**Lecture Notes, by James Cahill**

*Note: The image numbers in these lecture notes do not exactly coincide with the images onscreen but are meant to be reference points in the lectures' progression.*

**Lecture 8B. Late Northern Song Painting: Nobles and Scholar-Amateurs**

**8.8. Zhao Lingrang 趙令穰／赵令穰 (active ca. 1070–1100)**

Painters we've considered who weren't full-time professionals: Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之, Wang Wei 王維／王维, maybe Dong Yuan 董源. Now another, who was a member of the Song imperial family, a fifth-generation descendant of founder Song Taizu 宋太祖. Grew up in court environment; educated in classics. Collected old paintings and calligraphy himself. As a painter, he worked in more than one style, or manner. Huizong's 徽宗 catalog *Xuanhe huapu* 宣和畫譜／宣和画谱 writes of him (quoted in Siren II, 71) that his paintings "represent shady groves in a misty atmosphere with ducks and geese; they have an air of quiet repose.…" Said of him that he always painted scenery he could see around the capital; he was not able to travel. But he also did landscape in the archaistic, blue-and-green manner. (From texts: no safe example known.)

Images 8.8.1 through 8.8.7: *River Landscape with Willows and Cottages* 湖莊清夏／湖庄清夏. Handscroll, dated 1100. Boston M.F.A. (Loehr 76 A–D; Siren 226).

Image 8.9.1: Cf. album leaf by Li Anzhong 李安忠, early 12th-century Academy, dated 1117. *Cottages in a Misty Grove in Autumn* 秋景山水圖／秋景山水图 (*Lyric J* [see the optional reading at the end of this lecture's notes] 1.12).

Image 8.10.1: *River Landscape* 秋塘圖／秋塘图. Album leaf in the Yamato Bunkakan, Nara.

Images 8.11.1 and 8.11.2: *River Village in Autumn Dawn* 江村秋曉／江村秋晓. Metropolitan Museum (former C. C. Wang collection).

Something new, very modern (centuries earlier than this would happen in European painting): the artist is able to choose his style consciously; can do painting in one style one day, in another tomorrow. Not slow and natural movement from one to another, as in traditional "development." *Antiquarianism* a prominent feature of Northern Song culture. Style-consciousness that goes with antiquarianism, collecting, affected the production of painting, in which *choices of styles* became an important element. Connoisseurship feeds into art history.

**8.12. Wang Shen 王洗 (active ca. 1085)**

Another nobleman-artist, not by birth but by marriage: married daughter of Emperor Yingzong; lived for a time within the imperial palace and also served as a high official. Important collector: Su Shi 蘇軾／**苏轼**, Mi Fu 米芾, Li Gonglin 李公麟 all knew him. About his landscape painting, 12th-century writer Deng Chun 鄧椿／邓椿 writes: "He followed Li Cheng's method, but also used gold-and-green coloring." So: like Zhao Lingrang, he used different styles at different times. Not like the traditional artist, who inherits the style "belonging to" his local tradition, learns that, perhaps changes it, passes it on to his followers.

Images 8.12.1 through 8.12.4: *Light Snow over a Fishing Village* 漁村小雪圖／**渔**村小雪**图** (*3000*, 116; Siren 222–223). Barnhart notes presence of a "dark-hooded scholar" and writes: "This is something akin to the romantic landscape of nineteenth-century Europe, a vision of landscape clearly and frankly seen through the eyes of an individual who shapes it into his own image." Good observation. Consistent with the point of view I am taking. Li-Guo style landscape, changed to fit within the technical grasp of the cultivated amateur. *But:*
Images 8.12.5 and 8.12.6: Details of fishermen: fakes it. He was too rich and aristocratic and busy to spend time among fishermen or master skills for depicting their lives.

Images 8.13.1 through 8.13.7: *Serried Hills over a Misty River* 煙江疊嶂圖卷／烟江叠嶂**图**卷. Shanghai Museum (*3000*, 117). Favorite of Dick Barnhart, who writes movingly about it as "perhaps the perfect embodiment of this new landscape of exile"—Wang Shen was in political disfavor—and as "islands of blue and green, shimmering like a mirage.…"
No special display of skill here: blue-and-green style adjusted to lower technical skills of aristocrat-amateur artist.

Cf: detail from *Minghuang's Journey* 明皇幸蜀圖／明皇幸蜀图. Flat, outlined forms, outlined clouds.

