The World of Khubilai Khan

Chinese Art in the Yuan Dynasty

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嘉山[illegible]蘭睇白石寒叟禽栖
息一枝安一朝雲路飛騰
穩鵷鷺班行追羽翰
嘉禾凌翰

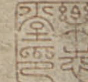
坡石清奇草色萋棘
枝欲与碧筤齊幽禽
並坐栖應穩贏得高
人翰墨題 鞠庵

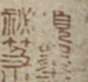
卷石雙禽竹一竿
清風日日報平安
高齋正好同棲息
不怕冰霜伴歲寒
邵弘遠

幽竹混荊棘平
棲良可哀誰能
奏韶夏或有鳳
皇來

幽禽如適意比翼
倚秋雲何處無
荊棘安能涸此
君林泉生

余嘗見董北苑水石幽禽圖於璧書柯博士
今子昭所藏乃彥輔張君墨妙其意蓋相似也 杜本





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Chinese Art in the Yuan Dynasty

James C. Y. Watt

with essays by

Maxwell K. Hearn
Denise Patry Leidy
Zhixin Jason Sun
John Guy
Joyce Denney
Birgitta Augustin
Nancy S. Steinhardt

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

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Frontispiece: Zhang Yanfu (ca. 1285–ca. 1345), *Thorns, Bamboo, and Secluded Birds*. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City (fig. 250)

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Note to the Reader

This exhibition focuses on works of art made under the period of Mongol rule in China, which began with Chinggis Khan's capture of the capital of the Jin dynasty in 1215 and extended through the Yuan dynasty, which was formally proclaimed by Khubilai Khan in 1271 and came to an end with the Ming conquest in 1368. All works of art identified in the captions were made during this period unless otherwise cited. Such works include those made during the Liao (916–1125) and Jin (1115–1234) dynasties in North China and during the Southern Song (1127–1279) in South China.

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Director's Foreword

The first major exhibition of the arts of the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368), entitled "Chinese Art under the Mongols," curated by Sherman Lee and Wai-Kam Ho, was held at the Cleveland Museum of Art in 1968. This was a ground-breaking exhibition, which brought to the attention of scholars and the public every aspect of the arts of the Yuan dynasty in China. Since then, major changes in international relations have allowed many more cultural and scholarly exchanges between China and the United States, and curators and academics have also been able to view and study the latest archaeological finds in China. In the meantime, research and study have been carried out in China and the West in special areas of the arts of Yuan China, including painting and calligraphy, ceramics, jade, lacquer, and textiles. Some of the research has been conducted at the Metropolitan Museum. As an example, I may mention the exhibition "When Silk Was Gold," jointly organized with the Cleveland Museum of Art in 1997 and based on the study of textiles of the Mongol Empire in the collection of the two museums.

Drawing on the results of these decades of new research on Yuan art and the study of the rich archaeological finds of the same period, the curators of the Department of Asian Art, led by James C. Y. Watt, have devised a second major exhibition of the arts of the Yuan. One distinguishing point of the exhibition is the inclusion of archaeological finds that are not only superb works of art in themselves but also demonstrate specific aspects of the cultural milieu in China in a period of mutual assimilation between native Chinese and peoples who came into China. Even more important for the development of Yuan art was the reunification of the whole of China after nearly four centuries of division into several independent states. This was accomplished during the reign of Khubilai Khan, who then became emperor of Yuan China. It was during this relatively short dynasty that local cultures from every part of China coalesced to lay the foundation of what we now regard as traditional Chinese art. This publication, which accompanies the exhibition, offers some art-historical perspectives on the formation of the various arts in this all-important period.

The paramount contribution to this exhibition has come from China, with loans of masterpieces of painting and calligraphy and relevant archaeological finds. We gratefully acknowledge the support of the Director of the State Administration of Cultural Heritage, Mr. Shan Jixiang, and his staff, and for their invaluable and able assistance. It is most gratifying to note that the Palace Museum, Beijing, the Shanghai Museum, and the Liaoning Provincial Museum have all lent masterpieces of Yuan painting to the exhibition, making a singular exception to the general rule for Chinese museums not to lend abroad paintings and calligraphy of the Yuan and earlier periods. The National Palace Museum, Taiwan, has shown their usual collegiality in lending the iconic portraits of Khubilai and Chabi as emperor and empress of China. All contributing museums in the United States, Asia, and Europe have been extremely generous in lending major works of art. In particular, the directors and curators of the major lending museums, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, the Cleveland Museum of Art, and the Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, have been strongly supportive and unstinting in giving advice, information, and access to their collections. A special vote of thanks goes to the directors and staff of the Tokyo National Museum and the Nara National Museum for their cooperation in facilitating the negotiation of loans from Japanese temples and the collection of all Japanese loans for shipment.

The organization of the exhibition has been a major collective effort by all members of the Asian Art Department together with many members of the Museum staff who are usually involved in special exhibitions. I am particularly appreciative and proud of their efforts, as this exhibition has been one of the most complex and testing projects ever undertaken by this Museum.

In addition to the vast network of organizations and individuals that have come together to create this important volume and to organize the related exhibition, an admirable consortium of generous funders deserves thanks. We are deeply grateful to Bank of America, the E. Rhodes and Leona B. Carpenter Foundation, The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, The Dillon Fund, The Henry Luce Foundation, Wilson and Eliot Nolen, the Oceanic Heritage Foundation, the National Endowment for the Arts, Florence and Herbert Irving, and Jane Carroll, and the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities for their contributions in support of this project.

Thomas P. Campbell
Director
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Foreword

On the occasion of the opening of "The World of Khubilai Khan: Chinese Art in the Yuan Dynasty," on behalf of the Cultural Property Promotion Association, China, I should like to express my warmest congratulations to our Chinese and American colleagues, who have worked with great diligence to make this exhibition possible.

The Yuan dynasty is one of the most important periods in Chinese history. It brought to an end the century-and-a-half-long division between the South and the North, and laid the foundation for more than five hundred years of unification and prosperity in the subsequent Ming and Qing dynasties. During the Yuan dynasty the cultural exchanges between different ethnic groups and the development of frontier regions contributed to the consolidation of a unified, multiethnic country. In addition to the central government and ten administrative districts, the broad territory of the Yuan dynasty also included Tibet (under the administration of the Commission for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs) and Taiwan (under the administration of the Penghu Military Inspectorate).

Unification under the Yuan dynasty contributed to the formation of a culture that was at once heterogeneous and integrated; it led to a new phase of exchange and harmony among various ethnic groups; and it promoted the flourishing and advancement of Chinese culture. Exchanges between China and the West also increased dramatically at this time. An environment characterized by ethnic harmony and cultural eclecticism gave rise to artistic invention and diversity. This period also witnessed the emergence of many remarkable artists who had a profound influence on later generations.

The exhibition has brought together artistic treasures drawn from museums in China, Taiwan, the United States, Japan, Russia, Europe, the United Kingdom, and Canada. The most representative 109 works of art come from the Palace Museum, Beijing, the Shanghai Museum, the Nanjing Museum, and the Liaoning Provincial Museum, as well as from twenty-one other museums and institutions in Beijing, Anhui, Fujian, Gansu, Jiangxi, Hebei, Henan, Hubei, Shanxi, and Jiangsu provinces, and the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. The works on exhibit include archaeological objects that have never before been on view outside China, as well as some of the most exemplary paintings and calligraphic works of the Yuan dynasty. The exhibition offers the rare opportunity to see such masterpieces as Zhao Mengfu's *Monk in a Red Robe* and *Man Riding a Horse* exhibited side by side with great works from overseas collections.

Representing art of various media, schools, and ethnic traditions, the exhibition not only highlights the brilliant achievement of Yuan art but also bears deep historical and contemporary significance. Valuable for academic and museum professionals worldwide, more importantly it offers international visitors the opportunity to learn more about the history of China, a multiethnic country that has a centuries-old tradition of cultural diversity.

"The World of Khubilai Khan: Chinese Art in the Yuan Dynasty" marks another cooperation between the Cultural Property Promotion Association and The Metropolitan Museum of Art following the success, in 2004, of "China: Dawn of a Golden Age." The exhibition is not only an extraordinary event in both the Chinese and the American museum worlds but a great contribution to the cultural exchange between our two countries. I wish the exhibition great success and look forward to broader museum exchanges between our two countries.

Shan Jixiang
Director
Cultural Property Promotion Association, People's Republic of China

Acknowledgments

The story of the organization of the exhibition that this book accompanies, written in every detail by an accomplished hand, would in itself make a small publication. And it would make fascinating reading. It is possible here to give only the briefest summary version, a mere roll call of the people who have contributed to its creation. But first, it needs to be acknowledged that without the approbation of Philippe de Montebello, Director of the Metropolitan Museum at the time of the conception of the exhibition, and the subsequent encouragement and support of Tom Campbell, our present Director, there would be no story to tell.

The majority of objects in the exhibition come from China. This would not have been possible without the support of the State Administration for Cultural Heritage (SACH). For their support we thank Director Shan Jixiang, and Vice-Directors Dong Baohua and Song Xinchao. We are particularly grateful to Dr. Song for his advice in both academic and practical matters. We also received valuable help from Liu Shuguang, Director of the Chinese Academy of Cultural Heritage. Art Exhibitions China (AEC) was instrumental in bringing together all the loans from China. This involved constant liaison with all lending institutions in China throughout the planning period and the coordination of transportation of all loan objects to Beijing for packing and shipment. Director of AEC, Wang Jun, and his predecessor, Luo Bojian, were both personally extremely supportive and helpful. Yang Yang, Vice-Director of AEC, an old friend of the Metropolitan Museum, as in years past, ably coordinated all aspects of the work of AEC in connection with the exhibition. Shang Xiaoyun and Qian Wei at AEC were tireless in giving advice and information on the progress on all fronts week after week, month after month.

A very special thanks goes to Hu Chui, Chief Photographer and Chief of the Department of Image and Data Management, the Palace Museum, Beijing, and the two able photographers from the Palace Museum, Zhao Shan and Yu Ningchuan, who traveled with equipment all over the country to each of the lending institutions, in some cases going more than once to the same city, taking photographs of objects large and small, often under less than ideal conditions. Photographs of several objects from Inner Mongolia were taken by Kong Qun, Chief of the Department of Data Management, Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum. His travel destinations included the site of Shangdu (Xanadu).

The arduous task for Hu Chui and his team was made possible by the permission of Director Zheng Xinmiao of the Palace Museum. Director Zheng and Executive Vice-Director Li Ji allowed precious paintings by Yuan masters to travel to New York, including the two great paintings by Zhao Mengfu. Zhang Yan of the Foreign Affairs Office of the Palace Museum, as usual, has been helpful in many different ways.

The extraordinarily generous collegiality of the Palace Museum has been matched by that of the Shanghai Museum. Director Chen Xiejun and Executive Vice-Director Chen Kelun approved every one of our requests, including masterworks by Qian Xuan and Ni Zan, the best example of a unique type of Yuan porcelain and an all-important piece of datable Yuan carved lacquer. Ms. Zhou Yanqun, Chief of the Foreign Affairs Office, another longtime friend of our department, facilitated communications, as usual.

Another major painting in the exhibition is the *Red-Robed Luohan*, from the Liaoning Provincial Museum, through the kind offices of Director Ma Baojie and Vice-Director Liu Ning.

As mentioned in the Director's Foreword, the National Palace Museum, Taiwan, loaned key pieces to the exhibition, including the portraits of Khubilai Khan and his chief consort, Chabi. For this we thank Director Chou Kung-shin and Chief Curator of Paintings and Calligraphy, Ho Chuan-hsing, who also gave us valuable advice.

The archaeological finds that have added immeasurably to our knowledge of the arts and culture of the Yuan dynasty have come from numerous museums and archaeological institutes all over China. It is here possible to list only the names of the key people who were helpful and facilitated permission for loans: in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, Tala, Director of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum, Wang Dafang, Director of the Inner Mongolia Bureau of Cultural Affairs, Chen Yongzhi, Director of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology, and Shao Qinglong, former Director of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum; in Hebei Province, Li Enjia, Vice-Director of the Hubei Administration of Cultural Properties, Liu Lijun, Director of the Department of Museums of the Hebei Administration of Cultural Properties, Gu Tongwei, Director of the Hebei Provincial Museum, Shen Xianyou, Director of the Hebei Cultural Relics Conservation Center, and Hu Jinhua, Chief of the Hebei Institute of Cultural Relics; in Gansu Province, E Jun, Director of the Gansu Provincial Museum, Jia Jianwei, Vice-Director of the Gansu Provincial Museum, and Yang Huifu, Director of the Gansu Administration of Cultural Properties; in Shanxi Province, Shi Jinming, Director of the

Shanxi Museum, Liang Yujun, Chief of the Director's Office of the Shanxi Museum, Song Jianzhong, Director, and Xie Yaoting, Deputy Director, of the Shanxi Institute of Archaeology; in Henan Province, Tian Kai, Vice-Director of the Henan Museum, and Chen Yantang, Deputy Director of the Foreign Affairs Office of the Henan Administration of Cultural Properties; in Hubei Province, Wan Quanwen, Director of the Hubei Provincial Museum; in Jiangsu Province, Gong Liang, Director of the Nanjing Museum, Bai Ning, Director of the Nanjing Municipal Museum, and Lin Jian, Vice-Director of the Changzhou Museum; in Jiangxi Province, Peng Minghan, Director of the Jiangxi Provincial Museum, and colleagues from the Dexing Municipal Museum and the Jiangxi Gao'an County Museum; in Zhejiang Province, Chen Hao, Director of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum, and Guan Ming, Senior Officer of the Foreign Affairs Office of the Zhejiang Administration of Cultural Properties; in Anhui Province, Hu Xinmin, former Director of the Anhui Provincial Museum, Huang Xiuying, Vice-Director of the Anhui Provincial Museum, and colleagues from the Museum of Huizhou Culture of China, Huangshan, the Yuexi Administrative Office of Cultural Relics, and the Shexian County Museum; in Fujian Province, Ding Yuling, Director of the Quanzhou Maritime Museum; in Beijing, Gao Jingchun, Director of the Beijing Art Museum of Stone Carvings, and Wang Wuyu, Deputy Director of the Capital Museum. The loans from the Capital Museum were made possible through the intercession, in New York, of Mayor Michael Bloomberg, and in Beijing, of Mayor Guo Jinlong, assisted by Zhao Huimin, Director of Foreign Affairs in the Beijing Municipal Government.

Religious art is a major theme of the exhibition. We are indebted to the Tokyo National Museum and the Nara National Museum to be able to present some of the rarest religious images, images central to the practice of several faiths in China in the Yuan period and today preserved only in Japan. A very special note of thanks is due to Director Masami Zeniya and Curator Hideaki Kunigō of the Tokyo National Museum; equally to Director Ken'ichi Yuyama and Curators Kōsei Taniguchi and Natsuki Kitazawa of the Nara National Museum. The curators and other members of the staff of these institutions provided invaluable assistance in securing loans, particularly works from temples, and helped with the innumerable details involved in the packing, shipping, and display of works of art. For the loans from Japanese museums, we wish to thank the directors and staff of Kyushu National Museum, Osaka Municipal Museum of Art, Museum of Oriental Ceramics, Osaka, Museum of the Museum of the Yamato Bunkakan, Nara, MOA Museum of Art, Atami, Hatakeyama Memorial Museum of Fine Art, Tokyo, and the Museum of Shiga Prefecture, Biwako Bunkakan. For the loans from Japanese temples, we wish to thank the abbots of Tofukuji, especially Kaizō-in, Kyoto, of Shōkoku-ji and Jishō-in, Kyoto, of Jōbodai-in, Maibara, Shiga Prefecture, of Chikubushima Hōgon-ji, Nagashama, Shiga Prefecture, and of Tenmokusan Seijun-ji, Kōshō, Yamanashi Prefecture.

For the loan of the carpet from the Gion Festival Association, we thank the Naginataboko Preservation Association, Kyoto. For this loan we received technical advice and assistance from Nobuko Kajitani, former Conservator in Charge of Textile Conservation at the Metropolitan Museum. It is always a pleasure to reconnect with respected colleagues. We also wish to thank Izumi Iijima of the Kōshū Municipal Committee of Education for his kind assistance in arranging the restoration of the painting in the collection of Tenmokusan Seiunji, which allowed this rare work to travel to an American institution for the first time in its long history.

For loans from Europe, we thank Director Neil McGregor and Keeper Jan Stuart of the British Museum, Director Mark Jones and Keeper Beth McKillop of the Victoria and Albert Museum, Director Adele Schlombs of the Museum of East Asian Art, Cologne, and Director Mikhail Piotrovsky and Curator Kira Samosyuk of the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. All have been most supportive.

The acuity and connoisseurship of past generations of curators are fully evident in the loans from American museums. Without their generous participation it would simply not be possible to mount an exhibition that would adequately show all aspects of the artistic achievement of the Yuan dynasty. In particular we thank the three major lenders, the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, the Cleveland Museum of Art, and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. At the Nelson-Atkins, Director Marc Wilson (who will have retired by the time this exhibition opens), himself a leading scholar in Chinese art, agreed to the loan of the two earliest paintings in the exhibition, as well as other works of artistic and historical importance. The old collections in Boston include many gems, and we thank Director Malcolm Rogers, Department Chair Jane Portal and Curator Sheng Hao for allowing some of them to be shown in this exhibition. At Cleveland we thank Curator Anita Chung for the loan of

both paintings and the precious jade bowl. A special thanks to Curator Louise Mackie for lending key pieces from the Cleveland Museum's incomparable collection of textiles of the Mongol Empire—the one subject that has made great strides since the first exhibition of Yuan art at the Cleveland Museum in 1968, the work of Anne Wardwell, former Curator of Textiles at the Cleveland Museum. We thank Timothy Rub twice, first as Director of the Cleveland Museum of Art for permitting the Cleveland loans and now as Director of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, for the loan of the celadon jar, for which we also thank Curator Felice Fischer. The Princeton University Art Museum has also lent a number of masterpieces of painting and calligraphy, for which we thank Director James Steward and Curator Cary Liu. We also thank the following for loans from their respective museums: Director Eric Lee and Curator Jennifer Casler-Price of the Kimball Art Museum; Director Aaron Betsky and Curator Hou-mei Sung of the Cincinnati Art Museum; Vishaka Desai, President, and Melissa Chiu, Museum Director, of the Asia Society, New York. Loans have come also from three private collections in New York: the Mahakala, protecting deity of the Yuan army that conquered the Southern Song, from the Kronos Collections; and two magnificent blue-and-white pieces from the collection of Andrew and Denise Saul and another private collection.

For the loan from Toronto, we thank Director William Thorsell and Curator Ka Bo Tsang of the Royal Ontario Museum. In the Philippines, we offer thanks to the Villanueva Foundation for kindly agreeing to the loan of two porcelain figures, and to Mr. Guillermo Luz and Mr. Kenneth Esguerra at the Ayala Museum for facilitating this.

In the course of doing research for the exhibition we have received much help and advice from colleagues in China, Japan, the United States, and Europe. In particular, we wish to thank Professor Xu Pingfang, former President of the Chinese Society of Archaeology, on Dadu, Professor Wei Jian of People's University, Beijing, on Shangdu (Xanadu), Professor Lin Meicun of Peking University, Professor Luo Feng of the Institute of Archaeology, Yinchuan, and Professor Zhao Feng, Director of the China National Silk Museum, Hangzhou, for general advice and information on various aspects of art and archaeology of the Yuan dynasty. In Japan, we wish to thank Professor Masaki Itakura of Tokyo University for his generous and patient assistance in our preliminary research on Yuan art in Japanese collections. Additionally, we would like to acknowledge Milton Sonday, former Curator of Textiles at the Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum, New York, and Jeremy Pine and Jacqueline Simcox for advice and information on textiles of this period.

The Chinese diplomatic corps in the U.S. have given us invaluable support, advice, and assistance during the years of the preparation for the exhibition. Our thanks first to Ambassador Zhou Wenzhong in Washington for his sympathetic reception of our plans. Li Dongwen, Minister for Cultural Affairs at the Chinese Embassy, has been actively supportive of our cause and helped to resuscitate the project in China at a time when further progress was in doubt. To him we owe a very special thanks. Equally supportive was Shu Xiao, Mr. Li's predecessor at the Chinese Embassy. In New York, we wish to thank Ambassador Peng Keyu, Consul-General, Wang Yansheng and Zhong Laizhao, Cultural Consuls; and Ambassador Liu Biwei, former Consul-General, and Zhai Deyu, former Cultural Consul.

As the Director noted in his Foreword, the organization of the exhibition has been a collective effort. It started with planning meetings over several years of the curatorial team from within the Department of Asian Art: Mike Hearn, Denise Leidy, Jason Sun, John Guy, Joyce Denney, and Birgitta Augustin. We were joined by Nancy Steinhardt, of the University of Pennsylvania. Each one contributed ideas and suggestions, and each has written an essay in this book. During those innocent years of our discussions on art-historical matters, no one anticipated the vast amount of work and the upheaval across three continents that we—ultimately I, as the instigator of this enterprise—were going to cause. A retrospective historical analogue (with allowances for scaling down to the world of museums and the fact that no blood was spilt) would be the band of nineteen who drank the waters of Baljuna with Chinggis Khan, and then proceeded to wreak havoc on the rest of the world.

When the project started in earnest, every member of the Asian Art Department stepped in, coordinated by Judith Smith, who also served as liaison with the Editorial Department. The collections management team, led by Hwai-ling Yeh-Lewis and including Alison Clark, Mei Mei, Crystal Kui, and Jacqueline Taeschler, managed between them the generation of endless lists, the collection and sorting of all images in this book, and a hundred other chores. Alison Clark was also the brain behind the Web site, and Mei Mei translated all documents and communications between the Metropolitan Museum and Chinese institutions, and was most helpful in maintaining contact with colleagues in China. Rebecca Grunberger assisted in the organization of the catalogue illustrations.

All the curators involved in the project were instrumental in securing loans for their respective areas. Our Japanese art colleagues Masako Watanabe and Sinéad Kehoe obtained the full cooperation from the Tokyo National Museum and the Nara National Museum in negotiating for loans from temples and providing the space and facilities of the two museums for the packing and associated procedures prior to shipment of loans from Japan. Again, much travel and translation of documents back and forth was necessary.

To give the briefest account of Jason Sun's contribution to the making of the exhibition would require a very long

paragraph, and still it would not be adequate. Suffice to say that without his tireless effort over months of constant negotiations day and night, in person and over the telephone, with Chinese officials and museum colleagues, the exhibition would simply not have happened.

Back in the Department, Birgitta Augustin worked tirelessly to make life easier for everybody involved in the planning of the exhibition and the writing of this book. Apart from taking on a section of the exhibition, she assembled research material for all the authors and drafted the bibliography, chronologies, maps, and index entries. Shi-yee Liu also assisted in the research on paintings and calligraphy and in preparing the index. Zheng Wei gave valuable advice on paintings and calligraphy. In addition to full-time members of the Department, many interns and volunteers helped with innumerable tasks in connection with the exhibition. We are especially grateful to Anna Willmann for her work in compiling the photograph credits for the catalogue.

Once again, the Editorial Department has been magnificent in the editing and production of this book, especially given the extremely limited time in which they had to accomplish these tasks. We particularly appreciate the valiant effort of Emily Radin Walter, chief editor for the book, who worked through a period of recovery from major surgery to make the texts intelligible—as she has always done for all major publications in Chinese art at the Museum over the past two decades. In this she was assisted, with utmost patience and expertise, by Ellyn Childs Allison. We thank Jean Wagner for her monumental work on the notes and bibliography. To Peter Antony we owe a very special thanks for overseeing the production of the book in record time, with capable assistance by Salvatore Destro. Robert Weisberg oversaw and fine-tuned the typesetting. Harriet Whelchel, with ever-willing help from Elizabeth Zechella, coordinated the entire process of editing and production, under the overall supervision of Gwen Roginsky, General Manager of Publications.

As with all large and complicated exhibitions, the burden on the office of the Registrar was a heavy one, but carried lightly by Meryl Cohen and Aileen Chuk. The latter's experience in handling exhibitions from China has proved invaluable.

The burden on the Design Department was equally heavy, but carried with reassuring cheerfulness by Michael Batista and Sophia Geronimus. Sitting in front of Michael's computer and watching the exhibition, as if by magic, come alive is one of the joys of working in the Museum. Sophia's graphic design adds the touch of sophistication that only she can conjure up. Taylor Miller, in Construction, created walls and display cases exactly as specified without so much as a murmur, as is his way. All this happened under the serene supervision of Linda Sylling, who has overseen more major exhibitions than anyone can remember.

The support of conservators is, of course, essential to any exhibition. For the present exhibition, we received the very best support from members of Objects Conservation, under the direction of Lawrence Becker. Marijn Manuels made arduous trips to remote places in China with Jason Sun to ascertain whether fragile objects could be transported. Donna Strahan was responsible overall for the conservation concerns of the exhibition. In Textile Conservation, under the direction of Florica Zaharia, Conservators Min Sun Hwang and Kristine Kamiya prepared textiles in the Museum's own collection for display, and assisted in the installation of all textiles in the exhibition. In the early days of preparation, Midori Sato (now retired) traveled with Joyce Denney to examine textiles for possible inclusion in the exhibition. Yuan-li Hou, Associate Conservator for Chinese Paintings, supervised the installation of the paintings and calligraphy. In Scientific Research, we thank Nobuko Shibayama and Marco Leona for dye analysis on some of the textiles.

All photographs of objects in the Museum's collection were taken by our expert photographer Oi-Cheong Lee. Robert Goldman and Einar Brendalen assisted in the preparation of comparative illustrations.

The long credit line for the exhibition testifies to the efforts of the Development Department. In particular, we wish to express our appreciation to Andrea Kann and Christine Begley.

Sharon Cott and Kirstie Howard in the Counsel's Office exercised great tact and forbearance in preparing various agreements with Art Exhibitions China, and with the National Museums in Japan.

In the course of researching and writing for this exhibition, many volumes have been moving in and out of the Department, not only from our own Watson Library but through interlibrary loan. For their efficient professional service, we offer a "last but not least" thank-you to librarians Jennie Pu, Min Xu, and Robyn Fleming.

A confirmed luddite, I had to rely on Hannah Thompson, who, apart from contributing in other ways to the work on the exhibition, typed every word I wrote.

Finally, a personal note of thanks to Shelby White for two spells of residence in idyllic South Salem for contemplation on the exhibition and for part of the writing of the Introduction.

To all the above, once again, grateful thanks.

