

Ho Ch'eng and Early Yüan Dynasty Painting in Northern China

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Ho Ch'eng^a is said to have been a man of Yen (Peking).¹ He was born only about a decade after the Mongols sacked and burned the Chin palaces at Peking in A.D. 1215, but he eventually served these conquerors at Ta-tu, the capital of Khubilai (Shih-tsu, r. 1260–1294) that rose out of the ashes of the lost Chin city. The establishment of this capital in the 1260s launched a period of large-scale palace and temple building and extensive imperial sponsorship of painting, sculpture, and the decorative arts. Ho Ch'eng was one of many artists favored by the patronage of the new court.

Little is said of Ta-tu and the northern artists of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries A.D. in the modern histories of Chinese painting. These accounts follow the movement of the Sung court south to Hangchow in the twelfth century, focus on the works produced by the Southern Sung academy and the Ch'an masters of this region, and then turn to the achievements of the Yüan literati painters of Wu-hsing and Soochow. Directions in early Ming painting are explained largely in terms of these precedents. This approach is backed by the authority of later Chinese art historians and allows for consideration the most original artists of the time, all of whom were indeed southerners. Ho Ch'eng, Liu Kuan-tao,^b and other painters of the Mongol court have been regarded as unimportant because they occupied the conservative end of the artistic spectrum and devoted themselves largely to the preservation of existing traditions. In their own time, however, they were neither isolated from more innovative masters nor without influence. It has been suggested, for instance, that the landscapes in the manner of Li Ch'eng and Kuo Hsi by Liu

Kuan-tao and others had an impact on the works of Chao Meng-fu and his followers.² More broadly, the works of these northern artists undoubtedly constituted one channel through which Sung and Chin methods of handling various genres were transmitted to the artists of the Ming court.

Recognition of the contributions of these artists has also been infrequent because information about their lives and works is scarce. As was often the case, professional painters were given only brief notices in the premodern compilations of artists' biographies, and much of their effort went into decorating walls, screens, and large scrolls that have been lost. It is quite possible, however, that they were responsible for some existing works now labeled anonymous or attributed to more famous masters. At present, Ho Ch'eng and Wang Chen-p'eng^c (active in the first quarter of the fourteenth century) are the only Yüan court painters whose accomplishments can be evaluated reasonably well on the basis of both written records and extant paintings, and most of the material related to Ho Ch'eng has just recently been brought to the attention of the scholarly community by Hstüeh Yung-nien and Hsü Pang-ta.³

According to Yüan texts, Ho Ch'eng applied his brush to a variety of subjects, including figures, horses, buildings, and landscapes.⁴ Such versatility was not exceptional. Wai-kam Ho has taken note of a Chin dynasty (1115–1234) artist whose skills were even more diverse: Sun Shang-tze of P'ing-yang, Shansi, was known for his command of thirteen categories of subject matter.⁵ Ho Ch'eng's contemporary Liu Kuan-tao painted almost everything from portraits to landscape, and Wang Chen-p'eng

is credited with a range of themes, although his lasting reputation was based on chieh-hua, the fine-line drawing of architecture and related subjects.⁶

Ho Ch'eng joined Wang Chen-p'eng in contributing to the enthusiasm for chieh-hua at the court of Jen-tsung (r. 1311–1320). In 1312 he presented to the throne depictions of the Ku-su Terrace, O-fang Palace, and K'un-ming Pond, and the event was documented by Ch'eng Chü-fu^d (1249–1348).⁷ Ch'eng also recorded a horse painting by Ho,⁸ and it is likely that Ho Ch'eng was the horse painter whom Yü Chi^e (1271–1348) and Hsia Wen-yen called Ho Tai-fu.^f Hsia's entry for this artist in the *T'u-hui pao-chien* is brief: "Ho Tai-fu was skilled at painting figures and horses. The poem of Mr. Yü [Chi] says: 'This dynasty's painter Ho Tai-fu personally copied Po-shih's [Li Kung-lin] picture *Examining the Horse[s]*.'"⁹

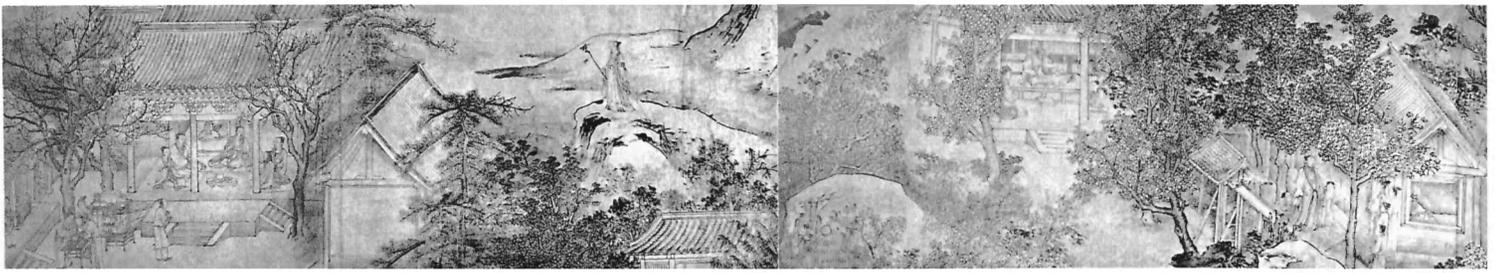
Ho Ch'eng was best known, however, for his figure paintings and illustrations of famous tales. One of these, *Tao [K'an]'s Mother Cuts Her Hair*, the story of a self-sacrificing mother who sells her hair to obtain money to further her son's career, is mentioned in the *Yüan-shih* biography of Yüeh Chu.^g At the age of eight sui (years by traditional Chinese reckoning) Yüeh showed his precocity by observing a flaw, an overembellishment, in Ho's rendering of the tale. Why, he asked, pointing to a gold bracelet on the mother's arm, if she possessed such a valuable object, did she need to cut her hair? Ho was appropriately startled and impressed.¹⁰ Other recorded works of a historical-didactic nature by Ho include the *Four Graybeards of Mount Shang* and *Weeping for the Ch'i-lin*.¹¹ His *Joys of the Village Fields* cited by Ch'eng Chü-fu may have been related to the idealized views of rural life popular in the Sung and Yüan periods.¹² Ho's followers also excelled in traditional figural themes. The *Hsin Yüan-shih* reports that Li Shih,^h who was instructed by Ho's immediate successor Liu Chung-ch'ienⁱ and who served the last Yüan emperor Shun-ti (r. 1333–1368), decorated palace walls with images of the imperial concubines Fan and Feng and the T'ang Empress Ch'ang-sun.¹³

Two paintings are presently attributed to Ho Ch'eng: the *Kuei-chuang t'u*,^j an ink-on-paper illustration of the "Kuei-ch'ü-lai tz'u" ("Return

Home!") by T'ao Ch'ien in the Chi-lin Provincial Museum (Fig. 1), and the *Taoist Divinity of Water*, a work in ink and slight color on paper in the Freer Gallery of Art (Fig. 2). Both are large handscrolls, the former measuring 41 by 723.8 cm, the latter 49.9 by 263.5 cm.

From the colophons attached to these scrolls, a few entries in Yüan texts, and the section on Li Shih in the *Hsin Yüan-shih*, a brief biography of Ho Ch'eng can be pieced together. First, however, some of the misinformation provided by post-Yüan authors should be dismissed. Kao Shih-ch'ü (1645–1704) confused the artist with a late Yüan landscape painter of the same surname, who like Ho Ch'eng held a position in the Imperial Archives (Mi-shu chien^k) and who obtained imperial recognition for his art.¹⁴ The *Hsin Yüan-shih* errs in the opposite direction, placing Ho's period of activity too early. According to this Ch'ing text, the artist was over ninety when he saluted Khubilai by prostrating himself, but was unable to rise. Asked about this he replied: "I am extremely old; my follower Liu Chung-ch'ien can now receive the imperial commands."¹⁵ This would lead us to believe that Ho Ch'eng reached the age of ninety before Khubilai's death in 1294. Earlier sources confirm Ho Ch'eng's activity in Khubilai's reign period, but indicate that he could not have been ninety years old at the time.