Cf: detail from painting attributed to Zhao Boju 趙伯駒, 12th-century academy master. (Will see in next lecture.)

Idea of *archaism*. Interrupts what has been up to now pretty much a *traditional* development of landscape painting. Collecting and appreciation of old paintings was seen to demand *appreciation of style*; not just seeing as picture, for pictorial value. Later painting had escaped that limitation (as artists must have seen it) through great feats of formal unification—making painting, that is, more immediately believable and acceptable as *picture*—up to Fan Kuan 范寬／范宽, etc. Our Gombrichian "development." But against that, now, is the rise of aristocrat-amateur, scholar-amateur painting that emphasizes *style*—brushwork, *facture*, rather than image, with resulting loss of power of painting as *image*. Back to more intellectual *reading* of painting.

*Reading:* from Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修／欧阳修 (1007–1072), in my 1958 dissertation, pp. 53–54; also Bush & Shih, p. 230, slightly different. A great scholar-statesman; one who opposed Wang Anshi 王安史. So, close to our group of artists.… He writes: "Loneliness and desolation, tranquility and leisureliness—these are the conceptions hard to paint. Even if the painter captures them, the person seeing his painting won't necessarily discern them. Flying and running, slow and fast—these are matters of shallow conception, easy to see; but quiet and peace, awesome stillness, feelings of a remote flavor—it is more difficult to give form to these. As for high and low, front and back, near and far, horizontal and vertical layers [that is, planes of height and depth], these belong to the artifices of the professional painter and are nothing that concerns connoisseurship." So much for the great achievements of Northern Song monumental landscape—dismissed as not worthy of attention.

**Beginnings of Literati Painting**

Read, if you want, my old article "Confucian Elements in the Theory of Painting," delivered as a symposium paper in 1958; published in *The Confucian Persuasion*, edited by Arthur F. Wright, (Stanford University Press, 1960), pp. 115–140; reprinted in *Confucianism and Chinese Civilization*, edited by Arthur F. Wright (New York: Athenaum, 1964).

Followed up by Susan Bush, *Chinese Literati on Painting* (1971), and in Bush & Shih, chap. 5, "Sung Literati Theory and Connoisseurship" (1983). Read, for comparison, Wen Fong, "The Scholar-Official as Artist," *Possessing*, pp. 147–157.

The 11th century to the beginning of the 12th century: period of peace with northern neighbors; the Liao were pacified. Productive period in lots of ways: great flourishing of Neo-Confucian philosophy, poetry, great painting. In politics, some of the greatest statesmen: Ouyang Xiu, Su Shi, others. Some of them were almost ideal examples of the scholar-gentleman-official (*shidafu* 士大夫) in China. They were poets, calligraphers, collectors, connoisseurs—and painters. *Their paintings*: not many preserved. I will show most of them, talk a lot about them. (By contrast, for the Southern Song Academy masters, I will show a lot, talk a little.)

**8.14. Su Shi, or Su Dongpo 蘇東坡／苏东坡 (1036–1101)**

Image 8.14.1: *Old Tree, Bamboo, and Rock* 古木怪石圖／古木怪石**图** (Loehr 88; Siren III, 180). Colophons by Mi Fu and another. Collection unknown.

Image 8.15.1: another, part of handscroll, in Shanghai Museum (*Lyric J* 1.5).

Image 8.15.1a: Su Shi calligraphy. Shanghai Museum.

Famous poet, statesman, calligrapher. As a painter, Su Shi specialized in a small group of subjects: bamboo, old trees, rocks. He painted in ink, simple pictures, like extension of calligraphy. His choice of subjects was partly symbolic—all these symbolized virtues of the ideal man—but also because they suited the limited technical abilities of the amateur artist. His friend Mi Fu wrote of him: "Su Shi painted old trees with their branches and trunks contorted excessively like dragons, while his wrinkled and sharp rocks were queerly tangled like sorrows coiled up in his breast." Images in painting seen in terms of human character and feeling. How different this is from Jing Hao 荊浩／**荆**浩, who wrote of the old pine tree: "as though soaring aloft into the air, its gestures like whose of a writhing dragon" (cf. Bush & Shih, p. 145). For him, the old tree has its own inherent nature, or character.

