The *Poetic Ideas* Scroll Attributed to Mi Youren and Sima Huai*

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Abstract:

From the time it came to the attention of scholars and connoisseurs in the late Ming dynasty, the *Poetic Ideas* scroll attributed to Mi Youren (1074–1151) and Sima Huai (fl. twelfth century) has long been considered an important example of Song dynasty literati painting. The scroll's two paintings, each of which is preceded by single poetic lines by Du Fu, offer a rare window into the inventive manner in which Song scholar-official painters combined texts with images. The scroll has also been noted for the many puzzles it presents, beginning with the identity of Sima Huai and the authorship of the two paintings, neither of which is signed. The essay reviews the historiography of *Poetic Ideas*, examines all documentary evidence, and offers new research in an effort to solve some of the many previously unresolved questions. Particular emphasis is put on the identity of the person who chose the Du Fu lines, known only by his style name, Duanshu. Arguing that the most likely candidate for Duanshu is Li Zhiyi (1048–1118 or later), a celebrated literary figure and disciple of Su Shi, the author proposes a date for the making of the scroll during the late Northern Song, as opposed to the early Southern Song, and a context for understanding why these particular Du Fu lines were chosen for illustration.

Keywords: Mi Youren, Sima Huai, Li Zhiyi, Song literati painting, poem-painting

The focus of this study is an intriguing but problematic scroll titled *Poetic Ideas* (*Shiyi tu* 詩意圖), attributed to two painters of early twelfth-century date: Mi Youren 米友仁 (1074–1151) and Sima Huai 司馬槐 (fl. twelfth century). The former is well known. Little Mi (Xiao Mi 小米), as he was commonly called, was the eldest son of the famous calligrapher, connoisseur, and critic Mi Fu 米芾 (1052–1107), and, with a number of

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paintings extant, is one of the best represented painters of the Song dynasty.[1] Moreover, especially in the eyes of later admirers, his paintings share a uniform subject and style: cloudy landscapes (*yunshan* 雲山) rendered largely with blunt strokes, repetitive dots, and wet ink tones. In contrast, Sima Huai is essentially an unknown figure—so unknown, in fact, that even his given name, Huai, is not unequivocally established.

Poetic Ideas is composed of two separate paintings, neither of which is signed or imprinted with an artist's seal. Both are landscapes, though of different types: the first (unrolling from right to left) presents a scene of distant mountains by a river with dwellings and figures (color plate 8)—I refer to this as"the riverside landscape." The latter is a "small scene" (*xiaojing* 小景) of more focused perspective, presenting a pair of twisted trees backed by a large cliff and a quickly moving stream that empties from a ravine (color plate 9)—I refer to this as "the entwined trees landscape." The images complement one another in length and manner, and they are united by a distinctive aspect of their format: single-line poetic inscriptions at the beginning of each painting and a trailing quatrain at the ends. The single lines are from poems by the great Tang poet Du Fu 杜甫 (figs. 1, 7). The two quatrains appear to have been composed specifically for the making of the scroll (figs. 6, 12). It is apparent that the calligraphy was by a single hand, though again there is neither signature nor seal to identify whose. Although in the style of Mi Fu, it does not appear to be that of Mi Youren, whose calligraphy is well known.[2]

1 Not including the *Poetic Ideas* scroll, I count the following paintings as either genuine works by Mi Youren or significant copies: *Cloudy Mountains* (*Yunshan tu* 雲山圖) of 1130 (Cleveland Museum of Art), *Distant Peaks, Clearing Clouds* (*Yuan xiu qing yun* 遠岫晴雲) of 1134 (Osaka Municipal Museum of Art), *Cloudy Mountains* (*Yunshan tu* 雲山圖) (Metropolitan Museum of Art), *Rare Views of Xiao-Xiang* (*Xiaoxiang qiguan tu* 瀟湘奇觀圖) (Beijing Palace Museum), *White Clouds along the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* (*Xiaoxiang bai yun tu* 瀟湘白雲圖) (Shanghai Museum), and *Delight in Cloudy Mountains* (*Yunshan deyi tu* 雲山得意圖) (National Palace Museum, Taipei). See Peter Charles Sturman, "Mi Youren and the Inherited Literati Tradition: Dimensions of Ink-Play" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1989).

2 Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1526–1590) criticized the calligraphy as not particularly good. See Wang Shizhen, "Zhang Duanheng shanshui" 張端衡山水, *Yanzhou xugao* 弇州續稿, in Siku quanshu, Wenyuange edition/electronic version (Hong Kong: Dizhi Wenhua Chuban Youxian Gongsi, 2002; hereafter Siku quanshu edition), *juan* 168: 17a–17b. Early in the Qing dynasty, some speculated that the calligraphy was written by Wu Yue 吳說 (fl. mid-twelfth century), who sometimes wrote in Mi Fu's style. See Gu Fu 顧復, *Pingsheng zhuangguan* 平生壯觀 (Taipei: Hanhua Wenhua Shiye, 1971), *juan* 8: 15–16. Although there are a number of problems with Wang Shizhen's thoughts about *Poetic Ideas* (discussed in the text), I concur with his opinion about this calligraphy. I do not think that Wu Yue, who was an excellent calligrapher, is a credible candidate. Mi Youren's writing is similar in style but in my opinion not close enough

Since the late Ming dynasty, when *Poetic Ideas* became known to a number of scholars and connoisseurs, the scroll has been a puzzle. Foremost was the issue of authorship—neither painting resembles what was known of Mi Youren's work, and the other painter was a mystery. There are very early inscriptions of Song dynasty date mounted with the two paintings, but while informative in many ways, these also raised questions. Nonetheless, all agreed that the scroll merited attention. The apparently collaborative nature of the scroll, with one of the participants among the most famous in the pantheon of scholar-official painters, its unusual format and style, its evocation of the greatly admired Du Fu, and the high quality of the two paintings, all combined to make *Poetic Ideas* a celebrated scroll.

In modern times, the scroll has continued to be something of a mystery. For many years it was known only through a poor quality reproduction in Xie Zhiliu's edited volume *Famous Paintings of the Tang, Five Dynasties, Song, and Yuan* (*Tang Wudai Song Yuan mingji* 唐五代宋元名跡) of 1957.[3] Probably for this reason, *Poetic Ideas* failed to attract much scholarly attention until the 1980s. Susan Bush included a brief discussion of the scroll in a short article of 1988 published in Chinese: "Landscape as Subject Matter: Pathways Opened by Song Painters and a Discussion of the Relationship between Poetry and Painting."[4] At the time, Dr. Bush was unaware of the painting's whereabouts. In the mid-1980s, I too was investing time and effort on *Poetic Ideas*, but with a somewhat different focus and motivation. Mi Youren was the subject of my dissertation. For reasons that will presently become clear, I was unconvinced that *Poetic Ideas* as we now know it included anything by Mi Youren, and consequently my attention had a more limited focus. Thanks to the generosity of the private collector who owns the scroll, I had the good fortune of viewing it in the late 1980s. In 2007 *Poetic Ideas* was briefly on view in the Douglas Dillon Galleries of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Having finally appeared in public, this important example of Song dynasty literati painting is finally attracting the attention it richly deserves.[5]

to merit attribution. There are a number of extant examples of Mi's calligraphy, the finest of which is an inscription dated 1135 appended to his (attributed) *Delight in Cloudy Mountains* (see note 1).

3 Xie Zhiliu 谢稚柳, ed., *Tang Wudai Song Yuan mingji* 唐五代宋元名跡 (Shanghai: Gudian Wenxue Chubanshe, 1957), pls. 59–61.

4 Susan Bush, "Shanshui wei ti: Songren huihua suo pi de tujing jian lun shi yu hua de guanxi" 山水爲題：宋人繪畫所闢的途徑兼論詩與畫的關係, *Jiuzhou xuekan* 九州學刊 2.2 (1988), 13–22. Previously Dr. Bush had presented her research in a paper titled "Landscape as Subject Matter: Three Sung Approaches" for a panel on landscape painting organized by Jerome Silbergeld at the 1986 annual meeting of the College Art Association in New York.

My view of *Poetic Ideas* has evolved over time, the result of revisiting the scroll to place it in the larger context of Song dynasty literati painting—I have benefited from two more opportunities to examine it closely. Conclusive answers to many of the scroll's questions remain elusive, but the process of reevaluating carefully the material and textual record provides the benefit of establishing an informed platform from which ideas and theories can be tested. With that goal in mind, I offer here the results of my reassessment, beginning with a reevaluation of the historiographical record to point out inconsistencies that affect the common perception of the scroll. I end with other considerations based on an analysis of the text-image relationships and possible motivations behind the making of *Poetic Ideas*.

Inscriptions, Identities, Confusions

Failing to find signatures or seals that would name the authors of the two paintings, viewers of *Poetic Ideas* have instead relied upon early inscriptions. Three people are specified; all are identified by their courtesy or style name (*zi* 字), and the surnames of only two are mentioned. Mi Yuanhui 米元暉 (Mi Youren) and Sima Duanheng 司馬端衡 are identified as the painters, and the two Du Fu lines that catalyzed the paintings were chosen by someone with the style name Duanshu 端叔. Altogether, there are eight inscriptions attached to the scroll, the first six of which are of twelfth-century date. The last two were written by Wang Zhideng 王稚登 (1535–1612) and Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555–1636), and they provide a window onto how *Poetic Ideas* was received in the late sixteenth century, but our initial interest is in the Song inscriptions, which need to be examined carefully in order to give an accurate sense of how the scroll was perceived.

The first is an undated poem signed with the style name Cizhong 次仲 (fig. 13). Under Cizhong's signature is the seal *Sima zhi hou* 司馬之後, or "Descendant of the Sima clan" (fig. 14):

Ten thousand acres of river, water fuses with sky;
In its midst, peaks and hills rise richly green.
Shadows in clear heavens dip into the white of the toad [i.e., the moon];
Vast and mighty, pure waves glitter like cold jade.

5 A detail of the second of the scroll's paintings graces the cover of the latest reprinting of Susan Bush's *The Chinese Literati on Painting: Su Shih (1037–1101) to Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555–1636)* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2012). At this time, Dr. Bush is planning to publish her own study of *Poetic Ideas* in *The Archives of Asian Art*.

Shaoling's poems crown past and present;
Chanting a life of bitterness, he could not sing enough.
Now Duanheng has written out a soundless poem,
And left it at my clumsy studio to accompany my solitude.
萬頃長江水貼天，中有峰巒聳蒼绿。
清宵影蘸白蟾蜍，浩浩澄波晃寒玉。
少陵詩名冠古今，一生苦吟吟不足。
端衡寫作無聲詩，留與拙堂伴幽獨。

Sima Cizhong's poem mentions Du Fu (by his sobriquet: Shaoling 少陵) and Duanheng, whose painting is seamlessly linked to the Tang poet by Sima Cizhong's use of the trope "soundless poem." *Xie* 寫, "to write," often used in later parlance to suggest that an artist worked rather sketchily, here simply emphasizes the literary nature of Duanheng's offering. Because *xie* later became a commonplace in ekphrasis, it is easy to overlook the fact that Sima Cizhong's choice of words establishes a distinct link with Su Shi, whose critical remarks on painting's relationship to poetry and calligraphy laid the groundwork for literati painting theory. The link is significant. As I discuss below, Sima Cizhong was a descendant of Sima Guang, the prominent opponent of the New Laws promoted by Wang Anshi. Su was the face of the antireformists, sometimes called the Yuanyou Party 元祐黨, who followed Sima Guang. In the late Northern Song, cultural values could easily be joined to political allegiances, and in this respect, Sima Cizhong's characterization of Duanheng's painting—as well as the style of his calligraphy, which evokes Su Shi's manner—reflects a partisanship already established by family ties.[6] It is noteworthy that Sima Cizhong mentions Duanheng in his poem, and with a tone that suggests a close relationship, but unlike the other colophon writers makes no mention of Mi Youren. It is also notable that his poem's descriptive imagery matches the scroll's riverside landscape far better than the entwined trees landscape. I presume this is why a number of later viewers of *Poetic Ideas*, including both Wang Zhideng and Dong Qichang, assumed that Mi Youren's contribution to the scroll was the latter.