Ch'eng Chü-fu, in the notice concerning Ho Ch'eng's chieh-hua mentioned above, reviewed some of the high points of the artist's career, beginning with his service as Tai-chao at Khubilai's court.¹⁶ When the Hsing-sheng Palace was completed early in the Chih-ta period (1308–1311), the Empress Dowager put Ho in charge of the production of paintings for it. Ho was then transferred to the Imperial Archives with the title T'ai-chung tai-fu,^l and subsequently he retired.¹⁷ (Perhaps the incident described in the *Hsin Yüan-shih* took place at this time, under Wu-tsung rather than Khubilai.) In 1312, however, Ho was back at the court presenting his chieh-hua studies of the Ku-su Terrace, O-fang Palace, and K'un-ming Pond to Jen-tsung. In appreciation, this emperor, one of the leading Yüan imperial patrons of the arts, rewarded Ho with the title Chao-wen-kuan ta-hsüeh-shih, Chung-feng tai-fu^m and ordered Ch'eng Chü-fu to commemo-



嘆古來子田園持
 胡不憚改自以心
 形後莫惆悵而獨
 悟已往之不諫知
 者之可追寔迷途
 未遠覺今是而昨
 舟通以輕颺風飄
 吹衣問征夫以前
 恨晨光之晝激乃
 衡宇載欣載奔僮
 始流善萬物之得
 感吾生之行休已
 乎寓形宇內復幾
 曷不為以任古留
 為乎適 浩以之
 貴非吾欲帝鄉不
 期懷良辰以孤注
 植杖而耘躬盤東
 以舒嘯臨清流而
 詩聊乘化以俟
 夫天命復奚疑



Fig. 1. Attributed to Ho Ch'eng, *Kuei-chuang t'u*. Early 14th century. Handscroll, ink on paper, H. 41, L. 723.8 cm; Chang Chung-shou, "Kuei-ch'ü-lai tz'u." Dated 1309; follows the *Kuei-chuang t'u*. Chi-lin Provincial Museum; after *I-yüan to-ying* 6 (1979): 1-4.

三官大帝道家者流以為唐晉周三真
 若是也太中大夫何以之筆今年八十七
 歲矣行不杖坐不僕而吟啖如五六十許人
 蓋平日所養有大過於人者不若是何以
 能精力不衰運筆揮畫雖少年輩誠
 有所不逮也百世之下展而觀之當益
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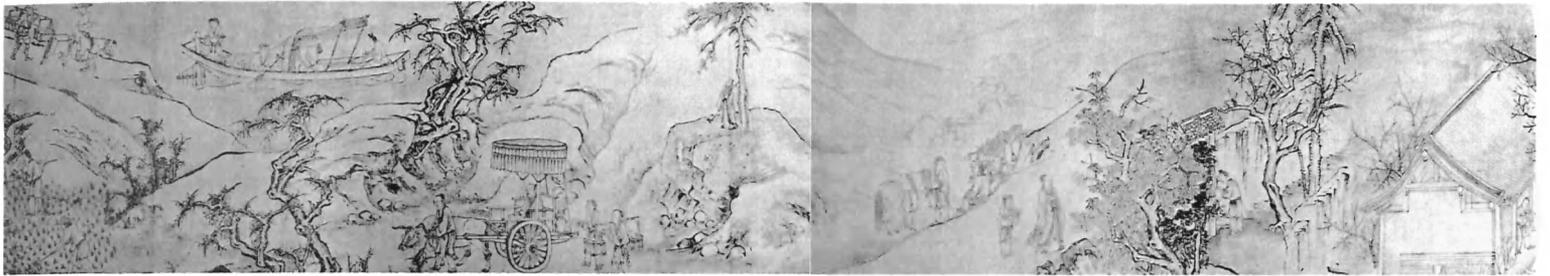


Fig. 2. Attributed to Ho Ch'eng, *Taoist Divinity of Water*. Early 14th century. Handscroll, ink and light color on paper, H. 49.9, L. 263.5 cm; Chang Chung-shou, Colophon following the *Taoist Divinity of Water*. Dated 1310. Courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

rate the event in poetry. Ch'eng gives Ho's age as ninety at the time of the presentation, the second month of the first year of Huang-ch'ing (1312).

This brief account generally agrees with the information found in the documentation attached to the *Taoist Divinity of Water* and supports the attribution of this scroll to Ho Ch'eng. The *Taoist Divinity of Water* bears neither the artist's signature nor his

seals, but the first colophon attached to the painting, written in 1310 by the noted calligrapher and Han-lin scholar Chang Chung-shou² (1252-1324), identifies the painter as a man of eighty-seven sui, surnamed Ho, who bore the title T'ai-chung tai-fu. Again, according to Ch'eng Chü-fu, Ho Ch'eng was given this title in the Chih-ta period (1308-1311) and his age in 1310 would have been eighty-



eight. Lending further credibility to the attribution of this painting to Ho Ch'eng is the fact that Chang Chung-shou can also be associated with the artist through the *Kuei-chuang t'u*. The *Kuei-chuang t'u*, which is firmly assigned to Ho Ch'eng by its colophons, is mounted together with Chang Chung-shou's transcription of the "Kuei-ch'ü-lai tz'u" dated 1309 (see Fig. 1). In his study of the dates of Ho Ch'eng's life and the *Kuei-chuang t'u*, Hsü Pang-ta accepts the *Taoist Divinity of Water* as a genuine

work by the master, and even argues that the statement of the painter's age in Chang Chung-shou's colophon is more accurate than Ch'eng Chü-fu's, concluding that Ho was born in the year corresponding to 1224.¹⁸

References to Ho Ch'eng's life and work are scattered through the colophons written by distinguished Yüan scholars and connoisseurs after the *Kuei-chuang t'u*.¹⁹ Attached in the following order

are notes by Yao Sui^o (dated in accordance with A.D. 1309), Chao Meng-fu (1315), Teng Wen-yüan^p (1309), Yü Chi (1325), Liu Pi-ta^q (1309), Chieh Hsi-ssu^r (1336), the Taoist Celestial Master Chang Szu-ch'eng,^s 20 K'o Chiu-ssu,^t Wei Su^u (1364), and Wu Mien.^v 21 Chao Meng-fu wrote:

The T'u-hua tsung-kuan^w [Painting Manager] Ho Ch'eng, a native of Yen, painted this scroll at the age of ninety. The figures, trees, and rocks are all pleasing. The [people of the] capital value his works highly. The *Ch'eng-chih* Lord Chang's writing of [T'ao] Yüan-ming's "Kuei-ch'ü-lai tz'u" was also obtained after, making two perfections. Yen-yu, I-mao [1315], seventh day of the ninth month, written by Chao Meng-fu of Wu-hsing.

Yü Chi likewise commented on the esteem in which Ho Ch'eng was held, maintaining that people were willing to spend a great deal of money for one of his scrolls while he was living and much more after his death, and Chieh Hsi-ssu confirmed the enduring appreciation of Ho's art. Yü Chi further stated that Ho lived to be over ninety years old. Hsü Pang-ta finds this information to be in accord with Chao Meng-fu's colophon, the tone of which suggests that Ho was still alive when it was written in 1315. It therefore appears that Ho Ch'eng lived from about 1224 to 1315.

An earlier birthdate has been proposed by Hsüeh Yung-nien on the basis of the problematic entry for Li Shih in the *Hsin Yüan-shih* and the internal evidence of the *Kuei-chuang t'u*, i.e., the 1309 date of Chang Chung-shou's calligraphy, as well as Chao Meng-fu's assertions that Ho did the scroll at the age of ninety and that Chang's calligraphy was obtained "after."²² The *Hsin Yüan-shih* reference can be discounted, but Chao Meng-fu's words do require consideration. If they mean, as Hsüeh Yung-nien has supposed, that the *Kuei-chuang t'u* was done before Chang's calligraphy of 1309, and Ho was ninety at the time, they conflict with Ch'eng Chü-fu's record of the artist's life. Hsü Pang-ta solves this problem by proposing that the painting actually postdates Chang's calligraphy and the three earliest colophons (all dated 1309) by several years. These colophons, he points out, do not mention the paintings, and the writings of Chao Meng-fu and Yü

Chi were inserted between them later. Chao's is the first to refer to the painting. Hsü suggests that the person who obtained Chang's "Kuei-ch'ü-lai tz'u" invited Ho to illustrate it, which Ho did, in 1313, when he was ninety sui. Finally, Hsü interprets Chao Meng-fu's line about obtaining Chang's "Kuei-ch'ü-lai tz'u" "after" as referring to the calligraphy's physical position vis-a-vis the painting, rather than to the chronological order in which the two were created.²³

One piece of evidence remains to be taken into account, the inscription at the end of the *Kuei-chuang t'u* that reads: "T'ai-chung tai-fu Ho Mi-chien pi (by T'ai-chung tai-fu Ho of the Imperial Archives)." Although the authorship of this line is uncertain, Hsüeh Yung-nien believes it was added during Ho Ch'eng's lifetime, and more recently it has been suggested that Ho might have written it himself.²⁴ In either case, if it accurately reports the artist's title at the time he did the painting, the painting must have been executed in the Chih-ta period (1308–1311) or the first month of the first year of Huang-ch'ing period, when Ho held this rank. Perhaps Chao Meng-fu's reference to the painter's age at the time he did the scroll should not be regarded as precise. A Chih-ta date for this scroll would be interesting in view of the subject—T'ao Ch'ien's resignation from office and return to his rural home—because according to Ch'eng Chü-fu, in this period Ho himself retired. However, we still know too little about the circumstances of Ho Ch'eng's life to speculate about the significance the subject may have had for him.

