



Trad. attrib. to: Juran 巨然 (active ca. 960–995)
Title: *Ten Thousand Li Along the Yangzi River*

《長江萬里圖》
Changjiang wanli tu

Dynasty/Date: Southern Song, mid-12th to early 13th century
Format: Handscroll
Medium: Ink and color on silk
Dimensions: 43.5 x 1656.6 cm (17-1/8 x 652-3/16 in)
Credit line: Gift of Charles Lang Freer
Accession no.: F1911.168
Provenance: Loon Gu Sai, Peking (Beijing)

Subject: This long handscroll shows a bird's-eye view of the Yangzi River from its traditional source in the Min Mountains 岷山 (northwest of modern Dujiangyan 都江堰, Sichuan Province) to its mouth on the Yellow Sea near the modern port city of Shanghai.¹

Outside label slip: Lu Xinyuan 陸心源 (1834–1894)

Eighteen characters, standard script²

宋釋巨然《長江圖》。陸文裕、董文敏跋。穰梨館藏。

The Yangzi River, by the monk Juran [active ca. 960–995] of the Song dynasty.³ Colophons by Lu Wenyu [Lu Shen, 1477–1544] and Dong Wenmin [Dong Qichang, 1555–1636]. In the collection of Rangliguan [Lu Xinyuan].⁴



Frontispiece: Handpainted paper with two dragons in clouds with a flaming pearl between them. No text or seals.

Painting inscriptions: (240) – Anonymous.

Red ink on silk, standard script; along the length of the scroll.⁵

240 individual place names⁶

001 汶川	002 □□□	003 雪山	004 □□	005 青城山
006 白□□	007 丈人觀	008 蚕[叢]關	009 虎頭山	010 蒙德庙 ⁷
011 青城縣	012 玉壘關	013 永康軍	014 大面山	015 離堆
016 六六峰	017 江心堤	018 新津縣	019 修覺山	020 芳草渡
021 錦宮江合	022 彭山縣	023 至德觀	024 蟆頤山	025 眉州
026 岷峨亭	027 石佛鎮	028 青神縣	029 中岩寺	030 思蒙江合
031 瓦屋山	032 □□	033 月峰	034 萬景樓	035 娥眉縣
036 嘉定府	037 眉山	038 烏油山	039 大佛象	040 九頂山
041 撻為縣	042 清溪江合	043 大渡河合	044 敘州	045 宣化縣
046 鎮江亭	047 馬湖江合	048 山門寨山	049 保子山寨	050 長寧江合
051 瀘川軍	052 江安縣	053 資簡江合	054 青草峽	055 安樂山
056 合江縣	057 江津縣	058 馬肝峽	059 塗山	060 禹廟
061 重慶府	062 古渝	063 鷓鴣堆	064 洪山	065 嘉陵
066 春酒甕	067 鄰山鄰水江合	068 樂溫縣	069 張飛庙	070 涪州
071 豐都縣	072 黔江合	073 豐都觀	074 幘都山	075 忠州
076 望夫山	077 武寧縣	078 万州	079 岑公洞	080 □□



081 下岩寺	082 雲安縣	083 中顯廟	084 飛鳳山	085 南鄉峽
086 夔府	087 景福寺	088 勝已山	089 八陣圖	090 手巾山
091 報恩寺	092 南城	093 龍脊灘	094 寧江井	095 濫潁堆
096 瞿塘峽	097 白鹽山	098 白帝廟	099 白帝城	100 赤甲山
101 琵琶峰	102 巫山縣	103 流石灘	104 南陵	105 楚宮
106 施州鹽倉	107 南陵百八盤	108 巫峽	109 掉石村	110 馬餘嶺
111 凝真觀	112 十二峰	113 白馬山	114 此石村	115 巴東縣
116 查神廟	117 歸州	118 臥牛山	119 天慶觀	120 人鮓囊
121 黃牛影	122 黃牛珠	123 黃牛廟	124 假十二峰	125 歸峽
126 明月峽	127 扇子峰	128 蝦蟆培	129 至喜亭	130 釘善堤
131 峽州	132 鑽天二里	133 望州坡	134 枝江縣	135 荊南府
136 沙市	137 二聖寺	138 楚樓	139 公安縣	140 君山
141 岳陽樓	142 岳州	143 赤壁磯	144 通濟口	145 鸚鵡洲 ⁸
146 散花洲	147 南草市	148 漢陽軍	149 南樓	150 大別山
151 黃鶴樓	152 鄂州	153 漢口	154 赤壁	155 蘆洲浦
156 雪堂	157 月坡樓	158 黃州	159 武昌	160 峴山
161 礬口	162 蘄州	163 捲雪樓	164 富池	165 昭勇廟
166 湓浦	167 廬山	168 江州	169 庾樓	170 天子障
171 雙劍峰	172 江寺	173 娘娘廟	174 大孤山	175 桑落村
176 湖口縣	177 小孤山	178 彭浪磯	179 彭澤縣	180 風火磯
181 磨背洲	182 馬當山	183 馬當廟	184 東流縣	185 祝家磯
186 蝦磯	187 鷹汊	188 皖公山	189 羅剎石	190 長風沙
191 池口鎮	192 池州	193 青陽縣	194 九華山	195 大通市



