

The Art of T'ao Ch'eng^{*}

Stephen Little
Director
Honolulu Academy of Art

Abstract

This paper is a study of the little-known Ming dynasty painter T'ao Ch'eng (active 1466-1496). Tao was born in Pao-ying, Chiangsu Province, but was active primarily in Peking. A known poet, calligrapher, and eccentric, he achieved the chü-jen degree in 1471. Today he is best known for his landscapes, figures, and bird-and-flower paintings. Very few of his original paintings survive. What little is known about T'ao Ch'eng's life comes from a handful of Ming and early Ch'ing dynasty literary sources. This article compiles the available biographical sources on the artist, and searches for information about T'ao in the collected literary works (wen-chi) of his contemporaries and patrons. When examined in the light of his paintings, a more fully rounded picture of T'ao and his place among early Ming scholar-professional painters emerges.

Keywords: Ch'eng Min-cheng, Eccentric artists, Li Tung-yang,
Ming dynasty painting, Professional painters, T'ao Ch'eng

^{*} I am grateful to Professor Richard Barnhart, my doctoral thesis advisor at Yale University, for his advice and support in the preparation of this research.

1. A Biography of T'ao Ch'eng

The scholar-professional artist T'ao Ch'eng was born in Pao-ying, a district of Yang-chou in Chiangsu province. He has been described by Osvald Sirén as a follower of the Wu School painter Ch'en Tao-fu, but Ch'en was a full generation younger than T'ao Ch'eng, and if any influence passed between them it was more likely in the opposite direction.¹ T'ao Ch'eng's dates of birth and death are unknown, but his period of activity falls between 1466 and 1496.² As a youth he received a classical education, and passed the *chü-jen* examination in 1471.³ After failing the *chin-shih* examination, he became a professional painter, and appears to have worked primarily in northern China. Han Ang's supplement to the *T'u-hua pao-chien* of 1519 contains a brief account of T'ao Ch'eng:⁴

T'ao Ch'eng's *tzu* was Meng-hsüeh; his *hao* was Yün-hu hsien-jen. He came from Pao-ying. Because he was the son of an official, he came to take the provincial examination in Ying-t'ien-fu [Nanking] [and achieved the *chü-jen* degree]. He took the next examination, but due to an [unspecified] affair did not pass the *hui-shih* [*chin-shih*] examination. His natural disposition was eccentric. Nevertheless, he was artistically very talented. In calligraphy he was skilled at the seal, clerical, standard, and cursive forms. His poetry and prose were marvelous and antique. His landscape paintings often utilized the "blue-and-green" style. Moreover, he loved to

¹ On T'ao Ch'eng, see Han Ang, *T'u-hui pao-chien* (1519), in *Hua-shih ts'ung-shu*. 4 vols. (Taipei: Wen-shih-che ch'u-pan-she, 1974), vol. 2: ch.6, p. 164; Chu Mou-yin, *Hua-shih hui-yao* (1631) (Reprint, *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* ed., Taipei: 1971): ch.4:21b; Hsü Ch'in, *Ming-hua-lu* (1673) in *Hua-shih ts'ung-shu*. 4 vols. (Taipei: 1974), vol. 2, p. 55; Chiang Shao-shu, *Wu-sheng-shih shih* (1720), in *Hua-shih ts'ung-shu*. 4 vols. (Taipei: Wen-shih-che ch'u-pan-she, 1974), vol. 2: ch.3, pp. 2a-3b; Wang Shih-chen, *Hsiang-tsu pi-chi* (1702): ch.4:1a; Chu I-tsun, *Ming-shih-tsung* (1705) (Reprint, Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1960): ch.37, p. 24a; Osvald Sirén, *Chinese Paintings: Leading Masters and Principles*. 7 vols. (London: Lund Humphries, 1955-1958), vol. 5, pp. 220-221.

² 1466 is the date of a colophon by T'ao Ch'eng on a painting by Tu Ch'üung (1396-1474), recorded in Lu Hsin-yüan, *Jang-li-kuan kuo-yen lu* (1892), ch.13, p. 18a-b. 1496 is the date of T'ao's inscription on his "Hares and Chrysanthemums" in the National Palace Museum, Taipei. A painting known only from reproduction is often used to extend T'ao Ch'eng's period of activity into the reign of Chia-ching (1522-1566): see "Magpie on a Plum Branch," published in Hsiao Shou-min, *Chung-kuo ku-hua chi* (Hong Kong, n.d.), pl. 169. This bears an inscription dated 1532, but the inscription is probably spurious.

³ *Lung-ch'ing Pao-ying hsien-chih* (1569; reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai shu-tien, 1990): ch.6, p. 4a. Chu I-tsun, in his *Ming-shih-tsung* of 1705, mistakenly writes that T'ao Ch'eng passed the *chü-jen* examination during the Cheng-te reign (1506-1521).

⁴ See note 1 above.

paint "outline" [*kou-lo*] bamboo, hares, cranes, and deer, all of which were excellent, emerging freely from within his breast.

The biographies of T'ao Ch'eng in the *Hua-shih hui-yao* (1631) and the *Ming-hua-lu* (1673) are equally terse, and add little to the information compiled by Han Ang. The *Wu-sheng-shih shih* (1720), however, relates a number of specific incidents in T'ao Ch'eng's life upon which his image as an eccentric was based. Abbreviated versions of several of these anecdotes appear slightly earlier in Wang Shih-chen's *Hsiang-tsu pi-chi* (1702) and Chu I-tsun's *Ming-shih-tsung* (1705).⁵ These anecdotes emphasize Tao's artistic skill and his unusual personality:

By nature [T'ao Ch'eng] was very ingenious. He once saw a silversmith making a vessel, and copied it, coming very close to the original. As a youth he studied portrait painting with a teacher. When he saw his teacher's mother, he painted her portrait. Then he saw the daughter, and also painted her portrait. In each case he approached reality. His teacher became angry and threw him out. When his teacher's mother was dying, those who painted her [ancestral] portrait were all far from the mark, so when she died the painting [T'ao Ch'eng] had made was used.

Although he disregarded etiquette and was intractable with regard to worldly affairs, there were rich men who desired and sought his beautiful paintings - yet they didn't dare speak to him. Wherever he traveled for pleasure he would paint hibiscus flowers. One autumn day the flowers were blossoming in profusion. When [T'ao] Ch'eng passed by them he became very happy. His host at the time asked him to sit under the flowers in order to enjoy them. He asked the host whether or not he had any silk; the host had already provided it. He then took hold of it and stretched it out in the hall, completing twenty scrolls without stop or rest. Thereupon wine was produced, and he drank with gusto.

