



Smithsonian
Freer Gallery of Art and
Arthur M. Sackler Gallery

Freer Gallery of Art
Completed: 31 August 2007
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F1911.195

Trad. attrib. to: Zhou Wenju 周文矩 (active mid-10th century)
Title: *The Double Screen: Emperor Li Jing Watching his Brothers Play Weiqi*

《重屏圖》

Chongping tu

Dynasty/Date: Ming, 14th century
Format: Handscroll
Medium: Ink and color on silk
Dimensions: 31.3 x 50.0 cm (12-5/16 x 19-11/16 in)
Credit line: Gift of Charles Lang Freer
Accession no.: F1911.195
Provenance: Loon Gu Sai, Peking (Beijing)

Label slip: Unidentified. Mounted on new backing paper, glued to outside flap

1 column, standard script (last four characters very damaged)

唐周文矩《李後主觀棋圖》，真跡神[品]。

Li Houzhu Observing a Game of Weiqi, by Zhou Wenju of the Tang dynasty; a genuine work of the divine [category].¹

Signature: none

Date: none

Seals: none



Frontispiece: unused brown paper; no seals

Painting Condition: Very damaged throughout. Right side: strip of rough replacement silk top to bottom, varying in width. Lower left corner: also replacement silk.

Artist Inscription: ? – small traces of possible lost signature or other text on lower left of painting²

Colophons: (3)

1. Wu Kuan 吳寬 (1436–1504) – forgery³

Ink on sutra paper. Separately mounted, with silk surround.

Paper dimensions: 30.2 x 57.4 cm (11-7/8 x 22-9/16 in)

Maker's seal: (1) – Jinsushan temple 金粟山

Jinsushan cang jingzhi 『金粟山藏經紙』 (rectangle relief)

20 columns, running-standard script.

繪事之傳久矣，自漢晉始，唐宋為最盛。其間以畫名者，不知凡幾，如山水、人物、仕女、花卉、翎毛、走獸、昆虫之類，俱各擅所長。其所最重[者*]圖像者，蓋以其與史事相表裏，皆有關政治學問，非徒以工麗巧飾為能也。漢人則有《歷代帝王像》，諸葛武侯有《八陣圖》，曹弗興有《兵符圖》，毛惠遠有《列女像》，曹霸有《功臣像》，張僧繇有《夜月觀泉圖》，展子虔有《遊春圖》，閻立本有《孔子弟子像》，陳閔有《八公圖》，張擇端有《清明上河圖》。或以隆盛德也，重軍旅也，褒烈忠也，紀勝遊也，興文教也，慎政治也，諫君上也，皆有所感發而作也。右



周文矩《李後主觀棋圖》。余弱冠時，曾於張都諫家見之。其神采、衣紋、絹色、傳采，皆古穆渾厚。前有宋思陵瘦金書「周文矩李後主觀棋圖」九字，在隔水綾上。後蘇軾、胡完夫、陳直齋、鮮于樞、柯九思諸跋，洵稱至寶。癸亥九月十日過王子履亨齋中，出此見示。其筆墨精妙，與都諫所藏無異，的是唐人真品。第諸題跋不知何時為俗手割去，歎惜竟日。因題數語歸之履亨，其善寶諸。延陵吳寬。

*注：[者]字被點去。

[First section not translated].....At right is the picture *Last Ruler Li Watching a Game of Weiqi*. When I was newly capped [at age nineteen: 1455], I once saw this painting at the home of Censor Zhang. ...On the mounting silk in front [of the painting], Emperor Siling [Gaozong] of the Song dynasty [reigned 1127–62] had inscribed nine characters in slender gold [calligraphy]: *Last Ruler Li Watching a Game of Weiqi*.⁴ Mounted behind were several colophons by Su Shi [1037–1101], Hu Wanfu [Zongyu, 1029–1094], Chen Zhizhai [Zhensun, ca. 1183–ca. 1261], Xianyu Shu [1246–1302], and Ke Jiusi [1290–1343], all of which were extremely valuable. On the tenth day of the ninth lunar-month in the *guihai* year [September 29, 1503], I visited the studio of Master Wang Lüheng [unidentified, see Collector Seals], who brought out this scroll to show me. Its brushwork and ink are subtle and refined, and there are no differences with the [painting] owned by the Censor, so it is certainly a genuine work by an artist of the [Southern] Tang period [937–75]. I do not know when some vulgar hand cut off the [front] inscription and all the colophons, but I sighed in regret [over it] the whole day.⁵ Thus I have inscribed a few words and am returning [the scroll] to [Wang] Lüheng, that he may treasure it well. Wu Kuan from Yanling [modern Changzhou, in Jiangsu Province].

