see Chou Ju-hsi, "The Hua-yu-lu and Tao-chi's Theory of Painting," 1977.

18. Susan Bush deals with the reaction of the Gong'an and Jinling poetry schools against that of the two groups of seven talents, the former, in line with Wang Shouren's ideas, interested in individual expression, while the latter were involved in the codification and emulation of models. In spite of Dong Qichang's friendship with a Gong'an man, a



Buddhist, and his interest in Chan, his principle concerns agree with the two groups of seven talents. Shitao's interest, however, agrees with those of the latter group (Susan Bush, The Chinese Literati on Painting, 1971, 161).

Northern Song literati can be seen as the beginning of this second tradition. Dong Qichang can be seen as emphasizing the Yuan, in which period style, as Susan Bush has outlined became characterizing for literati painting. Before Yuan, which Dong Qichang discusses as first exhibiting Su Shi's dictum for Northern Song, to express the idea and not the form of the subject matter, style was not key, but the idea or act of creation was.

Another way of looking at this historically, is to note that Shitao is related to Su Shi, Wen Tong, and Huang Tingjian, while Dong Qichang is related to Mi Fu and Mi Yuren, who foreshadowed attitudes in the Yuan. "Su Shih, Huang Tingjian, and Dong Yu focused on the painter's interpretation of nature and put the process of creation above all else. Mi Fu and Mi Yuren described the playfulness and expressiveness of their painting and formulated a new scholarly taste in art. And the compilers of the Xuanhe Huapu underlined the dilettantism of the gentleman-painter who looked on art as an avocation" (Susan Bush, The Chinese Literati on Painting, 1971, 82).

Zheng Xie seems to have seen the role of style as its manifestation of the dao, in the line of Su Shi, Wen Tong, Huang Tingjian, and Shitao, and not as a sign of scholarly taste, as in Dong Qichang.

19. See Zheng Xie's autobiography (Appendix 1, number 2).

20. The importance of originality is a common theme in the writings of the Northern Song literati, Shitao, and Zheng Xie. The interaction with the dao by no means dictates over the painter. On the contrary, it is the mode through which the painter's own particular ideas can be expressed. Shitao states this plainly in his chapter "Oneness of Brush Strokes":

A single stroke which identifies with universality can clearly reveal the idea of man and fully penetrate all things (Earle Jerome Coleman, Philosophy of Painting by Shih-t'ao, 1978, 115).

In the Northern Song literati texts, the mind of the artist is the source of dao creation, so the individuality of the artist and the dao must be related. The importance of the artist's particular genius is clear in many passages. The following passage by Su Shi is the most famous of these:

If anyone discusses painting in terms of formal likeness,  
His understanding is nearly that of a child.

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There is one basic rule in poetry and painting;  
Natural genius and originality (Susan Bush, The Chinese Literati on Painting, 1971, 26).

A passage in Zheng Xie's inscriptions illustrates that not only is the painted bamboo different from that of the mind, illustrating the action of the dao between those stages and at the stage of painting, but, because of the dao action during the application of ink, a new brush style evolves:

Thus I grind ink, unfold some paper, and move  
the brush--  
Again it is another style.  
In reality, the bamboo in my hand  
Is not the bamboo in my mind  
(Appendix 6, number 1c).

21. Susan Bush, The Chinese Literati on Painting, 1971, 69-72 and conclusion on 82. Incipient forms of the terms xieyi were developed in the Northern Song. They were especially conspicuous within the texts of Mi Fu and Mi Yuren, who brought about the stylistically anti-naturalistic tendencies to scholar painting, which culminated in Yuan Dynasty theory and painting. These include xie qi zhen qu, "writing their true flavour," in which qu could sometimes approximate the meaning of yi, deyi, "grasping the idea," and mo xi, "ink-play," which was a related idea developed by Teng Chun, and perhaps Wen Tong and Huang Tingjian earlier.

22. Appendix 6, number 5.

23. Earle Jerome Coleman, Philosophy of Painting by Shih-t'ao, 1978, "Transformation and Freedom," 117.

24. Earle Jerome Coleman, Philosophy of Painting by Shih-t'ao, 1978, "Motions of the Wrist," 122.

25. Susan Bush, The Chinese Literati on Painting, 1971, 174-175:

Nowadays, the Wu men, who are totally illiterate and have never seen even one genuine old master, always make a point of relying on their own "genius." They merely smear out some mountains and water and some grass and trees, and hang up (their work) in the marketplace to exchange it for a bushel of rice. Can their paintings have any beauty? Occasionally there are those who model themselves after a famous master, but they only know of Hengshan (Wen Zhengming), and their works seem to be his to some extent; but by copying him they barely achieve his outer form and never his

inner essence. And they claim: "Look, we have studied Hengshan." They have no idea of the fact that Hengshan modeled himself entirely on the Sung and Yuan masters. He strove to attain their quintessence, hence he succeeded in becoming supreme in his age, and his works have become immortal. This being so, why don't the Wu men go back to Hengshan's original masters and follow them? Then even if they do not come up to the ancients, at least they cannot fail to become Hengshans.

Only the masters of Yunjian (Songjiang) know this truth. Thus (Zhao Zou) Wendu, (Dong Qichang) Xuanzai, and (Gu Shanyu) Yuanqing all ended in coming up to the ancients and in founding traditions of their own. Yet when the Wu men see (these men's works), they are puzzled and say: "This is just the Songjiang school." Is it? Can there be a Songjiang school? Only the Wu men are concerned with schools.

26. See the inscription from Li Shan's ink bamboo in The Elegant Brush, 1985, 167.

27. Tsang Ka-bo sees Zheng Xie's comments as a defense against similar criticism directed at Zheng Xie himself (Tsang Ka Bo, "Hua Yan (1682-1756): His Life and Art," 1983, 123).

28. Chu-tsing Li, "The Bamboo Paintings of Chin Nung," 1972-73, 53-71. Li presents the idea that Zheng Xie inherited Shitao's patronage.

29. The image is in the Palace Museum, Beijing, and is reproduced in Painting by Yangzhou Artists, 1984, 74 (Appendix 6, number 6).

30. Zheng Xie also applies the Northern Song idea of the interconnectedness of painting and calligraphy within the context of the Qing dynasty interest in artistic models of the past. Zheng Xie's method is related to Shitao's method of utilizing past models. Shitao emphasizes individuality in the transformation of models and the unity of painting and calligraphy as ink forms manifesting the dao. In Zheng Xie's theory the combination of models of calligraphy, provide the creative potential of the dao by uniting opposite elements of style which together yield the natural form of bamboo in all its myriad manifestations (See the inscription, Appendix 6, number 4b).

31. Susan Bush, The Chinese Literati on Painting, 1971, 28.

32. One could say that Zheng Xie essentially naturalizes

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Northern Song ideas. He presents them in terms of natural growth and process. This is related to Shitao's naturalization of Mi Fu, an important Northern Song literatus, theoretician, and painter, in Shitao's painting 10,000 Ugly Ink Dots. Mi Fu's technique of painting with dabs or dots of paint appears in purely abstract form at the beginning of this long scroll. Shitao gives Mi Fu's technique procreative capacities, for visible landscape and finally the written text evolve out of it towards the end of the scroll. Shitao seized Mi Fu's idea that the painting was less representational than expressive in order to illustrate how this expressiveness is in tune with the dao, or actually produces things as in nature. Shitao's transformation of Mi Fu is one which causes Mi Fu's principles of painting and the painted forms to grow, so to speak.

Zheng Xie makes the principles of Northern Song literati painting grow within the painting in a similar way, producing a visual record which speaks of the artist's transformation of these principles. However, for Zheng Xie the creative forces of the dao are not active only in the brushwork. Instead, they are active throughout all stages of the painting process including the writing of the inscription. Thus writing and painting are more fully integrated visually as creative acts according to the dao.

33. Earle Jerome Coleman, Philosophy of Painting by Shih-t'ao, 1978, 139. "Origin of Heaven and Completion by Man."

34. Appendix 6, 4a.

35. Susan Bush, The Chinese Literati on Painting, 1971, 12. Su Shi on Wen Tong.

36. Appendix 6, number 3a.

## CHAPTER 5

The polarization in the painter/patron relationship in which the literati and individualistic traditions were combined was treated in Chapter 3. In Chapter 4, this polarization was not treated explicitly. Zheng Xie's criticism of groups of painters and search for specific patrons implicitly illustrates the polarization of the painter/patron relationship. For Zheng Xie, the patron became a target more specifically identified than Li Shan's patrons. Zheng Xie's theoretical inscriptions and paintings worked on another level of the polarized painter/patron relationship.

This polarization, which allowed for the sale of images, dual significance of images, and critical positioning of the painter is historically important, as it illustrates the departure from the scholar's standard notions of a community, however broad. In this Chapter, I will compare the paintings of Li Shan and Zheng Xie to better understand how they utilized and modified the painter/patron relationship in different ways. I will maintain that Zheng Xie crossed over the boundary set up between the painter and patron in order to explicitly state literati ideas, which were shared with the patron. When he did so, he also denied the unorthodox aspects of his painting. Li Shan, however, held to the unorthodox aspects

of his work and the painter/patron polarity, and denied most literati communication.

In a second part of this Chapter, I will illustrate the range of tensions in society and literati painting, and how they differed for Zheng Xie and Li Shan.

To begin a treatment of the polarization of the painter/patron relationship I would like to briefly recall the examples of this relationship as presented in Chapter 2. For Li Shan and Jin Nong the painter provides foodstuffs fresh from the natural realm represented in painting for the patron. It is implied that the painter inhabits this natural world. The connection of the painting with food is explicit in writings and implicit in the exchange, thus illustrating one kind of qualification of the act of selling paintings which could occur between the poles of painter and patron.

Also common to the examples of images of food is the way in which they grow out of the union of the literati and the so-called unorthodox traditions. This can also be said for Zheng Xie's image of bamboo shoots and his theoretical works.

Two examples of what are literati subject matters with non-literati aspects may be seen in the works of Li Shan and Zheng Xie. Both paintings are hanging scrolls, the format of most of Li Shan's few straightforward literati paintings and that of the majority of Zheng Xie's. Both establish a polarization of the painter/patron relationship through a

placement of the painter in the natural realm, from which he brings to the audience forms of nature. In both cases this relationship qualifies the literati subject matter, giving the painting either a domestic function or a didactic function, and qualifying the significance of the nature of painting itself.

An inscription on Li Shan's undated scroll of Five Pines (Figure 13):

Someone asked me to paint the five pines.  
Each of them is indeed quite singular...

Twisting the brush nine times I paint with my  
limited skills.  
I invite the gentlemen to come with a cup of ink.  
The five pines and the five elders are called the  
lofty ones.  
Hung in the east side of the Cassia Hall in your  
home,  
They oversee the hundred flowers which cluster  
around like their children.<sup>1</sup>

Through his painting, the painter achieves a relationship with nature, being able to call the pines into the domestic realm. There is a central ambiguity here, insofar as the section of the inscription not quoted here states that the pines represent the various sages and auspicious creatures associated with the freedom of the mountain. These forms are then brought inside to become guardians of the house.

There is a polarization evident here between outside and inside, and painter and patron, which are linked by painting. The relationship between the painter and patron is similar to that established in the food paintings. I

would suggest that there is at least the potential for this inscription and the polarizations to carry implications of the tensions of Li Shan's situation. The painting can be read as the painter supplying the symbols of virtue for the patron who is holed up in some official post or some dwelling. Otherwise, it can be read as a more literal outside and inside distinction. The moral implications of outside and inside then take effect and lessen the stature of the patron who remains, through the very purchase of the scroll, on the inside. It is worth mentioning the tensions in Zheng Xie's description of Li Shan tearing a half-completed image of pines.<sup>2</sup>

The relationship between Li Shan's and Zheng Xie's painting ideas is closest when we consider Li Shan's hanging scrolls, like the Five Pines. In a large hanging scroll of Cymbidiums, Bamboo, and Fungi, Zheng Xie creates a relationship between the painter and patron which is remarkably similar to that established by Li Shan's scroll (Figure 14). Again, the relationship is mediated by the very act of painting itself. However, as in his hanging scroll of bamboo shoots and the scrolls carrying his painting theory, Zheng Xie reasserts standard literati ideas after his initial mention of fungi, with its connotations of Daoism, and his suggestion of natural creation through the act of painting. The work is dated to 1761, during Zheng Xie's period in Yangzhou, when he also created his painting theory. In the inscription, Zheng Xie writes:



The ancients said: "Should one tarry too long after having entered a room with fungi and cymbidium [orchid], one may become oblivious of their fragrant scent." [Moreover], if the fungi and cymbidium should be placed inside the room, the room may gain in beauty but the plants themselves would not be happy. I desire to live amidst the mountain ranges and deep ravines, and would not touch the fungi or cymbidium even if they were there. [In this way], each of us could retain our own identity and be at peace with ourselves...

Replete with cymbidium, the hill yet lacks fungus. Where can we find it—just ask the painter! In truth you must seek it in your own heart, You, who<sub>3</sub> so cultivated it, can fathom what you've done.<sup>3</sup>

Ginger Cheng-chi Hsu has written about some of the particular symbolic capacities of the potted orchid in her doctoral dissertation.<sup>4</sup> She finds that these include the traditional reference to the orchid in nature as the scholar free from an official post. This is one kind of inside/outside dichotomy for which the subject matter can narrate an individual's feelings. What is interesting here is the relationship set up by the painter between himself and the audience, which is both the focus of this particular inscription and the key function of the act of painting, at least initially.

In the postscript on Zheng Xie's painting, he qualifies the painting in a way which suggests that, although the painting is a testimony to the recipient's virtue, the painting does not guarantee that virtue. It is thus not the painter's inked plants which do the job, nor does the painter in fact have the capacity to grant the fungus to the viewer. Only the viewer can create the pictured plants in

truth, and this through his actual virtue and capability of mind.

Zheng Xie's postscript is an interesting qualification which limits the effective powers of the painting and the act of painting. Here, I would suggest, the painter is questioning a painting's power to stand for status of a certain kind. This parallels Zheng Xie's limitation and definition of the meaning of painting in his theoretical inscriptions. Like those images which present Zheng Xie's painting theory, this too is an image of great artistic power and high quality, and the inscription here also deals with some of the problems of painting in the eighteenth century. As well, the artist represents certain literati ideas through unorthodox means. The painter reasserts the primacy of his friend's virtue, and relegates the painting to the role of a reminder of how that virtue works. Li Shan, however, recognizes the audience's virtue without any qualifications, and the abilities of the painter remain primary throughout.

The differences between the final messages in Li Shan's and Zheng Xie's hanging scrolls, which can be considered to represent their most scholarly works, illustrate again the different types of painting transactions in which they were engaged. Li Shan by circumstance and probably in part by choice painted fully to accomodate the patron. His own incapability of being fully reconciled with this situation appears in the dual readings possible with many of his

works. Zheng Xie's use of the polarized painter/audience relationship allows him to interject his own ideas on the issues of literati thought and on painting more directly. Probably his reputation enabled him to retain some stature and untouchability. Zheng Xie's use of less orthodox imagery and his use of the painter/patron dichotomy illustrate his attempt to locate certain patrons, and his attempt to give fresh significance to literati concepts. It is his ability to sometimes cross over the line between painter and patron in the dichotomy, revealing to the patron what the painter considers to be a primary significance of the image, that indicates how far he should be set apart from Li Shan.

Thus, the suggestion of the connection between painting and the natural world manifests the mixture of "unorthodox" ideas and literati painting subjects. In making a distinction between Li Shan and Zheng Xie, I am proposing that the degree to which the painters adhere to the unorthodox elements is an indication of their attempt to popularize their imagery. Ginger Cheng-chi Hsu has established the general trend towards a more popular literati art in the eighteenth century.<sup>5</sup> My analysis of Zheng Xie and Li Shan agrees with her economic interpretation, while it makes distinctions between the degrees of popularization for each painter, and the function of the popularization, which I see as entailing the creation of a polarity between the painter and patron.

Thus, while Zheng Xie's theory of painting has a wide range of functions which do not ignore the painter's own ideas on matters, Li Shan's paintings do ignore the painter's perspective, or at least submerge it, in order to focus upon what the patron desires. He was more concerned with ways in which to attract the patron, and Li Shan was clearly very clever about creating a demand for his images. Evidence for this is the popularity of his fish paintings.

I would like to give another example of how Li Shan's use of the "unorthodox" traditions is different and more complete than Zheng Xie's, through a comparison of their use of the dao or workings of nature in their paintings and styles.

A key to the success of the fish paintings is Li Shan's ability to imbue them with talismanic capabilities.<sup>6</sup> Not only did they function as New Year's pictures but they guaranteed the auspiciousness of the New Year through the painter's apparent participation in the workings of nature. Other inscriptions from paintings by Li Shan illustrate a similar principle at work:

Clear summer during the famine I fast...  
 Mankind's heat I can bring to an end.  
 Please look on this ink and brush as if they were  
 clouds rising,  
 It is like the cold rain and cool wind amongst the  
 bamboo and trees in the autumn.<sup>7</sup>

This type of magic, one could call it, illustrates Li Shan's connection with Shitao, who also utilized his connection with the workings of nature to bolster the

overall reception of his painting as a professional.<sup>8</sup> The importance of the method of painting in giving a central function as opposed to meaning to the artwork is a critical feature of "unorthodox" techniques which Li Shan is strongly utilizing here. These magical implications of the brushwork or painted forms can be linked with the entertainment functions of the act of painting for such painters as Xu Wei.