196 丁家洲	197 扳磯	198 鸚磯	199 蕪湖縣	200 遮山寨
201 夏易磯	202 太町州	203 大信市	204 東糧山	205 西糧山
206 萬石倉	207 采石鎮	208 白鶴灘	209 望夫山	210 慈湖市
211 歷陽	212 慈母山	213 石灰山	214 烈山	215 烏江渡
216 霸王廟	217 建康	218 靖安鎮	219 半山寺	220 長蘆
221 蔣山	222 龍女祠	223 石頭城	224 涂口	225 龍灣
226 東陽	227 天寧寺	228 落帆石	229 倉	230 方山
231 金山	232 鎮江府	233 瓜洲	234 多景樓	235 甘露寺
236 焦山	237 下港	238 申浦	239 江陰軍	240 海門

Signature: none

Date: none

Seals: none

Colophons: (2) – both written on one separately mounted sheet of paper; with eight (8) collector seals (including four half-seals).

Dimensions: 44 x 111.9 cm (17-5/16 x 44-1/16 in)

1. Lu Shen 陸深 (1477–1544)

14 columns, running-standard script.



此卷《長江萬里圖》為今大參張夏山先生所藏。予嘗於京口見米元章澄心堂紙一卷，筆勢奇怪，有意外象。家居時，吳人持至一卷夏圭，墨氣古勁可愛。此卷則規模郭熙，而町遠清潤，有不盡之趣。宋室倚長江為湯池，故當時畫手多喜為之，卒不能守，而鐵騎飛渡矣，乃相與為之浩歎。夏山字用載，家金華，山中景物絕勝，而宦囊半貯此物，將所謂行住坐臥，不離這箇耶？復相與為之大笑。是歲嘉靖甲午八月吉，觀於江西布政司之紫薇樓下遂書，雲間陸深子淵父。

This handscroll, *Ten Thousand Li Along the Yangzi River*, is in the collection of the Administration Vice Commissioner, Mister Zhang Xiashan.⁹ In Jingkou, I once saw a handscroll [painting of the Yangzi River] by Mi Yuanzhang [Mi Fu, 1051–1107] done on *chengxintang* paper.¹⁰ Its brushwork was strange and unusual, and it had an appearance beyond one's imagination. And when I was staying at home [in Zhejiang], a man from Wu [Suzhou] once brought a handscroll [painting of the Yangzi River] by Xia Gui [first-half 13th century], and I loved the antique power of its ink tonalities. This handscroll, however, is modeled on Guo Xi [ca. 1001–1090]. Its level distances are clear and moist, and it has a feeling of infinite space. The [imperial] House of Song relied on the Yangzi River as an impregnable moat, so many artists of the time liked to paint it. But in the end, [the river] could not protect them and the iron cavalry [of the Mongols] came flying right across. Because of this, we both heaved an enormous sigh. Xiashan's courtesy name is Yongzai and his home is in Jinhua [Zhejiang Province], where the mountain scenery is extraordinary. This thing takes up half the space in his official pouch, [so I asked if] it is one of those possessions, as they say, —from which one never parts, whether moving or staying, sitting or lying down?|| Because of this we both had a great laugh. On this the first day of the eighth lunar month in the *jiawu* year of the Jiajing reign period [September 8, 1534], written on viewing [the painting] in the Crape Myrtle Pavilion at the Jiangxi Provincial Administration Commission [in Nanchang], Lu Shen, Ziyuan fu, from Yunjian.¹¹