James C. Y. Watt
June 17, 2010

Lenders to the Exhibition

Anhui Province
Anhui Provincial Museum, Hefei
Museum of Huizhou Culture of China, Huangshan
Yuexi Administrative Office of Cultural Relics
Shexian Museum

Beijing
Beijing Art Museum of Stone Carvings
Capital Museum
The Palace Museum

Fujian Province
Quanzhou Maritime Museum

Gansu Province
Gansu Provincial Museum, Lanzhou

Hebei Province
Hebei Cultural Relics Conservation Center, Shijiazhuang
Hebei Institute of Cultural Relics, Shijiazhuang

Henan Province
Henan Museum, Zhengzhou
Jiaozuo Municipal Museum

Hubei Province
Hubei Provincial Museum, Wuhan

Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region
Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum, Hohhot
Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology, Hohhot

Jiangsu Province
Changzhou Museum
Nanjing Municipal Museum
Nanjing Museum

Jiangxi Province
Dexing Municipal Museum
Jiangxi Gao'an Museum, Gao'an
Jiangxi Provincial Museum, Nanchang

Liaoning Province
Liaoning Provincial Museum, Shenyang

Shanghai
Shanghai Museum

Shanxi Province
Shanxi Museum, Taiyuan

National Palace Museum, Taipei

Chikubushima Hōgon-ji, Nagahama, Shiga Prefecture
Hatakeyama Memorial Museum of Fine Art, Tokyo
Jōbodai-in, Maibara, Shiga Prefecture
Kyushu National Museum, Dazaifu, Fukuoka Prefecture
MOA Museum of Art, Atami, Shizuoka Prefecture
Naginataboko Preservation Association, Kyōto
The Museum of Oriental Ceramics, Osaka
The Museum Yamato Bunkakan, Nara
Osaka Municipal Museum of Art
Shōkoku-ji, Jishō-in, Kyōto
Tenmokusan Seiun-ji, Kōshū, Yamanashi Prefecture
Tōfuku-ji, Kaizō-in, Kyōto

Museum of East Asian Art, Cologne

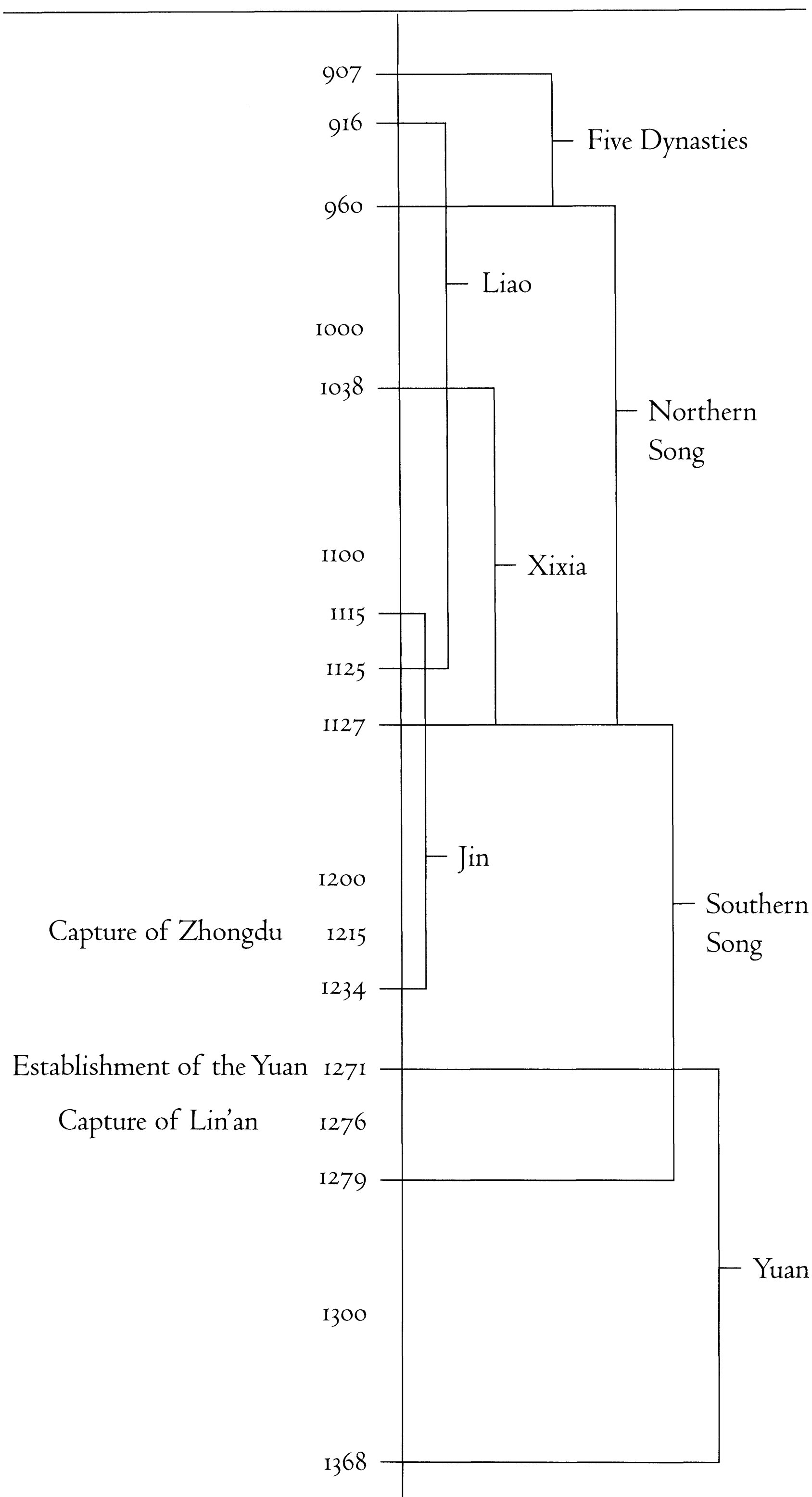
The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg

The British Museum, London
The Victoria and Albert Museum, London

The Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto

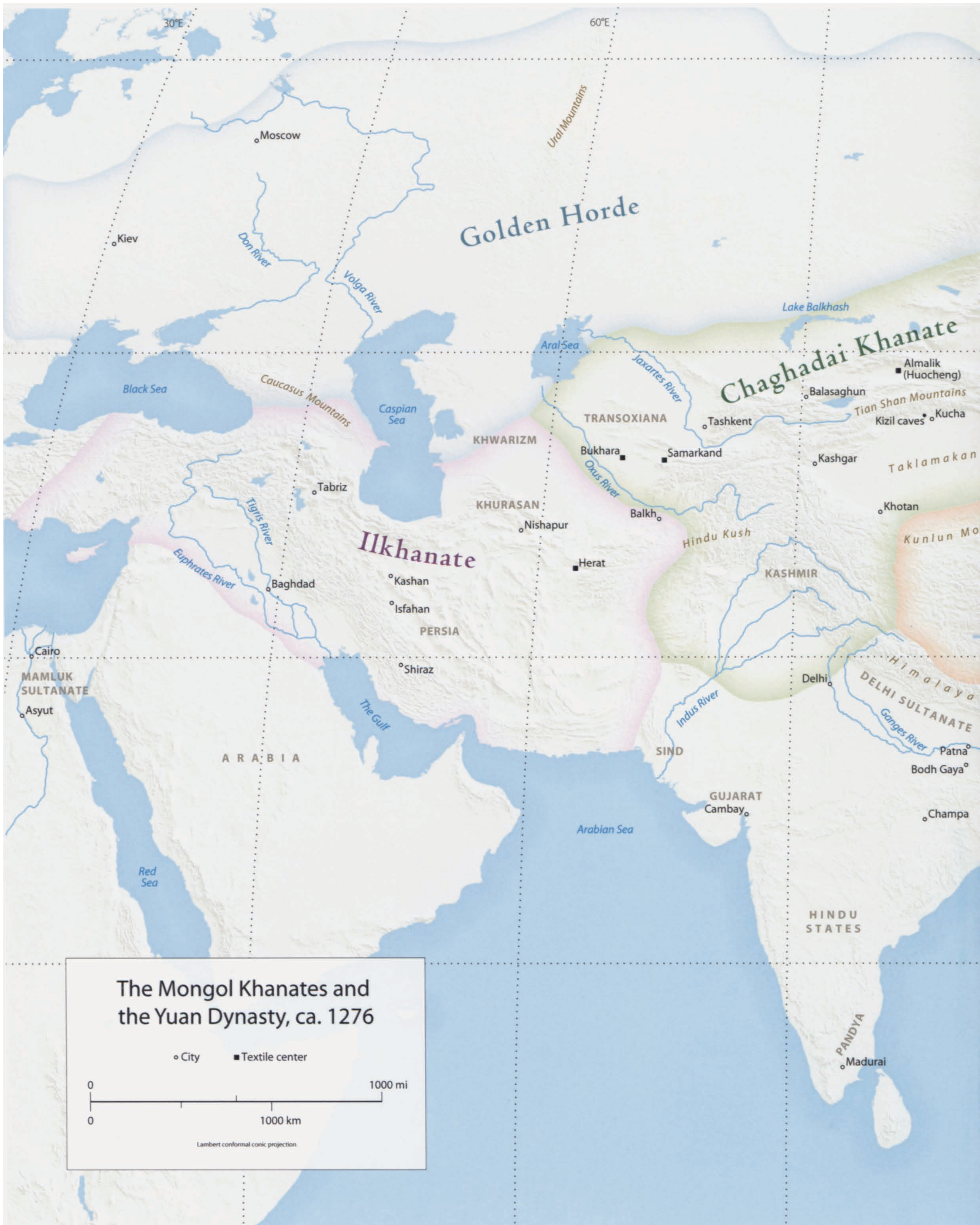
Asia Society, New York
Cincinnati Art Museum
The Cleveland Museum of Art
Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth
The Kronos Collections
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City
Philadelphia Museum of Art
Princeton University Art Museum
Private collection
Andrew and Denise Saul

Chronology



Emperors of the Yuan Dynasty

Emperors' Posthumous Temple Names	Reign Dates
Shizu	1271–1294
Chengzong	1295–1307
Wuzong	1308–1311
Renzong	1312–1320
Yingzong	1321–1323
Taidingdi	1324–1328
Wenzong	1328–1329
Mingzong	1329
Wenzong	1330–1332* (*restored to throne)
Ningzong	1332
Shundi	1333–1368



30°E
60°E
Moscow
Kiev
Ural Mountains
Golden Horde
Don River
Volga River
Lake Balkhash
Chaghadai Khanate
Almalik
(Huocheng)
Aral Sea
Jaxartes River
Black Sea
Caucasus Mountains
Caspian Sea
Balasaghun
Tian Shan Mountains
Kizil caves
Kucha
TRANSOXIANA
Tashkent
KHWARIZM
Bukhara
Samarkand
Kashgar
Taklamakan
Oxus River
Tabriz
KHURASAN
Balkh
Khotan
Tigris River
Nishapur
Hindu Kush
Kunlun Mo
Ilkhanate
Euphrates River
Herat
Baghdad
Kashan
KASHMIR
Isfahan
PERSIA
Cairo
Shiraz
MAMLUK
SULTANATE
Delhi
Himalaya
DELHI SULTANATE
Asyut
The Gulf
Indus River
Ganges River
Patna
SIND
ARABIA
Bodh Gaya
GUJARAT
Cambay
Champa
Arabian Sea
Red Sea
HINDU
STATES
The Mongol Khanates and
the Yuan Dynasty, ca. 1276
City
Textile center
0
1000 mi
0
1000 km
Lambert conformal conic projection
PANDYA
Madurai

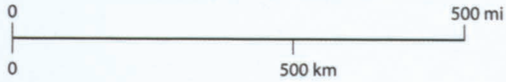
90°E
120°E
150°E
60°N
30°N
Yenisei River
Lake Baikal
Kondui
Onon River
Amur River
Har Us Nuur
Har Nuur
Altai Mountains
Chinkai
Kharakhorum
Beshbaliq (Beiting)
Gobi Desert
Turfan
Kharakhoja (Gaochang)
Qomul (Hami)
HEXI CORRIDOR
Yuan Dynasty
Shangdu (Xanadu)
Chifeng
Liaoyang
Hohhot
Xunmalin
Hongzhou
Yellow River
Dadu (Beijing)
Desert
Dunhuang
Jiayuguan
Sea of Japan
Taiyuan
Qinghai Lake
NINGXIA
Taishan
Yellow Sea
Xian
Bianliang (Kaifeng)
Hanzhong
TIBETAN PRINCIPALITIES
Xiangyang
Nanjing
Yangzhou
Chengdu
Yangzi River
Lin'an (Hangzhou)
Lhasa
East China Sea
NANZHAO
Dali
Fuzhou
Quanzhou
Chaozhou
PAGAN (MIEN)
Wuzhou
BENGAL
DAI VIET (ANNAM)
Guangzhou
Huizhou
Pagan
Thang Long (Hanoi)
Bay of Bengal
PEGU
South China Sea
Mekong River
CHAMPA
Luzon
KHMER EMPIRE
Angkor

90°E
105°E
Lake Baikal
45°N
Chinkai
Kharakhorum
Turfan
XINJIANG
Kharakhoto
Mt. Yinshan
INNER MONGOLIA
Jininglu
Mingshui
Hohhot
Hongzhou
Dunhuang
Yellow River
Datong
Yanshansi
Yanmen
Mt. Wutai
Zhangye
Ningxia
GANSU
QINGHAI
SHANXI
Guangshengsi
Pingyang (Linfen)
Gaoping
Houma
SHAANXI
Jiaozuo
Zhangxian
Luoyang
Yonglegong
Ruicheng
Xian
Dongercun
HENAN
30°N
Han River
Xiangyang
SICHUAN
Lhasa
Chengdu
HUBEI
Yangzi River
HUNAN
Dali
YUNNAN

The Yuan Dynasty, ca. 1330

∘City •*Temple or monument*

▪ Archaeological or production site



Northern Song, Liao, and Their Neighbors, Early 12th Century

Southern Song, Jin, and Their Neighbors, Early 13th Century

The World of Khubilai Khan

Introduction

James C. Y. Watt

There are two perspectives from which Chinese art can be viewed. It can be seen as sui generis, its history following a single, continuous line of development that revitalizes itself from time to time by going back to ancient models. The Qing scholar Ji Yun (1724–1805), commenting on a seminal work of literary criticism written in the fifth century, articulated this view succinctly: "When new voice is given to old themes, [thus] going back to antiquity, it is [called] true innovation."[1] It is also possible to view Chinese art as a continual integration of cultural influences across borders into the mainstream of Chinese culture. Both views can be amply justified, and they are not mutually exclusive. There are times when the former view, based on a self-regenerative model, is more appropriate. The Northern Song dynasty (960–1127) is a shining example—a singular occurrence that gave the arts of the Song their distinctive quality. At other times innovations were made through the absorption of cultures beyond political borders. Two major periods exemplify this latter model. The first, a long period between the fall of the Han Empire and the founding of the Tang Empire (ca. 300–700), was explored in a recent exhibition at The Metropolitan Museum of Art.[2] The second is represented by the relatively short-lived Yuan dynasty (1271–1368), the subject of the present exhibition. The changes that occurred during the Yuan were so fundamental that the arts of this period became the new standard for the self-referential development of Chinese art in all subsequent periods up to the twentieth century. The "old themes" to which artists henceforth returned as a means of innovation rarely reached back beyond the Yuan. Hence the importance of this period in Chinese art history.

Opposite: Khubilai Khan's Consort, Chabi, detail of figure 7

SETTING THE STAGE

In terms of cultural exchange, land borders played a much greater role in China than did maritime traffic (although the latter is also touched on in this exhibition). Although roughly speaking, the Great Wall was the border in historical periods up to the end of the Han dynasty in the third century, no border was actually impenetrable, and the borders across which new elements entered the mainstream tradition shifted over time. In the period of the Northern and Southern dynasties (420–581) the Chinese border was just north of the Yangzi River; the Tang dynasty (618–907) extended its borders all the way to Central Asia. After the breakup of the Tang, the reconstituted dynasty of the (Northern) Song, though it retained the all-important province of Henan, lost a great part of North China to ethnically non-Han invaders: the Khitan, who formed the Liao dynasty in the north (916–1125), followed by the Tangut, of the Xia or Xixia dynasty (1038–1127) in the northwest. The Liao and the Xixia blocked off land access to the outside world for the Song, except through what is now Qinghai Province, but this route was very much off the beaten track. Left to their own devices, the people of Song China, through reflection, open-minded inquiry into natural phenomena, the study of ancient texts, and archaeological finds, brought forth a period of brilliant culture, evinced in works of art and writings in literature, science, and philosophy.[3] The cultural efflorescence of this period was built on the intellectual legacy of the late Tang. On the other hand, the Liao, and to a certain extent the Xia, inherited what was left of Tang material culture in the areas they controlled, plus what they brought from their homeland. In addition, the Liao controlled most of the Mongolian steppe and thus maintained contact with Central Asia. The Tangut Xia later occupied the Gansu (Hexi) Corridor, connecting to Central Asia by way of the Silk Road along the Taklamakan

Figure 1. *Khubilai Khan as the First Yuan Emperor, Shizu.* Album leaf, ink and color on silk, 23¼ × 18¾ in. (59.1 × 47.6 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei [Exhib.]

Desert. The Tangut Xia was also open to influences from Tibet, where a strong revival of (Esoteric) Buddhism was in progress. Moreover, the influence of the Northern Song was felt everywhere in North China.

In the year 1127, the Jurchen people from Manchuria replaced the Liao Khitan as rulers of North China and also took Henan, the heartland of Song administration, depleting the Song imperial treasury of nearly all works of art, books, and musical instruments (and musicians), though they did little with this immensely rich booty. The reduced Song state, the Southern Song (1127–1279), with its capital in Lin'an (present-day Hangzhou), carried on with what was left of the Song inheritance. Thus, toward the end of the twelfth century, there was a threefold political division in China: the Jin state, ruled by the Jurchens in the north; the Tangut Xia state in the northwest; and the Southern Song in the south (see map on p. xviii). This was the moment the Mongols appeared on the scene.

THE MONGOLS AND THE FOUNDING OF THE YUAN DYNASTY

Temurjin, born in 1167 somewhere in the Onon River valley, rose from misfortune in childhood to become the Great Khan, ruler of all Mongolia, to which he was elected by the Mongolian nobles in 1206. Henceforth he became known as Chinggis (Genghis) Khan.[4]

Not all the tribes in the great Mongolian confederation fashioned by Chinggis were ethnic Mongols. In fact, the two most powerful tribes during Temurjin's minority were the Keraits of Central Mongolia and the Naimans in the Altai to the west, both of them Turkic, or Turkic-speaking, peoples. Later, in China, all members of the confederation were, for all practical purposes, treated the same as the Mongols, i.e., as "nationals." The position of the Keraits was particularly exalted because of their close association with the imperial Mongol family. The defeat of the Keraits

and the taking over of the Kerait army in 1203 (the year of the sack of Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade) was the turning point in Chinggis's success in unifying all of Mongolia.

As with all nomadic empires, success depended on continual expansion. A few years after he achieved the supreme position in Mongolia, Chinggis began his China campaign. His first target was Xixia (capital of present-day Yinchuan, Ningxia Province)—not counting a previous expedition launched in 1205 before Temurjin became Great Khan. He then moved on to the larger state of Jin. In this he was assisted by the Ongguts, another Turkic people, whom the Jin had stationed on their northwest border as defenders against invasions from the north. Instead of resisting, the Ongguts became the Mongols' guide into Jin territory. In 1215 the Jin capital, Zhongdu (Beijing), fell, the Jin emperor having in the meantime fled to the Southern capital, Bian (Kaifeng, Henan Province). This was the year that Khubilai, a grandson of Chinggis Khan, was born. Khubilai would eventually conquer all of China and rule as the first emperor of the Yuan dynasty of China and, at least nominally, as Great Khan of the Mongol Empire, a realm that extended from Mongolia to the Middle East, Central Asia, the Caucasus, and Russia.

When Khubilai's older brother Möngke was Great Khan (r. 1251–59), ruling from Kharakhorum in Mongolia, Khubilai was given the governorship of conquered areas in North China. He gradually consolidated his power with the assistance of his new subjects: Chinese, Khitans, Jurchens, Tanguts, and the Uighurs (from the Turfan area in Xinjiang), who became Mongol subjects in 1209/10. Following the death of Möngke in 1260, Khubilai proclaimed himself Great Khan (fig. 1). Although there were rival claims to the throne, Khubilai had major advantages in the struggle for power. He had the immense resources of North China, as compared with those of Mongolia and Central Asia, the service of superior Mongol military commanders, and, as noted above, the advice of well-educated men from newly conquered states, some of whom were also able military and civil officers. His first base was in Shangdu (the Xanadu of Coleridge's famous poem), north of Beijing (see map on pp. xvi–xvii), a city constructed between 1256 and 1259. After he became Khan, he built himself a great capital, Dadu (or, more pedantically, Daidu), now Beijing, which remains the capital of China to this day.[5] Nevertheless, Khubilai and his successors would spend every summer in Shangdu, the Upper Capital.

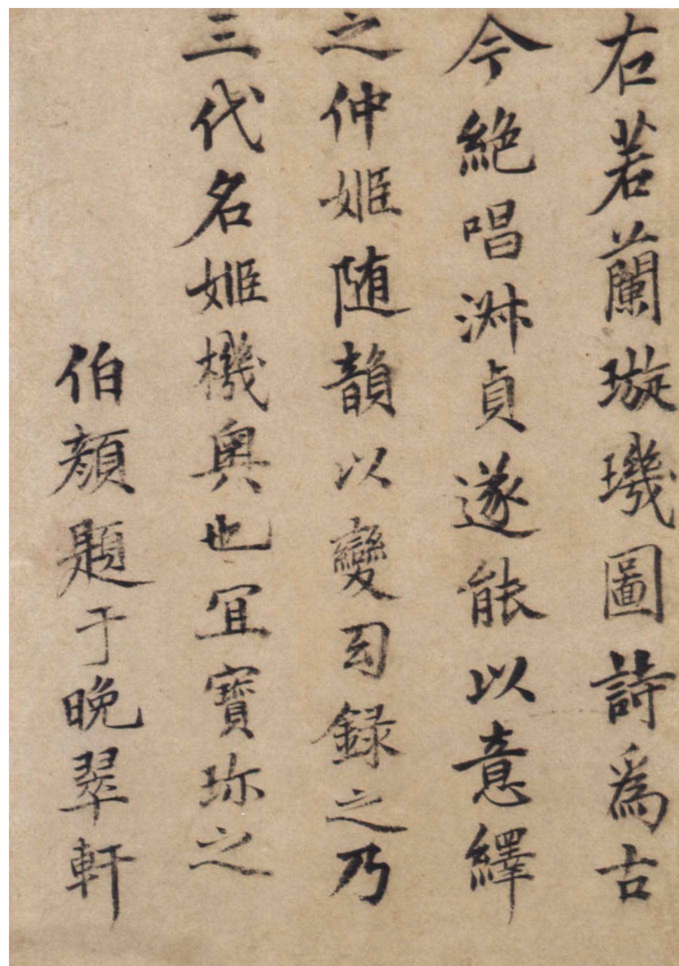


Figure 2. Boyan (d. 1340), original colophon attached to a later copy of *Lady Su Hui and Her Verse Puzzle*, by Guan Daosheng (1262–1319). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gift of George C. Pratt, 1933 33.167

THE ARTS UNDER THE MONGOLS

As stated at the beginning of this essay, the arts of the Yuan, when China was unified after nearly four centuries of division, can best be studied as the confluence of a number of cultural and artistic traditions. Some of these traditions already existed in different parts of China, some were newly introduced during the Yuan. Sorting out the different elements that went into the making of the various arts of the Yuan, and identifying their origin, is, to put it mildly, not at all easy. In the first place, the arts of the earlier Xixia and of the Liao and Jin dynasties were themselves all hybrids, and also strongly influenced by the culture of the Northern Song. The arts of the Southern Song are easier to account for, as they can be regarded as a continuum with those of the Northern Song, which was itself a new beginning based on "going back to the ancients." In an art-historical context, there are two reasons for treating the arts of the Yuan at the time of unification as a modification of Song cultural inheritance. First, Song art is better known than that of the North and there is more of it

around. Second, and more important, the massive movement of peoples after the Mongol conquest of the Southern Song was from north to south.[6] The immigrants to the south included craftsmen who brought skills and sensibilities that would modify and transform the arts of the Southern Song. Compared with this "internal combustion," the new influences coming into China during the Yuan period are relatively slight—as North China had already been absorbing artistic influences from Central Asia (including the steppe zone) for centuries before the conquest. The most innovative art form introduced into China in the Yuan period was the cloth of gold. Treasured by the Mongols, it was brought in by captive weavers from the destroyed Iranianized cities of Central Asia—Samarkand, Bukhara, Herat, and other cities in eastern Iran.

It should also be noted that the formation of Yuan art did not begin immediately, or even soon after, the conquest of the Southern Song. It certainly did not happen in Khubilai's reign, or in those of his immediate successors. It may well be that the most marked changes occurred during the time of Shundi, the last emperor of the dynasty (Toghan-Temür; r. 1333–68), whose reign was the longest of all the Yuan emperors (not counting the years of Khubilai's rule before the formal founding of the dynasty). Shundi's reign was the most disastrous. The chronicle of his reign consists of perennial accounts of every possible natural disaster—earthquakes and floods, locusts, drought, famine, and pestilence. Rebellion and banditry reigned, as did piracy on the high seas. And yet artistically the Yuan was one of the most brilliant periods in Chinese history.

In the early years of Shundi's reign (up to 1340), the administration of the state was in the hands of the chancellor, Boyan or Bayan, a Merkit, a man greatly reviled. He was said to be greedy and hubristic and guilty of every kind of misrule. One of his most objectionable decrees was the cancellation of the civil service examinations, which was, practically speaking, the only way for Han Chinese to gain a foothold in the government. One contemporary writer reported that Boyan asked Shundi not to allow the crown prince to study Chinese, because the "Chinese became educated only to belittle others."[7] This anecdote, if true, reveals the mentality of the ultimate *arriviste*. The Merkits, "nationals" in Yuan China, had very humble beginnings. They were traditional enemies of Temurjin's clan, and when defeated by Temurjin they were not given a status equal to other Mongols. Instead, most of them were made servants or slaves. Boyan himself was in his youth in service to Prince Yan, a grandson of Möngke Khan. When later, as chancellor, Boyan perceived a slight from the prince, he had his former master put to death—against the wishes of Shundi. Thus he suffered in the company not only of highborn Mongols but in the company of Chinese scholars—and this at a time when many non-Han peoples had been fully integrated into the Chinese scholarly and literary world.[8] Nonetheless, judging from the singular example of his writing and calligraphy (fig. 2), Boyan not only was completely literate in Chinese but wrote an elegant, one might say refined, hand. He had his

Figure 3. Stem cup. Gold, height 5⅝ in. (14.3 cm). Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 4. Bowl with thumbpiece. Gold, diameter of rim at mouth 3½ in. (8.9 cm). Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 5. Bowl (above) and stand. Xixia dynasty (1038–1127). Gold, diameter of bowl at rim of mouth 4¼ in. (10.8 cm); height of stand 1¾ in. (4.5 cm). Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum [Exhib.]

comeuppance in 1340, when he was exiled to Guangdong; he died on the way. The personality of Boyan is in some ways a reflection of the complexity of the history of Yuan China.

ORGANIZATION OF THE EXHIBITION

The exhibition is divided into four sections: Daily Life, Painting and Calligraphy, Religious Art, and the Decorative Arts. Brief comments are made below in all these areas.

DAILY LIFE

The Significance of Gold

Two categories of materials were of special importance at the Mongol court, especially during the early empire: gold utensils and cloth of gold. These articles would be observed by visitors to the Mongol court, whether Catholic missionaries or traders like the Polos, up to the time of Khubilai Khan.

When the Mongols came into China, they found gold utensils of the types they were familiar with and had used on the steppe, though more refined in style and manufacture. The stem cup (fig. 3) and the bowl with a thumb-piece over the ring handle (fig. 4), vessels that originated in nomadic culture and that had long been adopted in North China, are objects that the Tanguts of the Xixia state would have used. The gold cup stand (fig. 5) was probably of Northern Song origin, as similar articles in lacquer and porcelain are known from Northern Song sites.

The other material essential to the Mongol idea of gracious living was *nasij*, the cloth of gold (figs. 6, 8). This is a textile of silk and gold threads in lampas weave, with the gold threads mostly showing on the surface.[9] The weave was new to China, and the patterns on early examples are quintessentially Central Asian, derived from both east and west and dating from early historical times. These included griffins, lions, eagles, and other birds in confronting or addorsed pairs, often enclosed in a circular frame with cloud scrolls filling the background. In fourteenth-century designs, dragons are shown curled within a lobed circular frame. The Mongols may have

Figure 6. *Cloth of Gold with Winged Lions and Griffins* (detail). Central Asia, ca. 1240–60. Silk and metallic thread lampas (*nasij*), warp 48⅞ × weft 19¼ in. (124 × 48.8 cm). The Cleveland Museum of Art. Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund 1989.50 [Exhib.]