Illustrations of "Return Home!" were done by many artists, as were various portrayals of the poet. The Yüan masters credited with paintings based on the life or works of T'ao Ch'ien (365–427; also known as T'ao Yüan-ming) include Chao Meng-fu, Ch'ien Hsüan, Wang Yüan, Chang Wu, and Chu Te-jun. Images of T'ao must have been especially meaningful for Yüan scholars who, like the poet, had to decide whether to pursue official careers in a difficult time, or go into reclusion. Both positions, however, are represented by the artists cited above. While Ch'ien Hsüan emulated T'ao in turning his back on government position to live at home and cultivate his art,²⁵ Chao Meng-fu and his followers

Wang Yüan and Chu Te-jun served the Mongols.²⁶ The subject of T'ao Ch'ien, then, does not seem to have been particularly associated with any one politically defined group. Similarly, it belonged to scholar painters and professional artists alike. The poet certainly appeared in court painting before he was depicted in the *Kuei-chuang t'u*.²⁷ A well-known example from the Sung academy tradition is the *Scholar of the Eastern Fence* with the signature of Liang K'ai (Fig. 3) in the National Palace Museum.

Standing behind the many images of T'ao Ch'ien by painters of all walks were, of course, the works of Li Kung-lin.²⁸ The imperial collection inherited by the Mongols from the Southern Sung court contained a scroll by Li recorded as *Yüan-ming*, i.e., T'ao Yüan-ming.²⁹ This collection was accessible to Yüan officials and court artists, and this particular painting was probably known to Ho Ch'eng, Chao Meng-fu, and others. The *pai-miao* figure drawing in the *Kuei-chuang t'u* is in the tradition of the Northern Sung master, but the scroll bears little resemblance to the extant illustrations of T'ao Ch'ien's "Kuei-ch'ü-lai tz'u" traditionally attributed to Li Kung-lin, notably the Freer Gallery's *T'ao Yüan-ming Returning to Seclusion*, a handscroll in color on silk now thought to be the work of an anonymous artist of the twelfth century (Fig. 4), and a later copy of the composition in ink on paper in the collection of the National Palace Museum.³⁰

Unlike Ho Ch'eng's work, the Freer scroll is not a continuous composition, but is rather made up of a succession of largely self-contained vignettes separated by lines of text. The restrained, delicate brushwork, rather static compositions, and archais-tic references to old styles such as the sharply tilted ground planes, the flat patterns of the outlined leaves and curling clouds, and the decorative color scheme, give it a cool intellectual quality. Much the same might be said of Ch'ien Hsüan's handscroll in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, which illustrates only the poet's arrival by boat.³¹ In both cases stylistic features underscore the antique literary nature of the theme and distinguish the artists' scholarly interests from the narrative concerns of the professional illustrators.

Judging from the *Kuei-chuang t'u*, Ho Ch'eng was such an illustrator. He provided an entertaining pic-

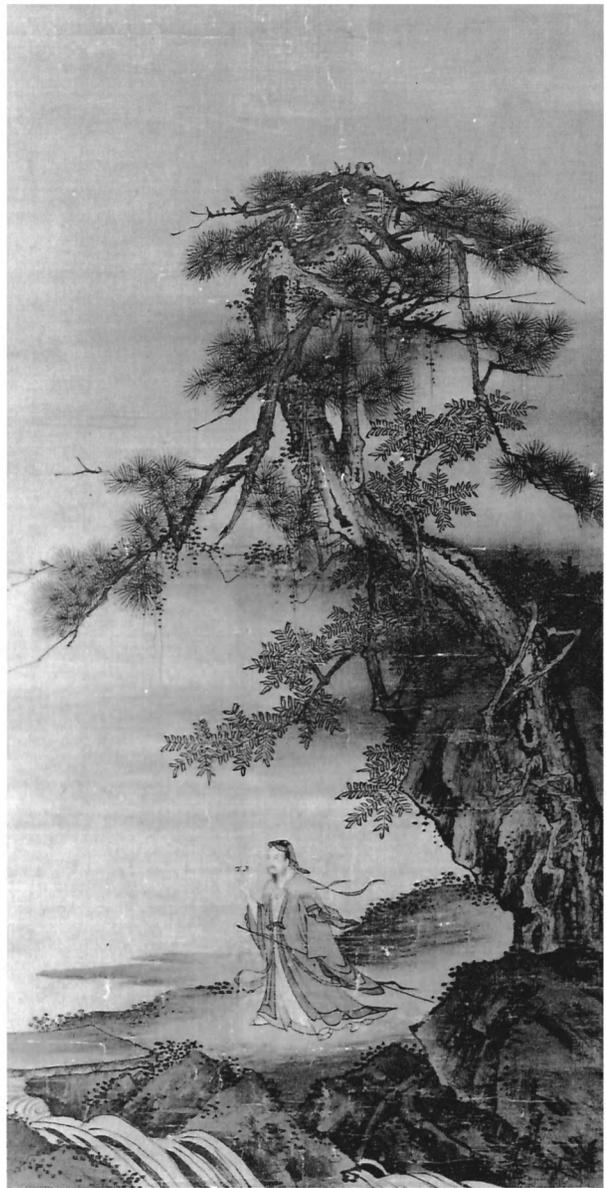


Fig. 3. Liang K'ai, *Scholar of the Eastern Fence*. Early 13th century. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, H. 71.5, W. 36.7 cm. Collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan, Republic of China.

torial account of T'ao's homecoming with few self-conscious references to old-fashioned painting techniques. Employing descriptive methods perfected in the Sung, Ho detailed the charms of the poet's beloved estate, its rural setting, buildings, and furnishings, and populated it with numerous extraneous figures engaged in the business of daily life. The poet is welcomed home, for instance, by many more people than in the versions attributed



Fig. 4. Anonymous, *T'ao Yüan-ming Returning to Seclusion*. 12th century. Section of a handscroll, ink and colors on silk, H. 37.0, L. 518.5 cm. Courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

to Li Kung-lin. Ho organized this busy composition in traditional ways: scenes are framed with landscape and architectural elements; open and closed views alternate (landscape with courtyard scenes); and all of the picture space is brought into play with motifs spread from the bottom edge to the top. As a result the *Kuei-chuang t'u* recalls earlier genre handscrolls such as Chang Tse-tuan's *Ch'ing-ming shang-ho t'u* and the anonymous *Return of Lady Wen-chi*.³²

The architectural drawing of the *Kuei-chuang t'u* is also related to that found in these and other Sung and Chin genre paintings. T'ao Ch'ien returns to a comfortable estate with tile-roofed buildings appropriate for a landowner who possessed the servants and who enjoyed the leisure time indicated in his poem. The structural elements, interior spaces, and furnishings are described in the assured manner of an artist who routinely handled such subjects, reminding us that Ho Ch'eng counted chieh-hua among his accomplishments. This assurance, however, occasionally degenerated into sloppiness, a fact that did not escape later critics.³³

More clearly justified by this scroll is Ho Ch'eng's reputation as a figure painter. The varied poses in this work, especially those of the lively secondary figures, show animation to have been one of his special skills. The men who moor the poet's boat strain as they put their backs to the task, while in the same scene three other individuals engage in

lively conversation, their hands raised, fingers spread in expressive gestures. Elsewhere servants clean, prepare, and serve food, tend animals, socialize, and accompany the poet on his travels; and in the countryside farmers hoe the fields. Such vigorous action, of course, was appropriate only for the common people, and as in Sung genre painting, the humble status of these figures is further indicated by their costumes with their wrinkles and rumpled hems defined by angular, fluctuating, occasionally agitated lines. Similar descriptions of servants and other commoners can be found in such works as the twelfth-century genre scenes on the walls of the Yen-shang-ssu, the anonymous thirteenth-century hanging scroll *Greeting the Emperor* in the Shanghai Museum, and Liu Kuan-tao's *Whiling Away the Summer* (Fig. 5).³⁴

T'ao Ch'ien is likewise presented in a manner that seems to have become conventional by Ho Ch'eng's time. He wears his characteristic costume composed of an outer robe with long, flowing sleeves and another small, apparently superfluous pair of sleeves at the shoulder, topped by a short cape.³⁵ A gauze cap and staff complete this traveling outfit. T'ao is shown dressed in this fashion in works as dissimilar as the anonymous *T'ao Yüan-ming Returning to Seclusion* in the Freer Gallery and Liang K'ai's *Scholar of the Eastern Fence*.

Ho described the poet's distinctive robes and the



clothing of the other gentlemen in the scroll in a conservative Sung academic manner, combining long, sweeping lines and sharp, tapering strokes varied by accented beginnings, hooks, and angles. Throughout he created lively patterns of multiple folds softened by curling hems. Liu Kuan-tao developed comparable designs, playing repeated straight lines off of crisp angles and fluid curves in his *Whiling Away the Summer*. In fact, the seated gentlemen and servants painted on the screen in Liu's scroll in many respects resemble figures in the *Kuei-chuang t'u*.

