In Pursuit of Heavenly Harmony  Paintings and Calligraphy by Bada Shanren from the Estate of Wang Fangyu and Sum Wai
In Pursuit of Heavenly Harmony

Paintings and Calligraphy by Bada Shanren
from the Estate of Wang Fangyu and Sum Wai

The celebrated Chinese artist Bada Shanren (1626–1705) was born into a branch of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) imperial family that was known for its literary and artistic accomplishments. When the Ming dynasty fell in 1644, Bada fled his hometown of Nanchang, Jiangxi, and took refuge in a Buddhist temple, where he remained as a monk for more than thirty years and soon rose to the position of abbot. During this period, he painted and wrote calligraphy under a variety of Buddhist names—Xuege, Chuanqi, Ren’an, Fajue, and Geshan. In the early 1680s, the artist returned to the secular world, married briefly, and began landscape painting for the first time. In 1684 he started writing and painting under the pseudonym Bada Shanren, becoming one of the most prominent individualist painters of the early Qing dynasty (1644–1911).

Bada Shanren developed an idiosyncratic visual vocabulary full of personal symbolism and artistic gesture that has made his deceptively simple works endlessly intriguing. While his spontaneous, almost abstract, brushwork may appear playful, many paintings also reveal a troubled psychological edge to his character and an innately dark outlook on his own fortunes and the condition of the world at large. Three hundred years later, Bada’s works continue to exert a powerful influence on many modern and contemporary Chinese painters.

With essays by renowned Chinese art historians Joseph Chang and Qianshen Bai, this compelling and lavishly illustrated presentation of Bada Shanren’s works—bequeathed to the Freer Gallery of Art by Shao F. Wang from the collection of his parents, Professor Wang Fangyu and Sum Wai, and also acquired through the generosity of the E. Rhodes and Leona B. Carpenter Foundation—offers fresh insight into the mysterious life and works of Bada Shanren. The central catalogue of Bada’s works, luxuriantly designed with many life-size reproductions, details the significant features of each artwork along with annotated translations of all texts and calligraphy by the gifted translator of Chinese literature, Stephen D. Allee. This new volume brings this elusive subject to life for a wider general audience than ever before. From an exploration of the artist’s biography and his style as an artist to a sumptuous presentation of his engaging works, In Pursuit of Heavenly Harmony reveals the unique world of this esoteric artist through an exceptional collection of works that have made the Freer Gallery of Art the most important center for the study and exhibition of Bada Shanren’s oeuvre outside the People’s Republic of China.
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from the Estate of Wang Fangyu and Sum Wai

JOSEPH CHANG AND QIANSHEN BAI

CATALOGUE STEPHEN D. ALLEE

Freer Gallery of Art
Smithsonian Institution
Washington, D.C.
in association with
Weatherhill, Inc.

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Foreword

The Seventeenth Century was one of the most eventful and traumatic periods in the history of China. The first half of the century witnessed the irreversible deterioration and collapse of the last native Chinese dynasty, the Ming (1368–1644), and the subsequent invasion and conquest of China by Manchu forces from the northeast, who established the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) in its place. The second half of the century saw the Manchu conquerors consolidate the territory and institutions of their new empire and move towards a political and cultural reconciliation with the Chinese people they now ruled. These events had a profound impact on the life and art of Bada Shanren (1626–1705), a descendant of the Ming imperial house and one of the most celebrated Chinese artists of the period.

Bada Shanren won the praise and admiration of his contemporaries primarily as a calligrapher, and calligraphic techniques and the manipulation of brush and ink were also the foundation of his approach to painting. As a painter, he developed an idiosyncratic visual vocabulary full of personal symbolism and artistic gesture that make his deceptively simple works endlessly intriguing. The lack of ornament and seemingly guileless innocence of Bada’s paintings appeal to the modern eye, but while his spontaneous, almost abstract, brushwork may appear rather playful, many paintings also reveal a troubled psychological edge to his character and an innately dark outlook on his own fortunes and the condition of the world at large. Three hundred years later, Bada’s works continue to exert a powerful influence on many modern and contemporary Chinese painters.

Wang Fangyu (or Fred Fangyu Wang, 1913–1997), who taught Chinese language for many years at Yale University, was the foremost collector and one of the most prominent modern scholars of painting and calligraphy by Bada Shanren. Together with his wife, Sum Wai (1918–1996), he devoted much of his private life to the collection and study of Bada’s life and art, focusing almost exclusively on this artist for more than half a century. Prior to his demise, Professor Wang’s was the most comprehensive private collection of calligraphy and painting by Bada Shanren anywhere in the world.

Through the kindness and generosity of Wang Fangyu’s son, Mr. Shao F. Wang, the Freer Gallery of Art was selected as the permanent repository for twenty paintings and works of calligraphy by Bada Shanren that Professor Wang had personally identified as the core of his collection. Thanks to the generous financial support of the E. Rhodes and Leona B. Carpenter Foundation, in 1998 the Freer was also able to purchase twelve additional works of calligraphy and one painting by Bada Shanren from Wang Fangyu’s estate. These acquisitions were facilitated by the support and encouragement of the important New York art dealer Mr. Robert H. Ellsworth, who was both a student and a longtime friend of Professor Wang. The following year, Shao Wang also donated his father’s research archives, comprising some nineteen hundred items, to the archives and slide library of the Freer. The quality and significance of these works of art, complemented by Professor Wang’s research materials, have made the Freer Gallery of Art the most important center for the study and exhibition of Bada Shanren’s art outside the People’s Republic of China.

It is our hope that the publication of this catalogue will provide a thanks and memorial to Professor Wang Fangyu in the manner he would have most appreciated—by making accessible to a broader public the art and personality of Bada Shanren.

Julian Raby
Director
Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery
Smithsonian Institution
Washington, D.C.
Acknowledgments

BADA SHANREN (1626–1705), an eccentric monk-painter of late seventeenth-century China, has twice been the focus in recent years of major exhibitions and scholarly symposia, first in China and then in the United States. In October 1986, the Symposium to Commemorate the 360th Anniversary of Bada Shanren’s Birth was organized in Nanchang, the artist’s hometown; and in 1991, the Yale University Art Museum held the exhibition, *Master of the Lotus Garden: The Life and Art of Bada Shanren*, and also published an accompanying book of the same title.

Although I was unable to attend the 1986 Nanchang symposium, I wrote a study on Bada’s landscapes and sent it to Professor Wang Fangyu of Yale University for his comments, which were very encouraging. That was how we became acquainted, and for the next ten years, Professor Wang and I continued to exchange and discuss research materials on Bada. Following Wang Fangyu’s death in 1997, many major museums throughout the United States, including the Freer Gallery of Art, competed to receive the bequest of Bada Shanren’s painting and calligraphy from Wang Fangyu’s collection, for it represented the best authenticated and most comprehensive selection of artworks by Bada ever assembled in private hands. Although I did not then know Wang Fangyu’s son, Mr. Shao F Wang, we gradually became acquainted over months of communication about this bequest, and eventually he decided that the Freer Gallery of Art should become the repository for the group of twenty works his father had designated as the core of his collection. Heartwarmingly, my friendship with the late professor has now been extended to Shao and his family as well, whom I wish to thank for their extraordinary kindness and generosity. Shao also made available a further selection of twelve calligraphic works and one painting from his father’s collection, which the museum acquired with funds provided by the E. Rhodes and Leona B. Carpenter Foundation, whose generous financial support continues to enhance the holdings and activities of the museum.

Unlike the in-depth study *Master of the Lotus Garden*, this exhibition catalogue has been prepared with the general public in mind and focuses primarily on the thirty-three works acquired by the Freer Gallery of Art from the former collection of Wang Fangyu and his wife, Sum Wai. It is our hope that through this simple introduction, the life and art of the mysterious Bada Shanren can be rendered more accessible to a wider Western audience. In pursuing this end, I have been extremely fortunate to collaborate with two close colleagues, Bai Qianshen, assistant professor of Chinese art at Boston University, and Stephen D. Allee, research specialist in Chinese literature and history at the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery. Professor Bai is a specialist in Chinese calligraphy, concentrating on the seventeenth century, and has published a number of important articles on Bada’s calligraphy and seals. He particularly wishes to extend his appreciation to his friend Matthew Flannery for helping to prepare his manuscript for the essay in this volume. Stephen Allee is a specialist in Chinese literature and a gifted translator. His passion for Chinese painting and calligraphy is surpassed only by his rigorous training in Chinese literature, which is self-evident in the numerous translations and comprehensive notes he prepared for the catalogue section of this book. I also wish to thank two former summer interns, Veronica de Jong, University of Kansas, and Wen-shing Chou, University of Chicago, who helped to assemble and prepare the initial documents for the book. In addition, the authors would like to thank the Min Chiu Society, Hong Kong, which generously donated funds for the acquisition of the electronic version of *Siku quanshu* (The complete imperial library of the Qing...
dynasty), which greatly enriched the contents of various notes and entries.

For the multitude of tasks related to bringing the Wang bequest into the Freer Gallery’s collection and producing the Bada Shanren catalogue and exhibition, my colleagues throughout the museum—in Membership and Development, Collections Management, Conservation and Scientific Research, Publications, Photography, Design and Production, Public Affairs and Marketing—all deserve my deepest gratitude. I owe special thanks to Gu Xiangmei, Chinese painting conservator, who heroically remounted ten works and treated the rest of this important acquisition with her usual skill and care, and to the Henry Luce Foundation, whose grant for the Chinese Painting Conservation Program supported these efforts. I would also like to thank the following individuals: Lynne Shaner, head of the publications department, who oversaw the entire project with unflagging persistence; Gail Spilsbury, senior editor, who worked with the authors with the utmost patience and a pleasant manner; Kate Lydon, art director, who prepared a beautiful design for the book; Rachel Faulise, for detailed production coordination and design assistance; Suzanne Crawford, who did an excellent job proofreading the layouts; Victoria Agee for preparing a complex index; John Tsantes, head of the photography department, who managed the photography element of the book; John Wang, who documented Bada Shanren’s various seals and signatures and proofread the book’s Chinese portions; and Carol Huh, my curatorial assistant, who efficiently handled the untold administrative aspects of the project.

The eminent Beijing scholar Wang Shiqing and his wife, Shen Shiyin, spent a month in the Freer library in late 1999, sorting the archive of research materials on Bada Shanren assembled by the late Wang Fangyu and subsequently donated to the museum by Shao Wang. They then wrote an analytic report on this substantial archive, for which the authors are extremely grateful.

There have been numerous requests to view Bada’s artworks ever since this acquisition joined Freer’s collection four years ago. We continue to warmly welcome scholars and students who wish to study these works and their archives and/or contribute to our growing understanding of this great yet mysterious master.

JOSEPH CHANG
ASSOCIATE CURATOR OF CHINESE ART
FREER GALLERY OF ART AND
ARTHUR M. SACKLER GALLERY
To extend his academic credentials beyond the bachelor of arts degree earned at Furen University (Beijing) in 1936, my father went to New York City to study at Columbia University Teachers College. A year later, in 1945, he joined the Yale University faculty and embarked on an academic career that lasted another thirty-three years (twenty years at Yale and thirteen more at Seton Hall University where he rose to become the Dean of the Department of Asian Studies). Professional success came quickly and steadily. He won numerous awards based on his academic achievements in the field of teaching Mandarin, including a Teacher of the Year award. His textbooks and reference materials on teaching the Chinese language are still in use today.

Throughout his career that many people would consider a full-time endeavor, my father was able to explore other interests, such as applying computers to the teaching of Chinese, a pioneering initiative at the time. Concurrently, he also exercised his traditional scholar-literati mentality through a growing collection of art.

One of my father’s earliest students was Mr. Robert Hatfield Ellsworth, collector and dealer extraordinaire. In Mr. Ellsworth, my father found a kindred spirit and a mutual appreciation for Chinese antiquities that became the basis for a wonderful friendship lasting nearly five decades. In the classroom, work focused on Mandarin Chinese; yet, both teacher and student were also thinking about Chinese fine art. It was from this condition of “wandering” that my father gave Mr. Ellsworth his Chinese name, An Siyuan (he whose mind is far
away). It was Mr. Ellsworth who gave my father the courage to propose to my mother, Sun Wai, and the two married in 1955.

Through Mr. Ellsworth, my father met my godmother, Ms. Alice Boney, doyenne of Asian art dealers. Aunt Alice was a strong-minded lady whose grace was exceeded only by her love and knowledge of Orientalia. Through Aunt Alice my father began collecting objects and paintings in the United States. Once, he was reunited with an object of great sentimental value—a large yellow porcelain dish. The piece was considered a precious family heirloom despite a modest fracture that could only be detected by listening to the ceramic tone after tapping the dish in a particular way. During the turbulence of the Japanese invasion and the Chinese revolution, the Wang family was forced to sell off their antiquities, including this dish. On a visit to Aunt Alice’s Park Avenue apartment in the 1960s, Wang Fangyu saw the dish again. Aunt Alice was very proud of this object and asked my father his opinion of it. He smiled and said that the dish was magnificent but damaged. Aunt Alice inquired how he knew, because she had not found any damage. My father demonstrated by tapping the dish and having her listen to the tone.

Calligraphy and painting were his true joy. Wang Fangyu’s connoisseurship opened many doors that included meeting and becoming a confidant of Zhang Daqian, the renowned painter and collector. It is interesting to note that many of the Bada Shanren paintings and calligraphies now residing at the Freer Gallery of Art came to my father from Zhang Daqian, who was the subject of a Sackler Gallery exhibition, Challenging the Past: The Paintings of Chang Dai-Chien, in 1991. Among other activities, Zhang would take pride in deceiving “knowledgeable” collectors with his own forgeries. This activity also served the practical purpose of raising funds to support an extravagant lifestyle. Zhang Daqian favored my father for his scholarship and appreciation of Chinese paintings, particularly those by Bada Shanren. Zhang Daqian could have sold these Bada Shanren works to most any of a number of avid collectors, but chose my father because Zhang believed the pieces belonged where they would be best appreciated and understood. Some of my most precious memories are of Zhang Daqian visiting our home, painting, enjoying life, and talking about works of art.

Wang Fangyu and Zhang Daqian in Hong Kong, 1955.
Wang Fangyu spent the last years of his life in the same Upper East Side Manhattan apartment building as his other great friend, C. C. Wang, collector and painter. These events are truly a sign of the blessings of the United States—that two kindred spirits representing the best qualities of traditional China, after crossing an ocean, a continent, and over eight decades, would choose this country as home. For only in America did Wang Fangyu believe he could achieve what he did, as a scholar, collector, and artist. In C. C. Wang, Wang Fangyu had a peer with whom long and deep discussions of painting, calligraphy, and collecting would result in a quiet joy and serenity known only to a privileged few.

I was never quite sure how to react when my father retired from academia upon writing my last college tuition check. Retirement is such a constricting concept. For my father, retiring resulted in the freedom to enthusiastically pursue a bold new endeavor. Yet, not so new. In the true spirit of the scholar literati, he embarked upon another activity: calligraphy. But not just the calligraphy of his youth; rather, Chinese calligraphy that tweaked the traditionalists, of which he himself was one. This third expertise of his took him to new levels of connoisseurship, where perhaps he felt closer to those artists whose works he had collected with such singular success. Once, when I asked my mother why she chose my father, she replied, “Because he writes so well.” Her words implied Wang Fangyu was both cultured and refined, with an astute appreciation of the arts. Together, my parents achieved much. Sum Wai provided emotional support and addressed the practicalities of day-to-day life. Through her caring and management Wang Fangyu was able to pursue his artistic passions, both collecting and creating, and Sum Wai admired both. My father readily acknowledged never making a significant acquisition without my mother’s approval, and hers was the opinion he also most valued regarding his calligraphy. Together they enjoyed over forty years of happiness. Sadly, a testament to the happiness of those four decades was that after Sum Wai’s death in 1996, Wang Fangyu was often despondent in the last year of his life.

Yet until the very end, my father was a fortunate man. To turn one’s avocation into one’s vocation is a blessing. The common thread, around which his multiple fields of expertise were joined, was passion. That he was able to constructively leverage that passion for Chinese culture, history, and language was the most elegant and purest sign of his successful life.

I always found fascinating Wang Fangyu’s search in nature for the “unbalanced balance.” In tiankai, or “the way of nature,” my father achieved this “unbalanced balance” with his collection, his calligraphy, and his life. From my father I learned of a passion that can magnify the preciousness of each moment. For him, that passion produced a full life, well lived.

In the spirit of Zhang Daqian and the lineage of connoisseurs, my father believed that his collection was meant to serve two purposes: first, to be available for future generations to enjoy; and second, to further advance the scholarship and understanding
of the works. He acknowledged his own societal debt to the United States and was fully aware that the way he led his life and his accomplishments were possible only in this country. Given the meticulous effort on the part of both my parents to amass the collection, it was their wish that it remain together in the United States. In his will my father assigned me the task of finding a suitable institution to house it.

I chose the Freer Gallery of Art for several reasons. First, the Freer, together with the Sackler Gallery, form the national museum of Asian art for the United States. The Freer has fulfilled its august role by making accessible a broad and wonderful array of Asian artifacts for the enjoyment of all. Second, this gift from my family represents a meaningful enhancement to the collection of Chinese paintings already present at this extraordinary museum. The Freer can now be viewed as the destination institution in the United States for those artists and scholars interested in Bada Shanren. We hope that, as such, items from this gift will not only be on display for general viewing but also will be augmented by other objects. Third, it is hoped that the Bada Shanren calligraphies donated by my family, and those purchased by the E. Rhodes and Leona B. Carpenter Foundation, will combine with the marvelous gift of 260 Chinese calligraphies from Mr. Ellsworth, along with pieces previously acquired by this institution, to make the Freer the single richest public museum for this revered Chinese art form. I cannot help but note the symmetry and personal comfort that comes from having pieces from both my father and his student, Mr. Ellsworth, serve as cornerstones of this effort.

My family and I are very grateful to the Freer Gallery of Art and its staff for the care and attention paid to these works, my parents' life effort.

SHAO WANG
SHAO WANG'S ALLUSION TO LIFE

and the mahjongg tiles each of us draws says it all, as the game includes luck.

Knowing what I wanted to do with my life made it easier. Having a neighbor in Connecticut who was a famous art dealer was a great card to be dealt. He gave me a job in 1948. His name was Frank Stoner, and besides being my teacher, he was a past president of the British Antique Dealers' Association and the most respected dealer in English and European ceramic works of art in his day. I went to work one morning with a green-glazed covered vase, which I had bought at the Sloan-Kettering Thrift Shop for $8.00, and proudly announced it was late Ming. "How do you know?" he asked, and the next thing I knew, I had been invited to meet and have drinks with Alice Boney, who was to become Shao Wang's godmother. She settled the controversy: I was right. Alice became my friend and introduced me to the Chinese art world of the day and later to my friend Fred (Wang Fangyu).

After our friendship of approximately one year, Alice decided that I should go to graduate school to study Chinese. From the friends and acquaintances that I had already met through her, she selected Alan Priest, Laurence Sickman, Schuyler Cammann and Langdon Warner to write letters of recommendation for me to attend Yale.

Upon my arrival at this illustrious institution, I met Wang Fangyu (Fred) who was to be my teacher for the next two years. We got to know each other quite well, and after three months Fred asked to come with me when I covered the country dealers after school. The next stage in our friendship included Alice and New York City. We covered the auctions as well as the shops. When we started our escapades into the Chinese art world, Fred had only one painting—a Qi Baishi of shrimp. This exhibition of Bada Shanren shows how all his life Fred played his tiles with geniuses.

Classes started at eight A.M. and finished at twelve P.M.; five days a week I struggled to become a scholar. After twelve o’clock I became what I am: a dealer. Within six months of my meeting Fred, we closed the classes at eleven a.m. whenever there were sales in New York City at Parke Bernet, Spaniermans, or O'Riley Brothers. Trade was beginning to get its grasp on us. Fred and I had many wonderful adventures. He was collecting for himself; I was buying to earn a living.

In the summer following my first year of graduate school, I took a student's tour to China. When I returned home and started my second year at Yale, I realized that Fred was not suited to a single life. He needed more than just a friend with whom to chase.

Wang Fangyu and Robert Ellsworth.
after treasures. He was having an ongoing correspondence with a lady in Hong Kong. After my second year at Yale, our hunting and studying and fun was to come to an end. I convinced Fred to propose to the lady in Hong Kong—Sun Wai—and physically helped him push the letter into the mailbox. Then, I was drafted into the army and a two-year separation followed. After my military stint, the Chinese language was dead, and I went into business seriously, where I have been ever since.

We met frequently whenever I found something I knew Fred would like to see. The year I bought A. W. Barr's painting collection from his daughter Edna, we saw a great deal of each other. By 1964, I had a rather grand gallery on East 58th Street. Fred didn't get into town so often then. However, when an interesting painting or a new addition to my nineteenth and twentieth century material showed up, we caught up. By the end of the 1960s, I was going to Hong Kong at least three times a year and he always came to see what I had acquired.

Through our mutual interest in Qi Baishi, I met a wonderful gentleman in Hong Kong who sold me some of my prize paintings. After a few years of friendship, he brought out to show me the number one love of his life—rubbings of Chinese calligraphy. Some of these were in my exhibition at the Palace Museum in Beijing, including one volume of the Chuangchui tie (tenth-century, Chinese calligraphy rubbings). Fred was with me when I bought it at Christie's. Moments after, and setting a new world's record for rubbing (mine), in raced a Chinese dealer from Hong Kong. He headed for Fred and asked, "How much did it go for?" Then, "Who bought it—he had to be a Chinese." Fred and I were standing together and he said, "Yes, my friend An Siyuan bought it."

I was invited by the mainland government to do business with their Beijing arts and crafts in 1979. I bought and sold from their warehouses. I did an auction for them at Christie's in 1981, and there were three old friends involved—Fred, Alice, and myself. When the powers-that-be decided to dress up Lui Lichang, the almost ancient antiquities district of Beijing, I made it possible for two painting galleries to be redo-by buying a great many nineteenth- and twentieth-century calligraphies that are now in the Freer Gallery collections. Export licenses automatically appeared for anything I wished to purchase. There were approximately three hundred calligraphies. When Fred saw what I had brought home from this trip, he finally agreed that I didn't need to read Chinese to understand calligraphy.

From time to time, Fred would check in to see how the collection was progressing. When he moved to New York City, we saw more of each other. At this time, age and space became a factor in his life, so he sold me many of the most important runs of research publications in his personal library, including perhaps the only complete run since the beginning of publication of the Shanghai quarterly Dowyun (Art Clouds Quarterly). He knew they were safe with me, and if he needed to check something out, they would always be available for his perusal.

When we first met, trade and scholarship did not often mix. Our friendship was built on the blend of both. Fred was mostly a scholar with a little trade thrown in, and I was the reverse. We both benefited from each other's friendship in many ways, for many years. I know he will be smiling and amused that this most unusual mixture for the 1950s is well represented by us at the Freer more than fifty years later. In the United States, there is no comparable institution to the Freer that offers students access to a bequest as important as Fred's. I am proud to be included with my friend in the list of benefactors of the Freer. I am extremely grateful to have lived long enough to see this happen. Fred unquestionably played his tiles well. I am indebted to Lady Luck for dealing me an ace in my friend Fred—Wang Fangyu.
I owe my special friendship with Fangyu entirely to Chinese painting and calligraphy. When Zhang Daqian came to the United States in the 1950s and brought with him a group of paintings and calligraphy by Bada Shanren, it was through my introduction that Fangyu acquired many of these works and established the foundation of his collection.

Fangyu was a typical scholar, which can be seen for example in the unusual name he chose for his studio, The Hut for Eating Chicken Feet (Shujaizhuhu). This name alludes to a passage in the ancient Chinese text The Springs and Autumns of Master Lu, which says: “A good scholar is like the King of Qi eating chicken feet; he must eat many thousand before he has had enough”; to which a commentary adds: “The word ‘chicken feet’ (zhi) means the heel of the chicken foot; this statement is a metaphor for the scholar who explores numerous paths, then determines which is best.” In just this manner, Fangyu urged himself on indefatigably, achieving mastery through his studies in a broad range of subjects. He devoted his life to teaching Chinese language and literature, and possessed a profound knowledge of philology, literature, and history, using various scholarly methodologies such as textual criticism and comparative analysis in both his research and collecting. He persevered in this for several decades, and aside from the works in his own collection, he also arranged to visit collections of Bada’s works all over the world, gaining broad knowledge and extensive visual experience. Over the years, he published several dozen scholarly articles about Bada in all kinds of publications, both Chinese and Western, in which he addressed one by one the age in which Bada lived, his names and sobriquets, his seals, his language and writing, and the authenticity of works attributed to him, quoting copiously from numerous texts and tracing things back to their source. In 1984, Fangyu edited the Bada Shanren lunji (An anthology of essays on Pa-ta-shan-jeu), and in 1990 he and Richard M. Barnhart, professor of Chinese art history at Yale University, coauthored the monograph Master of the Lotus Garden: The Life and Art of Bada Shanren (1626–1705). At the same time, they mounted an exhibition of Bada’s works and held an international scholarly conference, which caused great excitement both at home and abroad and was the culmination of Bada studies in our time. As a result, Bada Shanren became one of the best-known Chinese painters in the world. Fangyu’s achievements in researching and introducing Bada will never perish, for he was undoubtedly the foremost scholar of Bada Shanren in our time and the one who most profoundly understood him.

For decades, I have repeatedly emphasized “brush and ink” (bimo) in my connoisseurship of Chinese painting and calligraphy, that to be able to recognize the differences in how individual artists use brush and ink is the key to connoisseurship. The brush and ink of a Chinese painting are like the voices we are born with, each has its own imitable quality. Once you recognize this unique voice, it is no longer difficult to
differentiate the look of an individual artist or to distinguish original works from copies and authentic works from fakes. I was extremely fortunate to have had a bosom friend like Fangyu with whom I could sit side by side and intimately discuss such things, for he was one of the very few people outside China who understood this.

Fangyu was also known internationally for his calligraphy. Although Chinese painting and calligraphy were certainly not his area of professional expertise, Fangyu had an astute mind and was an excellent scholar, and based on his erudite knowledge of the written language, he incorporated the unique linear qualities of Chinese calligraphy and his own aesthetic of ink tonality into his historical analysis and interpretation of individual characters. He often selected just one or two characters and fused their structural elements with the fluidity of line and variations of ink tonality to create what he called works of “dancing ink.” This approach inspired people to look at Chinese calligraphy from a different point of view and brought them to a new appreciation of its aesthetic qualities.

After Fangyu retired, he devoted even more of his time to studying Chinese painting and calligraphy, and whenever we had the opportunity, we would get together to discuss things. Over many painstaking years, Fangyu became especially famous for his collection of works by Bada Shanren and Qi Baishi, and when we came across works by either of these two masters, we would always take great delight in discussing them, talking for long hours and forgetting to go home. In 1994, Fangyu moved from New Jersey to an apartment in Manhattan to become my neighbor in the same building, making it more convenient for us to discuss painting and calligraphy. After that, with just a phone call or by walking a few steps, we could easily bring each other paintings to view and discuss at length. The feelings of this kind of friendship, where “we enjoyed rare paintings together and mutually examined their uncertain meanings,” were no less than the pleasures of the Peach Blossom Spring.

In the autumn of 1997, an unexpected failure of heart surgery took the life of Wang Fangyu. Alas, he is gone, and in one night of autumn wind, heaven and man are forever parted. Fangyu took with him many great unfinished plans for articles and exhibitions, and while the world lost a great expert on Bada, Shanren, I suddenly lost a dear friend with whom I can no longer enjoy our intimate conversations. Until this day, whenever I think back, my heart and mind still ache with pain. I have written this short account to express my grief and record it here for those who carry on after us.

C. C. Wang
Maps

EASTERN CHINA IN THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES
Jiangxi Province in the 16th and 17th Centuries
Who was Bada Shanren (1626–1705)? Much about him remains a mystery. His name is a pseudonym and means Eight Eminence Mountain Man, a term that might be puzzling to the uninitiated but is a household name to scholars in the field of Chinese painting and calligraphy. Identified positively as one of the many descendants of the Ming imperial prince Zhu Quan (1378–1448)—the seventeenth son of the dynasty founder and the first prince of Nanchang, Jiangxi—Bada’s origins remain elusive. During his lifetime, he adopted about a dozen different pseudonyms, some with slight variations. The name Zhu Da never appeared in Bada’s signatures or seals but became associated with him in 1720, fifteen years after his death, and is still widely known today. More recent scholarship on Bada’s genealogy remains inconclusive; some studies have attempted erroneously to establish Bada Shanren’s lineage as the crown prince of the last emperor of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644).1 While the riddle of Bada’s life continues to generate prodigious scholarly activity, Bada’s true identity has yet to be revealed.

BEFORE THE FALL OF THE MING DYNASTY, 1626–1644
Bada Shanren was born into a literary and artistic family that for generations had cultivated poets, calligraphers, painters, seal carvers, and art historians, including Bada’s father and grandfather.2 Most scholars are convinced that the poet, calligrapher, painter, and seal carver Zhu Duozheng (1541–1589) was Bada’s grandfather. Although Bada never met his grandfather, Zhu Duozheng’s talents influenced his development as an artist. Bada’s father Zhu Moujin (died 1644) was a deaf-mute painter who had learned from his own father and capably rendered the styles of mid-Ming Wu School masters Shen Zhou (1427–1509), Wen Zhengming (1470–1559), Lu Zhi (1496–1576), and Zhou Zhimin (late 16th–early 17th century). Raised in such an environment, Bada began writing poetry at the age of seven and later became accomplished in calligraphy, seal carving, and painting.3 As an imperial descendant, Bada most likely received a classical education. He took the civil service examination in his late teens, passed the first-level test in the early 1640s, and was said to be a brilliant student. Little else has been recorded about his youth.

In 1644, on the 19th day of the third lunar-month (April 25), the last Ming emperor committed suicide when a rebellious peasant army sacked the capital, Beijing. Reportedly, Bada Shanren’s father died shortly afterwards. That same year, on the second day of the fifth lunar-month (June 6), the nomadic Manchus from the northeastern frontier seized the capital and established the last dynasty of the Chinese empire, the Qing (1644–1911).

SEEKING SHELTER IN BUDDHIST TEMPLES
AND EPISODES OF MADNESS, 1645–1680
In 1645, a year after assuming power, the Qing army fought its way into Bada Shanren’s hometown, Nanchang, Jiangxi, causing Bada to flee and take refuge in the Fengxiu mountains, west of Nanchang. In 1648, at age twenty-two, Bada found shelter in a temple and
became a Buddhist monk. Just as many artists who created pseudonyms for either artistic or symbolic expressions, Bada adopted many Buddhist names for himself, including the better-known ones, such as Xuege, Chuangji, Ren'an, Fajue, and Geshan. Bada remained a monk-painter for more than thirty years.

Being a gifted individual from an educated family, Bada quickly learned the Buddhist teachings, exceeding his peers’ expectations. In 1653, he became a disciple of the prominent Chan master Yingxue Hongmin (1607–1672) of the Caodong sect. Three years later, at age thirty, Bada replaced his master and became abbot of the Lantern Society (Dengshe) at Jiegang, Juxian, southeast of Nanchang. Bada’s earliest surviving works date to this period.

Bada’s earliest extant work, *Flower Studies*, an album of twelve paintings and three leaves of calligraphy, dated 1659–60, is in the collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei. Heavily permeated with Chan connotations—unfamiliar even to most sinologists—Bada’s inscriptions in this work are puzzling. This trait remained generally true for his later works as well. As for Bada’s early paintings, his chosen subjects and indistinct brushwork recall the style of the mid-Ming Wu School masters, including Shen Zhou, Chen Shun (1483–1544), and Xu Wei (1521–1593). However, Bada’s compositions are constantly unique. He tends to leave the center of most paintings void, with the elements of the imagery dangling from the picture frame or often outside the frame (fig. 2). This feature is even more obvious in Bada’s *Lotus* album (cat. entry 1, leaf 8; fig. 3) painted a few years later, circa 1665, and now in the Freer Gallery of Art’s collection. Fragmentary images give many of Bada’s paintings an incomplete look, evoking a sentiment that the world is imperfect in the eyes of this former prince who was living clandestinely under a foreign regime.

Little is known about Bada’s activities and associates during the 1660s, except that he was painting; however, from the beginning of the 1670s, historical records indicate that Bada’s social circle had expanded from fellow Buddhist disciples to worldly Qing officials. In the summer of 1671, Bada Shanren made the acquaintance of Qu Liu (1644–1729), a poet from Zhejiang and the son-in-law of the incumbent Xinjiang magistrate Hu Yitang (died 1684), who later was posted to the same official position in Linchuan, Jiangxi, from 1677 to 1680. A close friendship soon developed among the three men and other members of the social elite through their participation in literary gatherings and the exchange of poems. Ironically, at about the same time that Bada developed these new friendships, his Buddhist mentor Yingxue passed away. These two significant events may have contributed to his gradual move toward the secular world.

Bada’s old friend Huang Anping (active late 17th century) painted the mysterious former prince in a monk’s robe after the two happened to meet on the seventh day of the fifth lunar-month (June 10) in 1674. Bada clearly treasured this image of himself—titled*Portrait
of Geshun (see fig. 1, see p. xx) — for he wrote autobiographical references on it six times between 1674 and 1678 that reveal his torment in choosing between the sacred and secular spheres." Bada Shanren asked his fellow disciple Rao Yupu (17th century) to add an inscription on the portrait in 1677. In his informative statement, Rao acknowledges that Bada received praise for his discipline and creativity in whatever he pursued. Rao also writes about Bada’s wish to be regarded as a painter and poet henceforward. On Rao’s inscription, Bada made an impression with a personal seal that reads, Xijiang Yiyang wanggong (Descendant of the Yiyang Prince of Jiangxi; see Bai, fig. 12, p. 23), revealing openly, for the first time, his imperial lineage. It had become evident that Bada Shanren was ready to return to the secular world under his former imperial identity.

Perhaps, the challenge of reentering secular society after being a Buddhist monk for more than thirty years caused Bada to suffer a nervous breakdown the summer and autumn of 1678.7 His mental health further declined in late 1680. Shao Changheng (1637–1704), a scholar from Jiangsu who met Bada in 1690, described a period when Bada “went mad, suddenly laughing aloud, or crying sadly all day long. One evening he tore off his monk’s robes and burned them. On a walk back to Nanchang, Bada madly strolled alone, going from one shop to another in the city. . . . He was recognized by no one, until found by a certain nephew who took him home and kept him there. After a long while, Bada eventually recovered.”

Can Bada Shanren’s so-called madness be detected in his works? Based on Hans Prinzhorn’s characterizations of schizophrenic artists, published in 1922, art historian James Cahill argues that “Bada in his best and strongest works is not merely reflecting whatever disorder still afflicted him, but is drawing on remembered states of mental aberration to create the aberrant forms and structures of his paintings — one might adapt [William] Wordsworth’s famous formulation for poetry to speak of this as ‘madness recollected in semi-sanity.’”8 It may be impossible to prove that Bada went mad during this period of his life. However, accounts written by his contemporaries Qiu Lian, Shao Changheng, Long Kebao (17th century), and Chen Ding (17th century) express either suspicion or outright certainty that Bada’s “madness” was feigned for ulterior motives. Shao, in his “Biography of Bada Shanren,” opined:

There are many who know Bada Shanren, but there is none who truly knows Bada Shanren. . . . What is he supposed to do? By acting suddenly mad, or suddenly mute, he can conceal himself and be the cynic he is. Some say he is a madman, others say a master. These people are so shallow for thinking they know Bada Shanren. Alas!9

FROM MADNESS TO MARRIAGE AND BEYOND: THE DONKEY YEARS, 1680–1684
For unknown reasons, Bada Shanren painted landscapes only after he had renounced monkhood and returned to secular life. His first dated landscape painting appeared in 1681 (fig. 4), and was signed with a changed name, li (donkey) followed by a seal with the same Chinese character (see appendix, seals, no. 7). While the composition and brushwork appear ordinary, Bada’s inscription is typically difficult to interpret. Although the writing is calm, a strong sense of sadness can be detected in it. Equally mysterious is why the landscape subject, after the first dated one of 1681, did not resurface in his works until the late 1680s or early ’90s.

It is unclear whether or not Bada Shanren married before the fall of the Ming dynasty. He may have married later on, however, for several contemporary accounts relate that concerned friends encouraged him to marry after his so-called madness in late 1680. Furthermore, several works of the early 1680s, bearing the li signature or seal, seem to share similar obscure references to Bada’s unhappy marriage. Whatever the case, the marriage was short-lived, and more specific messages about it were expressed through the writings on his paintings and works of calligraphy between late 1682 and 1684. A recently discovered painting, Cab-Apple
Flowers (fig. 5), further supports the theory that Bada had a brief, unsuccessful marital experience. Datable to early 1684—owing to its unrestrained writing style—Bada's inscription on Crab-Apple Flowers refers to irreconcilable differences between the spouses. The artist's seal, liji, or "What promise did I break?" underscores the probability of an unhappy ending.

Bada's paintings and calligraphy from this period (1680–84) are characterized by a preference to use the side of the brush, forming flat, angular, and sharp-ended strokes. The most frequently used signatures and seals bear the li character, a Chan reference not only to his former monkhood but also to his recognition of "impossibility" in life.

SUDDEN RETURN TO THE MUNDANE WORLD, WIELDING BRUSH AND INK, 1684–1705

A new pseudonym, "Bada Shanren," made its first appearance, in both signature and seal, in 1684. The album Scripture of the Inner Radiances of the Yellow Court (cat. entry 2), dated on the first day of the seventh lunar-month (August 11), in the Freer Gallery's collection, bears the artist's earliest dated signature of Bada Shanren known to date (see appendix, signatures, no. 2). The signature is also followed by a seal with the li character (see appendix, seals, no. 7). The Freer album provides an important link in the artist's transitional period from the li, or...
“donkey,” years to those that followed, during which Bada rose to become one of the best-known artists in the history of later Chinese painting.

Sheshi, To Be Involved in Affairs, 1684–1693

Bada Shanren’s adoption of a new pseudonym that he used for the rest of his life suggests that he not only came to terms with his broken marriage but also made peace with himself and his life. He continued to socialize with and create artworks for monks, Qing officials, and scholars. While flat and angular brushwork still distinguished his paintings and calligraphy in the latter part of the 1680s, Bada was gradually holding his brush upright to use more of the resilient vertical fine tip (zhongfeng) instead of holding it at a slant and using the side of the brush top (eefeng). A fine example of his work using a slanted brush and the side hair is the album leaf Pine Tree (fig. 6), datable to circa 1688–89, in the Freer Gallery of Art’s collection. This work illustrates the characteristics of broad and flat brushwork executed to form the angular, twisted contours of the objects depicted. By holding the brush upright, the well-rounded hair and fine tip tend to create more linear and even brushstrokes. Two album leaves in the Freer’s collection, Like Flowers and Calligraphy (cat. entry 3), dated 1690, provide a compelling comparison for the two very different techniques. Holding the brush upright allows the arm (and not the wrist) to manipulate the brush more freely and swiftly. As a result, Bada’s signature and facsimile inscription in running-cursive script appear more solid and fluid.

Other than a handful of landscapes, Bada’s favorite subjects during this period were birds, flowers, bamboo, lotus, melons, plants, fish, ducks, insects, cats, and chickens. Such a broad range of interests is unusual when compared to his contemporaries. What intrigued him to try his brush on such variety? Records reveal that in the beginning of his secular life Bada painted for his own enjoyment and gave away his works. Yet his need for income and his growing recognition as an artist among the social elites led him to become a professional painter in the late 1680s.1 Judging from extant dated works, Bada became increasingly active from 1690 onward.1

An unusual term, sheshi, meaning “to be involved in affairs,” repeatedly appears in Bada’s dated paintings and seal impressions between 1690 and 1693.1 Four works in the Freer Gallery’s collection alone testify to Bada’s frequent usage of this imaginative term: Bamboo, Rocks, and Small Birds, dated 1692, (cat. entry 4); Falling Flower, Buddha’s Hand Citron, Hibiscus, and Lotus Pod, also dated 1692, (fig. 7 and cat. entry 5, leaves 1, 2, and 4) all bear

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**Fig. 6** Pine Tree, leaf k, from Flowers and Birds, by Bada Shanren (1626–1705), China, Qing dynasty, ca. 1688–89. Album of eleven leaves, ink on paper, 25.5 x 23 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., F955.21.
sheshi in Bada's inscriptions. A seal impression of sheshi (see appendix, seals, no. 15) can also be identified in the lower right corner of Buddhha's Hand Citron. Bada explained why he came up with this term in one of the three inscriptions that he wrote on the Shanghai Museum's Birds and Fish, dated 1693: "[One must] repeatedly climb [the mountains] to be free from fear, struggling for competence. In writing, too, [one] must be free from fear in order to be competent; the same holds true for painting. Therefore, when it comes to painting, I respectfully call it sheshi."

Based on these precepts, Bada's vision becomes clear; he intended to immerse himself in brush and ink and to be fearless and competent in creating paintings that portrayed a variety of objects. Bada's growth in this direction was paralleled by his change in format from the small, intimate album and handscroll formats to the large, powerful hanging scroll, such as Bamboo, Rocks, and Small Birds mentioned above.