Figure 7. *Khubilai Khan's Consort, Chabi*. Album leaf, ink and color on silk, 24 × 18¾ in. (61 × 47.6 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei [Exhib.]

Figure 8. *Cloth of Gold with Displayed Falcons*. Central Asia, mid-13th century. Silk and metallic thread lampas (*nasij*), warp 22⅝ × weft 7¼ in. (57.5 × 18.4 cm). The Cleveland Museum of Art. Edward L. Whittemore Fund 1996.297 [Exhib.]

known about this fabric before they built their great empire. But if not, they would have become acquainted with this glittering textile by 1209, the year when Barchuk, leader of the Uighurs in the Beshbaliq and Turfan regions, offered to Chinggis the submission of his people. His embassy brought with them many splendid gifts, including lengths of *nasij*.[10] Not long after, all weavers of *nasij* would be under Mongol rule, as the Mongol army in their sweep through Central Asia and Khurasan during the first Western campaign (1219–25) captured large numbers of skilled craftsmen and sent them to production centers set up to provide armament and other supplies for troops at the front.

Two such centers were the towns of Chinkai and Beshbaliq. Chinkai, named after the man who was put in charge of it, was located east of the Altai between Lakes Har Us Nuur and Har Nuur, in an area where the

Figure 9. Saddle plates. Gold, height of front plate 8¼ in. (21 cm), height of back plate 4⅜ in. (11.1 cm). Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 10. *Attendants, Guards, and Animals*. Pottery, height 5⅞–11⅞ in. (14.9–30.2 cm). Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 11. *Groom*. Painted pottery, height 11¾ in. (29.8 cm). Jiaozuo Municipal Museum, Henan Province [Exhib.]

Figure 12. Pass (*pai* or *paizi*) with Phagspa inscription. Silver, 11½ × 3⅛ in. (29.2 × 7.9 cm). Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology [Exhib.]

Figure 13. Pass (*pai* or *paizi*) with Phagspa inscription. Late 13th century. Iron inlaid with silver, 7⅛ × 4½ in. (18.1 × 11.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Purchase, Bequest of Dorothy Graham Bennett, 1993 1993.256 [Exhib.]

Khitans, in their westward movement after the fall of the Liao, established a settlement for agriculture and for the production of supplies. It was here that Chinggis sent Chinese craftsmen after his first incursion into China.[11] Silk tapestry was a Uighur specialty, and Beshbaliq, the Uighur capital, would have had a long history of producing fine textiles. After the Mongol expansion westward, both Chinkai and Beshbaliq produced *nasij*, worked by weavers from Central Asia and eastern Iran. Other centers were established later in inland China, in Hongzhou and in the better-known Xunmalin, a town populated entirely by people deported from Samarkand.[12] In 1275, Khubilai moved weavers from Beshbaliq to his new capital, Dadu, "to weave *nasij* collars and cuffs for imperial use."[13] The narrowest strip of the collar of the dress worn by Chabi, Khubilai's consort, in her official portrait (fig. 7) is likely an early product of the Beshbaliq workshop in Dadu. A piece of *nasij* in the Cleveland Museum of Art (fig. 8) is nearly identical in design and likely dates from the same period.

Khubilai was one of the grandest rulers in Chinese history. His capital city and palace, served by the finest craftsmen from all corners of the eastern Eurasian continent, were as magnificent as any that China had ever seen. Yet by Mongol standards he was in his personal habits relatively modest. The cloth of gold was, according to his edict, to be used only for collars and cuffs. This would soon change. His successors were lavish in their gifts, commissioning entire garments made from the precious material, not only for external surfaces but even for parts of the lining (see fig. 105). On the coat in the exhibition the gold has gone after long years of burial, but the patterning is clear. Such garments, usually gifts from the emperor, were required dress for state banquets, known as *jamah*, or formal dress, dinners.[14] This formal wear, known as *zhisun* (single color), was often further embellished with large pearls and precious stones.

Travel

A subsection of the first part of the exhibition presents objects in connection with the movement of people, an activity that was an essential component of the Mongol way of life and that of the many traders who traveled about the empire. The most effective means of transport was the horse, and horse trappings for the privileged were richly ornamented, as seen in the saddle covered with gold sheets decorated in repoussé (fig. 9). Tomb figures from northern Chinese sites provide graphic representation of caravans, processions (fig. 10), and individual riders or grooms (fig. 11).

For the administration of the vast realm, relay stations were set up at regular intervals along roads leading to Dadu from every part of the empire. Travelers could exchange horses, find food and lodging, and purchase daily necessities. These stations catered mainly to travelers on official missions, who would carry some kind of travel document, anything from a paper passport with an imperial seal to a metal pass (known as a *pai* or, colloquially, *paizi*) of gold, silver, or copper, depending on the urgency of the mission and the status of the traveler. The pass was usually elongated in shape and inscribed with wording that conferred right of passage by imperial decree (fig. 12). This type of *pai* was in use already in the Liao dynasty. A *pai* of this form with a Khitan inscription has been found at Liao sites.[15]

Another type of *pai*, a Yuan innovation and more correctly called a *fu*, is the round iron plaque with raised rim and gold or silver characters (fig. 13). The *fu* with raised gold characters was used only by messengers carrying urgent military orders from the imperial court; the silver-character *fu* was used by senior commanding officers in outlying areas.[16] The Mongol text on the Metropolitan *fu* is in Phagspa script, devised by the Tibetan lama Phagspa (1235–1280) at the request of Khubilai Khan and adopted in 1269 as the official Mongol script. The inscription on both the gold- and silver-character *fu* was invariably:

> *By the Strength of Eternal Heaven,*
> *Edict of the Khan:*
> *He who does not respect*
> *Shall be punished.*

Other, simpler passes were used by commanding officers in the provinces. The inscription is often in more than one language, depending on the place of issue. On a round bronze *pai* found in Yangzhou, South China, the text is in Chinese, Phagspa, and Persian—the last being the lingua franca of merchants in the Yuan period.[17] In Mongolia and Central Asia, Uighur script was used as well. Other kinds of *pai* were also employed as the insignia of officers, the metal depending on the rank of the holder.

Archaeology and History

Archaeology in the last several decades has added immensely not only to our knowledge of the material culture of the Yuan period but also to our understanding of cultural history. In some cases disputes concerning historical facts, based on contradictory written records, have been resolved. A good example is the excavation of the Wang family cemetery in Zhangxian, about 150 kilometers from Tianshui City, in southeastern Gansu Province (see Map 1).

The Wangs had for centuries been the ruling family in the Zhangxian area when the Mongol army, under the command of Köten (son of Ögödei), arrived on the scene in 1235, the year after the fall of the Jin dynasty. Rather than joining the resistance conducted by residual Jin forces, Wang Shixian, leader of the Wang clan, chose to surrender to the Mongols. He, his sons, and his grandsons distinguished themselves in the Mongol army, gained favor with Khubilai Khan, and remained prominent throughout the Yuan dynasty. The Wang family cemetery, with more than two hundred known tombs, provides a continuous record of the objects of ritual and daily use from the late thirteenth to the end of the fourteenth century. Of particular interest are the finds from the tomb of Wang Maochang (d. 1329), great-grandson of Wang Shixian. A jade belt hook (fig. 14) attached to a heavy silk belt that was found in this tomb is similar to one illustrated in the *Guyutu* (Archaic Jades, Illustrated),[18] a book by Zhu Derun (1294–1365), an antiquarian and a painter with a metaphysical bent (see his phenomenological painting, fig. 241). The majority of the pieces in Zhu's jade collection are belt

Figure 14. Belt hook. Jade, with silk band, length 4¾ in. (12.1 cm). Excavated from the tomb of Wang Maochang (d. 1329), Zhangxian, Gansu Province, 1972. Gansu Provincial Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 16. Ritual vessel (*fu*). Pottery, height 9⅞ in. (25.1 cm). Excavated from the tomb of Wang Weichun (d. 1295) and his wife (d. 1322), Zhangxian, Gansu Province, 1972. Gansu Provincial Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 15. Vessel (*jue*) and tray. Bronze, height of vessel 8 in. (20.3 cm). Excavated from the tomb of Wang Weichun (d. 1295) and his wife (d. 1322), Zhangxian, Gansu Province, 1972. Gansu Provincial Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 17. Cup and saucer. Glass, diameter of cup at rim of mouth 3½ in. (8.9 cm), diameter of saucer 6 in. (15.2 cm). Excavated from the tomb of Wang Weixian (d. 1287) and his wife (d. 1306), Zhangxian, Gansu Province, 1972. Gansu Provincial Museum [Exhib.]

hooks and, judging from the illustrations in his book, are of the type known in the Han period. Nevertheless, they very much resemble the one worn by Wang Maochang. This suggests either that Wang was using an old piece of jade or that belt hooks of this kind were contemporary manufactures made to suit the style of dress traditional to people of nomadic origin. That the Wang family was acculturated to Mongol customs is also attested by the finds of Mongol-style dresses and hats present in the tombs, together with Jin-style clothing, which the Wangs would have worn before the coming of the Mongols. The combined evidence of Zhu Derun's catalogue and Wang Maochang's belt hook suggests that a large number of such belt hooks were made in the Yuan period, which explains why many of them are found today in contemporary collections and on the art market.

Two kinds of ritual vessels were discovered in Wang Weichun's (d. 1295) tomb, a bronze cup, or *jue* (fig. 15), which very much resembles an archaic piece from the later Shang dynasty (ca. 13th–11th century BCE), and a burnished black pottery box with a tortoise knob on the lid (fig. 16). The latter is meant to be a *fu*, an archaic ritual vessel, though it looks nothing like the original. Rather, it is the invention of scholars working from early texts after all knowledge of ancient ritual practice had been lost during the chaotic three centuries before the founding of the Tang dynasty in the seventh century.[19] While these invented "archaistic" vessels were codified and received imperial sanction in the tenth century, it was not until the second half of the eleventh century that scholars of the Northern Song were able to identify ancient vessels from archaeological finds, unearthed mainly in Henan Province.[20] In spite of this recovered knowledge, which resulted in the reproduction of ancient bronzes like the *jue* in Wang Weichun's tomb, "old style" ritual vessels, such as the pottery *fu*, were still being used, particularly in out-of-the-way places like Zhangxian in Gansu, the location of the Wang family cemetery. Before Wang Maochang's time the late Northern and Southern Song courts used only ritual vessels that were copies of archaic bronzes; some of these were mistaken for authentic archaic objects until the eighteenth century.

In other ways the Wang family was not provincial. In the tomb of Wang Weixian (d. 1287), a brother of Wang Weichun, and his wife we find the latest luxury articles of the time, exemplified by a carved lacquer table (see fig. 344) and a glass cup and saucer (fig. 17) likely from the glassworks in Zibo, Shandong, some distance from Zhangxian.[21]

The combination in everyday articles of the latest luxury fashion and the somewhat out-of-date ritual implements is a phenomenon specific to the Yuan period. In a state covering vast areas, customs and social practices invariably differ from region to region, though in times of unified empires, such as the Han and the Tang, there was greater uniformity. In the case of burial rites, for example, as reflected in grave goods, regional styles outside the metropolitan areas of Chang'an (Xian) and Luoyang would likely have been provincial versions of what was current in the capitals. During the Yuan period, however, when the country was reunified after centuries of division, there was no standard burial rite. Rather, practices surviving from earlier dynasties were followed. In the case of the Zhangxian tombs, it is obvious that the Wang family, whatever their ethnic origin (a matter of debate among historians),[22] adhered to the Confucian rites conducted with vessels modeled on those used in the late Northern Song (both the archaizing and archaic types described above) that had survived through the hundred years of Jin rule. Song ritual vessels were used until the end of the Yuan dynasty, as evidenced by the finds from the tomb of Saiinjadaku, a fourth-generation Mongol who died in 1365, three years before the official end of the Yuan dynasty.[23] Saiinjadaku's tomb, in Luoyang, contained numerous ritual vessels in black pottery in more or less "true" archaic forms and touchingly decorated with designs that approximate those on archaic bronzes (fig. 18). That Saiinjadaku was a learned man (an academician) and stationed in Luoyang would explain his more up-to-date knowledge of antiquities. Indeed, the persistent use of Song ritual vessels throughout the Yuan dynasty may be interpreted as an expression of the hold of Song Confucianism, or Neo-Confucianism, over Yuan intellectual thought. It was

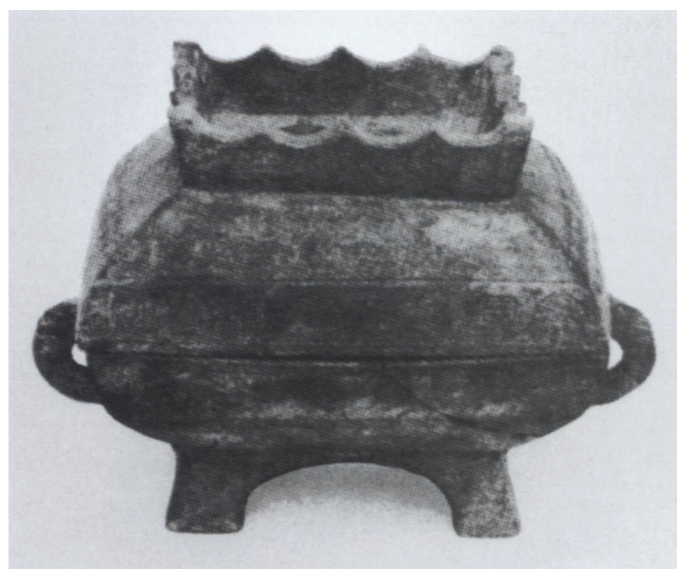


Figure 18. Square lidded vessel (*fu*). Black pottery, height 7⅛ in. (18.1 cm). Excavated from the tomb of Saiinjadaku (d. 1365), Luoyang, Henan Province. Luoyang Museum

Figure 19. Hairpin, earring, and two rings. Gold, malachite, glass, and pearl, length of hairpin 4 in. (10.2 cm). Excavated from the Shi family tombs, Houtaibaocun, Shijiazhuang, Hebei Province, 1994. Hebei Institute of Cultural Relics [Exhib.]

during the Yuan period that the Four Books (Confucian classics), selected and edited by the arch Neo-Confucian Zhu Xi (1130–1200) of the Southern Song, became the standard primer for students sitting for the civil service examinations. (They would remain so through all subsequent periods of Chinese history until the examinations were abolished at the beginning of the twentieth century.) Thus, while there was much innovation in the arts during the Yuan period, certain aspects of Chinese intellectual tradition were arrested at the Song stage.

A number of tombs of important Yuan personages are known. Unfortunately, nearly all of them have been at least partially looted. The most thoroughly looted tombs are those of the Shi family near Shijiazhuang in Hebei Province.[24] This is more the pity because the Shi family was the most important Han Chinese family to serve the early Mongol khans.[25] Nevertheless, several items of jewelry were found in the undisturbed side chambers. A group of gold ornaments—a hairpin, an earring, and two rings (fig. 19) fashioned in filigree and granulation, with insets of malachite, glass, and pearl—represents a style of jewelry associated with the Mongol steppe that had not been seen in interior China for several centuries. This is not surprising, given that the tomb is that of Shi Gang (1237–1315) and the side chambers are those of his wives, one of whom, according to the epitaph, was a Kerait (as noted above, a Mongolized Turkic tribe incorporated into the greater Mongol nation and regarded as "nationals" in

Figure 20. Hairpin (detail). Gold, length of hairpin 4 in. (10.2 cm). Excavated from the Shi family tombs, Houtaibaocun, Shijiazhuang, Hebei Province, 1994. Hebei Institute of Cultural Relics [Exhib.]

Figure 21 (top). Hairpin. Jade and gold, length 8¼ in. (21 cm). Excavated from the Shi family tombs, Houtaibaocun, Shijiazhuang, Hebei Province, 1994. Hebei Institute of Cultural Relics [Exhib.]

Figure 22. Hairpin. Glass, length 5⅜ in. (13.7 cm). Excavated from the Shi family tombs, Houtaibaocun, Shijiazhuang, Hebei Province, 1994. Hebei Institute of Cultural Relics [Exhib.]

Figure 23. Headrest. Korea, Baekje Kingdom (18 BCE–660 CE), 6th century. Wood, pigments, and gold. From the tomb of King Munyeong. Gongju National Museum

the Yuan dynasty). The Shi family was one of the earliest Chinese families to intermarry with other ethnic groups. One of Shi Gang's aunts married Mugali, commander of the Mongol army in China in the time of Chinggis.[26]

Other items of jewelry belonging to Shi Gang's wives are more of the "local" kind. The gold hair ornament in repoussé (fig. 20), with what looks like lychee fruits surrounded by leaves and a bird perched on top, is more in keeping with northern Chinese goldsmith work in the preceding Liao and Jin dynasties. Similarly, the hairpin with a jade phoenix supported by a cloud (fig. 21; see also fig. 354) is also worked in northern Chinese style. The motif of the cloud on which the phoenix stands is standard for Yuan sculpture, most likely inspired by popular Daoist iconography, in which animals and birds, following the example of the immortals, are invariably shown riding on clouds. The blue glass hairpin (fig. 22), like the blue glass cup and saucer from Wang Weixian's tomb (see fig. 17), would probably be from the glassworks in Zibo, Shandong Province.[27]

Another interesting article from the tomb chamber of the wives of Shi Gang (the one in which most of the jewelry in this exhibition was found) is a wooden pillow, a rectangular block with a trough cut in the middle for resting the head. Not a Chinese pillow, it looks rather like headrests found in the sixth-century tomb of King Munyeong of Baekje, Korea, though it could be of steppe origin (fig. 23).

In the largest tomb of the Shi family cemetery is a tall Goryeo celadon jar with inlaid decoration of the type usually dated to the thirteenth century. The tomb has been attributed to the most prominent member of the family, Shi Tianze (1202–1275), Shi Gang's father,[28] one of whose four wives was Korean (two others were Jurchen and one was Chinese). Shi Gang's mother was Jurchen.[29] Interracial marriages were quite common in the Jin dynasty,

Figure 24. Water dropper in the shape of a turtle with the head of a dragon. Korea, Goryeo dynasty (918–1392), ca. 12th–13th century. Ceramic with celadon glaze, length 4⅛ in. (10.5 cm). Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology [Exhib.]

Figure 25. *Horse on Clouds*. Stone, height 19⅛ in. (48.6 cm). Excavated from the tomb of Yelü Zhu (1221–1285) and his wife (d. 1285), Beijing, 1998. Capital Museum, Beijing [Exhib.]

especially in the neighborhood of the capital. The Goryeo jar was in fragments when it was discovered. An intact piece of Goryeo celadon, found in Inner Mongolia, is included in the exhibition (fig. 24).

One of the most important archaeological finds in recent years was that of the tomb of Yelü Zhu (1221–1285) and his wife, who died the same year. The tomb, excavated in 1998, is located within the grounds of the Yiheyuan, formerly an imperial garden, now a public park in the western part of Beijing city. Yelü Zhu was a son of Yelü Chucai (see fig. 228) and a senior official at the court of Khubilai Khan. Two stone sculptures from this tomb are significant for the study of Yuan art, especially as they date from the early years of the dynasty. The first is a marble sculpture of a horse standing on clouds (fig. 25). As noted elsewhere in this volume, human figures and animals riding on clouds are a common feature of Daoist art. This sculpture confirms that this feature of Daoist iconography was well established by the beginning of the Yuan dynasty. It also shows the prevalence of Daoist art beyond the religious context. The second find is a naturalistic sculpture of a hound on a square slab (fig. 26). Naturalism in sculpture is rare in Chinese art. It appears mainly in the north, at times when there was a large presence of peoples from Central Asia and beyond. (See fig. 62 for a naturalistic lion.) This sculpture is the earliest dated representation of the hound, which became ubiquitous in all the arts throughout the entire Yuan period (see, for example, fig. 170) and then disappeared.

Figure 26. *Dog*. Stone, height 11¼ in. (28.6 cm). Excavated from the tomb of Yelü Zhu (1221–1285) and his wife (d. 1285), Beijing, 1998. Capital Museum, Beijing [Exhib.]

One more Yuan burial site is represented in the exhibition, that of Fan Wenhu (d. 1301) in Anqing, Anhui Province, in former Southern Song territory. A man remarkable for his wiles, Fan was an official at the Southern Song court, where he gained powerful patronage that he abused. During the Mongol siege of the city of Xiangyang on the Han River, he was charged with overseeing large

Bottom, with cipher

Figure 27. Seal with cipher. Jade (nephrite), height 1¼ in. (3.2 cm). Excavated from the tomb of Fan Wenhu (d. 1301) and his wife, Anqing, Anhui Province, 1956. Anhui Provincial Museum [Exhib.]

convoys (2,000 ships on one occasion) of reinforcement troops and essential supplies. He proved incompetent and was insubordinate to his superiors, resulting in heavy losses of men, ships, and equipment. Released from his duties in 1272 after three years, he was posted to Anqing, a well-fortified mountain town with a large garrison and ample provisions. In 1275, at the approach of the Mongol army to Anqing, Fan prepared a banquet to welcome the invaders.[30] In early 1276, Boyan, commander-in-chief of the Mongol army, entered the Song capital, Lin'an, in triumph, accompanied by Fan Wenhu.

Fan went on to serve in the Yuan army as one of the commanding officers in the expeditionary force that invaded Japan in 1281. The fleet was struck by a hurricane (*kamikasi*) upon landing, and Fan and his fellow officers fled on the surviving ships, leaving behind more than one hundred thousand troops, who were later killed or captured by the Japanese army.[31] Pardoned by Khubilai, Fan was sent to supervise the construction of canals. According to the inscription on a stone in his tomb, he died in 1301. The tomb contains, among other things, a number of jades, the most notable of which is a seal with his personal cipher (fig. 27).[32] On the seal is a knob in the form of a tiger (the *hu* in Fan's name is the character for tiger). Such seals could be used only by imperial dispensation; other seals were of wood or ivory.[33] Fan is best known in history for the tribute tea he sent to the Song imperial court from Qingyuan, Zhejiang Province, when he carried the title Deputy Commander of the Palace Guards. Known as (Fan) Palace Commander tea, it was reputed to be the best tea in China through the Yuan period.[34]

Works of art and archaeological discoveries, including casual finds, enable us to increase our knowledge of historical facts. They also bring us into intimate connection with events or persons in history. Several articles in the exhibition bear witness to the life and activities of one of the most exalted persons in Yuan history, the Grand Princess Sengge Ragi of the State of Lu (ca. 1282–1332), sister of the emperors Wuzong and Renzong, aunt of emperors Yingzong and Wenzong, and also mother-in-law of Wenzong. (A portrait of Sengge's daughter, the empress Budashiri, appears on the large silk tapestry in the Metropolitan Museum; see fig. 146, detail of bottom right.)

Unlike most Mongol ladies, Princess Sengge was more interested in the arts than in politics. As a patron of artists, she collected the work of Wang Zhenpeng (ca. 1275–1330), a southern Chinese from Wenzhou, Zhejiang. A painting by Wang that bears the collector's seal of Sengge (fig. 28) depicts an intimate scene of a man listening to a performance on the *qin*, the classical Chinese instrument that in the fourteenth century was played almost exclusively in literary circles. The subject of the painting may well be an indication of Sengge's own tastes. In 1323 the princess held a memorable gathering of the leading men of letters in Dadu to view and comment on her collection of (mainly Song) paintings.[35] The assembled company were not all ethnic Chinese. They included, for example, Bozhulu Chong (1279–1338), a Jurchen, and Zhao Shiyan (1260–1336), of Onggut ancestry. Both these men were officials in the Kuizhang Ge, a department within the palace established by Wenzong in 1329 to which scholars were appointed for the purpose of instructing the emperor in Chinese learning and that housed the imperial collections of books, paintings, and calligraphies.[36]

Among the most active members of the Kuizhang Ge, as advisors for the painting and calligraphy collections, were Ke Jiusi (1290–1343) and Yahu (active before 1328–after 1343), whose names often appear on colophons

Figure 28. Wang Zhenpeng (ca. 1275–1330), *Listening to the Qin*. Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 12⅜ × 36¼ in. (31.4 × 92.1 cm). The Palace Museum, Beijing

appended to paintings formerly in the Kuizhang Ge collection. Ke Jiusi, who was friendly with Emperor Wenzong (Tugh Temür; r. 1328–32) before his accession to the throne, is represented in this exhibition by a bamboo painting (see fig. 243) and a calligraphy of his poems (see fig. 242). Yahu was likely an Onggut, as his name (Yahu = Jacob) indicates (the Nestorian Ongguts used Christian names). In appreciation of a painting by the Mongol Daoist Zhang Yanfu (see fig. 250) he inscribed a poem on the painting; it is the third inscription from the left on the top. Unfortunately, neither Ke Jiusi nor Yahu was made welcome at court, feared by those who perceived a danger in the Sinicization of the Mongol ruling classes. Yahu was castigated by the court censors and dismissed in 1331, and Ke Jiusi was later similarly maligned.[37] All these events occurred in the lifetime of Princess Sengge and her nephew Wenzong, a fellow Sinophile. Following their deaths in 1332, the Mongol court experienced several bizarre episodes before the installation of Shundi (r. 1333–68), who would preside over the disintegration of the empire.

Two bronzes in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum add to our knowledge of Princess Sengge's religious activities besides those in the Buddhist tradition, which are well known. One is a basin with two handles decorated with patterns derived from archaic bronzes dating from the Shang and Zhou dynasties and collected by Northern Song scholars (fig. 29). The basin

Figure 29. Vessel (*gui*). Copper, height 3⅝ in. (9.2 cm). Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 30. Vessel (*jue*). Bronze, height 8⅝ in. (21.9 cm). Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum [Exhib.]

bears the inscription, "Elder Sister of the Emperor, the Grand Princess donated funds for the casting of ritual vessels for use in the Three [Legendary] Emperors Temple in the Quanning Circuit in perpetuity." The title used here was conferred on Sengge by Renzong in 1311. The other bronze is a *jue* vessel in archaic style, similarly inscribed "for use in the Confucius Temple in the Quanning Circuit" (fig. 30). The Quanning Circuit, north of and including the present city of Chifeng, Inner Mongolia, was in the ancient domain of the Onggirat (Qonggirat) tribe. In the Yuan period it became the appanage of the descendants of the dukes of Lu, the ruling family of the Onggirats.[38] Sengge's husband was also made duke of Lu by her brother the emperor Wuzong. She was thus also known as the grand princess of the State of Lu, and this connection explains her benefactions to temples in the Quanning Circuit. The only faux pas committed by Princess Sengge in her illustrious life was in 1319 when, after sponsoring a series of "Buddhist activities," she ordered that twenty-seven prisoners in the Quanning Circuit be released. They were subsequently recaptured, as the pardoning of criminals was a prerogative of the emperor.[39]

Sengge is now regarded as the most important lady collector of paintings and calligraphy in Chinese history. Her love of Chinese culture can be attributed to her family background, as detailed by Fu Shen in his exhaustive study of her collections and collecting activities.[40] Sengge was the granddaughter of Zhenjin, the crown prince who died before his father, Khubilai Khan. Zhenjin was educated by Chinese tutors, as Khubilai recognized that an understanding of Chinese thought and institutions was mandatory for the successful rule of China and was sympathetic to the opinions of Chinese officials at court. Her father, Darmabala, likely also received a Chinese education, which he in turn passed on to his daughter, as well as to his son, who would become Emperor Renzong.

There are many examples outside the imperial family of descendants of people who came into China with the Mongol army and became Chinese scholars, artists, and writers. Among the most notable were the numerous descendants of Mugali (1170–1223), Chinggis Khan's lieutenant and the conqueror of North China.[41] A couple of calligraphies in the exhibition are by non-Han—second- or third-generation—Chinese writers and artists (see figs. 245, 247).