The five other Song dynasty inscriptions were written by Tian Ruao 田如鼇 (*jinshi* 1124), Wang Min 王珉 (fl. twelfth century), Wang Shixin 王師心 (1097–1169), Fu Yuanheng 富元衡 (*jinshi* 1124), and Song Jingyang 宋景陽 (fl. twelfth century) (figs. 15–17). All appear to have been younger contemporaries of Mi Youren, active in the very

6 I presented a paper on the subject of calligraphic style as an indicator of political and personal allegiance, "Lingering Winds: Calligraphy after Su Shi and His Circle"at the International Conference on Tang and Song Calligraphy, Mingdao University, Zhanghua, Taiwan (2010).

late years of the Northern Song and possibly well into the Shaoxing reign of Emperor Gaozong.[7] At once informative and misleading, these colophons are worth citing in full:

Sima Junshi [Sima Guang] and Mi Yuanzhang [Mi Fu] were men of virtuous actions and literary talent—at the first rank of our dynasty. I regret that I was born too late for this older generation. Today I look at the ink wonders of the two lords and chase after them in my thoughts the whole day long with deep emotions. The two lords are not [professional] painting masters—how is it possible that they excel to this degree? Can it be that the chick of the phoenix and the colt of the thoroughbred are naturally endowed with transcendent ability and thus stand out from the rest? Set down by Chisou [Crazy Old Man] Tian Ruao, twenty-sixth day of the ninth month, Shaoxing 18 [9 November 1148].
司馬君實、米元章德行文采，本朝第一等人，恨予生晚，不及前輩。今觀二公墨妙，追想終日，爲之慨然。二公非畫師，何乃精絶至是？豈鳳雛驥子，其天資超詣，種種自不同乎。癡叟田如鼇書。紹興十八年九月廿六日。

Duanshu compiled Shaoling's poetic lines, which can be enjoyed by themselves, but he also picked out those that can be depicted in painting. Having obtained the ink marvels of Yuanhui and Duanheng, morning and night he unrolled and dallied. The hills and valleys within his breast certainly are [were?] anything but common. Set down by Mengshan Wang Min, [style name] Zhongyu.
端叔集少陵詩句，已自可喜，又摘其可畫者爲圖。得元暉端衡墨妙，朝夕展玩，其胸中丘壑定自不凡。夢山王珉中玉書。

On the nineteenth day of the ninth [lunar] month of autumn, *jisi* year of the Shaoxing reign [22 October 1149], viewed by Wang Yudao of Jinhua at the Yichun prefectural studio.
紹興己巳秋九月十有九日，金華王與道觀於宜春郡齋。

7 Other than Sima Cizhong, each of the colophon writers is recorded in twelfth-century annals. In the past, some confusion arose regarding the last of these inscriptions. A number of earlier catalogers, including Wang Keyu and Gao Shiqi, list the writer as Song Jinglian 宋景濂, who was Song Lian 宋濂 (1310–1381) of the Ming dynasty. See Wang Keyu 汪珂玉, *Shanhu wang* 珊瑚網, Siku quanshu edition, *juan* 28: 23b; Gao Shiqi 高士奇, *Jiangcun xiaoxia lu* 江邨消夏録 (Taipei: Hanhua Wenhua Shiye, 1971), *juan* 1: 22a–23a. Proof that Song Jingyang lived during the Southern Song appears in a congratulatory note he received from Wang Zhidao upon assuming office in Wuwei (Anhui). Wang lived in the twelfth century. See Wang Zhidao 王之道, "He Song Jingyang Wuwei dao ren qi" 賀宋景陽無爲到任啟, *Xiangshan ji* 相山集, Siku quanshu edition, *juan* 26: 1b–2a.

Shaoling's poetic lines surpass the common sort and are a cut above the dusty airs. They are something later followers could not reach. The ink marvels of the two lords are unrestrained, far from the masses, and something common folk will not be able to discern. This [scroll], too, can be called "the three perfections." Viewed by Yusou [Foolish Old Man] Fu Yuanheng of Luoyang at the studio in Fuchun prefecture.
少陵詩句超軼絶塵，非後人可及。二公墨妙灑落不羣。非碌碌者能辨，亦可謂三絶也。洛陽愚叟富元衡獲觀於富春郡齋。

To the right, Mi Yuanhui and Sima Duanheng followed their ideas and ordered their brushes, silently achieving a spiritual communion. But Yuanhui was able to establish his own style. [Signed] Song Jingyang.
右米元暉、司馬端衡隨意命筆，默以神會。然元暉自成一家云。宋景陽。

With one exception, this appears to have been all of the documentation on the scroll when Wang Zhideng and others turned their attention to *Poetic Ideas* in the late Ming. The order of the paintings appears to have changed back and forth with remountings, but records of the inscriptions are consistent.[8] The exception is Fu Yuanheng's colophon, which, according to one of the earliest records of the scroll, is missing its very beginning: "The two paintings of Mi Yuanhui and Ma Duanheng are like those of the sons and brothers of the Wang and Xie clans [of the fourth century], possessed of a particular spirit" (米元暉馬端衡二畫如王謝子弟，別有一種風流).[9] The paper upon which Fu's inscription was written is closely cropped to the right, suggesting that this sentence, likely two columns of calligraphy, was indeed a part of the original inscription (fig. 16). Its removal is, of course, lamentable, but it helped cover a mistake: Fu had left out the character *Si* 司 in Sima Duanheng's name. As no one knew the identity of this painter, this simple lapse helped create confusion. This becomes evident when we consider a comment made by Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1526–1590), one of the leading literary figures of the time. Probably slightly predating Wang Zhideng's inscription of 1579, Wang Shizhen's remarks are recorded only in his collected works. They may originally have been attached to *Poetic Ideas*, but in the end his ideas concerning the scroll clearly proved an unwelcome accompaniment. For one thing, Wang Shizhen misidentified Duanheng as Zhang Duanheng 張端衡, another obscure twelfth-century painter. Moreover, Wang looked upon this scroll with very skeptical eyes—questioning the authenticity of all of the Song inscriptions that follow the initial poem. After speculating about Sima Cizhong's identity and describing the river landscape as largely in the style of Guo Xi 郭熙 (ca. 1000–ca. 1090) with a touch of Juran 巨然 (fl. ca. 950–980) in the cloudy peaks' ink tones, Wang wrote:

People nowadays see hazy, misty mountains and attribute [the painting] to Xiangyang, father and son [Mi Fu and Mi Youren]. This is why there are inscriptions that attribute the paintings to Mi Yuanhui and Ma Duanheng, and one even ascribes them to Sima Junshi [Sima Guang] and Old Zhang [Mi Fu]. This is really like spinning dreams to imbeciles [i.e. pure nonsense]—what a joke! Moreover, the calligraphy all seems to be the product of one hand imitating three or four styles.
今人見懵董山便歸之襄陽父子，以故有題作米元暉馬端衡者，乃至以爲司馬君實及老章。此尤癡人前説夢，大可笑也。且書法似出一手，而强作三四體。[10]

Wang Shizhen was of the opinion that only the first inscription, Sima Cizhong's poem, was genuine and that the other five were spurious, written by someone of recent times who had randomly attributed the river landscape to Mi Youren and the trees composition to a "Ma Duanheng" (following Fu Yuanheng's error). Committed to ignoring these five inscriptions, Wang was impervious to the clear attachment of the Sima surname to Duanheng in the final inscription by Song Jingyang. As far as he was concerned, both paintings were by the otherwise unknown Zhang Duanheng, whose name Wang had

8 Two eighteenth-century records of the scroll specify a different order of the paintings from today, with the entwined trees first and the riverside landscape second. See Wu Sheng 吴升, *Daguan lu* 大觀録 (Taipei: Zhongyang Tushuguan, 1970), *juan* 13: 42b–43b; Gao Shiqi, *Jiangcun xiaoxia lu, juan* 1: 22a–23a. The present order, however, appears to be indicative of how the scroll was mounted earlier, as some of the older seals are placed over the paper join between the entwined trees composition and the first inscription. Although unidentified, the seal *wenfang zhi yin* 文房至印, in particular, gives the appearance of being early, possibly of Southern Song date. Gao Shiqi claims that both paintings possess this seal, but it is only seen today following the painting of the entwined trees.

9 Wang Keyu, *Shanhu wang, juan* 28: 23a. The Wang and Xie clans, represented in particular by the famous calligraphers Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (303–361) and Xie An 谢安 (320–385), were synonymous with high culture in the minds of later generations.

10 Wang Shizhen, "Zhang Duanheng shanshui," *Yanzhou xugao, juan* 168: 17a–17b. Fu Yuanheng's omission of the "Si" in Sima's name must underlie Wang Shizhen's reference to Ma Duanheng. Wang's comment that a colophon writer assigned the paintings to Sima Guang and Mi Fu must point to Tian Ruao's inscription, though Wang misreads Tian's intention.

encountered in his perusal of an earlier text.[11] Wang Shizhen urged the owner of *Poetic Ideas*, identified only as Qinzhi 欽之, to quickly get rid of these "snake's feet," or unwarranted additions.

The owner of *Poetic Ideas* at this time appears to have been Peng Qinzhi 彭欽之 (fl. late sixteenth century), a close acquaintance of Wang Shizhen and a figure with ties to other important cultural figures in the region that encompassed the cities of Suzhou and Huating toward the end of the sixteenth century.[12] This circle included Wang Zhideng, whose inscription on the scroll is far more tempered than Wang Shizhen's proposal: the former accepted the premise that two painters were involved—Mi Youren and Duanheng (he tactfully avoids identifying the latter's surname)—and moreover concluded that Mi Youren was responsible for the entwined trees landscape, which he called a rare work somewhat similar to the style of Guo Xi.[13]

It appears that at this point no one was really certain of Duanheng's identity. That changed when the scroll came to the attention of Dong Qichang, who saw it in Guangling (Yangzhou, Jiangsu). In a comment included in his collected writings but not on the scroll itself, Dong identifies the painter of the riverside landscape, which he calls exceedingly fine and in the style of the Five Dynasties Period master Li Cheng 李成 (919–967), as Sima Duanheng—a person whose indifference to fame resulted in his absence from the chronicles of painting. In clear contrast to Wang Shizhen, Dong mentions "many Song and Yuan inscriptions" on the scroll and follows this with a clear rebuke of Wang's earlier assessment. Dong writes that he discovered Wang's error of declaring the painter as Zhang Duanheng while perusing the writings of the Southern Song poet Lu You 陸游 (1125–1210). Whether out of genuine sympathy or condescension, Dong then gratuitously added,

11 There is a short description of Zhang Duanheng in Xia Wenyan 夏文彦, *Tuhui baojian* 圖繪寶鑑, Siku quanshu edition, *juan* 4: 7b. It is clear from what Wang Shizhen recounts in his inscription that Xia's text was the source of his information.

12 Both Wang Shizhen and Wang Zhideng mention Peng by his given name only in their inscriptions. Peng appears in a few places in Wang Shizhen's collected works, *Yanzhou xugao* (see note 2): "Ji Peng Qinzhi taixue" 寄彭欽之太學 (*juan* 17: 11a); "Qingpu Tu hou qusi ji" 青浦屠侯去思記 (*juan* 57: 14a–18b); "Peng Qinzhi" 彭欽之 (*juan* 183: 5a–5b). Wang Zhideng wrote a short travel piece for Peng Qinzhi on West Stream (Xixi 西溪), outside of Hangzhou, that is included in numerous anthologies. It was originally recorded in a gazetteer of Buddhist establishments in the area: Wu Bentai 吳本泰, *Xixi fanyin zhi* 西溪梵隱志. A painting of 1576 by Mo Shilong 莫是龍 (1537–1587) titled *Pure Thoughts on Autumn Waters* (*Qiushui qing si* 秋水清思) includes an inscription by Mo in which he mentions Peng Qinzhi. The painting was sold at the Hanhai Auction (Beijing) in June 2006. Mo Shilong was a central cultural figure in late-Ming Jiangnan and an important link to Dong Qichang.

13 Wang Zhideng's inscription is recorded in Wu Sheng, *Daguan lu* (see note 8), *juan* 13: 43b.

"Inscribing paintings is absolutely no simple matter!" (跋畫最非易事).[14]

Dong Qichang's discovery in Lu You's collected works of an inscription for a painting by someone called Sima Duanheng, whom Dong recognized as one and the same as the Duanheng of *Poetic Ideas*, was quite a coup: not only did it settle the identification of the painter and help validate the five early inscriptions that Wang Shizhen had summarily dismissed; it also uncovered what has proved to be practically the only thing found in the textual record that directly comments on the painter. Recognizing the importance of the newfound inscription, Dong chose to transcribe it as his offering on *Poetic Ideas*. Originally written for a painting of Chan Buddhist subject matter titled *Transmission of the Lamp* 傳燈圖, the inscription (fig. 17) reads as follows:

> The aspirations and the talent of Sima Sixty-five *zhang* far surpassed those of ordinary people. When he was a young man, his family and party politics excluded him from official service. Looking for a place to lodge the emotions welling up in his breast, he expressed his ideas in painting. His brushwork is lofty and marvelous, possessing the leftover airs of Gu [Kaizhi] and Lu [Tanwei]. In the past, as our families have long been intimate, I had the chance to hear him discuss painting. He spoke energetically the whole day long, like Sun Wu discussing the art of warfare or Masters Linji and Zhaozhou discussing Chan Buddhism—so marvelous! Now I constantly regret that at the time I did not jot down some of what he had to say for later connoisseurs. Today I have the honor of viewing [Sima Huai's] *Transmission of the Lamp*. It is just like that time when I received his expositions and teachings. I bow my head and ceaselessly sigh. [Signed] Dingwei day of the tenth [lunar] month, *dingmao* year of the Kaixi reign [27 October 1207].
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> 司馬六十五丈，抱負才氣絶人遠甚。方少壯時以黨家不獲施用，於時欲有以寓其胷中浩浩者，遂放意於畫。落筆高妙，有顧陸遺風。某嘗以通家之舊親聞其論畫。衮衮終日，如孫吳談兵，臨濟趙州談禪，何其妙也。每恨是時不能記録一二，以遺後之好事者。今獲觀傳燈圖，恍如接言論風指時，稽首太息不能自已。開禧丁卯歲十月丁未，山陰陸某謹題。[15]

14 Dong Qichang, "Hua zhi" 畫旨 (entry 93), *Rongtai bieji* 容臺別集 (Taipei: Zhongyang Tushuguan, 1968), *juan* 6: 32a–32b. Dong also pointed out that Sima Duanheng's name is nowhere to be found in painting catalogs.

15 Lu You, "Ba Sima Duanheng hua chuandeng tu" 跋司馬端衡畫傳燈圖, *Weinan wenji* 渭南文集, Siku quanshu edition, *juan* 31: 2b–3a. The expression "transmission of the lamp" refers to the passing down of the Buddha's teachings, from teacher to disciple, within the Chan community.

