



Trad. attrib. to: Ma Hezhi 馬和之 (active mid- to late 12th century)
 Title: *Illustrations of “Seventh Month” from the “Odes of Bin”*
 《邠風七月圖》
 Binfeng qiyue tu
 Dynasty/Date: Southern Song–Yuan, mid-13th to mid-14th century
 Format: Handscroll
 Medium: Ink on paper
 Dimensions: Total: 28.8 x 436.2 cm (11-5/16 x 171-3/4 in)
 Avg. panel: 28.7 x 48.4 cm (11-5/16 x 19-3/16 in)
 Credit line: Gift of Charles Lang Freer
 Accession no.: F1919.172
 Provenance: Seaouke Yue (You Xiaoqi 游篠溪), Shanghai

Literary text: Eight excerpts from the poem —Seventh Monthl (*Qiyue* 七月), a poem in the —Airs of Binl (*Binfeng* 邠風) section of the *Classic of Poetry* (*Shijing* 詩經).¹

Outside Label: Songyintang 松蔭堂 (unidentified)²

1 column, standard script, plus two smaller columns, standard script.

宋馬和之《邠風七月圖》卷。文待詔弁首並跋，又王伯穀跋。松蔭堂珍藏。
 “*Seventh Month*” from the “*Odes of Bin*,” a handscroll by Ma Hezhi of the Song dynasty. With
 frontispiece and colophon by Editorial Assistant Wen [Zhengming] and colophon by Wang Bogu
 [Wang Zhideng]. Treasured in the collection of Songyintang.³

Frontispiece: Wen Zhengming 文徵明 (1470–1559) — genuine?⁴

White paper, badly cracked. Dimensions: 28.8 x 85.2 cm

Four large characters; seal script.

幽風舊觀。徵明。

Ancient Scenes from the “Odes of Bin.” [Wen] Zhengming.

Signature: 徵明

Zhengming

Date: none

Seals: (2)

Wen Zhengming yin 『文徵明印』 (square intaglio) – (1/2)

Zhengzhong 『徵仲』 (square relief) – (1/2)

Painting Description: Ink *baimiao* (plain outline) painting on eight separate sections of same white paper, each preceded by inscribed strip of paper..

Artist Inscription: none



Other inscriptions 1: (8) – Anonymous⁵

Eight inscribed strips of same white paper (possibly waxed?), often badly cracked; one before each painting.

Each strip: One or two columns, in small standard script. No signature, date, or seals.

Note: First three excerpts contain interlinear glosses quoted directly from the Mao commentary (not translated), which is indicated in the Chinese text by smaller font and brackets [].

Text One: *Mao* #154: Stanza 1, lines 7–11, interlinear commentary [not translated]

Text strip, 28.8 x 5.3 cm; painting, 28.8 x 50.1 cm

2 columns, standard script.

三之日于耜[修耒，耜也]，四之日舉趾[民無不舉足而耕]，同我婦子，饁[饋也]彼南畝，田峻[田大夫也]至喜。

In the days of the Third we plough; / In the days of the Fourth out we step, / Together with our wives and children, / Bringing hampers to the southern acre, / Where the inspector of fields comes and is pleased.⁶

Text Two: *Mao* #154: Stanza 1, lines 3–6, interlinear commentary [not translated]⁷

Text strip, 28.8 x 4.1 cm; painting, 28.8 x 48.7 cm.

2 columns, standard script.



一之日霽發[注云: 風寒也], 二之日栗烈[寒氣也], 無衣無褐, 何以卒歲?

In the days of the First, frigid winds, / In the days of the Second, bitter cold, / With no robes and no homespun, / How will we finish the year?

Text Three: *Mao* #154: Stanza 3, lines 7–11, interlinear commentary [not translated]⁸

Text strip, 28.8 x 5.4 cm; painting, 28.8 x 50.7 cm.