PAINTING, WOODBLOCK PRINTS, AND CALLIGRAPHY

Painting

Of the art of painting in the Yuan period it can be said that, like all the other arts, an identifiable trend appeared in the closing years of the dynasty, beginning perhaps in the 1340s, when the administration of the country was already failing and disasters struck with increasing frequency—the overflowing of the lower Yellow River in 1344 and 1348 caused flooding in three provinces and devastating loss of life and property, not to mention the interruption in the flow of traffic between the capital and the rich regions of the south.[42] Although the Yellow River was eventually "tamed" in 1451–52, there was no stopping the uprisings that erupted all over the country.

In the prosperous south, on the other hand, arts and letters continued to flourish in areas of relative calm. The painters who rose to prominence there were the Four Yuan Masters, whose influence on later Chinese painting was paramount (see pp. 233–35).[43] Huang Gongwang and Wu Zhen both died in 1354, but Ni Zan (1306–1374) and Wang Meng (ca. 1308–1383) lived well into the Ming dynasty. Their art fits easily into a traditional Chinese context: calligraphy and painting derive from the same source, as the same instrument, the brush, is used for both. The Four Yuan Masters simply gave greater emphasis to the calligraphic element, i.e., the stroke of the brush. All four painters lived in the area around Lake Tai in

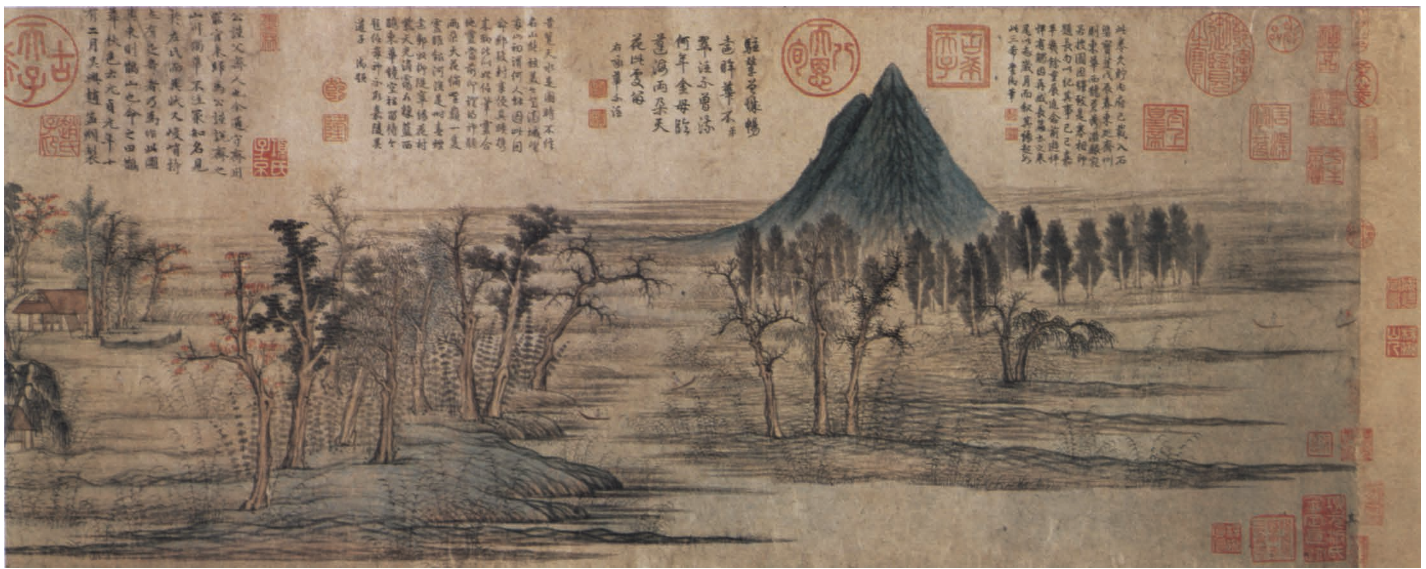


Figure 31. Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322), *Autumn Colors on the Que and Hua Mountains* (detail), dated 1296. Handscroll, ink and color on paper, 11¼ × 36¾ in. (28.4 × 93.2 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei

present-day Jiangsu, which extended as far south as Hangzhou, where traditional Chinese culture had continued to thrive. Also they were gentlemen—literati, or amateur—painters with little or no professional training and varying degrees of artistic talent. They painted only landscapes and bamboo. Given the abundance of fine professional artists active at this time all over China, the Four Masters can hardly be recognized as representative of the mainstream of artistic activity. But this is precisely what they have become. The extraordinary figure and narrative paintings that have survived on the walls of Yuan Daoist temples in Shanxi, particularly the Yonglegong (see figs. 40, 167, 168, 172), received scant mention in Chinese art-historical writing until the twentieth century. In the present exhibition, only a very few examples of scroll painting, mainly of Daoist subjects, serve to represent other painting traditions (see figs. 166, 170, 171, 234). A few are great works of art; others are at the very least technically highly competent.

There are good and valid reasons why literati painting survived and continued to develop in the Jiangnan area (Jiangsu and Zhejiang) and came to be regarded as the mainstream. The Jiangnan area remained prosperous during and after the Yuan dynasty, while other parts of China became increasingly poor and unable to support cultural activities apart from popular entertainment such as the theater. Yuan literati painters were in general well-known literary figures and their paintings were eagerly sought after and emulated, revered as expressions of rarefied refinement. This is especially true in the case of Ni Zan (see fig. 255), who was deeply cultivated in the arts of poetry, painting, and music. In the seventeenth century, at the height of the literati culture in Jiangnan, the mark of cultivation was to hang a painting by Ni Zan in one's study.

Not all new styles emerged in the late Yuan. A fundamental shift in the approach to landscape painting had occurred already in the time of Khubilai Khan. This shift is clearly seen in the paintings of Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322) after he returned from Dadu to the south, having served for several years under Khubilai at the end of his reign. One of his best-known paintings, *Autumn Colors on the Que and Hua Mountains* (fig. 31), he presented to his friend Zhou Mi (1232–1298) in 1296 on his return from Dadu. The painting allegedly represents the mountains of Que and Hua near Zhou Mi's ancestral home, which he never saw. In paintings of the Song era, the two mountains would have been represented on a greater scale and all other elements would be proportionally reduced. In Zhao's painting they appear as small mounds of geometric shape arising from a flat plain that continues uninterrupted to the horizon. The painting is thus an "idea picture" rather than an attempt at realistic representation. In Song landscapes, foreground and distant mountains are intercepted by a cloudlike mist in the middle distance, thus enhancing the impression of open space. This tradition continued in Southern Song court painting well after the Mongol conquest of North China and applies as well to intimate scenes of court life (fig. 32). The treatment of space in Zhao's paintings after his tour of duty in Dadu is radically different, representing as it does a revolutionary change in the concept of space that negates the rule of the "three

Figure 32. Ma Yuan (active ca. 1190–1225), *Banquet by Lantern Light*. Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279). Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 44 × 21 in. (111.9 × 53.5 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei

distances" (distances that do not converge at a Cartesian point) in Song landscape painting.[44] The same treatment of space applies to all of Zhao's landscapes after 1296 (see fig. 214). Similarly, later Yuan painting such as Tang Di's *Landscape after a Poem by Wang Wei* (see fig. 238), of 1323, depicts clouds that do not serve the same purpose as they do in Song paintings. Thus the infinite space in Chinese landscape painting, beginning in the tenth century (or perhaps slightly earlier), became geometric space in the Yuan, albeit without Western-style perspective.

The other subject matter brought back by Zhao Mengfu from Dadu is represented in *Man Riding a Horse* (fig. 33), also dated 1296. In a colophon he added to the mounting of the painting, the artist states that while he had painted horses from his early youth, he adopted a finer approach after seeing (probably in Dadu) three paintings of horses by the great Tang artist Han Gan (ca. 715–after 781). Notable in the painting is the red robe worn by the rider, a color of dress highly unusual for Chinese scholar-officials—even of high rank—before the Yuan period.

Zhao did another painting with a figure in a bright red robe in 1304, according to a colophon he wrote on the painting seventeen years later. In this case the subject is a Buddhist monk (see fig. 215). In the colophon Zhao recalls that when he served in Dadu he often met monks from *tianzhu* (India, but here the term could stand for anywhere in the Western Regions as far as India). Also, according to the colophon, Zhao was attempting to capture a true likeness of his subject, following the example of the Tang painter Lu Lengjia, who would also have met many people from the Western Regions in the Tang capital. It is interesting to note that among the fragments of murals recovered from the ruins of Kharakhorum, the early capital of the Mongol Empire, there is a figure in a red dress who looks not unlike Zhao Mengfu's man on the horse, except for the hairstyle (fig. 34). How much Zhao's art was influenced by his two tours of duty in Dadu is still a subject to be explored.[45]

From the time they were introduced in the first century BCE, Central Asian horses—generally known as Heaven Horses—were a constant subject in Chinese art, as seen, for example, in the group of bronze horses from a third-century tomb in Wuwei, Gansu.[46] Horse painting was a major genre in the Tang dynasty, and painters such as Cao Ba (active 713–41) and Han Gan achieved great fame for their skill in capturing the spirit of the animal.[47] This tradition continued throughout the Northern Song, when Li Gonglin (ca. 1041–1106) was another master of the genre.

However, it was during the Yuan that the great paintings of horses were produced. One of the most famous to have survived from the early Yuan is that of the emaciated horse by Gong Kai (1222–after 1304; see fig. 202). Because he was a southerner, a friend of the high officials, and a protector of the infant Song princes to the bitter end of the Song dynasty, he has always been regarded as a *yimin* (leftover subject) of the Song and his painting has understandably been interpreted as a symbol of the lost dynasty. This

Figure 33. Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322), *Man Riding a Horse* (detail), dated 1296. Handscroll, ink and color on paper, 11⅞ × 20½ in. (30.2 × 52 cm). The Palace Museum, Beijing [Exhib.]

Figure 34. Two fragments of a mural with figures. Mongol period (1206–71). Pigments on plaster. Collection unknown

interpretation, however, is not immediately obvious from his inscription, though it could be inferred from his other writings.[48] Whatever Gong Kai's ultimate intention, the horse must certainly be considered one of the great monuments in Chinese paintings, an excellent example of the painter's unique creativity, so remarkably different from all the many paintings of fine horses throughout Chinese history.

A lean horse and a fat horse also appear on one of the finest Yuan paintings, a scroll by the hydraulic engineer and artist Ren Renfa (1255–1328; see fig. 223). Ren lived a generation after Gong Kai and was a loyal servant of the Yuan dynasty in its better days. According to his inscription, the two horses symbolized not so much the demise of the Song dynasty as the contrast between the fat officials who benefitted from their service and the lean officials who were dedicated to serving the people.[49] The treatment of the lean horse owes something to Gong Kai.

In another painting Ren Renfa depicts several horses, with two grooms—one in green and the other in clothes of a lighter color—leading one of the horses (see fig. 35). This image was to have far-reaching influence on Chinese horse painting well into the fifteenth century. There are a number of Yuan paintings of two grooms leading a horse as independent works in various collections. More extraordinary are two paintings, dating from no earlier than the fifteenth century, in the Tokapı Sarayı Museum in Istanbul, which have been reassembled to demonstrate that the original painting was of a white stallion led by two

Figure 35. Ren Renfa (1255–1328), *Nine Horses* (detail), dated 1324. Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 12⅜ × 103 in. (31.4 × 261.6 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City. Purchase, William Rockhill Nelson Trust 72–8 [Exhib.]

Figure 36. *Two Dignitaries Holding the Tether of a Magnificent White Stallion*. Manuscripts, ink and color on paper. Library of the Topkapı Sarayı Museum, Istanbul H.2153-123b, H.2154-33a

Chinese officials, one in red and the other in green (fig. 36).[50] The rather unusual feature is the rank badge worn by the two officials, that of the highest military class—the lion. Such badges were officially instituted only at the beginning of the Ming dynasty, in the late fourteenth century. Whether, as has been claimed, this painting is indeed a copy of the Chinese picture of the white horse presented to the Timurid leader Shah Rukh by the Yongle emperor (r. 1402–24) in 1417 remains open to question,[51] but the persistence of the composition of two grooms leading a horse is not in doubt.

The horse paintings afford a clue to another class of painting preserved in the Tokapı Sarayı traditionally attributed to Muhammad Siyâh-Qalam. These depict processions of demonic figures, in some aspects not unlike the Song and Yuan paintings of the demon queller Zhong Kui, such as that by Yan Geng (active late 13th century) in the Metropolitan Museum (see fig. 203).[52] Despite the very different artistic styles of the Turkish and Chinese paintings, the similarity of subject matter and certain iconographic details are worth exploring. It is not impossible that Zhong Kui paintings were introduced into Central Asia in the early years of the Mongol Empire. Yelü Chucai (1190–1244), a Sinicized Khitan and a central member of Chinggis Khan's secretariat dealing with Chinese affairs, accompanied the Great Khan on his campaign in Central Asia (1218–25). Yelü Chucai left some interesting notes of his activities in Central Asia, particularly of Samarkand, where he was stationed for several years. He recorded, for example, that during the Chinese New Year, his children clamored for pictures of Zhong Kui, paintings of whom were a New Year's custom beginning in the Northern Song. It may well be that the Zhong Kui paintings that he had made for his children were copied by local inhabitants, thereby introducing a Chinese element into Turkish painting that has subsequently been identified as by, or from the school of, Muhammad Siyâh-Qalam.

Another Yelü Chucai anecdote about Samarkand, while unrelated to the present discussion, provides an interesting footnote to the meeting of cultures in Central Asia in the thirteenth century. Chucai, walking one day among the ruins of the former "Sultan's Palace" (that of Muhammad of Khwarizm), came across a large wooden door. He had the door removed to his camp and made into a *qin*.[53] The transformation of the door from the sultan's palace into a Chinese musical instrument under the agency of a Khitan may have been the final scene of the final act of the drama of the short-lived Khwarizmian Empire.

Much scholarship on the art and literature of the Yuan has veered toward the notion of veiled protest of an oppressed people against the rule of foreigners. Unquestionably, at the beginning of Mongol rule there was much grief among the formerly privileged classes, whether those of the Jin or the Song, at the loss of their sovereigns, as well as their own power and influence. Rather, the satires and protests in most Yuan art and literature are directed at the brutality and corruption of the new rulers. Some of the satires were actually written by Central Asians who held privileged positions in Yuan society. One of the most remarkable aspects of Yuan history is the speed with which a large segment of the newcomers to China was acculturated to the Chinese way of life and thought. Many became culturally Chinese at the latest by the third generation—behavior comparable more to that of immigrants to a new country than to that of conquering masters. The number of men of non-Han origin who became prominent writers and artists is totally out of proportion to their demographic representation.

Guan Yunshi (1286–1324), a grandson of Ariqaya, one of Khubilai's generals (from the Uighur land of Beiting), became assimilated into Southern Chinese culture. One of his poems on Hangzhou, the city in which he spent the last years of his life "in retirement," begins as follows: "Wild geese battling against the West wind evoke thoughts of the heartbreaking events of the Southern dynasties."[54] Here the Southern dynasties can refer only to the Southern Song, whose capital was Hangzhou, which Guan's grandfather had helped to capture. Guan was careful to title his poem "On Behalf of a Friend." His love poems are sensual and direct—not unlike those of the Metaphysical poets of seventeenth-century England, such as the songs and lyrics of John Donne.

Woodblock Prints

Woodblock printing, beginning in the eighth century in both texts and pictorial illustrations, has played an important role in Chinese civilization. By the twelfth century, there were several centers of woodblock printing, the finest of which were Lin'an (Hangzhou), capital of the Southern Song, and Pingyang, Shanxi Province, in Jin territory. The two prints in the exhibition were produced in Pingyang and found at Kharakhoto, a garrison town in the north of Xixia territory (see figs. 232, 233).[55] Among the finest surviving pictorial woodblock prints from the Jin–Yuan period, they appear to be independent works of art, as opposed to the majority of such works of the period, which were illustrations of Buddhist or classical texts. During the Yuan dynasty, printed texts of popular stories often carried illustrations, which in turn became a source of decoration

Figure 37. *Guiguzi Descending the Mountain.* Book illustration, woodblock print. From *The New Woodblock Fully Illustrated Pinghua of Yue Yi Planning [the Conquest] of Qi.* Seven States edition, 1321–23

on other works of art. The pictorial decoration on Yuan blue-and-white porcelain, for example, can almost invariably be traced to illustrations in books of popular stories. The decoration on the blue-and-white jar (fig. 314) is a case in point. It is taken from an illustration in the story of the legendary wizard Guiguzi (fig. 37), who was supposed to have lived during the Warring States period in the fourth century BCE.[56]

Calligraphy

The most famous and influential of the Yuan calligraphers was Zhao Mengfu, who is discussed on pages 190–202. Naonao (1295–1345; see fig. 245), who was called Kangli Naonao because of his ancestry, lived a generation later. His grandfather, who hailed from the country of Kangli on the north coast of the Caspian Sea, came to China when the Mongols swept through the Caucasus, taking with them on their return Alans, Kipchaks, and Kanglis. The Alans served mainly in the military in the imperial guard, while the Kipchaks and Kanglis also entered the civil service. Naonao, of the third generation, was fully assimilated into Chinese culture and an active member of the Chinese literary set. As a calligrapher he was regarded by some of his contemporaries as the equal of Zhao Mengfu. Another fine calligrapher was Sadula (see figs. 247, 325), of Central Asian ancestry, who was renowned as a poet and a painter.[57]

In the Metropolitan's own collection are rare examples of the calligraphy of the two last effective chancellors of the Yuan dynasty, the aforementioned Boyan (see fig. 2) and his nephew Tuotuo (1314–1355), under whose editorship the official histories of the Song, Liao, and Jin were compiled. The two calligraphies are examples of Yuan colophons appended to a Ming copy of an original Yuan painting supposedly by Guan Daosheng (1262–1319), wife of Zhao Mengfu.

RELIGIOUS ART

Buddhism

Chan (Zen) Buddhism originated in China in the seventh century under the sixth patriarch, Huineng (637–713), spread over the entire country, and also divided into a number of sects. After the persecution of the Buddhists during the reign of the Tang emperor Wuzong (r. 841–46), it was the one sect that continued to thrive, as its practice did not depend on liturgy conducted in temples or on large assemblies. In the early thirteenth century, in the pre-Yuan north, the most prevalent Chan sect was Caodong, whose most famous cleric was Xingxiu Wansong (1166–1246), mentor to and friend of the above-mentioned Yelü Chucai.

The other major Chan Buddhist sect was Linji. Haiyun Yinjian (1203–1257), its most prominent priest in the north, served all the early khans up to Khubilai, when the latter was prince and lord of North China before becoming Great Khan. Haiyun's relevance to our exhibition is in the finds of textiles from his tomb, located in a pagoda that was demolished to enlarge what is today Chang'an Boulevard in Beijing. One of the tapestries from his burial pagoda is similar to a piece in the Metropolitan's collection, thus providing a firm date for our piece (fig. 259).[58]

The Linji sect in the south is better known and recorded because of the association of its leaders with the writers and intellectuals in the Hangzhou area and because of its transmission to Japan. Zhongfeng Mingben (1263–1323) was particularly important, as he was active at the time when Hangzhou was again the cultural center of China. Among his friends were Zhao Mengfu and Guan Yunshi. Several portraits of him have survived (see fig. 127). The practice of Linji Chan is well illustrated by the portrait of the Japanese Zen monk Kokan Shiren (see fig. 128). Kokan is shown holding a club, an instrument of instruction. The physical stroke, or the threat of it, is part of the induction to enlightenment. The Linji manner of religious instruction did not,

Figure 38. Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322), *Portrait of Su Shi*, dated 1301. Leaf from an album consisting of one painting and twenty-one leaves of calligraphy, ink on paper, each leaf 11⅝ × 4⅜ in. (29.5 × 11.1 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei

Figure 39. *Bodhisattva Samantabhadra*. Xixia dynasty (1038–1127). Mural. West wall, Cave 3, Yulin, Gansu Province

presumably, apply to visitors; otherwise distinguished guests such as Guan Yunshi would not have attended Zhongfeng Mingben.[59]

There are basically two genres of painting connected with Chan Buddhism. The first is the portraits of high priests. Xingxiu Wansong, for example, as we know from the writings of Yelü Chucai, commissioned many portraits of himself. Unfortunately, few portraits of Buddhist monks and other prominent Yuan figures have survived in China apart from those paintings of emperors and empresses in the National Palace Museum, Taipei (see figs. 1, 7).

The second genre associated with Chan Buddhism similarly has not survived in China. Generally known as Chan painting, it might more appropriately be referred to as Zen painting, as these works are preserved in Japan, although a few have now entered Western museums, particularly in the United States.[60] Among several examples of Zen painting in the exhibition is one inscribed by Zhongfeng Mingben (see fig. 126).

The sketchy and scratchy Zen paintings exude the Chan spirit: less use of language, more subtle suggestion, leading to higher understanding. The Ming literati, especially

during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, were fond of "talking Chan," and used the Northern and Southern schools of Chan as analogies for the so-called Northern and Southern schools of painting. Some were critical of the Southern Song literary theorist Yan Yu for his supposed misuse of Chan terminology in his discourse on poetry.[61] It is clear, however, that they had themselves strayed so far from the spirit of Chan Buddhism that they failed to appreciate the Chan paintings of the preceding dynasty; otherwise they might have thought to collect a few from Buddhist temples and from adepts before the paintings all disappeared.

The iconography and schools of formal Buddhist painting, such as those of the Tiantai sect, are best left to specialists (see pp. 87–90). Of interest to literary scholars, however, are images seen on Buddhist paintings that are identifiably Xixia. One striking example is a painting of the bodhisattva Manjusri from Kharakhoto, now in the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (see fig. 135). One of Manjushri's attendants, a man (on the left) in Chinese dress with a halo, bears a striking resemblance to the portrait of Su Shi (Su Dongpo; 1037–1101) that appears as a frontispiece to Zhao Mengfu's carefully calligraphed copy, dated 1301, of one of Su Shi's most famous compositions, the *Ode on the Red Cliff* (fig. 38). The hat that Su Shi wears in this portrait—popularly known as the Dongpo hat—was his favorite. He is also identified by his bamboo staff. The figure of the attendant in the Xixia painting of Manjushri bears such a close approximation to the popular image of Su Shi that it could not have been a total invention. The appearance of the Su Shi image in a Xixia Buddhist painting is not difficult to explain. Su Shi was the most famous literary figure in his lifetime, and his writing was eagerly sought in areas where Chinese literature was read, including all of North China. (When his brother, Su Che, was sent as an envoy to the Liao state, Su Shi warned him not to make too much of his reputation.)[62] It would not be surprising if copies of his portrait were also circulated, like his writing, in the north. Su Shi's appearance in a Xixia painting would suggest that he was also popular in the Tangut Xixia kingdom, though we cannot know whether the Buddhist painter had any inkling of the identity of the Chinese gentleman. Perhaps he intended the portrait as representative of a type of Chinese official. The appearance of attendants in the guise of Chinese officials in Xixia's Buddhist paintings was not unusual, as can be seen on the walls of the Yulin caves in Dunhuang, which are now dated to the Xixia period, particularly in Cave 3 (fig. 39).

Daoism

Daoism is uniquely Chinese. It grew up naturally on Chinese soil from the beginning of time. It encompasses philosophy, both natural and metaphysical, alchemy, magic, shamanism, prognostication, and various other areas of human thought and activity. In the late second century, possibly influenced by the newly introduced Buddhist faith, it also assumed the form of an organized religion. It has no central dogma, and its early practices were basically physical exercises that had developed over centuries before they were considered Daoist, with a view to enhancing every aspect of bodily function. For the Daoist the ultimate goal was to achieve immortality, but immortality in time. For the Daoist, eternity—unlike eternity for the Western Neo-Platonists—was time without end, not time outside of time. Immortality could also be achieved by ingesting pills containing mercury or some other heavy metal—the results were inevitably opposite to those intended—or by incubating the pill within oneself, with no verifiable consequences. Daoism thus infused Chinese civilization as a kind of cultural subtext, while Daoism as a religion sprang up from time to time and in various guises.

The Yuan period was a time that witnessed the ascendancy of Daoism, both of the popular kind and as a religion. Its prevalence was universal and can be detected in nearly all the arts, with or without religious connotation. Painters were Daoists, and writers—playwrights, poets, and novelists—were Daoists or they portrayed Daoist subjects. Zhao Mengfu's painting *The Mind Landscape of Xie Youyu* (see fig. 208) may be regarded as the visualization of a Daoist state of mind, though Zhao was not known for his Daoist connections. It is not a coincidence that Xie Youyu (280–322), who famously told the emperor that he preferred life in the country to performing duties at court,[63] lived in a time when many high aristocrats were followers of an early form of Daoism commonly referred to as Five Bushels of Rice Daoism.[64] In any case, Zhao's painting reflects, by representation and allusion, the pervasive presence of Daoism that can be found in many works of the Yuan period.

In the twelfth century Daoism as practiced in formally organized religious establishments existed mainly in the north, in Jin territory. These institutions were still flourishing when the Mongols arrived at the beginning of the following century. Of these sects (or, more properly, cults) the most successful was that of Quanzhen. The fame of the leader of this sect, Qiu Chuji (1148–1227), otherwise known as Changchun Daoren, was such that he was

Figure 40. *Conversion of the Immortal Guo.* Second half of 14th century. Mural. Chunyangdian, Yonglegong, Shanxi Province

summoned by Chinggis Khan for an audience during the latter's campaign in Central Asia. Changchun, despite his advanced age, made the long journey and met the Great Khan somewhere in the Hindu Kush (in Afghanistan) in 1222.[65] Upon his return to Yanjing (Beijing), privileged with imperial patronage, Changchun's personal status and that of the Quanzhen sect rose to new heights. With that came wealth and power, which Changchun exploited to the full for his remaining years and then bequeathed to his successors. The prosperity that accrued to the Quanzhen sect throughout the Mongol–Yuan period enabled its followers to build temples, some on a very grand scale.

One of the main temples was built on the north bank of the Yellow River in southern Shanxi Province,[66] a site chosen because it was the hometown of the legendary figure and later immortal Lü Dongbin (Lü Chunyang; b. 798), a patriarch in the lineage of Quanzhen leading up to Wang Zhe (1113–1170), founder of the sect.[67] The temple—buildings, sculptures, and wall paintings—took more than a century to complete.[68] The three main halls were dedicated, respectively, to the Daoist pantheon, Lü Dongbin, and Wang Zhe. The wall paintings, which took two generations to execute and were finished only toward the end of the Yuan dynasty, form the largest body of surviving figurative and narrative paintings of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. On the walls of Chunyang Hall, dedicated to Lü Dongbin, are a series of paintings illustrating the life and miracles performed by Lü up to the time of the construction of the temple. These are narrative paintings, with monolithic mountains that loom

Figure 41. Zhou Jichang (active second half of 12th century), *Luohans in a Bamboo Grove Receiving Offerings*. Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279), ca. 1178. Hanging scroll mounted as a panel, ink, color, and gold on silk, 44½ × 20¼ in. (113 × 51.5 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. General Funds 95.5

behind misty clouds in the Northern Song manner (fig. 40), although the grand landscape style does not lend itself comfortably as background for the otherwise intimate scenes in the story of the immortal that took place in villages or urban settings. In the meantime Song figure painting, carried south with the relocation of the imperial court to Lin'an (Hangzhou), had been modified and was now less dense in its composition, with landscape elements depicting only the immediate surroundings. The best examples of Southern Song figure painting are the (Buddhist) Lohan paintings exported to Japan from Mingzhou (Ningbo) in the late twelfth century (fig. 41).[69] Thus, Daoist wall painting in Shanxi in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries harks back to a painting style preceding that of the twelfth-century Southern Song.

