



Short Notice Luo Mu's Landscape in the Styles of Ni Zan and Huang Gongwang

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he Rijksmuseum holds an unusual painting (figs. 1, 3a, b) by Luo Mu 羅牧 (1622-1705). The painting, a riverbank landscape, is executed in light and sparse ink. In the foreground are three trees intermingled in picturesque disorder beside a huge rock; behind them is a bamboo bush. In the middle ground lie a few shoals while in the background is a continuous mountain range. The painter Luo Mu was noted for his landscape painting, especially of mountains. Born in Ningdu, he spent most of his life in Nanchang, the capital of Jiangxi Province where he, a poet and prose writer himself, associated with peer poets and painters with whom he discussed art. Being a literati painter, he was more interested in personal erudition and expression than in literal representation or immediately attractive superficial beauty. His painting, with an extensive inscription, is a perfect reflection of that aspiration.

Seals and Elaborate Inscription

Besides the seals of Luo Mu that are stamped under his signature, the painting carries two other important seals (fig. 3a). The collection seal 'Linshi Baosongshi sou cang' 林氏寶宋室所藏 (collected in Fig. 1 Scroll with LUO MU, Landscape in the Styles of Ni Zan and Huang Gongwang, c. 1650-1700. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 112.5 x 48.2 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. AK-RAK-2021-1; donation from R.E. van Gulik. the Studio of Song Treasures (Baosongshi) of the Lin Family) located at the right bottom corner, belonged to Lin Hsiung-Kuang 林熊光 (1897-1971), who was the sixth generation of the Lin Ben-Yuan Family (also known as the Bangiao Lin Family (Banqiao Linjia 板橋林家)), a Taiwanese family of businesspeople, politicians, scholars, and also art collectors.¹ The painting also belonged to the collection of the famous Dutch sinologist (also diplomat, musician, and novelist), Robert van Gulik (1910-1967); the second is one of his collection seals, 'Gao Luopei cang' 高羅佩藏 (collected by Gao Luopei, Robert van Gulik's Chinese name).² Van Gulik, on the inventory card for this painting, transcribed the inscription that takes up the upper part of this scroll (fig. 2).

The inscription added by Luo Mu himself is exceptionally long. Some of the passages even went over the landscape he painted. What is so unusual is that Luo Mu's inscription occupies nearly half the space of the entire scroll, which implies that the text is equally important as the painting. At first glance, the inscription seems to refer to the style and beauty of the painting underneath:

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[The painting is in the style of] Ni^a but not Ni, and [in the style of] Huang^b but not Huang. In the surplus of dripping-wet ink washes, it overflows with pure luxuriance. Just viewing this sentence of Shitian's^c inscription, one would know immediately how marvellous this painting is. The painting once was treasured by Master Wang Shigu^d, and was later praised by Guisou, Xizhi^e. Now [this painting] falls on my ordinary hand. It is like a child in high spirits when receiving a delicious fruit and not able to stop biting it and carrying it in its sleeve wherever [the child] is going. [1] bought [the painting] and hung it on the white wall in my humble study. The peaks, mountain ranges, clouds, and trees [in this painting] are all [depicted] vividly [as if they have a] glowing aura. The fishing boats look like tiny ladles, floating on the misty waves in vast space. The painting can be compared to the scroll, Misty River and Layered Peaks^f painted by Jinging^g of the Song dynasty, which one is better is indistinguishable but [they] both shine in all their splendour and [they are] no less than Li Bai's^h and Du Fu'sⁱ poems. The spirit that this random paper contains is worthy of being immortal. [A marvellous piece like this] is protected by the holy spirits. How can those common paintings, which fade away in one's memory immediately [after being viewed] like the clouds and smoke passing by one's eye, compare to it? Alas, how marvellous this painting is! How could I compose a few astonishing sentences and inscribe them next to this painting [to match with]? [I had spent] three days walking back and forth in front of the painting and still hesitated. On this snowy day, I was too drunk, but suddenly [I was able to] wield my brush fluently to write out what I would like to express, [the inspiration was] roaring like a flooding river causing a dam to burst. Not everything in this world can be forced, [I then realized, so] I dropped my brush with a smile and smelled the wintry fragrance of the plum blossoms in the vase. [Painted and inscribed by] the untonsured monk Dongming, Mu^{j,3}

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Fig. 2 Robert van Gulik's inventory card for his painting collection, preserved by the Van Gulik family.