In Pursuit of Antiquity, 1693–1700
Already an accomplished painter and calligrapher by adolescence, by the early 1690s, Bada Shanren had been creating with brush and ink for more than half a century. He knew the age-old theory of shuhua tongyuan—that calligraphy and painting are of the same origin—and that little difference exists in how these sister arts are comprehended or created.

The year 1693 marked a period of great importance in Bada's aesthetic evolution. In a missing album, Landscapes and Calligraphy, consisting of eight leaves and dated 1693, Bada unmistakably stated his philosophical views on four of the leaves. First, literary talents are equivalent to the calligraphy and painting of the world (leaf 6); second, the essence of art should not be judged by likeness to an object, but by the emotions and intelligence the art embodies (leaf 2); and third, painting and calligraphy are to be created using the same methods (leaves 5 and 8).

Both landscapes on the second and the fifth leaves share certain unusual qualities in their landscape elements: boundlessness and indefiniteness. Whereas the hanging cliff in the upper right corner of leaf two and the slope in the lower left of leaf five are both edgeless, stretching the landscapes to indefinite remoteness, the contours of trees and rock formations are
often indistinguishable, creating a world that is only beginning to emerge. In his lengthy inscriptions, Bada subtly advocated the importance of emotions and intelligence in an artwork over any likeness it represented. This was a time when Bada seriously contemplated art and its meaning in his life. Technically, he reemphasized that the methods of painting should be united with those of calligraphy, and vice versa. With this revelation, Bada Shanren’s art reached new heights.

At the same time, he delved further, and seemingly indiscriminately, into study of the old masters of calligraphy. From ancient steles to works by the great Ming master and theorist Dong Qichang (1555–1636), Bada diligently and thoroughly studied them all (cat. entries 6, 17, 20, 31, and 32). In painting, especially the landscapes, he faithfully followed the doctrine of the Southern School literati painting, arbitrarily established by Dong. This framework emphasized that paintings by men of letters should employ the methods of writing ancient scripts, but at the same time should achieve self-expression through pure calligraphic brushwork characterized by intuition and spontaneity. Of all Dong’s immediate followers, it is Bada who offers the best examples for interpreting Dong’s theory and practice.

In the Grieving for a Fallen Nation album (ca. 1693–96; cat. entry 8), although the four landscape leaves are not inscribed with specific stylistic sources, they generally recall the familiar yet distinctive manners of the Four Great Masters of the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368): Huang Gongwang (1269–1354; leaf 3); Wu Zhen (1280–1354; leaf 2); Ni Zan (1306–1374; leaf 1); and Wang Meng (1308–1385; leaf 4), all distinguished painters in Dong Qichang’s Southern School lineage. Bada was completely at ease in displaying the wonder of brushwork from Ni Zan’s simplicity to Wang Meng’s complexity. The combination of abstract brushwork and ambiguous spatial relationships resulted in charming and illusive landscapes in this exquisite album. Bada’s capability of handling brush and ink reached the realms of liu li qi (ever-changing, eccentric, and antique) as described by his distant cousin, Shitao (1642–1707), a fellow prince-painter. These “ever-changing and eccentric” qualities are best seen in Bada’s large paintings of lotuses and birds, such as Lotus and Ducks (ca. 1696; cat. entry 9) in the Freer Gallery’s collection. The contrast of solid and loose between the long and upward-lifting lotus stalks—as if they were “written” in the manner of seal script—and the broad and hanging lotus leaves—splashes with wild-cursive strokes of multi-layered ink tonality—is truly ever-changing in execution. The upward, expressive gaze of the juxtaposed ducks (fig. 8) bears a quality of human emotions.

![Fig. 8 Detail, Lotus and Ducks, cat. entry 9.](image-url)
Bada devoted more of his talents toward calligraphy and landscape painting from this point on. The prose and poetry by the old masters that Bada chose to write are frequently about dwelling in nature (cat. entries 10, 13, 22, 25, and 28) or landscape paintings (cat. entries 11, 14, 15, 16, and 18). The following lines, written by the renowned Tang poet Du Fu (712–770; cat. entry 16) are among those most frequently quoted by artists reflecting on the ideal circumstances for creating landscape paintings:

Ten days to paint a river,
five days to paint a rock,
An expert does not suffer feeling pressed or hurried.

Bada echoes these lines. Yet in reality, he needed to produce art for income at the expense of pure creativity. When the scholar Wang Yuan (1648–1701) traveled to Nanchang in 1698 and met with Bada, he wrote to another painter, Mei Geng (1640–1722), in Xuancheng, Anhui Province, that Bada was “a true master. His arts go far beyond those of his peers. But he is poor and has to make a living by selling his calligraphy and painting, therefore, socializing with society is simply inevitable. Indeed, it is a shame.”

Bada’s Album after Dong Qichang’s “Copies of Ancient Landscape Paintings” (ca. 1697; cat. entry 12) reinterpreted Southern School masters such as Dong Yuan (died 962) (leaf 1, 5), Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322; leaf 2, 3), Huang Gongwang (leaf 4), and Ni Zan (leaf 6), through the filter of Dong Qichang’s own interpretation. Bada not only followed Dong’s copy of ancient landscapes, he also faithfully copied Dong’s inscription on each leaf, including the signatures, except for the first leaf, where he left his own mark with a seal impression. When Bada was young, Dong Qichang was rather influential in terms of calligraphy; as Bada matured, Dong continued to be influential, but in terms of painting. Bada’s Album after Dong Qichang’s “Copies of Ancient Landscape Paintings” is his ultimate homage to the Ming dynasty’s great master Dong Qichang, and exemplifies Bada’s personal pursuit of antiquity in the great tradition of Chinese landscape painting.
Seeking Solitary and Heavenly Harmony, 1701–1705

Starting in the year 1701, a new studio name, "Ni jishen (Hut for Sleeping Alone and Waking to Sing)" appears in Bada Shanren's inscriptions and was used until his death in 1705. Although it has been reported that in 1702 Bada was a member of the Donghu Calligraphy and Painting Society (Donghu shuhua hui), which was formed mostly by local artists, he also sought a solitary life in old age. A local scholar, Liang Fen (1641–1729), wrote to Bada in 1704, stating that he had not heard from Bada in four years. It is evident that Bada's social activities diminished during the last years of his life. The year of jishen (1704) lacked the dated work by Bada. It is also possible that because the Ming dynasty ended in the same cyclical year of jishen (1644), after a sixty-year cycle, it was simply too painful for Bada to record that particular date.

Taking into account both Bada's new studio name and Liang Fen's concern about the artist's seclusion, it seems probable that Bada intended his last years to be solitary. This chosen behavior complements Ni Zan's landscape style as described by Dong Qichang on the last leaf of Bada's Album after Dong Qichang's "Copies of Ancient Landscape Paintings": "The paintings of Ni Yu [Ni Zan] are plain and natural, and none of the helter-skelter vulgarity of common painters" (cat. entry 12, leaf 6). On another album leaf by Bada, Landscape after Ni Zan (ca. 1703–5; cat. entry 33), in the Freer collection, the artist himself remarks: "Ni Yu painted like a celestial steed bounding the void or white clouds emerging from a ridge, showing not a speck of mundane vulgarity. I drew this [painting] in my spare time." The absolute simplicity of the composition and the contour of trees and rocks outlined by the smooth dry brushstrokes present a landscape from a pure and lofty mind.

Bada had long been interested in the writings of the ancient philosopher Zhuangzi (ca. 369–ca. 286 B.C.E.) as shown in the Shanghai Museum's Birds and Fish scroll. On another late landscape, Bada wrote: "[This is] what Zhuangzi meant by 'harmonzing with a touch of heaven.'" This abbreviated inscription refers to Zhuangzi's idea of how a man can live out his years simply by following the laws of nature as expressed in Zhuangzi's "Discussion on Making All Things Equal": "Harmonize them all with the Heavenly Equality, leave them to their endless changes, and so live out your years." It was this kind of simple and harmonious relationship between man and nature that Bada was seeking in the latter part of his life.

A small fan, Landscape (ca. 1705; fig. 9), painted in his last studio called the Hut for Sleeping Alone and Waking to Sing, illustrates well Bada's secluded later life. There is not a soul in sight in the wilderness, only a tiny hut, almost invisible, situated on a low hill and separated from the distant mountains by the rising clouds behind it. The rising clouds, depicted only with the void, remind us of Bada's earlier remark on Landscape after Ni Zan (cat. entry 33), which partially reads: "White clouds emerging from a ridge, showing not a speck of mundane vulgarity." The only link to the mundane world is a small bridge leading from the hut's lower right side. The characteristic pale and dry brushstrokes of Bada's lofty and elusive later years define the tranquil and timeless nature in which heavenly harmony is supposed to be found.
NOTES

1 For detailed accounts of Bada Shanren's genealogy and identity, see Wang Shiqing, "Bada Shanren de xixi wen" (The problem of Bada Shanren's genealogy), Duoyun (Art Clouds Quarterly) 27 (April 1990): 97–100; Wang Fangyu and Richard M. Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden: The Life and Art of Bada Shanren (1626–1705) (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery and Yale University Press, 1998), 23–32. For the theory that Bada Shanren was the heir of the last Ming emperor, see Wei Zhenyu, Bada Shanren zhui yi (The riddle of Bada Shanren) (Taipei: Liren shuju, 1998).


4 For Flower Studies, see Wang Zhaowen, ed., Bada Shanren quanzi (Complete works of Bada Shanren) (Nanchang: Jiangxi meishu chubanshe, 2000) 1:1–17. For another album, Flowers, in the Shanghai Museum, that shares similar characteristics, see 1:18–27.

5 For Bada's acquaintances, see Wang Shiqing, "Bada Shanren de geyou" (Bada Shanren's circle of friends), in ibid., 5:1094–1119.

6 For the inscriptions on Portrait of Gezhou, see Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 37–41.

7 For Bada's madness, see Wang Shiqing, "Bada Shanren de bingshen wen" (The problem of Bada Shanren's madness), in Da Gong Bao, July 1, 1984.

8 For Shao Changsheng's "Bada Shanren zhuan" (The biography of Bada Shanren), see Wang Fangyu, ed., Bada Shanren luoji 1:527–28.


11 For detailed accounts of Bada Shanren's marriage, see Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 50–55.


14 Wang Shiqing, "Qingchu huzhou ji jingxuan xuan" (Painted paintings by eight masters in the early Qing dynasty: part 3). Xin meishu (New arts) 20, no. 3 (1999): 74–78.


17 For a reproduction of this album, see Wang Zadou, comp., Bada Shanren shihua ji (Collection of calligraphy and painting by Bada Shanren) (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1983) 2:38–53. For discussion of the significance of this album and Bada Shanren's landscapes, see also note 30, especially pages 96–99.


19 For works by the Four Great Yuan Masters, see James Cahill, Hills Beyond a River: Chinese Painting of the Yuan Dynasty, 1279–1368 (New York: Weatherhill, 1976), 68–74.


22 Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 253.

23 For the Donghua Calligraphy and Painting Society, see Hu Zhe, "Mei Geng mianpu" (The chronology of Mei Geng), Duoyun (Art Clouds Quarterly) 25 (June 1990): 122–27.


The Calligraphy and Seals of Bada Shanren
QIANSHEN BAI

FROM BADA'S EARLY LEARNING TO THE FORMATION OF THE BADA STYLE OF CALLIGRAPHY

For centuries before the time of Bada Shanren, calligraphy had been regarded as one of the most important achievements in Chinese art. A calligrapher was obliged to follow the prescribed sequence of strokes that make up each character while arranging the characters in a fixed format—usually vertical columns—so that the flow of his brush sketched a sequential path that was believed to have a temporal dimension akin to music. Because calligraphy is nonrepresentational and because it is affected by individual skill, style, and imagination, it is seen as a spontaneous product of hand, mind, and feeling and therefore has long been viewed by art critics and scholars as “a delineation of the mind” (xînhua).

Calligraphy is thus seen as an act of the “whole being,” representative of one’s personality, and an important means of self-cultivation and self-expression. Since in Chinese art theory a civilized mind produces civilized calligraphy, an individual’s achievement in calligraphy is viewed as an index to his degree of self-cultivation.

Because good calligraphy was regarded as a reflection of a high level of self-cultivation and cultural achievement, calligraphy was the principal art that every member of the educated elite felt obliged to study. Because it was practiced, appreciated, and collected mainly by the literati, Lothar Ledderose has defined Chinese calligraphy as an “art of the elite.”

Calligraphy, unlike painting, is nonrepresentational. There have long been stories of calligraphers whose achievements were inspired by watching natural phenomena, but in reality, the foundation of calligraphic learning and creation has been the copying of ancient masterworks, and it has been through the diligent study of ancient masterworks that calligraphers have acquired skill and competence.

Bada’s extant, early calligraphic works bear out this learning process, for they demonstrate that, in establishing his own idiosyncratic style, he first thoroughly studied various ancient masters. An album of painting and calligraphy executed in 1659 (when Bada was thirty-three) now in the collection of the National Palace Museum (Taipei) is the earliest extant work by Bada. Its several calligraphy leaves and inscriptions on paintings are invaluable for studying Bada’s early work. The album uses several different script types, including the running, cursive, clerical, clerical-cursive, and regular-script types, and these types were written in the styles of several ancient masters, demonstrating Bada’s solid, extensive training in calligraphy.

The second leaf of this album is a painting of a tao root (fig. 1), on which Bada inscribed a poem describing an old man on Mount Hongya (a mountain in Xinjian county in Jiangxi) baking a tao root in winter as a treat for his guests. Although the poem may allude to the plain life Bada led in a Buddhist monastery, its elaborate regular-script calligraphy faithfully follows the style of the Tang master Ouyang Xun (557–641). Ouyang is famous for his rigid application of various rules in executing strokes and constructing character structures (fig. 2). Like Ouyang’s calligraphy, every stroke in Bada’s leaf is carefully executed, character structures are well balanced, and the overall composition of the...
twenty-eight-character inscription is neat and orderly. As a Zen monk of the Caodong sect, often Bada laced his poetry with humor, but the calligraphy on this painting is serious, even ritualistic, showing that calligraphy has its own aesthetics, and that these do not always relate to the literary content of its texts. Thus, the aesthetics of a calligraphy can be enjoyed separately from its text or, alternatively, can be appreciated in terms of the possible tension between its calligraphic style and the literary theme of its presented text.

Three characters in this leaf are worth noting: the second character of the first column and the first and last characters of the second column (Chinese is written from top to bottom and in columns from right to left). The last stroke in each of these three characters is horizontal, with its right end given a distinctive upward flap, a characteristic of clerical script, a precursor of regular script. This feature is interesting because, during Bada’s time, or, more precisely, since the Tang dynasty (618–907) onward, horizontal strokes in regular script tended to rise slightly from left to right, while their right ends were usually cut at a diagonal that slanted toward the lower right, as we can see in the work of Ouyang Xun (see fig. 2). This slanted ending, created by downward diagonal pressure from the brush, was in one sense an improvement over the horizontals in clerical script; for it better accords with the convention of writing characters from top to bottom because it sends the brush in the direction of subsequent strokes below, speeding the pace of writing.

Thus, the upward flick at the right ends of horizontal strokes in pre-Tang calligraphy eventually was replaced by the blunter, downward-pointing terminus of post-Tang regular script. Bada, by introducing outdated upward flicks into his horizontal strokes, alluded to ancient styles and introduced an archaic flavor into his calligraphy. This strategy of incorporating elements of ancient writings into calligraphy to lend it an archaic flavor was a common practice among calligraphers in the last half of the seventeenth century.

In contrast to Ouyang Xun’s rigid brush method, leaves three and fifteen present a much livelier style of calligraphy that shows that Bada also was influenced by Chu Suhang (596–658), another Tang calligraphy master (fig. 3). In Chu’s “Preface to the Sacred Teachings” (Shengjiao xun), written in 653, commonly taken as his best work in regular script (fig. 4), the application of the so-called press-and-lift (ti’ an) technique is more visible than it is in Ouyang’s work. This technique is heavily dependent on the structure of the typical calligraphy brush, which has a tuft usually made from sheep, weasel, or rabbit fur. It is cone-shaped, and its tip is pointed. Pressing and lifting the brush, especially on absorbent paper,
produces a great variety of stroke widths because, when the brush is pressed, the stroke becomes wider, and when lifted, thinner. In Chu’s model and Bada’s leaves, a horizontal stroke usually begins with a firm downward press. As the brush moves to the right to make the body of the stroke, it is slightly raised, then is pressed again at the end, leaving the middle section of the stroke thinner than at either end. Viewers of this technique get the impression that the brush dances as it moves, creating a rhythm akin to that of music and dance. That is why critics say of beautiful calligraphy that “the brush sings, and ink dances.”

Besides use of the press-and-lift technique, Bada’s calligraphy in Chu’s style has other features. For instance, vertical strokes always begin with a sophisticated start and continue in graceful curves. Because they are relatively thin, they make a work seem more spacious and
relaxed. Sometimes, character structures (particularly of the fifth character in the first column from right) are purposely unbalanced, their unstable structures diminishing the ritualistic orientation of regular-script writing and giving it a lively, individualistic flavor.

Different types of linear strokes and character structures convey different meanings and emotions and provoke different feelings. Bada’s calligraphy in running and cursive scripts in the 1660s and the 1670s convincingly demonstrates that he closely followed the style of the late Ming master Dong Qichang (1555–1636) (fig. 5). No one occupied a more central position in seventeenth-century calligraphy than Dong. The richness and broad variety of his calligraphy prevents a comprehensive discussion here of the scope of his training and achievement. But in a larger historical framework, Dong’s calligraphy followed the so-called model book tradition that had been founded on the elegant, graceful art of Wang Xizhi (ca. 303–ca. 361 C.E.) and by the Tang dynasty had become codified. Not only are Dong’s models drawn from this elegant tradition, but his personal style is also innately graceful and refined.

There is an undated handscroll (it likely dates from around 1671) of flowers by Bada in the collection of the Palace Museum (Beijing) whose running-cursive script bears striking resemblance to the calligraphy of Dong Qichang (fig. 6). Precisely and delicately executed, the strokes have an effortless flow, and those that change direction bend in round rather than
in angular turns, making the brush movement fluid and elegant. In addition, the characters are widely spaced, which creates a relaxed, easy atmosphere throughout the work. The second half of the seventeenth century was extremely turbulent, but during his stay in a Zen Buddhist monastery about this time, Bada managed to achieve a relatively tranquil mental state through his use of Buddhist practices; at least, he was in a peaceful mood when he wrote this handscroll of flowers.

However, there was an abrupt change in Bada's style in the late 1670s, when he sought inspiration from the calligraphy of Huang Tingjian (1045–1105), a master of the Northern Song dynasty (960–1127). Huang's running-script calligraphy is characterized by an elongated character structure that has a dense concentration of strokes at its core, from which elongated strokes radiate to the structure's periphery (fig. 7). Huang's strokes were often written with a purposely trembling hand, yielding strokes with uneven edges and frequent changes in brush direction. A handscroll executed by Bada around 1680, now in the collection of the Shanghai Museum, is the best-known example of Bada's calligraphy in Huang's style (fig. 8). The text of this scroll by the wine-loving scholar Liu Ling of the Western Jin dynasty (265–317 C.E.) is entitled "Eulogy on the Virtue of Wine" (Jiade song) a work that defends and praises indulgence in alcohol.

As in Huang's calligraphy, the character structures in this scroll are often elongated with long strokes stretching from the center. It would appear that Bada's brush had a softer tuft than Huang's, and he wielded it swiftly. The pointed tip of his brush left many sharp stroke ends, especially beginnings. He reduced the vibration of brush movement, making strokes more straightforward and much more angular than Huang's. Though the text is about wine, Bada may have written this scroll when sober. Even so, there are striking variations in character size in this calligraphy. Four of its columns contain only two large characters each, compared to four or five characters in each of the remaining columns. In retrospect, already associated with Bada's incorporation of Huang Tingjian's style were hints of the dramatic changes that were to transform his later style.

Bada Shanren made his final name change in 1684. Not only did he use "Bada Shanren" until his death, but it became his best-known name to posterity. It was also in this year that he began to practice a distinguished calligraphic style of his own that later became known as "Bada ti," or Bada style. Although his calligraphic works before 1684 showed something of his idiosyncratic character forms, they also contained the clearly identifiable stylistic traits of
such specific ancient masters as Ouyang Xun, Chu Suiliang, Dong Qichang, and Huang Tingjian, among others. After 1684, this was no longer the case, so dramatic were Bada’s stylistic innovations, and we may treat 1684 as marking the maturity of Bada’s calligraphy.

The earliest extant work that bears the signature “Bada Shanren” is an album formerly in the collection of Wang Fangyu, that Bada made in the fall of 1684 (see appendix, signatures, no. 2). Its text is the Scripture of the Inner Radiances (Neijing jing). Copying Buddhist and Daoist sutras, or scriptures (jinge), has a long tradition in China. Copying is not only a matter of transmitting religious teachings; it is an activity that accumulates religious virtue. One may copy the holy texts personally, especially on such special occasions as the birthday of Shakyamuni. Or, should one have more money than time, one might commission scribes to do the copying. This practice is often aimed at a specific goal; for instance, blessing ailing parents in hope of a cure.

Bada’s objective in copying the Scripture of the Inner Radiances remains unclear. He may have been studying Daoism at this time because, in the colophon he attached to his copy of the Scripture, he briefly mentions some of the similarities and differences between Daoist and Buddhist teachings, which suggests that these were a current topic of study for him. Although Bada had been a Buddhist monk for many years, he and many other intellectuals of the seventeenth century were also deeply interested in Daoism. While religious texts usually are accorded the dignity of regular script, Bada’s copy is a mixture of the regular and running scripts. Even so, one can sense a seriousness in his style. Some strokes are connected to each other, showing a degree of informality, but few characters interconnect, making the work fairly easy to read, as with regular script. And while character structures tilt to the right, lending them a lively, asymmetric balance, the sutra has none of the dramatically elongated characters or brushstrokes characteristic of Bada’s “Ode on the Virtue of Wine” in the style of Huang Tingjian, which was discussed above.

Are there clues as to what may have inspired Bada to include elements of running script in his transcription of the Scripture of the Inner Radiiances? In his colophon to this work, Bada mentions two points that may be relevant. One is that he refers to Buddhist sacred teachings (Shengjiao). A closely related text, the “Preface to the Sacred Teachings” (Shengjiao xin) of the Tang period, exists in several engraved versions, one of which was carved in running script and thus may have served as precedent for Bada’s approach. The second point is that his colophon notes that his transcription of the Scripture of the Inner Radiances follows the
calligraphic manner of the Two Kings (Wang Xizhi and his son Wang Xianzhi, 344–388 C.E.), although the stylistic relationship of the *Scripture of the Inner Radiances* to the style of the Two Kings is a loose one. What makes the Two Kings relevant is that the one famous engraved version of “Preface to the Sacred Teachings” (Bada’s possible inspiration for writing sacred documents in running script) was commissioned by a Buddhist monk Huiren (active ca. 7th century), in which all the characters were taken by Huiren from Wang Xizhi’s running-script writings. Thus, there were two factors behind Bada’s writing a sacred text in running script in the style of Wang Xizhi, and Bada mentions connections to both of them in his colophon.

It appears that during this period Bada became deeply interested in exploring a new spatial dimension. In a painting album of 1684 now in the collection of the Chen family in Singapore, both Bada’s paintings and inscriptions show his interest in “surface.” Taking the leaf with a rabbit as example (fig. 9), it can be seen that the minimized depiction of the rabbit demonstrates no interest in the depth of the painted object. The brushwork of this painting’s inscription also tends toward flatness, lacking three-dimensional effects that could have been achieved by applying the so-called centered-tip technique, in which the tip of the moving brush is kept in the middle of the strokes being written. Character structure in this inscribed poem is no longer elongated, but the two extra-large characters in the third column are so eye-catching that one pauses to ponder why the artist adopted such a dramatic fashion of writing. However, Bada’s interest in “surface” lasted only about five years. It was followed by a new exploration, this time into depth.

**STUDY OF ANCIENT EPIGRAPHY AND BADA’S LATE CALLIGRAPHY**

Bada, toward the end of the 1680s, gradually developed a vigorous style whose archaic flavor was strongly reminiscent of ancient seal and clerical calligraphy. There are two album leaves in the former Wang Fangyu collection that bear a painting of a quince and an inscription in running cursive by the artist. This inscription’s appearance is less dramatic than that in the Chen family album of 1684. But what is of interest here is the work’s brush movement, which was executed by an evenly pressed brush, resulting in lines of generally uniform width. This technique is polar to that used in the work in Chu Suiliang’s style discussed above, where the constant use of the press-and-lift technique continuously varied the width of the line. In the present work, the even pressure of the brush makes the strokes firm and round. Although the even-pressure technique seems less complicated than that of press-and-lift, it takes great skill to execute with a calligraphy brush, which naturally lends itself to variations in brush pressure. Despite this hidden difficulty, the strokes in this work are vital and richly substantial, qualities that characterize Bada’s calligraphy from the late 1680s to his death.

The stylistic innovation of Bada’s use of even brush pressure may have had several sources. Wen C. Fong argues that during this period Bada was interested in reconstructing what he thought had been the appearance of the calligraphy of Wang Xizhi, the sage calligrapher of the Eastern Jin dynasty (317–420). Yet, there was another possible influence of his new style. In the former Wang Fangyu collection, there is a rubbing of a cursive work (mounted as a handscroll) entitled *Shengmu tie* (Holy Mother Manuscript) by the Tang dynasty monk calligrapher Huaisu (ca. 725–ca. 799). Bada must have treasured this rubbing. This is evident because the rubbing bears his seals (showing that he possessed it), and because he took the trouble to make a transcription of Huaisu’s cursive text that today is part of the rubbing handscroll (see appendix, seals [in order of appearance], nos. 19, 22, and 18 [identical impression]). Huaisu’s calligraphy in the rubbing was made with the same evenly pressed brush as in Bada’s late style and may have helped inspire it.

The third possible source for Bada’s plain, round calligraphy may have been ancient inscriptions on metal and stone objects. Attempts to draw inspiration and arrive at historical
accuracy regarding the past from these artifacts had much to do with the new intellectual trends of the second half of the seventeenth century. The tragedy of dynastic transition in 1644 forced many leading figures of the loyalist movement in the early Qing to rethink the causes of the rise of the Manchus at the expense of the Ming. Increasingly, empirical research was aimed at more accurately understanding the classics and history. This transition in the intellectual climate had significant influence on the art of calligraphy. As ancient epigraphs, which were regarded as original textual sources for studying the classics and history, became gradually more important in the formation of the new intellectual discourse, the calligraphic roughness and primitiveness of these sources were also appreciated and advocated by a number of leading calligraphers. Searching for steles and collecting rubbings of ancient steles and artifacts became an important part of cultural and intellectual life. Use of the epigraphical seal and clerical scripts exceeded that of the previous dynasties in both quantity and quality. Theoretical discussions of epigraphical calligraphy were also unprecedentedly frequent. But in the seventeenth century, the emergence of a competing style modeled on the plain, rough epigraphs on ancient bronzes and stone artifacts wrought by anonymous artisans caused a revolution in calligraphic taste.

Fu Shan (1606–1684/85), a northern philosopher, calligrapher, and leading theorist of this new taste, persistently advocated that ancient epigraphs in clerical and seal scripts should be the primary sources of calligraphic innovation. He claimed that “unless one practices seal- and clerical-script calligraphy, even if one has studied calligraphy for thirty-six thousand days, in the end, one is still unable to comprehend the key source of this art.”

Beginning probably in the 1680s and extending throughout the 1690s, Bada studied ancient epigraphs. A key piece of evidence testifying to Bada’s interest in epigraphy is his album of calligraphy from 1694 entitled Copy of the Stone Drum Inscriptions and the Stele at Mount Goulou, now in the collection of the Nanjing Museum. It is one of the few surviving works of Bada’s seal-script calligraphy (fig. 10). The “Stone Drum Inscriptions” (Shigu wen)
are ten odes engraved on ten gourd-shaped stone monuments commemorating a hunting event during the Warring States Period (475–221 B.C.E.). The inscriptions on these drums are written in the so-called great-seal script (fig. 11). The characters of this early script type retain pictorial elements, character structures favor symmetry, and strokes have a constant brush pressure that gives them the same width. Bada’s copy of these inscriptions is a spontaneous interpretation. It includes his copies of eight of the ten odes in the same calligraphic style and script type as the original, and each copy is followed by his research notes in small characters. While Bada’s copy of the inscriptions is rather casual, the curving lines were executed in even brush pressure, but many strokes have an unpolished, rough appearance that resembles the original ruined inscriptions on the stone drums. Thus, the overall flavor of Bada’s copy is plain, archaic.

More importantly, Bada not only studied and practiced ancient inscriptions in seal script during this period, he also endeavored to incorporate the method and flavor of seal script into his calligraphy in other scripts. A magnificent hanging scroll of cursive-script calligraphy executed by Bada around 1699 manifests this effort (see cat. entry 22). In this work, strokes do not begin and end with sharp termini but with the blunt and rounded termini that result from the hidden-tip method. In this work, the brush moves vigorously against the surface of the paper. Although there is hardly a press or a lift when writing the strokes in this work, the brush encounters resistance, and some strokes show the roughness and varied ink tones of a drying brush. Bada’s brush method also creates three-dimensional effects. There is little dramatic action in this kind of writing, but it achieves richness through simplified forms, the solidity of rounded strokes, and variations in ink tonality.

Calligraphic works of the Ming and Qing dynasties sometimes consisted of sets of hanging scrolls rather than of a single scroll. Depending on available space, these sets usually numbered from four to twelve scrolls in even-numbered increments. A work by Bada in this format (formerly in the collection of Wang Fangyu) comprises four hanging scrolls (see cat. entry 28). The text of each scroll is a cursive transcription of a Tang poem. The four scrolls can be taken as a set because they are consistent in text and style; yet, because each bears a complete poem and Bada’s signature and seals, they can also be hung individually. What interests us here is that, like the hanging scroll discussed above, many of the strokes are round and solid because the pressure on the brush was kept relatively even. While some
 strokes are ink-saturated, others are dry, leaving streaks of white that create an effect termed by calligraphers “flying white.”

Seventeenth-century calligraphers’ increasing interest in ancient epigraphy was amplified by a rising passion for seal carving. Seal script had long since become archaic, having been used only rarely in everyday writing since the Han dynasty (206 B.C.E.–220 C.E.). Since the Spring and Autumn (770–476 B.C.E.) and early Warring States periods, however, seal carving and seal script had maintained an intimate relationship, since the legends of most seals were cast or carved in seal script. Late-Ming-literati seal carving was no exception. The preference shown for seal script resembles the attitude of some prestigious Western universities that continue to print their diplomas in Latin to show their pride in a long tradition. Originally the ordinary writing of the Shang (1600–1050 B.C.E.) and Zhou (1050–221 B.C.E.) dynasties, seal script, once dropped from common use, acquired through its later obscurity an aura of antiquity that lent authority to seals, which already were often symbols of political, economic, and cultural power. To be able to carve and read seals, the literati studied seal script. In the seventeenth century, carving and reading seals became an important, if limited, means of access to ancient scripts and led to a greatly increased interest in ancient scripts and in the pursuit of an archaic flavor in calligraphy. Thus, in studying ancient epigraphy even as he was actively engaged in seal carving, Bada followed a cultural trend of his time.

BADA SHANREN’S SEALS

Closely related to calligraphy is an art in which Bada engaged throughout his life: seal carving. We know from Chen Dung’s (17th century) biography of Bada that he was good at it.” The record was further confirmed by a recently discovered letter that Bada wrote to a Mr. Juanshu (active late 17th century), in which the aged artist told his friend that he had designed a seal for him but had asked a famous seal carver to do the engraving.” Bada’s signature dates this letter to the 1690s; probably by this time Bada was too old to carve seals by himself, but still made seal designs and had someone else carry out the actual carving.

Bada’s involvement with seal carving was no accident; his family had a tradition of seal carving. His grandfather Zhu Duozheng (1541–1589) was a friend of He Zhen (1535–1604), the foremost seal carver of the late Ming, a period that witnessed the first heyday of seal carving as a literati art. Seal carving has existed in China for more than two thousand years. Since the thirteenth century, it has been customary for artists to affix their seal impressions to their calligraphies and paintings. A calligraphic work is not usually viewed as complete until pressed with the artist’s seal; even when there was no signature, there was usually a seal impression. By the late sixteenth century, seal carving was emerging as an independent art form. When the Italian missionary Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) arrived in China in the late sixteenth century, he was impressed by the wide use of seals in daily and artistic life:

The use of seals for stamping objects is well known and very common here. Not only letters are safeguarded with a seal but they are affixed to private writings, poems, pictures, and many other things. . . . As a rule, they are made of some more or less precious materials, such as rarer wood, marble, ivory, brass, crystal or red coral, or perhaps of some semi-precious stone. Many skilled workmen are engaged in making these seals and they are regarded as artists rather than artisans, because the characters engraved upon the seals are very old forms, not in common use, and high esteem is always accorded to those who display any knowledge of antiquity.”

It was in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, long after calligraphy and painting had already become an indispensable part of literati life, that seal carving became a flourishing form of artistic expression for the literati.
The rise of the literati seal-carving movement was made possible by the reintroduction of soft stones as the medium of choice in the second half of the sixteenth century. The permanent establishment of soft stone as the primary medium for seal carving was revolutionary in the history of Chinese seal carving. As James Watt has pointed out, "the necessary condition for the birth of this new art form, or rather the transformation of an ancient artistic craft into a medium of literati expression, was the use of soft stones (or soapstone) for seal carving." Therefore, the metal, jade, and ivory previously used by seal carvers was rapidly replaced by soft stone. Exploiting to the full the intrinsic nature of soft stone, seal carvers applied chisels in an increasingly spontaneous manner, leaving gashes and cuts that allowed viewers to trace the process of carving and thus to appreciate the carver's skill.

Natural breaks and cracks created by this more spontaneous execution added to their seals a flavor of antiquity. Seal carving had reached a new level of sophistication.

Like works by most of his contemporaries, the majority of Bada's paintings and calligraphy, except his letters, bear his seals. Thus far, scholars have described ninety or so different seals used by Bada from the 1650's to his death, some having identical legends. These seals can be divided into several categories: name seals, phrase seals, and pictorial seals. A distinctive cultural phenomenon in China is that "the Chinese literati assumed a number of personal names, in addition to the formal name they acquired at birth. The formal name was reserved for official and ceremonial use, and employed as a form of address only by one's superiors. Among their friends and in their writings and art, the literati referred to themselves by one or more style names (zi), chosen to reflect a particular character or virtue, or poetic names (hao), which might call to mind certain abilities, desires, or a memorable event."\

According to Wang Fangyu's study, Bada used about twenty different names over his lifetime, "many of which provide important insight into his self-image." Bada also used a number of seals that bear phrases or sayings of self-expression. Few pictorial seals are found among Bada's seals. An album leaf in the former Wang Fangyu collection given to the Freer Gallery of Art bears one such seal (see appendix, seals, no. 10). Its irregularly shaped impression contains the image of a mountain (shan) and the Chinese character for "mountain." The shape is derived from the image of real mountains. The last two characters "Shanren" in "Bada Shanren" mean "Mountain man," so this seal, although nominally pictorial, may have served as a signature seal.

To modern readers, Bada is a riddle. He never used formal names except his Buddhist names, such as Chuanqi and Fajue. Modern scholarship shows that Bada's original name was likely to have been Zhu Tonglin, but he never used this on his paintings, calligraphies, or seals.\

Bada habitually concealed his identity. Part of this cover-up was a series of names he used to mask himself from public exposure. That Bada used so many different name seals and phrase seals may reflect identity crises that he faced during a period of social dislocation. Bada once impressed a seal reading "Descendant of the Yi Yang Prince of Xijing" (Yi Yang Yi Yang (三) Qian) on his own portrait (fig. 12). The portrait had been painted for him by a friend in 1674, at a moment in his life when he was considering leaving the Buddhist temple and reentering the secular world. During this period, the last serious challenge to Qing rule in China seemed to be on the verge of success, and the generals who led the so-called War of the Three Feudatories held out the promise of a Ming restoration. As Richard M. Barnhart notes, "This is apparently the only time in his life after 1645 that Bada openly identified himself as a prince of the fallen Ming house." He even placed his seal in the imperial position, at the top center of the painting. But by the end of the 1670's, the promised restoration had failed.

Bada's phrase seals sometimes provided readers with specific, concrete information about his problems. For instance, "Control madness" (Cheliang) was a seal Bada began to use around
1678, when he was suffering from purturged madness (fig. 13). Scholars have long pondered whether Bada was mad. Some scholars have drawn a curious parallel between Bada Shanren and van Gogh, for both men were artists of extraordinary originality and both experienced episodes of madness. Yet, Barnhart writes that "while van Gogh has come to be the almost inevitable paradigm of the insane artist, Bada Shanren may not ever have been really mad. Possibly at a few periods of his endangered and troubled life he feigned insanity as the best means by which he could maintain his life and safety. In doing so, he would have been following an old tradition." This point is supported by Wang Fangyu's convincing argument that Bada Shanren's madness was likely feigned madness (pang kunang), rather than a true mental disease. However, our present concern is not whether Bada Shanren was suffering from mental disease or how serious it may have been, but why he reported his madness in his work. A physical problem was turned into an artistic expression that had profound meaning.

The dynastic change reduced many literati, especially those in elite positions, to lifestyles, social stations, or reputations that were much lower than they had been. This forced them to redefine their socio-political roles as they coped with a rapidly changing world. From about 1692 to 1699, Bada used another two-character seal, Gai 'ai (fig. 14). According to Jiang Zhaoshen's research, these two characters refer to two kinds of grass. Gai, polygala in Latin, is a medical herb that has another Chinese name, yuanzhi, or great ambition. Also, long tradition in Chinese literature has associated wuingsun, princes, with fangciao, fragrant grass. Contrarily, ai, moxa, is a grass that since ancient times has been regarded as common or vulgar. By combining princely polygala and humble moxa in making a phrase seal, Bada implicitly indicated his identity shift from an imperial Ming prince with great ambitions to a painter of inferior status.

No seal stones used by Bada have survived; there remain only their impressions on his works. For this reason, we are not sure which among these imprinted seals were carved by Bada. It is very likely that Bada carved, or at least designed, some of his own seals because a number of them share some of the idiosyncratic features of his calligraphy. During Bada's time, the ancient seals made in the Han dynasty were firmly canonized as the primary models for modern seal carvers. By the late Ming, many Han seals had suffered the depredations of time (fig. 15). These qualities of decay now became so aesthetically desirable that seal carvers attempted to reproduce them in their works. The seal critic Shen Ye (active ca. second half of the 16th century) relates some amusing anecdotes:

When Wen Peng [1498–1573] made a seal, he put the seal in a box upon completing its carving and asked a young attendant to shake it all day. When Chen Taiyue [active ca. 16th century] carved a seal, he threw the stone seal on the ground several times until parts of it were broken, giving it an antique flavor.

A considerable number of Bada's seals followed this new trend. Take, for example, a seal impression reading "Immortality is achievable" (Ke de shouxian) that Bada frequently used from 1686 until his death (fig. 16). This seal was carved in a spontaneous manner, leaving gashes and cuts that allowed viewers to trace the process of carving. Some strokes are deliberately broken, and one area of the ground between two strokes is marred. This damage contributes an antique feel to the work. Whereas the structure of the seal "Immortality is achievable" is well balanced, another of Bada's seals, reading Fu xian (fig. 17; its exact connotation is unclear), follows a different Han model; all its vertical lines lean to one side; together with the gashed lines, this seal attempts to create a casual, naive, primitive flavor.

As in his calligraphy, Bada's seals reflect his stylistic diversity. Besides the mode of Han ruination discussed above, some of Bada's seals were carved with extraordinary precision and clarity. For instance, the seal Ren'an (fig. 18; Bada's studio name), which first appeared in

1672, is carved in a careful and delicate manner. Stylistically speaking, it follows the tradition that developed after the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368). The two characters in small seal script are well structured and placed, and each line is meticulously and gracefully executed, lending the work a refined elegance.

Thanks to scholarly endeavors over the past four decades, it is now possible to identify the characters in most of Bada’s seals. Nevertheless, Bada’s seals often present us with more problems than solving questions about his identity and intentions. Often, the exact meanings of Bada’s seals remain elusive. Take, as an example, the “slipper” seal that Bada used most frequently late in his life (fig. 19). Many scholars tend to read this seal as “Bada Shanren” because it appeared in 1684, the year Bada started using the name “Bada Shanren,” and the design of this seal may look like, in some way, a combination of the four characters for “ba,” “da,” “shan,” and “ren.” Nevertheless, this reading is by no means conclusive, and Bada’s seals demand future research.

To conclude, Bada Shanren was one of the most creative and talented artists of the early Qing period. During his lifetime, he diligently studied ancient works, including epigraphs on ancient metal and stone objects, and, in a highly conscious effort at stylistic innovation and self-expression, he created a style of great individual distinction. While Bada’s calligraphy was closely associated with his life experiences and intellectual pursuits, it is often difficult to understand in what manner his seals establish his identity and personal philosophy, for the exact meanings of many of them remain elusive, even when we can read their characters. These “mysterious” seals, together with Bada’s stylistic inclusiveness, have intrigued later generations, have invited repeated investigations of Bada Shanren and his art, and have produced endless, sometimes inexcusably misguided interpretations of his works and life.
NOTES


3 The meanings of the paintings and inscribed poems in this album have been thoroughly examined by Richard M. Barnhart (with translations of all the poems) in Wang and Barnhart, *Master of the Lotus Garden*, 97–101. My discussion here is focused on the style of the calligraphy.