One theme was central to the religious art of Quanzhen Daoism, namely, the passing on of the mysteries of immortality from the immortal Zhongli Quan to Lü Dongbin, an act of apostolic succession. If ever there was a sacred moment in Quanzhen Daoism, this was it. Two treatments of this event, each in its own way, are inspired. The first is on the back of the freestanding wall facing the exit of Chunyang Hall (see fig. 167). There Zhongli Quan is shown in a relaxed pose, sitting beside a more solemn Lü Dongbin. The setting suggests a secluded spot in the mountains, where "the day is long and the world is far away."[70] The second treatment is by the southerner Yan Hui, who painted Daoist subjects in the early Yuan period (see fig. 166). In Yan's painting there is no background. The viewer's attention is concentrated rather on the figures of the kindly elder as he hands the sacred texts to a deferential disciple in a representation of the very moment of transmission of the secret teaching. Yan Hui's treatment may well have been influenced by Chan paintings, which exclude all that is extraneous to the main subject.

Not enough works of quality survive to allow a comprehensive study of the history of Daoist painting. In any case, it was not a form of art that maintained a steady development. Rather, its quality rose and fell with the fortunes of Daoism itself. Moreover, there were a variety of regional schools. There was no iconography prescribed by canon, and standard representations, such as those of the Eight Immortals (one of whom was Lü Dongbin), began only in the Jin–Yuan period, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (see pp. 137–43). For these reasons, the dating and the identification of regional associations of the set of the three exquisite Daoist paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, pose problems that cannot be resolved at the present time, some fine attempts notwithstanding (but see pp. 131–35).[71] The subject of the Boston

triptych—the gods of Heaven, Earth, and Water (see fig. 162a–c)—can be identified as the "Three Officials" in Daoist literature. Water generally appears in Daoist paintings as the habitat of dragons, a subject favored by the Tianshi sect. Zhang Yucai (active 1294–1316), the 38th patriarch of the sect, was the painter of the dragon-and-water scroll *Beneficent Rain* (see fig. 176). It seems almost as if the works of Zhang Yucai and other southern Daoist painters were a form of sympathetic magic, of calling for rain, a practice of Daoists in times of drought.

The Tianshi sect, which became increasingly important in the later Yuan, traces its lineage to the beginning of religious Daoism in the late Han period during the second century. This sect was particularly favored by the Yuan emperors, beginning with Khubilai Khan. According to legend, before Khubilai became Great Khan and emperor, a Tianshi patriarch in Southern Song territory foretold that Khubilai would one day rule over all of China. In the time of Zhang Yucai, in 1304, the Tianshi sect was renamed Zhengyi (roughly meaning "orthodox") by imperial decree, with expanded powers over other branches of southern Daoism. In 1307 the supreme Daoist position would pass on to Wu Quanjie (1269–1346), who was given the title Grand Master of Xuan Religion. Henceforth, Tianshi would be known as Xuan.

Wu Quanjie, apart from being an adept in Daoist magical practices—working with charms and curing diseases—was also a cultivated man, and after he arrived in the capital, made friends with scholars and leading literary figures, one of whom was Yu Ji (1272–1348). On being made Grand Master, Wu became one of the most influential men at court. As with Buddhist high priests and other prominent persons, a number of portraits of him were painted and were copied on a long handscroll with colophons by Yu Ji and others. An early copy of such a scroll, the only version known today, is in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (see fig. 174). The painting shows that portraits of Daoists allowed for a freer treatment than did Chan paintings of monks. Some images of Wu Quanjie are formal portraits in which he appears in a seated pose. In others he is placed in a Daoist landscape (recalling certain aspects of paintings at Yonglegong) or depicted as a Chinese scholar-gentleman playing the *qin* to an audience of cranes (Daoist birds). The Boston work also demonstrates the technique used in Yuan portraiture, in which a likeness is captured within a circular format so that it can then be attached to a body and placed in different environments.

The painting by Zhang Yanfu (ca. 1285–ca. 1345) in the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City (see fig. 250), an accomplished work in typical Yuan literati style, would not be remarkable except for the fact that the painter was a Mongol and a Daoist. Perhaps just as noteworthy is that among the friends who wrote poetic comments on the top of the painting is an inscription (in the middle) by someone whose name was (in modern pronunciation) Yahu, a transcription of Jacob or James. As mentioned above, Yahu has been identified as a man who moved in literary circles in the early fourteenth century and was a member of a famous gathering of scholars and connoisseurs at the residence of Princess Sengge.[72] There is little doubt that Yahu was a Nestorian Christian and most likely an Onggut. One hardly needs more evidence of the cosmopolitan composition of Yuan society.

Nestorianism

After Daoism and Buddhism, Nestorian Christianity and Islam were the most popular religions in Yuan China, although the number of their followers was much smaller. Most Nestorian artifacts have been discovered in Inner Mongolia, but major remains can be found in other areas, such as the ruins of a Nestorian church outside of Beijing (see pp. 51–52).

The earliest evidence for the introduction of Nestorian Christianity into China is an inscription dated 781 carved on a stone stele now in the Forest of Stele Museum in Xian. The inscription records the arrival in 635 of a Nestorian priest, A-Luo-ben (Saban?), in Chang'an, the capital of Tang China, and his reception by Emperor Taizong, who granted permission for a Nestorian church to be built and for the priest to proselytize. It also relates patronage and benefactions up to the time of writing of the text.[73]

Several major Turkic, or Turkic-speaking, groups within the confederation of tribes in Greater Mongolia were known to practice Nestorian Christianity, notably the Keraits and the Ongguts. These two groups became politically important in Yuan China both through marriage into the imperial family and through specific achievements. The pattern in the early Mongol Empire and the early Yuan period was for Keraits to marry imperial princes and for Ongguts to marry princesses. Khubilai's mother was a Kerait, and the Onggut chief Korguz (Marco Polo's King George) first married Princess Qutadmish, a daughter of Khubilai's son Crown Prince Zhenjin, and then Princess Ayamish, daughter of Emporer Chengzong (Temür).

In Chinese historical writing the religious orientation of non-Han Chinese was hardly ever mentioned, unless they

Figure 42. Seal in the shape of a cross. Copper, height 2⅜ in. (6 cm). Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum

Figure 43. Nestorian cross with handle. Copper and wood, height 5⅞ in. (15 cm). Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 44. Nestorian tomb stele, dated 1253. Pottery, 18⅜ × 15⅜ in. (46.7 × 39.1 cm). Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum

were Buddhists or Daoists. Korguz, for example, was known for his military prowess and his love of (Chinese) learning, but there is no mention of his support for the Nestorian church. What drew the attention of scholars in the early twentieth century to the presence of Nestorian Christians in China in the thirteenth century was the appearance on the art market (and soon thereafter in private collections) of small copper seals framed by a cross (fig. 42). Finds of the same type by Japanese archaeologists in Inner Mongolia followed in the 1930s.[74] The seals, now generally known as Nestorian crosses, indicate an association with Nestorianism. The actual practice of Nestorianism in Inner Mongolia is confirmed by objects of liturgical use now preserved in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum (fig. 43). Confirmation was hardly needed, as we already have an account of the presence of Nestorians in Kharakhorum, the capital of the Great Mongol Empire in the time of Möngke Khan (r. 1251–59), by the Franciscan monk William of Rubruck, who was sent there as an emissary of Louis IX of France. William's description of Nestorian priests in Mongolia, whose practice he regarded as degenerate beyond measure, was highly dismissive.[75] Nevertheless, we may infer that Nestorianism had spread to Mongolia long before the thirteenth century.

The question of when and how Nestorianism was transmitted to Central Asia and farther east was of no concern to William or to other Catholic priests and traders in Mongolia. They were more eager to find Prester John, the mythical king who ruled over a Christian state in the east.[76] Among the Christian communities living under the Ilkhanate, a Mongol khanate in Persia founded by Hulugu, a brother of Khubilai Khan, another legend circulated concerning the conversion of the Turks to Nestorian Christianity. In the chronicles of Bar-Hebraeus (1226–1286), a bishop of the Jacobite Syrian Orthodox Church, the first converts were Keraits, whose conversion took place in the year 1007. A similar conversion story was told by the Nestorian Mari ibn Suleiman, a contemporary of Bar-Hebraeus, who wrote of a king who was rescued by a mysterious figure after he became lost on a hunting expedition. Both the identity of the converts and the dates have been called into question,[77] but a curious parallel to the story can be found in Chinese literature. Here it concerns not the Keraits but the Ongguts (who were already Christian), and the king who loses his way is no less than Emperor Taizong (r. 1123–34) of the Jin dynasty, who is guided by a golden figure. The Ongguts, captives of the Jin rulers who had moved to Jurchen territory, identify the rescuing deity

Figure 45. Robe with pseudo-Kufic border. Jin dynasty (1115–1234). Gold brocaded silk, 55⅛ × 87 in. (140 × 221 cm). Excavated from the tomb of Prince Qi (d. 1162) at Juyuan, Acheng, Heilongjiang Province, 1988. Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology, Heilongjiang

or saint by showing the emperor a Christian image. There is no conversion, but the emperor rewards the Ongguts by granting them their freedom and allowing them to return to Yinshan, their mountain homeland north of Hohhot in Inner Mongolia, where most of the Nestorian remains are found today.[78] The story that dates the conversion to 1007 was probably a legend that spread throughout the Nestorian world before being recorded in the thirteenth century both in the Syriac chronicles of Bar-Hebraeus and in Onggut tribal history.

Nestorian artifacts are also found in other areas of Inner Mongolia. A ceramic headstone with a cross and an inscription in Mongolian (in Uighur script) and Syriac (fig. 44) was found in Songshan, on the outskirts of the city of Chifeng.[79] The date is doubly recorded as "in the year 1564 of Alexander the Great" and the year of the ox in the calendar of Taohuashi (a term for China and the Chinese used by Central Asians in the Tang period, which survived until the Yuan). Both calendar years have been identified as corresponding to 1253.[80] The deceased was a military commander who died at the age of seventy-one, and some scholars assume that he was an Onggut who was posted to Chifeng.[81] Whether or not the officer was Onggut, his tombstone firmly establishes the link of Nestorianism in Mongolia to Central Asia. In any case, there may well have been a Nestorian community in the Chifeng area beginning in the Tang, as it was on the ancient steppe route connecting Central Asia to North China.[82] It has also been suggested that Chifeng was a natural refuge for Nestorians when they—together with

Figure 46. Rug with lions and ball, 13th century. Pile carpet, 67 × 74 in. (170.2 × 188 cm). Naginataboko Preservation Association

the Buddhists, the chief target—were being persecuted during the reign of Emperor Wuzong, during the late Tang.[83]

The history of Nestorianism in China, sketchy as it is, demonstrates one aspect of China's long engagement with Central Asia. This Christian sect, having been declared heretical, began its movement eastward in the fifth century and reached China at the latest in the early seventh century. The inscription on the Nestorian stele dates the arrival of Nestorians in Chang'an, the capital of the Tang, to 635, which precedes the date of the earliest record of the conversion of the Turks in Syriac literature.[84] In troubled times Nestorians retreated to the northern border regions. They later reentered the interior of China with the Mongols, traveling as far as Zhenjiang and Hangzhou, in the Jiangnan area of southeast China, and the southern port city of Quanzhou (see pp. 173–75).[85] With the increasing Islamization of the population in Central Asia after the Mongol conquest, the Nestorian church, isolated in China, could no longer survive. Even during the Yuan, Central Asians in China, including Nestorians, began to gravitate toward Buddhism and Confucianism (although the latter, sometimes regarded as a religion, does not view itself as a religious faith).[86]

Nestorian iconography in China in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries provides a vivid illustration of the syncretism of imported religions in East Asia. The headstone from Chifeng shows a cross above a lotus, a common element in Buddhist art. It is dated 1253, the year William of Rubruck began his journey to Kharakhorum. If this confusion in religious symbolism is anything to go by, it is no wonder that Friar William found Nestorian liturgy in Kharakhorum intolerably degenerate. On the headstone from Quanzhou (see fig. 199) is an angel seated in yogic posture and wearing a hat that could have been copied from a Buddhist monk's cap or the crown of a bodhisattva. Supporting him is a cluster of *lingzhi* fungus–shaped clouds that recall the clouds on which the Daoist immortals are borne. And in the center of the (processional?) cross from Hohhot is a *taiji* symbol (see fig. 43), common to Neo-Confucians and Daoists. A similar adaptation of Buddhist imagery can be seen in Manichaean representation (see figs. 156–158).

Manichaeism

Founded in the mid-third century by the prophet Mani (ca. 216–276), Manichaeism gained acceptance in early Sasanian Persia and spread rapidly westward to the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire and farther east to Transoxiana and possibly beyond. Once introduced into

Central Asia, the religion flourished among various ethnic groups. Its history in Central Asia and China is known mainly from documents found in the early twentieth century in Turfan, Xinjiang.[87] The texts are for the most part written in Middle Persian, Parthian, and Sogdian and date from before the Muslim expansion. Other Manichaean texts in Old Turkic and Chinese have been found in Dunhuang. Manichaean "scriptures," some with illustrations, survived in Turfan in the area of the former Gaochang kingdom, including Turfan and Beshbaliq (present-day Jimsar), because it was one of the centers to which the Uighurs, then Manichaeans, moved in the ninth century from the North Asian steppe. Many Uighurs remained Manichaeans (others were mainly Buddhists) until the arrival of the Mongols in the thirteenth century. Turfan was destroyed, and its population scattered in the later thirteenth century in the wake of the internecine wars between Khubilai's Yuan China and other princes of the house of Chinggis Khan. As mentioned earlier, these wars resulted in the relocation of the Beshbaliq workshop to Dadu in 1275. The caves and ruins of Turfan were first explored only at the beginning of the twentieth century.

From excavated or found texts in Turfan and Dunhuang, and from the scattered, sometimes oblique, references in Chinese historical records, the outline of the history of Manichaeism in China can be reconstructed.[88] It would appear that this religion was transmitted to China between the fourth and the sixth century and was formally recognized by the imperial court at the time of Empress Wu (r. 690–704). Initially its adherents in China were mainly Central Asians.

After the persecutions of the late Tang in the mid-ninth century, Manichaeism survived primarily in a "naturalized" version, organized as secret societies. Some formal establishment, however, with temples and priests, remained in a few coastal ports such as Mingzhou and Quanzhou.[89] Remains associated with Manichaeism can be found today only in Quanzhou. The so-called Thatched Temple, a structure that was once a Manichaean temple, was built in the Yuan period, and a few porcelain bowls inscribed *Mingjiao hui* (Society of the Religion of Light) have been found in the vicinity of the temple (see fig. 197).

Hinduism

Indian religions were practiced in China only by trading communities in port cities on the South China coast. The only tangible remains are those of the Yuan period in Quanzhou (see pp. 166–71).

Islam

The influence of Islamic art in North China was felt long before the arrival of the Mongols. Textiles with pseudo-Kufic borders in gold brocade dating from the Jin dynasty have been found in Acheng, not far from Harbin in Heilongjiang Province in farthest northeast China (fig. 45). Both the date and the location of the find are significant. The textile in question is part of the garment of Prince Qi (Wanyan Yan, a direct descendant of Abaoji, the founder of the Jin dynasty), who died in 1162 and was buried with his wife in a tomb in the suburb of Acheng.[90] The area within the greater city of Acheng is rich in archaeological finds of the Jin period, as it was the capital of the Jin dynasty until 1153, when it was relocated to Yanjing (Beijing). From this find, we can be certain that Islamic or Islamized decorative patterns were known in Jin China by about the mid-twelfth century. Taking into account also the finds of Islamic glass and metalware from earlier Liao sites in Inner Mongolia,[91] we may surmise that North China remained in contact with Central Asia after the Tang dynasty, and through Central Asia with the Islamic world.

The most spectacular demonstration of the direct influence of Islamic art in Yuan China is provided by several carpets now in Kyōto, which display common Chinese decorative motifs surrounded by a pseudo-Kufic border (figs. 46, 47).[92] The motif of the lions with brocade ball (fig. 46) is of uncertain origin, but it was one of the most widespread patterns in the decorative arts in China in the thirteenth century. It is seen, for example, on a printed silk from a Southern Song tomb dated 1247 and also on silk tapestries from North China or of Eastern Central Asian origin.[93] The plum tree branch seen on the other carpet (fig. 47) is of pure Chinese origin and was a popular subject in paintings and the decorative arts dating from the Southern Song to the Yuan (fig. 48). What is distinctive about the plum branch on the carpet is that the branch is bare—presumably because of the difficulty of depicting details with the heavy threads of a rough fiber.

The dating of the carpets is secure on the basis of stylistic considerations and by Carbon-14 testing of a similar piece in a private collection.[94] It is anybody's guess as to how they ended up where they are. Possibly they were taken from the Yuan armies when the latter made their vain attempt to invade Japan.

Material remains of the Muslim communities in China in the Yuan period are found mainly in Quanzhou (see figs. 187, 188). But the greatest Islamic cultural influence in Yuan China was not so much in the visual arts as in such

Figure 47. Rug with prunus branch, 13th century. Pile carpet, 68⅛ × 74 in. (173 × 188 cm). Naginataboko Preservation Association [Exhib.]

areas as astronomy, medical sciences, and gastronomy. One of the most delightful books in all of Yuan literature, the *Yinshan Zhengyao* (The Essential and Proper [Use of] Food and Drink), may be one indication of Islamic influence. A treatise on dietary science with helpful advice on daily routines as they relate to personal health and hygiene, it was written by a Husihua (of uncertain ethnicity, but assumed to be a Muslim), a medical officer of the Office of the Imperial Kitchen, and presented to Emperor Wenzong in 1330.

THE DECORATIVE ARTS

The pattern of patronage of the arts during the Yuan dynasty is distinctly different from that in all other periods in Chinese history. Luxury silks have always been highly valued in all cultures (until the Industrial Revolution), but for the Mongols they occupied an especially exalted position in their material culture. Half the workshops in the Yuan administration were producing luxury textiles for use in the imperial court. The cloth of gold was used for formal dress on ceremonial occasions (usually banquets), for furnishings in the palace, and for the emperor's tents. Imperial portraits were woven of silk tapestry, always with gold threads (see fig. 146). Articles of gold were also favored, as was the case in all nomadic societies. This meant that the other traditional arts, such as ceramics and lacquer, no longer received imperial patronage, as they did under the Song, and that craftsmen were free to produce for the commercial market, catering to wealthy clients and to popular taste. Monochrome porcelain in elegant pure forms, favored by the Song court, began to disappear. Painted decoration, already employed by potters of everyday wares in North China in the Song period, began to occur on the porcelain of Jingdezhen in the south, resulting eventually in the production of blue-and-white. The decoration on blue-and-white, drawing on illustrations in printed books of popular stories, also reflects the taste of the general public. In Jingdezhen and Longquan small porcelain sculptures were made of Buddhist deities, particularly Guanyin, and of the Daoist immortals who made frequent appearances on the stage of Yuan drama (see figs. 87, 300–302).

Commercial competition encouraged production quality and innovation, and lacquerware of the fourteenth century, in all the various techniques, remains the finest in this medium in Chinese history, as can be seen in several examples in this exhibition.

Figure 48. Covered box with flowering plum, Southern Song–Yuan dynasty, 13th–14th century. Porcelain with cut-glaze decoration (possibly Jizhou ware), diameter 3¼ in. (8.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Purchase, Gloria H. Spivak Gift, 1986 1986.75.4

Not all the decorative arts fall under one of the separate categories of court and popular taste. Jade carving was valued by all classes in Yuan society. The development of the appreciation of jade by peoples from nomadic backgrounds was a long process beginning with the Khitans of the Liao dynasty, who inherited it from the Tang and passed it on to the Jurchens of the Jin dynasty, who in their turn passed it on to the Mongols.

For an expanded discussion of the decorative arts in the Mongol–Yuan period, see pages 269–99.

SUMMARY

What may be called the Yuan style in Chinese art is the result of the amalgamation of artistic traditions current in North and South China before the conquest of the Southern Song by the Mongols in the late 1270s, an event that reunified China after the breakup of the Tang Empire in the late ninth century.

The Northern tradition is itself complex, with roots in Tang art that was in turn formed during the centuries between the fall of the Han dynasty in the early third century and the founding of the Tang dynasty in the seventh century. The formation of Tang art was the subject of the

exhibition "China: Dawn of a Golden Age, 200–700 AD," held at the Metropolitan Museum in 2004. The paramount influence on Chinese art during these four centuries came from Central Asia, carrying elements of Hellenistic, Iranian, and Indian art. The Liao dynasty, ruling over most of North China after the Tang, maintained active contacts with Central Asia, which by this time was increasingly Islamized. Most, if not all, major Liao burials contain some objects—glass and metalware—from Islamic countries. By the time of the Jin, which succeeded the Liao, Islamic elements such as the Kufic border had begun to enter Chinese art, as seen on Jin textiles. Another feature of the arts of North China during the Liao dynasty, which dominated the entire eastern Eurasian steppe, is the survival of art styles associated with Turkic peoples in the days of the (later) Turkic Empire, in the seventh and eighth centuries, in the Altai region and over most of Inner Mongolia. This survival is readily observed on Liao objects of silver.[95] It must, however, be mentioned that the arts of the late Turkic Empire in the eighth century also incorporated elements from Tang China.[96] The Tang–Turkic style can also be discerned in Liao stone sculptures of stiff standing figures.[97]

The Jurchens, founders of the Jin dynasty, became the beneficiaries of Liao traditions in their conquest of North China as well as those of the Northern Song, when they added Henan Province to their territories. In the meantime, the Tangut kingdom of Xixia in northwest China, straddling the main passage between China and the west, derived its art forms from both the Northern Song and what traveled along the Silk Road, including Buddhist art from Kashmir and Tibet. The Song state, after the loss of its northern provinces to the Jin, transferred its court and the high culture of the Northern Song to Hangzhou in the south. There the arts continued to develop, growing more in refinement and less in vitality. The basic condition for this development was that, for the first time in Chinese history, the political center coincided with the economic center, leading to easy access to luxury and thus negating the incentive to achieve wealth and power by building an ever larger empire—which was the dominant modus vivendi of the Mongols in the north. A painting by Ma Yuan, *Banquet by Lantern Light* (see fig. 32), perfectly captures the ethos of life at the Southern Song capital, in which the hint of decadence is obscured by the elegant refinement of both the scene portrayed and its artistic expression.

All the elements enumerated above were synthesized by the Mongol conquest, first those of the Xixia and the Jin in the north, and eventually, after a long and bitter struggle, those of the Southern Song. This synthesis is the underlying narrative of the present exhibition. The telling of it is inevitably piecemeal and fragmentary. Nevertheless, if it helps to direct attention to aspects of Yuan art that have not hitherto drawn much notice, its purpose will have been served.

Finally, it should be reiterated that while the arts of the Yuan dynasty can be seen as both a synthesis of everything that went before, they also signal a new beginning and the setting of standard models to which all subsequent "traditional" arts of China refer. At the present time this tradition is about to undergo another transformation. It may be an appropriate moment for Chinese artists and historians of Chinese art to take a look back before taking the next step forward.

1. Quoted in *WXDL* (1960 ed.: 521).
2. See Watt et al. 2004.
3. Needham 1954: 134.
4. See, for example, Grousset 1970, chap. 5.
5. See Dardess 1972–73.
6. Bai Shouyi 1989: 776.
7. Quan Heng, *Geng shen wai shi*, quoted in Qiu Shusen 1999: 224.
8. See Chen Yuan 2000 (English ed. 1966) and Hsiao Ch'i-Ching 1994, chap. 6: 217–63.
9. Wardwell 1992.
10. *MGMS*, *juan* 10, *tiao* 238: 666. There the term used is *nachid*.
11. See the entry for Čínqai (Chinkai) by P. D. Buell in Rachewiltz 1993, chap. 7: 95–111.
12. See Pelliot 1927.
13. See Watt and Wardwell 1997.
14. Nanjing daxue Yuan shi yanjiushi 1990: 294ff.
15. For the excavation report of a metal pass with a Khitan inscription, see Zheng Shaozong 1974.
16. Cai Meibiao 1984: 698–710.
17. Ibid.
18. *GYT* (1966 ed.: 18).
19. Xie Mingliang 2007.
20. Watt 1996: 221–22.
21. Zhangxian wenhuaguan 1982: 17. See also Yi Jialiang and Xu Shujin 1986.
22. See Wu Jingshan 1999: 248–49.
23. Luoyang shi tielu beizhan bianzuzhan lianhe kaogu fajuedui 1996.
24. Hebei sheng wenwu yanjiusuo 1998: 367–68.
25. See Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing 1993.
26. For other instances of mixed marriages in the Shi family, see, e.g., Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing 1994: 337–43.
27. See Yi Jialiang and Xu Shujin 1986.
28. Meng Fanfeng and Wang Huimin 1998: 499–504. See also Xie Mingliang 2007.
29. For more on Shi Tianze, see Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing 1993: 41.
30. See Hu Zhaoxi and Zou Chonghua 1992: 319–23, and *XYS*, *juan* 177.
31. *YS*, *juan* 208 (1976 ed.: 4629).
32. See Bai Guanxi 1957.

33. *Chuo Genglu*, quoted in Bai Guanxi 1957: 56.
34. Shi Weimin 2005: 151.
35. For a detailed account, see Shen Fu 1981, part 1: 1–27, which also contains a summary in English.
36. See Shen Fu 1981, part 2: 35–43, which also contains a summary in English.
37. *YS, juan* 35 (1976 ed.: 779 and 791).
38. Nearly all empresses of the Yuan were Onggirat and many princes married Onggirats. For the origin of Quanning, see *YS, juan* 118 (1976 ed.: 2920).
39. *YS, juan* 26 (1976 ed.: 590).
40. Fu Shen 1981, part 1.
41. Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing 1994, chaps. 5 and 6.
42. Bai Shouyi 1989: 513–17.
43. Chang Kuang-pin 1975.
44. See Ding 1998.
45. Lin Meicun 2007, no. 8: 212.
46. Watt et al. 2004, no. 2.
47. Wen Fong 1992: 16–18.
48. Yuan Shishou and Shinichiro Abe 2003.
49. For the translation of the colophon, see page 205 in this volume.
50. Barry 2004: 115.
51. See Bretschneider 1967: 283n106.
52. See Steinhardt 1980.
53. *ZRJSJ* (1986 ed.: 101 and 115).
54. Lü Weifen and Wu Gengshun 2000: 1009–10.
55. See Samosyuk 2006, pls. 221 and 222.
56. Rosemary Scott in Christie's 2005: 66–69.
57. For his painting *Angling Terrace at Yanling*, see Shih Shou-chien and Ge Wanzhang 2001, II-35; for a Qing-dynasty manuscript of Sadula's collection of poetry, *Yan men ji*, see Shih Shou-chien and Ge Wanzhang 2001, II-37.
58. Watt and Wardwell 1997, pl. 16.
59. Chen Yuan 2000: 37–38.
60. There are quite a few good exhibition catalogues; see especially Levine and Lippit 2007.
61. Sun Changwu 1985: 214. See also Guo Shaoyu 1961: 238–39.
62. *SSSJ* (1982 ed.: 1647).
63. *SSXY* (1973 ed.: 128). For an English translation of the *Shishuo xinyu*, see Mather 2007.
64. Chen Yinke 1972–73: 141–81.
65. See Waley 1931 and Rachewiltz and Russell 1993.
66. Due to the construction of the Sanmen Dam, the temple was relocated to Ruicheng. See Su Bai 1963.
67. See Chen Yuan 1962: 28–29.
68. Su Bai 1963.
69. *Sacred Ningbo* 2009.
70. This scene is beautifully described by Wang Chang'an 1963a: 42.
71. See Shih-Shan Huang 2002.
72. See Shen Fu 1981.
73. Billings 2004.
74. See Egami and Mizuno 1935.
75. For a translation, see Jackson 1990.
76. Beckingham and Hamilton 1996.
77. Hunter 1989–91.
78. Chen Yuan quotes the family history and the epitaphs of one of the most prominent Onggut families in the service of the Yuan. See Chen Yuan 2000: 19–20.
79. See Zhang Songbo and Ren Xuejun 1994.
80. This is the year of William of Rubruck's journey. For a full study of the inscriptions, see Niu Ruji 1997: 100–108.
81. See Lin Meicun 2007.
82. See Zhang Songbo and Ren Xuejun 1994, who quote Tang sources.
83. Ibid.
84. Hunter 1989–91.
85. Ligeti 1972; Moule and Giles 1915.
86. *YS, juan* 126 (1976 ed.: 3092).
87. See Lin Wushu 1997: 1–11.
88. See ibid.
89. Ibid.: 166–79.
90. For the excavation report, see Heilongjiang sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 1989.
91. See, e.g., Guoli gugong bowuyuan 2010: 94–95, 124–27.
92. For the entire collection of carpets in the Gion festival preservation associations, see Kajitani 1992.
93. Fujian sheng bowuguan 1982, pl. 80. See also Watt and Wardwell 1997, fig. 22.
94. Personal communication from Jeremy Pines.
95. Sun Ji 1993. See also Sun Ji 1996.
96. Sun Ji 1993.
97. For Liao stone sculptures of stiff figures, see Guoli gugong bowuyuan 2010: 182–83.