2 columns, standard script

七月鳴鵒[伯勞也], 八月載績[絲事畢而麻事起], 載玄載黃, 我朱孔陽[明也。言其朱色鮮明也], 為公子裳。

In the seventh month, the shrike cries; / In the eighth month, we spin the thread, / The black thread and the yellow; / With our red dye so bright / We make robes for our lord.

Text Four: *Mao* #154: Stanza 4, lines 5–11.

Text strip, 28.8 x 6.0 cm; painting, 28.8 x 50.0 cm.

2 columns; standard script.

一之日于貉, 取彼狐狸, 為公子裘。二之日其同, 載績武功, 言私其豸, 獻豸于公。

In the days of the first, we hunt badgers, / And take those foxes and wildcats, / To make fur-robes for our lord. / In the days of the Second, there is the meet, / Where we rehearse our martial skills, / Keeping for ourselves the wild piglets, / And presenting to our lord the three-year boars.

Text Five: *Mao* #154: Stanza 5, lines 1–6.



Text strip, 28.8 x 5.5 cm; painting, 28.8 x 50.2 cm.

2 columns; standard script. 五月斯螽動股，六月莎雞振羽，七月在野，八月在孫，九月在戶，十月蟋蟀入我牀下。

In the fifth month, the locust moves its legs, / In the sixth month, the grasshopper shakes its wings, / In the seventh month, it is in the fields, / In the eighth month, it is under the eaves, / In the ninth month, it is at the door, / In the tenth month, the cricket goes under my bed.

Text Six: *Mao* #154: Stanza 5, lines 7–11.

Text strip, 28.8 x 5.41 cm; painting, 28.8 x 49.6 cm.

1 column; standard script .

穹室熏鼠，塞向墐戶，嗟我婦子，曰為改歲，入此室處。

We stop up their holes and smoke out the rats, / We block up the windows and plaster the doors:
/ Oh, my wife and children, / The year is now changing, / Let us enter and dwell in this house.

Text Seven: *Mao* #154: Stanza 7, lines 8–11.

Text strip, 28.8 x 5.71 cm; painting, 28.8 x 45.8 cm.

1 column; standard script.

晝爾于茅，宵爾索綯，亟其乘屋，其始播百穀。

In the morning, we gather reeds, / At night, we twist rope, / And go quickly up on the roof, / That we may begin to sow our grain.



Text Eight: *Mao* #154: Stanza 8, lines 1–4.

Text strip, 28.8 x 5.8 cm; painting, 28.8 x 47.9 cm.

1 column; standard script.

二之日鑿冰沖沖，三之日納于凌陰，四之日其蚤，獻羔祭韭。

In the days of the Second, we hack the ice with ringing blows, / In the days of the Third, we bring it into the cold shed, / In the days of the Fourth, [we rise] before the dawn, / Presenting lamb roasts and offering garlic.

Other inscriptions 2: (16) – Anonymous

A handwritten numerical marking (numbers one to eight) appears on each text strip, lower left, while a matching handwritten number appears at the right edge of each adjoining painting. Each written number is covered by a collector seal; where matching numbers are close, one seal suffices for both; where the numbers are further apart, each receives a separate seal..

Colophons: (3) – Two continuously mounted sections of paper, with one colophon on section 1, and two colophons on section 2.

Section 1 dimensions: 28.8 x 91.7 cm

Section 2 dimensions: 28.8 x 92.2 cm

1. Wen Zhengming 文徵明 (1470–1559)

16 columns, running script. 古人圖畫，必有所勸戒而作。此馬和之寫《豳風七月詩》八幅，凡稼穡、田獵、蠶績之事，莫不纖悉備具。雖不設色，而意態自足，信非和之不能作也。昔之序《詩》者云：『周公陳王業，以告成王』，謂『民之至苦者，莫甚於農，

有國有家者，宜思憫之、安之』，故作是詩，備述其艱難。今觀和之此圖，若生於周而處於豳，古風宛然也。校諸假丹青以為耳目玩者，豈可同日語哉。嘉靖乙卯春，徵明題，時年八十有六。

