ABSTRACT

A group of American scholars who visited the People's Republic of China in October and November of 1977 to study Chinese paintings report on their trip. The purpose of the report is to provide information and insights which will be useful to other scholars in the field and which will help promote the development of strong ties between U.S. and Chinese art historians. Reports on the following are provided: Chinese paintings in Chinese museums; religious paintings; Yuan and Ming paintings; contemporary painting; Chinese calligraphy; art and archaeological finds on display in museums; and museums in China. Included in the appendices are the trip itinerary, names of the people met, and a listing of the paintings seen in China. (RM)
TRADITIONAL
AND
CONTEMPORARY
PAINTING
IN
CHINA

A Report of the Visit of the
Chinese Painting Delegation
to the People's Republic of China

Committee on Scholarly
Communication with the
People's Republic of China

NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
WASHINGTON, D.C. 1980
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The Committee represents American scholars in the natural, medical, and social sciences, engineering, and the humanities. It advises individuals and institutions on means of communication with their Chinese colleagues, on China's international scholarly activities, and on the state of China's scientific and scholarly pursuits. Members of the Committee are scholars from a broad range of fields, including China studies.

Administrative offices of the Committee are located at the National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D.C.

The views expressed in this report are those of the members of the Chinese Painting Delegation and are in no way the official views of the Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China or its sponsoring organizations -- the American Council of Learned Societies, the National Academy of Sciences, and the Social Science Research Council.

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FOREWORD

Two years have elapsed since the visit of the Chinese Painting Delegation to the People's Republic of China in October and November of 1977. Though publication of this report has been delayed, the Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China feels that the information and insights contained herein will be invaluable to scholars in the field and will help to promote the development of strong ties between the art historians of the United States and the People's Republic of China.

During their visit to China, the Chinese Painting Delegation took about 3,000 photographs and slides of the paintings they saw. Under an agreement made with their hosts the delegation has arranged to make available, to institutions, sets of duplicate slides. Slides are not available from members of the delegation or from the Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China. Inquiries should be addressed to: Asian Art Photographic Distribution Department of the History of Art University of Michigan Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109

Slides will be available only in pre-established sets of c.1,000.

This report was prepared with the assistance of staff members of the Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China. The report is available without charge from the Committee.

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Introduction

The Chinese Painting Delegation's trip to China in October and November of 1977 was, for those of us who went, the fulfillment of a hope we had harbored over many years. During the four decades or so since Chinese painting began to be studied seriously in the United States, we had become familiar with most collections outside the Chinese mainland, and most of the best works in them had been studied and published. The great uncharted territories, we realized, where major discoveries were still to be made, were in the museums of China. The collections of these museums remain largely unknown despite the publication, during the 1950s and early 1960s, of some good picture-catalogues presenting selections from their holdings. The sheer quantity of paintings in Chinese museums is staggering; even after the steady flow of Chinese paintings into museums and private hands abroad over the past half-century and the loss to Taiwan of the greatest single collection of Chinese art, the Palace Museum Collection now kept near Taipei, the bulk of Chinese painting remains in China. When, for instance, in 1973, the director of the Nanking Museum was asked how many paintings were in his museum, he answered "around forty thousand." Most of those, to be sure, are nineteenth and twentieth century works, as he admitted on being questioned further;
but the numbers are impressive for the early periods as well. Having published an article on the early styles of the seventeenth century Nanking landscape painter Kung Hsien, I asked how many of his works they own and was told, "We don't know exactly - maybe fifty, maybe seventy-five." Clearly, definitive studies of many artists and schools must await the time when these collections become accessible for research.

The incidents just recounted occurred on the visit of the Art and Archaeology Delegation in November and December of 1973. One of the first American groups to China sponsored by the Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China, the Art and Archaeology Delegation included several scholars, one of them myself, whose area of specialization was in fact Chinese painting. Our Chinese hosts soon learned of this additional interest within the delegation and accommodated somewhat to it, while keeping archaeology and early art as the focus of our program. Paintings that we asked to see in museums were brought from storage and shown to us, and we were allowed to photograph them freely. The fruits of that trip, in notes and slides and photographs, have had a noticeable impact on Chinese painting studies, bringing new material into our range of discussion and allowing better assessment and closer consideration of the works we had previously known only in reproductions. The effect of the more recent trip will be much greater: it has increased by a significant percentage the body of important Chinese paintings with which we are familiar and on which our research and teaching are based. All of us are rewriting our lectures and wishing we could rewrite our books.

Before the departure of the Chinese Painting Delegation in October 1977 we made lists of paintings we wanted especially to see. These lists, as we
discovered, were far too long; the Chinese museum staffs, not sharing our sense of urgency, maintained a less hurried pace in producing paintings for our viewing than we had become accustomed to through our experiences in most Western museums. In a choice between a tea-break or one more great painting, we (conscious always of the shortness of our time) would usually have chosen the latter; the Chinese believed, quite rightly, that the former was the more civilized and ultimately beneficial practice.

Even so, we saw nearly 500 paintings, in exhibitions and special viewings, during our month in China. A list of these will be found in Appendix III. What follows is a brief account of our trip, with notes on some of the paintings that provided the peak moments in it. Opinions on them are my own; in some cases, others in the delegation will have varying views on matters of attribution, dating, or relative importance, although we found ourselves in agreement much of the time. Since an itinerary of our trip is also included in this volume (Appendix I) and there are separate essays on archaeological exhibitions and on Buddhist and other religious art, visits to monuments and institutions will be noted only as they relate to our main objective, the pursuit of Chinese paintings on their native ground.
We arrived in Peking on October 6, flying from Tokyo, and stayed there for one week. Our hosts on this trip were the State Bureau for Administration of Cultural Relics; the Chief of the Foreign Relations Division of the Bureau, Mr. Kuo Lao-wei, accompanied us on our travels, along with two interpreters on the staff of the Bureau, Miss Tai Li-chin and Miss Wang Hsiao-ping. Of our six full days in Peking, three were spent in the Palace Museum. The section of it devoted to painting, the Hui-hua Kuan, was showing its great autumn exhibition: 35 paintings from the Sung and pre-Sung periods in the first hall, 34 from the Yuan Dynasty in the second, and 105 from the Ming and Ch'ing periods in the remaining galleries.

Of the early paintings, the most impressive were mostly well known to us already through reproduction: the incomparable 'Night Revels of Han Hsi-tsai' ascribed to the tenth century master Ku Hung-chung but revealed clearly by landscapes painted on screens, bed-panels, etc. to be a copy of the Southern Sung period; Chang Tse-tuan's early twelfth century 'Spring Festival on the River,' clarified spatially and made more beautiful even than the reproductions indicate by light washes of color; the great 'Autumn Colors in Rivers and Mountains' attributed to the mid-twelfth century.
master Chao Po-chü, finest of landscapes in the archaistic blue-and-green manner; and Li Kung-lin's signed handscroll "Pasturing Horses," based on a painting by the T'ang period master Wei Yen. We were struck again by the fact that most of the important early paintings preserved in China are album leaves or handscrolls; early hanging scrolls are relatively few. Historical circumstances account for this imbalance: most of the paintings come from the group taken to Manchuria by the last Manchu emperor, Hsüan-t'ung or P'u-i, from the former Manchu Imperial Household collection, just before the collection was nationalized and made into the Peking Palace Museum. The bulk of that collection, including many notable early hanging scrolls, was eventually taken to Taiwan by the Nationalists. Since Hsüan-t'ung chose smaller, easily transportable paintings to carry off, these are the ones that remained on the mainland and have now mostly found their way into museums.

Less-known or unpublished paintings, the surprises among the early group, included a handscroll supposedly representing Liao (Khitan) horsemen attributed to the Liao artist Hu Kuei (or Hu Huai) but more probably the work of some master of the Ch'in Dynasty; a quiet, completely convincing painting of ducks on a snowy river shore, a signed work of the early twelfth century artist Liang Shih-min; and what may be the earliest surviving example of ink painting of blossoming plum and one of the finest, "Four Stages of Blossoming Plum" by Yang Pu-chih (1097-1169), which is accompanied by an inscription of the artist dated 1165 and impressed with seals of many notable collectors. Several unpublished anonymous hanging scrolls of Sung date and a group of Sung album leaves were also on view.

Among the Yuan Dynasty paintings, Chao Meng-fu's "Village by the Water" (Shui-ts'un t'ü) of 1302 was the unassuming masterwork that Chinese critics
have always taken it to be, Jen Jen-fa's "Fat and Lean Horses" stood out among several horse paintings, and Wang Chen-p'eng's excellent signed handscroll representing "Po-ya Playing the Ch'in for Chung Tzu-ch'i" proved that this master was not limited to the highly detailed fine-line chieh-huat manner of his best-known works. Huang Kung-wang's "Nine Peaks After Snowfall," on dark silk, continues to be a puzzler (for me) even after two viewings: if it is, as Chinese specialists all maintain, an original work, why is the drawing so flat? Perhaps we must accept it and find some special explanation for its character. A very dark painting on silk proved, when flashlights were played on it, to be a signed picture of the Taoist transcendent Li T'ieh-kuaî by Yen Hui, a mysterious and impressive picture. The most exciting of the unpublished Yüan paintings, however, was unquestionably Wang Meng's "Noble Seclusion in Summer Mountains" (Hsia-shan kao-yin t'u). Painted in ink and colors on silk, and signed and dated to the year 1365, just before the great "Ch'ing-pien Mountains" of 1366 in Shanghai (with which it has much in common), it is an important addition to the oeuvre of this major master.

Ming paintings began with three leaves from the only surviving work of Wang Li (late fourteenth century), his album of "Scenes of Hua-shan." Thirteen leaves of this famous album are in the Peking Palace Museum, we were told (three others had been exhibited there in 1973), and twenty-seven in the Shanghai Museum (of which we were later shown five), making up the whole of this famous forty-leaf album. A fine series of landscapes with figures by Che School masters - Ni Tuan, Li Tsai, Tai Chin, Wang E, Wu Wei, Chang Lu, Chiang Sung - was followed by an equally fine group of works by major and minor artists of Soochow: Chou Ch'en, T'ang Yin (represented
notably by his "Court Ladies of Meng-shu," Sung-like in its refinement of line and color), Ch'iu Ying ("A Thatched House Among Peach Trees," dedicated to Hsiang Yüan-chi and inscribed by Hsiang's younger brother, and Ch'iu's patron, Hsiang Yüan-pien), and Wen Cheng-ming and his followers.

Explanatory labels in this exhibition tended to be informative and non-political, but an opportunity was occasionally seized to exercise some social criticism of the artist or his subject. The text accompanying a painting of "Draining Fields After a Flood" by Wen Cheng-ming, dated 1525, pointed out that the landlord who owned the fields was forcing his serfs to slave day and night on the drainage work, and that Wen, in portraying the scene sympathetically, had betrayed his allegiance to the privileged class. A landscape by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555-1636) - none of whose works had been on exhibition in any museum in 1973 - was now shown, but accompanied by a text branding him as a wicked landlord-official who had mistreated the people and been attacked by them in a local uprising; it castigated also (and not unrelatedly) his practice as a painter of imitating old styles and the pernicious influence this had on later painting.

Ch'ing paintings included six leaves from a fifty-leaf album of scenes of Mt. Huang by Hung-jen, long known in reproduction and now seen, somewhat surprisingly, to be in color; four leaves from a superlative landscape album by Tao-chi, painted in 1684; a fine group of paintings by artists of the Imperial Academy, including several depictions of historical events; and Chin Nung's famous self-portrait of 1758, done in simple but incisive line drawing.

The better part of two days was spent in a special viewing of forty-two paintings from a list we had submitted in advance, brought from storage and shown in a viewing room in the Palace Museum. The first day's highlight was
undoubtedly the long handscroll titled "A Thousand Miles of Rivers and Mountains," painted by an otherwise unknown young artist named Wang Hsi-meng, active in Hui-tsung's court; an accompanying inscription by Tsai Ching is dated 1113. The only published color reproductions had led us to expect soft blue and green colors; in the original they were almost shockingly bright. This brilliant coloring and the extraordinary condition of the scroll aroused some uneasiness about its authenticity, but majority opinion seemed to favor accepting the work as attributed and accounting for its technical ineptitudes (in comparison, for instance, with the "Autumn Colors" scroll ascribed to Chao Po-chü) by the extreme youth of the artist, who painted it before he had reached the age of twenty.

Less spectacular but perhaps finer in quality was a small, dark painting titled "A Noble Scholar" (Kao-shih t'u) attributed to the tenth century (Southern T'ang) academy master Wei Hsien. As with the better-known "Early Snow on the River" ascribed to his fellow academician Chao Kan, the attribution goes back to the early twelfth-century imperial catalogue Hsuan-ho hua-p'u and is strengthened by reliable-looking seals, a title written by Emperor Hui-tsung, and other evidence. Along with the landscape of around the same time recently discovered in a Liao tomb (to be noted below), with which it agrees in some features, this painting begins to illuminate the dark regions of tenth-century landscape painting, in which a succession of towering figures is known from literary sources but unrepresented by believable surviving works.

A superb group of album leaves included examples by or attributed to Hsia Kuei, Li Ti ("Chicks" and "Hound," both dated 1197), Lin Ch'un, Li Sung ("The Skeleton Puppet Master"), and Ma Yuan. Two handscrolls by
Ma Ho-chih were shown, neither signed but both excellent and convincing: "The Red Cliff" and "The Odes of Pin" from the Mao-shih series. What had seemed in reproduction to be the earliest and best version of Huang Kung-wang's famous "Stone-Cliff at the Pond of Heaven" composition turned out, when it appeared before us in the original, to be uncomfortably close in drawing to the work of Wang Yüan-ch'i; while probably not that late, it did not seem (at least to me) particularly early either. A few other Yüan works and a series of Ming and Ch'ing, some outstanding, occupied the second day.

During these viewings we were accompanied by members of the Palace Museum staff, including Mr. Liu Chiu-an, specialist in painting and calligraphy, and for part of the time, Mr. Hsü Pang-ta, the elder specialist whose many publications and decades of close involvement with the subject have established him as one of the leading authorities on Chinese painting. Hsü has for some years been living in semi-seclusion, but may now, along with many other eminent cultural figures, be re-emerging into public life.

A day at the Chinese History Museum was spent mostly with materials other than painting (see Susan Bush's essay in this volume). Two works from their small collection of paintings were shown to us specially, however: an early "Tribute Bearers" handscroll, once attributed to Yen Li-te, and a large, striking handscroll composed of "Eight Views of Peking," by the early Ming landscapist Wang Fu, which establishes him as a more versatile and powerful artist than he has usually seemed.

On October 13th we flew to Shenyang, where we stayed for two days, lodged in the decayed elegance of the Shenyang Hotel, which had been the Yamato Hotel in the days of the Manchurian Railway under Japanese occupa-
tition. Our principal objective was viewing the collection of paintings in the Liaoning Provincial Museum, known from its two-volume published catalogue to include many works of top importance. Most of these were from the above-mentioned group brought to Shenyang (then Mukden) by P'u-i and kept in the palace there while he "ruled" as the "Puppet Emperor." A special exhibition of fifteen paintings and several works of calligraphy had been arranged for us on the third floor of the Museum (the first and second floors were installed with archaeological exhibitions) and we spent most of our two days there, seeing these and an additional twenty-six paintings brought from storage.

Before us when we entered the first room were two hanging scrolls which would surely be on anyone's short list of paintings not to miss seeing in China. They were found in 1974, astonishingly well preserved, hanging on the walls of a Liao tomb dating from the late tenth century, and are thus unique works of that period datable by archaeological context. One depicts hares and lilies, and above them sparrows in bamboo. The painting of the lilies offers perhaps the best evidence we have for the early use of the "boneless" method of flower painting (the use of brushwork in color without ink outlines or other ink drawing). The other painting is of a villa(?) in a mountain gorge, where men are playing Wei-ch'i on a terrace as another approaches with his servants. Although no masterwork, and of course of undeterminable authorship, it opens up the possibility of a clearer and more secure understanding of landscape style in this crucial period. As noted above, similarities to the "Noble Scholar" ascribed to Wei Hsien (who was active around the same time, but far to the south) are striking.
The painting may also offer the first clue to the source of certain features of landscape style that reappear in late Yuan painting and can now be recognized as revivals of tenth century practices.

Other impressive works included a short handscroll painting of trees on a plain attributed to Li Ch'eng, too dark and damaged to judge easily but apparently of early date; two figure paintings by followers of Li Kung-lin; and several fine Ming-Ch'ing works, including a signed "Red Cliff" handscroll by Ch'iu Ying. The paintings brought from storage included even greater treasures, and several of the best seen on the whole trip: a long landscape handscroll dated 1410 by Wang Fu, in an uncharacteristically light-handed and graphic brushwork; a series of Sung fan paintings, including several superb pieces; a handscroll composed of a series of scenes from the life of T'ao Yuan-ming by Li Tsai and two fellow members of Hsüan-te Academy, Ma Shih and Hsia Chih, painted in 1424 (i.e. before they entered imperial service?); Tai Chin's "Six Patriarchs of the Ch'an Sect;" and two excellent (although uncharacteristic) landscapes by Shen Chou and Wen Cheng-ming, dated 1507 and 1508 respectively, attached to a fine piece of calligraphy by Chao Meng-fu.

Three more handscrolls deserve special mention. In Peking we had seen the well-known Palace Museum version of the "Nymph of the Lo River" composition attributed to Ku K'ai-chih, a Sung period copy (as is the often-reproduced version in the Freer Gallery). Now, only a few days later, we were shown the Liaoning Museum's less familiar copy of the composition, once owned by the great collector Liang Ch'ing-piao (1620-1691). It is badly damaged, with large areas of silk missing
and replaced, and less immediately attractive than the others, lacking the harmonies of cool colors and graceful line-drawing of the Peking scroll. But these captivating features of the Peking scroll may well owe more to a Sung archaist's taste than to the original, and the Liaoning Museum scroll, it now seems to me, whatever its actual date, probably transmits more faithfully the real appearance of an early (fifth century?) original. A Wang Meng handscroll, "Landscape of Mt. T'ai-po," painted in ink and bright colors on paper and filled with lively detail, was striking and convincing; probably a work of the artist's late period, it bears colophons dated from 1386 to 1417. Finally, the most beautiful of all the paintings ascribed to the late eighth-century master Chou Fang, and the only one that agrees well enough with safely datable materials (Shōsōin, Turfan fragments, Tun-huang, etc.) to sustain a T'ang date: "Palace Ladies with Flowered Headdresses."

Disregarding the attribution, for which there is no firm basis (nor does the picture share the characteristic features of style associated with Chou Fang through copies), a dating around his time seems quite plausible. We were told by the Museum's senior specialist in Chinese painting; Mr. Yang Jen-k'ai, that evidence disclosed during remounting suggested that the painting may originally have been mounted as a low screen, with the figures occupying separate panels.

Not on our itinerary as originally requested, but added by our Chinese hosts to compensate for the places that had to be deleted (Tientsin, where the museum was still closed from the earthquakes of 1976; Tun-huang, Huang-shan, and Lu-shan, all for different reasons impossible) was a three-day trip to Sian. What we saw there were, of course, chiefly archaeological finds, Buddhist and other sculpture,
the engraved stones of the Fei-lin or Forest of Stelae, and materials other than painting - the Shensi Provincial Museum has no collection of paintings, apart from wall paintings brought from tombs in the vicinity. We did, however, have the rare opportunity to view three of the original sections of mural painting from the early eighth century tombs of Princes I-te and Chang-huai, as well as some fragments of the paintings in the tomb of Princess Yung-t'ai which remain in situ.

From Sian we traveled by overnight train to Nanking and stayed there two and one half days, of which three half-days were spent in the Nanking Museum. Only two minor paintings were hung in their exhibition, which was made up chiefly of archaeological and historical materials. The twenty paintings brought from storage for our viewing (out of the thousands that lay hidden there - we would gladly have settled in for months) were, with a single exception, Yüan and later in date. The museum seems to be strongest in works of those periods, having acquired during the 1950s the bulk of the Kiangsu Province private collections but not, on the whole, the outstanding early pieces, which went to Peking or Shanghai.

Of two paintings that we saw attributed to Huang Kung-wang, one, the Fu-ch'un ta-ling t'u, has a good chance of being genuine and deserves serious study. A fine group of works of middle Ming date included Chou Ch'en's "Saying Farewell at the Brushwood Fence" (surprisingly colorful), T'ang Yin's "The Courtesan Li Tuan-tuan Receiving a White Peony from a Poet," so much superior to the often-published version in Taiwan as to suggest strongly that the latter is a copy, and
Wen Cheng-ming's "A Myriad Streams Contending in Flowing" of 1550, a major work unusually well preserved, jewel-like in its green and yellow-orange coloring and rich black ink. The album fung-chuang t'u ("The Eastern Villa") attributed to Shen Chou (in a colophon by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang - no signature or seals of the artist appear on the paintings) and supposedly representing the country estate of his friend Wu K'uan, was judged by most of the delegation to be a fine series of paintings but not from Shen Chou's hand. Hsü Wei's masterwork, the handscroll depicting fruits, flowers, and other plants, provided a pitch of visual excitement that roused us from the feeling of near-surfeit brought on by seeing so many excellent paintings in so short a time.

Two days in Soochow were divided mainly between the Soochow Museum and the famous gardens, with a late afternoon visit to Tiger Hill, which gave us the curious sense of being latter-day, unsuitably dressed intruders into some Wu School painting. A special viewing at the Museum began with Li Shih-ta's playfully ponderous rendering of the "Elegant Gathering in the Eastern Garden" theme, a handscroll in startlingly bright colors. Next, for extreme contrast, was a subdued, elegantly linear work by Ch'en Hung-shou and two of his disciples, a portrait of a certain Ho T'ien-chang with a young woman listening to a flute player in a garden setting. The dazzler of the day was the Tao-chi handscroll known (after the first four words of the artist's poem) as "Ten Thousand Ugly Ink Dots." Seeming on first looking to be pure agitated surface, the painting opens back gradually into hollows of space viewed as if through a vibrant screen. Thirteen
other paintings of Yüan, Ming, and Ch'ing date were generally of good quality without including any major discoveries.

From Soochow to Shanghai, a two-hour ride by train, took us from the quiet of a traditional Chinese city to the noise and smog of a modern industrial one. Our five-day stay there was spent mostly at the Shanghai Museum, where huge and splendid exhibitions of bronzes, ceramics, and paintings occupied three upper floors. The first room of the painting exhibition, filled with Sung and pre-Sung paintings, contained several that we had suspected from reproductions would rank with the masterpieces of early Chinese painting; none was a disappointment. A large handscroll on dark silk depicting a flour mill powered by water wheel, a signed work of the same tenth century master Wei Hsien to whom the Peking "Noble Scholar" is ascribed, was totally convincing; along with the "Spring Festival on the River" handscroll in Peking, it represents the highest achievement of chieh-hua or ruled-line architectural drawing among surviving paintings.\(^1\) The descriptive depiction of the mill would permit a detailed reconstruction; the portrayal of the transporting, weighing, and sifting of the grain and of the mill manager supervising accounts would similarly suffice for reconstructing the daily operation of an industry. An anonymous late twelfth or early thirteenth century hanging scroll by some master of the Imperial Academy, close to Liu Sung-nien in time and style, titled "Greeting the Emperor at Wang-hsien" but perhaps depicting the Han emperor Kao-tsu (late 3rd century B.C.) bringing his old father to

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\(^1\)Later note: traces of an additional, older (?) signature were discovered on this painting in the course of remounting, raising questions about the authenticity of the Wei Hsien signature. See I-yuan to-ying, 1978, no. 2.
his native village which had been transported (with its inhabitants) to the vicinity of the capital to please him, featured some of the finest figure painting we have from the Sung, closely observed and relatively free of generalizing conventions. Most important of all, a painting of which the whereabouts had not been known since it was published by Hsieh Chi-I in 1957, was a picture of bamboo, old tree, and rock ascribed to Hsü Hsi but apparently the work of some unknown master of the tenth or early eleventh century. Painted in ink on silk in a style that seems, in the Chinese context, almost photographic in its descriptive realism, it portrays poignantly the effects of harsh conditions of season and weather on those hardy but still vulnerable plants. Techniques of reserve painting (surrounding a shape with ink wash) and of subtle shading within small areas, a brushwork that seems totally devoted to representational ends, produce an effect of visual truthfulness unmatched in any other surviving painting.

The large landscape hanging scrolls in early styles associated with Chü-jan, Fan K'uan, Kuo Hsi, and other major masters rank far below their counterparts in the Taipei Palace Museum collection. On the other hand, Mi Yu-jen's "White Clouds on the Hsiao and Hsiang Rivers," a handscroll, seemed in every way superior to the similar work in Taiwan. The handscroll "Eight Famous Monks," with a signature of Liang K'ài, although better and older than the published reproduction had suggested, left some of us with doubts about its authenticity, but another signed Liang K'ài work, an album leaf representing a rather gross Pu-t'ai, seemed a valuable addition to our knowledge of
his "Academy" manner. Unfortunately, there was a "Please do not photograph" sign beside it-as there were beside nearly half the paintings in the exhibition-and we must wait for the Museum staff to publish it.

Twenty Yuan paintings on exhibition included such well-known pieces as Ch'ien Hsuan's "Dwelling in the Fou-yü Mountains," discussed by Anne Clapp in this volume; Chao Meng-fu's small "East Mountain in Lake Tung-t'ing;" the Shanghai version of Wu Chen's "Fishermen" handscroll, differing from the version in the Freer Gallery in composition and arrangement of the poems, as well as in its paler ink tones and broader brushwork; Wang Meng's masterwork of 1366, "Dwelling in the Ch'ing-pien Mountains;" and Ni Tsan's "Autumn Clearing Over a Fishing Lodge," which bears an inscription by the artist, dated 1372, in which he states that the painting was done in 1355. A second viewing of this last work (I had seen it in 1973) strengthened a suspicion I had begun to feel after publishing it in a recent book: that while the painting is of indisputable authenticity, the 1355 date seems too early for it. I would incline now to see it as having been painted when the inscription was written, in 1372-a supposition borne out by the composition, which would be unbalanced without the inscription-and to leave open the question of why Ni Tsan would have misleadingly inscribed it as a work of eighteen years earlier.

New to us among the Yuan paintings were an excellent pai-miao rendering of "The Nine Songs" by Chang Wu, of which the better-known version is in Cleveland-there is no cause to doubt either one, the artist simply having painted the subject more than once-and a series
of imaginary portraits of the ten patriarchs of Taoism painted in 1326 by a certain Hua Tsu-li.

The Ming and Ch'ing galleries displayed a large number of interesting and unpublished works, many of them, unfortunately, off-limits to photographing. These expanded the known oeuvre of such artists as Wu Wei, Lu Chih, Hsü Wei, Wu Pin (an album of landscapes in old styles!), Hung-jen, Ch'eng Sui, and Chu Ta. Having written recently that our knowledge of the background of Hsü Wei's painting is limited by the lack of any known work of Ch'en Hao, whose life paralleled Hsu's and who probably was a crucial influence on him during his formative period, I was now confronted by a "Peony and Rock" picture by Ch'en dated 1559— but also by a "no photographing" sign. The picture was rather tame but suggestive of the "splashed ink" manner that Hsü Wei would later employ. An early work of Wang Shih-min (1625) was exactly what we have needed to demonstrate the dominance of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's influence on the young artist—and was also frustratingly unphotographable. Tung himself was represented by the "Eight Scenes of Autumn" album of 1630, long known in reproduction. One of Tao-ch'i's masterworks, "The Pure Sounds of Mountains and Streams," resembled the Soochow Museum scroll of 1685 in its effects of insistent dotting and massed ink, and must date from around the same time. Lo P'ing's portrait of Chin Nung seated under a banana palm in a garden on a hot day, painted in 1760, two years after Chin's self-portrait (which we had seen in Peking), revealed the pupil accepting and reproducing the master's self-image instead of offering his own reinterpretation of Chin's appearance and personality.
Only thirteen paintings were included in the special viewing at the Shanghai Museum; but they were, with two or three exceptions, all first-class pieces. Li Sung's early thirteenth century handscroll depicting the West Lake at Hangchow, difficult to judge in the published handscroll reproduction, proved to be an enchanting presentation of this famous scenery and an evanescent vision in subtly diluted ink tones, stylistically akin to the "Dream Journey in the Hsiao-Hsiang" handscroll, dating several decades earlier, in the Tokyo National Museum. A handscroll containing small pictures by Su Tung-p'o and Wen T'ung, the former a ghost of a painting, inspired more veneration for its aura of lofty associations than admiration for sheer artistic excellence. A Hsi Kuei handscroll was a disappointment, a Ming imitation with interpolated signature, and what had seemed in reproduction to be a superior performance in pai-miao by Wu Wei (and his only dated work, 1484) proved to be an embarrassment to the present writer (who had re-reproduced it in a recent book) by looking uncomfortably like a modern copy. Wen Cheng-ming's "Chen-shang Studio", T'ang Yin's set of "Landscapes of the Four Seasons" and the same master's brilliantly dynamic "Traveling by Donkey," and Ch'iu Ying's "Hunting on an Autumn Plain," on the other hand, all fulfilled amply the expectations we had formed from seeing them as plates in books, bringing the viewing to a spectacular end.