Daily Life

1

Dadu: Great Capital of the Yuan Dynasty

Zhixin Jason Sun

In 1264, Khubilai Khan adopted Zhiyuan (Supreme Beginning) as the title of his reign and established his capital in Yanjing, which had been the capital Zhongdu of the previous Jin dynasty.[1] Eight years later he named the new capital, which was on the site of present-day Beijing, Dadu (Great Capital). Khubilai chose the location because it had extraordinary strategic advantage, holding critical access to the vast China Plain to the south, from which he could both launch his attacks to gain control over the country and maintain a strong link to the steppes in the north.

At first Khubilai thought of building his capital over the old Zhongdu of the Jin dynasty. Several years later, in 1267, he abandoned the original site of Zhongdu and decided to build a new city to the northeast. Several factors contributed to this decision. Zhongdu had been brutally damaged during the war that brought the Jin dynasty to its end. A great fire in the third year of the Da'an reign (1209–11), which "lasted for five days . . . burned down more than ten thousand houses."[2] In the following decade, during the Mongol siege, palaces and houses were demolished for firewood. When the Mongols took over, the city was in ruins. By contrast, Daning Hall, the summer residence of the Jin emperor northeast of the city, remained more or less unaffected, its houses and parks mainly intact. When Khubilai arrived, he set up his headquarters at Daning Hall. The most important factor in Khubilai's decision to choose the new site was its proximity to Lake Wengshan, Gaoliang River, and Tonghui River (the last in fact being a canal). An improved canal system linking the three would provide an abundant water supply for the city, as well as an effective and inexpensive route for the shipping of revenue grains, on which the imperial household, the administration, and residents of the city depended.[3]

For the design of the new capital, Khubilai turned to his most trusted Chinese advisor, Liu Binzhong. The plan of Dadu was from the very beginning Chinese in conception. Liu took into consideration the capital cities of previous dynasties—particularly those of the Song, Liao, and Jin—but he also followed the principles outlined in the *Kaogong ji* (Record of the Investigation of Works) in the *Zhouli* (Rites of Zhou), a classic text of the third century BCE, which specifies that the capital should be "nine *li* [3.32 kilometers] square, with three gates on [each] side, with nine north-south avenues and nine east-west streets," "the ancestor shrine on the left and altars of soil and grain deities on the right, and the imperial court in the front and markets in the back."[4]

Except for the summer palace on Qionghua Island, which survived from the Jin dynasty, the city of Dadu was built from the ground up. A large workforce drawn from many ethnic groups, including Chinese, Mongol, Jurchen, Central Asian, and various peoples from the Western Regions, participated in the project. Construction took nearly twenty years, from 1267 to 1285, when Khubilai ordered residents of the old city to move into the new one. Dadu, one of the largest and grandest cities in the world in the thirteenth century, afforded Khubilai many practical advantages. The imperial court and living quarters, surrounded by ring walls, provided privacy and a secure place where he could practice shamanistic rituals or sleep in a tent. His trusted officials would ensure that state rites were performed while he was away at his summer residence.[5] More important, the overpowering symbolism of the city attested that Khubilai was a legitimate ruler in the Chinese imperial line and that his state was dedicated to the perpetuation of Chinese institutions and fundamental beliefs.

Opposite: Mongol Dancer, figure 68

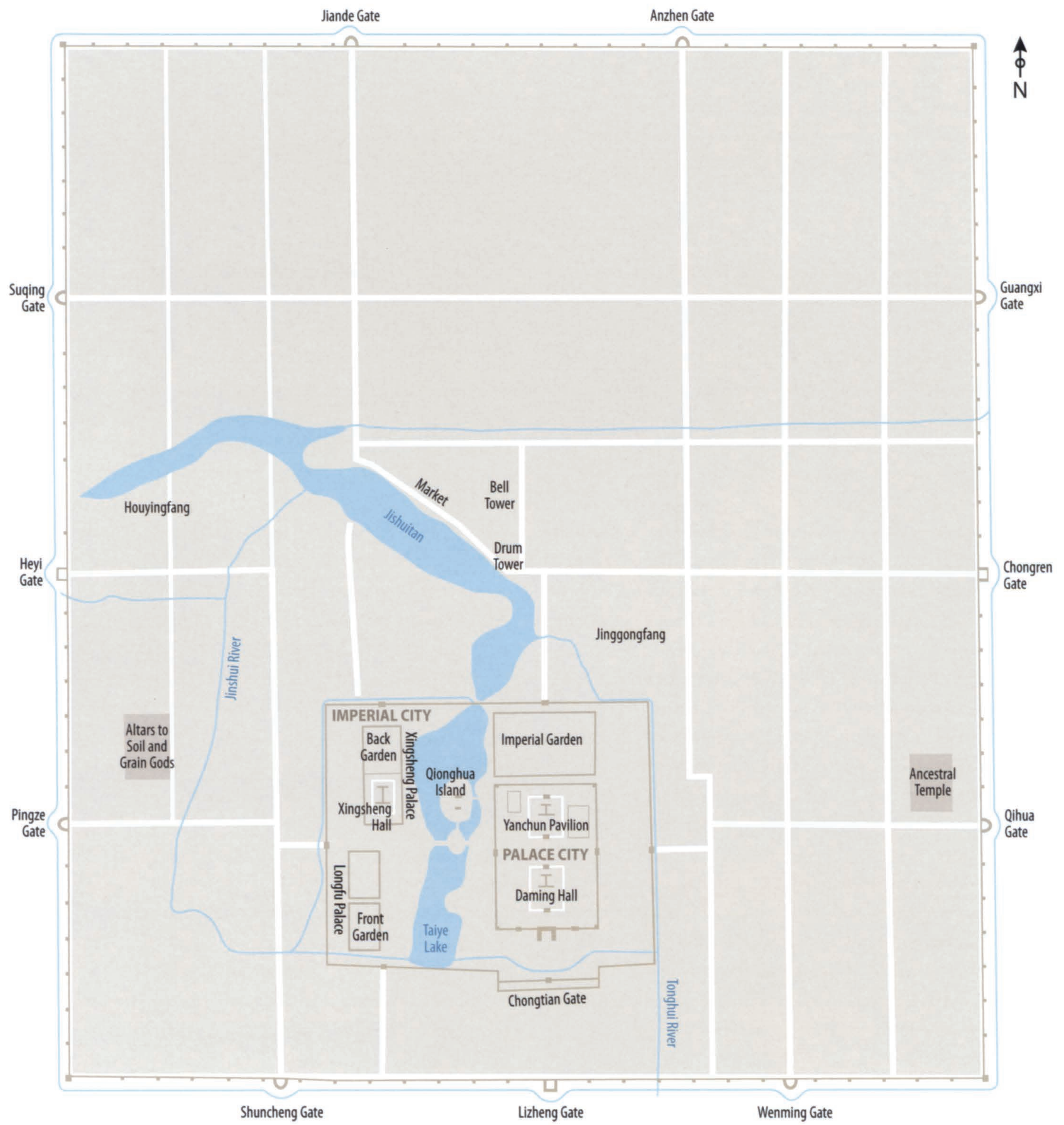


Figure 49. Map of Dadu, 1272–1368

THE CITY OF DADU

Khubilai's capital had three rings of walls. In the words of Nancy Steinhardt, it was "a walled city within a walled city within a walled city" (fig. 49).[6] The innermost rampart surrounded the palace city, where the emperor resided, and its subsidiary buildings. Beyond that, encircled by the imperial city wall, were the palaces of the empress dowager and the crown prince, the imperial garden, and various government offices. The outermost wall, which enclosed the entire city, including the shops and houses of the citizens of Dadu outside the imperial city wall, was 28,600 meters long.[7] Built of pounded earth reinforced with an inner structure of wooden poles, it was trapezoidal in cross section, measuring 8 meters high, 16 meters thick at the top, and 24 meters thick at the bottom.[8] Pottery pipes were installed along the top to draw off the rain. Underneath were large drains, brick-vaulted above and lined along the sides and floor with stone slabs.[9] This enormous structure, together with the walls built upon it during the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) dynasties, was almost completely demolished in the 1960s and 1970s. Only part of the northern section, which was left in place when the Ming moved the northern city boundary farther south, has survived to the present day. There the pounded earth still stands about 8 meters high and is hard as stone, attesting to the formidable task that the Yuan undertook.

The city was rectangular in plan. The southern and northern walls were slightly longer than those at the east and west. There were eleven gates in all—two on the north and three on each of the other sides. Around the city wall was a wide, deep moat, over which a drawbridge extended at each of the gates. The streets were oriented precisely along the north-south and east-west axes. Between each pair of opposing gates was a major thoroughfare about 25 meters wide that allowed nine carriages to ride abreast. These avenues were intersected by subsidiary streets 6 to 7 meters wide that could accommodate two carriages side by side. Marco Polo, who visited Dadu in the late 1280s, described the city as "set out by line; for the main streets from one side to the other of the town are drawn out straight as a thread, and are so straight and so broad that if anyone mount on the wall at one gate and look straight one sees from the one side to the other the gate of the other side, opposite to that, and they are so planned that each gate is seen as the others along the town, by the roads."[10]

Together, the major and subsidiary streets formed a vast network, dividing the city into fifty-four wards called *fang*, each of which had a gate with its name inscribed on it. The names and locations of these districts were recorded in the Yuan gazetteers *Xijin zhi* and *Yitong zhi*. The *fang* varied in size; some were twice the size of others. Notably, grand mansions of high officials stood next to modest houses of ordinary residents that were separated only by small alleys or walkways. The *fang* in the Yuan city were fundamentally different from those in cities of the earlier Tang dynasty. During the Tang, *fang* were closed structures, with tall walls on all sides, and houses had no direct access to the streets. *Fang* gates, guarded by officers, were opened and closed according to schedule. At night no one was allowed to enter or exit and the streets were closed to traffic. Radical changes took place during the Song, when a rapid development in commerce brought about the collapse of this closed urban structure.[11] Shops, eateries, teahouses, inns, and entertainment quarters sprang up (fig. 50) and proliferated at an even faster rate during the Yuan. In Dadu, observed Marco Polo, "everywhere along the sides of each main street are stalls and shops of every kind. And there are about the city many palaces beautiful and great, and many beautiful inns."[12] More enterprising business owners set up sheds along the streets, selling "seasonal groceries or vegetables" or offering "haircuts, fortune telling, and wheat grinding services."[13] Markets of all sorts flourished across the city. The one on the northern bank of Lake Taiye (an artificial body of water) was the largest. There merchants from all parts of the country bustled about the terminal of the newly expanded Grand Canal, and one could find nearly everything one could possibly need for daily life: food, clothing, medicine, jewelry—even laborers for hire. Larger markets clustered at the intersections of major thoroughfares. The largest market for livestock was located not far from the western gate of the imperial city, and there sheep, cows, pigs, horses, mules, and firewood were sold.[14]

THE IMPERIAL CITY AND THE PALACE CITY

Located in the southern half of Dadu was the imperial city, encircled by a wall about 3 meters high and 20 *li* (7,400 meters) in perimeter. Known as the "great interior," it was divided into eastern and western sections by Lake Taiye. To the west of the lake were two compounds, Longfu Palace, residence of the empress dowager, and Xingsheng Palace, residence of the crown prince. To the east was the palace city, the residence of Khubilai himself,

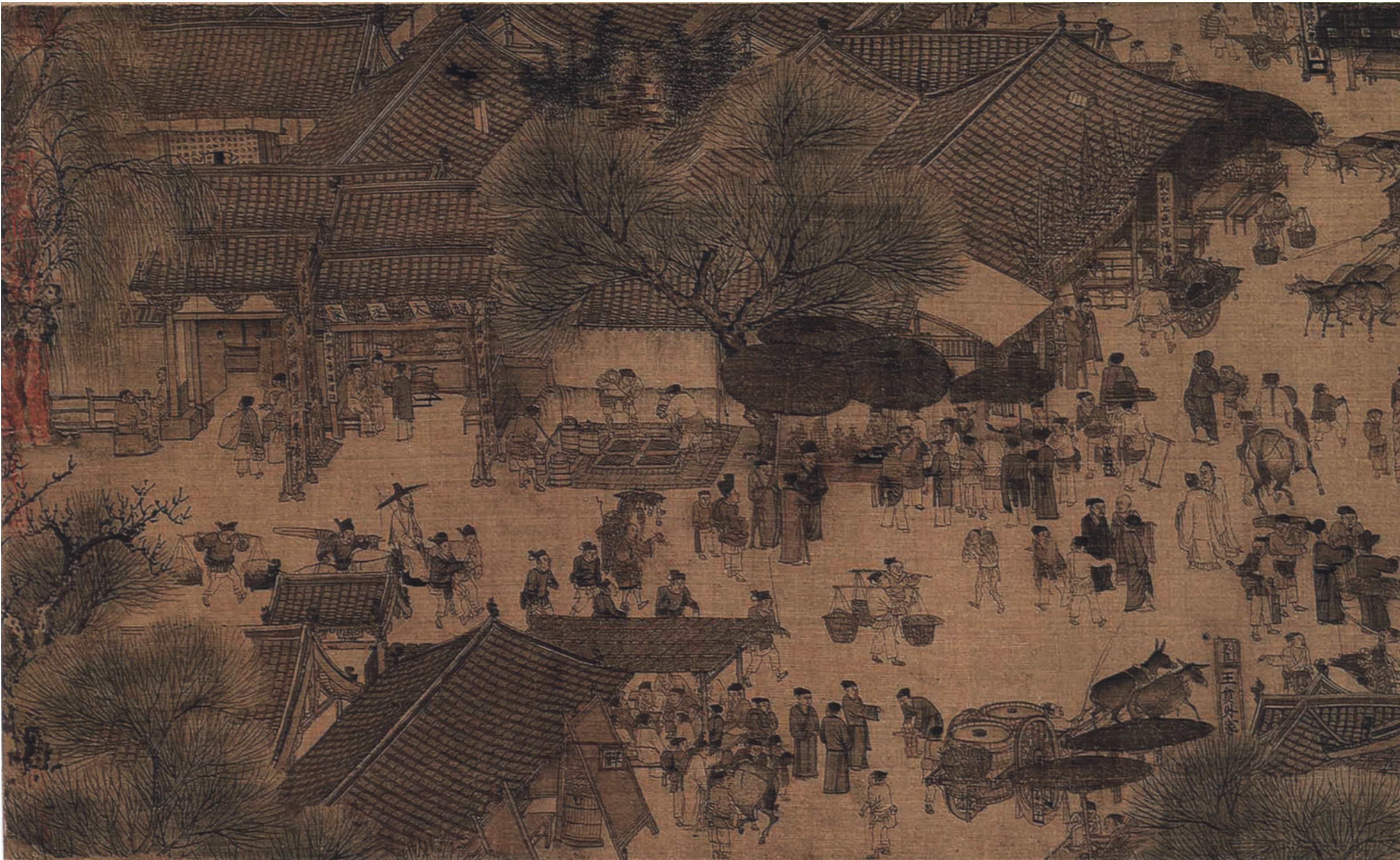


Figure 50. Zhang Zeduan (active early 12th century), *The Spring (Qing Ming) Festival along the River* (detail). Northern Song dynasty (960–1127). Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 9¾ × 208⅛ in. (24.8 × 528.6 cm). The Palace Museum, Beijing

a rectangular enclosure extended about 950 meters from north to south and about 740 meters from east to west. Its walls, more than 16 meters thick, were encased in bricks. It had four corner towers and six gates, three on the south side and one on each of the remaining three sides. Most magnificent of all, in the center of the south wall, was Chongtianmen (Gate of Heavenly Reverence). As is recorded in the *Chuogeng lu* (Notes at Plowing Breaks), by Tao Zongyi, Chongtianmen was 57 meters wide, 16.5 meters deep, and, together with the hall above it, 26 meters high. It had eleven bays and five gates.[15]

An imposing city gate seen in a painting dated to the Song dynasty has been identified by Fu Xinian as a Yuan depiction of Chongtianmen (fig. 51).[16] Although not entirely accurate, the representation largely captures the essential features of the gate as described in the *Chuogeng lu*—a high wall and massive portal with five gates, and on either side two large wings with multigabled towers at the ends. The depiction of the five gates matches Khubilai's palace-city gate as described by Marco Polo:

And this wall has five gates on the quarter towards midday, in the middle a great gate much greater than the others which is never opened or shut except only when the great Kaan comes out of it to make war and when he goes in there, and then it is shut, for the entry is open to none but to the king alone. And beside this great gate are two small ones, one on each side, and all the other people who are in company with the great Kaan come in by those. And then there is towards the corner another very large one, and towards the other corner another, by which again the other people enter, so that they are five, and the large one is in the middle, and by those four smaller gates enter all the other people.[17]

The base of the palace-city wall was reinforced with large stone blocks, possibly of white marble, that were decorated with elaborate carvings. This carved stone base was likely a feature specific to the Yuan imperial city wall, and is seen in a contemporary painting by Zhu Yu (1293–1365; fig. 52). While the painting purportedly represents the gateway

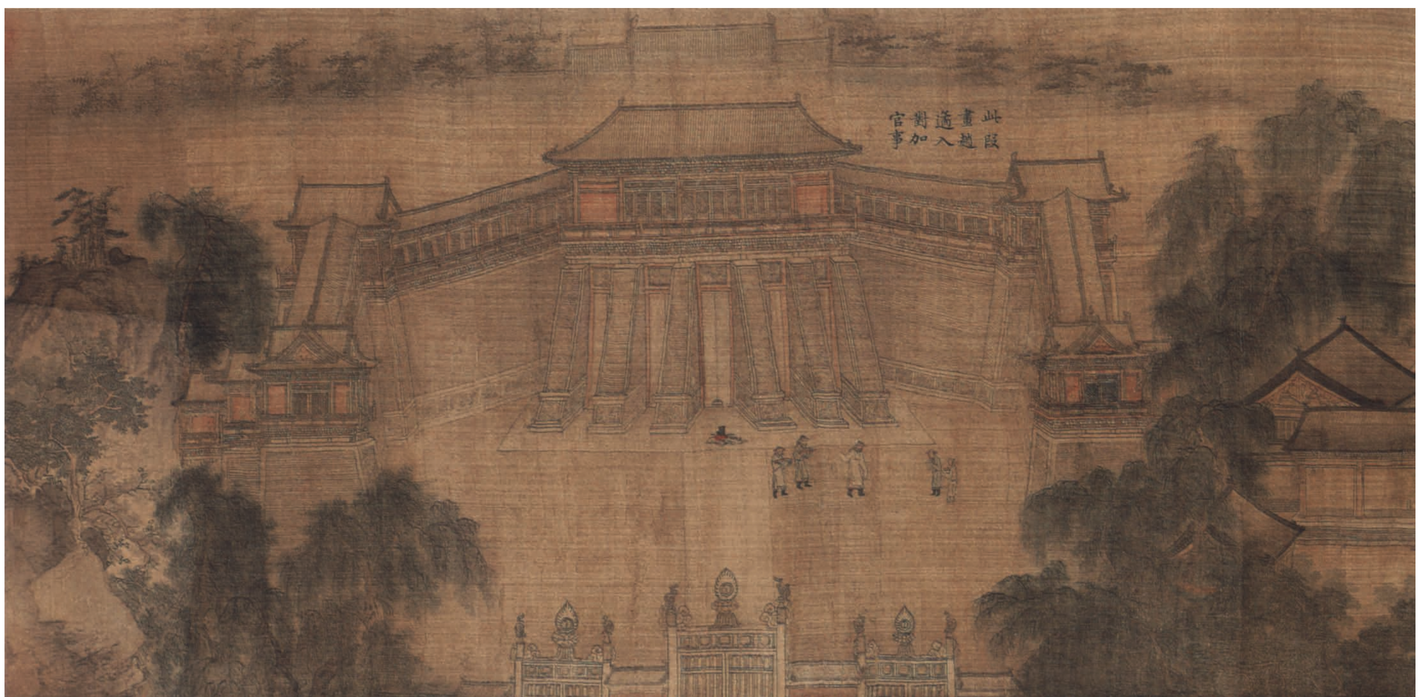


Figure 51. *Episodes from the Career of a Yuan Official* (detail), late 13th century. Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 15½ × 156 in. (39.3 × 396.2 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City. Purchase: William Rockhill Nelson Trust 58-10 [Exhib.]

Figure 52. Zhu Yu (1293–1365), *Scene at the Dragon King's Palace.* Leaf from an album, color on silk, 18 × 17 in. (45.7 × 43.2 cm). The Palace Museum, Beijing

beneath the eastern sea leading to the palace of the legendary dragon king, it is in fact a fairly close depiction of the Yuan imperial city gate, whose wall was decorated with large stone blocks carved in relief with a design of curling clouds. Similar carved marble slabs, which were originally used in major Yuan buildings, are in museum collections in Beijing (fig. 53).

The wall of the palace city is of course long gone, and with it the stone bases with elaborate carvings. However, an imperial stone bridge has survived to the present, providing a glimpse of the splendor of the palace city (fig. 54). Located near the front court of Beijing's Forbidden City, it is believed to have been part of the bridge that once stood near Chongtianmen.[18] Between the balusters are rectangular stone panels, each depicting in relief two spirited dragons on a floral background chasing a flaming pearl. The carved lions on top of the balusters are among the liveliest of Yuan sculptures (fig. 55).

Two large building complexes extended along the central axis of the palace city, on either side of a broad street that ran from the eastern gate to the western gate of the palace city and divided it into two roughly equal parts. On the south side were the front palaces of the "great interior" (*danei*), grouped around Daming Hall, the main administration building of the Yuan imperial court, where important meetings and ceremonies were held. On the north side were the rear palaces of the "great interior," with Yanchun Pavilion at the center. There audiences were held and the imperial living quarters were housed. To the east of the "front palaces" were the "house of the chefs" and "the warehouse of wines."[19] And to the west were buildings for storage. The "rear palaces" were flanked by rows of halls and houses, some of which served as residences for the imperial guards and attendants.

The Yuan palace city was demolished at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and the site of the Yuan buildings is buried beneath the imperial palaces of the Ming and Qing dynasties. Archaeological excavations, and even test drillings, are thus out of the question. Fortunately, historical texts, in particular the *Chuogeng lu* and the *Xijin zhi*, by Xiong Mengxiang, offer detailed descriptions of the Yuan imperial palaces. In addition, the *Gugong Yilu*, by the early Ming writer Xiao Xun, also

Figure 53. Panel carved with dragon in high relief, from the balustrade of the Rainbow Bridge, Dadu. Stone, height 19¾ in. (50 cm), width 50 in. (127 cm). Bejing Art Museum of Stone Carvings

Figure 54. Rainbow Bridge, Dadu. Marble. On the grounds of The Palace Museum, Beijing

Figure 55. Lion carved on a baluster of the Rainbow Bridge, Dadu. Marble. On the grounds of The Palace Museum, Beijing

records valuable information. Xiao came to the city at the beginning of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) and was able to see many Yuan palaces before they were torn down. Several significant Yuan buildings, particularly Daoist and Buddhist temples, are still standing in North China. Fu Xinian has made a detailed and convincing analysis of the Yuan imperial palaces. He believes that Daming Hall and Yanchun Pavilion were both constructed on I-shaped platforms and that each building was composed of an office hall in the front and a sleeping chamber in the back, connected by a columned passageway.[20] This I-shaped architectural plan was based on Song and Jin palace buildings, evidence of which can be seen in the architecture depicted in a Jin wall painting in Yanshansi, Fanshixian, Shanxi Province (fig. 56). An extant example is the main hall of the Dongyue Temple, in Beijing, originally built in the second year of the Zhizhi reign of the Yuan dynasty (1323). Although the temple has been restored over time, the I-shaped stone foundation still retains its original form.

Most magnificent of all the structures in the palace city, Daming Hall—27 meters high, 60 meters wide, and 36 meters deep—had an eleven-bay front. It had two superimposed roofs, which were supported by thirty-two wooden brackets. The *Chuogeng lu* records that the hall stood on a tall base of white marble that had a protruding platform in the front (*yuetai*) and balusters on all four sides.[21] The rectangular stone panels between the balusters were carved with dragons and phoenixes in relief. Below the balusters were large drainpipe heads sculpted in fearsome-looking dragon heads. The roofs and roof ridges were covered with glazed tiles, and the wooden structures below, including the brackets, beams, and lintels, were painted in bright colors and highlighted in gold. Square columns under the roof were painted in red and decorated with gold appliqués of dragons cavorting in clouds. The doors, also painted in red, had latticed panels with gold frames on the upper section and gilt-copper fasteners in the corners. The floor was paved with large stone slabs. At the rear of the palace a columned corridor 74 meters long led to the bedchambers. Lavishly decorated, they had floors covered with leather painted in green to simulate grass and walls lined with silk and decorated with landscape paintings highlighted in gold.

Yanchun Pavilion, on the north side of the "great interior," was a two-storied building also on a tall I-shaped stone base and with a similar architectural plan—a front office hall and rear sleeping quarters connected by a long columned corridor. Historical records of Yanchun Pavilion are scant. Fu Xinian has speculated that the decoration and furnishings would have been comparable to those of Daming Hall.