When he was about to leave, he asked for water to wash with. From within the household was produced a bronze basin which was brought forward with the words, "This was Yang Kuei-fei's wash basin." [T'ao] Ch'eng

5. *Ibid.*

said, "It cannot be - this is her chamber-pot." He despised them for their lack of refinement, and said, "You have insulted my paintings." He then took them all and threw them into a fire, burning them. The host barely obtained a single scroll. His eccentricity came to this. Still, he had a nobility that extended beyond what the world could appreciate.

On the second day of the fifth month the second degree [*chü-jen*] graduates attended the Southern Palace to take the [*chin-shih*] examination. [T'ao Ch'eng] said to his son-in-law Chu Ying-teng (tzu Sheng-chih),⁶ "I hear that at a certain household at Chang-chia-wan [near Peking] there are clove blossoms in full bloom. Why don't you and I go there?" Sheng-chih said, "I will be done with the examination on about the third day. How could you leave [now]?" [T'ao] Ch'eng would hear nothing of this. The next morning Sheng-chih was sequestered elsewhere. [T'ao Ch'eng] laughed and said, "Are those who seek the *chin-shih* not zealous?" He then hired a sedan-chair and went there directly, staying there drunk for five days. When it was made known one dawn that Sheng-chih had obtained the degree, his fellow countrymen contributed money towards a feast to congratulate him and said [to T'ao Ch'eng], "Your son-in-law is brilliant! We would be delighted if you could make a painting for us so that we can offer it to him." Ch'eng said, "Excellent." At once he lifted his brush and created a painting of clove blossoms that was particularly subtle.

Because his family was affluent, he treated wealth lightly and enjoyed being generous. Once, as soon as he arrived in the capital, he spent two thousand pieces of silver. He had a friend to whom he gave part of the money. Another time he had an affair with a beautiful prostitute which came to light. A censor wanted to keep her. He examined [one of T'ao's] poems and said, "This poem was certainly not written by T'ao Ch'eng." Ch'eng responded, "How could it emerge so close to T'ao Ch'eng from

⁶ On Chu Ying-teng, see *Ming-jen ch'üan-chi tzu-liao suo-yin* (Reprint, Taipei: Wen-shih-che ch'u-pan-she, 1978), p. 149; also *Ming shih* (Peking: Chung-kuo shu-chü, 1974): ch.286: 19b and *Ming-shan-tsang* (Chiang-su Kuang-ling ku-chi k'e-yin-she, 1993), ch.81, p.23. Chu's tomb epitaph was written by the poet Li Meng-yang (1473-1529).

among the world's poets, and yet be by someone else?" The censor cursed him. Thereupon his name was struck from the [municipal] lists [thus forcing him to move his residence].

In his late years he fell in love with a singing-girl. She was unwilling to have a relationship with Ch'eng. He himself wove her a brocade skirt and forged a gold bracelet and showed them to her. She was greatly pleased, and accepted him. Subsequently he took her and fled. He was tried for this and banished to the frontier. Master Li Hsi-ya [Li Tung-yang, 1447-1516] detained him in the capital.⁷ Although [T'ao Ch'eng] was not willing to paint for officials, when his sack was empty he took hold of twenty or thirty small fans, painting them and inscribing them with his name. Men competed to buy them until he had departed. He relied on this to provide for himself. Before long he was allowed to return home, where he died.⁸ He was completely unrestrained in his lack of inhibitions. He had the spirit of Mi Nan-kung [Mi Fu] and Kuo Chung-shu, but surpassed them in unbridled license.⁹

While the *Wu-sheng-shih shih* focuses on a few anecdotes instead of giving more attention to T'ao Ch'eng's artistic development, and says practically nothing with regard to his paintings, the information contained therein is important for several reasons. The first anecdote demonstrates Tao's precocious artistic skills, and indicates that as a youth he studied painting with a teacher. As an adult he seems to have had little difficulty obtaining commissions, although he frequently offended his patrons. Despite his lack of the *chin-shih* degree, T'ao was respected for his prose, poetry, and calligraphy as well as his painting. He had a weakness for beautiful women, which occasionally led him into trouble. Finally, he had little use for pompous officials and aristocrats. His attitude towards those in positions of authority is further described in the gazeteer, *Pao-ying hsien-chih*:¹⁰

⁷ While this is ambiguous, it probably indicates that Li Tung-yang used his influence to allow T'ao to live and work in the capital.

⁸ This suggests that T'ao returned to die in his native home of Pao-ying in Chiangsu Province.

⁹ On Kuo Chung-shu, see Robert Maeda, "Chieh-hua: Ruled-line Painting in China," *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 10 (1975), p. 125.

¹⁰ *Lung-ch'ing Pao-ying hsien-chih* (1569; reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai shu-tien, 1990), ch.16, p.5a-6a.

He looked with disdain on aristocrats. While the strong and powerful looked upon him as worthless, however, the [Han-lin] Academician Ch'eng Min-cheng praised him, saying "When [T'ao Ch'eng] expresses his ideas others turn their backs in apprehension. He is in the class of the scholar-recluses and worthy counselors [of high antiquity]."

These accounts specifically mention Li Tung-yang and Ch'eng Min-cheng as two officials who admired T'ao Ch'eng and took a special interest in his welfare. Li Tung-yang served as an official at the imperial court in Peking during the reigns of Ch'eng-hua (1465-1487), Hung-chih (1488-1505), and Cheng-te (1506-1521). In 1499, at the age of fifty-two, he was appointed as one of three Grand Secretaries under the Hung-chih emperor, while simultaneously holding the ranks of Minister of the Board of Rites and Junior Guardian of the heir-apparent. Li Tung-yang helped T'ao after he had been sentenced to banishment at the frontier, and may have acted as T'ao's patron.¹¹ Ch'eng Min-cheng (1445-1499) was a Han-lin Academician who served in a variety of important posts during the Hung-chih reign, including Vice Supervisor of the Heir Apparent's (the future Cheng-te emperor's) Household Administration. Ch'eng is perhaps best known among art historians as the chief examiner at the *chin-shih* examination of 1499 in which T'ang Yin was accused of cheating. Ch'eng himself was accused of accepting a bribe from Tang's friend Hsü Ching, and was subsequently removed from office, forced to endure a humiliating trial, and died soon after.

While the precise nature of their relationship is not clear, Li's friend Ch'eng Min-cheng was a close friend of T'ao's.¹² In 1488 Ch'eng inscribed a preface to a group of poems mounted to a now-lost handscroll painted by T'ao Ch'eng, entitled "The View of the North" ("Pei-kuan t'u").¹³ This scroll originally had a title inscribed by Li Tung-yang on the *yin-shou* frontispiece. The painting is lost, but Ch'eng Min-cheng's preface is recorded in his collected literary works, and compris-

¹¹ See Li Tung-yang's *Huai-lu-t'ang shih hou-kao* (Reprint, Taipei: Hsüeh-sheng shu-chü, n.d.), pp. 2022-2023.