4 For Richard M. Barnhart’s detailed discussion of these two leaves, see Wang and Barnhart, *Master of the Lotus Garden*, 109–11.


6 Bai Qianshen (Qianshen Bai), "Qinghu jiuhao de zuozhe de Bada Shanren yueyin zhong de yingxiang" (The influence of the revival of the study of jiuhao in the early Qing on late calligraphy of Bada Shanren), *Gongyao xuehui jilue* (National Palace Museum Monthly) 12, no. 3 (April 1985): 89–124; see also Qianshen Bai, *Fu Shou* (Shanghai: The Transformation of Chinese Calligraphy in the Seventeenth Century (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003), chapter 3.

7 This passage is found in Chen Ji’s *Shufa qu* (Random notes on calligraphy), in *Pinghu congshu* (Various writings published by PIngH), ed. Jin Yue (Beijing: Beijing sheng guo shuju, 1985), 5b.

8 For a detailed discussion of this album, see Ga Bing, "Spontaneous Interpretation: An Album of Bada Shanren’s Seal-Script Calligraphy," *Ornament* 20, no. 5 (May 1989): 65–70.

9 Richard M. Barnhart’s discussion of this set of hanging scrolls can be found in Wang and Barnhart, *Master of the Lotus Garden*, 206–7.

10 See Wang Fangyu, Bada Shanren *biyan*, 1.53.

11 This letter, mounted as one leaf of an album, is now in the collection of the Smithsonian Library and published in Wang Zhousen, ed., *Bada Shanren congshu* (Complete works of Bada Shanren) (Nanchang: Jiangxi renmin chubanshe, 2000), 2:260.


13 The use of such stones in seal carving can be traced to much earlier times; some scholars, such as Sha Menghai, place the beginning of literati seal carving as early as the Northern Song, arguing that Mi Fu (1051–1107) may have engaged in it. The Yuan dynasty painter Wang Mang (1287–1359) was one of the earliest of the literati to carve seals in soft stone, according to some textual evidence. See Sha Menghai, Sha Menghai *liushu congshu* (Collected discussions on calligraphy by Sha Menghai) (Shanghai: Shanghai shuju chubanshe, 1987), 188–89. Recent archaeological excavations have confirmed that soft stone was being used for seal carving before the sixteenth century. See Sun Weizhi, *Sun Wei zhi liushu congshu* (Sui Wei’s writings on seals) (Shanghai: Shanghai shuju, 1999), 183–87.


17 Ibid.

18 For a discussion in English of Bada’s original name, see Wang and Barnhart, *Master of the Lotus Garden*, 24–34.


21 For a discussion of Bada Shanren’s madness and his art, see James Cahill, "The ‘Madness’ in Bada Shanren’s Paintings," *Artibus Asiae* 47 (1989): 143–44. Cahill’s article deals chiefly with Bada’s paintings. But in order to support his argument, Cahill also uses some elements of Bada’s calligraphy as evidence. For instance, Cahill argues that Bada’s calligraphy "has its own elements of the cryptic — the use of uncommon seal-script forms or rare, archaic forms of characters, an abstruse way of writing the dates on some of his works." He also implies a connection between the strange aspect of Bada’s calligraphy and his "madness" (page 122). Cahill was not aware that writing unusual and archaic forms of characters was a fashionable game among late-Ming and early-Qing calligraphers. Such calligraphers as Huang Daozhou (1585–1646), Wang Duo (1593–1652), and Fu Shan, who had no records of madness, also loved to write strange forms of characters. For a detailed discussion of this game, see Bai Qianshen, "Mamatsu Shinryo no kakeru itai to kiai no jitsu to tsuji" (A study of the fashion of writing strange characters in late-Ming to early-Qing calligraphy), *Shoren* 32 (2001): 181–87, and no. 33 (2002). Qianshen Bai, *Fu Shan’s World*, chapter 1.


25 Shen Ye, *Yin dao* (Talking about seals), in *Liushu yinhuozhe xuan* (The study of seals through the ages, selected texts), ed. Han Tianheng (Hangzhou: Xiluo yinshu, 1999), 64.

26 Some of Bada’s works bear both a seal with this design and another of four characters reading “Bada Shanren.” Since it is rare for a Chinese artist to put two name seals with the same legend on the same artwork, it may be that the text of the “dipper” seal is something other than “Bada Shanren.”
Catalogue

STEPHEN D. ALLEE
Lotus ca. 1665

Album of eight double leaves; ink on paper
average 25.4 x 33.66 cm
Bequest from the collection of Wang Fangyu and Sum Wai, donated in their memory by Mr. Shao F. Wang.

Outside label (not shown) by Zhang Daqian (1899–1983), running script
Lotus Album by the Buddhist monk Chuangqi (Bada Shanren). The sobriquets Fajue and Ren’an, which appear in the seals, were alternative names used by Bada Shanren while he was a monk Yuan [Zhang Daqian].

Two seals Zhang Yuan (square intaglio), Daqian (square relief)

Leaf 1
No signature
One seal Fajue (oval relief)

Two collector seals
Zhang Can (19th–20th century?), one seal: Zhang Can siyin (square intaglio)
Unidentified collector, one seal: illegible (intaglio half-seal)
LEAF 2
NO SIGNATURE
TWO SEALS Shi Chunqi yin (square intaglio), Ren'an (square relief)
NO COLLECTOR SEALS
LEAF 3

NO SIGNATURE

TWO SEALS Shi Chuanqi (square relief), Ren'an (square relief)

TWO COLLECTOR SEALS
Zhang Daqian (1899–1983),
two seals: Dafengtang (square relief), Jiuhou yihou suo de (rectangle relief)
LEAF 4

signature: Chuanqi

TWO SEALS Fujie (oval relief), Ren'an (square relief)

ONE COLLECTOR SEAL

Unidentified collector, one seal: x x guanzhu (intaglio half-seal)
LEAF 5

signature Fajue shi Chuanqi
one seal Ren’an (square relief)

NO COLLECTOR SEALS
LEAF 6
signature Fajue
one seal Reiu'an (square relief)

NO COLLECTOR SEALS
LEAF 7
signature Chuanqi
one seal Ren’an (square relief)

NO COLLECTOR SEALS
LEAF 8
signature Chuanqi
one seal Shu Chuanqi yin
(square intaglio)

one collector seal
Wang Fangyu (1913–1997),
one seal: Shijizhulu (square intaglio)
2 Scripture of the Inner Radiances of the Yellow Court
four excerpts in running-standard script, 1684

Album of twelve leaves; ink on paper
AVERAGE 22.0 x 11.66 cm
Purchase — Funds provided by the E. Rhodes and Leona B. Carpenter Foundation in honor of the 75th Anniversary of the Freer Gallery of Art

LEAF 1

Stat: a 1 (paraphrase)²

Before the Lord of the Void, who resides among purple auroras in the Heaven of Highest Purity, / The Most High Jade Dawn Ruler of the Great Dao / Dwelt at ease in the Palace of Stamens and Pearls, composing lines in heptasyllabic meter, / Dispersing change to the Five Shapes and transforming the ten-thousand deities. / These comprise the Yellow Court Scripture and are called the Inner Verses, / Which harmonize the heart and set the embryo immortals to dancing in the Triple Cinnabar Fields, / Causing the Nine Breaths to glisten and gleam and emerge from the empyrean of the brain / And the pupils of the eyes under the divine canopies of the brows to emit a purple mist. / This is called the Jade Text which can be scrutinized with a pure heart: / By reciting it ten thousand times one will ascend to the Triple Heaven, / With it one may dispel the thousand calamities and cure the hundred illnesses, / And undaunted by the fell depredations of tigers and wolves, / One may also thwart old age thereby and extend one’s years forever.³

NO SIGNATURE

THREE SEALS Beihua (rectangle intaglio; leaf 1), Bada Shanren (square intaglio; leaf 11), Xiushanpianxian (square intaglio; leaf 11)

LEAF 12

Colophon in running script, by Bada Shanren

Long ago, when someone asked, “Are Daoism and Confucianism the same or different?” [Ruan Zhan, ca. 279–ca. 308 C.E.] answered, “Are they not the same?” In the sequence of officials from Chenliu, was it Ruan Qianh [Ruan Zhan] who amended the deficiencies of Chenliu? I have followed the calligraphy of the Two Wangs to present this. Enjoying the rain on the first day in the seventh lunar-month of the ji4zi year [August 11, 1684], I inscribed [a colophon] after the “Inner Radiances” for a second time, Bada Shanren.⁴

TWO SEALS Li (square relief), Ke de shexian (square intaglio)

CATALOGUE

FOUR COLLECTOR SEALS

Unidentified collectors, two seals: Yongle zhi zhi (square relief; leaf 1), Haipin sheding (rectangle relief; leaf 1)
Wang Fangyu (1913–1997), one seal: Fangyu (rectangle relief; leaf 1)
Sum Wai (1918–1996), one seal: Shui Hui (square relief; leaf 12)
3 Lilac Flowers and Calligraphy
in running-cursive script, 1690

Two album leaves; ink and color on paper, and ink on paper
20.1 x 14.6 cm and 20.1 x 14.5 cm
Bequest from the collection of Wang Fangyu and Sumi Wai,
donated in their memory by Mr. Shao F. Wang

LEAF 2
Calligraphy in running-cursive script

INSCRIPTION Spring of the gengyun year [1690], imitating
the painting style of Baoshan
[Lu Zhi, 1496 – 1576]
Bada Shanren

ONE SEAL Shou
(oval intaglio)

TWO COLLECTOR SEALS
Wang Fangyu, one seal: Wang Fangyu (linked-square relief)
Sum Wai, one seal: Shen Hui
(square relief)
LEAF 1

Lilac Flowers

signature Painted by
Bada Shanren

one seal Huazhu
(rectangle relief)

two collector seals
Wang Fangyu (1913–1997),
one seal: Wang Fangyu
(linked-square relief)
Sum Wui (1918–1996), one
seal: Shou Hui (square relief)
Bamboo, Rocks, and Small Birds 1692

Hanging scroll; ink on paper
164.0 x 90.6 cm
Bequest from the collection of Wang Fangyu and Sun Wai, donated in their memory by Mr. Shao F. Wang

Inscription
First month of summer in the reichen year
[May 16—June 14, 1692], "involved in affairs" [sheshi].
Bada Shanren

Three seals
Zaifu (rectangle relief). Slipper seal with border.
Bada Shanren (rectangle intaglio)

Colophon in running script, by Zhang Daqian (1899—1983)

Modern enthusiasts [of painting] prize small hanging scrolls the most, with around three feet as the norm. This custom has spread throughout north and south alike, but is particularly prevalent in the Wuzeong [region of Jiangsu Province]. There, whenever a dealer of antiquities comes across a large-scale hanging scroll, he will chop it down in size hoping to better his price. The damage [such a practice has inflicted] on the heart's blood of earlier masters is more vicious and cruel than [the tortures of] an executioner. On acquiring this scroll recently in Hong Kong, I felt sorry for its broken state and got the idea of adding a few strokes to fix it up. While I could not make it shine like the masterpiece it once was, or immediately restore the painting to its former appearance, I privately compare [my added brushstrokes] to a blind man's cane: As consolation, they are better than nothing. Spring day in the reichen year [1952], [painted] and inscribed by the student Daqian in the Daofengtang [studio].

Three seals
Zhang Yuan siyun (square relief), Daqian ju (square relief), Qian qian qian (square intaglio)

Seven Collector Seals
Zhang Daqian (1899—1983), six seals: Dongxi naheji zhi ren (rectangle relief), Bieshi tongyi (square relief), Naihe dongxi zhi you xiangzi mu bi (square relief), Diao zhi ju (square relief), Qum huo guon qiing (horizontal rectangle intaglio), Daofengtang Jianjiang Kuiwu

Xinzi Kugua meiyuan (rectangle relief)

Wang Fangyu (1913—1997), one seal: Shiizhili (square intaglio)
5 Falling Flower, Buddha’s Hand Citron, Hibiscus, and Lotus Pod 1692

Four album leaves; ink on paper
average 21.9 x 28.8 cm
Bequest from the collection of Wang Fangyu and Sum Wai, donated in their memory by Mr. Shao F. Wang

LEAF 1

Falling Flower

Signature “involved in affairs” (sheshi), Bada Shanren
One Seal: Slipper seal with border

Three Collector Seals
Zhang Daqian (1899–1983),
two seals: Dafengtang Jianjiang
Kumai Xingye Kingna moyun (rectangle relief), Zhang Yian
(square intaglio)
Wang Fangyu, one seal:
Shijizhilu (square intaglio)
LEAF 2

Buddha's Hand Citron

Signature "Involved in affairs" (sheshi), Bada Shanren

Two seals Slipper seal without border, Sheshi (rectangle intaglio)

Two collector seals

Zhang Daqian, two seals:

Nanbei dongxi zhi you xiangshi un bieli (square relief),
Cangshi daqian (square relief)
LEAF 3

Hibiscus

Signature: Bada Shanren
One seal: Slipper seal with border

Two collector seals
Zhang Daqian, two seals:
Biezi tōngyì (square relief),
Cāng zhī daqian
(square intaglio)
LEAF 4

Lotus Pod

inscription Summer, fifth lunar-month of the reichen year [June 15–July 13, 1692], “involved in affairs” [shishi]. Bada Shanren

one seal Slipper seal with border

three collector seals

Zhang Daqian, three seals: Daqian huomeng (rectangle relief), Zhang Yuan (square intaglio), Daqian xi (rectangle relief)
Excerpt from the "Preface to the Sacred Teachings"
in running-standard script, ca. 1693

Album leaf; ink on paper
26.5 x 14.3 cm
Purchase—Funds provided by the E. Rhodes and Leona B.
Carpenter Foundation in honor of the 75th Anniversary of
the Freer Gallery of Art

[Xuanzang] received the ultimate instructions from the leading
sages and obtained the true teachings from the most eminent
worthies, investigated arcane principles within the gates of mys-
tery and exhausted the quintessential properties of abstruse
tenets. The doctrines of the One Vehicle and Five Canons raced
like fleet horses through the fields of his mind and the texts of
the Eightfold Storehouse and Three Baskets rolled like billowing
waves from the ocean of his lips. Thus from all the lands through
which he traveled, he gathered together the essential texts of the
Tripitaka [Buddhist Canon], in 657 parts all told. His translations
spread throughout Middle Xia [China], proclaiming abroad his
surpassing karma and drawing the clouds of compassion from the
westernmost extremity to pour down the rain of dharma on
these eastern outskirts. Deficiencies in the sacred teachings are
again made whole and the masses in their sins are restored to a
state of grace, dousing the dry blaze of this burning house that
everyone may be saved from the paths of error, and illuminating
the murky waves on the river of desire that all may safely reach
the Other Shore.

It is known that evil befalls one because of karma and good
rises for one due to causality, while success and failure all come
down to what we depend upon [in life]. For example, if a cassia
tree grows on a high ridge where clouds and mist can water its
blossoms, or a lotus emerges from limpid waves where flying
dust cannot defile its leaves, the lotus is not pure because it is so
by nature, nor is the cassia perfect because of anything inherent,
but rather, because the [cassia] relies on something high, so petty
matters cannot entangle it, while the [lotus] depends on some-
thing clean, so dirty things cannot stain it. Thus, if even an
unknowing plant or tree can better itself through finding a good
[environment], then how much more can we sentient humans
seek for blessings though we have no cause to receive them.\(^6\)

POSTSCRIPT Copied [lin] after the writing of Chu Henan
[Chu Suihang, 596–658]. Bada Shanren
one seal Slipper seal without border\(^7\)
7 Landscape after Dong Yuan ca. 1693

Album leaf; ink on paper
26.5 x 14.3 cm
Purchase—Funds provided by the E. Rhodes and Leona B. Carpenter Foundation in honor of the 75th Anniversary of the Freer Gallery of Art

INSCRIPTION After Bei Yuan
[Dong Yuan, died 962]

NO SIGNATURE
ONE SEAL Slipper seal without border

TWO COLLECTOR SEALS
Wang Fangyu (1913–1997), one seal: Wang Fangyu
(square relief)
Sun Wai (1918–1996), one seal: Shen Hui (square relief)
Combined Album of Painting and Calligraphy: "Grieving for a Fallen Nation" ca. 1693–96

Album of fifteen leaves; ink on paper
Painting average 24.9 x 17.1 cm; calligraphy average: 24.5 x 16.2 cm
Bequest from the collection of Wang Fangyu and Sun Wai, donated in their memory by Mr. Shao F. Wang

Outside label (not shown) by Naitō Torajirō (1866–1934), running script
Album of poetry and painting by Bada Shanren. Label slip inscribed by Naitō Torajirō
Two seals Tora (oval relief), Kōman (rectangle intaglio)

Leaf 1
Frontispiece by Shangqi, Prince Su (1866–1922), standard script
"Grieving for a Fallen Nation." Inscribed by Ouyuan at the request of Mister Wenqing
Three seals Dingzi (square relief), Su qinshang (square relief), Ouyuan (square intaglio)
LEAF 2
Landscape

NO SIGNATURE

ONE SEAL Slipper seal without border

ONE COLLECTOR SEAL
Dai Zhi (act. 1829–40),
one seal: Zhunong mian
(square relief)
LEAF 3

Landscape

No signature

One seal: Slipper seal without border

One collector seal: Dai Zhi, one seal: Zhiming miren (square relief)
LEAF 4
Landscape

NO SIGNATURE
ONE SEAL Slipper seal
without border

ONE COLLECTOR SEAL
Dai Zhi, one seal: Runzhou
Dai Zhi jianshang (rectangle relief)
LEAF 5
Landscape

NO SIGNATURE
ONE SEAL Slipper seal
without border

ONE COLLECTOR SEAL
Dai Zhi, one seal: Runzhibou
Dai Zhi zi Peizhi jianzhang
shihua zhangle (square relief)
**Leaf 6**

*Four poems in running-standard script, by Bada Shanren*

**Poem 1**
A chunk of rock is this Youquan,
A pine tree stands above the flood;
When you hear the Mountain Man is coming,
He has just departed with the white clouds.

**Poem 2**
Famous authors write many documents,
But it is their lofty songs that pull one in,
To return to the top of Slanting Stairs,
At Upright Stairs, moved by past experience.

**Poem 3**
Once you undo a girdle-gem and go far away,
How do you get the girdle-gem you left behind?
Departing by carriage through the city's eastern gate,
I race my chariot up the great shelving rocks.

**Poem 4**
A slender form is meet to hide one's shadow,
Among white clouds, writing about to stop,
How is it he spent one night in the garden,
And next morning it was the southeast park?

**Postscript** On the seventh day in the fourth lunar-month of the *bingzhi* year [May 7, 1696], I have recorded some poems that I wrote to inscribe on paintings and am sending them to Master Baoyai [Wu Chenyan, 1663—after 1722] for his correction. Bada Shanren

**Two collector seals**
Dai Zhi, one seal: *Peizhi qingshang* (square relief)
Zhang Daqian (1899–1983),
one seal: *Zhang Daqian changqian
daji you tili* (square intaglio)

**Two seals Yaozhu (rectangle relief), Slipper seal without border**
Wang Xizhai has graced one side of this painted fan with a picture of Penglai's Upside-Down Reflection, which he did for the sixtieth birthday of Mister Shifen. The next year in the first decade of the fourth lunar-month, he sent my "elder brother" Shangshu to me, so that I could inscribe [Du Fu's] "Seeing Off Secretary Li the Eighth" on the other side, and record it as a fan of combined calligraphy and painting. 

signature Bada Shanren

two seals Slipper seal without border, Ke de shuxian (square intaglio)

two collector seals
Dai Zhi, one seal: Runzhong
Daishi Benyuanlou zianzhen (square relief)
Zhang Daqian, one seal: Zhang Yuan changshou (square relief)
THREE COLLECTOR SEALS

Dai Zhi, one seal: Dai Zhi
Nongfu wuji zhi yin (rectangle relief)

Zhang Daqian, one seal: Nian
(rectangle relief)

Wang Fangyu (1913–1997), one seal: Shijizhiiu (square intaglio)

LEAF 10

Two poems in running-standard script, by Bada Shanren

POEM 7

The young man plays "Up on Phoenix Hill;"
The maiden plays "Leaves of Purest Gold;"
Whichever lord understands their music,
Commands our great province on this day."

POEM 8

Rain gathers, my boat has nowhere to be,
Clouds move, my chamber is in the lotus,
I have looked all through the south,
And made this picture of the Shining Hills."

POSTSCRIPT I have written out several quatrains that
I composed in the Yellow Bamboo Garden to inscribe
on paintings, so that Master Baoyai may correct them.
Bada Shanren

ONE SEAL Slipper seal without border
LEAF 9
Three poems in running-standard script, by Bada Shanren

POEM 4
Sailing full tilt off of West Pass Hill,
To which border does the east wind blow?
The time is right for big-headed stripe,
So they have come down the Coral Stream.26

POEM 5
My latticed windows favor all directions,
And cooling breezes often come along.
A thousand in gold welcomes the primeval man,
For a million, he’ll make the picture of a tiger.27

POEM 6
On toward dusk, a single goose flies,
The morning bell tolls three or four.
My old friend down at River Mouth,
Talks with the dialect of Lake Mouth.27

LEAF 8
Three poems in running-standard script, by Bada Shanren

POEM 1
Once I looked in the heart of a lotus seed.
And found a lotus flower with its roots;
Breaking open lotus pods on Ruoye Creek,
The fine young gentlemen in this painting.25

POEM 2
Yellow bamboo and more yellow bamboo,
Coming and going all across Tongzhou;
In Tongzhou when divided into tenths,
A single stem equals a pair of carts.26

POEM 3
They raised sons at the Kaiyuan Temple,
Take a look, now all are white of hair;
Flipping to strike a sparrow-hawk pose,
Why don’t they plant some willow trees?27

ONE SEAL Hé’ài (rectangle relief)
南望已是院山图

公子谁领是大州日

纯金荣音

在笑此时

郎吹凤凰山高

四三晓钟老妓

在河口说湘口道

薄暮一鸿飞

近上人龙上万马图老虎

吾州云千金千子金
一見蓮子心蓮花有根抵炎耶
劈蓮蓬畫裏郎君子
黃衣沒著行來道通空通妙
萬千冬來車兩欄
卷兒頭元觀者
齊白首翻有
十鴛子何不樹楊柳
西塞一帆風東風何處過鴻雁
此寺更已不改
盟
Bada Shanren’s given name was Da, and his courtesy name Xuege. He bore the surname Zhu, and was a grandson of the Prince of Shichengfu [Anhui]. After [the fall of the Ming dynasty in] the jiushen year [1644], he abscended into an “empty gate” [became a Buddhist monk] and called himself Monk Geshan. As people say it is unfilial to have no progeny, Geshan let his hair grow again [rejoined the lalty in order to marry] and found reclusion in calligraphy and painting. Sometimes he still called himself Donkey Geshan. His paintings have many eccentricities and people are often unable to understand the poetic lines he inscribed on them, for as they say, “Heartbreak has its hidden reasons.”

This album is owned by my fellow art lover Wenqing. It contains four leaves of landscape painting and four leaves where Bada recorded some of his own poems, and all are equally works of the divine and untrammeled classes. I once purchased a small hanging scroll by Shanren, which was painted with an antique vase holding a single branch of tangerine and inscribed with [a poem of] some twenty characters. When my former teacher Miaoweng [Yang Xian, 1819–1896] saw it, he could not stop sighing in admiration and composed the following poem to harmonize [with Bada’s]: A single vase and a single tangerine, / Xuege’s soul lies within them; / Meeting Du Fu in a river village, / In vain he chanted, “Alas, the prince!” I later lost the scroll while moving, so I regret that Old Wen[qing] and I cannot enjoy it together. Twelfth lunar-month of the biyuren year [January 14–February 12, 1907], inscribed by Wu Junqing [Wu Changshuo] beneath the flowers of an ancient plum tree."

One seal Wu jiu zhi yiu (square intaglio)
In his "Biography of Bada Shanren," Shao Qingmen [Shao Chengheng, 1637–1704] describes especially well how Bada feigned madness and "had contempt for the world," saying "the swelling and closing down of his emotions came about for their own inexplicable reasons, as when a giant boulder blocks a spring or wet rags resist the fire, there was nothing he could do about it," and "if Shanren had only met such companions as Fang Feng [1240–1321], Xie Ao [1249–1295], and Wu Sqi [1238–1301], they would have clasped each other around the shoulders and waited in anguish until their voices were gone." Since Bada's experiences in life and his own personality were both truly like this, isn't that why one cannot figure out the strange and unusual [aspects] of his painting and calligraphy.

Now in looking at this album, I am particularly amazed at the "secret and rough" quality of the paintings, which are quite unlike his usual eccentricities. The style of his calligraphy is also ancient and mellow, desolate and untrammeled, like that of masters from the Jin dynasty [265–420 C.E.]. This is certainly because what one sees in this album is a true expression of his innermost feelings, while the strange and unusual works that one usually encounters are simply works he made to show his "contempt for the world." Oh, if one uses this to explain [the works of] Bada Shanren, then indeed there is nothing about Bada Shanren that cannot be explained. Utsukio Hayashi-kun acquired this album and continues to esteem it most highly, and since he would have me inscribe something at the end, I have written this [colophon]. Eighth lunar-month in the kōgo year of the Shōwa reign period [September 22–October 21, 1930]. Naitō Torajirō

LEAVES 13-15
Colophon in running-standard script, by Naitō Torajirō (1866–1934)
Ink on paper; two sheets, each with fold, 25.5 x 37.2 cm

ONE SEAL Hōma-an (square intaglio)

TWO COLLECTOR SEALS
Hayashi Heizō (20th century), one seal: Usudō hōki (rectangle relief)
Zhang Daqian, one seal: Dajingtang (square relief)
Lotus and Ducks ca. 1696

Hanging scroll; ink on paper
184.1 x 95.5 cm
Bequest from the collection of Wang Fangyu and Sum Wai,
donated in their memory by Mr. Shao F. Wang

outside label (not shown) by Zhang Daqian (1899–1983), running script
"Lotus and Ducks," done by Bada Shanren late in life and venerated by Daofengtang (Zhang Daqian). A genuine work of the divine category, with inscription by Wu Changshuo (1844–1927)

signature on painting Bada Shanren

three seals Zaju shanfang (square intaglio), Bada Shanren (rectangle intaglio), Yaocun (rectangle relief)

inscription Poem in running script, by Wu Changshuo

Birds talk, quack and chatter, the rock's face gaunt,
Virtue and merit emerge from the lotus man's pond.
Hidden are the gulls and herons, sunken are the fish,
Who was that Snowy Donkey, who once painted this?
Donkey was the name of a Buddhist monk,
A monk who appeared in the House of Zhu.
He sat cross-legged among the lotus leaves,
As birds called out, fleeing the shot of a bow.
Painting Zen, in his ideas, he was all a tonsured monk.
Preaching Dharma, he was a leftover prince of the Ming.
If his flower bore no fruit, it was but a matter of karma.
But a matter of karma,
Today we heave a sigh:
Wolves are besting tigers, bear gives birth to fox.
Long in dream, a butterfly comes fluttering along."

Postscript Spring of the bingyin year [1926], inscribed by Wu Changshuo in his eighty-third year.

Seal Liangou (square relief)

Eight collector seals
Yan Shengbo (20th century), two seals: Yanshi Banmengtang zhenfang (square relief), Shengbo (square relief)
Unidentified collector, one seal: Shizhong jishi (square relief)
Zhang Daqian (1899–1983), four seals: Daofengtang jianjiang, Kunlan Xuege Kuina moyuan (rectangle relief), Naibei dongsui zhi you xiangzi wu bich (square relief), Daofengtang zhenfang yin (rectangle relief), Qiuin hao qiong qing (horizontal rectangle relief)
Wang Fangyu (1913–1997) and Sum Wai (1918–1996), one seal: Fang Hui gongshang (square relief)
Poem by Han Yu

in running-standard script, 1697

Album leaf; ink on paper
33.0 x 26.8 cm
Purchase—Funds provided by the E. Rhodes and Leona B. Carpenter Foundation in honor of the 75th Anniversary of the Freer Gallery of Art

From the "Preface to Seeing Off Li Yuan on His Return to Winding Valley," by Han Yu (768–824)

When Li Yuan of Shannan was about to return to Winding Valley, Wengong [Han Yu] heard his words and was strongly moved, so he sent [Li] some wine and made a song for him, which says:
Within the Winding lies your palace,
Above the Winding is where you till;
In the springs of Winding, one can wash and one can swim,
On the slopes of Winding, who is there to contest your place?
Hidden and deep, broad in its compass,
Twisting and turning, running off and coming back.
Ah, the joys of Winding, joys that never end!
Tigers and leopards keep away, dragons and krakens skulk and hide;
Ghosts and spirits keep and guard, and fend off any untoward harm.
So drink and eat, long life and good health,
Be lacking in nothing, in whatever you want;
I shall grease my cart, and fodder my horse,
And follow you to Winding, to spend my life in rambling."

POSTSCRIPT Li Yuan was the son of [Li] Liangqi, who was praised as "a match for ten-thousand foes" and whose given name was Sheng. He was a prince, hence the line, "Within the Winding lies your palace" [translator's italics]. Twenty-fifth day of the tenth lunar-month in the qianxingji year [December 8, 1697], written by Bada Shanren at his Mountain Lodge amid the Lotus.

TWO SEALS Slipper seal without border, Ke de shenxian (square intaglio)

THREE COLLECTOR SEALS
Zhang Shanzi (1882–1940), one seal: Huch xiushi (square intaglio)
Zhang Daqian (1899–1983), one seal: Dafengtaiig (square relief)
Sum Wai (1918–1996), one seal: Shen Hui (square relief)
Poem by Zeng Gong
in running-standard script, 1697

Double album leaf; ink on paper
26.0 x 51.6 cm
Purchase—Funds provided by the E. Rhodes and Leona B. Carpenter Foundation in honor of the 75th Anniversary of the Freer Gallery of Art

Text “The Landscape Screen,” by Zeng Gong (1019–1083); not translated

Postscript This poem is the “Landscape Screen” by Zeng [Gong]. Contemplating the place [where he says], “how far one can go” [line 29] ... he must have considered this [screen] to be the furthest one can go in painting. “Little spring” [tenth lunar-month] in the dinghen year [November 14—December 12, 1697]. Written by Bada Shanren

Three seals Yuexiu (rectangle relief), Slipper seal without border, Ke de shenxiàn (square intaglio)

Six collector seals
Unidentified collectors, two seals: Yimiu (rectangle relief), Boxing changniu (square intaglio)
Zhang Shanzhi (1882—1940), two seals: Huchi xinshang (square intaglio), Huchi xinshang (square intaglio)
Zhang Daqian (1899—1983), one seal: Daqian haoqin (rectangle relief)
Sum Wai (1918—1996), one seal: Shen Hui (square relief)
不清楚具体内容。
吴缜纲天风客抒人自秋中细画人手随
曲溜阑珊杖在画何为梦见经堂频刻骨千里中
副空观远图山水数难迫八山鹤客且隔
雕重复高枝客当注中徒步势远独田照晨峰摇
趣向幅新竹宝环九洲争险挂星宿深殿雪霜
积暗变烟随阴泉源出青塞流潺两岸来应
遂始逐徐派列霜细谷经片漾其间沿源无缓速
直上破万层圣雪回长间自假时宜马足融石长自圆堂俯
正放于要何之顿时停行立时见石长自圆堂不
偶谁宜西秋见呈林杖。存古俗架、和因话我
般嘉来人牛上在袁籍露出样腹鲜明极万状
相时一票维行万为烦要翻怪续深室得歌眼
高松生恋月因射助佳宿空颇露嫡果旭特相有时
未露育真我欲儒林在未博俗来思自赠婚嫁果
Album after Dong Qichang's "Copies of Ancient Landscape Paintings"
ca. 1697

Album of six leaves; ink on paper
AVERAGE 31.2 x 24.7 cm
Bequest from the collection of Wang Fangyu and Sum Wai,
donated in their memory by Mr. Shao F. Wang

Leaf 1
INSCRIPTION Imitating the brushwork ideas of my relative, Binyuan [Dong Yuan, died 962]
one seal: Slipper seal
without border

THREE COLLECTOR SEALS
Wang Zitao (20th century), one seal: Congqing Xin'an Wang
Zitao chu (rectangle relief)
Zhang Daqian (1899–1983), one seal: Zhang Yuan (square intaglio)
Sum Wai (1918–1996), one seal: Shun Hui (square relief)
LEAF 2

INSCRIPTION Lodge of the Immortals among the Hills and Streams, drawn by Xuanzai [Dong Qichang (1555–1636)]

ONE SEAL Slipper seal without border

THREE COLLECTOR SEALS

Wang Zitao, one seal: Cengjing Xin’ao Wang Zitao chu (rectangle relief)

Zhang Daqian, one seal: Daqian jishi (square relief)

Sun Wai, one seal: Shou Hui (square relief)
LEAF 3

INSCRIPTION River Village, painted by Xuanzai [Dong Qichang]

ONE SEAL Slipper seal without border

TWO COLLECTOR SEALS
Zhang Daqian, one seal: Daqiang Jianjiang Kunian
Xiege Kigna woyuan (rectangle relief)
Sumi Wai, one seal: Shou Hui (square relief)
LEAF 4

INSCRIPTION On the road to Loujiang [in Jiangsu Province], I unrolled the painting The Fujiang Mountain Range by Huang Ziju [Huang Gongwang, 1269–1364], and took out my brush to draw this. Xuanzai [Dong Qichang]’s one seal. Slipper seal without border.

FIVE COLLECTOR SEALS

Wang Zitao, one seal: Congjing Xi’an Wang Zitao chu (rectangle relief)

Zhang Daqian, three seals: Bieshi longyi (square relief), Zhang Yuan (square relief), Daqian (square relief)

Sum Wai, one seal: Sheu Hui (square relief)
LEAF 5

INSCRIPTION In the Shade of Summer Trees, painted by Xuanzai [Dong Qichang]

ONE SEAL Slipper seal without border

TWO COLLECTOR SEALS
Zhang Daqian, one seal: Gang zhi daqian (rectangle relief)
Sum Wai, one seal: Shen Hui (square relief)
The paintings of Ni Yu [Ni Zan, 1306–1374] are plain and natural, and have none of the helter-skelter vulgarity of common painters. For this album leaf, I copied a genuine work [by Ni] in the collection of Mister Wang. Xuanzai [Dong Qichang]

one seal Slipper seal without border (upside down)

FIVE COLLECTOR SEALS
Zhang Daqian, three seals:
Zhang Yuan (square intaglio),
Daqian (square relief),
Dafengtang (square relief)
Wang Fangyu (1913–1997), one seal: Fangyu (rectangle relief)
Sum Wai, one seal: Sheu Hui
(square relief)

Colophon in running script, by Zhang Daqian

In his style of painting, Shanren looked back to Ni Zan and Huang Gongwang [by studying] Dong Siweng [Dong Qichang]. Over the last three hundred years, no collector or painter ever viewed [Bada's work] from this angle. I, this old fellow, was the first to figure out his artistic lineage and now that I have acquired this album, it further verifies that my connoisseurship was not mistaken. Elderly pupil from Shujun [Sichuan Province], Zhang Daqian Yuan

TWO SEALS Zhang Yuan (square intaglio), Daqian (square relief)
Excerpt from “Preface to the Gathering at the River”
in running-standard script, ca. 1697

During late spring in the ninth year of the Yonghe reign period [353 C.E.], we assembled at the Orchid Pavilion in Shanym prefecture, Kuaji county, to observe the purification rites. Sundry worthies all arrived and both young and old gathered together, for in this spot there are lofty ranges and exalted mountains, thick groves and tall bamboo, and a clear current gushing and swirling, shining about us left and right, that has been led to form a winding stream for floating wine cups. And we seated ourselves in order each to his place. On this day, the sky was bright and the weather clear, and how pleasant the gentle breeze! We delighted our eyes and gave rein to our passions, so truly enjoyable it was. Though we hadn’t the opulence of silken strings and bamboo flutes, for every cup there was a song, and that was quite sufficient for the pleasing expression of our private feelings. Therefore, I have listed in order the persons then in attendance and recorded their compositions.

“Preface to the Gathering at the River,” Bada Shanren

Two seals: Slipper seal without border, Ke de shenxian
(square intaglio)
永和九年暮春，会于会稽山阴之兰亭，修禊事也。群贤毕至，少长咸集。此地有崇山峻岭，茂林修竹，又有清流激湍，映带左右，引以为流觞曲水，列坐其次。虽无丝竹管弦之盛，一觞一咏，亦足以畅叙幽情。是日也，天朗气清，惠风和畅。
Poem by Zhang Jiuling
in running-standard script, ca. 1697

Album leaf; ink on paper
26.1 x 19.2 cm
Purchase—Funds provided by the E. Rhodes and Leona B.
Carpenter Foundation in honor of the 75th Anniversary of
the Freer Gallery of Art

“Inscribed on a Landscape Folding Screen,” by Zhang Jiuling
(678-740)

Though the burdens of my heart will never end,
I am still attracted to transcendental things;
So when I have the chance to please my senses,
I take advantage of the beauty in a painting.
I have always embraced the idea of wilderness,
But am pressured by my fate within the world;
While mundane affairs, indeed, are ever thus,
I shall hold fast to that idea and never budge.

This artist has captured my innermost desires,
Wielding his marvelous brush before the cliff;
Every change conforms to what is really there,
Every height and depth is identical to nature.
When it is displayed within the northern hall,
One seems to stand beside the southern hills;
Though one stay put and never leave his door,
In spirit he has traveled to someplace far away.

The day lily can be planted against sorrow,
And coupled bliss will assuage one’s anger;
If little things can have such great effects,
How much more then, this secluded fish trap!
Words and images melt away of themselves,
I have simply used them to express my idea;
I’ve gotten such enjoyment from this object,
That it will linger on forever in my mind.

POSTSCRIPT Du [Fu], of the public works department, “piled
dirt to make a mountain.” In this [poem], then, “all the other
mountains resound.” Bada Shanren

ONE SEAL Ke de sheuxian (square intaglio)

TWO COLLECTOR SEALS
Zhang Daqian (1899-1983),
one seal: Daqian zhi bao
(square relief)
Sun Wai (1918-1996), one
seal: Shou Hui (square relief)
Poem by Sun Ti

in running-standard script, ca. 1697

Album leaf; ink on paper
26.2 x 19.1 cm
Purchase — Funds provided by the E. Rhodes and Leona B. Carpenter Foundation in honor of the 75th Anniversary of the Freer Gallery of Art

"Respectfully harmonizing with the Poem on the Landscape Minor in the Secretariat by Minister of the Right Li," by Sun Ti (ca. 699—ca. 761)

On your many free days from the halls of court,
Landscape found a match in your true feelings;
Wishing to express all those heights and depths,
You turned to elegant painting to accomplish it.
Nine Rivers approach the doors and windows,
Three Gorges entwine the eaves and pillars,
Flowers and willows bloom throughout the year,
While mist and clouds appear upon your whim.
Ten-thousand miles seem just next door,
One does not feel the four seasons passing;
The air is redolent with Xun Yu's fragrance,
And the light is clear as Yue Guang's mirror.
Poetry describes going forth and staying put,
Paintings express both the empty and the full;
Preserving the experiences of a thousand years,
How can you speak of but eight years of glory!

signature Bada Shanren
one seal Ke de shawxian (square intaglio)

TWO COLLECTOR SEALS
Zhang Daqian (1899—1983),
one seal: Cang zhi Daqian
(square intaglio)
Sun Wai (1918—1996), one
seal: Shou Hui (square relief)
Poem by Du Fu

in running-standard script, ca. 1697

Album leaf; ink on paper
26.1 x 19.2 cm
Purchase—Funds provided by the E. Rhodes and Leona B. Carpenter Foundation in honor of the 75th Anniversary of the Freer Gallery of Art

"Song Playfully Inscribed on a Landscape Painting by Wang Zai," by Du Fu (712–770)"

Ten days to paint a river.
Five days to paint a rock.
An expert does not suffer feeling pressed or hurried.

Wang Zai must approve before he leaves a mark behind.