Signature: 陸深子淵父
Lu Shen, Ziyuanfu

Date: 嘉靖甲午八月吉
First day of the eighth lunar-month in the *jiawu* year of the Jiajing reign period [September 8, 1534]

Seals: (3)
Gu taishi shi 『古太史氏』 (rectangle relief) – upper right
Lu Shen siyin 『陸深私印』 (rectangle intaglio)
Lu shi Ziyuan 『陸氏子淵』 (square intaglio)

2. Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555–1636)

6 columns, running-standard script.

予嘗見李伯時《長江圖》於陳太僕子有家，筆法精絕。及觀此卷，乃宣和御府所收，小璽具在，定為北宋以前名手，非馬、夏輩所能比肩。後有吾鄉陸文裕題跋，書法秀整，足與畫為二絕，殊可寶也。己未中秋後五日，董其昌題。

I once saw a *Yangzi River* painting by Li Boshi [Li Gonglin, ca. 1049–1106] in the collection of [vice minister of] the Imperial Stud, Chen Ziyou [1543–1626], and it had exceptionally fine brushwork.¹² On looking now at this handscroll, [I see that] it was in the [Northern Song] imperial collection during the Xuanhe reign period [1119–25] and still bears all of the small imperial seals; it is certainly not a work with which the likes of Ma Yuan [late 12th–early 13th century] or Xia



Gui [active first half 13th century] could compete. At the end [of the scroll], there is a colophon written by Lu Wenyu [Lu Shen] from my home district. Both it and the painting are a pair of exceptional works and should be especially treasured. Fifth day after mid-autumn in the *jiwei* year [September 27, 1619], inscribed by Dong Qichang.

Signature: 董其昌

Dong Qichang

Date: 己未中秋後五日

Fifth day after mid-autumn in the *jiwei* year [September 27, 1619]

Seals: (2)

Taishi shi 『太史氏』 (square intaglio)

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

Collector seals: (23)

1. Zhao Ji, Emperor Huizong of the Song dynasty 宋徽宗趙佶 (1082–1135; reigned 1101–25) –

(5) fake?

Double dragon seal (circle relief; left half)¹³ – painting, top right – (1/2)

Xuanhe 『宣和』 (rectangle relief; left half) – painting, bottom right – (1/2)

Double dragon seal (circle relief; right half) – painting, top left – (2/2)

Xuanhe 『宣和』 (rectangle relief; right half) – painting, lower left – (2/2) *Yushu* 『御書』

(rectangle relief; right half) – painting, bottom left



2. Xiang Yuanbian 項元汴 (1525–1590) – (8) – all half-seals

[Molin] miwan 『[墨林] 祕玩』 (square relief; left half) – painting, upper right

[Pingsheng] zhenshang 『[訂生] 真賞』 (square relief; left half) – painting, mid right – (1/3)

[Xiang Molin fu] miji zhiyin 『[項墨林父] 祕笈之印』 (rectangle relief; left half) – painting, lower right

Pingsheng [zhenshang] 『訂生[真賞]』 (square relief; right half) – painting, mid left – (2/3)

[Pingsheng] zhenshang 『[訂生] 真賞』 (square relief; left half) – colophon, top right – (3/3)

[Xiang Zijing] jiazhencang 『[項子京] 家真藏』 (rectangle relief; left half) – colophon, upper right

[Xiang Molin] jianshang zhang 『[項墨林] 鑑賞章』 (rectangle intaglio; left half) – colophon, mid right

[Zuili Xiang shi] shijia baowan 『[樵李項氏] 士家寶玩』 (rectangle relief; left half) – colophon, lower right

3. Wang Hui 王翬 (1632–1717)¹⁴ – (1)

Wang Hui zhi yin 『王翬之印』 (square intaglio) – painting, lower right

4. Lu Shusheng 陸樹聲 (died 1933)¹⁵ – (1)

Gui'an Lu Shusheng kaocang jinshi shuhua yin 『歸安陸樹聲攷藏金石書畫印』 (square intaglio) – colophon, lower left