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Hanging scroll. Chinese ink painting on paper, Jara mounting with wooden knobs, in double Japanese box	
Painting by the landscape painter Lo Mu (羅 牧 rished round 1700;style Fan-niu饭牛);the artist added a long superscription.	,flou- himself
<i>.</i> .	
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	主林
"神天不是 我们是 是 是), xk
有注減艱宋丹雲高入雪澤震去	

- a. Ni Zan 倪瓚,
- b. HuangGongwang 黃公望, 1269-1354
- c. Shen Zhou 沈周, 1427-1509
- d. Wang Hui 王翬, 1632-1717
- e. XieSongzhou謝淞 洲, fl. first half of eighteenth century
- f. Yanjiangdiezhang juan 煙江疊嶂卷
- g. Wang Shen 王詵, c. 1048- after 1104
- h. LiBai李白,701-762
- i. Du Fu 杜甫, 7¹²⁻⁷⁷⁰
- j. Dongming Xingzhe 東明行者 (Luo Mu)

Figs. 3a, b Luo Mu's inscription and painting (fig. 1), and detail showing Robert van Gulik's collection seal (top) and Lin Hsiung-Kuang's collection seal (below).

著藏 倪不 孙 北西 浸 R żZ た る R ある 山田 大布 いちろ 人母 黄 影 甘 杜 VIE 拔 ちろろう 康 To E いちょう T 南 養 樣 醉 調查白便 著年 题 盛 黄 城 is 出 2 「様々 海 淋 文 200 T 返 い天 花 伯 Ta ある 海水 事 1/2 商 × 著 213 it いす い其物 彩 凌 THE Det 1 指 勒 花 傍 32 in 山ろん 12-010 神 state . 瓶 直 -1 轩 they 式 -ter 清 2th THE 肉 四 环 20% 湯 福 慶 tre iz またす 凄 其 3/ 招 4 th 报 23 宋 不 京 眼 Ley 小土 香 「市市」 省 the 桂 酒 PP 新 8 28 SPP 東 17 美 扬 明 偶 チ it 彭 1)20 12 片 世 省 老 23 13 H 250

But when one reads the inscription more carefully one realizes that the inscription does not match this painting. First, there is no inscription of Shitian, that is Shen Zhou 沈周 (1427-1509), on this painting, as it is impossible for a fifteenth-century painter to inscribe a painting made in the late seventeenth century. Further, the collection history mentioned in the text suggests a different painting.

Although Luo Mu signed his name below the inscription on the Rijksmuseum painting and claimed its authorship, the actual author of this text is someone else. The text was originally an inscription added by Song Luo 宋犖 (1634-1714) – who was an officer, poet, art collector and connoisseur – on a fifteenth-century scroll of a small landscape painting made by Shen Zhou, now in the collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei (fig. 4).



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Song Luo's inscription is no longer with the Taipei scroll, however, it is known through publication in his collected literary works, titled 'Inscription on the Small Painting in Mi's Style But Not Mi, *In Huang's Style But Not Huang by Shen* Zhou' (Ti Shen Shitian suozuo Mi bu Mi Huang bu Huang xiaohua 題沈石田 所作米不米黃不黃小畫). This publication gives the title of the Taipei painting, the same as the first sentence of Song Luo's inscription, which in turn is a citation from Shen Zhou's own inscription on this painting (see below and fig. 5).4 We can confirm the inscription refers to the Taipei painting through the collector's seal 'Xizhi' 希之 stamped at the lower left corner. This seal belonged to the art collector Xie Songzhou, who is named in the provenance mentioned in the inscription.5

Shen Zhou's Small Landscape The small landscape painting by Shen Zhou - which Song Luo's inscription is referring to - was made around 1470.⁶ It depicts a few scattered trees on the riverbank, with two fishing boats floating on the surface of the water in the foreground. Two peaks are linked in the middle ground; to their right rises another smaller, slender peak that implies the far distance. The trees on the mountains are executed in a casual but distinct manner with dots and short lines. The splash dripping-wet ink washes are supposed to remind the viewer of the style of Mi Fu 米芾 (1051-1107) while the form of the mountains with crystal-shaped peaks and the hempfibre strokes applied to depict the texture of mountain body and rock belong to the stylistic characteristics of Huang Gongwang. It is a landscape executed in the styles of Mi and Huang. Shen Zhou himself also wrote an extensive inscription (fig. 5) on his painting. In the following text, we will examine its relationship with Luo Mu's inscription and painting. The first part of Shen Zhou's inscription states:

[The painting is in the style of] Mi but not Mi, and [in the style of] Huang but not Huang. In the surplus of drippingwet ink washes, it overflows with pure luxuriance.⁷

The text points out the landscape is in the styles of two master painters but at the same time does not look like theirs and gives a vivid visual effect through its ink washes.