How mighty, this landscape from the Kunlun to Fanghu,
That hangs upon the whitened wall of your lofty hall.
From Baling along Dongting Lake to east of far Japan.
The river passes Red Bluff to join the Silver Stream:
In the middle, dragons fly among the clouds and mist.
Fishermen and boatmen pull in to riverbank and shore.
Mountain trees are flattened by huge billows of wind.
No one from the past equals him in painting distance.
Just a foot must correspond to, say, ten-thousand li.
If I could get a pair of sharpened Bingzhou scissors,
I'd slice off a half of Wusong Creek to take along."

signature: Bada Shanren
one seal: Ke de shenxian (square intaglio)

Two Collector Seals
Zhang Daqian (1899–1983),
one seal: Daqian jishi (square relief)

Sum Wai (1918–1996), one
seal: Shen Hui (square relief)
日書一水 日書一石 結事 爭相
逼迫 王字 拔 首 口 真 正 路 壮 而 岬 嶂 嶂 方
畫 圖 挂 翰 方 堂 之 色 秋 已 隨 洞 遗 日
東 喜 命 水 潛 銀 河 通 中 有 古 氣 隨
飛 龍 人 海 子 入 滇 溝 山 朱 畫 活 澤 消 風
尤 正 变 勢 古 吾 比 人 冀 津 論 喜 楚 江 水
吾 之 快 犀 力 南 歌 吴 校 午 江 水
Rubbing of the “Holy Mother Manuscript” with Transcription and Colophon in running-standard script, 1698

Handscroll, ink on paper
rubbing 29.4 x 250.8 cm

transcription and colophons 29.4 x 96.0 cm
Bequest from the collection of Wang Fangyu and Sun Wai, donated in their memory by Mr. Shao F. Wang

outside label (not shown) Unidentified calligrapher, running-standard script
Song dynasty rubbing of the “Holy Mother Manuscript” by Huaisu (725–ca. 799), with transcription and colophon by Bada Shanren of the Ming dynasty* 

inside label by Xiaobao (unidentified), clerical script
Song-dynasty rubbing of the “Holy Mother Manuscript” by Huaisu, with personal transcription by Bada Shanren of the Ming dynasty; a genuine work of the divine class. Label slip inscribed by Xiaobao

one seal x-sum (rectangle relief)

transcription of the “Holy Mother Manuscript,” by Bada Shanren*

The Holy Mother in her heart approved the ultimate instructions of the sages... Thus when she received the Daoist teachings of Highest Purity, she forthwith ascended to a place among the ranks of the holy; her supernatural influence extended afar to all those who exalted the immortals, and her divine responsiveness moved swiftly to all those who excelled in extraordinary merit. Whereupon, the perfected one, Lord Liu, bearing a scepter and riding a qilin [unicorn], descended into her courtyard. Lord Liu is named Gang, and is one of the noble perfected. And since her Way [dharma] corresponded to what is written in the precious records and her talents accorded with those of the highest immortals, he provided her with magical formulas and fed her on perfected elixirs, so that her divine appearance was instantly transformed, her flesh and bones grew slender and lovely, and setting herself apart from the common masses, she distanced herself from carnal affections. At first, her husband Mister Du was greatly enraged and reprimanded her for neglecting her worldly duties, but the Holy Mother went on as she was and paid him no heed, until in time he brought suit against her, which led to her confinement. While detained in prison, all of a sudden she was arrayed in rainbows, and an immortal’s carriage descended from the air, inquiring for her as it approached the door. Looking back, she called to her two daughters and together they ascended, climbing into the void. When the rays of sunrise began to glow, they shot straight upward into the sky, banners and streamers bright and glistening, shining and radiant beyond compare, and with strange music and exotic fragrances, they disappeared into the sky and were gone. Emperor Kang [reigned 342–44 c.e.] of the Jin considered this a sign of dynastic renewal and had the story inscribed on a tablet where she had lived, establishing a temple there to celebrate these auspicious events. And he named her the Holy Mother of Dongling; for her home had been in Guanling and she became an immortal in a place east of this, thus he called her “Dongling” [literally: east of Guanling]; and whereas she ascended together with her two daughters, thus he called her “Holy Mother.” And when the vast hall had been raised aloft and her true likeness beautifully decorated, everyone from near and far came thronging to her temple, emptying the very market places of Jianghuai. During times of drought or pestilence, there were none who did not pray to her and petition for relief, for the [Holy Mother] bestowed radiant answers by which the people were restored to great good health. And if there was an evil robber who had not been brought to account, then she would send a wondrous bird to hover over the place he lived and drop a supernatural writ, whereby his guilt was proven. Thus, no one in the towns and villages dared to commit such evil acts.

From the Jin dynasty until the Sui, for some three hundred years, both town and country made fine offerings to her, flocking to her temple by cart and foot. When Emperor Yang of the Sui dynasty [reigned 604–617] moved east to Jiangdou [modern Yangzhou], the dynastic cycle was ending and there was great superstition. Daoist adherents were strictly forbidden and the Mysterious Prime [missing characters]. Now the Nine Sage Emperors [of the Tang dynasty] have magnificently carried on her tradition, devoutly proclaiming the ultimate Dao and establishing storehouses in the temples of truth. Thus, how much more can her numinous traces be detected and her transformative influence be found among men, for although rank growth may cover the barren suburbs, the libations and prayers of the people still gather like clouds. Old men grieve that the rafters and eaves are not yet fixed, so whoever shall restore this temple, him shall they call great in virtue. Thus, the Way of my uncle Guo, Duke of Tianyuan, Military and Surveillance Commissioner of Huainan, Minister of Rites, and Commissioner Supervising
the Army, crowns the four corners of the world and his merit is revered throughout the southern lands. Until the rivers Huai and Yi run dry, [the renown of] his great deed shall never perish and will be preserved forever in hymns of praise. In the ninth year of the Zhényuan reign period, the guoyin year of the cycle, during the ji month [July 13—August 10, 793]. Written by the Buddhist monk Cangzhen”

NO SIGNATURE

ONE SEAL Slipper seal without border

Colophon in running-standard script, by Bada Shanren.

The Autobiography, Thousand Character Essay, and other works written by Liútián’ān [Huaisu, ca. 725—ca. 799] while drunk were solely rooted in the abstract cursive script of Zhang Youdai [Zhang Zhi, active ca. 150—192 C.E.]. Only the Holy Mother Manuscript was written while he was sober and captures the standardized forms of Zhang Youdai’s style made by Suo You’ān [Suo Jing, 239—303 C.E.]. While one might imagine he is looking at calligraphy by two Han masters, they were both born and raised in the territory of Juquan [Gansu Province], which became a dependent state only after they left. The writing of Liútián’ān, how can one not treasure it! “Little spring” [tenth lunar-month] in the wanjin year [November 3 to December 1, 1698], inscribed by Bada Shanren at his Mountain Lodge amid the Lotus

TWO SEALS Gái’ài (rectangle relief), Ke de shénxian (square intaglio)

Colophon in running script, by Yang Chunhua (unidentified)

In the past I have seen many rubbings of the “Holy Mother Manuscript,” but none quite so beautiful and outstanding as this one. Obtaining Bada Shanren’s transcription of the text is like seeing the true appearance of Mount Lu. One should not view it lightly. Inscribed by Yang Chunhua

ONE SEAL Yang Chunhua yin (square intaglio)

TWENTY-FOUR COLLECTOR SEALS

Bada Shanren (1626—1705), three seals on rubbing: Gái’ài (rectangle relief), Slipper seal without border, Ke de shénxian (square intaglio)

Zhu Yuzun (1629—1709) or descendant, one seal on rubbing: Xinzhi Zhiyi Qianyang tushu (square relief)

Shen Tong (1688—1752), one seal on rubbing: Guo’ān shéndiàng (gourd-shape relief)

Li Puquan (19th—20th century?), three seals: Puquan zhenhuí (rectangle intaglio; on rubbing), Baimen Li Shì zhenhuí (square relief; on rubbing), Puquan zhenhuí (rectangle intaglio; on transcription)

Lin Xiongguang (1898—1971), five seals: Lin Shí Bāosōngshí zhuocang (square relief; on front mounting), Bāosōngshí (square relief; on rubbing), Liang’ān jianzhang (square intaglio; on rubbing), Liang’ān suode (rectangle relief; after colophons), Lin Xiongguang yin (square intaglio; on back mounting)

Unidentified collectors, three seals: Xiàojiùxiàng’ān (rectangle relief; on front mounting), Yínhuàxiàngquán shéndiàng (rectangle relief; on rubbing), Bāozhi guoyuán (square intaglio; on back mounting)

Cheng Qi (20th century), four seals: Cheng Befén zhuocang yin (rectangle relief; on rubbing), Shuangqìnghuó (rectangle relief; on rubbing), Ke’ān zhènhuí (rectangle relief; on transcription), Cheng Befén tushu ji (rectangle intaglio; after colophons)

Wang Fangyu (1913—1997), one seal: Fangyu (rectangle relief; after colophons)

Sun Wāi (1918—1996), four seals: Shén Hūi (square relief; on rubbing), Shén Hūi (square relief; on rubbing), Shén Hūi (square relief; on transcription), Shén Hūi (square relief; after colophons)
Poem by Sun Ti
in running-standard script, ca. 1698

Hanging scroll; ink on paper
204.8 x 72.2 cm
Bequest from the collection of Wang Fangyu and Sun Wai,
donated in their memory by Mr. Shao F. Wang

“Respectfully harmonizing with the Poem on the Landscape
Related to the Secretariat by Minister of the Right Li,” by Sun Ti
(ca. 699–ca. 761)

On your many free days from the halls of court,
Landscape found a match in your true feelings;
Wishing to express all those heights and depths,
You turned to elegant painting to accomplish it.
Nine Rivers approach the doors and windows,
Three Gorges entwine the eaves and pillars,
Flowers and willows bloom throughout the year,
While mist and clouds appear upon your whim.
Ten-thousand miles seem just next door,
One does not feel the four seasons passing;
The air is redolent with Xun Yu’s fragrance,
And the light is clear as Yue Guang’s mirror.
Poetry describes going forth and staying put,
Paintings express both the empty and the full;
Preserving the experiences of a thousand springs,
How can you speak of but eight years of glory!

signature Bada Shanren

three seals Yānzhu (rectangle relief), Ke de shenxiu
(square intaglio), Bada Shanren (square intaglio)

one collector seal
Wang Fangyu (1913–1997)
and Sun Wai (1918–1996),
one seal: Fang Hui gongdu
(rectangle relief)
Crouching Cat 1699

Hanging scroll, ink on paper
164.0 x 90.6 cm
Bequest from the collection of Wang Fangyu and Sum Wai, donated in their memory by Mr. Shao F. Wang

INSCRIPTION Painted on the duanyang day in the jiiao year [June 2, 1699]. Bada Shanren
three seals Bada Shanren (square intaglio), Heqian (square relief), Yaozhu (square intaglio)

ELEVEN COLLECTOR SEALS
Wu Hufan (1894–1968) and Pan Jingshu, five seals: Hufan Jingshu zhenwag huazhan (rectangle intaglio), Wu Hufan zhenwag yin (rectangle relief), Wu Hufan Pan Jingshu zhenwag yin (square relief), Chongyi shushua (square relief), Meijing shun wuji (rectangle relief)
Zhang Daqian (1899–1983), five seals: Nanbi douxie zhi yun xiangzui wu bich (square relief), Dahengtang Jianfang Kunkun Nuoq Kugua moyuan (rectangle relief), Dahengtang zhenwag yin (rectangle relief), Zhang Yuan siyin (square intaglio), Qianqiu yuan (square relief)
Wang Fangyu (1913–1997) and Shen Hui (1918–1996), one seal: Fang Hui gongshang (square relief)
Copy of the “Half-Stele of Xingfu Temple”
in running-standard script, 1699

Album of twenty leaves, ink on paper
Average 25.25 x 8.63 cm
Bequest from the collection of Wang Fangyu and Sum Wai,
donated in their memory by Mr. Shao F. Wang

Outside label (not shown) by Zhang Daqian (1899–1983), running script
The Half-Stele of Xingfu Temple by Bada Shanren, a genuine work venerated in the collection of Dafengtang [Zhang Daqian].
Remounted in the intercalary fifth lunar-month of the wenchén year [June 22–July 21, 1952]. Inscribed by Daqian jushi
Two seals Zhang Yiatu (square relief), Daqian jushi (square intaglio)

Leaves 19–20
Postscript, by Bada Shanren

This is the record on stone of “the stele that stood at the Xingfu Temple . . . with running script culled by the resident monk
Daya from calligraphy [written] by General of the Army of the Right, Wang Xizhi [ca. 303–ca. 361 C.E.], of the Jin dynasty, and
carved thereon.” jímao year [1699], copied jíni by Bada Shanren

Two seals Yàozhù (leaf 1: rectangle relief), Slipper seal without border (leaf 20)

Leaf 20
Colophon in standard script, by Tang Yunsong (jíshi 1840)

Bada Shanren was the grandson of Prince Yi of the Ming
dynasty [1644]. After the change in dynasty [1644], he
settled as a refugee along the Xujiang [river in eastern Jiangxi Province] and became famous for his painting. He was also
thoroughly fluent in the calligraphy of the Two Wangs, and was
particularly successful in this work copying the Half-Stele of
Xingfu Temple, which can be treasured and enjoyed for its transcendent qualities of naturalness and freedom. Mid-autumn
month of the díngyuèi year [September 9–October 8, 1847],
inscribed by Tang Yunsong

Two seals Tang Yunsong jínu (square intaglio), Heshu
(square relief)

Five collector seals
Zhang Daqian (1899–1983),
three seals: Gāng zhì Dāqian
(square intaglio), Dafengtang
Jiānjié shì Kēxué Kēyà
yóuyàn (rectangle relief),
Dafengtang (square relief)
Wang Fangyu (1913–1997),
one seal: Fang Yu (linked-
square relief)
Sum Wai (1918–1996), one
seal: Shēn Huì (square relief)
春夜南甸地裂
神枝嘉言之昭明
其雄英华
此则

南


if

\^n

\^li
不晓玉符而封心，塞壁接地
下意气陡于平生，留连独占空
则足人之论命，破不合于双

上柱国昇行及厥，须泽开开心乐出

方长宁行内镜局，承上

门而出，飞燕出，自天有盖，非常人

莺楼，自是，依仁爱舞，圆横海之半动

醉有情，诗微孟，相照，正当，寿

立其志，四照不竟，令伯，铭金oyer
Landscape ca. 1699

Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper
149.1 x 64.1 cm
Bequest from the collection of Wang Fangyu and Sum Wai, donated in their memory by Mr. Shao F. Wang.

Signature: Painted by Bada Shanren

Three Seals: Ke de sheuxian (square intaglio), Bada Shanren (square intaglio), Yaozhu (square intaglio)

Three Collector Seals: Unidentified collector, two seals; Mijinzhai yinzhang (rectangle relief), X-lou yaoju (square intaglio)
Wang Fangyu (1913–1997) and Shen Hui (1918–1996), one seal: Fang Hui gongsihang (square relief)
Poem by Geng Wei
in cursive script, ca. 1699

Hanging scroll; ink on paper
154.8 x 75.3 cm
Bequest from the collection of Wang Fangyu and Sun Wai,
donated in their memory by Mr. Shao F. Wang

“Inscribed at Clear Springs Temple,” by Geng Wei
(active mid- to late 8th century)

Blending Ruism, Moism, and the Holy Religion,
By the cloudy spring, he built his former hut;
But Meng Wall Cove is desolate now and still,
And Wheel Rim Creek just winds naturally away.
The inner teachings dissolved his many cares,
The western garden transformed his old abode;
In the deep chamber, spring bamboo grows old,
In the thin rain, the night bell seldom tolls.
His dusty tracks remain in the golden earth,
His writings are kept beside the Stone Canal;
Still I do not know which of his companions,
Has inherited the books of this Cai Yong.”

signature Bada Shanren
three seals Yaozhu (rectangle relief), Kê de shëuxian
(square intaglio), Bada Shanren (square intaglio)

five collector seals
Zhang Daqian (1899–1983),
four seals: Biehê houyi (square intaglio), Qinhu bao guow qing
(rectangle intaglio), Defengtang
jianjiang Kianau Xiege Kuina
møyuan (rectangle relief), Bofu
guen gao horen (horizontal
rectangle relief)
Wang Fangyu (1913–1997)
and Sun Wai (1918–1996),
one seal: Fang Hui gouzhihang
(square relief)
Hanging scroll; ink on paper
87.2 x 44.1 cm
Bequest from the collection of Wang Fangyu and Sum Wai,
donated in their memory by Mr. Shao F. Wang

INSCRIPTION Poem in running-cursive script, by Bada Shanren

I perused the classics, unnumbered glosses from the Han,
Lord Shao could not do any better than our feast today.
I dispatch this lovely flower within its pearl of jade,
Tell people just to wait until the later days of spring.²

POSTSCRIPT On the Birthday of Flowers [twelfth day of the second lunar-month], upon reading the “Poem on the Crab apple” by Mister Kezhai, I wrote this to solicit his correction. Bada Shanren²
TWO SEALS Bada Shanren (square intaglio), Heyuan
(square relief)

SIX COLLECTOR SEALS
Zhang Daqian (1899–1983),
four seals: Dafengtang Jianjiang
Kuncai Xinge Kangou moyuan
(rectangle relief), Qiantu hao
guon qing (horizontal-rectangle intaglio), Bishui rouyi
(square relief), Diguozhi fu
(square relief)
Zhang Shanzi (1882–1940),
one seal: Shanzi xinshang
(rectangle relief)
Wang Fangyu (1913–1997),
one seal: Shijizhi (square intaglio)
Five Pines Mountain  ca. 1699

Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper  
111.0 x 43.3 cm  
Bequest from the collection of Wang Fangyu and Sum Wan, 
donated in their memory by Mr. Shao F. Wang

outside label (not shown) by Zhang Daqian (1899–1983),  
running script  
Five Pines Mountain, by Bada Shanren. Light color on paper, a master- 
piece from his late period. Engraved by Daofengtang [Zhang Daqian].

two seals  
Zhang Yuan (square intaglio), Daqian jushì (square relief)

signature on painting  
Painted by Bada Shanren

three seals  
Lü (rectangle relief, upside down), Slipper seal without border, Zhenshang (square relief)

Colophon in standard script, by Ye Dehui (1864–1927)

Long ago, when Zhang Pushan [Zhang Geng, 1685–1760]  
composed the Huazhengshi [Records on painters of the Qing  
dynasty] and placed Bada Shanren as the first entry, this anachro- 
nism was meant to say that Bada was the best. Zhang also  
quoted the words of provincial graduate Qiu Yueju [active  
1717–1734], who said, “As an artist, Shanren was most certainly a master in the simple and abbreviated style of brushwork. Not  
knowing that his refined, meticulous works were even more  
marvelous and exceptional, people of the time did not often  
collect them.” This painting is altogether a masterpiece of  
Bada’s refined, meticulous style. The texturing of the mountains  
sides and the tree branches were both done using “backward  
strokes,” which was probably because Bada had seen his whole  
world turned upside down before his very eyes, and his grief and  
bitterness were therefore ingrained in his calligraphy and painting.  
But this is not something that ordinary histories of painting  
discuss. This scroll was avidly admired in the past by my  
kind “elder brother,” Surveillance Commissioner Jieqing, who  
gallantly snatched it up for me when he saw it in the marketplace of Changsha. Now, all of a sudden, more than twenty  
years have passed, and who would have imagined that [in the  
meantime] our own generation would personally witness the  
same kind of painful national calamity that affected Shanren.  
The surveillance commissioner retired to the seashore, closed his  
door and studied painting, becoming, as the Dongtian qinglu says,  
the foremost man of his generation. Thus, I looked through my  
hang-up, and found this painting to present to him, so that Bada  
Shanren may be with a friend who truly appreciates him. May  
the surveillance commissioner treasure it forever. Beginning of summer in the dingshi year [May–June 1917], inscribed by your  
old family friend, your foolish “younger brother” Ye Dehui,  
while lodging in the Qingjiafang [quarter] of Suzhou

one seal  
Ye Dehui (square relief)

Eleven Collector Seals

Li Puquan (19th–20th century), two seals: Puquan zhenni  
(rectangle intaglio), Banmen  
Lishì zhengang (square relief)

Wang Wenxin (19th–20th century), three seals:  
Wang Wenxin cang (square relief),  
Wenxin shoushù (square relief),  
Mengqiao shoumín shidìn  
shoushù yìng (square intaglio)

Unidentified collectors  
(19th–20th century), two  
seals: Sanyangzhai cang jushì  
shidìn (rectangle relief),  
Ding Beihuan jianshì zhang  
(rectangle relief)

Zhang Daqian (1899–1983),  
three seals: Daofengtang Jianshuang  
Kuiyan Xiàngqí Kugang weiyuan  
(rectangle relief)

Wang Fangyu (1913–1997),  
one seal: Shijizihù (square intaglio)
Poem by Bai Juyi
in running-cursive script, 1700

Today, below the northern window,
I ask myself what I shall do?
Happily, I have three friends,
And these three friends, now, who are they?
When I stop the lute, I drink some wine.
When I stop the wine, I croon a poem;
These three friends lead each other ever on,
Round and round we go, for time without end.
Every strain contains my inmost heart,
Every chant brings joy to my four limbs.
And if I fear a gap appear between them,
I just use a little wine to patch it up.

Is a clod like me alone in liking this?
Many of the ancients did just the same!
There was Yangming, who loved wine,
There was Quji, who loved the lute,
And there was Bolun, who loved poems.
These three men were all my teachers.
While one lacked even the meanest provision,
And the other was clad in rope-belted robes,
Singing to the strings, chanting in their cups,
Each of them knew well the road to happiness.

These three teachers departed long ago.
Their lofty manners cannot be followed;
But my three friends keep me company,
And not a day goes by we do not consort.
Left, I grasp the beaker of whitest jade.
Right, I stroke the stops of yellow gold,
And merry with wine, I do not fold the paper.
My brush just runs, jotting crazy words.
So who will take these words of mine,
And give my thanks to family and friends:
You may not believe that I am right.
But how can you believe that I am wrong?

POSTSCRIPT This poem by Bai Xiangshan [Bai Juyi] is marvelous in every [respect], but has never been painted. 兆和hen year,
third lunar-month, twentieth day [May 8, 1700], recorded by Bada Shanren
THREE SEALS Yaozhu (rectangle relief). Bada Shanren (square intaglio), Heyuan (square relief)
无题
写于甲骨文
古文字
研究者
伯侄三人吃豆干，
我乏缠石佛
武安高诚大不练，
来取陶氏三朝老，
道也金陵故一华，
往左邻6
玉屑在拂衣无，
并竹引潘
走草拂狂词，
无考也
我问
Cedar Tree, Day Lily, and Wagtails 1700

Hanging scroll; ink on paper
172.1 x 92.4 cm
Bequest from the collection of Wang Fangyu and Sum Wai, donated in their memory by Mr. Shao F. Wang

OUTSIDE LABEL (NOT SHOWN) by Zhang Daqian (1899–1983), running script
Venerated by Dafengtang [Zhang Daqian]: Cedar Tree, Day Lily, and Wagtails, a genuine work painted by Bada Shanren during the gengchen year [1700], in his seventy-fifth year

SIGNATURE ON PAINTING Gengchen year [1700], Bada Shanren
THREE SEALS Bada Shanren (square intaglio), Heyuan (square relief), Yaozhu (rectangle relief)

EIGHT COLLECTOR SEALS
Zhang Daqian (1899–1983), seven seals: Dafengtang jianjiang Kuanan Xuege Kuima moyuan (rectangle relief), Baju guonei gao homen (horizontal rectangle relief), Naihei douyi zhi rou xiangxu wu hici (square relief), jichou yihou suo de (rectangle relief), Qiuwu hao guou qing (horizontal rectangle intaglio), Diaozi zhi fu (square relief), Bieshi tongyi (square relief)
Wang Fangyu (1913–1997) and Sum Wai (1918–1996), one seal: Fang Hui gongshuang (square relief)
Two Geese ca. 1700

Hanging scroll; ink on paper
83.5 x 90.2 cm
Bequest from the collection of Wang Fangyu and Sum Wai, donated in their memory by Mr. Shao F. Wang

outside label (not shown) by Zhang Daqian (1899–1983), running script
Geese and Reeds, a late painting by Bada Shanren, venerated by Dafengtang [Zhang Daqian]. A genuine work of the divine category; acquired in Hong Kong after 1949.

signature on painting Drawn by Bada Shanren
three seals Bada Shanren (square intaglio), Heyuan (square relief), Yaozhi (square intaglio)

eight collector seals
Zhang Daqian (1899–1983), six seals: jichou zhou mei de (rectangle relief), Qiu zhou guo qing (horizontal rectangle intaglio), Nanhei longxi zhi yun xiangsi wu biehi (square relief), Dafengtang (square relief), Bishu runyi (square relief), Dafengtang Jianjiang Kin cuan Xinge Kungma meiyuan (rectangle relief)

Unidentified collector, one seal: x x Zhangshii shouang shuina yin (square intaglio)
Wang Fangyu (1913–1997) and Sum Wai (1918–1996), one seal: Fang Hui gongshang (square relief)
Four Tang Poems
in running-cursive script, 1702-1703

Four hanging scrolls; ink on paper
AVERAGE 176.8 x 44.0 cm
Bequest from the collection of Wang Fangyu and Sum Wai, donated in their memory by Mr. Shao F. Wang

SCROLL 1
"Seeing Off a Buddhist Monk," by Liu Changqing (ca. 710—after 787)"

The lonely cloud and the wilderness goose,
How should they abide in the world of man?
Do not buy land on Fertile Isles Mountain,
People of the time already know the place."

SIGNATURE Bada Shanren
THREE SEALS Zhiushang (square relief), Bada Shanren (square intaglio), Heyuan (square relief)

SCROLL 2
"Climbing Hooded Crane Tower," by Wang Zhihuan (688-742)"

Daylight disappears along the hills,
The Yellow River flows into the sea.
If I wish to see a thousand li away,
I climb another story in this tower.

SIGNATURE Bada Shanren
THREE SEALS Zhiushang (square relief), Bada Shanren (square intaglio), Heyuan (square relief)

THREE COLLECTOR SEALS
Zhang Daqian (1899–1983),
two seals: Daofengfang (square relief), Daqian huoqian (rectangle relief)
Wang Fangyu (1913–1997),
one seal: Shijizhi (square intaglio)

TWO COLLECTOR SEALS
Zhang Shanzi (1882–1940),
one seal: Shanzi xiehuan (square relief)
Zhang Daqian, one seal:
Daqian zhi bao (square relief)
日上一壶稿

山人喜客

山川景色好
"On Passing the Exams," by Mengjiao (751–814)

The wretchedness of former days isn’t worth a sigh, For dawn is broad and vast and my thoughts are without bounds. The springtime wind is to my mind, my horse’s hoofs run swift. All in a day, I shall see every flower in Chang’an.

signature Bada Shanren

three seals Zhenshang (square relief), Bada Shanren (square intaglio), Heyuan (square relief)

"Congratulating Pei Tingyu on Passing the Exams in Shu," by Li Bo (active 870s–880s)

At Tongliang, a thousand leagues, the clouds of dawn disperse. For the list of the immortals has come from the Purple Palace. In heaven above you already spread your newly feathered wings, And shall not return to the dust and grime of the world before.

signature Bada Shanren

three seals Zhenshang (square relief), Bada Shanren (square intaglio), Heyuan (square relief)
Jade Hairpin Blossoms and
Excerpt from the “Sequel to the Treatise on Calligraphy”
in cursive script, ca. 1702

Two album leaves mounted as hanging scroll; ink on paper
Painting 29.9 x 34.3 cm; calligraphy 30.0 x 34.3 cm
Bequest from the collection of Wang Fangyu and Sum Wai, donated in their memory by Mr. Shao F. Wang

OUTSIDE LABEL (NOT SHOWN) by Zhang Daqian (1899–1983)
Jade Hairpin, by Bada Shanren. Presented by Dafengtang
[Zhang Daqian]
TWO SEALS Zhang Yian (square intaglio), Daqian jushi
(square relief)

BOTTOM LEAF
Jade Hairpin Blossoms

INSCRIPTION On a day in “little spring” [tenth lunar-month],
Heyuan
ONE SEAL Heyuan (square relief)

TOP LEAF
Excerpt from the Sequel to the Treatise on Calligraphy, by Jiang Kui
(ca. 1155–ca. 1235)

“Emperor Taizong of the Tang dynasty said, ‘He lay Wang Meng upon the paper and sat Xu Yan under his brush,’ so as to ridicule Xiao Ziyun,” and such people. Written by Bada Shanren
ONE SEAL Heyuan (square relief)

SEVEN COLLECTOR SEALS
Cao Buxun (unidentified),
one seal: Yangyi Cao Buxun
jianding yin (rectangle intaglio)
Zhang Daqian (1899–1983),
four seals: Bieshi songyi (square relief), Daqian yinmu (oval relief), Nanbei dongbei zhi yin
xiangmu wu bieli (square relief), Dafengtang jianjiang
Kuncan Xiege Kungna moyuan (rectangle relief)
Wang Fangyu (1913–1997),
one seal: Fangyu (rectangle relief)
Sum Wai (1918–1996),
one seal: Shen Hui (square relief)

THREE COLLECTOR SEALS
Zhang Daqian, two seals:
Dafengtang jianjiang Kuncan
Xiege Kungna moyuan
(rectangle relief), Qian bao
gou mu qing (horizontal-rectangle intaglio)
Sum Wai, one seal: Shen Hui
(square relief)
30 Couplet
in running script, ca. 1702

Pair of hanging scrolls; ink on paper
EACH 141 x 30.4 cm
Purchase—Funds provided by the E. Rhodes and Leona B. Carpenter Foundation in honor of the 75th Anniversary of the Freer Gallery of Art

Books and pictures are themselves an Immortals’ Chamber,
I view the Southern Capital as the Dipper and Mount Tai.”

signature Bada Shanren
three seals Yǎozhù (square intaglio), Bada Shanren
(square intaglio), Heyuan (square relief)

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sIX COlLectoR SeaLS
Unidentified collectors, five seals: Jīngtāoshùn (oval relief; right scroll); Cì Quán tángzhuāng (square intaglio; right scroll), Yīngyuán zhènchāng (square relief; left scroll); Gōnghì zhènchāng (rectangle relief; right scroll), Huáliáng Gōnghì Bāiynn-shàngquán jīnchāng (square relief; left scroll).
Wáng Fángyù (1913–1997), one seal: Shìjiǎzhǐhū (square intaglio; left scroll).
Poem by Yan Fang

in running-standard script, ca. 1702

Album leaf; ink on paper
30.0 x 34.3 cm
Purchase—Funds provided by the E. Rhodes and Leona B. Carpenter Foundation in honor of the 75th Anniversary of the Freer Gallery of Art

"Composed on Stopping for the Evening at Deer Gate Mountain," by Yan Fang (early to mid-8th century)

The place Pang Gong went to seek reclusion,
Is hard to find as footprints on the waves,
My drifting boat arrives before nightfall,
I grip my walking-stick and take a stroll,
Between double cliffs, the Deer Gate opens,
A hundred winding valleys heaped with gems,
Water spouts and spurs above the torrent,
Mountains pound and boom within the surge,
More lofty they stand than the Jiao Plateau,
The Lülüang Gorge was never quite so rough.
I’ve been traveling since the middle of spring,
Now summer birds chatter tenderly and low,
On sweet grasses, the color has grown late,
Still the wayfarer’s heart does not return.
Wandering abroad, I do not flee the world,
But seek the Dao to save my youthful face;
How can one follow cleverness and cunning,
Grab and contend for an awl’s-tip of space?"

POSTSCRIPT Copying [hua] the calligraphy of Yi Shanren
[Wang Chong, 1494-1533], Bada Shanren
three seals Shide (rectangle relief), Bada Shanren
(square intaglio), Heyuan (square relief)

THREE COLLECTOR SEALS
Zhang Daqian (1899-1983),
one seal: Dafengtang (square relief)
Zhu Shenghai (ca. 1902-1970), one seal: Zhu Shenghai
shubia ji (rectangle relief)
Wang Fangyu (1913-1997),
one seal: Shuizhini (square intaglio)
龐公嘉遁所，浪迹難追慕。浮舟尋谷集珠湖，噴薄滿春容。...

仲春夏鳥語鶯，雲量別時眠。遠遊不是難，安能修行巧爭奪，難刀間。唯將筆墨人書，筆。
32 Copy of Two Letters by Huang Daozhou
in running-cursive script, ca. 1702-1705

Two double album leaves; ink on paper
25.1 x 32.2 cm; 25.1 x 32.5 cm
Purchase—Funds provided by the E. Rhodes and Leona B. Carpenter Foundation
in honor of the 75th Anniversary of the Freer Gallery of Art

**LEAF 1**
Excerpt from a letter by Huang Daozhou (1585-1646)†

My small-cursive script being sparse and spare, I follow convention and make outline copies, so my writing is unable to achieve the standard. If the scribes in the marketplace were to see it, they would simply make fun of me. Having received your order to write something for you [in this style], when I have one or two days' free time, I shall come to get my "flock of geese." [Last sentence unintelligible due to losses in original paper and text.] Daozhou bows his head to you.††

**POSTSCRIPT**
Copying [film] the calligraphy of Master Shizhai [Huang Daozhou]. Bada Shanren

**LEAF 2**
Excerpt from a letter by Huang Daozhou

I am returning the Wénxiàn tongkao [General history of institutions and critical examination of documents and studies], but the Illustrated Scripture seems fine. Since my bookshelf cannot bear such large volumes, I am sending them to you, so you can have a look to see if you want them. I have also written two poems, which I am sending along. Daozhou bows his head to you.††

**POSTSCRIPT**
Calligraphy of Master Shizhai [Huang Daozhou]. Bada Shanren

**ONE SEAL** Shílié (rectangle relief)

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**TWO COLLECTOR SEALS**
Wang Fangyu (1913-1997), one seal: Fangyu (linked-square relief)
Sum Wai (1918-1996), one seal: Shên Hài (square relief)

**THREE COLLECTOR SEALS**
Zhang Daqian (1899-1983), one seal: Dàfēngzhàng zhēnshùn (horizontal rectangle relief)
Wang Fangyu, one seal: Wángfangyu (square relief)
Sum Wai, one seal: Shên Hài (square relief)
疏三妹酒作赋

度使坊中笔没见之

再有元弦

章以暇纪一月竹取

此墨

曾石高

留

生文

石高

留
Landscape after Ni Zan ca. 1703-1705

Double album leaf; ink on paper
25.1 x 32.3 cm
Bequest from the collection of Wang Fangyu and Sum Wai, donated in their memory by Mr. Shao F. Wang

Inscription Ni Yu [Ni Zan, 1306–1374] painted like a celestial steed bounding the void or white clouds emerging from a ridge, showing not a speck of mundane vulgarity. I drew this [painting] in my spare time.***

No signature

One seal Shide (rectangle relief)

Two collector seals
Wang Fangyu (1913–1997), one seal: Wang Fangyu
(linked-square relief)
Sum Wai (1918–1996), one seal: Shen Hui (square relief)
NOTES TO CATALOGUE

ABBREVIATION


ENTRY 1. Lotus

1 Dated by Wang Fangyu to ca. 1665, this album is among the handful of surviving works done by Bada Shanren while he was still a Buddhist monk. For a discussion of this album, see Wang Fangyu and Richard M. Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden: The Life and Art of Bada Shanren (1626–1705) (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery and Yale University Press, 1990), 83–84 (cat. no. 1, fig. 45).


ENTRY 2. Scripture of the Inner Radiances of the Yellow Court

2 Dating to the mid-fourth century of the common era, the Huangqinging (Scripture of the Yellow Court) is one of the most influential and popular texts belonging to the Shangqing (Highest Purity) School of medieval Daoism. The text exists in two poetic versions: a single 99-line version, known as the outer scripture, and a more complex 435-line version divided into thirty-six stanzas of uneven length, known as the inner scripture, which is the text that Bada Shanren recorded in this album. The contemporary calligrapher Wang Xizhi (ca. 303–ca. 361 C.E.), who was himself a practicing Daoist, is said to have transcribed both versions of the text in standard script, examples of which still exist in the form of rubbings. Each version has a long and independent history in the calligraphic tradition, and it was probably this history that prompted Bada to create his own transcription, and not the philosophical or religious content of the text. For an overview of the early calligraphic tradition surrounding the Scripture, see Lothar Ledderose, Mi Fu and the Classical Tradition of Chinese Calligraphy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 70–71.

For a brief discussion of this album, see Wang Fangyu, Bada Shanren fasun ji (Bada Shanren’s calligraphy in the collection of Wang Fangyu), in Mingjia huanmu: Zhongguo mingjia fasun quanji (Han Mo, Calligraphy of Famous Masters), ed. Hu Lan Ping (Xu Lingping), 2 vols. (Hong Kong: Hang Mo Xuan Publishing, 1998), 1:6–17 (leaves published out of order). Apart from the inner version of the Scripture seen in this album, Bada Shanren also transcribed the outer version on at least one occasion, see Wang Fangyu, Bada Shanren fasun ji, 1:18–33 (album of thirteen leaves, dated to ca. 1684).

3 Bada Shanren wrote the text of the Scripture as a continuous whole and did not indicate any breaks between stanzas. To the casual viewer, this may obscure the fact that the current album is incomplete and contains a little less than two-fifths of the total text, the whereabouts of the missing leaves is unknown. The current album contains four discrete sections of the text: leaves 1–2 run from the beginning of stanza 1 to the beginning of stanza 4; leaves 3–6 run from the end of stanza 13 to the beginning of stanza 18; leaves 7–8, though currently mounted in reverse order, run from the end of stanza 26 to the beginning of stanza 29; and leaves 9–11 run from the middle of stanza 35 to the end of stanza 36.

Bada Shanren’s transcription differs in many significant instances from both the standard published text and the rubbing cited below. His immediate source therefore remains unidentified. For an annotated text of the inner version of the Scripture, see Zhang Junfang (active 1008–1029), comp., Yumi qipian (Seven lots from the book bag of the clouds), 11:11a–12.3lb, in ITSQS, disc 116. For a rubbing of the complete text, see Bh Yuan (1730–1797), comp., Juxun tu (Exemplary calligraphy in the Juxuntang), 12 vols. (China: privately published, 1789), vol. 1.


ENTRY 3. Scripture of the Divine Lineage of the Yellow Court

4 Dated August 11, 1684, this colophon bears the artist’s earliest recorded signature in which he uses the sobriquet Bada Shanren, the name by which he is best known to history. While Bada asserts in the colophon that he emulated the calligraphy of the “Two Wangs,” which is to say Wang Xizhi (ca. 303–ca. 361 C.E.) and his son Wang Xuanzhi (344–388 C.E.), he actually chose to employ his own style of running-standard script, rather than the pure standard script that appears in rubbings of the text attributed to the elder Wang.

Bada Shanren also quotes a conversation preserved in the biography of Ruan Zhan (ca. 279–ca. 308 C.E.), courtesy-name Quanji, who was from the commandery of Chenlin (Henan Province). The conversation occurred when Ruan was a young man and had gone for an interview with the powerful minister Wang Rong (234–305 C.E.), who was so impressed with the subtle ambiguity of his response to the question recorded here that he appointed Ruan to his staff. See Fang Xuanling (578–648) et al., comps., Jin shi (History of the Jin dynasty, 265–420 C.E.) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 49:1363.

Bada Shanren’s comment following this quotation does not have any obvious point of reference. A possible answer may lie in Bada’s final statement that this was the second time he had written a colophon for the album. This suggests that the current text may be a sort of postscript to the previous colophon, which is now lost along with the missing two-fifths of the scripture text. In any case, given Ruan Zhan’s life dates,
there is no known historical connection either between Ruan Zhan and the Scripture of the Yellow Count, or Ruan Zhan and the Two Wangs.

ENTRY 3.  Lilac Flowers and Calligraphy
5 This striking seal is engraved with an archaic form of the character for “mountain.” For a second work bearing an impression of this seal, see Wang Zhaowen, ed., Bada Shanren quanji, 2:714 (cat. no. 14, leaf 6, album dated 1689).

6 Aside from some of his late landscape paintings, this small album leaf is one of few extant works where Bada Shanren uses color. On the accompanying leaf of calligraphy, Bada states that he was following the style of Lu Zhi (1496–1576), whose sobriquet (hao) was Baoshan. Lu Zhi is primarily known as a landscape painter but was also renowned for his sensitive flower studies, which generally bear little resemblance in style or execution to the current leaf. As is often the case with Bada Shanren, the precise basis for his assertion of stylistic affinity with a particular artist remains elusive.

This painting once belonged to a larger album, only one other leaf from which is known to exist (showing a quince). For discussions of the current leaf and accompanying leaf of calligraphy, see Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 110–11 (cat. no. 11, fig. 55), and Wang Fangyu, Bada Shanren fazhi ji, 1:36–37. For the quince painting, which is in the collection of the Princeton Art Museum, see discussion in Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 111–12 (cat. no. 12, fig. 56). For another Bada Shanren painting of lilac flowers (done in pure ink), see Wang Zhaowen, ed., Bada Shanren quanji, 1:67 (cat. no. 15, leaf 8; album dated 1684). More recently, the two leaves seen here previously belonged to a mixed album of ten leaves assembled from disparate sources, six of painting and four of calligraphy; five leaves, two of painting and three of calligraphy, are included elsewhere in this volume (cat. entries 6, 7, 32, and 33). Two other leaves (respectively showing a cat and a chicken) are published in Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 108–9 (cat. no. 10, fig. 54).

ENTRY 4.  Bamboo, Rocks, and Small Birds
7 For a discussion of this painting, see Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 129–31 (cat. no. 23, fig. 68). It is difficult to nail down Bada Shanren’s precise usage of the word shishi, which appears both as part of his signature and as a seal on numerous works produced between 1690 and 1694 (see also cat. entry 5). Over the past fifteen years, the term has received a number of different translations into English. For example, see Wen C. Fong, “Stages in the Life and Art of Chu Ta (d. 1626–1705),” Archives of Asian Art 40 (1987): 15–16; Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 112 and 149; and Huai-chun Lee, “Bada Shanren’s Bird-and-Fish Painting and the Art of Transformation,” Archives of Asian Art 44 (1991): 8–9. For the purposes of this book, the authors have chosen to follow the translation established in Master of the Lotus Garden: “involved in affairs.”