It should be noted that no early document has yet been cited here that identifies Sima Duanheng's given name as Huai 槐. This information appears later, in the eighteenth-century compilation *Chronicles of Calligraphy and Painting from the Peiwen Studio* (*Peiwenzhai shuhua pu* 佩文齋書畫譜), where a brief passage is cited from the collected works of Lou Yao 樓鑰 (1137–1213): "Sima Huai, style name Duanheng, attained the official position of consultant and achieved fame as a painter early in the Shaoxing reign" (司馬槐，字端衡，官參議，以畫得名於紹興初).[16] Curiously, I have not been able to confirm the existence of this passage in Lou's literary works.[17] However, his writings do include a related inscription that helps shed light on Sima Duanheng. Lou inscribed a painting of a Buddhist master made jointly by Lian Bu 廉布 (b. ca. 1092) and someone named Sima Ni 司馬棁 (fl. twelfth century). Lian's contribution was the landscape elements; Sima painted the monk. Lou revealed that Sima Ni's style name was Duanhang 端行 , that he served as a consultant, and that both he and Lian were well-known scholar-painters early in the Shaoxing reign. He also remarked that in addition to figures, Sima Duanhang painted landscapes.[18] One notes striking similarities between these two Sima-surnamed Southern Song painters active early in the Shaoxing reign, from their given names (both single characters with the tree radical, *mu* 木) to their style names (both implying straightforward, honest behavior), their official positions, and their tendency to paint figures and landscapes. Could they have been one and the same person, the name variations reflecting a change in names, textual corruptions, or a combination of the two?

The meaning of the term "sixty-five *zhang*" (one zhang equals ten *chi* or a traditional Chinese foot), used to modify Sima Huai's name in the first line, is unclear. Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (ca. 344–406) and Lu Tanwei 陸探微 (fl. late fifth century) are well-known masters of the classical figure painting tradition. Sun Wu 孫吳 , better known as Sun Zi 孫子, is the author of the classic *Art of War*. Linji refers to the Chan master Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄 (d. 866), founder of the Linji school (Jap.: Rinzai), one of the dominant sects in the Song dynasty. Zhaozhou is the long-lived Zhaozhou Congshen 趙州從諗 (778–897), another Chan master of the late Tang.

16 Sun Yueban 孫岳頒, comp., *Yuding Peiwenzhai shuhua pu* 御定佩文齋書畫譜, Siku quanshu edition, *juan* 51: 39a.

17 Either the editor of *Peiwenzhai shuhua pu* was using a different version of Lou Yao's *Gongkui ji* than what is commonly available today or this passage was mistakenly attributed to Lou's book because of the reference to Sima Ni. I do not see any reason to fabricate Sima Duanheng's identity and consequently trust that there is an early source that reveals his given name to have been Huai. Throughout the remainder of the essay I follow convention and refer to Sima Duanheng as Sima Huai.

18 Lou Yao 樓鑰, "Ba Zhao shi suocang dashi" 跋趙氏所藏大士, *Gongkui ji* 攻媿集, Siku quanshu edition, *juan* 78: 9a–9b. The grave of Sima Ni is noted in the Zhejiang gazetteer as being on Mount Ting 亭山 (Shaoxing, Zhejiang). See *Zhejiang tongzhi* 浙江通志, Siku quanshu edition, *juan* 238: 4a.

It seems more likely to me that Sima Huai and Sima Ni were brothers, two of a number of descendants of Sima Guang who struggled through the political proscriptions of the late Northern Song (alluded to by Lu in his inscription) and attained modest success as painters and minor officials in the early years of the Southern Song. I will return to the Sima clan presently—to a large degree, *Poetic Ideas* reflects that illustrious family's heritage. It is a singular object, the sole pictorial trace of their collective identity to have survived. First, however, let us continue with the historiography of the scroll in order to address some of its remaining puzzles.

Dong Qichang's discovery of Lu You's inscription helped settle the issue of Duanheng's family ties, but questions about *Poetic Ideas* remained unsettled. Wang Zhideng and Dong both attributed the riverside landscape to Sima Huai and the twisted trees to Mi Youren. Neither stated his reasons why, but presumably the content of Sima Cizhong's poem and their knowledge of Mi's landscape style were important factors. But the painting of entwined trees is unlike anything else attributed to Mi. Some commented on this directly. Wu Sheng 吳升 , early eighteenth-century author of *A Record of Great Views* (*Daguan lu* 大觀録), pointed out that although Mi readily switched styles, there is not one stroke in the two compositions similar to anything else he had made. Wu halfheartedly mused that if not for the earlier writers, who speak of two painters, one might think that both paintings came from the hand of Sima Huai.[19]

Writing about twenty years earlier, Wu' s contemporary Gu Fu 顧復 (fl. 1662–1692) was more direct. In *Grand Views Seen in My Lifetime* (*Pingsheng zhuangguan* 平生壯觀), Gu argued that the scroll must originally have included yet another painting by Mi, though it had long since gone its own way.[20] His comment also seems to imply that both of the extant *Poetic Ideas* paintings were by Sima Huai. Wu Sheng had noted the application of rubbed dry ink for accents in both, an observation that could support the hypothesis of a

19 "But both paintings only have poems; they lack signatures and seals. Moreover, Duanheng's paintings are completely gone and unavailable for viewing [and comparative purposes]. As for Yuanhui [Mi Youren], though he excelled at changing styles, when one compares these with his other works, not a single brushstroke resembles what is seen here. Is it possible that [both] paintings came from Duanheng's hand? But the inscribers all speak of a collaborative work; they do not leave room for speculation." 但兩圖止有詩， 無款印，而端衡畫絶未之見。元暉雖工脱換，較之别本，竟無一筆相似。豈畫出端衡手腕耶？然諸跋則鑿指爲合作。是又無容致疑耳。Wu Sheng, *Daguan lu* (see note 8), *juan* 13: 42b.

20 "This scroll together with Yuanhui's [Mi Youren's] brushwork originally composed a single scroll, and this is why the inscribers all speak of both artists. Today, however, Mi's painting is no longer present." 此卷有元暉筆共成一卷，故題者兼及，而米畫不存矣. Gu Fu, *Pingsheng zhuangguan* (see note 2), *juan* 8: 15.

single painter.[21] In summary, by the eighteenth century Sima Huai's identity and image as a painter had been resurrected, while Mi Youren's contribution to *Poetic Ideas* remained a matter of contention—could both of the paintings have been the work of the otherwise little-understood Sima Huai?

In addressing this question, it is important to recognize a factor that plays powerfully into viewers' perceptions of *Poetic Ideas*: the dates of some of the scroll's inscriptions. Tian Ruao's colophon is dated the ninth lunar month, 1148, and that of Wang Shixin is dated a year later. Wang Min's inscription, sandwiched between the two on the scroll, was undoubtedly written in the same narrow window of time. The time frame of Sima Cizhong's poem, physically the first of the inscriptions, cannot be pinned down, but the final two, belonging to Fu Yuanheng and Song Jingyang, are likely to have followed closely after those of Tian, Wang Shixin, and Wang Min, circa 1150.[22] This tight temporal packing of the inscriptions makes it natural to assume that the paintings date from the same period.

Feeding this hypothesis is the strong association of Mi Youren with the Southern Song court and the fact that from the Ming dynasty on all of his known paintings were from after the loss of the north to the Jurchens.[23] What little we know of Sima Huai, who gained a modest footing in officialdom after the move south, further encourages the association of the scroll with the early years of the Southern Song. The inscriptions allude to both artists' illustrious ancestors (Mi Fu and Sima Guang). The scroll consequently presents itself as a Southern Song homage to an earlier era, with Mi Youren and Sima Huai playing the roles of "phoenix chick" and "thoroughbred colt," to use Tian Ruao's terms. For later viewers

21 Wu describes the brush effects as *penghi diantai* 蓬筆點苔, "reed brush, dots of moss." Wu Sheng, *Daguan lu* (see note 8), *juan* 13: 42b.

22 This is based on what can be surmised of the dates of activity of Fu Yuanheng and Song Jingyang and the fact that their inscriptions seem to refer to Mi and Sima as still present. Mi Youren died in 1151.

23 There are various early references to Mi Youren's painting, but the earliest documented painting, recorded in a number of late Ming and early Qing catalogs, was a gift to Jiang Zhongyou 蔣仲友 dated the eighth lunar month, 1130. See, for example, Bian Yongyu 卞永譽, *Shigutang shuhua huikao* 式古堂書畫彙考 (Taipei: Zhengzhong Shuju, 1958), *juan* 13: 22. Mi's earliest extant painting is *Cloudy Mountains* of the same year in the Cleveland Museum of Art. For more on Mi Youren's early career and biography see Sturman, "Mi Youren and the Inherited Literati Tradition," 160–186. For Mi's association with Gaozong and the Southern Song court, see Shi Man 石慢 (Peter Sturman), "Kejin xiaodao de Mi Youren—lun qi dui fuqin Mi Fu shuji de souji ji Mi Fu shuji dui Gazong chaoting de yingxiang" 克盡孝道的米友仁——論其對父親米芾書迹的搜集及米芾書迹對高宗朝廷的影響, *Gugong xueshu jikan* 故宮學術季刊, 9.4 (1992), 89–126.

familiar with Mi Youren, such as Gu Fu and Wu Sheng, it was difficult to connect either of the two paintings on the scroll with the fairly consistent image of the cloudy mountains theme that was presented time and again in his paintings of the early Southern Song. Hence their suspicion that Mi's painting had been removed.

Upon closer inspection, the suggestion that Mi could have added anything to the scroll during the middle or late 1140s loses ground. First, Mi is known to have painted only rarely in his late years, and then only for the most distinguished of recipients: Emperor Gaozong. For a period of about a decade, the troubled 1130s when the court was struggling to reestablish itself in Hangzhou, Mi was extremely active, aggressively seeking positions in the capital and using his father's celebrity to promote his own abilities. Painting played a major role in this self-promotion, so much so that Mi later regretted that so many of his works had found their way into the hands of collectors.[24] By the spring of 1141, probably as a result of his growing role as an advisor in the rebuilding of the imperial collections of painting and calligraphy, Mi suddenly enjoyed a rapid rise through the bureaucracy, culminating with the position of vice minister in the Ministry of War in 1144.[25] The most telling comment on his late-life success is Deng Chun's 鄧椿 remark in *Records of Painting, Continued* (*Hua ji* 畫繼) that Mi Youren enjoyed the personal favor of Emperor Gaozong:

> Then [Mi] met with imperial favor and was promoted to vice director of the Board of Works and auxiliary academician to Fuwen Hall, daily serving as the emperor's companion. Before this, scholars had often been able to acquire his paintings, but once honored he became extremely self-important, and even old friends and relatives were no longer able to acquire his work. Everyone teased him, chanting,

24 Mi Youren added the following inscription to a painting brought forward by an eager young solicitor, probably in the 1140s: "Wherever I have gone I have been beset by people seeking paintings. I have no idea how many countless billions are now in the hands of collectors. This one Youzhi got from some place and now wants an inscription. [Signed] Yuanhui" 所至之地，爲人迫作片幅，莫知其千萬億在諸好事家矣。此幅爲佑之何處得，出示索跋。元暉. See Bian Yongyu, *Shigutang shuhua huikao* (see note 23), *juan* 13: 21.

25 After a roughly three-year period (1138–1141) spent on sabbatical at his sister's home at Dayao Village (near Suzhou, Jiangsu), Mi Youren accepted the position of tea and salt supervisor of the Liang-Zhe West Circuit, with headquarters in Suzhou. A year later, Mi assumed the duties of vice director of the Directorate for the Palace Buildings and barely a half-year later moved to the State Farms Bureau in the Department of State Affairs, also as a vice director. He continued up the ladder within that bureau until 1144, when he was appointed vice minister of the Ministry of War. See Shi Man, "Kejin xiaodao de Mi Youren," 97–102.

You know how to make trees without roots,
And can describe primordial clouds, thick as pea soup.
But now you paint only for the emperor,
And won't give your work to idlers like us.
被遇光堯，官至工部侍郎、敷文閣直學士，日奉清閒之燕。方其未遇時，士大夫往往可得其筆。既貴，甚自秘重，雖親舊閒亦無緣得之。衆嘲曰：解作無根樹，能描濛鴻雲。如今供御也，不肯與閒人。[26]

Deng Chun's comment highlights the elevated status Mi Youren enjoyed late in his life, as well as his self-importance, neither of which fits comfortably with the prospect of him joining the relatively insignificant Sima Huai in a collaborative painting close to the time of the scroll's inscriptions. Also incongruous are the inscriptions themselves. Considering Mi's age and stature in 1148–1149, is it not somewhat strange that Tian Ruao speaks not of the vice director of the Board of Works at all but instead his father, Mi Fu, relegating "Little Mi" and Sima Huai to child and grandnephew status? It is possible that Tian did not know Mi Youren personally, but he certainly would have been aware of his position at the court and his role as cultural advisor and attendant to the emperor. Similarly, it seems a little odd that Wang Min's primary focus in his short inscription is the unidentified Duanshu—the compiler of the Du Fu lines—a man who left no discoverable mark on the late 1140s. In contrast, Mi Youren quietly joins Sima Huai as an outside accomplice. Fu Yuanheng's and Song Jingyang's inscriptions are a bit more focused on the two painters, though Fu's too mentions them in terms of family lineages. By likening them to the sons and brothers of the Wang and Xie clans, Fu implies that the two painters' excellence was owed to what would today be called superior genes.

In summary, *Poetic Ideas* offers a number of puzzles. Mi Youren's involvement is the largest question mark. The identity of Duanshu is another. And then there is the apparent disjuncture between some of the inscribers' comments and what is known of Mi's status. Is there a possible explanation? I believe there is, though first a personal admission. When I initially studied *Poetic Ideas* so many years ago, like Gu Fu and Wu Sheng I had doubts regarding Mi Youren's contribution. The Southern Song inscriptions mention two painters, and there were two paintings, but I could not reconcile either—especially the landscape—with what I knew of Mi Youren's late painting style. I consequently assumed that whatever he had painted was long lost and suggested that both paintings might have been by Sima

26 Deng Chun 鄧椿, *Hua ji* 畫繼, Siku quanshu edition, *juan* 3: 11b–12a. This same jesting poem is attributed to Mi Youren's close friend Zhai Qinian 翟耆年 in Tang Hou 湯垕, *Hua lun* 畫論, Meishu congshu (Taipei: Guangwen Shuju, 1963), 14: 421.