Two days at the West Lake at Hangchow were spent mostly in sightseeing, but on the first, after we had toured the West Lake by boat, the curators of the Chekiang Provincial Museum (which was closed)
brought eight paintings from their collection to show us at our hotel. They included Jen Po-nien's portrait of Wu Ch'ang-shih, a minor but interesting work of Chu Ta, and a large, late (1669) handscroll by Hsiao Yün-ta'ung featuring boldly drawn pines and rocks. The last day brought a small compensation for our disappointment at not being able to visit two great mountains, Huang-shan and Lu-shan. Setting out very early in the morning, several of us explored the hills behind our hotel and discovered, by good luck, a vantage place from which the whole West Lake was spread out below us, much as Li Sung had presented it in his handscroll. Later in the day, after a morning spent at the Fei-la Feng seeing the Yüan period sculptures there, the whole delegation made the same climb to view the lake. Our descent was by way of Pao-shih Shan or Precious Stone Hill, the "precious stones" being enormous boulders of reddish rock around and over which we climbed, a strenuous and satisfying experience that made us wish that more excursions of this kind, and more physical exercise generally, could have been included in our trip. We returned to Shanghai that evening, flew to Peking the next afternoon, enjoyed a farewell banquet with our hosts and guides, and the following morning flew to Tokyo.

A final note on photographing: throughout the trip we were (like virtually all travelers in China) making photographs and slides of what we saw. A day spent in viewing our slides at a "wrap-up" meeting after the trip revealed that we had, collectively, made about 3,000 different (i.e. non-duplicating) slides of the nearly 500 paintings we had seen, including close-up details, sections of handscrolls, etc.
Coverage in black-and-white was not so thorough, but we have several hundred negatives in 6 x 7 cm. and 35 mm. slides. An agreement made with our hosts strictly limits our use of these, and prevents us from duplicating or printing them for others. However, we have obtained permission from the Chinese to distribute duplicate slides (in pre-established sets of c.1,000) to institutions only on a non-profit basis, and thus to share the fruits of our trip with colleagues and students. Inquiries regarding the acquisition of slides should be addressed to Asian Art Photographic Distribution, Department of the History of Art, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109.
Religious Paintings

Wai-kam Ho

Buddhist and Taoist paintings had not been a priority interest of our delegation. The reasons are obvious and need no explanation. In particular, we did not expect to see paintings that were originally made to serve either as icons or purely for purposes of worship. These include large sets of paintings used in popular religious rites such as the Shui-lu tao-ch'ang or Shui-lu ta-hui (great assembly of deities from land and water). Being typical examples of "feudal superstition," their preservation is in doubt, although it is reported that a few relatively complete sets of Shui-lu paintings of the Ming Dynasty have survived in the provinces - the ones in Yu-yü-hsien in Shansi being better known because of repeated and fragmentary publications. Personally I did cherish a secret hope that I might be lucky enough to see one of the two fifteenth-century sites of Buddhist wall paintings in the vicinity of Peking. The earlier ones of these important Ming wall paintings, those dated to 1439 at Fa-hai-ssu in the western suburb of Peking, were first extensively photographed by Langdon Warner in the thirties and later published in Peking. The later group, completed between 1495-1499, is located at the Pi-lu-ssu in the village of Shang-ching-tsun, about six miles from the provincial
capital Shih-chia-chuang, and so far remains obscure. This personal ambition of mine, however, never went beyond a timid inquiry of the present condition and accessibility of the paintings, and the answer I got from our host was, understandably, not too informative or encouraging. Early in 1978, upon learning of another tour group whose itinerary included Shih-chia-chuang, I suggested the Pi-lu-ssu site to Martie Young of Cornell University and Elinor Pearlstein of the Cleveland Museum, and was quite excited to hear that the proposal had been accepted. Unfortunately it turned out later that their host had confused the Pi-lu-ssu monastery with Pi-lu-ko pavilion at the Lung-hsing-ssu in Cheng-ting. So these wall paintings remain a mystery waiting perhaps to be "rediscovered" on another occasion.

I include in the discussion that follows seventeen works we saw in China as Buddhist and Taoist paintings. Of these seventeen, Peking claims the majority of eight, Shanghai is next with five, and Shenyang is last with three. The only hanging scroll seen at the Soochow Municipal Museum that might fit this category, a portrait of the Priest T'an-weng by Lo P'ing, is a marginal case whose validity as a religious painting depends on interpretation.

These paintings can be classified roughly into four categories (each identified by a capital letter):

A. Lo-Hans (Arhats), immortals and patriarchs (represented independently or collectively as the principal subjects and not as part of a narrative).

B. Myths or legends based on famous literary traditions (which are also accepted and used by the Confucianists for their moral or
political analogies).

C. Folklore, anecdotes, or well-known stories in popular religion (which are interesting or entertaining by themselves, with little or no ideological overtone).

D. Symbolic representations of a certain religious idea (with some hidden doctrinal or didactic purpose).

In the Peking Palace Museum, during a private showing in a minor residential hall, the Li-ching-hsüan 莊諧軒 of Ch'U-hsiu-kung 劉世勛宫, we were shown two well-known works, Lu Leng-chia's 呂棱伽 album of the "Six Arhats" (A) and Yüan Kao's 元抗 handscroll of "Fair Ladies in the Garden of Immortals" (C). My reaction to both paintings was a mixture of admiration and a little disappointment. The "Six Arhats" is a long-lost painting attributed to a T'ang master, and its accidental discovery under the seat of a palace chair gives it a legendary provenance. The figures are executed in extremely refined and fluent "iron-wire drawing," but the spiral patterns used in the schematic draperies and the linear play accentuating the ends of the fluttering scarves of the seams of the garments indicate a date no earlier than the twelfth century. The pointed helmet and the plated corselet of one of the attendants indicate a Hsi-hsia or Mongol origin; and the incense burner held by the eighteenth Arhat is almost exactly like a similar piece in Kansas City - part of the Yüan silver found at Ho-fei in Anhui Province. Comparisons such as these can be made with many other iconographical peculiarities. The seals of Hsüan-ho and Shao-hsing therefore are also subject to question. I may report, however, that a reconstruction of the original series and the establishment of the lower limit of its date are now possible owing to
the find of a dated group of Korean copies.

Unlike the "Arhats," the "Immortals," attributed to Yuan Kao 阮郎 of the Five Dynasties, was not from the imperial collection. In the early thirties the painting was still known to belong to the Ku-teng hsien-kuan 富藤仙館 collection of the Jen 任 family, and must have found its way into the Palace Museum only after Liberation. The main characters of the painting, 0-lu-hua 0 瑪煒華 and Tung Shuang-ch'eng 通雙成, are part of the Hsi-wang-mu legend and were popular subjects in poetry during the ninth and tenth centuries. The style, however, suggests a later interpretation. Except for one maid attendant in the opening section, almost all the figures had been heavily retouched and can hardly be considered originals.

Landscape elements, on the other hand, are superbly done. These include the wavelets and the trees of the Li-Kuo tradition in a later stage of its development. The formation of the rocks are particularly close to that which appears in Ch'en Ch'eng-tsung's 陳成岳 version of the Potala Kuan-yin, a painting dated to 1088 and preserved in a Japanese copy in the Bessonzaki 白子寺記. The seal Ch'un Szu-ma yin 軒司馬印 applied on the joints is not only peculiar but definitely anachronistic, since it is a Han seal - a sure sign of conspiracy. Consequently, despite the arguments to the contrary, the dating of the scroll is open to question.

"Master Chang Kuo at an Audience with Ming-huang" (C), the subject of a fine Yuan painting by Jen Jen-fa in the Palace Museum, is part of the Taoist legend built around the tragic figure of the Emperor Hsüan-tsung of the T'ang period. Its revival in early Yuan can be attributed perhaps to the influence of the Ch'üan-ch'en Sect. I was especially amused by two small things in the painting. First is the particular way the artist signed
his own name: the two words "Jen-fa" were combined and written as one character, much in the same way as the "T'ien-hsia-i-jen" 天下一人 of Emperor Hui-tsung or the signature of Li An-chung during the transition to Southern Sung. The colophon by K'ang-li Nao-nao 康里巋之 offers another piece of interesting information that one of his nephews was the son-in-law of the artist. This seems to support my long-held suspicion of a close personal relationship between Jen Jen-fa and the Central Asians (despite the claim of an early source that K'ang-li was actually a "faked" Uighur). The "Nine Songs" (B) by Tu Chin 杜堇 in Peking provides an example of an early Ming interpretation of a Sung theme quite removed from the Li Kung-lin/Chang Wu tradition. But with only four sections on display (and the first three sections of uncertain quality) my impression of the painting can only be described as rather tentative. It is certainly not one of the great works by Tu Chin. On the other hand, I did have a much more positive opinion on "The Goddess of the River Lo" (B) 紫泉花神, one of the two versions we were able to examine on our trip. Emperor Ch'ien-lung rated this Palace Museum version of the picture as "number one" among his possessions (with the Shenyang Museum version once in the collection of Liang Ch'ing-piao, as "number two"), and in this case I am inclined to endorse his judgment. Despite the few additions of alien and later pictorial elements, which do not make it any later than other versions, and despite the dim light inside the gallery at Ning-shou-kung 宁壽宮, I was immediately attracted by the high quality of its line drawing - so exquisitely done in the continuous, even-flowing supple manner of ch'un-ts'an t'u-ssu (spring silkworms emitting silk) that the artists seemed to show a better understanding than other copyists of what is to be expected from the hand
of Ku K'ai-chih. Indeed, could such refinement actually reflect more closely and faithfully the high art of the Six Dynasties? Some of the best stone engravings from the fifth and sixth centuries demonstrate that the early medieval age was quite capable of a high degree of sophistication in figural representations of the linear style; and our idea of a genuine "archaic manner," based oftentimes on cruder examples such as the lacquered screen from the tomb of Szu-ma Chin-lung or the painted tile carvings of Teng-hsien 鄧縣, may prove after all to be wrong.

We spent two days in private viewings of paintings at the Ch'u-hsiu-kung, and two days in the public painting galleries at Huang-chi-t'ien 楊極殿 and its side halls. In this special autumn exhibition, the only one in the year when earlier (Sung-Yüan) works were put on display, we encountered many old acquaintances from reproductions, but at the same time were pleasantly surprised by a considerable number of paintings that were totally unknown to the members of our delegation. Among these one of the most exciting Taoist paintings was Li T'ieh-kuai (A) 李鐵拐, a large hanging scroll by the early Yüan master Yen Hui 阮輝. I was aware of its existence in Peking through some obscure Hong Kong publications, but to confront such a powerful work of the fourteenth century with my own eyes was still a stirring experience. The painting was in every way up to my expectations of the artist. The first character in the signature, Chiu 秋, was damaged. The remaining characters, yüeh Yen Hui 月顏輝, were comparable to those in the Chung K'uei and the "Ink Prunus" in Cleveland. The penetrating eyes of the Immortal were familiar, and the "reversed concentration of energy" in his big toe was also so typical, representing perhaps the last manifestation of Wu Tao-tzu's innovation.
It should be pointed out that perhaps after the fifteenth century Buddhist and Taoist paintings of the kinds reported above were usually received by Chinese intellectuals as merely a more exotic type of figure painting. Some of them were accepted and used for didactic purposes that happened to fit or even express, with a nice ambiguity, a certain Confucian ideology. The "Nine Songs" and the "Goddess of River-Lo" can be considered in this category. The general audience, of course, was largely oblivious to their original religious meanings. Two paintings in the Peking Palace collection were of particular interest precisely because they would never have been taken seriously as religious works by a casual spectator, and therein lies part of their fascination.

One of these was a picture of the "Divine Tortoise" (D) by the Chin painter Chang Kuei 張眞. The signature "Sui-chia Chang Kuei" 侧重張題 literally means "Chang Kuei, of the retinue to the Imperial carriage or palanquin" which clearly identifies his position as a Painter-in-attendance. Two accompanying seals of the Shu-hua-szu 书画署 and Chih-ying-szu 志興署 further suggest that this was a work by official commission. Contrary to common belief, not only could the Chin Dynasty boast of an "Academy" of painting in the court but the "Academy" was indeed even more elaborately organized than its Sung counterparts in Pien-ching 右近 and Lin-an 神安. The fact that the office of Chih-ying-szu 志興署 established in the first year of T'ai-ho 太和 (1201) suggests that the present scroll was probably done in the early thirteenth century under the general direction of the "Bureau of Palace Service." Is it possible that Chang Kuei was related to Chang Yu 張瑀, another court painter of the period whose only surviving work is the Tsai Wei-chi 即微pi scroll now in the
Chi-lin Provincial Museum? Can we identify him with the Chang Kuei who wrote a colophon for Chan Tzu-ch'ien's 春 Ch'ien's 尽子度 Yu-ch'un 't'u 道春園 (Spring outing) which includes the following line: "The Fountain of Immortality does not exclude locations in this dusty world" 仙院词不限塵jo? The term hsien-yüan 仙源 is so strikingly reminiscent of one of the popular catchwords of the Ch'un-chen sect of the Northern Taoism predominant in the period that it is difficult to refrain from speculation on the religious affiliation of the artist. In any event, there seems little doubt that the true subject matter of the painting refers to the principle of Kuei-hsi 龜息 or "the tortoise way of breathing," a basic method for meditation emphasized in the teachings of the Ch'un-chen Taoists. That the tortoise is defined mostly by ink dots with a minimum use of outlines or other linear elements seems to be also suggestive of the breathing technique.

As a work of art, however, the "Tortoise" is clearly limited by its difficult subject matter and does not compare well with another symbolic painting from the South. Li Sung's 李嵩 "Puppet Play of the Skeletons" 骨髏幻戯 is a small masterpiece with a great deal of provocative charm and immediate appeal. It may be noted that skeletons depicted in a metaphorical theme are extremely rare in Chinese art. Even in early Buddhist sites such as Yün-kang, where the Gandharan image of an ascetic Gautama or genii holding a skull had been introduced through Central Asian influence, representations of skeletons are still limited to a few insignificant scenes such as lintel decorations. That it suddenly appeared in the painting of Southern Sung and was given a touch of folk humour and a mildly melancholy tone of world-weariness suggests the emergence of a new religious theme - a theme visualized in symbolic disguise whose doctrinal meaning must have
been readily comprehended by its audience. In all likelihood I think the influence again came from the Ch'üan-chen sect of Northern Taoism. This theory is supported by a lyric (san-ch'ü 散曲) composed by Huang Kung-wang 黃公望 in 1354 and written by his pupil Wang Hsüan-chen 王玄真 on the accompanying leaf of the painting. Huang Kung-wang was an important Taoist of the Ch'üan-chen sect in the Hangchow area whose fame as a san-ch'ü writer was equalled only by his painting. None of his poetical work in this san-ch'ü form has survived, and the discovery of this manuscript of the Tsui-chung-tien 施中天 must be cheered as a unique event for students of Yüan literature. However, despite some brief descriptions of the paintings in a number of Ming and Ch'ing catalogues, the lyric by Huang Kung-wang had been almost totally ignored and unrecorded. The only exception is the Shu-hua-ch'ao 書畫草 by Sun Feng 孫鳳 whose reading, unfortunately, is full of errors. Since he was a.mounter of the Wan-li period, Sun Feng's spare-time scholarship can hardly be relied on for accuracy. I was therefore particularly pleased to see the original of the poem in Peking and include here a crude paraphrase to show the sarcastic side of the Yüan master:

With not a single bit of skin and flesh
But carrying a full load of grief and distress,

The puppeteer is pulling the string
To do a little trick to amuse you, little darling,

Aren't you ashamed?

You know it's a trick

And still sit here at the Five-mile station
Like a fool.
We flew to Shenyang in the afternoon of October 13. The Liaoning Provincial Museum was opened especially for the delegation and it was a place full of surprises. The archaeological exhibitions were probably the most astonishing among provincial museums we visited on the trip. The important part of its painting collection was made up of scrolls secretly removed from the Forbidden City by the last Ch'ing Emperor P'u-i. These "Mukden Paintings" plus acquisitions from other private sources have accumulated into a collection said to be enormous in size. The religious paintings we were able to see were limited to only three works. The first was the second version of the "Goddess of River Lo", (B) in the old Palace collection. Celebrated because of its one-time owner Liang Ch'ing-piao's connoisseurship, the painting seems somewhat less impressive than its reputation. The beginning section is a later restoration. On the other parts of the painting there are also elements that are obviously late and unknown to the Tsin period. The double-loop chignon of the ladies and the ceremonial formal court dress of the royalty, for instance, are not datable before Sui or T'ang. The writing of the rhymed-prose Lo-shen fu in k'ai script is Southern Sung. A copy of that period?

More interesting and instructive as a document for the problem of Li Kung-lin is the unique handscroll, the "White Lotus Club" (B) by Li's nephew, Chang Chi. Chang's rocks and some unusual types of foliage in his trees, draperies depicted in the brush manner of "willow leaf," and the method of his facial representation, k'ai-lien, are all in Li Kung-lin's tradition. The Manjusri riding on a lion is wearing a crown with six nirvana Buddhas. This unusual feature, together with the cloud-shaped shoulder-cover and the whorl pattern on his front torso,
presents a striking resemblance to the high relief of "Samantabhadra descending in state" at Tu-lo-ssu of Chi-hsien in Hopei Province which is comparable to the painting in date. The last Buddhist painting we saw in Shenyang was Tai Chin's "Six Patriarchs". The persistent influence of the Li-Kuo school on the Chechiang painters of the Ming period is evident in the landscape background. Brushwork for the pine trees is highly accentuated. The draperies of the patriarchs are done with spirited, even exaggerated "nail-head" strokes revealing the immediate source for the figure style of the early Kano painters in Japan since the Muromachi period.

Shanghai was the only museum where the painting exhibits were arranged in accordance with the period, region, school, or subject matter of the works. We found four religious paintings displayed as a group in the same gallery. The fifth, a picture of the Taoist immortal Lü-Tung-pin by Hsiao Ch'en, was shown in the Ch'ing gallery in the company of his Yang-chou colleagues. The colored handscroll of the "Ten Masters of Taoism" by the late 13th-early 14th century artist Hua Tsu-li had never been reproduced and was known to me only through literary records. Most of the brush lines are started in a gentle, inconspicuous "nail-head" manner, with pronounced angularity in their twists and turns. This characteristic together with the method of k'ai-lien and the organization of draperies are still a continuation of Ma Yüan's convention, a faithful adaptation of the Southern Sung orthodoxy in the early Yüan period. This is the only example among things we saw in China that comes close to the idea and format of what can be considered icon painting. But in spite of a certain stylistic conservatism as noted above, the iconography of the painting involves a new
and complicated historical problem underlying the development of Taoist theology in this transitional period. It deserves a much more detailed study in the future when the complete scroll is published.

Personally, I was most excited and gratified to see Chang Wu's "Nine Songs" (B), one of the four versions of the picture known to be done by the artist between 1346 and 1361. Being the earliest (1346) of the four versions, and being admittedly a copy after Li Kung-lin, the painting to some extent is more important as an instrument for the understanding of the Northern Sung master. This does not mean that the individual style of Chang Wu can be mistaken in any way. His elegant handwriting is all there - the underlying sketch, the characteristic tone and value of his ink, the double delineation of his waves and clouds, the beautifully and firmly controlled lines of his "floating clouds and flowing water" drawing - everything is quite similar to the Cleveland Version which is fifteen years (1361) older and more mature.

But the biggest surprise we found in that gallery were the two hand-scrolls attributed to Liang K'ai. The "Episodes of the Eight Eminent Priests" (A) is a Southern Sung painting. Whether it can be accepted as a Liang K'ai is another problem. On the other hand, the large album leaf (?) representing the "Priest Pu-tai" (A) formerly in the Keng Chao's collection is quite convincing. The contrast between the careful, fine-line characterization of the face with the fiery powerful che-lu-miao in the depiction of the clothing still recalls the wang liang-hua tradition of an earlier period. The colophon, written in the manner of Mi Yu-jen, is typically
Southern Sung.

Religious art had been an absolute taboo during the period of the "Gang of Four." Now in the winter of 1977, examples were tolerated and displayed, probably for the education of the public - as "negative instructional material." And here in the Shanghai Museum we were able to study these once-forbidden religious products in the old building of a former private bank, and sip tea during rest periods in the sumptuous office of Mr. Tu Yueh-sheng, the powerful "Godfather" of the secret societies in pre-war Shanghai. We all shared the benefit of the principle: let the past serve the present.
Yüan and Ming Paintings

Anne de Coursey Clapp

In the museums of China the chief aim, as elsewhere in the world, is to present a balanced display of paintings representative of all the major schools and most of the leading masters. This same egalitarian spirit reigns in the painting catalogues published by the museums the delegation visited — the Peking Palace Museum, the Liaoning Provincial Museum, the Nanking Museum, and the Soochow and Shanghai Municipal Museums. Though realism of the Sung and other periods may be favored in official circles and has always been first with the public, literati painting and other more arcane and abstract styles are treated fairly and without bias. In Peking and Shanghai a single gallery is assigned to the works of each dynasty, and only Ch'ing and modern, where the holdings are naturally larger, occupy more than one gallery. Conservative Yüan masters are hung equally with the Four Great Masters, and the Che school painters are shown in roughly the same numbers as those of the Wu school. In the selection of pictures for exhibition an even balance between the various phases of history is the first consideration.

The next criterion for exhibition is very evidently artistic quality. Masterpieces of all ages were shown, including some very rare works of the early periods and many that were entirely unknown to us. The richness

A key to the abbreviations of Chinese and Japanese sources referred to in this chapter is appended to the end of the chapter (pp. 52-53).
of our experience may be seen in numbers too: the combined exhibitions and special viewings of works from storage at six museums produced over 200 works of the Yüan and Ming Dynasties alone.

Some of our most interesting discoveries belong to "twilight" phases of history, where our knowledge is still fragmentary and incomplete. The late Yüan and early Ming is one of these, the era after the revolution wrought by the Four Great Masters and before the advent of Shen Chou. We learned more, for instance, of the activities of the literati of the Nanking court, of some of the lesser masters of Yüan, and of certain Che and Wu school artists. The trip afforded invaluable opportunities to examine paintings already known from publications for authenticity and quality. Many works whose claim to be genuine has hung in the balance may now be granted a more secure status. The Che school especially may benefit from our enlarged view of the field. I suspect that some leading Che painters have suffered as much as the famous and prestigious literati from the inferior copies and outright forgeries which have been attributed to them. The quality of their genuine work may actually be far higher than the critical literature and the attributed oeuvres would warrant.

We were also able to gather some information on paintings whose recent whereabouts were unknown. Many of these "lost" paintings were recognized by the Chinese curators and located for us in various Chinese museums. Others were away from their home museum on loan and a few were in the conservation studio. It is good to have these accounted for, and it is to be hoped that they will be republished soon with their full documentation.

The choice of paintings to be discussed in this report is made difficult by the great variety of what we saw and equally by its excellence. I have
tried to choose for mention here material which is unpublished and unknown by Western scholars; paintings which have been reproduced, but so dimly that their quality and significance could not be judged; and paintings known in older publications which have since disappeared and have now been "rediscovered." Even among these it has been necessary to select, concentrating on those which seem to exhibit extraordinary aesthetic quality or to fill in gaps in history - works, for instance, which reveal an unexpected side of a painter's personality, or offer an earlier date than anticipated for the initiation of a style - the evidence which does most to expand our perception of the field or to confirm what has so far been only speculation.

We met with several fine Yuan works by painters who, in spite of their brilliant craftsmanship, are often termed secondary or conservative because they were overshadowed by the Great Four. Among Yuan figure paintings an unusual example was a short unpublished handscroll in the Peking Palace Museum by Wang Ch'en-p'eng of "Po-ya Playing the Ch'in for Chung Tzu-ch'i." The painting, signed by the master, is rendered in ink on silk with a fine dry kung-pi brush, the figures being treated almost like a problem in chieh-hua. Musician and listener, each with attendents, are arranged in two symmetrically balanced groups opposite each other, their separation marked by a wonderfully contorted rootwood stand. The figure types and drapery owe more to Sung than to T'ang, and are classicizing in their meticulous line and suppression of emotion rather than consciously archaistic like the Boston Museum Hariti (Portfolio of Chinese Paintings in the Boston Museum, II, Yuan to Ch'ing Periods, 9). The "Po-ya" justifies Wang's renown as a master of figures as well as boundary painting, and proves that he was as much at home with recent as with ancient models.
The heroic treatment of bird and flower subjects in Yüan was represented by two hanging scrolls by Wang Yüan, "Pheasant with Blossoming Plum," signed and dated 1349 in the Palace Museum, and "Bamboo, Rock, and Birds," signed and dated 1344 in the Shanghai Museum. Both works are known in good reproductions (KFWY hua-niao 25 and Shang-hai 19), but it is perhaps necessary to stand in front of them to realize the cool grandeur of Wang's reworking of this very conventional theme. His "neo-classical" quality comes out powerfully in the firm line and silhouette, in the cold grey ink tones, and in the sheer magnitude of the scrolls, which impress by their majesty rather than seduce with the delicacy of Sung bird and flower painting. In style they agree well with each other and with the "Quails" of 1347 in the Perry collection (Chinese Art under the Mongols, no. 240).

The keenest interest was aroused by Ch'ien Hsüan's much-discussed "Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains," which was on exhibition in the Shanghai Museum gallery. This handscroll was formerly in the imperial collection and belonged afterwards to P'ang Yüan chi. It carries colophons by some great Yüan names, Huang Kung-wang and Ni Tsan, as well as others which are not displayed, and an inscription by the artist who identifies the place represented as his villa in the Fou-yü Mountains. The picture is not, properly speaking, a "blue-green" landscape. The pigments are exclusively blue-green but are transparent, and the major rock forms are rendered in varied tones of grey ink on paper, which glows white through the pointillist brushwork. The surface, somewhat rubbed, has a dry, powdery quality, which together with the coloring calls to mind some flower paintings attributed to Ch'ien Hsüan. "Floating Jade Mountains" has been known in the West in black and white photographs, and has been published and discussed three times – not
always with certainty as to its attribution—because of the very idiosyncratic style which isolates it from other true "blue-green" landscapes under Ch'ien Hsüan's name (Loehr, Ryerson Lecture, fig. 2; Barnhart, Lord of the River, fig. 23; Cahill, Hills Beyond a River, pl. 7). Its style differs from anything else assigned to the painter and, if it is accepted, it will certainly compromise the name of conservative usually applied to him.

Two examples of the Sung-derived styles current in Chao Meng-fu's circle were: the "Studio of the Hundred-Foot Wu-t'ung Tree" in the Shanghai Museum in a mode which might be almost pure twelfth century if it were not heightened with touches of strong blue-green color (TSYNC hua-hsüan 14); and a large unpublished hanging scroll shown in the Peking Palace Museum, "The Mountain Villa." The latter is labelled anonymous Yuan, style of Chao Meng-fu. It is rendered in full colors with elaborate, descriptive brushwork, with passages in a quasi-Tung-Chü manner that compare well with several Sheng Mou paintings and with Chao Yung's "Boating in the Mountains" (YV 6). Though somewhat different in style these two paintings could be valuable in elucidating the relationship of the sixteenth century Wu school painters to Chao Meng-fu, especially in the genre of the scholar's garden. Are they the original models so much praised by the Soochow masters, or are they the replicas made in studying those models?

Quite different uses of the Tung-Chü style by Chao were seen in the Shanghai Museum's "East Mountain at Tung-t'ing" and the 1302 "Water Village." Both of these, which have been discussed in Western publications, had been shown to the Archaeology Delegation in 1973, and possibly were shown again because they had attracted so much comment. "Water Village," which in the original has a luminous, silvery tonality, emanates the easy assurance
of a fully evolved style. Though casual in brushwork and relaxed in composition it has nothing tentative about it. Whether both paintings could be accepted as coming from the same hand without positing a considerable period of growth between them is a question still to be answered. We also saw some of the more standard variety of horse and figure paintings by Chao. This range of styles seems to suggest that there is still some way to go to make more consistent sense of his œuvre and clearer connections with his Yüan and Ming followers.

No longed-for masterpieces exhibiting the quintessential Huang Kung-wang came to light, but studies in this sparse field may receive some assistance from our first-hand acquaintance with four problematic paintings, all known previously in publications. In the private viewing at the Peking Museum we saw the 1341 version of "Rock Cliffs at T'ien-ch'ih," which carries a colophon by Liu Kuan of 1342 (TWSY ming-chi 99); and under glass in the gallery in the same museum "The Nine Peaks after Snow" of 1349-(CK ku-tai 64). The "Nine Peaks" was the more impressive with its mysterious gloom intensified by darkened silk and a spiralling mass of rock full of half-realized figural forms—a curious image composed on the lines of a familiar archaic formula but with an eerie quality of science fiction about it. Whatever date is eventually assigned to this picture, it can lay claim to considerable originality.

The Nanking Museum showed two hanging scrolls by Huang at special viewing sessions: "The Mountain Dwelling," 1349, and "The Great Range of the Fu-ch'un Mountains" (TSYM hua-hsüan 19, Nanking Catalogue I, 9). These Nanking paintings have several points of technique in common: the same stone-grey ink tones, slightly opaque washes, and an assortment of type-forms often associated with
Ch'ing versions of Huang Kung-wang. The 1349 "Mountain Dwelling" is strikingly close to an album leaf in the Palace Museum, Taipei, by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, which is inscribed "after Huang Kung-wang" (MA 35r). The "Great Range of the Fu-ch'un Mountains - Fu-ch'un ta-ling t'u - is not to be confused with the famous handscroll, Fu-ch'un shan-chü t'u. The Ta-ling t'u, which is a hanging scroll, was one of Huang's most celebrated works. Shen Chou copied it twice, once in 1488 in a version which still survives (Garland III, 7), and again in 1506 with Wen Ch'eng-ming in attendance for instruction (Yü-shih t'u-hua t'i-pa-chi, x, 5). So we know the original was in Soochow around 1500 and served as a standard for the Wu school painters. Even if the Nanking picture, which is signed by Huang and inscribed with the title, is not the original, it is of importance in charting the history of an influential monument.