(How forms embody feeling is a subject for a course in aesthetics—I would use Suzanne Langer's 1953 book *Feeling and Form* as the text. Writing and lecturing about this in the 1950s, I was tempted to liken it to Abstract Expressionism then current among U.S. painters. Misleading in some ways, but not totally: feeling expressed in forms apart from any representational function they may have.)

I quoted before, and will quote again, a Su Shi poem about earlier artists:

Though Master Wu [Daozi] 吳道子／吴道子 was supreme in art,

He can only be regarded as an artisan painter;

Wang Wei soared beyond images

Like an immortal crane released from the cage. (Bush & Shih, p. 203)

When one savors Wang Wei's poems, there are paintings in them,

When one looks at Wang Wei's pictures, there are poems…

Su Shi set out to make painting and poetry sister arts, equivalents, one virtually interchangeable into the other.

And, endlessly quoted, the opening lines of a poem:

If anyone discusses painting in terms of formal likeness,

His understanding is close to that of a child. (Bush & Shih, p. 224)

*Return:* painting attributed to Xu Xi 徐熙, *Bamboo, Old Tree, and Rock* 雪竹圖／雪竹**图**.

Anonymous, early Northern Song? Obviously, from extant examples, Su Shi's paintings can't be discussed in terms of likeness—they are expressive rather than pictorially descriptive. As I remarked in the introductory lecture, any cultivated Chinese, faced with a choice between these two, would immediately and unhesitatingly choose Su Shi's. Literati painters concocted theories that, among other things, supported their own practice. Nothing unusual in that—normal.

All this still has great attraction for lots of people. Certain positions, or arguments, have inherent rhetorical advantage over others: "sudden enlightenment" Chan vs. "gradual enlightenment." Doesn't mean their side right, other side wrong. Literati claimed these rhetorical positions. Paintings with poetic content obviously sound better than paintings without; self-expressive painting sounds better than other kinds. Doesn't mean their kind of painting is really superior. Make your own judgments.

Zhu Xi 朱熹 wrote about him: "After a hundred generations, when people look at this painting [of bamboo and rock], they will be able to see him in their minds" (Bush & Shih, p. 202). An early statement of belief that would be endlessly repeated later: When you look at the painting you don't see the bamboo and rock, you see the man [who painted it]. That is, you understand the workings of his mind. This was the idea I traced in my "Confucian Elements" article.

**8.16. Wen Tong 文同 (1019–1079)**

A close friend of Su Dongpo, who wrote admiringly about him. He was more serious, and probably a better painter than Su. Specialized in bamboo, established the school of ink-bamboo. Died young.

Image 8.16.1: *Large Branch of Bamboo* 墨竹圖／墨竹**图**. National Palace Museum (Siren 182; CAT 27). Not signed, but it has a seal with the artist's name. Darker and lighter leaves, for nearer and further. S-curve becomes standard for such paintings. Easily turned into formula.

Image 8.16.2: detail. Little hooks on the ends of some strokes: more calligraphy than bamboo?

Not strikingly unorthodox; early example of the kind of painting that would be repeated endlessly by amateur artists, who could learn to do it easily.

Image 8.17.1: another, double album leaf (Siren 183). A bit more spontaneous, but still very much following the system. Highly controlled, or disciplined. Brushwork in literati painting was never allowed to become too loose or free.

Images 8.18.1 and 8.18.2: *Autumn in the River Valley* (also known as *Rosy Sunset*) landscape handscroll, copy after Wen Tong? So recorded; matches descriptions and part-copies. Metropolitan Museum (Siren 184).

**8.19. Mi Fu (*not* Fei; 1051–1107)**

Images 8.19.1 and 8.19.2: *Hills in Mist* 雲起樓圖／云起楼**图**. Freer Gallery (Loehr 78, Siren 188).

(Letter about a Coral Tree: T&V 7–37.)

Image 8.19.3: Mi Fu calligraphy. Shanghai Museum.

Book: Peter C. Sturman (U.C. Santa Barbara). *Mi Fu: Style and the Art of Calligraphy in Northern Song China*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997.

Scholar, professional connoisseur, calligrapher, collector. Held various posts; was for a time a member of the Hanlin Academy; appointed as connoisseur in palace, adviser to Huizong, probably took part in compiling catalog of imperial collection, *Xuanhe huapu.* Wrote *Huashi* 畫史／画史, *Shushi* 書史／书史 —*History of Painting*, *History of Calligraphy*—actually collections of commentary: stories, anecdotes, often very unorthodox. (Kohara study.) Excerpts from his *Huashi*, judgments of earlier artists (Dong Yuan, Li Cheng 李成, Fan Kuan). Translation in Bush & Shih, pp. 213–214.

