

FANTASTIC MOUNTAINS

CHINESE LANDSCAPE PAINTING FROM THE SHANGHAI MUSEUM

靈山：上海博物館藏中國明清山水畫







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Liu Yang

with Edmund Capon and Stephen Little



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FANTASTIC MOUNTAINS: A TRANSCENDENT PRESENCE IN THE NATURAL WORLD

Liu Yang

Mountains, forest, ravines and hillocks are the sources of cloud, wind and rain, and are places where one encounters spirits; therefore they are all divine. – Liji (record of rites)¹

The Chinese fascination for mountains is determined partially by China's geography. Great mountains cover vast areas of the land, and although most are uninhabitable, they are the source of myriad things. Naturally and inevitably, their life-giving and life-supporting qualities inspire feelings of immense awe and reverence.

MOUNTAINS AS NUMINOUS REALMS

The great mountains have been woven into Chinese state religions since early times. By at least the Western Zhou dynasty (c1100–771 BCE) a complex of divine mountains was conceived as intimately linked to the state and its well-being.² Gradually a group of Five Sacred Mountains emerged: Mount Tai in the east (in present-day Shandong province), Mount Heng in south (in present-day Hunan), Mount Hua in the west (in present-day Shaanxi), Mount Heng in the north (in present-day Shanxi) and Mount Song in the centre (in present-day Henan). These mountains, one in each cardinal direction, defined, controlled and protected China's physical and sacred realms.

The first well-documented visit to one of the Five Sacred Mountains, Taishan (Mount Tai), was made by Emperor Shihuang of the Qin in the late 3rd century BCE. On its summit and at its foot, the grand *feng* and *shan* 封禪 sacrifices dedicated to Heaven and Earth were performed in order to legitimise his rule. Successive emperors prayed to the sacred mountains at imperial altars or visited the mountains to hold ritual ceremonies to ensure the prosperity of the state.

The focus of divine worship, however, was not restricted to the five great mountains: 'All mountains, whether large or small, have gods and spirits. If the mountain be large, then the divinity is a greater one;

if the mountain be small, then the divinity is a lesser one,'³ noted the eminent Daoist theorist of the Eastern Jin dynasty Ge Hong (283–343). To the adherents of Daoism, which emerged as an organised religion during the 2nd century CE, the great mountains were considered especially suited to mental concentration and the preparation of drugs of immortality. During the period from the Six dynasties to the Tang (4th–9th centuries), an evolving system of Daoist cosmology developed into a complex religious framework.⁴

The Five Sacred Mountains were included within the structure of Daoist sacred geography and stand as the most important holy mountains on the terrestrial realm. Also part of the Daoist network of sacred sites are the *dongtian* 洞天, or grotto-heavens. The *dongtian* here denotes an invisible counterpart of the sacred mountain, conceived as a heaven or paradise, an abode of supernatural beings. The *dongtian* beneath and within a sacred mountain is a world beyond the mortal realm, a world with its own sun and moon, or, in other words, space and time. There are ten greater *dongtian* and 36 lesser *dongtian*. In addition there are 72 *fudi* 福地 (blessed lands). In some cases, the mountain is at once a *dongtian* and a *fudi*,⁵ for example Mount Gouqu in Jiangsu (cat nos 13, 29).

Like the imperial bureaucracy, the Daoist system was configured on the basis of social class, with departments to control every aspect and activity of the various divisions of the universe. Each prime mountain has several lesser mountains as subordinates. Different *dongtian* in different geographic locations are interconnected by a mysterious system of passageways and tunnels, much like traffic networks in the mortal world.⁶

Under the long reign of the Tang emperor Xuanzong (713–56), a fervent enthusiast of Daoism,

most of the mountains in the system became imperially recognised sites. Every year the emperor dispatched envoys of ranking officials and eminent Daoists to the sacred mountains and rivers to perform a rite called *tou longjian* 投龍簡 ('tossing dragons and tallies') in order to communicate with gods at these holy sites. The rite always consisted of throwing cast metal dragons into the sacred sites, accompanied by tablets inscribed with prayers for the dynasty's welfare and the immortality of the sovereign (see cat no 1, leaf 10).⁷