Huai. After new opportunities to view the scroll, and with the benefit of twenty years of experience, I now believe it less likely that the two paintings are from a single hand. Both paintings are skillful, but the entwined trees in the scroll's second composition demonstrate particular verve that suggests to me a different facility with the brush. I am now more inclined to believe that two hands were involved with the paintings.[27]

The explanation that best answers the various puzzles presented by *Poetic Ideas* is that the paintings were done a number of years before the inscriptions that follow Sima Cizhong's poem, possibly before the end of the Northern Song. Guided by the limited knowledge passed down about Mi Youren and Sima Huai, and especially the dearth of material remains, later connoisseurs and scholars naturally saw this scroll as a Southern Song production. Yet Mi was born in 1074 and lived most of his life in the Northern Song. He was already thirty-one years old when his father presented his painting *Pure Dawn in the Mountains of Chu* (*Chushan qingxiao tu* 楚山清曉圖) to Emperor Huizong during an imperial audience.[28] By this date, the younger Mi must already have been an accomplished painter; it would be another twenty-two years before the Northern Song fell. That period of his life is almost a complete blank; only at the age of fifty-three, when he began to rebuild his life, does Mi emerge from the shadows, earning fame at Gaozong's court. Because of the later paintings, we think of Mi exclusively as a painter of the cloudy mountains theme, but there is evidence from early records that suggests greater breadth of subject. His contemporary Zhou Hui 周煇 (fl. twelfth century), for example, noted that Mi once presented him with a painting of "wintry trees" (*hanlin* 寒林).[29] This is hardly confirmation that Mi painted the entwined trees in *Poetic Ideas*, but it reminds us that there is much we do not know regarding his activities as an artist, especially in the last decades of the Northern Song.

Assigning *Poetic Ideas* an early date also helps make sense of the tone and content of the inscriptions. As an ensemble, the unsigned paintings, the poem, and the five Southern Song inscriptions that follow do not provide a particularly coherent record. The lack of details regarding the making of the scroll, the unusual manner in which both Mi Youren

27 There is also the possibility that one or both of the compositions was jointly painted, with the entwined trees composition the best candidate for this scenario. This would help explain some of the visual congruities between the two paintings, though there are a number of other possible explanations.

28 The presentation of the painting is described in the grave inscription Cai Zhao 蔡肇 wrote for Mi Fu, "Mi Yuanzhang muzhi ming" 米元章墓誌銘, *Helinsi zhi* 鶴林寺志, 20a–23b. The edition I consulted, of Wanli date, is in the National Palace Museum Library. Cai's inscription is commonly included with modern compilations of Mi Fu materials.

29 Zhou Hui 周煇, *Qingbo zazhi* 清波雜志, Siku quanshu edition, *juan* 5: 12b.

and Sima Huai are positioned as family scions, and the single abrupt reference to Duanshu all lead one to suspect that something—inscriptions, poems, or simply oral history—is now missing that was available to the early writers.

Lastly, placing the scroll in the middle of Huizong's reign provides a likely candidate for the compiler of the Du Fu lines mentioned in Wang Min's inscription. A number of people possessed the style name Duanshu in the Song dynasty, but one person stands out: Li Zhiyi 李之儀 (ca. 1048–1118 or later), a close follower of Su Shi and a highly regarded literary figure. As detailed in the following section, Li was a friend of the Mi family, and his close association with Su and subsequent political travails early in the twelfth century linked him to the descendants of Sima Guang.

Images and Lineages

Identifying Duanshu may always be a matter of debate, but understanding the role he played in *Poetic Ideas* is important. Song literati painting in Su Shi's circle communicated shared experiences and values among friends. Such values could be transparent, but the shared experiences were often private matters related to official careers and as such were most comfortably alluded to indirectly. Textual accompaniments could play an oversized role in this communication, especially among those who were masters of the literary tradition.[30] In this respect, *Poetic Ideas* may be fruitfully compared with the better-known poem-paintings produced by professional painters serving the Song court.

As Deng Chun tells it, Huizong elevated painting at the imperially sponsored academy by incorporating literary studies into the curriculum and encouraging competitions that tested painters' ability to illustrate poetic lines. Subtlety of expression—sensitivity to

30 See my work on a painting attributed to Wang Qihan 王齊翰 (fl. tenth century), sometimes titled *Collating Books* (*Kanshu tu* 勘書圖), but more appropriately *The Ear Picker* (*Tiaoer tu* 挑耳圖) (Nanjing Museum): Peter C. Sturman, "In the Realm of Naturalness: Problems of Self-Imaging by the Northern Sung Literati," in *Arts of the Sung and Yüan*, ed. Maxwell K. Hearn and Judith K. Smith, 165–188 (New York: Department of Asian Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996); Shi Man 石慢, "Tongxunxing huihua—jiedu Su Shi, Wang Gong yu Wang Shen" 通訊性繪畫：解讀蘇軾、王鞏與 王詵, in *Kaichuang dianfan: Bei Song de yishu yu wenhua yantaohui lunwen ji* 開創典範：北宋的藝術與文化研討會論文集 (Taipei: Gugong Bowuyuan, 2008), 583–601. Another example is Mi Youren's *Distant Peaks, Clearing Clouds* (see note 1). See Sturman, "Mi Youren and the Inherited Literati Tradition," 219–251; idem, "*Distant Peaks, Clearing Clouds* by Mi Youren," in *Qiannian danqing: xi du Zhong-Ri cang Tang-Song-Yuan huihua zhenpin* 千年丹青：細讀中日藏唐宋元繪畫珍品 (Beijing: Beijing Daxue Chubanshe, 2010), 037–042 (English), 159–166 (Chinese). The use of painting for political commentary is the primary theme of Alfreda Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song China: The Subtle Art of Dissent* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard-Yenching Institute, 2000).

the text and ingenuity in shaping its pictorial form—was invariably most highly prized.[31] These court productions, at least as described by Deng, sound like formal exercises with little if any suggestion of how the choice of texts may have reflected the subjectivity of the chooser. Modern scholarship has revealed that imperial subjectivity could play a major generative role, especially during the Southern Song.[32] What we find in *Poetic Ideas*, however, is fundamentally different. The choice of Du Fu for the poetic source signals a distinctly scholarly orientation, one, moreover, as Sima Cizhong's poem well demonstrates, that resonated deeply with the trials of those who were aligned with the antireformists of the late eleventh century. But what motivation, if any, underlay the choice of these two specific five-character lines?

From a distance, the collaboration of Mi Youren, Sima Huai, and Duanshu in the making of *Poetic Ideas* may suggest casualness—the product of an elegant gathering in which painterly and literary talents were conjoined—but even if accurate, this does not preclude the possibility of a meaningful agenda. In the rest of this essay I will explore a possible reading of the scroll based on what we know of the participants. Identifying Duanshu as Li Zhiyi is central to my understanding, and it is with a brief summary of Li's history that we begin. However, even without this association, the case can be made that *Poetic Ideas* is closely linked with the followers of Su Shi. We recognize this from what can be ascertained of both the Sima clan and Mi Youren in the first decades of the twelfth century.

Li Zhiyi was an important literary figure of the late Northern Song, a recognized talent in the composing of *ci* lyric songs in particular and, most significantly for our purposes, one of the key members of Su Shi's extended circle.[33] Li's collected works, *Writings by the Layman of Guxi* (*Guxi jushi wenji* 姑溪居士文集), are extant in seventy fascicles, providing one of the most complete literary representations of any Song figure. Yet, as the modern scholar Zeng Zaozhuang notes, his association with the antireformists crippled his political career, shortened his official biography, and ensured there would be no detailed chronological accounting of his movements and achievements.[34] Without an extant grave

31 This topic is well treated in Lee Hui-shu 李慧淑, "Song yuanti huaniao hua zhi yanjiu: cong Huizong ji qi huayuan fengge zhuanbian zhi guanjian" 宋院體花鳥畫之研究：從徽宗及其畫院風格轉變之關鍵 (master's thesis, Taiwan University, 1984), 87–96.

32 Lee, Hui-shu, *Empresses, Art, and Agency in Song Dynasty China* (Seattle: Washington University Press, 2010).

33 Li Zhiyi's *ci* are discussed in Ronald Egan, *The Problem of Beauty: Aesthetic Thought and Pursuits in Northern Song Dynasty China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006), esp. chap. 6.

34 Zeng Zaozhuang 曾棗莊, *Li Zhiyi nianpu* 李之儀年譜, in *Songren nianpu congkan* 宋人年譜叢刊, ed.

inscription, even his birth and death dates are unknown and subject to frequent scholarly debate.[35] We do know that he was a brilliant student and a very capable administrator. Early in his career, he attracted the attention of Fan Chunren 范純仁 (1027–1101), a senior moderate among the antireformists. Fan brought Li to the capital at the start of the Yuanyou reign (1086–1087), when Fan and other antireformists gained power, and there Li developed close relationships with Su Shi and his circle, including Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045–1145) and Qin Guan 秦觀 (1049–1100). In fact, Li's acquaintance with Su had begun some years earlier: correspondence between the two men is documented as early as 1080, after Su was convicted on charges of lèse-majesté and banished to Huangzhou (Hubei), and there are indications that the two men met as early as the mid-1070s.[36] The relationship deepened when Li joined Su's camp as an administrative aide at Dingzhou (Shandong) in 1093. This marked the end of the antireform party's sway over court policy as well as the beginning of Su Shi's long march into the wilderness.

With established allegiances to Su and the antireform party, Li Zhiyi's fortunes declined through the 1090s and early 1100s. One official posting sent him far from the capital; another was quickly rescinded.[37] Huizong ascended the throne in 1100 and

Wu Hongze 吳洪澤 and Yin Bo 尹波 (Chengdu: Sichuan Daxue Chubanshe, 2003), 5: 3122.

35 There have been a number of studies regarding Li Zhiyi's birth and death dates, yielding conflicting conclusions. Some say he lived past eighty; see Wang Cheng 王偁, *Dongdu shilue* 東都事略, Zhongyang tushuguan shanben congkan (Taipei: Zhongyang Tushuguan, 1991); Wang Mingqing 王明清, *Huizhu houlu* 揮麈後錄, Lidai biji xiaoshuo jicheng (Shijiazhuang: Hebei Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 1994). Dated writings by Li end abruptly in the third lunar month, 1118, with Li Zhiyi 李之儀, "Xiangying shangren zixu" 祥瑛上人字序, *Guxi jushi qianji* 姑溪居士前集, Siku quanshu edition, *juan* 35: 7a–7b. If Li died around this time, then his year of birth would have to be pushed back to ca. 1038 to accommodate his eighty years. Zeng Zaozhuang, however, provides a persuasive argument for a 1048 birthdate; see Zeng, *Li Zhi nianpu* (see note 34), 3127–3128. Zeng and others have consequently assumed that Li died after 1127. A 1048 birthdate would be more in line with other Su Shi followers and friends, such as Huang Tingjian (1045), Wang Shen (c. 1048), Qin Guan (1049), Mi Fu (1052), and Zhang Lei (1054). I doubt, however, that Li lived to the very end of the Northern Song. Given the lack of incontrovertible evidence that he lived past 1118, I suspect that statements asserting his eighty years are not precisely accurate, though he may well have lived a few years into the Xuanhe reign. For a recent essay that addresses these issues, see Wang Xing 王星, "Zai lun Li Zhiyi zu yu Zhenghe ba nian" 再論李之儀卒於政和八年, *Wenxue yichan* 文學遺產, 2012.5, 157–159. There is similar disagreement about the date when Li Zhiyi passed the *jinshi* (presented scholar) examination.

36 Kong Fanli 孔凡禮, "Su Shi yu Li Zhiyi" 蘇軾與李之儀, *Leshan shifan xueyuan xuebao* 樂山師範學院學報 24.4 (2009), 1.

37 Li was assigned the post of controller-general (*tongpan* 通判) of Yuanzhou in 1097. Located in

initiated mediation between the rival political groups. Major antireform figures, such as Su and Fan, both of whom were in failing health, were amnestied and allowed to return from their banishments in the far south. Li assisted Fan, who was going blind, to prepare posthumous memorials (*yibiao* 遺表) as well as a complete résumé of Fan's achievements. But the détente proved brief, and Li's involvement with his old patron proved personally damaging: another political shift in 1102 resulted in a complete purge of what remained of the old Yuanyou Party and their followers. Li Zhiyi was arrested and ordered to Dangtu (Jiangsu), where his movements were restricted. The next four years were especially trying, marked by the loss of a number of family members, including his wife, and various infirmities.[38] In 1106 he was pardoned, but he remained marginalized for his remaining years. A decade later, Li referred to "fifteen or sixteen years" of "drifting on the river"—a comment on his exclusion from officialdom after the Chongning proscriptions of 1102–1104.[39] In 1116 he was included in a second general amnesty and reinstated as the titular superintendent of the Yuju Daoist Temple 玉局觀, located in Chengdu.[40] This was a sinecure of little standing that would not have necessitated relocating from Dangtu, but it meant he had ceased to be persona non grata and had won a degree of recognition from the court. His dated writings end in 1118, which some take as an indication of his death around this time.[41]

Li Zhiyi was a friend of both Mi Fu and Mi Youren. Mi Fu became well acquainted with Su Shi's circle during the Yuanyou reign. Later, in 1100 or so, while Mi was serving at Lianshui (northern Jiangsu), the two corresponded. Four letters written to Mi Fu are included in Li's collected works as well as a single letter addressed to Mi Youren—Li thanks Little Mi for a gift of paper.[42] Mi Youren's precise movements through the first quarter of the twelfth century are difficult to ascertain, but there were certainly opportunities to meet with Li Zhiyi, as the two men lived in the same general region. For most of this time, Mi resided at the family domicile at Runzhou (Zhenjiang, Jiangsu), thirty miles downriver from Nanjing. From 1102 until the end of his life, Li lived primarily at Dangtu, more than forty miles upriver from Nanjing. Li also resided in Nanjing for a

modern-day Ningxia, Yuanzhou was a northwest border region during the Song. Two years later, Li was appointed supervisor of the Neixiang Medicine Storehouse, but the post was rescinded due to Li's history with Su Shi. See Zeng Zaozhuang, *Li Zhiyi nianpu*, 3135–3136.

