



Trad. attrib. to: Mi Fu 米芾 (1052–1107)
Title: *Pavilion of Rising Clouds*
《雲起樓圖》
Yunqilou tu
Dynasty/Date: Southern Song-Yuan, mid-13th to mid-14th century
Format: Hanging scroll mounted on panel
Medium: Ink on silk
Dimensions: 150.0 x 78.8 cm (59-1/16 x 31 in)
Credit line: Gift of Charles Lang Freer
Accession no.: F1908.171
Provenance: Isaac Taylor Headland (1859–1942)

Artist Inscription: none

Artist Seals: (2) – Mi Fu 米芾 (1052–1107) – fake

Mi Fu zhi yin 『米芾之印』 (square intaglio) – lower left

Yuanzhang 『元章』 (rectangle relief) – lower left

Other Inscriptions: (1) – Attributed to Zhao Ji, Emperor Huizong of the Song dynasty 宋徽宗趙

佶 (1082–1135; reigned 1101–1125) – fake (later interpolation)¹

2 columns, cursive script – upper right

天降時雨，山川出雲。



[Before] Heaven sends down the timely rains, mountains and rivers put forth clouds.²

Signature: none

Date: none

Seal: (1) – fake, damaged

Yushu 『御書』 (square relief)

Superscription: Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555–1636)

Ink on old silk mounting (phoenix-and-cloud motif; same as below); re-mounted above painting

Dimensions: 17.5 x 70.8 cm

Four large characters, plus signature, running script

《雲起樓圖》。董其昌書。

*The Pavilion of Rising Clouds.*³ Written by Dong Qichang.

Signature: 董其昌

Dong Qichang

Date: none

Seals: none



Colophons: (2) – Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555–1636)

Each written on separate length of old silk mounting (phoenix-and-cloud motif; same as above); re-mounted right and left of painting.

1. Right side. Dimensions: 174.5 x 11.4 cm

2 columns, running script

徽宗『御書』小璽，下有『米芾之印』、『元章』印，蓋元章為書畫學博士時所進御，《元章狀》所謂「珍圖名畫，須取裁聖鑒」者也。後有朱象玄印，此吾鄉司成，好古具眼人。米畫以此圖為甲觀。其昌。

Below the small seal of Emperor Huizong [reigned 1101–25] [reading] *Yushu*, are [two] seals [reading] *Mi Fu zhi yin* [seal of Mi Fu] and *Yuanzhang* [Mi Fu's courtesy name]. So this may be one of [the scrolls that Mi] Yuanzhang presented to the emperor when he [was serving at court] as an Erudite of Painting and Calligraphy, as described in the *Conduct Description of [Mi] Yuanzhang*, which says “the precious pictures and famous paintings [in Mi Fu's collection] had to be judged by imperial scrutiny.”⁴ Last is the seal of Zhu Xiangxuan [Zhu Dashao, 1517–1577], an official from my home district, who was fond of antique [objects] and had a good eye.⁵ This picture is the best painting by Mi [Fu] that I have seen. [Dong] Qichang.

Signature: 其昌

Date: none (ca. 1611–13; see note 7)

Seals: none



2. Left side. Dimensions: 75.4 x 13.6 cm

4 columns, running script 光祿澈如吳年丈，屬余作《雲起樓圖》卷、軸、團扇共三幀。余未愜意，以此圖貽之。又欲為補趙文敏《汲長孺傳》，合成雙美。澈如以文章氣節名世，非古人名蹟，何足為雲起樓重也？董其昌。

My senior Wu Cheru [Wu Zhengzhi], [vice director] in the Ministry of Rites, enjoined me to paint three depictions of his Pavilion of Rising Clouds; a handscroll, a hanging scroll, and a circular fan. As I was not pleased [with the results], I am giving him this painting [instead], and will add to it [a transcription of] *The Biography of Ji Changru* [in the calligraphy] of Zhao Wenmin [Zhao Mengfu, 1254–1322], for together they will make a beautiful pair.⁶ Cheru is famous in the world for the moral integrity of his literary writings, so if it is not a famous work by some master of the past, then how could [a painting or calligraphy] be important enough for his Pavilion of Rising Clouds? Dong Qichang.

