This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

INDIVIDUALISM AND TRADITION IN THE

LANDSCAPE ART OF CH'EN HUNG-SHOU

presented by

WEN-MEI K'ANG

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

MASTER'S degree in HISTORY OF ART

Major professor

Date Sept 11, 1995

INDIVIDUALISM AND TRADITION IN THE LANDSCAPE ART OF CH'EN HUNG-SHOU

By

Wen-Mei K'ang

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Art

1995

ABSTRACT

INDIVIDUALISM AND TRADITION IN THE
LANDSCAPE ART OF CH'EN HUNG-SHOU

By

Wen-Mei K'ang

Numerous studies have been conducted on the eccentric figure painting of the late Ming painter Ch'en Hung-shou (1598-1652). Aspects of his landscape painting seem to have been overlooked by art historians. By examining selected works of Ch'en Hung-shou's landscapes, this thesis seeks to confirm his achievement as a landscapist. This study focuses on interpreting Ch'en's landscape painting styles in the light of the late Ming-early Ch'ing socio-historical and intellectual trends, with particular attention to the influences from his own life experiences. This study reveals that Ch'en Hung-shou's landscapes that display erematic themes reflect alternatively Ch'en's idealistic and autobiographical versions of retirement. The eccentric painting style, which is well known in his figure painting and also appeared in his expressionistic, autobiographical landscapes, is created by Ch'en as a response to the burden of a great painting tradition as well as to contemporary artistic trends of his times.

This thesis is dedicated to my family
who have always been supportive.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It has been a four-year process in pursuing this degree, which would have become impossible without the helps of many people. To all of them, I would like to express my sincere appreciation.

Ms. Agnes Shueh-mei Young is my first teacher who taught me how to appreciate art. At the time when I decided to change my major, she was the only person stood by me and has been encouraging me constantly. I am always very grateful to her.

I also thank the Department of Art that had given me a chance to prove myself. I especially want to thank the following people: Dr. Janice Simpson, Dr. Eldon N. Van Liere, and Dr. Sadayoshi Omoto. Dr. Simpson has been caring and has provided a great deal of emotional support at my times of frustration. Dr. Van Liere, who has served as the chairperson of my committee, recommended Dr. Linda Cook Johnson as my thesis director and guided me through the whole process. Dr. Omoto has served on my committee and provided constructive criticism for my thesis.

I greatly appreciate Dr. Linda Cooke Johnson, who has accepted the responsibility of leading me to the door of Chinese painting. As my thesis director, Dr. Johnson has instructed me in the development of my topic, provided valuable opinion for this thesis, and patiently corrected my writing.

I feel grateful that I have the understanding and full support of my parents and two sisters in pursuing my interest. I specifically thank my second sister Jennifer Wen-shin K'ang, who has collected valuable information from Taiwan in aiding the production of this work. I also wish to remember my deceased grandmother whose own life experiences made me realize what perseverance is.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

For the scholars of Chinese art history, the name of the Ming painter Ch'en Hung-shou (1598-1652) invokes images of his eccentric behavior as well as his bizarre figure painting. Ch'en's landscape painting, compared to his famous, widely studied figure painting, seems to be overlooked. Although Dr. James Cahill has examined some aspects of Ch'en's landscape painting briefly, a full investigation on Ch'en's oeuvre is pending.[1] This thesis is therefore aimed at the study of Ch'en Hung-shou's landscape art, which hopefully will provide a clearer understanding on this subject.

A recent direction in studying Chinese art history is to examine the art works with respect for their cultural background as an addition to the more traditional methodology of stylistic analysis. Therefore, in this study, I will attempt to relate the possible influences derived from the contemporary socio-historical and intellectual background to the analysis of Ch'en's

[1] See James Cahill, "Chapter Six. A Diversity of Currents: Some Professional Masters. Part 3. Ch'en Hung-shou as Landscapist," in *The Distant Mountains: Chinese Painting of the Late Ming Dynasty, 1570-1644*. (New York: Weatherhill, 1982): 203-210 for a discussion of Ch'en Hung-shou's landscape paintings.

landscapes. I will also based my conclusions on the painter's responses and his personal emotions to his own life experiences in interpreting his works.

My discussion will be divided into four major chapters followed by a brief conclusion. The first chapter will provide information about the artist's life based on extant versions of his biography and his own writings, set in the context of the history of the fall of Ming and the conquest of Ch'ing. Special attention will be paid on Ch'en's poetry concerning his feelings as he lived through such a tumultous period. This understanding of Ch'en's own emotional state in late Ming-early Ch'ing China may enhance the understanding of his landscape painting. The second chapter will discuss the contemporary intellectual atmosphere, including trends in the philosophical, literary, and artistic fields whose influences can be seen in Ch'en Hung-shou's individualistic painting style. In addition, by examing his own writings, Ch'en's response as an artist to these contemporary trends will also be studied. The third chapter will focus on Ch'en Hung-shou's early landscapes, with the following four works as examples: the fan painting "Autumn landscape" from the Ching Yuan Chai collection, "The Mountain of Five Cataracts" in the Cleveland Museum of Art, "Scholar under a Pine Tree" from the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and "A Tall Pine and Taoist Immortal" in the National Palace Museum in Taipei. The final chapter will discuss Ch'en Hung-shou's post-1644 landscapes, with examples drawn from three sets of album leaves each in the following collections: the National Palace Museum in Taipei, the Freer Gallery in Washington D.C., and the Cleveland Museum of Art.

Through these examples I mean to examine the landscape art of Ch'en Hung-shou, with particular attention to those aspects of his landscapes that share the same eccentricity as his well known figure painting. In examing these works in the light of Ch'en Hung-shou's own life experiences and his awareness of the contemporary intellectual trends, I will attempt to investigate the formation of his eccentric painting style. I will also conduct my analysis in chronological order to show Ch'en's stylistic development as a landscapist over time.

My study will conclude with the notion that Ch'en Hung-shou's landscapes that display erematic themes reflect alternatively Ch'en's idealistic and autobiographical versions of retirement. The eccentric painting style that mostly appeared in his expressionistic, autobiographical landscapes, was created as a response to contemporary artistic trends characterized by archaistic revival and by the idea of transformation as a means of self-expression. Like many post-Renaissance Mannerists in the western art world, facing the burden of a great tradition, Ch'en Hung-shou tried to establish himself through a shocking, bizarre, individualistic painting style. On the whole, this study seeks to confirm Ch'en Hung-shou's achievement in landscape painting that had long been overshadowed by his fame as a figure painter.

CHAPTER I

THE LIFE OF CH'EN HUNG-SHOU

1. The Early Years

Born in the small town of Feng-ch'iao in Chu-chi county in Chekiang province in 1598, Ch'en Hung-shou was destined to become one of the most remarkable painters of the late Ming period. His biographer Meng Yuan related a legend regarding Ch'en's birth, in which a white-haired Taoist in a feathered cloak appeared to Ch'en's father and gave him a lotus seed. Upon doing so, he said: "Eat this and you will have a lovely child like this lotus." Therefore, upon the birth of Ch'en Hung-shou, he was named Lien-tzu (lotus seed), and adopted the sobriquet Lao-lien (old lotus) in adulthood.[1]

His grandfather Ch'en Hsing-hsueh, who attained a *chin-shih* ("doctor of letters") degree in 1577, was an eminent governmental official.[2] As a

---

[1] For the translation of "Ch'en Hung-shou chuan" written by Meng Yuan, see Anne Burkus, "The Artefacts of Biography in Ch'en Hung-shou's *Pao-lung-t'ang chi*" (Ph. D. dissertation: University of California, Berkeley, 1987), 444-459.

[2] In the Ming dynasty, to attain the membership in the civil service bureaucracy, one had to pass competitive examinations based on Confucian classics, first at the provincial level (to attain the status of *chu-jen*) and then at the capital (to attain the status of *chin-shih*); see Charles O. Hucker, "The Tung-lin Movement of the Late Ming Period," in *Chinese Thought and Institutions*, ed., John K. Fairbank, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 136.

traditional Chinese scholar-official, he was fond of writing and associated with groups of contemporary writers known as the Kung-an school who promoted self-expressionism in poetic theories. The aspect of self-expression, which is a characteristic of the mature Ch'en Hung-shou's poetry and painting, may well have had its roots in his grandfather's early influences.[3]

His father, Ch'en Yu-ch'ao, had passed the prefectural examination and became a *hsiu-tsai* degree holder, but he twice failed the provincial examination that would qualify him for a government office. Ch'en Yu-ch'ao sought refugee in Buddhism.[4] He was associated with the famous literatus Ch'en Chi-ju (1558-1639), who was in turn a close friend of the most powerful late Ming art theorist and painter Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555-1636). After the death of Ch'en Hung-shou's father, Ch'en Chi-ju remained as an elder friend to his son.[5] Ch'en Hung-shou's profound interest in Buddhism and his individualistic painting style may well have been influenced by Ch'en Yu-ch'ao and his circle of friends.

Ch'en Hung-shou revealed his artistic talent early. At the age of four, he painted a portrait of the brave Marquis Kuan of the Shu kingdom (A.D. 3rd century) that astonished Lai Ssu-hsing, who later became his father-in-law.[6] The ability to surprise others with his talents continued from then on as his biographier Meng Yuan noted:

> When he was ten, he wet his brush to paint. The painters Sun Ti and Lan Ying (1585 to after 1660) looked and were surprised at his work,

---

[3] Burkus, "Artefacts of Biography," 103-104.

[4] According to Huang Yung-ch'uan, *Ch'en Hung-shou nien-pu* (Peking: Jen-min mei-shu chu-pan-she, 1960), Chen Yu-ch'ao did not succeed in the provincial examinations dated 1600 and 1603. See also *Style Transformed: A Special Exhibition of Five Late Ming Artists.* Exhibition Catalogue. (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1977), 40.

[5] Burkus, "Artefacts of Biography," 83.

[6] Chu I-tsun, "Ch'en Hung-shou chuan," cited by Huang, *Ch'en Hung-shou nien pu*, 6.

> saying: "Let this person succeed in painting, [Wu] Tao-tzu and [Chao Meng-fu] Tzu-ang will both have to 'face the North' [in submission]. Will painters like us dare to pick up a brush?"[7]

Ch'en Hung-shou had learned coloring and drawing from nature by studying with Lan Ying, who was a well-known professional painter in the late Ming period. Lan was an accomplished painter, working in the refined Southern Sung academic painting style in his youth, but later, became an imitator of the literati painting style, especially that of the Four Yuan Masters. It was said that both Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and Ch'en Chi-ju were impressed by Lan's painting.[8] Judging from Ch'en Hung-shou's poems to Lan Ying, Ch'en seems to have enjoyed a friendly relationship with the older painter.[9]

According to his collector friend, Chou Liang-kung (1612-1672), Ch'en Hung-shou once copied after the engraving of the "Seventy-two Disciples of Confucius" attributed to the T'ang painter Li Kung-lin (1049-1105\6). Dissatisfied by a merely formal likeness, he transformed Li's style by "changing the round with the square, and the whole with the parts" so that people could not identify the original sources in his works.[10] This story emphatically foretells Ch'en's penchant for self-expression in painting and anticipates his future painting style.

Ch'en Hung-shou's father, Ch'en Yu-ch'ao, died when Hung-shou was only nine. Seven years later, the grandfather Ch'en Hsing-hsueh, who had established the family's wealth and reputation through his prominent official

---

[7] Meng Yuan, "Ch'en Hung-shou chuan," cited by Huang, *Ch'en Hung-shou nien pu*, 8-9; translated by the author.

[8] Yen Chuan-ying, *Lan Ying yu fang-ku hui-hua* (Lan Ying and the Archaistic Painting) (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1980), 5-7.

[9] Ch'en Hung-shou, *Pao-lun-t'ang chi*, cited by Huang, *Ch'en Hung-shou nien pu*, 9.

[10] For the original text of Chou Liang-kung's biography on Ch'en Hung-shou, see Hongnam Kim, "Chou Liang-kung and His *Tu-hua-lu* (Lives of Painters): Patronic-critic and Painters in Seventeenth Century China," (Ph. D. dissertation: Yale University, 1985), vol. II, 206-207.

career, also died.[11] In 1614, Ch'en Hung-shou married the daughter of Lai Ssu-hsing who was also a government official.[12] The Lai family lived in Hsiao-shan, not very far away from Feng-ch'iao. Ch'en Hung-shou's father had been closely associated with Lai Ssu-hsing's brother, Tsung-tao, thus making this marital arrangement between these two gentry families quite natural.[13]

After his mother died in 1615, Ch'en Hung-shou probably felt his responsibility as a filial son fulfilled, freeing him to leave his home and move to the city of Shao-hsing to study with the scholar Liu Tsung-chou who taught Neo-Confucianism.[14] For the traditional Confucian student, the ultimate goal was to serve in the government. Brought up in one scholar-official family and married into another, Ch'en was also expected to become a governmental official who would revive the family name and wealth.[15] Therefore, he prepared himself early for the civil service examinations in expectation of entering government service.

2. Battered Confucianist in a Turbulent World

In 1618, Ch'en Hung-shou passed the prefectural examination and obtained the "hsiu-ts'ai" degree.[16] However, this was only the beginning, for it was essential to succeed in the higher level provincial examinations to

---

[11] Huang, *Ch'en Hung-shou nien pu*, 8, 14.

[12] Ibid., 14-15. Lai Ssu-hsing had passed the civil service examinations and became a *chin-shih* in 1607. For the information about Lai Ssu-hsing, see also Wang Li-ling, *Ch'en Hung-shou jen-wu-hua te yi-shu-hsing-hsiang chih yen chiu* (Study of the Artistic Images of the Portraiture by Ch'en Hung-shou), (M. A. thesis, Taipei: Wen-hua University, 1988), 56.

[13] Huang Yung-ch'uan, "Ch'en Hung-shou," in *Li tai hua chia p'ing chuan* (The Critical Biographies of Painters of the Past Dynasties), ed., Yu Chien-hua (Hong Kong: Chung-hua shu chu, 1986), 4.

[14] Huang, *Ch'en Hung-shou nien pu*, 15.

[15] Wang Li-ling, *Ch'en Hung-shou jen-wu-hua*, 56

[16] Huang, "Ch'en Hung-shou," 10.

become a governmental official. The pressure Ch'en felt in his attempt to succeed the examinations and the resultant frustration was revealed through a poem he wrote four years later:

> [It has been] twenty-five years without my name established.
> [Let me] compose poems on the last evening of the year [but] not feel sorrow.
> How many real men are there in the world?
> [Our] white hairs all start to grow from tonight on.[17]

In 1623, Ch'en Hung-shou's wife died, leaving a daughter behind. After her death, he left for another city. This time it was to Peking, where he hoped to further his career. However, he fell ill and failed to obtain a job there, so that he was obliged to return home in the following year.[18] During this period, he became acquainted with Chou Lian-kung whose father was an official at Chu-chi. Together, they made several excursions to the Wu-hsieh mountain, which later became the subject of one of Ch'en Hung-shou's important paintings.[19] Still intent on a government career, he stayed at Hang-chou, studying for the civil service examinations with friends including Chang Tai.[20] It was at this period that he married again, this time to the daughter of a Hang-chou official.[21]

It may well have been financial exigencies that encouraged Ch'en Hung-shou to make illustrations for the popular novel *Shui-hu chuan*--a story about the bandits gathered in the Liang-shan marshes. Although his paintings were very popular, he was unwilling to be regarded as a

---

[17] Ch'en Hung-shou, *Pao-lun-t'ang chi*, cited by Huang, *Ch'en Hung-shou nien pu*, 22; translated by the author.
[18] Huang, *Ch'en Hung-shou nien pu*, 22-24.
[19] The painting entitled "The Wu-hsieh Mountains" is now in the Cleveland Museum collection. For the further discussion on this painting, see Chapter III.
[20] Chang Tai, who had surprised Ch'en Chi-ju with his literary talent in his youth, was famous for his essays. His works including *T'ao-an meng yi*,....
[21] Huang, *Ch'en Hung-shou nien pu*, 25-27.

professional painter, since in traditional Chinese society, the social status of a professional painter was as low as that of a theatrical actor or a prostitute.[22] In addition, his mind was still set on becoming a government official. In one of his poems, Ch'en Hung-shou expressed: "...My achievement falls behind those of my ancestors'....I am ashamed of having my painting and calligraphy transmitted....."[23] He also wrote: "...I feel ashamed of being thirty [yet] without my writing accomplished. I am somewhat skilled in the taste of wine. [However, in terms of obtaining] fame and fortune, [I am] without strategy."[24] Unfortunately, he failed consecutively in the higher level examinations.[25] Frustrated, he lamented :

> Drowning in the incidents of a former lifetime,
> I enjoy poetry and painting in this life.
> If [one] speaks of encountering a reknown position,
> it is neither easy nor difficult. [26]
>
> My way [Tao] is without sorrow [or] happiness,
> [since] I have forced myself to balance my inner feelings.
> Just like those illiterate, why should I [bother to] think about fortune and fame (*kung-ming*)![27]

Ch'en Hung-shou lived at the time when the Ming dynasty was rapidly deteriorating. From the sixteenth century on, the Ming empire had suffered from a series of foreign invasions: Japanese pirates attacked the eastern coast, Mongolians invaded the north, and worse, the expansion of the Manchus' power at the northeast, Liaotung. Despite these various kinds of

---

[22] James Cahill, *The Compelling Images: Nature and Style in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Painting*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), 107.

[23] Ch'en Hung-shou, *Pao-lun-t'ang chi*, cited by Huang, *Ch'en Hung-shou nien pu*, 32; translated by the author.

[24] See Huang, ibid., 36; translated by the author.

[25] According to Huang, *Ch'en Hung-shou nien pu*, Ch'en Hung-shou had failed in the provincial examinations in 1627 and 1630.

[26] Ch'en Hung-shou, *Pao-lun-t'ang chi*, cited by Huang, *Ch'en Hung-shou nien pu*, 41; this translation is referred to that of Burkus, "Artefacts of Biography," 145.

[27] For the Chinese text, see Huang, ibid.; this stanza is translated by the author.

threats, the Ming emperors neglected their duties, allowing their eunuchs to intervene in the policy-making process, resulting in corruption that spread wildly throughout the court.[28] After the death of the minister Chang Chu-cheng in 1582, the Wan-li emperor (reign 1573-1620) became an irresponsible ruler. He ignored the government and refused to have daily audiences with his ministers, allowing many vacant government offices to remain unfilled. Under such a circumstance, the eunuchs who were close to the emperor attained influence as messangers between the emperor and the government ministers. In the reign of Hsi-tsung (1621-1627), the eunuch Wei Chung-hsien, manipulated the weakness of the young emperor, to become so powerful that he was able to purge the loyal government officials who opposed him, specifically those associated with the so called Tung-lin movement. Wei was later put to death on the order of emperor Ssu-tsung (reign 1627-1644), and those surviving Tung-lin officials including Liu Tsung-chou (1578-1645) and Huang Tao-chou (1585-1646) were summoned back to the court.[29] However, in spite of Ssu-tsung's effort in ridding the partisan squabbles, dissensions continued. Facing the foreign invasions and domestic disturbances, the Ming court was paralysed and eventually collapsed.

To support the heavy expense of the army that was necessary to defend the state, the national treasury had been drained and the farm tax had been raised as early in the Chia-ching era (1522-1567). The long-term struggle with the Manchus required the farm tax to be again raised at the end of the

---

[28] Albert Chan, *The Glory and Fall of the Ming Dynasty*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), 322.