When the old masters painted a picture, there had to be some [behavior] to either encourage or caution against for them to do so. In these eight paintings by Ma Hezhi of the poem —Seventh Month|| from the —Odes of Bin,|| everything to do with farming, hunting, and silk-making is depicted in minute detail, and although he did not apply any color, the manner of expression is sufficient unto itself to verify that no one but Hezhi could have created them. An early preface to the *Classic of Poetry* reads: —The Duke of Zhou explained the business of kingship to inform King Cheng,|| saying that —as no one among the people suffers more severely than farmers, the ruler of a country should take pity on them and give them rest,|| and therefore [the Duke] composed the poem [Seventh Month] to describe all their hardships and travails.⁹ Now viewing these pictures by Hezhi, [the figures in them] look as if they were [actually] born during the Zhou dynasty and living in the state of Bin, so authentic is their air of antiquity. How can one even speak on the same day of other versions that make use of mineral pigments in order to amuse the onlooker! Spring of the *yimao* year in the Jiajing reign period [1555], inscribed by [Wen] Zhengming in his eighty-sixth year.

Signature: 徵明

Zhengming

Date: 嘉靖乙卯春

Spring of the *yimao* year in the Jiajing reign period (1555)

Seals: (2)



Wen Zhengming yin 『文徵明印』 (square intaglio) – (2/2)

Zhengzhong 『徵仲』 (square relief) – (2/2)

2. Wang Zhideng 王穉登 (1535–1612)

11 columns, running-standard script.

馬和之《毛詩圖》，余嘗見數卷，皆丹青而無水墨，其前往往高宗御書。惟此卷獨不設色，而筆法清真古淡，有蕭散閒逸之趣。豈幽人以勤儉開國，蒼姬八百之曆肇迹於此，和之欲深得其意，不當以金粉丹碧沍其真，故遂作此水墨三昧耶？西子淡妝，勝於濃抹，觀者必有玄鑒矣。王穉登題。

I have seen several handscrolls of Ma Hezhi's *Illustrations of the Mao Poems*; all were done in colorful pigments and none in ink, and they frequently have the writing of Emperor Gaozong [reigned 1127–62] inscribed in front. Only on this one scroll did [Ma Hezhi] not apply any color, and his brushwork is clear and true with an antique plainness that gives [the paintings] a sense of relaxed and untrammelled ease. Was it because the people of Bin founded their state on hard work and frugality, and the whole 800-year course of the [Zhou dynasty] started from this, that Hezhi wished to capture the idea in a profound way, and as he would not sully the simple truth with powder of gold and mineral pigments, he therefore created these sublime works in ink? As to whether Lady West looks more lovely in light make-up or thick, each viewer must use his own innate discernment.¹⁰ Inscribed by Wang Zhideng.

Signature: 王穉登

Wang Zhideng

Date: none

Seals: (2)

Qingyangjun 『青羊君』 (square intaglio)

Wang Zhideng yin 『王穉登印』 (square intaglio)

3. Zhang Xigeng 張錫庚 (1801–1861)

Written in pre-drawn grid.

14 columns, standard script.

右宋馬和之《豳風七月篇八圖》水墨畫。和之『畫師吳道元，善用掣筆』。此圖筆意清掣，氣韻生動：衣摺和暢，有流水行雲之妙；草樹飄逸，有迴風舞雪之觀。雖精工不及龍眠，而於野田蕭疎之景、農家作苦之勤，情景畢具，理趣無涯。昔『思陵愛其畫，每書《毛詩》虛，其後令和之為圖』。此圖各段前，均書經文數句，未知為思陵筆否。惟第二段，乃繪三章『取彼斧斨，以伐遠揚』之義，而所書經文，則首章末數句，與畫不洽。筆蹟亦與前後不同，想此條失去，經後人補書，未及細審耳。八幅鈐縫有金章宗『群玉中秘』朱文大印，是曾入金內府者。譚尾有文衡山、王伯穀二跋，古雅可誦；文書得智永筆法，王書有率更遺意。弁首文待詔篆『豳風舊觀』四字，尤清勁入妙，置諸吳興《千文》中，未易伯仲。時咸豐四年春仲，書於宣武城南之餘蔭軒，張錫庚題。