One painting by Li Shan which may illustrate in the very brushwork his involvement in the workings of nature is that of an earthen wall with butterfly orchids, dated to 1727, the period in which he may have seen the paintings of Shitao (Figure 15). The rough translation by Edmund Capon indicates that the image was painted when Li Shan saw a wall which had been partly washed away by floods and appeared to "fly away together."<sup>9</sup> Li Shan's brushwork seems not only to present the appearance of the objects but also to capture on the paper the actual act of washing away. The brush action thus approximates the natural phenomenon. Evidence for this intention in the paintings of Shitao can be found in a leaf within his album of landscapes dated to 1691, in which he approximates the formation of clouds in his brushwork (figure 16).

Li Shan's painting in accord with nature differs from Zheng Xie's in many ways. We have analyzed Zheng Xie's use of the idea of interacting with the dao, also based upon Shitao, in Chapter 3. In Li Shan's painting, the chief

significance is the painter's involvement in nature and his ability to provide efficacious images for the patron. In Zheng Xie's painting the interaction with nature in itself was taken back past Shitao to the Northern Song literati, and the action of linking oneself to the past changes the meaning of the brushwork and the idea considerably. The brushwork and the painter's interaction with nature take on literati dimensions. This competes directly with simpler versions of literati painting, or xieyi. The purpose and significance of Zheng Xie's brushwork is not just to please the patron, but to express a more complex interpretation of the painter's interaction with the dao, which gets beyond the painting itself.

In saying this I do not want to idealize Zheng Xie, for I have argued that his paintings were designed to attract certain types of patrons. I simply want to point out how Zheng Xie and Li Shan are different because of their different patronage and audience, and how the paintings of each contain more or less strands of literati thought. It is these strands which allow the painter to express ideas more openly and include more of his own thought in the images.

One would expect a combination of the basic stylistic characteristics of the literati and unorthodox traditions along with the combination of literati and unorthodox subject matter and ideas. The question arises, are there any stylistic characteristics particular to the literati

tradition in the eighteenth century? At that time, painters seem to have left behind the crumbly-line styles of the literati tradition recently evident in the paintings of the Anhui school, or the dabbling persistence of those done by the four Wangs. The question may be phrased perhaps in negative terms: is there a basic characteristic to "unorthodox" painting and to what extent do qualities of literati painting exist beside it in the works of Li Shan and Zheng Xie?

For this purpose I would like to use James Cahill's characterization of professional painting, which is a category of painting that overlaps "unorthodox painting." He states that professional artists often combined in their works the sense of the naturalistic with decorative elements and surfaces.<sup>10</sup>

With regard to Li Shan and Zheng Xie this characterisation is especially meaningful. In taking up Shitao's basic style, Zheng Xie adheres in part to that master's use of tactile descriptive effects and convincing renderings of natural features. The importance of this type of rendering in a theory proposing interaction with the workings of nature should be clear.

However, Zheng Xie did not use colour in his works, probably the only artist in Yangzhou who did not, while Shitao did. As well, Zheng Xie's surfaces are in themselves not as decorative as Shitao's or Li Shan's, usually lacking a single focus, or a composition which entertains for its

own sake. The lack of these qualities is a positive characteristic of a literati painting. Lacking these qualities, intellectual content is then included. This content makes the image more interesting, linking its brushwork to certain other literati painters, and utilizing it to express literati ideas such as the interdependence of calligraphy and painting.

Li Shan, however, did use colour and a single focus in his compositions in order to make them more attractive. His works are also life-like in the same way as Shitao's. This is less true, however, for his more scholarly productions, such as his pine tree scrolls, or the odd late bamboo painting.

Again, this is not a question of who is better, but what, if quality was the issue, would each man be better at. The monochromatic works of Zheng Xie communicated to a different type of patron than the majority of works by Li Shan. Within that patronage Zheng Xie could afford to, and was probably expected to, make some kind of scholarly commentary. On the question of quality, one could argue that Li Shan's works are more consistently of a higher quality. One could also argue that this was due in part to the greater importance of the visual effectiveness of his images. Zheng Xie, however, could probably well afford to scribble out something monochromatic, not immediately grabbing and easily identifiable as being a subject matter in the literati vein, and sell it. However, in his



theoretical inscriptions and the images containing them he strove for more than this.

The differences between Li Shan and Zheng Xie's paintings has much to do with their respective backgrounds and resulting expectations and abilities. The question for us at this point is how did the differences between the two become reconciled with the ideas of Shitao and the notion of interacting with the dao. I have answered this question for Zheng Xie in Chapter 4, finding it to have been a conscious decision to reconcile literati and Shitaoian ideas and image systems. Not surprisingly, it seems that it was also a conscious decision on the part of Li Shan. He, however, had to reconcile the Shitaoian idea with his background as painter at court, and the skills acquired there to depict naturalistically. One can call this a realignment.

Zheng Xie describes Li Shan's stylistic evolution and suggests his gradual move to this style in an inscription upon an album of flowers painted by Li Shan, which is now in the Sichuan Provincial Museum.<sup>11</sup> The idea in the inscription is that after acquiring the manner of painting usually called as xiesheng or painting from life, Li Shan became increasingly eccentric in his painting style. Zheng Xie considers this eccentricity to be a positive characteristic of Li Shan's painting. The description of the apogee of Li Shan's painting makes the claim for clarity and complexity within a mode of spontaneous painting. In reality, there is usually little spontaneous or loose

brushwork in Li Shan's paintings. The function of Zheng Xie's inscription, was probably to align Li Shan's painting with Shitao and literati painting. More specifically, Zheng Xie sought to link the characteristics of Li Shan's paintings to the idea of natural genius, or painting according to the workings of nature.

If we recall Zheng Xie's own claims for independence from the many xieyi painters of the time, the ability to paint according to the workings of nature was the method of legitimizing his own scholar-painting. In the case of Li Shan this ability legitimizes his court painting background. The realignment for Li Shan meant that he too was elevated above the crowds of literati, while for him the interaction with the workings of nature were not explicitly tied to the Northern Song literati, as Zheng Xie had asserted they were in his own paintings. This is the essential difference between the ways in which the two painters approached painting. Further proof of Li Shan's method of painting is given in his biography, which makes clear the link between eccentricity and interaction with the workings of nature:

By special decree he often learned with the experienced Jiang Xiangguo, and altogether served in the inner court for a few years... Shan painted flowers and birds. He did not hold on stubbornly to the rules and regulations of those of the past. Creation was in his wrist and the condition was like growth.<sup>12</sup>

To conclude this section on style I would note that Zheng Xie and Li Shan both utilized the idea of painting in accord with the workings of nature, and the eccentricity or

individualism with which it is associated. Both also utilized Shitao's ideas and style in the process. What differed was their artistic and social backgrounds. Zheng Xie's greater success as an official and his more scholarly interests, in calligraphy and writing as well as painting, contrasted with Li Shan's less well-known official position and his greater ability as a painter.

As a result, Li Shan was more able and in more need to utilize his painting to make a living. For Li Shan there is a range of painting types (album leaves and hanging scrolls of less or more scholarly inclination). In terms of the painting market, Li Shan painted for a broad market, utilizing a fetching balance of artistry and auspicious sentiments in his paintings, which are tangentially related to the main stream literati tradition.

Zheng Xie instead painted more scholarly works. He too mixed individualism and an interaction with the workings of nature with literati ideas and painting. However, he added the motive of raising the standards of literati painting above those of others and retaining more traditional concerns of literati painting. These included a concern for morality, the literati lifestyle, reference to past sages of the Song, and the interdependence of the scholar's arts. There was a concern for more in Zheng Xie's paintings, including salvaging some status and ideas of the literati tradition, which Li Shan only sublimated. Zheng Xie simply had the background and expectations as well as a better

position to strive towards these ends in paintings which could also serve as salable commodities. It was the contradiction still between these attempts as well as the situation and results of selling paintings which caused the tensions in Zheng Xie's attitude towards painting and in his life.

The differences between Li Shan and Zheng Xie qualified the dichotomous relationship between themselves and their audiences. This relationship was also at the root in many cases of the types of subject matter employed and the way in which they functioned.

Other subject matter in Li Shan's paintings includes a chicken beside a fence, domestic flowers framed by a bamboo fence, insects eating mulberry leaves in a basket with a pole lying beside, and an animal upon the branch of a pine tree (Figures 17-20). These are original works in the history of Chinese paintings, though some may be related to birds and domestic pets painted by literati painters of the Ming dynasty like Wen Zhengming or professional or unorthodox painters like Lan Ying and Xu Wei.<sup>13</sup>

Some of these paintings are domestic subjects (the chicken), while others combine the domestic with the natural world (the mulberry leaf pole and basket with insects, the flowers and the broken bamboo fence). In the other album leaf, the pine tree seems divested of its literati associations by the presence of an animal scrambling up a branch, which animates the composition. In these works

there is, in addition to an intermingling of domestic and natural, a naturalization or domestication of some literati subject matter (the pine and the bamboo), although I am not yet aware of the full implications of these.

In Zheng Xie's paintings there is an emphasis upon placing the subject matter in the natural realm, whether in his theoretical inscriptions or the bulk of his hanging scrolls in the literati rock-plus-plant genre. This small range of traditional and scholarly subject matter is naturalized through Zheng Xie's emphasis on setting. This handling has much to do with his use of Shitao's ideas.

It is important to note how this sets up a relationship between the painter and patron which specifies the site for the meeting as the natural world. Thus, in contrast to Li Shan's work, the painter and patron share a space which is outside of the domestic place. Of course, the painter provides the space. We have seen in two paintings examples of how Zheng Xie could moralize in his work and how he could qualify the meaning of the space he creates in paint in order to demand some participation from the patron or audience (See Chapter 2, the bamboo shoot painting and this Chapter for the painting of Orchid, Bamboo, and Rock). This illustrates the painter's ability to act as an arbiter of morality.

There is a possibility, however, that there was a tension between the natural setting and the literati connotations of Zheng Xie's work. The literati statement

which is Zheng Xie's focus entails a qualification of the natural or Dao aspect of the work. For example, his painting of Cymbidium, Bamboo and Fungi discussed above.

A categorization of some of the major tensions of the time for Li Shan and Zheng Xie will help to ascertain the possible tensions in their paintings and act to summarize some of the suggestions made throughout this thesis. In order to do so I will rely upon biographical and other materials which suggest the personal situations and attitudes of Li Shan and Zheng Xie. These sources are less formulaic than the official sources quoted in Chapter 1. They serve to present the dynamics of the historical realities of the time which are neatly concealed beneath the veneer of official history, and which can be read in the contradictions between different artworks and artworks and texts.

There are four types of tensions: 1. The tension between the status which Li Shan and Zheng Xie would have gained traditionally and that possible during the eighteenth century. The literatus with preconceptions or hopes for status found that he had little control over his reputation and reception. It could not be chosen, but was rather heaped on by others. The literatus no longer defined the criteria or the rules for attaining status. 2. The tension between painting as a commercial activity and as an instrument of the literati life. 3. The tension between painting, calligraphy, and writing in the case of Zheng Xie.

4. The tension between the methods of escape from these situations and the inability to truly convince oneself or one's friends of the success of the method.

With regard to the first kind of tension, loss of status, we already have Zheng Xie's comment quoted in Chapter 1, concerning the number of scholars active in the eighteenth century. We should not underestimate the implications of these comments. In Europe, artists of established reputations may have had qualms about the rapid increase in the number of competitors, but in China the literati artist was not just an artist, and in fact painting was only a part of his lifestyle. Zheng Xie's comment indicates more than a disgust at the large number of competitors. It includes a disgust at the attitudes of those many towards their patrons, as well as the decline of the significance of being a scholar.

My belief is that popularity did not equal status in Yangzhou in the eighteenth century in the same way it did in Europe. Zheng Xie's frequently quoted painting advertisement is partly an example of refuting toady patrons.<sup>14</sup> It suggests the common attitude towards Zheng Xie as a painter. According to two alternate readings of Zheng Xie's price list, patrons might have either taken on the pretense of being scholars to attain works or bought works outright without regard to what the painter thinks about them. Either way, if the painter sells works in this manner, which Zheng Xie may have, the sarcastic tone of the

price list expresses the painter's displeasure with the attitudes towards himself. This is different than a straight-forward price list which might state that "my scrolls are for sale, 20 taels for the album" etc. One could argue that Zheng Xie is saving face through criticizing his patrons. Then there is still face to save, but for what purpose--who was looking? My argument would be that Zheng Xie was saving face in front of smaller groups with whom he was more pleased to deal. Evidence for Zheng Xie's preference for some groups over others, which argues against a full commitment to commercial painting, appears in the form of Zheng Xie's painting theory.

Li Shan's loss of status is evident in popular opinion and his loss of his chosen identity of scholar, as he was labeled "the old painting master."<sup>15</sup> There is evidence of a large scale interest in Li Shan and Zheng Xie's works, which applied a pressure to take on certain identities which both men resented. Li Shan wrote of crowds interrupting his leisure, or his peace of mind, while Zheng Xie had to resort to a painting advertisement.

The second type of tension is that between viewing painting as a part of literati life and viewing paintings as salable commodities. This is related to the first kind of tension, elite status, which was lost to a great extent, and could have previously provided an arena in which painting as a hobby or a controlled exchange could take place. An example of this tension is Zheng Xie's attempt to raise the



level of painting in his painting theory above its general practice and less inspired images, which often were without a direct address to the recipient.<sup>16</sup>

The tension between ideal literati and commercial painting can be found in the way in which Zheng Xie's painting theory emphasizes aspects of painting not present in his more commercial works. The commercial paintings are void of the emphasis upon poetry and calligraphy and the involvement of the artist. This suggests that his "better" and his more "simple" works should be considered contradictory efforts in which Zheng Xie was aware of the contradiction. An example of his awareness of this contradiction can be found a letter written to his brother Mo which suggests his belief in the two possible functions of art, literati and commercial, a comment on the four classes in China which supports these two possibilities, and certain comments which castigate outright commercial sale to the detriment of literati ideas.

Zheng Xie's letter to his brother Mo states that it is harmless for Su Shi to paint, since he had a constant consideration for the people, while it is vulgar to paint in order to make a living, or "to entertain others," which he states he is doing in his old age. He also comments on the fame of Zhuke Liang as a scholar and curses the commonness of the title "scholar" in his day. At the same time, he implies an affinity between himself and Zhuke Liang and Su Shi, in spite of his own painting activities.<sup>17</sup> This

affinity which Zheng Xie constructs between himself and Su Shi and Zhuke Liang opposes himself in spite of his "having" to paint for a living to the common scholars of the time. This illustrates Zheng Xie's recognition of the tensions inherent in his painting activities. I find this important because of the strong argument Zheng Xie makes for his own continuation of Su Shi's ideas in his best paintings, and because of the life experiences he had which link him to Su Shi and to the fame of Zhuke Liang.

For example, in Wei county Zheng Xie was no doubt treated as a famous scholar. The people built for him an ancestral shrine on his departure, largely because he had saved many people by opening up the granaries during a famine.<sup>18</sup> As well, there is the suggestion in Li Dou's Yangzhou Huafanglu of Zheng Xie's activity at the sacrificial room for three Northern Song masters, Su Shi, Wen Tong, and Ouyang Xiu.<sup>19</sup> These actions or events must have advertised a certain identity for Zheng Xie while they illustrate his likely retention of certain ideas expressed in his letter to his brother Mo.

In a passage on the four classes in China, Zheng Xie places the scholar in the lowest of the four positions, below the farmer and the merchant who produce material goods for the benefit of all members of society.<sup>20</sup> He does so with the proviso that if an intellectual does what he should, this including practicing good family affairs and good office as well as setting a moral example in

retirement, then he is higher than the farmer. But Zheng Xie sees the majority of scholars, again with the exception of himself and an unspecified few others, as falling much short of this goal. Thus he probably sees himself as passing on a moral example. This we have seen in his bamboo shoot painting and I would argue, in the anecdotal and idealized, but probably partially true, accounts of Zheng Xie's aversion to a concentration upon the outright sale of images.<sup>21</sup> I would suggest that a tension between the more commercial images and the more personalized and complex images can be detected in Zheng Xie's framing of the image of the scholar as good or bad, depending. He characterizes his painting and behaviour as rare and refined, while admitting to painting in a way that he found unacceptable. In order to again point out the existence of the first kind of tension suggested here, loss of status, I should mention Zheng Xie's comment on the four classes: the poor behaviour of the masses of scholars gave a bad name to the few good ones, including Zheng Xie himself.

A final argument for the tension between the more scholarly and commercial modes of painting for Zheng Xie is his outright castigation in some instances of commercial activities in painting, and admittance of it in other instances. For example there is his letter to Li Shan:

In ten days we have not seen one another...Can you come over for a visit with me?... The painting business, no doubt, is pressing, but talking of matters also can not be given up.<sup>22</sup>

This letter is a good example of Zheng Xie's need for some kind of literati community in art. The very direct interference of commercial painting with Li Shan's more sophisticated exchanges and with the pleasures of being a literatus must have occurred in Zheng Xie's life as well. There is a contradiction between the different methods of sale and the lifestyles connected with them.