Besides this inscription, there is another inscription made by Shen Zhou, which he wrote in response to one of the inscriptions added by otherwise unknown contributors He Shenglou 賀盛樓 (fl. fifteenth century) and Chen Meng 陳蒙.8 He Shenglou's and Song Luo's inscriptions are now lost, which indicates that they were not inscribed directly on the painting, but on the fabric around the painting used for mounting. It is most likely the painting was remounted after it entered the Qing imperial collection in the eighteenth century, hence He's and Song's inscriptions were cut off.9

There is a complicated appropriation among Shen Zhou's work, Song Luo's inscription and Luo Mu's painting. In the fifteenth century, Shen Zhou painted his landscape in the styles of Mi Fu and Huang Gongwang and made an inscription stating it is in the styles of Mi but not Mi, of Huang but not Huang. In the seventeenth century, Song Luo made an extensive inscription to go with that painting which quoted Shen Zhou's statement 'it is in the styles of Mi but not Mi, of Huang but not Huang'. Luo Mu, in that same period, then transcribed (copied, or even 'plagiarized') Song Luo's text onto his own painting but made some minor changes to equate his painting with Shen Zhou's painting. Most importantly, he changed the first sentence to 'Ni but not Ni, Huang but not Huang' and with that changed the subject matter of his landscape to the combination of the styles of Ni Zan

Fig. 4 SHEN ZHOU, Landscape (also known as Small Painting in Mi's Style But Not Mi, in Huang's Style But Not Huang), c. 1470. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 59.7 x 43.1 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei, inv. no. 故畫0031600000. and Huang Gongwang whereas the original text (both by Shen Zhou and Song Luo) and painting (by Shen Zhou) referred to a combination of the styles of Mi Fu and Huang Gongwang. The Rijksmuseum painting by Luo Mu corresponds with the written description: the composition and the sparse use of ink remind the viewer of the style of Ni Zan, while the way of depicting rocks and mountains reflects the style of Huang Gongwang.

Landscape Painting Schools: North and South

Modelling and copying from ancient masters was an important way for Chinese painters to learn how to paint. The subject matter of a painting was not so much the landscape that was depicted but rather the style that was imitated. But which masters one should take as models was a question discussed intensively. The answer was given in the seventeenth century by literati painter and theorist Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555-1636) and his circle.¹⁰ Dong Qichang traced back the history of painting and evaluated the historical mastery of landscape painters.

He established the chain - an unbroken line of masters and pupils sharing a certain identity throughout the dynasties - of the independent literati painters, mostly from the literate class of government officials and scholars, as the 'Southern school', and the professional, formal court painters as the 'Northern school'. The nomenclature was taken from Chan (Zen) Buddhism; the distinction was not geographic but related to the style, technique and contents of the paintings. His idea dominated the opinions of connoisseurship on painting from the seventeenth century onwards. He states:

In Chan Buddhism there is a Southern and a Northern school, which first separated in the Tang period (618-907); in painting, a similar division into a Southern and a Northern school also appeared in the Tang period. But those involved were not divided between southerners and northerners. The Northern school followed Li Sixun^a and his son^b, who painted landscapes with colour; their manner was transmitted in the Song period by, among others, Zhao Gan^c, Zhao Bojü^d, and Bosu^e down to Ma^f and Xia^g. The Southern school began with Wang Mojie^h, who first used a light ink wash technique, transforming the outline method; it was transmitted by Zhang Zaoⁱ, Jing^j, Guan^k, Dong^l, Jüran^m, Guo Zhongsuⁿ, and the Mi father and son duo° down to the Four Great Masters of Yuan^{P.11}

Due to Dong Qichang's identity as a member of the literati painters, he favoured and encouraged his peers and pupils to learn the styles from the masters of the Southern school whose brushstrokes he deemed more suitable to create the landscape of the literati's mind, as landscape painting is only the vehicle for the visual wonders of brush and ink (*bimo* 筆墨).