At right are eight illustrations of *Seventh Month* from the *Odes of Bin*, painted in ink by Ma Hezhi of the Song dynasty. Hezhi —took Wu Daoyuan [active ca. 710–760] as his master in painting and excelled at ‘trembling’ brushwork.¹¹ The brushwork in these illustrations is clear and —trembling,¹² and the atmosphere vivid and lively. The folds in the clothing fall gracefully,

with the marvelous [quality] of flowing water and moving clouds; the vegetation and trees toss wildly about with a look of swirling winds and dancing snow. Although Ma's artistry does not come up to that of Longmian [Li Gonglin],¹² in the barren prospect of the fields and the bitter toil of the farmers, the emotional setting [of the work] is fully realized and the internal logic [of the compositional elements] is without bounds.

Long ago, —Siling [Emperor Gaozong] loved [Ma Hezhi's] painting, and wherever he left a blank space in transcribing a text from the *Mao Poems*, he would later command Hezhi to make an illustration [to fill it].¹³ A few lines from the *Classic* are written at the front of each section in this scroll, but I do not know if they are from the brush of Siling or not. Only, the second section depicts the meaning [of the lines], —Taking choppers and hatchets / To lop the far boughs and high,¹⁴ from stanza three, but the text that is written there comprises the closing few lines of stanza one, which are incompatible with the [adjoining] painting.¹⁴ The handwriting [on this text strip] is also unlike that which appears before and after it, so I imagine that the [original] strip may have been lost and the [current] text written in by some later person, who simply did not pay close enough attention.

Impressed on the paper-join of the eighth panel is a large relief seal of Emperor Zhangzong of the Jin dynasty [that reads], *Qunyu zhong mi* (Hidden among a host of jades), which indicates that the scroll was once part of the imperial Jin collection.¹⁵ Mounted at the end are two colophons whose ancient and graceful [writing style] is quite legible, one by Wen Zhengming and one by Wang Zhideng. Wen's calligraphy took its writing style from Zhiyong, and Wang's calligraphy continued the legacy of the [Director of the] Court of the Watches [Ouyang Xun].¹⁶ For the frontispiece, Wen Zhengming wrote four characters in seal script, —Ancient Scenes from the *Odes of Bin*, ” which are so marvelously clear and strong that if they were placed next to the *Thousand-character Essay* by Wuxing [Zhao Mengfu], it would not be easy to tell which of them was senior and junior.¹⁷



Mid-spring month of the fourth year in the Xianfeng reign period [February 27–March 28, 1854],
written and inscribed by Zhang Xigeng at the Hall of Surplus Shade south of Xuanwu City.

Signature: 張錫庚
Zhang Xigeng

Date: 時咸豐四年春仲
mid-spring month of the fourth year in the Xianfeng reign period
[February 27–March 28, 1854]

Seals: (2)
Zhang Xigeng yin 『張錫庚印』 (square intaglio)
Chang shi 『昌氏』 (square relief)

Collector seals: (15) – All 15 seals bridge paper joins between inscribed text strips and accompanying paintings.