This letter and the comment within Zheng Xie's description of Li Shan's stylistic evolution which states that Li Shan's paintings weakened after he was sixty, or 1745 when he came to Yangzhou, contrast with Li Shan's statement of professional goals and Zheng Xie's own. Li Shan, it seems, painted actively after his return to Yangzhou, even though he too, apparently, had regrets. Biographical records state what is probably a partial truth concerning Li Shan's regrets after retiring:

He was disobedient to a great minister, and so was discharged and returned (home). He then built the Fuouguan in the southern part of the city. He howled and intoned until the end.<sup>23</sup>

However, Li Shan's acceptance of his need to paint professionally is clear in his letter to his nephew in Hangzhou just prior to Li Shan's move to Yangzhou, in 1745:

I hope you are most well nephew. In Teng county we did not talk. When I returned home we hurriedly spoke and then went our own ways for years--enduring the corners of the earth...I have already decided to live at home. Recently I again had thoughts of leaving the mountains to come to the prefectural city holding the begging bowl, making a plan to enter the capital. At the end of the tenth month I left home...What I need badly is to buy painting brushes. At my place, the

brushes overfill the case, but all are unfit to use because they are all makeshift goods, and not retail sales. In Hangzhou the painting brush stores are numerous...<sup>24</sup>

Zheng Xie's statement of going to join Li Shan in Yangzhou to paint, as well as his comment in old age after Li Shan's death that he will no longer have anyone with whom to talk over matters of painting, indicates an acceptance of painting commercially as a fact of life. But Zheng Xie attempted to hold onto what he perceived to be a more correct literati lifestyle with more vigour. Thus he wrote his letter castigating Li Shan's commercial activities and his comment on Li Shan's weakening ability after his move to Yangzhou. I do not think that one can reconcile these sources, nor can they be explained with the notion of changing attitudes through time, since they are simultaneous. Instead I believe that the contradictions themselves are the central fact of the time.

A good example of contrasting views expressed at the same moment can be gathered by comparing Li Shan's letter to his nephew concerning the acquisition of painting brushes and Zheng Xie's poem to Li Shan of the same year:

When leading the ox out to plough the fields,  
Do a painting as before--play with the brush...  
Your white hair overflows your shoulders--the  
lofty ideal (for officialdom) is but ashes.<sup>25</sup>

Thus, at Li Shan's time of retirement, which is equivalent with his purchase of the Fuouguan in the southern part of Yangzhou as recorded in the biography quoted above, Zheng Xie foresaw some kind of retirement in the traditional

sense. He also hoped to continue the friendship within this retirement. There is some contradiction between this poem when we think of Li Shan's letter reaching Hangzhou at approximately the same time. Ten years later, Zheng Xie too left his office and had ideas of painting in Yangzhou. But the hopes expressed in his poem to Li Shan no doubt reasserted themselves to an extent in the face of losing his perceived status.

In order to ensure that I do not idealize Zheng Xie I want to present an example of a painting transaction. This example, though anecdotal, joins with the sarcastic painting advertisement to give us a fuller picture of the range of tone in Zheng Xie's language with regard to his patrons, and the range of his attitudes towards commercial painting. This range of attitude or action shows the range of situations of the time, and the complexity of these situations. This can be used along with the information of the problems which Zheng Xie had with commercial painting in order to get a better picture of the tensions he faced. I have paraphrased the story here:

In his later years in Yangzhou, Banqiao's reputation grew daily. One merchant wished to obtain a calligraphy by Banqiao. He sent someone to tactfully request Banqiao's calligraphy, and moreover request that he compose a line. Banqiao asked 1,000 taels. The (messenger) consented to 500 taels. Banqiao completed the first line. The messenger requested him to write the second line. Banqiao laughing, said: "I clearly said 1,000 taels. You only paid 500. I therefore have written only one-half."<sup>26</sup>

The second kind of tension involves quality: the

quality of the work, the quality of the exchange of the work of art, and the quality of thought involved in the exchange and the work. The basic argument then, is that there was a tension between producing better works of art in a more scholarly environment and producing works for an anonymous patronage. I have suggested that while the latter was a recognized practical option, the ties to the former type caused tensions which the scholar sometimes had to face.

A third type of tension is not related directly to the issue of quality. This tension instead has to do with the conflict between different types of recognition, especially recognition for writing and calligraphy and recognition for painting. For example, in his autobiography written in 1749 in which Zheng Xie compares himself and Li Shan, he emphasizes his calligraphy over his painting. He also identifies Li Shan as the painter of the time, and himself as the writer of the time:

Zheng Xie was good at calligraphy, and called himself "Liufen Banshu." Also, he used his free time to paint orchid and bamboo. If princes, dukes and ministers, high ministers, literati, old monks of the mountains...obtained one piece of paper with some calligraphy upon it, they treasured it and stored it away. But Bangqiao never took these people as a pretense to becoming famous. Only his fellow countyman Li Shan Futang was a mutual friend...Futang used his painting to worship in the inner court. During the time of the Kangxi emperor's court Li Shan's name was great in the capital and elsewhere...Twenty years later, because of his poetry, ci poetry, and writing, Zheng Xie was as famous as Li Shan. Those who sought painting called Futang; those who sought poetry and literature called Bangqiao. Li retired from his post as the magistrate of Teng county. Bangqiao was a xiucai in the reign of the

Kangxi emperor, was a juren in the renzi year of the reign of the Yongzheng emperor (1732), and was a jinshi in the bingchen year of the reign of the Qianlong emperor (1736). First he was the magistrate in Fan county; he then continued after he was transferred to Wei county.<sup>27</sup>

In this rather flattering self-appraisal we see that for Zheng Banqiao considered painting to be a leisure activity. He emphasizes his office in this passage; and thus painting has a similar role to that in the life of Su Shi, as Zheng Xie described it. His overriding concern, however, is that his writings be valued more than his calligraphy and painting. Zheng Xie states that his artworks had been very popular. However, he wants the primary art of the scholar, writing, to be valued more than those arts. Thus, he wants his reputation to be founded upon his literary talent.

In his argument Zheng Xie utilizes the Chinese method of argument through pairings. He constructs a pairing of Zheng the writer and Li the painter. To some extent this was true, judging by their backgrounds and personal histories. However, the important consideration is the way in which painting and calligraphy become the key to one's importance and reputation at this time. This is largely because paintings and calligraphies could be purchased, like antiquities which were also extremely popular at the time. Fame was garnered most quickly through the sale of paintings and calligraphies. Worst of all for Zheng Xie was the way in which those interested in painting and calligraphy gave the artist a certain reputation without his consent. Thus



Zheng Xie states, "but Banqiao never took these people as a pretense to becoming famous."

This concern informs Zheng Xie's best painting after he went to Yangzhou. He did not abandon painting, but tried to reform its significance into a more acceptable one. Thus his painting theory reemphasizes the importance of poetry and calligraphy as Su Shi had done.

We should note that this concern for the reputation of a scholar being based solely upon painting appears also in the biography on Li Shan, in spite of Zheng Xie's attempts to frame himself and his friend historically:

(Li Shan) was learned and could write; his poems were unconventionally graceful and natural, and his calligraphy had the colour of willow, bones and muscles. The world has merely passed on statements of his skill in painting.<sup>28</sup>

There is a fourth tension of the time that has everything to do with the painter's attempts to justify whatever involvement in painting he had. This is the tension between the scholar's claim and its reception. There was a continual tension at the time between what different individuals staked out for themselves and what others, those whose opinions mattered to them or groups in which they wanted to circulate, would accept of it. In the eighteenth century individuals were cut free from a well-defined tradition and yet wanted to survive or assert their status as literati to various degrees.

The various levels of "morality" at the time need to be investigated in more depth, but two examples are Zheng Xie's

castigation of Li Shan and Yuan Mei's warning to Jin Nong about how the selling of lanterns is unbecoming a scholar.<sup>29</sup>

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1. The Elegant Brush, 1985, 164.
  2. Appendix 2, number 5.
  3. The Elegant Brush, 1985, 172.
  4. Cheng-chi Hsu, Patronage, 1987, 249.
  5. Cheng-chi Hsu, Patronage, 1987.
  6. The fact that this is in itself a topic of interest came out in the response to my thesis proposal at the University of British Columbia.
  7. In Zhuang Shen, "Li Shan shichao," 1972, 58.
  8. James Cahill, Three Alternative Histories, 1988, 65. Cahill discusses the early appearance of the talismanic aspect of paintings and mentions its later presence in Shitao and others in accord with the claim that they participated in natural creation.
  9. Edmond Capon and Mae Anna Pang, Chinese Paintings of the Ming and Qing Dynasties, 1981, 156.
  10. James Cahill, The Compelling Image, 1982.
  11. Appendix 2, number 3.
  12. Appendix 2, number 4.
  13. Reproduced in Comprehensive Illustrated Catalog, 1982, JM11-032, A31-063, JM3-172, respectively.
  14. "Six taels for a large painting...Better give me silver (money) rather than any gifts or foodstuffs, for the latter may not dovetail to my needs. However, if you should bring cash, my heart will rejoice and (consequently) my calligraphy and painting will be of better quality. Gifts are troublesome, and purchases on credit even less welcome. I am old and easily fatigued, and unable to spend time arguing with you gentlemen...Let others wrangle or argue over price, it is but autumn wind passing by my ears" (The Elegant Brush, 1985, 169).
  15. Chapter 2.
  16. The anecdote which appears as Appendix 1, number 4 illustrates how an inscription to the owner radically changed the meaning of the work, since the particular merchant involved had some paintings by Zheng Xie, but sought for one with such an inscription.

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17. This passage is translated by Vicki Frances Weinstein, "Eccentricity," 1972, 124-125.
  18. See his nianbiao under the year 1752 (Zheng Banqiao ji, 1962, appendix).
  19. Appendix 1, number 3, volume 12.
  20. Vicki Frances Weinstein, "Eccentricity," 1972, 30.
  21. For example the anecdote in Appendix 1, number 4.
  22. Appendix 2, number 7.
  23. Jin Nong is also likely to have wailed somewhat but painted actively. We have seen evidence for Li Shan's howling in Yangzhou in Zheng Xie's jueju quoted in chapter two. This additional evidence is in his biography in the Xinghua Li shi zhuanlue (Biographies of the Li Family of Xinghua)(Appendix 2, number 4).
  24. Reproduced in Wang Zichen's article "Li Shan Shouzha," 1982, 94 (Appendix 2, number 1).
  25. Appendix 2, number 2. The date of 1745 listed above is obtained from Zheng Xie's nianbiao (Zheng Banqiao ji, 1962, appendix).
  26. Appendix 1, number 4.
  27. Appendix 1, number 2.
  28. Appendix 2, number 4.
  29. Chapter 2.

## CHAPTER 6

## CONCLUSION

Painting for the literatus in the eighteenth century still meant something as an art form outside of its commercial functions. Many scholars went to Yangzhou in the eighteenth century because it was the cultural center. It was the place where they could engage in the cultural activities of the scholar, and it was also the place where their friends were. For Li Shan and Zheng Xie it was their home prefecture, and for them as well it presented the opportunity to make a living from the sale of their images. It was also a place of contradictions.

Each artist had problems with the idea of outright commercial sale. Finding a happy medium of sale, a method of exchange in which scholarly relationships informed the exchange, was not easy; nor was this qualification of the sale of paintings under the control of the painter. The market reacted to and created reputations, and the scholars were involved in this market whether they liked it or not. As well, their reputations preceded them. Their fame as officials or court painters shaped the reception of their works and their expectations, as well as providing them with different tools for survival.

Li Shan not only had a different background from Zheng Xie, but also a different temperament. He was more willing to paint professionally it seems than Zheng Xie, yet his

ideals were very much the same. His ability in painting and his reputation made it possible and, it seems, necessary for him to live from his painting. His ideals thus took a warped form within his paintings; a form of sarcasm. Zheng Xie's ideals also appeared in the sarcasm of his painting advertisement and elsewhere. However, with his fame as an official he was able to formulate a position which gave him greater leverage in his relationship with a more select patronage. Thus, Zheng Xie had the time to formulate a theory of painting which illustrated the ideals he held, ideals which Li Shan shared but could not express in such a form.

In this thesis I have tried to point out how the ideas of two aspiring scholars, Zheng Xie and Li Shan, clashed with the circumstances in which they lived. The tensions are located chronologically between seventeenth-century painting in the more traditional literati mode and nineteenth-century painting which followed to a great extent upon the lines of Li Shan's style and subject matter.

The character of scholar painting in the seventeenth century was determined by a scholar class who sold works to an eager patron, and in the nineteenth century was determined by the patron who bought works from an eager painter. In between, in the eighteenth century, is a stage at which it is unclear who is defining the nature of literati art. Scholars who were not a part of a clearly formed community and who lacked the support of a tradition

struck out on their own while trying to retain aspects of what they considered to be scholarly. The extent to which this retention of the scholarly was explicit depended upon the suitability of the artist's sentiment to their particular commercial activities.

Within the population of scholars, individuals like Zheng Xie, Li Shan, Jin Nong and Yuan Mei, argued about what was acceptable for the scholar, and there was no certain agreement. Instead there was statement, request, and rebuke. The proper course of action was as unclear in the discourse between the scholars as it was between them and their patrons.

In an historical perspective, the literati tradition could more easily escape the political restrictions of the court in the Northern Song than the restrictions and driving force of the rise of the merchant class which was rooted in economics. The individualism which was brought into play in the time of Su Shi was clearly opposed to the court painting under the Emperor Huizong, and to the system of governmental accession through bloodlines with which those paintings were associated. When individualism was utilized by Zheng Xie and Li Shan it was used in opposition to the standard literati tradition of the time. Thus the tradition had already turned in upon itself.

Individualism was filled with contradictions in the eighteenth century. While individualism can be seen as a purification of the literati tradition, it was also a bid

for professional success; individualism at that time was in fact based upon the largely professional unorthodox painting tradition.

Individualism was a method of escaping the dominant literati tradition of the time and a method of selling paintings. To what extent did individualism allow painters to escape the economic pressures of the time by framing literati ideas in new ways? To what extent does individualism indicate the painter's participation in the merchant culture of the time? These questions must be asked again as studies in the field progress.

Historically, however, it was Li Shan who produced the paintings which influenced more commercial nineteenth-century painting, not Zheng Xie. Li Shan's works were less problematic; all tensions were sublimated in the paintings. Zheng Xie's paintings were more problematic, retaining much of what was meaningful to the literatus of pre-eighteenth-century times. In the popularity of Li Shan's painting in the nineteenth century and the disappearance of Zheng Xie's influence, we see Zheng Xie's success in being inimical to the economics of the time. This success is also indicated by the fact that Zheng Xie is better known as a writer than as a painter. The price of his incomplete absorption into the commercial culture of the eighteenth century, however, was the later "disappearance" of his painting.



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In this bibliography, Chinese sources appear in both Chinese and English. Article and monograph titles and the names of periodicals appear first in Chinese, the Chinese versions being referred to frequently, while the publisher appears first in English, publishing firms being less well known. In all cases, these are followed by bracketed translations.

## Abbreviation:

Quanji= Zheng Banqiao quanji (The Complete Works of Zheng Banqiao). Edited by Bian Xiaoxuan. Nanjing: Nanjing University Research Center for Classical Records (Nanjing daxue gudian wenxian yanjiusuo), 1985.

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## APPENDIX 1. Biographical Information on Zheng Xie.

All appendices are translated from the original Chinese by the author unless otherwise specified.

1. Zheng Xie's biography in Qing shi liezhuan (Biographies of the Annals of the Qing Dynasty), volume 72, Wenyuan zhuan (Biographies of the Literary Category), number 3 (Quanji, 1985, Banqiao yanjiu ziliao [Research Materials on Banqiao], section 1, Zhuanji [Biographies], 545).

Zheng Xie, called Kerou, is a man of Xinghua in Jiangsu province. He became a jinshi in the first year of the reign of the Qianlong emperor (1736). As an official he acted as the county magistrate of Fan county in Shandong, and was transferred to Wei county. Because he requested aid and offended a great official, he begged to return home.<sup>1</sup> When he was young he was clever.... His family was poor. His character was unconventional and uninhibited, and he liked to take leisure with worthies of the Chan sect and members of banner families.<sup>2</sup> He often spoke out freely and discussed matters in a high manner; pointedly remarking on prominent figures of the day, and not abstaining from talking on any matters. Because of this he gained a reputation of being wild.<sup>3</sup>

When Zheng Xie occupied an official post...he satisfied popular expectations. When he was a government official in Wei county, there was a year of crop failure and the people ate each other. Xie constructed many buildings, and called starving people from far and near to go to work so that they could eat. The influential families of the district were ordered to open the mills; they cooked porridge, and took turns feeding those who were starving. It was demanded that grain which had been stored up be sold at no profit. Countless numbers of people were saved.<sup>4</sup> At that time Zheng Xie had acted in accordance with the official's order.

He was good at poetry and skilled in calligraphy and painting. People called him "Zheng who is good at the three perfections" (orchid, bamboo, and rock).<sup>5</sup> The feelings which he expressed through his poems and the matters which they relate are sorrowful and touching. They are unrestricted in form and style; when excitement came, Zheng Xie completed them within a moment. He was very near Xiangshan and Fangweng.<sup>6</sup> His calligraphy and painting are delightful. When he was young he was skilled in regular script, and in later years he combined the seal and official scripts. From within this (form of calligraphy) he took his painting method. The orchid, bamboo, and stones which he painted were outstanding--people all struggled to collect them. In his ci poems he dwelt upon the past, and he was



especially good at writing about victorious battles. In this he can perhaps be compared to Jiang Shi.