8 As stated in his colophon, the modern painter and collector Zhang Daqian believed the current work to have been much larger originally than when he acquired it. He therefore added wide strips of paper to both the right and left of the painting, and “restored” a corner of the rock and foreground on the right side with a few strokes. Zhang then inscribed his colophon down both sections of new paper, framing the original painting with his text. Since Zhang himself produced quite a number of copies and original works in the style of Bada Shanren, the current scroll showing the brushwork of both men side by side is an invaluable resource for understanding the difference between their respective techniques.

ENTRY 5.  Falling Flower, Buddha’s Hand Citron, Hibiscus, and Lotus Pod
9 For discussions of this leaf, see Shen C. Y. Fu, Tales of the Bamboo: Studies in Chinese Calligraphy (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1977), 188 (cat. no. 71), 198, and 280; and Wang Fangyu, Bada Shanren fazhi ji, 1:39.

The four leaves presented here originally come from an album of sixteen leaves. Eight leaves, including these four now in the Freer collection, are published in Zhang Daqian, Dafengtang mingyi (Famous works in the Dafengtang collection of Zhang Daqian) (Kyoto: Benrindo, 1953–56), vol. 3, plates 13–16. Eight other leaves, now in the Princeton University Art Museum, are published along with a discussion of the complete album in Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 131–35 (cat. nos. 24–26; figs. 69–71). The sixteen leaves are also published in two sections in Wang Zhaowen, ed., Bada Shanren quanji, 4:744–47 (cat. no. 35.1–8) and 4:760–69 (cat. no. 45.1–8).

ENTRY 6.  Excerpt from the “Preface to the Sacred Teachings”
10 This text is an excerpt from the second half of the “Sanzang shengqiao xu” (Preface to the sacred teachings [translated by Tripitaka]), composed in 648 for the Buddhist monk and translator Xuanzang (602–664), also known as Sanzang (Tripitaka), by Emperor Taizong of the Tang dynasty (reigned 626–49). Xuanzang had recently brought a large group of Buddhist texts from India to China and had embarked on a massive translation project under the patronage of Emperor Taizong. After his succession to the throne in the following year, Emperor Gaozong (reigned 649–83) continued to support Xuanzang. In 652, the monk requested that a pagoda be built to house the texts and images he had brought back, and the emperor complied by ordering construction of the Wild Goose Pagoda (Yanta) at the Temple of Compassionate Grace (Chensi), located in the imperial capital. On the south side of the pagoda, a stone monument was erected in 654 bearing Emperor Taizong’s preface written in standard script by the eminent court calligrapher and imperial advisor Chu Shunxiang (596–658). Through dissemination of rubbings made from this stone, which still stands at the pagoda, Chu’s transcription of Emperor Taizong’s preface became part of the mainstream calligraphic tradition and was frequently emulated over
the centuries as an orthodox model of standard script. Although Bada asserts that he was copying (lin) the style of Chu Sushiang in writing this album leaf, his use of running-standard script, instead of the traditional form of standard script established by Chu, adds a measure of idiosyncrasy to his rendition of the text.

Bada’s usage of the word “copying” (lin) is problematic and clearly means something other than the usual definition. For other examples and further discussion, see catalogue entries 20, 31, and 32 and notes 67, 97, 102, and 103. For a rubbing of the stele bearing Chu Sushiang’s transcription of Emperor Taizong’s preface, see Yanta “Shengjing xu” bei (Stele of the “Preface to the Sacred Teachings” at the Wild Goose Pagoda), in Shoeki nenbin sokan (Compendium of famous works of calligraphy), vol. 10 (Tokyo: Nipponsha, 1969–81). For the standard printed text of Emperor Taizong’s preface, see Huih (615–24) and Yuncong (active mid- to late 7th century), Datang da Ci’ensi Suozhang fashi zhuo (Biography of Tripitaka, the Teacher of the Law, of the Great Temple of Compassionate Grace of the Great Tang Dynasty), in Taisho shinshu Daizō-kyō (The Taishō edition of the Buddhist Canon) (Tokyo: Taishō shinshū Daizō-kyō kankō kai, 1962), 50:256.

For discussions of this leaf, see Shen C.Y. Fu, Traces of the Brush, 160 (cat. no. 70), 188, and 280: Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 144–46 (cat. no. 32, fig. 80, leaf b); and Wang Fangyu, Bada Shanren fashi ji, 1:40. Bada Shanren evidently felt some attraction for the text of this preface since he wrote it out on at least two other occasions; an album leaf, dated 1692, from a ten-leaved album, containing a different excerpt starting from the beginning of the preface, published in Kokka 724 (July 1952): 230; and a pair of album leaves, dated 1693, from an album of sixteen leaves in the Shanghai Museum, containing an excerpt that starts at the same place, but is twenty-two characters longer than the Freer text, in Zhongguo gudai shihua jianzhang (Group for the authentication of ancient works of Chinese painting and calligraphy), comp., Zhongguo gudai shihua tuan (Illustrated catalogue of selected works of ancient Chinese painting and calligraphy), vol. 4 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990), 338 (Hi. 1:2724, leaves 10–11); also published in Conglin, Bada Shanren huanu ji (Collection of ink works by Bada Shanren) (Beijing: Zhishi chubanshe, 1990), 50–51. For a brief discussion of these various album leaves, see Wang Fangyu, “Bada Shanren de shufa” (The calligraphy of Bada Shanren), in Bada Shanren fashi ji (An Anthology of Essays on Pu-ta-shan-jen), ed. Wang Fangyu, 2 vols. (Taipei: Gaoli Banyuan Zhonghua congshu bianzhen weiyuanhui, 1984), 1:394.

This calligraphy leaf most recently belonged to a mixed album of ten leaves assembled from disparate sources, six of painting and four of calligraphy. Six leaves, three of painting and three of calligraphy, are included elsewhere in this volume (cat. entries 3, 6, 32, and 33). One leaf is unpublished and two other leaves (respectively showing a cat and a chicken) are published in Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 108–9 (cat. no. 18, fig. 54).

11 According to Wang Fangyu, this slipper seal is different from Bada Shanren’s usual slipper seal and only appears on works dating from 1692 to 1693, a fact that aids in the dating of this leaf. The same seal also appears on the accompanying landscape painting (see cat. entry 7), confirming that these two thematically unrelated works were probably created around the same time and for the same album. See Wang Fangyu, Bada Shanren fashi ji, 1:40.

ENTRY 7 Landscape after Dong Yuan
12 Dong Yuan (North Park) is an abbreviation of an official title once held by the mid-tenth-century landscape painter Dong Yuan (died 962). Dong served as Administrator of the North (or Rear) Park under the rulers of the Southern Tang kingdom (937–975), which had its capital on the Yangzi River at the modern city of Nanjing, Jiangsu Province. He is considered the founder of the Southern School of Landscape painting, which Bada Shanren generally followed. For other works by Bada in the style of Dong Yuan, see catalogue entries 8 (leaves 2–5) and 12 (leaf 1) in this volume; Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 164–66 (cat. no. 43, fig. 96, hanging scroll, ca. 1690); and Wang Zhaowen, ed., Bada Shanren quanji, 2:457 (cat. no. 118, hanging scroll, undated). 3:560 (cat. no. 173; hanging scroll, undated), and 4:836 (cat. no. 84; leaf 7, undated).

This leaf most recently comes from a mixed album of ten leaves assembled from disparate sources, six of painting and four of calligraphy. Six leaves, two of painting and four of calligraphy, are included elsewhere in this volume (cat. entries 3, 6, 32, and 33). One leaf is unpublished and two other leaves (respectively showing a cat and a chicken) are published in Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 108–9 (cat. no. 18, fig. 54).

ENTRY 8 Combined Album of Painting and Calligraphy: “Grieving for a Fallen Nation”
14 Naito Torajirō (1866–1934), also known as Naitō Konan and Naitō Tora, was an important Japanese scholar of Chinese history and a connoisseur of Chinese painting and rare books. Naitō probably inscribed this outside label around the same time that he wrote his colophon for the album in 1930 (see leaves 13–15). On the life and career of Naitō Torajirō, see Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japanese history (Tokyo: Kodansha kobunsha, 1978–89), 11:516–17; and Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan (Tokyo and New York: Kodansha Ltd., 1983), 5:341. See also note 35 below.

15 Shanqi, Prince Su (1866–1922), who sometimes used the sobriquet Ouqian, was a high-ranking member of the Qing imperial house and 2nd holder of the hereditary title Prince Su, which he received in 1898. Shanqi rose through a series of high government positions during the last decades of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), and after the founding of the Republic of China in February 1912, retired to Lushan (Hebei Province) and then to Lushan (Liaoning Province). See Chen Yutang,
In line 2, the word *huang* (flood; broad, vast) may stand for Hongzhou, an alternative historical name for Nanchang, the city where Bada Shanren lived after leaving the Buddhist clergy.

19 Poem 2, lines 3–4: *Xieji* (literally: slanting stairs) is an old name for Shixing Prefecture in northern Guangdong Province. The city was renamed from the third to the early sixth century C.E., when it was briefly changed to Zhengjie (literally: upright, or main, stairs), and finally Shixing. In the case of this poem, Bada Shanren appears to be less concerned with an actual place than with playing on the various meanings of the word *xie* (slanting, leaning, tilted, oblique, sideways), which has a somewhat negative connotation, and the word *zheng* (upright, true, proper, correct, principal, chief), which has strongly positive connotations. Each of these is joined as an adjective to the base word *jie*, which can mean both not only a physical staircase but also the steps or official ranks of government.

Line 4 ends with the term *gangyu* (stared, or moved, by experience), which is the title of a famous series of eighteen poems by the poet Chen Zhiang (661–702), who served at the court of the usurper Empress Wu Zetian (reigned 690–705). Full of Daoist references, the poems in this series were also interpreted to have hidden political connotations critical of the goings-on at court. How this reference might relate to either the place names discussed above or Bada’s life and times remains unclear.

20 Poem 3, lines 1–4: This poem may allude to the poet and prince Cao Zhi (192–232 C.E.), who composed a famous work called the “Luoshen fu” (Rhapsody, or Prosopoeia, on the Goddess of the Luo River), in which he describes leaving the capital at Luoyang (Henan Province) for his specified location far east of the city in Shandong Province. On the way, he encountered the Goddess of the Luo River, who invited him to join her in her watery domain. Forced by circumstance to continue on his way, Cao cast his girdle-jade (a jade ornament suspended on a cord from the belt or girdle) into the river as a pledge of his loyal affection. See David R. Knechtges, trans., *Hou Xuanshi Selections of Refined Literature*, comp. Xiao Tong (501–533), vol. 3 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 355–65, esp. 361 (line 80).

21 Poem 4, lines 1–2. These two lines are built around references to the famous author, alchemist, and Daoist master Tao Hongjing (456–536 C.E.). As quoted by Bada, some biographies of Tao mention that he had a “slender form” (wuxing) and that he “hid his shadow” (bujiang) while serving as a young man at court, which is to say that he did not participate in the social or political life of the capital. Tao did, however, establish close relations during these years with a number of prominent courtiers and imperial family members, such as Xiao Yan (463–549), future founder of the Luang dynasty (502–537). On retiring from government in 492 C.E., Tao moved to the sacred Daoist mountain Maoshan (Mount Mao), located south of the imperial capital Jiankang (modern Nanjing, Jiangsu Province), where he spent the next forty-four years pursuing the life of a recluse. For a relevant biography of Tao Hongjing, see Yao Cha...
After his ascension to the throne, Xiao Yan, better known as Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty (reigned 502–49), continued to seek advice from Tao Hongjing and often invited him to return to court. On one such occasion, he asked Tao what it was he had found so appealing in the mountains, and Tao composed the following famous quatrains in reply: "What is there in the mountains? / On the peaks, there are white clouds. / One can only enjoy them for oneself. / I cannot take them to send to You." (N.B.: Many sources name the emperor in question as Emperor Gao of the Qi dynasty, Xiao Daocheng [reigned 479–82 C.E.], under whom Tao Hongjing first took government service.)

"White clouds" are a frequent trope in Chinese literature, symbolizing the realms of paradise that he beyond the mortal world, as well as the spiritual transcendence and life of freedom enjoyed by the recluse. Bada may have had Tao's poem in mind when he wrote line 2. For Tao Hongjing's poem, see Li Fong (1925–99) et al., comps., Taiping guangji (Miscellaneous records of the Taiping reign period, 976–83), 202b–10a, in HSKQS, disc. 114.

Lines 3–4: The meaning behind these two lines remains opaque. There is no apparent connection to Tao Hongjing, and no other relevant allusion has been located.

22 On May 7, 1696, Bada Shanren wrote the leaf bearing these four quatrains for his friend Baoyi. He probably composed the poems at an earlier time as inscriptions for paintings; however it is uncertain if the four landscape paintings that accompany this leaf complement the texts in any way. The current album also contains three undated leaves of calligraphy with eight additional quatrains that Bada sent to Baoyi for his personal leaves (leaves 8–10).

Joseph Chang was the first to correctly identify the recipient of the paintings and calligraphy in this album as Wu Chenyan, courtesy name Baoyi, a scholar, poet, and painter from Qiantang (modern Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province); see Zhang Ziming (Joseph Chang), "Chen Yan xiang 'Chen' ma?" (Wu Chen Yan surnamed Chen?), Gungng wenwu yuehua (National Palace Museum Monthly) 134 (May 1994): 94–103. A considerable amount of additional biographical information concerning Wu Chenyan has come to light during research for this volume, including material that now establishes his life dates at 1663–after 1722.

Bada Shanren created at least two other known works for his friend Baoyi in 1694 and 1696. He wrote a sixteen-line poem for him on June 28, 1694; see Wang Zidou, comps., Bada Shanren shihao (Poetry of Bada Shanren) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1981), 25–26. He also painted a landscape hanging scroll for Baoyi, which he inscribed with a quatrarn on February 9, 1696, three months prior to writing the current album leaf; see Wang Zhaowen, ed., Bada Shanren guanji, 2:410 (cat. no. 101). From all this, one may surmise that Bada Shanren and Wu Chenyan maintained a measure of regular social contact from at least 1693/1694 to mid-1696, when Wu was in his early thirties and Bada in his late sixties.

23 Zhang Daqian applied his seals to each of Bada's three calligraphy works (leaves 6, 7, 10) and at the end of the album (leaf 15), but not the frontispiece (leaf 1), four paintings (leaves 2–5) or colophon by Wu Changhao (leaves 11–12). Zhang apparently acquired this album from Cheng Qi, who first published it; see Cheng Qi, Bada Shanren shihua ji (Collection of calligraphy and painting by Bada Shanren), works in the Jinshòng caotang collection of Cheng Qi (Kyoto: Tōshō bunka kannkō, 1986), plates 5–17 (five calligraphy leaves) and 46–49 (four landscape leaves).

24 On this leaf, Bada Shanren copied the text of an earlier prose inscription that he had written for a fan painting. Judging from its inclusion in this album, the leaf was presumably intended for the enjoyment of his friend Wu Chenyan (see note 22). None of the contemporaries named here by Bada have been identified: Wang Xizhai, Mrister Shifen, and "elder brother" Shangshu. Bada states that he wrote this leaf in the first ten-day period of the fourth lunar-month, but does not specify the year; however, it may have been around the same time that he wrote the preceding calligraphy leaf, which was dated on the seventh day in the fourth lunar-month of the bingzi year (May 7, 1696). For a previous translation of the text, see Wang and Barhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 227.

In the original Chinese, Bada refers to the famous Tang dynasty poet Du Fu (712–770) by an abbreviation of an official title he once held in the gongbu (Ministry of Works). Du Fu's eight-line poem, "Seeing off Secretary Li the Eighth," has no apparent connection either to a birthday celebration or to Penglai, a mythical island in the eastern sea inhabited by immortals and the subject of the fan painting Bada inscribed. For Du Fu's poem, see Hong Ye (William Hung), comps., Dashi yinhe (Concordance to the poems of Tu Fu), 3 vols., in Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, supplement 14 (Beijing: Yenching University, 1940), 2:435–36 (poem no. 2).

25 Poem 1, lines 3–4: Ruoyue Creek, near modern Shaowuxing (Zhejiang Province), was famous as a place where the ancient beauty Xi Shi (early 5th century B.C.E.) once picked lotus blossoms.

Bada Shanren wrote this poem on at least two earlier works: a lotus painting in the album "Fish, Lotus, Globofish, and Bamboo" (dated 1689), in the L. and C. Rosenthal Collection; and a handscroll, "Lotus and Birds" (dated 1690), in the collection of the Cincinnati Art Museum. See Wang and Barhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 103 (cat. 7, fig. 51, leaf b) and 115–16 (cat. 15, fig. 59).

26 Poem 2, lines 1–2: The term "yellow bamboo" (huang zhuan) may allude to a story concerning King Mu of Zhou (Zhou Muwang; reigned 1001–947 B.C.E.). On one of the king's many travels, he discovered that the local people were suffering and dying from an intense cold spell. To demonstrate his compassion for them, King Mu composed three poems using yellow bamboo as a metaphor, and personally went to spend the night in a nearby grove to share their misery. How; or if, this story relates to Bada Shanren's poem is unclear, as is the reference to Longzhou (modern Nantong, Jiangsu Province), which is the name of both a
town and county located north of the Yangzi River near its mouth. There is no known connection between Tongzhou and King Mu; however, Bada Shanren also used the term huangzhu in one of his studio names (see note 33). Lines 3–4: The last character in line 3 (taken here as fen, divided) has not been reliably deciphered, and the meaning of these two lines is uncertain.

27 Poem 3, lines 1–2: There were at least two temples in Bada Shanren's native Jiangxi Province named Kanyuan Temple (or monastery): one in Xinyuan (modern Nanchang), near Bada's home; and one farther away, in Chongren. It is not clear if Bada had either place in mind.

Lines 3–4: The phrase yaozi faishen (sparrow-hawk flipping over) refers to a particular maneuver or pose employed by acrobats performing on a vertical pole during temple festivals; see Tian Rucheng (early to mid-6th century), Xihu pandianzi yu (Sightseeing at West Lake, continued), 29; in HSKQS, disc 62. According to ancient law and custom, the graves of commoners were planted with willow trees; see Ban Gu (32–92 C.E.), Baidu tongyi (Comprehensive discussions in the White Tiger Hall), 2:74b, in HSKQS, disc 92.

28 Poem 4, lines 1–2: West Pass Hill (Xiashan), located near modern Wuxing, Zhejiang Province, was where the Tang poet and recluse Zhang Zhilie (c. 742–c. 782) composed five well-known poems titled Yufu ge (Fishermen songs).

Lines 3–4: "Big-headed stripe" is the translator's coinage for a kind of fish known as yungying, described in standard sources as a striped fish with a large bonylike head. The only river in China officially bearing the name Coral Stream (Shanluchuan) is located near Ningxiang, in eastern Hunan Province; however, it seems unlikely that Bada Shanren had this specific place in mind, and he simply may have been playing with the name.

29 Poem 5, lines 1–3 are built around references to the famous poet and recluse Tao Qian (365–427 C.E.), who once wrote a letter to his sons in which the following passage appears: "Often in the fifth and sixth months I lay beneath the northern window, and when a cool breeze suddenly came, I would think myself a man of the remote times of Emperor Fuxi," translation adapted from A. R. Drew, Tao Yuan-ming, a.d. 365–427: His Halks and Their Meaning, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1.229. Following line 3 of the poem, Bada Shanren added his own brief note in small characters explicitly identifying the primordial ruler Fuxi as the subject, and leading back to Tao Qian's passage above. It is unclear how line 4 fits with the rest of the poem.

30 Poem 6, lines 3–4: Hekou (River Mouth) is the name of a town in northern Yanzhou county, Jiangxi Province, where two smaller streams flow into the Xingjiang River. Hekou (Lake Mouth) is the name of a county located on the Yangzi River in northern Jiangxi Province.

31 Poem 7, lines 1–2: "Up on Phoenix Hill" and "Leaves of Purest Gold" are apparently the titles of unknown songs or tunes, and may refer to the story of the musician Xiao Shi (mid-7th century B.C.E.) and Longyu, the daughter of Duke Mu of Qin (reigned 659–21 B.C.E.). Xiao Shi excelled at playing the flute (or panpipes) and Longyu fell in love with and married him. He taught her how to make the sound of a phoenix call on the pipes, and when she had practiced for several years, phoenixes began to come to her window. Accordingly, the duke built the Phoenix Terrace for the couple, where they lived. One morning, husband and wife flew away on a phoenix into the realm of the immortals and were never seen again.

32 Poem 8, line 2: This line perhaps refers to one of Bada Shanren's studio names, the Mountain Lodge amid the Louris, which he used both as a seal and as part of his signature.

Line 4: Wanshan (Shining Hills), is located north of the Yangzi River near the town of Qianshan, in Anhui Province. The first part of the place name (Wan), is sometimes used alone as a general reference to Anhui, so the compound here might simply mean "the hills of Anhui."

Bada Shanren also wrote this poem as an independent hanging scroll on at least one occasion; see Wang Zhaowen, ed., Bada Shanren quanji, 3,628 (cat. no. 196).

33 Wang Fangyu has dated the leaves on which these poems appear to ca. 1693, three years prior to Bada Shanren's creation of the other six leaves in the album. Bada wrote out the eight quatrains on these leaves for his friend Baoyun (Wu Chenzhen, see note 22 above), but did not compose the poems for him, as they clearly predate the creation of the album and were written to accompany paintings that are not included. For previous translations of the poems, see Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 139–40 (cat. 30, fig. 7), with translations of poems 2 and 8; page 115, with translation of poem 1; and page 224, with translations of poems 3 to 7. For transcriptions and further comments, see Wang Fangyu, Bada shanren shi ji, 1:41. Texts of the eight poems are also published in Wang Ziluo, comp., Bada Shanren shi, 39–40.

The place name Huangzhuyuan (Yellow Bamboo Garden) appears in seals used by Bada Shanren from 1686 to 1690 and ca. 1692 to 1698, and first appears as part of his signature in 1689. It is unclear if Bada used the phrase simply as an alternate name, or if it also referred to an actual physical location, such as a studio or residence. For discussion and examples of "Huangzhuyuan" in seals and signatures, see Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 104, 140, 248 (no. 63), 249 (no. 79), and 103 (fig. 51, leaf c). On the significance of "yellow bamboo," see note 26.

34 The calligrapher and painter Wu Changshuo (1844–1927), whose given name was Junqing, was considerably influenced by Bada Shanren, and his inscriptions appear on a number of Bada's surviving works. For other inscriptions by Wu Changshuo on Bada Shanren's paintings, see catalogue entry 9 in this volume; and Wang Zhaowen, ed., Bada Shanren quanji, 2,404 (cat. no. 95, hanging scroll, inscription dated 1924),
3.482 (cat. no. 13); hanging scroll, inscription dated 1895). On Bada Shanren and Wu Changshuo, see Wang Fangyu, “Bada Shanren du Wu Changshuo de yingshang” (Bada Shanren’s influence on Wu Changshuo), in Bada Shanren lunji, ed. Wang Fangyu, 1:423–30.

The erroneous assertions that Bada Shanren’s “given name was Da and his courtesy name Xuege” and that he was a “grandson of the Prince of Shichengfu” are based on statements in Zhang Geng’s (1685–1766) biography of Bada Shanren. For the full Chinese text of this biography, see Zhang Geng, Gaoshou shanzhengfu (Records on painters of the Qing dynasty, preface 1739), in Zhongguo shuhua quanshu (Complete writings on Chinese calligraphy and painting). comp. Lu Fusheng et al., 14 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai shuluhua chubanshe, 1992–99); or Wang Fangyu, ed., Bada Shanren lunji, 1:553. For a brief discussion of the commonly reiterated errors in that text, see Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 24. On Zhang Geng, see also catalogue entry 24 (Ye Delun colophon). The origin of the phrase, “Heartbreak has its hidden reasons,” is not recorded.

The identity of Wenqing, former owner of the album, and Wu Changshuo’s fellow “art lover” (younds), is not known. However, since Wenqing is also named as the recipient of Shang’s 1917 frontispiece (see leaf 1 and note 15 above), it is clear that he owned the album for at least the ten years between 1907, when Wu Changshuo wrote this colophon, and 1917.

The individual named by Wu Changshuo as his teacher Yang Xian (1819–1896) sobriquet Miaoweng, largely pursued a life devoted to poetry and other scholarly pastimes. As a calligrapher, Yang exerted a considerable influence on a number of younger contemporaries, in particular Wu Changshuo, with whom he maintained a close relationship. The small Bada hanging scroll that inspired Yang Xian has not been located; however, Wu Changshuo composed his own variant on the same quatrain of poetry, which he inscribed on a different Bada hanging scroll in the spring of 1924; see Wang Zhaowen, ed., Bada Shanren quanjij, 2:404 (cat. no. 95). For another inscription by Yang Xian on a painting by Bada Shanren, see Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 152 (cat. no. 36, fig. 87; album leaf, ca. 1694).

Du Fu (712–770) composed the famous poem, “At wangsun” (Als, a prince!), in the autumn of 756 during the dark days of the An Lushan rebellion, which marked the end of a golden age of the Tang dynasty (618–907). In the ruined capital of Chang’an (modern Xi’an, Shaanxi Province), Du Fu came across a miserable imperial prince huddled by the wayside, scratched and bruised from branches and dressed in rags. Though recognizing that “just now royalty is humbled and monstrosity rampant,” he reminded the young man that where there is life, there is hope. Translation quoted from William Hung (Hong Ye), In Fu: China’s Greatest Poet, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), 1:101–02. For the Chinese text, see Hong Ye (William Hung), comp., Du Fu yude, 2:43–44 (no. 21).

35 The highly regarded Japanese calligrapher and sinologist Naitō Torajirō (1866–1934) wrote this colophon in 1930 at the request of the Kyoto collector Hayashi Heizō (20th century; studio name, Utudō), who then owned the album. Hayashi affixed his own collector seal on the last leaf of the album following Naitō’s colophon and, judging from the seal of the Kōsaiō mounting studio (in Kyoto) affixed inside the front cover, he may also have been responsible for the current mounting of the album. On the life and career of Naitō Torajirō, see note 14. On his calligraphy, see the series of articles and plates in: Shofu 13–17 (Autumn 1978–Autumn 1980), inclusive.

In his colophon, Naitō Torajirō quoted two passages from the closing section of the biographical notice on Bada Shanren written by the poet and essayist Shao Changheng (1637–1704), whose sobriquet was Qingsen. Shao visited Nanchang in 1688 to 1689, where he arranged to meet Bada Shanren through a mutual acquaintance, and subsequently wrote a highly personal biographical notice describing the event, which he included in his Qingsen huayu (Notes on my travels). For the complete Chinese text of Shao’s biographical notice, see Wang Fangyu, ed., Bada Shanren lunji, 1:527–28. For previous translations of the section quoted by Naitō Torajirō, see Wen C. Fong, “Stages in the Life and Art of Chu Ta,” 12; and Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 19. For more on Shao’s visit to Bada and other partial translations of the biography he wrote, see Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 18, 24, 35, 41, and 60–61.

The three individuals mentioned in the quotation from Shao Changheng’s essay—Fang Feng (1240–1321), Xie Ao (1249–1295), and Wu Su (1238–1301)—were a trio of poets and scholars who refused to serve the alien Yuan dynasty (1279–1368) after the fall of the Song in 1279 and took to wandering the countryside of eastern Zhejiang Province together. Particularly grieved by the capture and execution of the great Song patriot and military commander Wen Tiantang (1236–1283), the three companions climbed the Western Terrace of Yanting (Yanting Xiutai, in Zhejiang Province) in 1287 and performed a ceremony calling his soul to return and “wailing in anguish” (tongkai). On Fang Feng, Wu Su, and Xie Ao, see Chu Bide et al., comps., Songren shihong zhao suoqu (Index to biographical materials on Song dynasty figures), 6 vols. (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1973), 1:64–62, 2:1158–59, and 5:4111.

ENTRY 9. Lotus and Ducks
36 For a discussion of this painting, see Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 170–71 (cat. no. 47, fig. 108). For examples of nine compositionally related paintings dating from ca. 1690–92 to 1705, see the following works discussed and/or illustrated in the same volume: “Lotus and Duck” (ca. 1690–92), 124–25 (cat. no. 20, fig. 63); “Lotus and Bird” (ca. 1692–94), 137–38 (cat. no. 28, fig. 73); “Lotus, Birds, and Rocks” (1694), 146–48 (cat. no. 33, fig. 81); “Lotus and Peony” (1694), 265 (Appendix C, no. 80); “Lotus and Rock” (1694), 266 (Appendix C, no. 81); “Lotus and Rock” (1694–95), 156–57 (cat. no. 38, fig. 99); “Lotus and Ducks” (1696), 267 (Appendix C, no. 91); “Lotus and Duck” (1696), 268 (Appendix C, no. 100); and “Lotus” (1705), 215–17 (cat. no. 72, fig. 139). Gao Yong (1850–1921), a previous owner, first published this paint-
ing prior to the time Wu Changshuo added his inscription in the spring of 1926; see photograph in Wang Fangyin, ed., Bada Shanren huaji, 2:192, plate 38.2, taken from an unspecified volume of Gao Yong, Taishan Caishitu congbi (Paintings in the collection of the Broken Stone Tower of Taishan) (Shanghai: Xiling yushu, 1926–29). The current painting with Wu Changshuo’s inscription was first published in Zhang Daqian, Dafengtang mingbi, vol. 3, plate 4.

37 Lines 4–6: The name translated here as “Snowy Donkey” is actually made up of two names Bada Shanren used while still a Buddhist monk: Xuue (Snowy One) and Liu (Donkey), the latter being a derogatory slang term for a monk. Bada Shanren was a member of the Ming dynasty imperial clan, surname Xue.

Lines 14–15: Line 14 contains typical images of the world upside down, full of prodigies and ill-omened occurrences. Line 15 alludes to the Daoist philosopher Zhuang Zhou (Zhuangzi, ca. 369–ca. 286 B.C.E.), who once dreamt he was a butterfly, but on waking could not determine if he had been Zhuangzi dreaming of a butterfly, or was now the butterfly dreaming he was Zhuangzi. See Guo Qingsi (1844–1896), comp., Zhuangzi jishu (Collected commentaries on the Zhuangzi), 4 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1964; reprint 1978), 1:112; and Burton Watson, trans., The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), 49.

This fifteen-line poem by Wu Changshuo was previously translated in Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 171. For more information on Wu Changshuo and his other inscriptions on paintings by Bada Shanren, see note 34.

ENTRY 10. Poem by Han Yu

38 In 801, the Tang poet and prose stylist Han Yu (768–824) composed the “Preface to Seeing Off Li Yuan on His Return to Winding Valley.” Judging from the longer prose section of the preface, Li Yuan, the individual for whom Han Yu wrote the work, was a well-regarded scholar of strong Confucian values, who retired that same year from public life in the capital to a Buddhist temple in Winding Valley (Pangzi), which is located in the southern foothills of the Taihang Mountains about ten to twelve kilometers north of the town of Jiyuan, Henan Province. The preface concludes with, or introduces, a poem written in a unique combination of ancient metrical forms, which is the text that Bada Shanren recorded here.

39 In his one-line introduction to Han Yu’s poem, Bada Shanren refers to Li Yuan as coming from Shan” (south of the mountains), which in the Tang dynasty was part of the name for two provinces, east and west respectively. Since Li Yuan had no known connection with either province of Shan, Bada probably employed the term simply as an informal reference to Winding Valley, which is located south of the Taihang Mountains. Note that Bada used “Shan” in three of the four other known versions he created of this text (see note 40), while in the fourth version (album leaf in the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco), he reversed the constituents to read “Nanshan” (South Mountain), a common place name that does not pertain to Li Yuan in any ascertainable way.

40 In addition to the current album leaf, Bada Shanren wrote out the text of Han Yu’s poem on at least four other occasions, all probably during the period 1696 to 1698; Leaf 1, in a mixed album of sixteen leaves of painting and calligraphy dated spring 1698, in the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco; an undated album leaf, in the Tang Yin Art Museum, Hangzhou; an undated hanging scroll, in the Tokyo National Museum; and a second undated hanging scroll, in the Shanghai Museum of Art. Bada used exactly the same poem text for all five versions, which consistently differs from standard printed recensions of Han Yu’s famous preface in several particulars. See, for example: Wei Zhongguo (late 12th–early 13th century), comp., Hualai zhu Songzi yunyi (Five hundred commentators on the works of Han Yu, preface 1200, 19:22a–25a, esp. 19:22a–b, in HSKQS, disc 118; and Gao Byung, comp. and annotator, Tang Song yueju suanju (Essential prose of the Tang and Song dynasties), 3 vols. (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 1:232–39, esp. 237–38. For two recent translations of Han Yu’s complete preface, see Yu-shih Chen, Images and Ideas in Classical Chinese Prose (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 24–25; and Stephen Owen, ed. and trans., An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911 (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1996), 69–79.

The current leaf originally belonged to a nine-leaf calligraphy album, seven other leaves from which are in the Freer collection; see catalogue entries 11 (two leaves), 13, 14, 15, 16, and 31. For a list of the contents of the original album, see Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 209 (Appendix C, no. 106).

41 In his postscript, Bada Shanren confuses Han Yu’s hermit friend with another individual bearing the same name. This second Li Yuan (died 823) was the son of the Tang general Li Sheng (727–793), whose courtesy name (zi) was Liangqi. Li Sheng joined the army as a young man and in 746 to 747 accompanied Wang Zhongma (705–749) on a campaign in eastern Central Asia. During the Chinese attack on an unnamed city: “a brave [enemy] general mounted the wall and rested vigorously, wounding quite a number of Chinese soldiers. Wang Zhongma sent out a call to his troops that anyone who could shoot him [with an arrow] should do so. Li Sheng then drew his bow and slew the man with a single shot, whereupon the whole army sent up a great shout. Greatly appreciative, Zhongma patted Li Sheng on the back and said: ‘This [man] is a match for ten thousand foes’ [translator’s italics].” See Liu Yu et al., comps., Ju liang shu (Old history of the Tang dynasty, 618–907) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 133:2661.

Due largely to his military prowess, Li Sheng eventually rose to high office and was rewarded with the hereditary title, Prince of Xiping (in Gansu Province), an appanage of 1,500 households located near the ancestral home of the Li family. Li Yuan was heir to this title and also rose to high military and civil office. Bada evidently felt that Li Yuan’s inherited princely rank explained Han Yu’s use of the word gong.
(palace) in the opening line of his poem; however, this is too narrow an interpretation of the world, which may also be applied to a Buddhist temple, for example. There is no indication that Li Yuan, the prince, ever retired to the life of a recluse or had any connection with Winding Valley in Henan Province. For his official biographies, see Lin Xu et al., comps., *Jiu Tang shu*, 133:3676–77, and Ouyang Xiu et al., comps., *Xiu Tang shu* (New history of the Tang dynasty, 618–907) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 154:4874–75.

Bada Shanren used an unusual method to record the year of this work (1697), for explanation see Wang Fanyu, *Bada Shanren fusha ji*, 1:65. For another occurrence of the same formula, see Wang Zhaowen ed., *Bada Shanren quanjji*, 2:455 (album leaf, sprig of chrysanthemum).

**ENTRY 11**  Poem by Zeng Gong

42 Zeng Gong (1019–1083), also known as Ziga, was a scholar-official from Nanfeng in Jiangxi Province. He was highly regarded as a prose writer, but his poetry is generally less well known. As with many of the texts Bada Shanren copied, his primary point of interest in the current poem was apparently the topic of landscape painting. Variants often appear in Zeng Gong’s preserved writings; however, Bada Shanren’s version of his poem contains significant discrepancies beyond those found in standard printed sources. The first three lines in particular differ radically from the standard text and, more importantly, while Zeng Gong’s original poem consists of sixty lines, Bada Shanren’s version contains only forty-four lines, completely omitting lines 47–50, as well as ten characters from lines 58–60, thus compressing the final three lines into one. These and other discrepancies in Bada’s version of the text considerably alter the meaning and flow of Zeng Gong’s poem. Two characters are also missing due to damage, but can be supplied from published versions of the text. For two published versions of the text, see Zeng Gong, *Yinanyong kiaojie* (Collected works of Zeng Gong), comp. Chen Shidao (1053–1102), 4:4b–5b, in HSQKS, disc 121, and Chen Bangyan (1603–1647), comp. *Lidai tianzhi bei* (Poems on paintings through the ages, by category), 22:1a–12a, in HSQKS, disc 157.

The following is a brief outline of the poem’s contents: Fine silk from Wu was cut to fit the frame of a folding screen and then hung up. The best craftsmen were asked to paint a vast landscape across it. Looking at the picture slowly and taking in all the details, the poet describes a boundless expanse of mountains. A great goose dominates the center surrounded by a host of lesser peaks. Mighty and perilous, it bespeaks the land and reaches the stars. From high mountain springs, water gathers into torrents and rushes down between the cliffs, gradually slowing as it gets farther and farther away. Looking into the distance, “there is no end or limit to how far one can go” (line 29). The traveler hides his horse to look around, then stays to enjoy the pristine wilderness, marveiling at the fauna and flora and the beauty of the natural scene. Everything in the painting is so fresh and bright, perfect in every detail, that a supernatural being must have had a hand in completing it. Looking at the screen painting as he goes to bed brings the poet pleasant dreams. He realizes that he has no talent for the times and wishes to escape the pitfalls of the world. Since his obligations are light, he will follow his heart and find some remote spot where he can survive by farming and fishing.

These two leaves originally belonged to a nine-leaf calligraphy album (dated December 1697), six other leaves from which are in the Freer collection; see catalogue entries 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, and 31. For a list of the contents of the original album, see Wang and Barnhart, *Master of the Lotus Garden*, 269 (Appendix C, no. 106).

43 Damage to the calligraphy in three locations makes it difficult to understand the full thrust of this comment. The two characters following the surname Zeng probably contained either Zeng Gong’s courtesy name (Ziga), or the name of his home district (Nanfeng). The phrase “how far one can go” evidently refers to line 29 of the poem, translated above.

**ENTRY 12**  Album after Dong Qichang’s “Copies of Ancient Landscape Paintings”

44 The six paintings in this album are careful copies (even down to the inscriptions and signatures) of works by the important Ming artist Dong Qichang (1555–1636), who in turn was either copying or working in the style of earlier artists belonging to the Southern School of landscape painting. Due to their common surname, Dong Qichang claimed a family relationship with Dong Yuan (died 962), whom he considered to be the founder of the Southern School. On the important landscape painter Dong Yuan and other works by Bada Shanren in his style, see catalogue entry 7, note 12, and catalogue entry 8, leaves 2–5.


45 Huang Gongwang (1269–1354) was one of the most important Yuan dynasty followers of the landscape painter Dong Yuan. Huang exerted a major influence on Dong Qichang, and through him, Bada Shanren. Huang’s paintings titled *The Feyang Mountain Range* is otherwise unknown. For another work by Bada Shanren in the style of Huang Gongwang, see Wang Zhaowen ed., *Bada Shanren quanjji*, 2:458–59 (cat. no. 119).

46 In the Shade of Summer Trees is the title of a famous hanging-scroll painting by Dong Qichang, who in turn attributed the original composition to Dong Yuan. Dong Qichang’s extant version by this title bears little resemblance to the current album leaf in composition, see

NOTES TO CATLOGUE
ENTRY 13. Except from "Preface to the Gathering at the River"

49. On the third day in the third lunar-month of 553 C.E., which corresponded to April 22, the famous calligrapher Wang Xizhi (ca. 303—ca. 361 C.E.), along with forty friends and family members of various ranks and ages, traveled some ten kilometers from the town of Kuaiji (modern Shaoxing, Zhejiang Province) to the picturesque Orchid Pavillon (Lanting), a private retreat that Wang had built in a nearby mountain valley. Here they celebrated an ancient springtime purification ceremony that had transformed over the centuries into a secular holiday, when people would gather near a body of water to enjoy the scenery, eat and drink together, and compose poetry. At the Orchid Pavillon, a channel had been dug and water from the local river diverted to form a small meandering stream, along which the participants sat in order of seniority. Cups were floated down the water course, and each member of the group had to compose a poem when a cup arrived at his location, or pay the penalty of drinking three dippers of wine. At the end of the day, thirty-seven poems were collected and Wang Xizhi composed a preface to record the circumstances of the occasion. Two versions of his preface exist: a ubiquitous 324-character version known as the Lanting xu (Preface to the Gathering at the Orchid Pavillon), which is recorded in the Jiu shu (History of the Jin dynasty) and plays an important role in the calligraphic tradition; and a more obscure 154-character version known as the Luheji xu (Preface to the Gathering at the River), which is the text Bada Shanren excerpted here (see following note). For the text of the Lanting xu, see Fang Xuanling et al., comps., Jiu shu, 80:2099. For two recent English translations, see Richard E. Strassberg, Inscribed Landscapes: Izarel Writing from Imperial China (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 65—66; and Stephen Owen, ed. and trans., An Anthology of Chinese Literature, 283—84. For an English summary of the early calligraphic tradition surrounding this text, see Lothaider Ledderose, Mi Fu and the Classical Tradition of Chinese Calligraphy, 19—24.