As a painter, he considered hmself to carry on the Jiangnan, Yangzi Delta, local tradition. Recognized Southern tradition of landscape, traced back to Dong Yuan. About landscape painting, he wrote (translation from Marilyn and Shen Fu, *Studies in Connoisseurship*, p. 57; another, I think wrong, translation in Bush & Shih, pp. 220–221): "Likeness of subjects such as oxen, horses, and human beings can be gotten by imitation (*mo*). But landscape painting cannot be achieved [by this method]. Landscape [painting] is a creation of the mind, and is intrinsically a superior art."

There is no reliable painting by Mi Fu to show. This one, in the Freer Gallery, old and important, is commonly used to represent him. Couplet in upper right is supposedly in hand of Huizong, his cursive style of writing (I was told by Chang Ta-ch'ien 張大千／张大千 while looking at this). Couplet: "Heaven sends down timely rain,/Hills and clouds put forth mists." Political theme; such paintings were presented to scholar-officials to praise them.

Silhouetted tree groves in foreground, temple roofs, simple rounded hills in fog beyond. Nearly all executed in applications of dots, rather like stippling, but with larger dabs.

Returning to details from paintings attributed to Dong Yuan. Mi Fu's derives from his understanding of Dong Yuan style? System called by later writers "Mi dots." Meant to be seen from some distance, not close-up; he praised Dong Yuan's painting for that quality.

There are other landscapes attributed to Mi Fu, but they don't seem to me worth considering, e.g., small landscape in CAT. Obviously later, they don't tell us anything about him.

Should remember: it was Mi Fu who pronounced landscape by Xu Daoning 許道寧／许道宁, painter of a great handscroll in the Nelson Gallery, to be "plebeian," not worth looking at.

Mi Fu's influence on Huizong, or at least Huizong's complete swallowing of literati painting ideas, is indicated by his rejection of Guo Xi 郭熙. Bush & Shih, pp. 136–137: later 12th-century writer, Deng Chun, tells of how his father was serving in the Huizong court, looking through old functional paintings, saw a mounter using a Guo Xi painting as a rag to wipe a table. (Etc.—cartload delivered, hung all over walls of house.)

**8.20. Mi Youren 米友仁 (1074–1151)**

Doctoral dissertation: Peter Sturman, "Mi Youren and the Inherited Literati Tradition: Dimensions of Ink-Play" (Yale University, 1989). Massive work: 3 vols., 530 pp. Unpublished.
A precocious youth, Mi Youren followed his father as a landscape painter (only twenty-two years younger).

He had a career as a minor official; served in a prefectural post, in charge of the School of Writing. Held office again after the establishment of the Southern Song, for twenty-four years, so he played an important role in the continuation of literati painting past the Northern Song. In his last ten years of life, he "met with imperial favor," so he painted less for outsiders. No dated work from his last twelve years.

> Here is Mi Youren writing about painting (Bush & Shih, pp. 205–206):
>
> Yang Hsiung [Han dynasty philosopher] considered written characters to be the depictions of the mind.… As for the definition of painting, it is also a depiction of the mind. In the past everyone who was of an exceptional talent worked in this way, but how can the common commercial artisan be expected to understand?

An expression of lofty superiority, contempt for opposition. And (Bush & Shih, p. 211):

> People know that I am good at painting and compete to obtain my works, but few realize how I paint. Unless the eye of true perception is in their foreheads, they cannot perceive it, and one cannot look for it in the paintings of ancient and [other] modern artists.…

It is obvious that literati artists, able to write about themselves (as literati), don't avoid self-praise. Like Su Shih, Mi Youren is taking stands that have rhetorical advantage. Lots of people, including most specialists, are still persuaded: Sturman writes, early in his dissertation: "Determining how Mi Youren turned painting into an art of expression is a major task of this thesis." I was once similarly persuaded; now I'm more skeptical about the effect literati theory had on Chinese painting—much that was bad along with the good, through its severe criticism and censorship of opposition. A great deal lost.