Ni Tsan was represented best by a small and very attractive hanging scroll of square format in the Palace Museum gallery (Ni Tsan, 10). Entitled "Wintry Pines by a Secluded Stream," it is inscribed and signed by the artist. It is remarkable in Ni's oeuvre for the use of a p'ing-yüan spatial system, producing a foreshortened view and a degree of illusionism not seen in his lake landscapes, but familiar in the close-up studies of bare trees, as in the Shanghai picture (Shang-hai 21). The brushwork is similar too, very sparing but sufficient to model what little is shown.

One unknown work by Wang Meng was displayed in the Palace Museum gallery, "Recluses in the Summer Mountains" dated 1365. This hanging scroll, belonging to the large group of mountainscapes, is unusual in technique - pale color applied on silk with blended washes. It is altogether different from the spectacular "Ch'ing-pien Mountains" painted the following year, 1366, which
was on view in the Shanghai Museum (Shang-hai 22). In the Liaoning Museum viewing room we were shown Wang's handscroll, "T'ai-po shan," in answer to a special request (Liao-ning, I, 92-95). The paper and the blue-green and strong red pigments are pristinely fresh, and the brushwork extremely homogeneous. The scroll has neither signature nor seals of the artist, these possibly having been removed for political reasons in early Ming. The appended colophons date from 1388 to 1417.

A fine hanging scroll which adds some consistency to Wang's oeuvre was shown in the Shanghai Museum viewing room (flat on a table): "Scholar's Study in the Spring Mountains" (Shang-hai 23). Executed with a luxuriance of rich, pictorial brushwork and leaning, turning movements in the structure, it closely matches Wang's "Scholars in the Mountains" of 1367 (SCKKC V, whereabouts unknown) and may date to the same period.

Among late Yuan masters Chu Te-jun appeared in a new guise in an unpublished painting in the Shanghai Museum entitled "Old Tree, Vine, and Moon." It is signed by the artist and has a colophon by Wen Cheng-ming dated 1548. In ink only, this short handscroll represents the three motifs alone silhouetted against a white ground in bold scale and ebullient, decorative line full of bounding energy. I do not remember any painting so early in which this theme appears in such abstract treatment - a fine flash of imagination in late Yuan flower painting.

Another unpublished work of roughly the same period was shown in the Peking Museum labelled anonymous Yuan, "Jasper Peaks and Jade Trees." Four colophons by Yuan scholars on the painting proper support the dating. This hanging scroll distinctly recalls Yao T'ing-mei (Yen-ch'ing) with its oyster-shell rocks and rococo contours. It is of that same slightly opulent...
style seen in his other work formed by curling lines and jewel-like black dots prominently placed in the middle of scalloped shapes. Certain motifs and habits of drawing agree so well with the Boston Museum hanging scroll (Portfolio of Chinese Paintings in the Boston Museum, II, Yuan to Ch'ing Periods, 15) that "Jasper Peaks" can be placed in Yao's circle with some assurance, if not attributed to his hand.

The early Ming period was particularly well represented in exhibitions and viewings, both as regards the predecessors of the Wu school and the leaders of the Che school. Many of these paintings are unpublished or published only in small part. One of the most important was Wang Fu's "Eight Views of Peking," of which only the third scene was known, "Spring Clouds at Chi'ung-tao" (Wang Fu, 12). We were told by the staff at the Museum of Chinese History that the painting was deposited there because of its associations with the early Ming history of the capital. This long handscroll represents eight sites in and around the city, analogous to the more ancient "Eight Views of Hsiao-Hsiang Rivers." Each site is described in a separate composition with title in seal script alternating with poetic colophons written by contemporaries of the artist (see Fu Shen, Report on Calligraphy in this volume; and Murohashi, II, p. 7 (1089) for titles and locations of views). There is no signature, but Wang Fu's seal appears on each section. The scroll is datable with best probability to around 1414 by Hu Kuang's colophon and by the artist's last trip to Peking in that year, though it might possibly date before 1400, if the painting and colophons were executed separately. All the views are painted in ink on paper with that peculiar combination of concrete, topical subject and abstract form which also distinguishes later topographical painting of the
Wu school. Many formulae and combinations of motifs usually credited to Shen Chou appear here, differing mainly in being expressed in a more relaxed and garrulous spirit.

A handscroll belonging to the same stylistic family was discovered in the Palace Museum gallery with an attribution to Ch'en Ts'ung-yüan, a master hitherto known only in literature. Entitled "The Hung-yai Mountain Dwelling," the scroll carries two seals of the artist but no signature and is the only work so far recorded under his name. Ch'en started his career at the Nanking court under the Yung-lo Emperor (1403-1424) as an artisan. He was promoted to the rank of Scholar because of his gifts as a calligrapher and painter of landscapes and portraits (Vanderstappen, "Painters at the Early Ming Court," Monumenta Serica, XV, p. 285). He was attached to the Central Drafting Office, where he became a colleague of Wang Fu and shared official lodgings with him. He studied Wang's landscape style and adopted it to illustrate his own Hung-yai retreat with the agreeable result that we see in this scroll. Seven prominent literati of the Nanking court contributed title, poem, and colophons to make a complete record of his country villa (Kuo-yün-lou, 111, 5a). An approximate date for its execution between 1403 and 1418 is given by the death in 1418 of Liang Ch'en who composed the title poem. Ch'en Ts'ung-yüan exemplifies the type of early Ming scholar-artist who made his way at court by his talent in calligraphy and painting. These men, who carried the late Yüan style on into the early fifteenth century, so far have been represented almost exclusively by Wang Fu. Ch'en Ts'ung-yüan adds one more to their small number.

A spokesman of the next generation of Ming scholar-painters was Tu Ch'üing, whose unpublished hanging scroll of 1454, inscribed and signed,
was shown in the Palace Museum. This painting, in an expected style of richly upholstered mountains compounded of Wang Meng's and Wang Fu's ideas, helps to fill out Tu Ch'iuang's small oeuvre. An even more tempting glimpse of the pre-Shen Chou era was afforded by the special viewing in the Shanghai Museum of Yao Shou's late album of 1494, "Landscapes after Old Masters." This work may have the distinction of being the earliest example known of the album in which a single master demonstrates his control of an array of ancient styles. One leaf has been reproduced (Shang-hai 42) and the rest, some in ink and some in color, were revelations of an inventiveness and antiquarian taste unsuspected in Yao Shou.

An unpublished handscroll by Shen Chou, "The Field of Purple Fungus," was shown in the Palace Museum viewing room. The painting, in color on paper, is followed by the artist's inscription and a colophon by Yao Shou. Yao's death in 1490 would date the painting to the eighties, a time which does not tally exactly with the bold patterns and flattened space normally associated with Shen Chou's latest work. More characteristic of his late period, and greeted with general enthusiasm, was the three-part handscroll "Misty River and Layered Peaks" in the Liaoning Museum, in which Chao Meng-fu's calligraphy of Su Shih's poem is followed by Shen Chou's illustration of the poem dated 1507 and by Wen Cheng-ming's dated 1508 (see Fu Shen on Calligraphy in this volume). In 1508 Wen presented his poem to Wang Hsien-ch'en, who owned the calligraphy, and in 1545 added another colophon. Both paintings are brilliant in their way - Shen Chou's executed at the top of his bent for sharp, graphic pattern alternating with misty, luminous washes; and Wen's cast in a completely different mold, the Mi style in small scale with scenery rising and falling dramatically from the margins. This
monument to literati art and customs has been published in part in the Liaoning Catalogue (II, 22-29) and entirely in Yen-chiang tieh-chang, but deserves mention for the contrast of old Shen and young Wen trying their paces together.

Works by Wen Cheng-ming, both known and unknown, seemed to crop up on all sides. Among old friends the "Chen-shang Studio" is noteworthy for its fresh color and powerful draughtsmanship, both seen to great advantage without glass in the Shanghai Museum viewing room (Gems, II, 12). A colophon by the artist written in li-shu in 1557 is appended to the painting. Wen's 1531 "Trees and Stream," which was lost to sight after its publication in Sogen in 1931, was rediscovered in the Shanghai Museum looking very grand and authoritative. We were informed by the museum staff that Wen's 1534 "Preparing Tea," last known to be in the Chang Ts'ung-yü collection, is now in the Peking Palace Museum; and his 1532 "Clear View of Shih-hu" has come to rest in the Shanghai Museum (CK ku-tai 81).

Among the little known paintings by Wen, the most striking was "Ten Thousand Streams Racing Together," signed and dated 1550, in the Nanking Museum (Nanking Catalogue 27). Belonging to the tall mountainscape variety, this picture may be a companion piece to "A Thousand Peaks Vying in Splendor" of 1551 (MV 161). They both take their titles from a poem by Wang Wei. Of the two, "Ten Thousand Streams" makes the more obvious allusion to T'ang style with an exaggerated deep distance perspective and astringent blue-green coloring.

Three fine paintings by Lu Chih were shown, of which a hanging scroll in the Palace Museum in fairly opaque blue-green pigment was new to us. Entitled "Long Summer in the Bamboo Grove" and dated 1540, it is a rare and welcome
example of Lu's early style before the rock masses have started to splinter and dematerialize. Two superlative paintings from his middle period are the Shanghai Museum's "Landscape," a hanging scroll of 1554 (Toso 322), and the Nanking Museum's "Evening View of T'ien-ch'ih," a handscroll of 1553 (Nanking Catalogue, I, 42-43). The handscroll is mounted together with a long elegant hsing-shu colophon by Wen Cheng-ming (as yet unpublished), which consists of a poem on T'ien-ch'ih written for one Chiu-ch'ou. It has a date which I omitted to note. Lu Chih explains in his inscription that he painted his picture to complement Wen's poem, so it was probably dedicated to the same Chiu-ch'ou. The style of this handscroll is very like the Nelson Gallery's handscroll of 1549 (Nelson Gallery Handbook, II, p. 67). Together with the Shanghai painting it confirms what we know of Lu Chih's development and shows him to have been remarkably consistent in style and quality.

The breadth of Tai Chin's stylistic reach was illustrated by two unpublished works exhibited in the Shanghai Museum Ming gallery: a handscroll, "Farewell at Chin-t'aj," dedicated by the artist to I-chia, which shows a more unpretentious and low-keyed treatment of the Ma-Hsia style than the general run of such attributions; and a large hanging scroll of a scholar in a pavilion with big looming shapes, sensitively joining Sung composition and a Yüan brush mode. It compares best with the hanging scroll by Tai Chin in TSYMChua-hsüan 32.

An unpublished handscroll in the Palace Museum attributed to Wu Wei also shows that the Che masters can claim more variety of style and artistic merit than they have been given credit for. "Ten Thousand Li on the Yangtze" is primarily an ink painting on silk, but has faint blue washes worked in among forms half dissolved in mist. The whole design and execution have an
easy breadth and subtlety without effort toward spectacular effects. The wavering ts'unic in the mountains are borrowed directly from the late Yüan literati. The most abstemious scholar would be glad to own to such a style.

A wealth of material on T'ang Yin was available, none of it strictly speaking new, but all appeared to so much better advantage than it has in reproduction that it seemed a revelation. His "Tea Party" handscroll in the Palace Museum is soundly documented by poem, signature, and seals of the artist on the painting proper, title by Wen Cheng-ming, and a colophon by Lu Tsan dated 1535 (Ku Kung po-wu-yüan 39). The central scene of the tea house is executed with an exquisite touch in a manner probably derived from Liu Sung-nien, and the whole is framed in dark rock silhouettes whose huge bulk and heavy repoussé effect relate to contemporary Che school practice. This is an extremely attractive picture of a sort that would appeal to a wide audience including scholars and merchants equally.

Closer to the Che style are a group of hanging scrolls which are now in the possession of the Shanghai Museum: "Going Home on a Donkey," "Wild Ducks in Drifting Mist," and a matched set of hanging scrolls of "The Four Seasons" (T'ang Liu-ju hua-chi, 2, 7, 22-25 respectively). These paintings are remarkably consistent in their technique of ink on silk (some with faint color), in being inscribed with poems and signed but not dated, and in their youthful, aggressive style. The brushwork is full of verve and activity, the line strident and independent, the towering masses of rock forced into exaggerated movement in an effort to animate the static formula learned from Chou Ch'en. The reproductions give no idea of the pictorial softness of the washes and the skill with which they are used to unify the parts of these big exuberant compositions. Although it has been published, "Wild Ducks" could
not be photographed. A museum guard explained that "it was being worked on by a committee," so possibly a further publication of the Shanghai collection is planned. A member of the curatorial staff informed me that T'ang Yin's handscroll, "K'uan-hou" (CRMH 17), long vanished, is also in the Shanghai Museum.

A new Ch'iu Ying, "Grass Hut at T'ao-ts'un," was displayed in the Palace Museum. It is dedicated to Hsiang Yüan-ch' i and inscribed by Hsiang's younger brother, Hsiang Yüan-pien, for whom it was painted, and is executed in the artist's standard miniature brushwork and moderately strong blue-green color. The Liaoning Museum's "Red Cliff" handscroll by Ch'iu exhibits a related style, used with greater economy, and an ingenious "confusion" of two and three dimensional space which gives it a distinct literati flavor (Liaoning Catalogue, II, 32-33). In clear delicate colors and with a lightness of touch characteristic of Soochow painting, the "Red Cliff" escapes the sameness of the usual Ch'iu Ying stereotype.

Chang Hung, who started his career as a late follower of the Wu school and diverged steadily thereafter, has not yet received the systematic study he deserves. An unpublished handscroll in the Palace Museum proves to be the earliest dated painting known by him. Called "Bright Snow on Streams and Mountains," it was executed in 1606, when the artist was twenty-six years old, and shows how closely he relied then on Wen Cheng-ming. It derives directly from such archaizing compositions by Wen as the "Mountain Pass in Drifting Snow" (MH 23), with which it shares pepper-dot brushwork, an archaic color scheme, and a whole repertory of "Wang Wei" motifs. Here we can see that one of the distinguishing marks of talent in a young painter is that even when he assumes someone else's personality, he can command the technique for an accomplished performance. An early effort of this sort, which only
faintly hints at the painter's own inclinations, is especially gratifying to meet with because it marks so clearly where he started and how far he pioneered.

The Shanghai Museum showed a hitherto unknown album after old masters by Wu Pin, which is now mounted as a handscroll. It was only partially unrolled to show two leaves, one infinitesimally fine, the other in perfectly controlled washes and deliberately crass colors, both full of originality and wit and intended to astonish. They whet the appetite to know what else is hidden there and what the documentation may be.

Another tour-de-force of late Ming mannerism was an eight-leaf album signed by Ch'en Hung-shou in the Palace Museum, of which five leaves were displayed. One of these, "The Great Ford of the Yellow River", presents two minute boats abroad in a preposterous pink sea patterned with waves like a textile design. Neither perspective, scale, nor color serve to connect the image with the real world. The rules here are the rules of decorative art and one wonders if the artist, who is known to have been influenced by woodblocks, had not also been looking at textile patterns. Certainly he has pushed the boundaries of abstraction in an altogether new direction.

Tung Ch'i-ch'ang seems to have emerged from under the cloud which has beset him in recent years. In 1973 his work was conspicuously absent from the galleries in the PRC, and none was offered to the Archaeology Delegation in the viewing rooms. In 1977 he was back in the galleries and we were shown several of his paintings on request. Of the six we saw, the following seem most noteworthy: the 1626 "Landscape for Chia Hsüan" in the Palace Museum (CK ku-tai 85), the 1627 "White Clouds on the Hsiao-Hsiang Rivers" on exhibition in the Liaoning Museum (Liaoning Catalogue II, 51-52), and two handscrolls in the Nanking Museum. The less typical of the
Nanking paintings is "Looming Mountains," signed and dated 1613 with colophons by Hsiang Sheng-mo, Wang Chien, and others (Nanking Catalogue I, 96). The style might be described as "Mi, but not Mi": the symmetry, the type-forms, the ts'\un allude frankly to Mi, but the execution is so loose with the brush so plainly evident, the chiaroscuro so luminous and flickering that the end result is plainly Ming. This is an accomplished painting which belongs to the smaller group in Tung's oeuvre dealing primarily with pictorial problems.

Of the better known constructivist style is the second Nanking scroll, "Autumn Clouds over Streams and Mountains," which is inscribed by the artist "after Huang Kung-wang" (Nanking Catalogue I, 93). The remnants of the old style are again made easily recognizable, and again the late Ming taste overlays it with arbitrary and harsh contrasts - line against wash, shapes rolling and askew against shapes stable and upright.

This first-hand view of some important works by Tung should stimulate a renewal of studies on this crucial figure.

The amount and richness of the new material from the Yuan and Ming shown to the delegation indicate that there is still a great deal more to see and learn, especially of the collections in the Peking, Shanghai, and Nanking Museums. The exhibitions and private viewings at these institutions were large and rich beyond our most optimistic hopes, and the curators told us that the storage rooms held still greater numbers of paintings from all periods. The museum staffs were unstinting in their hospitality and especially generous in the time they devoted to showing some of their finest holdings in the private viewing sessions. I may speak for the delegation as a whole in expressing our keen appreciation for the opportunity to study these rare works, and our gratitude for the privilege of being shown many unpublished paintings.
### Key to Abbreviations
of Chinese and Japanese Sources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CKMH</td>
<td>Chung-kuo ming-hua 中國名畫 Shanghai, 1920-1923.</td>
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<td>Gems</td>
<td>Hua-yüan to-ying 織苑掇英 Gems of Chinese Painting Shanghai, 1955.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kuo-yün-lou</td>
<td>Ku Wen-pin 書畫集, Kuo-yün-lou shu-hua chi 過雲樓顧文彬, 1882.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SCKKC</td>
<td>Shen-chou kuo-kuang-chi 神州國光集 Shanghai, 1908-1912.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sogen</td>
<td>Sogen Minshin meiga taikan 宋元明清名畫大觀 Tokyo, 1931.</td>
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T'ang Liu-ju hua-chi


Toso

Toso Gemmin meiga taikan 唐宋元明名畫大觀
Tokyo, 1929.

TSYMC hua-hsüan


TWSY ming-chi


Yü-shih t'u-hua t'i-pa-chi

Yü Feng-ch'ing, Yü-shih t'u-hua t'i-pa-chi 郁氏書畫題跋記. 1634.

Wang Fu

Contemporary Painting

Ellen Johnston Laing

As a foreword to this essay, it is probably best at the outset to give a few introductory statements about painting in China. To accord with guidelines promulgated by Chairman Mao in his "Yenan Talks on Literature and the Arts" in 1942, painting must serve the people. It must be realistic and representational, depicting subjects which the masses can easily identify and which relate directly to their experiences and lives; and it must be educational or "inspirational." Approved are representations of party leaders, revolutionary heroes, role models from the realms of workers, soldiers, and peasants, and scenes of agricultural economic, or technological achievements. They may be executed in Western oils, in gouache, or in Chinese ink and water color (apparently acrylics are not used). Landscapes, as well as birds and flowers, done in traditional Chinese media are ambiguous in socialist content; sometimes they have been scorned as bourgeois, at other times (such as now, after the fall of the Gang of Four), extolled as displaying a love of the homeland and its natural beauties.

Since art serves the people, not only must it be brought to them, but also they to it. To achieve this and to "popularize" painting, to rid it of any pre-Liberation elitist connotations, art is encouraged as a spare-time activity among workers, soldiers, and peasants. Their
paintings have been exhibited in Peking and in Shanghai (perhaps elsewhere),
and those by the peasant amateurs of Hu-hsien in Shensi Province have even
traveled to Europe and the United States. In view of the proliferation
of painters, two points should be stressed: first, painting is never a
means of individual expression; second, none of these paintings is done
for personal gain or profit or sale. Some may be mass reproduced as color
lithograph posters which can be purchased for anywhere from 0.07 to 0.28
yuan (at 1977 exchange rates from about 4c to 15c), but the original work
remains the property of the people. Similar circumstances prevail at the
art academies where professional artists' paintings are used to decorate
public buildings, embassies, hotels. Some of these also may be reproduced,
not by inexpensive lithograph but by a special printing technique described
below, and these copies are available commercially.

Since fulfilling the principal mission of our month-long stay in
China - which was to see antique scroll paintings in museum collections -
took precedence in our schedule, our formal exposure to contemporary painting
was not extensive. It consisted of visits to the Shanghai Art Academy and
to the Jung-pao Chai reproduction studio in Peking, both of which have
received delegations and groups of foreign guests in the past, so we were
not unique in this respect. One disappointment was that an exhibition
of contemporary art in Peking closed before we could view it. A brief stop
at an art and art supply shop in Shanghai provided an informal contact with
contemporary painting. Random observations made here and in other stores,
in museums, on city streets, and elsewhere augmented slightly our fragmen-
tary information. This report will concentrate on questions of art training, on the Shanghai Art Academy, and on the Jung-pao Chai. It will conclude with some general comments.

In retrospect, it becomes clear that we are virtually ignorant about art training on the primary and secondary school levels. We learned a little about specialized art schools from the Deputy Director of the Kiangsu National Painting Academy (which really seems to be a fine arts institute) near Nanking. In an informal conversation, he said it has four departments: Chinese painting, oil painting, sculpture, and printmaking (woodcuts). There are about forty-five teachers; classes average some thirty students each. They pursue a four-year curriculum in one medium, but after an initial period of instruction, a pupil will work more closely with one teacher. We did not visit this school because, we were told, it was closed. (This may also be the status of the Hangchow Fine Arts Institute.)

Several scattered observations pertinent to the topic of art education are worth recording here. While returning by car from the Ming Tombs outside Peking, youngsters (both boys and girls) carrying drawing pads and portfolios were noticed walking through the fields. Presumably they had been sketching, but what was their assignment? In the Shanghai Museum, students were making pencil copies of traditional Chinese paintings. What use was to be made of these? In the Shanghai Museum, a man (whether an art teacher or not was undetermined) was overheard going on at great length to his male companion about the brushwork and stylistic peculiarities of famous artists of the past whose pictures were displayed there. But we did not find out if such sketching
(or lecture) excursions are routine or exceptional. Do students go to factories and farms and there make studies of workers and peasants at their labors? Are there life-drawing classes using live models in the classroom? How are corrections and critiques handled? What provision is there for exhibition of student work? What are studios, facilities, materials like? What jobs can the graduates expect to get beyond that of teaching art or, for a few, assignment to one of the national art academies? These questions and others remain unanswered.

At the Shanghai Art Academy, as part of the official briefing, we were told that it is one of three such institutions, the other two being in Peking and Nanking. Founded in 1956, the Shanghai Art Academy currently has sixty-seven members, of whom ten are women. Of the sixty-seven, thirty-two work in traditional Chinese painting styles, twelve in Western oils, seventeen as sculptors, and four as calligraphers. The members are selected by Academy authorities from talented graduates of art departments in universities, colleges, and art institutes and from among workers, soldiers, and peasants whose art efforts are shown in exhibitions. At first, the newcomer learns from the veterans, and then develops on his own. An appointment to the Shanghai Art Academy is for life. We did not find out whether the staff is a constant, fixed number (in which case there presumably would have to be a "retirement" or a death before a new person would be assigned to the Academy), but we did learn that paper, brushes, and paints, including oils (which are manufactured in Shanghai), are provided gratis to the artists. A tour of the actual studio areas was not on the agenda, and so a report on the physical plant and its facilities must be left to the future.
The Academy generally is charged with creating new works of art and with doing research. Three major duties are as follows: to create works for exhibition at home and abroad; to provide decoration for important buildings, such as embassies, hotels, and the like; and to tutor amateurs. In order to accomplish the last responsibility twice each year individuals from the Academy spend two or three months at factories, army bases, and villages, instructing spare-time artists. The Academicians then also have opportunities to visit important scenic and historic sites.

The responses to our questions as to what constitutes research were vague and ill-defined. The following were given by our hosts as examples. There are close connections with the Shanghai Museum, so Academy artists can copy paintings on exhibition and are permitted to study those in storage. Several older painters are presently writing up their experiences as artists. Internally, since no conflict exists between the traditional Chinese and the Western stylistic approaches to art, artists working in each style try to learn from each other.

At the briefing session, the deleterious effects of the policies and intrigues of Chiang Ch'ing and the Gang of Four were emphasized. During the period of their influence, paintings done in traditional modes were castigated as "black" paintings; articles disapproving of such paintings appeared in newspapers, and there were city-level criticism meetings. This was disastrous for artists, especially the older ones. They were asked to change their style, but many reacted by simply ceasing to paint at all. They then were told to step aside and suffered greatly as a consequence. Two "rejected" paintings were displayed in the large hall adjacent to the reception room. One, a bountiful harvest theme, done in 1974 by Chang.
Ta-chuang, titled "New Beans Flood In," depicts a sack brimming with bright green beans. It was condemned for its subject, which was construed as a reference to the youths ("green beans") brought from the countryside into Peking to support the Gang of Four faction. The second scroll, this one by Ch'eng Shih-fa (b. 1921), representing a minority girl and water buffaloes, is of an accepted subject but was censured because it stylistically relied upon exciting, bold, black sweeping brushstrokes: it was "formalist" (i.e. too abstract). (We were not given any further information concerning the suppression; for some explicit details, see Han Suyin, "Painters in China Today," Eastern Horizon, XVI:6 [June 1977], pp. 15-20.) Since the smashing of the Gang of Four, it was declared, artists feel they "have been liberated a second time."

Something of this new spirit was reflected in traditional-style paintings done by Academy members during 1977 which were also in the large hall. These included a largely monochrome ink portrait of Lu Hsün by Chang Kuei-min; yellow loquats, red blossoms, and a stone by Wang Hsien; ducks swimming among red lotus and green leaves by Yang Cheng-hsin; and delicate bursts of white flowers against an expanse of pale green wheat stalks after rain by Wu Yu-meii. (We, incidentally, did not see any sculptures or oil paintings, nor did we meet any sculptors or oil painters at the Academy.)

The second half of our morning at the Shanghai Art Academy was spent watching six traditional-style painters at work amidst arrays of traditional-painting paraphernalia: various sized brushes in suspension holders or in jars, ink stones and sticks, sectional white-glazed porcelain dish palettes, tubes of pigments, deep containers of fresh water, porcelain seal-ink boxes. T'ang Yüan, an older representative of the Academy, did first "Two Birds on
Bamboo," and then "Three Chicks with a Cherry;" other flowers and birds were depicted by Chang Ta-chuang and Yang Cheng-hsin. Chang Kuei-min, using a preliminary sketch as a guide, rendered a lively version of the famous literary and theatrical figure, "Monkey." One of Chin Kuang-yü's contributions was a mountainscape with river gorge and village, and Wu Yu-mei, a young woman, produced "Vines and Grapes" and "Red Roses with a Butterfly." Each painting was duly signed and sealed by the artist, dedicated and presented to one of the members of the delegation. The paintings were then placed to dry on sheets of clean paper spread on the floor; and because our departure from the Academy was imminent, the drying process was hastened by the incongruous, but expedient, use of a portable, hand-held hair dryer.

More sobering is the fact that the styles used by these Academy artists in 1977 are not markedly different from those practiced twenty-five years ago and earlier. They simply represent a continuation of already well-established modes without substantial innovations. It remains to be seen whether the post-Gang of Four policies toward art herald only stagnation of this type or whether they will challenge artists to exercise their creative talents in a more positive way to open new expressive avenues in traditional-style painting. (As a postscript: a stale repetitiveness is sadly evident in the recent works of Li K'o-jan, one of the great masters of traditional-style painting. His "Lichiang River in the Rain," dated 1977 [reproduced in China Reconstructs, XXVII:3, March 1978, p.31], is, to all intents and purposes, identical in composition and style to his work of similar name dated 1962 [Mei-shu, 1963:1, p.62]. On the credit side, the Chinese-language journal, Mei-shu ["Arts"]; discontinued in 1965, resumed publication in 1976.)
The original art works of the Shanghai Art Academy (and its sister institutions) are primarily placed in public buildings, especially those frequented by foreigners, or are hung in periodic exhibitions for public edification. In addition, photographs of them often appear in foreign-language magazines geared toward international audience, such as China Reconstructs or China Pictorial.

Some traditional-style paintings may be selected for facsimile copying by one of the art-reproduction studios which employ the mu-pan shui-yin ("wood block water printing") method. According to an informative article by Diana Yu ("The Painter Emulates the Painter - the Unique Chinese Water-and-Ink Woodblock Prints," Renditions, no. 6 [Spring 1976], p. 98), there are three firms specializing in this technique: the Hangchow Woodblock Printing Shop (Hang-chou Pan-hua Tien 杭州版畫店), the Shanghai Calligraphy and Painting Company (Shang-hai Shu-hua She 上海書畫社), and the Jung-pao Chai 朱派 in Peking.

No further information is available at this time about the Hangchow establishment. The Shanghai Shu-hua She was founded in 1900 as the To-yün Hsüan 雲軒 stationery shop and began making facsimiles of paintings after Liberation. An illustrated brochure of 1962 listed the titles of some 250 paintings reproduced by them between 1958 and 1962. These included old and recent paintings from museum collections throughout China; the copies were made both by collotype and by the "wood block water printing" procedure (To-yün Hsüan chân-p'ien chieh-shao, Shanghai, 1962). Although we visited the Shu-hua She store, we were not taken to the reproduction studio which, of course, may be located elsewhere in the city, and besides we had already spent several hours at Jung-pao Chai in Peking, which appears to be the showcase painting reproduction studio.
Jung-pao Chai, situated on Liu-li Ch'ang, the antique dealers street in Peking, began in the Ming Dynasty as the Sung-chu Chai and was essentially a stationers supplying letter paper with printed color designs. In 1894 it was given its present name (according to Yu, p. 98, it opened in 1899). After Liberation, it, too, began to make reproductions of paintings. Today, some 200 people are employed in the combined reproduction workshop and store. The latter retails the reproductions made there, along with painting, mounting, and stationery supplies. It also provides liaison between artists and public in yet another way, for it functions as a mini-gallery where a few original paintings by twentieth-century artists are exhibited for a certain period. Some of these are for sale, but obviously priced for foreign purses, ranging from yüan 2,000 (at 1977 exchange rates, approximately US $1,000) for a landscape done in 1946 by Ch'eng Shih-fa to yüan 45,000 (roughly US $23,000) for a Hsü Pei-hun chéng (1896-1953) horse.