The Yuan architecture and related artifacts that have survived can perhaps help us envision the grandeur of Dadu's architecture. Among the Yuan halls still standing are Deningxian of Beiyuemiao (Beiyue Temple) in

Figure 56. Atelier of Wang Kui (12th century), *The Life of Shakyamuni* (detail). Jin dynasty, completed by 1167. Mural. West wall, Manjushri Hall, Yanshansi, Fanshixian, Shanxi Province

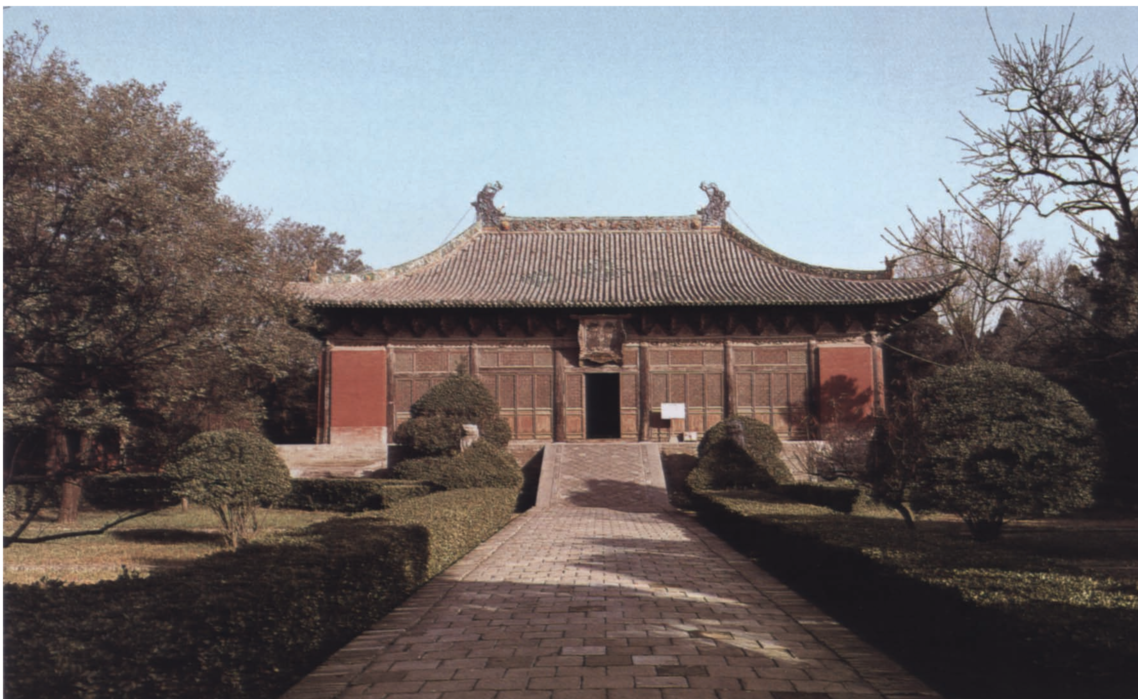


Figure 57. Sanqingdian. Yonglegong, Shanxi Province

Quyang, Hebei Province (see fig. 94), and Sanqingdian of Yonglegong in Ruicheng, Shanxi Province (fig. 57).[22] The former is a seven-bay double-roofed building, and the latter a seven-bay single-roofed structure. Although neither can compare with Daming Hall in scale or in decorative richness, they nevertheless provide important points of comparison. As both were state-sponsored projects, their construction—the shape and arrangement of the roof brackets, the projection of the roof corners, and the ratio between the height and width of the rooms—met the same official building standards and specifications.

Among extant architectural elements that survive from the Yuan era is a large roof-end ornament in the form of a dragon (*chiwen*), which was removed from the roof of Sanqingdian during restoration (see fig. 93). About five

Figure 58. Architectural element in the shape of a dragon head. Marble, length 32½ in. (82.6 cm). Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 59. Wine bowl. Jade (nephrite), height 27½ in. (70 cm), diameter 53⅛ in. (135 cm). Beihai Park, Beijing

feet high, the glaring dragon has a wide-open mouth with sharp fangs, pointed horns, and a curving upturned tail. Equally striking in scale is a six-foot-high stone post unearthed at the site of Shangdu, the former northern capital of the Mongol Empire, in Zhenglanqi, Inner Mongolia (see fig. 101). Like the pillars of Daming Hall, it is square in section. Originally at the corner of the front platform of the imperial audience hall, it is carved in high relief with dragons on a floral background.[23] Stone dragon heads found at the site of Yuan Shangdu (fig. 58), originally on the marble platform of the main palace hall, are slightly smaller in scale, although their fearsome faces with sharp fangs continue to arouse a sense of awe.

West of the palace city was Lake Taiye, in which were two islands. The larger of the two, Qionghua Island (renamed Wansuishan in 1271), an artificial mound constructed in the Jin dynasty, was Khubilai's pleasure garden. There flourished rare trees and plants from foreign lands, and clusters of exotic rocks embellished the slopes. Marco Polo described the mound as the "green hill" because the trees were verdant all year round.[24] On top of the mound was Guanghan Hall, with twelve pillars carved with dragons and interior walls lined with cloud-patterned sandalwood panels painted in gold. Described by many writers, including the fourteenth-century friar Odoric of Pordenone, was the black jade wine bowl (fig. 59).[25] Nearly five meters around, this gigantic bowl was carved from a single block of dark streaked jade. Its surface is densely covered with dragons and fantastic sea creatures writhing amid racing clouds and rough waves. It was likely made by local craftsmen, as a contemporary source records a jade works in the southern suburb of Dadu, where there was a community of more than a hundred families of jade carvers.[26] The execution of the bowl must have been regarded as an extraordinary feat, for its placement in the hall in 1265 was by imperial order and is recorded in the official history of the Yuan.[27]

Figure 60. Bowl and plate with dragon in repoussé. Silver, height of cup 7 in. (17.8 cm); diameter of plate 6⅝ in. (16.8 cm). Hunan Provincial Museum

After the fall of the dynasties, the bowl was taken to a Daoist temple and used to store pickles before it was rediscovered and moved back to the imperial garden by the Qianlong emperor, more or less on the spot where it originally stood. Though recarved in the Qing dynasty, its overall shape and design nevertheless retain the character of Yuan jades. The dragon and sea creatures, the protruding rocks, and deeply engraved waves compare closely to the scene of dragons and sea waves on a Yuan silver bowl and plate recently unearthed in Hunan Province (fig. 60).[28] It is also an exemplary demonstration of the Yuan jade workers' ability to quarry large jade rocks and to carve them into monumental sculptures. This tradition ceased in the Ming dynasty and did not resume until the eighteenth century.

INSIDE THE CITY WALL

Urban Residences

Many officials and members of the ruling class lived in Dadu, both in and outside the city. Marco Polo was particularly impressed by their grand houses, which he described as "beautiful" and "spacious," many of which, he added, also have "corresponding courts and gardens."[29] A site with remains discovered in the 1970s at Houyingfang, north of Beijing, gives evidence of having been a large Yuan residence.[30] Judging from the remaining foundation and walls, the house stood on approximately eight *mu* (Chinese acres), a standard lot for an official residence.

The architectural remains included the foundations and walls of part of the central, eastern, and western courtyards. Relatively intact was a raised I-shaped foundation in the eastern courtyard. Remaining traces of the building indicate that a front hall consisting of three rooms and a back hall of comparable size once stood on the foundation, each measuring 11.16 meters wide and 4.75 meters deep. Connecting the two halls was a columned passage 6.32 meters long and 3.72 meters wide. Two brick staircases (*tadao*) at the southeast and southwest corners of the foundation ended in brick-paved pathways leading to the southeast and southwest side doors. The findings at Houyingfang demonstrate that the I-shaped plan was widely used for both official and residential buildings.

The main residence, in the central courtyard, was similar in design but larger in scale. It also stood on a raised I-shaped foundation, of which only the front section, in the shape of a squat T, and two brick-built staircases survive. A three-room hall 11.83 meters wide and 6.5 meters deep flanked by two 4.9 meter-wide side rooms once stood on the foundation. Pillar bases next to the hall suggest that the building had a front porch about 4.5 meters deep. Behind the hall was a narrow columned passageway that would have led to the bedchambers.

Judging from the ruins, the house in the eastern courtyard had wooden panels on the front and back sides and partition walls and a columned hallway within. The panels measured 2.37 meters high by 0.7 meters wide, and each had a lattice on top with square or hexagonal openings and was pasted with paper. Some of them have on the corners brass fasteners engraved with floral motifs. The roofs of the building were covered with gray baked-clay tiles, their ridges decorated with small pottery animal figures. Fragments of plaster found on the floor indicate that the walls were embellished with murals.

Among the architectural remains discovered in the western courtyard were a small section of a raised foundation and a staircase on the front, left, and right sides. Two small stone sculptures of lions stood on the foundation, signifying the privileged status of the owner. As is described in the *Xijin zhi*, sculptures of lions, made of cast iron or carved out of white stone, were placed at the two south corners of the platform of government office buildings. They also commonly flanked the gates of "prestigious officials and wealthy families in the capital, as well as those of pawnshops."[31]

Lions are not native to China. They were first brought from West Asia in the late Han dynasty as gifts to the imperial court. The earliest extant representation of lions is a pair of stone sculptures, depicted with realistic details, found at the site of an Eastern Han tomb dating to the second century. As Buddhism took root in China during the following centuries, lions, as Buddhist guardians, became

Figure 61. *Lion.* Stone, height 10⅝ in. (27 cm). Capital Museum, Beijing [Exhib.]

Figure 62. *Lion.* Stone, height 11⅞ in. (30.2 cm). Excavated at Houyingfang, Beijing. Beijing Art Museum of Stone Carvings [Exhib.]

Figure 63. *Lion.* Stone, height 12 in. (30.5 cm). Found in Beijing. Collection unknown

increasingly popular. From the Tang dynasty onward, stylized images of the great beasts, characterized by bulging eyes, broad muzzles, and curly manes, became a standard motif in the Chinese decorative vocabulary, both religious and secular. Nearly all lions in Yuan art are stylized (fig. 61). A small stone figure excavated from Houyingfang (fig. 62) is rendered in a realistic manner, with a muscular body, pointed muzzle, staring eyes, and straight mane. Another lion, also found at a Yuan site in Beijing (fig. 63), bears an even closer resemblance to lions in Western art. Together they point to the new wave of influence that came to China during the Yuan period with trade and other types of contact. Real lions were kept in the imperial park, where artists working for the court may have gone to observe them.

Most commoners lived outside the city wall, but a fair number resided within. Remains found in the western section of Beijing suggest that their houses were small and low, the walls built of brick fragments and earth. The furnishings perhaps consisted of a stove, a bed made of mud bricks, and a stone mortar for shelling grains.

Religious Buildings

Of all the Chinese dynasties, the Yuan was the most tolerant of religions. Although the Mongol imperial clan and aristocrats were followers of Buddhism, especially Tibetan Buddhism, they were open-minded in their acceptance of Daoism, Islam, Christianity, and other beliefs, and there were many temples and places of worship in the capital

to accommodate the congregations of various religions. About one hundred Buddhist and Daoist temples in Dadu are recorded in the *Xijin zhi*,[32] including the still-standing Buddhist temple Dashengshou wan'an si, built by the imperial family, and the Baiyun Guan, where the renowned Daoist priest Qiu Chuji was abbot. Both temples enjoyed great renown and were always packed during religious festivals. Among Christian churches, the most frequented were the two Franciscan "temples of the cross." John of Montecorvino, an Italian missionary, mentioned them in letters to the pope, respectively dated 1305 and 1306.[33] One of them could seat more than two hundred people and had a tower with three bells. The church was on the north bank of the Tonghui River, the east side of what is today Di'anmen Street, where the shrine of Khubilai's mother, a pious Christian, was located.[34] Neither of the two churches has survived to the present day. However, archaeologists have identified the site of a Christian church in the hills south of Dadu, where two steles stand among other stone carvings. One of them records that the temple was restored in the late Yuan, when the Nestorians resumed their worship practice. Two large stone pillar bases were found at the site in the 1930s, one of them engraved with a cross, floral motifs, and an inscription in Syrian that reads "look up to Him and hold hope in Him," evidence that Nestorians lived in the Dadu area.[35]

Residents of the capital included immigrants from the Western Regions, most of whom were Muslim. A large mosque on Niujie Street in modern Beijing built in the Liao dynasty continued in the Yuan to be a major center for Muslim worship. Two stone steles in the mosque record its long history. While this mosque was not in the city proper but in the southern suburb, frequent mention of Muslim practice in contemporary records suggests that there were mosques within the city walls. The *Xijin zhi* notes that a "Uighur Buddha temple" stood southeast of the Yanhua Pavilion in Xingsheng Palace.[36] While this temple may have been a Buddhist shrine, it was more likely a place of worship for Muslims from the Western Regions. It was not unusual in Yuan literature for Buddhist deities to be confused or conflated with those of other faiths; a Christian mass, for example, is referred to in the *Yuanshi* (History of the Yuan Dynasty) as a "Buddhist event."[37] Hence the description "Uighur Buddha temple" could easily have been a misinterpretation.

Entertainment and the Performing Arts in Dadu

As the capital of the empire, Dadu was also the center of Yuan art and culture, and the residents enjoyed a wide variety of entertainment and cultural activities during seasonal holidays and festivals. In and outside the city, official and popular celebrations took place throughout the year. A parade in February for the Buddhist festival, sponsored by the imperial court, was among the most spectacular of those events. It involved thousands of participants and extended for miles. The throng included "120 drummers from the eight garrisons, 500 mounted imperial guards, 500 soldiers and service members carrying the sacred seat of Guandi, members of 360 officially sponsored temples [who] carried Buddhist icons, altars, banners, umbrellas, and drums on wheels." There were also "150 women performers under the Xinghe office, 150 acrobatic and various [other] performers under the Xianghe office, and musical bands of Chinese, Uighur and [people of the] Western Regions, each consisting of three groups, totaling 324 members."[38]

Hardly any visual records of such grand celebrations have survived; however, numerous representations of festival activities have been recovered at archaeological sites in northwest Henan and southwest Shanxi provinces, and they give a sense of what those events in Dadu would have been like, though on a smaller scale. For example, a group of molded pottery tiles decorated with the figures of folk dancers was found in a Jin-dynasty chamber tomb in Xinjiangxian, Shanxi Province (figs. 64–67).[39] Although the tomb dates from the first half of the thirteenth century, the performance represented on the pottery tiles is known to have taken place from the Northern Song through the Yuan dynasty. Each tile shows one or two dancers in a parade, including a large-gong player, a small-gong player, a man carrying a large melon, and a man holding an umbrella in the shape of a lotus leaf and dancing with a woman. The last two dancers are perhaps performing a popular comic dance known as "Playing the Newlyweds" or "Playing Man and Wife," which was frequently mentioned in contemporary literature.[40]

Small pottery sculptures of musicians and dancers have also been found in Jiaozuo, Henan Province.[41] Molded in high relief on tiles that lined the interior wall of a tomb chamber, they are nearly three-dimensional sculptures. The distinctive hairstyles and costumes of these performers are characteristic of northern ethnic groups. One of the dancers wears a pointed hat with a broad rim and a fitted knee-length coat with several ribbons knotted on the chest, closely resembling the customary outfit of the Mongols

Figure 64. *Musician Playing a Large Gong*. Jin dynasty, first half of 13th century. Molded brick, pottery with pigments, height 9¾ in. (24.8 cm). Excavated from a tomb in Nanfangzhuang, Xinjiangxian, Shanxi Province, 1981. Shanxi Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 65. *Musician Playing a Small Gong*. Jin dynasty, first half of 13th century. Molded brick, pottery with pigments, height 9⅞ in. (25.1 cm). Excavated from a tomb in Nanfangzhuang, Xinjiangxian, Shanxi Province, 1981. Shanxi Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 66. *Man Carrying a Melon*. Jin dynasty, first half of 13th century. Molded brick, pottery with pigments, height 10 in. (25.4 cm). Excavated from a tomb at Nanfangzhuang, Xinjiangxian, Shanxi Province, 1981. Shanxi Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 67. *Couple Performing a Comic Dance*. Jin dynasty, first half of 13th century. Molded brick, pottery with pigments, height 9⅞ in. (25.1 cm). Excavated from a tomb in Nanfangzhuang, Xinjiangxian, Shanxi Province, 1981. Shanxi Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 68. *Mongol Dancer*. Jin or Yuan dynasty, 13th century. Pottery, height 15¾ in. (40 cm). Excavated from a tomb in Xifeng, Jiaozuo, Henan Province, 1973. Henan Museum [Exhib.]

(fig. 68). He dances vigorously, waving his arms and flexing his knees. Two of the musicians have a shaved forehead and wear braided pigtails, as was the custom among the Jurchens (fig. 69). There are also dancers dressed like boys, with shaved head and pigtails tied up in a knot (fig. 70). They, too, are shown in animated poses, and each holds either a musical instrument, a banner, or an umbrella in the shape of a lotus leaf. The age of the tomb is still under debate: some scholars date it to the Jin dynasty, others to the Yuan period.[42] Whatever the case, these figures give a rare glimpse of the northern ethnic people who made up a sizable portion of the population of Shanxi and Henan and were represented among the townspeople of Dadu.

A group of carved stone panels found in Shexian, Anhui Province, offer a rare scene of festivities on a smaller scale, the celebration by a family whose members have just been awarded official academic degrees.[43] Such degrees were not merely scholarly honors; they would ensure decent positions in the government. Two of the stones show the recipients riding on horses amid a parading crowd. On one (fig. 71), enthusiastic young men march in front of the procession holding ceremonial weapons, a large umbrella, and a banner on which is written "happy homecoming in the second year of the Yuantong reign [1334]." On the other (fig. 74), attendants carry portable furniture and boxes for clothing. The parade is held in residential streets, where proud family members, mostly women dressed in formal attire, watch from the windows of storied houses. The other two stones portray the scholars as they travel to the city—one scholar stops by a restaurant (fig. 72)—or visit a country house on their way home (fig. 73). Especially noteworthy is the wine jar in the restaurant, which has exactly the same shape as a celadon wine jar in this exhibition (see fig. 295), indicating that it was a favored shape in the Yuan period. Also of interest are the Tang poems inscribed on two of the stones, demonstrating

Figure 69. *Jurchen Musician.* Jin or Yuan dynasty, 13th century. Pottery, height 14⅝ in. (37 cm). Excavated from a tomb in Xifeng, Jiaozuo, Henan Province, 1973. Henan Museum

Figure 70. *Boy Playing a Flute.* Jin or Yuan dynasty, 13th century. Pottery, height 15¾ in. (40 cm). Excavated from a tomb in Xifeng, Jiaozuo, Henan Province, 1973. Henan Museum [Exhib.]

that poems from the Tang must have been widely known among the common people.

Of all forms of entertainment, the Yuan drama, known as *zaju,* held perhaps the greatest appeal for Dadu residents, from the social elite to the ordinary marketplace crowd. The capital city naturally attracted many renowned playwrights and performing artists. Three of the four great masters of Yuan drama—Guan Hanqing, Ma Zhiyuan, and Wang Shifu—lived and worked in Dadu, and celebrated actors and actresses gathered there as well. As Xia Tingzhi (ca. 1300–1375) noted in his *Qinglou ji* (Record of Entertainment Quarters), about forty of the one hundred or so most popular actresses of the Yuan lived and performed in Dadu.[44] Many of them associated with prominent state officials, such as Lian Xixian, and with famed artists, such as Zhao Mengfu and Xianyu Shu.[45] There were numerous playhouses and entertainment districts where city residents would watch and cheer their favorite actors. Xia noted wryly that at the theaters "called *goulan* . . . , either in the capital or out in local towns . . . the audience would spend their money generously on the actors."[46]

Chinese theater reached its full maturity during the Yuan dynasty, when *zaju* developed into a full-fledged multimedia entertainment that offered plot, acting, dialogue, music, and dance. *Zaju* had its roots in the short plays, skits, and monologues of the variety shows popular in the Song, also called *zaju,* and in the plays, known as *yuanben,* of the Jin. Not only *zaju*'s dramatic structure and music but also its classification of actors by type were a legacy of Jin theater. More than nine hundred plays are known to

Figure 71. Stone carved with scene of a family watching a parade, dated 1334. 16⅛ × 20⅞ in. (41 × 53 cm). Shexian Museum [Exhib.]

have been produced during the Yuan period, of which one hundred or so have survived to the present day.[47] The texts vividly illustrate the sophistication of Yuan drama, and archaeological finds over the last few decades provide valuable visual evidence of its long and sustained development.

Among those archaeological finds are pottery tiles with figures in high relief recovered from the interior walls of a late twelfth-century chamber tomb in southwest Shanxi Province (figs. 75–78).[48] The tiles were made in sets of

Figure 72. Stone carved with scene of a restaurant, dated 1334. 21¼ × 61 in. (54 × 155 cm). Shexian Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 73. Stone carved with rural scene, dated 1334. 21¼ × 61 in. (54 × 155 cm). Shexian Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 74. Stone carved with scene of a family watching a parade, dated 1334. 20⅞ × 27⅜ in. (53 × 69.5 cm). Shexian Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 75 (left). *Actor in the Leading Male Role (mo ni)*. Jin dynasty, late 12th century. Pottery, height 28¾ in. (73 cm). Excavated from a tomb in Miaopu, Jishan, Shanxi Province, 1978. Shanxi Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 76. *Actor in the Secondary Male Role (fu mo)*. Jin dynasty, late 12th century. Pottery, height 28⅜ in. (72.1 cm). Excavated from a tomb in Miaopu, Jishan, Shanxi Province, 1978. Shanxi Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 77 (left). *Actor in the Comic Role (fu jing)*. Jin dynasty, late 12th century. Pottery, height 26 in. (66 cm). Excavated from a tomb in Miaopu, Jishan, Shanxi Province, 1978. Shanxi Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 78. *Actor in the Role of an Official (zhuang gu)*. Jin dynasty, late 12th century. Pottery, height 28¾ in. (73 cm). Excavated from a tomb in Miaopu, Jishan, Shanxi Province, 1978. Shanxi Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 79. Model of a stage with five actors. Jin dynasty, dated 1210. Left to right: *Actor in the Role of an Official* (fig. 80), *Actor in the Secondary Role* (fig. 81), *Actor in the Leading Role* (fig. 82), *Actor Who Introduces the Play* (fig. 83), *Actor in the Comic Role* (fig. 84). Pottery, height of stage 55⅛ in. (140 cm). Found in a tomb in Niucun, Houma, Shanxi Province, 1959. Shanxi Museum [Exhib.]

four or five, and each tile depicts an actor in performance. By analyzing their costume and posture, scholars have been able to identify each figure as a representation of one of the major types of actors in plays of the Jin and, by extension, of the Yuan dynasty. The actor in the lead role (*mo ni*) wears a long, broad-sleeved robe and the hat worn by officials that was made of gauze and stiffened with lacquer, and he holds a tablet in both his hands (fig. 75). The actor in the secondary male role (*fu mo*) wears a tall hat and long robe with narrow sleeves (fig. 76). The comic actor or clown (*fu jing*) is dressed in a soft headcloth with two projecting flaps, or "wings," and a loose robe falling above the knee (fig. 77). And the actor who takes the part of an official (*zhuang gu*) has a hard gauze hat (fig. 78). The comic actor is particularly interesting; with an animated face, he bares his protruding belly and raises his left hand in front of his chest, apparently making a humorous remark.

Figure 80. *Actor in the Role of an Official (zhuang gu)*. Jin dynasty, 1210. Pottery, height 8¼ in. (21 cm). Found in a tomb in Niucun, Houma, Shanxi Province, 1959. Shanxi Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 81. *Actor in the Secondary Role (fu mo)*. Jin dynasty, 1210. Pottery, height 8½ in. (21.6 cm). Found in a tomb in Niucun, Houma, Shanxi Province, 1959. Shanxi Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 82. *Actor in the Leading Role (mo ni)*. Jin dynasty, 1210. Pottery, height 8½ in. (21.6 cm). Found in a tomb in Niucun, Houma, Shanxi Province, 1959. Shanxi Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 83. *Actor Who Introduces the Play (yin xi)*. Jin dynasty, 1210. Pottery, height 7¾ in. (19.7 cm). Found in a tomb in Niucun, Houma, Shanxi Province, 1959. Shanxi Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 84. *Actor in the Comic Role (fu jing)*. Jin dynasty, 1210. Pottery, height 7¾ in. (19.7 cm). Found in a tomb in Niucun, Houma, Shanxi Province, 1959. Shanxi Museum [Exhib.]

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Slightly later in date are five small pottery figures found in a Jin-dynasty tomb (dated 1210) of the Dong family, at Houma, Shanxi Province (fig. 79).[49] Painted with bright pigments, these figures reveal even more about the actors of the period, especially their costume and makeup. They were found standing in a row on a miniature model stage set in the wall of the chamber tomb, as if taking curtain calls in front of an audience. The actor in the lead role was positioned in the center, impressive in his long, broad-sleeved red robe and black gauze hat with wings at the sides (fig. 82). To his left stood the secondary male lead, dressed in a long black robe and a soft black hat (fig. 81). At far left was the official, wearing a hard gauze hat and a robe open at the chest (fig. 80). To the right of the lead was the "narrator" (*yin xi*), who introduced the play (fig. 83). This figure is a female actor, dressed in a man's red robe and black hat with round wings; her twisting body and bent knees suggest the movement of a dancer. At the far right was the comic actor (fig. 84). His soft headcloth has a knob on top, and the short skirt of his yellow robe is painted with a large laughing face. He holds a slapstick in his left hand and whistles through his thumb and index finger. Unlike all the other members of the group, he wears face makeup—white with black streaks over his eyes.

The model stage where the figures were assembled consists of a raised platform with two octagonal columns in the front supporting a square lintel, above which are three brackets that support an elaborate roof with flying eaves and ridge ornaments. The model bears a striking resemblance to a wood-and-brick stage at Erlang Temple in the village of Wangbao, Gaoping, Shanxi Province, whose earliest period of construction dates to 1183 (fig. 85).[50] Because the model was built into the wall of the chamber tomb, it remains unknown whether some stages of the period were open on all four sides; nevertheless, it illustrates an important advance in the development of the theater stage, as it evolved from a marked-off area of open ground to a permanent wood-and-brick structure with a sheltering roof.[51]

A Yuan-era wall painting in Mingyingwang Hall in Huoxian, Shanxi Province, captures the spirit of a *zaju* troupe in performance (fig. 86).[52] The elaborately costumed actors and musicians face their audience from a

82

83

84

Figure 85. Theater stage, earliest construction 1183. Erlang Temple, Wangbao, Gaoping, Shanxi Province

richly furnished stage with tiled floor. Above the stage is a long drape with an inscription written in large characters that reads, "Zhong Duxiu, the favorite of Yao's capital and entertainer from Taihang, performed here, in the fourth month of the first year of the Taiding reign [1324]." The date given in the inscription clearly indicates that the performance took place at the high point of Yuan theatrical art.[53] At the back of the stage hangs a black curtain embroidered with roundel designs, over which are suspended two large backdrops decorated with dramatic paintings. One depicts a man with a sword in front of a pine tree and the other a spirited dragon writhing through clouds. At the far left corner of the stage, a woman peeks out from behind the curtain. The gap in the curtain where she stands must be the entrance through which the actors accessed the stage; at the other end of the curtain was the exit.

The ten performers are arranged in three rows: in the front row are the five principal actors; behind them is a group of secondary actors and musicians; and in the back stands a flute player. In the middle of the front row is the lead actor. He wears a long red robe with broad sleeves and a black official hat with narrow wings and holds a tablet with both hands. The actors on either side of him have painted faces. The one on the left wears heavy makeup, including white rings around his eyes, exaggerated eyebrows, and a full artificial beard. He is dressed in an orange robe, open at the neck and chest, with black markings and embroidered borders. Gesticulating with his hands, he appears to be speaking or singing. The actor on the right wears a light green robe with ornamented borders and collar. He, too, has white pigment around his eyes, and he wears a false beard consisting of long, thin mustaches and side whiskers. The actors at either end of the front row are dressed in long robes with sumptuous embroidered designs. The one at far left holds a fan, the other a long-handled sword. From left to right, the figures in the second row are a drummer in a white robe and wide-brimmed Mongolian hat; a secondary actor wearing a Mongolian hat, a false beard, and heavy makeup that includes dark eyebrows and white eyelids; a female musician playing a large set of clappers; and a secondary female actor holding a fan. The flutist also wears a Mongolian hat. The actor in the center of the front row is likely Zhong Duxiu, advertised in the large banner above the stage. Like the narrator in the troupe of pottery figures found at Houma, this performer is an actress in male costume. Because families often made up the acting troupes, and women often played leading roles, an actress dressed as a man would not have been unusual.[54]

The similarities between the actors in the Yuan wall painting, especially those in the front row, and the figures on the Jin pottery tiles and miniature model stage are obvious. The correspondence in posture, costuming, makeup, and props indicates that there was a continuation of theatrical conventions from the Jin to the Yuan period. In addition, the painting shows that the musical instruments played in Yuan drama were the drum, clappers, and flute, thus providing important visual evidence that reinforces descriptions of Yuan theatrical music in contemporary historical texts.[55]

The stage depicted in the Mingyingwang Hall wall painting probably resembles a real theater that stood in a temple in the same rural area of Shanxi. Thus it surely differs somewhat from commercial theaters in Dadu, which, as described in historical texts, were roofed structures with seats arranged in ascending rows around the three sides of the stage. They must, however, have had certain features in common. Indeed, both had a performing area visible from three sides, a backstage area separated from the stage by a curtain, and a design that provided essential elements of professional performance, including decorated backdrops and places for entrance and exit.[56]

In the early years of Khubilai's reign, Yuan drama flourished largely in North China, including what is today Hebei, Henan, Shandong, and Shanxi provinces. Its influence gradually reached Jiangsu and Zhejiang on the eastern coast as the empire expanded southward. And after Khubilai defeated the Song and unified the country in 1271, it rapidly spread to South China—to Anhui, Jiangxi, Hubei, and Hunan. Recent discoveries of three exquisite Qingbai porcelain pillows made in the kilns at Jingdezhen, Jiangxi Province, reveal the burgeoning of theater in the south.