Through its figures the *Kuei-chuang t'u* might also be related to the group of anonymous late Yüan album leaves studied by Ellen Laing, especially to the one that probably depicts T'ao Ch'ien (Fig. 6).³⁶ These garden and courtyard scenes display a number of individual brush manners, some much looser than that of the *Kuei-chuang t'u*, but like Ho Ch'eng, the unknown artists created complicated patterns of folds and wrinkles with sharp strokes, hooks, and undulating or jerky brush movements. Laing has observed connections between these leaves and Liu Kuan-tao's *Whiling Away the Summer*. James Cahill likewise suggests that they "can be associated with Liu, or with early Ming followers of this tradition."³⁷ We might equally well link them to the methods of Ho Ch'eng and his students, or just allow that they reflect methods popular with many of the professional painters of the court, including Ho Ch'eng, Liu Kuan-tao, and others whose works have been lost.

Northern Sung traditions shaped Ho Ch'eng's conception of the countryside around T'ao Ch'ien's home.³⁸ The landscape through which the poet travels by cart and boat, eventually to compose verses by a stream, is made up of gnarled trees, the stark outlines of their twisted branches softened slightly by early spring foliage, and eroded earthen banks like those of the bleak northern views painted by Kuo Hsi and his many Chin and Yüan followers. Echoes of Li T'ang are found both in some of the angular landmasses lightly textured with loose "axe-cut" strokes and in the boldly outlined bent and forked deciduous trees. Ho sketched many of these elements quickly, and in passages, such as the view of T'ao on a promontory in his garden, he handled his lines, washes, and ink gradations with a controlled spontaneity approaching that cultivated by Hsia Kuei. He nevertheless took the time to characterize a variety of plants and trees, suggest different textures, and create vibrant masses of individually outlined leaves. Liu Kuan-tao similarly combined swift, calligraphic brushwork and detail in the garden setting of his *Whiling Away the Summer*.

Chao Meng-fu also drew on the Li-kuo landscape tradition, and like Ho Ch'eng followed Li Kung-lin in horse and figure painting. Such choices were not unusual for artists of their period, but since these masters were active in the capital at the same time and Chao knew Ho's *Kuei-chuang t'u*, we might consider the possibility that he was influenced by the older man's work. Just as it has been proposed that



Fig. 5. Liu Kuan-tao. *Whiling Away the Summer*. Late 13th–early 14th century. Handscroll, ink and light colors on silk, 30.5 x 71.1 cm. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri.

Chao may have been inspired by the Li-Kuo style landscapes of Liu Kuan-tao, so it might be suggested that his interest in this and other northern traditions was stimulated by the art of Ho Ch'eng. Closer relationships between the two artists' extant paintings, however, are hard to find.³⁹ They appear to have taken from the past in different ways and to different ends. Ho, at least in the *Kuei-chuang t'u*, did not attempt the sort of sophisticated transformation of old manners undertaken by Chao Meng-fu. He simply employed with authority the conservative modes that had become the common property of the professional painters working in the north in the thirteenth century.

Ho Ch'eng's transmission of old traditions to later generations, then, is probably of greater significance than his influence on his more famous contemporaries. The *Kuei-chuang t'u* was one of the early Yüan antecedents of the many fourteenth- and fifteenth-century depictions of historical and literary themes. In addition to the album leaves mentioned above, this scroll might be compared to such works as the anonymous *Kuei-ch'ü-lai tz'u t'u* in the Cleveland Museum, and the *Homecoming Ode of T'ao Yüan-ming* by Ma Shih, Li Tsai, and Hsia Chih.⁴⁰

The second painting attributed to Ho Ch'eng, the *Taoist Divinity of Water*, is preceded by a four-character title *Hsia-yüan shui-kuan*, the *Ruler of Water Presiding over the Last Period*, written by Wang Shuan.^x Chang Chung-shou's colophon refers to the San-kuan ta-ti,^y the Three Great Emperors or Officiating Agents, identifying them with the im-

mortals T'ang,^z Ko,^{aa} and Chou.^{ab} According to E. T. C. Werner, the San-kuan ta-ti, also known as the San-kuan and the San-yüan, were originally gods of heaven, earth, and water who early Taoists believed bestowed happiness, forgave sins, and offered protection, respectively. The history of the San-kuan has been traced back to the late Han dynasty, when believers sought these blessings by confessing their sins and writing their names on scrolls to be offered to each of the gods. In the fifth century, during the Eastern Chin, the triad became associated with the San-yüan, the "Three Periods" of time or "Epochs," when the Taoist master K'ou Ch'ien-chih divided the year into three unequal parts, each controlled by one of these deities. The first period, from the beginning of the year to the sixth month, was under the direction of Shang-yüan t'ien-kuan^{ac} (Heavenly Ruler Presiding over the First Period). Chung-yüan ti-kuan^{ad} (Earthly Ruler of the Middle Period) oversaw the seventh through the ninth months, and Hsia-yüan shui-kuan (Ruler of Water Presiding over the Last Period), the deity named in the title of the Freer scroll, ruled the remaining three months. The three figures mentioned by Chang Chung-shou—T'ang, Ko, and Chou—were officials in the service of King Li of the Chou dynasty, who became hermits and eventually immortals. When they later appeared to Emperor Chen-tsung of the Northern Sung they were canonized and given the power of ruling heaven, earth, and water, and so were assimilated into the San-kuan.⁴¹

The colophons do not record the circumstances that led to this depiction of the San-kuan, but the subject would have been to the taste of Ho Ch'eng's superstitious imperial patrons. As is well known, the Mongol rulers took a lively interest in all sorts of religious beliefs, practices, and ceremonies, but especially those involving magic, divination, and communication with the spirit world; and they were particularly receptive to religious Taoism. Taoist leaders enjoyed positions of prominence in the capital, advising the emperors, serving in official capacities, and associating with the prominent scholars of the day.⁴² It might be recalled that the Celestial Master Chang Szu-ch'eng was among the literati who wrote colophons for Ho Ch'eng's *Kuei-chuang t'u*. The Mongols also supported Taoist temples, and imperial agencies and workshops were charged with the repair, building, and decoration of Taoist halls and the creation of Taoist images.⁴³

Following Chang Chung-shou's colophon are three by a scholar named Li Yung^{ae} (hao Shih-hsing^{af}), a native of Hai-ling, Kiangsu. The first, written in 1449, also refers to the subject of the scroll as the San-kuan. Li reports that the painting had been in his family's collection for some years, but he knows neither the artist's given name nor his native place. He then attempts to piece together a brief biography for Ho based on Chang Chung-shou's notes and the entry for Ho Tai-fu in the *T'u-hui pao-chien*. The next colophon concerns figure painting, and extols Ho's attainment of the ideas of the ancients, echoing Chang Chung-shou's observation that Ho's work would not have disgraced the T'ang. Li's last notation, signed Shih-hsing and dated in accordance with 1450, discusses the relationship between the arts of painting and of calligraphy, maintaining that this relationship is exemplified by this scroll. Since Li wrote on the same piece of paper as did Chang Chung-shou and affixed his seals to both his writings and the painting, we can be sure that his and Chang's colophons were joined to the painting at least by the mid-fifteenth century.⁴⁴

Among the later colophons attached to the *Taoist Divinity of Water* Wu Chin's^{ag} is noteworthy because it describes the painting as it appeared in 1815. By that time the Divinity of Water was traveling by

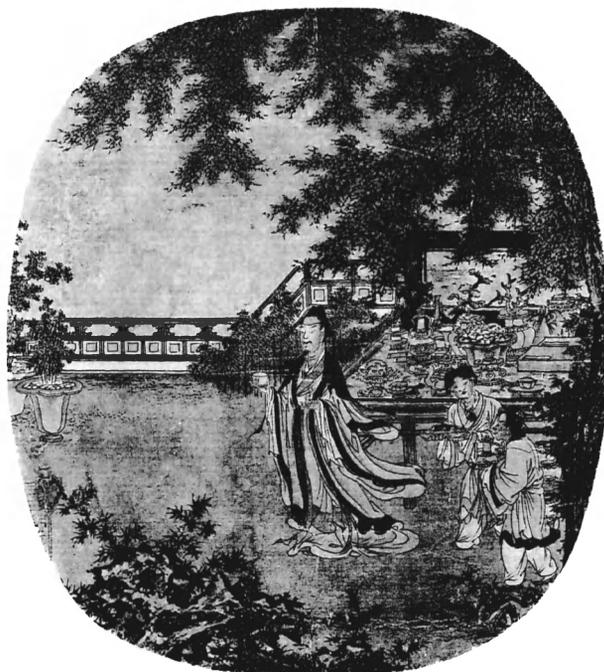


Fig. 6. Anonymous. *Reciting Poetry*. 14th century. Album leaf. Palace Museum, Peking.

himself, having lost his companions, the rulers of heaven and earth. Wu asserts, however, that this painting, with its admirable brush strength and transmission of ancient traditions, is complete in itself and does not need to be part of a "tripod" with images of the other two deities.

When Wu wrote, the painting must have opened as it does now. His colophon begins: "This is neither in heaven nor on earth. Damp clouds drizzle, bearing watery vapors. Ghostly figures advance in the vanguard, their banners flashing and weapons sharp." It goes on to call attention to the precious wealth of the Treasury of Water, the carp leaping in a crystal vase, and strange, mythological beasts all of which are still found in the Freer composition. In continuing with his description, however, Wu mentioned images that are no longer part of the scroll: dragon kings holding tablets, attending officials, and a dragon-propelled flying imperial carriage bearing the divinity, who both releases calamities and ends drought.