[29] *Ming Shih* cited by Nelson I. Wu in "Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, The Man, His Time, and His Landscape Painting," (Ph. D. dissertation: Yale University, 1954), 86; Charles O. Hucker, "The Tung-lin Movement of the Late Ming Period," 133-135, 152-156; Heinrich Busch, "The Tung-lin Academy and Its Political and Philosophical Significance," *Monumenta Serica: Journal of Oriental Studies*, vol. 14 (1949-1955), 67.

Wan-li period (1573-1620); and still again during the T'ien-ch'i period (1621-1627); salt taxes and domestic-customs taxes were also raised.[30] In exacerbating the burden on the people, recurrent famines ensued. In the Shensi area, where long and cold winters and barren land made agriculture difficult, the ordinary people suffered from high taxation as well from natural disasters and were left destitute. Some formed groups of bandits, which were joined by deserting soldiers. These rebels contributed significantly to the fall of the Ming dynasty.[31]

In his inscription on a self-portrait dated 1627, Ch'en Hung-shou addressed his concerns regarding the invasion of the Manchus in Liaotung during the 1620s and his sense of insecurity in such a turbulent world:

> Again [we have] lost several thousand miles of land.
> Will our words still again touch upon this subject?
> Be careful! Lucky to have some plowable, barren fields,
> I am worried that the red turbans and the white clubs who have risen up in Wu and Yueh (Kiangsu and Chekiang) will come to steal my grain....[32]

In 1629, the Manchus invaded China and threatened the capital Peking. The loyal Liaotung general, Yuan Ch'ung-huan, leading his troops in defending the capital, was slandered and put to death by the suspicious Ch'ung-chen emperor (Ssu-tsung) in the next year. Disillusioned by this incident, many of the Liaotung soldiers lost their faith in the Ming government and converted to the Manchu side. Ultimately, the rebellious bandits and the Manchu army caused the downfall of the Ming dynasty in 1644.

---

[30] Li Wen-Chih, *Wan Ming min pien* (The People's Riots of the Late Ming Period.), (Hong Kong: Yuan-Tung Book Inc., 1966), 20-24.
[31] Ibid., 7-20.
[32] For the reproduction of this painting, see Cahill, *The Compelling Image*, Fig. 4.1. This translation is referred to that of Burkus, "Artefacts of Biography," 144.

In those years of strife, Ch'en Hung-shou faced his own personal crisis. After failing in the civil service examinations, he gave up the dream of becoming a scholar-official and ended by returning to Feng-ch'iao. During the 1630s he lived like a recluse, amusing himself with wine, painting, calligraphy, and practicing Buddhism. He also associated with literati friends such as Ch'i Piao-chia and Ch'i Ji-chia and Chang Tai, exchanging poetry and painting. A poem, probably written at around 1637, gives insight into his life at this time:

> My reputation is, I am ashamed, listed at small wine shops.
> I lost my name urging others to drink for the past forty springs.
> In opposition to things, displaying eccentricity, I have already spent half my life.
> There was no one who admonished me with profound words.
> I have purified my mind by sketching mountains: paintings transmit their essence.
> I have claimed my spirit by watching flowers: writing possesses divinity.
> Although I do not imitate the Confucians, I have imitated the Buddhist.
> A branch of the parents is withered and lost: my drunken body.[33]

It was in this period that Ch'en Hung-shou's production of paintings increased. These paintings included portraits, trees and rocks, birthday paintings for relatives or friends, Buddhist images, figure paintings, and landscapes. He also made illustrations for the novel *Hsi-hsiang chi*--a love story of a talented Confucian student and the daughter of a prestigious family.[34] Psychologically, he seemed to have accepted and even embraced his role as a painter after freeing himself from the obsession of pursuing of an official career. He expressed: "...As for Old Lotus' calligraphy and painting, one cannot yet say that they are 'capable.' People submit to the

---

[33] Burkus, "Artefacts of Biography," 251-252.
[34] Huang, *Ch'en Hung-shou nien pu*, 48-59.

eminent Wang [Wei] yu cheng. Although this is an empty fame, I may well honestly receive it--Take out a model sketch to draw entangled branches of wisteria."[35]

In the spring of 1641, Ch'en Hung-shou was in Peking again. In explaining this incident, Anne Burkus has suggested that due to a widespread famine, Ch'en Hung-shou was forced to leave for the capital in seeking means for supporting his family.[36] This was reflected in his poem: "Starvation has compelled me to the capital. Do not say the raving man is not missing his family..."[37] In the same year, he met Chou Liang-kung again. This time, Chou, who had just attained his *chin-shih* degree, was waiting for a palace interview to receive a government appointment. Chou had recalled in his *Tu hua lu*:

> When my Father was an official in Chi-yang [at Chu-ji, Chekiang], I was able to be associated with Chang-hou [Ch'en Hung-shou]. Together, we made several trips to the Wu-hsieh mountain. I was just thirteen at that time that we became friends through brush and ink. In the Hsin-ssu year [1641] when I was waiting for the palace interview, I met him again at the capital. Together with gentlemen as Chin Tao-yin and Wu T'ieh-shan, we formed a poetry society. Chang-ho liked my poetry; thus we became good friends...[38]

As the biographer Chu I-tsun noted, Ch'en Hung-shou had purchased a studentship in the National Academy in the next year.[39] In all probability, this move was taken so that it would result in a government appointment with its assurance of security.

---

[35] The famous T'ang poet Wang Wei had been an eminent official. Here, "yu ch'eng" was referred to his official title as the "Right Minister." This translation is referred to that of Burkus, "Artefacts of Biography," 287.

[36] Ibid., 393.

[37] Ch'en Hung-shou, *Pao-lun-t'ang chi*, cited by Huang in *Ch'en Hung-shou nien pu*, 61; translated by the author.

[38] The Chinese text has been included in Kim, "Chou Liang-kung and his *Tu-hua-lu*," vol. II, 206. In addition, this translation is partly referred to that of Kim--see ibid., 43-44.

[39] For the annotated translation of Chu I-tsun's "Ch'en Hung-shou chuan," see the Appendix 1 of Burkus, "Artefacts of Biography," 423.

In Peking, Ch'en associated with some outspoken court officials including his teachers Liu tsung-chou and Huang Tao-chou. Early in 1638, Huang submitted memorials against several officials, an act which resulted in his demotion to Kiangsi. Two years later, he was recommended to the court at Peking by the Kiangsi minister Hsieh Hsueh-lung who was impressed by his talent. However, the emperor Ssu-tsung suspected both Huang and Hsieh of being conspirators, and they were arrested, beaten, and imprisoned. One of the students at the National Academy named T'u Ch'ung-chi, who had sent a memorial denouncing the injustice, was also beaten and imprisoned.[40] Deeply moved by T'u's act, Ch'en wrote to Liu Tsung-chou, lamenting the deterioration of the Ming court which he saw to be dominated by groups of "hsiao-jen" (mean people).[41] In 1642, when speaking for some imprisoned officials, Liu Tsung-chou was wrongfully dismissed from the court.[42] Witnessing this kind of political wrangling and overt corruption at the Ming court, Ch'en became disillusioned. In a letter to a friend, he sighed:

> My Tao remains unknown for more than forty years; and the wish of [serving] the emperor and [being filial to] my father became in vain.
> In the Wei-yang palace, when the bells ring, thousands of officials arrive.
> [Yet, I do] not know who [of them] can submit the memorials.[43]

During this period, the emperor was aware of Ch'en Hung-shou's artistic talent and gave him a commission to copy the portraits of ancient emperors in the Imperial collection. Thus his fame as an artist grew in the capital and

---

[40] Jong Chao-tzu, *Ming tai ssu hsiang shih* (The History of Ming Thought), (Taipei: Taiwan Kai-ming shu-tien, 1970), 315-316.
[41] Ch'en Hung-shou, *Pao-lun-t'ang chi*, cited by Huang, *Ch'en Hung-shou nien pu*, 69-70.
[42] Jong, *Ming tai ssu hsiang shih*, 326.
[43] For the Chinese text, see Huang, *Ch'en Hung-shou nien pu*, 71; translated by the author.

people compared him with the northern painter Ts'ui Tzu-chung, calling them "an Ch'en pei Ts'ui" (Chen of the south and Ts'ui of the north). The emperor subsequently appointed him Painter-in-Attendance. These incidents seemed to have reawaken Ch'en Hung-shou's inner conflict between being a painting-master and being a scholar who strove to become a government official. Unwilling to be regarded merely as a painter, this man, who had sought the security of official position again and again, refused the position offered him and left Peking.[44]

3. Life after 1644

From the year of 1641 onward, the rebellious army of Li Tzu-ch'eng gradually won Honan province. By 1643, Li had the whole of Honan under his control, and he moved toward Shansi early in the next year.[45] At the beginning of April in 1644, Li's forces had laid seige to the capital Peking. The emperor Ssu-tsung summoned his military leaders to come to the defense of the capital. However, some did not receive the orders; while others, out of cowardice, led their troops contrarily toward the south . On April 25 in 1644, the rebel army of Li Tzu-ch'eng entered the Forbidden City and the emperor Ssu-tsung, abandoned by his officials, committed suicide.[46] Previously, when the Ming military commander Wu San-kuei received the emperor's order, he had moved his army toward the capital. However, upon arriving the Shan-hai Pass, when he heard the news of the fall of Peking and the death of the emperor, he decided to proceed no

[44] Huang, "Ch'en Hung-shou," 15-16.
[45] Chan, *Glory and Fall of Ming*, 357.
[46] Lynn A. Struve, *The Southern Ming: 1644-1662*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 15-16.

further. Out of personal grudges against Li Tzu-ch'eng, Wu San-kuei allied with the Manchus, promising them of the land from the Yellow River northward, in hopes of destroying Li's power. Without further consideration, he opened the gate of the Shan-hai Pass, allowing the Manchu army to enter the Chinese territory, thus profoundly changing history.[47] After smashing Li Tzu-ch'eng's troops, the ambitious Manchus made Peking the seat of their government and set their eyes on the southern China.

Once the news of Ssu-tsung's death reached Nanking in May of 1644, the Ming officials in the south immediately constituted a new court. The Prince of Fu assumed the titled of Regent (*chien-kuo*), and was promptly enthroned as the Hung-kuang emperor. Incompetent and indulging himself in luxury and beautiful women, he was manipulated by the powerful grand secretary Ma Shih-ying, who opposed the righteous men in the court. Among these upright officials who had joined the Southern Ming court were Ch'en Hung-shou's teacher Liu Tsung-chou, and his freind Ch'i Piao-chia. Just as in Peking, the Nanking court was plagued with factional struggles that left it without resolve and vulnerable. In 1645 it, too was overthrown by the Manchus.[48]

Meanwhile, Ch'en Hung-shou stayed in Shao-hsing at "Ch'ing-t'eng shu wu" (the green-ivy study) originally owned by the painter Hsu Wei (1521-93) during the years of 1644 and 1645. According to the biographer Meng Yuan's acount, Ch'en was deeply affected by the fall of Peking and the

---

[47] Li Kuang-t'ao, "Dorgon ju kuan shih mo" (The Episode of Dorgon's Entrance into the Shan-hai Pass), in *Ming Ching tang-an lun-wen chi* (Collection of Treatises on the Ming and Ch'ing Official Files), (Taipei: Lien-ching chu-pan shih-yeh kung-ssu, 1986), 695-697.
[48] Struve, *The Southern Ming: 1644-1662*, 15-74.

death of Ssu-tsung in 1644 and as this preyed on him, he became quite eccentric. Meng described:

> When the calamity in the chia-shen year (1644) evolved, he stayed around Yu (Shao-hsing). Sometimes, he would swallow his cries and weep. Sometimes, he would indulge himself in wine and shout madly. Sometimes, he would kill cows and bury dogs with some vagabound knights and young men. Those who saw him would all point him as a mad scholar.[49]

A poem also told Ch'en's feelings of bitterness at this event:

> [As] a worthless Confucian scholar, [I] have no means in revenge for the emperor[Ssu-tsung].
> Pinning [a stem of] herb on my head cloth, I am drunk in the late autumn.
> Living my life here is not as to die.
> I still miss the excursion to look at the flowers in the Imperial neighborhood.[50]

When Nanking fell to the hands of the Manchus, the Southern Ming court fled to Shao-hsing where the Prince of Lu was established in 1645 as Regent. At the same time, the the Prince of T'ang was enthroned as the Lung-wu emperor of the Ming dynasty at Fu-chou.[51] Meng Yuan had indicated that both men, on hearing of Ch'en Hung-shou's reputation, intended to offer Ch'en a position as a goverment official, but both were rejected. Many of the Ming loyalists such as Liu Tsung-chou and Ch'i Piao-chia, now in witnessing the fall of the dynasty, chose to take their own lives, while others such as Huang Tao-chou sacrificed their lives in the fight against the Manchus.[52] However, Ch'en Hung-shou did not follow the footsteps of his friends and teachers--he remained alive. To attribute Ch'en's choice of life to cowardice seems unfair. Kohara Hironobu has

---

[49] Meng Yuan, "Ch'en Hung-shou chuan," cited by Huang in *Ch'en Hung-shou nien pu*, 81. This translation is partly referred to that of Burkus, "Artefacts of Biography," 448.
[50] For the Chinese text, see Huang, *Ch'en Hung-shou nien pu*, 80; translated by the author.
[51] Chan, *Glory and Fall of the Ming*, 369.
[52] Huang, *Ch'en Hung-shou nien pu*, 81-82.

explained that out of family responsibility--Ch'en at that time had a large family which relied on him--and discouraged by the corruption of the Ming court, Ch'en did not choose the more radical solution for a traditional Confucianist in facing the ruin of his own country. This response also seems to conform with his eccentric nature.[53] However, his guilty ambivalence about his choice often trouble him, as he wrote:

> In my youth, when reading the history, I was touched by those survived governmental officials ("ku-ch'en").
> I did not know that this time it would happen to me in my old age.
> Whenever thinking about enduring shame and death,
> the later people can never compare to the previous generations.
> Therefore, I feel that if one doesn't have the sense of loyality and righteousness, he would not need to study the books by the ancients.
> Raising my eyes on the mountains and rivers, I am not without feeling.
> However, I become carefree in facing poems and wine....[54]

The biographer Mao Ch'i-ling indicated that during the chaotic period in 1646, Ch'en Hung-shou was once seized by the Ch'ing army. In refusing to paint for them, he almost lost his life.[55] To avoid the disturbances, Ch'en became a monk at the Yun-men monastery, adopting the sobriquets of "Hui-ch'ih" (regretted [and] late), "Hui-seng" (regretted monk), and "Yun-men seng" (monk of the Cloudy Gate). Although early in life he had been interested in Buddhism, he admitted his identity as a monk to be merely a means of survival.[56] He soon returned to his family and retired to the mountainous area Po-wu nearing Shao-hsing. Pressured by poverty and family responsibility, he worked as a professional painter. His past

---

[53] Kohara Hironobu, "An Introductory Study of Ch'en Hongshou, Part I," trans. Anne Burkus. *Oriental Art*, n.s. 32, no. 4 (1986-87), 401.
[54] For the Chinese text, see Wang Yao-t'ing, "Ch'en Hung-shou pi hsia te Yuan-Ming yi chih," *Ku kung wen wu yueh k'an (The National Palace Museum Monthly of Chinese Art)*, vol. 8, no. 11 (1991), 98; translation by the author.
[55] Burkus, "Artefacts of Biography," 426.
[56] Huang, *Ch'en Hung-shou nien pu*, 90.

ambivalence between being a Confucian scholar and social elite, and being a "painting master" of low social status was now resolved. Living under the foreign rule as an "i-min" (left over people, i.e., people left over from a previous rule), he might well indulge in painting without feeling ashamed. In the next year, seeking a more profitable market for his paintings, he moved his family back to the city of Shao-hsing.[57]

Ch'en Hung-shou spent most of his last years at the shore of the celebrated West Lake at Hung-chou, and was very productive artistically. In 1650, he met Chou Liang-kung again.[58] By this time Chou had surrendered to the Manchus and had become a Ch'ing official. Two years later, they met again when Ch'en Hung-shou executed forty-two works for Chou, as Chou recalled:

> Within approximately eleven days, he painted large and small handscrolls and hanging scrolls, altogether forty-two pieces. Others present and I myself could not understand why he had to paint for me in such a hurry. Was it because he at that time had a premonition of his death after I returned to Min (Fukien)? I was deeply moved by his intention and although I had so many of his paintings, I dared not to give away even a single work...[59]

For his own life, Ch'en Hung-shou had left the following epigram:

> As for myself, Old Regretful, most of the poignant experiences of my life have been in the mountains and by the rivers...Whenever I found a satisfactory place, I have always thought of bringing my wife and children along, settling my life and family there. My soul thus would be born and destroyed with the shadows of clouds, the sound of water, the brightness of mountains, and the colors of flowers--this will suffice for what I desire. Things are not as I desire them to be because, although I have ambition, it is not my fate. I long for fortune and fame, but I am passionately attached to music and women. For thirty odd years, I have been played with by Creation (*tsao-hua*).

---

[57] Ibid., 93, 97.
[58] Ibid., 106-128.
[59] This translation is referred to that of Kim, *Chou Liang-kung and His Tu-hua-lu*, 94.

> Until the overthrown of the heaven and earth, the will of aging and dying among the mountains and waters then becomes persistent. [60]

He died in 1652 at the age of fifty-four.[61]

---

[60] For the Chinese text, see Wang Yao-t'ing, "Ch'en Hung-shou pi hsia te Yuan-Ming yi chih," 98-99; translated by the author.

[61] Huang, *Ch'en Hung-shou nien pu*, 129.

CHAPTER II

THE LATE MING ARTISTIC TRENDS

To explain Ch'en Hung-shou's landscape painting, one must examine them in the context of the contemporary cultural environment. Therefore, an investigation on the late Ming intellectual trends that might have influences on Ch'en's art is significant. This chapter will thus be devoted to three major discussions, concerning, first, the atmosphere of archaistic revival and self-expressionism prevelent in the philosophical, literary, and the artistic fields. These trends culminated in the topic of the second part discussion, Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's painting theory. This discussion is then followed by an examination of Ch'en Hung-shou's response as a painter to these contemporary trends.

1. Archaistic Revival and Self-expressionism in Ming

In 1369, when Chu Yuan-chang drove the Mongols out of Chinese territory, reunited the whole China, and became the first emperor of the Ming dynasty, an atmosphere of reviving Chinese traditions seemed to have prevailed within the newly established regime. In selecting his ministers, Chu, as the first emperor Hung-wu (r. 1368-1398), revised the old civil

service examination system basing the examinations on the Confucian Four Books and Five Classics. Due to the official advocation, the ideas of Sung Neo-Confuciansim prevailed, anticipating the future division and flourishing of two distinctive schools of thought in the Ming period.[1] These two major schools were the "School of the Principle (*li)*" and the "School of the Mind (*hsin)*". The "School of the Principle" followed the theories of the Sung scholars Ch'eng Yi (ca. 1033-1108) and Chu Hsi (1130-1200). The idea of *t'ien-li*--an natural principle that resided and governed all the things in the universe--was first addressed by the Ch'eng brothers in the eleventh century.[2] Recognizing the existence of *li* and in agreement with Mencius' thought that human nature is basically good, Ch'eng Yi suggested to cultivate one's good nature, one must be serious and extend one's knowledge by investigating the universal principle of all things.[3] Succeeding Ch'eng Yi's notion of the investigation of the principle of things as a means of self-cultivation, Chu Hsi emphasized the broad learning of Confucian Classics. To elucidate their meanings, he had written commentaries on the Four Books, making them the basis of his teaching.[4]

The origination of the idea of the "School of the Mind" could be traced back to the thought of Ch'eng Hao (ca. 1032-1085).[5] Another Sung scholar

---

[1] Jong, *Ming tai ssu hsiang shih*, 1-4.
[2] Ibid., 4.
[3] William T. de Bary, *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 1: 472-477, 479. See also Ch'en Yu-fu, "Nei-sheng-wai-wang chih hsueh te fu hsing--hsin ju hsueh te fa chan"(The Revival of the Learning that Both Sound in Theory and Practice--The Development of Neo-Confucianism), in *Chung kuo wen hua hsin lun--Hsueh shu pien--Hao han te hsueh hai* (The New Treatises on Chinese Culture--The Section of Learning--The Vast Sea of Learning), ed. Lin Chin-chang, 6th ed. (Taipei: Lien-ching chu-pan shih-yeh kung-ssu, 1991), 242-245.
[4] De Bary, *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 479-480; and Ch'en Yu-fu, "Nei-sheng-wai-wang," 247-250.
[5] Chia Feng-cheng, *Chung-kuo li-hsueh-shih* (The History of Neo-Confucianism in China), 2nd ed. (Shanghai: Shang wu yin shu kuan, 1937), 168.