The mu-pan shui-yin technique developed during the Ming Dynasty. It was promoted after Liberation, when improvements were introduced, so that now, for example, printing can be done on silk as well as on paper, or a colotype print of a miniscule inscription, as is often found on chieh-hua painting, can be combined with block-printed images. The basic mu-pan shui-yin process is essentially a highly refined handicraft involving the close cooperation of many skilled artisans.

At Jung-pao Chai, this method is used to reproduce both antique and twentieth century scrolls (such as Ku Hung-chung, "Night Revels of Han Hsi-tsai," paintings by Ch'eng Shih-fa, Hsu Pei-hung, Fu Pao-shih 1904-1965, Wu Tso-jen 1908). Old paintings are selected (by a Jung-pao Chai committee?) from the Palace Museum Collection.
(The Palace Museum also has its own reproduction facilities.) Technicians from Jung-pao Chai go to the Palace Museum and copy the painting; this copy becomes the basis for the reproduction. In the case of an extremely fragile original, photographs are taken of it and an accurate working copy made from the photos. Ming, Ch'ing, and modern scrolls may be traced on paper laid atop a thin plastic sheet placed over the painting for its protection. For new pictures, a committee of Jung-pao Chai workers and technicians meets once a year and from annual exhibitions of recent works, selects those paintings to be reproduced.

Using these working copies, the block-designer analyzes the composition and decides how it is to be divided into sections, taking into consideration types of brushwork, colors, and ink tones. The more complex a painting is, the larger the number of blocks are required for its reproduction. For example, Chou Fang's "Ladies Wearing Flowered Hats," required more than 300 separate blocks, 50 for one figure alone, while the Ku Hung-chung, "Night Revels of Han Hsi-tsai" needed 1600 blocks.

After the number, size, and color separation of the blocks has been determined by the block-designer, the block carvers proofs are made. This entails tracing out in ink outline the component part of the total painting to be carved on each block. A sheer of plastic is placed over the working copy, and the specific block design is traced on the plastic. This design is then transferred (again by tracing) onto a thin sheet of paper. These paper tracings are the carving proofs.

The wood used for the blocks is, we were told, pear wood (Yu, p.99, says rosewood) or boxwood when extremely fine-line carving is required. The paper tracing is smoothed, inked design downward, over the prepared
wood block surface. As much of the paper is scraped off as possible so that ink lines will be more visible. The carver then cuts away the background, leaving lines and areas in relief.

When the carving of all the blocks is complete, the printing begins. Normally, ink contour lines are printed first, then areas of different ink tones or colors, usually light colors first, then darker tones. Since an effort is made to reproduce faithfully, water-based pigments are employed for older paintings; but because twentieth century artists often use chemical pigments, these will also be used when appropriate.

In the printing procedure, the carved block is attached to a work table with wax, and its precise position in respect to the remainder of the painting determined by four or five registration keys. The paper is in stacks, affixed to one side of the work table with a clamp. The carved block is moistened with water, and then the ink or color is applied. A single sheet of paper from the stack is quickly laid over the block and smoothed with a pad of horse-tail hair (or coir, Yu, p. 100) to transfer the printed impression. The paper is then lifted up, the accuracy of the impression is checked, and any discrepancies or necessary adjustments in ink or color tone or saturation may be brushed in by hand. There are humidifiers mounted in the ceiling of the printing room to prevent the colors and inks from drying on the wood blocks. When all the sheets of paper in the stack have received an impression of one block, they are ready for the next block segment, and so on until the reproduction is complete. The facsimiles are then mounted in traditional fashion on the premises, stacked, and packaged for delivery or shipping. Because of wear on the printing blocks, a standard edition runs to around 300 issues, but occasionally an edition of 1,000 can be made.
Jung-pao Chai and its counterparts in Shanghai and Hangchow are commercial enterprises. According to Jung-pao Chai spokesmen, the bulk of the facsimiles produced there were destined for the domestic market (museums, art schools, public buildings, or hotels), and a certain percentage placed on the foreign market. The pricing of each reproduction involves several factors: costs of labor and materials, the reputation of the artist whose work is being copied (i.e. a painting may be simple and relatively easy to copy, but its artistic value may be high). Before the Cultural Revolution, artists whose works were selected for reproduction were paid for having their creations reproduced on a commercial basis. This fee was eliminated during the Cultural Revolution. Today the question of whether there should be a return to the fee system remains unresolved, although some Chinese felt that it would be restored.

While the entire concept of the reproduction of scrolls may appear to be peripheral to contemporary painting per se, it must be remembered that original works by modern Chinese artists are not available at prices the general public can afford. The prices of large reproductions or those mounted as scrolls especially seemed relatively high, whereas others were surprisingly inexpensive. The facsimiles are a means of providing public institutions throughout the country with fine copies of paintings and of allowing more people to see such works.

There is, of course, another type of contemporary painting, that of the propaganda billboards located at strategic places such as the Temple of Heaven in Peking or at major street intersections in Shanghai. The pictorial themes eulogize Mao Tse-tung, glorify Hua Kuo-fen, vilify Chiang Ch'ing, or illustrate Chinese Communist slogans and programs of unity, production, and so on.
Small, poster versions of this propaganda art were for sale in bookshops in Peking and Nanking. In Shanghai, they were tacked on the walls of a small, dimly-lit shoe factory. They were the sole adornment in a clean but dreary model house at the T'ao-p'u Agricultural Commune outside that city. Here, above the stove in the whitewashed kitchen was a deep rectangular recess; inside it was painted a black ornamental frame. The now-vacant frame is the obvious vestige of where, once, a print of the Kitchen God would have brightened the room. Today, on the wall opposite the stove were pinned color portraits of Mao and of Hua, and on a side wall was one of the political slogan posters. In another room was "A Thousand Songs and Million Dances for the Communist Party," a poster which features Chairman Hua surrounded by minority peoples (see Stuart E. Fraser, 100 Great Chinese Posters, New York, 1977, no. 111).

Casual observations made at the Shu-hua She in Shanghai reveal still other dimensions of the current painting situation. A two-story shop, the Shu-hua She has for sale on the second floor reproductions of paintings new and old, as well as antiquities: paintings, seal stones, ink stones, brushes, etc. There were no Chinese customers here, although there were no obvious barriers to prevent their presence. This was in dire contrast to the buzz of activity on the ground floor. Here the merchandise consisted of new painting supplies: brushes, ink, ink stones, colors, seal stones, hooks for hanging paintings from mouldings, pronged tops to be attached to sticks used to hang paintings. A goodly number of Chinese customers crowded around these counters. Meanwhile, a brisk business was being done in the sale of inexpensive, idyllic landscape scenes. These ostensibly were color woodcuts but, in reality, were some sort of photo lithographs. Interestingly, they were
not the dynamic, energetic, political woodcuts often seen in *China Reconstructs* or *China Pictorial*; instead, they were simply pretty pictures. Also available was an instruction booklet (published in 1976) detailing step-by-step how to paint in the amalgamation of Chinese ink outline and Western color shading which is now sometimes termed "Chinese painting" (Chung-kuo hua 中國畫); included were three figures: a young girl worker, a youthful fisherman, and an old peasant man.

In Peking, Nanking, and Shanghai, department stores, art specialty shops, and corner stores had complete or at least representative inventories of painting and mounting supplies. All this would seem to indicate the existence of a large market for such items and an artistically inclined or attuned public. It can only be concluded that there must be a vast number of practicing painters - part-time, amateur, professional - as the volume of art supplies alone testifies.
As a Chinese painting delegation, we did not expect to see much Chinese calligraphy by ancient masters. But we did see a number of important works, both early ink writings and carved specimens, on which to base this report. I will first enumerate the works of calligraphy seen at each museum and site, and then discuss them by categories.

At the Peking and Shanghai Museums, the exhibition of early Chinese paintings did not include specific works of calligraphy. However, at the end of the special viewing of paintings, the Peking staff unexpectedly showed us two works; later at Shanghai, one work was shown us. At the Peking Historical Museum there was one example of calligraphy among the total of three works offered us. At the Liaoning Provincial Museum in Shenyang, five calligraphy scrolls were on display in the galleries, and later at the special viewing of paintings we saw a sixth example attached to a painting scroll. Among the historical relics on exhibition at the Nanking Museum, one hanging scroll by a minor Ch'ing Dynasty calligrapher was included. During the special viewing at the Soochow Museum, two hanging scrolls by major Ming masters were brought out.

Of the six requested museums, Tientsin was replaced by Sian, offering an especially rewarding experience for those interested in calligraphy and the famous collection, the "Forest of Stelae" (Sian Pei-Lin), in the Sian Museum.
Aside from these, there were informal presentations of calligraphy. For example, in how while visiting the beautiful gardens, I was pleased to see examples of classic model calligraphy (fa-t'ieh) carved, framed, and set into the walls and passageways. There were also a few examples of the traditional carved plaques with studio or hall names to complement the architecture.

There were abundant examples of contemporary calligraphy. For instance, I happened to visit two exhibitions—one at the Yü Garden in Shanghai, the other at the Hsi-leng Seal Society near West Lake, Hangchow. There were other exhibitions, which I missed, such as the one in Pei-hai Park, Peking.

The calligraphy is discussed in three parts according to medium, with works in each category presented according to the sequence of museums and sites covered on the trip. Because calligraphy is a relatively unfamiliar subject, my remarks will be primarily factual and not descriptive. In addition, observations on authorship are entirely my own and do not reflect the opinions of the delegation.

I. INK WRITINGS (Mo-chi)

Besides individual works, early colophons on paintings are listed here as materials for further research.

A. PEKING PALACE MUSEUM: Two scrolls and five colophons

1. **Mi Fu** (1052-1107) - Pai Chung-yueh ming shih.

The handscroll in ink on paper consists of two poems in five-character regulated meter, written in medium-sized running script, with thirteen lines, including signature and title, for a total of eighty-seven characters. There is one colophon by Ni Tsan (1301-74) which is not genuine.

The work is not dated, but according to the title it was written upon Mi Fu's appointment as director of the Chung-shan Temple. Hence it may
be datable to the end of 1094, or ca. 1095, since he remained in that position from 1094 until 1097. (Published 1963.)

2. Huang T'ing-chien (1045-1105) - Shih Sung Sau-shih-chiu chih.

A short handscroll on paper, the poem to the "forty-ninth nephew" consists of forty-eight characters in thirteen lines (including two of the title) of large-sized, free standard script. There is no signature or date. (Published 1959.)

The work appears to be in Huang T'ing-chien's mature style, showing energetic brushwork with a rough bony quality. But careful comparison with a number of other authentic works by Huang reveals this work to be by a good calligrapher working in Huang T'ing-chien's style. The brushwork is too angular and flat; the strokes sometimes appear plump, but are in fact executed with a side-tipped brush, a characteristic Huang seldom displayed so extensively. This tendency is seen especially in the left diagonal strokes (p'ieh), and in the turning corner strokes from the horizontal to vertical. In his authentic works, Huang T'ing-chien used predominantly an upright brush, producing rounded strokes of a dimension not seen here. Moreover, Huang's characters are constructed idiosyncratically, eliminating or linking strokes in an uncommon manner (e.g. his k'o phonetic), whereas such special constructions are not found in this scroll.

The differences reveal another hand and artistic personality from the originals studied (see my "Huang T'ing-chien's Calligraphy and his Scroll for Chang Ta-t'ung," Princeton Ph.D. disser., 1976, pp. 176-81). I had judged it to be forgery in my dissertation, and examination of the actual work during this trip confirms my original stylistic analysis.

(ERIC)
3. Five Colophons and Inscriptions Attached to Paintings

a. Chang Yu-chih (1006-62) - colophon to Yen Li-pen, "Emperor T'ang T'ai-tsung Greeting Tibetan Envoys," small-sized seal script in twenty lines. (Published 1959.)

b. Yang Wu-chiu (1097-1171) - colophon in small standard script dated 1165 to his handscroll of ink plum, consists of four quatrains in sixteen lines, plus twelve lines of self-inscription following his painting. (Published 1963.)

c. Chao Ping-wen (1159-1232) - colophon following Chao Lin, "T'ang T'ai-tsung's Six Chargers." A major example by this Chin scholar, the colophon consists of about thirty lines of large-sized running script. Energetic and forceful, the brushwork and structure are close to his well-known colophon to Wu Yuan-chih's "Red Cliff" painting handscroll in Taipei. (Unpublished.)

d. Chao Meng-fu (1254-1322) - three self-inscriptions (two dated 1296, 1299) on his painting "Red-coated Official on Horseback" plus about twenty additional Yuan and Ming colophons. (Published 1959.)

e. Feng Tzu-ch'ien (1257-1314) - two colophons attached to Chan Tzu-ch'ien (late 6th-early 7th c.), "Traveling in Spring," and to Chao Ch'ang (ca. 9c.-after 1016), "Butterflies; Insects and Plants." (Second colophon published 1960.)


B. PEKING HISTORICAL MUSEUM: One scroll and several colophons

1. Huang T'ing-chien (1045-1105) - colophon to Ming-tsan shih, a handscroll transcribing poems by the monk Ming-tsan, dated 1100.
The transcription itself is lost, but this succeeding portion, containing a total of forty-six characters, is unique among Huang's extant works. Each character occupies the entire height of the scroll, constituting his largest known writing. Huang ends with a comment in three lines of smaller running script, "This scroll of mine may be carved by Chang Fa-heng," an indication of pride.

Its date of 1100, seventh month, places it among several of Huang's masterworks from his mature years, and a half-year later than the "Scroll for Chang Ta-t'ung," now in Princeton.

Written five years before Huang's death, this scroll marks a brief passage between two periods of hardship in exile, when he was pardoned by the new emperor Hui-tsung (reigned 1100-1125) and traveled down the Yangtze River to Chengtu, Szechuan. He visited relatives and friends and was invited to literary gatherings in scenic spots enjoying wine and chess and composing poems and calligraphy. On such a glorious occasion when Huang's spirits were soaring, they found their expression in this scroll with its giant characters. I was especially pleased to see the actual work.

(Published by the Vice-director of the museum, Wen Wu, 1962, no. 11.)

2. Colophons by early Ming literati, accompanying Wang Fu (1362-1416) - "Eight Views of Peking."

Following each painting is a series of poems in standard, running, and clerical scripts by prominent contemporaries, such as Hu Yuan (1362-1443), Chin Yu-tzu (1368-1431), Tseng Ch'i (1372-1432), Wang Hung (1380-1420), Wang Ying (1376-1450) and Hu Kuang (1370-1418). The latter scholar wrote his colophon in 1414, two years before the painter's death. Sections of the painting have been published, but none of the calligraphy.
In a recent article (Wen Wu 1961, no. 6, p. 38), Wei Yu considers the colophons to be forged, casting doubt on the painting as well. I disagree about the colophons, especially Hu Kuang's; in fact, I am positive it is genuine.

C. LIAONING PROVINCIAL MUSEUM: Six scrolls

1. Ou-yang Hsün (557-641) - Meng-tien t'ieh, a handscroll of seventy-eight characters in nine lines of running script.

   The enormous influence of this major early T'ang calligrapher has been primarily through his standard script as found on stone stelae. This scroll is one of four extant brushwritten works attributed to him, the others being the Ch'ien-tzu-wen, also in Liaoning, and the Chang Han t'ieh and Pu-shang t'ieh, both in the Peking Palace Museum. Stylistically, they are all quite close, and it is not difficult to make formal connections with his stele writing, such as his Chiu-ch'eng-kung. This work is not signed. Nonetheless, I recommend accepting it as a genuine work. (Published, Peking 1961.)

2. Huai-su (ca. 735-800?) - Lun-shu t'ieh, a handscroll in ink on paper in nine lines of cursive script.

   Both the size and style of this work do not resemble the famous Tzu-bsü t'ieh in Taipei, but rather are comparable to his Sheng-mu t'ieh dated 793. The scroll is unsigned, but the text contains his tsu, Tsang-ch'en. (Published, Peking 1961.)

3. Emperor Sung Hui-tsung (1082-1136) - Kung-shih fang-ch'iu ch'ih, a mandate (two separate works mounted as one scroll).

   The major section is in running script totalling fourteen lines written on five sections of colored silk with a pattern of gold flowers. According to the study by Yang Jen-k'ai, a member of the research staff, it is datable
to 1117.

The second section is on paper in six lines of small standard script and signed Cheng Chü-chung (1059-1123). Both works were preserved by the Empress Cheng's family; during the Yüan dynasty, the scholar Yüan Chueh (1266-1327) wrote a colophon dated 1316 at the request of the family. (Published, Peking 1961.)

4. Emperor Sung Hui-tsung Ch'ien-tzu wen, the "Thousand Characters Classic," transcribed in cursive script in 188 lines on gold-patterned paper with cloud and dragon motifs, dated 1122.

The emperor's works in cursive script are as rare as those in running. With so few works in either script, it is problematic to relate the cursive examples stylistically to his highly personal standard script, called "slender gold" (shou-chin t'i). One can see that the spidery thin strokes, the fast and relatively flat brushwork are common features, but the artistic accomplishment of his "slender gold" is far superior.

It is also worth noticing, however, that the paper is definitely of imperial taste and quality—thirty feet of beautifully patterned paper without a single join and one of the rare extant examples. (Published, Peking 1961.)

5. Hsien-yü Shu (1257?-1302) — transcription of poems by Wang An-shih (1021-1086), in 111 lines on paper; a large handscroll with 16 lines on display.

Written in a combination of large-sized running and cursive scripts, the scroll is dated 1291 and is an important example of free writing by this early Yüan collector and friend Chou Mi (1232-1298) and Chao Meng-fu (1254-1322). Hsing T'ung's (1551-1612) colophon in eleven lines is attached. (Published, Peking 1961.)
6. **Chao Meng-fu** (1254-1322)—transcription of Su Shih's poem, "Misty River and Layered Mountains," in thirty-seven lines on paper, large running script, signed but undated.

Most of Chao's writings are of smaller-sized scripts; this example, together with his colophon to Li K'an's scroll of ink bamboo in the Nelson Gallery, Kansas City, are monumental in size. Attached to the scroll are colophons by Shen Chou (1409-1527) and Wen Cheng-ming (1470-1559), as well as a colophon and frontispiece, both in seal script, by Li Tung-yang (1447-1516). (Published, Peking 1961.)

D. **NANKING MUSEUM:** One scroll

1. **Sung Tsao** (active 1630-1650)—poem in large-sized running-cursive script on paper in hanging scroll format, undated.

Sung Tsao served in government as a calligraphy secretary during the late Ming. This work is typical of his style.

E. **SOOCHOW MUSEUM:** Two scrolls and several colophons

1. **Chu Yun-ming** (1461-1527)—Yueh Chih lun, hanging scroll on paper in medium-sized cursive script in seven lines, undated.

The style is unforced and natural and closely resembles his personal running style in handscroll format. A colophon dated 1948 by Wu Hu-fan (1894-ca. 1965), the renowned Shanghai collector, praises Chu for surpassing other major Ming masters, such as Sung K'o (1327-1387), Wen Cheng-ming (1470-1559), and Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555-1636).

Three other incidental examples of Chu's writing may also be noted here: a) a colophon to Huang Kung-wang's Fu-ch'un ta-ling scroll in Nanking; b) a colophon to Tai Chin's scroll of arhats in Liaoning; and c) a carved wooden panel with a poem in large-sized semi-cursive script in the museum. All are acceptable and meet my understanding of his style.
2. **T'ang Yin (1470-1523)** - a transcription of his poem in seven-character-regulated meter, four lines of medium-large-sized running script, on paper in hanging scroll format, undated.

The brushwork is fluent, the structures beautifully balanced and written with sooty black ink in his Li Yung style. It is the largest example of his writing and altogether very impressive. (Published.)

F. **SHANGHAI MUSEUM: One scroll and several colophons**

1. Wang Hsien-chih (344-388) - Ya-t'ou-wan, two lines in running-cursive script on silk attributed to the son of the calligraphy sage Wang Hsi-chih (303?-361?).

An important work, it is not a tracing copy. The earliest colophon is dated 1079; later it entered Sung Hui-tsung's and Sung Kao-tsung's collections, and then Yuan Wen-tsun (r. 1328-1332), in 1330, presented it to his Master Connoisseur of calligraphy, the calligrapher-painter K'o Chiu-ssu (1290-1343). This fact is recorded on the scroll by the scholar Yü Chi (1272-1348). During the late Ming, it entered the collection of Wu T'ing (ca. 1575-ca. 1625), the friend of Tung Chi'ch'ang (1555-1636), at which time it was inscribed by Tung and by Wang K'en-t'ang (chin-shih 1589). The scroll is recorded in Sung Hui-tsun's *Hsüan-ho shu-p'u*. (Published.)

2. Important colophons attached to paintings will be listed here as materials for further study.

a. Four colophons by Yuan masters on Wen T'ung (1018-1079), Su Shih (1036-1101), K'o Chiu-ssu (1290-1343) and Wang Yu (active 1465-1487), "Bamboo and Old Tree" with colophons by later masters: 1) Hsien-yü Shu (1257?-1302), dated 1301; 2) Chou Po-ch'i (1298-1369), no date; 3) K'o Chiu-ssu (1290-1343), six lines accompanying his ink bamboo; 4) Po-yen
Pu-hua (Bayan-buqa, died 1359), a Uighur prince and relative of Hsien-yü Shu, eight lines, dated 1355, which relate the history of the scroll; 5) and some additional colophons. (Published Wen Wu 1965, no. 8, pp. 24-31.)

b. Six Yuan Dynasty colophons to Chao Meng-fu (1254-1322), "The Hundred-foot Wu-t'ung Study," handscroll on paper: 1) Chou Po-ch'i (1296-1369), undated; 2) Chang Shen (ca. 1360), undated; 3) Yi Tsan (1301-1374), dated 1365; 4) Yu-wen Tsai (ca. 1360), undated; 5) Jao Chieh (ca. 1300-1367), dated 1365; 6) Wang Meng (1308-1385), dated 1365. Previously unpublished, all colophons are of good quality; no photography was permitted.

c. Wu Ping (active 1320-1347?) - "Biographies of Taoist Patriarchs," dated 1326, to a handscroll by Hua Tsu-li, Tao-chia shih-tzu t'u, in small standard script. (Unpublished?)

d. Wu Jui (1298-1355) - transcription of "Nine Songs," dated 1346, in small seal script following each section of painting by Chang Wu (active mid-13th c.). The writing is identical to his Ch'ien-tzu-wen, dated 1344, also in Shanghai. (Unpublished.)

II. ENGRAVED WRITINGS (Shih-k'o)

Four categories will be discussed by location: commemorative stone stelae, incidental carving or "graffiti," wood plaques, and engraved reproductions of master calligraphy.

A. "FOREST OF STELAE" (Pei-lin), Sian

The present Pei-lin occupies a major part of the Sian Museum. According to a stele dated 1090 in the collection, the Pei-lin was established in 1087, when the famous "K'ai-ch'eng Stone Classics" (dated 837), the Shih-t'ai Hsiao-ching (dated 745), and other stelae by renowned T'ang calligraphers assembled together.
The Pei-lin now contains 1095 stone engravings dating from the Han (206 B.C.-A.D. 220) to the Ch'ing (1644-1912) periods. Altogether they fill six rooms and cover six side walls. The first three rooms contain mainly T'ang stelae; the others cover different historical periods. Tomb inscriptions from the Northern Wei (386-534) to Sung (960-1279) Dynasties can be found around the side walls of the courtyard between rooms. These are in much better condition than those by famous calligraphers elsewhere in the collection because fewer rubbings have been made from them through history.

The more famous stelae have been relatively well published in Chinese and Japanese works, but many have not. I was most excited to see unpublished works. But unfortunately, realizing the quantity too late, I visited only four of the six exhibition rooms. These last two rooms covered the Sung through Ch'ing periods and undoubtedly also contained unpublished sources.

(For the important role these treasured stelae have played in the history of Chinese calligraphy, see the paper by Dr. Thomas Lawton, "An Introduction to the Sian Pei-lin," delivered at the Yale Symposium on Chinese Calligraphy, held April 1977, organized by the present writer and Martlyn W. Fu, and forthcoming in the proceedings of the symposium.)

B. "GREAT AND SMALL GOOSE PAGODAS" (Ta-, Hsiao-yen t'a), Sian

Aside from the well-known stelae, Sheng-chiao-hsu, dated 653, by the major calligrapher Ch'u Sui-liang (596-658?), there are a number of important pictorial engravings from the T'ang period (618-906) found above the stone archways, as well as incidental inscriptions ("graffiti") dating from the Sung (960-1279) through Ming (1368-1644) periods. This informal writing is nearly everywhere. When visiting the site, new chin-shih degree holders and officials would inscribe their names at the Pagoda, a custom in Chinese
called "Yen-t'a t'ien-ming." Later this custom was abused, with unqualified persons leaving bad handwriting on the walls.

C. **SOOCHOW**

I did not see pre-Sung stelae in Soochow. However, three dating from the late Yüan to early Ming periods were installed in the dark entranceway at Tiger Hill: one by Huang Chin (1277–1354), dated 1346; a second by Shen Ts'an (1379–1453), dated 1445; and a third dated 1424 by a calligrapher whose name I did not record. Stylistically, all three show the dominant influence of Chao Meng-fu (1254–1322).

D. **HANGCHOW**

The sites here were Fei-lai-feng and the Liu-ho Pagoda. At the former there was much graffiti near the rock-cut sculptures in front of the Ling-yin Temple. At the latter was a Sung Dynasty stele dated 1164 and 1165 placed at the base of the Liu-ho Pagoda overlooking the Ch'ien-t'ang River.

E. **ENGRAVED WOODEN PLAQUES**

An important but usually neglected category of calligraphy, engraved plaques written by early calligraphers in horizontal or vertical format, may still be seen adorning the interiors of palaces, temples, garden architecture, and other buildings. The difference between this form of calligraphy and the other writings discussed here is monumentality. These plaques are usually large—each character may be over a square foot, with some as large as four to six square feet. Biographical sources frequently mention whether a master excelled in large writing of this sort. Plaques therefore deserve a special category.

Signed, dated or datable works, such as two by the Ming artist Wen Cheng-ming (1470–1559) in the Cho-cheng Garden, Soochow, would be nice published as a separate series devoted to the subject.
In the few Soochow gardens visited, I saw a number of carved stone reproductions of famous calligraphy, originally written on paper or silk in various formats. The carvings were made so that rubbings could be taken from them and thereby "reproduced" in quantity for wider circulation and appreciation. Often the engravings formed part of a collector's anthology.

I had always wondered how the bulky stc. originals for these anthologies were kept. Now I know: the stones are integrated as part of a scholar's surroundings, framed and mounted on walls along walkways, facing a pond or rock garden, or simply placed along a corridor. As one walks and enjoys the natural beauty, one can also pause and enjoy the beautiful writing, usually by early great masters. A perfect combination.

The calligraphy selected for engraving in the Lion Grove Gardens, Soochow, were the most impressive, the majority being by three of the Four Great Masters of the Sung. A few letters and poems by Ts'ai Hsiang (1012-1067) displayed his small-sized writing. The most famous was his Hsieh Yü-tz'u shih-piao, an example of his perfect standard script; the original brush written memorial is in the Museum of Calligraphy, Tokyo.

Huang T'ing-chien (1045-1105) was represented by his Ching Fu-po shen-tz'u shih, a transcription dated 1101 of a poem by Liu Yü-hsi of the T'ang. Written four years before Huang's death, it is a true masterwork, with tense powerful strokes, undoubtedly a challenge of translation to the stone carver. The ink original is in the Hosokawa collection, Tokyo.

Equally familiar were carvings of five letters by Mi Fu (1052-1107). Three of the original letters, now in the Art Museum, Princeton, were
included in our recent exhibition of calligraphy held at Yale and Berkeley, "Traces of the Brush." The two other ink originals are in a private collection in Japan.

Also from the Sung was an example of free cursive writing by Wen T'ien-hsiang (1236-1283) adapted from a hanging scroll format. The whereabouts of the original are not known.

Engraved reproductions from two anthologies are also worth noting here. Due to haste, I made no notes, but identified the items from my slides. The compilations, I-ching-t'ang t'ieh and Jen-chü-t'ang fa-t'ieh are not recorded in Ting Fu-pao, Seu-pu-tsung-lu i-shu pien (Shanghai, 1956), or in Uno Sesson, Hōjō (Tokyo, 1970). The I-ching-t'ang t'ieh was housed in the Liu Garden, Soochow; I cannot recall the location of the other. Some titles they contained are: Wang Hsien-chih (344-388) — Chung-ch'iu t'ieh; Yu Shih-nan (558-638) — Kung-tzu miao-t'ang-pei; a specimen of calligraphy dated 714, carved by Fu Ling-chih (I did not record the author); Emperor Sung Kao-tsung (reigned 1127-1162) — transcription of the T'ang-feng; Chao Meng-fu (1254-1322) — Lan-t'ing shih-san-pa; and other works by Sung K'o (1327-1387), Sung Lien (1310-1381) and Hsu Yu-chen (1407-1472).