¹² There is a reference to T'ao Ch'eng in a poem written by Ch'eng Min-cheng on the occasion of the painter Tu Chin's failure to appear at his house to receive a commission; see Ch'eng Min-cheng, *Huang-tun wen-chi* (1507) (Reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1991), ch.81, pp.15b-16a.

¹³ *Ibid.*: ch.25:11b-13b. For further evidence of Ch'eng's friendship with T'ao Ch'eng, see ch.75, pp. 8b-9a.

es the earliest surviving prose account of T'ao Ch'eng. He begins by describing T'ao's abilities as a scholar:

T'ao Ch'eng of Baoying early on sustained high aims in classical scholarship. He was selected as a prefectural nominee [for the *chü-jen* degree] from the southern region as easily as picking up a straw from the ground. He has a fierce natural talent that resembles a heavenly horse that cannot be restrained ... he is in the class of scholar-recluses and worthy counselors [of antiquity].

Ch'eng then praises T'ao's abilities as a poet and painter. He states that T'ao excelled in writing five- and seven-character meter regulated verse (*lü-shih*), and that he often followed the Sung dynasty masters in his paintings. He then writes:

In my heart I find him extraordinary, and would say that of the geniuses of the world, how could any resemble this man? Alas, [my] strength is not enough to save him - but Mou-hsüeh [T'ao Ch'eng] is also eminent, and must direct his thoughts towards saving himself. Although he has retired to the streets, the strong and powerful constantly treat him with contempt and have no pity for him.

Ch'eng states neither the precise nature of nor the reasons underlying T'ao Ch'eng's predicament. His respect for T'ao is clear, but it is also apparent that T'ao easily alienated powerful men. Ch'eng describes trips T'ao made to visit the scenic beauty of the Chiang-nan region: visiting Chin Shan in the Yang-tzu River near Chen-chiang, boating across West Lake near Hang-chou, and seeing the tidal bore on the Ch'ien-t'ang River in Che-chiang. Ch'eng states that many people misunderstood T'ao and saw him merely a kind of ancient knight-errant (*hsia*), adding, "Now it is [T'ao] Ch'eng's fate that he is increasingly considered eccentric and is ridiculed, and he is more and more lonely."¹⁴ He then states that T'ao had left Peking and traveled to Ta-t'ung. This suggests that Ch'eng wrote shortly after T'ao's banishment from the capital. Of the people he encountered, "there were those who liked him, those

¹⁴ It is noteworthy that Ch'eng compares T'ao to an ancient knight-errant, the type of personality exemplified by Li Po (701-762) of the T'ang dynasty, and Sung K'e (1327-1387) of the Yüan and early Ming; see James T.Y. Liu, *The Chinese Knight-Errant* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), pp. 46-47, 51-53.

who were startled by him, those who praised him, and those who cursed him.”

Ch'eng describes encountering T'ao Ch'eng at Shang-ku, southwest of Peking in Hopei province. Ch'eng was returning to the capital after serving as Imperial Commissioner of Nanking, and T'ao was returning south from Ta-t'ung. T'ao told him that the local civil and military officials in Ta-t'ung had attempted to lure him into their service by “opening the doors of their womens’ apartments,” and that they had competed with each other in attempts to protract his stay. According to Ch'eng, T'ao was “wild and careless by nature”, and could not be restrained, even though he became attached to numerous women: “fifteen obtained his calligraphy, thirteen obtained his poems, eleven obtained his paintings, and there were others who obtained nothing.” Ch'eng writes sympathetically of T'ao's spiritual identification with the rugged landscape of the northern frontier: “That which he accumulated was increasingly rich, his artistic expression became increasingly skillful, and the pure boundlessness of his feelings became increasingly vast - he was inexhaustible.”

The preface ends with a comparison between T'ao Ch'eng and a Sung dynasty scholar named Ch'en Liang:

In the Sung Ch'en Liang-fu was a lofty talent who openly looked down on the world.¹⁵ Even when he met Chu Hsi he still did not submit to him. After he died he was eminent in the world. Liang's economic policies have yet to be appreciated by critics. Scholars have thus not known of him. How much more so is this the case with [T'ao] Mou-hsüeh, who recently changed his *tsu* to Ching-hsüeh!¹⁶

Whatever personal setbacks T'ao Ch'eng suffered in the 1480's did not prevent him from working as a successful painter in the capital during both this decade and the 1490's. Surviving scrolls painted by T'ao for officials in Peking range in date from 1486 to 1496, and among these are his finest works. The few surviving details of his personal life and the material evidence provided by these paintings indicate that T'ao was both eccentric and practical. His scholarly training, bold personality,

¹⁵ On Ch'en Liang (1143-1194), see Wu-chi Liu & Irving Yucheng Lo, eds., *Sunflower Splendor: Three Thousand Years of Chinese Poetry* (New York: Anchor Books, 1975), pp. 597-598.

¹⁶ This *tsu* (Ching-hsüeh) does not appear on any of T'ao's surviving paintings.

and artistic skill were sufficient to carry him through periods of hardship. Ch'eng Min-cheng specifically states that T'ao was always willing to sell his paintings. T'ao's son-in-law Chu Ying-teng (1477-1526) passed the *chin-shih* degree in 1499, indirectly reaffirming T'ao's own scholarly abilities. The *Wu-sheng-shih shih* states that T'ao came from an affluent family and "treated wealth lightly." His ability to spend two thousand pieces of silver with his friends during one visit to the capital is a testament to his generous spirit.

Wu K'uan (1436-1504), who was a close friend of Shen Chou (1427-1509), was also acquainted with T'ao Ch'eng, and T'ao's "Northern View" handscroll originally had appended to it a long poem by Wu K'uan.¹⁷ The poem, translated in part below, indicates that "The View of the North" was originally a landscape painting:

I had not seen such an extraordinary gentleman for a long time,
 From south of the Huai was a traveler who came to Yen-tu [Peking].
 Bowing to dukes and nobles, he discussed the current times,
 On examining his respectful air, [one found it] both heroic and rough.
 Some wanted to press forward and pull him by the hand,
 [But] his strength resembled that of a hoary old eagle that could not be
 summoned.
 His entire life he has not behaved with proper decorum,
 Acting in a contrary manner, he resembles Kuan Fu.¹⁸
 Along the frontier wall in the eighth month, everything is covered by frost,
 Among the shifting yellow sands, the hundred plants wither.
 The Chü-yung Pass is wrapped in cold colors,¹⁹
 [Even in one's] soft fur robe, covered with down, one is cut off and alone.
 A white horse with embroidered saddle is followed by two servants,
 The road north to Yün-chung [Ta-t'ung] has been realistically depicted.
 The natural scenery of mountains and streams opens up on an encampment,

¹⁷ The text is now appended to the version of T'ao Ch'eng's "White Goose" handscroll in the Yabumoto collection: see Suzuki Kei, ed., *Chûgoku kaiga sôgo zuroku*. 5 vols. (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1982), vol. 4, # JP12-217.