Although both Shen Zhou and Luo Mu claim to paint their monochrome paintings in the styles of ancient masters from the Southern school, we can still recognize their personal brushstrokes and styles. What is important here is not only whether how close Shen Zhou's brushstroke is to the styles of Mi Fu and Huang Gongwang, or how faithfully Luo Mu imitates the styles of Ni Zan and Huang Gongwang, but also the fact that both Shen Zhou's and Luo Mu's paintings are 'not' in the styles of these ancient masters at the same time. In the second part of Shen Zhou's inscription (fig. 5), he further described:

NORTHERN

- a. Li Sixun 李思訓,
- fl. c. 705-720 b. Li Zaodao 李昭道, fl. mid-eighth century
- c. Zhao Gan 趙幹, fl. mid-tenth century
- d. Zhao Bojü 趙伯, c. 1120-1170
- e. ZhaoBosu趙伯驌, 1123-1182
- f. Ma Yuan 馬遠, 1160-1225
- g. Xia Gui 夏圭, c. 1180-1230

SOUTHERN SCHOOL

- h. Wang Mojie 王摩詰 (Wang Wei 王維), 699-761
- i. Zhang Zao 張璪, fl. late eighthearly ninth century
- j. Jing Hao 荊浩, c. 855-915
- k. Guan Tong 關仝, fl. tenth century
- I. Dong Yuan 董源, fl. c. 937-962
- m. Jüran 巨然, fl. tenth century
- n. Guo Zhongsu 郭忠恕, d. 977
- o. Mi Fu and Mi Youren 米友仁, 1074-1151
- P. Wu Zhen 吳鎮, 1280-1354; Huang Gongwang; Ni Zan and Wang Meng 王蒙, 1308-1385

Flinging away the brush with a loud laugh, I am on the point of madness. I am ashamed of being Momu and emulate Maojiang. Yes! I am ashamed of [being] Momu and emulate Maojiang.¹²

These are Shen Zhou's self-effacing words. He modestly dubbed the style of his painting a 'failure', 'Mi but not Mi, Huang but not Huang', stating it is like Momu, a virtuous but ugly lady of antiquity, trying to imitate Maojiang, a famous beauty, but making a fool of herself. The very fact that he mentioned his shortcoming conveys to us what was in his mind. It is neither in the style of Mi Fu nor in the manner of Huang Gongwang but in Shen Zhou's own style! This positive interpretation is confirmed in the second sentence in which Shen Zhou refers to his painting's pure luxuriance. He is pleased with it.

Shen Zhou's landscape was a gift to his good friend Liu Jue 劉玨 (1409-1472, Tingmei). According to the last part of Shen Zhou's inscription (fig. 5), the Taipei painting is a spontaneous work dashed off at Liu Jue's insistence after drinking:

Fig. 5 Shen Zhou's inscription, detail from *Landscape* (fig. 4).

Tingmei doesn't consider my awkward and deplorable pictures to be altogether despicable; whenever we meet he keeps after me, trying to get one by any means he can. It doesn't matter whether I'm sober or drunk, busy or idle, whether it's windy or rainy, cold or hot; even if the painting has to be done by lamplight, he still presses for it. This picture is one I did last night, after drinking; it is all mixed up and wrong, but Tingmei still won't throw it away. You can see how badly he wants one. Inscribed by Shitian.¹³

Song Luo's inscription, originally on Shen Zhou's painting that Luo Mu transcribed on his painting, states that it was composed on a snowy day when Song Luo was drunk, like Shen Zhou when he painted his painting. Hence Song Luo's inscription is like Shen Zhou's painting which is also a spontaneous work. As we are not able to determine the context of how Luo Mu made his painting, we do not know if he made it also under the same circumstances. This would explain why Luo Mu chose to include Song Luo's extensive text instead of Shen Zhou's original inscription. For now, it remains unclear as to what motive Luo Mu had to copy Song Luo's inscription. The part referring to the style of the work, however, he probably copied to make a statement that what he did was exactly like what Shen Zhou did when he painted his *Landscape*, namely to pay homage to the old masters: in Shen Zhou's case to Mi Fu and Huang Gongwang; in Luo Mu's case to Ni Zan and Huang Gongwang, as well as to Shen Zhou. But his conscious act of mentioning the style of his painting, 'Ni but not Ni, Huang but not Huang', must be understood in the same way as Shen Zhou had used it. It is neither by Ni Zan nor Huang Gongwang but by Luo Mu himself!