His conduct was pure and solemn. In his youth, having lost his father, he relied upon his wet nurse to raise and teach him. Until the end of his life he did not dare forget (her). The family letters which he wrote are sincere, warm, and earnest. There is the auspicious "imperial mandate to the court" and the "Yan family lesson" which were left behind after his death.<sup>7</sup>

In later years he returned home and in old age he tilled his own fields. He frequently went to the prefectural city (Yangzhou), where he wrote poetry, drank wine, and participated in poetic duets.<sup>8</sup> He often bought a bag and stored up silver and fruits. When he met the children of old friends or poor people of his county he gave them what he had brought.<sup>9</sup> He had not yet met with Yuan Mei when someone passed on the word of his (Zheng Xie's) death. Yuan Mei lowered his head and wept bitterly. Of writings there is the Banqiao Shichao (The Collected Poetry of Banqiao).

2. Zheng Xie's Zishu (Autobiography) (Quanji, 1985, Banqiao ji wai shiwen [Poems and Prose outside the Collected Works of Banqiao], Wen [Prose], 240-242).

The lay Buddhist Banqiao (Zheng Xie), of the Zheng family, named Xie, is a man from Yangzhou in Xinghua. In Xinghua there are three Zheng families. One is "Tie Zheng," one is "Tang Zheng," and one is "Banqiao Zheng." The lay Buddhist (Zheng Xie) liked his family name, and therefore everyone called him Zheng Banqiao. Banqiao's grandfather on his mother's side, of the Wang family, named Yiwen, had rare skill and was erudite. He retired into seclusion and did not take office. He had a daughter...she was Banqiao's mother. The literary aspect of Banqiao's character was attained mostly from his mother's side of the family. His father Mr. Li'an thought that the ability to write and a good character were of primary importance to the scholar. The students he taught numbered one-hundred and all were successful. As a child Banqiao followed his father in his studies and did not have any other teachers. When he was a child he differed little from others. In his youth, although he was grown up, he was still ugly...<sup>10</sup> He liked to brag and thought too highly of himself; and freely cursed people at random. Various men of the elder generation looked askance at him and stopped dealing with him.

However, in studying, he could make himself assiduous, rouse himself, and make himself rise to the tasks at hand. He didn't care about following the usual path. In studying, he prostrated himself; from the shallow he entered the deep, from the low he reached the high, from the near he approached the distant, in order to go to the profound realm

of the ancients, and to make accessible the places which his disposition and skill alone would not allow him to reach.<sup>11</sup> People all said that in studying Banqiao was good at memorizing. They did not know that Banqiao was not good at memorizing, but was simply good at reciting. Each book which Banqiao read, he read one-thousand one-hundred times. When in boats, upon horses, lying in bed beneath the quilts, when having forgotten the spoon or chopsticks when eating, or when not having listened to what a guest had said, or having forgotten what he himself had said...during all these times Banqiao was memorizing books and silently reciting them to himself. Given this method, could there be any books which he did not memorize?

All his life Zheng Banqiao did not pursue the study of the classics. He loved reading history books and collections of poetry, essays, and ci poetry. He also looked at books in the class of commentaries and odd sayings. Sometimes, while working on the classics, he also appreciated their peculiarities and strangeness--the parts which dazzled the senses.<sup>12</sup> He used the literary method in discussing the classics. This was not the original basis for the Liu jing (Six Classics).

He especially liked landscapes. He also liked sex... But he knew that he was old and ugly; at that stage in life only money profitted him. He once made a comment upon foreign policy, and was consequently scolded and so left (his position). He was never under the spell of (politics). He loved landscapes, but had not been able to travel any distance, and those places through which he had passed were not of special interest to the traveler. In the thirteenth year of the reign of the Qianlong emperor (1748) the Great One (the emperor himself) went on an eastern tour. Xie became the calligraphy and painting historian, and was ordered to the place of pausing (upon the route of the emperor's tour). He lay upon the uppermost peak of mount Tai for over forty days. This was enough reason to be proud.<sup>13</sup>

The printing of his "Collected Poetry," "Collected Ci Poems," "Folksongs," and "Sixteen Letters to Younger Brother" was carried out in his lifetime. He was good at calligraphy, and called himself "Liufen Banshu." Also, he used his free time to paint orchid and bamboo. If princes, dukes and ministers, high ministers, literati, old monks of the mountains...obtained one piece of paper with some calligraphy upon it, they treasured it and stored it away. But Banqiao never took these people as a pretense to becoming famous. Only his fellow countyman Li Shan Futang was a mutual friend. Futang was raised in a family to be filial, clean, and honest. He used his painting to worship in the inner court. During the time of the Kangxi emperor's court Li Shan's name was great in the capital and elsewhere. There were none who did not look upon him and sigh in admiration. At this time Banqiao was just trying for the exam for children; he did not have that which could make him

famous. Twenty years later, because of his poetry, ci poetry, and writing, he was as famous as Li Shan. Those who sought painting called Futang; those who sought poetry and literature called Banqiao. They were shameful and fortunate, and became equal with sages of the past. Li retired from his post as the magistrate of Teng county. Banqiao was a xiucai in the reign of the Kangxi emperor, was a juren in the renzi year of the reign of the Yongzheng emperor (1732), and was a jinshi in the bingchen year of the reign of the Qianlong emperor (1736). First he was the magistrate in Fan county; he then continued after he was transferred to Wei county.

Written in the jisi year of the reign of the Qianlong emperor (1749), at the age of fifty-seven.

In Banqiao's poetry and literature, he expressed his own ideas. His method returned to those of the saints and sages; but his text was derived completely from daily language. Some had said that they themselves were high ancients and several that they were men of Tang and Song! Banqiao despised and scolded them: "If my prose is passed on, then it will be Qing poetry and Qing prose. If it is not passed on, then none can be called Qing poetry and Qing prose. What need is there to prattle on about the ancients!" During the Ming and Qing, the zhiyi (examination) system was used to get scholars. Although there were those who had extraordinary talent and ability, they had to come out of this system, and only then were seen as being on the correct path.<sup>14</sup> Their theory became more and more refined; their method became more and more meticulous. However, if one whips one's heart to achieve refinement, one's ability and knowledge can not be trusted... On the other hand, those aloof from the examination system who were unrestricted and not careful would say: "I am a scholar of the past." Of all the people under Heaven, none would necessarily praise these men. These men's positions were only suitable for praising themselves. When old, they did not achieve their own goals. They looked to and borrowed from other people, so, what do they have to obtain their own ideas?

Jia, Dong, Kuang, and Liu's writings, used rules and regulations to suit their situations. Compared to Han Xin's couplet "ascending to the temple" and Kongming's (Zhu Geliang's) profound writing, theirs was even more suitable to their situations and to their persons. The insistence upon principles of methodology is only suitable for leisure time, it is not suitable for using in busy times. Banqiao's "Sixteen Family Letters" certainly did not discuss Heaven and Earth. Rather, they were of daily use for family affairs, while they also had the characteristic of being words near at hand pointing far away (to grander principles).

Banqiao did not study by closing the door to the

outside world. In long wanderings in aged pines, secluded temples, level sands, distant waters, cliffs, and ruins and tombs, there wasn't any time at which he did not study. In seeking the refined and seeking the suitable; if suitable then the coarse are all refined; if not suitable then the refined are all coarse. If one thinks about this and thinks about this, one can reach lofty heights.

Banqiao again inscribes this, when already fifty-eight years old (1750).

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3. Selections from Li Dou's Yangzhou huafang lu (Records of the Painted Boats of Yangzhou) (Quanji, 1985, Banqiao yanjiu ziliao [Research Materials on Banqiao], section sixteen, Biji [Written records], 799-801).

Volume 12, Caohe lu (Records of Caohe) latter part (Quanji, 799):

Zheng Xie, also called Kerou and Banqiao is a man of Xinghua. He is a jinshi. He called orchid, bamboo, and rock the three perfections. He was good at calligraphy in the official script. Afterwards, he took the official and grass scripts and combined them, creating his own school. The Daoist priest Wu Yutian from the Guandi temple studied his calligraphy and could make fakes that looked genuine.

The parasol-tree room is in front of the flying rosy-cloud pavilion; the place has many parasol trees....This room is for offering sacrifice to the spirits of three sages. These three sages are Song Ouyang wenzhonggong (Ouyang Xiu), Su wenzhonggong (Su Shi), and Wang Wenjian gong....There are lines within a paired couplet by Zheng Xie which read: "The musical sounds they left behind fill the rivers, and these three men had one principle in this; to love ability like life, they had different lives but were of the same heart."

Volume 4, Xin Chengbei lu (Records of New Chengbei) middle part (Quanji, 799):

The light purple building, on the west of the street, is Liu'an, the mountain monk's, tea-leaf house. The monk has tea fields. In the spring and summer he enters the mountains; in the autumn and winter he stays at the shop. All of the travelers in the eastern city, buy tea at this place for one day's use. There are two lines by Zheng Banqiao which read: "Lay Buddhists have always been able at appraising the taste of waters, and from ancient times worthy monks have loved to argue about teas."

Volume 6, Chengbei lu (Records of Chengbei) (Quanji, 800):

The one who planted the flowers at the Yun garden is of the Wang family household; the fourth of the Wang family, called Xiwen. He is a man of Wu. He was good at songs. In the bingchen year of the reign of the Qianlong emperor he came to Yangzhou. Therefore he sold the hamlet where there was tea growing. He was friendly with Li Futang (Li Shan), Zheng Banqiao, and monk Yongtang. Later he purchased this land to plant flowers. Futang made an inscription on the horizontal tablet in the Yun garden, which was carved in stone and imbedded on the Shui gate. Within it there is the paired couplet by Zheng Banqiao....

...On the overland route to Xiyuan there is an auspicious temple for the village god... In the temple there is a couplet which says: "Everywhere there are cloudy mountains and everywhere there are Buddhists (written by Jin Nong). This piece of earth, this piece is auspicious (written by Zheng Xie)." In Jin Taomen's (Jin Nong's) Dongxin xiansheng ji (The Collected Works of Mr. Dongxin) there is a poem called "Various narrations on ascending the lofty (mountains)" which says: "I am at leisure and lazily concentrate upon the insects and fish. This is lofty living. Everywhere there are cloudy mountains and everywhere there are Buddhists..." There is a line by Zheng Banqiao which says, "The drums in the village, in the village hit them; this piece of earth, this piece is auspicious." Now they are gathered into a paired couplet...

Volume 10, Hongqiao lu (Record of the Hongqiao Garden) latter part (Quanji, 800-801):

Zheng Xie, called Kerou and Banqiao is a man of Xinghua. He is a jinshi. He was a county magistrate. When he was the magistrate in Fan county a wealthy family which wanted to get rid of a prospective son-in-law who was poor used one thousand taels to give the magistrate (Zheng Xie) a birthday party. Xie accepted their daughter as his own adopted daughter, while he secretly harboured their son-in-law in an official post. After the girl paid Zheng Xie a formal visit, he brought out money for the girl and the son-in-law to be wed. He ordered his cart for the couple to return together. Because of this people said he was "extremely virtuous." Afterwards, because he reported a calamity and was disobedient to a great official, he was dismissed and returned to his home county. He often made a large cloth bag, into which he put money, silk, and foodstuffs. If he met the children of old friends or poor and friendly families of his home county he would pour out the contents of the bag to give to them. Often he came to Yangzhou, and there is the seal "Twenty years ago, Banqiao." He often engaged in poetic duets with the duke (Lu Jianzeng). Of writings, there are Banqiao's poems, collected ci poems, "family letters," and "folksongs." He

was good at painting bamboo. He took "bafen" script (a type of square plain style script), and regular script and combined them, establishing his own school. The people of Wei county in Shandong were fully devoted to him.

Editor's note in Quanji: The Qing chao yeshi daquan (Comprehensive Collection of Fiction of the Qing Dynasty), volume 11, Qingdai shu yi--Zheng Bangqiao panan (Strange stories of the Qing Dynasty--Cases decided by Zheng Bangqiao) says:

When Bangqiao was the magistrate in Wei county, there was a poor scholar who filed a complaint that a wealthy family had gone back on a marriage agreement. Bangqiao had the poor scholar remain in office, and furthermore called the wealthy family into the case. He calmly said to them: "If your daughter truly can not be the wife in a poor family...you must use one thousand taels to alter the wedding agreement. I will be here..." The wealthy family paid and settled. Bangqiao calmly said: "If your daughter does not have a servant to help her manage, I can also find a son-in-law for you. This thousand taels could then be used as a dowry." Before the wealthy family had expressed their thanks, Bangqiao had already ordered someone to ask the poor scholar to come forth. Then in the hall they were wed, and (the poor scholar) left with the daughter and the money. This matter was to the immense pleasure of the people.

Volume 15, Gangxi lu (Records of Gangxi) (Quanji 801):

... When the transport officer Lu (Lu Jianzeng) built a pavilion during his office, Zheng Bangqiao wrote a two-character horizontal plaque, "pavilion of Su."

4. Anecdotes about Zheng Xie (Yangzhou baguai quanji [The Complete Collection of the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou], 1979, 267).

In the fourteenth year of the reign of the Qianlong emperor (1749), Zheng Bangqiao finally left his position and returned home. This amounts to his being in Shandong for twelve years acting as county magistrate. His two sleeves in the pure breeze, he again returned to Yangzhou and sold calligraphy and paintings to make a living. From the time he left to go to Jiaoshan to study, leaving Yangzhou, it was already twenty years. The situation of this return was very different from twenty years before, because of his reputation, position, and social status. There were many people who sought him out to do writings and paintings. But when meeting those people he despised he didn't give them any writings or paintings, although they offered large sums. It

is said that in Yangzhou there was a salt merchant who several times offered large sums to get Zheng Banqiao's calligraphy and painting. But because Zheng Banqiao despised this man's manner, he was resolute against this man's request. Although that salt merchant had passed through many places and bought several (of Zheng's) paintings, he was regretful because they did not have inscriptions (dedicated to him). Later, that salt merchant heard that Zheng Banqiao loved to eat dog meat, and also liked to travel in the country. When he met herdsmen and wood gatherers, and those of the lower strata all they had to do was to give him dog meat, and he was always willing to do paintings for them. Knowing this, the salt merchant came up with a plan. According to the Qing chao yeshi daquan (Comprehensive Collection of Fiction of the Qing Dynasty), the story goes:

One day Banqiao visited Shaoyuan, and heard extremely lovely sounds from a qin. He followed the sounds to find the one who was playing it. Then he came upon a thatched hut in a bamboo grove ... He entered the door and saw a man who was extremely old, sitting up properly and drumming the qin. A child was cooking dog meat which was just done. Banqiao was delighted. Suddenly he spoke to the old man: "Do you also like to eat dog meat?" The old man responded: "Of all tastes that of dog meat is the finest. You are one who also knows this taste... please try a slice." The two men had not yet exchanged names and they sat together chewing. Banqiao looked at the white walls and requested to know why the man owned no calligraphy or painting. The old man said: "There are none who are fine in the arts of calligraphy and painting. In these parts, although Zheng Banqiao is rather famous, I have not yet seen his calligraphy and painting. Do you know if his work is fine?" Banqiao said: "I myself am Banqiao, may I do some calligraphy and painting for you?" "My!" said the old man, who subsequently took out some paper. Banqiao wielded his writing brush and finished. The old man said: "My name is so-and-so, you could make an inscription." Banqiao said: "This name is the name of a salt merchant. How come you are also named this?" The old man said: "When I took this name this merchant still had not been born. What harm is there in having the same name? The pure ones are pure and the muddy are muddy, and that is all!" Banqiao then wrote an inscription and left. The next day the salt merchant had a banquet...and asked Banqiao to be present. He went there and all four walls were hung with calligraphy and painting. He looked at them...they were those he had done the previous

night for the old man. He realized that the old man had been sent by the salt merchant, and he himself had been the target of the old man's deception. But, there was nothing that could be done.

In Ye yu qiu deng lu (Records under the Autumn Lamp in the Evening Rain) there is also an anecdote:

In his later years in Yangzhou, Banqiao's reputation grew daily. Once a great sage from Jiangxi was entering the capital to go before the emperor. Returning on the road through Yangzhou, the merchants all struggled with each other to associate (with him). One merchant among them wished to obtain a calligraphy by Banqiao in order to present to the sage. He had writing paper specially made from Jiangxi. It was more than one zhang long (3 1/3 m), and was six chi wide (2 m). It was a unique paper. He sent someone to tactfully request Banqiao's calligraphy, and moreover request that he compose a line. The go-between asked the amount which Zheng Xie required. Banqiao asked 1,000 taels. The messenger consented to 500 taels. Banqiao with pleasure lifted his brush and wrote in a flurry. He completed the first line: "In the Longhu mountains, the great prime minister." The messenger requested that he write the second line. Banqiao laughed: "I clearly said 1,000 taels. You only paid 500. I therefore have written only one-half." The go-between had no alternative but to pay Zheng Xie the full amount. Banqiao began to write the second line: "In the Qilin (Chinese unicorn) pavilion, lives the immortal." It was skilled and refined. Of those who saw it none could not praise and sigh.



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1. See Li Dou's Yangzhou Huafang lu (Records of the Painted Boats of Yangzhou), Volume 10, Hongqiao lu (Records of the Hongqiao Garden), latter part, translated below. The phrasing of this information is slightly different, but in both cases indicates that Zheng Xie requested some aid which upset some important official.

2. Banner families, as Dr. Jerry Schmidt of the University of British Columbia has tentatively translated gimen here, could be Manchus or Chinese who had served the Manchus when they first entered China.

3. Zheng Xie's association with these people is also cited in his nianbiao under the year 1735 (Zheng Banqiao ji, 1962, appendix).