¹⁸ Kuan Fu was a brave and eccentric warrior and statesman of the late second century B.C.; see Burton Watson, trans., *Records of the Grand Historian of China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), pp. 246-259.

¹⁹ The Chü-yung Pass is a famous Yüan dynasty marble gateway that still stands north of Peking.

The general beyond the pass declines to present captives,
He sits among them, lifts his brush, and praises the pacified barbarians.

In his poem Wu K'uan describes the scene when T'ao came to the capital and was received by the aristocracy, some of whom sought his services. T'ao's anti-social behavior is alluded to, and he is likened to "a hoary eagle." The scene then abruptly changes to the frontier at Yün-chung (Ta-t'ung in northern Shansi province). The sudden transition in scene may point to T'ao's banishment to the frontier as a result of his behavior in the capital: Wu is characteristically vague as to the reason for T'ao's fate.

2. Selected Paintings by T'ao Ch'eng

Roughly fifteen of T'ao Ch'eng's paintings survive today. Two of these can be placed in his early period. The first is a "Blue-and-Green Landscape" handscroll in the University of Michigan Museum of Art, Ann Arbor.²⁰ This work bears a dated inscription at the end, written in seal script: "In the third month of the year *keng-yin* of Ch'eng-hua, T'ao Cheng." This date corresponds to 1470, the year before T'ao passed the *chü-jen* examination. The long handscroll depicts a mountainous landscape with scattered estates and villages. Several travelers are shown walking through the landscape. The painting is somewhat naive in feeling, and while the brushwork is at times elegant and the composition well-planned, the overall impression is one of slow and careful execution. Even without the date of 1470, the painting is so different in style from Tao's other extant paintings that it is clearly a youthful work. We know from the *Wu-sheng-shih shih* that T'ao Ch'eng studied painting from a teacher, and already showed great talent as a youth.

The second early painting is a handscroll in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, entitled "Cats Playing in Fragrant Grass" (Fig. 1).²¹ It is painted in ink and colors on pale gray paper. While there is no signature, there is a single rectangular seal at the end reading "Yün-hu," T'ao's *hao*. Attached to the scroll is a colophon dated 1567 by the late Ming scholar Wu Min-tao (1550-1623), who served as

²⁰ University of Michigan Museum of Art accession # 1978/1.163.

²¹ Recorded in *Ku-kung shu-hua lu*. 4 vols. (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1965), ch. 4, pp. 156-157.

Minister of the Board of Rites in the Wan-li reign (1573-1620).²²

The National Palace Museum scroll depicts twenty-one cats and kittens playing on a grass-covered lawn. At the beginning is a cluster of rocks painted in muted blue-and-green colors, with moss-dots painted with a dot of malachite placed over a dot of ink. The cats are painted in ink, and some have a reddish-brown wash mixed into the ink in their bodies. Their fur is drawn with very fine, curving brushstrokes. Interspersed among the clumps of grass, which are painted in ink, are pale green dots of foliage and moss. Several butterflies and moths fly overhead: these are more brightly colored, with yellow and pale red added to the ink. The work can be attributed to Tao's early period on the basis of the unhurried brushwork and the complete lack of three-dimensionality in the rocks.

At least two paintings by T'ao Ch'eng can be securely dated to the 1480's. In the intervening period between the two paintings discussed above and the works of the 1480's, T'ao appears to have matured artistically. By 1486 T'ao was working as a professional painter in Peking.

The first scroll, now in the Peking Palace Museum, is entitled "Farewell [on the Road to] Yün-chung" (Fig. 2).²³ It is painted in ink on paper. A title is written on the *yin-shou* by the modern painter P'u Ju (1896-1963). The scroll depicts a landscape with three figures by a rushing stream in the first half, and a mountainous landscape with cliffs and a stream in the second half. It opens with a grove of trees in which are standing a horse and groom. In a clearing a scholar is shown seated on a rock and viewing a handscroll which is partially supported by another male servant. The scholar, a man named Ke Mien-hsüeh, is shown wearing official robes and an official's hat. His facial features are sensitively painted, and it is clear that this is a portrait of the man for whom the painting was executed.

The spacious composition of the first half of the scroll is contrasted with the last half, in which a steep cliff abruptly rises to the top of the painting, and a stream

²² On Wu Min-tao, see *Ming-jen ch'üan-chi tzu-liao suo-yin*: 250. Wu's colophon is recorded in *Ku-kung shu-hua lu*, ch.4, pp. 156-157.

²³ Published in Yonezawa Yoshiho & Kawakita Michiaki, *Arts of China: Painting in Chinese Museums* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1970), pl. 85.

rushes past pine trees and boulders. The contrast between the first and second halves is accomplished as much by the contrasting open and dense compositions, as by the extremely fine, meticulous dry brushwork in the figures, grasses, and trees of the first half, and the bold, jagged brushstrokes and wet scumbled washes of the mountain landscape of the second half.

An inscription by T'ao Ch'eng appears at the center of the painting, at the break between the first and last halves. This inscription is written in an elegant standard script, and is followed by a seal reading "Yün-hu shanren." The inscription reads,

You, sir, are departing on the Yün-chung road,
A warm breeze blows against the elegant pavilion.
Wise men may tire of affairs of state,
Yet they do not shirk from trouble.
When the old clerk's hands rest,
They will find leisure on the level plain.
Completely cut off by dust and sand,
Where grasses and trees are only a luxury.
Lonely chanting is what your fate hastens after,
What words can one say beyond this?

Ke Mien-hsüeh, the Bureau Director of the Board of Revenue, has been ordered to the Revenue Section of Yün-chung. Yün-hu T'ao Ch'eng painted this scroll and composed this poem in order to present it to him on parting. On the nineteenth of the fifth month, in the twenty-second year of Ch'eng-hua [1486].

The inscription makes clear that T'ao Ch'eng's painting was a gift to Ke Mien-hsüeh, who was on his way to Yün-chung, or Ta-t'ung in Shansi province. In the painting, Ke is shown resting on a journey and looking at a handscroll. The two halves of the scroll accentuate the contrast between the grassy, tree-covered land around the capital, and the difficult mountain passes on the road to Ta-t'ung in northern Shansi.