Lu Chiu-yuan (1140-1192) ventured further to declare that the human mind is identical with a righteous principle, which "is in fact endowed by Heaven; thus it can not be destroyed...."[6] Because one possesses the innate knowledge of good, in cultivating oneself, one does not need to investigate the principles of things but must turn inward to rediscover the truth.[7] Lu's emphasis on the practice of the righteous principle in the real life distinguished his thought from the study-oriented theory of Chu Hsi.[8]

Trying to bridge the gap between knowledge and the mind, the twelfth century philosophic principles were revived in the Ming dynasty. Ch'en Hsien-chang (ca. 1427-1500) indicated: "The reason why one learns is to attain enlightenment (*Tao*). If one cannot obtain it from books, one can search it from one's own mind."[9] He also said: "In learning, one should primarily seek in one's mind the attainment of the so called open-mindedness, enlightenment, tranquility, and unity. In addition to the study of the important writings by the ancients, one must pursue the unity [between knowledge and the mind]....This is the way of the learning of the mind."[10] The thought of the "chool of the Mind" culminated in the theory of Wang Yang-ming (1472-1528). Wang followed Lu Chiu-yuan's unification of mind and principle. He called real knowledge "conscience," regarding it as an innate quality residing in one's mind, akin to the natural principle, and represented by sincerity. He also emphasized putting one's knowledge into practice since real knowledge was embodied by action. Wang emphasized extending one's conscience--the natural principle--to

---

[6] Ibid., 202.
[7] De Bary, *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 509-510.
[8] Ibid., 513-514.
[9] Chia, *Chung-kuo li-hsueh-shih*, 221.
[10] Ch'en Yu-fu, "Nei-sheng-wai-wang," 260.

things, in hopes of achieving an unity between human beings and the myriad things in the universe.[11] The "School of Mind" was also known as the Lu-Wang school because of the contributions of its two founders.

The earlier Ch'eng-Chu school of the Sung dynasty was officially adapted by the Ming government, but the new Lu-Wang school attracted increasing numbers of followers. The resultant struggle between these two trends of thought remains a crucial issue of the Ming philosophy. In the late Ming period, some followers of the Lu-Wang school gradually evolved as individualists. Wang Ken (1483?-1540), the creator of the Tai-chou school, advocated the importance of individuals as he said: "Knowing to cultivate oneself is the basis of the whole country; which is because that all the myriads of things in the world rely on oneself but not that one relies on the myriads of things in the world."[12] The followers of Wang Ken emphasized the taking of actions according to individuality while Li Chih (1527-1602) became a free-willed eccentric who encouraged individualism, questioning the traditional Confucian values and attacking some contemporary Confucians as hypocrites.[13] Li was close to the leading figures--the Yuan brothers--of the Kung-an school in the literary field.[14] The way that he promoted individualism was echoed by the literary theory of the Kung-an school could not be merely a coincidence.

During the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, parallel to the struggle between the two schools of Neo-Confucianism was the conflict between the

---

[11] Ibid., 261-263; and Chia, *Chung-kuo li-hsueh-shih*, 222-229. See also Jong, *Ming tai ssu hsiang shih*, 71-109, esp., 101.

[12] Jong, *Ming tai ssu hsiang shih*, 155.

[13] Ch'en Yu-fu, "Nei-sheng-wai-wang," 265; Jong, *Ming tai ssu hsiang shih*, 231-239, 246-248; William de Bary, *Self and Society in Ming Thought*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), 188-193, 199-200.

[14] Ibid., 234. Li Chih exchanged poems with the brothers Yuan Hung-tao and Yuan Chung-tao.

archaist revivalism led by Wang Shih-chen and the "Former and Latter Seven Talents," and the self-expressionism upheld by the three Yuan brothers of the Kung-an school in the field of literature.[15] The archaists believed in the emulation of a much earlier tradition in literature, represented by the prose of the Ch'in (221-207 B.C.) and the Han (206 B.C.-A.D. 220) dynasties, as well as the poetry of the High T'ang. Only after one had throughly assimulated all the correct models would he attain enlightenment.[16] Although it is difficult to determine to what degree the influence of the contemporary Neo-Confucianism had on the Ming literary theory, Richard J. Lynn regarded these archaists as a group who accepted the "great burdern of culture", and whose commitment to the assimulation of an orthodox tradition of poetry was in accord with the traditional Ch'eng-Chu school's commitment to intensive learning of the Classics.[17]

Opposing this view was the movement of the Kung-an school led by the three Yuan brothers from Kung-an county in the Hupei province.[18] Influenced by the contemporary philosophy of Mind and individualism, as well as by certain dramatists who exalted individualism and true emotion in one's works, and by some poets advocating individuality and expressionism,

---

[15] The "Former Seven Talents" consisted of Li Meng-yang, Ho Ching-ming, Hsu Chen-ch'ing, Pien Kung, Wang T'ing-hsiang, K'ang Hai, and Wang Chiu-ssu; the "Latter Seven Talents" included Li P'an-lung, Wang Shih-chen, Hsieh Chen, Tsung Ch'en, Liang Yu-yu, Hsu Chung-hsing, and Wu Kuo-lun; see Ho Lo-chih, "Hsu Wai," in *Li tai hua chia p'ing chuan* (The Critical Biographies of Painters of the Past Dynasties), ed., Yu Chien-hua (Hong Kong: Chung-hua shu chu, 1986), 17.

[16] Richard John Lynn, "Alternate Routes to Self-Realization in Ming Theories of Poetry," in *Theories of the Arts in China*, ed., Susan Bush and Christian Murck, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 317; Sewall Jerome Oertling II, *Ting Yun-peng: A Chinese Artist of the Late Ming Dynasty*, (Ph. D. dissertation: University of Michigan, 1980), 123-124.

[17] Richard John Lynn, "Orthodoxy and Enlightment: Wang Shih-chen's Theory of Poetry and Its Antecedents," in *The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism*, ed., William T. de Bary, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975), 231.

[18] The three Yuan brothers were Yuan Tsung-tao (1500-1600), Yuan Hung-tao (1568-1610), and Yuan Chung-tao (1607-1624); see Jonathan Chaves, "The Panoply of Images: A Reconsideration of the Literary Theory of the Kung-an School," in *Theories of the Arts in China*, 341.

the Yuan brothers celebrated self-expressionism in literature.[19] Li Chih had stressed that the prequisite of good writings to be the retaining of the innate "childlike mind," which he explained as the "true-mind." In his essay on the "Childlike Mind," Li expressed that the childlike mind would be lost if one allows the principles received through senses--hearing and seeing--to dominate his mind. He wrote: "....Once the childlike mind is obstructed,...then in writing prose and phrases, the prose and phrases will not be able to convey [one's ideas.]...."[20] He explicitly indicated that all the best writings in the world come from the childlike mind.[21] The dramatist T'ang Hsien-Tzu praised the uniqueness in writing by saying: "The writings in the world that retain liveliness are all those by the unique scholars. If a scholar is unique, then his mind will be clever. If one's mind is clever, then it will be capable of soaring."[22] Both the emphasis on the retaining of a childlike mind by Li Chih and the admiration of a person's unique quality by T'ang Hsien-tzu were in accord with the sincere expression of emotions and the individualistic value acclaimed by the Kung-an school scholars. In the art field, some individualistic painters such as Ch'en Hung-shou also sought to capture the child-like mind in their works.

Against merely formal imitation of the works by certain recognized ancient masters, the Kung-an school literati greatly valued the creative writings of different time periods that revealed the true emotions of the poets, as Yuan Hung-tao claimed in his basic principles:

Imitation destroys the life of literature and makes writers lost their

---

[19] For examples, T'ang Hsien-tzu (1550-1616) and Hsu Wei (1521-1593) were two of the most famous expressionistic dramatists of the Ming period; Lynn, "Self-Realization in Ming Theories," 332-336.
[20] Jong, *Ming tai ssu hsiang shih*, 240.
[21] Wang Li-ling, *Ch'en Hung-shou jen-wu-hua*, 15-16 and no. 45, 25-26.
[22] Ibid., 16.

> own individual character of expression. One should therefore concern himself with the expression of 'natural disposition and intelligence' and should not be bound by the rules and conventions of accepted literary forms. Individuality and the direct expression of felt emotion are the most important things in poetry. If a writer imitates other writers, either past or contemporary, he subverts all this.[23]

The Kung-an school literati did not really object the concept of *fu-ku* (archaic revival). Being guided by some "orthodox" models was necessary; what they disagreed on was the prevailence of plagiarism. To them, a successful writer must emulate the spirit of the ancients in conveying the concrete reality creatively.[24] The following words reflected Yuan's view on the universal principle applicable to painting as well as to philosophy and the art of literature:

> ....For the good painter learns from things, not from other painters. The good philosopher learns from his mind, not from some doctrine. The good poet learns from the myriads of phenomena in the universe (*sen-lo wan-hsiang*), not from writers of the past. When one models oneself on the [poet of the] T'ang dynasty, it is not a question of modeling one's technique, lines and words on theirs. One models oneself on the spirit of their not being like the Han [poets], or the Wei [poets], or the Six Dynasties [poets]. This is the true modeling.[25]

The notions of the emulation of the ancient models combined with personal creativity not only reflect the influence from the school of the Mind but also conformed to the late Ming aesthetic theories influenced by the art critic Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555-1636).

---

[23] Lynn. Wang Shih-chen's Theory of Poetry," 237.

[24] Chaves, "Literary Theory of the Kung-an School," 342-343, 347-352.

[25] Ibid., 352. For the Chinese text, see Yuan Hung-tao, "P'ing-hua-chai lun-hua" (The Discussion on Painting in the Vase-flower Study), in *Chung-kuo hua-lun lei-pien*, ed., Yu Kun, (The Categorized Compilation of Chinese Painting Theory), (Taipei: Hua-cheng shu chu, 1977), 129.

The art theorist, collector, and painter Tung Ch'i-ch'ang dominated the field of the late Ming painting. He established an orthodoxy tradition for the literati-painters to follow. Tung's ideas about archaistic revival (*fu-ku*) and transformation (*pien*) made him the most eminent figure. Before discussing Tung's contribution, one must understand the evolution of the archaistic revivalism and its relationship to transformation in Chinese art prior to the time of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang.

The notion of *fu-ku* in Chinese art originated early. In the period of the Six Dynasties, the art theorist Hsieh Ho (active ca. 500-535?) first articulated "chuan-yi-mo-hsieh" (transmitting and conveying [earlier models, through] copying and transcribing) as one of his Six Laws [Elements] of Painting.[26] The T'ang art critic Chang Yen-yuan (ca. 847) discussed the lineation of painters to the T'ang dynasty by schools, and said: "If one does not know the schools and their transmission, then he cannot discuss painting."[27] Both men's words revealed painters' practice of modeling one's styles after those of the previous generations. As the landscape art reached its maturity by the Northern Sung Dynasty, the famous landscapist Kuo Hsi (after 1000-ca. 1090) addressed his concerns on the modeling after the ancient styles in his *Lin-ch'uan kao-chih* (The Lofty Message of Forests and Streams): "The way that people learn to paint is no different from learning calligraphy. If one chooses the calligraphers as Chung Yu [151-230], Wang Hsi-chih [309-ca. 365], Yu Shih-nan [558-638], and Liu Kung-ch'uan [778-865] as his models, after long study, one would achieve certain similarity. As for the great masters and eminent scholars, they will not limit themselves to one school, but will select from

---

[26] James F. Cahill, "The Six Laws and How to Read Them," *Ars Orientalis*, 4 (1961): 378.
[27] Yu, *Chung-kuo hua-lun lei-pien*, 33-34; translation by the author.

many for viewing simutaneously, and discussing widely to investigate on a broad basis in order to form their own styles. Then it is called an achievement...."[28] Another Sung art critic Han Cho (active ca. 1095-1125) also stressed the importance of learning from the ancient models by saying: "If one wants to transmit the sediment of the ancients' and to achieve the essence of the learning of the virtuous in the past, one will not have the innate capibility without learning."[29]

In the Yuan dynasty, Chao Meng-fu (1254-1322) was the one of the most eminent artists to advocate the archaistic revival in painting. Borrowing idioms from the T'ang dynasty paintings six hundred years earlier, as well as from the Sung dynasty artists, Chao had imbued his paintings with self-expressionism originating from the ideal of the Northern Sung literati-painter Su Shih (1037-1101). He also emphasized the application of calligraphic strokes in painting.[30] He indicated: "The spirit of antiquity (*ku-yi*) is what is valued in painting. If there is no spirit of antiquity, then, though there may be skill, it is of no avail....My paintings seem to be simple, but connoisseurs know that they are close to the ancient and thus might consider them superior...."[31] The other Yuan artist known to have worked in the archaistic styles was Ch'ien Hsuan (ca. 1235-ca. 1300). In his painting "Wang Hsi-chih Watching Geese," the heavy blue and green colors conveyed an antique flavor; while the schematic patterns of the leafage of the trees and mountains and the seemingly unrealistic relative

---

[28] Ibid., 633. This translation is referred to that in the *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, ed., Susan Bush and Hsio-yen Shih, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 160.
[29] Yu, *Chung-kuo hua-lun lei-pien*, 678.
[30] For the analysis on Chao Meng-fu's painting styles, see Chu-tsing Li, *The Autumn Colors on the Chiao and Hua Mountains: A Landscape Art by Chao Meng-Fu, Artibus Asiae Supplementum 21*, (Ascona, Switzerland: Artibus Asiae Publishers, 1964).
[31] Yu, *Chung-kuo hua-lun lei-pien*, 92. See also Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, 254.

size and perspective among the pavilion, the human figures, and the landscape background gave a sense of deliberate awkwardness that spoke of self-expressionism.[32] This notion of self-expressionism anticipated Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's idea of transformation (*pien*) and Ch'en Hung-shou's distorted, archaistic painting style. Wen Fong has regarded the recurrence of the "schematic archaism" in painting as related to the dynastic transition in Chinese history.[33] Fong sees the Yuan dynasty archaistic revivalism led by Chao Meng-fu as a deliberate, conscious reaction. These Yuan painters transmitted their complicated emotions of surviving under the barbaric Yuan rule into expressive pictorial language by using archaic elements to make a political statement.

The beginning of the Ming dynasty marked a new epoch in which the Chinese reclaimed their political authority. Both in the fields of philosophy and literature, the movement of *fu-ku* paralleled Ming Chinese concerns about reassuring the legitimacy of the new regime. This attitude was also reflected in the restoration of the Painting Academy in the early Ming and the encouragement of the Southern Sung academic painting styles including the blue-and-green manner and the ink wash style. The early Ming academic painters Tai Chin and Wu Wai (1459-1508), both from the Che-jiang province, had brought into the poetic Southern Sung styles a sense of strength and boldness, thus pushing the fame of the Che School to its peak. In the middle Ming period, the Wu School painters became dominant. Its founder Shen Chou (1427-1509) had revived the literati painting styles and

---

[32] James Cahill, *Hills Beyond a River: Chinese Painting of the Yuan Dynasty, 1279-1368*, (New York: Weatherhill, 1976), 35, and the color plate I (section of handscroll). For the reproduction of the whole handscroll, see Sherman E. Lee and Wai-kam Ho, *Chinese Art under the Mongols: The Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368)*, (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1968.), Pl. 185.

[33] Wen C. Fong, "Archaism as a Primitive Style," in *Artists and Traditions*, ed., Christian F. Murck, (Princeton University Press, 1976), 108.

examplified in his paintings the self-expressionistic ideal of "hsieh-yi" (depicting the ideas) that the imitation after the works by the Sung literati-painters as Mi Fu and the Four Yuan Masters turned to be essential for a scholar-painter's training.[34]

In terms of *pien*, the Wu School painter Wen Cheng-ming was probably the first one to adopt the notion of of transformation in works such as the "Landscape in the Manner of Wang Meng" (1535), and "A Thousand Cliffs Contend in Splendor" (1548-1550). Both paintings seemed to depart from the reality of nature, thus initiating the transformation in Ming art.[35]

In the late Ming period, Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555-1636) became the most prominent figure in art. Since Tung and his friend Ch'en Chi-ju knew the literary leader Wang Shi-chen, Tung could not have been unaware of the archaistic revivalism in literature.[36] In addition, Tung was closely associated with the Kung-an poet Yuan Hung-tao and interested in Ch'an Buddhism that resulted in his friendship with Li Chih.[37] Their enthusiasm for individuality and self-expressionism might have certain effect on the formation of Tung's painting theory.

---

[34] The Four Yuan Masters included Huang Kung-wang (1269-1354), Wu Chen (1280-1354), Ni Tsan (1301-1374), and Wang Meng (c. 1308-1385).

[35] *Style Transformed*, 4. For the reproductions of these two paintings, see James Cahill, *Parting at the Shore: Chinese Painting of the Early and Middle Ming Dynasty, 1368-1580*, (New York: Weatherhill, 1978), Pls. 115-116.

[36] Wu, *Tung Ch'i-ch'ang The Man, His Time, and His Landscape Painting*, 155.

[37] Nelson I. Wu. "Tung-Ch'i-ch'ang (1555-1636): Apathy in Government and Fervor in Art," in *Confucian Personalities*, ed., Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962), 280-281.

2. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and the Formation of an Orthodox Tradition

Ho Liang-chun, who was a friend of Wen Cheng-ming, and acquainted with Mo Shih-lung who was in turn a close friend of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, set the mood for Tung's theory.[38] Ho believed that landscapists should have a lofty character and must learn from the ancients. He expressed that in landscape paintings, painters should follow the correct models of the Five Dynasties and Sung masters whose works contained both brush-strength and spiritual harmony (*shen-yun*). Although recognizing the achievement of the Southern Sung masters, Ho seemed to deny their style by saying: "As for Ma Yuan and Hsia Kuei, they are masters, too,...but their manners merely belonged to the academic styles...."[39] In addition, Ho classified the Ming painters by their social status, regarding the professional painters led by Tai Chin as inferior to the amateur scholar-painters as Wen Cheng-ming.[40] On painting, the scholar Wang Shih-chen had openly denounced the rigid refinement in the works by the T'ang painters Li Ssu-hsun and Li Chao-tao but praised the works of Kung T'ung, Tung Yuan, and Chu Jan.[41] Another figure who classified painters according to their professional or amateur painting styles was the painter and art collector Chan Ching-feng. He called the professional painters as "fabricators," and the amateur scholar-painters "liberated masters." For those who excelled both in the

---

[38] James Cahill, *The Distant Mountains: Chinese Painting of the Late Ming Dynasty, 1570-1644*, (New York: Weatherhill, 1982), 11.
[39] Ho Liang-chun, "Ssu-yu-chai hua-lun" (The Painting Theory of the Four Friends' Study), in Yu, *Chung-kuo hua-lun lei-pein*, 110-111.
[40] Yen, *Lan Ying yu fang-ku hui hua*, 30; Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting*, 166.
[41] Yen, *Lan Ying yu fang-lu hui hua*, 30.

styles of the professional painters and the amateur ones, Chan had set them into a distinct category. He wrote in 1594:

> In landscape painting there are two lineages. One is [made up of] the liberated masters, the other of the fabricators. These can also be called the professionals and the amateurs. The liberated masters began with Wang Wei...and later included Ching Hao, Kuan T'ung, Tung Yuan, and Chu Jan...Mi Fu and Mi Yu-jen belonged to this 'blood line,' but after them it was cut off for nearly two hundred years, after which the Four Masters of the Yuan, Huang Kung-wang, Wang Meng, Ni Tsan, and Wu Chen, distantly took up this current and continued it. In our dynasty, Shen Chou and Wen Cheng-ming followed this tradition in their paintings.
> The fabricators began with Li Ssu-hsun and Li Chou-tao and continued with ...Li Ch'eng and Hsu Tao-ning. After them, Chao Po-chu and Chao Pao-su...all belonged properly in this lineage. In the Southern Sung, Ma Yuan, Hsia Kuei, Liu Sung-nien, and Li T'ang belonged to this 'bloodline.' In our dynasty Tai Chin and Chou Ch'en continued it.
> Of those who combined the excellences of the liberated masters and the fabricators, Fan K'uan, Kuo Hsi, and Li Kung-lin were the founding fathers; Wang Shen,... Chao Kan,... and, in the Southern Sung, Ma Ho-chih were all of this lineage.[42]

So far, art theorists had drawn the line between the camps of the professional painters and the amateur scholar-painters. It was not until Mo Shih-lung (ca. 1550-ca. 1585) and his friend Tung Ch'i-ch'ang who tried to rescue the late Ming painting from decline by extolling the superiority of the amateur scholar painters that an orthodox tradition was established. The new orthodoxy exerted enormous influence on his contemporaries as well as on the generations to come.[43]

The followers of the Wen Cheng-ming in the late Ming period practiced a decorative, overly-refined style, so that their works lost not only the sense

---

[42] Cahill, *The Distant Mountains*, 12.

[43] Roderick Whitfield, *In Pursuit of Antiquity: Chinese Paintings of the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse*, (The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1969), 35.

of life, but also, the compositional logic. Seeing this decadence, Mo Shih-lung once complained: "Nowadays people build up small bits to make a large mountain; this is one of the worst mistakes."[44] Fan Yun-lin, who attained the *chin-shih* degree in 1595 also criticized his contemporaries: "Among them are some who choose to imitate some famous master, but the only one they know is Wen Cheng-ming. They manage a slight resemblance. But with all their copying, they only capture the 'skin' of his external form, without getting anything of his spirit and principle."[45]

The writing *Hua-shuo* attributed to Mo Shih-lung first suggested that as in Buddhist theology, there were the divisions in landscape painting analogous to the Northern and Southern schools of Ch'an Buddhism, with each represented by the T'ang painters Li Ssu-hsun (The Northern School) and Wang Wei (the Southern School) respectively. By connecting the literati painters who achieved perfection through intuition to the Southern school, and the academic painters to the Northern school, Mo Shih-lung stressed on the superiority of the Southern school.[46] Sharing similar notions with Mo Shih-lung, Tung implied that in attaining maturity in painting styles, the Southern School painters had undergone "sudden enlightenment" (*tun-wu*), which was a spontaneous reaction, and thus was superior to the "gradual enlightenmnet" (*chien-wu*) of the Northern School painters who had endured painstaking learning. He followed by extending the two lineages to apply to Ming painters, and advised scholar-painters to imitate the "correct" models--styles of the Southern School painters. He wrote:

---

[44] Ibid..

[45] Mae Anna Quan Pang, "Late Ming Painting Theory," in *The Restless Landscape: Chinese Painting of the Late Ming Period*, ed., James Cahill, (Berkeley: University Art Museum, 1971), 22.

[46] Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting*, 167.

> The painting of the literati began with Wang Wei. Later, Tung Yuan, Chu Jan, Li Cheng, and Fan K'uan were his 'proper issue'.... From there [the succession] goes straight on to the Four Masters of Yuan.... They all belonged to the correct [orthodox] line of transmission. In our dynasty Wen Cheng-ming and Shen Chou have also distantly succeeded to [them].... As for Ma Yuan, Hsia Kuei, Li T'ang, and Liu Sung-nien, they belonged to the lineage of Li Ssu-hsun; they are nothing that we officials ought to study.[47]

After defining the "correct" tradition for one to follow, the next question would be the way of imitation. According to Tung, the direct copying of the old masters' works is easy; what is difficult is to transmit their spirit.[48] To attain the spiritual harmony (*chi-yun*), Tung advised a method of self-cultivation as he said:

> Study ten thousand volumes, travel ten thousand miles, and eliminate the worldly cares from one's bosom. Naturally, the hills and valleys would form in one's mind....As one draws spontaneously, there will always be spirit-transmitting landscapes.[49]

In addition, he stressed the importance of transformation (*pien*) as indispensable for imitation. Tung said: "When a common painter copies, what he turns out is identical with his model. How can he, working in this way, expect to have any influence on others?" He further explained:

> Those who study the works of the masters of the past and can not transform them are as if they were fenced or walled in. They are far removed from the old masters because they imitate them too closely [i. e., imitate their external appearance].[50]

In imitating the same old master's works, different followers would be expected to create various painting styles; thus Tung's archaistic revivalism would go beyond the superficiality of formal likeness, growing with the transformation that derived from individual creativity.

---

[47] Cahill, *The Distant Mountains*, 13-14.
[48] Yen, *Lan Ying yu fang ku hui hua*, 33-34.
[49] Yu, *Chung-kuo hua-lun lei-pien*, 726; translation by the author.
[50] Pang, "Late Ming Painting Theory," 23.

To Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, creative study of the correct ancient models was not enough. He said: "A painter who models after the ancient masters is on the right track. But to advance himself, he must model after the heaven and earth." Wai-kam Ho tries to relate Tung's thought with influences from the individualism advocated by Li Chih and the philosophical thought of the school of Mind, explaining that by "model after the heaven and earth," Tung meant to return to one's own mind, rather than the objective nature, for truth. Ho writes:

> According to this school of Neo-Confucianism, the universe exists only in one's mind, and since there is no reality outside the mind, to learn from the nature means to learn from one's own mind. Similarly, all truth in the classics exists only in one's mind, and since there is no law or method outside the mind, to return to the past is to return to one's own mind....[51]

Hence, following Ho's interpretation, originality, the product of individualism, was of equal importance in facing the nature and the orthodox painting tradition that a good painter would project his unique perception towards them--the "mind image"--in his works.

3. Ch'en Hung-shou's Artistic Attitude

Due to Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's effort, the field of late Ming painting was dominated by painters who practiced the self-expressionistic, literati painting styles, especially those of the Four Yuan Masters. However, this practice had resulted in some negative effects. In 1600, Hsieh Chao-chih (1567-1624) wrote: "Painters today often [paint] in the name of pose-grasping. By piling up ink and using the axe-cleavage strokes, they only

---

[51] Wai-kam Ho, "Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's New Orthodoxy and the Southern School Theory," in *Artists and Traditions*, 122.

captured the outline. To call this 'playing with ink' is all right. But if one wants to attain the perfection, one cannot do without following the ancients."[52] Hsieh also criticized the lack of learning and the abuse of self-expressionism by some painters.[53] Living in such a period, Ch'en Hung-shou does not seem to have been influenced by the abusive practice of *hsieh-yi*. To him, learning from the past and technical competence were equally as important as self-expression.

Ch'en Hung-shou's father Ch'en Yu-ch'ao was a good friend of Ch'en Chi-ju, who was closely associated with Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. Thus, Ch'en Hung-shou might well have been aware of Tung's art theory, but unlike Tung, who upheld the status of painters of the Southern school and preferred paintings of the Yuan dynasty over those of the Sung, Ch'en Hung-shou had a more open attitude. He did not seem to agree with certain aspects of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's ideas, as shown in comments written shortly before his death:

> There are people today who do not learn from the ancients. They believe in their examination-knowledge or in their 'petty fame' that they swing the brush and paint. They have no time for perfecting their brush strokes and ink tones, nor do they attain the formal likeness comparable to the subjects. How sad! Hoping to be honored by their petty fame, they laugh at those honest painters, which is what I object to most. Yet, as to the contemporary professional painters, those who follow the Sung style are dominated by the artisan's attitude. Why? Because they [do not know the Sung style derived from T'ang painting so they] do not use the T'ang painting method. Those who follow Yuan are drive by a coarse impetus, since they do not trace the origin of Yuan painting back to the Sung works. If a painter uses the manner of T'ang in easing the stiffness of Sung; and applies the principles of Sung to the way of Yuan, then he will become an accomplished master... The methods

---

[52] Oertling, *TingYun-Peng*, 143.
[53] Ibid., 146; Wang Li-ling, *Ch'en Hung-shou jen-wu-hua*, 69.

> created by these old [Sung] masters were carefully conceived; even as the brush strokes by Ni Tsan were governed by their principles. Painters as the two Li (i.e., Li Ssu-hsun and Li Chao-tao), Li Cheng, Chao Po-chu, might have painted numerious buildings and landscapes, yet each had their own rhythm and resonance. It is because people do not observe and learn after them keenly that they say the Sung painting is inferior to the Yuan painting....[54]

Ch'en Hung-shou's respect for technical proficiency was further demonstrated in one of his poems:

> ....In the morning I rise and suck my brush,
> One line in contrary to the 'ancient' spirit,
> and shame suffuses my contenance.
> Meals are pushed aside, the refreshing stroll postponed.
> Though bred in trouble and sorrow,
> in every painting I strive for originality.
> I do not manifest myself casually,
> believing that people are easily to be cheated.
> To fool the public for money is a life of theft and disgrace.
> My paintings are not done swiftly,
> but worked on for hours and days.[55]

Though holding a different view towards the Sung and the Yuan painting, on the issue of originality, Ch'en Hung-shou seemed otherwise to be in accordance with Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. Ch'en's grandfather had been associated with some of the Kung-an school writers, and Ch'en's own interest in self-expression and originality, or transformation reflected in his paintings might have been influenced by such a family background. His emphasis on originality, which is suggested in the poem above, was supported by another account written by his friend Chou Liang-kung. Chou wrote:

> When he [Ch'en Hung-shou] studied painting in his youth, he did not strive for the resemblance of objects. When he crossed the river [Ch'ien-T'ang river], he made rubbings of Lung-mien's [Li Kung-lin]

---

[54] Wang Li-ling, *Ch'en Hung-shou jen-wu-hua*, 70; translation by the author.
[55] Tseng, "A Report on Ch'en Hung-shou," 80.

> 'Seventy-two Disciples of Confucius' which was engraved on a stone in the Hung-chou Prefectural School. Then he shut himself up in a room for ten days and concertrated his mind on copying them in order to master the subject. When he came out with his copies and asked people about them, they told him that his copies were close to the originals. Then he was pleased. He again copied them for another ten days and came out to show them to people. This time they told him that the copies did not resemble the original at all. Then he was even more pleased. With each new copy he introduced transformation in which he changed the round to squre and the whole into parts. People simply could not recognize the original in his copies.[56]

Thus Ch'en Hung-shou seemed to have realized the importance of originality early in his painting career.

In his landscapes, Ch'en exhibited broad respect for the past and self-conscious striving for originality. His transformed landscape styles reflected the "mind-image" of an weary-worn literary man suffering from doubts, family burdens, social traditions, as well as from the late Ming-early Ch'ing political turbulence. He longed for an other-worldly Peach Blossom Spring utopia, as discussed in Chapter Three.

---

[56] Kim, *Chou Liang-kung and His "Tu-hua-lu,"* vol. II, 45.

CHAPTER III

THE LANDSCAPE ART OF CH'EN HUNG-SHOU:

The Birth of an Eccentric

Various elements contribute to the formation of an artist, among which are his artistic training, his social and economic status, his awareness of contemporary artistic trends, and his self-consciousness of his identity as an artist. Influence of particular friends and patrons can also be a factor. The late Ming painter Ch'en Hung-shou, who is mainly known as an eccentric figure-painter skilled at depicting distorted human-figures with extremely fluent iron-wire lines, was also an excellent landscapist. His landscape paintings, display an eccentric quality similar to that of his figure paintings. Not only do they provide evidence of his diversified talent related to his early training and his interest in contemporary artistic trends, and individualistic expression, they reveal still more the erratic personality and psychological background behind his bizarre painting styles. In this chapter, works selected from Ch'en Hung-shou's early landscapes will be discussed to illustrate the chronoloy within which the artist's eccentric landscape style emerged. By relating his art to his biographical factors, I

will also attempt to seek answers for the formation of his unusual painting style.

Born to a gentry family and showing his artistic talent early, Ch'en Hung-shou, like other painters with an elite family background, must have received his lessons in painting since childhood. These lessons included studying, and careful copying of old works, including those in the literati ink mode and those in the refined colorful Sung academic styles that belonged to the Chekiang tradition. According to his biographer Mao Ch'i-ling, Ch'en had first learned the academic painting styles and had studied methods of coloring under the instruction of painter Lan Ying (1585-1644?). Evidence of this early training can be discerned in his later works.[1]

His teacher, Lan Ying, came from the Ch'ien-t'ang county of the Hung-chou prefecture in Chekiang province. As the capital of the Southern Sung, Hung-chou retained the tradition of the Southern-Sung academic painting styles, which influenced the development of the Che School in the early and middle Ming. Based on a local record, Lan Ying had worked in the Southern-Sung academic manner; his fine line architectural drawing and the drapery lines of his figure painting were so vivid as to surpass the achievement of some Southern-Sung academic painters.[2] In the biographical source on artists from the early Ch'ing period--*T'u-hui pao-chien hsu-tsuan*, Lan was described as having:

> ....attained in painting enlightenment through study of Huang Kung-wang. Of all the styles of the Chin, T'ang, and Sung dynasties, there was none that he did not master excellently. His copies and imitations of the Yuan masters could be confused with the originals....As for pictures of palace ladies, these were the diversions

[1] Burkus, "Artefacts of Biography," 426.
[2] Yen, *Lan Ying yu fang-ku hui-hua*, 5.

of his youth....[3]

From some of Lan Ying's inscriptions on paintings, one knows that Lan was interested in studying the style of the scholar-painter Huang Kung-wang at the age about twenty.[4] At that time, Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's theory of the orthodoxy Southern School tradition, which was formed during 1590s, had an enormous impact on the late Ming painters including professional ones such as Lan Ying.[5] The Southern Sung academic styles were regarded as degenerate; studying the literati ink styles became a trend. In addition to imitating the "correct" painting mode represented by the Four Yuan Masters, Lan actively associated with contemporary collectors and scholars. He had copied the Sung painter Chao Ling-jang's painting "Ho-hsiang ch'ing-hsia" (Pure Summer in Cottages by Lily Ponds) in Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's collecting and his works had won the recognition of both Tung and Ch'en Chi-ju.[6]

Judging from the biographers Meng Yuan's and Mao Ch'i-ling's words, Ch'en Hung-shou was in his teens when he became the student of Lan Ying.[7] Lan, who was older by fourteen years, was in his late twenties and had studied the literati-painting styles for a number of years. Thus, in addition to the methods of coloring, Lan's literati landscapes might as well have affected the young Ch'en Hung-shou. Lan Ying's achievement in both the academic and literati styles not only reflected the blurred line between the professional and the literati painters in the late Ming, his effort in intergrating the well-trained professional painting skills with the taste for

---

[3] Cahill, *The Distant Mountains*, 182.
[4] Yen, *Lan Ying yu fang-ku hui-hua*, 6.
[5] Wen Fong, "Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and Artistic Renewal," in *The Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, 1555-1636*, vol. I, ed. Wai-kam Ho, (Kansas: Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, 1992), 43.
[6] Cahill, *The Distant Mountains*, 185; Yen, *Lan Ying yu fang-ku hui-hua*, 6.
[7] Huang, *Ch'en Hung-shou nien pu*, 8-9.

scholarly-painting seems to have been shared by his disciple and friend Ch'en Hung-shou.

The undated fan painting "Autumn Landscape" (Fig. 1) may well be one of Ch'en Hung-shou's early landscapes. The composition consists of the dominant trees and rocks in the foreground, with a stream leading the viewers' eyes into the distant mountains. The "shih" (solid, substantiality) of the trees and bushes at the left is contrasted by the "hsu" (void) of the stream at the right; while the group of rocks in the foreground is balanced by the mountains in the background. The diagonal composition reminds one of the Sung academic practice. In indicating the bleakness of autumn, Ch'en had used ink sparingly except for retouching on some of the branches, the outlines of the rocks and mountains, and the grass along the promontories. The dry brush strokes are close to the Yuan style. The red leaves and the intricately patterned bare branches clearly speak of the season. The rocks and mountains are executed with wavy contours, moss dots, and short texture strokes recalling the style of Wang Meng, which was also constantly employed by Lan Ying.[8] Due to the repetition of the motifs of the rocks and mountains in similar tones, the effect of depth seems to be reduced. The short inscription at the left was carefully written and the brush strokes reveal uncertainty, suggesting that this painting is an early work.

Comparing another of Ch'en's landscapes "The Mountain of the Five Cataracts" ("Wu-hsieh shan") (Fig. 2) to the first painting, "The Mountain of the Five Cataracts" displayed a clear confidence in execution. The artist added the inconspicuous signature Hung-shou and his seal Chang-hou at the

[8] For Lan Ying's works after Wang Meng's style, see Yen, *Lan Ying yu fang-ku hui-hua*, Figs. 23-29.

middle right edge, hidden among the dotted foliage. This famous site was located close to Chu-chi. Ch'en Hung-shou and his friend Chou Liang-kung had made several trips to the mountain during 1624 to 1625; thus this painting has been dated at that period.[9]

The colophon at the upper right was inscribed by the collector Kao Shih-ch'i (1645-1704) in 1699. Kao wrote:

> The landscape there is extraordinary and precipitous, with ridges and peaks standing in circles. Rocks of strange shapes gaze down everywhere, ...The water from five pools overflow and is suspended in five steps--that is why it is called Five Cataracts....Hsu Wei (1521-93) said that the grotto is unique for the shade (*yin*) and the five cataracts unusual for the sun (*yang*). There are seventy-two peaks, with a ravine between two cliffs. At times they are bright and other times gloomy; sometimes they seem to be open, sometimes closed, yet often bordered between shady (*yin*) and sunny (*yang*)....[10]

The whole painting was piled up with rocks, trees, and mountains, so that it resembles Wang Meng's dense compositions. At the same time, it also recalls a scheme adapted by Wen Cheng-ming in his paintings "Landscape in the Manner of Wang Meng" (1535) and "A Thousand Cliffs Contended in Splendor" (1548-50), with the steep mountains filling almost all the space and the composition vertically divided by the waterfall which ends in a ravine.[11] Ch'en Hung-shou seems to have depicted the scenry in a clear weather, for the silhouetted distant mountains were in sight and the sun glittered among the lush foliage, the rocks, and the mountains, producing various degrees of tones--the *yin* and *yang*. The texture stroke of the

---

[9] Wai-kam, Ho et al., *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting: The Collections of the Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, and the Cleveland Museum of Art.* Exhibition catalogue. (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1980), 267-268. See also Chapter I, p. 8.

[10] Ibid., 267.