Image 8.20.1: *Cloudy Hills along a River* 雲山墨戲圖／云山墨戏图. Dates to 1130. Cleveland Museum of Art (Siren 189). Very plain scenery, nothing seen close-up. Obviously following father's style.

This is the earliest painting we have with a poetic inscription by the artist, also dated. Older masters only signed their works, if that. Now the artist writes on it, adds a poem, invites admiration for his calligraphy and poetic composition as well as his painting.

As a picture, it presents a kind of deliberate monotony, avoidance of interesting detail. Like his father's work.

Image 8.21.1: *Mountains in Clouds* 遠岫晴雲圖／远岫晴云. Former Abe collection, Osaka (Skira 92). Signed; inscription mounted above dated 1134. More interesting: I chose it for the Skira book. Deliberate vagueness, suggestiveness, dissolution of solid forms, creates sense of mystery. Band of fog across tree grove: from Zhao Lingrang. Inscribed "Playfully done by Yuanhui." Question of whether painting and inscription mounted above it (with date) originally belonged together. Sturman considers they probably did; makes long, complex argument about how the painting might have been done for a friend, with private allusions to old style: here, Li Cheng! Maybe (I'm being noncommittal: Arch Wenley used to say "Interesting if true!").

Images 8.22.1 and 8.22.2: another, in China—Palace Museum? Two sections. More mist, less landscape: bits of roofs, trees, etc., seen through breaks in fog. Evocative painting.

Image 8.23.1: another, also Palace Museum, Beijing? Inscription: self-praise. Passage in center imitates Zhao Lingrang.

(Not showing: *Mountains in Clouds* [Metropolitan Museum, former C. C. Wang collection]. Also: CAT 35, National Palace Museum, scroll accompanied by inscription dated 1135. All but indistinguishable from:)

Image 8.24.1: *Rare and Wonderful Views of the XiaoXiang* 瀟湘奇觀圖／潇湘奇观. Dated 1137. (I apologize for the dull image.) Sturman considers it "his finest extant work." Palace Museum, Beijing (*Lyric J* 1.7).

The series *Eight Views of the XiaoXiang Region* 瀟湘晚景圖／**潇湘晚景图** had been painted by the late 11th-century scholar-painter Song Di 宋迪; taken up as the scholar-painter's "poetic subject." Freda Murck writes about this. We'll see great examples in the last lecture, by Chan Buddhist painters. But if this is the new height of poetic painting, it is by a different definition than mine—(argument of *Lyric J:* that it's in certain paintings by Academy masters, such as Xia Gui [scorned, rejected by literati critics] that real heights of poetic painting by my definition were achieved—near-miraculous depths of poetic feeling).

Mi Youren's paintings came to be greatly in demand, like (later, in the late Yuan dynasty) those of Ni Zan 倪瓚／倪**瓒**—everybody who aspired to a reputation for good taste had to have one. "Poetic" vs. "vulgar" work of professional and Academy masters such as Guo Xi. But: a late-Song writer (quoted by Sturman) writes: "One thousand Mi Youren paintings all sing the same tune."

**8.25. Li Gonglin (1049–1106)**

Came from Anhui. Family of scholar-officials. Passed *jinshi* 進士／**进**士 exam, held various offices. Retired after 1100 to a mountain villa in the Longmian 龍眠／龙眠 (Dragon Sleeping) Mountains. A collector, expert on old paintings and calligraphy. Friendly with Su Shi, Mi Fu, etc. Painted figures in *baimiao* 白描 style: ink line without color.

About his paintings, he himself wrote (Bush & Shih, p. 204): "I make paintings as a poet composes a poem, simply to recite my feelings and express my nature." Conventional sentiment for his time; doesn't match up easily with his extant paintings, at least to my eyes. A more serious painter than others—

Image 8.25.1: *Five Tribute Horses with Grooms* 五馬圖／五**马图** (*3000*, 105; Siren 191–192). Collection unknown, Japan (once Yamamoto Teijirō). Colophons by Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅／**黃庭坚**, dated 1190, and others.

Image 8.26.1: *Pasturing Horses*, after Wei Yan (Tang master) 臨韋偃放牧圖卷／**临韦**偃放牧**图**卷. Palace Museum, Beijing (*3000*, 106; Siren 193). Lots of details: 1,286 horses, 143 men! According to his inscription, painted by Li on imperial order.