4. This incident of Zheng Xie's rescue of the people of Shandong is also cited with slightly different phrasing in his nianbiao under the year 1746 (Zheng Banqiao ji, 1962, appendix).

5. For support for the translation of "three perfections" as "orchid, bamboo, and rock" in this context see Hongqiao lu (Records of the Hongqiao Garden), in selections from Li Dou's Yangzhou Huafang lu (Records of the Painted Boats of Yangzhou), volume 12, translated below.

6. Perhaps two men or two methods?

7. The "Yan Family Lesson" is a collection of writings by Yan Zhitui (531-after 589), who lived through the Liang, Northern Qi, Northern Zhou, and Sui dynasties. From his experience in times of political upheaval he wrote the lessons to enable his ancestors to cope with similar situations, and to benefit from his experience generally (Xie Minglang, "Du 'Yanshi jiaxun--zhongzhi' zhaji" [Reading Notes for the 'Yan Family Lesson--Rules for Funerary Rites], The National Palace Museum Research Quarterly, volume 7, number 2 [Winter 1989], 107-122). Perhaps Zheng Xie is referring to a copy of this manuscript given to him by imperial decree.

8. See Li Dou Yangzhou Huafang lu (Records of the Painted Boats of Yangzhou), volume 10, Hongqiao lu (Records of the Hongqiao Garden), latter part, translated below. I have translated changhe here as "poetic duets." The definition given in Matthews Chinese/English Dictionary (Shanghai, 1931) is as follows: "One person writing a poem to which other people respond using the same rhyme scheme."

9. See Li Dou Yangzhou Huafang lu (Records of the Painted Boats of Yangzhou), volume 10, Hongqiao lu (Records of the Hongqiao Garden), latter part, translated below.

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10. Mao qin lou. The second character can be translated as "sleep" or "stop." This portion of the text is still unclear, due to the difficulty of translating the final clause ren xian yi zhi. The phrase mao qin lou could indicate that Banqiao was no longer ugly or that he had a sleepy and ugly look. The latter is more probable if it answers the clause "although he had grown up," which is a positive attribute to his person, and indicates that a negative attribute will follow. However, if ren xian yi zhi is a negative statement to his person, mao qin lou could still mean that he was no longer ugly.

11. Zi guqu weiyi is to lower or bend himself. Weiyi means crooked, but with guqu seems to reenforce the notion of bending over.

12. Banbo luli, or "mottled/peculiar and strange." See the common saying quanquai luli.

13. See The Elegant Brush, 1985, 168. Zheng Xie was summoned to mount Tai, and there given the title by the emperor.

14. The translation of zhiyi as an exam system is perhaps supported by Zheng Xie's reference to another group of scholars who remain "aloof from the exam system."

## APPENDIX 2. Biographical Information on Li Shan.

1. Li Shan's letter to his nephew (Wang Zichen's "Li Shan shouzha," 1982, 94), dated 1745:

I hope you are most well nephew. In Teng county we did not talk. When I returned home we hurriedly spoke and then went our own ways for years--enduring the corners of the earth. One can laugh! I have already decided to live at home. Recently I again had thoughts of leaving the mountains to come to the prefectural city holding the begging bowl, making a plan to enter the capital. At the end of the tenth month I left home. My three elder brothers and three elder sisters as well as the entire household are well; do not worry. What I need badly is to buy painting brushes. Since you, my worthy nephew, are in Hangzhou, it would be letting a good opportunity slip by if I did not write you a letter to buy some painting brushes. Painting brushes have five good qualities: 1. Select material in which the hardness and softness are balanced. 2. The brush tip should not disperse when put into water. 3. When one uses it for a long while, the hairs do not fall out. 4. The brush tube is fine, long and straight. 5. The brush tip is deeply hidden within the body of the brush. If it has these five qualities, the brush can be used. At my place, the brushes overfill the case, but all are unfit to use because they are all makeshift goods, and not retail sales. In Hangzhou the painting brush stores are numerous...

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2. Zheng Xie's poem "Huai Li san Shan" (Thinking of the Member of the Third Generation of the Li Family, Shan) (Quanji, 1985, Banqiao ji [The Collected Works of Banqiao], Shichao [Collected Poetry] section, 106-7. A date of 1745 is obtained from Zheng Xie's nianbiao [Zheng Banqiao ji, 1962, appendix]):

When leading the ox out to plough the fields,  
Do a painting as before--play with the brush.  
Your tattered straw cape, hang outside upon the  
clouds,  
The half piece of old paper, once you have wine  
inside you, you cut.  
Green spring is in your eyes, and your childlike  
heart is enthusiastic.

Your white hair overflows your shoulders--the  
 lofty ideal (for officialdom) is but ashes.  
 Only water shield and perch can be unrestrainedly  
 eaten...  
 The retired official also returns to eat the fish.

Wait to buy some farmland and a manor, and then  
 return,  
 This life has no part, go to the bramble cottage  
 door.  
 Lend this gentleman ten mu, he can plant grain.  
 Rent me three rooms, to hang down a curtain.  
 Willow fluff pulls at the waves softly,  
 The rice shoots are green and arouse sparrows who  
 fly about.  
 In dreams I often meet with you--  
 At the ford south of the grass pavilion, upon the  
 old fishing rock.

3. Zheng Xie's inscription on Li Shan's album Flowers, Vegetables, and Fruit, in the Sichuan Provincial Museum Collection. (The English translation used here is borrowed from the preface to Qing Li Shan huaniao ce, 1964. Three lines of the inscription are not translated in the publication), dated 1760:

Futang's painting style has undergone three changes. At first he learned to paint landscape from Wei Lingcang, a painter in his village, he mastered the art and his skill excelled that of his teacher. Then he went to the Capital and became a pupil of Jiang Tingxi of Nansha, and his painting of flowers with colours became extremely lifelike. The present collection consists of his works done when he was over thirty. Having passed through many twists and turns and hardships in life, he came to the Capital again to wait on the minister of justice Gao Qipei. Later in Yangzhou he studied how the monk Shitao painted. He likewise adopted Shi's technique of using a bald brush and splash-ink, and his painting became even more eccentric. His painting style changed when he first came to the Capital, when he came to the Capital for the second time his style changed again, and each time his level went higher. One can find the forms, colours and depth of the objects he depicted not in the slightest messiness in appearance; however, they were done in a carefree and offhand manner. But when looking closely, one notices this is where the ingenuity and subtlety lie. The works done after he was sixty took another turn. They became loose and

dispirited, and one finds the inner spirit in his earlier paintings gone. This is the tragedy of his old age.

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4. Xue Yongnian's analysis of Li Shan's seals and two biographies of Li Shan (Xue Yongnian, "Li Shan de jiashi yu zaoqi zuopin," 1986, 80-85):

1. Chen fei laohuashi (the official is not an old painting teacher).
2. Shenxian zaixiang zhi jia (immortal primeministerial family).
3. Li Hongding, Wending zisun (the ancestor of Li Hongding and Li Wending).
4. Li Wending gong liushisun (the sixth generation descendant of duke Li Wending).
5. Wencai fengliu (admirable literary grace).

One can see from this: 1. Li Shan was born into a prime ministerial family. 2. He saw this "earthly prime ministerial family," called "a heavenly immortal household," as honourable. 3. He recognized himself to be just like the Han prime-minister Cao Cao's descendant Cao Ba, whom Du Fu had praised. Although "Today there are numerous who make the pure gates," but "distinguished literary grace today is still preserved." 4. There were two men among the earlier generations of officials who had made it to the position of prime minister. After death one was called Hongding and one was called Wending.<sup>1</sup>

There are two pieces of biographical data concerning Li Shan within the Shipu (List of Generations). One refers to the first volume of Xinghua Li shi zhuanlue (Biographies of the Li family of Xinghua), otherwise called Li shi jiazhuan (Li Family Biographies), and one refers to Lao sifang (Old Fourth House), volume three. The former is quoted from Xian Feng's Chongxiu Xinghua xianzhi (Compilation of the Xinghua County Gazetteer). Aside from that which people generally know of, that which concerns his life touches upon two matters: 1. Before being an official in Teng, he was "selected as the county magistrate of Shandong province in Linzhi." 2. After being dismissed from office he "built the Fuouguan" [Froth, or the Floating garden] in Xinghua in the southern part of the city. The author will discuss the separate texts. At this point I will not give many unnecessary details. The original text is as below:

Li Shan, also called Futang. In the fiftieth year of the reign of the Kangxi emperor (1711) a juren. In the fifty-second year (1713) he presented a poem and was capable in it. By the emperor he obtained entrance into the Nanshufang. At a young

age his talent was great, and at the same time he was good in matters of painting. By special decree he often learned with the experienced Jiang Xiangguo, and altogether served in the inner court for a few years. The favour bestowed upon him was thick and piled up. After he begged to return, he was chosen as the magistrate of Linzhi county in Shandong province. Then he was transferred to Teng county. Because of his pure and simple government, those of the gentry class cherished him. He was disobedient to a great minister, and so was discharged and returned (home). He then built the Fu'ouguan (Floating Hall) in the southern part of the city. He howled and intoned until the end. Shan painted flowers and birds. He did not hold on stubbornly to the rules and regulations of those of the past. Creation was in his wrist and the condition was like growth. After his death, although he originally received much (attention), actually, none could pass off a fake as a genuine work. He was learned and could write; his poems were unconventionally graceful and natural, and his calligraphy had the colour of willow, bones and muscles. The world has merely passed on statements of his skill in painting.

The latter, although a relatively simple biography, similarly raises the fact of Li's appointment as the magistrate of Linzhi county. Aside from this, it also records his father, his spouse, and his children. This, moreover, is freshly known matter concerning his life. We can now list the original text below:

Shan, also called Zongyang and Futang, Zhu yi's fourth son. In the xinmao year of the Kangxi emperor (1711) he became a juren. In the guiji year (1713) he presented a poem and was capable in it. By the emperor he obtained entrance into the Nanshufang. He was appointed to Shandong province, Linzhi county as the county magistrate. He was learned and could write; he was good at poetry and calligraphy, and particularly refined in matters of painting. Far and near (people) admired his name, and did not spare large amounts of cash to purchase them. Soon there were particulars in the prefectural and county gazeteers. He joined in marriage with the Shu family and had one son, who died at a young age, and one girl. Then he stayed in the Han family, and had three sons and one daughter.

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5. Zheng Xie's poem "Yin Li Futang zhai fuzeng" (Thinking of Li Futang's Household, to Present as a Gift) (Quanji, 1985, Banqiao ji [The Collected Works of Banqiao], Shichao [Collected poetry] section, 59):

On the fifteenth day of the fourth month the moon  
 is in the trees,  
 A light wind and pure shadow shake the window.  
 I raise the wine wanting to drink when burdensome  
 matters of the heart come to me...  
 The host and guest have not yet spoken and the  
 guest gets up and leaves.  
 The host made his fortune at a most young age...  
 He first tried the coral whip on his hualin  
 steed;<sup>2</sup>  
 With the escort he went in and out of Gubei kou,  
 With his bag and brush he served directly before  
 the (Kangxi) emperor,  
 His talent and grandiosity were quite envied by  
 the world--  
 But although the mouths praised and sighed, the  
 hearts were not like that.  
 Rumbling horses left the city;  
 In brocaded clothes he sought out singing girls on  
 the river--  
 For twenty years the sounds and colours of his  
 life were licentious,  
 His painting totalled three-thousand li in breadth  
 and length.  
 Two babies were the network of the world,  
 But then his household and wealth were partitioned  
 and squandered...  
 The angry official frequently tapped at the door  
 to urge the rent,  
 The one thousand mu of paddy fields are on the  
 contrary a burden.  
 Then the road came to an end, and he sold  
 paintings--the paintings were increasingly  
 cheap,  
 And the servants and merchants discussed whether  
 they were good or bad.  
 Yesterday he painted a pair of pines which were  
 not yet half completed;  
 On becoming drunk he got angry and tore up the  
 (special) paper from Dengxin.  
 When he grew old, he on the contrary thought of  
 walking on the soft dust,  
 So he became an official temporarily in order to  
 alleviate his hardship.  
 How many times did the flowers open on the trees  
 of Shanglin,  
 For ten years he did not see the flourishing  
 spring in the capital.  
 In this, the taste is mild like water--

But he could not yet bear being an enlightened  
official and then becoming lowly and poor.

---

6. One of "Twenty-three jueju" by Zheng Xie (Quanji, 1985, Banqiao ji [The Collected Works of Banqiao], Shichao [Collected poetry] section, 99):

Called Futang, a Xinghua man, he is filial and  
honest. He worshipped at the inner court and  
later was the magistrate of Teng county. His  
brush is skilled and matchless.

Twice expelled from administration and a once  
demoted official,  
His dreary hair is frosty (grey) in the  
reflection.  
He remembers and bewails Ren Huangdi (the Kangxi  
emperor),  
And long takes his soul to be like the colours of  
the willow.

---

7. Zheng Xie's letter to Li Shan (Quanji, 1985, Banqiao ji wai shiwen (Poetry and Prose outside the Collected Works of Banqiao), Shu (Letters) section, 269. The letter is listed as being a facsimile of that in Beijing xidan wenwu shangdian cang (Beijing West List Cultural Relics Store Collection):

In ten days we have not seen one another. It is as  
if a period of thirty years has passed. The ground  
in the morning is soft mud. Can you come over for  
a visit with me? Old sir Wang, Dusan, and elder  
brother Ye, want to invite the revered one to meet  
over a pot of wine and a small dish of food. I do  
not know, are you willing to come over? The  
painting business, no doubt, is pressing, but  
talking of matters also can not be given up. I am  
eagerly looking forward to your coming over. For  
old man Futang, from his late younger brother  
Zheng Xie.



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1. Xue Yongnian later concludes that Hongding is not related to Li Shan, and that the seal was made just after Li Shan's time in order to validate forgeries of the painter's works.

2. Indicating an official position.

## APPENDIX 3. Poems by Zheng Xie

1. The inscription upon the painting Bamboo and Rock. The Palace Museum Collection (Reproduced in Painting by Yangzhou Artists of the Qing Dynasty, 1984, entry 76. Two other paintings with similar inscriptions are recorded in Quanji, Bangqiao ji [The Collected Works of Bangqiao], Tihua [Inscriptions] section, 205):

Yangzhou's fresh bamboo shoots and rich in hilsa  
herring,  
Mashed and cooked at the start of the east wind's  
third month,  
Making it ask the kitchen help to stop from  
chopping it up to the utmost,  
Clear and bright leave this to light the outspread  
book.

Huan old scholar elder brother correct. Bangqiao  
Zheng Xie.

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2. Three inscriptions on bamboo paintings. (Quanji, 1985, Bangqiao ji [The collected works of Bangqiao], Tihua [Inscriptions] section, 205-6. The second painting is in the Beijing xidan wenwu shangdian cang [Beijing West List Cultural Relics Store Collection]. The third painting is in the Taizhou bowuguan [Taizhou Natural History Museum]):

Bamboo shoots along the river in the second month  
are new.  
Family after families' kitchens cook and peel the  
spring bamboo.  
I am hoping to cut one thousand threads of thin  
bamboo strips,  
To weave into a curtain to protect beautiful  
women!

Cook meat and boil fish, cut up bamboo shoots  
fresh.  
In the kitchen on the pot shelf they lose Heaven's  
genuineness...  
Bangqiao Zheng Xie plays with the brush.

...Cook pig and cut bamboo shoots fresh.  
Family after family's kitchens lose our  
genuineness.<sup>1</sup>  
I (four characters missing) of thin bamboo strips  
to weave into a curtain to protect beautiful  
women.  
The old codger of seventy wrote these beautiful  
words, isn't it laughable!<sup>2</sup>

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1. "Our genuineness" could also be translated as "my genuineness," the word being wu.

2. The expression is zuoci qiyu, qi meaning "beautiful" or "figured woven silk material" or "damask." This is a play upon the content of the poem as it regards beautiful women, and the woven curtain to protect them.

## APPENDIX 4. Poems by Li Shan and Jin Nong

1. Poems selected from Zhuang Shen, "Li Shan shichao" (The Collected Poems of Li Shan), 1972, 53-60. The page number within Zhuang Shen's article follows the poem:

Strange this change, lament the wounded peony,  
The work of transformation (in painting) cleverly  
matches the intention,  
The essence is different from the many.  
Fish foretell of a thousand years...  
This is a painting that will bring riches and  
honour year after year.(55)

Clear summer during the famine I fast...  
Mankind's heat I can bring to an end.  
Please look on this ink and brush as if they were  
clouds rising,  
It is like the cold rain and cool wind amongst the  
bamboo and trees in the autumn.(55)

In the small garden, the colours of flowers can be  
praised to the greatest extent;  
This year on the Duanyang festival I stayed at  
home.  
But laugh at an old fellow like me not having a  
place to hide away--  
Everyone seeks me out to paint fish and shrimp!  
(55)

The sweet and fragrant is obtained from the  
tasteless remainder:  
With the jade cauldron in the official's kitchen  
the taste is not as good.  
On another day in my life I will sing within my  
ten mu (of land),  
Shut (the door) and read old agricultural books.  
(58)

Month by month the spring is suitable for flowers  
in an ancient vessel.  
Abundance is portended--bring out the fishing rod.  
Writing these two lines I obtain the idea,  
The Heaven and the Earth are peaceful throughout  
the four seasons.(59)

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2. Inscription from an album leaf of fish by Li Shan. Palace Museum Collection (Reproduced in Paintings by Yangzhou Artists, 1985, entry 50):

Leek, tender ginger sprout, huge mouth  
and slender scales to be eaten when fresh.  
Who will share this with the painter Li Shan?