1. Wanyan Jing, Emperor Zhangzong of the Jin dynasty 金章宗完顏璟 (1168–1208; reigned 1190–1208) – (1) – fake

Qunyu zhongmi 『群玉中秘』 (square relief) – text 8/painting 8, join

2. Unidentified – (14) – same 2 seals, each impressed seven times; probably belonging to same collector (see —Other inscriptions 2,¶ above)

Xizhi houyi 『羲之後裔』 (square relief) – text 1/painting 1, join – (1/7)



Zizi sunsun yongbao yongxiang 『子子孫孫永寶用享』 (oval relief) – text 1/painting 1,
join – (1/7)

Xizhi houyi 『羲之後裔』 (square relief) – text 2/painting 2, join – (2/7)

Zizi sunsun yongbao yongxiang 『子子孫孫永寶用享』 (oval relief) – text 3/painting 3,
join – (2/7)

Xizhi houyi 『羲之後裔』 (square relief) – text 4/painting 4, join – (3/7)

Zizi sunsun yongbao yongxiang 『子子孫孫永寶用享』 (oval relief) – text 4/painting 4,
join – (3/7)

Xizhi houyi 『羲之後裔』 (square relief) – text 5/painting 5, join – (4/7)

Zizi sunsun yongbao yongxiang 『子子孫孫永寶用享』 (oval relief) – text 5/painting 5,
join – (4/7)

Xizhi houyi 『羲之後裔』 (square relief) – text 6/painting 6, join – (5/7)

Zizi sunsun yongbao yongxiang 『子子孫孫永寶用享』 (oval relief) – text 6/painting 6,
join – (5/7)

Xizhi houyi 『羲之後裔』 (square relief) – text 7/painting 7, join – (6/7)

Zizi sunsun yongbao yongxiang 『子子孫孫永寶用享』 (oval relief) – text 7/painting 7,
join – (6/7)

Xizhi houyi 『羲之後裔』 (square relief) – text 8/painting 8, join – (7/7)

Zizi sunsun yongbao yongxiang 『子子孫孫永寶用享』 (oval relief) – text 8/painting 8,
join – (7/7)



Zhao Yancheng 趙彥稱 (1819–1881). *Sanyuantang yimo* 三願堂遺墨. 2 vols. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1930. Vol. 2. No pagination (21a).

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[or 18.4] (March 1969): 109–26 (esp. 109–19, 125–26).

Lawton, Thomas. *Chinese Figure Painting*. Washington, DC: David R. Godine in association with Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1973. Pp. 48–53.

Murray, Julia K. *Song Kao-tsung, Ma Ho-chih, and the Mao Shih Scrolls: Illustrations of the Classic of Poetry*. Phd. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1981. Pp. 34–39, figs. 15–1 to 15–8.

_____. *Ma Hezhi and the Illustration of the Book of Odes*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993. Pp. 143–47.

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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, 226–27 (A21–091).

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. Pp. 48–49.

Xu Bangda. —The *Mao Shih* Scrolls: Authenticity and Other Issues. In Alfreda Murck and Wen C. Fong, eds. *Words and Images: Chinese Poetry, Calligraphy, and Painting*. Princeton: The Metropolitan Museum of Art and Princeton University Press, 1991. Pp. 267–88. [Note: does not discuss Freer painting]

Notes

¹ For the Chinese text of the full poem, see Hong Ye 洪業 et al., eds., *Mao Shi yinde* 毛詩引得 (A concordance to the Shih Ching), Harvard-Yenching Sinological Index Series, supplement no. 9 (Beiping: Yanjing daxue tushuguan, 1934), 31–2. According to this arrangement of the 305 poems, *Seventh Month* is poem number 154; hereafter, all references to the poem as published in this source will appear as: *Mao* #154.

² The owner who had this label created is identified by the name of his studio, Songyintang 松蔭堂 (Pine Shade Hall). While more than one individual in the Qing dynasty used this studio name, the most famous Songyintang belonged to the scholar and high court official Zhang Yushu 張玉書 (1642–1711), courtesy name (*zi*) Sucun 素存, who was a native of Dantu 丹徒 (modern Zhenjiang 鎮江), Jiangsu Province. The plaque bearing this name for Zhang's studio



was presented by Emperor Kangxi (reigned 1661–1722) in 1698. However, as there is no other evidence on the scroll to confirm Zhang Yushu's ownership, the relevant individual remains unidentified.