III. CALLIGRAPHY IN CONTEMPORARY CHINA

At the end of our trip I learned that in every major city, exhibitions of calligraphy and seal carving by both adults and young people could be seen. I missed the large exhibition of contemporary calligraphy in Peking held at the Pei-hai Garden, which, I was told, contained works by such eminent scholars as Kuo Mo-jo, Chou Chien-jen, Wu Tso-jen, Li K'u-ch'an, and Lou Shih-pai. As it was, I happened to see only two shows, in Shanghai and Hangchow.
The Shanghai exhibition was held at the Yü Garden and occupied a building of three rooms. The calligraphy was mostly by adults, who chose poems by important contemporary cultural or political figures such as Lu Hsün, Kuo Mo-jo, and Yeh Chien-ying, or by comrades such as a Red Guard, a factory worker, an elevator girl, or a peasant; sometimes the poets were the calligraphers themselves.

In Hangchow an exhibition of calligraphy and seal carving was held at the Hsi-leng Seal Society, a place traditionally associated with calligraphers, painters, and seal carvers since the late Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1912). The first room contained calligraphy by young people between twelve and fifteen years of age, while the second room had calligraphy by adults. The subjects were not poems, as in Shanghai, but quotations with similar meanings from newspapers and poems praising Chairman Mao, commemorating the death of Chou En-lai, celebrating the rise of Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, the fall of the Gang of Four, or the 11th Party Congress.

Stylistically, all variations of the five script types appeared - seal, clerical, standard, running, and cursive - as well as simplified characters. The latter are now being integrated for use with the ancient scripts, as, for example, writing the simplified components with clerical brushwork. Seal carvers also appear to be experimenting with other scripts besides the customary seal script, using clerical, standard, and simplified characters. Poems by Chairman Mao and contemporary slogans were chosen for content instead of traditional phrases or studio names.

In Hangchow, I regretted missing an exhibition of poetry and painting; the sign was spotted only as we drove from the train station to the hotel on West Lake. This exhibition may also have contained some calligraphy worth seeing.
Fortunately for the practice of the art, China's great leaders are interested in calligraphy. The cursive and highly individualistic handwriting of Chairman Mao can be seen all over China; it is also well-published, and often enlarged to monumental scale. As a cultural figure, the strong personal style of Kuo Mo-jo also exerts a positive influence on the artistic tradition. Chairman Hua Kuo-feng's calligraphy is being seen more often and has points worth recommending. He wrote the plaques for Chairman Mao's Memorial Hall and the Liaoning Provincial Museum in a bold hand. In addition, the brush writings of other leaders such as Chou En-lai, Yeh Chien-ying, and Ch'en I are frequently published in newspapers and journals. Ch'en I wrote the gate-ways of the Shanghai Museum and the Exhibition hall at the Sian Museum.

In all, it is a favorable atmosphere for calligraphy, no doubt a result of the downfall of the Gang of Four. Local exhibitions are encouraged, and the writers have the freedom to choose whatever style or script type they prefer. For example, it is apparent that Kuo Mo-jo does exert a wide influence, but from the two shows I attended, there was no indication that people were slavishly imitating his style, or even Chairman Mao's, for that matter. Neither has Chairman Hua any intention of imitating Chairman Mao's style. Hua Kuo-feng's handwriting is quite obviously in the style of Yen Chen-ch'ing (709-785), the great T'ang statesman and general, and from all appearances the style suits him. In the show at Hangchow, a youngster's writing was also modeled after Yen's classic standard script, but that does not mean he was trying to imitate Chairman Hua's style, for Yen's calligraphy has been a popular model for centuries.
From conversation with the Shanghai Museum staff, I learned that only primary school students practice brush writing in class; it is not part of the regular curriculum in middle or high school. But the institutions known as the Ch'ing-nien-kung (Youth's Palace) and the Shao-nien-kung (Children's Palace) conduct calligraphy practice and mount district exhibitions. Later, according to a news report, I learned of a huge calligraphy exhibition at the Shanghai Art Exhibit Hall sponsored by the local educational and cultural bureaus. Two hundred seventy-two works were selected from primary grades through high school in the Shanghai area. The youngest aspirant was seven years old! Two examples were by grandsons of the leading calligrapher Shen Yin-mo (1882-1972), and one out of every five examples was by a female student. At the Shanghai Painting Academy which we visited, there were a few resident calligraphers, and calligraphy exhibitions were sponsored, in addition to painting shows.

With such a commanding population and the admirable rate of literacy achieved by the government, the potentials for the development of a national art of calligraphy are unlimited.

STATE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH IN CONTEMPORARY CHINA

On the basis of the published materials, the decade before the Cultural Revolution in May 1966 marked a turning point in the quality and quantity of scholarship in calligraphy and calligraphy history. Between 1959 and 1964, three major museums—Peking, Liaoning, and Shanghai—released sizeable illustrated compilations of their calligraphic masterworks. The peak was reached in 1965 when a few articles, led by the indefatigable Kuo Mo-jo, questioned the traditional attribution of the Lan-t'ing-hsu, the "Orchid Pavilion Preface" of Wang Hsi-chih. A controversy ensued, continuing for several months until early 1966, when the Cultural Revolution put an end to it.
Despite the Cultural Revolution, interest in calligraphy did not cease abruptly. During the decade from 1965 to the present, scholars continued to pursue research. For example, I talked to a scholar who was preparing a manuscript on the problem of distinguishing between li-shu and pa-fen; his research was related to the many recent discoveries of Han written scripts, such as the spectacular tomb finds at Ma Wang Tui I and III.

As to publication in the recent decades, good signs are appearing, such as the printing in May 1977 of the second series in twenty volumes of the important Ku-kung po-wu-yuan-ts'ang li-tai fa-shu hsuan-chi ("Selected Calligraphy from Different Dynasties in the Palace Museum," Peking), the first series of which was published in 1963. Even though half of the examples have been published elsewhere, there is still abundant new material. At the Nanking Museum, a staff member informed me that they were preparing a similar series from their own collection, mainly works of the Ming and Ch'ing periods.

Most recently, issues no. 8 and 9 of the monthly Wen Wu ("Cultural Relics") began introducing specimens of calligraphy from the Palace collections. Both published and previously unpublished works were included.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

All these are signs of revived and continuing interest in the study of calligraphy. If I were to state my highest hopes, they would include the following: new and more publications of previously unpublished or poorly published materials, including important colophons to calligraphy and painting scrolls; more and complete entries accompanying the publication of
such works; renewed publication and wider dissemination of rubbings taken from the engraved masterworks, not only the Pei-lin, but also those taken from incidental engravings and graffiti such as the Goose Pagoda, Fei-lai-feng, as well as from engraved reproductions in architectural settings, like those in Soochow gardens; better cataloguing of such new but neglected materials, especially the dated ones; and continued protection and preservation of these cultural monuments.

With such a rich and abundant calligraphic legacy produced over her long history and scattered over such a huge nation, the golden age of calligraphy studies in China still lies ahead.
As a Chinese Painting Delegation, we spent most of our time in the major museums looking at seasonal or temporary exhibitions of painting and viewing scrolls kept in storage. Few traditional paintings or pieces of calligraphy were visible in the various permanent displays accessible to the general public. Instead, these exhibits featured art and archaeological material of many kinds, including pottery, bronzes, and stone sculpture, as well as jades, lacquerware, and silks. Since in most Chinese museums art serves to illustrate social, economic, and cultural history from a national perspective, archaeological finds of all types are ideally suited for this function. A majority of these objects have been unearthed since 1949, while others come from known excavations that predate Liberation. Yet another group of pieces in museum holdings were formerly in the hands of private collectors and are not archaeologically validated as finds. Interesting objects in each of these categories are often displayed together. This chapter will survey what significant material was seen in October of 1977, but the questions of how and why certain pieces were shown are also relevant and will be discussed first.

Generally speaking, there are several different kinds of Chinese museums as well as shifting policies toward the display of art objects or archaeological finds. In the historically oriented Museum of Chinese History and in
the main exhibits of provincial museums, artifacts of all types are arranged chronologically and placed in a didactic context by maps and charts or by models and portraits of culture heroes, rebels, and inventors. The presentation of the Museum of Chinese History is the most comprehensive since it includes the development of science and technology. Elsewhere this topic is minimized or treated separately, as in the Nanking or Kiangsu Provincial Museum, which devotes one wing to it.

On the other hand, there are a few special museums with large holdings from former private collections or exhibits that predate Liberation in some form. Their displays tend to focus more on artifacts apart from historical context and to place them into traditional categories such as pottery, bronzes, and sculpture. Hence the Palace Museum in Shenyang has a pottery exhibit in one hall. The Peking Palace Museum has permanent pottery and bronze galleries, and used to have a display of clay and stone sculpture that is evidently now closed. The Shanghai Museum, which formerly arranged all types of art in a chronological sequence, now has two permanent exhibits of pottery and bronzes on different floors. The Shensi Provincial Museum was originally a Confucian temple, known to have housed the Pei-lin, or Forest of Stelae, since the eleventh century. It also retains a special sculpture gallery with funerary monuments and pieces of Buddhist art, the majority of which were collected before 1949. In general, when works of art are separated by media and technique, pottery and sculpture are presented with little overt didacticism, but the social and technological background of the bronzes is always stressed. Even in the Shanghai Museum, where objects have traditionally been appreciated in their own rights, the main body of the bronze exhibit is preceded by two rooms, the first devoted to the social history
to be learned from Shang and Chou vessels and the second to their technology.
The introductory room on the Slave Society was evidently added during the
four years previous to our visit in response to the pressures of the times.

There are also small museums attached to specific archaeological sites
or excavated tombs that exhibit the finds of a certain period from the
neighboring area. For example, at Pan-p'o Village near Sian, the site of
the excavations of 1953 to 1957 has been roofed over, and separate halls
outside display Neolithic material amid models and painted backdrops that
explain the fabrication of objects and their use in daily life. The level
of didacticism can vary considerably in such exhibits, depending perhaps on
how early they were established. The presentation at the Ting-ling, one of
the Ming tombs outside Peking that was opened in the late 1950s, is highly
propagandistic in tone. By comparison, the T'ang grave of Princess Yung-t'ai
near Sian, an excavation of the early 1960s, is far more sophisticated in
its display. Even in small museums devoted to archaeological finds,
unidentified copies or reconstructions and historical portraits of dubious
authenticity are to be seen. This is the case at the tomb of Huo Ch'ü-ping
(B.C. 140-117) outside of Sian, famous for the earliest extant sculpture in
stone. Also on exhibit are Han remains from the vicinity of Han Wu-ti's
nearby grave, a portrait of this emperor after a T'ang scroll in the
Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and a copy of the well-known late Warring States
bronze rhinoceros tsun.

Temporary or traveling exhibitions limited to recent discoveries are
generally more purist in regard to what is displayed, but archaeology can still
be used to convey a political message. The most important showcase for new
finds is at present the Pao-ho Tien of the Palace Museum in Peking, the third
of the great audience halls on the main north to south axis. In the fall of 1977 the exhibition featured material from five or more provinces, and the place of honor was given to two pottery soldiers and a horse from a pit near Ch'in Shih-huang's tomb. Placards describing Neolithic and Ch'in remains from Heilungkiang on the northern border with the Soviet Union emphasized the spread of Chinese culture at an early period and the sinification of a minority group, the Jurchen. These finds were shown on the north wall of the hall, which seemed appropriate enough in the palace setting where directional orientation had traditionally symbolized national control. Similarly, some pottery and tomb figurines from Astana in Sinkiang to the west were placed on the western wall. More specialized exhibits of regional finds can also be shown temporarily at other halls in the palace complex, particularly in the summer when the Hui-hua Kuan is closed. In the summer of 1977, for example, archaeological material from the Yangtze area was on display according to K.C. Chang.

A single major museum may thus hold different types of exhibitions concurrently and provide examples of changing policies toward displays. The two main galleries of the Shensi Provincial Museum placed regional material in historical contexts to teach the history of the province. Elsewhere in the inner courtyard, the Forest of Stelae and the sculpture gallery represented pre-Liberation types of museum display, while a hall in the outer courtyard housed recent finds from digs in the vicinity of Sian in which the museum had taken part. As will be noted, however, at least one piece in the exhibit of recent discoveries had turned up during the Cultural Revolution and hence was not archaeologically verified as a Chou bronze. On the other hand, important post-Liberation finds were distributed
through the museum in the sculpture gallery as well as in the historical exhibition halls. Whether all of these pieces were originals is another matter which will be discussed here.

Because of the popularity of archaeology in China, museums are eager to have representative pieces from important sites such as Ch'in Shih-huang's tomb. Thus life-sized pottery soldiers flanking a horse appeared not only in the Pao-ho Tien of the Palace Museum and in the Museum of Chinese History, but also at the Shanghai Museum, which has holdings from different provinces. Several striking figurines in the Museum of Chinese History were duplicates of images in the historical galleries of the Shensi Provincial Museum. These included the large assembly of cavalrymen and soldiers from pits discovered in 1965 near two Western Han tombs at Hsien-yang and the gilt and colored civil and military guardians from Cheng Jen-t'ai's grave of 664 at Sian. In both of these cases, large numbers of pieces or paired objects are known to have been unearthed from the sites in question. However, when unique works are widely publicized or exhibited abroad, copies are often made which may then be displayed in several Chinese museums. This is true of the Western Han bronze from Kansa of the horse with a hoof on a flying swallow, which is now to be seen both in the Pao-ho Tien, presumably in the original, and in the Museum of Chinese History. The late Warring States rhinoceros tsun, an inlaid bronze in the collection of the Museum of Chinese History, is currently on display as well in its native province at the Shensi Provincial Museum and at the site of Huo Ch'ü-ping's tomb. In the last two instances, the vessel is not stated to be a reproduction although it is known to be one of a kind.
The policy of labeling copies evidently varies from place to place, and the comments of museum staff on this point may not always clarify the matter. For example, at the Shensi Provincial Museum we were assured that the only reproduction in the historical galleries was a copy of a stone drum, so labeled, but this did not explain the presence there of the rhinoceros *tsun*. The Museum of Chinese History, on the other hand, claims to clearly indicate what objects on exhibit are reproductions. Still, this policy does not carry over into their English handbook, which illustrates many copies without labeling them as such.

It has been noted that the machines in the Museum of Chinese History are often anachronistically reconstructed on the basis of later texts. Even the displays of archaeological sites may not be correct in all respects, as is the case with the three-dimensional model of the Han tomb at I-năn County, Shantung, where the latrine in a back chamber is treated in the fashion of modern facilities. Such latitude of interpretation may cast some doubt on other reproductions, however realistic they purport to be, when they cannot be checked against an original. An important copy of this type, well able to deceive the unwary viewer, is the painted archway after the entrance of the Six Dynasties tomb at Teng County in Honan. Its sophisticated depictions of flying divinities and clouds seem more adept than some T'ang murals in the museum. Unfortunately this reproduction has not been verified by published photographs of the arched entrance; hence its value as archaeological evidence must be minimal despite the simulations of molds and scratches. More reliance on large-scale photographs of sites or finds, if this were possible, might guarantee a certain level of accuracy in archaeological displays.
Art and Archaeological Displays in Museums

During our trip in October of 1977, we were fortunate enough to visit six cities with seven major museums, each of which held important archaeological material. The largest collection of excavated objects was displayed at the Museum of Chinese History, which had not been open to the Art and Archaeology Delegation in 1973. Interesting exhibits of recent finds from the Neolithic period through the Yuan Dynasty were at the provincial museums located in Shenyang and Sian, but the southeastern museums at Nanking, Soochow, and Shanghai also had noteworthy regional pieces. The survey of each museum that follows is intended to indicate certain highlights that impressed us during our short visits to the public exhibitions and to focus on recent discoveries of note. It cannot chart the scope of holdings in any reasonable detail.

In the Peking Palace Museum, the bronze and pottery galleries exhibit material from former private collections as well as from recent archaeological digs. Thus bronze weapons from the Jannings collection were shown but not identified as to provenance. Among the Neolithic ware in the pottery gallery were post-Liberation finds such as two intricately stemmed black goblets of Lung-shan type from P'ei County in Kiangsu. There were also replicas of some painted bowls discovered in the same county in 1963 and 1966 that are well-known from the traveling exhibition of 1973 and 1974 in Europe and America. Much of the early material would seem to have been published.

Elsewhere in the Palace Museum, discoveries of the late 1960s and early 1970s were featured in the Pao-ho Tien. Many of these pieces have been well publicized and are in the collection of the Archaeological Institute, which supervised their excavation. Hence the majority of the objects shown came
from the Western Han tombs at Man-ch'eng in Hopei or from the T'ang hoard found at Ho-chia Village near Sian, and selected items from these sites had also been in the traveling exhibition. Not all the material was identifiable during our short visit, but the Neolithic period was represented by painted ware from Yung-ch'ang County in Kansu (KK 1974.5: II-V) and by grey pottery from the Hsing-k'ai Lake region in Hailungkiang. The fluent realism of the life-sized pottery statues found near Ch'in Shih-huang's grave contrasted with the stiffness of the small bronze entertainers and horseman from a Western Han tomb at Hsi-lin in the same province of Shensi. One of the most interesting later artifacts was a composite jade and gilt-silver gilded ornament from a Chin settlement at Chung-hsing on the Hailung River, the northernmost border of China (WW 1977.4: I). The material displayed had presumably all been published or at least described in reports written for archaeological magazines.

The Museum of Chinese History in Peking was established after Liberation in the early 1950s and began forming a collection of archaeological objects from various sources. This material serves to illustrate historical and technological progress as well as the contributions of national minorities and the results of cultural interchange with other countries. Nagel's Encyclopedia-Guide devotes thirty-five pages to the contents of the galleries before the museum was closed during the Cultural Revolution (1975 ed.: pp. 427-461). In its present state, the exhibition has been somewhat rearranged and certain recent finds have been added to the collection. In the Neolithic section, for example, the Ta-wen-k'ou material was new as was the comparative display of potter's marks on bowls from the Shantung culture and on Miao-ti-kou ware from Honan. Contemporary material from aboriginal or primitive societies was
also shown to illustrate early stages of development; hence the pictographic script of the Nakhi tribe of Yunnan was exhibited in a separate case near the Shang section. The Shang objects came from a variety of different sources and can indicate the heterogeneous make-up of the collection. Two of the best-known bronze pieces were excavated before 1949—the tsun flanked by rams discovered in Ning-hsiang County, Hunan, in 1938 and the Ssu Mu Wu rectangular ting, the largest bronze vessel now extant, unearthed at An-yang in Honan in 1939. Other pre-Liberation finds from An-yang that are now on Taiwan were represented by copies presumably executed from photographs. These included the pieces of stone sculpture in the form of an owl, an ox head, and a kneeling tiger. On the other hand, the original of the large stone chime engraved with a tiger, which was discovered in 1959, was on display nearby.

The first floor galleries were rich in important archaeological material of significance for art history. A large number of Warring States pieces came from finds published by the Institute of Archaeology in the 1950s, such as bronze and jade objects from the cemetery of the state of Kuo in Honan and bronzes from the tomb of the Marquis of Ts'ai in Anhwei. Some of the latter were in an exhibit that traveled to Japan in 1973, and material from other tombs represented in this show was also currently on display, most noticeably the silks and lacquerware from Tomb no.1 at Ma-wang Tui. Most of the Ch'u and Han lacquered pieces were copies that were used for the Japanese exhibit, and the earliest paintings on silk from Ch'u graves were also shown in reproductions. Other evidence of pictorial imagery was given by some famous molded tiles of genre scenes from Han tombs in Szechwan and of historical figures or mythical beings from a late fifth-century grave at Teng County, Honan. Thirty of the latter were locked in cases flanking the reconstructed
entrance arch and constitute the dramatic and aesthetic high point of the Six Dynasties exhibit that concluded the first floor galleries. On the second floor, three T'ang mural fragments from Shensi tombs were inset in the walls of a corridor to the Liao section (see *Arts of China I*, nos. 197 and 227). Otherwise, T'ang and Sung painting traditions were represented by copies of figure and genre subjects and a photograph of Kuo Hsi's "Early Spring." In general, there were fewer archaeological objects of aesthetic interest in the later galleries.

In the Liaoning Provincial Museum in Shenyang, where a special exhibition of paintings and pieces of calligraphy was hung for us on the top floor, the first two floors were devoted to post-Liberation finds of the area, including palaeolithic fossils. Regional equivalents to known phases of Chinese art were pointed out in a display of painted and black pottery shards. Among the unpublished objects in the Neolithic section was a polished jade in the form of a grinding tool for grain, which was shaped somewhat like a rolling pin according to Anne Clapp. The most interesting pieces in the first room were the finds from Ta-tien-tzu, Aohan Banner, discovered in 1974 (KK 1975.2: 99-101, VI-VII). They consisted of buff or grey-colored ware painted with red, black, and whitish or yellowish spirals and squared spirals suggestive of Shang bronze designs. One unpublished vessel from grave #317 had a dissolved or preliminary monster design. The approximate dating for this culture was said to be 1800 to 1500 B.C. and it is hence considered to be pre-Shang. Stone tools, needles, jewelry (red beads), a jade huang with notched edges, and polished axes have also been unearthed from this site.
In the second room downstairs early technological advances in the province were emphasized by photographs of a copper mine site found at Ta-ching Village, Lin-hai County, and the spread of Chinese culture was indicated by Shang and Chou types of bronzes. One of the most striking early vessels was the hsien with horizontal and diagonal rib decorations unearthed at Kashihketeng Banner in 1973. Later bronzes that were discovered in the same year at Pei-tung Village in K'e-tso County include the Early Western Chou lei with a coiled dragon top, which is similar to two pieces found in Szechwan, and the rectangular ting, which has an important inscription indicating territorial links with the State of Yen at modern Peking (KK 1973.4: 225-226, VI-VII; KK 1974.6: 364-372, VI-VII). These three particular pieces were in an exhibit that traveled to Japan in 1972 and have been well published. Shang and Chou vessels of similar types were shown side by side in the museum and, since Shang stylistic features were retained longer in the Liaoning area, the dating is often determined on the basis of inscriptions (see WW 1977.12: 23-33, I-IV). From the Spring and Autumn period, a series of bronze weights in the shape of frogs with inlaid turquoises were distinctive regional finds.

The exhibits on the second floor consisted mainly of pottery dating from Han through Ming times, but the most significant material came from two tombs of the fifth and tenth centuries A.D. The Pei-p'iao County grave of Feng Su-fu of the Northern Yen (409-436) yielded various remains such as wooden stirrups with gold-leaf covering, bronze vessels, seals, and an inkstone. Of particular importance as possible evidence of Western influence were two pieces of blown glassware and there were also gold cąp ornaments that tie in with contemporary decorations found at Tun-huang and in Korea (WW 1973.3: 2-28, I-V). A middle
room devoted to the Liao and Ch'in periods focused mainly on the mid to late

tenth-century Liao tomb at Yeh-mao-t'ai, Fa-k'u County, which was excavated

in 1974. There were reproductions of the murals as well as large-scale

photographs of the two famous hanging scrolls preserved in the wooden coffin

chamber. Other interesting finds were carved agate bowls and a fragment of

a wadded garment embroidered with auspicious animals and floral motifs.

This tomb also contained excellent examples of Ting-chou and Tz'u-chou type

ware such as white porcelain bowls and an elegant dark-glazed pilgrim's

bottle (NW 1975.12; 26-36, 40-48, III-IV). There was a rich display of Liao

ceramics from other tombs as well, and a gilt-bronze pagoda found in Fu-hsin

County in 1967. In general, these and other later finds were said to indicate

the achievements under minority dynasties and the spread of Chinese influence

beyond the great wall.

As has been noted, important post-Liberation finds were on display in

each of the exhibition halls of the Shensi Provincial Museum in Sian. The

sculpture gallery, for example, contained some interesting Vajrayāna images

from the site of An-kuo-ssu that were unearthed in 1959. The two galleries

devoted to the history of the province were particularly strong in bronzes

and pottery ming-ch'i from the dynasties when the capital was located near

Sian: Western Chou, Ch'in, Western Han, and T'ang. Several objects of

historical significance were Ch'in weights and measures, and Byzantine and

Sassanian coins. Copies of important pieces like the stone drum and the

rhinoceros tsun were on display, as well as striking duplicates of ming-ch'i

such as the large female attendant from the vicinity of Ch'in Shih-huang's

tomb, kneeling with both hands clenched palm downward.
In the exhibit of recent finds, held in the outer courtyard, the most extensive and significant remains were from Western Chou and Ch'in times. The Neolithic period was represented by painted pottery of the Pan-p'o type found at Chiang-tsai, Lin-t'ung County, in 1972 (KK 1973.3; WW 1975.8) and by black ware and jades (a later intrusion) from a Lung-shan site at Shih-mao, Shen-mu County, in 1976 (KK 1977.3). There were at least two unusual bronze vessels said to be of Shang date that may not yet be published. One was a t'ing found in Li-ch'uan County in 1968 with thin flanges and eyed relief bands on its legs; another was a li-ting from Hua County in 1972 with three t'ao-t'ieh masks on a relatively narrow body segmented by exaggerated, irregular flanges. A series of Western Chou bronzes was exhibited from finds of 1973 and 1975 at Tung-chia, Hsin-wang, Ho-chia, and Ma-wang Villages in Ch'i-shan and Ch'ang-an Counties (WW 1976.5; WW 1976.6; KK 1976.1; KK 1974.1). The Ho-chia Village site yielded some bronze weapons, tools, and pottery as well, and there was a lei from Ch'i-chia Village, Fu-feng County (WW 1974.11; 857). The most interesting piece in this section was a Western Chou altar stand of bronze decorated with k'uei dragons, identical or similar to the stand found in the 1920s at Tou-chi-t'ai in Pao-chi County. This object, which had been lost, turned up during the Cultural Revolution and has been published as in the collection of the Office in Charge of Cultural Relics at Tientsin (WW 1975.3: 1). Conceivably it has now been presented to the Shensi Provincial Museum.

The next large group of remains came from Ch'in State sites in Feng-hsiang County and included bronze vessels and weapons, jades, and pottery. The bronze right-angled accessories for palace architecture are well-known and the finds from Palace No. 1 at Hsien-yang have been published, notably the geometric
mural, a silk fragment, and rounded tile ends with spiral or animal designs (KK 1976.12: III-VI; WW 1976.11: 12-14, I-III). The succeeding material, also unearthed in 1974 and 1976, came from the pit sites near Ch'in Shih-huang's tomb in Lin-t'ung County, one of which has been roofed over and will be opened to the public in the near future. There have been preliminary reports on the pottery horses and soldiers from one pit site (KK 1975.6; WW 1975.11), and some examples are now on exhibit at important museums. But the array of large-scale standing figures and horses at Sian was undoubtedly the most impressive display of archaeological material that we saw. The pottery soldiers, varied by hairdos and expressions, are also differentiated by occupations as is indicated by two important pieces recently published (WW 1978.5: III.1; IV.1). A standing charioteer thus extends his arms and his leath armor protects the backs of his hands. An archer kneels on one knee and turns slightly to the right with both hands ready to grasp a crossbow mechanism. This realistically conceived pose is unprecedented from what is known of pre-Han and Han figurines, and hence is a landmark for the study of early Chinese sculpture. Other less dramatic finds of 1976 included two smaller female attendants in kneeling postures, one low-browed and the other high-browed, plain pottery utensils, iron tools, and decorated tiles. Also of Ch'in date were weapons and a seated deer from Shen-mu County.

There were various Western Han remains such as knife coins and molds, ming-ch'i and jades from P'ing-li County, mural fragments from Chien-yang (KK 1975.3: VII), and hollow tiles with lozenge and bird designs from the vicinity of Han Wu-ti's tomb (WW 1976.7: 51-56). The most impressive pottery ming-ch'i of the period were the painted soldiers and cavalrmen unearthed in large numbers in 1965 from Yang-chia-wan, Hsien-yang Municipality, and groups of
these were already on display elsewhere in the historical galleries and in the Museum of Chinese History. Important T'ang finds of 1974 and 1975 consisted of a large owl's tail acroterion of black-glazed pottery and a copper lintel from a seventh-century offering shrine at T'ai-tsung's grave, and a small gilt-bronze dragon, one of the furnishings of Ch'i-pi Ming's tomb in Sian Municipality. Later periods were sparsely represented by ceramic finds of which the most interesting were the Sung pieces from the Huang-pao kiln site in T'ung-ch'uan County. They consisted of Yao-chou ware plates and molds, ocarinas and figurines, and a Ts'u-chou type ware. There were also Yüan ying-ch'ing and chüan ware bowls that had turned up in Feng-hsiang County and in Sian Municipality.

This archaeological exhibit, which was the most extensive collection of finds that we saw, was particularly rich because of the important position of Sian in early Chinese history. Some of the material was still unpublished, but a large number of objects had already been illustrated in preliminary reports. Of the many Western Chou bronzes found in Shensi Province in the 1970s, only those from locations near Sian were displayed in the provincial museum. Published pieces from other sites are presumably in the collections of local museums or groups that sponsored the digs. While most of the material on exhibit at Sian consisted of new finds of the 1970s, there were some exceptions that might be classified as new accessions, pieces recently offered to the museum. The pottery ming-ch'i found at Hsien-yang in 1965 and the Sung and Yüan porcelains probably fall into this category, as does the mysterious Western Chou altar stand. This last object was evidently held privately until the Cultural Revolution and is hence not an archaeologically verified piece.
Whether it is the Tientsin stand, which evidently was found in Pao-chi County around or before 1925, or a pre- or post-Liberation copy is another question. In any case, it should be kept in mind that the Sian exhibit of new material was not limited to recently excavated finds.