Further information concerning Ke Mien-hsüeh is found in a preface written by

Ch'eng Min-cheng for a series of poems composed at the time of Ke's departure for Ta-t'ung.²⁴

Master Ying-hai Ke Mien-hsüeh of the Board of Revenue has been appointed military governor at Ta-t'ung. His fellow townsman and *chin-shih* graduate Master T'ao Ching-hsüeh of Pao-ying²⁵ has created for him a painting of "Expressing Warm Feelings for Yün-chung" and presented it to him. This painting is exceptionally refined. Moreover, it is accompanied by several poems by gentlemen of the Han-lin Academy.²⁶ Since the friendship between [T'ao] Ching-hsüeh and myself is as if we were fellow countrymen, he has repeatedly asked me to add a word.

Ta-t'ung is an important town of the northwest. In antiquity it was called Yün-chung. Throughout history successive armies have used it in order to maintain readiness [on the frontier]. In our dynasty, however, it has become an increasingly majestic city. Old military generals have frequently been settled there.

That which generals need most, however, are able-bodied officials from the central court. In the end this has caused business to be conducted by the imperial post.²⁷ Civil and military clerks have been unable to oppose it. Since our friend Mien-hsüeh handles these affairs in the most dignified manner, he has now been selected.

The Great Wall is not in a beautiful area, and the office of accounts representative [*chi-ch'en*] is not one of idleness and pleasure. Thus "What inspiration is worthy of being expressed here?" Master [T'ao] Ch'eng, however,

²⁴ Ch'eng Min-cheng, *Huang-tun wen-chi*, ch.26, pp. 9b-11a.

²⁵ Contrary to Ch'eng Min-cheng's statement, there is no evidence that T'ao Ch'eng took or passed the *chin-shih* examination.

²⁶ These poems are now missing from the scroll.

²⁷ On this problem see James Peter Geiss, *Peking Under the Ming* (Doctoral dissertation, Princeton University, 1979), pp. 138-139: "By the middle of the fifteenth century the emperor and the court were in effect as distant from the frontier [at Ta-t'ung] as they would have been in Nanking. All communications passed through bureaucratic channels in documents; all information was biased and incomplete in some regard; all decisions resulted from a subtle mixture of motive, evidence, political advantage and self-interest quite divorced from the realities on the frontier. Such a situation was not uncommon in the Ming empire, for most governing was done from a distance, and court politics always had a life remote from any other reality."

has illustrated it and several gentlemen have written poems. Who would be unable to summarize this? At present a sage-like Son of Heaven rules on the throne, and he is inclined to send armies beyond the frontier [to protect China]. Our armies have won repeated victories, which they announce by beacon-fires. With the greater security, cattle and sheep cover the wilderness, and the people of the frontier are quiet as they have plenty to eat. This has been the case for some time.

When Mien-hsüeh has had enough of official duties, he can ride slowly into the countryside in order to examine the mountains and streams, and investigate the local fields. There he will dismount from his horse and sit, unrolling this scroll and its poems. The distant views on all sides will then unite with his feelings, and he will forget each day's toil. This is certainly not something a gentleman dispenses with.

“Farewell at Yün-chung” is T’ao Ch’eng’s only surviving farewell painting, and the high quality of the painting, perhaps motivated by the fact that it was a gift from the artist to his friend, is also significant because the work is precisely dated to 1486, and therefore provides an important landmark in Tao Cheng’s artistic development.

A second work by T’ao Ch’eng that can be dated to the 1480’s is a handscroll in the Cleveland Museum of Art (Fig. 3).²⁸ Painted in ink and light colors on paper, it consists of two sections. The first depicts chrysanthemums, and the second cabbages. As Henry Kleinhenz has shown, the chrysanthemum is a symbol of retirement from public office, as exemplified by the early Six Dynasties poet T’ao Ch’ien, while the cabbage symbolizes poverty and humility; together they form a “metaphor for the life of the scholar-official.”²⁹ Both paintings are spontaneously executed, with swift lines for the petals and stalks of grass, and broad strokes of wash and dots for the leaves, rocks, and earthforms. The scroll was evidently painted at a scholarly gathering in Peking between 1481 and 1486, and has *chiieh-chü* quatrains inscribed by ten officials who were active in the capital in that period.³⁰ These include Li Tung-yang,

²⁸ Published in *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting: The Collections of the Nelson Gallery - Atkins Museum, Kansas City, and the Cleveland Museum of Art* [Exh. cat.] (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1980), no. 145.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

Ni Yüeh (1444-1501), Wu Hsi-hsien (1437-1489), Fu Han (1435-1502), and Ch'iao Fang (d. 1517), all of whom obtained the *chin-shih* degree in 1464. The majority of the poems praise the poet T'ao Ch'ien through the image of the chrysanthemums, while others use the image of the cabbage to warn officials of the need to remain aware of the poverty among the common people. Several of the poems refer to T'ao Ch'eng as the painter. Fu Han writes,

Who daubed autumn flowers with ink
As if they were dark dew on a branch tip only vaguely seen at evening?
After the lazy clouds disperse, no one paints,
A certain unconventionality pervades this painting.

Another man, Ts'ai Chi, writes,
The ink splashes are fresh from a frosty brush dipped in pond water,
I can visualize the time when Yün-hu first showed his talents.

The scroll is a significant document of T'ao Ch'eng's proximity to a group of influential scholars in the capital during the 1480's, and is the earliest record of T'ao Ch'eng's acquaintance with Li Tung-yang. As observed by Kleinhenz and Sherman Lee, the scroll does not illuminate T'ao Ch'eng's status within this group of scholars, but it is clear that he was able to mingle with established *chin-shih* degree holders and high officials in Peking, and that others besides Ch'eng Min-cheng, Li Tung-yang, and Wu K'uan considered T'ao a talented artist and scholar.

"Chrysanthemums, Rocks, and Cat" is a hanging scroll in ink on paper in the National Palace Museum, Taipei (Fig. 4).³¹ It is dated to 1493, and depicts a long-haired cat sitting on a grassy slope beneath a T'ai-hu rock, several stalks of bamboo painted in the "outline" style, and chrysanthemums. The painting is quickly executed, with wet ink used in the rock, bamboo, and chrysanthemums, and dryer ink in the cat. The painting has a poem about chrysanthemums inscribed by T'ao Ch'eng along the upper left border. This is written in columns of clerical script moving from left to right, and reads:

In the pursuit of idleness, who notices the mature fragrance?

³¹ *Ku-kang shu-hua lu*, ch.5, P. 314.

Day after day by a bamboo fence one drinks from jug and goblet.
 What is before the eyes will not see spring's lustrous beauty,
 You alone [the chrysanthemums] have the cold sensibility to endure the
 frost.
 In the autumn of the year *kuei-ch'ou* of Hung-chih [1493], Yün-hu hsien-
 jen.

This is followed by a seal reading “ Yün-hu T'ao Ch'eng.” The patron of the scroll, if there was one, is unnamed.