50. The Lanting xu (Preface to the Gathering at the River) is preserved in an annotation by Liu Jun (462—521 C.E.) to a passage concerning Wang Xizhi in the Shishuo xin yu (New account of tales of the world), a collection of anecdotes compiled under the reigns of Liu Yiqing, the Prince of Linchuan (405—444 C.E.). Bada's exclusive preference for this text was a radical departure from the prevailing orthodoxy in scholarship and the arts. Unlike any calligrapher before or since, Bada Shanren chose to ignore the Jiu shu version of the preface that appeared in countless available rubbings, and instead used the Shishuo xin yu text as the sole basis for all his calligraphic interpretations of the Wang Xizhi preface. Between 1693 and 1700, Bada produced at least twelve dated and undated versions of the Shishuo xin yu text using various forms—hanging scroll, single album leaf, multiple album leaves, and folding fan—making the "Preface to the Gathering at the River" both the most commonly quoted text in Bada's entire extant corpus and the single text with which he conducted the most widely varied calligraphic experiments. Rather than imitating the calligraphy of Wang Xizhi, however, Bada Shanren felt free to use his own reconstruction of a fourth-century, running-standard script to write the text of this leaf. Moreover, in transcribing the text, Bada Shanren consistently employed several variant readings that do not appear in the standard printed edition of the Shishuo xin yu. Among the twelve known examples of the preface written by Bada, none quotes the entire passage of Liu Jun's note to the Shishuo xin yu. While four versions produced between 1693 and spring 1697 quote excerpts of different lengths from the text, the Freer leaf, which can be dated to November 1697, appears to be the earliest example of a fixed 106-character excerpt that Bada Shanren used in all the later renditions. For the full text of the Lanting xu and a recent English translation, see Liu Yiqing, comp., Shishuo xin yu, 16:165, in Zhuzi jieling (Compendium of works by famous masters) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1954, 1986 edition), vol. 8, and Richard B. Mather, trans., Shuo-shu Hsien-yu: A New Account of Tales of the World, comp. Liu I-ch'ing (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976), 321—22 (anecdote 16/3). For further discussion of Bada's different renditions of the text, see Wang Fangyu, "Bada Shanren de shufa" (The calligraphy of Bada Shanren), in Bada Shanren lueji, ed. Wang Fangyu, 13.88—91; Wang Fangyu, "Bada Shanren de shufa," in Wang Fangyu, Bada Shanren lueji, 2:64—68; and Bai Qianshen, "Cong Bada Shanren lin Lanting xu lin Mengguo Qingchu shufa zhong de inshu guanxian" (Bada Shanren's copies of the Lanting xu and the late—Ming concept of free copying), in Lanting lueji (Collection of essays on the Orchid Pavillon), ed. Hua Rende and Bai Qianshen (Shanghai: Shangh hai daxue chu ban she, 2000), 462—72.

This work originally belonged to a nine-leaf calligraphy album (two leaves dated December 1697), seven other leaves of which are in the Freer collection; see entries 10, 11 (two leaves), 14, 15, 16, and 31. For the contents of the original album, see Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 269 (Appendix C, no. 106).
ENTRY 14. Poem by Zhang Juling

51 This twenty-four line poem, titled “Inscribed on a Landscape Folding Screen,” was composed by Zhang Juling (678–740), an important Tang dynasty scholar-official and poet. Bada Shanren’s text of the poem differs from all printed versions that appear in standard anthologies. For example, it contains a two-character interpolation in line 11 that is clearly out of place and changes the line from five to seven characters, and several one-character variants that alter the meaning of the lines in which they occur; four of these variants do not appear in any standard source. For a standard text of the poem and a modern commentary, see: Peng Dingqiu (1645–1719) et al., comps., Quan Tang shi (Complete Tang poems, 1705) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960; 1985 edition), 417:577–78; and Kong Shoushan, ed., Tanghao tianshu zhu (Annotated Tang dynasty poems on paintings) (Chengdu: Sichuan meishu chubanshe, 1988), 52–54.

The current leaf originally belonged to a nine-leaf calligraphy album (two leaves dated December 1697), seven other leaves from which are in the Freer collection; see catalogue entries 10, 11 (two leaves), 13, 15, 16, and 31. For the contents of the original album, see Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 269 (Appendix C, no. 106).

52 Lines 17–18: These lines are directly adapted from a passage in the “Yangsheng lun” (Treatise on nurturing life), by the third-century writer and philosopher Xi Kang (223–282 C.E.), who cultivated these plants in his garden. The passage reads: “Coupled bliss soothes away anger, day lilies make one forget sorrow.” See Xiao Long (501–531), comp., Linchen zhu Ben xuan (Literary selections, with commentaries by six Tang scholars) (Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1964; 1972 edition), 53:976.

The day lily (Hemerocallis fulva) is a common Chinese garden plant. From early times, it was popularly known by the name “forgetting sorrow.” For an image of day lilies by Bada Shanren and more information about the traditional symbolism of the plant, see catalogue entry 26 and note 86.

The plant, translated literally here as “coupled bliss,” is a kind of mimosa (Albizia julibrissin). In Chinese tradition, it is considered an auspicious tree that possesses the power to alleviate anger and bring contentment to the heart.

Lines 19–22: The first two lines allude to a famous passage attributed to the early Daoist philosopher Zhang Zhou (ca. 699–ca. 761 B.C.E.), better known as Zhuangzi (Master Zhuang). The passage may be translated as follows: “The fish trap exists because of the fish; once you’ve gotten the fish, you can forget the trap. The rabbit snare exists because of the rabbit; once you’ve gotten the rabbit, you can forget the snare. Words exist because of ideas; once you’ve gotten the idea, you can forget the words.” Translation adapted from Burton Watson, trans., The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu, 302. For the original Chinese text, see Guo Qingfen, comp., Zhuangzi jishu, 4:994.

In the context of this poem, Zhang Juling uses Zhuangzi’s “fish trap” as a reference to the landscape painting he is viewing; i.e., the painting is simply a means to achieve the idea of wilderness. Zhang then extends the quotation of Zhuangzi to lines 21–22, which continue to play on the relationship between “words” and “ideas.” Once one has gotten the idea of wilderness, the words and images that express it can be forgotten.

53 The phrase “piled dirt to make a mountain” appears in the title of a poem by Du Fu (712–770), who once held an official position in the Ministry of Works (gongli). See Peng Dingqiu et al., comps., Quan Tang shi, 224:2391–92.


ENTRY 15. Poem by Sun Ti

54 This sixteen-line poem, titled “Respectfully harmonizing with the Poem on the Landscape Mural in the Secretariat by Minister of the Right Li,” was composed sometime during the years 742 to 744 by the Tang dynasty scholar-official and poet Sun Ti (ca. 699–ca. 761). Sun served in the imperial secretariat from 736 to 744, primarily under Li Linfu (died 752), who is best known for his fifteen-year tenure, from 737 to 752, as the extraordinarily powerful chief minister of Emperor Xuanzong (reigned 712–56). An imperial relative, Li was appointed to the prime ministerial position, Director of the Secretariat (Zhonghua ling), on January 2, 737; the title of this position was changed to Minister of the Right (youxiang) on March 31, 742; and he continued to hold the title until his death on December 22, 752. Li Linfu’s family included a number of famous artists, such as his uncle the painter Li Sixun (651–716), and he himself also achieved a measure of renown for his landscape painting. Judging from Sun Ti’s text, Li Linfu, whose own now lost poem evidently served as a model for Sun, was the artist of the mural commemorated in this text. Bada Shanren’s transcription of Sun Ti’s poem differs from standard published versions of the text in several instances. For the standard text and a modern commentary, see Peng Dingqiu et al., comps., Quan Tang shi, 118:1959–96; and Kong Shoushan, ed., Tanghao tianshu zhu, 55–57. For a brief notice on Lin Linfu as a painter, see William B. Acker, Some Tang and Pre-Tang Texts on Chinese Painting, 3 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954), 2:243–44.

This poem on a landscape painted by a member of the imperial clan may have held special appeal for Bada Shanren, since he is known
to have transcribed it on at least three other occasions: a large hanging scroll (ca. 1698), which is also in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art (see cat. entry 18); an album leaf (dated 1698) written in the same style of running-standard script seen here, now in the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco (see Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 182); and a horizontal hanging scroll written in running script (undated, but ca. 1697–98), in the Anhui Provincial Museum (see Wang Zhaowen, ed., Bada Shanren guanji, 2.462–63 [cat. no. 12]).

The current leaf originally belonged to a nine-leaf calligraphy album, seven other leaves from which are in the Freer collection; see catalogue entries 10, 11 (two leaves), 13, 14, 16, and 31. For a full list of that album’s contents, see Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 269 (Appendix C, no. 106).

55 Lines 1–2. Translated here as “the halls of court,” the first two characters of the poem, miaotang, are an abbreviation for two palace buildings dedicated to the venerating of the imperial ancestors. While in this instance the term may be a subtle reference to Li Linfu’s status as a member of the Tang imperial clan, in practical usage the term simply serves as a general designation for the court. In line 2, the term shanshi (hills and streams, or landscape) refers not only to actual terrain, but also to paintings of landscape.

Lines 5–6. The place name Nine Rivers (Jujiang) refers to a stretch of the Yangzi River near the modern town of the same name in Jiangxi Province, while the Three Gorges (Sanxia) are located higher along the Yangzi River as it passes from Sichuan into Hubei Province. Here, the use of these terms signifies the grand sweep of the mural painting.

Lines 11–12. Just like Li Linfu, the two men named in these lines were former directors of the imperial secretariat (zhongshu linji), and by naming them in his description of Li’s painting, Sun Ti indirectly attributes their qualities to him. Xin Yu (163–212 C.E.) was said to be so fragrant that when he visited a home or sat on a pillow, the scent could be detected for three days afterward. Yue Guang (252–354 C.E.) was known both for his tolerant disposition and brilliance as a conversationalist. A contemporary once remarked: “This man is a water mirror to other men. Seeing him is like rolling away the clouds and mist and gazing at the blue sky [annotator’s italics].” Translation quoted from Richard B. Mather, trans., Shih-shuo Hsin-yu, 2.19, anecdote 8/23. For the Chinese text, see Liu Yingping, Shishuo xinyu, 8A:113.

Line 13 alludes to a passage attributed to Confucius (551–479 B.C.E.) in the ancient Chinese divinatory text, the Yi Jing (Book of Changes), which states: “In the Dao of the noble man / There’s a time for going forth / And a time for staying still. / A time to remain silent / And a time to speak out [annotator’s italics].” Translation quoted from Richard John Lynn, The Book of Changes: A New Translation of the I Ching as Interpreted by Hung Bi (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 58 and 217. For the Chinese text, see Hong Ye (William Hung) et al., eds., Zhou Yi yinde (A concordance to the Yi Ching), Harvard-Yenching Sinological Institute Index Series, supplement 10 (Beijing [Beijing]: Yenan University Library, 1935), 31 (sect. 6, end).

Line 14 alludes to a passage in the seminal Daoist text, the Daodejing (Book of the Way and its power), attributed to the ancient sage Laozi (Master Lao, ca. 6th century B.C.E.), which states: “What is most perfect seems to have something missing; yet its use is unimpaired. What is most full seems empty; yet its use will never fade [annotator’s italics].” Translation by Arthur Waley, The Way and Its Power: A Study of the Tao Te Ching and Its Place in Chinese Thought (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1934; 1965 edition), 198. For the Chinese text, see Wang Bi (226–249 C.E.), Laozi Daodejing zhu (Commentary to The Way and its power, by Laozi), 2.28 (stanza 45), in Zizhi jicheng (Compendium of works by famous masters) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1954; 1986 reprint), vol. 3.

Line 13 therefore means that poetry (and perhaps Li Linfu’s poem in specific) describes the human condition, whether one participates in society or stays in private life; while line 14 means that painting (and perhaps Li Linfu’s painting in particular) depict the ebb and flow of nature. In other words, Li’s poem and painting encompass both the human and natural worlds.

Lines 15–16. In this version, line 15 ends with the character nian (years), whereas the hanging-scroll version of this line ends with chan (springs); see catalogue entry 18. According to a note appended to some published versions of the poem, line 16 is a direct reaction by Sun Ti to a self-deprecating remark that appeared in Li Linfu’s original poem. The line may also refer to the fact that in 744, Li was serving in his eighth year as chief minister.

**ENTRY 16. Poem by Du Fu**

56 This fifteen-line poem, titled “Song Playfully Inscribed on a Landscape Painting by Wang Zai,” was composed in 760 by the Tang dynasty poet Du Fu (712–770), who was then residing in Chengu, capital of Sichuan Province. There, he evidently had the opportunity to view an imposing work by the contemporary Sichuanese landscape painter Wang Zai (active mid- to late 8th century), and composed this poem. For a brief notice on Wang Zai, see William R. B. Acker, Some Tang and Pre-Tang Texts on Chinese Painting, 2:277–78.

This poem by Du Fu appears in numerous standard collections and anthologies, all of which agree with Bada Shanren’s rendering of the text. For example, see Peng Dungui et al., comps., Quan Tang shi, 219.2305, and Kong Shoushan, ed., Tanglehao tihuaishi zhu, 124–26. For two previous English translations of the poem, see William Hung (Hong Ye), Du Fu: China’s Greatest Poet, 1.160–70 (poem 176); and A. R. Davis, Du Fu (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1971), 138–39.

The current leaf originally belonged to a nine-leaf calligraphy album, seven other leaves from which are in the Freer collection; see catalogue entries 10, 11 (two leaves), 13, 14, 15, and 31. For a full list of that album’s contents, see Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 269 (Appendix C, no. 106).

57 Line 5: The Kunlun mountain range, located in modern Xinjiang Province south of the Takli Makan desert, was traditionally believed to be the home of the mythological Xiwangmu (Queen Mother of the West) and her garden containing the peaches of immortality. In the
opposite direction, Fanghu was one of three mythological islands situated in the ocean east of China, where large numbers of immortal beings were said to dwell. The references to Kunlun and Fanghu may indicate that Wang Zai’s painting actually included depictions of these two mythological paradises, or may simply be a case of poetic hyperbole, indicating that the painting depicted a broad swath of terrain from west to east.

Lines 7–8: Baling is an ancient name for the town of Yueyang, located on the northeastern shore of Dongting Lake in Hunan Province, near its outflow into the Yangzi River. Red Bluff (Ch’i’an) may refer to a now eroded hill that once stood on the north shore of the Yangzi River in Jiangsu Province, south of the modern city of Yangzhou. These place names again indicate the broad scope of the painting. The Silver Stream (Yinhe) is one of several common names given to the Milky Way, which is thought of in Chinese tradition as a celestial river.

Lines 14–15: Bingzhou is an ancient name for the city of Taiyuan, in Shanxi Province, which was evidently famous for its manufacture of sharp blades. Wusong Creek is the name of a river in Jiangsu Province that flows east from Lahu (Lake Lai), through the municipality of Shanghai, and empties into the Yangzi River near its mouth.

ENTRY 17. Rubbing of the “Holy Mother Manuscript”

The text of the “Holy Mother Manuscript” was composed in 793 by an unknown author to record the renovation of a Taoist temple dedicated to the Holy Mother of Dongling (Dongling Shengmu) near the modern city of Yangzhou (Jiangsu Province). Although unsigned, both the text and calligraphy were traditionally attributed to the famous Tang dynasty calligrapher and Buddhist monk Huaish (ca. 725–ca. 799), who was renowned for his wild-cursive script, as seen in the rubbing. This association with Huaish led to the preservation of the calligraphy in 1988 during the Northern Song dynasty when the text was carved onto a slab of stone, which still survives in the Berlin (Forest of Seals) in the city of Xi’an, Shanxi Province. The original manuscript of the text was lost, but rubbings of the stone were produced soon after carving and have been made ever since. A list of traditional commentaries on the subject, see Yang Diansun, Stieke tba saquin (Index of comments and colophons on stone inscriptions) (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1957), 603. On the calligraphy of Huaish and a brief discussion of the attribution of this work to him, see Adele Scholmbs, Huaish and the Beginning of Wild-cursive Script in Chinese Calligraphy, Munchener Ostasiatische Studien, Band 75 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1988), 149–50.

Judging from the placement of his three seals, the current rubbing evidently belonged to Bada Shanren and was the immediate source for his transcription of the text that follows on a separate sheet of paper. While it is not known if Bada himself considered the rubbing to date from the Song dynasty, the writers of the two labels affixed to the scroll believed it to be an early example from the period. Further study is required to accurately date the rubbing.

59 Bada Shanren’s transcription of the text contains a number of omissions and anomalies. For example, in columns 4 and 11 of his transcription, Bada writes the character luan (to transform), while all other transcriptions read the original character as yu (copula) (Note: Bada correctly transcribes the character luan in column 19); and in columns 11 and 12 of his transcription, Bada twice writes the character pao (old) instead of the correct character yue (to say, be called), thereby rendering the affected passage unintelligible. Over the course of the text, he also omits three individual characters and fails in two locations to indicate lacunae in the actual stone. While other transcribers of the text may vary at times, they are generally unanimous in their analysis of such characters and details. For those passages of Bada Shanren’s transcription that are garbled, the translation follows the consensus of opinion recorded in the following six transcriptions:

2. Zhang Tingji (1768–1848), Qingsong tiba (Inscriptions and colophons by Zhang Tingji) (China: privately published [Dung family], 1891), 143a–b (text) and 143a–144a (comments).
3. Lu Youyu (1771–1836), jushu xubian (Further studies in epigraphy) (China: Shuangbanyantang, 1874), 9:18a–b (transcription directly from the stone) and 9:19a–b (comments).
4. Lu Zengxiang (1816–1882), Bajiaoshilu jushu lucheng (Studies in epigraphy) (Beijing: Wenchou chubanshe, 1985), 741 (text) and 741–42 (comments).

60 The first two-thirds of the “Holy Mother Manuscript” agree with and amplify the earliest biography of the Holy Mother, which was written by the medieval Daoist author Ge Hong (284–344 c.e.), or 254–334 c.e.); see Ge Hong, Shehuixin zhuan (Biographies of the immortals), 6:10b–11a, in ShJQ8, disc. 116. The last third provides information that is not contained in other sources. It mainly concerns the popularity of the Holy Mother’s temple and briefly traces imperial support for the temple from its founding in the early 340s c.e. during the reign of Emperor Kang, to Emperor Yang of the Sui dynasty in the early seventh century, and finally to the 790s in the Tang dynasty.
In the rubbing text, two characters are evidently missing at the end of the passage concerning Emperor Yang of the Sui dynasty, perhaps owing to damage in the original manuscript prior to its carving onto stone. This lacuna in the test makes interpretation of the passage somewhat problematic. In the following passage, the term “nine sages” probably refers to the nine Tang emperors who had occupied the throne from the founding of the dynasty until the current emperor, i.e., from Emperor Gaozu (reigned 605–26) to Emperor Dezong (reigned 779–805), omitting the usurpation of Empress Wu Zetian (reigned 690–705).

After noting Tang imperial support for Daoism in general and the current need to renovate the Holy Mother’s temple, the unknown author of the “Manuscript” states that his paternal uncle had taken up the task of repairing the temple, an act of patronage for which he will long be remembered. In his transcription of the text, Bada Shanren identifies this generous benefactor as someone bearing the name “Guo, Duke of Taiyuan.” However, most other transcribers interpret the relevant character Guo (surname) as jin (commandery) and simply read the phrase as “the duke of Taiyuan commandery” (located in northern Shanxi Province). In either case, the evidence is insufficient to further identify this individual, whose last known title (“Commissioner Supervising the Army of . . .”) is also lacking two characters in the rubbing, probably for the same reasons suggested above.

Finally, while the original rubbing bears no artist’s signature, Bada Shanren added to his transcription the purported signature of Cangzheng, an alternative name for Huaisu, thus clearly indicating that he accepted the traditional attribution of the calligraphy to the monk.

61 The Autobiography and Thousand Character Essay are two of Huaisu’s best-known surviving works written in a cursive script. As here, Huaisu is sometimes referred to by the name of a temple where he stayed in his early years, the Lusian (Temple of the Emerald Sky), near modern Lingling, Hunan Province.

Zhang Zhi (active ca. 150–192 C.E.), also known as Youdao, is celebrated as one of the most important early masters of cursive script. He was the first to apply a consistent logic to cursive writing, and is considered the creator of the modern form. Zhang’s family was from the frontier region of Jiuquan (near Dunhuang, in Gansu Province), but his father had been allowed to change his registration to a city in China proper.

Suo Jing (239–303 C.E.), known as You’an, was famous for his cursive script. His family was also from Jiuquan and he was a grandson of Zhang Zhi’s older sister. In cursive script, Suo Jing applied himself to modifying and standardizing the forms previously devised by Zhang. The statement that Jiuquan became a dependent territory only after these men had left is historically inaccurate. Equally unclear is the association Bada Shanren draws between Zhang Zhi and Suo Jing on one hand, and Huaisu on the other, unless it is simply to note that Huaisu’s cursive script historically derives from theirs.

62 Several early Qing sources record a seventeenth-century Ming loyalist by the name of Yang Chunhua, but judging from the details of his biography, the colophon-writer of the same name must have been a different person and remains unidentified. For a biography of the Ming loyalist, see Sun Huanjing (late 19th–early 20th century), Ming yinlu (Records of Ming loyalists) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1985), 163–64.

63 The collectors who owned twenty-two of these twenty-five seals were identified. Five seals, belonging to one unidentified and three identified owners, appear only on the rubbing and not the transcription and colophon. Three of these belonged to Bada Shanren himself, who was apparently the earliest owner of the rubbing to apply his seals. One seal may have belonged to Bada’s contemporary, the poet and epigrapher Zhu Yizun (1529–1709), but could also have been applied by one of Zhu’s descendants, while the fifth seal may have belonged to the younger scholar Shen Tong (1688–1752), whose sobriquet was Guotang; however, this identification remains uncertain since no comparable seal belonging to Shen has been located.

Three other seals on the scroll belonged to the as yet unidentified collector Li Puquan (19th–20th century?), who applied two seals on the rubbing and one on Bada Shanren’s transcription; the earliest collector seal to appear there. He was evidently a collector of Bada’s works, for three of his seals also appear on the hanging-scroll Landscape, “Five Pines Mountain” (see cat. entry 24 and note 80).

The remaining fourteen seals on the hanging-scroll all belonged to twentieth-century collectors: five belonged to Lin Xiongqiang (1938–1971), who may have taken the scroll to Japan, and four to the collector Cheng Qi, who also resided for much of his life in Japan and first published the scroll; see Cheng Qi, Bada Shanren shuhua ji (plates) 1.1–2 (Bada’s transcription), and plate 1.3 (Bada’s colophon). Wang Fangyu acquired the scroll from Cheng Qi, and most recently published it along with comments in Wang Fangyu, Bada Shanren jushu ji 2:4–13, esp. page 6. See also Wang’s earlier discussion in “Bada Shanren de shufa,” in Bada Shanren lunji, ed. Wang Fangyu, 1.397–98.

ENTRY 18. Poem by Sun Ti
64 For discussion of this poem, see catalogue entry 15 and relevant notes. See also Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 183–84 (cat. no. 55, fig. 168).

ENTRY 19. Crouching Cat
65 Bada Shanren made several paintings of cats. For a study that includes this scroll, see Wang Fangyu, “Bada Shanren’s Cat on a Rock: A Case Study,” Ocsmtation 29 (April 1998): 40–46.

66 Wu Huian (1894–1968) was an important painter, connoisseur, and collector of Chinese painting during the mid-twentieth century. As here, works that were once part of his collection frequently bear seals with both his own name and that of his wife, Pai Jingshu.
ENTRY 20. Copy of the “Half-Stele of Xingfu Temple”

67 During the Wanh reign period (1573–1619) of the Ming dynasty, a dredging project in the moat outside the southern wall of Chang’an (modern Xi’an, Shaanxi Province) exposed a broken grave stele from the Tang dynasty, which contains the text that Bada Shanren transcribed in this album. The forms of the individual characters on the stone were ostensibly copied from authentic examples of running script by the famous calligrapher Wang Xizhi (ca. 303–ca. 361 C.E.). In his postscript, Bada quotes the first two half-columns of the stele text, which record that the stone originally stood on the grounds of the Xingfu Temple (located a short distance south of the city), and that an otherwise unidentified Buddhist monk named Daya was responsible for selecting, copying, and rearranging Wang’s original characters into a new text.

After its excavation, the broken stone was placed in the Forest of Steles (Beihai) in Xi’an, where it remains to this day. Analysis reveals that the stele originally contained thirty-five vertical lines of text with some fifty characters in each; however, only the bottom portion of the stone survived at the time of its discovery and each column of text was cut roughly in half, leaving three columns of text entirely blank and the remainder containing just twenty-three to twenty-five characters each. While these losses render a coherent reading, or translation, of the text impossible, numerous scholars and epigraphers have recognized the stele as one of the finest surviving examples of Wang Xizhi’s calligraphy in running script as it was understood and practiced during the Tang.

The stele was evidently carved as a tomb memorial for an individual whose surname does not appear in the surviving text, but who in 707 attained two relatively important military ranks in the imperial palace. The last clear date on the stele is November 17, 721, which may have been around the time that the man died and the stone was carved. A misreading of the emphatic particle yi in the fifth column of the stele led some early commentators, such as Zhao Han (active 1506–after 1618) and Guo Zongchang (late 16th–early 17th century), to believe that the subject of this grave memorial was Sun Wu, an error that continued to influence many discussions of the stele throughout the Qing dynasty and that was followed by Bada Shanren in his transcription of the text. However, another Ming dynasty scholar and epigrapher, An Shifeng (1558–after 1630), correctly read the character in question and noted that the man’s surname does not in fact appear, a conclusion confirmed by all modern scholars of early Chinese writing. See Wang Chang (1725–1806), jishu cihao (Compiled comments on metal and stone inscriptions) (China: Qinggumang, 1805), 73, 20a–21a.

While Bada Shanren’s interest in this text was based on its calligraphic pedigree leading back to Wang Xizhi, he actually executed this album in his own style of running-standard script, rather than as a close imitation of Wang’s calligraphy. Bada’s usage of the word “copy” is problematic and clearly means something other than the usual definition. For other examples, see catalogue entries 6, 31, and 32, and notes 10, 97, 102, and 103.

Bada Shanren wrote the Half-Stele as a continuous whole and did not indicate breaks between the original columns of text or other lacunae. His transcription differs in many instances from both the actual stele text and other available transcriptions, occasionally adding characters that do not appear on the original stone, omitting some characters, and mis-transcribing others. Despite these shortcomings, Bada’s personal rendition of the text is clearly among the earliest calligraphic transcriptions of the stele known to survive. The following four published transcriptions, three of which are accompanied by rubbings of the original stone, were consulted in preparing the Chinese text of this album: Wang Chang, jishu cihao, 73, 17a–20a (apparently the earliest published transcription of the stele); Matsu Joryu, “Kōfukūji daini” (The half-stele of Xingfu Temple), in Shinbu 83 (October 1957): 67–70 (discussion and transcription), and plates 1–24 (rubbing in album format); Fushimi Chukei, “O Gishi Kōfūjij daini” (Wang Xizhi’s “Half-Stele of Xingfu Temple”), in Showa meishin sagakku (Compendium of famous works of calligraphy), vol. 73 (Tokyo: Nigensha, 1969), full rubbing of existing stele together with rubbing in album format, plus discussion and transcription; and Liu Tao, ed., Zhongguo shufa quanjji 19. Sanguo, Liang jin, Nanbeichao: Wang Xizhi Wang Xianzhi, juan 1 (Complete Chinese calligraphy; volume 19. Three Kingdoms, Two Jin Dynasties, and Northern and Southern Dynasties: Wang Xizhi and Wang Xianzhi, part 2) (Beijing: Rongbaozhai, 1991), 216–35, plates 129, 1–20 (rubbing in album format), and 401–41 (comments and transcription).

The Bada Shanren album has been published twice in full, however the leaves are out of order in both cases. See Wang Fangyu, Bada Shanren fasun ji, 2:17–27 (with discussion); and Wang Zhaowen, ed., Bada Shanren quanjji, 4:826–33 (cat. no. 83).

ENTRY 22. Poem by Geng Wei

69 This twelve-line poem, titled “Inscribed at Clear Springs Temple,” was composed by the Tang dynasty poet Geng Wei (active mid- to late 8th century), who is best known as one of the Ten Talents of the Dali Period (766–79). Geng wrote this poem during a visit to the Clear
Springs Temple (Qingyuan si), located on the Lantian estate of the recently deceased statesman and nature poet Wang Wei (ca. 701–761), who is the actual subject of the poem. Situated along the Wangchuan (Wheel Run Creek) in the foothills of the Qinling range south of the Tang imperial capital of Chang’an (modern Xi’an, Shaanxi Province), Wang Wei’s country estate subsequently became one of the most celebrated spots in Chinese cultural history. He built a villa there for the comfort of his elderly mother and, being a devout Buddhist, when she passed away he established the Clear Springs Temple in her memory. On his own demise, the poet himself was interred on the temple grounds next to her. Wang wrote many famous poems about his estate and is also credited with a painting of the local landscape that inspired generations of later painters. Bada Shanren’s transcription of Geng Wei’s poem differs in several places from the texts found in standard anthologies. For example, see Li Fang (925–996) et al., comps., *Henyduan yinghua* (Bright blossoms in the garden of literature, 987), 6 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1966–1990 edition), 2:4572–73 [307.3b–4a], and Peng Dinggui et al., comps., *Quan Tong shi*, 2:995–96.

Bada wrote Geng Wei’s poem on at least one other occasion. Leaf b, running-standard script (dated 1698), in a sixteen-leaf album in the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco. For a discussion of this album, see Wang and Barth, *Master of the Lotus Garden*, 181–83 (cat. no. 54; fig. 107) and 229–30.

**70** Line 1: “Ruisui” refers to the philosophy of Confucius, who stressed the values of humaneness, social order, and duty. “Mozi” refers to the philosophy of Mozi (Master Mo, or Mo Di, ca. 480–ca. 420 B.C.E.), who preached an ascetic doctrine of universal love and social welfare, with an emphasis on agriculture and strict avoidance of excess. Wang Wei was famous for balancing these philosophies with his personal devotion to Buddhism, the “Holy Religion.”

Line 3: Meng-Wall Cove was one of the famous sites on Wang Wei’s estate.

**Line 5**. The term “inner teachings” refers here to Buddhist.

**Lines 9–10**. “Golden earth” refers to the site of a Buddhist temple or monastery. The line simply means that Wang Wei’s mortal remains are buried at the Clear Springs Temple. The Stone Canal is a reference to one of the official libraries located on the grounds of the imperial palace. Many of Wang Wei’s poems and other writings were lost during the troubles of the late 750s. Thus, when his younger brother Wang Jin (died 781) later served as a minister to Emperor Daizong (reigned 762–80), he was instructed to collect his brother’s surviving works. Although many were scattered and lost, Wang Jin managed to gather more than four hundred poems to present to the emperor. See Liu Xu et al., comps., *Jin Tong shi*, 190C:5053.

**Line 12**. When the scholar and high official Cai Yong (133–192 C.E.) was serving at court late in his life, the promising teenage poet Wang Can (177–217 C.E.) came for a visit. Cai Yong was so impressed by the youth that he instructed his household to transfer all his books and documents to Wang. See Chen Shou (233–297 C.E.), comps., *Sangue zhu* (Record of the Three Kingdoms period, 221–280 C.E.) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959, 1973 edition), 21:597.

**ENTRY 23 Peonies**

71 The theme of this poem and accompanying painting is the *shaoqiao* peony (*Paeonia lactiflora*), an extremely popular garden plant in China. Bada Shanren evidently created this work on the annual celebration of the Birthday of Flowers, a festival that occurs on the twelfth day of the second lunar-month, in response to a poem by a friend.

Lines 1–2. In line 1, the “classics” refer to a particular group of ancient texts that collectively comprise the headwaters of mainstream Chinese culture and constitute its earliest literature, history, and philosophy. Originally composed during the Zhou dynasty (1050–221 B.C.E.), many of these early texts only received their current form during the subsequent Han dynasty (206 B.C.E.–220 C.E.), when they were formally elevated to canonical status and scholars began to compile critical glosses and commentaries. The name of *Shaobo* (Lord Shao, 11th–10th century B.C.E.), a worthy minister of the early Zhou, appears in several of the ancient classics; in particular, in the three stanzas of the poem “Gantang” (Sweet pear), in the *Shijing* (Classic of Poetry, *Mao* 16), where he is said to have “taken shelter,” “rested,” and “reposed” beneath this tree, also known as *tao* (*Paeonia lactiflora*). While there is no apparent association between Lord Shao and the blossoms during the second lunar-month, which corresponds to the time of year when Bada created this poem and painting; i.e., the Birthday of Flowers, when friends would traditionally get together and write poems about the season.

The *hua* (crabapple; *Chromiclavus laevis*, or *Malus mircrocarpa*), which was evidently the topic of a poem by Bada Shanren’s unidentified friend, Mister Kezhan, is one of the most spectacular flowers to bloom during the second lunar-month. It also shares the second character of its name with *gantang*, which may have provided a connective association with Lord Shao. In any case, in these two lines, Bada is simply saying: I have looked diligently through the records of antiquity and can find no record of a feast as fine and sumptuous as the one we are enjoying today on the Birthday of Flowers, when the pear and crabapple are in bloom.

Lines 3–4. The *shaoqiao* peony begins to bud in the second lunar-month, but only blossoms fully during the fourth lunar-month. In these lines, Bada symbolically sends the budding peony (i.e., this painting) to remind Mister Kezhan and others that in just a few weeks it will blossom even more splendidly than even the crabapple, sweet pear, and other second-month flowers. (If you think the flowers we are enjoying today are glorious, just wait a few weeks until the peonies are in bloom!), Natural messengers bearing this sort of “news” are a common trope in Chinese poetry.

Shen Tongli commented on this poem in his article, “Shishu Bada Shanren *hua*” (Explanations of Bada Shanren’s poems on paintings), in *Bada Shanren pinjiu* (Studies on Bada Shanren), ed. Bada Shanren jingtuan (Nanchang: Jiangxi renmin chubanshe, 1986), 136–37. The
poem is also annotated in Zhu Anqun and Xu Ben, Bada Shuren shi pu hua (Poems and paintings of Bada Shuren) (Wuchang: Huazhong ligong daxue chubanshe, 1993), 51–2. These commentators directly tie the shaopeo peony to the city of Yangzhou, with which it is traditionally associated, and advance a complex argument to arrive at a somewhat different interpretation of the allusions in the poem. Wang Fangyu agreed with their general argument and added further comments; see Wang Fangyu, Bada Shuren fashi ji, 2.34. For a previous translation of the poem, see Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 36–37. The poem is also recorded in Wang Zikou, Bada Shuren shihao, 41.

72 Bada Shuren painted this scroll in an unspecified year on the annual celebration of the Birthday of Flowers (see above). If Wang Fangyu is correct in dating this work, then the question was either March 13, 1699, or April 1, 1700.

This painting was once owned by Zhang Daqian (1899–1983), who along with his brother Zhanzi (1882–1940), added five seals to the scroll. Zhang published a photograph of the work in his Dafengtang mingji, vol. 3, plate 7, and a transcription of Bada’s poem and seals in his Dafengtang shihao by (Record of calligraphy and painting in the Dafengtang collection) (China: privately published, 1943), 46b.

ENTRY 24. Five Pines Mountain

73 The outside label written by Zhang Daqian, also known by his studio name Dafengtang (Hall of Great Wind), provides the only recorded title for this landscape painting. Bada Shuren seldom gave formal titles to his paintings and rarely depicted specific geographical locations, so in all likelihood this is simply a descriptive title invented by Zhang. The composition of this ink- and color painting, with its odd perspective created by the overhanging cliff at top right, is closely related to a second landscape by Bada titled “Pavilion in the Autumn Woods” in the Shanghai Museum of Art. See Wang Zhazouen, ed., Bada Shuren quanj, 3:518 (cat. no. 142, hanging scroll, 1699).

74 Attached to the mounting at the lower left of the painting is a colophon written in May/June 1917 by Ye Dehui (1864–1927), a scholar, calligrapher, bibliophile, and conservative politician from Changsha, Hunan Province. Judging from Ye’s comments, the painting was acquired in Changsha and had been in his possession since the early to mid-1890s. Ye Dehui also included a general description and discussion of this painting in notes to his Guanzhu hajying (One hundred poems on paintings I have seen) (China: Yeshi Guangtang, 1917), 4:26.

75 Zhang Geng (1685–1740), also known as Puhian, was a painter, connoisseur, and author of several books on contemporary painters and painting, among them the Guozhao huzhengtu (Records on painters of the Qing dynasty), in which he discusses some 405 seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century artists. As noted by Ye Dehui, Zhang arranged the artists in this book more or less by date of birth, with the exception of Bada Shuren, who anomalistically appears as the first entry. See Zhang Geng, Guozhao huzhengtu (Records on painters of the Qing dynasty, preface 1739), in Zhongguo shilin quanshu (Complete writings on Chinese calligraphy and painting), comp. Lu Fusheng et al., 10:425.

76 Qu Yuyue (active 1717–34) came from a scholar-official family of Xining (modern Nanchang), Jiangxi Province. He passed the provincial examinations in 1717 and later served as a county magistrate in Guangdong Province. Qu’s specific connection with Bada Shuren is not certain, but probably reaches back to the previous generation, when other members of his clan, such as Qu Lian (1644–1729), counted themselves among Bada’s closest friends.

77 Ye’s usage of the term fa Shi, translated here as “backward strokes,” is unclear. While it would seem to mean brushstrokes that are executed in opposite the usual fashion (from bottom to top, for example), careful scrutiny of the painting reveals that this is not the case. Ye Dehui’s main point, which he reiterates in his Guanzhu hajying (see note 74), seems to be a presumed correlation between the manner of Bada Shuren’s brushwork and the emotional distress of his social and political circumstances as a surviving member of the imperial clan of the defunct Ming dynasty.

78 Jieqing remains unidentified.

79 Ye Dehui is apparently referring to the well-known Southern Song dynasty work, the Dongtian qinghe ji (Pure records from the cavern heaven), by Zhao Xigu (ca. 1170–after 1242), which contains a collection of random entries on various types of collectible art objects, such as zithers, inkstones, and ancient bronzes, as well as rubbings, paintings, and calligraphy. What he is actually saying, however, and how this reference relates to Jieqing is unclear.

80 Li Paquan remains unidentified; however, his collector seals also appear on both the rubbing and Bada Shuren’s transcription of the “Holy Mother Manuscript” (see cat. entry 17 and note 63).

81 The collector seals of Wang Wenxian (19th–20th century) appear on a number of other works by Bada Shuren; for example, see Wang Zhazouen, ed., Bada Shuren quanj, 1:162–69 (cat. no. 23, calligraphy handscroll, 1688); 2:412–13 (cat. no. 102, painting handscroll, 1696); 3:596–605 (cat. no. 182, painting album, 1702); and 3:606–702 (cat. no. 9, calligraphy album, undated, but ca. 1684).

ENTRY 25. Poem by Bai Juyi

82 This thirty-four-line poem, titled “Three Friends of the Northern Window,” was written in 834 by the famous Tang dynasty poet Bai Juyi (772–846). Bada Shuren’s transcription of the poem disagrees with standard printed versions of the text in several instances, four of which significantly alter the meaning of the lines in which they occur. In particular, Bada reversed the words for “wine” and “poetry” in lines 15 and 17, creating an ineluctable reading of the text. See Peng Dinggu et al.,
Bada Shanren transcribed this poem on at least one other occasion, some three and a half years after he wrote the Freer album leaves, see Gao Yong (1850–1921), Taishou Canzhuhu congzhua, 32:3 (hanging scroll in running-standard script, dated November–December, 1703). In this later version, the only known work of his calligraphy dated to the year 1703, Bada also wrote lines 15 and 17 with the same reversal of characters that appears in the Freer leaves (see below), suggesting that he was working from memory and may simply have mis-remembered the poem in this way.

83 Line 15: Tao Quan (365–427 C.E.), courtesy name Yuanming, was one of the most popular and influential poets in the history of China. He chose to live in poverty rather than serve in the corrupt government of his time. While Tao was famous for his fondness for wine, all standard versions of Bai Juyi’s poem have the word “poems” here instead of “wine.” Although both readings make sense in regard to Tao, it is clear that Bada Shanren has reversed the word “wine” with the word “poems” in line 17 (see below).

Line 16: Rong Qiqi (6th century B.C. ?) was a poor recluse who lived near Mount Tai, in Shandong province. Confucius once met him dressed in a deer skin and with only a rope for a belt, happily singing and playing his qin (translated here as “lute”). When Confucius asked why he was so happy, Rong replied that he had three reasons: he was happy to have been born human, happy to be male, and happy to have reached the age of ninety: “For all men poverty is the norm and death is the end. Abiding by the norm, awaiting my end, what is there to be concerned about?” Confucius then commented, “He is a man who knows how to console himself.” Quotations from A. C. Graham, trans., The Book of Li-shu-tzu (London: John Murray, 1960, 1973 edition), 24; for the Chinese text, see Yang Bojun, comp., Lici zhi (Collected explanations of the Lici) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 22.