---

3. Jin Nong's inscription on his image of bamboo and bamboo shoots (Reproduced in Chu-tsing Li, "The Bamboo Paintings of Chin Nung," 1973-74, 53-71):

With the first sounding of the thunder of spring,  
New bamboo shoots fill the mountain--ridge after  
ridge of jade.

When you buy a portion to cook with fragrant pig  
meat,

Do not ask the kitchen help, ask the old monk.

Old Monk...(Jin Nong), after  
painting inscribed this.

APPENDIX 5. An Example of Recent Chinese Scholarship Representing the Traditional Chinese Approach to Yangzhou Painters.

Wang Luyu, "Li Shan huan ji buyi. Fu Li Shan nianbiao" (An Addendum to the Records of the Official Li Shan. Li Shan Nianbiao Appended), 1986, 75-78 (Not including the nianbiao).

Li Shan is one of the principle figures among the Yangzhou school of painting. The occurrences of his official career, his success in the examination, worship within the court, and office as Teng county magistrate are all known of. But the particulars of his having acted as the county magistrate in Linzhi, in Shandong province, have been left out of various painting histories and monographs all along. Since they are not known they can not be used in researching Li Shan's life and artistic development.

I. Addendum.

Li Shan was from Xinghua, in Jiangsu province. The Chongxiu Xinghua xianzhi (Re-edition of the Xinghua County Gazetteer) says, "he worshipped in the court for several years, and was thickly bestowed upon. He begged to return. Later he was selected as the county magistrate of Linzhi, in Shandong, and was then transferred to Teng county." Following this clue, I consulted the Shandong tongzhi (Shandong Comprehensive Gazetteer), Qingzhou fuzhi (Qingzhou Prefecture Gazetteer), and the Linzhi xianzhi--zhi quan zhi (Linzhi County Gazetteer--Records of Officials). Without exception, these do not mention that he had been the magistrate of Linzhi county. However, in the Linzhi xianzhi--Ming chuan zhi (Linzhi County Gazetteer--Records of Famous Officials), I saw a record which states the following:

Li Shan, zi Zongyang, was also called Futang. He was a juren from Yangzhou in Xinghua. During the reign of the Kangxi emperor he worshipped in the inner court. In the second year of the reign of the Qianlong emperor (1737) he became the magistrate at Linzhi county. He was praised in the public realm, and was graceful but showy. Banqiao said that his painting brush was extremely skilled.

The gazeteer selects eighteen from the nearly eighty Qing dynasty magistrates and enters their names in the Ming chuan shi (Record of Famous Officials). Li Shan is listed among them. I think it is impossible that this is an error.

The Linzhi xianzhi--jianzhi zhi (Linzhi County Established Records) also mentions that at the beginning of the reign of the Qianlong emperor Li Shan rebuilt the Confucian temple. An old tradition has it that at the place in question the "lingxingmen" (literally the "lattice star door") which Li Shan inscribed still existed at the time of the Republic of China.

The length of the period during which Li Shan held an official post has not been treated in this. Taking into account that, "after being selected as the magistrate of Linzhi, in Shandong, he was transferred to Teng county," we can set a limit on the date at which he was transferred to Teng county. According to the Teng xianzhi (Teng County Gazetteer) (Published by Daoguang):

...Li Shan, a juren of Xinghua in Jiangsu province. In the tenth month of the third year (of the reign of the emperor Qianlong, or 1738-1740) he took office, and served for four years (four years from the beginning of his service in Teng). There is a biography.

..., five years and two months served.

The biography says: "Li Shan...at the beginning of the reign of the Qianlong emperor he again was the magistrate of Teng (county). He made correct the outer circumstance. Because he did not agree with a higher official he was discharged. He remained in Teng (county) for three years (until 1743), and the people of Teng who obtained his works all treasured them.

So, in what month did the painter begin to serve as the magistrate of Linzhi county? Molin jinhua (Book of the Words of Contemporaries) records an inscription by Li Shan on a painting of tree peony which says:

Submerging the empty rooms, the floodwaters of the  
excessive rains remain...

I check my bag, for the earnings of the abundant  
times in the past.

Painting has ended for me, the swallows on the  
branch [?]....I leave to be an official,

I will not bring the colours when I go to  
Qingzhou.

Noone has yet understood the implications of this poem. After putting it together with the information in the Linzhi xianzhi (Linzhi County Gazetteer) we can understand it after a brief look. "Qingzhou" refers to Qingzhou prefecture, which had jurisdiction over Linzhi county. Because of this we know that the poem was written just prior to going to take office as the county magistrate of Linzhi. This again proves that Li Shan went to Qingzhou to become an official.

From an analysis of the term yinyu, we can tell that this was probably in the third month of the year.

With the few pieces of evidence it can be seen that: some time after the third month of the second year of the reign of the Qianlong emperor (1737) until the tenth month of the third year of the reign (1738) Li Shan held the office of county magistrate of Linzhi in Shandong. Moreover, they illustrate the achievements of his official career.

The reasons for which this historical fact has been left out of painting histories and monographs include that of the shared habit of passing on and lifting passages. Moreover, aside from the Linzhi xianzhi--Ming chuan zhi (Linzhi County Gazetteer--Record of Famous Officials), only the Chongxiu Xinghua xianzhi (Re-edition of the Xinghua County Gazetteer) has a small clue. But even the character "diao" [transfer] has also taken the focus of the researchers and transferred it to Teng county.

## II. That obtained from the Addendum.

In the first place, when speaking on the "Yangzhou Baguai," many consider that they detested the world and its ways, that they had no intentions of taking the path of officialdom, and that their brushwork was emotional, expressing their feelings. In reality the situation is not simply like this.

We can see from the inscription on the painting of tree peony cited above that the reason that Li Shan was an official twice is that he was determined to become a good official. From the later two lines we can see that after he finished painting the fuguishua picture, he then wanted to put aside the rouge and colours, and wholeheartedly "be an official" in the flourishing reign of the Qianlong emperor. In fact, after governing he also received the support of the populace, and after being an official for one and a half years then gained the appraisal of "praise in the public realm, graceful but showy," and was listed under the above-mentioned county as one of the eighteen famous officials of the Qing dynasty. After being transferred to Teng for over a year he was also "cherished by the gentry and the commoners for his pure and honest governance." In spite of "being uncongenial to a great minister, being discharged and returning," his aspirations and conduct are very clear. Up until the time he left office and lived at home it was as if his devotion to becoming an official had still not yet died out. When he was sixty years old, in a letter to his cousin he said: "I recently again had thoughts of leaving the mountain to come to the prefectural city holding the begging bowl, making plans to enter the capital."



After the painter was "twice removed of his title keming and once demoted," from being struck with the government's fervent attacks, the path of the official could no longer be hoped for.<sup>1</sup> With this his outlook on life underwent a change. This also appeared in his art in his style, just as Banqiao criticized Futang's works saying, "After he was sixty it (his style) changed again, becoming careless and sloppy and dispirited. It did not retain bones and muscles. This is the sorrow of his old age."

The historical material related above no doubt has great significance regarding our research of Li Shan's thought and life.

Secondly, the clear record concerning the limit of years when Li Shan was an official within the Linzhi xianzhi (Linzhi County Gazetteer) and Teng xianzhi (Teng County Gazetteer), his second time as an official is between the period from sometime after the second year of the reign of the Qianlong emperor (1737) until the second month of the fifth year of the reign of the Qianlong emperor (1740). From beginning to end it is not more than three years. The time he took office is around the age of fifty-two; the other sayings about this are wrong.

Thirdly, we can see from the inscription of the painting of tree peony that Li Shan was determined not to again place his feelings in his calligraphy and painting, and wound up selling paintings to make a living. In that way, during the three years in which Li Shan assumed an official post, he was probably not planning on making paintings. The Linzhi Xianzhi (Linzhi County Gazetteer) only says "Banqiao says his painting brush is extremely skilled." It seems that at that place among the gentry and commoners there were none who knew of his ability at painting. It also shows that during the time he assumed office Li Shan's painting art had not yet become visible. The second time he picked up the brush to make paintings to a great extent, it was after he had been discharged and remained in Teng county for three years. Li Shan's painting activity during his three years as county magistrate probably belong to the "period of hibernation," when even though he made paintings, they were were considerably few. This point is a valuable reference in appraising and analysing the painter's works.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Wang Luyu does not link this quote to particular events in Li Shan's lifetime through his official career. Evidence is clear to me for only one misfortune in Li Shan's career as official, that of being discharged after four years of service as the magistrate of Teng county. The other two events, having his keming title removed twice, do not appear in the literature explicitly, as I have it, and can not be linked to two events with any certainty.

2. There are two footnotes in the article which have not been translated here. The first lists the information presented concerning Li Shan in various sources, while the second quotes the definition of yinyu from the Cihai.

## APPENDIX 6. Zheng Xie's Painting Theory.

In this appendix, each number indicates an inscription, while letters following a number indicate the basic and variant versions of the inscription. As well, bracketed letters (for example (a)...(b)) enclose parts of the inscription repeated in variants. Subsequent appearances of a passage will not include the text but will be indicated by the bracketed letters which were surrounding it. The purpose for this is to avoid repetition, and to permit continued study of the meaning of the inscriptions and the paintings on which they were written.

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1a. Bamboo (Quanji, 1985, Banqiao ji [The Collected Works of Banqiao], Tihua [Inscriptions] section, 199):

At the river hut in clear autumn,  
I rise in the early morning to view bamboo.  
In the mist, light and shadow, dew and breeze,  
All float and move within the sparse branches and  
dense leaves.

(a) In my mind I am exhuberant...  
Subsequently I have a painting idea.  
In reality, the bamboo in my mind  
Is altogether different from the bamboo within my  
sight.

Thus (b) I grind ink and unfold some paper.

(c) Lowering the brush I swiftly make  
metamorphoses...

The bamboo in my hand,  
Again, is not the bamboo in my mind.  
In a word,

Having the idea first in the brush  
Is fixed rules;

Having delight beyond method  
Is the decree of Heaven.<sup>1</sup>

Alone paint the clouds!(d)<sup>2</sup>

1b. Ink Bamboo. Encountered by Liu Jiu'an (Quanji, 1985, 200. Little different from 1a. It is inscribed as, "Banqiao daoren Zheng Xie painted and inscribed for Suxing, younger brother of the older generation. When the snow is clearing in the second month of the twenty-fourth year of the reign of the emperor Qianlong "), dated 1759.

1c. Dew Bamboo, New and Fresh. In Zhongguo huajia congshu, Zheng Banqiao (The Collection of Reprinted Works by Chinese Painters, Zheng Banqiao) (Quanji, 1985, 200), dated 1756:

At the guest house in new clear (weather),  
 I rise in the early morning to view bamboo.  
 Dew floats on the leaves,  
 Light on the branch tips.  
 (a)(c) move the brush--  
 Again it is another style.  
 (e) In reality, the bamboo in my hand  
 Is not the bamboo in my mind.(f)  
 Step by step metamorphosis...  
 No one can have an inkling.  
 Its destiny shows unintentionally,  
 There is no one who knows its how or why.  
 Alone paint the clouds!  
 Qianlong bing-zi year (1756), Banqiao Zheng Xie  
 painted and inscribed.

1d. Ink Bamboo. Hu Jitang Bixiao xuan shuhualu (Brush and Flute Pavilion Record of Calligraphy and Painting) (Quanj, 1985, 200):

In pure autumn I rise early  
 In the small garden I view bamboo.  
 When light first rises,  
 The cool dew is not yet dried up.  
 (a)(b)  
 Thus I wash the inkstone, grind ink,  
 Chew the brush, and unfold some paper.  
 Arbitrarily I wield and write,  
 Either separating or combining.  
 (e)(f)  
 Dongpo says: In my mind there is a completed  
           bamboo.  
 Banqiao says: In my mind there is not a completed  
           bamboo.  
 Only his having it,  
 This is that by which he does not have it.  
 Only his not having it,  
 This is that by which he has it.  
 From ancient times to the present there have not  
           been two ways.  
           Banqiao Daoren Zheng Xie.

2. Bamboo. (Quanj, 1985, 200. The editor, Bian Xiaoxuan, notes the similarity between this inscription and that listed here as 6, which is dated 1762):

Wen Yuke (Wen Tong) paints bamboo--  
 In his mind he has a completed bamboo.  
 Zheng Banqiao paints bamboo--  
 In his mind he does not have a completed bamboo.  
 Thick and thin, dense and sparse,  
 Short and long, fat and thin...

The hand writes it out freely.  
 Naturally it forms its own arrangement--  
 The principle of its spirit is complete and  
     sufficient.  
 I disparage this latter day study of mine.  
 How dare to recklessly imitate previous sages?  
 But having a completed bamboo and not having a  
     completed bamboo,  
 Is in reality only a single principle.

---

3a. Bamboo. (Quanjia, 1985, 201):

(a)Wen Yuke's (Wen Tong's) ink bamboo poem says:  
 "I plan to play with a section of Exi thin silk,  
 Sweeping with the brush obtain 10,000 chi of long  
     chilly branches."  
 Mei Daoren (Wu Zhen) said:(b)  
 "I also have a pavilion deep in the bamboo,  
 Also long to return to the sounds of autumn."  
 (c)Both poetry ideas are extremely pure,  
 Not only use painting to pass it on.  
 Not only use painting to pass it on  
 But the painting all the more passes it on.(d)  
 Xie both can not do poetry,  
 And can not paint,  
 But also strives to inscribe a few words:(e)  
 (f)"The thunder ceases, the rain stops oblique  
     sun comes out.  
 One piece of new bamboo at the last moment is cut  
     out...  
 The shadow falls on the green gauze window.  
 Then I pick up the writing brush and write out  
     freely on the silk."(g)  
 The words are exhausted the idea is poor,  
 I have shamed previous sages.

3b. In Zheng Xie Zhu shi hua (Bamboo and Rock Painting).  
 Consists of (b)(c). Signed "Banqiao." Seal: "Qipin Guan'er"  
 (Quanjia, 1985, 201).

3c. Large ink bamboo scroll. Xie Chengjun Guigui zhai shuhua  
ji ((Record of Calligraphy and Painting from the Study of  
 Ever-dimmer Sight), vol.2. Consists of (b)(c) (Quanjia, 1985,  
 201).

3d. Large ink bamboo scroll. Zhou Sida Collection (Quanjia,  
 1985, 201):

(a)(c)  
 These two revered men's poetry ideas are  
     wonderful,  
 Not only are they famous because of their

paintings.

My poetry and painting are both not fine,  
But I also like playing with the brush and ink.  
Therefore I strive to inscribe a few words between  
the bamboos.

(f)(g)

(h) A vulgar man's words...

I am ashamed in relation to previous sages.(i)

Those who are good at poetry and good at  
painting

Necessarily will have that by which to teach me.

For elder brother Dong Yang to correct.

Banqiao Zheng Xie.

3e. Ink bamboo. Japan Discussion Society (Ribben jiangtan she), Badashanren--Yangzhou Baquai (Quanji, 1985, 201), dated 1757:

(a)(d)(e) but "Xu" instead of "Xie."

"Only say frosty bamboo skins dry and already  
withered,

Who would have known jade leaves would still be  
luxuriously spreading,

Rain and thunder last night on the pure river

Forced out one and 10,000 trunks of jumbled  
bamboo.

(h)(i)

Let elder brother Shilan correct this.

In the ding-chou year of the reign of  
the Qianlong emperor (1757).

Banqiao Zheng Xie painted and inscribed.

3f. Large painting of rock and bamboo. Zhongqing bowuguan (Zhongqing Natural History Museum). Consists of (f)(g) (Quanji, 1985, 201).

3g. Bamboo and rock. Shanghai bowuguan cang (Shanghai Natural History Museum Collection). Consists of (f)(g) (Quanji, 1985, 201). The inscription concludes, "in the wu-yin year of the reign of the Qianlong emperor (1758). Banqiao old man Zheng Xie painted in Wei county while in his official position." The editor points out that Zheng Xie was not in his position at this time, and thus the inscription awaits verification), dated 1758.

4a. Bamboo. (Quanji, 1985, 202)

Yuke (Wen Tong) paints bamboo,

Luzhi does not paint bamboo.

But observe his calligraphy,

It is not not bamboo...

Thin but plump; elegant but forceful;

Leaning this way and that but it has a standard;  
It turns back and forth but has lots of breaks and  
continuities.

My teacher! My teacher!

Oh, how thin, fine and unique is his bamboo!...

If calligraphy is profuse and thin,  
Bamboo moreso will be profuse and thin.

If calligraphy is dense and sparse,  
Bamboo moreso will be dense and sparse.

This painting I present with respect to Chang  
master Youbei.

Youbei is good at painting, but does not paint.

However, he uses painting's connection

To penetrate into calligraphy.

Xie moreover uses calligraphy's connection

To penetrate into painting.

We two men mutually observe and laugh.

Yuke, Shangu also nod approvingly.

4b. Ink bamboo handscroll. Beijing baoqu zhai wenwu dian  
cang (Cultural Relics Store of the Beijing Study of the Rare  
and Ancient) (Quanji, 1985, 202):

(a) Wen Yuke, Wu Zhonggui are good at painting  
bamboo,

They are those whom I haven't tried to take as  
models for bamboo.

Dongpo, Luzhi (Huang Tingjian) do calligraphy and  
it is not bamboo,

And I paint bamboo,

And often study them.

Huang's calligraphy is unrestrained and thin.(b)

Po's calligraphy is short, sturdy, and fat.