[11] For the discussions and reproductions of the two paintings by Wen Cheng-ming, see Cahill, *The Distant Mountains*, 204; and *Parting at the Shore*, 236-237, Pls. 115-116.

mountains and hills is reminiscent of "hemp-fiber" *tsun* of the Southern School masters Tung Yuan and Huang Kung-wang. The dotted foliage was in the manner of Wu Chen's "rat-feet" *tsun*.[12] Comparing this painting with a passage from Lan Ying's handscroll "Imitation after the Landscape of Huang Kung-wang," close resemblance can be found in the way Ch'en handled the angular-shaped mountains and rocks in the "bent-ribbon" *tsun*. The similarity is also evident in that Ch'en had employed the "lotus-leaf" *tsun* favored by Lan Ying.[13] In addition, the linearity of the whole painting reflected his early training of Sung academic styles; and the distant mountains in light ink washes were derived from the Li-T'ang tradition.

Ch'en Hung-shou's interest in employing the Southern School literati idioms might be influenced not only by his teacher Lan Ying but also by Ch'en Chi-ju--a family friend. Both Ch'en Chi-ju and Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's enthusiasm in extolling a painting tradition meeting the social status and the expressionistic need of the amateur-literati-painters--an identity expected by the young Ch'en Hung-shou--seems to have inspired him in his painting. Although occasionally selling paintings while young, the social prejudice against the professional painters, his official-gentry family background, his Confucian education, and his expectation of becoming a scholar-official probably also resulted in Ch'en's learning and adapting a new painting

---

[12] Lai T. C., *Shan-shui ts'un-fa* (Brushwork in Chinese Landscape Painting), (Hong Kong: Chung Hwa Book Co. and Swindon Book Co., 1983), 26, 34-36, 53. For example of Wu Chen's "rat-feet" *tsun*, see his painting "The Central Mountain" (Chung-shan tu) (1336) reproduced in Cahill, *Hills Beyond a River*, Pl. 27.

[13] This handscroll now in the National Palace Museum in Taipei was painted when Lan Ying was fifty. Although executed several years later than Ch'en Hung-shou's painting, it might reflect Lan's painting style during that time period and thus could still serve as an example of Lan's influence on Ch'en. For the reproduction of this passage, see Yen, *Lan Ying yu fang-ku hui-hua*, Fig. 15.

mode different from the more conventional styles practiced by ordinary professional painters.[14]

A painting succeeding in the stylistic traditions of both the Sung academic painting and the Southern School lineage, the "Mountain of Five Cataracts" reflects the artist's individualistic sensitivity in the strong angular brush strokes applied on the rocky mountains, on the twisted branches and gnarled tree trunks, and on the rocks along the ravine, transforming the landscape of eclectic elements into an unprecedented outlook, akin to a wood-block-print. This angular linearity seems to become one of the characteristics of Ch'en Hung-shou's style in the 1630s as examplified by the historical painting "Meeting of Su Wu and Li Ling" (Fig. 3) and by the set of playing-cards "Shui-hu yeh-tzu" (Water Margin Cards) in wood-block print that Ch'en had illustrated.[15]

Furthermore, the image of a scholar-like figure sitting among the landscape in three-quarter-back-view, as seen in the "Mountain of Five Cataracts, will emerge repeatedly in the paintings of Ch'en Hung-shou. This scheme of putting the viewers behind the seated "observer"--here, probably the painter himself--thus facing the whole scene as spectators, seems to suggest a gap between the painter's inner world and the realistic world lived by the viewers outside his painting. Examining Chen's life by that period, in his twenties, he already experienced ups and downs, like travelling among the *yang* and *yin*, the suuny and shady peaks of the "Wu-hsieh" Mountain. His experiences of becoming a "budding talent," undergoing pressure and then frustrations in failing the civil service

[14] The biographer Mao Ch'i-ling had recorded that at the age of fourteen, Ch'en had sold paintings at a market place--see Burkus, *Artefacts of Biography*, Appendix 1, 425.
[15] For the discussion of the "Meeting of Su Wu and Li Ling," see Cahill, *The Distant Mountains*, 252-253. Two examples of the playing cards have been reproduced in the same book--Figs. 4-5 in p. 251. Dr. Cahill has dated them in the 1630s due to the angularity of the lines.

examination, together with his first wife's death, followed by the miserable first journey to Peking, all appeared to be negative. The psychological detachment reflected in this painting scheme seems to have expressed Ch'en's desire of escaping from unhappiness in real life, resting his soul in the refuge of his pictorial world.

Ch'en Hung-shou had retreated to his hometown Feng-ch'iao in the 1630s after consecutively failing the civil service examinations. Living at ease like a retired scholar and gradually giving up the dream of becoming a scholar-official, Ch'en had devoted much time to painting and frequently traveled to the West Lake in Hang-chou. The idealistic story of T'ao Yuan-ming (T'ao Ch'ien, 372-427) seems to have fascinated him. The dignified ancient scholar-official T'ao Yuan-ming, who had withdrawn from turbulent politics to live in the country side, had always been the role model for later Chinese scholar-officials who chose to leave the active life when facing adversity. Although the failures in civil service examinations prevented Ch'en Hung-shou from attaining the status of a scholar-official, which absolutely precluded him from being a retired scholar-official like T'ao, Ch'en nonetheless compared himself to one. He seems to find an excuse in justifying his early retirement owing to the frustrations in real life in his analogy to T'ao Yuan-ming. This ambivalence towards his own identity would occasionally slip into his writing. In one of his articles dated in 1634, Ch'en wrote:

> When one was frustrated in attaining some higher position, he then thought about returning home in retirement.... When relaxing among the woods and trees, he was not without the feeling of being alone. These are those who cannot be content with their own fate, borrowing the woods and hills as the place to bury their grief and to lodge their

misery....[16]

The painting, "Scholar under a Pine Tree" (1633) (Fig. 4) in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, depicts a scholar accompanied by his attendant wandering in nature. The little attendant, revealed among the trees, is wearing a chrysanthemum flower in his hair and carrying a wine jar on his back. These images, together with the roaming scholar, clearly relate to T'ao Yuan-ming. In this way, Ch'en seems to present to the viewers an idealized version of his retired life during that period through this allusion. As far as the landscape is concerned, the composition is similar to the "Mountain of Five Cataracts" in the arrangement of the mountains, which are situated at the upper left, and the tall trees growing from the foreground, covering most of the space at right. The angular-shaped mountains and rocks also recall those in the "Mountain of Five Cataracts," but the boldness of the angular brush strokes, resembling the rigid lines in a wood block print is here softened, to become far subtler and with a richer display of variety in the calligraphic brush strokes. The painting is executed in the archaistic "blue-and-green" method originating in the T'ang dynasty. Ch'en's choice of this heavily colored style instead of the literati ink mode might be due to the demand of the patron, as noted by James Cahill.[17] Compared to two other works in the same manner, such as "A Thousand Li of Rivers and Mountains" by the Northern Sung painter Wang Hsi-meng (c. 1096-c. 1120) in the Palace Museum in Peking, and "The Lute Song" by the earlier Ming painter Ch'iu Ying in the Nelson-Atkins Gallery at the Kansas city, Ch'en uses a lighter color-scheme. Instead of the heavy application of the primary colors of

[16] Huang, *Ch'en Hung-shou nien pu*, 47; translation by the author.
[17] Ibid., 254-255.

blue and green, he confers in his painting a sense of subdued elegance that is more in accord with literati taste.[18] What made this painting decorative is the diversity of lines and patterns. Various kinds of trees and vegetation with leaves in different shapes are added. The scholar's red robe is delineated in the "tremulous brush stroke" ("chan-pi")--a characteristic of the painting style of the Five Dynasties painter Chou Wen-chu (active 961-975), which was also practiced by Ch'en Hung-shou's contemporary, figure painter Ts'ui Tzu-chung.[19] The angular mountains and rocks were contrasted to the circular knots of the tree trunks. Distinct calligraphic brush strokes are applied as the contours and texture strokes of the mountains, rocks and tree trunks. Pale ink washes are employed again in describing the distant mountains. An interesting characteristic of this painting is two misty hard-edged bands of fog introduced in the middle, as in Ch'iu Ying's painting "The Lute Song," which immediately remind one of the lyrical atmosphere in the Southern Sung painter Chao Ling-jang's (Chao Ta-nien, ca. 1080-1100) painting "Ho-hsiang ch'ing-hsia" (Pure Summer in Cottages by Lily Ponds), now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.[20] Ch'en Hung-shou's teacher Lan Ying had made copies of this painting in Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's collection, which might have been Ch'en's direct inspiration.[21]

---

[18] The painting by Wang Hsi-meng has been reproduced in *The Palace Museum: Peking*, ed. Wango Weng and Yang Boda, (London: Orbis Publishing, Ltd., 1982), Pl. 88. For the illustration of Ch'iu Ying's painting, see Cahill, *Parting at the Shore*, Color plate 9.

[19] Thomas Lawton, *Chinese Figure Painting*, (Washington D. C. : Freer Gallery of Art, 1973), 8. For the example of Tsui's paintings, see his "Sweeping the Elephant" in the National Palace Museum, Taipei reproduced in Cahill's *The Distant Mounatins*, Pls. 128-129.

[20] For the reproduction, see Robert J. Maeda, "The Chao Ta-nien Tradition," *Ars Orientalis*, vol. VIII, 1970, Fig. 12.

[21] One of Lan Ying's copies dated 1622 "Landscape in the Manner of Chao Ling-jang" in the Palace Museum, Taipei has been reproduced in Cahill, *The Distant Mountains*, Pl. 96.

Two years later in 1635, Ch'en Hung-shou again painted a similar subject, yet in a very different mood. The painting "A Tall Pine and Taoist Immortal (The Artist and His Nephew in a Landscape)" in the National Palace Museum at Taipei (Fig. 5) repeated the T'ao Yuan-ming-like, eremetic theme of a scholar and his chrysanthemum flower-wearing, wine-jar-carrying attendant in a landscape, but the artist has turned this traditional, idealistic subject into a personal version. The artist's inscription in the upper right states:

> Lien-tzu (Ch'en Hung-shou) and Nephew Han have been roaming at ease for days on end. In spring we have been intoxicated by the beauty of peach blossoms; in autumn we have contemplated the charm of hibiscus; in summer we have stumbled through thick growths of pine; in late winter we have made verses about the whiteness of snow. In all things we looked after each other, leafing through numerous books, feeling doubly relaxed in spirit, practicing pure-talk and sketching pines and rocks. If these words accord somewhat with the Tao, why should we feel ashamed to eat the three meals?"[22]

Kim Hongnam has observed, "Ch'en [Hung-shou]....a man of worldly ambition rather than eremetic disposition, he never really achieved the contentment of the idealistic world of T'ao Ch'ien [Yuan-ming]...."[23] Kim's point seems to be well demonstrated in Ch'en's 1634 essay expressing his inner conflict about retiring, as well as in the painting discussed here.[24] Ch'en Hung-shou's ambivalent feeling towards his early retirement and his own identity, once hidden in the "Scholar under a Pine Tree," is totally unfolded in the contrast of the seemingly merry, self-content inscription and the sarcastic look of the artist's self-portraiture. In this painting, both figures have been placed by a tall tree-group on a promontory in the

---

[22] Cahill, *The Compelling Image*, 107.
[23] Kim, "Chou Liang-kung and His *Tu-hua-lu*," vol. I, 102.
[24] See Chapter III, 47.

foreground with the artist looking out to confront the viewers directly while his nephew lifts his head to appreciate the exotic trees. These trees grow so close together that their crown fuse. The drapery folds of the artist's garment are described by gentle and fluent curves while those of his nephew's are clearly delineated in "chan-pi." Although the artist's gaze tells that he is fully aware of the viewers' observation, his stance, with the robe pulled high in guarded concealment, as perceived by Richard Vinograd, clearly indicates the artist's psychological isolation and his intention to keep the viewers in distance to avoid their judgment.[25]

The landscape elements have been totally schematized. The pine trunk, no longer has natural clefts, but is now fully covered by small circles similar to the scales of a dragon. The red leaves of the farthest tree were drawn in a specific pattern which, as Cahill points out, once represented curled leaves.[26] The small water fall at the left, the promontory, and the rocks are depicted in a way that resembles wood-cut prints; mostly notably in the splits of the rocks, which seem to have been derived from the "lotus-leaf" *tsun* drawn up-side-down. Echoing the psychological ambiguity is the spacial duality. The rocks in the middle-ground are depicted in the same way as those in the foreground, without being diminished in size or toned down in shading; thus the sense of space is reduced. At the same time, the artist obviously tries to create a spacial effect and the sense of three-dimensional structure through the arrangement of the rock groups and promontory, as well as through various degrees of tones schematically applied on them. What is more curious is the uneven horizontal level suggesting instability at both sides of the composition, which also enhances

---

[25] Richard Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self: Chinese Portraits, 1600-1900*, (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1992), 32-33.

[26] Cahill, *The Compelling Image*, 141, 143.

the unrealistic sense of the schematized landscape. Such kind of horizon-shifting device, as Cahill has noted, often appeared in Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's paintings.[27]

Elizabeth Fulder has commented on Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's theories as advising painters to "seek in natural forms, or in well-constructed old paintings, a principle for the organization of landscape compositions."[28] Examing Tung's theories, Wen Fong states that T'ung Ch'i-ch'ang "saw landscape composition as abstract design with 'solid and void' elements and with 'rising-and-falling' and 'opening-and-closing' movements" meant to develop the sense of momentum (*shih*). Tung wrote:

> If a painter can both open [*fen*; divide] and close [*ho*] a composition, and if his texture method is able to carry out all that he intends, then his painting will look convincing from all sides....Only when a painter subtly weighs the void [*hsu*] against the solid [*shih*], and presents both aspects with feeling, will his painting naturally appear exciting.[29]

Bearing all these concerns in mind and examing "A Tall Pine and Taoist Immortal," one finds Ch'en Hung-shou had followed the traditional tripartite composition in dividing the foreground promontory and rocks, the middle-ground rocks, and the distant mountains in the background. The contour outline of the promontory and the rocks, specifically those in the middle-ground, is arranged in a rising and falling pattern which alternates with solid and void within the compositional space.

With these now altered traditional landscape elements, Ch'en Hung-shou colored the whole painting in the archaic blue-and-green style and

---

[27] Ibid., 141.

[28] Elizabeth Fulder, "The Achievements of Late Ming Painters," in *The Restless Landsacape*, 20.

[29] Wen C. Fong, *Images of the Mind: Selections from the Edward L. Elliott Family and John B. Elliott Collections of Chinese Calligraphy and Painting at The Art Museum, Princeton University*, (Princeton: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1984), 170-171; see also his article "Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and Artistic Renewal," 45.

presented a version of his eccentric landscape painting. The curious juxtaposition of the realistic, portraiture-like figures in the unrealistic, transformed landscape seems to speak again the artist's desire of detaching himself from the real life, escaping into his personal world. On the other hand, the representation a literati-erematic-theme in the painting tradition generally followed by professional painters may somehow reflect Ch'en Hung-shou's ambivalence towards his self-identity--a frustrated-scholar-turned professional painter. The uneasiness he felt under such circumstances might well be conveyed through the distorted, schematized forms. In addition, the consciously transformed archaism of this painting seems to suggest the unfortunate fate of the colorful blue-and-green tradition derided by the literati-group represented by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and his followers.

Investigating the motivation behind Ch'en Hung-shou's creation of an eccentric painting style, some aspects deserve attention. First, one must recognize Ch'en's transformation as a highly conscious personal choice, influenced by early experiences and culminating in these later individualistic paintings. Remembering that Ch'en Hung-shou's grandfather was involved with some Kung-an school writers who promoted self-expression, and that Chen's association with his father's friend Ch'en Chi-ju, who was close to Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, cannot be ignored. We can see both the ideas of the individualistic Kung-an school and Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's theories about the "orthodoxy" painting tradition and *pien* (transformation) seem to have influenced Ch'en Hung-shou's painting. Although, due to his early training, the sources of his painting techniques and idioms, which included both the archaic blue-and-green and the literati-ink-mode traditions, were far broader than Tung's, the basic notion of transformation

as a means of self-expression is the same. Ch'en's friend Chou Liang-kung once described Ch'en's attitude towards painting as not limited by formal likeness, but rather transforming the original master's method after numerous imitations.[30]

If self-expression is the goal of Ch'en Hung-shou's eccentric painting style, then exactly what kind of feeling did the artist try to convey? By examing Ch'en's distorted painting style as represented in "A Tall Pine and Taoist Immortal," one finds that it illustrates, both in style and in purpose, what Wen Fong has termed "schematic archaism," which he viewed as means to repudiate the present--to shock and amuse--as a form of personal retreat or protest chosen by painters like Ch'en Hung-shou.[31] This is especially apparent when interpreted in the light "as a form of personal retreat," the bizarre painting style in "A Tall Pine and Taoist Immortal" precisely conveys the painter's escapist mentality.

Secondly, if one looks back at the development of Chinese art history, it is very clear that by the end of th Yuan dynasty, many painters believed all the painting techniques, including ideas lying behind them, had already attained the state of perfection. Andrew Plaks has pointed out the difficult situation faced by the late Ming artists as he writes: "self-conscious artists of the period laboring under a strong pressure to restate their position vis-a`-vis a cultural heritage that had already become too massive for any individual to wholly master."[32] The Wu-school masters and the Che-school artists of the early Ming were simply followers of different traditions. With the heavy burden of great traditions, an artist attempting to establish himself

---

[30] Kim, "Chou Liang-kung and his *Tu-hua-lu*," vol. II, 206.
[31] Wen C. Fong, "Archaism as a 'Primitive' Style," 108.
[32] Andrew H. Plaks, *The Four Masterworks of the Ming Novel* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 49, quoated by Fong in "T'ung Ch'i-ch'ang and Artistic Renewal," 50-51.

must break the boundry of pure imitation and start a self-conscious stylization, sometimes involving bizarre distortions and elegance--transformation thus became the answer. This phenomenon seems to parallel the emergence of the Mannerists after the High Renaissance in the western art history and might help explain Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's ideas and the appearance of several late Ming individualistic painters whose styles were characterized by curiously distorted images.

So far, through the discussion of some of Ch'en Hung-shou's early works, one understands Ch'en to be an eclectic individualistic painter capable of transforming the traditional literati ink mode as well as the more decorative blue-and-green style. Observing these early works, Ch'en seems to try to consolidate both the professional and the literati painting styles in one work, as evident in the "Autumn Landscape," in "The Mountain of Five Cataracts," and in "A Tall Pine and Taoist Immortal." This tendency, and Ch'en's interest in representing the literati-erematic theme with linear, ornamental, colorful, academic painting style as in the paintings "Scholar Under a Pine Tree" and "A Tall Pine and Taoist Immortal," reflect Ch'en's consciousness of his dual identity as a professional painter and scholar. However, his ambivalence towards such incompatible duality and his frustrations as an unsuccessful scholar was communicated through the eccentric, transformed pictorial imageries suggesting psychological detachment, clearly revealed in "A Tall Pine and Taoist Immortal." These individualistic, distorted imageries, appeared as early in "The Mountain of Five Cataracts," indicate simultaneously Ch'en Hung-shou's awareness of the contemporary artistic trend extolling transformation as a means of self-expression. Furthermore, his powerful personal emotions imbued his works with aspects parallel to the Kung-an School ideal of sincere expression of

true emotions. In the following discussion, we will see that these characteristics of Ch'en's painting style develop continuously, finally reaching a point of fusion.