Line 17: Liu Ling (died after 265 C.E.), courtesy name Bolan, was a famous drinker, and belonged to a mid-third-century group of eccentric poets and musicians, who were celebrated in history as the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove. Although Liu once composed a “Eulogy on the Virtue of Wine” (Jinde song), he produced no other written works. In this line, all other consulted versions of Bai Juyi’s poem read the word “wine” instead of “poems.” Since Liu Ling was famous for having no interest in verse and not writing poetry, it is clear that Bada Shanren reversed the word “poems” with the word “wine” in line 15 (see above).

Line 19: This line might well apply to all three men in lines 15–17, but here it specifically refers back to Tao Quan (Yuanming), in line 15.

Line 20: This line refers back to Rong Qiqi in line 16.

Lines 29–30: It became fashionable during the Tang dynasty to fold stationery into columns before starting to write, thus enabling the writer to keep his text vertically straight and evenly spaced. In these lines, Bai Juyi is simply saying that he is too imbriated to go through the formality of preparing the paper properly, and just lets his brush spontaneously write any crazy thing that occurs to him.

84 This sentence is difficult to understand as written and may suffer from a missing character.

85 For other works by Bada Shanren with the same unidentified chuán (rectangle relief) seal in the lower right corner, see Zhang Daqian, Da fen cong ting mingqi, vol. 3, plates 24–28 (album of ten leaves, eight leaves with chuán seal, one of which bears a date corresponding to May 5, 1700, around the same time Bada created the current set of leaves). Four leaves from this album now belonging to the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst in Köln are discussed in Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 192–94 (cat. no. 61, fig. 114).

ENTRY 26. Cedar Tree, Day Lily, and Wagtail

86 The descriptive title for this painting was provided in an outside label by the collector Zhang Daqian, who acquired the scroll sometime after 1949, according to one of his seals. While it is unknown if Bada Shanren would have called this work by the same title, the painting does appear to be a kind of visual rebus. In traditional Chinese culture, the chuán (cedar; Cedrela sinensis, Jass.) is primarily revered for its great longevity. The tree also stands as a metaphor for one’s father, especially when used in conjunction with the day lily (xuan), as here. The xuan (day lily; Hemerocallis fulva) is a common Chinese garden plant. From early times, it was popularly known by the name “forgetting sorrow” (see also cat. entry 14, line 17 of poem and note 52), but when used in conjunction with the word for cedar (chuán), the day lily commonly stands for one’s mother. In literature and painting, the jili (wagtail; Motacilla cinerea) is often used as a metaphor for brothers, both older and younger. To the extent that these meanings are applicable here, the painting forms a portrait of a happy family. For additional discussion of this painting, see Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 194–96 (cat. no. 62, fig. 117).

ENTRY 27. Two Geese

87 Geese were an important subject in the painting of Bada Shanren during his later years and have always ranked as one of his most popular themes among collectors. For a brief discussion of the theme, see Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 196. Other versions of this basic composition exist; for example, see Wang Zhaowen, ed., Bada Shanren quanjí, 3:549 (cat. no. 162).

The current work is closely related to a group of other paintings of geese, such as: Wang Zhaowen, ed., Bada Shanren quanjí, 3:544 (cat. no. 157; two geese, undated); 3:553 (cat. no. 166; four geese, undated); 3:583 (cat. no. 180; two geese, undated); 3:609 (cat. no. 184; two geese, dated 1702); 3:625 (cat. no. 193; four geese, undated); 3:640 (cat. no. 205; six geese, undated); and 4:807 (cat. no. 7; four geese, dated 1698). See also
ENTRY 28  Four Tang Poems
88 These four calligraphy scrolls are basically uniform in their physical dimensions, style of running-cursive script, signatures, and seals, and were presumably created around the same time. In composition, scrolls 1 and 2 present texts of five-character verse written in two columns of fourteen and six characters each, while scrolls 3 and 4 contain texts of seven-character verse distributed over three columns: thirteen, twelve, and three characters, and twelve, thirteen, and three characters, respectively. All four of the scrolls contain Tang dynasty poems that are essentially generic in nature and were originally composed for specific social occasions, such as parting, sightseeing, and offering congratulations. Scroll 1 contains a teasing poem of farewell, with an underlying theme of escape from the mundane world, scroll 2 contains an equally lighthearted poem on the well-worked metaphorical theme of climbing high to see far; and scrolls 3 and 4 celebrate successfully passing the national examinations. Three of the quatrains (scrolls 1, 2, and 3) are among the best-known and most frequently anthologized poems in Chinese literature.

Bada Shanren produced a number of other individual hanger scrolls that bear quatrains of either five- or seven-character verse and closely resemble the current set of works in composition, style of script, signature, and seals. One work in particular, in the Palace Museum in Beijing, is virtually a companion to scrolls 3 and 4 of the current set. Marginally larger in its recorded dimensions (177.5 x 43.5 cm), the scroll contains a farewell quatrains in seven-character verse by the Tang dynasty poet Zheng Yue (667–731). The scroll is written in the same style of running-cursive script and uses the same basic distribution of characters over three columns (13, 12, 3), has the same style of signature, and bears the same three seals (plus one additional seal); see Wang Zhaowen, ed., Bada Shanren quanj, 3:419 (cat. no. 187). Two smaller hanging scrolls of roughly the same size (147 x 40.7 cm and 148 x 39 cm) also bear quatrains in seven-character verse by the Tang poets Li Shiqi (early to mid-9th century) and Du Mu (803–852); see Wang Zhaowen, ed., Bada Shanren quanj, 3:422 (cat. no. 190) and 4:807 (cat. no. 72). Other related hanging scrolls contain quatrains in seven-character verse by Bada Shanren himself; see Wang Zhaowen, ed., Bada Shanren quanj, 3:543 (cat. no. 156, undated, first line taken from the Tang poet Qian Qi [ca. 722–ca. 780]); 3:618 (cat. no. 186, dated 1702); 3:638 (cat. no. 203); and 4:781 (cat. no. 57). For a smaller work of five-character verse by Bada Shanren that is written in the same style of script, uses the same distribution of characters over two columns (14, 6), and bears the same signature and seals as scrolls 1 and 2 in the current set, see Wang Zhaowen, ed., Bada Shanren quanj, 3:628 (cat. no. 196); and for a related quattrain in four-character verse with the same signature and seals, see 3:627 (cat. no. 195).

The current arrangement of the four scrolls follows the order published in Zhang Daxian, Da-qingdang shuhua lu, 43a–44b. For a different arrangement, see Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 266–8 (cat. no. 68, fig. 120), where the four scrolls are presented in reverse order as a suite of texts following a particular thematic sequence; see also Wang Fangyu, Bada Shanren jishu ji, 1:44–45.

89 Liu Chongping (ca. 710–after 787) was one of the most important and popular poets in the Tang capital during the mid- to late eighth century. Bada Shanren's version of this well-known quatrains completely agrees with standard published versions. For example, see Peng Dingguo et al., comps., Quan Tang shi, 147:1481.

90 Wuzhou Shan (Fertile Islet Mountain) is located east of Xinchang, Zhejiang Province. The mountain was closely associated with the famous fourth-century monk Zhudun (314–366 C.E.), who founded a temple there. Zhudun once approached another monk about acquiring a mountain ridge to build a hermitage, and received the teasing reply that the recluses of antiquity were not known for acquiring land before retreating from the world. In this poem, Liu Chongping simply advises his Buddhist friend to avoid such well-known haunts as Wuzhou Shan if he truly wishes to escape the trammels and encumbrances of the world. For an English translation of the anecdote about hermits purchasing land, see Richard B. Mather, trans., Shih-cho, Hsin-yii, 412–13 (anecdote 25:28).

91 Wang Zhihuan (688–742) was a highly regarded poet during his lifetime; however, only six of his poems have survived, all well-known quatrains. According to its title, this poem was composed on climbing the Guanqiu Tower (Hooded Crane Tower), a three-story tower on the southeast city wall of Pu-zhou (modern Yong, Shannxi Province). The site was located below high mountains on a bluff extending into the east side of the Yellow River as it flows south. The tower was a popular viewing place during the Tang dynasty and a number of other contemporary poets also composed poems on climbing it. On Wang Zhihuan and his poetry, see Stephen Owen, The Great Age of Chinese Poetry: The High Tang (New Haven/Yale University Press, 1981), 91–92 and 247–48 (with translation and brief explanation of this poem).

This quatrains was often anthologized and appears in at least twenty major Tang to Qing dynasty compilations. In about a third of these works, including an early poetry anthology compiled during the Tang (744), the poem is attributed to an individual named Zhu Bin, a virtually unknown contemporary of Wang Zhihuan. Bada does not name the poet of this quatrains, so it is uncertain whether he believed the author of the poem to be Wang or Zhu. In any case, his transcription entirely agrees with standard printed versions of the text. For attributions to Wang Zhihuan, see: Li Fang et al., comps., Huiyuan yinghua, 2:604 [312:74]; and Peng Dingguo et al., comps., Quan Tang shi, 253:2849. For attributions to Zhu Bin, see: Ran Tingzhang (8th century), comps., Guoxin ji (A poetry anthology, 744), 39b, in HSQG, disc 146, or Tang dun xuan Tang shi, shizhong (Tang poems selected by Tang compilers, ten examples), 2 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe,
92 Meng Jiao (751–814) is generally known as a rather bleak poet, who was often given to strange and jarring imagery. In 792 and again in 793, he sat for and failed the jinshi (advanced scholar) examinations for entry to the ranks of government, but succeeded in passing on his third attempt in 794, which was the occasion for his composing this straightforward, ebullient quatrains. The poem remains one of the best-known graduation pieces in the Chinese language.

This quatrains appears in numerous traditional anthologies and compilations. Certain characters in each line have known variants, four of which are employed by Bada Shanren. Although every variant that appears in Bada’s version of the text also occurs in at least one of the standard sources, his specific version of the text as a whole is apparently unique. See Meng Jiao (751–814), Meng Dingyi shiji (Collected poetry of Meng Jiao), comp. Song Minju (1019–1079), 3:13a, m HSKQS, disc. 118, and Peng Dingguo et al., comp., Quan Tang shi, 374-405.

93 The text selected by Bada Shanren for this scroll comprises the first four lines of an eight-line poem in regulated verse (jinshi) by the little-known, late-Tang poet Li Bo (active 870s–880s). Li wrote the poem both as congratulations and a light jest to his friend Pet Tingyu (active 880s–890s), who passed the national examinations for the jinshi (advanced scholar) degree sometime during 881 to 885, when the capital was occupied by rebel forces, and the imperial court was in exile in Sichuan Province.

This poem appears in at least five traditional anthologies. Bada Shanren employed two variant characters in line 2, one of which may be original to him, but neither of which substantially changes the meaning of the line. All standard sources print the entire eight-line poem, and not just the first four lines, as quoted by Bada Shanren. See: Wang Dingbao (870–954), comp., Tang zhaiyin (Collected sayings from the Tang dynasty), 3:8b, m HSKQS, disc. 113; Ji Yonggong (jinshi 1121), comp., Tongshi jishu (Tang poems and related anecdotes), 61:4b–5a, m HSKQS, disc. 162, and Peng Dingguo et al., comp., Quan Tang shi, 667:763b–37.

94 In line 1, Tongjiang (Bronze Bridge) is the name of a location in Sichuan Province and stands here for the province as a whole. The “Purple Palace” in line 2 is the Chinese name for a constellation that surrounds the pole star and is the residence of the celestial emperor. Accordingly, the term is often used as an alternative name for its terrestrial counterpart, the residence of the Chinese emperor on earth. While the celestial emperor was served by immortals, the Chinese emperor was served by officials selected from the ranks of successful degree candidates. The “list of immortals” in line 2 therefore signifies the roster of successful candidates in the national examinations, many of whom will receive positions at court or other government appointments. In sum, the four lines congratulate Pet Tingyu on his successful completion of the exams, which will surely lead to a glorious career.

ENTRY 29 Jade Hairpin Blossoms and Excerpt from the “Sequel to the Treatise on Calligraphy”

95 This hanging scroll is composed of two album leaves mounted one above the other, a painting of jade hairpin blossoms on the bottom and a leaf of calligraphy on top. The subject of jade hairpin flowers and the text of the calligraphy leaf have no ascertainable thematic relationship. While it is not known if the two album leaves were originally paired together or were joined at a later time, this incongruity between text and image is not unusual in Bada’s works. The clear relationship between the two leaves is the complementary style of brushwork, in which both the painting and the calligraphy were executed.

In Western botanical nomenclature, the jade hairpin flower (psoralea) is identified as either Ho3a sikkolana, or Ho3a plantaginifera, Asclepius. Prior to opening, its tubular white flowers resemble the jade ornaments worn as hairpins in the courtesies of palace ladies, from which the Chinese name derives. Blossoming in the eighth lunar-month, which generally corresponds to the period from early September to early October, it was primarily cultivated as an ornamental garden plant for its broad attractive leaves and sweet-smelling flowers. In keeping with the autumn season, Bada Shanren’s painting also shows a bunch of chrysanthemums in the upper right corner.

The jade hairpin seldom served as the primary focus of paintings, though Bada Shanren chose to explore the subject on more than one occasion. For five other paintings of the jade hairpin flower in his surviving corpus, see Wang Zhaowen, ed., Bada shanren guanji, 1:24 (cat. no. 2, leaf 7, undated); 3:500 (cat. no. 139, hanging scroll, 1609), 3:682 (cat. no. 6, leaf 5, undated, with a poem on the subject); 3:722 (cat. no. 18, hanging scroll, undated), and 4:767 (cat. no. 45, leaf 4, undated).

96 In his discussion of these two album leaves, Wang Fangyu noted that the subject “Heyuan” appears only on works from the last three years of Bada Shanren’s life, 1702 to 1705. He also conjectured that the two leaves mounted on this hanging scroll once belonged to a larger album of mixed painting and calligraphy, but was unable to identify any other surviving leaves. See Wang Fangyu, Bada shanren shuji ji, 2.50–51; and Wang Fangyu, “Bada Shanren shi su,” [Explaining the poetry of Bada Shanren], in Bada shanren huaji, ed. Wang Fangyu, 1:353–54, note 5.

97 The source of Bada Shanren’s quotation on this leaf is the opening passage to the chapter “Copying” (hu) in the Xi shuyun (Sequel to the treatise on calligraphy) by the Southern Song dynasty calligrapher and poet Jiang Kui (ca. 1155–ca. 1235). Jiang’s chapter begins with the following statement: “It is very easy to trace (writ) calligraphy. Emperor Taizong of the Tang dynasty said, ‘He lay Wang Meng upon the paper and sat Xiu huan under his brush.’ This is to ridicule Xiao Zuyin’s translator’s impartial. But when one is just beginning to study calligraphy, one cannot do otherwise than to trace, both to exercise one’s hand and to facilitate ultimate mastery.” In other words, Jiang Kui qualified the Tang emperor’s disdainful criticism of Xiao Zuyin (see below) by stating that tracing and copying the works of earlier masters were necessary steps in learning the art of calligraphy. See Jiang Kui, Xi shuyun (Sequel to the treatise on
calligraphy), in Yishu congbian (Compendium of writings about art), ed. Yang Jialuo, vol. 2 (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1966), 5; and for a previous translation, see Chang Ch'ing-ho and Hans H. Frankel, trans., Two Chinese Treatises on Calligraphy (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 25. For more on Bada's own approach to copying, see catalogue entries 6, 29, 31, and 32; and notes 10, 67, 102, and 103.

98 As stated above, most of the sentence inscribed on this calligraphy leaf is quoted directly from Jiang Kui's Sequel to the Treatise on Calligraphy. Within that passage, Jiang in turn quoted a decree (zhì) traditionally attributed to Emperor Taizong of the Tang dynasty (reigned 626–49), which is appended to the biography in the jin shu (History of the Jin dynasty) of the emperor's favorite calligrapher, Wang Xizhi (ca. 303—ca. 361 C.E.). Taizong's decree extols the calligraphy of Wang Xizhi and disparages the stylistic lineage represented by Xiao Ziyun (486–548), an otherwise acclaimed calligrapher who served at the Liang dynasty court and often filled imperial commissions. The emperor's full statement condemning Xiao Ziyun reads: ‘‘Ziyun emerged more recently as a calligrapher and his fame dominated the area south of the Yangzi River, but in reality he was barely able to write calligraphy at all and did not have the air of a real man. Column after column of his writings looks like wriggling earthworms in the spring, and character after character looks like coiling snakes in autumn. He lays Wang Meng upon the paper and sits Xu Yan under his brush’’ [translator's italics], but though he wielded a brush made from the fur of a thousand rabbits, he did not possess the ‘‘bone’’ (jìn) of even a single hair, and though he gathered the fiber from myriad fields of grain, he could not achieve even a modicum of ‘‘bone’’ (gu). To proclaim his virtuosity when such was the case, isn’t his fame widely overblown?’’ Judging from the full passage, Emperor Taizong's decree primarily addresses the qualities of brushwork referred to in Chinese as sinew (jìn) and bone (gu), neither of which were present, in his estimation, in Xiao's calligraphy. Despite the emperor's specific application, however, later writers such as Jiang Kui borrowed the phrase in question simply to describe the act of copying, see Fang Xuanling et al., comps., jin shu, 80, 2107–8, esp. 2108.

In framing his criticism of Xiao Ziyun, Emperor Taizong referred to two other individuals: Wang Meng (309—347 C.E.) and Xu Yan Wang (10th or 7th century B.C.E.). Wang Meng achieved notable success as a calligrapher, especially for his clerical and draft-cursive scripts, but it is said that while he succeeded in capturing the external forms of the characters, the sinew (jìn) and bone (gu), of his calligraphy were imperfectly expressed. The first part of the emperor's statement (‘‘He lays Wang Meng upon the paper’’) therefore disparages Xiao Ziyun as a mere copyist.

The name Xu Yan refers to King Yan of the ancient state of Xu (Xu Yan Wang), who may or may not have been a real historical figure. In the context of Taizong's decree, the only relevant, albeit indirect, connection between Xu Yan and the art of writing is apparently an early explanation of his given name, ‘‘Yan’’ (to bend, bow, or recline), which states that Xu Yan was born with sinews (jìn), but without bones (gu), nouns that were later used metaphorically to describe certain inherent qualities of both calligraphic brushwork, as mentioned above, and perhaps writing brushes as well. If this analysis is correct, then the allusion to Xu Yan in the second part of the emperor's statement (‘‘and sits Xu Yan under his brush’’) refers to weak and deficient qualities in Xiao Ziyun's brushwork.

Taken together, the full clause (‘‘He lays Wang Meng upon the paper and sits Xu Yan under his brush’’) thus applies to a tracing or copy of a previous master's calligraphy that, while accurate in its external features, lacks the coherent internal structures of the original work. In other words, Emperor Taizong was criticizing Xiao Ziyun as a mere copyist whose work suffered from sloppy execution, Jiang Kui, on the other hand, while he did not contest the emperor's evaluation of Xiao Ziyun, simply commented that copying the former masters, even poorly, is a necessary part of the learning process.

Following the quotation from Jiang Kui's treatise, Bada Shanren added three final characters to the text as a kind of closing remark. The three-character phrase translated as ‘‘and such people’’ is Bada's only original contribution to the text, and its precise relationship to the rest of the sentence is typically ambiguous.

Wang Fangyu located a second pair of album leaves (mounted as a handscroll) with a painting of a plum tree on one leaf, and an accompanying leaf of calligraphy that bears an identical text, signature, and seal as the present leaf. He judged this second calligraphy leaf to be a forgery, with all elements copied directly from the present work; see Wang Fangyu, Bada Shanren jishu ji, 2:74–75.

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**ENTRY 30. Couplet**

99 For a discussion of the calligraphy in the present couplet, see Wang Fangyu, Bada Shanren jishu ji, 2:43; Bada Shanren rarely created couplets, or at least few have survived. One extant couplet, belonging to the Shanghai Museum of Art, is an important comparative example of Bada's work in the style of running script seen here. While the Shanghai work is smaller than the Freer example, it too employs five-character lines and three of the same characters as the Freer couplet, see Guo Zizhu et al., eds., Zhongguo shufa quanji 64. Qinghai: Zhu Da, Shitao, Gong Xian, Gong Qinggao (Complete Chinese calligraphy 64. Qing dynasty: Zhu Da, Shitao, Gong Xian, Gong Qinggao) (Beijing: Roubozhai chubanshe, 1998), 142 (plate 31) and 308–304 (comments). Two other published examples of couplets by Bada Shanren are written in cursive script; see Wang Zhaowen, ed., Bada Shanren quanjii, 2:252 (cat. no. 70; five-character verse) and 461 (cat. no. 129; seven-character verse).

The exact meaning of the two lines is elusive, and the current translation represents merely one possibility:

Line 1: During the Eastern Han dynasty (25–220 C.E.), the ‘‘Immortals' Chamber’’ was an alternative name for the imperial library, where scholars and writers were frequently assigned during their service at court. The building derived this name from the many texts on esoteric Daoism that were housed there along with works on history and other matters. The building was officially known as the Dongguan (Eastern Tower). Bada may have been drawing on this
reference to add prestige to his description of a library, taishu (literally: charts, or pictures, and books).

Line 2: The first two characters, shandou, are an abbreviation for: Taishan (Mount Tai, in Shandong Province), easternmost of the five sacred mountains; and the constellation Beidou (Northern Dipper). Since at least the ninth century, the combined term (Mount Tai and Northern Dipper) has been used to indicate an individual, to whom people look up as a paragon.

The term "Southern Capital" may refer to the city of Nanchang (Jiangxi Province), where Bada resided in his later years. In 959 Nanchang was designated a second imperial capital under the Southern Tang kingdom (937–959) and was given the official name, Southern Capital. See Zhu Yulong, comp., Huida shihua fangzhen niandiao (Chronology of regional administrative districts during the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), 448 and 452, note 7.

ENTRY 31. Poem by Yan Fang

100 The Tang dynasty poet, Yan Fang (early to mid-8th century), wrote this eighteen-line poem on a visit to Deer Gate Mountain, in Hubei Province, where an ancient recluse once lived (see note 101, lines 1–2 and 5–6). Relatively little is known about the life and career of Yan Fang; however, all five of his extant works are descriptive landscape poems focusing on recluses. Bada Shanren's rendition of Yan Fang's poem differs in several significant details from the versions found in standard anthologies: see Yin Fan (active mid-8th century), comp., Hepe yaoyin shi (Collection of poems by eminent spirits of the rivers and mountains, 753), in Tangen xuan Tang shi, shizhong (Tang poems selected by Tang compilers, ten examples), P114; Ji Yongqian, comp., Tangshi jishi, 26.6-a, in HSQ, desc. 162, and Peng Dingqiu et al., comps., Quan Tang shi, 253–2581.

101 Lines 1–2. Pang Gong, also known as Pang Degong (late 2d–early 3d century C.E.), was a poor recluse, who lived during the troubled years at the end of the Eastern Han dynasty (25–220 C.E.). Despite recommendation, he refused all official rank and salary and sustained a happy but hardscrabble existence as a farmer. To escape the dangers of the times, Pang disappeared with his family into Lumenshan (Deer Gate Mountain; see below) and was never seen again. For Pang Gong’s biography, see Fan Ye, comp., Hou Han shu (History of the Eastern Han dynasty, 25–220 C.E.) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 83:2776–77; and Alan J. Berkowitz, Patterns of Disengagement: The Practice and Repetition of Retreat in Early Medieval China (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 124–25.

Lines 5–6. Deer Gate Mountain (Lumenshan) is located about twenty kilometers southeast of modern Xiangfan, Hubei Province. According to tradition, Pang Degong lived on the eastern slopes near Deer Gate Temple, which was built during the Eastern Han dynasty in the reign of Emperor Guangwu (reigned 25–57 C.E.), and where there is still a shrine in his honor today. Two large stone statues of deer flanked the entrance to the temple enclosure, from which the mountain subsequently took its name.

"Valleys heaped with gems" is a standard trope in Chinese eremitic literature used to describe the remote habitations of recluses and immortals. Not only is the terrain fantastic and wild, but those who dwell in such places are so indifferent to wealth and social station that piles of valuable gems are left ungathered on the ground.

Line 8: The proper reading of the third character of this line is uncertain; the translation "surf" derives from the character that appears in this position in most standard editions; pao (to float, drift, be tossed about).

Lines 9–10. Junyuan (Jiao Plateau) is the name of a mountain located in the ancient state of Jing (near modern Jiangxi), in southeastern Shandong Province. Local people were afraid to approach the brink of the mountain because of its unusually precipitous drop. Until one day a man walked over and calmly stood with his heels out over the edge. Commentators noted that his equanimity in the face of danger emanated from the principles of humaneness and righteousness that he held in his breast. See Fan Ye, comp., Hou Han shu, 59:1917, note 5.

Lulinghuo (Li Bridge Gorge) is located in the ancient state of Wu, near modern Tongshanxian, in northwestern Jiangsu Province. The gorge contains a natural stone arch, hence its name. A large waterfall drops hundreds of feet into the gorge, reemerging as a tumultuous foaming stream. Here, the sage Confucius once encountered a man swimming calmly through the wild and perilous waters, and asked how he managed to achieve this feat. A native of the region, the man replied that he simply trusted to destiny and followed the Way (dao) of the water. See Yang Boyun, comp., Li ci jishi, 62–64, and A.C. Graham, trans., The Book of Li-hsi (Classic of poetry), which expresses the weariness of a traveler. Dictionaries define the binome as describing either the appearance, or singing, of small birds.

102 Bada Shanren states explicitly that he wrote this leaf to "copy" (liu) the style of the Ming dynasty calligrapher Wang Chong (1494–1533), also known as Yazi Shanren; however, the running-standard script Bada employed here has no stylistic precedent among Wang’s known works. Bada’s usage of the word “copying” is problematic and clearly means something other than the usual definition. For other examples, see catalogue entries 6, 20, and 32, and notes 10, 67, 97, and 103. For further discussion of Bada’s use of the word “copying,” see Wang Fangyu, “Bada Shanren de shufa,” in Bada Shanren luji, ed Wang Fangyu, 1:935–98; Wang Fangyu, “Bada Shanren de shufa,” in Wang Fangyu, Bada Shanren jishu ji, 2:69–70; and Bai Qingshen, “Cong Bada Shanren lin Liuting xin Mingmgo Jingchui shufa zhong de linshu guanman,” 462–72.

During the mid-twentieth century, the collector Zhang Daqian owned the original eight-leaf album from which this calligraphy leaf was taken. At the time, the undated album contained four leaves of painting paired with four unrelated leaves of calligraphy. Three of the
texts, including the poem here by Yan Fang, are Tang dynasty poems
concerning visits to a place called Lummenshan (Deer Gate Mountain,
see above). In the original album, the current leaf was paired with a
painting of magnolia blossoms. See Zhang Daqian, Dafengting mingji,

Wang Fangyu dated Zhang Daqian’s album on the basis of style to
ca. 1702. According to Wang, the Yang Fangyu leaf was removed from the
album by Zhang, who sold it to his friend Zhu Shengzhai (ca.
1902–1970), who later sold it to Zhang Fanqiu (20th century), who
in turn sold it to Wang Fangyu and Sun Wei. See Wang Fangyu, “Bada
Shanren de shufa,” in Bada Shanren huiji, ed. Wang Fangyu, 1:395, and
Wang Fangyu, Bada Shanren fubu ji, 2:41.

At some point after leaving Zhang Daqian’s collection, the current
leaf was included in a nine-leaf calligraphy album, seven other leaves
from which are in the Freer collection: see catalogue entries 10, 11 (two
leaves), 13, 14, 15, and 16. For a complete list of that album’s contents,
see Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 209 (Appendix C,
no. 105).

ENTRY 32. Copy of Two Letters by Huang Daozhou

For a brief discussion of Bada Shanren’s calligraphy in these leaves,
see Wang Fangyu, Bada Shanren fubu ji, 2:59. Both leaves contain
copied excerpts from private letters sent to unknown recipients by
Huang Daozhou (1585–1646), also known as Shizhai. An important
personage at the end of the Ming dynasty, Huang achieved fame for his
poetry, painting, and especially calligraphy, in which he established
his own individual style. A pillar of moral rectitude, he was also a staunch
Ming loyalist, who helped to lead resistance against the Manchu
conquerors until he was killed during intercommunal struggles among various
Ming pretenders. For a Chinese scholar of Bada Shanren’s age and personal
stance, Huang Daozhou was a figure of heroic dimensions, which undoubtedly lent a certain allure to the study of his calligraphy.

In the case of these leaves, however, although he was ostensibly copying
(liu) Huang directly, Bada Shanren chose to employ his own style of
running-cursive script, which possesses none of the particular qualities
that characterize Huang Daozhou’s distinctive style. Bada’s usage of the
word “copying” is problematic and clearly means something other than
the usual definition. For other examples, see catalogue entries 6, 20, and
31, and notes 10, 67, 97, and 102. For examples of original letters written
by Huang Daozhou, see Zheng Wei et al., eds., Huang Daozhou weiji
daguan (Overview of Huang Daozhou’s calligraphy) (Shanghai:
Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1992), 104–6, 123–46, and
166–68.

These two leaves most recently belonged to a mixed album of ten
leaves assembled from disparate sources, six of painting and four of
calligraphy. Five leaves, three of painting and two of calligraphy, are
included elsewhere in this volume (cat. entries 3, 6, 7, and 33); one leaf
is unpublished; and the two other leaves (respectively showing a cat and
a chicken) are published in Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus
Garden, 108–9 (cat. no. 10, fig. 54).

104 In several critical places, damage to the paper has led to losses in
the texts of Huang Daozhou’s two letters, and without further information
regarding his relationship with the intended recipient(s) of these
missives, as well as the immediate context of some remarks made
within them, any translation can only be speculative.

The expression “flock of geese” alludes to a story concerning the
great early calligrapher, Wang Xizhi (ca. 303–361 C.E.). One day Wang,
who was very fond of geese, heard that a Daoist master living in nearby
Shanyin (modern Shaoshing, Zhejiang Province) had raised a particu-
larly fine flock. He went to see the geese and was very impressed, and
wanted to strike a deal with the owner. The Daoist master refused to
sell, but offered to give Wang the entire flock in exchange for him writ-
ing out the text of the Daosheng (Classic of the Way and its power),
the seminal text of philosophical Daoism. Wang happily complied, then
caged up the birds, and returned home extremely pleased. In time, the
expression “flock of geese” came to indicate payment for a work of cal-
ligraphy. For the story of Wang Xizhi and the flock of geese, see Fang
Xueling et al., comps., Jin shu, 80:2100.

105 The Weixian tongkai (General history of institutions and critical
examination of documents and studies) is a large, multivolume encyclo-
dic history of Chinese government institutions from earliest times to
1204, compiled by the Yuan dynasty scholar Ma Dunlin (1254–1323).

The full title of the book translated here as “Illustrated Scripture” is
unknown due to losses in the original paper and text.

ENTRY 33. Landscape after Ni Zan

The stark ink-landscapes of the Yuan dynasty painter Ni Zan
(1306–1374) held a strong appeal for many seventeenth-century artists
of the late-Ming and early-Qing dynasties, especially Dong Qichang
(1555–1636) and his followers such as Bada Shanren. While both the
dry, crumbly ink and small, open pavilion at the lower left of this work
are strongly reminiscent of Ni Zan, the painting also clearly illustrates
the loose structural relationships and unconventional use of space that
typify works from Bada Shanren’s later years. For brief comments on
Bada’s attraction to Ni Zan and a discussion of the present work, see
Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 89–91; and Wang
Fangyu, Bada Shanren fubu ji, 2:54–55. For another work by Bada in
the style of Ni Zan, see catalogue entry 12, leaf 6.

This double leaf most recently came from a mixed album of ten
leaves assembled from disparate sources, six of painting and four of
calligraphy. Six leaves, two of painting and four of calligraphy, are included
elsewhere in this volume (cat. entries 3, 6, 7, and 32; one leaf is unpul-
ished; and two other leaves (respectively showing a cat and a chicken)
are published in Wang and Barnhart, Master of the Lotus Garden, 108–9
(cat. no. 10, fig. 54).
上清紫霄霞虚皇前太上大道玉晨君间居茅真作七言散化五行变万神是为玄庭内篇栗心三叠舞胎仙九真瞑明出霄问神盖委子生紫烟是为玉书可精研咏万篇易三天千变以消百病疾不惮步狼之咒残物

Chinese Documentation
ENTRY 1. (F1998.53.1–8)

荷花圖 八開冊

外題：釋傳斐畫冊。號法蘭又名刀龍，郎山人為僧時名號也。

鈐印兩方：「張愛」（自文方印）、「大千」（朱文方印）

第一開
無款識
鈐印一方：『法蘭』（自文方形印）

第二開
無款識
鈐印兩方：『釋傳斐印』（自文方形印）、「刀龍」（朱文方印）

第三開
無款識
鈐印兩方：『釋傳斐印』（自文方形印）、「刀龍」（朱文方印）

第四開
名款：傅盤
鈐印兩方：『法蘭』（自文方形印）、「刀龍」（朱文方印）

第五開
名款：法蘭楊盤
鈐印一方：『刀龍』（朱文方印）

第六開
名款：法蘭
鈐印一方：『刀龍』（朱文方印）

第七開
名款：傅盤
鈐印一方：『刀龍』（朱文方印）

第八開
名款：傅盤
鈐印一方：『釋傳斐印』（自文方形印）

ENTRY 2. (F1998.29.1–12)

行楷書節錄《黃庭內景經》 小開冊

外題：八大家山人小楷《內景經》真跡逸品。

內題：神仙法訣。

第一開

《內景經》

[第一章]
上清紫霄懸玉簡，太上書文玉簡君，開卷言華作七言，
教化五形養百神，是為黃庭內景篇，琴心三聖震龍仙，
九氣映明出雲間，神訣童子生紫煙，是日玉書可精研，
詠之萬載昇三天，千天以消百病症，不憚虎豹之困阻，
亦以却老年永延。

第二開

[第二章]
上有魂冦下開元，左為少陽右太陰，後

第三開

[第三章]
有洞戶前生門，出日入月呼吸存，元氣所合列宿分，
紫烟上下入紫雲，現蓮花花繪羅帳，七魄流靈覆織織，
靈縈碧黃入丹田，動室內明照陽門。

第四開

[第四章]
口為玉池太和宮，飲嘗靈液不干，體生華華香雲自，
鈐減百邪玉簡脈，睿能修行會廣雲，晝夜不寐乃成真，
靈鳴電撼神武。

第五開

[第五章]
黃庭內人服銅衣，紫華飛繡雲氣躍，丹青縋……(未完)

第六開

[第六章]
念三老子煉丹，長生高仙遠死殃。

第七開

[第七章]
 meilleurs之宮六級精，中有童子曜著明，靈電八脈楊玉族，
龍度懾天鶴火鈴，主諸氣力奮無兵，外應眼目鼻柱開，
腦發相扶亦相護，九色錦衣縋華繪，佩金帶玉龍虎文，
能存億千乘慶雲，役使萬神朝三元。

第八開

[第八章]
牌長一尺煉太倉，中部老君治明堂，貪愛錢財名混康，

第九開

[第九章]
治人百病消穢糧，黃衣紫帶龍虎章，長精益命鍾君王，
三呼我名自通，三老同坐各有朋，或獨或群別執方，
桃木含生華芒，男女九九有桃康，張卻東母悟相望，
師父師母與玄籍，可用存思登虛空，殊途一會歸紫宇，
閉塞三關照領停，含緒金體吐玉英，遂至不飢三虫亡，
心意常和致洗昌，

第十開

[第十章]
五嶽之雲慶彩亭，保異玉應以自慎，五形完堅無天殃。

第十一開

[第十一章]
上觀三元如煉凍，溶溶明星照九曜，五葉夜燭照八區，
子孫內景與外遊，身披風衣飛虎符，一至不易見其形，
方士之奮深藏，不方不圓閉鸞霞，三神還精老方壯，

第十二開

[第十二章]
大行懾神升虛台，神託以自慎，五形完堅無天殃。
ENTRY 5 (F1998.56.1-.4)
落花、佛手、芙蓉、蓮蓬 冊頁四開

第一開 《落花》
款識：涉事 八大山人。
钤印一方：『觀形有損扁方印』

第二開 《佛手》
款識：涉事 八大山人。
钤印一方：『觀形有損扁方印』

第三開 《芙蓉》
款識：涉事 八大山人。
钤印一方：『觀形有損扁方印』

第四開 《蓮蓬》
款識：壬申之夏五月 涉事 八大山人。
钤印一方：『觀形有損扁方印』

ENTRY 6 (F1998.28)
行楷節臨褚遂良書《聖教序》 冊頁

行楷書為行書，筆法流利，書風古雅，堪稱楷法之極。

 ENTRY 7 (F1998.27)
仿北苑山水圖 冊頁

款識：仿北苑。
钤印一方：『觀形有損扁方印』

ENTRY 8 (F1998.54.1-.15)
《故國興悲》書畫合冊

外盒內額日本裝裱堂印一方：『平安近者光影堂裝裱記』

外封：八大山人詩畫冊。內藤虎筆検。
钤印兩方：『虎』、『湖南』

ENTRY 9 (F1998.54.1-.15)
《故國興悲》書畫合冊

外盒內額日本裝裱堂印一方：『平安近者光影堂裝裱記』

外封：八大山人詩畫冊。內藤虎筆検。
钤印兩方：『虎』、『湖南』

第一開 《引首》
《故國興悲》，溫卿先生屬，偶作題。
钤印三方：『丁巳』、『夢餘王』、『偶因』

第二開 《山水》
無款識。
钤印一方：『觀形有損扁方印』

第三開 《山水》
無款識。
钤印一方：『觀形有損扁方印』
第八開 行楷書《題畫絕句》三首
一見蓮子心，蓮花有根柢。世間誰是誰，人間法師是。
黃竹復黃竹，來在通州上。通州百十分，一葉車兩輛。
童兒開元觀，看看青白首。翻打錦許，何以慰側柳？
鈐印一方：『馬艾』（朱文長方印）

第九開 行楷書《題畫絕句》三首
西嶽一無際，東流何處尋。願諸此際長，已下珊瑚川。
文窗九方便，虛無闕數程，千金延上人，天暑入了熱。百萬圓老虎，
薄暮一湖飛，四三曉錦鷗，故人在河口，說以湖口道。

第十開 行楷書《題畫絕句》二首
郎吹鳳凰嵐，麥吹純金羅。知音公子誰，銅是大字刀。
雨篷舟無處，雲行閣在處。此時盡虛望，已是晝山園。

 ENTRY 9. (F1998.45)

荷花雙 Aquarium 軗

外題：大風堂堂書寫八大山人晚歲畫《荷花雙藻》原跡神品。呉昌老詩跋。

鈐印一方：『大風堂』（朱文長方印）

鈐印一方：『八大山人』（朱文長方印）

鈐印一方：『八風堂』（朱文長方印）
ENTRY 10. (F1998.32)
行楷書節錄韓愈《送李員歸盤谷序》

山南李員歸盤谷，文公聞其名而壯之，與之酒而為之歌，歌曰：
盘之盘兮，其盘之巅。其水之深，其水之深。
盘之盘兮，其盘之巅。其水之深，其水之深。

行筆無滑道之餘，筆筆之有力，筆筆之有力，筆筆之有力。

 ENTRY 11. (F1998.36)
行楷書曾揭《山水屏詩》

吳漢興天風，卷舒入神目。秋水此圖畫，尺寸隨形曲。

 ENTRY 12. (F1998.55.1-.6)
撫董其昌《臨古山水》

第一開

ENTRY 13. (F1998.48)
行楷書董其昌《臨古山水》

第二開

ENTRY 14. (F1998.48)
行楷書董其昌《臨古山水》

第三開

ENTRY 15. (F1998.48)
行楷書董其昌《臨古山水》

第四開

ENTRY 16. (F1998.48)
行楷書董其昌《臨古山水》

第五開
ENTRY 13. (F1998.31)

行楷書《臨河集序》 31

永和九年暮春，會于會稽山陰之蘭亭。暮春之晨，群賢畢至，少長成
集。此地岸峻碧山，茂林精竹，清流激湍，映帶左右，引以爲流
觴曲水，列坐其次。是日也，天朗氣清，惠風和暢，游目骋懷，時可
樂也。雖無絲竹管絃之盛，一觴一咏，亦足以暢敘幽情已。故序列時
人，錄其所述。

款識：《臨河集序》。八大山人。

鈐印兩方：冠形無框方印，『可得神仙』（白文方印）

鑒藏印兩方

張大千一方：『季愛』（白文方印）

沈慧一方：『沈慧』（朱文方印）

ENTRY 14. (F1998.35)

行楷書張九齡《題畫山水障詩》 35

心累果不盡，時爲物外遊，偶因耳目好，復假丹青妍。
時命何悞意，而逢世中緣，塵事固已矣，乘興終不還。
良工非我願，妙筆無從傳，變化[無窮]合筆書，高深性自然。
 camino北堂上，仿像南山邊，靜無端庭出，行已至地偏。
置舞定可想，合懷溢絲韻，所因是草書，況師僉詩文。
言象會自非，意想相宜，對玩有佳趣，使我心懽。