My bamboo's fatness and thinness, sparseness and  
denseness,

Is because it comes out of this.

Take the method of calligraphy as the method of  
painting...

Also take the method of painting as the method of  
calligraphy.

How can that which (?) be restricted to one style.  
Banqiao Zheng Xie.

4c. Ink bamboo. Nanjing wenwu shengdian cang (Nanjing  
Cultural Relics Store Collection) (Quanji, 1985, 202):

(a)(b)

If the bamboo I am in has thin leaves I study him.

Dongpo's calligraphy is short, sturdy and fat,

If the bamboo I am in has fat leaves I study him.

In this way the method taken for my painting is  
from calligraphy.

When I do calligraphy,

Moreover I often take Shen Shitian (Shen Zhou),

Yu Wenchang (Xu Wei), and Gao Qipei's paintings  
 and use them as a method for calligraphy.  
 I will recognize that calligraphy and painting  
 are one principle.  
 And use this in order to respectfully present to  
 elder brother Xiang Gao for a laugh.  
 Banqiao Zheng Xie.

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5a. (Quanjia, 1985, 202):

Mr. Xu Wenzhang paints snowy bamboo.  
 He skillfully uses a thin brush, and broken brush,  
 a dry brush, and a split brush to do it.  
 It is outstanding beyond the classes of bamboo.  
 Afterwards he uses thin ink and wash and puts them  
 out.  
 Between the branches and upon the leaves  
 There is no place in which snow is not piled up...  
 People of today paint thick branches and large  
 leaves,  
 There is almost no place where there is a break.  
 Then they add to it by applying colours.  
 Therefore, the snow and bamboo do not  
 interpenetrate.  
 This results in what painting method?  
 It also lacks craftsmanship.  
 If they are not willing to try hard,  
 How can they hope to exhaust the marvels!  
 If one asks them the reason for this,  
 They say:  
 "My kind (of painter) does xieyi.  
 We do not wish to be restricted in this."  
 They do not know these two words (xie and yi),  
 And this causes them to err in so many things.  
 They deceive other people and hide the truth from  
 themselves.  
 Moreover, they do not seek to progress...  
 Because of this all of them are sick.  
 One must necessarily reach a level of skill and  
 afterwards one will be able to write ideas.  
 One cannot be unskilled and subsequently be able  
 to write ideas.

5b. (a)(b) is Chu-tsing Li's translation (Li Chu-tsing, "The  
 Bamboo Paintings of Chin Nung," 1973-73, 53-71) (Quanjia,  
 1985, 203):

(a) In painting bamboos,  
 Shitao likes to do them in the manner of a field  
 battle.  
 Though he seems to follow no rules and laws,  
 They are already there.



I, Xie, in painting this large piece for Mr. Jiang  
 Yingchang,  
 Tried my best to imitate him.  
 Moving my brush horizontally and vertically,  
 I had to get all my strokes within the rules,  
 And did not permit any one of them to go beyond  
 them.  
 How difficult it was to try to match Master  
 Shi!(b)  
 In skill I do not yet have this situation,  
 Overstepping my ability it is short of the mark  
 and does not obtain it.  
 Lu Nanzi says:  
 "Only Liu Xiahui is alright,  
 I am not alright.  
 I should take my not alright, and study Liu  
 Xiahui's alright."  
 I also say this with regard to Master Shi.

---

6. Bamboo and Rock. The Palace Museum Collection  
 (Reproduced in Painting by Yangzhou Artists, 1984, 74),  
 dated 1762:

One-half green mountain one-half bamboo,  
 One-half green shade one-half jade.  
 Please sir when you awake from deep sleep,  
 Face this and treat it as if amongst cliffs and  
 gorges.

I receive elder brother's corrections.  
 Banqiao the Daoist Zheng Xie.  
 In the ren-wu year of the reign of the  
 Qianlong emperor (1762), in the fifth month  
 of summer in the afternoon I wrote this.

Wen Yuke (Wen Tong) paints bamboo--  
 In his mind he has a completed bamboo.  
 Zheng Banqiao paints bamboo--  
 In his mind he does not have a completed bamboo.  
 Yuke's having a completed a bamboo  
 Is what is called "one-thousand mu of the wei  
 river in one's mind."  
 Banqiao's not having the completed (bamboo)  
 Is like a thunderclap...  
 Grass and trees raging grow.  
 There is no one who knows its how and why.  
 It is probably the flux of the dao  
 That its way is like this.  
 Yuke's having,  
 And Banqiao's not having...  
 Is one, is two.  
 Those who understand will know it.

Xie again records.  
Receives elder brother's corrections.  
Banqiao Daoren Zheng Xie.

---

1. "The decree of Heaven" is not perhaps the best translation. Huaji can be translated in many ways, but none is less nebulous or more clearly descriptive than the others. Another possibility is "the way of Heaven" or the "way of nature." All should suggest a never ending cycle or process which is like that of nature and which is always "right" or that which does not have a wrong path.

2. "Alone" can suggest that only through this method, or only this painter can paint the clouds. Both make similar sense in terms of the overall meaning of the inscription.

## 清史列传卷七十二 文苑传三 郑燮传

郑燮，字克柔，江苏兴化人。乾隆元年进士，官山东范县知县，调潍县，以清廉忤大吏，乞疾归。少颖悟，读书饶别解。家贫，性落拓不羁，喜与禅宗尊宿及期门子弟游。日放言高谈，臧否人物，以是得狂名。及居官，则又曲尽情伪，展塞众望。官潍县时，岁歉，人相食。燮大兴修筑，招远近饥民赴工就食。籍邑中大户，令开厂煮粥轮饲之。有积粟，责其平糶，活者无算。时有循吏之目。善诗，工书画，人以「郑虔三绝」称之。诗言情述事，惻惻动人，不拘体格，兴至则成，颇近香山、放翁。书画有真趣，少工楷书，晚杂篆隶，间以画法。所绘兰竹石亦精妙，人争宝之。词吊古摅怀，尤擅胜场，或比之蒋士铨。内行醇谨，幼失怙恃，赖乳母教养，终身不敢忘。所为家书，忠厚恳挚，有光禄《庭诰》、《颜氏家训》遗意。晚年归老躬耕，时往来郡城，诗酒唱和。尝置一囊，储银及果食，遇故人子及乡人之贫者，随所取赠之。与袁枚未识面，或传其死，顿首痛哭不已云。著有《板桥诗钞》。

## 板桥自叙

板桥居士，姓郑氏，名燮，扬州兴化人。兴化有三郑氏，其一为「铁郑」，其一为「糖郑」，其一为「板桥郑」。居士自喜其名，故天下咸称为郑板桥云。板桥外王父汪氏，名翊文，奇才博学，隐居不仕。生女一人，端严聪慧特绝，即板桥之母也。板桥文学性分，得外家气居多。父立庵先生，以文章品行士先。教授生徒数百辈，皆成就。板桥幼随其父学，无他师也。幼时殊无异人处，少长，虽长大，貌寝陋，人咸易之。又好大言，自负太过，漫骂无择。诸先辈皆侧目，戒勿与往来。然读书能自刻苦，自愤激，自竖立，不苟同俗，深自屈曲委蛇，由浅入深，由卑及高，由迳达远，以赴古人之奥区，以自畅其性情才力之所不尽。人咸谓板桥读书善记，不知非善记，乃善诵耳。板桥每读一书，必千百遍。舟中、马上、被底，或当食忘匕箸，或对客不听其语，并自忘其所语，皆记书默诵也。书有弗记者乎？平生不治经学，爱读史书以及诗文词集，传奇说簿之类，靡不览究。有时说经，亦爱其斑驳陆

## Appendix 1.2 continued.

离，五色炫烂。以文章之法论经，非《六经》本根也。

酷嗜山水。又好色，尤多余桃口齿，及椒风弄儿之戏。然自知老且丑，此辈利吾金而来耳。有一言干与外政，即叱去之，未尝为所迷惑。好山水，未能远迹，其所经历，亦不尽游趣。乾隆十三年，大驾东巡，燹为书画史，治顿所，卧泰山绝顶四十余日，亦足豪矣。

所刻《诗钞》《词钞》《道情十首》《与舍弟书十六通》行于世。善书法，自号「六分半书」。又以余闲作为兰竹，凡王公大人、卿士大夫、骚人词伯、山中老僧、黄冠炼客，得其一片纸、只字书，皆珍惜藏度。然板桥从不借诸人以为名。惟同邑李蟠复堂相友善。复堂起家孝廉，以画事为内廷供奉。康熙朝，名噪京师及江淮湖海，无不望慕叹羨。是时板桥方应童子试，无所知名。后二十年，以诗词文字与之比并齐声。索画者，必曰复堂。索诗字文者，必曰板桥。且愧且幸，得与前贤埒也。李以滕县令罢去。板桥康熙秀才，雍正壬子举人，乾隆丙辰进士。初为范县令，继调潍县。乾隆己巳，时年五十有七。

板桥诗文，自出己意，理必归于圣贤，文必切于日用。或有自云高古而几唐宋者，板桥辄呵恶之，曰：「吾文若传，便是清诗清文，若不传，将并不能为清诗清文也。何必侈言前古哉！」明清两朝，以制艺取士，虽有奇才异能，必从此出，乃为正途。其理愈求而愈精，其法愈求而愈密。鞭心入微，才力与学力俱无可恃，庶几弹丸脱手时乎？若漫不经心，置身甲乙榜之外，辄曰：「我是古学」，天下人未必许之，只合自许而已。老不得志，仰借于人，有何得意？

贾、董、匡、刘之作，引绳墨，切事情。至若韩信登坛之对，孔明隆中之语，则又切之切者也。理学之执持纲纪，只合闲时用着，忙时用不着。板桥《十六通家书》，绝不谈天说地，而日用家常，颇有言近指远之处。

板桥非闭户读书者，长游于古松、荒寺、平沙、远水、峭壁、墟墓之间，然无之非读书也。求精求当，当则粗者皆精，不当则精者皆粗。思之，思之，鬼神通之。

板桥又记，时年已五十八矣。

## Appendix 1.3.

## 李斗 扬州画舫录卷二草河录下

郑燮，字克柔，号板桥。兴化人。进士。兰竹石称三绝。工隶书，后以隶楷相参，自成一派。关帝庙道士吴雨田从之学字，可以乱真。

桐轩，在飞霞楼后，地多梧桐。……是轩祀三贤神主。三贤为宋欧阳文忠公、苏文忠公及王文简公。……郑燮联句云，「遗韵满江淮，三家一律，爱才如性命，异世同心。」……

## 李斗 扬州画舫录卷四新城北录中

……青莲斋，在街西，六安山僧茶叶馆也。僧有茶田，春夏入山，秋冬居肆，东城游人，皆于此买茶供一日之用。郑板桥书联云，「从来居士能评水，自古高僧爱斗茶。」

## 李斗 扬州画舫录卷六城北录

勺园，种花人汪氏宅也。汪氏行四，字希文。吴人。工歌。乾隆丙辰来扬州，卖茶枝上村。与李复堂、郑板桥、咏堂僧友善。后购是地种花。复堂为题「勺园」额，刻石嵌水门上。中有板桥所书联云：「移花得蝶，买石饶云。」

……西园阜门路上有灵土地庙，……庙中集联云：「到处云山到处佛，金衣。当坊土地当坊灵。」  
 郑燮「金寿门《冬心先生集》中《登高杂述》诗，有云：「手闲却懒注虫鱼，且就嵩高十笏居。」到处云山到处佛，净名小品借谁书。」郑板桥题如皋土地庙联，有「乡里鼓儿乡里打，当坊土地当坊灵」句，今集为联。集联，一趣也。

## 李斗 扬州画舫录卷十虹桥录上

郑燮，字克柔，号板桥。兴化人。进士。官知县。宰范时，有富家欲逐一贫婿，以千金为宰寿。燮收其女为义女，复潜蓄其婿在署中。及女入拜见，燮出金合卷，令其挽车同归，时称盛德。后以报灾事件大吏，罢归乡里。尝作一大布袋，凡钱帛食物，皆置于内，随取随用，或遇故人

## Appendix 1.3 continued.

子弟及同里贫善之家，则倾与之。往来扬州，有「二十年前旧板桥」印章。与公（卢见曾）唱和甚多。著有板桥诗、词钞及《家书》、《小唱》。工画竹。以八分书与楷书相杂，自成一派，今山东潍县人多效其体。

编者注：《清朝野史大观》卷十一《清代述异·郑板桥判案》云：「郑板桥令潍县时，有贫士控富室赖婚。板桥留贫士于署，更微富室至，从容语曰：「若女诚不能为贫家妇，然独不为令东床地乎？若肯以千金易婚约，则有我在，事无不济矣。」富室如数纳金訖。板桥复从容语曰：「若女无丫角以终理，余为汝更觅一快婿何如？此千金即作奁资可也。」富室方感谢未遑，板桥已命人速贫士出，就堂上为青庐，携女及金而去。此事颇快人意。」

### 李斗 扬州画舫录 卷十五 冈西录

……初卢转运建亭署中，郑板桥书「苏亭」二字额。……。

### 李斗 扬州画舫录 卷十八 舫匾录

便益门舫匾……锦湖行是舫有郑板桥联句云：「摇到四桥烟雨里，泼开一片水云天。」……。

## Appendix 2.1.

“至好叔侄，滕县未晤。归里门匆匆数言，彼此经年，仆仆天涯，可发一笑。愚已决计家居，近复作出山想，来郡城託钵，为入都之计。十月底离家，三长兄三长嫂暨閤宅安好，无烦系念。愚有急需事是买画笔，贤侄在杭州，而愚不寄书来购画笔，是坐失好机会矣。画笔有五善：一、选料刚柔相济；二、笔尖入水不散；三、用久毛毫不落；四、笔管精细长直；五、笔头深藏管内。得此五善，笔可用矣。愚处画笔盈箱，俱不适用，以其皆行货而非门市也。杭城画笔店数家，皆挂张老嫖招牌，必须询本地书画名家方知。做好画笔名手，如：金寿门、黄松石皆可问，而又万万不可题起是老夫所需之物，必须访到名家定做，价钱与足，讲究精微，再无不好之理。近日写字，俱用画笔。老侄系本朝画家，务望拨冗与作家面谈，五善缺一不可。今将所需笔数开列于后：

大、小通天羊毛笔二十枝；

大、小羊毫画（笔）小着色、大染、小染共四十枝；

黄鼠狼毫大兰花头、小兰花头共八枝；

黄鼠狼毫大、小画笔共二十枝；

海爪笔万恶，一枝不要。

杭州茶菊，天下第一。然有数种第一含蕊未放者第一（似有衍文——笔者），京师药铺多有。近日人送茶菊，皆大开始采之花，比甘菊还不如也。以上所托二事，第一画笔要紧，岁内可得，感不可言。至于价值，开载回音，送君家应用。若不开账，其笔断坏，不敢奉劳代买矣。近与吴氏昆仲盘桓最笃，皆杨剑翁为之先容。步翁老先生前为愚道候言谢不既。近见所作竹根图画甚佳，见惠一方，则当以拙染相报也。

乾隆十年腊月初四日辰刻，扬州小东门内西雷坛寓斋书寄。

道源贤侄入览。复堂懊道人鯮白。

蟹爪误写海字。

## Appendix 2.2, 2.4, and 2.5.

## 怀李三铨

耕田便尔牵牛去，作画依然弄笔来。一领破蓑云外挂，半张陈纸酒中裁。青春在眼童心热，白发盈肩壮志灰。惟有莼鲈堪漫吃，下官亦为鲙鱼回。

待买田庄然后归，此生无分到荆扉。借君十亩堪栽秫，赁我三间好下帷。柳线软拖波细细，秧针青惹燕飞飞。梦中长与先生会，草阁南津旧钓矶。

## 饮李复堂宅赋赠

四月十五月在树，淡风清影摇窗户，举酒欲饮心事来，主客无言客起去。主人起家最少年，骅骝初试珊瑚鞭，护蹕出入古北口，裘笔侍直仁皇前，才雄颇为世所忌，口虽赞叹心不然。萧萧匹马离都市，锦衣江上寻歌妓，声色荒淫二十年，丹青纵横三千里。两婴世网破其家，黄金散尽妻孥嫫，剥啄催租恼吏频，水田千亩翻为累。途穷卖画画益贱，仰儿贾竖论非是，昨画双松半未成，醉来怒裂澄心纸。老去翻思踏软尘，一官聊以庇其身，几遍花开上林树，十年不见京华春。此中滋味淡如水，未忍明良径贱贫。

李铨，字复堂。康熙五十年举人，五十二年献诗行在，钦取入南书房行走。年少才长，兼工绘事，特旨交常熟蒋相国教习，供奉内廷数载，恩赏稠叠。乞归后，选山东临淄知县、调滕县。为政清简，士民怀之。特大吏罢归，筑浮沔馆于城南，啸咏以终。铨写花鸟，不株守昔人绳墨，造化在腕，情状如生。身后遗本虽多，究莫能乱真也。博学能文，诗超逸，书具颜柳筋骨，世仅传其善画云。

铨，字宗扬，号复堂，朱衣第四子。康熙辛卯举人，癸巳献诗行在，钦取入南书房行走，任山东临淄县知县，调滕县。博学能文，善诗书，尤精绘事，远近慕其名，不惜重金购之。行实详府县志。配舒氏生子一，防，女一。侧室韩氏生子三、女一。