Signature: 吳寬

Wu Kuan



Date: 癸亥九月十日

Tenth day of the ninth lunar-month in the *guihai* year [September 29, 1503]

Seals: (1)

Yuanbo 『原博』 (square relief)

2. Li Yan'gua 李延适 (1868–after 1906)⁶

Text by Lu Xinyuan 陸心源 (1834–1894), dated 1892⁷

Ink on paper. First of three same-size sheets, continuously mounted.

29 columns; running-standard script

此南唐畫院周文矩所畫李中主璟兄弟四人圍棋之象，宋人稱為《重屏圖》者也。見陸友仁《硯北雜志》卷二，原本畫于屏風。畫中又有屏上繪白樂天詩意，故曰重屏。至宋祐陵得之，始裝為軸而書白詩于上。中座當為南唐中主，見王明清《揮塵三錄》卷三，宋思陵始誤題為《後主觀棋圖》。非樓宣獻出示明⁸清，非明清以家藏中主象核對，亦莫辨其為中主也。中主兄弟五人，楚王景遷前卒，則此三人為晉王景遂、齊王景達、江王景暹矣。而孰為遂，孰為達，孰為暹，雖明清亦不能一一証之耳。榻上右首有古銅投壺一，壺中有矢三，榻上有矢二未投；傍有奕譜匣一；左有橫几，橫几上宮奩一、藤隱囊一、元匣一。傍有童子俯首而立，神情飄舉，真有頰上添手之妙。南宋之季，為樓宣獻大防所藏，劉後村為之跋，亦見《硯北雜志》。後經柯九思、王履亨、項元汴、王阮亭諸家所藏，故裱綾有『縉真齋』、『王履亨』、『項元汴』、『王士禎』諸印，相傳皆沿後主觀棋之誤。余考訂諸書，証中座為中主，復題《重屏圖》舊名。千年舊物一旦豁然，雖絹敝墨渝，而神采如生，誠



可寶也，誠可快也。白樂天《偶眠詩》云：「放杯書案上，枕臂火爐前，老愛尋思事，慵多取次眠，妻教卸烏帽，婢與展青氈，便是屏風樣，何勞畫古賢？」；亦見《硯北襍志》。惜徽宗御書白詩不可得見耳。光緒壬辰十月，歸安陸心源剛父題。丙午八月，烏程李延适書。

[Translation forthcoming]

Signature: 李延适
Li Yan'gua

Date: Text composed: 光緒壬辰十月
Tenth lunar-month of the *renchen* year in the Guangxu reign period [November 19–December 18, 1892]
Text inscribed: [光緒]丙午八月
Eighth lunar-month of the *bingwu* year [September 18–October 17, 1906]

Seals: (2)
Gua 『适』 (square relief)
Li shi Zhongshu 『李氏仲殊』 (rectangle intaglio)

3. Saying'a 薩迎阿 (active 1808–1857)⁹

Ink on paper. Second and third sheets, continuously mounted.

Total dimensions: 29.8 x 85.8 cm. (11-11/16 x 33-13/16 in.)

Ruled-line box with twenty-four ruled columns in light green ink.



22 columns, running script. 道光壬寅清和浴佛日，彭春農讀學招同卓海帆協揆、龔季思大宗伯、沈定甫少空、李芝齡揔憲，小飲於姚伯昂閣學寓之君子世界中，雅集也。是日芝齡先生攜右軍書《感懷》卷、松雪書《拄杖歌》、周文矩畫《李後主觀奕圖》卷。余亦攜右軍《感懷》卷，來互相考證。兩卷筆稍參差，其為雙鉤填廓無異。松雪書極佳，惜間為六丁所掣。此卷吳原博追憶宋徽宗瘦金體題籤九字，證為文矩所繪。古人手跡真贋難定，以佳為歸。觀其奕者、觀者，各得其神，後主諸王紗帽中，皆露頂髮，筆法精妙絕倫，足供賞鑒家之清玩。其出自文矩之手與否，可毋庸置議。後主與諸王手談以敘天倫之樂，情篤友愛，攬者亦將有感於斯圖。芝齡先生命題，湘林薩應阿觀謹識。