CHAPTER IV

THE LANDSCAPE ART OF CH'EN HUNG-SHOU:
Entreating to Be a Painting-master in the World

Late in 1639, Ch'en Hung-shou made a second trip to Peking. Due to a famine in his hometown, he was forced to purchase a studentship in the National Academy in Peking, hoping still again to find a way to achieve a political career and solve his economic problems.[1] However, it was his artistic talent that drew the attention of Emperor Ch'ung-chen. Ch'en Hung-shou was appointed to copy the portraits of emperors of the previous dynasties. Through this opportunity, he was able to study the imperial collection, thus improving his painting skill. Judging from his extant landscape paintings dated after 1640, a new and interesting format is used by Ch'en. His former large scaled, decorative and heavily-colored hanging scrolls are mostly replaced by small scale album leaves in the ink mode with subtly pale colors. Although some of them still retained the refined ornamental effect from his early period, they seem to be infused with a sense of elegance more akin to the literati taste. Such change might have been related to his closer involvement with the literati circle in Peking, along with his teacher Liu Tsung-chou and friend Chou Liang-kung. This

[1] See Chapter I., 13.

change might also reflect the preference of his patrons in the capital. Since the collector-painter-theorist Tung Ch'i-ch'ang had previously been an eminent court-official there, his orthodox literati painting theory would have influenced the taste of the local art-lovers.[2] In 1642, Ch'en Hung-shou was offered the title of "Tai-chao" (Painter-in-Attendance) in the Painting Academy. Though he rejected this offer, his reputation as a painter was greatly increased and thus as a result he attracted numerous admirers.[3]

If the second trip to Peking had revived his political ambition, his growing fame as a painter seemed to have interfered with his political goals, and he indicated:

> There were great personalities throughout history who, having left their native towns, lingered at the capital. Ideals they did not find in their home town they hoped to pursue at the court. Those who know me, love me. What comes afterwards should not trouble me. A sage like Confucius was criticized for being too able; a wise man like Tzu-tsan was blamed because of his knowledge was too vast...."

Whatever his original purpose was, Ch'en Hung-shou gradually became disillusioned by the overt corruption at the court, leaving Peking in 1643.[4] The Ming dynasty itself fell within a year.

Considering the content of Ch'en Hung-shou's landscape paintings after 1644, one observes a sense of mourning for the fall of the Ming and a strong affiliation with erematism related to the legendary figure of T'ao Yuan-ming. In Chinese history, erematism, extolled by Taoism, first attained popularity during the chaotic Wei-Chin period when Chinese intellectuals sought to protect themselves from dangerous political

---

[2] For the political career of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, see Nelson Wu, "Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555-1636): Apathy in Government and Fervor in Art," 283-286, 292-293.
[3] Tseng, "A Report on Ch'en Hung-shou," 76.
[4] Ibid..

involvement through retirement.[5] At that time, T'ao-Yuan-ming, who had renounced his own political career due to the turbulent political reality, chose to live as a farmer-recluse in the country.[6] Thereafter T'ao became the idol of numerous Chinese scholars who decided to withdraw from officialdom; and his famous autobiography "Mr. Five Willows," his writings "The Homecoming Ode" and his utopian fairy tale "The Peach Blossom Spring," his favorite chrysanthemum flower, and his love of wine all together became the symbols of eremiticism in Chinese culture. T'ao's contemporary recluses, including the eccentric "Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove" also attained their fame as part of Chinese erematic tradition.

Scholars have agreed that during the late Ming-early Ching period, the socio-political upheavals and the individualistic intellectual atmosphere paralleled those of the Wei-Chin period. Ellen Johnston Laing also has discussed the conscious imitations of the practices of the Wei--Chin eremites by the late Ming intellectuals. She concludes by attributing the popularity of the erematic themes in the late Ming art, including T'ao Yuan-ming and the "Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove," to this socio-historical background.[7] Especially when the dynastic change in 1644 made the government service impossible for the Ming loyalist "i-min", erematism turned out to be the only alternative. Based on these circumstances, Ch'en Hung-shou's continuing interest in depicting T'ao Yuan-ming-like themes after 1644 is understandable. In addition, Huang Yung-ch'uan has recorded

[5] Liu Chi-yao, "Shih yu yin--ch'uan-t'ung chung-kuo cheng-chih wen-hua te liang chi"(Government Service and Retirement--The Di-poles of Traditional Chinese Political Culture), in *Chung Kuo Wen Hua Hsin Lun--Ssu hsiang pien--Li-hsiang yu hsien-shih* (The New Treatises on Chinese Culture--The section of thought--Ideals and Reality), ed. Huang Chun-chieh, 6th ed. (Taipei: Lien-ching chu pan shih yeh kung ssu, 1989), 306-310, 316.

[6] Wang Kuei-ling, *T'ao Yuan-ming chi ch'i shih te yen chiu* (A Study of T'ao Yuan-ming and His Poetry), (Taipei: National Taiwan University Press, 1966), 20-21.

[7] Ellen Johnston Laing, "Neo-Taoism and the 'Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove' in Chinese Painting," *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 36, no. 1/2 (1974), 49-53.

that late in 1646, when seeking refuge in the village Pao-wu, Ch'en Hung-shou was inspired by reading T'ao Yuan-ming's "Peach Blossom Spring," executing a painting with the same title.[8] This account can be regarded as a direct evidence for his consciousness and perpetual interest in erematic themes. Especially when facing in real life constant warfares of dynastic change, Ch'en must have been able to deeply identify with T'ao Yuan-ming's yearning for a peaceful "Peach Blossom Spring" utopia.

From 1644 to 1646, Ch'en Hung-shou stayed at the "Ch'ing-t'eng shu wu" (the Green-ivy Study) that had once belonged to the eccentric painter Hsu Wei (1521-93) at Shao-hsing. A set of album leaves in the National Palace Museum of Art in Taipei is dated in this period, based on the painter's inscription, "Hung-shou painted [this] at the Green-ivy Study" on one of the leaves.[9] Executed both in a refined outline with colors and in the ink manners on silk, some of these album leaves exceed the decorative and bizarre taste of his early style. Their carefully arranged motifs as well as their exaggerated, transformed pictorial images are derived from earlier masters' repertoire. Others seem to follow the styles of the great Yuan and the Ming Wu-school scholar-painters. By eliminating unnecessary details in creating these seemingly naive and unsophisticated compositions, Ch'en Hung-shou appears to have retained the child-like mind as promoted by Li Chih. The bold exaggeration of forms in these works, on the other hand, demonstrates Ch'en's love of individualistic expression that was valued by the Kung-an school writers. Besides, the original owner of the Green-ivy study, the painter Hsu Wei, who used to be an associate of Ch'en Hung-shou's father, was famous for his unbridled character which paralleled his

[8] Huang, *Ch'en Hung-shou nien pu*, 98.
[9] The titles of each leaves are found in *The Third Edition of Mi-tien chu-lin and shih-ch'u pao-chi--shih-ch'u pao-chi*, vol. 5, (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1969), 2108.

freely expressionistic splash-ink bird-and-flower paintings and calligraphy.[10] Although painted in styles different from that of Hsu Wei's, the eccentric, expressionistic quality reflected in this set of album leaves might also be partly inspired by Hsu's spirit and works.

Leaf (a) (Fig. 8) from this set of album entitling "Hsi-t'ing Liu-se" (The Willow Color by a River Pavilion) depicts a simple scene of a river-side pavilion with willows and other trees backed by mild hills. This garden-like scenery suggests the painter's idealistic retreat. Remembering the fact that the fall of Ming left the surviving Ch'en Hung-shou as an "i-min" painter, psychologically, he might tend to identify himself the more as a recluse; thus his depiction of this theme as an erematic utopia seems to be understandable. In this picture, the motif of the pavilion was reminiscent of the paintings of another "i-min" Ni Tsan; while the sweet and lyrical composition seems to be an improvisation based on Chao Ling-jang's "Ho-hsiang ch'ing-hsia" (Pure Summer in Cottages by Lily Pond).[11] Displaying different kinds of line and form--the triangular pavilion, the simplified, X-shaped wild geese, the tiny dots of the water lily leaves, the curving willow twigs, the brush-like unknown trees--this painting followed the decorative trends of his earlier works. The peaceful feeling of the scene is enlivened by a line of wild geese flying by the hill. All the pictorial elements were so well calculated that any additions or reductions would spoil the whole balance. Thus within such a simple picture, Ch'en Hung-shou fully grasped the meaning of "hsu" (void) versus "shih" (substantiality) and "tung" (movement) versus "ching" (serene).

---

[10] Huang, *Ch'en Hung-shou nien pu*, 79.

[11] See Chapter III, 49, no. 20.

Leaf (c) "Peach Blossom Spring" (Fig. 9) which illustrates the scene of T'ao Yuan-ming's story, provides a good example of Ch'en Hung-shou's transformed landscape. Hidden under grottoes by the water are some houses. Instead of textural strokes, the grottoes are defined by short, stiff lines with some shading. The motif of a boat tied by the bank is balanced by the distant promontories. Similar to the leaf (a) are the linearity and the simplification and balance of the composition. The trees growing above the grottoes with their "crab-claw" twigs, resemble the Li-Kuo school tree type. The employment of the rigid lines strongly reminds one of the woodcut technique in which Ch'en was also proficient. The linearity and the diagonal composition with the partial landscape scene seem to have been based on the Southern academic tradition.

Reconsidering the issue of Ch'en Hung-shou's preference for such kinds of small compositions after 1640s, combined with the fall of the Ming dynasty in 1644, one might doubt whether Ch'en's reinterpretation of this old tradition was intentional. Although thoroughly familiar with the Southern Sung academic styles due to his early training, Ch'en might as well hold the same melancholy feeling as his Southern Sung predecessor Ma Yuan when depicting the waning Chinese territories after the foreign invasion.[12] At the same time, a sense of sterile serenity reflected in this abstract, distorted landscape, seems contradictory to the idealistic "Peach Blossom Spring" utopia, and restates the painter's feeling of an unattainable dream when suffering from the painful reality of the Manchu invasion.

---

[12] Cahill has noted that the the form of album-leaves was favored by the Southern Sung painters. Among them, Ma Yuan was known as "One-corner Ma," for his diagonal composition in painting. In addition, Sullivan had suggested a relation between the emotional content in Ma Yuan's painting and the contemporary political condition. See Cahill, *Chinese Painting*, 76, 82; Michael Sullivan, *Symbols of Eternity--The Art of Landscape Painting in China*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1979), 76-78.

The grotesque rock "Wen-shih" in the leaf (t) (Fig. 10) is another striking example. The tremulous brush stroke ("chan pi"), once used in his human figure draperies as the one in the "Scholar under a Tall Pine Tree" in the Metropolitan Museum of Art is now transplanted to the depiction of the rock. Tracing the more direct source, Ch'en Hung-shou once said that he had modeled after the portraitures of the Five Dynasties painter Kuan Hsiu (832-912).[13] Kuan Hsui was known for his distorted Buddhist Lohan figures that he claimed came to him in dreams. A painting attributed to Kuan Hsiu in the National Museum, Tokyo, depicts a Lohan seated on eroded rocks. Such treatment suggests a link between Ch'en Hung-shou and this Five Dynasties master, for the rocks in Kuan Hsiu's painting were also drawn with tremulous brush strokes.[14] In painting this odd-shaped rock, Ch'en Hung-shou reflects the traditional literati's interest in collecting the eroded, fantastic-shaped rocks.[15] These bizarre-looking rocks usually have a long history, their enduring quality thus has inspired Chinese literati to give them the name of "t'ien-di-chih-ku" (the bones of the heaven and earth). Scholars also identify such rocks with a person's moral characteristics.[16] Therefore, exotic rocks such as the one depicted by Ch'en Hung-shou is regarded as a symbol of an ideal personality. Further observation of the twisted form of this rock reminds one of a pine tree. The pine tree may be a metaphor for th painter's own survival after the fall of

[13] Ch'en Hung-shou, *Pao-lun-tang chi*, cited by Wang Li-ling, *Ch'en Hung-shou jen-wu-hua*, 104.

[14] See Laurence Sickman and Alexander Soper, *The Art and Architecture of China*, (New York: Penguin Books, 1987), 232 and Fig. 162.

[15] Ts'ai Mei-fen, "*Wen-fang ching-wan*--The handicrafts in the studies of literati", in *Chung kuo wen hua hsin lun--Yi shu pien--Mei kan yu tsao hsing* (The New Treatises on Chinese Culture--The section of art--Aesthetic sense and Form), ed. Kuo Chi-sheng, 7th ed., (Taipei: Lien-ching ch'u- pan shih-yeh kung-ssu, 1991), 627.

[16] Chao Hung-pao, "Ya-ch'u--ku-tai wen-jen li hsiang chung te chu-she wen-hua"(The Flavor of Elegance--The Ideal Housing Culture of Ancient Literati), *Ku Kung Wen Wu Yueh K'an (The National Palace Museum Monthly of Chinese Art)*, no. 135 (June, 1994), 80.

Ming in 1644. After 1645 when the failure of the short-lived court in Shao-hsing had proved the Ming loyalists' revival dream to be in vain, many, including Ch'en Hung-shou's teacher Liu Tsung-chou and his friend Ch'i Piao-chia, chose to sacrifice themselves. Others, such as Ch'en's friend Chou Liang-kung surrendered to the new regime. As indicated in the first chapter that the fact that Ch'en Hung-shou became an "i-min" (left-over of the previous dynasty) was probably due to his disillusion with the corrupt Ming court. The motif of a pine tree in China has always been a symbol of perseverance, of surviving the hardship of wintry environment. Through the hidden image of a pine tree in this distorted rock, as both representing perseverance, Ch'en Hung-shou had projected himself as a survivor of harsh reality.

Ch'en Hung-shou's interest in erematic themes, his use of archaism, and his eclectic talent are well represented in the set of album leaves in the Freer Gallery in Washington D. C.. Generally speaking, these leaves consist of figures derived from the T'ang tradition, but employ the dry brushwork of the Yuan painters, and use the landscape motifs adapted from the Sung, Yuan and Ming masters. Distinguished from the highly eccentric, distorted painting style in his earlier works, they are characterized by a more subdued elegance. Due to the stylistical resemblance of the figure type to those in the album "Sixteen Views of a Hermit's Life" (1651) in the National Palace Museum in Taipei, The Freer Gallery album has been dated to the mid-seventeenth century.[17] In addition, the identical calligraphic

[17] See: *A Decade of Collecting (1966-1976)--The Avery Brundage Collection.* Exhibition catalogue. (Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, 1976), 193. For the discussion of the "Sixteen Views of a Hermit's Life", see Kohara Hironobu, "An Introductory Study of Ch'en Hong-shou, Part II," trans. Anne Burkus. *Oriental Art*, n.s. 33, no. 1 (1987), 67-83. The same works were also discussed in the exhibition catalogue *Style Transformed*, 490-491.

signatures and seals of the painter in these two albums further support this dating.

Leaf (a) (Fig. 11) depicts a scholar reclining under a pine tree. Holding a cup of wine in his hand, he slightly raises his chin and half opens his eye, seeming intoxicated. The origin of the imagery of a reclining, intoxicated figure can be traced back as early in the Wei-Chin period, when a clay brick engraved with the "Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove, and Jung Ch'i-ch'i" from a Nanking tomb, depicts the figure of Juan Chi in similar way.[18] Comparing these two figures, both are represented as seated on a mat with one knee raised, the upper torsos supported on the left arm. Similarly, under the tree, beside the human figure is a jar of wine.[19] This pictorial scheme invented for representing these Neo-Taoist eccentrics and recluses, as Ellen Laing has noticed, had been developed into a special figural type tradition for rendering themes about recluses, drinkers and poets. Previous examples include the tenth century painting "Noble Scholar under a Willow", possibly representing the scholar-recluse T'ao Yuan-ming, now in the Palace Museum in Taipei (Fig. 12). Among contemporary works are the Ming Che school master Tai Chin's (1388-1462) painting "The Hermit Hsu Yu Resting by a Stream" in the Cleveland Museum of Art (Fig.13), and a recluse figure depicted in a handscroll attributed to the Ming painter Ch'iu Ying now in the Tientsin Art Museum.[20]

In this album leaf by Ch'en Hung-shou, the three-quarter-frontal-view of the traditional figural type has been replaced by three-quarter-back-view. Closely framing the figure, the curve-trunked pine tree, a symbol of a person's moral integrity, presses down almost menacingly. Judging by the

[18] Juan Chi was one of the "Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove."
[19]. Laing, "Neo-Taoism and the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove," 12, Figs. 2 & 5.
[20] Ibid., 5-45, Figs. 16 & 28.

traditional Chinese values, Ch'en Hung-shou's choice of survival rather than suicide in support of the defeated Ming dynasty suggested a failure of moral integrity. The scheme of the three-quarter-back-view, which had been used to suggest a psychological detachment appearing as early as "The Mountain of Five Cataracts" was again employed for expressionistic value. Here Ch'en's intention of avoiding outside judgement is clear. This picture effectively manifests Ch'en's escapist mentality, while his ambivalence towards the choice of survival is temporarily relieved by alcohol.

In leaf (b)(Fig. 14) , a scholar sits by a vase of flowers in his boat close by the bank of a stream near a pine tree. Pausing from his reading, he directs his attention to the hills across the river. The diagonal composition is in the Southern Sung academic tradition. The swift fine lines drawing for the figure and the ripples by the boat reveal the painter's talent in his well-known figure-painting. The dry brush strokes are derived from the Yuan painting. The bright coloring for the painting, especially for the pine tree and the foreground rocks, though not as heavy, is akin to the blue-and-green manner. Such a technique, mingling both the ink style with the blue-and-green coloring, was originated by the Northern Sung painter Wang Shen (1036-c.1103).[21] Dominating the whole composition is the heavily colored pine tree that links the foreground to the distant hills. Emerald-green pine needles are contrasted by the tiny red flowers of a wisteria vine twisting around, which implies the season of spring and in turn, complements the pondering scholar in a delightful way. This kind of motif was clearly borrowed from that in the painting "Scholar of the Eastern Fence (T'ao

[21] For the discussion of Wang Shen's life and works, see Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, 341-342; "Wang Shen" in *Chung-kuo ming-hua-chia ts'ung-shu* (The Series of Famous Chinese Painters), Vol. I, (Chung-kuo shu-hua yen-chiu-hui, 1969), 399-478.

Yuan-ming in a Landscape)" by the Southern Sung painter Liang K'ai.[22] This leaf presents us an idealistic version of the life of a scholar-recluse. It is also evocative of the leisurly aspect of Ch'en Hung-shou's old age.

Leaf (c)(Fig. 15) is dominated by the figure of a retired scholar who just crossed a stone-slab bridge by a red-leaf tree, pausing to watch the fallen leaves drifting in the stream, suggesting an autumnal mood. The figure, with his full face and fluent draperies, is drawn in fine tapering curve lines developed from those in Ch'en Hung-shou's 1638 painting "Lady Hsuan-wen Expounding the Classics," now in the Cleveland Museum of Art (Figs. 16-17). This figure style succeeds the pre-T'ang painter Ku K'ai-chih and the T'ang painter Chou Fang's tradition. The dry-brush drawing for the landscape elements such as the gnarled-tree trunk and the earthy rocks from which the tree grows are in the Yuan manner. The hatchings on the rocks, strongly remind one of Huang Kung-wang's "hemp-fiber" textural strokes.