Today there is a clear break in the composition about two-thirds of the way through, and no single figure emerges from the crowd to be readily identified as the Divinity of Water. It has been suggested



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9

Fig. 7. Anonymous. *Taoist Deity of Water*. Hanging scroll, ink, colors and gold on silk, 125.5 x 55.9 cm. Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 8. Anonymous. *Taoist Deity of Earth*. Hanging scroll, ink, colors and gold on silk, 125.5 x 55.9 cm. Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 9. Attributed to Ma Lin. *Three Gods on Patrol*. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 174.2 x 122.9 cm. Collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan, Republic of China.

that the old gentleman holding two bottles and mounted on a dragon in the middle of the scroll might be this god.⁴⁵ However, his small size and subordinate placement in relation to other figures do not lend credence to this proposition. He is better identified as Yü-shih, Master of Rain, a member of the Lei-pu, the Ministry of Thunder and Storms.⁴⁶ Flanking him are two other members of the Ministry. On the right, squeezing his bag of wind, is Feng-po, Count of the Wind; on the left is Lei-kung, Duke of Thunder, here a boar-

headed figure who pounds ferociously on his encircling chain of drums.

Many of the figures in the first two-thirds of the scroll, preceding and immediately below the gods of wind, rain, and thunder, look backward, or seem to be clearing the way, as if anticipating a great arrival. Just before the break in the action a single figure stands rigidly erect, facing left, his sword raised hilt up in a respectful salute, but the figure he honors is absent. The scene shifts abruptly to thunderers and goddesses of lightning who, as Wu Chin's colophon states, bring up the rear of the procession. It appears that someone ingeniously created two scrolls: one of the cavorting storm gods and demons, now in the Freer, the other of the divinity and his courtiers. Ho Ch'eng's deity probably bore some resemblance to the one found in the eighteenth-century set of handscrolls devoted to the San-yüan by Yen Hung-tzu in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.⁴⁷

By the thirteenth century images of the San-kuan had been produced by many artists. The Sung imperial collection contained examples by some of the leading masters of the T'ang and Five Dynasties periods,⁴⁸ but none of these works have survived, leaving us to compare the Freer scroll with later depictions of the deities: the set of three hanging scrolls designated anonymous works of the twelfth century by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Figs. 7–8) and the *Three Gods on Patrol*, a hanging scroll attributed to Ma Lin in the National Palace Museum, Taipei (Fig. 9). These colorful paintings on silk are set apart from the cartoon-like *Taoist Divinity of Water* by their courtly elegance, but they give some idea of the variations on this theme produced around the time Ho was active.

Although it differs in format, materials, and degree of finish, the depiction of the deity of water in the Boston set (Fig. 7) has some of the same dramatic energy as Ho Ch'eng's work. The artist might even have been one of Ho's contemporaries. A northern origin and perhaps a Yüan date for the three scrolls are indicated by the conservative handling of the solid, heavily draped figures and the decorative treatment of the Kuo Hsi-style landscape setting provided for the deity of the earth (see Fig. 8).

The contrast between the *Three Gods on Patrol* and the *Taoist Divinity of Water* is sharper. While Ho's gods race boisterously across their horizontal space, acting and reacting to create a series of theatrical episodes, the dramatic moments of the large hanging scroll are tempered by the crowded composition, with its multiple focal points, and tamed by the sea of decorative motifs. Fluffy clouds, rolling waves, and curling banners threaten to engulf the placid divinities. The small movements produced by these elements and by the numerous attendant figures mostly agitate the surface and fill it, creating a sense of horror vacui. A fourteenth-century date has been proposed for this painting,⁴⁹ and it at least anticipates the Ming academicians' decorative elaboration of Southern Sung modes, whereas the Freer scroll determinedly recalls much older traditions.

Specifically, the *Taoist Divinity of Water* was derived from the religious wall painting tradition passed down with little change from the T'ang. This

was recognized by the colophon-writer Wu Chin, who found the drapery drawing in the scroll reminiscent of the style of the mural master Wu Tao-tzu. Like the temple decorators of the Yüan period, many of whom also worked for the court, Ho Ch'eng relied on the old methods of drawing deities and composing religious assemblages that can still be seen in such Shansi province temples as the Fo-kuang-ssu (T'ang), the Ta-yün-yüan (Five Dynasties period), and the Yen-shang-ssu (Chin, mid-twelfth century).⁵⁰ Testifying to the sustained vigor of these mural traditions through the Yüan and also stylistically related to the *Taoist Divinity of Water* are the impressive relief carvings of the Chü-yung kuan arch north of Peking executed around 1343, during the reign of the last Yüan emperor, and the fourteenth-century wall paintings at the Young-lo kung.⁵¹

The powerful depiction of Mara's assault on the west wall of the Chin hall at the Yen-shang-ssu (Fig. 10) provides a close parallel to the Freer scroll. Gods on dragonback, howling demons, and goddesses of lightning emerge from the clouds in both compositions. The demons are rendered according to convention, with gaping mouths, bulging eyes in near-skeletal faces, waving tufts of hair rising over their ears, dramatic postures, tense gestures—especially outstretched arms with clenched fists or fingers spread—and knobby, rippling muscles. (It might be noted that the nervously fluctuating lines in the Freer scroll, which apparently have led some scholars to assign it a later date, are reserved for the improbably muscled bodies of the demons and mythical beasts.) The goddesses of lightning, amid swirling scarves, brandish their flashing mirrors. Their long, full faces and substantial bodies reflect the T'ang standard of beauty maintained in religious paintings exemplified by the murals of the Yung-lo kung, but also seen in such secular works of the north as the Chin dynasty woodcut illustration of "Famous Beauties" and Liu Kuan-tao's *Whiling Away the Summer*.⁵²

Unlike the Yen-shang-ssu mural, however, the *Taoist Divinity of Water* has a playful quality, the product of Ho's swift, at times facile brushwork and deft characterizations, and appropriate to the informality of the handscroll format as well as to



Fig. 10. *The Assault of Mara*. Yen-shang-ssu, south hall, west wall. 12th century. After P'an chieh-tzu, *The Artistic Value of the Murals of the Chin Dynasty in the Yan Shang Si Monastery*, *Wen-wu* (no. 2) (1979): p. 11.

the popular nature of the gods themselves. All the participants in this otherworldly parade seem to be having a wonderful time as they roar along, blowing, thundering, shoveling the gold of the Treasury of Water, and officiously clearing the way. Beaked thunders gleefully play their washboard-like instrument, while midscroll a demon-warrior bends over to peer down through the clouds as if to check on the impact of all the commotion on the world below. The dragons have varied personalities, with the big glowering creature at the end recalling the roguish beasts in *Nine Dragons Appearing Through Clouds and Rain* by the thirteenth-century Taoist Ch'en Jung.⁵³

A number of other ink-monochrome studies of religious subjects might also be considered part of the art-historical context of the *Taoist Divinity of Water*. These include the *Birth of the Buddha*, a handscroll traditionally attributed to Wu Tao-tzu in the Osaka Municipal Museum; the Juncunc Collection

album of sketches of Taoist divinities, the judges of hell, and scenes from the *Sou-shan t'u* ostensibly based on designs by Wu Tao-tzu and attributed to Li Kung-lin; the handscroll of the *Celestial Rulers of Taoism* attributed to Wu Tsung-yüan in the collection of C. C. Wang; and two handscrolls of *Raising the Alms-Bowl*, the story of Hariti, one with a seal of Wang Chen-p'eng in the Indianapolis Museum of Art, and the other with the seals of Wang's follower Chu Yü^{ah} in the Chekiang Provincial Museum. (Fig. 11)⁵⁴ Even though some of these pieces are boldly brushed in the fluid manner associated with Wu Tao-tzu, while others are in the fine *paimiao* style of Li Kung-lin, all, like the *Taoist Divinity of Water*, are related by their subjects and compositions to the wall painting traditions discussed above. They were probably either sketches for or derived from temple murals.

Julia Murray has identified as one of the precedents for the depictions of *Raising the Alms-Bowl* a mural called *The Buddha's Subjugation of the Mother of Demons*, *Raising the Basin* painted in the main hall of the Hsiang-kuo-ssu monastery in the Northern Sung capital of Pien-liang.⁵⁵ A prototype of this sort might explain the arrangement of the figures in the handscrolls, with the Buddha at the beginning and the demons emerging from the end. As Hironobu Kohara has observed, for the story to be appreciated, the scrolls must be completely unrolled and seen in their entirety.⁵⁶ This, of course, is how the composition they share would have been seen on a temple wall.