The incorporation of the five great mountains into Daoist sacred geography endowed them with further significance. Just how this was understood by artists of the Ming and Qing dynasties is vividly illustrated in two albums depicting Huashan, by Wang Lü (cat no 1) and Dai Benxiao (cat no 52). Both are portrayals of the painters' journeys up the mountain. Through their accompanying inscriptions, the artists convey the religious, historical and literary associations of the sites portrayed, enhancing the viewer's experience of the paintings. Gazing up into the cliff-side retreats, Dai Benxiao wrote (leaf 3), 'How can the mundane world compare?' As he stood in the Daoist temple Jintiandian, built among the trees and mists half-way to the mountain peak, he remarked (leaf 10), 'The ancients say that when one breathes, one is able to communicate with the heavenly gods. If one had not been here, how could one understand this saying?' On leaf 4, he identifies two grottoes half-way to the steep peak as the dwelling place of a court maid and sage of the Qin dynasty (221–207 BCE) who fled to the mountain to escape the tyrant and later became immortals. When he looked to a distant cliff called Wangdaoshan, where ancient immortals accordingly dwelled on the opposite peak, he remarked that it was good that there were still some sacred places which climbers could not reach (leaf 7). These texts give the impression that it was in establishing spiritual contact with the ethereal realm that the painter gained great happiness and joy; even though he represents real mountains, they are divorced from geography, their fantastic forms richly imagined from their spiritual resonance.

Some paintings depicting sacred mountains may have played significant roles in religious activities. In the *Great northern Mount Heng* by an anonymous Ming painter (cat no 40), an unusual pictogram is seen above the summit of a multi-layered mountainscape of powerfully solid forms. As is often emphasised in literature of the early period, the mountains were seen as full of various spirits and dangers that one may encounter when entering them. 'When a superior master enters a mountain, he carries the Esoteric Signs of the Three Sovereigns and the Chart of the True Forms of the Five Sacred Mountains with him', wrote Ge Hong.⁸ It is such a 'true form' symbolising the northern sacred mountain Hengshan that is depicted in this painting. Interestingly, the pictogram and the detailed rendering of the mountain form a powerful contrast: while the 'true form' in abstract pictogram suggests the hidden structure of the sacred mountain, the mountain itself vividly exhibits Hengshan's physical grandeur. During Ge Hong's times such pictograms were used as talismans and carried into mountains by Daoist practitioners, while later they came to assume the primary function of aiding mystic orientation, allowing the adept to visit the sacred mountains in meditation.⁹ The painting may indeed share such a function.

The *dongtian* or grotto-heaven is a popular theme in Ming and Qing landscape painting (see cat nos 29, 41) and has a special appeal for artists and viewers when merged with the imagery of Peach Blossom Spring. This famous allegory, narrated by Tao Qian (365–427), tells the story of a fisherman who stumbles on a lost paradise beyond the turmoil of this chaotic world (see cat nos 19, 27).¹⁰ A utopia where all people live in peace and harmony, free from politics, is a Confucian idea that reflects a past golden age. Yet the image of a hidden world in the mountains closely resembles the Daoist grotto-heavens: both can be reached through designated caves.¹¹ The affinity between the two imageries greatly enhanced their influence and made them ubiquitous motifs in landscape painting. Lu Shidao's *Lofty trees in a green grove*, for instance, depicts a

scholar-official in his mountain villa but still confined by his duties to the city. However, the grotto behind the house and the outward-flowing stream channel the viewer's thoughts toward Daoist mysteries of grotto-heavens and the imagery of Peach Blossom Spring, suggesting a subtle yearning for the spiritual quest for immortality.

MOUNTAINS AS ACCUMULATED CULTURES

Century upon century of accumulated history, religion, literature and folklore surround China's mountains. Huangshan, for example, is linked to the legendary sovereign Huangdi (Yellow Emperor). It was here that he underwent a physical transformation which enabled him to make the ultimate ascent to heaven. This association became a profound source of inspiration for Zheng Min when he painted *Scenes of Mount Huang* (cat no 61). As seen in the accompanying poems, his experience of climbing the mountain must have been as deeply inspired by feelings of transcendence as those of past Daoist pilgrims. His emphasis in paintings on the mountain's bare rocky peaks and crags invested the mountain with a spiritual superiority.