Both Shen Zhou's and Luo Mu's paintings showcase a process of the making of Chinese painters, through copying and imitating the styles of master painters of earlier generations to master the skill, and then establishing and creating their individual styles. One could probably imagine that Luo Mu could have viewed the *Small Painting in Mi's Style But Not Mi*, *in Huang's Style But Not Huang* by Shen Zhou at its collector's place and been inspired by it. Luo Mu's act of painting a new painting in the styles of 'Ni but not Ni, Huang but not Huang' as well as transcribing Song Luo's entire inscription, including Shen Zhou's remarkable statement, onto his own painting could be interpreted as conscious behaviour or even as a personal statement. What Luo Mu did here was to connect himself and pay homage to the master painters in previous generations (Shen Zhou) and dynasties (Ni Zan and Huang Gongwang) in the same painting tradition while at the same time establishing his own style.

NOTES

I Studio of Song Treasures (Baosongshi) was named after four Song dynasty (960-1279) paintings that Lin Hsiung-Kuang collected, see Gu Liren 顧力仁 (ed.), Taiwan lishi renwu xiaozhuan: Ming Qing ji Riju shiqi 台灣歷史 人物小傳—明清暨日據時期 [Bibliographies of Taiwanese historical figures: Ming and Qing dynasties, and Japanese occupied period], Taipei 2006, p. 271. For Lin Hsiung-Kuang's collection seals, see Rin Roan jiyoin ten: Kareinaru kanzoin 林朗庵自用印展:華麗なる 鑑蔵印 [Gorgeous collection seals: exhibition of Lin Lang'an's seals], Kogashi (Tenkoku Museum) 2013. For Lin family's collections, for example, the collection of the fifth generation family member Lin Bosou 林伯壽 (1895-1986), see Nigensha 二玄社 (ed.), Ransen Sankan shoga 蘭千山館書画 [Paintings and calligraphy works collected in Langian Shanguan], Tokyo 1953; Lan Qian Shanguan mingyan tulu 蘭千山館名硯圖錄 [Catalogue of famous ink stones in Lanqian Shanguan collection], Taipei (National Palace Museum) 1987; Lan Qian Shanguan minghua tulu 蘭千山館名畫圖錄 [Catalogue of famous Chinese painting in Langian Shanguan collection], Taipei (National Palace Museum) 1987; Lan Qian Shanguan fashua tulu 蘭千山館法書圖錄 [Catalogue of calligraphy works in Lanqian Shanguan collection], Taipei (National Palace Museum) 1987. For the collection of the sixth and seventh generation members Lin Zongyi 林宗毅 and Lin Daocheng, father and son, see Wang Yaoting 王耀庭 (ed.), Lin Zongyi xiansheng Lin Daocheng xiansheng fuzi juanzeng shuhua tulu 林宗毅先生林道誠先生父 子捐贈書畫圖錄 [Catalogue of donated works of painting and calligraphy from Lin Zongyi

and Lin Daocheng, father and son], Taipei (National Palace Museum) 2002.

- 2 The painting was donated to the Rijksmuseum by a family member in 2021; some scrolls and fifty seals of Robert van Gulik, including this collection seal (inv. no. AK-RAK-2020-73), were also donated to the Rijksmuseum by family members in 2020. This seal is dated to 1941 and carved by Matsumaru Tōgyo 松丸東魚 (1901-1975), a Japanese master of seal carving.
- 3 Translated by the author, the original text: 倪不倪,黄不黄,淋漓水墨餘清蒼。觀此石田題畫 句,便知其妙神化不可當。昔為王子石谷所寶藏, 後為歸叟希之所舉揚。今也等閒落吾手,不啻稚子 得珍果,連嘅不暇,出入懷袖神飛揚。朅來掛之高 齋之素壁,橫峰側嶺、斷雲疎樹,一一生發動竒光。 漁舟儼瓢小,萬頃凌渺茫。舉似宋代晉卿烟江疊嶂 巻。正復難為軒輊,各自光欲萬丈,不減李白、杜 甫之文章。精神所注足不朽,即此偶然片紙,當有 鬼神呵護,豈是尋常粉墨,雲烟過眼旋消亡。嗚呼, 畫之妙也如此,安得驚人句,題向畫之傍。坐卧其 下者,三日推敲不定空徬徨。今日雪中大醉,忽然 筆至直寫所欲吐,滔滔如決江河之隄防。世間萬事 非強致,投筆一笑,且齅瓶內凍梅香。東明行者, 牧。。
- 4 Song Luo, Xipi leigao 西陂類稿 (1711, reprint in Qingding siku quanshu 欽定四庫全書 [Emperor's complete library of the Four Treasuries], vol. 10 (1783), pp. 16-17. Original text: 米不米, 黄不黄,淋漓水墨餘清蒼 。觀此石田題畫句,便知其畫神妙不可當。昔為王 子石谷所寶惜,後為歸叟希之所秘藏。今也等閒落 吾手,不啻稚子得珍果,連噉不輟,出入懷袖神飛 揭。朅來掛之高齋之素壁,横峰側嶺、斷雲疎樹, 一一生動發竒光。漁舟儼瓢小,萬頃凌渺茫。舉似 宋代晉卿烟江疊嶂巻,各自光燄萬丈,不減李白、 杜甫之文章。精神所注足不朽,即此偶然片紙,豈 比尋常粉墨,雲烟過眼旋消亡。嗚呼,畫之妙也如