Of the museums that we visited in the southeastern coastal region, the Shanghai Museum had the largest displays of pottery and bronzes. Generally the provenance of these objects was not indicated, since a majority of them presumably came from private collections assembled before 1949. The Shanghai Museum is not limited to material from one region of China, and hence has been able to acquire some recent finds to supplement its exhibition. For example, the third, chronological section of the bronze galleries began with a display of Cheng-chou type vessels, and the fourth section on the bronze art of minority groups included characteristic pieces from the Kingdom of Tien in Yunnan and from Szechwan, Anhwei, and Shanghai. Many of these are likely to have been excavated after Liberation, as is the case with the tsun of regional type unearthed in 1965 from Sung-chiang, Shanghai Municipality. A large number of bronzes are on exhibit and some are of considerable importance, but only a selected part of the collection seems to have been published. One of the early Chou vessels has recently been identified by Robert Bagley as a probable duplicate of the Freer yu with projecting posts that is associated with the second Pao-chi set. A unique piece of Han date, which was noted in the museum by several members of our group, was a small bronze horse with the face of a dragon. The pottery galleries similarly contain regional Neolithic material from the Shanghai area as well as good examples of Yang-shao and Lung-shan ware. A copy of the well-known Ma-chia-yao jar (Arts of China I, no. 4) was exhibited near other bowls and vases from this Kansu site. Copies
labeled as such were on display on all floors of the museum. Thus the early stages of Chinese painting were illustrated by reproductions of archaeological finds such as the banqueting mural from the Eastern Han tomb at Mi County in Honan. The material in the Shanghai Museum was well covered by slides taken by members of the delegation.

The Nanking Museum considers itself primarily a historical museum, since from 1959 it has been the Kiangsu Provincial Museum. Kiangsu is particularly rich in finds of certain periods like the Six Dynasties (220-589) when capitals were located in the vicinity of Nanking. In earlier periods it produced interesting regional types of Neolithic pottery and of Chou bronzes and Geometric ware. The two-page summary of the exhibition galleries in Nagel's *Encyclopedia-Guide* (pp. 988-990) has not been up-dated, but much of the material described is still on display. A 'Lung-shān' phase of the Neolithic in Kiangsu is called the Ch'ing-lien-kang culture after a site in Huai-an County. It was represented by artifacts such as polished stone tools of characteristic shapes, several of which were shown in the traveling exhibit of 1973 and 1974. Ta-tun-tzu, the best-known Neolithic site in P'ei County, northern Kiangsu, yielded painted ware of the Liu-lin culture from 1963 to 1966, which is typically decorated with red and white ornament suggestive of petal patterns. Quite a few of these pieces were on exhibit and some of them were labeled as copies. Later material of the Hua-t'ing culture, also from this site, included a dark grey goblet with a flaring openwork stem and some grey and buff ware of the early Bronze Age. An exceptional piece of about 2000 B.C. was a small pottery house, one of the earliest ming-ch'i known (KK 1972.3; 77, no. 5). Other interesting objects from this period were a whitish bird-shaped bottle and a black lacquered cup from Liang-chu culture sites in Wu-chiang County, southeastern Kiangsu.
From early Western Chou on, there were bronzes of regional types, initially with plain surfaces and heavy, rounded forms. Various different vessels found in I-cheng County in 1951 and in Tan-t'u County in 1954 formed a considerable part of the display. The Eastern Chou kingdoms of Wu and Yüeh were represented by bronze weapons and stamped Geometric ware of the Hu-shu culture, and by bronzes found in 1958 at the capital of Yen, such as the type of taun banded at the waist with needle-like spikes. (The last site also yielded the three-wheeled pan and a dugout canoe now visible in the Museum of Chinese History.) Many of the pieces mentioned above are illustrated in Chiang-su-sheng ch'u-t'u wen-wu hsüan-chi, 1963, a selection of finds in the province between 1952 and 1960. However, later discoveries, such as the regional nao bell found in 1974 (WW 1975.8: 87-88), were currently on exhibit. Unearthed in 1972 from the late Warring States tomb in Lien-shui County were striking bronzes like the horned deer and the inlaid hu, topped and supported by birds (KK 1973.2: IX-XII). Among the Han gilt bronzes were the incense burner and curled tiger weight found in 1972 in T'ung-shan County (WW 1973.4: 34) and the famous inkstone container in monster form with inlaid turquoises, which was unearthed in 1970 from the Hsu-chou tomb containing a silver-threaded jade suit.

One of the highlights of the pottery holdings was the exhibit of Yüeh ware vessels from Six Dynasties graves near Nanking. An important pair of ram-shaped wine pots were found in 1968 in a tomb of A.D. 265, and one of them was on display while its mate was in the Museum of Chinese History. There were also fourth century epitaph tablets of tile from the cemetery of the Lang-yeh Wang clan on Hsiang-shan, which have been cited to gauge the possible style of Wang Hsi-chih (303-ca. 379) (WW 1965.6: 32, 36). Recent discoveries of molded-brick reliefs in fifth-century tomb chambers were
represented by rubbings of the well-known composition of the "Seven Sages of The Bamboo Grove" found near Nanking, and by the fragment from Tan-yang of an "Immortal teasing a White Tiger" (WW 1974.2: 56). The newest material from the Tăn-yang area was not on exhibit.

Firsts of 1950 and 1954 with some relevance for painting included decorative strips from imperial Southern T'ang tombs of the tenth century in the Nanking region and a fragment of a mural from a Sung grave of 1060 in Huai-an County. Among the examples of early fourteenth-century decorative arts were carved and plain lacquerware pieces from Jen family tombs near Shanghai. Another well-known object was a gold dish composed in a four-lobed pattern of relief petals and engraved with floral designs. It came from an early Yüan grave discovered in 1959 at Tiger Hill in Soochow and is presumably one of the pieces taken to Nanking when the provincial museum was moved from Soochow.

The Soochow Museum is a municipal museum with a small archaeological exhibition of material collected after 1954. Early artifacts from the region consisted mainly of Geometric ware of the Chou period, stamped and impressed with lei-wen and herringbone patterns, bronze vessels of the Warring States period with heavy bodies and small-scale spiral decoration, and bronze weapons and tools, the most recent of which were discovered during construction at a brocade factory in 1977, as well as some Han to T'ang ming-ch'i and pottery. From later periods, the most interesting finds of 1964 to 1966 were the Buddhist relics from the Tiger Hill Pagoda of A.D. 961 (Nagel's, pp. 1011, 1029-1030), the silver toilet articles and silks from Lady Ts'ao's tomb of 1365 (KK 1965.6: X-XI), and the furnishings from the grave of Princess Hsi-chüeh (1534-1610) at Tiger Hill, which included carved jade objects and small-scale wooden furniture draped with brocade (WW 1975.3: 51-56).
A folding fan from the last tomb decorated with scattered pieces of gold leaf was one of the highlights of the separate exhibit of Soochow crafts. Of the textile display, the most important works were Ming embroideries by Lu Hsiang-yüan, the founder of a special tradition in the Soochow school of embroidery. According to Marc Wilson, one showed a pair of phoenixes on rocks beneath a tree and was sewn with the designer’s signature and two of her seals in red legend: Lu Hsiang-yüan and Hu-t'ou (Ku K'ai-chih's hao, which she adopted). An album of Lohan embroideries with many pictorial details was probably another authentic work by her. The exhibit also contained examples of Sung and Yüan tapestries and brocades, some of which were excavated pieces. Both round and folding varieties of Ch'ing fans were displayed, with woven, carved, and painted decoration. Artists of a certain Wu family were responsible for the floral designs and landscapes of the Wu school type painted on fans of the last century. The hall where the exhibit was held had been ornamented with landscape scenes by the T'ai-p'ing revolutionaries, and the building as a whole, with its handsome lattice-woodwork at windows and doors, was an impressive example of Soochow architecture.

I am unmeasurably grateful to have had the opportunity to see some of the great treasures of Chinese art and to become more familiar with certain archaeological finds. The descriptions of the various objects encountered in different museums must inevitably be summary and impressionistic. If my comments are inadequate or biased in any way, I trust that later observations help to correct and broaden the point of view.
This report is based upon our visits to seven museums in China. Two of the museums are located in Peking and one in each of the following cities: Shenyang (the Liaoning Provincial Museum), Sian (Shensi Provincial Museum), Nanking (Kiangsu Provincial Museum), Soochow (a small municipal museum), and Shanghai (a large municipal museum). We also visited Hangchow, but while we were there the museum was being re-roofed; since the museum was closed, paintings were brought to our hotel. I was privileged to make this trip with a group of Chinese art historians; while they were busy filming paintings in special viewing rooms, I made tours of the sections of the museums devoted to early Chinese history or interviewed museum staff members. Most of the following comments are based upon those interviews. During the course of the trip, as my knowledge of museum matters increased, I changed some questions and added others; thus not all data will pertain to all museums, but on the whole this account will present a reasonable general picture of museums in China today. I might add that I found our hosts willing to answer or to attempt to answer all questions that were raised; the answers were usually forthright and to the point. I would like to express publicly my appreciation for this cooperative attitude. Even when I am sure I was exhausting the patience of my interviewees, they maintained their friendly willingness to offer answers.
In the following pages, I shall deal with functions, methodology, inter-museum relations, staffing, budgets, and display. The last topic is an area of special concern to museum administrators and staff members; my remarks do not reflect the training and background of the experts in that field. 

Functions 

The primary function of the museum in China is to educate the museum visitor in the history of China as that history is understood from the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint. Most American visitors to Chinese museums will find this explicitly didactic approach strange and perhaps obtrusive. The teaching role, given the pervasiveness of the ideology, produces a marked sameness in the interpretations that one finds in museums as different as the National Historical Museum and the Soochow Municipal Museum. The sameness notwithstanding, there are also significant variations from one museum to the next. The variations are functions of the areas in which the museums are located, the wealth of the area, the sophistication of the staff members, and other factors as well. I shall comment on several museums in order to demonstrate these points.

The geographical position of the National Historical Museum indicates the importance of the museum in today's China: it occupies the west side of the square before T'ien-an-men. Opposite it is the Great Hall of the People, and T'ien-an-men and Chairman Mao's mausoleum face each other on the north-south sides of the square. T'ien-an-men is, in many ways, symbolic of the state, and the Great Hall of the people is where state policies, in theory at least, are determined. The National Historical Museum thus stands amidst the most powerful edifices in China, and well it should, for the
Museum by its presentation of artifactual and textual material legitimates
the very existence of the regime and the buildings in its vicinity. All of
Chinese history culminates in the deliberations held in the Hall and in the
massing of the people before the Gate. The essential function of the Museum
is to present all of Chinese history, up to modern times, so that it leads
to the inevitable conclusion of the existence of the modern Chinese nation.
Whereas provincial or other museums may have little material on the Paleo-
lithic or Neolithic periods, depending upon local finds, the National Historical
Museum covers all periods in China's history.

Provincial and municipal museums tend to emphasize those aspects of
Chinese history that are peculiar to their particular localities but which
nevertheless often have national significance. Provincial museums have the
same general didactic function as the National Historical Museum, but they
are much more oriented towards archaeological fieldwork; from the standpoint
of the viewer, however, the educational role is still predominant. The same
periodization of Chinese history prevails in all museums; thus the first and
foremost function is to teach the Marxist-Leninist stages in the development
of man in China. There is another theme evident in provincial and municipal
museums, viz., local pride in the contributions of the area to the development
of Chinese history. Thus, the phrase "our province..." (wò-sheng) occurs
often in the Liaoning Provincial Museum display cases. In the same provincial
museum, and in others as well, there is considerable emphasis on the multi-
ethnic makeup of the Chinese people. The Hsiung-nu of Han times, the Khitan
and the Mongols of later periods, are all treated as minority peoples within
the Chinese world. This interpretation transcends the local pride instilled
in the "our province" formulation, but is an important factor in explaining
the ethnic mix of the Chinese nation. The national interest is also expressed in those displays which use archaeological evidence to establish territorial claims or which extol the glories of the Chinese people as defenders of their homeland. In the Liaoning Provincial Museum, for example, artifacts of the Ming period are displayed and explicitly interpreted to justify Chinese claims to Manchuria. The Soviet Union has argued that the Ming boundary was located at the Great Wall and that the territory of Manchuria was in the last Chinese dynasty not a part of China. The Liaoning archaeologists use both artifacts and textual evidence to prove that Ming administrators, farmers, and others lived beyond the Great Wall, and thereby establish a claim to this territory. The Chinese carry the argument one step further in printed evidence of reports published in the 1960s on Soviet archaeological finds of Ming Dynasty civilization in territory that is now in the hands of the "new tsars." Thus the point is made that both "the old and new tsars" have taken Chinese territory. In Sian at the tomb of Huo Ch'ü-ping attention is drawn to Huo's successful military campaigns well beyond the Han Dynasty's northwestern frontiers; the message is clear. Functional specialization is also manifested in the Soochow Municipal Museum which has the responsibility of conducting research on the Wu School of painting (whereas the Yangchow Municipal Museum focuses attention on the "Eight Eccentrics") and working on classical gardens. In sum, although the general historical interpretation does not significantly vary from one museum to the next, specific assignments have been made with regard to research orientation, and specific historical and political problems are conspicuously dealt with where appropriate.

Methodology

Methodology in this context refers to the ways in which materials on display are created and used; some practices common to Chinese museums would
not be employed in museums in other parts of the world. The differences in these practices can probably best be explained by the heavy teaching responsibilities of the Chinese museum.

One is struck immediately upon entering a museum in China by the large explanatory signs which are prominently displayed. For example, at the Shanghai Museum a huge sign on the floor devoted to bronzes gives a lengthy lesson in early Chinese history. Within the bronze section, smaller placards point out technical features and lead the viewer through the evolution of "the slave period" in Chinese history via the bronzes. These announcements, often handsomely composed, are the equivalent of the Western catalog, but with a consciously prepared historical and political message. The identifying labels in the cases oftentimes also include social and political messages. The political weight of the messages is lighter in the painting sections of the museums than in other areas. For example, in the Palace Museum in Peking, where didactic function was generally less obtrusive than in the National Historical Museum, the written materials accompanying the paintings usually did little more than identify the artist by name, date, and place of origin. Occasionally, an artist was credited with creating a new style or trend and in a few cases references were made to class origins or viewpoints, but the general impression is that painting was less subject to political interpretation than were other items on display.

The purist will be bothered by the frequent use of duplicates. In the Palace Museum I was delighted to be able to see the famous Kansu flying horse; two days later, I saw it again in the National Historical Museum. In fact, I am not sure that I ever saw the genuine article. The use of replicas is quite common. Striking duplications of Shang bronzes led me to ask if the
museum staff members ever had difficulty distinguishing the genuine article from the fake. The answer was not entirely reassuring: after three or four years of experience with the bronzes one will usually not have any problem. The viewer is never certain whether he is looking at the original or a reproduction; whereas some duplicates are identified as such, others are not unless one asks a staff member about the authenticity of the piece. Thus, the innocent, seeing some labels identifying replicas, may unwisely assume that all items not so identified are originals.

One step beyond replication is fabrication, which is also freely used. In the National Historical Museum I saw a model of a water-powered trip hammer grain huller; the viewer was led to believe the model was created from Han artifacts. Since I had just recently searched without success for pictorial evidence of such a machine, I asked a staff member if any Han wall paintings or tomb bas reliefs depicted this machine. No, he said, there was no Han depiction; there was only textual evidence. I am familiar with the textual evidence; it is so vague and general that no reconstruction could be based upon it. Furthermore, water-powered machinery of this kind was extremely rare even in late Han. The display, however, would lead the museum visitor to believe that this level of technology was common in the period. Throughout the museums of China, rebels are prominently noted. They are brought to life, as it were, by the imaginative creation of statues. Ch'en Sheng and Wu Kuang, the two men who led the first revolt against the short-lived Ch'in Dynasty, are often depicted in statuary busts, but in the National Historical Museum they are immortalized as larger-than-life-sized statues, with bared arms, clenched fists, and the revolutionary zeal so common in socialist realism art. Busts of Huang Ch'ao (T'ang), Fang La (Sung)
Li Tzu-ch'eng (Ming), and Hung Hsiu-ch'üan (Ch'ing) appear throughout the museums of China. Certainly there is more dynamism in a three-dimensional statue than on a written page. Historical reliability is forsaken for educational demands.

Another method of conveying the historical message is through frequent use of written evidence. With regard to oracle bone or bronze inscriptions, where it is necessary to convert archaic Chinese into modern characters, such use of written materials is essential, but at other times the need is much less compelling. For example, cases contain books, with underlined passages, by Hsün-tzu, Marx, Engels, etc. The point, of course, is that the historical truth must be conveyed; the proposition is not: what does our archaeological evidence tell us.

Still another method of making a point is analogical. When I saw a wooden tool handle, with painted hunting and agricultural scenes, among Neolithic artifacts, I could not believe that the handle was from the Neolithic period. When I asked if the handle was original I was assured that it was. Still dubious, I asked where it came from and was told that it originated from an aboriginal settlement in Southwest China. The first answer was correct; the handle was an original piece. But it was twentieth century aboriginal, not Neolithic. The theory applied in this case is that if you want to know what Neolithic life was like turn to modern aboriginal peoples. For appropriate artifacts, one may also turn to modern aborigines. Sometimes such "borrowed" pieces are properly identified; sometimes, however, the unsuspecting viewer will be misled.

**Intermuseum Relations**

I sought to determine the kinds of cooperative arrangements between museums and asked questions about materials that might be borrowed by one museum from
another, e.g., when a special exhibition was being mounted. The answers revealed two entirely different attitudes and suggest the obvious necessity of clearly distinguishing policy statements from actual practices.

I began asking such questions while in the two museums we visited in Peking. The answer was that museums were fraternal institutions and that the fraternal relationship allowed one museum to borrow from another. But when I became specific ("Which of the items now on display are on loan from another museum?" "How many items did this museum borrow in, e.g., 1976?") it became clear that very little if any borrowing actually took place. When I later asked the same questions at the municipal museum level, the answer was very different: "Hah! Borrow? If the provincial or national museum wants something it simply takes that item." Museums at higher levels often participate in or take over digs initiated at the lower level. Under these circumstances, the higher level museum simply takes what it wants, and these items ("the most and best") then belong to the higher level unit. Little borrowing occurs because there is little of value left to borrow.

When in Shenyang I noted that a map graphically illustrated the locations of archaeological finds sprinkled through Liaoning Province. I also noted that the area across the Yalu River, i.e. in North Korea, was blank. I asked if Chinese archaeologists read North Korean archaeological journals, and was told that they did not. I asked if there was ever a private exchange of correspondence regarding common problems or if conferences of the archaeologists of the two countries were ever convened. Again, the answer was negative, with the additional comment that such matters would be political in nature and would have to be handled in Peking. Failure to develop a working relationship between the archaeologists of the two fraternal nations signifies possible difficulties in the development of Sino-American cooperation.
Museum Personnel

The staff members of museums can be divided according to two criteria: function and age. In the relatively small Soochow Municipal Museum, with about 50 workers, there are essentially 4 groups of people: the first group (14 people) is responsible for preservation of archaeological materials, documents, and paintings; the second group (13 people) is charged with dissemination and education; the third group (11 people) handles archaeological work; the fourth group consists of administrative and support personnel. The much larger Shanghai Municipal Museum has a total staff of 263. There is the general office under the Revolutionary Committee, a Department of Exhibitions and Research, a Department of Preservation, and a Department of Public Service. In addition there is a scientific laboratory for restoration and reproductions, a mounting studio, a library, and an Archaeology Department. There was simply not enough time to ask follow-up questions, such as how promotions were handled from one department to the next, how many people were in each department or how people were initially assigned to departments. Thus, questions regarding the museum as a functioning bureaucracy will have to be raised on some other occasion.

The following rank system has already been restored in the Academy of Sciences: Research Fellow, Associate Research Fellow, Assistant Research Fellow, and Trainee. These ranks also existed in the museums before the Cultural Revolution and their restoration in the museums seems imminent.

The division of personnel by age was a frequent theme raised by our informants. Museum personnel, and particularly the older figures, are keenly aware of the generational divisions within the museums. The older generation, usually professionally trained, realize that they are rapidly approaching retirement age and they are anxious to make contributions in the years they have left. They
are also aware that the next generation is very poorly trained. Younger people have often been arbitrarily assigned to museums. They must spend much of their first year in general familiarization work. Then they begin more demanding training in calligraphy, mounting, archaeology, and other fields. There is a widespread fear that the poor training of this upcoming generation will cause severe problems in museum affairs when it takes over.

Training schedules have been established in most museums and there are regular training facilities that are returning to full operation. Most museums are closed to the public one day or a half day each week for technical training of personnel (a comparable period is usually set aside for political study). More disciplined training is ordinarily offered through colleges and universities. Peking University and Tsientsin University (and Nanking University according to one source) have regular archaeology departments. Additionally, about ten colleges have three-year technical training programs in archaeology; these institutions will provide the much-needed training of the next generation of museum workers.

Transfers of personnel into or out of museums is most unusual. Thus the young man or woman assigned to a museum will ordinarily expect to remain there throughout his or her working life. Promotions take place within but not among museums; thus, a vacancy in the directorship will be filled by the vice director. There is no "raiding" by other provincial museums.

One interesting personnel-assignment practice did emerge from my questions about the employment background of the docent/lecturers (chiang-chieh-yün). Docent/lecturer refers to the relatively young woman who as full-time museum employee (and thus different from the docent of American museums) is responsible for giving explanations and lectures to visiting school students, workers,
farmers, and others. Many of these women were originally chosen, while in middle school, for training as singers or dancers. Then, after they had failed in their training as entertainers or had been forced for health reasons to leave the stage, they were assigned to museums. They have great stage presence and easily make eye contact; they also deliver dramatic lectures to highly attentive groups of visitors. When I asked what happened to young men who dropped out of the same schools for entertainers, the first answer was a defensive "we have no unemployment in this society." My informant then told me that these young men were usually given factory jobs. I saw no male chiang-chieh-yuan.

Farmers and workers should also be mentioned as museum personnel. Although they are not, of course, on the museum payroll, they are heavily relied upon in reporting discoveries and working on digs. Museums often send teams of their archaeologists, who use bronzes, lacquerware, jade pieces, etc. from their holdings, to give demonstrative lectures to farmers and construction workers. The farmers and workers are thus taught to identify valuable finds and to aid in recovery. In some cases the excavations are apparently conducted without supervision and the pieces simply presented to the local museum. Such is the case of a magnificent group of Chou bronze tools that was discovered while a foundation for a factory was being built; the construction workers delivered the items (found in September 1977 and still unresearched and unpublished) to the Soochow Museum.

Budgets

All museums charge a fee to visitors, but groups of students or workers are usually admitted free. The admission fee is usually only three or five fen. I first asked how this money was used and led from there to very general questions
about budgets. I was told that the income from admission fees was really inconsequential and went into the general operating budget of the museum. (The income from admission fees in public parks can, however, be quite sizable. The fee may be as much as ten fen and many parks average over 10,000 visitors a day.) The general budget process is for the museum to apply for funds to the administrative organ under which it is located. That organ then applies to the next higher level until the budget is finally approved in Peking.

Problems arise when unexpected discoveries are made of archaeological sites. In theory, local units have the obligation to bear the cost of excavations made on their property. The discovering unit or agency will report its find to the nearest museum or city and the museum will make a preliminary assessment of the site. If the site is of medium importance, excavation will be handled by the provincial museum. If the find turns out to be a major discovery, the Archaeological Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences may be called in. In the excavation work itself and on many of the restoration projects of national monuments local farmers are called up as common laborers. The farmers receive work points for which they are paid at the end of the year. The money for paying their wages comes from the agency that took responsibility for the excavation. This process is the one to which museums resort when extraordinary discoveries are made. Normally, the archaeological group in a particular museum will have sites identified where they want to conduct exploratory digs; the normal budgeting process takes into consideration these planned excavations. In view of the amount of construction activity, the archaeologists frequently find themselves putting aside their own plans in order to deal with "emergency" situations created by construction workers or farmers digging irriga-
tion canals. I once asked if resentment was created when archaeologists came down from the provincial to the municipal level or from the national to the provincial level. I was told that there was so much archaeological activity going on that outside help was appreciated. "Good," I responded, "then how about American archaeologists undertaking or participating in some digs?" After a pause, and with a broad grin, my informant stated that it was against national law for foreigners to participate in archaeological excavations.

Display

The didactic function of the Chinese museum has much to do with the materials that accompany the artifacts on display. As a general rule, museums have many maps, charts, tables, and diagrams to facilitate the accepted interpretation of the items in the cases. The quality of these aids varies tremendously. For example, in the Liaoning Museum we saw pictures of reconstructed early bovine animals and others; the quality of the drawing was not much better than what one would expect from a grade school student. On the other hand, the Shanghai Museum contained some of the most sophisticated reconstructions depicting bronze technology that one could find anywhere in the world. We were told quite frankly that those in charge of the displays had to assume that the level of audience understanding was quite low. Therefore, the messages had to be kept simple and the truth easily grasped. There seems to have been a general understanding, however, that this principle was not to be applied with regard to Chinese painting. In most museums the explanatory material in the section of the museum devoted to paintings was held to an absolute minimum. When I observed that grade school students in the Shanghai Museum were not being given an explanation of Chinese art works, I was told that the students were not
sophisticated enough to understand the explanation. On the whole, I felt that those in charge of displays in Chinese museums did a better job than their American counterparts in making the items understandable to visitors.

All museums follow the same periodization in their displays; some, however, are much more subtle than others. In the Liaoning Museum, for example, Room 1 was labeled Primitive Society, Room 2, Slave Society, and so on. In the Shanghai Museum, by contrast, one floor was devoted to bronzes, another floor to ceramics, and another floor to paintings. Within each of these topical headings the standard periodization scheme was followed, but the general impression was that the Marxist historical stages were less obtrusive than was the case in other museums.

I found this trip highly educational, both with regard to the substance of Chinese painting and with regard to the social and political atmosphere within which museum operations are conducted. Our hosts were generous and thoughtful in making available to us works that were not on display. They were equally considerate of my own desires to spend time in the historical sections of museums while my fellow delegates were in private viewing rooms. I would like to express my appreciation for being able to go to China with this particular group.

I think the world can continue to look forward to an unending stream of discoveries from China. I close these comments with the policy decision that was passed on to me - a policy decision that is both somber and wise: until satisfactory techniques have been developed for preserving bronzes, lacquerware, silk pieces, and other items, no more imperial tombs will be opened. This does not mean, of course, that there will be a significant reduction in reports of new excavations; it simply means that we will have to exercise patience.
before we can see what may well be artifacts that are even more magnificent than those we have already seen.
APPENDIX I

BRIEF ITINERARY

October 6 - November 2, 1977

October 6: Tokyo, Peking


October 7: Peking

Morning: Palace Museum.

Afternoon: Hui-hua Kuan Painting Exhibition Galleries, Palace Museum; Chen-pao Kuan Treasure Galleries, Palace Museum.

Evening: Reception (along with three other CSCPRC delegations) at United States Liaison Office hosted by David Dean, Deputy Chief, United States Liaison Office, Peking.

Dinner in honor of all four delegations at the Ch'ien-men Pei-ching K'ao-ya Tien (Peking Duck Restaurant), hosted by Chou P'ei-yüan.

October 8: Peking

Morning: Viewing of paintings from storage, Palace Museum.

Afternoon: Viewing of paintings from storage, Palace Museum.

Evening: Dinner at a Shantung restaurant, the Shou-tu Fan-chuang.

October 9: Peking

Morning: Viewing of paintings from storage, Palace Museum.

Afternoon: Viewing of paintings from storage, Palace Museum.

Evening: Banquet at hotel for curatorial staff members of the Palace Museum.
October 10: Peking

Morning: Exhibition Galleries, Chinese History Museum.

Afternoon: Viewing of paintings from storage, Chinese History Museum. Visit to Peking Friendship Store.

Evening: Variety show performed by the Tung-fang Ko-wu Troupe.

October 11: Peking

All day excursion to Chü-yung Gate, Great Wall, Ming Tombs.

October 12: Peking

Morning: Visit to Jung-pao Chai (art reproduction workshop and art supply shop) and to Liu-li Ch'ang (antique shop area).

Afternoon: Ceramics, bronzes, and painting exhibition galleries, Palace Museum.

Evening: Banquet at the Szechwan-style Ch'eng-tu Restaurant for Peking hosts.

October 13: Peking, Shenyang

Morning: Choice of visit to the Temple of Heaven or to the Chinese Historical Museum.

12:30 P.M.: Flight to Shenyang, Liaoning Province. Reception by hosts at airport. Visit to Pei-ling (tomb of Ch-ing Emperor T'ai-tsung, d. 1643, and his Empress). Lodging at Shenyang Hotel.

Evening: Banquet in our honor at the hotel.

October 14: Shenyang

Morning: Visit to Liaoning Provincial Museum to see painting and calligraphy in exhibition galleries and from storage.

Afternoon: Return to Liaoning Provincial Museum to see paintings from storage.

October 15: Shenyang, Peking

Morning: Return to Liaoning Provincial Museum to view archaeological materials in galleries and paintings from storage.

Afternoon: Visit to Ch'ing Palace in Shenyang. Flight to Peking. Lodged in Peking Hotel.

October 16: Peking

Morning: Hui-hua Kuan Painting Exhibition Galleries, Palace Museum.

Afternoon: Choice of visiting the Summer Palace or the Palace Museum.

Late Afternoon: Optional visit to Liu-li Ch'ang.

October 17: Peking, Sian

Morning: Optional visit to Temple of Heaven.