Leaf (g) (fig. 18) again repeats the theme of a T'ao Yuan-ming-like wandering scholar-recluse. Comparing this leaf to Leaf (c), a more complicated composition has been adopted. Further analysis on Leaf (g) suggests a compositional resemblance to Wen Cheng-ming's 1507 painting "Spring Trees After Rain" in the National Palace Museum in Taipei (Fig. 19) because that both paintings include in the middle a river with mountains, rocks, and the platform-like terrain, and both contain a pavilion on the left. The platform-like terrain that also appears in Leaf (c) is clearly an invention by Shen Chou while the tiny "pepper dots" spread over the mountains, rocks and the foliage are a characteristic of Wen Cheng-ming's "fine-style" landscape. For this dotting technique, the Ming critic Chan

---

[22] This painting is now in the National Palace Museum in Taipei and has been reproduced in Cahill, *The Compelling Image*, Fig. 4.5.

Ching-feng noted: "People think that Wen Cheng-chung's [Cheng-ming's] recent method of dotting clumps of trees follows Wu Chung-kuei [Chen (1280-1354)]. They do not know it comes from Liu Sung-nien." Thus the origin of this pointillist dotting, according to Liu, could be traced back to the Sung.[23] The depiction of the mountains and rocks in angular outlines with sparse tiny moss dots recalls the Yuan "i-min"-painter Ch'ien Hsuan's method.[24] Besides, the dry-brush strokes of the mountains, rocks, and platform-like terrain also retain the Yuan flavor.

If Leaf (g) is closer to the Ming painting tradition, then Leaf (h) (Fig. 20) is more akin to a Yuan painting. Comparing this leaf to Ch'en Hung-shou's other album leaf--Leaf (j) in the "Sixteen Views of a Hermit's Life" (Fig. 21) painted in 1651, the theme here has been slightly varied from a staff-carrying wandering scholar to a recluse sitting between two bare trees to listen to the river singing in order to cleanse his mind. In addition, both pictures feature an arrangement of two large knotted trees in the foreground and the mannerof execution in the Yuan style dry-brush is very similar. The rocks and flat-topped hills again recall Huang Kung-wang's painting while the misty mountains in the background are reminiscent of Chao Ling-jang's poetic composition. Earlier, in 1648, Ch'en Hung-shou's teacher and friend Lan Ying had collaborated with the painter Hsieh Pin for a handscroll "Portraits of Shih-jen in a Landscape," in which Shih-jen was depicted repeatedly in ways similar to those in the Freer album leaves (c) and (h), namely, as a roaming figure and as a spring-listening, pondering

---

[23] For example, see "Walking with a Staff" by Shen Chou in the National Palace Museum. Taipei, which has been reproduced in Cahill's *Parting at the Shore*, Pl. 29; Anne de Coursey Clapp, *The Painting of T'ang Yin*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 112-114.

[24] For examples, see Ch'ien's handscrolls "Home Again (Kuei-ch'u-lai-t'u)" and "Wang Hsi-chih Watching Geese" reproduced in Lee and Ho, *Chinese Art under the Mongols*, no. 184 & no. 185.

recluse.[25] In view of Lan Ying and Ch'en Hung-shou' s close relationship, Lan's painting might have been a more direct inspiration for Ch'en Hung-shou's Freer compositions.

The themes derived from the eremitism of T'ao Yuan-ming, which were once used as a way of self-justification in Ch'en Hung-shou's early painting "A Tall Pine and Taoist Immortal," now accompanied by the motifs of red leaves or bare trees symbolizing aging and decline, become a proper vehicle for this old retired "i-min"-painter in reflecting on life in his final years. Furthermore, the broad use of the Yuan painting idioms such as the dry brush-strokes, Huang Kung-wang's "hemp-fiber" texture strokes, and Ch'ien Hsuan or Ni Tsan's pictorial language in this set of album leaves, despite their firmly-established status in the literati painting tradition, may have a specific meaning for the painter. As a retired "i-min"-painter, Ch'en Hung-shou seems to have deliberately quoted from the styles of the earlier scholar-painter-recluses who rejected service under a foreign regime. Among them, the Yuan master-painters Ch'ien Hsuan, Huang Kung-wang and Ni Tsan were the most outstanding examples. By transforming different stylistic traditions from these Yuan masters, Ch'en Hung-shou successfully expressed in his paintings his emotions as a survivor living through numerous personal and historical crises.

A set of album leaves "Paintings after Ancient Masters" from the Cleveland Museum of Art, though undated, was regarded as one of Ch'en Hung-shou's late works.[26] Subjects alluding to erematism represented by Ch'en's eclectic painting style again play a major role in the landscape leaves in this album. Although the exact date of this set of works is

[25] The reproduction of passages from this handscroll and their discussion has been included in Cahill, *The Compelling Image*, 122-123.
[26] Ho, *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, 272.

uncertain, a possible time frame can be deduced. The leaf (g) "Taoist and Crane in Autumn Landscape" bears the painter's short inscription: "The old man Fu-ch'ih painted [this] for the Taoist Chung-ch'ing," followed by the painter's seal "Chang-hou". Due to the fact that Ch'en Hung-shou had adapted the sobriquets such as "Hui-ch'ih" (Regret and Too-late) or "Lao-ch'ih" (Old and Too-late) since 1646, this work was surely executed after that year. In addition, according to Huang Yung-ch'uan, Ch'en Hung-shou was associated with the Taoist Lin Chung-ch'ing during 1650 and 1651, therefore, this set of album leaves was probably painted around that period.[27]

Leaf (h) (Fig. 22) entitled "Portrait of Chung-ch'ing in a Landscape" is painted in the refined contour outline and color manner of the T'ang. The figure of Lin Chung-ch'ing is contained in a shallow, stage-like space framed by flowers, trees, and rocks. He is turning his head to the left, seemingly attracted to something outside the pictorial space. This human figure is rendered in Ch'en Hung-shou's exaggerated style, with a large, slightly out of proportion full face, bushy eyebrows and mustache. The layered drapery using Ch'en Hung-shou's famous fluent iron-wire lines are similar to those in his 1650 handscroll "The 'Homecoming' Ode of T'ao Yuan-ming" now in the Honolulu Academy of Arts.[28] Stylistically, this picture also resembles one of Ch'en Hung-shou's undated handscrolls, the "Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove," especially in the foreground rocks and the multiple knotted tree trunks with hatching depicted in similar short, angular brush strokes that demonstrate calligraphic competency, as well as

---

[27] Huang, *Ch'en Hung-shou nien pu*, 110-112, 116-117.

[28] For the discussion and reproduction of this handscroll, see Cahill, *The Compelling Image*, 134-140; Tseng, "A Report on Ch'en Hung-shou," 81-85.

for the floral type.[29] In this handscroll, the painter stated his stylistic source: "Hung-shou imitates the T'ang for Taoist Ch'ieh-ch'ien."[30] The exaggerated images are characteristic of Ch'en's individualistic style, drawn in fine iron-wire-lines and in the seal-script manners that retain an archaic spirit. Although titled as a portrait of Ch'en's Taoist friend Lin Chung-ch'ing, the juxtaposition of the archaistic technique with a recluse-like figure relaxed in a landscape setting also alludes to eremitism. This album-leaf, provides a climactic example of Ch'en's achievement in applying his eccentric style, usually associated with his figure-paintings, to his landscapes.

Another work, the album leaf (l) (Fig. 23) is "Mr. Five Willows (*Wu-liu*)." T'ao Yuan-ming was known as Mr. Five Willows due to his autobiographical article "Mr. Five Willows," which describes his own life as a scholar-recluse living in a house with five willows planted in the front yard.[31] He was especially fond of the chrysanthemum flowers for their exalted and immaculate symbolism and wrote in a poem: "....[While] picking the chrysanthemum flowers under the eastern fence, far off, [I] see the southern mountains...."[32] Therefore, he is also called "Mr. Eastern Fence." In this picture, Ch'en Hung-shou approached his subject directly. T'ao Yuan-ming is shown holding his staff as if he had just returned from his roaming. Greeting him in front of his fence outside the house by the five willows, is his attendant. The chrysanthemums spread around the yard

[29] This painting is now in the Walter Hochstadter Collection in Hong Kong and has been reproduced and discussed in Cahill, *The Compelling Image*, 130-134; Laing, "Neo-Taosim and the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove," 5-54.
[30] Cahill, ibid., Fig. 4. 35.
[31] For the life and writings of T'ao Yuan-ming, including his autobiography "Mr. Five Willows," see *The Poems of T'ao Ch'ien*, trans., Lily Pao-hu Chang and Marjorie Sinclair, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1953).
[32] This translation is partly referred to David Hinton trans., *The Selected Poems of T'ao Ch'ien*, (Port Townsend: Copper Canyon Press, 1993), 52.

are fully in blossom. Comparing this leaf to the handscroll "Kuei-ch'u-lai tu" (Home Again) of the same theme by the Yuan "i-min"-painter Ch'ien Hsuan in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, Ch'en Hung-shou seems to have followed Ch'ien in retaining the traditional symbols of T'ao Yuan-ming, namely, the willow trees, the eastern fence, and the chrysanthemum flowers.[33] Previously I had suggested the possibility of Ch'en's identification of himself with other "i-min"-painters; thus he might consciously follow their practices. Such a possibility seems to be well supported here. Both Ch'ien Hsuan and Ch'en Hung-shou, as noted by Wen Fong, are archaists, people who worked in a style of schematic archaism as a personal retreat or protest.[34] In these works, the two painters draw on sources from the past. While Ch'ien Hsuan painted in a seeming naive, distorted, rigid-looking, heavy blue-and-green manner, Ch'en Hung-shou has a more eclectic approach. The earthy foreground rocks are in wet ink manner; while the terrain is outlined with fine lines; and the meticuously weaving willow branches, as well as the seal-type title of the painting, are in the archaic style. The light color scheme is suitable to the literati's taste. At the same time, the main character, Mr. Five Willows, is delineated with Ch'en Hung-shou's distorted figure type. In this picture, the human figures are comfortably fitted into the landscape background; the ambivalent, escapist feeling in his earlier works is gone. What is implied is the sense of a love towards nature and the acceptance and embrace of one's environment without hesitation. Ch'en Hung-shou, who had earlier been tormented by ambivalence resulting from his choice of surviving as an "i-min," seems to have accepted his fate as a recluse-"i-min"-painter only late

---

[33] This handscroll is reproduced in Ho and Lee, *Chinese Art under the Mongols*, no. 184.
[34] Wen C. Fong, "Archaism as a 'Primitive' Style," 108.

in life. In this way, he was able to make peace with his life and his environment.

I will conclude my discussion with Leaf (g) (Fig. 24), "Taoist and Crane in Autumn Landscape." In this painting, Ch'en Hung-shou repeats the theme of the solitary wanderer in a bleak autumnal scene. Highlighting the whole wet ink composition is the decorative red on the leaves and on the human figure's upper garment. The pinkish tone of the sky is contrasted by the pale-green distant hills. The short inscription and the red seal on the upper left, together with the broad strokes on the sky, are balanced both in shape and color by the dominant foreground trees and the autumnal leaves. However, a more optimistic feeling distinguishes this album-leaf from the other works of the same theme. In the lower center, the image of a crane, a symbol of longevity which is always associated with the immortality pursued by Taoists in China, is about to drink in the stream. Following it is the featureless figure on the path, framed by withered trees and bushes with red leaves stubbornly cling to their twigs, and paved by flaming maple-leaves.

As I have suggested in the previous paragraph, this set of album leaves was probably executed around 1650 to 1651. By that time, Ch'en Hung-shou was fifty-two-years old, just one year before his death. Looking back to all those ups-and-downs, this old painter, although he had endured numerous hardships in life, seems to have preserved a love for life that accorded with Taoist beliefs. Especially in realizing that his days were limited, the painter thus reflected his strong will of survival and his affection for life by adding the crane, the emblem of longevity, to a declining, melancholy, yet beautiful, landscape.

Observing Ch'en Hung-shou's landscapes after 1644, most works discussed here are album leaves with literati and erematic themes. The fall of the Ming closed the route of government career for the Ming-loyalist-scholars. For those choosing to survive, some rejected service under the foreign Manchus government, and retired as "i-min." Although disillusioned by the corruption in the Ming court earlier, unlike his collector-friend Chou Liang-kung who surrendered to the new regime, Ch'en Hung-shou was constantly ambivalent towards his choice of life. He wavered over being disloyal. Being pressed by family burden, he chose the option of becoming an "i-min"-painter. This new identity allowed him to work as a professional painter without feeling ashamed of his scholar background. He might thus be able to closely identify himself with the ancient scholar-recluse T'ao Yuan-ming as evident in his strong interest in the erematic themes after 1644.

The paintings related to erematism discussed in this chapter displayed two major characteristics, one alludes to the idealized aspects of retirement, and the other reflects Ch'en Hung-shou's own life and emotions as an "i-min"-recluse. The first characteristic, representing the painter's idealistic notions about eremitism, is exemplified by works evocative of the "Peach Blossom Spring" utopia such as "The Willow Color by a River Pavilion" painted right after 1644, or by works with the imagery suggesting a T'ao-Yuan-ming-like scholar-recluse relaxing or roaming in a landscape as the Freer Gallery album leaves (b), (c), (g), (h), and the "Portrait of Chung-ch'ing in a Landscape," from the Cleveland Museum of Art. The second characteristic, mirrors the painter's complicated, changing personal emotions in adapting to reality. The "Peach Blossom Spring" from the Green-ivy Study period suggests Ch'en Hung-shou's consciousness about

the gap existing between ideal and reality. From the same album, the fantastic-shaped rock "Wen-shih," suggests that the painter saw himself as a persevering survivor. However, frequently haunted by the contradictory feeling about his choice of surviving, his escapist feeling is reflected in Leaf (a) of the Freer Gallery album. Finally, in approaching the end of his life, Ch'en Hung-shou was able to accept his own fate with a sense of contentment and affection for life that permeated in his late works "Mr. Five Willows" and "Taoist and Crane in Autumn Landscape."

In addition, if we consider Chen Hung-shou's simultaneous adoption of both the small scaled, album-leaf format popular among the Southern Sung painters and the styles derived from the Yuan "i-min"-painters Ch'ien Hsuan, Huang Kung-wang, and Ni Tsan, there is a strong probability that the artist intended not only to express his melancholy feeling due to the loss of his country, but also to make an implicit political statement.

In terms of Ch'en Hung-shou's painting style in his post-1644 landscapes, these works once again demonstrate his eclectic, individualistic talent. From the discussion in Chapter III, it is apparent that since his youth, Ch'en had been capable of drawing sources from various ancient and contemporary traditions, including idioms from both the academic and the literati camps. This tendency was continuously developed in his later landscapes discussed in this chapter. Also, he was able to paint distorted landscapes in ways identical to his more famous figure painting, such as those in the "Peach Blossom Spring" and in the "Wen-shih" from the Green-ivy Study-period as well as that in the Freer Gallery leaf "Portrait of Taoist Chung-ch'ing." Most of his transformed landscapes, also contain the hints of painter's personal emotions. To Ch'en Hung-shou, distortion became a means of self-expression. At the same time, as a retired "i-min"

painter after 1644, he strove to consolidate in his works all these traits, namely, his competency in both the professional and the literati painting styles, his personal identification as a scholar-recluse that led to his perpetual interest in the literati-erematic themes, as well as his individualistic distorted painting style, which was used to suggest his own emotions. In these ways, he had formed a personal style characterized by decorative refinement, literati elegance, and a sensible touch of humanity, establishing himself as one of the greatest painters in the seventeenth-century China.

CONCLUSION

The art field in the late-Ming--early-Ch'ing period was dominated by individualistic artists, of whom Ch'en Hung-shou was one. Living through the first half of the seventeenth century in China, Ch'en had witnessed late Ming socio-political disturbances and the conquest and establishment of the Ch'ing dynasty. His dual identity as a well-trained professional painter and as scholar aware of contemporary artistic trends, resulted in the versatile, eclectic, and individualistic nature of his landscape art. At the same time, influences from his personal life experiences and the impact of the turbulent period in which he lived were implicit in his landscape art.

Receiving his education as a scholar, Ch'en Hung-shou's main goal in youth was to pursue a government career. Although talented at painting, to be a professional painter of low social status was incompatible with his gentry family background, and thus the last thing he expected. His consecutive failures in civil service examinations shadowed all his early years, leaving him no alternatives but to retire back to his hometown during the 1630s. Unskilled at farming, he was forced to pick up the brushes, working as a professional painter. He constantly indulged himself in wine and women, in an effort to relieve his sense of frustration, and ambivalence towards the twist of fate that had left his ambitions unfulfilled.

In the discussion of Ch'en Hung-shou's selected early paintings which include the "Autumn Landscape," "The Mountain of Five Cataracts," "Scholar under a Pine Tree," and his self-portrait "A Tall Pine and Taoist Immortal," I have found that these works are executed in an experimental and eclectic style. They consist of widely borrowed styles from the traditions of both literati and professional painting. This trait of eclecticism, as I have explained, is probably due to his artistic training combined with his dual identity as a scholar and professional painter. Another trait revealed in his early works is the employment of distorted, transformed pictorial imageries appearing as early as "The Mountain of Five Cataracts" and culminating in "A Tall Pine and Taoist Immortal." These landscape paintings coincide stylistically with his eccentric figure painting. The hints of psychological detachment in the former work may well have roots in his personal frustrations and ambivalence in real life, stemming from his failure in civil service examinations, the death of his first wife, and his unsuccessful first journey to Peking. The psychological attitudes in his later works reflect his feelings about his early retirement and the resulting contradictory identity as a failed-scholar turned eremite-professional painter. While the "Mountain of Five Cataracts" expressed Ch'en's escapist feeling when facing unhappiness in life, "A Tall Pine and Taoist Immortal" was meant to be a statement of self-justification. Based on these reasons, Ch'en Hung-shou seems to have an early tendency to reflect his personal life and emotions in his landscapes. In other words, these two landscapes seem to have autobiographical elements. This autobiographical character, as I will explain, remains as a significant factor in his later works to come.

In 1644, a combination of domestic disturbances and the Manchu invasion resulted in the downfall of the Ming. The historical event of dynastic transition freed Ch'en Hung-shou from the stress of his identity crisis. Since to under the newly established foreign Ch'ing government was not considered a diginified career for a traditional, Ming-loyalist scholar, Ch'en no longer needed to deal with the sense of failure that had resulted from his early unsuccessful attempts to pursue a government career. Based on his short-term association with the Ming court in 1642 and 1643, Ch'en might well now call himself an "i-min." Under such a circumstance, working as a eremite-professional painter, like his predecessor Ch'ien Hsuan had done in the Yuan dynasty, seemed suitable. This also explains his continuing enthusiasm for depicting literati, erematic themes such as those alluding to the Chin recluse T'ao Yuan-ming or his famous "Peach Blossom Spring." Now, Ch'en could easily identify himself as a retired-scholar without feeling a looser. However, a new crisis arose in that he frequently felt ambivalent about his choice of survival rather than suicide, a choice which might be viewed as disloyal to the old regime.

In the album leaf "Wen-shih" painted soon after the fall of the Ming, one sees Ch'en Hung-shou's self metaphor as a survivior. On the other hand, this leaf executed in the painter's unique distorted style may also be regarded, again, as a statement of self-justification in that the perserving spirit symbolized by this fantastic-shaped rock may beseen as analogous to the painter's own character. His ambivalence about surviving and his escapist mentality kept on tormenting him until late in his life, as shown in

the painting of the intoxicated scholar reclining under a menacing pine tree in the Freer Gallery album.

Ch'en's paintings with erematic themes display two main aspects. The first is an idealistic version. The other, imbued with the artist's true, personal emotions, and therefore, autobiographical, is often executed in his individualistic, transformed style. One may trace such kind of practice back to his early period when Ch'en had presented two versions of a theme respectively, namely, the idealistic, "Scholar under a Tall Pine," and the self-justifying "A Tall Pine and Taoist Immortal." His post-1644 landscapes repeat the same pattern, and suggest that the artist realized the painful fact of the unattainable nature of ideal and the huge gap lying between ideal and reality.