The illustrations of the tale of Hariti lend themselves particularly well to comparison with Ho Ch'eng's work because they employ many of the same figures—the deities of rain, thunder, lightning, etc. The version attributed to Chu Yü, the earliest of the two, is the closest to the *Taoist Divinity of Water* in style. Hariti's demons join the storm gods in a cloudy sky suggested by wash and delicate lines. The entourage of the Divinity of Water traverses clouds described in the same manner, with washes running smoothly over portions of the figures, now obscuring, now revealing, all the while conjuring up an inhabitable, three-dimensional otherworldly realm. Other similarities between the two scrolls include the dynamic use of

the entire picture space, the employment of emphatic diagonal movements, the complex groupings of overlapping figures, and the attention to detail in the costumes, especially those of the military personnel.

Given the official demands made on painters during the Yüan period, the recycling of old wall painting compositions must have been commonplace, even for a leading master such as Ho Ch'eng. One of the primary occupations of the painters who served the Mongol court was the decoration of palace and temple buildings with murals, screens, and large hanging scrolls. While most of the painters who executed these works were lesser masters or artisans attached to the official craft agencies, the talents of more distinguished individuals were also employed. Not only did Ho Ch'eng, Li Shih, and their colleagues do such paintings—even scholars such as Shang Ch'i, Li K'an, T'ang Ti, and Wang Yüan found themselves pressed into service.⁵⁷ We can therefore imagine Ho Ch'eng illustrating a piece of popular literature one moment, and sketching a scene suitable for a temple wall the next, inevitably carrying certain compositional practices and brush strokes from one project to another. If Ho Ch'eng was, in fact, in the habit of preparing designs for large-scale decorative works, this might explain some of the sloppiness in the brushwork of the *Kuei-chuang t'u*.

Actually, a number of connections can be found between the *Taoist Divinity of Water* and the *Kuei-chuang t'u*. The woman with the long, full face and upswept hair in the gateway inside the first courtyard of T'ao's estate, for instance, resembles the goddesses of lightning who bring up the rear of the procession of the Freer Gallery scroll. More generally, both scrolls display a fondness for animation in excess of narrative requirements and flashy demonstrations of the artist's ability to show figures from odd angles, in motion, and gesturing broadly. The expressive hands of the three men engaged in lively conversation before T'ao Ch'ien's gate resemble those of some of the demons in the *Taoist Divinity of Water*. Finally, these paintings combine abstraction and representation in about the same proportion, mixing sketchy drawing with tightly controlled descriptive techniques. Elements such as the

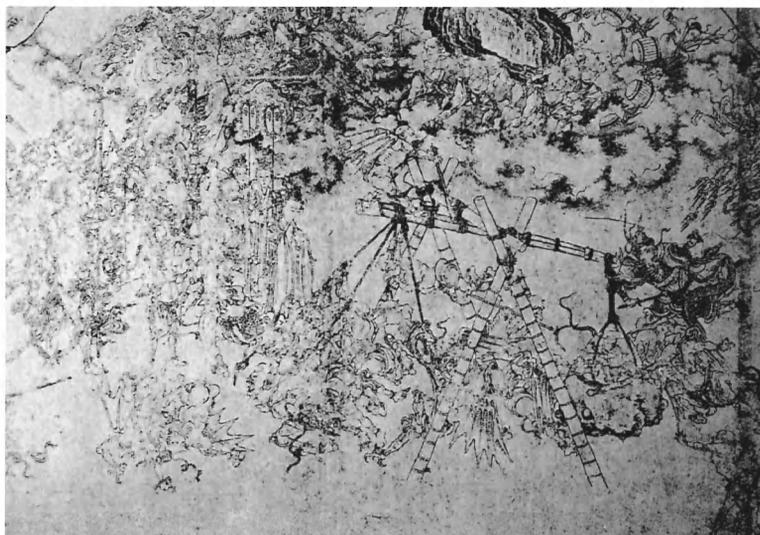


Fig. 11. Chu Yü. *Raising the Alms Bowl*. Section of a handscroll, ink on paper, 27.7 x 111.4 cm. Chekiang Provincial Museum. After *I-yüan to-ying* 18 (1982): p. 5.

wooden carts are set out in firm, careful outlines, while nervous, jerky strokes and fluttering strokes with small hooks and catches describe the servants' garments, earthen walls, and land masses of the *Kuei-chuang t'u* and the demons and mythological beasts in the Freer Gallery scroll.

From these two paintings and the written records of Ho Ch'eng's life and work, a cohesive image of the artist emerges. Ho earned his reputation by mastering the stylistic traditions of his northern home, namely, the methods of the T'ang and Northern Sung transmitted by the artists of the Chin, and by displaying a versatility that matched his patrons' needs. He could capture with ease the atmosphere of a tale, the look of a locale, the social status of an individual, or the power of a god. Consequently, he was influential in his own time, and through works such as the *Kuei-chuang t'u* and the *Taoist Divinity of Water*, as well as through the efforts of his followers, he left a substantial legacy to the professional painters of the late Yüan and Ming periods.

Chinese Characters

a	何澄	o	姚燧	ac	上元天官
b	劉貫道	p	鄧文原	ad	中元地官
c	王辰鵬	q	劉必大	ae	李用
d	程鉅夫	r	揭傒斯	af	時行
e	虞集	s	張嗣成	ag	吳觀
f	何大夫	t	柯九思	ah	朱玉
g	岳柱	u	危素	ai	何思敬
h	李時	v	吳勉	aj	劉融
i	劉仲謙	w	圖畫總管	ak	劉肖巖
j	歸莊圖	x	王叔安	al	劉元
k	秘書監	y	三官大帝	am	平生壯觀
l	太中大夫	z	唐葛	an	太玄子
m	昭文館大學士中奉大夫	aa	葛	ao	王暉
n	張仲壽	ab	周	ap	書畫目錄

Notes

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1. Ho Ch'eng is identified as a man of Yen by Chao Meng-fu in his colophon following the *Kuei-chuang t'u*.

2. James Cahill, *Hills Beyond a River: Chinese Painting of the Yüan Dynasty 1279-1368* (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1976), p. 153; Chu-ting Li, The Role of Wu-hsing in Early Yüan Artistic Development under Mongol Rule, in John D. Langlois, Jr. (ed.), *China Under Mongol Rule* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), p. 362.

3. Hsüeh Yung-nien, Ho Ch'eng ho t'a te *Kuei-chuang t'u* (Ho Ch'eng and his *Kuei-chuang t'u*), *Wen-wu* (no. 8) (1973): 26-29; Hsü Pang-ta, Yu kuan Ho Ch'eng ho Chang Wu chi ch'i tso-p'in te chi tien pu-ch'ung (A Few Supplementary Notes Concerning Ho Ch'eng, Chang Wu, and Their Works), *Wen-wu* (no. 11) (1978): 53-54.

4. Ch'en Kao-hua, *Yüan-tai hua-chia shih-liao* (*Historical Material Concerning Yüan Painters*) (Shanghai: Jen-min mei-shu ch'u-p'an she, 1980), pp. 321-325.

5. Wai-kam Ho, Aspects of Chinese Painting from 1100 to 1350, in Wai-kam Ho et al., *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting* (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art in cooperation with Indiana University Press, 1980), p. xxvii.

6. Hsia Wen-yen reports that Liu Kuan-tao was skilled at painting Taoist and Buddhist figures, birds and animals, flowers and bamboo, and landscapes in the tradition of Kuo Hsi. Hsia, *T'u-hui pao-chien* (Taipei: Commercial Press, 1970), p. 99.

The extant works bearing Wang Chen-p'eng's name, such as *Po-ya Playing the Ch'in* and the many versions of the *Dragon Boat Regatta* testify to his accomplishments in figure painting and chieh-hua, while Yüan texts attribute to him paintings of landscape, ghosts, and a cat; see Ch'en, *Yüan-tai hua-chia shih-liao*, p. 265.

7. Ch'eng Chü-fu, *Hsüeh-lou chi* (Taipei, 1970), chüan 9, pp. 14b-15a.

8. *Ibid.*, chüan 30, p. 9a.

9. Yü Chi, *Tao-yüan hsüeh-ku lu* (Taipei: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1971), chüan 18, p. 2b; Hsia, *T'u-hui pao-chien*, p. 106. Yü Chi also wrote: "This capital's *Tai-fu* is eighty or ninety years old and has a thousand horses, ten-thousand horses in his breast." It is assumed that Ho Ch'eng was the artist to whom Yü and Hsia referred because he counted *Tai-fu* among his titles, lived to an advanced age, and painted horses. The *Kuei-chuang t'u*, moreover, shows that he drew on the Li Kung-lin tradition.

10. Sung Lien et al., *Yüan-shih* (Taipei: Chung-hua shu-chu, 1971), chüan 130, p. 10b.

11. Ch'en, *Yüan-tai hua-chia shih-liao*, pp. 258-259.

12. Ch'eng, *Hsüeh-lou chi*, chüan 29, p. 13b.

13. K'o Shao-min, *Hsin Yüan-shih* (1919? ed.): chüan 242, pp. 11b-12a.

14. Kao Shih-ch'i, *Chiang-ts'un hsiao-hsia lu*, chüan 1, p. 46. Kao

confused Ho Ch'eng with Ho Ssu-ching²¹; both men served in the Imperial Archives, but in different positions. This matter is discussed by Hsüeh Yung-nien in Ho Ch'eng ho t'a te *Kuei-chuang t'u*, pp. 26–27.