## Appendix 2.7.

## 与李鲜书

十日不相见面，如隔三十年也。地乾泥软，可一过我乎？王老父台并杜三、叶大兄，欲邀公为壶酒碟菜之会，不识肯一命驾否？画事固紧，谈事亦不可废，伫望切切。复堂老先生，晚弟郑燮顿首。

## Appendix 3.1 and 3.2.

江南鲜笋趁鲥鱼，烂煮春风三月初，分付厨人休斫尽，清光留此照摊书。

编者注：泰州博物馆藏郑燮墨竹方幅，题此诗，「江南」作「扬州」，「三月」作「上巳」，「分付」作「说与」，落款「乾隆丁丑，写似沛老年长兄」。

故宫博物院藏郑燮竹石图轴，题此诗，「江南」作「扬州」，「春风」作「东风」，「分付」作「为语」，落款「煥老年学兄正，板桥郑燮」。

苏州艺石斋《郑板桥题画》拓本，有此诗，「分付」作「为语」，铃印二颗，其一为「老画师」。

《郑板桥书画选》墨竹轴，题此诗，「分付」作「寄语」，铃印二颗，其一为「二十年前旧板桥」。

笋菜沿江二月新，家家厨爨剥春笋，此身愿劈千丝篾，织就湘帘护美人。

编者注：北京西单文物商店藏郑燮墨竹条幅，题云：「煮肉烹鱼切笋新，庖厨锅案损天真，此身愿劈千丝篾，织就湘帘护美人。板桥郑燮戏笔。」铃印三颗，一为「二十年前旧板桥」，一为「歌吹古扬州」。

泰州博物馆藏郑燮竹石图轴，题为：「□云，斫笋烧猪切笋新，家家厨爨损吾真，此身□□□□篾，织就湘帘护美人。七十老头，作此绮语，岂不可笑！」

## Appendix 4.

此笑思僂(鼠姑) 化工巧合意源殊①。  
 衆維魚矣千年兆②， 便便年年富貴圖。

桐蕉竹 見陶風樓藏書目

清夏荒齋指俸修。 蒸人暑氣我能收。

小園花色儘堪誇， 今歲端陽節在家。  
 卻笑老夫無躲處， 人都尋我畫魚蝦①。

白菜 見書苑第六卷第七號

甘香得自淡淡餘。 五釜官厨味不如。  
 他日閒居歌十畝， 接闌當讀老農書。

柳枝鱸魚 見劍花樓書畫錄

月月春宜花盎，漆漆兆起漁竿，寫此兩者取意，上下四季平安。

## Appendix 6.

江馆清秋，晨起看竹，烟光日影露气，皆浮动于疏枝密叶之间。胸中勃勃，遂有画意。其实胸中之竹，并不是眼中之竹也。因而磨墨展纸，落笔倏作变相，手中之竹，又不是胸中之竹也。总之，意在笔先者，定则也；趣在法外者，化机也。独画云乎哉！

编者注：刘九庵曾见一郑燮墨竹轴，题跋与此文小异。前四句作：「江馆新晴，晨起看竹，露华浮动于

日光霞影之中。」自「胸中勃勃」至「独画云乎哉」与刻本相同，惟「倏作」作「忽作」。款为：「板桥道人郑燮为湖星老世侄画并题，时乾隆二十四年十二月雪晴。」

《中国画家丛书·郑板桥》影印郑燮《露竹新晴图》，题为：「客舍新晴，晨起看竹，露浮叶上，日在梢头，胸中勃勃，遂有画意，其实胸中之竹，并不是眼中之竹也。因而磨墨展纸运笔，又是一格，其实手中之竹，又不是意中之竹也。步步变相，莫可端倪，其天机流露，有莫知其然而然者，独画云乎哉！乾隆丙子，板桥郑燮画并题。」

胡积堂《笔啸轩书画录·郑板桥墨竹》云：「清秋早起，小园看竹，日光初上，凉露未乾，胸中勃勃，遂有画意。其实胸中之竹，并不是眼中之竹也。因而洗砚研墨，咀笔展纸，任意挥写，或离或合。其实手中之竹，又不是意中之竹也。东坡云：胸有成竹，板桥云：胸无成竹。惟其有之，是以无之；惟其无之，是以有之，古今来无二道也。板桥道人郑燮。」

文与可画竹，胸有成竹。郑板桥画竹，胸无成竹。浓淡疏密，短长肥瘦，随手写去，自尔成局，其神理具足也。藐兹后学，何敢妄拟前贤。然有成竹无成竹，其实只是一个道理。

编者注：故宫博物院藏郑燮竹石大幅，题云：「文与可画竹，胸有成竹，郑板桥画竹，胸无成竹。与可之有成竹，所谓渭川千亩在胸中也。板桥之无成竹」，如雷霆霹雳，草木怒生，有莫知其然而然者，盖大化之流行，其道如是。与可之有，板桥之无，是一是二，解人会之。」署「乾隆壬午夏五月午后写此。」「受老年学兄正，板桥道人郑燮。」

## Appendix 6, 3a.

文与可墨竹诗云：「拟将一段鹅溪绢，扫取寒梢万尺长。」梅道人云：「我亦有亭深竹里，也思归去听秋声。」皆诗意清绝，不独以画传也。不独以画传而画益传。燮既不能诗，又不能画，然亦勉题数语：雷停雨止斜阳出，一片新篁旋剪裁，影落碧纱窗子上，便拈毫素写将来。言尽意穷，有惭前哲。

编者注：郑燮《竹石图》，题「我亦有亭深竹里，也思归去听秋声。板桥。」铃「七品官耳」等印。

谢诚均《瞿瞿斋书画记》卷二：郑板桥墨竹大幅「上有句云：我亦有亭深竹里，也思归去听秋声。」

周斯达藏郑燮墨竹大幅拓本，题为：「文与可题画竹诗云：『拟将一段鹅溪绢，扫取寒梢万尺长。』梅道人题画竹诗云：『我亦有亭深竹里，也思归去听秋声。』二公诗意清绝，不独以画名家也。予诗画皆不佳，然亦好弄笔墨，故强题数句于竹缝中曰：雷停雨止斜阳出，一片新篁旋剪裁，影落碧纱窗子上，便拈毫素写将来。鄙夫之言，有愧前哲也。工诗善画者，必将有以教我。为东阳年学长兄政之，板桥郑燮。」铃「潍夷长」等印。

日本讲谈社《八大山人·扬州八怪》影印郑燮墨竹图轴，题为：「文与可题墨竹诗云：……梅道人云：……皆诗意清绝，不独以画传也。不独以画传而画益传。余既不能诗，又不能画，然亦勉题数句曰：只道霜筠干已枯，谁知碧叶又扶疏，风雷昨夜清江上，拔出乱竹一万株。鄙夫之言，有愧前哲也，唯石兰同学老世长兄政之。乾隆丁丑，板桥郑燮画并题。」

重庆博物馆藏郑燮竹石大幅，题「雷停雨止斜阳出，……便拈毫素写将来。」落款「聚文二哥一笑，板桥居士郑燮。」

上海博物馆藏郑燮竹石图轴，题为：「雷停雨止斜阳出」，……便拈毫素写将来。乾隆戊寅清和月，板桥老人郑燮画于范县官署。」乾隆二十三年郑燮至范县否？待考。

## Appendix 6, 4-5.

与可画竹，鲁直不画竹，然观其书法，罔非竹也。瘦而腴，秀而拔，欹侧而有准绳，折转而多断续。吾师乎！吾师乎！其吾竹之清癯雅脱乎！书法有行款，竹更要行款，书法有浓淡，竹更要浓淡，书法有疏密，竹更要疏密。此幅奉赠常君西北。西北善画不画，而以画之关纽，透入于书。爰又以书之关纽，透入于画。吾两人当相视而笑也。与可、山谷亦当首肯。

编者注：北京宝古斋文物店藏郑燮墨竹横幅，题：「文与可、吴仲圭善画竹，吾未尝取为竹谱也。东坡、鲁直作书非作竹，而吾画竹，往往学之。黄书飘洒而瘦，坡书短悍而肥，吾竹之肥瘦疏密，即从此出。以书法为画法，亦以画法为书法，岂拘拘一格所能口哉！板桥郑燮。」铃印三颗，其一为「七品官耳」（白文）。

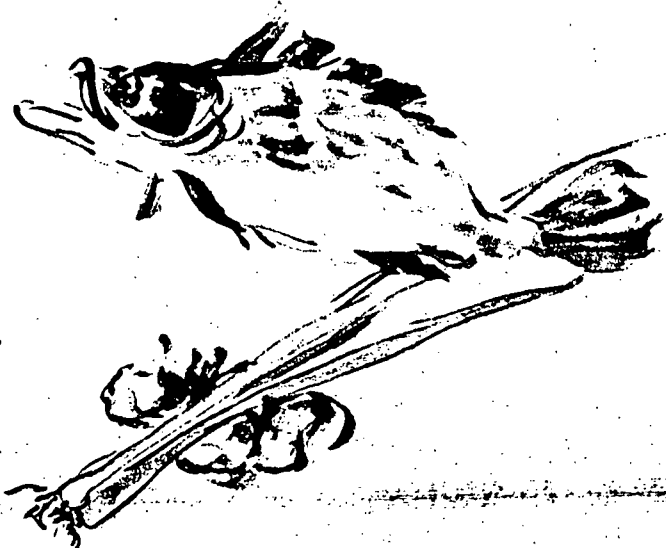
南京文物商店藏郑燮墨竹轴，题：「文与可、吴仲圭善画竹，吾未尝取为竹谱也。东坡、鲁直作书非作竹也，而吾之画竹往往学之。黄书飘洒而瘦，吾竹中瘦叶学之；东坡书短悍而肥，吾竹中肥叶学之，此吾画之取法于书也。至吾作书，又往往取沈石田、徐文长、高其佩之画以为笔法。要知书画一理，用以奉翔高老长兄一笑也。板桥郑燮。」

徐文长先生画雪竹，纯以瘦笔破笔燥笔断笔为之，绝不类竹，然后以淡墨水钩染而出，枝间叶上，罔非雪润，竹之全体，在隐跃间矣。今人画浓枝大叶，略无破阙处，再加渲染，则雪与竹两不相入，成何画法？此亦小小匠心，尚不肯刻苦，安望其穷微索渺乎！问其故，则曰：吾辈写意，原不拘拘于此。殊不知写意二字，误多少事。欺人瞞自己，再不求进，皆坐此病。必极工而后能写意，非不工而遂能写意也。

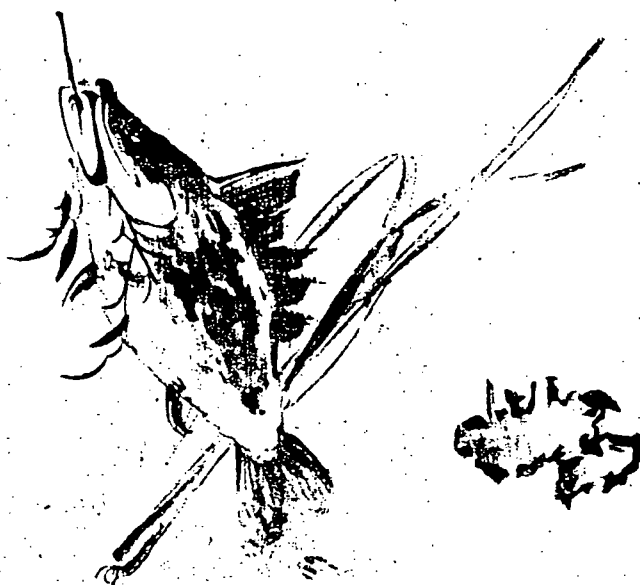
石涛画竹，好野战，略无纪律，而纪律自在其中。爰为江君颖长作此大幅，极力仿之。横涂竖抹，要自笔笔在法中，未能一笔逾于法外。甚矣石公之不可及也！功夫气候，僧差一点不得。鲁男子云：「唯柳下惠则可，我则不可。将以我之不可，学柳下惠之可。」余于石公亦云。

Figures 1 and 2.

大官葱嫩芽薑  
巨口魚新鮮常  
誰與畫者李海堂



大官葱嫩芽薑巨口細鮓  
時新嘗 李海堂

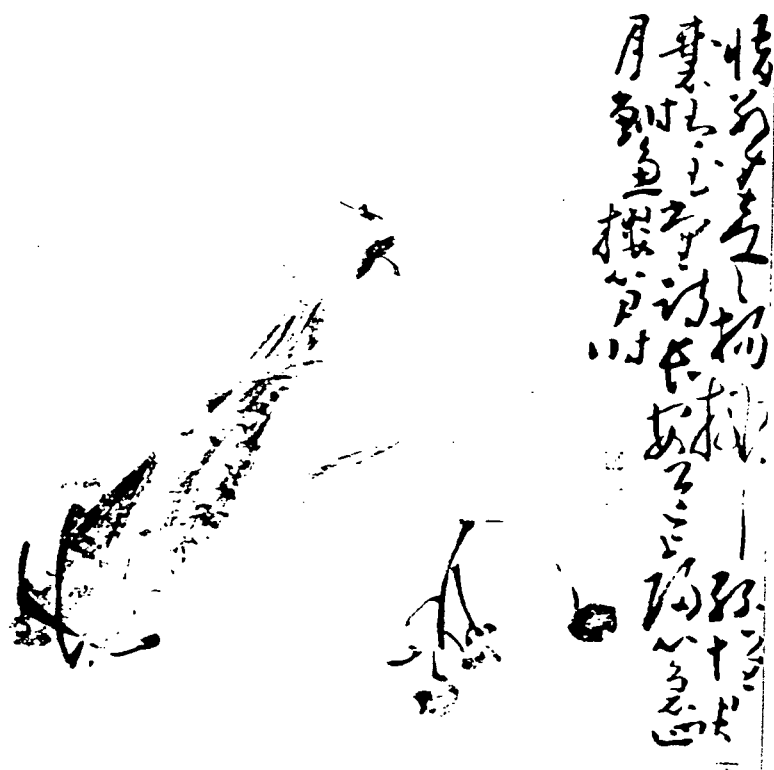


Figures 3 and 4.





Figures 5 and 6.



Figures 7 and 8.



紫瓜之風來偏宜  
 極舊老矣今日聽  
 蓮生春都別出根芽  
 石齋居士



Figure 9.



Figure 10.



Figure 11.



Figure 12.



Figure 13.



Figure 14.





Figure 15.



Figure 16.

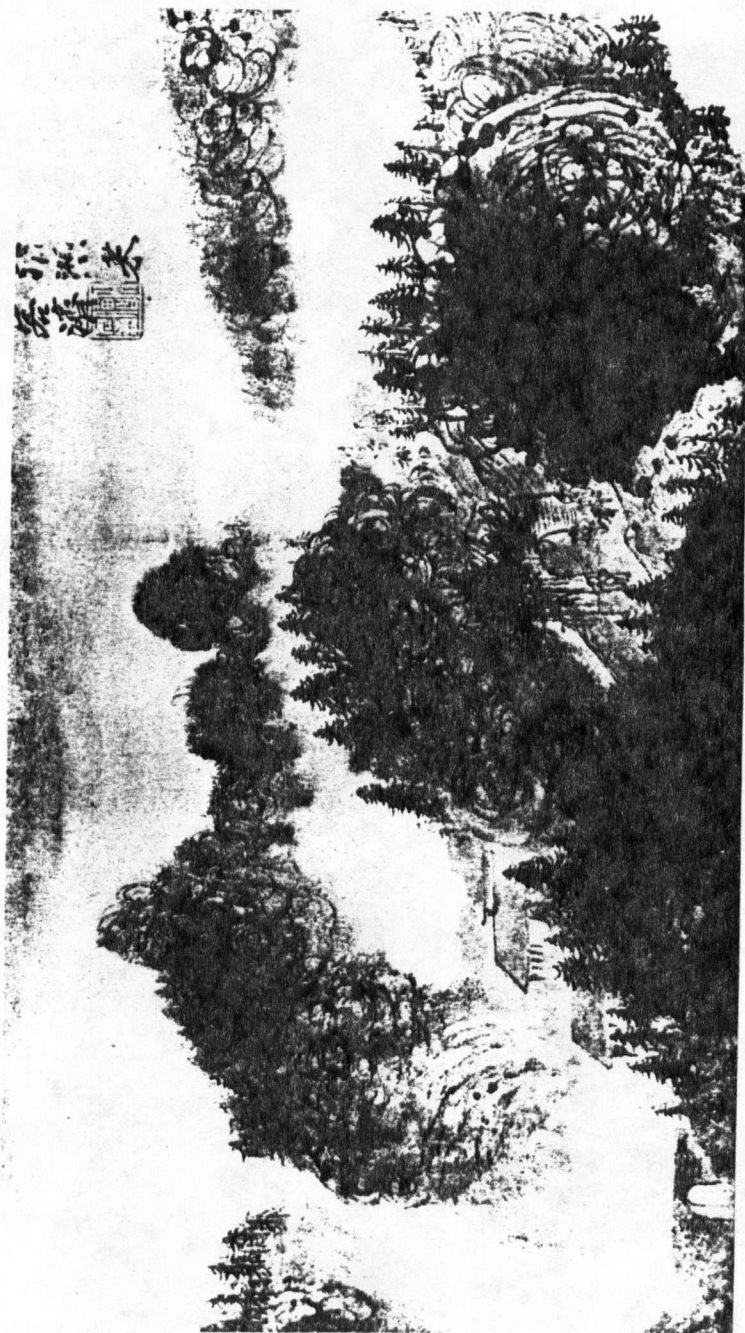


Figure 17.



Figure 18.



Figure 19.



Figure 20.