Signature: 董其昌

Date: none (ca. 1611–13; see note 7)

Seals: (2)⁷

Zhizhigao rijiangguan 『知制誥日講官』 (rectangle intaglio)

Dong Qichang yin 『董其昌印』 (square intaglio)

Collector seals: (7)

1. Ke Jiusi 柯九思 (1290–1343) – (1)



Danqiu Ke Jiushi zhang 『丹丘柯九思章』 (square relief) – lower left

2. Zhu Dashao 朱大韶 (1517–1577) – (1) – (see note 5)

Zhu-x mi-x 『朱□祕□』 (square relief; top half) – lower right

3. Song Jun 宋俊 (active mid- to late 17th century) – (1)

Changbai Junqi 『長白俊啟』 (square relief/intaglio) – upper left

4. Isaac Taylor Headland (He Delan 何德, 蘭, 1859–1942)⁸ – (1)

He Delan yin 『何德蘭印』 (square relief) – left edge

5. Unidentified – (3)

Sanwan liuqian langganshi jianchang shuhua yin 『三萬六千琅玕室鑑藏書畫印』 (square relief) – upper left

Hanhongtang yin 『涵鴻堂印』 (square relief) – upper left

Xingdong yi zi Shisheng 『星東一字石生』 (square relief) – upper left

Mounter seal: (1) – Kinoshita Yokichi 木下与吉 (20th century)⁹ – (1)

Kinoshita sakuhin 『木下作品』 (square intaglio) – back of panel, separate paper slip



Traditional Chinese catalogues: (3)

Yun Shouping 惲壽平 (1633–1690). *Nantian huaba* 南田畫跋. Shanghai: Tongwen tushuguan, 1915). 10a-b.

Fang Xun 方薰 (1736–1799). *Shanjingju hualun* 山靜居畫論. In Yang Jialuo 楊家駱, ed. *Yishu congbian* 藝術叢編. Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1962. Vol. 15, 149.

Li Zuoxian 李佐賢 (1807–1876). *Shuhua jianying* 書畫鑑影. Lijin 利津: Shiquan shuwu 石泉書屋, 1871. 19:13b–15a..

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Vol. 2, plate 6.

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Vol. 2, plate 58.

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Harada Kinjirō 原田謹次郎 (1882–). *Shina meiga hōkan* 支那名畫寶鑒 (*The Pageant of Chinese Painting*). Tokyo: Ōtsuka kōgeisha, 1936. Plate 91.

Fischer, Otto (1886–1948). *Chinesische landschaftsmalerei*. Berlin: Paul Neff Verlag, 1943. Plate 58.

Bachhofer, Ludwig (1894–1976). *A Short History of Chinese Art*. New York: Pantheon, 1946. Plate 112.

Cohn, William (1880–1961). *Chinese Painting*. London: Phaidon Press: New York, Oxford University Press, 1948. Plate 57.

Munsterberg, Hugo (1916–1995). *A Short History of Chinese Art*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1949. Plate 37.

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Lee, Sherman (1918–2008). *A History of Far Eastern Art*. New York: Abrams, 1964. P. 349 (fig. 454).

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Ho, Wai-kam (1924–2004). “Mi Fei.” In *Encyclopedia of World Art*. 14 vols. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1965. Vol. 10, 84–90 and plate 61.

Iriya Yoshitaka 入矢義高 (1910–1998), Richard Barnhart, and Nakata Yūjirō 中田勇次郎 (1905–1998). *Tō Gen, Kyonen* 董源、巨然 (Dong Yuan, Juran). In *Bunjinga Suihen* 文人畫粹編. Vol. 2. Tokyo: Chūōkōron-sha, 1977. Pp. 74 (plate 57) and 145.

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Yu Hui 余輝. “Cangni yu Song hua zhong de Jin dai shanahui hua” 藏匿於宋畫中的金代山水畫. In Wang Yaoting 王耀庭, ed. *Kaichuang dianfan: Bei Song de yishu yu wenhua yantaohui lunwenji* 開創典範：北宋的藝術與文化研討會論文集. Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 2008. P. 243 (fig. 12).