此!安得驚人句,題向畫之旁。坐卧其下者,三日 推敲不定空徬徨。今日雪中大醉,忽然振筆直寫所 欲吐, 滔滔如決江河之隄防。世間萬事非強致,投 筆一笑,且齅瓶內凍梅香。.

- 5 Xie Songzhou from Suzhou, who was once summoned by Emperor Yongzheng (r. 1723-35) to the imperial court for his connoisseurship of painting and calligraphy. For Xie Songzhou's seals, see Zhongguo shuhuajia yinjian kuanshi 中國書畫家印鑑款識 [Index of seals and signatures of Chinese painters], Shanghai (Shanghai Museum) 1987, p. 1534.
- 6 Richard Edwards, *The Field of Stones: A Study of the Art of Shen Zhou (1427-1509)*, exh. cat. Washington DC (Freer Gallery of Art) 1962, p. 9; *Wupaihua jiushinian zhan* 吳派畫九十年展 [Exhibition of 90 years of Wu school], Taipei (National Palace Museum) 1975, p. 295.
- 7 My translation, which is slightly different from James Cahill's translation, cf. James Cahill, Parting at the Shore: Chinese Painting of the Early and Middle Ming Dynasty 1368-1580, New York 1978, p. 84: '[It looks like] Mi but doesn't [look like] Mi; [looks like] Huang but doesn't [look like] Mi; [looks like] Huang but doesn't [look like] Huang – Dripping-wet ink washes, it overflows with pure luxuriance.' The original text: 米不米,黃不黃,淋滴水墨餘清蒼。.
- 8 See Gugong shuhua tulu 故宮書畫圖錄 [Illustrated catalogue of Chinese painting in the National Palace Museum], Taipei (National Palace Museum) 1991, vol. 6, pp. 223-24.
- 9 The Taipei painting by Shen Zhou carries collection seals of Emperor Qianlong (r. 1736-95), Emperor Jiaqing (r. 1796-1820) and Emperor Xuantong (r. 1909-11).
- 10 Back in the eleventh century, a new groundbreaking understanding of art developed among the scholar-officials, called the 'literati', who considered themselves as cultivated as opposed to the mere technically skilled professional painters (they were categorized as artisans and craftsmen). The so-called literati painting or scholar-painting (wenrenhua) refers to paintings produced by these educated gentlemen and the cultural elites. The engagement of literati in art creation was a unique phenomenon in Chinese art. They were not only connoisseurs, art collectors, and critics, but also amateur painters. See Susan Bush, The Chinese Literation Painting: Su Shi (1037-1101) to Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555-1636), Cambridge 1971.

- 11 Translated by Wen Fong, see Wen C. Fong, 'Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and Artistic Renewal', in Wai-Kam Ho (ed.), *The Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang 1555-1636*, 2 vols., Seattle/ London 1992, vol. 1, pp. 47-48.
- 12 Cahill 1978 (note 7), p. 84; original text: 擲筆大笑我欲狂。自恥嫫母希毛嬌。於乎。自恥嫫 母希毛嬌。
- 13 Cahill 1978 (note 7), p. 84; original text: 廷美不以予拙惡見鄙。每一相觀。輒犖挽需索。 不間醒醉冗暇。風雨寒暑。甚至張燈亦強之。此□本 昨晚酒後。顛□錯謬。廷美亦不棄。可見□索也。石 田志。.