注：『無窮』兩字爲八大山人自書。
《聖母帖》釋文
聖母心愈至至，無所取諍，遂率同請者，旋登登位，賓褐含煙，備於庭內；
劉君名/templates/1515151.jpg，嘉穎，以聖母揚應寶踵，才合上仙，授之秘符；
以稱義。遂識義變，幾脈脈疑，脫異俗流，誰誰誰愛。氏氏氏，
故我長者。聖母猶為，不改顛倒。久之生息，於此幽國，拘箝里，
始為所棄。書此事，顧名二女，歲歲同升。旭日初
照，筆身直上，聲聲fare，輝輝輝輝，異異殊異，沒沒息息。康帝
以為宇中之瑞，銘於其所居曲宮，懷懷祥化。因弘信東陵聖母：
家于篤陵，仙于東土，心東陵，二女升，聖聖母家。遠遠有
尊，異儀問道，遠近延歸，傾朝江淮。水水札札，無不 производства，
人用大康。賊破之徒，或來取問，則有奇兵，問其處上，豈能既降，罪
【必】是獲，聞聞之間，無作詞，詔詔詔詔，自自自自，年將三百，都都精
華。車從師，及及及及，終終終終，苛苛苛苛玄元。九聖不承，
幕場至之，冥冥秘府，阿不度度。況況況況可，詔詔在在，雖雖雖然
出，而熱香雲集，榛榛未復，書書留留，誰誰興興，誰為誰誰，從從從從
父，淮南節度觀察使，禮禮讚禮，監監使，太原郭，道道方方，勸勸
崇崇問，達達熙熙，試作而不朽。【存】乎乎乎乎，貞元九年之癸酉己
月，沙門藏藏書。

無款識
鈐印一方：履形無塵扁方印

八大山人行書書跋文
薛定庵《自序》：《文心》等帖醉書，一本于張有道之玄，唯《聖母}
帖醉書，得索隱安張有道之正。因思漢之家書法，皆生長書泉
州郡，一去而為屬國。薛定庵書，學不渐重之。戊寅小春，八大山
人贈于黃山房。
鈐印一方：「啟之」（朱文方印）、「可得神仙」（白文方印）

楊時華行書書跋文
《聖母帖》。余昔年所觀者多矣，未若此之秀麗傑出者，得八大山人
釋書，又見盤石所臨，勿勿視之。楊時華題。
鈐印一方：「楊時華印」（白文方印）

鑒藏印二十五方
八大山人三方（皆下同）：「黃艾」（朱文方印）、履形無塵扁方印、「可得
神仙」（白文方印）
朱彝尊一方（白文方印）：「秀秀朱氏潛采堂圖書」（朱文方印）
沈彤一方（皆下同）：「果堂審定」（白文方印）
李溥泉三方：「溥泉珍藏」（白文方印）、「溥泉珍藏」（白文方印）、「溥泉珍藏」
（白文方印）
林熊光五方：「林氏寶室所藏」（朱文方印）、「林氏寶室所藏」（朱文方
印）、「溥泉鑑藏」（白文方印）、「溥泉鑑藏」（白文方
印）、「溥泉鑑藏」（白文方印）
持考三方：「持考之賜」（白文方印）、「雲華堂館審定」（白文方
印）、「持考之賜」（白文方印）
王方宇一方：「方字」（朱文方印）

沈慧四方：「沈慧」（朱文方印）、「沈慧」（朱文方印）、「沈慧」
（朱文方印）、「沈慧」（朱文方印）

ENTRY 18. (F1998.43)
行楷書孫遜《奉和李白詩中書壁畫山水詩》

席散多暇日，山水異僕情。欲寫高深意，還因墨翰成。
九江臨隱樓，三廬歸翰寫。神遊遠年後，煙雲遂意生。
能令萬里近，不覺四時行。氣清香火盛，光含樂鏡清。
詠歌齊出處，圖書盡沖盈。自古千春遇，何論八載榮。

款識：八大山人
鈐印三方：「通幽」（朱文方印）、「可得神仙」（白文方印）、「八大山
人」（白文方印）

鑒藏印一方
王方宇和沈慧一方：「方慧共讀」（朱文方印）

ENTRY 19. (F1998.49)
艾虎圖

外贈：八大山人《艾虎圖》，無上妙品，大風堂供養。

款識：己卯書陽日寫，八大山人。
鈐印三方：「八大山人」（白文方印）、「何園」（朱文方印）、「遙屬」（白文
方印）

鑒藏印十一方
吳湖帆和潘靜淑五方：「湖湖湖湖湖愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛愛爱
第二開
南宮之禁，或載值周如懸，操觀明霧，蹈濤鴻之
騖…
[籃第十行行]：
…奉神之榮，名溢賢海。
第三開
兵興勤動，其誰由然哉，惟大將軍吳公，諱文，字才…
[籃第十一行行]：
…大夫、內行給事，父節諱朝金紫
第四開
光輝大夫，行內常侍，七鎮…
[籃第十二行行]：
…之應，是使金鋪接慶，玉罩承當，長縐笑於司
宮，高門聯于寺
第五開
伯，公…
[籃第十三行行]：
…親屬載於先年，輔相用於稚弱，源之
手，鶴之為鳴，不飛…
[籃第十四行行]：
…茲聞，已，荷公不
第六開
私，輔過懲於宮閨，匪繫競競於夙夜…
[籃第十五行行]：
…勞，稱公以扶，授文公林郎，適舉從班也。公謹
密居，謙
第七開
光華旨，圖…
[籃第十六行行]：
…之賞，非公而何？多二月，又制進公右監門衛
大將軍，建…
[籃第十七行行]：
…宸，神龍三年，又制進公鎮軍
第八開
大將軍，行右監門衛…
[籃第十八行行]：
…杜，固以鋒相衛，霍，樓衡田，齋，横虎步於朱
軒，範龍顏於青…
[籃第十九行行]：
…宮，公之祿
第九開
敬歸投天子之休命也。唐元年又制進封…
[籃第十行行]：
…二冊，三階冊封，八命騰遞，持大義而不可奪，
保元勳而
第十開
若無有，則…
[籃第十一行行]：
…奉上欽慶心之寄也。公平均七政，恭歸五朝，樹
德務遠，賡興…
[籃第十二行行]：
…成格，乃奏乞骸骨，身歸
第十開
常樂，詔許公焉，向書輝映，非無給…
[籃第十三行行]：
…常之四序之留難，秋風颯飄，收百年之卷織，
遞長沙
第十二開
之慮，結競…”
[籃第十四行行]：
…呼，親公開國承旨，正家崇依，榮嗣命於紫極，
聖貢賜於黃雲，元戎…”
[籃第十五行行]：
…兼之行乎大
第十三開
堅，其盛府也。黃金自玉兮，畫宗之北堂，其賓賢
也。虬…”
[籃第十六行行]：
…風軌物，傑士飛將，其在公手。夫人履國李氏，
第十四開
圓姿昔月，潤厳呈華…
[籃第十七行行]：
…至七年十一月十二日，先公崩，公以開元九年
十月廿三日，服…”
[籃第十八行行]：
…落松局，金雞鳴而春
第十五開
不曉，玉犬吠而秋以暮，獲將軍於地下，意氣…”
[籃第十九行行]：
…附於平生，宮賛殊於司多，則公夫人之顧命，顧
不合一於雙棺
第十六開
焉，於…”
[籃第二十行行]：
…奉議大夫，行內常侍，上柱國處行，明賢兼俗，
潔身從道，元方長子，高…”
[籃第二十行行]：
…行內侯局丞，上柱國
第十七開
上柱國見行，及厥營涇，開心大乘，出俗顯之三
天，遐…”
[籃第二十一行行]：
…庭局丞，騎都尉處書等，並.perform天，諫行
血，難復合庭花，萼慶…”
[籃第二十二行行]：
…五色，詞賦七步，王公在時，聖主承知，夢
第十八開
八門而出，飛，翼…”
[籃第二十三行行]：
…神，出出天秀，蓋非常人，復禮由已，依仁立
身，卑國畿海，公乎動鱗…”
[籃第二十四行行]：
…有形，詩德孟子，相繼王獨，南山之壽，崎立其
齊，西山之照，不意今…”
[籃第二十五行行]：
…伯銘金，籍川
175
ENTRY 21. (F1998.57)

山水圖 軸

款識：八大山人寫。

鈐印三方：【可得神仙】(白文方印)、【八大山人】(朱文長方印)、【遙屬】(白文方印)

鑒藏印三方

王方宇和沈愷一方：【方慧共賞】(朱文方印)

待考兩方：【癸巳齋印】(朱文長方印)、【□樓眼福】(白文方印)

ENTRY 22. (F1998.42)

草書歌詞《題清源寺詩》 軸

款識：八大山人。

鈐印三方：【遙屬】(朱文長方印)、【可得神仙】(白文方印)、【八大山人】(白文方印)

鑒藏印三方

張大千四方：【別時容易】(朱文方印)、【寶藏骨肉情】(朱文長方印)、【大風堂】(朱文長方印)、【遙屬】(白文方印)

ENTRY 23. (F1998.51)

芍藥圖 軸

款識：八大山人《芍藥》無上神品。大風堂供養。

鈐印三方：【張愛】(白文方印)、【大千讚】(朱文方印)

行草書《七言絕句》一首

方寛不數漢時箏。誰把白如此事宮。

分付好花著賈，卻教人待晚春天。

款識：花朝日譜格齋先生作此求正，八大山人。

鈐印兩方：【八大山人】(白文長方印)、【何園】(朱文方印)

鑒藏印一方

張大千一方：【善可心賞】(朱文長方印)

張大千四方：【大風堂漸江豪情骨墨緣】(朱文長方印)、【秘園寶骨肉情】(朱文長方印)、【別時容易】(朱文方印)、【遙屬之富】(朱文長方印)

王方宇一方：【食客銅盧】(白文方印)

ENTRY 24. (F1998.50)

五松山圖 軸

款識：八大山人《五松山圖》。紙木精設色，晚年精作，大風堂供養。

鈐印兩方：【張愛】(白文方印)、【大千餘賞】(朱文方印)

款識：八大山人寫。

鈐印三方：【張】(朱文長方印)、【橋】(倒敘)、【遙屬有枉扁方印】(朱文方印)、【賞】(朱文方印)

鑒藏印十一方

李浦泉兩方：【浦泉珍藏】(白文長方印)、【白門李氏珍藏】(朱文方印)

王文心三方：【王文心藏】(朱文方印)、【文心審定】(朱文長方印)、【雲門書畫審定】(白文方印)

張大千三方：【大風堂漸江豪情骨墨緣】(朱文長方印)、【遙屬】(朱文長方印)、【別時容易】(朱文長方印)

王方宇一方：【食客銅盧】(白文方印)

待考兩方：【三羊齋藏金石書畫】(朱文長方印)、【丁伯川鑒賞章】(朱文長方印)

葉德輝楷書題跋

昔張梅山襲《書畫》以八大山人冠首，其優遊以雲至 услуги。又引詩

曰徵李昭之言曰：「山人筆墨固以獨勝，不知其精神者又妙絕。時

人不識多少。」此為全以精神歎歎，其山，樹枝均用筆香，其

目中所見，皆天翻地覆之事，故其流風一寓于楷書之間，此豈可以
ENTRY 25. (F1998.30.1-3)

行草書自居易《北窗三友詩》冊頁三開

今日北窗下，自問何所為，欣然得三人，三友者為誰？
琴罷時飲酒，酒罷時吟詩，三友相誦引，循環無已時，
一彈一唱，四時，猶意思間有，以酒為詩之。
豈獨音樂好，古人多若斯，酒酒有開明，琴琴有開開，
詩有伯倫，三友皆善擊，或時酒鬱，或時浩歌，
細聆二詩，樂道所知，三子去已遠，高風不可追，
三友逝矣，無日不相憶，左顧右顧，似在眼前，
詩人不應去，走筆狂騷，誰能持此詩，為我謝親知，
從未以是，豈以我為非？

款識：白香山此詩妙在不盡書。庚辰三月廿日，八大山人記。

鈐印三方：『遙屬』（朱文方印）、『八大山人』（白文長方印）、『何園』
（朱文方印）

鑑藏印十一方
張恿右方：『圖始張氏後期翻翻』（朱文方印）『改世秘玩』（朱文方印）
張大千右方：『大千居士』（朱文方印）、『大千畫』（朱文方印）、『大風堂』
（朱文方印）『遙屬』（朱文長方印）、『遙屬』（朱文方印）、『遙屬』
（朱文方印）

王方宇一印：『食雉於巖』（白文方印）

待考三方：『春』（朱文長方印）、『春』（朱文長方印）、『春』（朱文長方印）

ENTRY 26. (F1998.46)

椿萱鶴鶴圖 軸

外簽：大風堂供養，八大山人庚辰書《椿萱鶴鶴圖》真跡，時年七十
五歲。

款識：庚辰，八大山人書。

鈐印三方：『八大山人』（白文長方印）、『何園』（朱文方印）、『遙屬』（朱
文長方印）

鑑藏印一方
張大千右方：『大風堂』（朱文方印）、『大千畫』（朱文方印）、『大千』
（朱文方印）

王方宇一印：『食雉於巖』（白文方印）

ENTRY 27. (F1998.47)

雙雁圖 軸

外簽：大風堂供養，八大山人書《雙雁圖》真跡，時年七十歲。

款識：八大山人書。

鈐印三方：『八大山人』（白文長方印）、『何園』（朱文方印）、『遙屬』（白
文方印）

鑑藏印八方
張大千右方：『大風堂』（朱文方印）、『大千畫』（朱文方印）、『大千』
（朱文方印）、『大千』（朱文方印）、『大千』（朱文方印）、『大千』
（朱文方印）、『大千』（朱文方印）

王方宇一印：『食雉於巖』（白文方印）

待考三方：『如』（朱文方印）、『如』（朱文方印）、『如』（朱文方印）

ENTRY 28. (F1998.44.1-4)

行草書白居易《北窗三友詩》冊頁三開

今日北窗下，自問何所為，欣然得三人，三友者為誰？
琴罷時飲酒，酒罷時吟詩，三友相誦引，循環無已時，
一彈一唱，四時，猶意思間有，以酒為詩之。
豈獨音樂好，古人多若斯，酒酒有開明，琴琴有開開，
詩有伯倫，三友皆善擊，或時酒鬱，或時浩歌，
細聆二詩，樂道所知，三子去已遠，高風不可追，
三友逝矣，無日不相憶，左顧右顧，似在眼前，
詩人不應去，走筆狂騷，誰能持此詩，為我謝親知，
從未以是，豈以我為非？

款識：白香山此詩妙在不盡書。庚辰三月廿日，八大山人記。

鈐印三方：『遙屬』（朱文方印）、『八大山人』（白文長方印）、『何園』
（朱文方印）

鑑藏印十一方
張恿右方：『圖始張氏後期翻翻』（朱文方印）『改世秘玩』（朱文方印）
張大千右方：『大千居士』（朱文方印）、『大千畫』（朱文方印）、『大風堂』
（朱文方印）『遙屬』（朱文長方印）、『遙屬』（朱文方印）、『遙屬』
（朱文方印）

王方宇一印：『食雉於巖』（白文方印）

待考三方：『春』（朱文長方印）、『春』（朱文長方印）、『春』（朱文長方印）
ENTRY 29. (F1998.52.1-2)
玉簪花圖並草書節錄姜夔《續書譜》 冊頁兩開軸
外文：八大山人《玉簪》。大風堂印；
鈐印兩方：『張愛』(朱文方印)、『大千居士』(朱文方印)

《玉簪花圖》一開
款識：小春日寫。何園。
鈐印一方：『何園』(朱文方印)

 ENTRY 30. (F1998.39.1-2)
行書五言句 對聯
圖書自睦堂，山斗望南都。
款識：八大山人。
鈐印三方：『虛室』(白文方印)、『八大山人』(白文長方印)、『何園』(朱文方印)

 ENTRY 31. (F1998.37)
行書臨王濤書閣臨《夕次鹿門山作詩》 冊頁
龔公嘉道所，浪逸難追攀。浮舟 urg始至，抱杖獨自豪：雙屋開鵲門，
百谷果時頤。嘯薄懷上水，眷容架倚山；焦原是陰隇，嚴壓未成難。
我行自仲春，夏混淆複鼓；意與色已晚，客心曾未還。遠遊非避地，
訪道愛重葉；安能行機巧，爭奪鷙刀問？
款識：臨雅宜山人書，八大山人。
鈐印三方：『十得』(朱文長方印)、『八大山人』(白文長方印)、『何園』(朱文方印)

 ENTRY 32. (F1998.38.1-2)
行書草臨黃道周尺禳 冊頁兩開
第一開
疏疏小徑，客俗作雙□。書[不]能就度，使坊中筆役見之，麾[揮]耳。僕以字役見命，當以暇刻一兩日，博取親賢[也]。疏早□尉
□□□霍之進。[造]周顏首。
款識：臨石齋先生書，八大山人。
鈐印一方：『十得』(朱文長方印)

 ENTRY 33. (F1998.39.1-2)
行書五言句 對聯
圖書自睦堂，山斗望南都。
款識：八大山人。
鈐印三方：『虛室』(白文方印)、『八大山人』(白文長方印)、『何園』(朱文方印)

 ENTRY 34. (F1998.39.1-2)
行書五言句 對聯
圖書自睦堂，山斗望南都。
款識：八大山人。
鈐印三方：『虛室』(白文方印)、『八大山人』(白文長方印)、『何園』(朱文方印)
ENTRY 33. (F1998.59)

傲倪瓊山水圖 冊頁

倪迂作畫，如天駿騰空，白雲出岫，無半點塵俗氣。余以暇日寫此。

款識

無款識

鈐印一方：『十得』（朱文長方印）

鑑藏印三方

張大千一方：『大風堂珍玩』（朱文方印）

王方宇一方：『王方宇』（朱文方印）

沈慧一方：『沈慧』（朱文方印）
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  ca. 1665

2  八大山人
  Bada Shanren
  F1998.29.12
  1684

3  八大山人
  Bada Shanren
  F1998.38.2
  1690

4  八大山人
  Bada Shanren xie
  F1998.45
  ca. 1696

5  八大山人
  Bada Shanren shu
  F1998.32
  1697

6  八大山人
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   Fujin
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2. 傳釋 shì
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   F1998.53.8
   ca. 1665

3. 蓋刀 gài
   Ren'ao
   F1998.53.6
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4. 白畫 bái huà
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PEOPLE

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C. C. Wang, see Wang Jiquan
Cai Yong 蔡邕 (133–192 c.e.)
Cangzhen 彰進, see Huaiwu
Cao Zhi 曹植 (192–232 c.e.)
Chen Ding 陈蕃 (17th century)
Chen Shou 陈寿 (1717–1734)
Chen Taixue 陳太學 (active ca. 16th century)
Chen Zhiang 陳子昂 (661–702)
Chu Siulian 董逢良 (596–658)
Chunmua 水藻 (monk name of Bada Shanren)
Coutsicus, Kongzi 孔子 (or Kong Qu 孔丘, 551–479 B.C.E.)
Dai Zhi 待 pisc (active 1820–40)
Daya 大雅 (active early 8th century)
Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555–1636)
Dongling Shengnan 龍陵聖母 (early to mid-9th century)
Dong Yuan 董源 (died 962)
Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770)
Du Mu 杜牧 (803–852)
Emperor Daizong of the Tang dynasty 唐德宗 (reigned 763–80)
Emperor Deizong of the Tang dynasty 唐德宗 (reigned 779–805)
Emperor Gao of the Qi dynasty, Xiao Daocheng 齊高帝蕭道成 (reigned 479–82)
Emperor Gaozong of the Tang dynasty 唐高宗 (reigned 649–83)
Emperor Gaozu of the Tang dynasty 唐高祖 (reigned 618–26)
Emperor Guangwu of the Eastern Han dynasty 東漢光武帝 (reigned 25–57 c.e.)
Emperor Kang of the Jin dynasty 晉康帝 (reigned 342–44 c.e.)
Emperor Taizong of the Tang dynasty 唐太宗 (reigned 626–49)
Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty, Xiao Yan 梁武帝蕭衍 (463–549, reigned 502–49)
Emperor Xianzong of the Ming dynasty, Zhu Jianshen 明憲宗朱見深 (reigned 1464–87)
Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang dynasty 唐玄宗 (reigned 712–56)
Emperor Yang of the Sui dynasty 隋煬帝 (reigned 604–17)

Fajue 法僧行 (monk name of Bada Shanren)
Fang Feng 方飡 (1240–1321)
Fu Shan 佛山 (1646–1684/85)
Fuxi 伏羲 (mythological ruler; traditionally reigned 2852–2736 B.C.E.)
Gao Yong 高邑 (1850–1921)
Geng Wei 耿誼 (active mid- to late 8th century)
Geshan 个山 (alternative name for Bada Shanren)
Gou Mu (surname)
Guo Zongzhang 郭宗昌 (late 16th–early 17th century)
Han Yu 韩愈 (701–824)
Harashi Hei 红衣 (20th century)
He Zhen 韩震 (1535–1604)
Hu Rong 胡應 (died 1604)
Huaiwu 懷素 (ca. 725–ca. 799)
Huang Anping 黄安平 (active late 17th century)
Huang Daozhou 黄道周 (1585–1646)
Huang Gongwang 黃公望 (1269–1354)
Huang Tiantian 黃廷堅 (1415–1485)
Jing Kui 美璜 (ca. 1153–1235)
King Yan of Xu, see Xu Yuan (Wang)
Laizhi 老子 (Master Lao, ca. 6th century B.C.E.)
Li Bo 李博 (active 870s–890s)
Li Linfu 李林甫 (died 752)
Li Puqian 李蒲泉 (19th–20th century?)
Li She 李涉 (early to mid-9th century)
Li Sheng 李晟 (727–793)
Li Suxian 李思賢 (651–716)
Li Yuan 李愿 (active late 8th–early 9th century)
Li Yuan 李愿 (died 825)
Liang Fei 梁飛 (1641–1729)
Lin Xiongguang 林熊光 (1898–1971)
Liu Chaoying 劉朝卿 (ca. 710–after 787)
Liu Jun 刘峻 (402–521 c.e.)
Liu Ling 刘伶 (died after 265 c.e.)
Liu Yingqiu, Prince of Linchuan 臨川王劉義慶 (403–444/452 c.e.)
Long Kebao 龍科寶 (17th century)
Longyu 張文, daughter of Qun Muguong 奎穆公 (Duke Mu of Qin, reigned 659–21 B.C.E.)
Lu Zhi 陸治 (1496–1576)
Lu 驴 (donkey; nickname of Bada Shanren)
Ma Dunlin 马端臨 (1254–1323)
Mei Gong 梅庚 (1640–1722)
Meng Jiao 孟郊 (754–814)
Mi Fu 米芾 (1051–1107)
Mozi 墨子 (Master Mo, ca. 480-ca. 420 B.C.E.)
Nativor Torajiro 内藤虎次郎 (1866–1934)
Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1306–1374)
Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢 (557–641)
Pang Deqong 龐德公 (late 2d–early 3d century)
Pei Tingyu 彭德國 (active 880s–906)
Qian Qi 錦綺 (ca. 722–ca. 780)
Qian Liu 錦琳 (1644–1729)
Qu Yupei 姜曰著 (active 1717–1734)
Rao Yupu 罗宇朴 (17th century)
Renqian 蘭泉 (monk name of Bada Shanren)
Rong Qiu 濮泉期 (6th century B.C.E.)
Ruan Zhan 阮瞻 (ca. 279–ca. 308 c.e.)
Sanzang (Tripitaka), see Xuanzang
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Shao Changheng 鄭長衡 (1637–1704)
Shao Bo 郑伯 (or Shao Bo, Lord Shao, 11th–10th century B.C.E.)
Shen Tong 沈彤 (1688–1752)
Shen Ye 沈野 (active second-half of the 16th century)
Shen Zhou 沈周 (1427–1509)
Shitao 石濤 (1642–1707)
Sun Wai (Shen Hui) 沈慧 (1918–1996)
Sun Ti 孫恬 (ca. 699–ca. 761)
Suqiao 黃塑 (239–303 c.e.)
Tang Yunlong 湯雲松 (jinshi 1849)
Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456–536 c.e.)
Tao Qian 陶潜 (365–427 c.e.)
Wang Can 王粲 (177–217 c.e.)
Wang Chong 王寵 (1494–1533)
Wang Fangyu 王方宇 (1913–1997)
Wang Jin 王靖 (died 781)
Wang Jiquan 王季侃 (C. C. Wang, 1907–)
Wang Meng 王蒙 (309–347 c.e.)
Wang Meng 王蒙 (309–347 c.e.)
Wang Mian 王冕 (1287–1359)
Wang Wei 王維 (ca. 701–764)
Wang Wenxun 王文心 (19th–20th century)
Wang Xizhi 王義之 (ca. 303–ca. 361 c.e.)
Wang Xianzhi 王獻之 (344–388 c.e.)
Wang Yuan 王源 (1648–1701)
Wang Zai 王祭 (active mid- to late 8th century)
Wang Zhihuan 王之濤 (1688–1742)
Wang Zhongsi 王忠嗣 (705–749)
Zhu 朱 (imperial surname, Ming dynasty)
Zhu Bin 朱斌 (8th century)
Zhu Da 朱耷 (common name for Bada Shanren)
Zhu Duozheng 朱多煃 (1541–1589)
Zhu Moujin 朱謀端 (died 1644)
Zhu Quan 朱聰 (1378–1448)
Zhu Shengzhai 朱省齋 (ca. 1902–1970)
Zhu Tonghui 朱統慧 (possible birth-name for Bada Shanren)
Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊 (1629–1709)
Zhu Youben, Prince Yi 益王朱由本 (active 1615–after 1646)
Zhuang Zhou 莊周, see Zhuangzi
Zhuangzi 莊子 (Master Zhuang, ca. 369–ca. 286 B.C.E.)
Zong Bing 宗炳 (375–443 C.E.)

PLACES
Beihun 鈔林 (Forest of Steles, in Xi’an, Shaanxi Province)
Chang’an 長安 (modern Xi’an, Shaanxi Province)
Changsha 長沙 (Hunan Province)
Chengdu 成都 (Sichuan Province)
Chenui 陳留 (Henan Province)
Chongren 崇仁 (Jiangxi Province)
Cien Temple 慈恩寺 (Temple of Compassionate Grace)
Dafengtang 大風堂 (Hall of Great Wind—studio name of Zhang Dapang)
Dongguan 東觀 (Eastern Tower)
Fengxian 樊縣 (Jiangxi Province)
Guangqiaozhou 鴛鴦洲 (Hooded Crane Tower, Shanxi Province)
Hongyao 洪崖 (mountain in Xinzian, Xinjiang Province)
Hongzhou 洪州 (modern Nanchang, Jiangxi Province)
Huangzhuyan 黃竹園 (Yellow Bamboo Garden, Bada Shanren)
Jianchangfu 建昌府 (modern Nanchang, Jiangxi Province)
Jiangkang 建康 (modern Nanjing, Jiangsu Province)
Jiaoyuan 焦原 (mountain near Juxian, Shandong Province)
Jiaxing 嘉興 (Zhejiang Province)
Jiexian 杰岡 (near Juxian, Zhejiang Province)
Jiuquan 潞泉 (near Dunhuang, Gansu Province)
Jiyuan 濟源 (Henan Province)
Juxian 儒縣 (Shandong Province)
Kuaiji 會稽 (modern Shaoxing, Zhejiang Province)
Lantian 藍田 (Shaanxi Province)
Lanting 樂亭 (Orchid Pavilion)
Lichuan 臨川 (Jiangxi Province)
Lingling 靈陵 (Hunan Province)
Lumenshan 麟門山 (Deer Gate Mountain)
Luoyang 洛陽 (Henan Province)
Lühuanghuo 吕梁壑 (Lu Bridge Gorge, near Tongshaxian, Shandong Province)
Lushan 旅山 (Liusong, Jiangxi Province)
Lutian’s 端天龕 (Temple of the Emerald Sky)
Maoshan 茅山 (Jiangsu Province)
Nanchang 南昌 (Jiangxi Province)
Nantong 南通 (Jiangsu Province)
Nanjing 南京 (Jiangsu Province)
Ningxián 寧縣 (Gansu Province)
Pangu 盤谷 (Winding Valley, Henan Province)
Puzhou 蒲州 (modern Yongji, Shanxi Province)
Qanhang 潤河 (Anhui Province)
Qiantang 錢塘 (modern Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province)
Qingyuan 清原寺 (Clear Springs Temple)
Quingshan 清山 (mountain range in Shandong Province)
Shanhuachuan 珊瑚川 (near Ningshan, eastern Gansu Province)
Shanmen 山門 (two Tang provinces)
Shanyin 山陰 (modern Shaoxing, Zhejiang Province)
Shaoxing 紹興 (Zhejiang Province)
Shichengfu 石城府 (Anhui Province)
Shixiang 順興 (Guangzhou Province)
Taizhang 太行 (mountains in Shanxi Province)
Taihu 太湖 (Lake Tai, Jiangsu Province)
Tianzhu 山 (“Mount Tai, Shandong Province)
Tayuan 塔原 (Shanxi Province)
Tianjin 天津 (Hebei Province)
Tongzhou 遼州 (modern Nantong, Jiangsu Province)
Wangchuan 經川 (Wheel Rim Creek, Shanxi Province)
Wushan 首山 (Henan Province)
Xiguan 西關 (Shanxi Province, in the 20th century)
Xiangshan 陽山 (modern Shaoxing, Zhejiang Province)
Xionghuanyuan 興湖園 (near Tongzhou, Hebei Province)
Xi'an 西安 (modern Shaanxi Province)
Xuzhou 徐州 (modern Xuzhou, Jiangsu Province)
Yengchun 職村 (modern Jinchengfu, Shangdong Province)
Yizhu 元竹 (modern Yizhu, Shandong Province)
Zhou Zhimin 周之冕 (late 16th–early 17th century)
Wanshan 皖山 (Shining Hills, Anhui Province)
Hengshui 黌峙 (Shuancun, Hubei Province)
Longxiang 龍翔 (rural town, Jiangxi Province)
Bada 足大 (rural town, Hubei Province)
Zhongshan 中山 (Luoyang, Henan Province)
Xiangfan 襄樊 (Hupe Province)
Xincang 新昌 (Zhejiang Province)
Xunmeng 順蒙 (modern Nanxun, Jiaxing, Zhejiang Province)
Xunjiang 順江 (river in eastern Zhejiang Province)
Xiping 西平 (Gansu Province)
Xisan 西塞 (West Pass Hill, near Wuxing 吳興, Zhejiang Province)
Xunxian 順賢 (modern Xinchang, Hubei Province)
Xunjiang 興江 (river in eastern Jiangxi Province)
Yangzhou 揚州 (Jiangsu Province)
Yanling Yanling (Western Terrace of Yanling, Zhejiang Province)
Yanshan 雁山 (county in eastern Jiangxi Province)
Yanshi 雁社 (Wild Goose Pagoda in Tianjin)
Zhou 鄭 (modern Xiangyang, Jiaxing, Zhejiang Province)
Ziyang 子陽 (Hupe Province)
Ziyang Tangzhang in 芝山頂 (Mountains Lodge amid the Lotus; Bada Shanren)
Zhenjiang 鎮江 (Jiangsu Province)

NOTES AND ADDENDA

Bada ti 八大提 (Bada style)
bei 黛 (slate)
Beidou 北斗 (Northern Dipper, Big Dipper) Caodong 曹洞 (school of Chan Buddhism)
caifang 塞杖 (side of brush)
Chao 神 (Zen)
chuida 絹帶 (control madness)
chun 楠 (cedar, Cedrela sinensis, fax)
dao 道 (the Way)
Dengshe 燈社 (Lantern Society)
fan 振 (backward strokes)
jiangao 芳草 (fragrant grass)
fen 分 (divided)
fu 覺 (meaning uncertain)
guang 甘棠 (a name for tang, see below)
guang 汤遇 (sered, or moved, by experience)
guang 宫 (palace)
guangbo 甘部 (Ministry of Works)
gu 骨 (bone)
gu’an 甘艾 (polygala and mosa, seal text of Bada Shanren)
haizang 海棠 (crab apple; Chingouneelus lagers-
serna, or Malus micromalus)
haor 榜 (sobriquet, poetic name)
hefu 何甫 (What promise did I break—seal text of Bada Shanren)
liang 洪 (blood, broad, vast, abbreviated name for Nanchang?)
liu 化 (to transform)
liu 畫 (painting)
luanghuang 黄竹 (yellow bamboo)
ji 記 (account, record)
jie 藤 (stairs, step, rank)
jihou 鶴鶴 (wagtail, Motacilla cinerea)
jin 煙 (smoke)
jushu 高士 (advanced scholar degree)
juo 楚 (old)
jun 郡 (commandery)
ke de shenxian 可得神仙 (immortality is achievable; seal text of Bada Shanren)
liu 鋪 (to copy)
liu 驥 (donkey)
lisu 漢詩 (regulated verse)
mintian 鶴意 (tender and low)
run 瞰 (to trace)
piao 潦 (to float, drift, be tossed about)
qu 琴 (zhither, lute)
Shangqing 上清 (Highest Purity: a school of medieval Daoism)
shanshu 山水 (landscape; or hills and streams)
siyu 侒樂 (peony, Paeonia lactiflora)
sheji 汐事 (involved in affairs)
shuiming songma 書畫同源 (calligraphy and painting come from the same source)
tangh 蘭菊 (sweet pear; Pyrus betulifolia)
tieguang 則備派 (model text tradition)
tangkey 望秋 (to wait in anguish)
tushua 圖書 (charts, or pictures, and books; library)
wenwen 王孫 (princely descendant)
xun 斜 (slanting, leaning, tilted, oblique, sideways)
Xiangyang Yiyang yixian 西江弋陽西縣 (Descendent of Prince Yiyang of Jiangxi)
xiuhua 心書 (definition of the mind)
xuan 雲 (day lily, Hemerocallis fulva)
yangkuan 傳教 (to feign madness)
ye 也 (copula)
yi 也 (emphatic particle)
Yiyang 弋陽 branch of the Ning 宁 prince-
dom
youxian 右相 (Minister of the Right)
ynzhi 遠志 (great ambition)
yue 日 (to say, be called)
yuezihua 玉輝花 (jade harpin flowers: Hosa-
ta sieboldiana, or Hosta plantaginea, Arund)
zheng 正 (upright, true; proper, correct; principal, chief)
zheng (decree)
zhongfeng 中鋤 (brush tip)
zhonghua hong 中書令 (Director of the Secretariat)
zi 字 (courtesy name)

BOOK AND TEXT TITLES

"Ai wanguang" 袁王孫 (Alas, a prince!), by Du Fu (712–770)
Daodejing 道德經 (Book of the Way and its power), by Laozi (6th century B.C.)
Dongtian qingji 洞天清録 (Pure records from the cavern heaven), by Zhuo Nixing (ca. 1170–1242)
"Gantang" 甘棠 (Sweet pear, poem 16 in the Shijing
Huangguangjing 黃庭經 (Scripture of the Inner Radiances of the Yellow Court)
"Jade song" 酒德頌 (Eulogy on the Virtue of Wine), by Liu Ling (died after 265 C.E.)
"Luntang liu" 蘿亭集序 (Preface to the Gathering at the Orchid Pavilion)
"Luoshen tu" 洛神賦 (Rhapsody, or prose-
poem, on the Goddess of the Luo River)
Qingyan tu o spring retreat (Notes on my travels), by Shao Changsheng (1637–1704)
"Shengtiao xu" 聖教序 (Preface to the sacred teachings)
Shenmu tie 圣母帖 (Holy Mother Manuscript)
Shijing 詩經 (Classic of poetry)
Huxian tongliao 文獻通考 (General history of institutions and critical examination of documents and studies), compiled by Ma Dunlin (1254–1323)
"Yangsheng lun" 养生論 (Treatise on nurturing life)
Yijing 易經 (Book of changes)
"Yutu ge" 渔父歌 (Fishermen songs), by Zhang Zhihe (ca. 742–ca. 782).
ABBREVIATION


CHINESE AND JAPANESE SOURCES


Bai Gu 裴固 (32–92 C.E.). Baihui tongyi 白虎通義 (Comprehensive discussions in the White Tiger Hall). In IFSKQS Disc 92.


Gao Yong 高邕 (1850–1921). comp. Taisiai Canshihua congshu 台山殘石樓紫詩 (Paintings

Ge Hong 葛洪 (284–364 c.e., or 254–343 c.e.). Shenxian zhuan 神仙傳 (Biographies of the immortals). In HKQS. Disc 116.


Guo Zixu 郭子旭 et al., eds. Zhongguo shufa quanji 64. Qiangdai: Zha Da, Shatao, Gong Xian, Gong Qiangao 祁公書法全集 64. 清代；朱耷、石濤、龔賢、董其昌 (Complete Chinese calligraphy 64. Qing dynasty; Zha Da, Shatao, Gong Xian, Gong Qiangao). Beijing: Rongbaozhai chubanshe, 1998.


Hush 禪修 (614–7) and Yancong 彦悰 (active mid- to late 7th century). Daoting da Ci'en si Sanzang fashi zhi huan 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師之轍 (Biography of Tripatuka, the Teacher of the Law, of the Great Temple of Compassionate Grace of the Great Tang Dynasty). In Taisho shinshu Daizō-kyo kankei, 1962.

Ji Youcong 許有功 (jsiu 1121), comp. Tangshi jishi 唐詩紀事 (Tang poems and related anecdotes). In HKQS. Disc 162.


Li Fang 李昉 (925–996) et al., comps. Taiping guanji 太平廣記 (Miscellaneous records of the Taiping reign period, 976–83). In HKQS. Disc 114.


Meng Jiao 孟郊 (751–814). Meng Dongyi shiji 孟東野詩集
Bada Bada


——. “Zhilielou cong Bada Shanren shuishu hua ji qi xiangguan wenji” 《至樂樓藏八大山人水墨及其相關文集》 (Landscape paintings by Bada Shanren in the Zhilielou collection and related issues). In Ming yinwu shuishu yinjing shiulian ji (Selected texts). Edited by Han Tianheng 潘天鶴. Hangzhou: Xingling yinshu, 1999.


Sun Chengze 孫承澤 (1592–1676). Gongzi xiaoxiu ji 傳子消夏記 (Record of whiling away the summer in the Gongzi year [1660]). China: n.p., prefaces 1755, 1761.


Ye Dehui 葉德輝 (1861-1927), comp. Chao shiandai benqian 朝前百詠 (One hundred poems on paintings I have seen). China Yeshi Guangzudian, 1917.


Zeng Gong 張公 (1019—1083), comp. Yangjing lingshi 元豐類箋 (Collected works of Zeng Gong). Compiled by Chen Shuidao 陳師道 (1053—1102). In HSKQS Dec. 121.
Gwochho kueizgiu (Records on painters of the Qing dynasty, prefixe 1739).

Zhang Junfang 張君房 (active 1008-1029), comp. Yinji qi (云笈七籤 (Seven books from the book bag of the clouds)). In HSKQS, Disc 116.

Zhang Tingji 張廷濟 (1706-1848). Qingyao ti (清閖題跋 (Inscriptions and colophons by Zhang Tingji)). China: privately published (Ding family), 1891.

Zhang Youzhang 張豫章 (active 1688-after 1709) et al., comps. Yinxiu Ming shi (御選明詩 (Poems of the Ming dynasty, selected by the Kangxi Emperor)). In HSKQS, Disc 158.


Zheng Wei 鄭威 et al., eds. Huang Daozhou wu ji daguan (黃道周墨畫大觀 (Overview of Huang Daozhou’s calligraphy)). Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1992.


ENGLISH LANGUAGE SOURCES


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Authors

JOSEPH CHANG, associate curator of Chinese art at the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, received his bachelor’s degree in Chinese literature in 1978 from the Fu Jen Catholic University in Taiwan, and his Ph.D. in 1995 from the University of Kansas. He is a specialist in Chinese painting and is coauthor of Brushing the Past: Later Chinese Calligraphy from the Gift of Robert Hatfield Ellsworth (Freer Gallery of Art, 2000). He has curated numerous exhibitions for the museums, including two Bada Shanren exhibitions in 2003. From the late 1980s through the mid-1990s, Dr. Chang was a research associate for exhibitions at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas.

QIANSHEN BAI was born in the People’s Republic of China and obtained his bachelor’s degree from Beijing University in 1982. He came to the United States in 1986 to pursue advanced degrees, earning his master’s degree in comparative politics from Rutgers University in 1990 and his Ph.D. in art history from Yale University in 1996. From 1999 to 2000 he was a Paul Getty Postdoctoral Fellow in the History of Art and the Humanities at the Getty Foundation, California. Currently, Dr. Bai is assistant professor of Chinese art at Boston University.

Qianshen Bai’s calligraphic works have been displayed at many Chinese and international calligraphy exhibitions, and he is a frequent contributor to academic journals in China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Japan, the United States, and Great Britain. He is the author of Fu Shan’s World: The Transformation of Chinese Calligraphy in the 17th Century (Harvard University Asia Center, 2003).

STEPHEN D. ALLEE is research specialist in Chinese literature and history in the department of Chinese painting and calligraphy at the Freer Gallery of Art and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution. In 1975 he received his bachelor’s degree in Chinese language and literature from George Washington University, Washington, D.C. Selected as a fellow by the Committee for Scholarly Communication with the People’s Republic of China, he was among the first eight graduate students from the United States to study in the People’s Republic of China. After receiving his master’s degree from the University of Washington in 1986, he joined the Freer and Sackler galleries in 1988. Since then, he has curated many exhibitions at the museums, and his research and translations from the Chinese have appeared in numerous publications, including Brushing the Past: Later Chinese Calligraphy from the Gift of Robert Hatfield Ellsworth.