On Bathing Buddha Day in *qinghe* [the fourth lunar-month] of the *renyin* year in the Daoguang reign period [May 17, 1842], Academician Reader Peng Chunong invited me, together with Assistant Grand Secretary Zhuo Haifan, Minister of Rites Gong Jisi, Shen Dingfu who is on hiatus [from office], and Censor-in-chief Li Zhiling, for an informal drink at an —elegant gathering‖ of gentleman at the residence of Secretariat Academician Yao Bo'ang.¹⁰ On that day, Mister [Li] Zhiling brought along his handscroll *Moved by Emotion* written by [Wang Xizhi, ca. 303–ca. 361] of the Army of the Right, *Leaning on My Staff* written by Songxue [Zhao Mengfu, 1254–1322], and the handscroll *Last Ruler Li Watching a Game of Weiqi* painted by Zhou Wenju.¹¹ I also brought along my handscroll of *Moved by Emotion* by [Wang Xizhi of the] Army of the Right for us to study and compare. The brushwork in both scrolls [by Wang Xizhi] is rather uneven, and they are undoubtedly [copies] made by the trace-and-fill [method]. Songxue's calligraphy is extremely beautiful, but it is a pity that sections of it [are missing]. As evidence that this scroll was painted by Zhou Wenju, Wu Yuanbo [Wu Kuan, see Colophon 1] recollected nine characters written on a label in the slender-gold style of Emperor Huizong of the Song.¹² But the authenticity of works by the old masters is hard to determine, and attributions



should be assigned on the basis of excellence. Each of the *[weiqi]* players and onlookers [exhibits his own individual] spirit, and the hair on the heads of the Last Ruler and the princes is clearly visible through their gauze hats, so one can see that the brushwork is subtle and refined beyond compare, and [the painting] is good enough to be offered as an object for the delectation of connoisseurs. Whether or not it comes from the hand of Zhou Wenju need not be discussed. The *[weiqi]* game being played by the Last Ruler and the princes is used [as a metaphor] to describe the happiness of family relations [based on] sincere affection and brotherly love, so viewers [in the future] will also be moved by this picture.¹³ Writing at the command of Mister [Li] Zhiling,¹⁴ viewed and respectfully inscribed by Xianglin Saying'a.

Signature: 薩迎阿
Saying'a

Date: 道光壬寅清和浴佛日
Bathing Buddha Day in *qinghe* [the fourth lunar-month] of the *renyin* year in the Daoguang reign period [May 17, 1842]

Seals: (4)
Xintaipingshi 『心太平室』 (oval relief)¹⁵
Saying'a yin 『薩迎阿印』 (rectangle relief)
Xianglin 『湘林』 (square intaglio)

Collector seals: (41)