³ Wen Zhengming 文徵明 (1470–1559) is referred to here as *daizhao* 待詔 (Editorial assistant in the imperial Hanlin Academy), the title of an official position he once held at the Ming court.

Wang Zhideng 王穉登 (1535–1612) is referred to by his courtesy name (*zi*) Bogu 伯穀.

- ⁴ Some scholars have questioned the authenticity of this frontispiece, noting that it is not very well written. For example, see Thomas Lawton, *Chinese Figure Painting* (Washington, DC: David R. Godine in association with Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1973), 51.
- ⁵ Some sources attribute the writing to Emperor Gaozong of the Southern Song dynasty (reigned 1127–62); but while there are similarities to his style, there is nothing sufficiently distinctive about the calligraphy to warrant such an attribution.
- ⁶ The present translations of passages from the poem —Seventh Month¹ are either directly quoted or slightly adapted from: Arthur Waley, trans., *The Book of Songs* (New York: Grove Press, 1960), 164–65; with occasional reference to Bernhard Karlgren, —The Book of Odes: Kuo-feng and Siao Ya,² *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 16 (1944): 218–19, and James Legge, trans., *The First Part of the She-king, and the Prolegomena*, in *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 4, part 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893), 226–33.
- ⁷ The text passage appearing here is out of order and should precede the previous section. In addition, the text and illustration are mismatched, resulting in a text without an image and an image without a text. The illustration in section two does not relate to the accompanying text, but actually depicts Stanza 3, lines 1–6, which read: 七月流火，八月萑葦，蠶月條桑，取彼斧斨，以伐遠揚，猗彼女桑 (In the Seventh Month the fire ebbs, / In the eighth month they pluck the rushes, / In the silkworm month we gather mulberry leaves, / Taking choppers and hatchets / To lop the far boughs and high, / Pulling toward us the tender leaves). The calligraphy of this text is not included in the current scroll. The mismatch of text and

illustration clearly suggests that the scroll once included a larger number of text and image panels.

⁸ The interlinear comment appended to line 10 first quotes the Mao gloss for the preceding word (“*yang*, means bright”), then quotes a further explanation (—which is to say, the red color was fresh and bright). This further explanation only appears in one particular Southern Song dynasty source, providing a relatively firm *terminus ante quem* of the mid-12th century for the calligraphy on the Freer scroll; see Li Shu 李樗 (1110s–1150s?) and Huang Chun 黃樞 (late 12th century), *Maoshi Li Huang jijie* 毛詩李黃集解, 17:15b, in *WSKQS*, disc 7.

⁹ In this sentence, Wen Zhengming directly quotes a passage from an earlier, unidentified preface (*xu* 序) to the *Classic of Poetry*. A portion of that preface is preserved in a 1376 colophon written by the early Ming scholar and connoisseur of painting and calligraphy, Song Lian 宋濂 (1310–1381), and this text may in fact be the actual source of Wen’s quote. Song Lian in turn composed his colophon for a different, but thematically related, anonymous painting titled the *Odes of Bin*. See —Gong ti *Binfeng tu* 恭題《豳風圖》後, in Song Lian, *Wenxian ji* 文憲集, 13:8b–9a, in *WSKQS*, disc 134.

¹⁰ In the closing lines of this colophon, Wang Zhideng alludes to a famous quatrain by the Northern Song dynasty poet Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101), which ends with the lines: 『欲把西湖比西子，淡粧濃抹總相宜』 (If one should compare West Lake to the lovely Lady West, / In pale

make-up or thick, they look equally becoming). See the poem, —Yin hushang chu qing hou yu 飲湖上初晴後雨 (Drinking by the lake: first it was sunny, then it rained), in Su Shi, *Dongpo quanji* 東坡全集, 4:16a–b, in *WSKQS*, disc 122.