5. Wanyan Jingxian 完顏景賢 (died 1927?)¹⁶ – (6)

Jingxian shending 『景賢審定』 (square relief) – painting, mid right – (1/2)

Xiaoru'an miji 『小如庵祕笈』 (square relief) – painting, mid right

Jin Zhang shixi Jingxing Weixian 『金章世系景行維賢』 (rectangle intaglio) – painting,
lower left

Renzhai mingxin zhi pin 『任齋銘心之品』 (square relief) – painting, lower left

Jingxian shending 『景賢審定』 (square relief) – colophon, lower right – (2/2)

Wanyan Jingxian zi Hengfu hao Pusun yi zi Renzhai biehao Xiaoru'an yin 『完顏景賢字亨
父號樸孫一字任齋別號小如庵印』 (square intaglio) – colophon, lower left

6. Unidentified – (2)

Jie 『解』 (circle intaglio)¹⁷ – painting, lower left

Yifen yinxin 『貽汾印信』 (square relief)¹⁸ – colophon, lower right

Traditional Chinese sources and catalogues: (8)

Attributed to Guo Xi 郭熙 (ca. 1001–ca. 1090)

1. Lu Shen 陸深 (1477–1544). *Yanshan ji* 儼山集. 87:3b–4a. In WSKQS.

Lu Shen colophon quoted in:



Sun Yueban 孫岳頒 (1639–1708), Wang Yuanqi 王原祁 (1642–1715) et al., comps.

Peiwenzhai shuhua pu 佩文齋書畫譜. Preface 1708. Yangzhou 揚州: Yangzhou shiju 揚州詩局, 1708. 82:40a–b.

Attributed to Xia Gui 夏珪 (active ca. 1195–1230)

2. Wang Keyu 汪砢玉 (1587–after 1643). *Shanhuwang hualu* 珊瑚網畫錄. Preface 1643. In China: Shiyuan congshu 適園叢書, 1914–16. 30:8b–9a.

Wang Keyu entry quoted in:

Bian Yongyu 卞永譽 (1645–1712), comp. *Shigutang shuhua huikao* 式古堂書畫彙考 (1680–82). Wuxing 吳興: Jian'gu shushe 鑑古書社, 1921. Pp. 14:61b–62a.

Sun Yueban 孫岳頒 (1639–1708), Wang Yuanqi 王原祁 (1642–1715) et al., comps.

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Li E 厲鶚 (1692–1752), comp. *Nansongyuan hualu* 南宋院畫錄 (1721). In Yang Jialuo 楊家駱, ed. *Yishu congbian* 藝術叢編. Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1962. Vol. 15, no. 128–129, 6:15b–16a.

Attributed to Juran 巨然 (active ca. 960–995)

3. Lu Xinyuan 陸心源 (1834–1894). *Rangliguan guoyan lu* 穰梨館過眼錄 (1891). Wuxing 吳興: Yigutang 儀顧堂, 1891. 2:4a–5b.



Lu Xinyuan colophon quoted in:

Lu Xinyuan. *Yigutang tiba* 儀顧堂題跋. Preface 1890. 14:9a–b. In *Qingren shumu tiba congan* 清人書目題跋叢刊. Vol. 2. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990. P. 169, top.

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Anonymous. —Views of the Yang-tze-kiang, Attributed to Chu-jan. In *Kokka* 國華 252 (May 1911): 328, 335–36, and plates 2–3.

Kümmel, Otto (1874–1952). *Die Kunst Ostasiens*. Berlin: B. Cassirer, 1921. Plates 46–47.

Sirén, Osvald (1879–1966). *Chinese Paintings in American Collections*. 5 vols. Paris and Brussels: G. van Oest, 1928. Vol. 3, plate 82.

Fischer, Otto (1886–1948). *Die Kunst Indiens, Chinas und Japans*. Berlin: Propyläen-Verlag, [1928]. P. 491.

_____. *Chinesische landschaftsmalerei*. Berlin: Paul Neff Verlag, 1943. Plate 48.

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. Plates 49–51.



Cohn, William (1880–1961). *Chinese Painting*. London: Phaidon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1948. Plate 43.

Cahill, James F. —Late Ming Landscape Albums and European Printed Books. In Sandra Hindman, ed. *Early Illustrated Books: Essays in Honor of Lessing J. Rosenwald*. Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1982. P. 154 (fig. 4).