Inscriptions written from left to right are widespread among Chan (Zen) Buddhist paintings of the late Sung and Yüan dynasties, but are rarely encountered in the Ming - particularly on paintings that do not represent Chan themes.³² It is likely that in T'ao Ch'eng's case, the reversal was nothing more than an eccentric mannerism. It appears again in the inscription of 1496 on his “Hares and Chrysanthemums” in the National Palace Museum, Taipei (Fig. 5).

In addition to cats and chrysanthemums, another theme that is commonly encountered in T'ao's work is that of hares. One of T'ao's finest paintings is “Flowers, Rocks, Moon, and Hare” of 1495 in the Palace Museum, Peking (Fig. 6).³³ This hanging scroll is painted in ink and colors on silk. It depicts a white hare with red eyes seated on a grassy stream bank amid flowers, a clump of bamboo, a cassia tree, and rocks painted in the blue-and-green style. In the background is a body of water with overhanging mist, beyond which rises a bank of steep boulders with waterfalls. A large full moon hangs in the upper left corner.

The hare is primarily a symbol of longevity, although other associations are alluded to in the painting's inscriptions.³⁴ The close connection between the hare, longevity, and the moon was well-established in China by the end of the Warring

³² On this practice see Helmut Brinker, “Shussan Shaka in Sung and Yuan Painting,” *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 9 (1979), p. 36.

³³ Published in *Ku-kung po-wu-yüan ts'ang-hua hua-niao hsiian* (Peking: Palace Museum, 1965), pl. 43. Another painting of a hare by T'ao Ch'eng is in the National Palace Museum, Taipei; see *Ku-kung shu-hua lu*, ch. 5, P. 313. A similar work is in the collection of the Jung-pao-chai Company in Peking (examined by the author in 1986).

³⁴ On the symbolism of the hare in China, see Wolfram Eberhard, *A Dictionary of Chinese Symbols* (London & New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986), pp. 139-140.

States period (c. third century B.C.). In the Han dynasty the hare was further associated with Hsi-wang-mu, the Queen Mother of the West. Michael Loewe, in his discussion of religion in the Han, has written as follows on the hare and the moon in China:³⁵

The moon is universally adopted as a symbol of the processes of birth, death and re-birth ... there is likewise a universal association between the hare and the moon... unlike other animals, the hare is fond of appearing on moon-lit nights ... the seemingly mad behaviour of the animal may have suggested that it had been moon-struck. Just as the moon brings forth light from the darkness, as the single great luminary, appearing and disappearing suddenly for no obvious reason, so too has it been observed that the hare behaves suddenly, irrationally and intuitively, as if lit by an inner illumination.

The hare's fur in T'ao Ch'eng's painting is meticulously painted with fine flecks of black ink over a thick white wash. The grass, flowers, and swirling water of the stream are also meticulously rendered. These elements of the painting are similar to the work of the contemporaneous court painter Lü Chi, who specialized in the "bird and flower" genre.³⁶ Both artists owed an overriding debt to Sung dynasty court painters.³⁷ The structure and coloring of the rocks painted in the blue-and-green style, however, owe a greater debt to such Yüan dynasty masters of the blue-and-green style as Ch'en Ju-yen (c.1331-c.1371).³⁸ Ch'en's "Land of the Immortals" handscroll contains similarly colored and structured rock formations.³⁹

The painting is striking for its combination of meticulous realism and a mysterious, unworldly atmosphere. The latter is conveyed by the dark sky, the low mist over

³⁵ Michael Loewe, *Ways to Paradise: The Chinese Quest for Immortality* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1979), pp. 131-133.

³⁶ On Lü Chi, see James Cahill, *Parting at the Shore: Chinese Painting of the Early and Middle Ming Dynasty: 1368-1580* (New York & Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1978), pp. 107-108.

³⁷ See, for example, *Eight Dynasties*, no. 54.

³⁸ On Ch'en Ju-yen, see also James Cahill, *Hills Beyond A River: Chinese Painting of the Yüan Dynasty, 1279-1368* (New York & Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1976), pp. 154-155; also Richard Vinograd, "Some Landscapes Related to the Blue-and-Green Manner from the Early Yüan Period," *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 40, 2/3 (1979), p. 130.

³⁹ See *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, no. 114.

the water in the background, and the shining, translucent malachite and azurite pigments in the rocks. These colors had ancient associations with Taoist alchemy and magical, crystalline realms beyond the everyday reality of human experience.⁴⁰ The realistic technique with which T'ao Ch'eng brings this strange world to life comes closest to works by contemporary artists of the Che School, although few surviving Che School paintings succeed in capturing this mysterious atmosphere as well as T'ao Ch'eng's work.

A poem by T'ao Ch'eng, written along the left border, helps illuminate the painting's symbolism:

The west wind is no match - the grass that goes against it breaks,
As the gloomy mist brightens, [patches] of grass are exposed.
In arranging one's life, I believe one should have three exits,
In case [the hound] Han Lu runs outside another door.
In the first month of autumn in the year *i-mao* of Hung-chih [1495], Yün-hu T'ao Ch'eng sketched this while at ____zuo.

This is followed by a rectangular seal reading "Yün-hu hua-fu" ("Painted and composed by Yün-hu").

The painting's visual symbols suggest that its function was specific: on the one hand, to offer congratulations to the degree recipient for passing the civil service examinations, and on the other, to wish the recipient longevity. The cassia tree blooms in the autumn when the examinations were held. The hare and the moon are symbols of longevity, as the hare was believed by Taoists to dwell in the moon, where it ground the ingredients for a magical elixir.

T'ao Ch'eng's poem expands on these symbols and brings to the work of art a more somber message: that the new degree holder must exercise caution in his life and prepare "exits" for times of difficulty, as does the hare. This alludes to a passage in the *Chan-kuo-ts'e* (*Strategies of the Warring States*), in which the retainer Feng Hsüan speaks to his master, Lord Meng-ch'ang, and says.⁴¹

⁴⁰ See John Hay, *Kernels of Energy, Bones of Earth: The Rock in Chinese Art* (Exh. cat.) (New York: China Institute, 1985), pp. 46-50.

⁴¹ For this anecdote see J.I. Crump, *Chan Kuo Ts'e* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 189-192.

My lord, the wiliest hare must have three burrows before he can ever preserve his life. At the moment you can scarcely rest secure with one. I beg my lord allow me to dig him two more.

The bamboo in the painting functions as the usual symbol for the scholar-gentleman who bends with the wind but never breaks. In the poem, Tao suggests that there are times when the wind is strong enough to snap the branch that stands against it. At such times, one should have “three exits,” or options for escape from one's predicament, in case the ferocious dog Han Lu lurks outside one's door.⁴²

The two inscriptions written at the top of the scroll were written in 1518 by Sun Hsü (*chin-shih* 1472) and Hung Yüan, both officials in the imperial government at Nanking during the reign of Cheng-te.⁴³ The gap of twenty-three years between the date of T'ao Ch'eng's poem and these colophons suggests that the painting had passed into different hands over the intervening two decades.