Sometimes the cultural or religious associations that have grown to surround a mountain became more important and better known than its physical features. Such is the case in Chen Hongshou's *Playing chess by the pine stream* (cat no 37). The picture evokes a famous folk story that took place during the Jin dynasty (265–420) on Mount Shishi (or better known as Mount Lanke or Mount of Decomposed Axe-Handle) in Xin'an (in modern Quzhou, Zhejiang province), where the woodcutter Wang Zhi watched immortals playing chess without noticing the passing of great periods of time. Such cultural associations not only became profound sources of inspiration for artists, but also for those who came to view the paintings. An Zhengwen's *Yellow Crane Pavilion* (cat no 6), Qian Gu's *The Shanjuan Grotto* (cat no 22), Wang Hui's *Wind through pines on myriad ravines after Dong Yuan* (cat no 58), Wang Yuanqi's *Sheer peak of Immortal's*



Palm (cat no 63) and Yuan Jiang's *Watching the surge* (cat no 68) are just a few examples.

The strong association between mountains ('sacred' mountains in particular) and architecture (especially monasteries) is another phenomenon that provides a profound source of inspiration for poets and artists. 'Of the famous mountains under heaven, most are occupied by priests' is a common view in China. Before Daoist and Buddhist buildings enriched Chinese sacred geography, however, shrines dedicated to mountain deities or built to mediate communication between rulers and the heavenly gods had already appeared during the Han, and can even be traced further back to pre-Han times. The ideal of the religious life associated with the mountain hermitage far from the bustle and impurities of the world stimulated Daoists and Buddhists to build their centres on the mountains. Some mountain monasteries were constructed under imperial patronage – the Daoist temples on Mount Wudang (cat no 18) are such a case.

Many sacred mountains in China are polymorphous in character. For centuries the two religions of Daoism and Buddhism existed in the closest proximity to each other, often co-existing and interacting on a certain mountain over time.¹² Examples are seen, for instance, in Xuangkongsi ('suspended temples') on the great northern mountain Hengshan (cat no 40). In some cases (Mount Tiantai and Mount Emei for example), Buddhist settlers arrived at sacred

mountains after the Daoists, yet their influence gradually surpassed that of the Daoists and the mountains later became more prominent Buddhist sites. In representations of such Buddhist mountains the memory of past Daoist associations and famous Daoist hermits of antiquity still seems to haunt the imagery (see cat nos 64, 67).

The mountains and their temples became established pilgrim centres, drawing devout believers to embark on often epic journeys for a great variety of reasons (see cat nos 18, 57).¹³ The mountains also attracted Chinese intellectuals, and many of their paintings were the result of a mountain pilgrimage (see cat nos 1, 4, 52). Their motivations for undertaking pilgrimages, however, differed from the 'trivial' concerns of the populace, who went perhaps to ask for heirs or cures, or to pray for good health and longevity for themselves and their families. Rather, their aims were to witness the natural spectacle of the mountains with their own eyes, to communicate personally with sacred spirits, or to experience self-realisation and self-improvement through an encounter with the sacred mountains.

The unique relationship between religion and geography, particularly mountains, that is, between the people and their concrete expressions of belief in architecture and natural surroundings,¹⁴ has greatly enriched Chinese landscape painting, and the depiction of architecture in a landscaped setting became one of its most ubiquitous and fascinating elements. It is interesting to note that when Chinese painters articulate the pictorial components within a landscape painting, they always show a perceptual duality: the mountains are seen as greatly distorted fantastic forms while architecture and other elements in close relationship to the mundane world, including human figures, animals, boats, bridges and even rice fields, are all rendered in a meticulous manner that maintains a great truthfulness to reality. The mountain imagery is thus uniquely different from other worldly phenomena, signifying the notion of mountains as a sacred realm where humans can communicate with transcendental beings or seek refuge (see cat nos 18, 31, 43).

MOUNTAINS AS REFUGES OF THE RECLUSES

The ethos of eremitism – the retreat from society into a life of reclusion – has a long-standing history in China. The practice developed in ancient China and thrived in part because it found further philosophical support in Confucianism and Daoism. The motivation for reclusion could be transcendental or ethical, that is, the disengagement could be motivated by Daoist, Buddhist or Confucian beliefs. It is a unique Chinese phenomenon that the retreat could be a 'state of mind', and those who 'withdrew' could still play active roles in the service of local or state authority.