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Suzuki Kei 鈴木敬 (1920–2007), ed. *Chūgoku kaiga sōgō zuroku* 中國繪畫總合圖錄 (Comprehensive Illustrated Catalogue of Chinese Paintings). 5 vols. Tokyo: University of Tokyo, 1982–83. Vol.1, 234–35 (A21–114).

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. 1, 82–83 (plates 81–82) and 179 (discussion).

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Fong, Wen C., Chin-Sung Chang, and Maxwell K. Hearn. *Landscapes Clear and Radiant: The Art of Wang Hui (1632–1717)*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008. P. 150 (fig. 121).



APPENDIX¹⁹

General Categories of 240 Place Names on the Scroll

Note: Place names listed below that appear in brackets [] are included under that particular rubric for the sake of completeness, but are counted under a different rubric.

1. Natural Features (122)

Rivers, confluences (16)

001 汶川

021 錦宮江合

030 思蒙江合

042 清溪江合

043 大渡河合

047 馬湖江合

050 長寧江合

053 資簡江合

065 嘉陵

067 鄰山鄰水江合

072 黔江合

[094 寧江井]

144 通濟口

153 漢口

161 礮口



224 徐口

240 海門

***Gorges* (7)**

054 青草峽

058 馬肝峽

085 南鄉峽

096 瞿塘峽

108 巫峽

125 歸峽

126 明月峽

***Rapids* (4)**

093 龍脊灘

103 流石灘

208 白鶴灘

120 人鮓甕

***Islands* (5)**

145 鸚鵡洲

146 散花洲

[155 蘆洲浦]



181 磨背洲

196 丁家洲

233 瓜洲

Sandbars, gravel bars (4)

015 離堆

063 鷓鴣堆

095 灘瀨堆

190 長風沙

Other river features (6)

155 蘆洲浦

166 湓浦

238 申浦

187 鷹汊

225 龍灣

237 下港

Promontories, cliffs, rocks (12)

143 赤壁磯

178 彭浪磯

180 風火磯

185 祝家磯



186 蝦磯

197 扳磯

198 鶚磯

201 夏易磯

128 蝦蟆培

154 赤壁

189 羅剎石

228 落帆石

Dikes, embankments (2)

130 町善堤

017 江心堤

Crossing points (2)

020 芳草渡

215 烏江渡

Mountains (50)

003 雪山

005 青城山

009 虎頭山

014 大面山



016 六六峰

019 修覺山

024 蟆頤山

031 瓦屋山

033 月山峰

037 眉山

038 烏油山

040 九項山

055 安樂山

059 塗山

064 洪山

[067 鄰山鄰水江合]

074 町都山

076 望夫山

084 飛鳳山

088 勝巳山

090 手巾山

097 白鹽山

100 赤甲山

101 琵琶峰

110 馬餘嶺

112 十二峰

113 白馬山



118 臥牛山

124 假十二峰

127 扇子峰

140 君山

150 大別山

160 峴山

167 廬山

170 天子障

171 雙劍峰

174 大孤山

177 小孤山

182 馬當山

188 皖公山

194 九華山 204

東糧山 205 西

糧山

209 望夫山

212 慈母山

213 石灰山

214 烈山

221 蔣山

230 方山



231 金山

236 焦山

[048 山門寨山]

[049 保子山寨]

[200 遮山寨]

Passes (2)

008 蚕[叢]關

012 玉壘關

Miscellaneous (12)

039 大佛象

062 古渝

066 春酒甕

079 岑公洞

089 八陣圖

094 寧江井

107 南陵百八盤 121 黃牛影

122 黃牛珠

132 鑽天二里

133 望州坡

164 富池



2. Centers of Government (73)

Civil administrative centers (47)

036 嘉定府

061 重慶府

086 夔府

135 荊南府

232 鎮江府

025 眉州

044 敘州

070 涪州

075 忠州

078 万州

117 歸州

131 峽州

142 岳州

152 鄂州

158 黃州

162 蘄州

168 江州

192 池州

202 太町州



[133 望州坡]

[106 施州鹽倉]