1. Zhao Gou, Emperor Gaozong of the Southern Song 南宋高宗趙構 (1107–1187;
reigned 1127–62) – (1) – fake

Shaoxing 『紹』 『興』 (linked-square relief, right half) – painting, upper left

2. Ke Jiusi 柯九思 (1290–1343) – (1) – black ink – fake¹⁶

Yunzhenzhai 『縉眞齋』 (rectangle relief) — mounting silk 1, left

3. Wang Lüheng 王履亨 (late 15th century; unidentified)¹⁷ – (2)

Taiyuan Wang shi jianfang 『太原王氏鑒藏』 (rectangle relief) – mounting silk 2, left

Lüheng 『履亨』 (square intaglio) – mounting silk 2, lower left

4. Wen Zhengming 文徵明 (1470–1559)¹⁸ – (1) – genuine/fake?

Wuyanshi yin 『悟言室印』 (square intaglio) – mounting silk 2, lower left corner

5. Zhu Lang 朱郎 (early to mid-16th century)¹⁹ – (1) – genuine/fake?

Zhu Zilang 『朱子郎』 (square relief/intaglio) – mounting silk 2, left

6. Xiang Yuanbian 項元汴 (1525–1590) – (2) – genuine/fake?

Xiang Yuanbian yin 『項元汴印』 (square relief) – mounting silk 1

Shenpin 『神』 『品』 (linked-square relief) – painting, right²⁰



7. Zhu Zhichi 朱之赤 (active 1620s–1680s?) – (2) – genuine?

Wo'an suocang 『臥庵所藏』 (square relief) – painting/mounting silk 2, join²¹

Wo'an fu 『臥庵父』 (square relief)²² – mounting silk 2, left

8. Wang Shizhen 王士禎 (1634–1711) – (1) – genuine/fake?

Wang Shizhen 『王士禎』 (square intaglio) – mounting silk 1, right

9. Wang Shihong 汪士鋐 (1658–1723) – (1) – genuine/fake?

Tuigu 『退谷』 (square relief) – mounting silk 1, left

10. Zhu Chongdian 朱崇典 (active mid-18th century) – (2)

Zhu Chongdian yin 『朱崇典印』 (square intaglio) – mounting silk 2, lower right

Zizi sunsun yong zhi xiang xiang 『子子孫孫用之象相』 (square intaglio) –
mounting silk 2, lower right

11. Pak Chega (Pu Qijia) 樸齊家 (1750–1805), Korean – (2)

Pu Qijia yin 『朴齊家印』 (square intaglio) – mounting silk 1, middle

Chaoxian shichen 『朝鮮使臣』 (square relief) – mounting silk 1, middle

12. Tang Zuomei 唐作梅 (active late 18th century) – (2)



Tang Zuomei 『唐作梅』 (square relief) – colophon 1, lower left

Beizhisheng 『北枝生』 (square relief) – colophon 1, lower left

13. Saying'a 薩應阿 (active 1808–1857) – (1) – see above, Colophon 3
Xianglin guoyan 『湘林過眼』 (square intaglio) – mounting silk 2, right

14. Delin 德林 (active mid-19th century) – (4)

De 『德』 (square relief) – mounting silk 1, middle

Ershisiqin shuwu Tieke miji jinshi shuhua zhi yin 『二十四琴書屋鐵客秘笈金石書
畫之印』 (rectangle relief) – mounting silk 1, middle

Delin siyin 『德林私印』 (square intaglio) – mounting silk 2, left

Tieke xinshang 『鐵客心賞』 (oval relief) – mounting silk 2, left

15. Shaoxian 紹誠 (mid- to late 19th century) – (2)

Shaoxian 『紹』 『誠』 (linked-square relief) – mounting silk 1, right

Shaoxian baiguan 『紹誠拜觀』 (square intaglio) – mounting silk 2, right

16. Lu Shusheng 陸樹聲 (died 1933)²³ – (3)

Qingshen jianyue 『清慎儉約』 (square relief) – mounting silk 2, middle



Gui'an Lu Shusheng duhua ji 『歸安陸樹聲讀畫記』 (square intaglio) – mounting silk
2, middle

Gui'an Lu Shusheng Shutongfu yin 『歸安陸樹聲叔桐父印』 (square intaglio) –
colophon 1, lower left

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

Yanbo huafang 『煙波畫舫』 (pottery-shard relief) – mounting silk 1, right

Renzhai mingxin zhi pin 『任齋銘心之品』 (square relief) – mounting silk 1, right

Jingxing weixian 『景行維賢』 (square intaglio) – mounting silk 2, middle

Jing yin changle 『景印長樂』 (square intaglio) – mounting silk 2, middle

Xiaoru'an miji 『小如庵秘笈』 (square relief) – colophon 1, lower right

18. Unidentified – (8)

Guozi jiju 『國子祭酒』 (square relief) – mounting silk 1, right

Kong Jia fu 『孔嘉父』 (square intaglio) – mounting silk 1, left

Undeciphered half-seal (square intaglio) – mounting silk 1, bottom left

Undeciphered half-seal (square relief) – painting/mounting silk 2 join, lower left

Undeciphered half-seal (rectangle intaglio) – painting/ mounting silk 2 join, lower
left²⁴

Renbentang 『仁本堂』 (square relief) – painting, bottom left corner (on
replacement silk)

Zushi zhi yin 『祖栻之印』 (square intaglio) – colophon 1, lower right

You long ze ling 『有龍則靈』 (square relief) – colophon 3, left



Traditional Chinese catalogues: (1)

Lu Xinyuan 陸心源 (1834–1894). *Rangliguan guoyan xulu* 穰梨館過眼續錄. Wuxing 吳興: Yigutang 儀顧堂, 1891. 1:5a–7b.