12:00 noon: Flight to Sian, Shensi Province. Reception. Lodged at Renmin Hotel. Visit to Ta-yen t'a (Great Goose Pagoda, T'ang Period monument), Visit to Bell Tower.

October 18: Sian

Morning: Visit to Shensi Provincial Museum, formerly a Confucian temple, incorporating the Pei-lin ("Forest of Stelae").


Evening: Banquet in our honor at the hotel.

October 19: Sian

Morning: Visit to tomb of Princess Yung-t'ai, part of the vast area containing imperial tombs of the T'ang period, three hours by car from Sian. Box lunch at the facilities operating on the site.

Afternoon: Visit to the Ch'ien-ling, tomb of the first emperor of T'ang. Visit to museum at tomb of General Huo Ch'u-p'ing in the area of tombs of Han Dynasty emperors and officials.

Evening: Opera: "Sister Chiang" (Chiang chieh).
October 20: Sian, enroute to Nanking.

Morning: Visit to Hsiao-yen t'a (Small Goose Pagoda, T'ang monument). Around 9:30 A.M., boarded train for 22 hour journey to Nanking.

October 21: Nanking

Morning: Arrival in Nanking, Kiangsu Province. Reception by our hosts at our hotel, the Nanking Ting-shan Pin-kuan. Visit to the Nanking Museum (which is also the Kiangsu Provincial Museum) to see gallery exhibitions.

Afternoon: Return to Nanking Museum to see paintings from storage.

Evening: Banquet in our honor at hotel. Variety show performance by Little Red Guards.

October 22: Nanking

Morning: Visit to Yangtze River Bridge. Visit to Liang Dynasty tombs.

Afternoon: Return to Nanking Museum to view paintings from storage.

Evening: Banquet for museum curatorial staff members in the hotel. Performance by the Nanking Acrobatic and Variety Troupe.

October 23: Nanking, Soochow

Morning: Visit to tomb of Sun Yat-sen, Ling-ku Temple and Ming Tombs.

Afternoon: Train to Soochow, Kiangsu Province. Lodged at the Soochow Hotel.

Evening: Reception at the Soochow Hotel.

October 24: Soochow

Morning: Visit to Soochow Museum to see paintings from storage.

Afternoon: Visit to Wang-shih Garden. Visit to furniture and lacquer factory. (Hung-mu ch'i-ch'i tiao-k'e chang). Visit to Tiger Hill.

Evening: Banquet in our honor at hotel.
October 25: Soochow, Shanghai

Morning: Return to Soochow Museum to see paintings from storage and to see exhibition of industrial arts in the Museum. Visit to Liu Garden.


Evening: Arrival in Shanghai. Lodged at Chin-chiang Hotel. Reception in hotel.

October 26: Shanghai

Morning: Visit to Bronze and Painting Galleries of the Shanghai Museum.

Afternoon: Return to the Shanghai Museum.

Evening: Banquet in our honor at the hotel.

October 27: Shanghai

Morning: Visit to Shanghai Industrial Exhibition. Visit to Shanghai Painting Academy.

Afternoon: Visit to YU Garden. Visit to bookstore and to the Shu-hua She, selling art supplies and paintings.

Evening: Performance of Hsiang-lin Sao, based on Lu Hsun's "Benediction" given in Shanghai dialect.

October 28: Shanghai

Morning: Return to Shanghai Museum.

Afternoon: Return to Shanghai Museum.

Evening: Performance of a revolutionary history dance-drama, Hsiao-tao Hui, "The Dagger Society."

October 29: Shanghai

Morning: Visit to T'ao-p'u Commune outside Shanghai.

Evening: Delegation conference on preparing publishable report on our trip, at the hotel.

October 30: Shanghai, Hangchow

Morning: Departure at 6:00 A.M. by train for Hangchow, Chekiang Province. Reception at Hangchow Railway Station. Visit to a brocade factory. Lodged at the Hangchow Hotel on West Lake.

Afternoon: Boat tour of West Lake. Viewing of paintings from the Chekiang Provincial Museum brought to the hotel.

Evening: Banquet in our honor at the hotel.

October 31: Hangchow, Shanghai

Morning: Visit to Ling-yin Temple and Fei-lai Peak. Visit to botanical gardens and goldfish nursery. Two-and-a-half hour walk in the hills north of the lake to Pao-shih Shan and Pao-shu Pagoda.

Afternoon: Visit to Liu-ho t'a (pagoda overlooking the Ch'ien-t'ang River). Visit to Hu-pao Yuan (Spring Dug by a Tiger).

Evening: Departure by train for Shanghai. Lodged at the Chin-chiang Hotel.

November 1: Shanghai, Peking

Morning: Visit to the Lung-hua Miao-pu horticultural nursery.

Afternoon: Flight to Peking. Lodged at Peking Hotel.

Evening: Farewell banquet for our Chinese friends at the Shou-tu Fan-chuang Restaurant.

November 2: Peking, Tokyo

Morning: Departure from Peking Airport.
APPENDIX II

PEOPLE MET

PEKING

National Cultural Relics Administrative Bureau

王治秋 Wang Yeh-ch'iu Director
陈滋德 Ch'en Tzu-te Director, Cultural Relics-Department
郭洛为 Kuo Lao-wei Director, Foreign Relations Division
俞慧春 Yù Hui-chün Interpreter, Foreign Relations Division
戴礼进 Tai Li-ch'ìn Interpreter, Foreign Relations Division
王小兵 Wang Hsiao-ping Interpreter, Foreign Relations Division

Chinese Academy of Sciences

夏鼐 Hsia Nai Director, Institute of Archaeology

Palace Museum

彭炎 P'eng Yen Deputy Director
杨伯達 Yang Po-ta Director, Operational Division
刘九庵 Liu Chiu-an Cadre, Calligraphy and Painting Department
徐邦達 Hsü Pang-ta Research Fellow, Calligraphy and Painting Department
耿宝昌 Keng Pao-ch'ang Research Fellow, Ceramics Department
王南方 Wang Nan-fang Staff Member, Calligraphy and Painting Department
楊巨彬 Yang Ch'en-pin Staff Member, Calligraphy and Painting Department
王淑芳 Wang Shu-fang Staff Member, Calligraphy and Painting Department
Chinese History Museum

Ch'en Ch'iao
Shih Shu-ch'ing
Shao Wen-liang

Deputy Director
Associate Research Fellow
Docent

SHENYANG

Liaoning Provincial Cultural Bureau

Lu Su
Ho Ju-hui
Chan Li-kuang

Yü Kuo-ming
Hsü Ying-chang

Director
Deputy Director
Responsible Person, Society and Culture Division
Staff Member
Staff Member

Liaoning Provincial Museum

Li Shan-i
Kuo Wen-hsuan
Yang Jen-k'ai

Deputy Director
Head, Research Office
Member, Research Office

SIAN

Shensi Provincial Cultural Bureau

Lu Hung-k'uei
Fu Hung-an
Miao Chung-an
Chang Pao-wen
Wu Chin-ts'ai

Deputy Director
Responsible Person, Liaison Office
Cadre, (Arts Specialization)
Interpreter
Interpreter

Shensi Provincial Museum

Chi Yao-feng
Yülan Chung-i

Responsible Person
Research Fellow
NANKING

Kiangsu Provincial Cultural Bureau

周国爱
Wang Kuo-ai

秦川
Chou Ts'un

Deputy Director
Cadre

Nanking Museum

鲍汉青
Pao Han-ch'ing

张朝辉
Chao Ch'ing-fang

Deputy Head
Head, Archaeology Department

赵青芳
Sung Po-yin

Head and Research Fellow
Conservation Department

宋伯胤
Hsü Hu-p'ing

Cadre

徐湖平
Huang Hsiao-ming

(in 1975 on Nanking conservation staff as painting mounter)

Kiangsu National Painting Academy

亚明 Ya Ming

Deputy Director

SOOCHOW

Soochow Municipal Cultural Bureau

周良 Chou Liang

Director

Soochow Municipal Museum

刘冠时 Liu Kuan-shih

Director

陈雪安 Ch'en Hsüeh-an

Deputy Director

郑品才 Cheng P'in-ts'ai

Responsible Person
Conservation Unit

Soochow Municipal Foreign Affairs Division

沈仲辉 Shen Chung-hui

Interpreter

HANGCHOW

Chekiang Provincial Cultural Bureau

李碧岩 Li Pi-yen

Director

何云之 Ho Yün-chih

Director of a Division

周中夏 Chou Chung-hsia
Chekiang Provincial Cultural Bureau, continued

Chou Ching-fen
Ch'en Hsi-jung

Chekiang Provincial Museum
Wang Chi-ying

SHANGHAI

Shanghai Revolutionary Committee
Yang K'ai

Shanghai Cultural Bureau
Shen Jou-chien
Wang Yen-fu
Chou Yung-ch'uan
Wu Tun-hung
Huang Hsiu-chen

Shanghai Museum
Shen Chih-yü
Cheng Wei
Shan Kuo-lin
Chuang Yün-hsia

Shanghai Painting Academy
Yang Cheng-hsin
T'ang Yün
Chang Ta-chuang

Responsible Person
Culture and Education Section

Responsible Person,
Society, Culture and Arts Section
Staff Member
Staff Member
Interpreter

Responsible Person,
Exhibition Research Division
Research Fellow in Painting
Research Fellow in Painting
Responsible Person,
Public Service Division

Painter working in traditional style
Painter working in traditional style
Painter working in traditional style
Shanghai Painting Academy, continued

張桂銘    Chang Kuei-ming    Painter working in traditional style
吳玉梅    Wu Yü-mei        Painter working in traditional style
金光瑜    Chin Kuang-yü    Painter working in traditional style
APPENDIX III

PAINTINGS SEEN IN CHINA
BY THE CHINESE PAINTING DELEGATION

October-November 1977

Note: Not included are contemporary paintings, tomb paintings archaeologically recovered (excepting the two hanging scrolls LE 1 and 2), and some Ch'ing Dynasty paintings hanging or mounted on the walls of Ch'ing palaces in Peking and Shenyang. Key: P=Peking Palace Museum; H=Historical Museum, Peking; L=Liaoning Provincial Museum, Shenyang; N=Nanking Museum; W (WU)=Soocho Museum; S=Shanghai Museum; C=Chekiang Provincial Museum, Hangchow. E=on exhibition; S=special viewing. Thus; PE=paintings seen on exhibition at the Peking Palace Museum, NS=paintings seen at special viewings at the Nanking Museum, etc. An asterisk before a number indicates that the painting could not be photographed. Since this list is based on notes often made hastily, some inaccuracies and omissions no doubt remain in spite of our efforts to eliminate them by comparing information. Traditional attributions are mostly retained, and opinions on the true historical position of the paintings are offered only in the cases of a few anonymous works.

I. Peking Palace Museum, on exhibition:

PE 1 Attrib. Ku K'ai-chih (ca.344-406). The Nymph of the Lo River. Handscroll, ink and colors on silk.


PE 3 Attrib. Yen Li-pen (ca.600-674). Emperor T'ai-tsung Greeting Envoys from Tibet. Handscroll, ink and colors on silk.

PE 4 Attrib. Han Huang (723-87). Wen-yuan t'u: Four Scholars in a Garden. Handscroll, ink and colors on silk.

PE 5 "Anon. T'ang". Winter Landscape with Palaces. Fan painting mounted as hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.
PE 6 Attrib. Ku Hung-chung (active mid-10th century). Han Hsi- 
tsai's Night Revels. Handscroll, ink and colors on silk.

PE 7 Attrib. Hu Kuei (Huai), active 923-35. Fan ch'i t'u: Tartar 
Horsemen. Handscroll, ink and colors on silk.

PE 8 Huang Ch'uan (ca.900-965). Birds and Insects. Signed. Short 
handscroll, ink and colors on silk.

PE 9 Attrib. Chao Ch'ang 'ca.960-after 1016). Butterflies, other 
insects, and plants. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.

PE 10 Ts'ui Po (active later 11th century). Sparrows on a Dry Branch. 
Signed. Handscroll, ink and light colors on silk.

Signed. Handscroll, ink and light colors on silk.

PE 12 Hui-tsung, Emperor (1082-1135). Listening to the Ch'in. 
Signed. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

PE 13 Liang Shih-min (active early 12th century). River View in 
Winter, with Ducks. Signed. Handscroll, ink and colors on 
silk.

PE 14 Attrib. Wang Chü-cheng (11th century). Woman Spinning Thread, 
with Servant. Handscroll, ink and colors on silk.

PE 15 Attrib. Chang Tse-tuan (early 12th century). Spring Festival 
on the River (Ch'ing-ming shang-ho t'u). Handscroll, ink and 
light colors on silk.

PE 16 Attrib. Chao Po-chü (died ca.1162). Autumn Colors on Rivers 
and Mountains. Large handscroll, ink and colors on silk.

PE 17 Yang Pu-chih (1097-1169). Four Stages of Blossoming Plum. 
Inscription by the artist dated 1165. Handscroll, ink on 
paper.

PE 18 Anon. Sung. Geese Alighting on a Cold River Bank. Style (and 
period?) of Chao Ling-jang. Hanging scroll, ink and light 
colors on silk.

PE 19 Anon. Sung (old attribution to Wang Wei). Travelers in a 
Winter Landscape. Southern Sung work, in older tradition? 
Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

PE 20 Anon. Sung (signature of Li T'ang). Landscape with Buffalo 
and Herd-boy. 13th century? Hanging scroll, ink and colors 
on silk.
PE 21  Li Ti (active late 12th century). Hawk Chasing Pheasant. Signed, dated 1196. Large horizontal hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.


PE 23  Attrib. Liu Sung-nien (active late 12th century). Landscapes of the Four Seasons. Four paintings, mounted in a handscroll, ink and colors on silk.

PE 24  Ma Yüan (active 12th-13th centuries). Peasants Dancing and Singing in a Landscape. Signed. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

PE 25  Anon. Sung. Landscape with People Spinning Thread (?) in a House. 13th century? Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

PE 26  Anon. Sung. Landscape with Red-leafed Trees; People Gazing at a Waterfall. Style of Li T'ang, late Sung? Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

PE 27  Anon. Sung. Ox-carts in a landscape, an Inn in the Mountains. Tradition of Kuo Hsi; Southern Sung work? Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

PE 28  Lin Ch' un (active late 12th century) Bird on Branch. Signed. Fan painting, ink and colors on silk.

PE 29  Li Sung (active 12th-13th centuries) Flowers in a Basket. Signed. Album leaf, ink and colors on silk.


PE 31  Attrib. Hsia Kuei. Landscape with Two Men in Waterside Pavilion. Fan Painting, ink on silk.

PE 32  Anon. Sung. Plowing and Harvesting. Fan painting, ink and colors on silk.

PE 33  Ma Lin (active early-mid 13th century) Green Oranges. Signed. Fan painting, ink and colors on silk.

PE 34  Anon. Sung. Hunter Trueing his Arrow, with Horse. Old attribution to Chao Po-su, 12th century. Album leaf (fragment?), ink and colors on silk.

PE 35  Attrib. Wu Ping (late 12th century). Lotus. Fan painting, ink and colors on silk.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Artist</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PE 36</td>
<td>Anon. Yuan</td>
<td>Travelers in Autumn Mountains. Tradition of Kuo Hsi.</td>
<td>Large hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PE 37</td>
<td>Anon. Yuan</td>
<td>Snowy Landscape; Scholar and Friends approaching Pavilion among Bare Trees. &quot;Kuo Hsi&quot; signature.</td>
<td>Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PE 38</td>
<td>Anon. Yuan</td>
<td>Winter Landscape. Inscriptions by four Yuan period writers. For style, cf. Yao T'ing-mei.</td>
<td>Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PE 39</td>
<td>Anon. Yuan</td>
<td>Landscape with Palace.</td>
<td>Large hanging scroll, ink on silk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PE 40</td>
<td>Ch'ien Hsiian</td>
<td>Eight Flowers. Seals of the artist; inscription by Chao Meng-fu.</td>
<td>Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PE 41</td>
<td>Chao Meng-fu</td>
<td>The Village by the Water (Shui-ts'un t'u). Signed, dated 1302.</td>
<td>Handscroll, ink on paper.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PE 42</td>
<td>Chao Meng-fu</td>
<td>Washing Horses. Signed.</td>
<td>Handscroll, ink and colors on silk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PE 43</td>
<td>Attrib. Chao Meng-fu</td>
<td>Portrait of Tu Fu. Small hanging scroll, ink on paper.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PE 44</td>
<td>Chao Yung</td>
<td>Horses in a Meadow. Signed.</td>
<td>Handscroll, ink and colors on silk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PE 45</td>
<td>Li K'an</td>
<td>Bamboo Growing on a Bank (artist's title: Hu-yü, &quot;Bathed in Rain.&quot;)</td>
<td>Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk. Two seals of the artist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PE 46</td>
<td>Anon. Yuan</td>
<td>(style of Wang Chen-p'eng). The Dragon Boat Festival.</td>
<td>Handscroll, ink on silk. Fragment of longer scroll?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PE 47</td>
<td>Wang Chen-p'eng</td>
<td>Po-ya Playing the Ch'in for Chung Tzu-ch'i. Signed.</td>
<td>Short handscroll, ink on silk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PE 48</td>
<td>Shang Ch'i</td>
<td>Spring Mountains. Signed.</td>
<td>Large handscroll, ink and colors on silk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PE 49</td>
<td>Yen Hui</td>
<td>Li T'ieh-kuai. Signed.</td>
<td>Hanging scroll, ink (and colors?) on silk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PE 50</td>
<td>Wang Yuan</td>
<td>(ca.1280-after 1349). Pheasant with Bamboo and Blossoming Peach.</td>
<td>Signed, dated 1349. Hanging scroll, ink on paper.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PE 51  Shēng Mōu (active 1330-60).  Waiting for the Ferry in Autumn.  
Signed, dated 1351.  Hanging scroll, ink on paper.

PE 52  Anon.  Yüan.  'Villa in the Mountains (Shan-chuang t'ū).  Tradition of Shēng Mōu; later Yüan or early Ming?  (Spurious signature of Chao Meng-fu with the date 1319).  Large hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.


PE 54  Anon.  Yüan.  Fan painting.  (No further identification).

PE 55  Hsia Yung (Hsia Ming-yüan, early 14th century?)  Pair of album leaves: Palaces in Landscape Settings.  Inscriptions, seals of the artist.  Ink on silk.

Signed, dated 1349.  Hanging scroll, ink on silk.

Signed, dated 1349.  Hanging scroll, ink on silk.

PE 58  Chu' Te-jun (1294-1365).  Hsien-yeh Hsüan t'ū: The Pavilion of Flowering Fields.  Inscription, signed and dated 1364.  Handscroll, ink and light colors on paper.


PE 60  Chang Shun-tz'u (active 1330-50).  Eagle in Juniper Tree.  
Signed; done in collaboration with Hsüeh-ch'ieh, unidentified.  Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.


Handscroll, ink and colors on silk.

Small hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.

PE 65  Wu Chen (1280-1354).  River Landscape with Fisherman in Boat.  
Signed, dated 1336.  Hanging scroll, ink on silk.


PE 70  Wang Li (late 14th century). Scenes of Hua-shan. Three leaves from an album, ink and colors on paper. (Note: three different leaves were on exhibition in November 1973; the Palace Museum reportedly has 27 leaves and the Shanghai Museum 13, making up the whole of this famous album.)


PE 72  Hsia Ch'ang (1388–1470). Bamboo and Rocks. (Signed? No Inscription on exhibited portion.) Handscroll, ink on paper.

PE 73  Tu Ch'iung (1396–1474). Landscape with Houses. Inscription, signed and dated 1454. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.

PE 74  Liu Chüeh (1410–1472). Landscape after Wu Chen. Seal of the artist; poem by Shen Chou dated 1469. Large hanging scroll, ink on silk.

PE 75  Pien Wen-chin (active early 15th century). Two Cranes and Bamboo. Signed. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

PR 76  Anon. Early Ming. A Bird Seller. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

PE 77  Ni Tuan (active early 15th century). Inviting P'ang T'ung (179–214) to Court, Signed. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.


PE 79  Tai Chin (1388–1462). Landscape with Figures. Signed. Large hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.
PE 80  Wang E (active early 16th century). Searching for Plum Blossoms in the Snow. Signed. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

PE 81  Lü Chi (active 15th-16th centuries). A Cock, Hen, and other birds in a Pomegranate Tree. Signed. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.


PE 84  Wu Wei (1459-1508). Landscape with man crossing bridge on donkey. Signed. Hanging scroll, ink and light colors on silk.

PE 85  Wu Wei. Ch'ang-chiang wan-li t'u: A myriad Miles of the Yangtze. Signed? (No inscription on exhibited portion.) Handscroll, ink and light colors on silk.

PE 86  Chang Lu (active 15th-16th centuries). Landscape with Fisherman. Signed. Hanging scroll, ink on silk.

PE 87  Chiang Sung. A Fishing Boat in the Autumn Mountains. Signed. Hanging scroll, ink and light colors on silk.

PE 88  Wang Chao (flourished early 16th century) Peacocks and Swallows: Willows on the River. Signed. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

PE 89  Hsü Lin (active 1510-1550). Rabbit and Chrysanthemums. Signed. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

PE 90  Anon. Ming, after Sung composition? Fishing on the Snowy River. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

PE 91  Lin Liang (active late 15th century). Birds and Flowers. Signed. Long handscroll, ink and colors on paper.

PE 92  Shen Chou (1427-1509). Ts'ang-chou chü t'u: The Scenery of Ts'ang-chou. Signed. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.


PE 94  Chou Ch'en (active 1500-1535). Landscape with Houses and Figures. Signed. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.
PE 95  T'ang Yin (1470-1523). Broken Branch of Plum. Signed. Hanging scroll, ink on paper.

PE 96  T'ang Yin. Court Ladies of Meng-shu. Inscription, signed. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

PE 97  Ch'iu Ying (ca.1510-1550). A Thatched House, Among Peach Trees. Signed, dedicated to HsiaH Yüan-chi; inscription by his youngest brother HsiaH Yüan-pien. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.


PE 103  Chou Yung (1476-1548?) Landscapes with Figures. Three large leaves from an album, ink and colors on silk.


PE 105  Ch'i'en Ku (1508-after 1574). Winter Landscape. Signed, dated 1541. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.

PE 106  Lu Chih (1496-1576). Passing the Summer in a Bamboo Grove. Signed, dated 1540. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.


PE 108  Ch'en Kua (flourished ca.1550). Flowers, Fish, Shrimp, etc. Inscriptions, signed. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.
| PE 109 | Hsü Wei. (1521-1593). Flowers of the Four Seasons: Bamboo, plum, narcissus, rock, etc. Inscription, signed. Large hanging scroll, ink on paper. |
| PE 111 | Yu Ch'iu (active 1570-1590). Hung-fu t'u: Li Ching Meeting Miss Chang (who holds a red fly-whisk) at Yang Su's House. Signed, dated 1575. Hanging scroll, ink on paper. |
| PE 113 | Sun K'o-hung (1532-1610). The Hundred Flowers (Pai-hua t'u). Inscriptions, signed. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper. |
| PE 114 | Chang Hung (ca. 1580-ca. 1651). Clearing After Snowfall: two men arriving at a temple. Signed, dated 1606. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper. |
| PE 115 | Shao Mi (active 1620-1660). Entrusting a Letter to a Crane (I-hao chi-shu t'u). Men on the shore of a river. Inscription, signed, dated 1637. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper. |
| PE 116 | Shen Shih-ch'ung (flourished 1611-1640). Fishing in the Cold Pond. Signed, dated 1630. Handscroll, ink and light colors on paper. |
| PE 119 | Lan Ying and Hsü T'ai. Portrait of Shao Mi. Lan's inscription signed "at age 73," i.e. in 1657. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper. |
| PE 120 | Yuan Shang-t'ung (1570-1661). Boats Crowding under a Bridge at Morning (the Soochow Watergate). Signed, dated 1646. Hanging scroll, ink and light colors on paper. |
| PE 121 | Liu Yuan-ch'i (active 1620-33). Buying Fish on a Snowy River. Signed, dated 1631. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper. |
| PE 122 | Tseng Ch'ing (1568-1650). Portrait of Ko Ch'eng-fu. Two seals of the artist; inscriptions by Mi Wan-chung, Wang Ssu-jen, and others. Short handscroll, ink and colors on paper. |
PE 123 Ting Yün-p'eng (active 1584-1638). Lu T'ung Brewing Tea. Signed, dated 1652. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.


PE 126 Sheng Mao-yeh (active 1625-40). Farewell at P'an-ku, after an essay (preface) by Han Yü. Signed, dated 1633. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.

PE 127 Ch'en Hung-shou (1597-1652). Yang Chen with Flowers in his Hair. Signed, Early work? (cf. Lan Ying for rocks and trees). Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.


PE 129 Ts'ui Tzu-chung (died 1644). Ts'ang yün t'u: Collecting Clouds. A man in a cart pulled by a boy on a mountain path. Inscription, signed and dated 1626. Tall hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.


PE 131 Kung Hsien (died 1689). Landscape; Ke-ch'i shan-se t'u. Signed. Hanging scroll, ink on paper.

PE 132 Five leaves from collective album by Nanking artists of early Ch'ing: Kao Yü, Fan Ch'i, Hsieh Sun, Liu Yü, Tsou Che. Done for Pan-weng. Signed, several dated 1679. Landscapes; lotus (Hsieh Sun). Ink, some with colors, on paper.

PE 133 Kao Ts'en (active ca. 1670). River landscape with houses and figures. Signed. Large hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

PE 134 Hsieh Sun (early Ch'ing). Landscape. Signed. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

PE 135 Wu Hung (active 1670-80). Landscape. Signed. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.


PE 137 Li Yin (active 1695-1710). The Yellow Crane Tower (Huang-hao Lou), after Kuo Chung-shu. Inscription, signed. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.
PE 138  K'un-ts'an (active 1650-1674). Houses and figures among cliffs and valleys. Inscription, signed and dated 1663. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.

PE 139  Hung-jen (died 1663). Six leaves from an album (of fifty), scenes of Hung-shan. Inscriptions (seals of the artist). In ink and colors on paper.

PE 140  Chu Ta (1625?-1705?). Banana Palms, Bamboo, and Rock. Signed. Large hanging scroll, ink on paper.

PE 141  Tao-chi (1641-ca. 1715). Four leaves from an album of landscapes. Signed, dated 1684. Ink and colors on paper.

PE 142  Tao-chi. Landscape. Inscription, signed. Hanging scroll, Ink on paper. Late work, ca. 1700?

PE 143  Wang Hui (1632-1717). Poetic Thoughts in a Riverside Pavilion, after Ts'ao Chih-po. Signed, dated 1678. Hanging scroll, ink and light colors on paper.

PE 144  Wu Li (1632-1718). The Sound of the Stream, the Color of Pines. Signed, dated 1704. Small hanging scroll, ink on paper.

PE 145  Yun Shou-p'ing (1633-1690). Old Tree, Bamboo, and Rocks, after Ts'ao Chih-po. Signed. Hanging scroll, ink on paper.

PE 146  Wang Yun (1652-ca.1735). Winter Landscape. Signed, dated 1725. Large hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

PE 147  Anon. Ch'ing. Five leaves from an album of genre scenes: musicians, puppet play, tightrope walker, etc. 18th century? Ink and light colors on silk.


PE 149  Ch'i'en Wei-ch'ing. The Pacification of (the Uighurs?). (Incident that occurred in 1775). Signed. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.

PE 150  Leng Mei (active early 18th century). The Mountain Villa for Escaping the Heat (at Ch'eng-te City in Hopei). Signed. Huge hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

PE 151  Attrib. Land Shih-ning (Guiseppe Castiglione). The Banquet in the Myriad Trees Garden. Dated 1755; the signature (Castiglione's?) cut out. Huge hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk. Collaborative work.
PE 152 Ting Kuan-p'eng (active 1750-60) and others. Battle Scene. Horizontal framed picture, ink and colors on paper. (Original for one of the "Conquests of Ch'ien-lung" engravings?)

PE 153 A-k'ê-chang-a, Manchu? Ch'ien-lung period court painter. Birds and flowers. Signed. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper(?).

PE 154 Kuan Huai, court painter. Landscape with Autumn Trees. Signed. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

PE 155 Ignatius Sichelbart (Ai Ch'i-meng). Horse. Signed. Dated 1713. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

PE 156 Yuan Chiang (active 1690-1735). Watching the Tide. Signed, dated 1716. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

PE 157 Anon. Ch'ing. Figures from T'u-erh-hu. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper (?).

PE 158 Shen Huan (Ch'ien-lung period court painter). People of the Northeast Region. Signed? Handscroll, ink and colors on paper (?)

PE 159 Yu Hsing (Ch'ien-lung period court painter). Birds and flowers. Signed. Large painting, ink and colors on silk (?)

PE 160 Huang Ting (1660-1730) and Ts'ui Hui. Auspicious Deer. Rocks and trees by Huang, deer by Ts'ui. Huang's inscription dated 1722. Huge hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

PE 161 Shen Ch'uan (active 1725-80). Deer and cranes in a Landscape. Signed, dated 1759. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

PE 162 Hua Yen (1682-1765). Duck Bathing in Spring Pond Beneath Flowering Peach Tree. Signed, dated 1742. Large hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.

PE 163 Kao Feng-han (1683-after 1747). Winter Landscape. Signed, dated 1729. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

PE 164 Chiang T'ing-hsi (1669-1732). Flowers. Signed. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

PE 165 Li Shan (active 1730-54). Lotus. Signed. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

PE 166 Huang Shen (1687-after 1768). Geese and Reeds. Signed, dated 1757. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.


PE 171  Lo P'ing (1733-1799).  A Branch of Cassia.  Signed, dated 1793.  Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.