¹¹ —Trembling brushwork (usually written *zhanbi* 顫筆 or 戰筆) refers to a style of brushwork where lines vary constantly in thickness as if produced by a trembling hand. The style is most often associated with the works of Li Yu, Last Ruler of the Southern Tang Kingdom 南唐後主 李煜 (937–978; reigned 961–75), and his court painter, Zhou Wenju 周文矩 (active mid-10th century).

Wu Daozi 吳道子 (active ca. 710–760) was a painter at the court of Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang dynasty 唐玄宗 (reigned 712–56). Zhang Xigeng refers to him here by his courtesy name (*zi*) Daoxuan 道玄, but observes the Qing taboo on writing a character that appears in the name of an emperor in the ruling dynasty; in this case, replacing the character *xuan* (which was part of the given name, Xuanye 玄業, of Emperor Kangxi, reigned 1661–1722), with the character *yuan* 元: thus —Wu Daoyuan (道元).¹¹

This sentence uses an unattributed quote from a colophon by Wen Zhengming written for a different scroll by Ma Hezhi, titled —Qingqi dianyi tu 清谿點易圖 (Master Clear Stream Punctuating the *Yijing*). See —Shu Ma Hezhi huajuan hou 書馬和之畫卷後 (Written at the end of painting scroll by Ma Hezhi), in Wen Zhengming, *Futian ji* 甫田集, 23:2b–3a, 2 vols. (Taipei: Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, 1968), vol. 2, 536–37; or *Wen Zhengming ji* 文徵明集, Zhou Daozhen 周道振, comp., 2 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), vol. 1, 561.

¹² Here, the renowned Northern Song dynasty figure painter Li Gonglin 李公麟 (ca. 1049–1107), who is best known for his works in the ink-outline (*baimiao* 白描) style, as seen here, is referred to by his courtesy name (*zi*), Longmian 龍眠.

¹³ When Emperor Gaozong of the Southern Song dynasty (reigned 127–62) practiced calligraphy, he always chose texts from the Confucian canon, especially the *Classic of Poetry*. Here and below, Zhang Xigeng refers to the emperor by the name of his burial tumulus, Siling 思陵. The unattributed quotation in this sentence is taken from the same Wen Zhengming colophon cited above, note 15.

¹⁴ See note 7, above.

¹⁵ For a discussion of the two versions of the seal used on works of painting and calligraphy in the imperial collection during the reign of Wanyan Jing, Emperor Zhangzong of the Jin dynasty 金章宗完顏璟 (1168–1208; reigned 1190–1208), see: Wang Yaoting 王耀庭, —Zhuan Gu Kaizhi *Nüshi zhen tu huawai de jige wenti* 傳顧愷之《女史箴圖》畫外的幾個問題, in *Guoli Taiwan daxue meishushi yanjiu jikan* 國立臺灣大學美術史研究集刊 ¹ (September 2004): 18–19 and

¹ This refers to a rendering of the *Qianziwen* 千字文 (Thousand-character Essay) by the influential Yuan calligrapher Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254–1322), who hailed from Wuxing 吳興, in Jiangsu Province. More than one version by Zhao is recorded.



50 (photos 16–1 to 16–6); and English translation: —Beyond the *Admonitions* Scroll: A Study of its Mounting, Seals, and Inscriptions,¹¹ in Shane McCauseland, ed., *Gu Kaizhi and the Admonitions Scroll* (London: The British Museum, 2003), 204 and 209 (seals 16.1–.6).

¹⁶ Zhiyong 智永 (mid- to late 6th century) was a monk-calligrapher, who was most famous for his works in cursive script. The term *leigeng* (or *lügeng*) 率更 (Court of the Watches) refers to Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢 (557–641), who once held the rank of *taizi leigengling* 太子率更令 (Director of the Court of the Watches in the Household of the Heir Apparent). As a calligrapher, Ouyang Xun was one of the great early-Tang masters of running and standard scripts.