011 青城縣 018

新津縣

022 彭山縣

028 青神縣

035 峨眉縣

041 犍為縣

045 宣化縣

052 江安縣

056 合江縣

057 江津縣

068 樂溫縣

071 豐都縣

077 武寧縣

082 雲安縣

102 巫山縣

115 巴東縣

134 枝江縣

139 公安縣 176 湖口縣

179 彭澤縣



184 東流縣

193 青陽縣

199 蕪湖縣

027 石佛鎮

191 池口鎮

207 采石鎮

218 靖安鎮

220 長蘆

Military administrative centers (4)

013 永康軍

051 瀘川軍

148 漢陽軍

239 江陰軍

Military fortifications (3)

048 山門寨山

049 保子山寨

200 遮山寨

Cities, villages, market centers (16)

092 南城

099 白帝城



223 石頭城

104 南陵

159 武昌

211 歷陽

217 建康

226 東陽

109 掉石村

114 比石村

175 桑落村

136 沙市

147 南草市

195 大通市

203 大信市

210 慈湖市

Granaries, salt depots (3)

106 施州鹽倉

206 萬石倉

229 倉



3. Architectural Structures (40)

Daoist monasteries (5)

007 丈人觀

023 至德觀

073 豐都觀

111 凝真觀

119 天慶觀

Shrines, memorial temples (12)

010 蒙德廟

060 禹廟

069 張飛廟

083 中顯廟

098 白帝廟

116 查神廟

123 黃牛廟

165 昭勇廟

173 娘娘廟

183 馬當廟

216 霸王廟

222 龍女祠



Buddhist temples (9)

029 中岩寺

081 下岩寺

087 景福寺

091 報恩寺

137 二聖寺

172 江寺

219 半山寺

227 天寧寺

235 甘露寺

Pavilions, etc. (14)

026 岷峨亭

046 鎮江亭

129 至善亭

034 萬景樓

138 楚樓

141 岳陽樓

149 南樓

151 黃鶴樓

157 月坡樓

163 捲雪樓



169 庾樓

234 多景樓

105 楚宮

156 雪堂

4. Illegible (5)

002 □□□

004 □□

006 白□□

032 □□

080 □□



Notes

¹ The total distance depicted on the scroll is estimated at around 4750 kilometers (or 2850 miles). Along the course of the Min River 岷江 (written on the scroll as Minchuan 汶川 [001]), the view is roughly east to west, with east at the bottom of the scroll and west at top. From the juncture of the Min with the Jinsha River 金沙江 at the modern town of Yibin 宜賓 (called Xuzhou 叙州

[044] on the painting), the view is generally from north to south, with north at the bottom and south at the top. Measuring over sixteen and a half meters (54 feet) in length, this mid-12th to early 13th century handscroll is the earliest surviving painting to depict the full length of the Yangzi River and contains numerous details of historical interest. (A discussion of the place names inscribed on the painting and the depiction of selected sites is forthcoming.)

² Interspersed with the Chinese characters are the following comments in English: —Chu Yanl (Mr. Ma). 10,000 *li*. By Chu Jan – Very early Sung (Giles).

³ The attribution to Juran 巨然 (active ca. 960–995) is the latest of three known attributions of this painting. The earliest was to Guo Xi 郭熙 (ca. 1001–ca. 1090), in the attached 1534 colophon by Lu Shen 陸深 (1477–1544; see Colophon 1). A century later, Wang Keyu 汪砢玉 (1587–after 1643) attributed the painting to Xia Gui 夏珪 (active ca. 1195–1230) in his catalogue *Shanhuwang hualu* 珊瑚網畫錄 (preface 1643). It was only with Lu Xinyuan 陸心源 (1834–1894) in the late nineteenth century that the painting was recorded with an attribution to Juran. For all three references, see —Traditional Chinese sources and catalogues.¶



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⁴ While the text is not written on the scroll itself, Lu Xinyuan 陸心源 (1834–1894) also composed a colophon for the scroll, which he included in his collection catalogue; see Lu Xinyuan, *Rangliguan guoyan lu* 穰梨館過眼錄 (Wuxing 吳興: Yigutang 儀顧堂, 1891), 2:5a–b;



or *Yigutang tiba* 儀顧堂題跋, 14:9a–b, in *Qingren shumu tiba congkan* 清人書目題跋叢刊, vol. 2 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), 169, top.