38 Li Zhiyi, "Yu Zhu tiju Wudang qi" 與祝提舉無黨啟, in *Guxi jushi qianji, juan* 21: 5b–6b.

39 Li Zhiyi 李之儀, "Shang zhi zai" 上執宰, in *Guxi jushi qianji, juan* 20: 2a.

40 Zeng Zaozhuang, *Li Zhiyi nianpu*, 3149–3150. Li appears to have originally held the post for a short period during the Daguan reign (1107–1110).

41 See note 35.

42 Li Zhiyi 李之儀, *Guxi jushi qianji, juan* 21: 7a–9a.

short time.[43] The Yangzi was the primary conduit for transportation and official business.

Mi Youren's official career appears to have begun late in the Zhenghe reign, and in all likelihood was initiated by the same amnesty of 1116 that resulted in Li's appointment as temple superintendent. Mi Fu is generally considered to have stayed outside the political fray that consumed the antireformists, but in the deeply fractured partisan environment of the late Northern Song, one's fortunes were affected by friendships, and the ups and downs of his official career resembled those of Su Shi's circle.[44] One's children often suffered, as the Sima clan could well attest. Early in the Xuanhe reign, circa 1118–1120, Mi Youren held the position of controller-general (*tongpan* 通判) of Taipingzhou.[45] Taipingzhou was another designation for Dangtu, where Li passed his final years. If my hypothesis is correct and the unidentified Duanshu of *Poetic Ideas* is Li Zhiyi, the most likely period for the scroll's production is circa 1115–1120, when Mi Youren was engaged as an official in the area and building a growing reputation.[46] This marked a turning point in Mi's life, as he embarked on what would ultimately prove to be a long and fruitful career as an official. Sima Huai does not appear to have been as fortunate, as the only information regarding official duties points to the ad hoc, as well as unspecified, position of consultant and a time frame of some years later, during the Shaoxing reign.

Riverside Landscape

43 This is according to Zeng Zaozhuang, who places Li Zhiyi in Jinling (Nanjing) from 1106 to 1108. Zeng, *Li Zhiyi nianpu*, 3142–3145.

44 Mi Fu's demotion in 1093–1094, when he lost his post as magistrate of Yongqiu, coincided with the death of Empress Gao, who had been the primary supporter of the antireformists. Mi later resurrected his official career, in large part thanks to the patronage of Cai Jing 蔡京 (1046–1126), and attained positions in the Ministry of Rites. He was not immediately affected by the Chongning proscriptions but was dismissed from the court within about a year. See Peter Charles Sturman, *Mi Fu: Style and the Art of Calligraphy in Northern Song China* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), 100–101, 121–122, 193–194.

45 Wang Ao 王鏊, comp., Gusu zhi 姑蘇志 , Siku quanshu edition, *juan* 42: 21a. Prior to assuming duties as controller-general of Taipingzhou, Mi Youren served two stints as an assistant in unspecified bureaus. Given Mi's strong local ties, I suspect that these were in the Runzhou-Nanjing area. After serving in Taipingzhou, Mi was appointed vice governor (*shaoyin* 少尹) of Daming (southern Hebei), which at that time was known as the northern capital. After that, in the mid 1120s Mi moved to the capital at Bianjing (Kaifeng), where ultimately he was made one of the three managers of the Calligrapher Service. See Sturman, "Mi Youren and the Inherited Literati Tradition," 170.

46 The gazetteer cited in the preceding note comments on Mi's growing reputation in conjunction with his positions at Taipingzhou and Daming.

"Mountains clustered, constricting a rocky stream" (山稠隘石泉). The line chosen by Duanshu for the painting that opens *Poetic Ideas* (color plate 1, fig.1) comes from a very long poem Du Fu wrote in 759 and presented to two friends, Jia Zhi 賈至 (718–772) and Yan Wu 嚴武 (726–765), who were banished to provincial posts following the An Lushan Rebellion.[47] In the fuller context of its quatrain, this part of the poem reads:

Land remote, confused in the fiery miasmas;
Mountains clustered, constricting a rocky stream.
So you choose to pass the days playing chess,
And should use wine to get through the years.
地僻昏炎瘴，山稠隘石泉。
且將棊度日，應用酒爲年。

The passage evokes both the strangeness of the distant landscape as well as its dangers. As a commentator noted, the first couplet divides evenly for the two banished friends: Jia, dispatched to Yuezhou (Yueyang, Hubei), toward the deep south, risked the "fiery miasmas" (*yanzhang* 炎瘴), with their distinctly unhealthy connotations. Yan, sent to Bazhou (Bazhong, Sichuan), would suffer equally, isolated in the rugged mountains of the distant west. These were landscapes of exile, where only an attitude of detachment and insouciance, aided by chess and wine, would do.

The passage to which Duanshu alluded through his choice of the line "Mountains clustered, constricting a rocky stream" would have resonated deeply within the community of antireformists and followers. First and foremost, it evoked Su Shi, his three periods of exile, and his ability to rise above the physical challenges of living in the hinterlands. Reference to the heated miasmas of the south in Du Fu's original poem would have provided particular poignancy, as these were precisely what doomed Su Shi in his last exile to Hainan Island. The relevance of these lines, however, extends forward beyond Su Shi, as the more general message of political disenfranchisement and physical hardship was equally relevant to Li Zhiyi and, from what we can surmise today, every descendant of Sima Guang.

The poem that follows, at the end of the riverside landscape, echoes the theme of exile's loneliness. At the same time, there is a distinct beckoning to the greater community of like-minded individuals:

47 Du Fu 杜甫 , "Ji Yuezhou Jia sima Liuzhang Bazhou Yan Bashi jun liang gelao wushi yun" 寄岳州賈司馬六丈巴州嚴八使君兩閣老五十韻, *Du shi xiangzhu* 杜詩詳註 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1979), *juan* 8: 645–655.

Dense, the ten thousand layered mountains;
A lone waterfall pours down in sorrow.
This resolve enters my fine jade zither;
There should be one who understands the sounds.
窸窣萬山重，一派哀湍瀉。
此志入瑶琴，當有知音者。

Like Du Fu's poem, this is a statement of commiseration and friendship. The landscape is an unkind reflection of internalized turmoil that seeks an outlet, a sympathetic ear: "one who understands the sounds." By alluding to the famous friendship between the *qin* player Boya 伯牙 and his ideal listener, Zhong Ziqi 鍾子期, the poem that concludes the riverside composition directs our attention directly to suffering, the need to express feelings, and recognition that only an understanding ear validates that expressive voice—the "resolve" that enters the jade zither. In a word, the texts accompanying the painting concern human engagement and the traumatizing threat of social bonds being severed by separation or exile.

The riverside landscape is filled with images that build upon the idea of exile. Firstly, the composition itself suggests the "land remote" of Du Fu's poem. The viewer traverses a body of water and encounters a self-contained landscape—no way to enter, no way to depart. The landscape is isolated, like its inhabitants. The overall composition is reminiscent of what has been identified by Richard Barnhart as the classic exilic landscape: *Misty River*, *Layered Peaks* (*Yanjiang diezhang tu* 煙江疊嶂圖) of ca. 1090 by Wang Shen 王詵 (ca. 1048–1103) (Shanghai Museum).[48] Wang's painting, however, commenting on matters of the past, romanticized the exile experience with fantastical imagery and color (as did Su Shi's famous poem for this painting). In contrast, the riverside landscape was addressing a current, ongoing condition: the "wilderness" status of Sima Huai, his family, Li Zhiyi (late sinecure notwithstanding), and other second-generation followers of Su Shi. Consequently, the painting's tone is more plaintive.

The first thing the viewer encounters in the landscape, just past the Du Fu line at the upper right, is a string of geese taking flight (fig. 2). This is a standard oppositional trope that establishes the remoteness of the landscape and the absence of a way home. As the landscape emerges, sandy shoals and sparse trees lead to two waterside dwellings. Here two men appear to be engaged with their fishing nets while a third hovers between the huts

48 Richard M. Barnhart, "Landscape Painting around 1085," in *The Power of Culture: Studies in Chinese Cultural History,* ed. Willard J. Peterson et al., 195–205 (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1994). See also Murck, *Poetry and Painting*, esp. 126–136.

(fig. 3-4). Two buildings of a temple complex appear nestled among the hills under the tall central peak. A single figure approaches from the left, stooped by age or weariness. A fifth figure, equally bent, moves in the opposite direction by a thatch-roofed pavilion and nears the "lone and sorrowful" waterfall (color plate 10, fig. 5). The stream empties into the broader river, where we encounter a sixth and final figure: a fisherman in his small boat facing the misty void (fig. 6). Borrowing from Daoist lore, he represents detachment from the world. Yet, could there be a lonelier figure? Coming just before the closing poem descriptive of a lone waterfall pouring down in sorrow, the fisherman seems to be a long way from Zhuangzi's ideal. The landscape's depth of emotion is palpable. The figures largely move in hunched solitude, in some cases back to back. Proximity seems to mean little. Practically every figure in this remote community seems burdened by the weight of isolation.

Judging from what we can see and read from *Poetic Ideas*, this should be the image that inspired Sima Cizhong's poem that immediately follows the paintings. Sima Cizhong evidently chose to ignore Mi Youren's contribution and instead singularly focused on Duanheng's "soundless poem" that echoes Du Fu's "life of bitterness." The personal connection is striking: Sima responds to Duanheng's painting as if it were an intimate missive between family members. He echoes the painting's theme of solitude and confirms the sympathy of one who understands the sounds. Clearly Sima Cizhong and Sima Huai were close; presumably, they were cousins. Revisiting Wang Shizhen's error-prone inscription for *Poetic Ideas*, in which he misidentified Duanheng as a painter surnamed Zhang, Wang should at least receive some credit for drawing attention to Sima Cizhong's family affiliation. Wang suggested that Sima Cizhong might have been the younger brother of Sima You 司馬槱 (1091 *jinshi*), whose style name, Caizhong 才仲, is similar. A grandnephew of Sima Guang and a noted writer of *ci*, Sima You was known for his central role in a romantic ghost story.[49] But once again Wang Shizhen was wrong: Sima You did have a younger brother, but it was Sima Yu 司馬棫, whose style name was Caishu 才叔 , not Sima Cizhong.[50] Nonetheless, all of this sheds a helpful light on the scope of the greater Sima family and the importance of clan identity.

Three sets of cousins of Sima Huai's generation can be deduced from given and style names: Sima Huai and his brother Sima Ni, Sima You and his brother Sima Yu, and Sima

49 Zhang Lei 張耒, "Shu Sima You shi" 書司馬槱事, *Keshan ji* 柯山集, Siku quanshu edition, *juan* 44: 10b–11a. See also Tian Rucheng 田汝成, "Xiang lian yan yu" 香奩艷語, *Xihu youlan zhi yu* 西湖遊覽志餘, Siku quanshu edition, *juan* 16: 1a–2a.

50 Ma Duanlin 馬端臨, "Sima Caishu Yitang ji shijuan" 司馬才叔逸堂集十卷, *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考, Siku quanshu edition, *juan* 244: 23a.

Cizhong, whose given name remains unknown. There were others. Sima Guang's son, Sima Kang 司馬康 (1050–1090), had a son named Sima Zhi 司馬植 who died young. Sima Guang's older brother, Sima Dan 司馬旦 (1006–1087), had three sons, of whom one, Sima Hong 司馬宏, had a son who is recorded in historical documents: Sima Pu 司馬朴. The given names of these third-generation descendants of Sima Guang all appear to be single characters with the tree (*mu* 木) radical. Undoubtedly there were many, many more. In 1050 Sima Guang authored a text titled "An Explanation of the Style-Names of My Nephews" (*Zhu xiong zi zi xu* 諸兄子字序), which in addition to Sima Dan's sons includes eleven nephews.[51] We do not know how many sons these nephews may have sired, but surely there was a substantial number. This was Sima Huai's and Sima Cizhong's generation. Many of them lived through the Chongning proscriptions of the beginning of the twelfth century, and from what little is recorded of them, they seem to have shared a common fate in being denied access to the avenues of success through examinations and offices. In my reading of Sima Cizhong's poem and this riverside landscape, likely the work of Sima Huai, the singular voice is collective and familial. The individual speaks for the entire clan.

The importance of clan identity becomes more apparent when considered against the backdrop of Song society and specifically the powerful role Sima Guang played in establishing its centrality in both the social and political spheres. As scholars have noted, among new developments in the Song related to the family were a number of measures designed to enhance the prestige and identity of clans, including the establishment of family memorial halls (*citang* 祠堂), the founding of communal lands to help nurture the larger clan (*zutian* 族田), the compiling of family genealogies, the drafting of family instructions, and ritual activities related to ancestral worship. All of these served to strengthen and clarify clan hierarchies and property holdings, as well as internal kinship relations.[52] At the very center of this emphasis on the primacy of the clan was Sima Guang, who authored three important works: *On Etiquette and Ceremony* (*Shu yi* 書儀), *Manners and Customs for Daily Life* (*Jujia zayi* 居家雜儀), and *The Family Model* (*Jiafan* 家範). Modern scholar Zhou Yuwen observed that the influence of these texts on Song society was probably limited until the great Neo-Confucian philosopher Zhu Xi 朱

51 Sima Guang 司馬光, "Zhu xiong zi zi xu" 諸兄子字序, *Chuanjia ji* 傳家集, Siku quanshu edition, *juan* 69: 10a–11b. Since Sima Guang is only known to have had one brother, it is unclear exactly what relation he had with these other "nephews." I suspect they were the sons of Sima Guang's patrilineal cousins.