15. K'o, *Hsin Yüan-shih*, p. 11b.

16. Ch'eng, *Hsueh-lou chi*, chüan 29, pp. 14b–15a.

17. Ch'eng Chü-fu's citation of Ho's ranks is corroborated by the documentation attached to the *Kuei-chuang t'u*, but the artist's name does not appear in the *Mi-shu chien chih* (Records of the Imperial Archives). The Imperial Archives, which served as a repository for ancient paintings as well as books and calligraphy, was an appropriate place for a painter such as Ho Ch'eng to serve. To an extent it may have substituted for the painting academies of earlier periods. A number of famous Yüan artists were affiliated with it, including Shang Ch'i, Liu Yung,²² Wang Chen-p'eng, Li Hsiao-yen,²³ and Liu Yüan²⁴ (see Ch'en, *Yüan-tai hua-chia shih-liao*, pp. 10b–11a). The sculptor Liu Yüan's rank was comparable to Ho Ch'eng's, which suggests that the two artists were equally well regarded by the court. The regard in which Liu was held was spelled out by Yü Chi: Liu was granted the privilege of working only upon imperial command (see Yü, *Tao-yüan hsiieh-ku lu*, chüan 7, p. 10a). If such an honor was ever extended to Ho Ch'eng, the record remains to be found, but it is certain that Ho served the ruling house with distinction.

18. Hsü, Yu kuan Ho Ch'eng ho Chang Wu chi ch'i tso-p'in te chi tien pu-ch'ung, pp. 53–54.

19. The colophons are reproduced in *Wen-wu* (no. 8) (1973) and in *I-yüan to-ying* (no. 6) (1979): 44. The transcriptions in *Ta-kuan lu* compiled by Wu Sheng (1920 ed.; Stanford University Library) were used in the preparation of this article. The painting is also recorded in the following catalogues: *P'ing-sheng chuang kuan*²⁵ by Ku Fu; *Shih-ku t'ang shu-hua hui-k'ao* by Pien Yung-yü; *Yü-chi-shan-fang hua wai-lu* by Ch'en Chuan; *Chiang-ts'un hsiao-hsia lu* and *Chiang-ts'un shu-hua mu* by Kao Shih-ch'i; *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi san-pien* and *Ku-kung-i-shu-chi shu-hua mu-lu ssu-chung*.

20. Chang Szu-ch'eng signed himself T'ai-hsüan tzu²⁶ and affixed two seals, one with this hao and another reading "San-shih-chiu tai t'ien-shih" (the thirty-ninth Celestial Master).

21. Also attached to the scroll are colophons by the Ch'ing scholars Kao Shih-ch'i and Chang Chao. A list of the colophon authors and seals is provided by Hsüeh Yung-nien, Ho Ch'eng ho t'a te *Kuei-chuang t'u*, p. 29.

22. Hsüeh, Ho Ch'eng ho t'a te *Kuei-chuang t'u*, p. 29.

23. Hsü, Yu kuan Ho Ch'eng ho Chang Wu chi ch'i tso-p'in te chi tien pu-ch'ung, pp. 53–54.

24. Tzu Chung, Ho Ch'eng *Kuei-chuang t'u* chüan, *I-yüan to-ying* 6 (1979): 46.

25. For Ch'ien Hsüan's biography see James Cahill, Ch'ien Hsüan and His Figure Painting, *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*, 12 (1958): 11–29, and Wai-kam Ho et al., *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, pp. 90–91. Ch'ien Hsüan's painting of T'ao Ch'ien's return and accompanying poem in the Metropolitan Museum are introduced briefly by Richard Barnhart in *Peach Blossom Spring* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983), p. 42.

26. In his discussion of Chao Meng-fu's decision to serve in the Yüan bureaucracy, Frederick Mote draws attention to a poem in which Chao reflected on T'ao Ch'ien's retirement. Chao expressed his admiration for T'ao in lines such as "He followed his lofty way, noble as the green pines," but also allowed for the propriety of his own course of action, writing "Each person lives his life in this world according to his own times." Mote, *Confucian Eremitism in the Yüan Period*, in *The Confucian Persuasion*, edited by Arthur Wright (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960) pp. 236–237.

27. The importance of the "Kuei-ch'ü-lai tz'u" as a court painting theme is being investigated by Elizabeth Brotherton in a doctoral dissertation, *Scrolls Illustrating T'ao Ch'ien's Return*, for Princeton University. The author is grateful to Ms. Brotherton for making a draft of her introduction available.

28. Paintings by Li Kung-lin of the Kuei-ch'ü-lai theme in the Sung imperial collection are recorded in *Hsuan-ho hua-p'u* (Taipei: Commercial Press ed., 1971), chüan 7, p. 205. The seventeenth-century connoisseur Ku Fu put Ho Ch'eng directly in this lineage by suggesting that Ho followed a work of Li King-lin's twelfth-century follower Fan-lung in composing the *Kuei-chuang t'u*; see note 33.

29. Wang Yun,²⁷ *Shu-hua mu-lu*,²⁸ preface dated 1276, in *Mei-shu tsung-shu*, vol. 18, IV/6.

30. The physical properties and documentation of the Freer scroll are described by Thomas Lawton in *Chinese Figure Painting* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1973), no. 4, pp. 38–40. The *Kuei-ch'ü-lai t'u* handscroll attributed to Li Kung-lin in the National Palace Museum, Taipei (chien-mu SH55) is a work in ink on paper. The composition is the same as that of the Freer scroll except that it opens with the poet walking staff in hand, a scene not included in the Freer version, and it is a continuous narrative uninterrupted by text. The scenes are separated by so much space, however, that they have a comparable self-contained character.

31. Reproduced in Richard Barnhart, *Peach Blossom Spring*, pp. 44–45.

32. Reproductions: Chang Tse-tuan, *Ch'ing-ming shang-ho t'u*, Hsü Pang-ta (ed.), *Chung-kuo hui-hua shih t'u-lu* (Shanghai: Shanghai jemin mei-shu ch'u-pan she, 1984), pp. 159–165; *The Return of Lady Wen-chi*, Kojiro Tomita (ed.) *Portfolio of Paintings in the Museum*, vol. 1, *Han to Sung Periods* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1938), pls. 61–64.

33. Wu Sheng (d. 1712 or shortly thereafter) remarked: "The running brushwork of the trees, stones, and buildings is all carelessly done; I do not see anyplace where it attains refinement or excellence. I do not know how Wen-min [Chao Meng-fu] and the various venerable gentlemen could join in admiring it. As for [Yü Chi's] saying that one [of Ho's] scrolls was worth a thousand pieces of gold, this is very surprising." *Ta-kuan lu* (1920 edition), chüan 15. Ku Fu (fl. 1692) wrote: "Ho Ch'eng became famous in the north for his painting. His *Kuei-ch'ü-lai t'u* follows Fan-lung, but the brush attainments are not high. His use of ink in the trees, rocks, and embankments is rough and abnormal. I do not understand the high esteem in which he was held by the various important Yüan gentlemen who wrote postscripts." *P'ing-sheng chuang-kuan* (facsimile of MS in Chekiang Provincial Museum, Shanghai, 1962), chüan 8, p. 87.

34. Reproductions: Genre scenes at the Yen-shang-ssu, Patricia Eichenbaum Karetzky, *The Recently Discovered Chin Dynasty Murals Illustrating the Life of the Buddha at the Yen-shang-ssu*, Shansi, *Artibus Asiae* 42 (4) (1980): 245–252; *Greeting the Emperor*, Ellen Laing, Li Sung and Some Aspects of Southern Sung Figure Painting, *Artibus Asiae* 27 (1–2) (1975): figs. 19–21.

35. Ellen Johnston Laing, *Six Late Yüan Dynasty Figure Paintings*, *Oriental Art* 20 (3) (Autumn, 1974): 305.

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 305–316.

37. James Cahill, *Index of Early Chinese Paintings* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), pp. 121, 303–304.

38. The landscape might be contrasted with the thoroughly Southern Sung garden setting created by Ma Yüan for his handscroll *Composing Poetry on a Spring Outing* in the Nelson Gallery, Kansas City. In fact, with their related themes—scholars roaming about the landscape—these two handscrolls might be used to illustrate the different directions taken in this genre by northern and southern professional artists in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

39. Hsüeh Yung-nien, Ho Ch'eng ho t'a te *Kuei-chuang t'u*, has also discussed the northern roots of the *Kuei-chuang t'u*, pointing out such things as the "cloud-head ts'un," and "crab-claw trees" of the Northern Sung tradition, as well as the "axe-cut ts'un" of the Li T'ang manner, but he gives special attention to the dry-brush techniques used in the landscape. While acknowledging that Ho did not entirely relinquish the moist-brush methods of the Sung, Hsüeh maintains that Ho very clearly tried to achieve dry-brush and roasted-ink effects. Hsüeh suggests that in this regard Ho followed Northern Sung and Chin

literati painting precedents represented by the old trees and bamboo pictures of Su Shih and Wang T'ing-yün, and anticipated the dry-brush techniques of Chao Meng-fu.