⁵ The written place names inscribed in red ink are not original to the painting, but were added by a later hand. In his colophon, Lu Xinyuan accepts the Northern Song dynasty imperial seals on the painting as authentic (see Collector Seals 1) and concludes that scroll is the *Changjiang tu* 長江圖 (Yangzi River) by Juran, which is recorded in the *Xuanhe huapu* 宣和畫譜 as part of the Northern Song imperial collection of Emperor Huizong 徽宗 (reigned 1101–25). Since the calligraphy of the place names is rather clumsy (*zhuo* 拙), resembling the writing found in Northern Song census records (*hukouce* 戶口冊), Lu conjectures that the scroll left the imperial collection during the chaos at the end of the Northern Song dynasty (1126–27) and was later acquired by a military official, who had a clerk add the place names. He further notes that the place names reflect administrative changes enacted during the reign of Emperor Xiaozong 孝宗 (reigned 1163–90), and therefore must have been added to the scroll sometime after those changes were made. For Lu Xinyuan's comments, see references listed in note 3, above.

⁶ The 240 place names written along the length of the painting fall into three main categories: 122 name natural features of the terrain, such as rivers and mountains; 73 name governmental centers, along with other cities and towns; and 40 name architectural structures, such as temples and pavilions; while an additional five names are illegible. See Appendix.

⁷ In all but two cases, nos. 060 and 173, the character *miao* 廟 (shrine) is written with the short form 庙; see nos. 010, 069, 083, 098, 116, 123, 165, 183, and 216.



⁸ In all cases along the painting, the character *zhou* 洲 (island) is written with a 土 radical on the left; see nos. 145, 146, 155, 181, 196, and 233. That character is not included in available character sets.

⁹ Zhang Dalun 張大輪 (active 1510–ca. 1551), *zi* Yongzai 用載, *hao* Xiashan 夏山, was a scholar-official from Dongyang 東陽 in Jinhua 金華 county, Zhejiang Province. Starting in 1514, Zhang served in various capacities both at court and in the provinces, and in 1534, at the time of this colophon, was Lu Shen's fellow vice-commissioner in the Jiangxi Provincial Administration Commission located in Nanchang 南昌, Jiangxi.

¹⁰ Jingkou 京口 is an old name for the modern city Zhenjiang 鎮江, on the Yangzi River in Jiangsu Province. The highly valued *chengxintang* paper 澄心堂紙 was a thin, but unusually strong, and glossy paper, which was made at the court of the Southern Tang kingdom (937–75). In later times, it was highly valued for painting and calligraphy. See Chen Baozhen 陳葆真, —Yishu diwang Li Houzhu (san) 藝術帝王李後主 (三), in *Meishushi yanjiu jikan* 美術史研究集刊 6 (March 1999), 109–12.

¹¹ This colophon is recorded in Lu Shen's collected works, where it bears a title attributing the painting to Guo Xi 郭熙 (ca. 1001–ca. 1090). See —Ba Guo Xi *Changjiang wanli tu* 跋郭熙《長江萬里圖》 (Colophon for *Ten Thousand Li Along the Yangzi River*, by Guo Xi), in Lu Shen, *Yanshan ji* 儼山集, 87:3b–4a, in WSKQS.



¹² This famous river painting attributed to Li Gonglin 李公麟 (ca. 1049–1106)—which is included elsewhere in this website (see F1916.539)—bears a colophon by Chen Suoyun 陳所蘊 (1543–1626) as well as two of his collector seals. Chen Suoyun, *zi* Ziyou 子有, was a native of

Shanghai 上海. He passed his *jinshi* examination in 1589, in the same graduating class as Dong Qichang, and subsequently served in government both at court and in the provinces. He eventually attained the position of *Nanjing taipusi shaoqing* 南京太僕寺少卿 (vice minister of the court of the imperial stud in Nanjing), from which he retired around 1612. See Wang Shiqing 汪世清, —Dong Qichang de jiaoyou 董其昌的交游, 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), 2:469.

¹³ During the reign of Emperor Huizong 徽宗 (reigned 1101–25), a double-dragon seal of the general design seen in the two impressions on this scroll was usually placed at the beginning of handscrolls in the imperial collection. However, the seal on this scroll does not entirely match genuine impressions found elsewhere. See two authentic impressions reproduced in Wang Yaot'ing, —Beyond the *Admonitions* Scroll: A Study of its Mounting, Seals, and Inscriptions, in Shane McCauseland, ed., *Gu Kaizhi and the Admonitions Scroll* (London: The British Museum, 2003): 193 and 207 (seals 7.1 and 7.3).