Daoist recluses were often referred as 'the men of the cliff and caves'¹⁵ or 'the men of the mountains and forests', clearly revealing the intimacy between recluses and mountains. To early Daoist practitioners, the sacred mountains were places where potent alchemy could be practised, heavenly texts deciphered and meditative refuge achieved. The mountains also offered the opportunity to encounter immortal beings and therefore a path to transcendence. In legend, Huangdi (Yellow Emperor) came to Huangshan late in his reign in search of the elixir of immortality. He finally completed the course of making elixirs and ascended to heaven in broad daylight (see cat no 61). For centuries, the great eastern mountain Huashan had drawn Daoist adherents to its hinterland in pursuit of this goal, including Maonü (literally 'lady with long body hair'), a court maid who escaped from the palace of Emperor Shihuang of the Qin. Maonü was so named because her body grew long hair after taking magic mushrooms and mineral elixirs. The cave where she dwelled is depicted in Dai Benxiao's album of Huashan (cat no 52, leaf 4).

Not all Daoists who came to the mountains aspired only to achieve transcendence through herbs and other elixirs. To those profound scholar-adherents, a peaceful and unfettered life in simple circumstances in a mountain wilderness was equally important. Such was the case of Chen Tuan (?–989), also a dweller of Huashan (see cat no 1), and Tao Hongjing (456–536), who spent most of his life in Gouqushan (or Maoshan) in Jiangsu (see cat nos 13, 29).¹⁶

Biographies of scholar-artists of the Ming and Qing periods reveal that some pursued official careers in the early years of their life but soon found the world of politics too harsh and humiliating to merit their service. Pleading illness or other excuses, they retired to their hometowns to indulge in the practice of art and a life of leisure. Yao Shou of the early Ming is a good example (cat no 5).

Yet there were others who earnestly regarded withdrawal or disengagement as intrinsically superior to active service, and therefore eschewed official careers, fame and other social burdens from the beginning. One of the earliest episodes relating to such ethically motivated eremitism has it that the ancient recluse Shanjuan was so righteous that King Shun tried to hand him the reigns of power. Shanjuan was so offended by this that he went even deeper into seclusion in mountains (cat no 22). The ethos embodied in such stories so appealed to the Chinese intellectual that it became a moral model for later generations to follow.

From these prototypes there developed in literature and art the theme known as *yinju bizhao* 隱居避招, or 'going into seclusion to avoid being summoned'. Gu Dehui, the late Yuan literati, collector and connoisseur who had fled to Jiaying in Zhejiang where he built a lakeside villa, repeatedly refused calls to serve in the government of Zhang Shicheng, a local governor. In admiration, his friend Zhao Yuan painted a picture of his thatched cottage by the lake for presentation to him (cat no 2).

Sometimes the act of fleeing to the mountains to avoid a summons was motivated by Daoist concerns: adherents sought spiritual freedom in the mountains away from the restraining social burdens. One such character caught by the artist's brush is the 10th-century Daoist Chen Tuan, who lived most of his life in solitude on Mount Hua (cat no 1, leaves 1, 7, 8).

Withdrawal or disengagement could also be politically motivated. When the late Ming painter Lan Ying learnt that his country had fallen into Manchu hands, his immediate reaction was to 'withdraw deep into the mountains' (cat no 36) in protest against the invasion. This has been termed 'compulsory

eremitism', the retirement out of loyalty to a fallen dynasty.¹⁷ The Confucian concept of eremitism demanded that one takes refuge in seclusion to escape from a society ruled by foreign invaders. This form of Confucian eremitism is perhaps best demonstrated by the group of early Qing loyalist artists known as *yimin* 遺民, or 'left-over people', who refused to transfer their political allegiance from the native Ming to the alien Qing. Some became Buddhist or Daoist monks, often through overt displays of eccentricity (like Zhu Da, cat no 55). Others withdrew into lifelong retirement, living in seclusion or eking out a living by teaching (such as Gong Xian, cat nos 50, 51).