52 Zhou Yuwen 周愚文, "Sima Guang de jiaxun neihan ji qi dui Songdai jiazu jiaoyu de yingxiang" 司馬光的家訓內涵及其對宋代家族教育的影響, *Shida xuebao* 師大學報 50.2 (2005), 1–12. Zhou's essay summarizes the work of a number of scholars who have addressed the changing role of the clan as well as Sima Guang's influence.

熹 incorporated Sima's concepts in his teaching a century later.[53] However, there is little question about their influence on Sima's own clan members. Historian Xiao-bin Ji singles out a long letter of 1085 that Sima wrote to some or all of his nephews. Written only six days after assuming the duties of vice chief councilor, Sima's letter was meant to warn the younger generation of the dangers of nepotism. He cautioned his nephews to "redouble their modesty and politeness," to avoid "arrogantly rely[ing] upon [Sima's] reputation and position to do things that are unlawful and against the public good."[54] Sima's admonition proved premonitory, though ultimately what doomed his descendants had little if anything to do with individual transgressions. What is striking is this consciousness of clan identity, how responsibilities, not to mention rewards and punishments, fame and dishonor, are shared, and how the individual is subsumed into this greater community of kin.

Entwined Trees

"*Chan-chan* rushes the water amidst the rocks"(潺潺石間溜). The line appended to the second of the *Poetic Ideas* compositions (color plate 9, fig. 7) is derived from a couplet that appears at the beginning of a modest poem titled "Rain" ("Yu" 雨), which Du Fu wrote in either 765 or 766 to celebrate a long-awaited steady rain following months of drought.[55] The couplet in full reads, "Chan-chan rushes the water amidst the rocks; / *Gu-gu*, it hurries over the pine [roots]" (潺潺石間溜，汩汩松上駛).

A light ink wash draws the viewer horizontally to a naked embankment and a copse of leftward-leaning bare-branched trees—willows, perhaps (fig. 8). A quick-moving stream enters from behind and pulls our view forward to the main focal point: two dramatically twisting wintry trees with ghostly pale roots grappling the ground in front of a large pitted boulder (color plate 11, fig. 9–10). Continuing to the left we recognize how what began as amorphous background mist behind the five-character Du Fu line has transitioned into a monolithic rock pressing upon the foreground scene (fig 11). Another branch of the stream flows out from behind the rock and carries the viewer into a murky expanse. The small scene is intensely confined but also strangely disembodied, untethered to surrounding ground at either end of the scroll and thus isolated: a place unknown, hidden, where two strangely contorted trees engage in a stately dance accompanied by the pure sounds of a rushing stream.

At the painting's end, bookending the quotation from "Rain," is the responding

53 Ibid, 8.

54 Xiao-bin Ji, *Politics and Conservatism in Northern Song China: The Career and Thought of Sima Guang (A.D. 1019–1086)* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2005), 38.

55 Du Fu 杜甫 , "Yu" 雨 , *Du shi xiangzhu, juan* 15: 1325–1326.

quatrain (fig. 12):

Peaks wind and the rocky road curls:
Much to fill eyes and ears with pleasure.
If there is a hut in its midst,
That would be the Pavilion of the Drunken Old Man.
峰回石路轉，足可娛瞻聽。
其中如有屋，便是醉翁亭。

The pavilion is a reference to Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修, one of the doyens of the antireform party as well as a towering literary figure of the eleventh century. One of Ouyang's most famous prose pieces is "Record of the Pavilion of the Drunken Old Man" (*Zuiwengting ji* 醉翁亭記). Written in 1045 when Ouyang was demoted to the minor post of prefect of Chuzhou (Anhui), it describes the pleasures of a life removed from the political center.[56] Ouyang used the same onomatopoeic "*chan-chan*" Du Fu employed to describe gurgling water. Such coincidences alone could inspire an allusion, which could be playful and spur-of-the-moment without much intended weight. However, I suspect that the reference to the exiled Ouyang Xiu was intended to be meaningful. Duanshu's initial choice of this line from "Rain," in fact, may also have been made with Ouyang in mind.

We are reminded that the author of the quatrains that follow the paintings is unidentified. We know that Duanshu, whom I am identifying as Li Zhiyi, chose the Du Fu lines, and we surmise that a single calligrapher was responsible for all the verse. If Li were identified as the calligrapher, then we might assume that he authored the two poems, but this is not the case. An extant letter by Li that evidently dates to after the Chongning proscriptions presents a very different hand.[57] Li's calligraphy is subtle, relaxed, and founded in the orthodox traditions prevalent before the strong current of individualism that arose in the last quarter of the eleventh century. In contrast, the writing in *Poetic Ideas* presents the brush mannerisms of the following generation: looser and with an air of insouciance reflective of "personality."[58] Perhaps this is Sima Huai's calligraphy. Perhaps there was an

56 Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修, "Zuiwengting ji" 醉翁亭記, *Wenzhong ji* 文忠集, Siku quanshu edition, *juan* 39: 17a–18b.

57 The letter is in the collection of the Palace Museum (Taipei), and is illustrated in *Gugong lidai fashu quanji* 故宮歷代法書全集 (Taipei: Gugong Bowuyuan, 1982), 12: 144–145.

58 Beneath the casual air of Li Zhiyi's letter lie hints of the kind of orthodox training that was prevalent through the first half of the eleventh century. The training was founded on the "received tradition" of Tang calligraphy that ultimately had roots in the Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (303–361) legacy. An exemplar of this kind of writing, much admired early in the Song, was Li Jianzhong 李建中 (945–1013). See Sturman, *Mi Fu: Style and the Art of Calligraphy*, 18ff.

additional participant, maybe even two. Lacking knowledge of how these collaborations unfolded, I suggest that we treat each poem-painting composition as carefully planned. No matter who authored the two trailing poems, we need to consider them as integral units in the overall presentation.

Returning to the entwined trees composition, which I am primarily associating with Mi Youren, one notices first that the imagery approaches Du Fu's couplet but does not illustrate that second line precisely—these are not pines. The change is significant. Any knowledgeable reader of "*Chan-chan* rushes the water amidst the rocks" would have understood that this is but half of a two-line couplet.[59] The reader may not have known the second line, but its presence, like a shadow or echo, would have been sensed and the urge to recall it pressing. The fact that this is Du Fu, often considered China's greatest poet, further incites curiosity, and not just for the couplet. The decision to paint these baroquely contorted worm-eaten trees rather than the stately pines of the poem immediately stands out. For that matter, the mysterious, somber mood of the scene is somewhat at odds with the overall tone of "Rain," the first half of which reads:

Scuttling clouds build to massive height;
Flying rain lushly arrives.
Chan-chan rushes the water amidst the rocks;
Gu-gu, it hurries over the pine [roots].
Searing drought rode the heat of autumn,
And the hundred grains already were lost.
But then the Heavenly Lord's virtuous bounty descended,
And the scorched carpet began to show life.
The earlier rain wounded with its punishing force;
Today's rain gladdens, its demeanor gentle.
行雲遞崇高，飛雨藹而至。
潺潺石間溜，汩汩松上駛。
亢陽乘秋熱，百穀亦已棄。
皇天德澤降，燋卷有生意。
前雨傷卒暴，今雨喜容易。

Du Fu's poem describes relief—the soothing relief with long-lasting benefits of a steady, measured rain. Sentinel pines gladly drink its nourishment; the scoured landscape

59 Such doubling of onomatopoeic characters (here, *chan-chan*) almost always occurs in pairs, so two lines in a row each contain doubled characters (*gu-gu*).

already responds. In contrast, the painting's imagery takes us to another world. Here, rain and gurgling stream may be just as soothing, but whatever relief they provide can neither mitigate the constrained nature of this wilderness nor assuage the frozen contortions of its gnarled denizens.

Those familiar with the painting traditions that developed among Northern Song literati would understand that underlying this transformation of Du Fu's pines was the emergence of a powerful symbolic icon: the old, useless tree described by Zhuangzi as superior just because of its uselessness. As Burton Watson wrote in his translation, "Its trunk is too gnarled and bumpy..... its branches too bent and twisty..... No carpenter would look at it twice." Yet precisely for these reasons "axes will never shorten its life, nothing can ever harm it. If there's no use for it, how can it come to grief or pain?" Zhuangzi used particularly colorful language to describe the place where such a tree belongs, suggesting that his companion Huizi "plant it in Not-Even-Anything Village, or the field of Broad-and-Boundless, relax and do nothing by its side, or lie down for a free and easy sleep under it."[60] Zhuangzi's useless tree transplanted to a remote village or illimitable landscape provided a perfect metaphor for the scholar-official out of favor at the court. Freed from the constraints of service and the grime of party politics, "uselessness" was spun positively: retirement and a simple rustic lifestyle brought countless benefits.[61] Ouyang Xiu's drunken old man was an important exemplar, but the more significant predecessor for Li Zhiyi, Sima Huai, and Mi Youren was Su Shi, who famously adopted the image of Zhuangzi's useless tree as a personal metaphor in one of his paintings while residing in his own "Nowheresville"—Huangzhou, the site of his first exile, which lasted from 1080 to 1083 (fig. 18).

Zhuangzi named his gnarled, useless tree *chu* 樗, which has long been identified with

60 今子有大樹，患其无用，何不樹之於无何有之鄉，廣莫之野，彷徨乎无爲其側，逍遙乎寢臥其下。不夭斤斧，物无害者，无所可用，安所困苦哉 . Wang Yunwu 王雲五 , ed., *Zhuangzi jinzhu jinyi* 莊子今註今譯 (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1984), 33. The passage concludes the first chapter "Xiaoyao you" 逍遙遊 (Free and easy wandering). Burton Watson, trans., *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), 35.

61 The most familiar model for this popular topos in the Northern Song was the poet Tao Yuanming, but there were a number of variations and historical models, from donkey-riding "failed" scholars to persecuted officials. Typically, the perceived corollary to such diminished social and economic status was a healthier spiritual well-being and superior artistic creativity, whether in poetry or calligraphy. I have touched upon this in a number of earlier publications, including "The Donkey Rider as Icon: Li Cheng and Early Chinese Landscape Painting," *Artibus Asiae* 55.1/2 (1995), 43–97; *Mi Fu: Style and the Art of Calligraphy*, esp. 87–120; "Silencing the Cry of Cold Insects: Meaning and Design in the Exile Calligraphy of Huang Tingjian and Su Shi," *Oriental Art* 46.5 (2000), 10–18.

the "stinking *chun* tree" (*chouchun* 臭椿).[62] In addition to its unpleasant odor and the unusable quality of its wood for carpentry, the *chouchun* has an extremely long dormancy—its leaves among the last to emerge in spring. This characteristic suits the denuded appearance of Su's and Mi's trees. Critiquing these paintings naturalistically, however, misses the mark. These were meant to be metaphorical images. The trees' lack of leaves implied the failure of a principled man "to accord with the times." Exaggeration of the knots and twists of the trunks and branches not only drives home the trees' uselessness, it lends them the quirks of a lone individual—one whose growth has been stunted, deformed, turned this way and that. In every respect, Zhuangzi's useless tree provided an apt image for the banished antireformists, Su Shi and Li Zhiyi. Transplanted to places of exile, these trees reveal the plight of those on the losing side of a factional struggle. Equally important, with their peculiar appearances and manner they embody that celebration of the individual that is a hallmark of late Northern Song literati culture.

The useless tree is an ironic image, its deployment as personal symbol an exercise in faux self-deprecation. There are other deceptions in the pictorial and textual rhetoric that might not be as obvious today as they would have been in the early twelfth century. The most important is the glorification of "Not-Even-Anything Village" as a place of simple rustic pleasures and spiritual cleansing. Some places of exile surely offered enjoyments, but the reality of banishment more often than not was a difficult existence under demeaning, even life-threatening conditions. Similarly feigned was the routine disparagement of life at the center. Despite the rigidities and unpleasantries of court politics, high office remained the one unquestioned mark of personal achievement and the goal of almost all.

These realities help us address the apparent disjuncture between painting and text in the entwined trees composition. On the surface there is no divergence: the Du Fu line describes a fast-moving stream and rocks, both of which are found in the painting. However, once the full context of "Rain" is presented, with its general tenor of soothing relief, it feels quite different from the painting's stark imagery. The key is found in the seventh and eighth lines. In the right context, the Heavenly Lord bestowing virtuous bounty, here descriptive of the nurturing rain, would have been read as a metaphor for an imperial act of benevolence, such as the granting of an official position. Given Li Zhiyi's long history of exclusion from the official ranks, this seems incongruous, but it fits well with the change of circumstances that took place in 1116. In fact, it fits remarkably well. Significantly, the

62 The chu tree has been identified as *Ailanthus glandulosa or Ailanthus altissima*, sometimes called the "tree of heaven," which surely sounds better than "*stinking chun*." For a good introduction to the tree, including its lore in China, see Shiu Ying Hu, "Ailanthus," *Arnoldia* 39.2 (1979), 29–50.

very same position assigned to Li in that year, superintendent of the Yuju Daoist Temple, had been given to Su Shi in late 1100, when he was recalled from exile.[63] Li was well aware of this: he wrote a poem commenting on the poignancy of following his deceased friend's exact path out of banishment to this honorary position.[64] This line from Du Fu's "Rain" should be read as a celebration of imperial munificence—the general amnesty that brought an end to the long drought that had afflicted so many of the antireformists.

But why, then, the starkness of the image? I believe there is a complex layering of meanings at play here, a balancing act between a necessary statement of gratitude and what was ultimately of far more importance to Li Zhiyi, which was the presentation of this historical model of the banished official. He had played this role through his later years, and it had earned him status and credibility among his peers. The painting strips away any fictional niceties and emphasizes the isolation of exile. As such, it pays tribute to Li's uncompromising nature and the great price he had paid over many years. It also honors Li's place in a very real lineage, and in particular his relationship with Su Shi. This may be the most important aspect of Mi's painting, though to see it one must be aware of Li's deep devotion to his mentor.