¹⁴ For comments on the influence such long landscape paintings as the present scroll may have had on the painter Wang Hui 王翬 (1632–1717), see Maxwell K. Hearn, —Art Creates History:



Wang Hui and *The Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour*,” in Wen C. Fong, Chin-Sung Chang, and Maxwell K. Hearn, *Landscapes Clear and Radiant: The Art of Wang Hui (1632–1717)* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008), 150.

¹⁵ Lu Shusheng 陸樹聲 (died 1933) was the third son of Lu Xinyuan (see notes 3–5, above). While no date is certain, the painting may have been sold by 1907, the year that his older brother,

Lu Shufan 陸樹藩 (1868–1926), disposed of their father's great library.

¹⁶ The Freer painting should be distinguished from another work with the same title and attribution. In their respective painting catalogues, both Wanyan Jingxian 完顏景賢 (died 1927?) and his contemporary Li Baoxun 李葆恂 (1859–1915) list a painting attributed to Juran with the title *Changjiang tu* 長江圖 (Yangzi River) that was in the collection of Duanfang 端方 (1861–1911), whose own catalogue records the details about the scroll. Wanyan Jingxian notes that Duanfang took this painting with him to Sichuan in 1911, where he was assassinated by prorepublican forces, after which the scroll was acquired by an unnamed individual and later destroyed by fire. See Wanyan Jingxian, *Sanyutang shuhua mu* 三虞堂書畫目 (pref. 1933) (China: n.p., [1933]), xia:3a, Li Baoxun, *Wuyiyouyizhai lunhua shi* 無益有益齋論畫詩 (Hankou: Weixin yinshuguan, 1909), 1:9a-b; and Duanfang, *Renyin xiaoxia lu* 壬寅消夏錄 (1902), in *Xuxiu Siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書, 1800 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995–2002), 1089:310–11. Earlier, the same scroll was discussed in Yun Shouping 惲壽暉 (1633–1690), *Nantian huaba* 南田畫跋 (Shanghai: Tongwen tushuguan, 1915), 37b–39a.



While the Freer scroll has the same attribution and basic title, was also in Duanfang's collection, and bears six collector seals of Wanyan Jingxian, it is clearly a different work than the one recorded in the above four catalogues, none of which list or describe it. The fact that no indication of Duanfang's ownership appears on the scroll itself may reflect the short time that it was in his possession. For Duanfang's ownership of the Freer scroll, see: Taki Sei-ichi 瀧精一 (1873–1945), —Art Treasures in the Collection of Mr. Tuan-fang, Ex-Viceroy of Chih-li,¹⁷ in *Kokka* 國華 250 (March 1911): 263–64; and anonymous, —Views of the Yang-tze-kiang, Attributed to Chu-jan,¹⁸ in *Kokka* 國華 252 (May 1911): 328, 335–36, and plates 2–3.

A third painting attributed to Juran with the title —Ten-thousand Li along the Yangzi River¹⁹ is described in Zhang Geng 張庚 (1685–1760), comp., *Tuhua jingyi shi* 圖畫精意識, in Yang Jialuo 楊家駱, ed., *Yishu congbian* 藝術叢編 (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1962), vol. 1, no. 14, 59.

¹⁷ This may be a seal of the unidentified individual surnamed Song 宋, referred to as Song *jiyuan* 宋解元 (Provincial Graduate with Highest Honors, Song), whose colophon was once attached to the scroll. Evidently, the colophon contained a serious error of some kind and was removed. See Wang Keyu 汪砢玉 (1587–after 1643). *Shanhuwang hualu* 珊瑚網畫錄 (preface 1643), in Zhang Junheng 張鈞衡 (1872–1927), comp., *Shiyuan congshu* 適園叢書, collection eight (Wucheng 烏程: Privately printed, 1916), 30:9a.

¹⁸ This may be a seal of the painter Tang Yifen 湯貽汾 (1778–1853); however, it is not listed under his name in available seal indices.



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¹⁹ Further analysis and discussion of the place names is forthcoming.