3. Critical Accounts of T'ao Ch'eng's Work

A contemporary appraisal of one of T'ao's paintings, written by Li Tung-yang, is indicative of the status T'ao enjoyed during his lifetime. Li's long poem reads in part:⁴⁴

Inscribed on T'ao Ch'eng's Painting of “Grasses and Insects”
 At the tip of the branch of wild flowers, a mass of pale red,
 The sun among the blue-green shadows is like fine gold openwork.
 Fuzzy bees gather pollen, the fragrance enters the void,
 Dancing butterflies wish to go, but return on the fragrant wind.
 Everywhere the plain is embroidered with a blue-green growth,
 Slimy snails engrave the earth with seal script, birds' tracks leave their
 mark.
 Only grasshoppers jump away like powerful bows,
 Among the light leaves, the hidden noise of chirping crickets.

⁴² On the hound Han Lu, see *ibid.*, pp. 159-160.

⁴³ On Sun Hsü, see *Ming-jen ch'üan-chi tzu-liao suo-yin*, p. 441.

⁴⁴ Li Tung-yang, *Huai-lu-t'ang shih hou-kao* (Reprint, Taipei, n.d.), pp. 2022-2023.

The autumn cicadas' wings are thin, but by the river their noise is dense,
 Their dying sounds slowly enter the emptiness.
 What the painter's hand has grasped has the skillfulness of Creation itself,
 Here he has captured life's movement,
 Among the elegant painters of the world, few achieve this distinction.

Other accounts of T'ao Ch'eng's paintings by his contemporaries are both favorable and equivocal. The poet Tu Mu (1459-1525) met T'ao in a Buddhist temple in the capital in 1499, while in Peking to take the *chin-shih* examination. The result of this meeting was an album that Tao painted for Tu, recorded in Tu's *Nan-hao chü-shih chin-shih wen-pa* (n.d.).⁴⁵ Tu's comments are noteworthy because his praise is combined with criticism of some aspects of Tao's work:

Master T'ao Meng-hsüeh of Huai-yin excels at painting landscapes, birds, and flowers. Moreover, he is skilled at painting hares in the snow. I have seen many of his works, but none are as fine as this album. How is it that Meng-hsüeh's brush adapts itself so well to small scenes but not to large ones? As for the way in which he manifests his inspiration, in some works it is profound, and in some works shallow. While I could not do what he can do, I know it is so ... He gave his personality free reign, and was possessed of a strange spirit. Not only are his paintings worth seeing, but his poetry and calligraphy also have a pure beauty.

The poet Li Meng-yang (1473-1529), a student of Li Tung-yang and one of the "Former Seven Masters" of early Ming poetry, wrote a poem for a painting by T'ao of "Chrysanthemums and Rocks," owned by a Buddhist priest named Master Hsü.⁴⁶ In the poem Li also praises T'ao Ch'eng's painting, and compares T'ao favorably with the contemporary artists Chi Ju-ho (Chi Li) and Hsü Lin, both of whom painted chrysanthemums and rocks:⁴⁷

When Master Tao paints chrysanthemums and rocks,

⁴⁵ Du Mu, *Nan-hao chü-shih chin-shih wen-pa* (n.d.), ch.4, pp.15b-16a.

⁴⁶ Li Meng-yang, *K'ung-t'ung chi* (Shanghai: Shanghai ku-chi ch'u-ban-she, 1991), ch. 17, pp. 3a-b.

⁴⁷ Chi Ju-ho (Chi Li; *chin-shih* 1464) was a contemporary of T'ao Ch'eng's. See Yü Chien-hua, *Chung-kuo mei-shu-chia jen-ming tz'u-tien* (Shanghai: Jen-min mei-shu ch'u-ban-she, 1980), p. 645.

The strength of his brush is manifest in the spontaneous execution.
These rocks and these chrysanthemums,
Are now owned by Master Xu.
Two stalks rise hesitantly from the base of the rocks,
Moss bends around the ancient stones like strings of cash ...
On a level slope, dense grass grows like a down of blue-green mist,
The bending stalks are adorned with elegant flowers,
Are their restrained beauty and deceptive appearance not completely sufficient?
The backs of the delicate blossoms are also visible,
Suddenly they are like the servant-girls of a great master,
Although they wave back and forth with pearl and kingfisher hues, their spirit is grave and respectful.
Recently there was the great master Chi Ju-ho [Chi Li],
The strength of this master's [T'ao's] brush is superior.
Hsü Lin of Chiang-tung has studied the painting of rocks,
He knits his brow and is not worthy of Wang Yü-ho.
One knows this is a divine work, deeply bonded with the mysterious,
When the brush descends, precipitous cliffs are supported by its great strength.
Rocks piled about, everywhere chrysanthemums,
In the pure frost along an ancient path, the flowers have variegated colors.
His far-reaching thoughts are of the same class of those of Tung-lin Shan,
In ancient times Tung-lin [the monk Hui-yüan] built a Lotus Platform,
P'eng-tse [T'ao Ch'ien] wrinkled his brow and was unwilling to go there,
He returned home to face his chrysanthemums, holding his cup alone.
Master Hsü's monastery is called Pai-tsu,
He doesn't prize lotus, but instead prizes chrysanthemums.
In the end, painted cakes don't satisfy hunger,
So why were these painted in the foothills of the Western Hills [in a Buddhist temple]?

In the cold fragrance of the autumn grove [Hsü] gathers life's necessities,
 In boiling stones and refining elixirs he has obtained them.
 In antiquity there were those who loved falcons and horses,
 Master Hsü is not alone in sighing.

Later Ming commentaries on T'ao Ch'eng, while rare, are generally positive in tone. Characteristic of these is a note by the late sixteenth century painter and critic Chan Ching-feng (1520-1602) on a painting of hares and chrysanthemums, subjects T'ao often painted. Chan describes T'ao's brush technique in some detail:⁴⁸

A large silk scroll of "Hares and Chrysanthemums" by Yün-hu T'ao Ch'eng. In the middle of the composition is a huge rock, roughly painted with "alum dots" and "flying white" strokes. It has a powerful, strange, and noble vigor. It is also elegant, and does not suffer from a heavy-handed spirit. Moreover, the six laws [of Hsieh Ho] are naturally preserved within it. To one side [T'ao] added two bamboo plants painted in the "outline" method and yellow chrysanthemums, resulting in a complex ornamentation. Below, in the tangled grass, a hare washes itself ... it has the natural appearance of being on the verge of jumping up and running away. When most people apply a brush, the result is confusion; none are capable of thoroughly penetrating this type of divine work.