Li Zhiyi's allegiance to Su Shi is readily apparent from his collected works, which are filled with poems and writings dedicated to his friend. The two men became close literary companions early in the Yuanyou reign, when the antireformists held positions of power in the capital, and the relationship deepened when Li followed Su to Dingzhou in 1093. Here they are said to have constantly engaged in the rhyming of one another's poems as well as the discussion of such earlier literary masters as Tao Yuanming 陶淵明.[65] Su effusively praised Li's poetry, as well as his letters, calligraphy, and various prose works, which he referred to as a literary *samādhi* (a reference to Buddhism's idea of an elevated consciousness).[66] A number of Su's most intimate letters are addressed to Li.[67] Correspondence and shared poems continued right to the end, as Su returned from his exile in the deep south. After his death, Li wrote eulogizing poems.[68] He attended Su Shi's burial service in 1102.[69]

There is ample evidence to demonstrate that throughout his later years Li continued to identify himself as a disciple. He inscribed writings by his old friend that were brought to his attention—such as a collection of poems by Su Shi and his disciples rhymed to Tao Yuanming's "The Return" (*Guiqulai ci* 歸去來辭).[70] In that particular inscription, dated 1111, Li cited a famous statement by Ouyang Xiu regarding the relationship between poverty and poetry that reflected well on his old mentor and their mutual friends, including Huang Tingjian, Qin Guan, Zhang Lei 張耒(1054–1114), Chao Buzhi 晁補之 (1053–1110), and Li Jian 李廌 (1059–1109). With the exception of Zhang, all of these men had already died, and in Li's comments there is a tangible sense of both his attachment to the past and awareness of a literary lineage, from Tao Yuanming to Ouyang, Su, and his own generation. Within a few years, he would have perhaps been the last survivor of Su Shi's literary inner circle. Others perceived him this way and sought his expertise: when Wang Zhi 王銍 (dates unknown) put together a supplement in twenty fascicles to Ouyang Xiu's collected writings, he asked Li to write the preface (1114).[71]

63 Fu Zao 傅藻, ed., *Dongpo jinian lu* 東坡紀年錄, in *Songren nianpu congkan* (see note 35), *juan* 5: 2854.

64 Li Zhiyi 李之儀, "Zai ling Yuju, xi Dongpo Hanlin zuo shi song Dai Meng, you 'Yuju tanian di jiren' zhi ju; hou zi lingwai gui sui ling Yuju; yu fu guan yi de zhi; Po jin wang yi; changran you huai" 再領玉局，昔東坡翰林作詩送戴蒙有"玉局他年第幾人"之句；後自嶺外歸，遂領玉局；予復官亦得之；坡今亡矣；悵然有懷。*Guxi jushi qianji, juan* 4: 6a–6b. In this long explanatory title, Li points out that Su Shi, too, had been assigned this position. He clearly appreciated the coincidence.

65 The relationship between Su and Li is detailed in both Kong Fanli, "Su Shi yu Li Zhiyi" and Zeng Zaozhuang, *Li Zhiyi nianpu*.

66 In a poem with preface that he wrote in 1088, Su Shi described how enraptured he was reading Li's verses throughout the night: "Ye zhi Yutang, xi Li Zhiyi Duanshu shi bai yu shou, du zhi ye ban, shu qihou" 夜直玉堂，攜李之儀端叔百余首，讀至夜半，書其後, *Su Shi shiji* 蘇軾詩集 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1982), *juan* 30: 1616–1617. Su Shi's comment on Li's letters, calligraphy, and prose appears in Li's official biography: Tuotuo 脫脫, comp., *Song shi* 宋史 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1977), *juan* 344: 10941.

67 One important lengthy letter written while Su Shi was in Huangzhou is discussed in Ronald C. Egan, *Word, Image, and Deed in the Life of Su Shi* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1994), 212. See Su Shi 蘇軾, "Da Li Duanshu shu" 答李端叔書, *Su Shi wenji* 蘇軾文集, ed. Kong Fanli 孔凡禮 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1986), juan 49: 1432–1433. There are eight extant letters written to Li during Su's return from his last exile: ibid., *juan* 52: 1540–1544.

68 Li Zhiyi 李之儀, "Dongpo wan ci" 東坡挽詞, *Guxi jushi qianji, juan* 11: 6b.

69 Idem, "Yu Zhao Zhongqiang xiongdi shou jian" 與趙仲强兄弟手簡, *Guxi jushi qianji, juan* 25: 5a.

70 Idem, "Ba Dongpo zhugong zhui he Yuanming Guiqulai yin hou" 跋東坡諸公追和淵明歸去來引後, *Guxi jushi houji* 姑溪居士後集, Siku quanshu edition, *juan* 15: 4b–5b. Four years later, in 1115, Li inscribed a set of eleven Buddhist eulogies for Su Shi's version of the Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment. In his closing, he identified himself as a "disciple" (*menren* 門人) of Su; see Li Zhiyi 李之儀, "Ba Dongpo xiansheng shu Yuanjuejing shiyi jie hou" 跋東坡先生書圓覺經十一偈後, *Guxi jushi qianji, juan* 38: 6a–6b.

71 Li Yizhi 李之儀, "Ouyang Wenzhong bieji hou xu" 歐陽文忠公別集後序, *Guxi jushi houji, juan*

That connection to a literary lineage is explicitly raised in a comment that a younger contemporary named Zhou Zizhi 周紫芝 (1082–1155) presented to Li Zhiyi:

> It has been said that Heaven counts the number of sages born. For one to be born is difficult enough—to encounter one is yet again difficult! The literature of the Tang dynasty underwent three transformations before the appearance of Han Yu [768–824]. [Han] Yu's disciples, including Zhang Jie [ca. 760–830], Li Ao [774–836], Huangfu Shi [777–835], and Meng Dongye [Meng Jiao 孟郊 , 751–814], all glittered and earned wide renown. Those who later studied their works took pleasure in hearing their airs. More than two hundred years after Han Yu's death, Lord Ouyang [Xiu] was born. Avidly, like one starved for food and drink, he collected the sages of his day. The outstanding talents of the day all gathered at his gate, among them Yin Shilu [Yin Zhu 尹洙, 1001–1047], Shi Manqing [Shi Yannian 石延年, 992–1040], Su Zimei [Su Shunqin 蘇舜欽, 1008–1048], and Mei Shengyu [Mei Yaochen 梅堯臣, 1002–1060]. These men from different worlds truly gazed [across time] at one another. Not even thirty years had elapsed since the Jiayou and Zhiping reigns [1056–1067], and the Hanlin Academician Lord Su [Shi] presided over this literature/culture (*wen*). The disciples of Lord Su, such as Huang Luzhi [Tingjian], Qin Taixu [Guan], Zhang Wenqian [Lei], Zhao Wuju [Buzhi], and you, sir, are all men whose outstanding virtue and writing surpass all others. Looking back on the followers of Han and Ou[yang], there is no need for [you and your generation] to act with deference.
> 某嘗謂天之生賢似亦有數，生之實難，遇之亦難。唐之文章三變而後得韓愈，愈之門生如張藉、李翺、皇甫湜、孟東野之徒，皆曄然有聞於世。後學者聞其風而悅之。韓愈死又二百餘年而生歐陽公。收拾賢者，汲汲如飢渴。當時門人皆一時勝流，如尹師魯、石曼卿、蘇子美、梅聖俞輩，實與異世而相望焉。自嘉祐治平之間不三十年而翰林蘇公主盟斯文。蘇公之門如黃魯直、秦太虛、張文潛、晁無咎、與閣下諸門人皆以道德文章冠冕。後進視韓歐門下士未肯斂衽也。[72]

What Zhou Zizhi described was not a lineage in simple terms, but a recurring historical pattern apparent to those who think in terms of lineage. It is an important distinction, as it reveals a measure of engagement and complexity that is lacking in an otherwise two-

15: 1a–2a.

72 Zhou Zizhi, "Xian Li Duanshu" 見李端叔, *Taicang timi ji* 太倉稊米集, Siku quanshu edition, *juan* 58: 1a–1b.

dimensional, linear scheme. This is not a matter of who begat whom, or who picked up with his brush where another had left off. Rather, continuing with the biblical metaphor, I see Zhou describing a process of multiple geneses, each initiated by a sage figure (Han Yu, Ouyang Xiu, Su Shi) who presided over a circle of torchbearers. Personal allegiances were highlighted, and with them a reminder of the strength of the values of kinship and filial piety. Less obvious but clearly present was an undercurrent of competition, as one circle was measured against another. The ultimate extension of this dynamic was the father-son relationship, which could be fraught with psychological complexity, but in the group environment, with a single figure such as Han, Ouyang, or Su at the apex, harmony reigned.

One last thing to note from Zhou's description of the recurring pattern of cultural genesis is the exclusivity of the relationship between mentor and disciples. This was not simply a matter of loyalty but also ownership: the mentor's specific approach or vision set him and his disciples apart from others. More than any other quality, this is what underlies Mi Youren's painting for Li Zhiyi. One sees it first in the strength of the references to Su Shi. In addition to the iconic image of the useless twisted tree, strange rocks were also associated with Su. His son, Su Guo 蘇過 (1072–1123), followed him in painting, and added pitted rocks (*keshi* 窠石) to the family repertoire.[73] None of the younger Su's works have survived, but textual descriptions suggest intersections with Mi Youren's contribution to *Poetic Ideas*. The pitted rock face presses against the trees and forces them into a shallow space (fig. 12,15) that serves to highlight as well as constrain. Intertwined, joined at the hip, it is hard not to read these two trees as a metaphorical expression of Li Zhiyi's alliance with Su Shi. Pictorially isolated, the painting asserts the integrity of their removed space and the exclusivity of their shared values. Right and left, the poetic texts tether the two men's relationship to a deeper historical lineage, from Du Fu to Ouyang Xiu.

In my opinion, lineage provides the most suitable overarching thematic structure for viewing *Poetic Ideas*. After Su Shi's generation, lineage was more than a fact of blood or allegiance; it was a profoundly sensed psychological bond and duty that shaped both the art they produced and those who viewed it. As Tian Ruao's inscription reveals through its reference to Mi Fu and Sima Guang, some perceived Mi Youren and Sima Huai as the products of the previous generation. An orientation that deflects the achievements of sons and grandnephews to fathers and granduncles is unexpected, but in the context of the late Northern Song it should not be. Mi Youren and Sima Huai belonged to a generation that reaped great benefits but shouldered even greater burdens, and the art they produced pos-

73 This was a subject that Su Guo is said to have excelled in painting—he was summoned to Huizong's court during the Xuanhe reign and asked to demonstrate his skills. See Wang Mingqing 王明清, *Huizhu san lu* 揮麈三録, Siku quanshu edition, *juan* 2: 3a.

sesses a complexity that is little understood. It is an art that is deliberately self-effacing, repositioning subjectivity away from selfhood to accord with the demands of kinship and community. In this respect, the uncertainties that *Poetic Ideals* provokes as we reflect on authorship and identity, though presumably not intended, have a certain appropriateness. Individual voices speak collectively, and with a sense of mission.

List of Illustrations

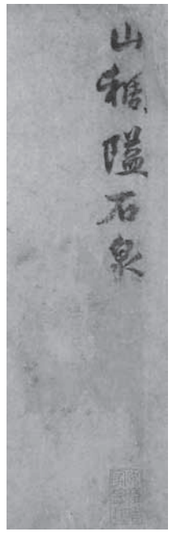


Fig. 1 Inscription from Du Fu, detail of color plate 8.

Fig. 2 Detail of color plate 8.

Fig. 3 Riverside figures, detail of color plate 8.

Fig. 4 Detail of color plate 8.

Fig. 5 Detail of color plate 8.

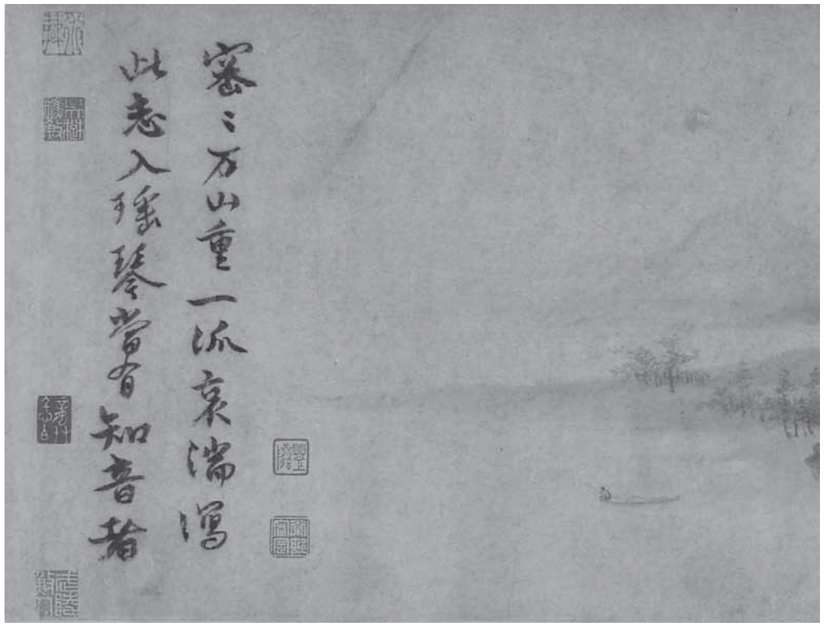


Fig. 6 Trailing quatrain and figure in boat, detail of color plate 8.