Image 8.27.1: *Dwelling in the Longmian Mountains* 龍眠山莊圖／**龙**眠山庄**图**, handscroll (Siren 195, etc.). Different versions: former Berenson; National Palace Museum, Taipei; Palace Museum, Beijing.

Book: Robert E. Harrist Jr. (Columbia University), *Painting and Private Life in Eleventh-Century China: Mountain Villa by Li Gonglin* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988).

Tradition of Wang Wei, Lu Hong 盧鴻／**卢鸿** (*Ten Views of a Thatched Cottage* 草堂十志圖／草堂十志**图**, CAT 4, copy): wildly incorrect scale, deliberate archaisms. Some more diagrammatic than pictorial. Intellectualized. Well discussed by Harrist.

Image 8.28.1: *Classic of Filial Piety* 孝經圖／孝**经图**. Metropolitan Museum (T&V 7–13; *Lyric J* 1.6; Wen Fong, *Beyond Representation*). Painting and calligraphy both by Li Gonglin.

Book: Richard Barnhart, *Li Kung-lin's "Classic of Filial Piety"* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993), with essays by Robert E. Harrist, Jr., and Hui-liang J. Chu. (Earlier book, Barnhart alone: *Li Kung-lin's Hsiao ching t'u, Illustrations of the Classic of Filial Piety*. Ann Arbor, 1979.)

Images 8.28a.1 through 8.28a.6: attributed to Li Gonglin, *Vimalakirti and Manjusri Disputing* 維摩演教圖／**维**摩演教**图**. Handscroll. Palace Museum, Beijing. Many fine works of *baimiao* attributed to Li, like this one, were by followers.

**8.29. Yang Buzhi 揚補之／扬补之 (1098–1169)**

Pupil of monk-artist Huaguang 華光／**华**光, painter of blossoming plum.

Images 8.29.1 through 8.29.4: *Four Stages of Blossoming Plum* 四梅花圖／四梅花**图**. Handscroll. Palace Museum, Beijing. Inscription dated 1165. Fine, genuine.

Image 8.29.5: Small bamboo painting by him, in the National Palace Museum.

**8.30. Wang Tingyun 王庭筠 (1151–1202)**

Image 8.30.1: *Old Tree and Bamboo* 幽竹枯槎圖／幽竹枯槎**图**. Fujii Yurinkan, Kyoto (Skira 96; T&V 7.21). (We will return to this in a later lecture when talking about Jin painting.)

**8.31. Qiao Zhongchang 喬仲常／乔仲常**

Early 12th-century follower of Li Gonglin. Handscroll attributed to him in colophons are from the early 12th century (dated 1124) on. Seems reliable. Fine work.

Image 8.31.1: *Second Ode on the Red Cliff* 後赤壁賦／后赤壁**賦**. Handscroll. Former Crawford Col., Nelson Gallery, K.C. (*3000*, 118; Loehr 87 A–D)

(Preceded by: Images 8.32.1 and 8.31.2: copy by Kano Tan'yu 狩野探幽 [1602–1679] of opening of scroll, preserving lost original section: Su Shi at Snow Hall. Article by Masa'aki Itakura in *Kokka* 1270 [August 2000]; paper by him in 2002 conference volume *The History of Painting in East Asia*.) (Ending, with Su Shi in house: cf. after Wang Wei, *Wangchuan Villa* 輞川莊／**辋**川庄, rubbing, detail.)

The style of scroll represents the new literati painting movement at best: old orthodox technique replaced by a new kind of technique, without such obvious finish, skill. A kind of unostentatious strength in design and execution that Chinese connect with moral strength in the painter—but we know nothing of him. Awareness of past; concern for communicating understanding, sensibility, to others of like mind. No thought of dazzling, or trying to call attention to self by displays of self-conscious unorthodoxy. (This is the positive reading, from old notes. Still…)

Much of literati painting theory as formulated in this period becomes orthodox literati doctrine in later centuries. It came to be unchallengeable—at least, couldn't be questioned without exposing the writer or artist to charges of low taste and commercialization, etc. Rhetorical compulsions and taboos of literati painting become all-powerful (since literati, by definition, write the books, "control the press") and continue their dominance to this day. They are what I am presently, in my late years, fighting against on various fronts. (Is this China's great curse, unease over allowing competition to central orthodoxies, allowing openness of discussion, enabling a plural society?)