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Laing, Ellen Johnston. *Scholars and Sages: A Study in Chinese Figure Painting*. PhD. Thesis: The University of Michigan, 1967. Vol. 1, 88–89, and vol. 2, 209 (plate 25).
Lawton, Thomas. *Chinese Figure Painting*. Washington, DC: David R. Godine, in association with Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1973. Pp. 34–37.

Shan Guoqiang 單國強. —Zhou Wenju *Chongping huiqi tu juan* 周文矩《重屏會棋圖》卷. In *Wenwu* 文物 284 (1980.1): 88–89 and plate 1.

_____. *Wudai Zhou Wenju “Chongping huiqi tu” juan* 五代周文矩《重屏會棋圖》卷. Portfolio. Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1981. Loose page.

Xu Bangda 徐邦達. *Gushuhua wei'e kaobian* 古書畫偽訛考辨. 4 vols. [Nanjing]: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1984. Vol. 1, 148–50 and 203–05.

Suzuki Kei 鈴木敬 (1920–2007). *Chūgoku kaigashi* 中國繪畫史. Vol. 1. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1981. Part 2, 116 (plate 128; photo printed by mistake).

_____, 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, 190–91 (A21–021).

Guoli gugong bowuyuan 國立故宮博物院, eds. *Haiwai yizhen: huihua* 海外遺珍：繪畫 (Chinese Art in Overseas Collections: Paintings). Taipei: Gugong bowuyuan, 1985. P. 13.

Maeda, Robert J. —Spatial Enclosures: The Idea of Inferior Space in Chinese Painting.‖ *Oriental Art* 31.4 (Winter 1985–86): 370–91, esp. 384 (fig. 21).

Chen Zengbi. —A Thousand-Year-Old Daybed.‖ In *Journal of the Classical Chinese Furniture Society* 4.4 (Autumn 1994): 24–28, esp. 27 (fig. 6).

Ang, John Kwang-ming. —Enduring Traditions of Shanxi Furniture.‖ In *Oriental Art* 27.5 (May 1996): 59 (fig. 14).

Wu, Hung. *The Double Screen: Medium and Representation in Chinese Painting*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996. Pp. 79–84, 125–29, 241–43.

Xie Zhiliu 謝稚柳 (1910–1997). *Zhongguo shuhua jianding* 中國書畫鑒定. Shanghai: Dongfang chubanshe, 1998. Pp. 127–28.

Haiwai cang Zhongguo lidai minghua bianji weiyuanhui 海外藏中國歷代名畫編輯委員會, eds. *Haiwai cang Zhongguo lidai minghua* 海外藏中國歷代名畫. 8 vols. Changsha: Hunan meishu chubanshe, 1998. Vol. 2, 49 (no. 30).



Notes

¹ This painting shows a group of four men seated at a game board, two engaged in a game of *weiqi* 圍棋 and two watching. Behind them stands a large folding screen, which in turn is painted with a scene of a man reclining on a couch in front of another folding screen painted with a landscape; thus a screen within a screen. Indeed, the earliest and most common title for the composition is *Chongping tu* 《重屏圖》 (The Double Screen), which appears in the *Xuanhe huapu* 宣和畫譜 (1120) catalogue of the Northern Song imperial collection under the names of both Zhou Wenju 周文矩 (active mid-10th century), as here, and his fellow painter at the Southern Tang court, Wang Qihan 王齊翰. The earliest known description of a painting with the double-screen motif appears in a poem by Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086), who was apparently unaware of the



underlying subject matter or the identity of the painter. In some sources, Emperor Huizong 徽宗 (reigned 1101–25), who sponsored the compilation of the *Xuanhe huapu*, is said to have added a title to the original painting that identified the artist as Zhou Wenju and the central figure with the tall black gauze hat as Li Yu, Last Ruler of the Southern Tang Kingdom 南唐後主李煜 (937–978; reigned 961–75). This identification was subsequently amended by the scholar Wang Mingqing 王明清 (1127–1214), who recognized the main figure in the painting as Li Yu’s father, Li Jing, Middle Ruler of the Southern Tang Kingdom 南唐中主李璟 (916–961; reigned 943–61), who is watching two of his brothers play *weiqi* as a third brother looks on. While many later commentators follow Wang Mingqing’s identification (for example, see Colophon 2), others persist in mis-identifying the main figure as Li Yu, such as the outside label on the Freer scroll and the writers of Colophons 1 and 3.