The persistent, autobiographical connotations in Ch'en's landscapes are also obvious in his late works, such as "Mr. Five Willows," and the "Taoist and Crane in Autumn Landscape" from the Cleveland Museum of Art. Reflecting the theme of the scholar-recluse T'ao Yuan-ming, "Mr. Five Willows" may be regarded as a metaphor of the artist living in retirement. The peaceful feeling of this work suggests Ch'en Hung-shou's final acceptance of his own fate. In this year, at the age of fifty-three, Ch'en Hung-shou was near the end of his life. Reflecting his feeling about his old age in the "Taoist and Crane in Autumn Landscape," his strong affection for life despite the hardships, demonstrated by his choice of survival after

the fall of the Ming, finally found justification in the life-preserving, nature-loving beliefs of the Taoist recluse.

In terms of Ch'en Hung-shou's painting style, evidence from this examination of selected landscapes supports the fact that Ch'en, as a true archaist, worked in an eclectic way. Out of his identity as a scholar, and in responding to the contemporary artistic trend, Ch'en might thus follow the "orthodox" painting tradition advocated by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and imitate the literati-painters' styles. He was capable of transforming idioms derived from the literati ink mode tradition, especially those of the Yuan and Ming masters. At the same time, Ch'en also employed the professional, academic tradition represented by the Pre-T'ang, T'ang, and the Sung masters. For Ch'en Hung-shou's archaistic eclecticism, one must take into consideration the fact of the Manchu conquest in 1644. Similar to such Yuan "i-min"-painter predecessors as Ch'ien Hsuan, in facing the threat of losing Chinese native traditions to the foreign ruling, Ch'en Hung-shou seems to have deliberately attached himself to the permanent past of China by working in an archaistic manner. Hence, his post-1644 paintings could also be regarded as subtle statements of his political sentiments. Moreover, his proficiency originated from his background as a professional painter, and his consciousness about the importance of originality, which, as a result of the indirect influences from Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's theory about *pien* (transformation) and from the self-expressionism extolled by the Kung-an School, allowed him to create his highly personal, distorted painting style demonstrated in his figure and landscape painting. This eccentric painting style, as I have indicated, was often employed in his autobiographical,

expressionistic landscapes. Therefore, as far as the spirit is concerned, Ch'en Hung-shou's landscape art was truly in accord with the Kung-an School's ideal in that it was not bound by the rules and conventions of accepted art forms, not limited by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's theory about the orthodox painting tradition, and was able to express the painter's emotions and individuality sincerely.

Based on all these reasons, Ch'en Hung-shou's achievement in landscape art makes him not only a famous figure painter but also a great landscapist. I regret that limited by time and available sources, I am unable to provide more examples of his landscape painting; and thus my investigation may not be complete. Hopefully, this short study will evoke the over-due attention and recognition to Ch'en Hung-shou's landscape art.

FIGURES

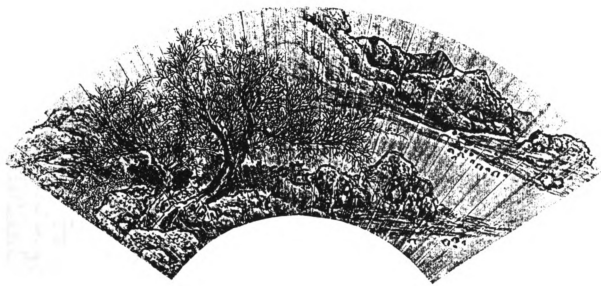

Figure 1. Ch'en Hung-shou. *Autumn Landscape*. Fan painting, ink and colors on gold-surfaced paper. 6-1/2 x 22-1/4". Ching Yuan Chai collection.

Figure 2. Ch'en Hung-shou. *The Mountain of Five Cataracts*. Hanging scroll, ink on silk, 118.3 x 53.2 cm. Cleveland Museum of Art. John L. Severance Fund.

Figure 3. Wen Cheng-ming. *Landscape in the Manner of Wang Meng*. Dated 1535. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 133.9 x 35.7 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Figure 4. Wen Cheng-ming. *A Thousand Cliffs Contend in Splendor*. Dated 1548-50. Hanging scroll, ink and light colors on paper, 132.6 x 34 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Figure 5. Ch'en Hung-shou. *Meeting of Su Wu and Li Ling*. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 127 x 48.2 cm. Ching Yuan Chai collection.

Figure 6. Ch'en Hung-shou. *Scholar under a Pine Tree*. Dated 1633. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 92.8 x 30.6 in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse.

Figure 7. Ch'en Hung-shou. *A Tall Pine and Taoist Immortal (The Artist and His Nephew in a Landscape)*. Dated 1635. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 202.1 x 97.8 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Figure 8. Ch'en Hung-shou. *The Willow Color by a River Pavilion ("Hsi-t'ing Liu-se"), leaf (a) from the Album of Miscellaneous Paintings.* Ink and colors on silk, 5-4/5 x 5 in. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Figure 9. Ch'en Hung-shou. *The Peach Blossom Spring, leaf (c) from the Album of Miscellaneous Paintings*. Ink and colors on silk, 5-4/5 x 5 in. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Figure 10. Ch'en Hung-shou. *"Wen-shih", leaf (1) from the album of Miscellaneous Paintings*. Ink and colors on silk, 5-4/5 x 5 in. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Figure 11. Ch'en Hung-shou. *Leaf (a) from the Album of Paintings after Ancient Masters*. Ink and colors on paper. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C..

Figure 12. Anonymous. *Noble Scholar under a Willow*. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 25-3/4 x 15-3/4 in. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Figure 13. Tai Chin. *The Hermit Hsu Yu Resting by a Stream*. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 138 x 75.5 cm. Cleveland Museum of Art. John L. Severance Fund.

Figure 14. Ch'en Hung-shou. *Leaf (b) from the Album of Paintings after Ancient Masters*. Ink and colors on paper. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C..

Figure 15. Ch'en Hung-shou. *Leaf (c) from the Album of Paintings after Ancient Masters*. Ink and colors on paper. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C..

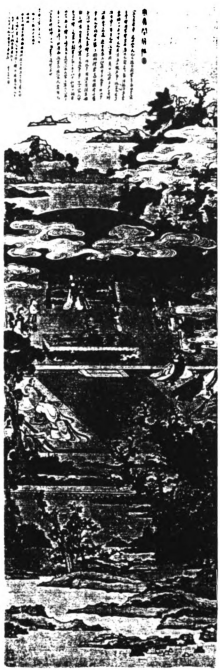

Figure 16. Ch'en Hung-shou. *Lady Hsun-wen Expounding the Classics*. Dated 1638. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 173.7 x 55.6 cm. Cleveland Museum of Art.

Figure 17. Ch'en Hung-shou. *Detail from Figure 16.*

Figure 18. Ch'en Hung-shou. *Leaf (g) from the Album of Paintings after Ancient Masters*. Ink and colors on paper. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C..

Figure 19. Wen Cheng-ming. *Spring Trees After Rain*. Dated 1507. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper, 94.3 x 33.3 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Figure 20. Ch'en Hung-shou. *Leaf (h) from the Album of Paintings after Ancient Masters*. Ink and colors on paper. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C..

Figure 21. Ch'en Hung-shou. *Leaf (j) from the Album of Sixteen Views of a Hermit's Life*. Ink on paper, 21.4 x 29.8 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Figure 22. Ch'en Hung-shou. *Portrait of Chung-ch'ing in a Landscape, leaf (h) from the Album of Paintings after Ancient Masters*. Ink and colors on silk, h. 9-5/8 in. Cleveland Museum of Art.

Figure 23. Ch'en Hung-shou. *Mr. Five Willows, leaf (1) from the Album of Paintings after Ancient Masters.* Ink and colors on silk, h. 9-5/8 in. Cleveland Museum of Art.

Figure 24. Ch'en Hung-shou. *Taoist and Crane in Autumn Landscape, leaf (g) from the Album of Paintings after Ancient Masters*. Ink and colors on silk, h. 9-5/8 in. Cleveland Museum of Art.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Burkus, Anne Gail. "The Artefacts of Biography in Chen Hung-Shou's *Pao-lun-t'ang chi*." Ph. D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1987.

Bush, Susan. *The Chinese Literati on Painting: Su Shih (1037-1101) to Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555-1636)*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971.

Busch, Heinrich. "The Tung-lin Academy and Its Political and Philosophical Significance." *Monumenta Serica: Journal of Oriental Studies* 14 (1949-1955): 1-163.

Cahill, James. "The Six Laws and How to Read Them." *Ars Orientalis* 4 (1961): 372-381.

----. *Fantastics and Eccentrics in Chinese Painting*. New York: Asia Society, 1967.

----. *The Restless Landscape: Chinese Painting of the Late Ming Period*. Exhibition catalogue. Berkeley: University Art Museum, 1971.

----. *Hills Beyond a River: Chinese Painting of the Yuan Dynasty, 1279-1368*. New York: Weatherhill, 1976.

----. *Parting at the Shore: Chinese Painting of the Early and Middle Ming, 1368-1580*. New York: Weatherhill, 1978.

----. *The Compelling Image: Nature and Style in Seventeenth-Centurry Chinese Painting*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982.

----. *The Distant Mountains: Chinese Painting of the Late Ming Dynasty, 1570-1644*. New York: Weatherhill, 1982.

----. *Chinese Painting*. New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1985.

Chan, Albert. *The Glory and Fall of the Ming Dynasty*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982.

Chang, Lily Pao-hu and Marjorie Sinclair, trans. *The Poems of T'ao Ch'ien*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1953.

Chao Hung-pao. "Ya-ch'u--ku-tai wen-jen li-hsiang chung te chu-she wen-hua" (The Flavor of Elegance--The Ideal Housing Culture of Ancient Literati.) *Ku kung wen wu yueh k'an (The National Palace Museum Monthly of Chinese Art)*, 135 (1994): 66-87.

Chaves, Jonathan. "The Panoply of Images: A Reconsiderstion of the Literary Theory of the Kung-an School." In *Theories of the Arts in China*, edited by Susan Bush and Christian F. Murck, 341-364. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983.

Ch'en Yu-fu. "Nei-sheng-wai-wang chih hsueh te fu hsing--hsin ju hsueh te fa chan" (The Revival of the Learning that Both Sound in Theory and Practice--The Development of Neo-Confucianism.) In *Chung kuo wen hua hsin lun--Hsueh shu p'ien--Hao han te hsueh hai* (The New Treatise on Chinese Culture--The Section of Learning--The Vast Sea of Learning), edited by Lin Chin-chang, 233-283. Taipei: Lien-ching chu pan shih yeh kung ssu, 1991.

Chia feng-cheng. *Chung kuo li hsueh shih* (The History of Neo-Confucianism in China), 2nd ed.. Shanghai: Shang wu yin shu kuan, 1937.

Chung-kuo ming-hua-chia ts'ung-shu (The Series of Famous Chinese Painters.) Vol. I . Chung-kuo shu-hua yen-chiu-hui, 1969.

Clapp, Anne de Coursey. *The Painting of T'ang Yin*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

De Bary, William. *Sources of Chinese Tradition, vol. I.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1960.

----. "Individualism and Humanitarianism in the Late Ming Thought." In *Self and Society in Ming Thought*, edited by William de Bary, 145-247. New York: Columbia University Press, 1970.

A Decade of Collecting (1966-1976)--The Avery Brundage Collection. Exhibition Catalogue. San Francisco: Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, 1976.

Fong, Wen C. "Archaism as a Primitive Style." In *Artists and Traditions*, edited by Christian F. Murck, 89-109. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976.

----. *Images of the Mind: Selections from the Edward L. Elliott Family and John B. Elliott Collections of Chinese Calligraphy and Painting at the Art Museum, Princeton University.* The Art Museum , Princeton University, 1984.

----. "Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and Artistic Renewal." In *The Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, 1555-1636, vol. I*, edited by Wai-kam Ho, 43-54. Exhibition catalogue. Kansas: Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, 1992.

Fulder Elazabeth. "The Achievements of Late Ming Painters." In *The Restless Landscape: Chinese Painting of the Late Ming Period*, edited by James Cahill, 19-21. University Art Museum, Berkeley, 1971.

Hinton, David, trans. *The Selected Poems of T'ao Ch'ien.* Port Townsen: Copper Canyon Press, 1993.

Ho, Wai-kam. "*Nan Ch'en Pei Ts'ui*: Ch'en of the South and Ts'ui of the North." *Cleveland Museum of Art Bulletin*, 49/1 (1962):2-11.

----. "Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's New Orthodoxy and the Southern School Theory." In *Artists and Traditions*, edited by Christian F. Murck, 113-129. Princenton: Princeton University Press, 1976.

Ho, Wai-kam, Sherman E. Lee, Laurence Sickman, and Marc F. Wilson. *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting: The Collections of the Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum , Kansas City, and the Cleveland Museum of Art.* Exhibition catalogue. Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1980.

Huang Yung-ch'uan. "Ch'en Hung-shou." In *Li tai hua chia p'ing chuan* (The Critical Biographies of Painters of the Past Dynasties), edited by Yu Chien-hua. Hong Kong: Chung-hua shu chu, 1986.

----. *Ch'en Hung-shou nien pu* (The Chronological Biography of Ch'en Hung-shou.) 1960.

Hucker, Charles O. "The Tung-lin Movement of the Late Ming Period." In *Chinese Thought and Institutions*, edited by John K. Fairbank, 132-162. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964.

Jong Chao-tzu. *Ming tai ssu hsiang shih* (The History of Ming Thought). Taipei: Taiwan K'ai-ming shu-tien, 1970.

Kim Hongnam. "Chou Liang-kung and His *Tu-hua-lu* (Lives of Painters): Patron-critic and Painters in Seventeenth Century China." Vols. I-III. Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1985.

Kohara Hironobu. "An Introductory Study of Ch'en Hongshou, Part I." Translated by Anne Burkus. *Oriental Art*, n.s. 32/4 (1986-87): 398-410.

----. "An Introductory Study of Ch'en Hongshou, Part II." Translated by Anne Burkus. *Oriental Art*, n.s. 33/1 (1987): 67-83.

Lai T. C.. *Shan-shui ts'un-fa* (Brushwork in Chinese Landscape Painting.) Hong Kong: Chung Hwa book Co. and Swindon Book Co., 1983.

Laing, Ellen Johnston. "Neo-Taoism and the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove in Chinese Painting." *Artibus Asiae* 36/1-2 (1974): 5-54.

Lawton, Thomas. *Chinese Figure Painting*. Exhibition catalogue. Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1973.

Lee, Sherman E. and Wai-kam Ho. *Chinese Art Under the Mongols: The Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368)*. Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1968.

Li Chu-tsing. *The Autumn Colors on the Ch'iao and Hua Mountains: A Landscape by Chao Meng-fu. Artibus Asiae Supplementum 21*. Ascona, Switzerland: Artibus Asiae Publishers, 1964.

Li Kuang-t'ao. "Dorgon ju kuan shih mo" (The Episode of Dorgon's Entrance into the Shan-hai Pass.) In *Ming Ch'ing tang-an lun-wen chi* (Collection of the Treatises on the Ming and Ch'ing Official Files), 687-707. Taipei: Lien-ching chu pan shih yeh kung ssu, 1986

Li Wen-chih. *Wan Ming min pien* (The People's Riots of the Late Ming Period.) Hong Kong: Yuan-tung Book Inc., 1966.

Liu Chi-yao. "Shih yu yin--Ch'uan-t'ung chung-kuo cheng-chih wen-hua te liang chi" (Government Service and Retirement--The Double Poles of Traditional Chinese Political Culture.) In *Chung kuo wen hua hsin lun--Ssu hsiang p'ien--Li-hsiang yu hsien shih* (The New Treatises on Chinese Culture--The Section of Thought--Ideals and Reality), edited by Huang Chun-chieh, 289-343. Taipei: Lien-ching chu pan shih yeh kung ssu, 1989.

Lynn, Richard John. "Orthodoxy and Enlightment: Wang Shih-chen's Theory of Poetry and Its Antecedents." In *The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism*, edited by William T. de Bary, 217-269. New York: Columbia University Press, 1975.

----. "Alternate Route to Self-Realization in Ming Theories of Poetry." In *Theories of the Arts in China*, edited by Susan Bush and Christian Murck, 317-340. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983.

Lynn, Struve A. *The Southern Ming: 1644-1662*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984.

Maeda, Robert J. "The Chao Ta-nien Tradition." *Ars Orientalis* 8 (1970): 243-253.

Murck, Christian F, ed. *Artists and Traditions*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976.

Oertling, Sewall Jerome II. "Ting Yin-p'eng: A Chinese Artist of the Late Ming Dynasty." Vols. I-II. Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1980.

Pang Mae Anna Quan. "Late Ming Painting Theory." In *The Restless Landscape: Chinese Painting of the Late Ming Period*, edited by James Cahill, 22-28. Exhibition Catalogue. Berkeley: University Art Museum, 1971.

Sickman Laurence and Alexander Soper. *The Art and Architecture of China*. New York: Penguin Books, 1987.

Style Transformed: A Special Exhibition of Five Late Ming Artists. Exhibition catalogue. Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1977.

Sullivan, Michael. *Symbols of Eternity--The Art of Landscape Painting in China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1979.

Ts'ai Mei-fen. "Wen-fang ch'ing-wan--The handicrafts in the studies of literati." In *Chung kuo wen hua hsin lun--Yi Shu p'ien--Mei kan yu tsao hsing* (The New Treatises on Chinese Culture--The Section of Art--Aesthetic Sense and Form), edited by Kuo Chi-sheng, 595-664. Taipei: Lien-ching ch'u pan shih yeh kung ssu, 1991.

Tseng Yu-ho. "A Report on Ch'en Hung-shou." *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*, 13 (1959):75-88.

The Third Edition of Mi-tien chu-lin and shih-ch'u pao-chi--Shih-ch'u pao-chi. Vol. 5. Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1969.

Vinograd, Richard. *Boundaries of the Self: Chinese Portraits 1600-1900.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Wang Kuei-ling. *T'ao Yuan-ming chi ch'i shih te yen chiu* (A Study of T'ao Yuan-ming and His poetry.) Taipei: National Taiwan University Press, 1966.

Wang Li-ling. *Ch'en Hung-shou jen-wu-hua te yi-shu-hsing-hsiang chih yen chiu* (A Study of the Artistic Images of the Portraiture by Ch'en Hung-shou.) Master thesis, Taipei: Wen-hua University, 1988.

Wang Yao-t'ing. "Ch'en Hung-Shou pi hsia te Yuan-ming yi chih." (Ch'en Hung-shou's Depiction of the Leisure of [T'ao] Yuan-ming.) *Ku kung wen wu yueh k'an (The National Palace Museum Monthly of Chinese Art)*, 8/11 (1982): 96-108.

Weng Wango and Boda Yang, eds. *The Palace Museum: Peking.* London: Orbis Publishing, Ltd., 1982.

Whitfield, Roderick. *In Pursuit of Antiquity: Chinese Paintings of the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse.* Princeton: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1969.

Wu, Nelson I. "Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, the Man, His Time and His Landscape Painting." Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1954.

----. "Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555-1636): Apathy in Government and Fervor in Art." In *Confucian Personalities*, edited by Authur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett, 261-383. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962.

Yen Chuan-ying. *Lan Ying yu fang-ku hui-hua* (Lan Ying and Archaistic Painting.) Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1980.

Yu Kun. *Chung kuo hua lun lei pien* (The Categorized Compilation of Chinese Painting Theory.) Taipei: Hua-cheng shu chu, 1977.