Additional commentary on literati painting (not in the lecture): This is from my lecture notes, written ca. 1966:

Wenrenhua 文人畫／文人画 theory has different aspects, is not a coherent, carefully worked-out doctrine. Some writers say things quite in line with traditional concepts of painting.

Sometimes emphasize grasping the *li* 理, inherent principle, of things—not unlike Northern Song landscapists. Nevertheless, it's the beginning of a movement that was to revolutionize painting. Guo Ruoxu 郭若虛／郭若虚 (Siren II, 37–38): Men of noble character and high personal quality will produce paintings of highest quality. But it takes a connoisseur [to recognize this]. Not a matter of technique.

Based on expressive capacities of brushwork and form. A little like character reading from handwriting—but on aesthetic plane, more subtle. And doesn't yield statements about the man, but a sense of understanding.

We have it, with van Gogh, etc.

Some current theories, fashionable, dissociate the work of art entirely from its maker—he's totally irrelevant. A stylish way of thinking, but it never has been done in practice, and never will be—kind of an extreme point of view that considers any concern with painter or circumstances of creation as hopelessly philistine. Chinese would never have taken such notions seriously.

The point, in any case, isn't that one needs to know something about the man, but that whatever one derives from a work of art is bound up indivisibly with the man (or woman) who made it—to be understood as such.

Some themes within literati painting theory and practice (readings in Bush & Shih):

—Skill vs. awkwardness. (But: see Su Shi, B&S 207: Dao vs. skill.)

—Amateur ideal: Su Shi, B&S 196.

—Sources of excellence, superior quality in painting: Mi Youren, B&S 205–206.

—Representational technique: Huang Bosi, B&S 221.

—Resemblance, likeness: Su Shi, B&S 224.

—Brushwork, materials: Zhao Xigu 趙希鵠／赵希鹄 on Mi Fu, B&S 217.

—Subject matter; political implications, etc., symbolic messages: these accessible to amateur, less so to professional master. Readings in Murck.

—Mood in landscape: Ouyang Xiu, B&S 230.

—Status of painter; effect on painting. Importance of study. Su Shi quatrain, B&S 218. Deng Chun, B&S 130–131. Li Gonglin, B&S 204.

Also important: Guo Ruoxu, *Tuhua jianwen chih* 圖畫見聞誌／图画见闻志. Trans. by Alexander Soper as *Kuo Jo-Hsu's Experiences in Painting (T'u-hua Chien-wen Chih): An Eleventh*

*Century History of Chinese Painting* (Washington, D.C.: American Council of Learned Societies, 1951). Read from p. 15; on status of great painters of the past. (This development is summed up in my *Painter's Practice*, pp. 123–126.)

—Attitudes toward old painting, old masters: Su Shi, B&S 203. Ouyang Xiu, B&S 203 top.

—Relationship of painting and poetry: B&S 203, Su Shih; 196, Wen Tong.

—Painting and Daoism/Chan: Huang Tingjian, B&S 212.

—Awkwardness as positive quality.

—Also, of course, Susan Bush, *Chinese Literati on Painting* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971). (This preceded by my own 1958 dissertation on Wu Zhen 吳鎮／吴**镇**, first half devoted to a long study of literati painting theory, with quotations—never published, except in University Microfilms, but much used; and my "Confucian Elements in the Theory of Painting," in *The Confucian Persuasion*, edited by Arthur F. Wright [Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1960], pp. 115–140; reprinted in *Confucianism and Chinese Civilization*, edited by Arthur F. Wright [New York: Atheneum, 1964]).

**Additional Reading**

Highly recommended:

Ebrey, Patricia Buckley, *Accumulating Culture: The Collections of Emperor Huizong*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008.

Ebrey, Patricia Buckley, and Maggie Bickford, eds. *Emperor Huizong and Late Northern Song China: The Politics of Culture and the Culture of Politics*. Cambridge: Asia Center, Harvard University, 2006.

Murck, Alfreda. *Poetry and Painting in Song Chna: The Subtle Art of Dissent*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000; paperback, 2002.. Supplements, counters my lectures in a valuable way.

Optional:

Cahill, James. *The Lyric Journey: Poetic Painting in China and Japan*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996. Vol. I: In Southern Sung Hangchou. Many of the paintings shown and discussed in this and the following lectures are reproduced there, and inscriptions translated, etc. Abbreviated as *Lyric J*.