On the board game *weiqi*, see Tzi-Cheng Wang and Andrew Lo, —Spider Threads Roaming the Empyrean: The Game of *Wei qi*,” in Colin Mackenzie and Irving Finkel, eds., *Asian Games: The Art of Contest* (New York: The Asia Society, 2004), 186–201.

For Wang Anshi’s poem, see lines 15–22 in the poem 《江鄰幾邀觀三館書畫》 (On Being Invited by Jiang Linji [Xiufu, 1005–1060] to View Painting and Calligraphy in the Three Lodges [of the imperial palace]), in Li Bi 李壁 (1159–1222), *Wang Jingong shizhu* 王荊公詩註, 21:10a–11a, in *WSKQS*. For the Wang Mingqing identification, see Wang Mingqing, *Huizhu sanlu* 揮麈三錄, 3:21a–b, in *WSKQS*. For further comments supporting Wang Mingqing’s identification, see: Chen Fuliang 陳傅良 (1137–1203), *Zhizhai wenji* 止齋文集, 42:13a–b, in *WSKQS*; Yuan Jue 袁桷 (1266–1327), *Qingrong*



jushi ji 清容居士集, 47:15a-b, in *WSKQS*; and Lu Youren 陸友仁 (13th–14th century?),
Yanbei zazhi 研北雜誌, 1:34b–35a, in *WSKQS*.

² Located in the lower left corner of the painting directly above the replacement silk is a slight trace of writing, above which is a damaged and as-yet undeciphered rectangle intaglio seal that originally may have had some association with the now-missing text.

³ On the issue of forgery, see comments in Xu Bangda 徐邦達, *Gushuhua wei'e kaobian* 古書畫偽訛考辨, 4 vols. ([Nanjing]: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1984), vol. 1, 148.

⁴ Calligraphy in the *shoujin* 瘦金 (slender gold) style is usually associated with Emperor Gaozong's father, Emperor Huizong of the Song dynasty (1082–1135; reigned 1101–25), to whom a label slip bearing this text is attributed (see above, note 1 and the text of Colophon 3).

⁵ While the colophon text treats the current painting as the work described in this passage, in fact that version, presumably the original, no longer exists. Aside from the Freer painting, there is a second known copy of the composition, deemed by some scholars to be the older of the two and in considerably better physical condition. That painting came into the possession of the eighteenth-century Qing imperial collection, and is currently in the Palace Museum, Beijing. For texts and photos, see respectively: Hu Jing 胡敬 (1769–1845) et al., comps., *Shiqu baoji sanbian* 石渠寶笈三編 (1816), published jointly with



Midian zhulin sanbian 秘殿珠林三編 (1816), 10 vols. (Taibei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1969), vol. 1, 476; and Yu Hui 余輝 et al., eds. *Jin Tang Liang Song huihua: renwu fengsu* 晉唐兩宋繪畫：人物風俗 (Shanghai: Shanghai kexue jishu chubanshe, 2005), 84–85. A hanging scroll version of the composition was also extant into the 19th century; see Wu Rongguang 吳榮光 (1773–1843), *Xinchou xiaoxia ji* 辛丑銷夏記 (preface 1841) (Changsha: Privately printed by Ye Dehui 葉德輝 [1864–1927]), 1905), 2:34a–35a.

⁶ Li Yan'gua 李延适 (1868–after 1922) achieved a measure of success as a seal carver, painter, and calligrapher, and is known under a wide number of different names. He was a native of Wucheng 烏程 county (modern Huzhou 湖州, Zhejiang Province), which was adjacent to Gui'an 歸安 county, from which Lu Xinyuan 陸心源 (1834–1894), the author of this colophon, hailed. As Lu was long deceased when Li Yangua wrote out the text in

1906, he may have done so at the request of Lu's third son Lu Shusheng 陸樹聲 (late 19th–early 20th century), who inherited much of his father's famous collection and impressed three seals on the current scroll (see Collector Seals 16).