40. Reproductions: Ma Shih, Li Tsai, and Hsia Chih, *The Homecoming Ode of T'ao Yüan-ming, I-yüan to-ying* 3 (1978): 3-6; anonymous *Kuei-ch'ü-lai tz'u t'u*, *Bunjinga Suihen*, 2 (Tokyo: Chuo Koron-Sha, 1977), pls. 53 and 54, and figure 23. The latter scroll carries a spurious signature of Li T'ang and in *Bunjinga Suihen* it is assigned to the Chin dynasty. Recently it was acquired by the Cleveland Museum (82.152), where it is considered a Yüan painting and catalogued as a work of the fourteenth century. It does not include the famous scene of the poet arriving by boat (this section was probably cut off before the fake seals along the margin were added), but it otherwise illustrates the poem quite faithfully. Like Ho Ch'eng's *Kuei-chuang t'u* it is a continuous narrative with ambitious landscape and architectural settings; it lacks significant archaism, and includes some loose, hastily done brushwork, especially in the land formations. The nervous, fluctuating strokes in the landscape and the shapes of the rocks and mountains—often vertical, top-heavy forms encrusted with outcroppings, many of which jut out or curl over—also link this painting to the Chin tradition as represented by the handscroll by T'ai-ku i-min in the Nelson Gallery (reproduced: Wai-kam Ho et al. *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, no. 25) and *The Red Cliff* attributed to Wu Yüan-chih (reproduced: Osvald Siren, *Chinese Painting, Leading Masters and Principles*, vol. 3 (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1956), pls. 262-263). The painter of this *Kuei-ch'ü-lai* picture, if not a northerner, was at least well versed in northern styles. However, as the curators of the Cleveland Museum suggest on the basis of the stylistic evidence of the scroll, he was not a man of the Chin. In my opinion, the extreme agitation of some of the landscape drawing and the resultant flattening of the land masses, the simplicity of the composition with most of the action clinging to a central, horizontal axis, and the handling of certain forms, such as the pines with scalloped contours and stippled trunks, point to an early Ming date for this work. Nevertheless, this scroll and those attributed to Wu Yüan-chih, T'ai-ku i-min, and Ho Ch'eng form an interesting group, one that should increase our understanding of the lasting contributions made by the artists of the Chin.

41. E. T. C. Werner, *A Dictionary of Chinese Mythology* (Shanghai: Kelley and Walsh, 1932), pp. 400-403.

42. For a discussion of Yüan Taoism, see Sun K'o-k'uan, Yü Chi and Southern Taoism during the Yüan Period, in Langlois, Jr. (ed.), *China Under Mongol Rule*, p. 212-253.

43. Indicative of the court's sponsorship of Taoist temples and Taoist art are the commissions recorded in *Yüan-tai hua-su chi*, pp. 7-13, in *Ssu-t'a chi, I-chou ming-hua lu, Yüan-tai hua-su chi* (Peking: Jen-min mei-shu ch'u-pan she, 1964).

44. Li Yung may have been partially responsible for the present arrangement of the scroll. His seal "Li shih chia ts'ang" appears on the seams near the beginning and the end of the scroll, as well as on the paper with Wang Shu-an's calligraphy. Originally this scroll may have been part of a set of three that he had remounted, or through remounting he may have transformed a continuous composition into such a set.

45. Lawton, *Chinese Figure Painting*, p. 156.

46. The principal dignitaries of the Lei-pu (Ministry of Thunder and Storms) are the Five Thunder Spirits: Lei-tsu (Ancestor of Thunder), Lei-kung (Duke of Thunder), Tien-mu (Mother of Lightning), Feng-po (Count of the Wind), and Yü-shih (Master of Rain); see Werner, *A Dictionary of Chinese Mythology*, p. 244. Yü-shih is similarly represented in the scrolls depicting the tale of Hariti; see Julia K. Murray, *Representations of Hariti, the Mother of Demons, and the Theme of "Raising the Alms-Bowl" in Chinese Painting*, *Artibus Asiae* (1982): 158 and fig. 5.

47. Reproduced in Kojiro Tomita and Hsien-chi Tseng (eds.), *Portfolio of Chinese Paintings in the Museum*, vol. 2, *Yüan to Ch'ing Periods* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1961), pls. 177, 178.

48. The *Hsuan-ho hua-p'u* (Taipei: Commercial Press ed., 1971) lists the following: Tang: Fan Ch'ung, chüan 2, p. 79; Sun Wei, chüan 2, p. 82; Chang Su-ch'ing, chüan 2, p. 88; Chou Fang, chüan 6, p. 169. Five Dynasties: Tso Li, chüan 3, p. 98; Chu Yu, chüan 3, p. 99; Tu Ni (I?)-kuei, chüan 3, p. 107; Tso Chung-yüan, chüan 3, p. 109. Sung: Sun Chin-wei, chüan 4, p. 120. Kuo Jo-hsü in his *T'u-hua chien-wen chih* (Alexander Soper, *Kuo Jo-hsü's Experiences in Painting*, Washington, DC: American Council of Learned Societies, 1951) also mentions images of the *San-kuan* by Tso Chüan (chüan 2, p. 5), and Tso Li and Chang Nan (chüan 2, p. 15).

49. James Cahill, *Index of Early Chinese Painters and Paintings*, p. 148. The editors of the *Ku-kung shu-hua lu* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1965), observe that it looks like the work of a Yüan artist; chüan 5, pp. 102-103.

50. Reproduced in *Fo-kuang-ssu ho Ta-yun-yüan T'ang Wu-tai pi-hua* (Tang Dynasty Murals in Fo Guang Si, Five Dynasties Frescoes, Da Yun Yuan) (Peking: Wen-wu ch'u-pan she, 1983). For the Yen-shang-ssu, see note 34.

51. The relief carvings of the Chü-yung-kuan are described in detail by Murata Jiro and Fujieda Akira in *Chü-yung-kuan* (The Buddhist Arch of the Fourteenth Century A.D. at the Pass of the Great Wall Northwest of Peking) (Kyoto: Kyoto University, 1955). For the Yung-lo kung paintings, see *Yung-lo pi-hua hsüan-chi* (Peking: Cultural Press, 1958), or *Yung-lo kung pi-hua* (Peking: Jen-min mei-shu chu-pan she, 1978).

52. The woodcut, by the Chi family of Pin-yang, Shansi, is reproduced by K. T. Wu in "Chinese Printing Under Four Alien Dynasties," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 13 (3, 4) (1950): pl. II.

53. Reproduced in Kojiro Tomita (ed.), *Portfolio of Paintings in the Museum*, vol. 1, *Han to Sung Periods*, pls. 127-129.

54. Reproductions: *Birth of the Buddha* attributed to Wu Tao-tzu, Osvald Siren, *Chinese Painting, Leading Masters and Principles*, vol. 3, pls. 86-87; Juncunc Collection album, Fredrik Robert Martin, *Zeichnungen nach Wu Tao-tzu aus der Gotter-und Sagen-Welt Chinas* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1913); *Celestial Rulers of Taoism* attributed to Wu Tsung-yüan, in Kawakami Kei et al. (eds.), *Suiboku bijutsu taikei* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1975), pp. 27-30; *Raising the Alms-Bowl (Yakshas Lifting the Bowl)* with the seal of Wang Chen-p'eng, Yutaka Mino and James Robinson, *Beauty and Tranquility: The Eli Lilly Collection of Chinese Art* (Indianapolis: Indianapolis Museum of Art, 1983), pp. 302-305; *Raising the Alms-Bowl (Opening the Alms-Bowl)* with the seals of Chu Yü, *I-yüan to-ying* 18 (1982): 3-6. Various versions of the story of Hariti, including the one with the signature of Wang Chen-p'eng, are discussed by Julia K. Murray, *Representations of Hariti, the Mother of Demons, and the Theme of "Raising the Alms-Bowl" in Chinese Painting*, pp. 253-268.

55. Julia K. Murray, *Representations of Hariti, the Mother of Demons, and the Theme of "Raising the Alms-Bowl" in Chinese Painting*, p. 259.

56. Hironobu Kohara, *Narrative Illustration*, paper prepared for *Words and Images: Chinese Poetry, Calligraphy, and Painting*, May 20-22, 1985, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, p. 30.

Julia Murray cites illustrations of the Hariti tale in which the composition is reversed. She designates the composition found in the paintings attributed to Wang Chen-p'eng and Chu Yü as type A, and the reversed composition type B, and argues that type B developed from type A. Perhaps this development was motivated in part by the realization that in the handscroll format the narrative is better served by type B, opening with the demon army moving from right to left and closing with the image of the Buddha.

57. Ch'en Kao-hua, *Yüan-tai hua-chia shih-liao*, pp. 140-141, 214-215, 521-522. Wang Yüan was, in fact, called upon to paint a huge demon on the wall of a temple gate. This undertaking is described in some detail by T'ao Ts'ung-i, *Cho-keng lu* (Taipei: World Book Company, 1971), pp. 118-119.