Zhejiang daxue Zhongguo gudai shuhua yanjiu zhongxin 浙江大學中國古代書畫研究中心, eds. *Song hua quanji: di liu juan, di liu ce* 宋畫全集：第六卷，第六冊. Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue chubanshe, 2008. Pp. 74–77 and 260 (no. 16).

Re: Huizong, Dong Qichang, and Wu Zhengzhi

Huang Guan (K. S. Wong) 黃觀. “Wu Zhiju yu Yunqilou” 《吳之矩與雲起樓》. In *Mingbao yuekan* 明報月刊 113 (May 1975): 42–5.

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Nakata Yūjirō 中田勇次郎 (1905–1998) and Fu Shen 傅申. *Ōbei shuzō: Chūgoku hōsho meisekishū, Min Shin hen* (Masterpieces of Chinese Calligraphy in American and European Collections, Ming and Qing) 歐米收藏：中國法書名蹟集，明清篇. 2 vols. Tokyo: Chūōkōron-sha, 1983. Vol. 2, 131–32.

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Notes

¹ On the inauthenticity of this inscription, see Nakata Yūjirō 中田勇次郎 (1905–1998) and Fu Shen 傅申, *Ōbei shuzō: Chūgoku hōsho meisekishū, Min Shin hen (Masterpieces of Chinese Calligraphy in American and European Collections, Ming and Qing)* 歐米收藏：中國法書名蹟集，明清篇, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Chūōkōron-sha, 1983), vol. 2, 131–32. For two genuine examples

of cursive script from the hand of Emperor Huizong, see his rendition of the “Thousand-character Essay” (dated 1122), in *Shufa congkan* 書法叢刊 14 (June 1988): 14–53; and a round fan bearing a couplet in seven-character verse (undated), in *Yiyuan duoying* 藝苑掇英 11 (January 1981): 41.

² Ostensibly written by Emperor Huizong of the Song dynasty (reigned 1101–25), in whose court Mi

Fu once served, this short text is a direct quote from the “Kongzi xianju” 孔子閒居 (Confucius at Leisure) chapter of the *Li Ji* 禮記 (Book of Ritual), a book in the Confucian canon. The passage metaphorically defines the relationship between the benevolent rule of a sage king and the prior appearance of wise ministers to advise him. The quotation therefore adds a philosophical dimension to the work and was aptly selected both to describe the misty landscape of the painting and to laud Mi Fu as a valued servant of the throne. In his translation of the *Li Ji*, James Legge (1815–1897) rendered the passage as follows: “When the personal character is pure and bright, the spirit and mind are like those of a spiritual being. When what such an one desires is about to come, there are sure to be premonitions of it in advance, (*as when*) *Heaven sends down the seasonable rains, and the hills produce the clouds*” (annotator’s italics). See: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Institute of Chinese Studies, *Li Ji zhuzi suoyin* 禮記逐字索引, The ICS Ancient Chinese Text Concordance Series (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1992), 139 (section 30.6); and James Legge, trans., *The Li Ki*, in F. Max Müller, ed., *Sacred Books of the East* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1885), vol. 28, 282.

³ The Pavilion of Rising Clouds (Yunqilou) was the studio-home of Dong Qichang’s friend Wu Zhengzhi 吳正志 (died ca. 1619), *zi* Zhiju 之矩, *hao* Cheru 澈如, from Yixing 宜興, Jiangsu



Province. For studies on Wu Zhengzhi's life and relationship with Dong Qichang, see: Huang Guan (K. S. Wong) 黃觀, "Wu Zhiju yu Yunqilou" 吳之矩與雲起樓, in *Mingbao yuekan* 明報月刊 113 (May 1975): 42–5; and Celia Carrington Riely, "Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's Life," in Wai-kam Ho and Judith G. Smith, eds., *The Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, 1555–1636*, 2 vols. (Seattle:

The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in association with the University of Washington Press, 1992), vol. 2, 411–15 and 448–50, notes 257–88.

⁴ The source for this quotation has not been located.