Wang Chao (Te-ch'u) of my home town [Hsiu-ning, Anhui] made a copy of a T'ao Ch'eng painting on paper, depicting a white hare, golden chrysanthemums, hibiscus, and ink bamboo. To one side he added a huge rock, using rubbed monochrome ink. When T'ao Ch'eng painted rocks he gave them a wash of blue ink [*ch'ing shui*], calling it "*ts'un* [brushstrokes] dragged through mud and water." As for the hare in the grass, in sketching the grass [T'ao] used ink and color in a "double brush" [*shuang pi*] technique, the subtlety of which cannot even be fathomed.

Wang Chao (*tsu* Te-ch'u, *hao* Hai-yün) was a Che School painter active in the early sixteenth century.⁴⁹ He is generally considered a follower of Wu Wei (1459-

⁴⁸ Chan Ching-feng, *Hsüan-lan-pien* (1591) [Reprint: Taipei: Han-hua, 1970], pp. 297-298.

⁴⁹ On Wang Chao, see Mu I-ch'in, *Ming-tai kung-t'ing yü Che-p'ai hui-hua hsüan-chi* (Beijing: Wen-wu ch'u-pan-

1508), and his few surviving paintings of the “bird-and-flower” type reveal the strong influence of Lin Liang. Judging from the passage quoted above, Chan’s opinion of T’ao Ch’eng’s work was very high.

Chan’s contemporary He Liang-chün (1506-1573) had, in contrast, a somewhat more critical attitude toward T’ao Ch’eng, although in general he appears also to have admired his work:⁵⁰

[T’ao Ch’eng’s] paintings of hares, grassy slopes, and chrysanthemums are all extremely fine. For a time he was known as the “unbridled sage.” As for his trees and rocks, however, they are full of a heterodox spirit [*hsieh ch’i*], and are not worth looking at. Once at the home of Chu Tzu-hsin in Huai-an I saw his [painting of] a duck in monochrome ink, and it was exceptionally fine. Thereupon I realized that Yün-hu excelled at painting from life [*hsieh sheng*].

The ambivalence in He Liang-chün’s remarks is consistent with his general views on painting, as expressed in his other writings.⁵¹

It would appear that T’ao’s paintings were already rare by the early Ch’ing dynasty. The reaction of a mid-Ch’ing scholar like Wang Wen-chih (1730-1802) to T’ao’s work is characteristic. Wang was familiar with at least two of Tao’s paintings: a handscroll entitled, “The White Goose” in the Shanghai Museum, and the “Chrysanthemums and Cabbages” in the Cleveland Museum of Art. His comments on T’ao’s work, however, were limited to quotations from the *T’u-hui pao-chien* and other published texts.⁵² T’ao Ch’eng’s reputation in later commentaries on painting seems to have rested as much on his eccentric personality as on his paintings, the increasing rarity of which can be tied to the difficulty later scholars faced in discussing and categorizing his work.

she, 1983), pp. 12-13, pls. 85-87, and Richard Barnhart, et al., *Painters of the Great Ming: The Imperial Court and the Zhe School* [Exh. cat.] (Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art, 1993), p. 322.

50 He Liang-chün, *Szu-yu-chai hua-lun*, in *Mei-shu ts’ung-shu*. 3 vols. (1936) (Reprint, Shanghai: Chiang-su ku-chi ch’u-pan-she, 1986), p. 46.

51 See Richard Barnhart, “The ‘Wild and Heterodox School’ of Ming Painting,” in Susan Bush & Christian Murck, eds., *Theories of the Arts in China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), p. 375, 378.

52 I examined Wang Wen-chih’s remarks written on the “White Goose” handscroll in the Shanghai Museum, in 1986. A second version of the “White Goose” handscroll is in the Yabumoto Collection, Japan (see note 17 above).

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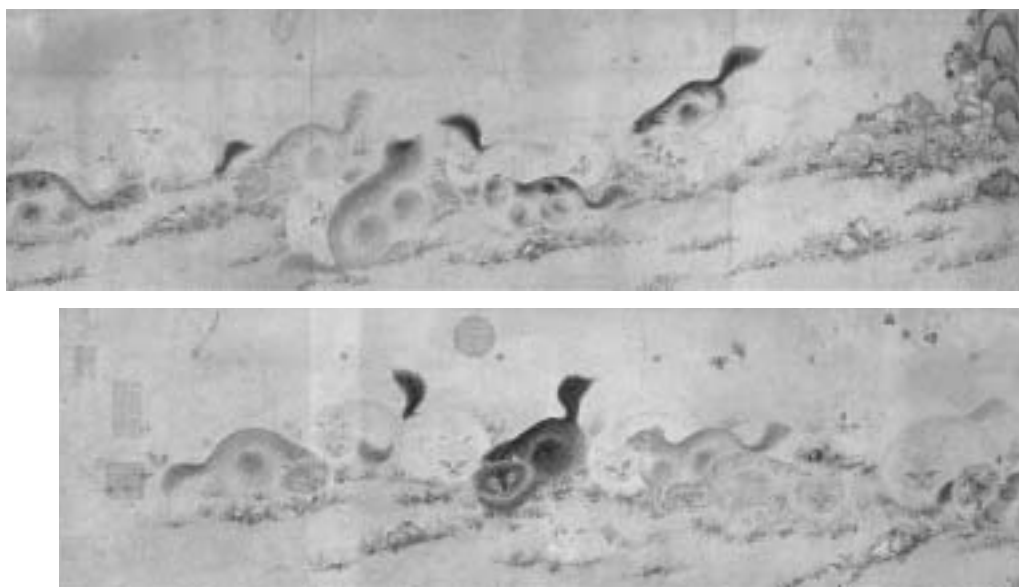


Fig. 1: T'ao Ch'eng, "Cats Playing in Fragrant Grass"

Ming dynasty, 1470s

Handscroll; ink and light colors on paper

National Palace Museum, Taipei



Fig. 2: T'ao Ch'eng, "Farewell [on the Road to] Yün-chung"

Ming dynasty, 1486

Handscroll; ink on paper

Palace Museum, Peking



Fig. 3: T'ao Ch'eng, "Chrysanthemums and Cabbage" (detail)

Ming dynasty, 1480s

Handscroll; ink and light colors on paper

Cleveland Museum of Art



Fig. 4: T'ao Ch'eng, "Chrysanthemums, Rocks, and Cat"

Ming dynasty, 1493

Hanging scroll; ink on paper

National Palace Museum, Taipei



Fig. 5: T'ao Ch'eng, "Hares and Chrysanthemums"
Ming dynasty, 1493
Hanging scroll; ink on paper
National Palace Museum, Taipei



Fig. 6: T'ao Ch'eng, "Flowers, Rocks, Moon,
and Hare"
Ming dynasty, 1495
Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk
Palace Museum, Peking