⁷ Lu Xinyuan 陸心源 (1834–1894) records this text in his collection catalogue, but omits Colophon 3 and some of the seals, while listing one seal of Tang Yin 唐寅 (1470–1524) that does not appear on the scroll. See Lu Xinyuan, *Rangliguan guoyan xulu* 穰梨館過眼續錄 (Wuxing 吳興: Yigutang 儀顧堂, 1891), 1:5a–7b.



⁸ These two characters are reversed in the manuscript, however the calligrapher indicated his mistake by placing small marks beneath the characters. The transcription shows the characters in proper word order.

⁹ Saying 'a 薩迎阿 (active 1808–1857) was a Manchu of the Niohuru 鈕祜祿 clan and belonged to the Embroidered Yellow Banner 鑲黃旗. His courtesy name (*zi*) was Xianglin 湘林, and his studio names were Menghuazhai 夢花齋 and Xintaipingshi 心太平室.

¹⁰ The attendees of a *yaji* 雅集 (literally: elegant gathering)—or a small private party of poets, artists, and scholars—would come prepared to engage in various artistic activities such as painting, composing poetry, and writing calligraphy, as well as sharing and examining art objects of all kinds, and performing or listening to music. In the opening of the present colophon, each participant is called by a secondary name and an abbreviated or informal official title. In the order given, the seven participants at this May 1842 gathering were:

Peng Bangchou 彭邦疇 (active 1805–1850s), cognomen (*hao*) Chunong 春農, who held the rank of *Hanlin yuan shidu xueshi* 翰林院侍讀學士 (Reader-in-waiting in the Hanlin Academy).

Zhuo Bingtian 卓秉恬 (1782–1855), cognomen (*hao*) Haifan 海帆, who is referred to as *xiekui* 協揆, an informal name for the office of *xieban daxueshi* 協辦大學士 (Assistant Grand Secretary), which he held from 1841 to 1844.

Gong Shouzheng 龔守正 (1776–1851), courtesy name (*zi*) Jisi 季思, who is



referred to by the title *dazongbo* 大宗伯 (Grand Clan Earl), an ancient term for the office of *libu shangshu* 禮部尚書 (Minister of Rites), a position that Gong held from 1838 to 1843/44.

Shen Weiqiao 沈維鏞 (1778–1849), courtesy name (*zi*) Dingfu 鼎甫 (or 定甫), who was a teacher and sponsor of numerous important officials, but had retired from public office due to illness in 1838.

Li Zongfang 李宗昉 (1779–1846), cognomen (*hao*) Zhiling 芝齡, who is referred to as *zongxian* 總憲, an informal name for the office of *duchayuan zuo duyushi* 都察院左都御史 (Left Censor-in-chief), a position he held from 1842 to 1844. Yao Yuanzhi 姚元之 (1783–1852), courtesy name (*zi*) Bo'ang 伯昂, who had risen to the rank of *neige xueshi* 內閣學士 (Academician of the Grand Secretariat) in 1841.

And lastly, Saying'a 薩迎阿 (active 1808–1857), the author of the colophon. While he does not provide any indication of his own title at the time, from 1840 to 1842 Saying'a was *libu you shilang* 禮部右侍郎 (Right Vice-minister of Rites) and also held a number of high-ranking positions in the military banner system.

¹¹ The *Ganhuai tie* 感懷帖 (Moved by Emotion Manuscript), attributed to Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (ca. 303–ca. 361), survives as a rubbing, but not as a work of actual brush and ink.

Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254–1322) wrote out the poem *Zhuzhang ge* 拄杖歌 (Song on Leaning on My Staff) by the Chan abbot Xueyan Zuqin 雪巖祖欽 (1215–1287) for a second generation disciple of the monk. The original calligraphy is preserved in a short, heavily damaged handscroll in the collection of the Shanghai Museum; see Zhongguo



gudai jiandingzu 中國古代書畫鑒定組, comps., *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu* 中國古代書畫圖目, vol. 2 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1987), 84 (*Hu* 滬 1–0171).

¹² The forged colophon of Wu Kuan (see Colophon 1) actually names Emperor Gaozong rather than Emperor Huizong 宋徽宗 (reigned 1101–25).