PE 172  Chang Yin (1761-1829).  Ching-k'ou san-shan t'u: The Three Mountains at Ching-k'ou.  Signed.  Handscroll, ink and light colors on paper.

PE 173  Liu Yen-chung.  T'ing-yuan t'u: Listening to the Banjo.  Signed, dated i-ssu, or 1783? Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.

Peking, Palace Museum, Special Viewing.

PS 1  Ma Lin (active early-mid 13th century).  Branches of blossoming plum.  Signed; poem written by Empress Yang; seal with date 1216.  Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

PS 2  Attrib.  Lu Leng-chia (active 730-60).  Arhats and attendants.  Six album leaves (of originally 18?) Signature.  Ink and colors on silk.

PS 3  Attrib.  Wei Yen (7th-8th century).  The Hundred Horses.  Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.

PS 4  Anon.  T'ang (attrib.).  Palaces in a landscape.  Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.

PS 5  Attrib.  Li Ssu-hsun (651-716).  Palaces in a landscape.  Handscroll, ink and colors on silk.

PS 6  Attrib.  Juan Kao (Five Dynasties).  Female Immortals in Elysium.  Seal reading Chun Ssu-ma yin.  Handscroll, ink and colors on silk.

PS 7  Anon.  T'ang (attrib.; really Northern Sung?)  Gentlemen Riders on an Outing.  Handscroll, ink and light colors on silk.

PS 9  Attrib. Wei Hsien (active third quarter 10th century). Kao-shih t'u: The scholar Liang Hung in a house in a landscape. Title and attribution by Hui-tsung. Small hanging scroll mounted as handscroll, ink and colors on silk.


PS 11  Li Tung (13th century). Landscape with Fisherman Selling Fish. Signed. Fan painting, ink and colors on silk.

PS 12  Li Ti (active late 12th century). Two Chicks. Signed, dated 1197. Album leaf, ink and colors on silk.

PS 13  Li Ti. Dog. Signed, dated 1197. Album leaf, ink and colors on silk.

PS 14  Lin Ch' un (active late 12th century). Grapes and Insects. Signed. Fan painting, ink and colors on silk.

PS 15  Anon. Sung. Pai-ch'a Flowers. Fan painting, ink and colors on silk.

PS 16  Ma Yüan. Landscape with people in house. Signed. Album leaf, ink and colors on silk.

PS 17  Ma Yüan. Ducks in Water Beneath Flowering Plum Trees. Signed. Album leaf, ink and colors on silk.

PS 17A  Ma Yüan. White Roses. Signed. Album leaf, ink and colors on silk.


PS 19A  Attrib. Ma Lin. Orchids. Fan painting, ink and colors on silk.

PS 19B  Anon. Sung. Waiting for the Crane. Fan painting, ink and colors on paper.

PS 20  Chao Lin (active mid-12th century, Chin Dynasty). The Six Horses of T'ang T'ai-tsung. Colophon by Chao Ping-wen dated 1160. Handscroll, ink and colors on silk.

PS 21  Mu-ch' i (13th century). Flowers, fruit, birds, etc. Colophon by Shen Chou. Handscroll, ink on paper.

PS 23  Ma Ho-chih (active mid-12th century). The Red Cliff. The text in the calligraphy of Emperor Kao-tsung. Handscroll, ink and light colors on silk.

PS 24  Chao Meng-fu. Red-coated Official on Horseback, after a T'ang composition. Inscription, signed and dated 1296; another inscription dated 1299. Colophon by Chao Yung. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.


PS 26  Kung Hsien (died 1689). Landscape. Signed. Handscroll, ink and light colors on paper.

PS 27  Huang Kung-wang (1269-1354). T'ien-ch'ih shih-pi t'u. The Stone Cliff at the Pond of Heaven. Inscription, signed "at age 73," i.e. in 1341. Inscription by Liu Kuan dated 1342. Hanging scroll, ink and light colors on silk.

PS 28  Ch'iu Ying. "Garden of the Immortal of Jade Grotto". Landscape with man on bank of stream. Signed. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

*PS 29  Attrib. Su Han-ch'en (12th century). Children Playing. Large handscroll, ink and colors on silk.


*PS 31  Attrib. Hui-tsung. Wang Chi Looking at a Horse. Handscroll, ink and colors on silk.

*PS 32  Ma Ho-chih. Illustrations to the Odes of Pi. Handscroll, ink and colors on silk.

*PS 33  Chang K'uei (Chin Dynasty). Divine Tortoise. Handscroll, ink and colors on silk.

*PS 34  Shen Chou (1427-1509). Chih-t'ien t'u. The Field of Fungus. Seals; inscription by the artist follows. Colophon by Yao Shou dated 1494. Handscroll, ink and light colors on gold-speckled paper.

*PS 35  Shen Chou. Landscape in Mi Manner. Inscription (torn) by the artist; title by Wen Cheng-ming, inscription by Hsü Lin dated 1524. Handscroll, ink on paper.
*PS 36  Ch'iu Ying. Chien-hsing t'ue: Farewell scene. Inscription Chou T'ien-ch'iu dated 1548. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.

*PS 37  Ch'en Shun. Peony and Rock. Signed; title by the artist. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.

*PS 38  Chang Hung. The Road to Shu. Signed, dated 1623. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper. Accompanied by calligraphy by Han Tao-heng.


*PS 40  Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. Landscape. Painted in 1626; dedicatory inscription dated 1629. Hanging scroll, ink on paper.

*PS 41  Yun Shou-p'ing. Album of landscapes and flower paintings. Signed, dated 1675. Ink and colors on paper.

*PS 42  Chao Chih-ch'ien (1829-1884). Album of flower paintings in the styles of earlier masters. Inscriptions, signed. Ink and colors on paper.

Historical Museum, Peking, Exhibition.

*HE 1  Wen Cheng-ming. Winter Landscape. Inscription, signed and dated 1545. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.

*HE 2  Ch'en Hung-shou. Two men at a desk; another seated before them. Signed: Lao-lien Hung-shou hua yu Ching-che-chu. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.


Historical Museum, Peking, special viewing.

HS 1  Wang Fu. Eight Views of Peking. Seals of the artist; inscriptions by Hu Kuang, Hu Yen, Chin Yu-tzu, Tseng Chi, etc. Handscroll, ink on paper.

HS 2  Anon. Sung. (old Attribution to Yen Li-te). Tribute Bearers. Said to be after an original by Emperor Liang Wu-ti. Handscroll, ink and colors on silk.
Liaoning Provincial Museum, Shenyang: on exhibition.

LE 1  Anon. 10th century, Liao. Sparrows in bamboo; rabbits and flowers below. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk. From a tomb at Fa-k'u Yeh-mao-t'ai.

LE 2  Anon. 10th century, Liao. Landscape with buildings and Figures. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk. From same tomb as LE 1.

LE 3  Attrib. Li Ch'eng (919-967). Small "Wintry Grove" (Hsiao han-lin t'u). Old Trees in a Landscape. Handscroll, ink and light colors on silk.


LE 7  Anon. Yüan. A Mill powered by a Water Wheel in a Landscape. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

LE 8  Hsia Shu-wen, Yuan period? Birds on a willow bank. Seal of the artist. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper (?).


LE 10  Ch'iu Ying. The Red Cliff. Signed. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.

LE 11  Tu Ta-ch'eng (16th century). Plants and Insects. Two leaves from an album. Signed. Ink on paper.


LE 14  Fan Ch'i (born 1616). Landscape. Signed, dated 1657. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.

LE 15  Kao Ts'en. Landscape. Signed. Handscroll, ink and colors on silk.
Liáoning Provincial Museum, special viewing.

LS 1  Hsiao Yün-ts'ung (1596-1673). Landscape. Signed, "at age 72", i.e. in 1667. Handscroll, ink and light colors on paper.

LS 2  Chin Nung. Album of 8 leaves: Flowers, grasses, etc. Signed "at age 75," i.e. in 1761. Ink and colors on paper. (Two photographed.)

LS 3  Cha Shih-piao (1615-1698). Album of ten landscapes after old masters: Signed, dated 1666. Ink, some with color, on paper. (Two photographed.)


LS 5  Attrib. Chao Ta-heng, 12th century. (Signature of Chao Ta-nien?) A man in a house; fruit trees outside. Fan painting, ink and colors on silk.

LS 6  Liu Sung-nien. Reading the I-ching by an Autumn Window. Signed. Fan painting, ink and light colors on silk.

LS 7  Chao Yung. River landscape; a man in a boat at the shore. Signed. Fan painting, ink and light colors on silk.

LS 8  Attrib. Chao Meng-fu. Landscape with map leaning on pine. Fan painting, ink and colors on silk.

LS 9  Attrib. Li T'ang. Landscape with fisherman. Fan painting, ink and colors on silk.

LS 10  Attrib. Wang Shen (ca. 1046-after 1100). Landscape with man in riverside pavilion. Fan painting, ink and colors on silk.

LS 11  Attrib. Hsiao Chao (active mid-12th century). Autumn Landscape with fisherman. Fan painting, ink and colors on silk.

LS 12  Attrib. Kuo Hsi. Travelers among Streams and Mountains. Fan painting, ink and light colors on silk.

LS 13  Attrib. Chao Po-chü. Palaces of Immortals; a Female Immortal on a Phoenix. Fan painting, ink and colors on silk.

LS 14  Attrib. Ma Ho-chih. Man seated on bank of stream. Inscription (couplet) by Chao Meng-fu. Fan painting, ink and colors on silk.

LS 15  Chu Wei-te, unidentified, Southern Sung period? follower of Li T'ang. (The signature is sometimes read, and the painting ascribed to, Chu Huai-chin, 13th century follower of Hsia Kuei.) River landscape; a man in a pavilion on the shore. Signed. Fan painting, ink and light colors on silk.
LS 16  Attrib. Chu Kuang-p'u (active early 12th century): A man in a pavilion by the river. Fan painting, ink and colors on silk.

LS 17  Attrib. Hui-ch'ung (early 11th century) River Landscape. Album leaf, ink and colors on silk.


LS 19  Li Tsai, Ma Shih, and Hsia Chih (all active early 15th century). Scenes from the Life of T'ao Yüan-ming. Signatures, dated 1424. Handscroll, ink, some with light color, on paper. (Three sections by Li, three by Ma, one by Hsia.)


LS 22  Attrib. Chou Fang, 8th century. Palace Ladies with Flowered Headdresses. Large handscroll, ink and colors on silk. (Said by the museum authorities to be divided, each figure on a separate piece of silk, as if originally panels of a low screen.)

LS 23  Attrib. Ma Ho-chih. Illustrations to the Twelve Odes of T'ang. Handscroll, ink and colors on silk.

LS 24  Shen Chou, Wen Cheng-ming. 'Yen-chiang tieh-chang t'u: Misty River and Layered Mountains. Landscapes, painted as appendages to Chao Meng-fu's calligraphic work of this title. Signed, Shen's dated 1507, Wen's 1508; colophon by Wen written 38 years later. Handscroll, ink and light colors on paper.

LS 25  Wen Cheng-ming. A Grass-thatched House at Hu-ch'i. Signed. Inscription following by the artist dated 1535; essay by Lu Tsan dated 1537; other colophons. Handscroll, ink and light colors on paper.

LS 26  Wang Meng. Landscape of Mt. T'ai-po. Seal of Wang Meng on separate paper at end (original signature and seals presumably removed in early Ming.) Colophons dated from 1386 to 1417. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.
Nanking Museum, on exhibition.

NE 1 Chou Hsi, tzu Shu-hsi, hao Chiang-shang Mû-tzu. Same as Chou Hsi, Siren Annotated Lists p. 317? Birds and Flowers. Signed. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

NE 2 Huang Ting (1660-1730). Landscape. Hanging scroll.

Nanking Museum, special viewing.

NS 1 Anon. Sung. Palace by the River. Hanging scroll, ink and light colors on silk.

NS 2 Huang Kung-wang. Shan-chü t'u: Dwelling in the Mountains. Inscription, signed "at age 81," i.e. in 1349. Hanging scroll, ink on paper.

NS 3 Huang Kung-wang. Fu-ch'un ta-ling t'u: The Ta-ling Range of the Fu-ch'un Mountains. Inscription, signed. Hanging scroll, ink on paper.

NS 4 Sheng Mou. A Flute Player on the River Shore. Signed, dated 1351. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.


NS 6 Chou Ch'en. Saying Farewell at the Brushwood Fence. Signed, Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.


NS 8 T'ang Yin. The Courtesan Li Tuan-tuan Receiving a White Peony from a Poet. Poem, signed. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.

NS 9 T'ang Yin. Gazing at the Stream and Listening to the Wind. Poem, signed. Hanging scroll, ink and light colors on silk.

NS 10 Attrib. Ch'iu Ying. Landscape with a man in a boat, autumn trees. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

NS 11 Tao-chi. Landscape of Huai-yang. Long inscription, signed. Hanging scroll, ink and light colors on paper.

NS 12 Tao-chi. Clearing over Strange Valleys(?). Inscription, signed. Hanging scroll, ink and light colors on paper.


NS 15 Ch'i'iu Ying. *Yuan-lin t'u*: Garden with Forests. Seal of the artist. Handscroll, ink and colors on silk.

NS 16 Wen Chia and Mo Shih-lung (ca. 1567-1600). *The Red Cliff*. Two paintings mounted in a handscroll; Wen's dated 1563, Mo's 1565. Title by Wen P'eng; the Red Cliff Ode written by Wen Ch'eng-ming, signed and dated 1551. Handscroll, ink on paper.


NS 18 Lu Chih. *The Pond of Heaven at Stone Cliff*. Inscription, signed and dated 1553. Handscroll, ink and light colors on paper.

NS 19 Hsü Wei. Flowers, fruits, etc. Signed, Handscroll, ink on paper.

NS 20 Attrib. Shen Chou. *Tung-chuang t'u*: Scenes of Wu K'uan's Garden. Album of 21 leaves (from original 24). No signature or seals of Shen Chou; according to the colophon by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang dated 1611, a leaf of inscription by Shen was originally in the album, but was lost. Ink and colors on paper.

Soochow Museum, special viewing.

WS 1 Li Shih-ta (active ca. 1600-1620). *The Elegant Gathering in the Western Garden*. Signed. Accompanied by calligraphy (*Hsi-ying ya-chi chi*) by Tu Ta-shou dated 1614. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.

WS 2 Ch'en Hung-shou, Yen Chan, and Li Wan-sheng. Portrait of Ho T'ien-chang in Garden listening to flutist. Signed. Many colophons including those by Fa Jo-chen and Chou Liang-kung (dated 1663). Handscroll, ink and colors on silk.

WS 3 Tai Chin. *Kuei-chou t'u*: Seeing off a friend who is departing by boat. Seals of the artist (?illegible); the first colophon, dated 1441, mentions Tai Chin as the painter. Series of colophons (poems), the last dated 1473. Handscroll, ink and light colors on silk.

WS 5
Chu Ta. Album of eight leaves: Five landscapes, one bird, one fish, one inscription (passage from Shih-shuo hsin-yü). Seals of the artist. Ink on paper. (Two leaves photographed).

WS 6
K'un-ts'an. Landscape with man on bridge. Inscription, signed and dated 1669. Small hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.

WS 7

WS 8
Lo P'ing. Portrait of Ch'an master T'an. Inscription, signed and dated 1763. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.

WS 9

WS 10
T'ang Yin. Man gazing at bare apricot trees; two servants. Signed, dated 1521. Inscription by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang dated 1615. Hanging scroll, ink and light colors on paper.

WS 11
Liu Chih (1410-1472). River Landscape with house on the shore. Signed; inscription by Hsü Yuan-yü dated 1466. Seals of Shen Chou. Hanging scroll, ink on paper.

WS 12
Shen Chen (1400-after 1480). Landscape with two scholars gazing at a waterfall. Inscription, signed, and dated 1425. Large hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.

WS 13

WS 14

WS 15

WS 16
Shen Chou. Album of nine leaves: Flowers, fruit, a duck, Seals of the artist. Title by Wen Cheng-ming. Ink and colors on paper.

Shanghai Museum, on exhibition.

SE 1
Attrib. Tung Yüan (active mid-10th century). Hsia-shan t'u; Summer Mountains. Handscroll, ink and light colors on silk.
| SE 2 | Attrib. Chü-jan. **Wan-ho sung-feng t'u** \(\text{A Myriad Ravines, Wind in the Pines.}\) Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk. |
| SE 3 | Wei Hsien (active mid-10th century). A flour mill powered by a water wheel. Signed; signature partly cut off. Imperial seals of Hsüan-ho and Cheng-ho eras. Large handscroll, ink and colors on silk. |
| SE 5 | Anon. Sung. **A Palace by the River.** Large hanging scroll, ink on silk. |
| SE 7 | Attrib. Kuo Hsi. **Yu-ku t'u:** A snowy river gorge. Hanging scroll, ink on silk. |
| SE 8 | Attrib. Kuo Hsi. **Ku-mu yao-shan t'u:** Old trees in a river landscape; a man in a house. Hanging scroll, ink and light colors on silk. |
| SE 9 | Attrib. Wang Shen (late 11th century). Dense Fog over the River. Handscroll, ink and colors on silk. |
| *SE 11 | Attrib. Ma Yüan. Winter Landscape; man gazing at blossoming plum tree. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk. |
| SE 14 | Li Ti. Bird on Snow Tree. Signed, dated 1187. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk. |
| SE 15 | Liang K'ai. Eight Famous Monks. Signed. Handscroll, ink and colors on silk. |
| *SE 16 | Liang K'ai. **Pu-cai.** Signed. Large album leaf, ink and colors on silk. |
| SE 17 | Anon. Sung. Landscape with herdboys and goats beneath trees. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk. |
Anon. Sung. An ox and calf beneath willows; herdboy in the water. Fan painting, ink and light colors on silk.

Anon. Sung. Landscape with Oxcarts. Album leaf, ink and colors on silk.

Anon. Sung. Landscape with Travelers and an Oxcart. (Spurious signature of Chu Jui, early 12th century). Album leaf, ink and light colors on silk.

Ch'ien Hsüan. Dwelling in the Fou-yü Mountains. Poem, signed. Handscroll, ink and light colors on paper.

Chao Meng-fu. The East Mountain in Lake Tung-T'ing. Poem, signed. Small hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

Jen Jen-fa. Ducks in the water; small birds in a tree above. Seals of the artist. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.


Attrib. Sheng Mau. Singing While Boating on an Autumn River. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

Ts'ao Chih-po (1272-1355). Landscape with Fishing Boats. Signed; colophon by Ni T'san dated 1362. Hanging scroll, ink on paper.


Hua Tsu-li, tzu T'ang-ch'ing. Tao-chia shih-tzu t'u: Lao-tzu, Chuang-tzu, etc., ten patriarchs of Taoism. Painted in 1326. Biographies written by Wu Ping. (Information from label; text not visible). Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.

T'ang Ti (1246-1364). Fishing in a Snowy Inlet. Signed, dated 1352. Large hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.

Wu Chen. Fishermen, after Ching Hao. Inscription, signed. Colophon by Wu Kuan (for whom it was painted) dated 1345. Handscroll, ink on paper.


Ni Tsan. Autumn Clearing over a Fishing Lodge. Inscription by the artist, dated 1372, according to which the painting was done in 1355. Hanging scroll, ink on paper.


Chao Yuan (late Yuan period). A Thatched House at Hoch'i: River landscape, a man in a house on the shore, a visitor arriving. Signed. Inscription by Ku Ying dated 1363. Hanging scroll, ink and light colors on paper.


An Cheng-wen (early Ming Academy master). The Yueh-yang Tower; the Yellow Crane Tower. Signed. Pair of hanging scrolls, ink and colors on silk.

Tai Chin. Parting at Chin-t'ai: Saying farewell at the shore. Signed, dedicated to Han-lin i-chia. Handscroll, ink and light colors on silk.

Tai Chin. "Carrying a Ch'in to Visit a Friend": Landscape, a man in a house beneath pines, a visitor approaching. Seal of the artist. Large hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.


Chang Lu. River Landscape; a man in a boat gazing at birds. Signed. Hanging scroll, ink on silk.

Pien Wen-chin. Birds in flowering trees. Signed. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

Hsieh Shih-ch'en. Clearing After Snow at the T'zu-hsiao Palace at Wu-tang. Signed, dated 1541. Large hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.
*SE 48  Lan Ying. The Sheng Pavilion at Mt. Nan-p'ing. Manner of Li T'ang. Signed. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.

*SE 49  Lu Chi. Peacock and Pine Tree. Signed. Large hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.


*SE 51  Shen Chou. Fishing in the Clear Stream. Poem, signed. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.


SE 54  Lu Chih. Tall Cliffs by a River; a man in his house, visitors approaching. Poem, signed and dated 1554. Hanging scroll, ink and light colors on paper.

SE 55  Ch'iu Ying. Travelers in the Chien-ko Pass in Winter. Signed. Large hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

*SE 56  T'ang Yin. Lo-hsia ku-mu t'u: Solitary Wild Ducks Beneath Lowering Clouds. Poem, signed. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.


*SE 59  Kuo Hsi (1456-after 1526). Two leaves from an album: a mounted man gazing at wild geese; a man feeding rice to his father (?). Signed, one dated 1503. Ink and colors on paper.

*SE 60  Shih Chung (1437-ca. 1517). Two leaves from an album (of twenty). Signed. Ink and light colors on paper.


*SE 63  Hsü Wei. Peony, Banana Palm and Rock. Inscription, signed. Hanging scroll, ink on paper.

SE 64  Hsü Wei. Landscape with Trees on a River Shore. Inscription, signed. Hanging scroll, ink on paper.


*SE 66  Ch'en Hung-shou. Landscape; a man beneath pines on the shore. Signed ("Lao-ch'ih" so late work). Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

*SE 67  Sun K'o-hung. Two leaves from an album: Birds and flowers. Seals of the artist. Ink and colors on paper.

*SE 68  Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. Ch'iu-hsing pa-ching t'u: Eight scenes of Autumn. Four leaves from an album. Inscriptions, signed; one leaf (unexhibited) dated 1620. Ink and colors on paper.

*SE 69  Wu Pin (active 1568-1621). Two leaves from an album of landscapes in old styles. (No signature or seal of the artist on exhibited leaves.) Ink and colors on paper.

*SE 70  Collective handscroll, landscape, by early Ch'ing artists of the Anhui School: Wang Chih-jui; Liu Shang-yen; Sun I; Chiang T'ao (Hung-jen); Wang Tu. Signatures, some parts dated 1639. Handscroll, ink and some light color on paper.

SE 71  Hung-jen. Landscape; a boat beneath tall cliffs. Signed, dated 1659. Hanging scroll, ink on paper.


*SE 73  Cha Chih-piao (1615-169?). Landscape. Signed. Hanging scroll, ink on paper.


SE 75  Mei Ch'ing (1623-97). Three leaves from an album of scenes of Huang-shan (nineteen-leaf album dated 1693?). Inscriptions, signed. Ink and light colors on paper.

*SE 76  K'un-ts'an. Landscape. Inscription, signed and dated 1670. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.

*SE 77  K'un-ts'an. Landscape with Monk's Hut, a man climbing a path. Inscription, signed and dated 1661. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper.


*SE 80  Wang Shih-min (1592-1680). Landscape in manner of Huang Kung-wang (and Tung Ch'i-ch'ang.) Signed, dated 1625. Inscription by Tung praising the young artist. Hanging scroll, ink on paper.


SE 82  Wang Hui (1632-1717). Landscape after Ni Tsan. Copy of Ni's original inscription (dated 1365); Wang's inscription dated 1712. Hanging scroll, ink on paper.

*SE 83  Wang Yuan-ch'i (1642-1715). Landscape. Signed, dated 1703. Inscription by Ch'en Yuan-lung dated 1705, mentioning that the painting was done for Wang Hui. Hanging scroll, ink and light colors on paper.

SE 84  Yun Shou-p'ing. Album of flower paintings in old styles. Inscriptions, one dated 1680. Ink and colors on paper.

*SE 85  Li. Landscape. Signed, dated 1672. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.


SE 89  Fan Ch'i. Winter Landscape. Signed dated 1697. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.

SE 90  Yeh Hsin (active ca. 1670). Five leaves from an album, landscapes and figures. Seals of the artist. Ink and light colors on paper.

*SE 91  Wu Hung. Landscape in Manner of Kung Hsien. Signed, dated 1663. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

SE 93 Kao Ts'en (active 1670-80). Landscape. Signed. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.

*SE 94 Hua Yen. Bamboo, Chrysanthemums, and Long-tailed Bird. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.


*SE 96 Chin Nung. Four leaves from a small album: flowers and fruit. Signed, two dated 1756. Ink, some color, on paper.


*SE 98 Li Fang-ying. Plum Branch. Inscription, signed and dated 1743 (according to label.) Large hanging scroll, ink on paper.

*SE 99 Li Shan. Chrysanthemums in a bowl. Signed. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.


SE 103 Kao Feng-han (1683-1748). Three paintings of blossoming plum, from an album. Signed ("left-handed" works, so late.) Ink on paper.

SE 104 Kao Ch'i-p'ei (1672-1734). Album leaves: Grotesque figures, etc. Finger paintings. Signed. Ink on paper.

*SE 105 Haiao Ch'en (active 1680-1710). Lü Tung-pin. Signed. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.


SE 107 Yüan Chiang. T'ung-yüan t'u: The East Garden. Signed, dated 1710. Large handscroll, ink and colors on silk.

*SE 108 Shen Ch'uan (1682-ca.1780). Six leaves from an album (of twelve): Animals, birds, insects, Signed, dated 1770. Ink and colors on silk.
SE 109 Sa-k'o-ta (1767-1827, Manchu woman painter.) Album leaves: Insects. Seals of the artist. Ink and colors on paper.


SE 113 Chao Chih-ch'ien. Old Cypress Tree. Inscription, signed. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.


SE 115 Jen Hsiung (1820-1864). Lady and Autumn Tree. Signed. Hanging scroll, ink and light colors on paper.


SE 117 Jen I. Portrait of Feng Keng-shan. No signature or seal. Hanging scroll, ink and light colors on paper.

SE 118 Ni T'ien (1855-1919). Portrait of Wu Ch'ang-shih in a landscape (the fate by unidentified portraitist, the rest by Ni T'ien.) Painted when Wu was 66, i.e. in 1899. Hanging scroll, ink on paper.


SE 120 P'u Hua (1834-1911). Wu-t'ung Tree and Flowers. Signed. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.


SE 122 Hsü-ku. Branch of P' i-p'a. Signed, dated 1895 (at age 72). Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.


SE 124 Wu Ch' ang-shih. Seven leaves from an album of flower paintings. Signed, dated 1905. Ink, some with colors, on paper.

SE 125 Kao Shan-weng (Kao Ch'i-feng). Heron and Willows. Signed. Large hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.
SE 126  Kao Lun (Kao Chien-fu, 1879-1951). Deer in a Landscape. Signed "at age 29," i.e. in 1907. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.

Shanghai Museum, special viewing.


SS 2  Anon. Sung. (old attribution to Li Kung-lin.) Historical event: T'ao Hsiün meeting the carriages carrying the coffins of Hui-tsong and his empress. 12th century Academy work. Handscroll, ink and colors on silk.


SS 4  Hsia Kuei. Chiang-shan chia-sheng t'u. Signed. Long handscroll, ink and light colors on paper.

SS 5  Chao Meng-fu. The Hundred Foot Wu-t'ung Tree Study. Signed. Colophons by Chou Po-ch'i, Chang Sheng, Ni Tsan, Wang Meng, etc. Handscroll, ink and colors on silk.

SS 6  Wang Meng. Scholar's Study in Spring Mountains. Signed. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.

SS 7  Wen Cheng-ming. The Chen-shang Studio. Signed, dated 1549. Long inscription by the artist follows, in li-shu, signed "at age 88," i.e. in 1557.

SS 8  Wu Wei. The Iron Flute: Yang Wei-chen (1296-1301) and two ladies in a garden. Signed, dated 1484. Handscroll, ink on paper.

SS 9  Yao Shou (1423-1495). Album of landscapes after earlier masters. Signed, dated 1494. Ink, some with colors, on paper. (Only one leaf photographed.)

SS 10  Wang Li. Four leaves from album of Scenes of Hua-shan (cf. PE 70). Ink and colors on paper.

SS 11  T'ang Yin. Landscapes of the Four Seasons. Poems, signed. Set of four hanging scrolls, ink and colors on silk.
SS 12 T'ang Yin. Traveling By Donkey: Landscape with figures. Poem, signed. Hanging scroll, ink and light colors on silk.

SS 13 Ch'iu Ying. Hunting on an Autumn Plain. Signed, two seals of the artist. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk.

SS 14 Chü Tsai. Bodhidharma. Signed, dated 1632. Hanging scroll, ink on paper (Seen in mounting studio.)

Hangchow, Chekiang Provincial Museum, special viewing.

CS 1 Jen Po-nien. Portrait of Wu Ch'ang-shih. Seal of the artist; inscription by Wu dated 1904; another by Cheng Wen-cho dated 1907. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.


CS 4 Kuei Ch'ang-shih (1574-1645). Bamboo and Rock. Hanging scroll, ink on paper.

CS 5 Hsiao Yün-ts'ung. Rocks and Pines of Huang-shan. Inscription, signed and dated "at age 74," i.e. in 1669. Large handscroll, ink on paper.

CS 6 Hsiang Sheng-mo (1597-1658). Trees and bamboo growing by a stream. Signed. Large hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.

CS 7 Hua Yen. Five crows in a tree; bamboo. Hanging scroll, ink on paper.

CS 8 Shen Shih (active mid-16th century). Flowers. Signed, dated 1550. Handscroll, ink and colors on silk.