⁵ See Collector Seals 2. Dong Qichang is known to have acquired, copied, or viewed at least three other works in the collection of his fellow townsman Zhu Dashao (1517–1577), *zi* Xiangxuan 象玄, *hao* Wenshi 文石, from Huating 華亭, in Zhejiang Province. See Shi-yee Liu

Fiedler, "Chronology of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's Works and Inscriptions," in Wai-kam Ho and Judith G. Smith, eds., *The Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang*, vol. 2, 503 (acquired album leaf by Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫, 1254–1322); 552 (copied album leaf by Wu Zhen 吳鎮, 1280–1354); and 571 and 575 (viewed album leaf by Lu Jin 陸瑾, Northern Song dynasty [960–1127]).

⁶ The *Biography of Ji Changru* recounts the vicissitudes in the official career of one Ji An 汲黯 (*zi* Changru 長孺, died 112 b.c.e.), who served at the court of Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty 漢武帝 (reigned 141–87 b.c.e.). Renowned for his fearless moral rectitude, Ji An spoke with blunt and forthright conviction in the presence of the emperor, and was often especially harsh in his criticism of fellow courtiers, some of whom were imperial favorites. This proclivity increasingly earned him imperial disfavor, and eventually he was relegated to the provinces where he spent the final years of his life. In presenting the text of this biography to Wu Zhengzhi, who was also



renowned for his fearlessness in speaking truth to power and whose career had also suffered as a result, Dong Qichang was drawing a parallel between Wu's experience of public service and that of Ji An. While Ji An's biography appears in both the *Shiji* and *Hanshu*, it is clear from certain differences between the two texts that Zhao Mengfu copied his version from the *Shiji*. See Sima Qian 司馬遷 (ca. 145–86 b.c.e.), *Shiji* 史記, 10 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), vol. 10, 120:3105–11; for English translation, see Burton Watson, trans., *Records of the Grand Historian*, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 2:343–52. For the later version of Ji An's biography, see Ban Gu 班固 (32–92 c.e.), *Hanshu* 漢書, 12 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), vol. 8, 50:2316–23.

Zhao Mengfu's calligraphic rendition of Ji An's biography, dated 1314, is widely considered one of the most outstanding extant examples of his small standard script. Mounted as an album, the work consists of ten double-leaves, with six columns on each leaf for a total of twelve columns per each double-leaf. The album currently belongs to the collection of the Eisei Bunko 永青文庫 in Tokyo, Japan; however, one double-leaf (leaf six) is apparently missing along with 197 characters of the text. For the nine remaining double-leaves of Zhao Mengfu's transcription, see *Shufa* 書法 28 (January 1983): 8–16.

⁷ According to recent research, these two seals commonly appear together on Dong Qichang's works between 1608 and 1615. Judging from the relative condition of the seals, they were most likely impressed around the middle of this period (ca. 1611–13), which may be the time that

Dong wrote his two undated colophons. See Celia Carrington Riely, "Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's Life," in Wai-kam Ho and Judith G. Smith, eds., *The Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang*, vol. 2, 449, note.273; and "Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's Seals," vol. 2, 290 (III, seals 13–14 [1607]; seals 16–17 [1610]; seals 19–20 [1613]); and 307–08 (discussion of the text and meaning of the first seal).



⁸ Isaac Taylor Headland (1859–1942; known in Chinese as He Delan 何德, 蘭) was an author, translator, professor of humanities and theology at Beijing Huiwen shuyuan 北京匯文書院 (later Beijing University) from 1890 to 1907, and husband of the physician to the Empress Dowager's mother and other court ladies, a relationship that gained him access to the upper echelons of late Qing dynasty imperial society. During his years in China, he assembled a small collection of Chinese paintings, some of which he exhibited in Pittsburgh in April 1908 and again in New York in March 1909. For this painting in the exhibition, see Isaac Taylor Headland, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Chinese Paintings from the collection of Isaac Taylor Headland*, April 15–30, 1908 (Pittsburgh: The Art Society, 1908), 5. A long descriptive letter written by Headland to Charles Lang Freer concerning the current painting is also included in the Freer file folder. On Freer's acquisition of this painting following the Pittsburgh exhibition, see Thomas Lawton and Linda Merrill, *Freer: A Legacy of Art* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, in conjunction with H. N. Abrams, 1993), 76 and 80 (fig. 53).

⁹ Freer mounter Kinoshita Yokichi 木下与吉 (20th century) completed re-mounting the painting and three calligraphies onto a panel in June 1948.