A final form of eremitism is 'withdrawal as a state of mind'. Although the idea of living as an unfettered recluse in the mountains has always appealed to Chinese intellectuals, it was a hard decision for many to actually put their ideas into practice. This was particularly true of the socially obligated bureaucrat. During the Jin period (265–420), the idea of eremites within society came to the fore with what was known as *shiyin* 市隱 ('reclusion in town') and *chaoyin* 朝隱 ('reclusion at court').¹⁸ Bai Juyi (772–842) of the Tang dynasty expanded the parameters of the concept of reclusion to encompass any conceivable situation and put forward what he called *zhongyin* 中隱 ('middle recluse') theory: "The great recluse stays in the court or marketplace; the lesser recluse goes into the mountains. The mountain is too still, yet the court and marketplace are too noisy. So why not become a middle recluse, and hide in the office?" With the idea of *zhongyin*, those who 'withdrew' could still play active roles in the service of the local or state authority. To them renunciation did not imply ascetic self-denial; it was rather a state of mind. The hermit in the office retreated to his own inner self rather than to the mountains. So when Wen Zhengming commented on his official friend Kezhai that, 'although he is at the court, he never forgot the mountains and forests,' he implied a diminishment of the difference between a mountain-dwelling hermit and an official recluse within the society (cat no 13).

The establishment of the *zhongyin* idea was the

most direct and powerful impetus for the prevalence of the garden culture, including the garden retreats built in city suburbs. These 'weekender' garden retreats offered the office-bound bureaucrat a chance to temporarily experience the transformation from bureaucrat to recluse, to seek awakening, at least for a moment, before returning to their working life. Lü Huancheng's painting *Retreats in West Stream* (cat no 56) gives us the best opportunity to examine this unique phenomenon.

THE MULTIPLICITY OF EREMITIC IMAGERY

For centuries, the idea of eremitism so influenced the Chinese intellectual class that it left an imprint on every aspect of landscape imagery. One cannot long discuss images of Chinese mountainscapes without encountering the idea of eremitism. Landscape compositions touched by eremitic concerns encompass a diversity of imagery, some original and compelling, but many conventional and based on well-known prototypes and patterns.

One popular pattern is the so-called retreat genre – the depiction of specific personal studios, country estates or anonymous insubstantial huts. This genre first appeared during the Tang dynasty with works such as Wang Wei's *Picture of Wangchuan* and was popular during the Yuan, when eremitism attracted many men of letters under the harsh Mongolian rule. Of this genre, two types of imagery are distinguishable. One is basically a portrait of a thatched cottage silhouetted against an expanse of water (cat nos 2, 3, 26, 60). The villa is built either by a river or on a spit of land within a lake. In the latter case, as observed by Cahill, the composition is compartmented, with the secluded dwelling in the closed part, thus suggesting the idea of reclusion. Several boats, however, signify the option of venturing out, when one desired, into the great world.¹⁹ The other imagery is the mountain retreat type, with the solitary cottage standing high on a mountain amid a grove of trees (cat nos 30, 42, 51, 50, leaves 3, 5). The high position of the dwelling is significant, as evidenced by the expressions used to

describe the recluses – *gaoshi* 高士 (lofty gentlemen), *gaoyi* 高逸 (lofty and disengaged), *yanxue zhiren* 巖穴之人 (men of the cliff and caves) and the act of hermitage is called *gaoyin* 高隱 (lofty reclusion). In such settings, the atmospheric effects created around the retreat often draw the theme beyond the peaceful solitude of the secular eremitic mode to evoke feelings of otherworldliness.

Another popular pattern, or genre, is known as 'reclusion in a fishing boat'. Fishing, ploughing and woodgathering, along with reading, were traditionally regarded by Chinese literati as the Four Pleasures. While such high regard may simply imply the intellectuals' private yearning for a free, spontaneous and natural lifestyle, there are deeper connotations.

In early Chinese literary tradition, the archetypal character of the recluse was often the repository of great wisdom but appeared as a humble man. In the writings of Confucius and Zhuangzi (4th century BCE), the wise recluses typically take the guise of a fisherman, a woodgatherer or a farmer.²⁰ These were either real hermits who actually practised reclusion as their way of life, or what Berkowitz has named 'moral heroes' who went into hiding during troubled times to wait for better days.²¹ The best-known example of the former is Yan Guang, also known as Yan Ziling. Although having studied with Emperor Guangwu (r25–57 CE) during his youth, Yan became a recluse after Guangwu ascended the throne, refusing his old friend's offer to be a courtier. Yan fished and farmed on a knoll by the Fuchun River in Zhejiang. The section of river became famous as Yantan or Yan Stream Shoal (so-called because of shoals and rapids at this section of river, see cat no 24, leaf 18), and the place where he fished, an impressive vantage above the river, became known as Yan's Fishing Terrace.²² Of the 'moral heroes' who made their appearance as fishermen, is Lü Shang (or better known as Jiang Taigong). According to legend, when King Wen of Zhou went hunting, he caught the ageing fisherman Lü and engaged him as his preceptor.²³ Even Confucius is recorded as having surprised his disciples by the respect he

paid to a fisherman-recluse: with a king he maintained a stiff and haughty air, yet why should a humble man deserve such treatment!²⁴ The fisherman-recluse imagery is further elaborated in writings such as *Chuci* or *Songs of the Chu* (see cat nos 8, 9, 11)