¹³ Saying'a ends his colophon with an easily recognizable adaptation of the closing line in Wang Xizhi's famous *Lantingji xu* 蘭亭集序 (Preface to the Gathering at the Orchid Pavilion): 後之覽者，亦將有感於斯文 (Readers in the future will also be moved by this text). The Gathering at the Orchid Pavilion, which took place at Wang Xizhi's country estate in 353, was considered the archetype of all later elegant gatherings.

¹⁴ While Li Zongfang (Zhiling) is clearly named as the owner of this painting at the time of the 1842 gathering, he seems to have applied no seals of his own to the scroll (at least none that have been identified), nor apparently did any of the other members of the party aside from the colophon writer Saying'a, who impressed one of his personal seals on the mounting silk to the left of the painting (see Collector Seals, 13).

¹⁵ Saying'a impressed this seal at the top right of his colophon and bridging the join with the previous sheet of paper, which bears the colophon written by Li Yangua more than sixty years later in 1906. As Saying'a must intentionally have left blank the sheet on which Li later wrote, perhaps he had an unfulfilled expectation that other attendees of the 1842 party, or maybe the owner of the scroll himself, might also wish to add something.



¹⁶ This seal of Ke Jiusi 柯九思 (1290–1343) is also impressed on the version of the painting in the Palace Museum, Beijing; however, it used red seal paste instead of ink and was affixed on the lower left side of the painting itself, rather than on the mounting silk in front. While that impression is also deemed to be fake, the known association of Ke Jiusi with a famous version of the composition may have led later owners or dealers to add fake impressions of his seal to both paintings. For the Palace Museum impression, see Yu Hui, *Jin Tang Liang Song huihua: renwu fengsu*, 84. On the authenticity of both impressions, see Xu Bangda, *Gushuhua wei'e kaobian*, vol. 1, 148.

¹⁷ Wang Lüheng 王履亨 is named as the current owner of this painting in the forged colophon attributed to Wu Kuan 吳寬 (1436–1504), ostensibly dated 1503 (see Colophon

1). No individual by this name has been identified who lived during that time period. Moreover, as the calligraphy of Colophon 1 has been deemed a forgery, and neither the text itself nor the name is recorded among Wu Kuan's known writings, the proper identification and dating of the two seals is also uncertain.

¹⁸ It is unlikely that Wen Zhengming would add only this particular collector seal to a scroll and nothing else. As the Palace Museum version of the painting bears a colophon by Wen Zhengming 文徵明 (1470–1559), ostensibly dated 1518, it may have been this association with a famous version of the work that led some later owner or dealer to add his seal to the Freer scroll. If so, it is ironic that the writing attributed to Wen on the Beijing scroll is now deemed a forgery; see Xu Bangda, *Gushuhua wei'e kaobian*, vol. 1,



148. (Note: Xu states that Wen Zhengming's colophon text appears among his collected writings, the *Futian ji* 甫田集; however, no available version of that text seems to include it.)

¹⁹ Zhu Lang 朱郎 (early to mid-16th century) was a student of, and sometimes ghost painter for, Wen Zhengming (see note 18). On this facet of Zhu Lang's career, see Miao Quansun 繆筌孫 (1844–1919), *Yunzizaikan suibi* 雲自在龕隨筆, in Yang Jialuo 楊家駱, ed., *Dushu zhaji congkan* 讀書劄記叢刊, *Yunzizaikan suibi deng sanzong* 雲自在龕隨筆等三種 (n.d.), (Taipei: Shijie shuju 世界書局, 1963), series 2, vol. 38, 2:35.

²⁰ This is the only seal that bridges the original silk of the painting and the strip of replacement silk on the right.

²¹ This is the only seal that bridges the painting silk and current mounting silk.

²² While Zhu Zhichi 朱之赤 (active 1620s–1680s?) used the cognomen (*hao*) Wo'an 臥庵, he is not known to have a seal with the text *Wo'an fu* 臥庵父. From its location, this impression would seem to be related to the nearby seal of Zhu Lang 朱郎 (see Collector Seals 5); however, Zhu did not use the by-name Wo'an.

²³ Lu Shusheng 陸樹聲 (died 1933) was the third son of Lu Xinyuan 陸心源 (1834–1894; see Traditional Chinese catalogues). 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.

²⁴ See above, note 2.