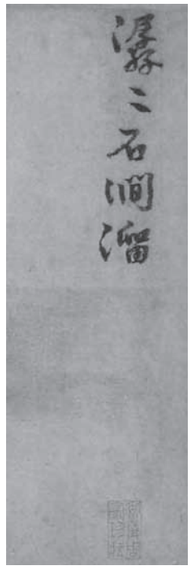
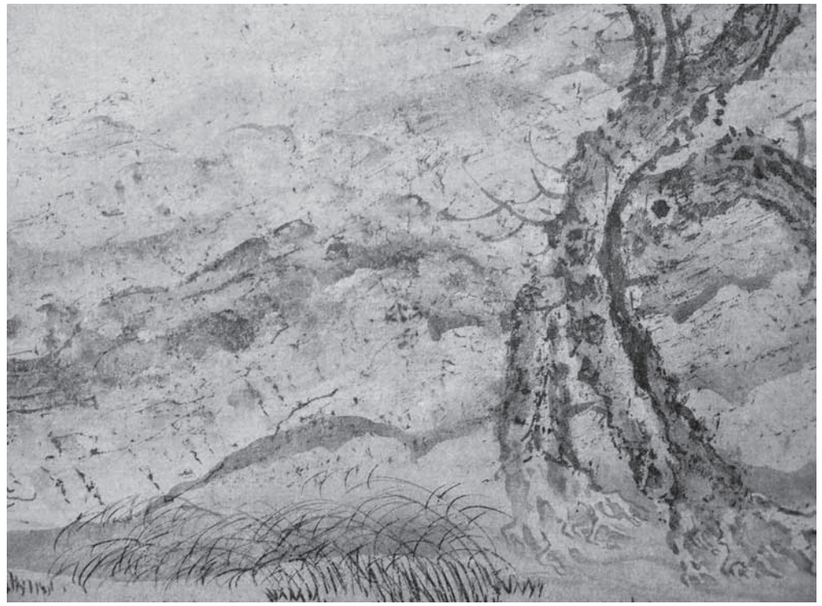


Fig. 7 Inscription from Du Fu, detail of color plate 9.

Fig. 8 Detail of color plate 9.



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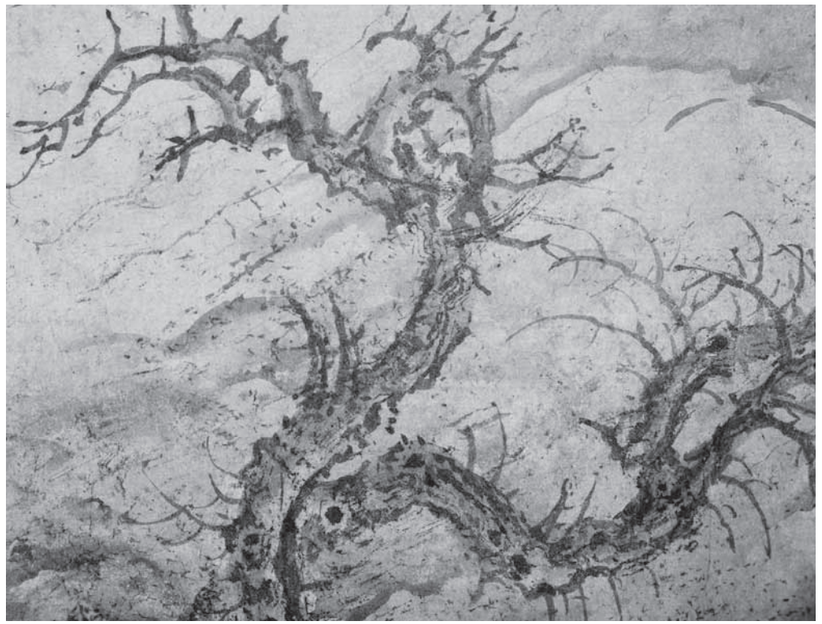

Fig. 10 Entwined trees, detail of color plate 9.

Fig. 11 Rocks, detail of color plate 9.

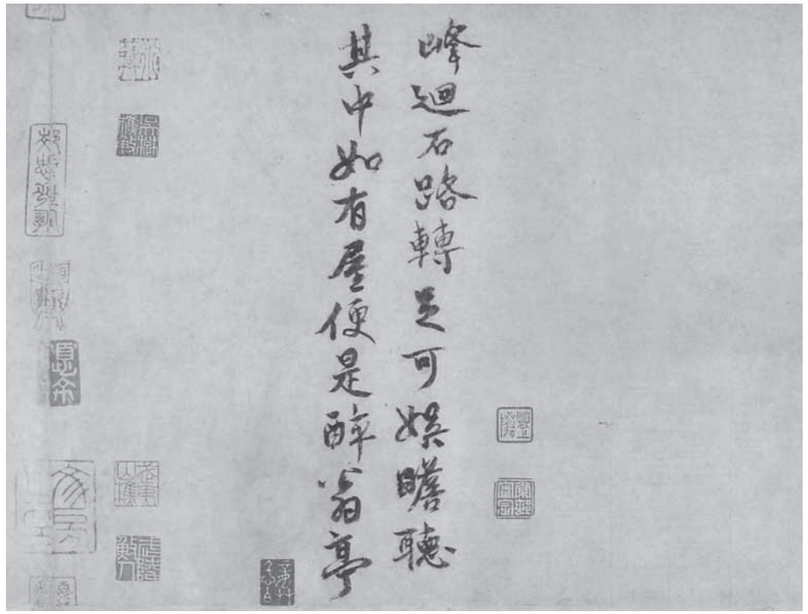

Fig. 12 Trailing quatrain, detail of color plate 9.

Fig. 13 Inscription by Sima Cizhong (fl. twelfth century), Poetic Ideas, twelfth century, Song, portion of a handscroll, ink on paper. Private collection.

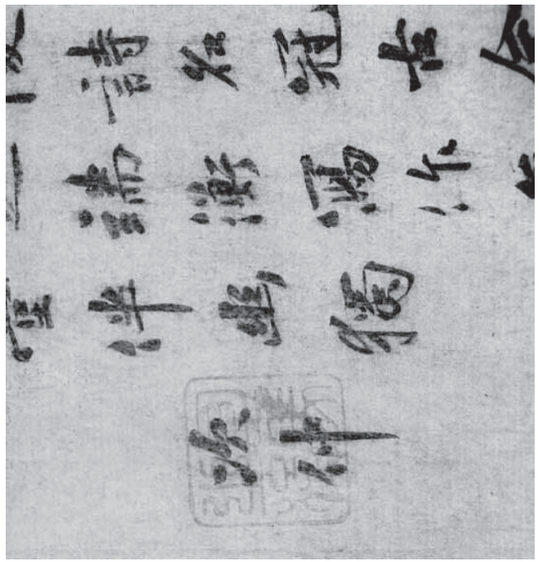

Fig. 14 Signature and seal, detail of fig. 13.

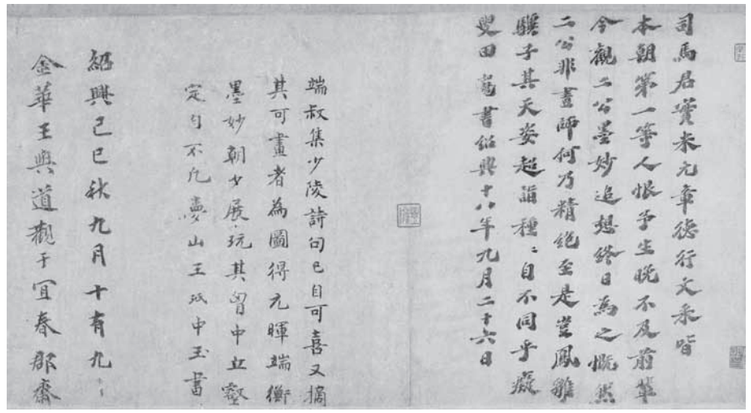

Fig. 15 Inscriptions by Tian Ruao (jinshi 1124) and Wang Min (fl. twelfth century), Poetic Ideas, twelfth century, Song, portion of a handscroll, ink on paper. Private collection.

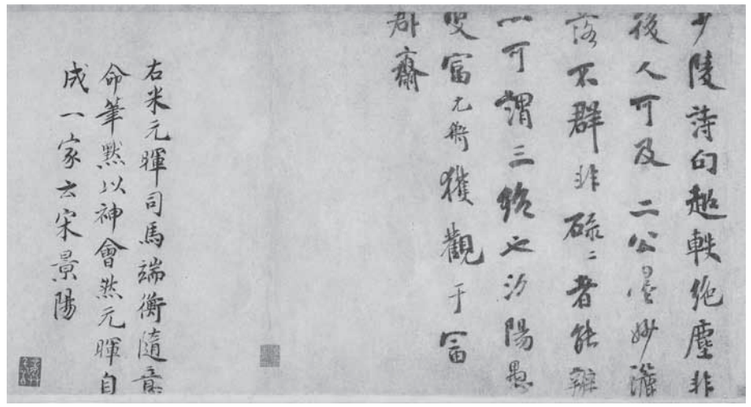

Fig. 16 Inscriptions by Wang Min (fl. twelfth century) and Wang Shixin (1097 – 1169), Poetic Ideas, twelfth century, Song, portion of a handscroll, ink on paper. Private collection.

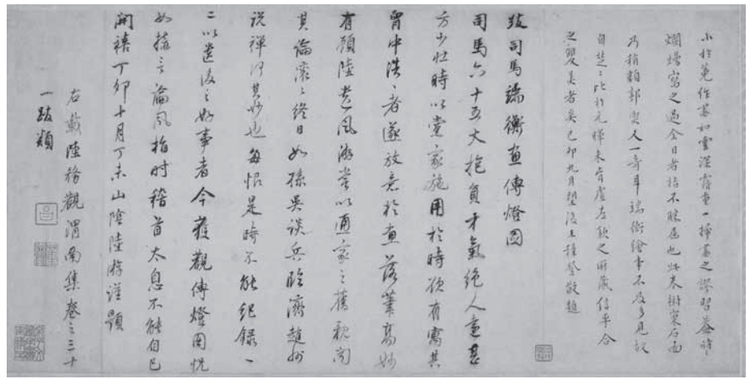

Fig. 17 Inscription by Dong Qichang (1555 – 1636), Poetic Ideas, undated, Ming, portion of a handscroll, ink on paper. Private collection.

Fig. 18 Su Shi, Old Tree, Rock, and Bamboo, ca. 1082, Northern Song, handscroll, ink on paper. Whereabouts unknown.

傳米友仁與司馬槐《詩意圖》卷

摘　要

自從晚明的學者與鑑藏家們的青睞以來，傳米友仁與司馬槐《詩意圖》卷，一直被視爲宋代文人畫的重要代表作。卷上的兩件畫作題材，分別取自杜甫的五言詩句。其構成與組合，爲我們提供了窺探宋代文人士大夫們在融合文字與圖像的創造力上的一個珍貴窗口。然而，此詩畫卷也同時充滿著種種的困惑與疑點。首先是司馬槐的作者身份的辨識，然後是兩件無款畫作各自作者的確認問題。本文藉著詩意歷史學的回顧，相關文獻証據的檢索，以及個人研究的新論點，試圖解析關涉此畫卷的種種問題。特別著力於辨認一位自號“端叔”的關鍵人物，因爲他關繫著最初杜甫詩句的擇選與命題；然後論證“端叔”的最可能人選應該是以文學著稱的蘇軾門生李之儀。最後，重定此卷的創作時間應當是在北宋末，而非前人所指稱的南宋初；同時也闡釋所特別擷取的那些杜甫詩句的種種寓涵。

關鍵詞：米友仁、司馬槐、李之儀、宋代文人畫、詩畫

Reassessing Printed Buddhist Frontispieces from Xi Xia*

Shih-shan Susan Huang　Rice University

Abstract:

This study uses printed Buddhist frontispieces to reevaluate Xi Xia visual culture and its connections to neighboring cultures—the Song, the Khitan Liao, and the Jurchen Jin. Many frontispieces, produced in large numbers with Chinese woodblock printing technology, have been excavated at Khara Khoto, Inner Mongolia, and sites in Gansu and Ningxia. Applying a visual approach, the author pays special attention to the uses of modular motifs across cultures. The production of Buddhist texts and frontispieces in early Yuan Hangzhou attests to the legacy of Xi Xia visual culture, which was promoted by Tangut monks active at the Chinese court and in the Jiangnan area. Far from being peripheral, Xi Xia's visual culture participated in dynamic dialogues with its neighbors and deserves a reassessment.

Keywords: Tangut, Xi Xia, frontispiece, print culture, Buddhism, multiculture

Recent archaeological discoveries have brought to light the diverse material and visual cultures of China's Middle Period conquest dynasties. In particular, art historians have published sophisticated case studies of the Khitan Liao and the Jurchen Jin material cultures, drawing abundant artifacts from Liao and Jin tombs and Buddhist sites in northern and northeastern China.[1] What deserves to be further studied is the visual culture

* An earlier version of this paper was presented at the international conference Middle Period China, 800–1400, organized by Patricia Ebrey and Peter Bol and held at Harvard University 5–7 June 2014. I thank Daniel Stevenson, Fan Jeremy Zhang, Phillip Bloom, and other conference participants for their valuable input. I am also grateful to Guolong Lai, Samuel R. Gilbert, and two anonymous reviewers, whose comments on my manuscript have helped me to improve it for publication. I share the joy of publishing this article with Anne Saliceti-Collins, my former graduate student and dear friend, whose unpublished master's thesis (2005) on the Xi Xia Buddhist woodcuts has been a constant inspiration to me.

1 For selected studies of Liao and Jin material cultures, see Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, *Liao Architecture* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997); François Louis, "Shaping Symbols of Privilege: Precious Metals and the Early Liao Aristocracy," *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies* 33 (2003), 71–109, esp. 89–102; Hsueh-man Shen, "Body Matters: Manikin Burials in the Liao Tombs of Xuanhua, Hebei Province," *Artibus Asiae* 65.1 (2005), 99–141; Li Qingquan 李清泉, *Xuanhua Liao mu: muzang yishu yu Liaodai shehui* 宣化遼墓：墓葬藝術與遼代社會 (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 2008); Wu Hung, ed., *Tenth-Century China and Beyond: Art and Visual Culture in a Multi-centered Age* (Chicago: Center for the Art of East Asia, University of Chicago,