Such imagery has been evoked in literature and discourse throughout China's history as model of eremitism and also stimulated the development of a type of composition called *yuyin* 漁隱 or 'reclusion in a fishing boat' (cat nos 7, 17, 34, 39). This kind of composition was especially popular in the early and mid Ming among the so-called Zhe School and academy artists. The figures depicted as sailing off along mountain streams were not fishermen, but rather recluses. The differences between the real fisherman and the fisherman-recluse are obvious: in the first group, the artist is concerned with revealing their unrestrained and humble nature, not their eremitism.²⁵ In the latter, the artist aims to represent those who have the appearance of fishermen yet maintain their purity in the midst of an impure world.

'Reading in a secluded dwelling' is also a popular theme in landscape painting that implies the idea of eremitism. Here scholars are portrayed engaging in scholarship in a secluded dwelling – perhaps a mountain cottage (cat no 78), a riverside villa (cat no 26) or a garden retreat (cat no 16). A slight distinction may be drawn between these scholar-recluses and the religious or politically motivated recluses. The former are scholars dedicated to self-cultivation and scholarship without involving themselves in public affairs. They are more like *chushi* 處士, the disengaged scholars or scholars-at-home. Although all practised reclusion as their way of life, the focus of a *chushi* was on a refusal to take part in the affairs of the world, a wish to remain aloof from public life, while that of a religious or political recluse was on the idea of physically isolating oneself.²⁶ Many painters during the Ming and Qing periods were *chushi* or yearned to be a *chushi*.

In Gu Fuzhen's *Reading under pine trees* (cat no 62), a small group of scholars surrounds a central figure who seems to be lecturing. The picture evokes

a Chinese tradition where eminent scholar-recluses not only cultivate their own scholarship in seclusion, but might also attract followers and turn their dwelling place into a centre of learning. Strictly speaking, these are not real recluses, but are so-called 'moral heroes', who, frustrated from their ambitions during difficult times, went into hiding. Here they would bide their time and engage in scholarship to equip themselves with knowledge and strategy, only to emerge again when the opportunity arose. The actions of 'moral heroes' followed the Confucian saying, 'When the Way prevails, he will make his appearance; when the Way is absent, he will remain hidden.'²⁷ Or as Mencius said, 'If poor, they attend to their own virtue in solitude; if advanced to dignity, they make the whole kingdom virtuous as well.'²⁸

A pattern known as 'visiting recluses' has its origins in literature yet has developed many variations in painting. Both Zhao Yuan and Zhou Chen represent a successful visit: in *Thatched cottage by the Hexi Lake* (cat no 1), the host is greeting a visitor who has just arrived at the door; in *Chatting in the mountain cottage* (cat no 10), the host and a guest are seen enjoying a chat inside the thatched hut. The visitors are sometimes portrayed on their way to the destinations. In Zhang Fu's *Reading by the mountain and stream*, a man with his servant are seen approaching the lakeside cottage (cat no 26). A similar scene is painted by Mei Qing in *Landscape after Wang Meng* (cat no 54). In *Autumnal mountains*, Xiao Yuncong catches the moment when the visitors have just arrived at their destination by boat (cat no 44).

Perhaps one of the most poignant variations of the theme in both poetry and painting is what is known as 'looking for the recluse and not finding him in', which portrays unsuccessful attempts to visit a recluse.²⁹ In his poem 'Visiting Wang Kuanhe and not finding him in', Li Guan of the Ming wrote about how he visited the recluse Wang Kuanhe 王歆鶴 while he was away in the mountains gathering herbs but only saw a pair of cranes walking leisurely inside a fenced yard. It is uncertain whether or not Tang Yin's portrayal of Mr Kuanhe, a man who



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