The pillows are in the shape of a theater stage whose flat top and base form, respectively, the roof and floor. Small figures representing actors and actresses in

Figure 86. *Troupe of Actors in Performance,* dated 1324. Mural. Mingyingwang Hall, Guangshengsi, Huoxian, Shanxi Province

Figure 87. Pillow in the form of a theater. Porcelain, height 7 in. (17.8 cm). Yuexi Administrative Office of Cultural Relics, Anhui Province [Exhib.]

Front

Back

performance stand about dressed in various costumes. The superb example found in Yuexixian, Anhui Province (fig. 87), has been identified as representing the Eight Immortals at a birthday celebration, a popular theme of Yuan drama.[57] The setting is a three-bay building with latticed window panels, beaded curtains, and a carved balustrade. At the center of the building is a platform with a staircase, on which is a female figure with an elaborate headdress, identified as the Queen Mother of the West. Four guests bent over in salutation stand next to her. The other side of the pillow shows a male figure, thought to be the Jade Emperor, on a similar platform and

also flanked by guests. The Eight Immortals, gathered in the side rooms and arranged in conversing pairs, are readily recognizable by their well-known attributes. Li the Iron Crutch, for example, holds his medicine gourd, while Cao Guojiu plays his clappers.

Of the two other examples, the pillow found in Datong, Shanxi Province, represents the play *Legend of the White Snake,* a poignant love story,[58] and the other pillow, *Guanghan Palace,* a celebrated fairy tale.[59] Although the pillows are stray finds and thus lacking archaeological data, their sophisticated architectural form, the motif of the beaded curtains in relief, and the accomplished Qingbai glaze all point to a date in the Yuan period. More important, their representation of Yuan drama in its efflorescence justly places them in the days of Khubilai Khan, the golden age of Chinese theatrical art.

1. During the early years of his reign Khubilai maintained a dual-capital system. He held his court in Shangdu (Xanadu) in summer and in Yanjing in winter. He renamed Yanjing Zhongdu (middle capital) in 1264, making clear his intent to establish his primary capital in Yanjing. This essay uses Yanjing instead of Zhongdu to avoid unnecessary confusion, since Yanjing was also called Zhongdu during the Jin dynasty.
2. *JS* 11, *juan* 23, wuxing zhi: 541.
3. Sun Houren 2000: 106–8.
4. *KGJ,* vol. 1, *juan* 41 (1998 ed.: 277); Steinhardt 1983: 152.
5. Steinhardt 1983: 153.
6. Ibid.: 137.
7. Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo, Beijing shi wenwu guanlichu, Yuan Dadu kaogudui 2000: 309.
8. Ibid.: 310.
9. Ibid.: 310–11.
10. Moule and Pelliot 1938, vol. 1: 212–13.
11. Yang Kuan 2006: 262–82.
12. Moule and Pelliot 1938, vol. 1: 213.
13. *XJZ* (1983 ed.: 206).
14. Ibid.: 5–6.
15. *CGL, juan* 21 (1985 ed.: 297).
16. Fu Xinian 1999: 88–90.
17. Moule and Pelliot 1938, vol. 1: 208.
18. Jiang Shunyuan 1990: 31–32.
19. *CGL, juan* 21 (1985 ed.: 298).
20. Fu Xinian 1993: 130–32.
21. *CGL, juan* 21 (1985 ed.: 298).
22. Steinhardt 1998.
23. Wei 2008: 52–53.
24. Moule and Pelliot 1938, vol. 1: 210.
25. Hansford 1950: 77.
26. *XJZ* (1983 ed.: 115).
27. *YS, juan* 6 (1976 ed.: 109).
28. Hunan sheng bowuguan 2003: 161.
29. Moule and Pelliot 1938, vol. 1: 213.
30. Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo, Beijing shi wenwu guanlichu, Yuan Dadu kaogudui 1972: 2–11.
31. *XJZ* (1983 ed.: 207).
32. Ibid.: 54–94.
33. Xu Pingfang 2000: 572.
34. Ibid.: 572–75.
35. Ibid.: 575.
36. *XJZ* (1983 ed.: 111).
37. *YS, juan* 32 (1976 ed.: 711).
38. Ibid.: 1926–27. See also Shi Weimin 1996: 316–17.
39. Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 1983b: 64–72, fig. 16.
40. Liao Ben 1989: 92–93.
41. Henan sheng bowuguan, Jiaozuo shi bowuguan 1979: 1–17, figs. 13, 31–39.
42. Liao Ben 1989: 197–99; Sun Chuanxian 1983: 51–54.
43. Information and rubbings of these stone carvings are provided by Anhui Provincial Museum.
44. *QLJ,* 1959 ed.
45. For Zhao Mengfu and Xianyu Shu, see the essay by Maxwell K. Hearn in this catalogue.
46. *QLJ,* 1959 ed.: 7.
47. Liao Ben and Liu Yanjun 2006: 53–54; See also Xu Fuming 1981: 30.
48. Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 1983a: 45–63, pl. 5: 4.
49. Shanxi sheng wenwu gongzuo weiyuanhui Houma gongzuozhan 1959: 50–55, fig. 18. For further discussion on this topic, see Liao Ben 1989: 185–89; Liu Nianzi 1986: 40–55; and Maeda 1979: 138–48.
50. Liao Ben 1989: 187.
51. Tsang 2003: 51–52.
52. Chai Zejun and Zhu Xiyuan 1981: 86–91; Liao Ben 1989: 215–27; Maeda 1979: 152–55.
53. Chung-wen Shih 1976.
54. Liu Nianzi 1986: 74–78; Liao Ben 1989: 219–20.
55. Liu Nianzi 1986: 66–67; Liao Ben 1989: 333–34.
56. Tsang 2003: 49–58.
57. Ma Lan 2007: 69; see also Chu Chengfa 2006: 110–11; Zhou Yibai 1986: 153–54.
58. Yu Bingwen 2003: 54–59. For the pillow from Datong, see Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 1983a: 54, figs. 1–3; for the pillow from Fengcheng, see Fengcheng xian lishi wenwu chenlie shi 1984.
59. Fengcheng xian lishi wenwu chenlie shi 1984: 82–84.

2

The Architecture of Living and Dying

Nancy S. Steinhardt

The impact of Mongolian rule on Chinese daily life was immense, yet the architecture associated with two of the most fundamental human acts, living and dying, was maintained according to Chinese custom. To a certain extent, Mongolian architecture of life also was influenced by Chinese construction.

The Chinese had placed in tombs objects that resembled buildings as early as the first millennium BCE. Usually they were sarcophagi. During the Eastern Zhou (770–256 BCE), doors and windows were painted onto coffins in imitation of structural elements of daily life.[1] During the Tang (618–907) and Liao (916–1125) dynasties, when a large percentage of the population was Buddhist, both ashes and corpses were placed in containers that often closely resembled temples.[2] In Yuan-period Gansu, a building-shaped object was made for burial with members of the Wang family.

Wang Shixian (d. 1243) traced his ancestry to officialdom of the Sui dynasty (581–619) and was himself an official under Jin rule. His family continued to serve the Yuan government. He, two sons, and one grandson have biographies in the *Yuanshi* (History of the Yuan Dynasty).[3] In the 1970s, tombs of the family were found among seven from the Yuan period uncovered in a cemetery in Zhangxian, Gansu Province.[4] The four noteworthy Yuan tombs, Nos. 8, 10, 11, and 13, were single-chamber, subterranean brick structures entered from the east end. The rooms were squarish, ranging in dimensions from 2.22–3.1 by 2.17–3.1 meters, and between 3 and 5 meters high. Ceilings were either eight-sided vaults or truncated pyramids, both types having the unusual feature of a gable at four sides. Except for the gables, the sizes and shapes of the tomb interiors were standard during the Jin and Yuan in Shaanxi, Shanxi, and Hebei, as well as in Gansu. But the building-shaped structure in Tomb 13 (fig. 88) was extraordinary.

The burial object is long and narrow, and slightly wider at the front end, 31.5 as opposed to 28 centimeters at the back. Its shape follows that of the sarcophagi in North China dating from the fifth century, so perhaps the dimensions were intentional.[5] Like the tomb, its main entry is on the east end. Unless it were placed along a wall, passage around it in the tomb should have been easily possible.

The Wang family miniature structure can be viewed as a seven-by-one-bay building, meaning that eight narrow planks divide the longer sides into seven units, or bays, and that the corner planks brace the short, one-bay ends. The central bay is widest on the long sides, a standard feature in Chinese timber-frame buildings. Almost without exception, Chinese buildings are fronted on the long side, with the door placed in the wide, central bay and latticed panels decorating the bays at the sides. These features are found here, with a *ya* (tooth)-shaped cutout, behind which is a painting of a pair of female servants, one younger and one older, in place of what would have been the front and back doors of a building. A one-bay façade is almost unknown in Chinese architecture, and entry on a single-bay side is unprecedented. The form thus suggests that the burial object was as much a decorative structure as a replica of an actual building.

A clue to its purpose is found inside: a wooden tablet on which is painted a woman seated on a folding chair. The pose is typical of posthumous paintings of tomb owners during the Jin and Yuan periods. A notch at the base of the tablet positioned it into a wooden slot. With servants depicted on the exterior, one must consider the possibility that the structure is a shrine to the woman interred in the tomb, whose image is painted on the interior tablet.

Opposite: Roof-ridge ornament, Yonglegong, Shanxi Province, figure 93

Figure 88. Burial structure in the shape of a building. Wood, height 30 in. (76.2 cm), maximum length 75 in. (190.5 cm). Excavated from Tomb 13, Wang Shixian family tombs, Zhangxian, Gansu Province, 1972. Gansu Provincial Museum [Exhib.]

A similar structure in the Zhangxian Museum, found in the same cemetery, supports the idea that the unusually shaped small building was a funerary shrine. More damaged than the object on exhibition, the second structure has more complicated windows and door panels. It also contained a wooden tablet, in this case portraying a seated male in official attire, in standard posthumous pose.

If real architecture—temple, shrine, or residence—was in fact the source of inspiration for the Wang family burial objects, the brackets provide important clues to the structural models. The bracket sets are both consistent with Chinese building practice and support the idea that the shrinelike structure is in part a decorative object. In China's earliest extant wooden buildings, which date from the Tang dynasty, the most complicated bracket sets are those at the corners of a building, which is also the case here. A second feature of Chinese bracketing is that it clusters above the pillars, again a convention seen in surviving structures. If additional bracket sets are present, they are found between columns and above the widest or most important bays. Consistent with Chinese construction of the Yuan period are two intercolumnar bracket sets across the central bays of the long sides and one for each side bay. However, one would never find bracket sets like these on an actual building. First of all, they are detached from the pillars, thereby negating the functional purpose of the wooden bracket set, which is to interface the columns and the roof frame and thus to support the undersides of the roof eaves. In other words, although the bracket components follow those of real wooden clusters, the bracketing itself is purely decorative.

Each cluster includes an "arm" (*gong*) at each side of a base block (*dou*), a standard form seen in the earliest extant representations of bracket sets, either on earthenware architectural models or on monumental *que* (pillar towers) dating from the first centuries CE. Each bracket set on the funerary structure also includes a diagonal member known as an *ang* (sometimes translated as "cantilever"), a feature that first appears in bracket sets around the ninth century. The decorative aspect of the *ang* is emphasized by

Figure 89. Corner-bracket set. Sanqingdian, Yonglegong, Shanxi Province

Figure 90. Jizhai. Gaopingxian, Shanxi Province

its exaggerated curve. Here, too, the feature is consistent with architecture of the period. Indeed, the Yuan marks the turning point in the history of the Chinese bracket, the moment when decorative as opposed to structural elements begin to appear.[6] It is also during this time that the height of the bracket set is established as about one-sixth the height of the column below it, which is the proportion seen here. Detail by detail, the structure of the object excavated at the Wang family cemetery dates to the Yuan period.

A comparison with a Yuan building, Sanqingdian (Sanqing Hall), at the Daoist palace Yonglegong in southern Shanxi, further confirms that the architecture of the burial object followed that of buildings of its day, albeit in an abbreviated manner. At Sanqingdian, which received high-level patronage, corner-bracket sets are the most complex, and the clusters on the façade have the curved, decorative cantilevers seen on the Wang family shrine (fig. 89). But while the building has three tiers of bracket arms and three *ang*, the shrine has only one of each. The bracketing on Sanqingdian is as complex as any that survives from the Yuan period. Assuming that the artisan who designed the shrine for the Wang family knew the ranking system of Chinese wooden details, the sets on the shrine are appropriately scaled down according to the lower status of the structure in the Chinese architectural system. However, buildings from the Yuan period with bracketing of fewer components and no cantilevers do exist. The bracket sets on the shrine have a significance beyond the decorative; their presence demonstrates that the family wanted some indication of status in their eternal house of rest.

The oldest standing house in China is Jizhai, the residence of the Ji family, in Gaopingxian, Shanxi Province (fig. 90).[7] The house offers a comparison between the Wang shrine and a humble building. It has three bays across the front and two on the sides. The one- and two-step bracket sets are placed only above the pillars, and the end of a beam cuts through them with decoration that corresponds to the *ang* on the shrine. The shrine has a hip-gable roof of simple planks, a form indicative of a status lower than that of the hip roof of Sanqingdian. Jizhai has an even simpler roof, consisting solely of overhanging gables on the front and back. The main roof ridges, or purlins, of the residence lack decoration such as owls' tails or an animal at the ends, another sign that it is a humble structure. The shrine thus displays elements that derive from both temple and residential structures and, according to the ranking system of Chinese architecture, falls between an eminent Daoist temple represented by Sanqingdian and a simple residential dwelling in rural Shanxi.

The decoration of the roof ridge can be a telling feature of a Chinese building. On eminent buildings, owl tails often are found on the ridge ends. A simple principle of dating divides the owl tails into *chiwei* and *chiwen*. Although both ornaments are sometimes translated as "owl tails," with "owl" a translation for *chi* and "tail" the translation for *wei*, it is only in pre-Yuan architecture that these decorations are simple ornaments that curve like a tail.[8] As illustrated by the roof-ridge ornament from Yonglegong, Shanxi (see fig. 93), the Yuan period marks the transition from the unadorned form named after the owl's tail to an animal with an open mouth (*wen*). We can find pre-Yuan buildings with animal-face acroteria, but because ceramic tile in this unprotected state is subject to all variety of weather damage, we should assume that they are later repairs, even if the rest of the building shows almost no sign of restoration. Jizhai has no end

Figure 91. *Military Official.* Marble, height 122 in. (310 cm). Beijing Art Museum of Stone Carvings [Exhib.]

Figure 92. *Civil Official.* Marble, height 122 in. (310 cm). Beijing Art Museum of Stone Carvings [Exhib.]

ornaments; Sanqingdian certainly had them. If owl tails decorated the roof-ridge ends of the Wang shrine, which appears possible, those details would further support the goal of burial décor befitting an official family.

The occupants of the tombs in Zhangxian were not members of the imperial family, but they were of a rank superior to that of the owners of a house with overhanging eaves in Gaopingxian. Status dictated architectural forms of both life and the afterlife in Yuan China.

There is no way to determine what the Wang Shixian residence might have looked like. Certainly it had more rooms than either the tomb or Jizhai; in all likelihood it was a multistructure, courtyard-style dwelling, perhaps even one like Houyingfang, the home of a Yuan official discussed on page 50.

The Wang burial structure offers a rare glimpse into the funerary world of the Chinese under Mongol rule. We have no comparable documentation about the Mongol rulers, who were buried in unmarked graves. To date no tomb of a khan has been found.[9]

Nevertheless, the discovery of a three-meter-tall stone figure in Beijing in 1997 (fig. 91) may be evidence that some Mongols followed Chinese burial customs.[10] The exaggerated facial features, including bulging eyes, bulbous nose, elongated lips, and the broad spread of the beard from cheeks to upper arms, are distinct from known portrayals of Chinese men during the Yuan or earlier periods. The clothing is that of a military official, so specific and detailed that it may have been copied from an actual uniform. Or it may represent a kind of aggrandizement of the figure. True to life or fanciful, the figure was itself in all likelihood one of an identical pair that was placed on a "spirit path," a sculptural arcade leading to a tomb mound. We do not know if the tomb belonged to a Mongol, but the figure in front of the tomb confirms that an individual other than a Han Chinese was among the participants in

Figure 93. Roof-ridge ornament. Glazed pottery, height 73⅝ in. (187 cm). From Chunyangdian, Yonglegong, Shanxi Province. Shanxi Provincial Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 95. Mural (detail), completed by 1358. East side of north wall, Chunyangdian, Yonglegong, Shanxi Province

official life in Dadu. A similarly sized figure found at the same site, also presumably one of a pair, is without doubt Chinese (fig. 92). His combed and pointed beard, almond-shaped eyes, straight mouth, flat nose, long fingers with nails, unobtrusive shoes, and plain garment contrast with those of the other figure. From these sculptures we can surmise that the practice of pairs of civil and military officials along the approach to a tomb, best known from China's last dynasties, the Ming and the Qing, was in place at Dadu.

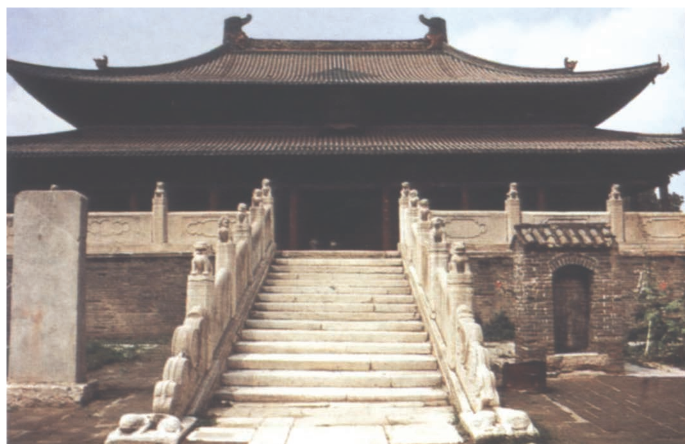


Figure 94. Approach to Deningdian. Beiyuemiao, 1270. Quyang, Hebei Province

If a grand sculpture program lent magnificence to a tomb in Dadu, a roof ornament from Yonglegong (fig. 93) illustrates that religious edifices during the Yuan period also could be quite imposing. Indeed, the ornament only hints at the scale and magnificence of Mongol ceremonial and residential architecture, which was often decorated with marble.

Deningdian, from Beiyuemiao (Beiyue Temple), is a rare surviving example of a hall built by order of Khubilai Khan in 1270. It offers an image of what buildings in the palace complex at the great capital, Dadu, might have looked like. Today the approach to the hall comprises a relatively modest marble balustrade and an undecorated staircase (fig. 94).[11] The khagan or members of his household would have passed over a marble ramp on which an entwined phoenix and a unicorn were carved. If this kind of decoration was installed only at imperial sites, it follows that structures with carved marble decoration—identified by inscription as palaces of Daoist immortals—in a mural of Chunyangdian at the Daoist palace Yonglegong also provide an impression of imperial architecture (fig. 95).

Excavated remains suggest that the exterior adornment of other Yuan palaces was similar to that seen in Dadu and in the murals at Yonglegong. The central capital,

Figure 96. Architectural element in the shape of a dragon head. Marble, height 16 in. (40.6 cm), length 59⅞ in. (152.1 cm). Hebei Institute of Cultural Relics [Exhib.]

Zhongdu (in present-day Zhangbei, Hebei Province), was first excavated in 1999.[12] Marble elements that interlock with architectural members to decorate the border of a balustrade, such as the dragon head above (fig. 96), offer a good comparison. It is possible that the same craftsmen worked at both the Dadu and the Zhongdu capitals.

Initiated by Emperor Wuzong (Khaishan; r. 1308–11), who wanted to build a capital of his own, Zhongdu never served as a functional administrative center. In fact construction of the city was halted by his successor, Renzong. Like Dadu, Zhongdu was enclosed by three sets of walls. It is estimated that the innermost enclave, the palace complex, was 2,360 meters in perimeter. Nearly thirty building foundations have been uncovered there to date. Wall fragments suggest that the palace-city wall was 15 meters thick and had corner towers and a gate on each side (fig. 97). This wall was roughly centered in the second enclosure, the equivalent of the administrative city of Dadu. Parts of battlements known as *mamian* have been excavated there, suggesting that fortification was a consideration in construction. Marble decoration has been uncovered in each part of the city. The central gate of the second

Figure 97. Base of triple-entry gate. Zhongdu, Zhangbei, Hebei Province

Figure 98. Architectural elements in the shape of a dragon head. Kondui, Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region

Figure 99. Architectural element in the shape of a dragon head, with claws. Marble, length 38¼ in. (97.2 cm). Hebei Institute of Cultural Relics [Exhib.]

enclosure is the most recently excavated area. Although the façade may have been elaborately decorated, the gate itself was made of pounded earthen layers (*hangtu*) and had only three entryways, simpler than one would expect for a city visited by the khagan—even if only as a rest stop en route to his hunting palace at Shangdu in the north.

The shape and features of the dragon head from Zhongdu derive from a long heritage of Chinese dragon-faced imperial ornaments that date from at least the sixth century and survive today at the royal palaces and tombs of the Qing emperors.[13] It is a type also found at Shangdu and in a Mongolian princely residence at Kondui in the Transbaikal region (fig. 98). Another marble dragon-headed ornament from Zhongdu, this one with claws (fig. 99), appears to be more specific to Mongol décor. Many examples of this type have been excavated in Mongolia. Comparison of the dragon heads from Zhongdu with the dragon heads from Kondui confirms the imperial status of the central capital, for only dragon-headed ornaments from imperial cities have these kinds of scales and claws.

Some 150 years before excavation began at either the great or the central capital, the Mongol palace at Shangdu had become legendary. Inspired by the possibly fictitious descriptions of Marco Polo, Samuel Coleridge immortalized the palace as Xanadu in his famous poem, written about 1798–99, and the physician and art historian Stephen Bushell visited the site in 1872.[14] Bushell's study confirmed for Western readership the existence of the Yuan city established in 1256, near present-day Duolunxian (fig. 100). In that year Khubilai had been ordered by his older brother Möngke to set up a power base in the east for future attacks on China. It was from here that Khubilai

Figure 100. Aerial view of Shangdu. Zhenglan Banner, Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region

Figure 101. Post with dragons on a floral ground. Stone, height 80¾ in. (205.1 cm). Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 102. Seated figure. Marble. Found at Yangqunmiao, Shangdu, Zhenglan Banner, Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region

Figure 103. Architectural element in the shape of a dragon head. Olon Süme, Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region

Figure 104. Nestorian tombstone. Olon Süme, Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region

would make his successful bid to become khagan. In 1264 the city was designated as Shangdu, or "upper capital." After 1267 it served primarily as a summer residence and hunting retreat for the khans, secondary in status to Dadu.

As at Zhongdu, only wall fragments and stone sculpture remain at Shangdu, but the plan of the palace area drawn in the first part of the twentieth century by Japanese excavators has been confirmed again and again by further excavation.[15] The outermost wall was a near-perfect square,

about 2.5 kilometers on each side. The second enclosure was between 1,395 and 1,415 meters on each side, sharing its eastern and southern boundaries with the outer wall. The palace-city complex measured 600 by 675 meters, at least 200 meters longer on each face than the Zhongdu palace city. When excavation of Zhongdu is completed, we will know if it had as much open space within its outermost wall. The palaces and religious institutions of Shangdu are described in Yuan writings, and excavation has uncovered a palatial hall that faced south in the northern center of the city. Excavated remains such as the stone post with dragons on a floral ground on two sides (fig. 101) show the level of carving to have been on par with the most refined and skillful examples surviving today in the Forbidden City in Beijing. Decorative components similar to this one, with five-claw dragons and floral motifs, were set into the corners of pillars, gates, and buildings to proclaim imperial grandeur.

One of the many daily activities of nomadic lords in eastern Mongolia was hunting. In open space about 35 kilometers northwest of Shangdu are the remains of Yangqunmiao, a set of stone-encircled ritual mounds in front of which are statues of seated men. The elusive headless figures, today preserved in museums in Inner Mongolia, may provide details about Mongolian royal costume. Like the figure of the military official found in Beijing (fig. 91), they confirm that an array of real and imagined materials and motifs adorned monumental stone sculpture in the cities and in the countryside where Mongols lived and died (fig. 102). And were we to discover clues to the rites enacted in their vicinity, we could perhaps learn much about the daily life of the khans.

Cities of Inner Mongolia attest to the incorporation of foreign elements into Mongolian life at this time. The walled city of Olon Süme, less than 200 kilometers northeast of Hohhot along the route to Kharakhorum, is a repository of stone dragon heads and other carved marble sculpture, and of Nestorian tombstones (figs. 103, 104).[16] A city with site reports by Owen Lattimore, Walther Heissig, and Egami Namio, it has been identified as a location where in the thirteenth century John of Montecorvino, founder of the Catholic missions in China and later Archbishop of Peking, preached. The tombstones provide evidence of links between the practice of Nestorianism in China under Mongolian rule from Olon Süme to Quanzhou (see fig. 198).

Architectural remains from Yuan China offer tantalizing glimpses into the lives of the khans, their officials, and perhaps even Chinese merchants. But whether any Mongol ever entered a Christian church or stood in front of the now headless statues near Shangdu remains unknown. Rituals they may have followed that were connected to death and dying are similarly unrecorded. Concerning death, we know only about the practices of the Chinese in service at the Mongol court.

1. One of the best examples is the sarcophagus of Marquis Yi of Zeng; see Xiaoneng Yang 1999: 264–319.
2. Princess Li Jingxun, of the Sui period, was buried in a temple-shaped coffin. For the excavation report, see Tang Jinyu 1959. On the Yemaotai tomb and its sarcophagus, see Liaoning sheng bowuguan, Liaoning Tieling diqu wenwuzu 1975.
3. *YS, juan* 155 (1976 ed.: 3649–665).
4. Gansu sheng bowuguan and Zhangxian wenhuaguan 1982.
5. It is not certain that sarcophagi with trapezoid-shaped lids and bases originated with the Xianbei, but coffins of this shape were used by them. The sarcophagus excavated in Tomb 1 at Leizumiao, Guyuan, is a famous example; see Ningxia Guyuan bowuguan 2004: 156–57, 160–66. The Liao also made sarcophagi with trapezoid-shaped lids.
6. On the history of the Chinese bracket set, see Liang Sicheng and Liu Zhiping 1969.
7. Zhang Guangshan 1993.
8. Qi Yingtao 1981: 47–50.
9. Tombs with paintings of Mongols exist, but some of those tombs almost certainly belonged to Chinese; Steinhardt 2009. A Yuan-period tomb in Houdesheng, Inner Mongolia, may have belonged to Mongols; Neimenggu zizhiqu wenhuating wenwuchu and Wulanchabu meng wenwu gongzuo zhan 1994.
10. The statue was found during a construction project in the vicinity of the Beijing zoo.
11. No Mongol ruler performed sacrifices at Beiyuemiao, but as far as we know it was constructed according to specifications for a hall that would have been used by the ruler. For more on this building, see Steinhardt 1998.
12. See *Zhongguo wenwu bao*, December 12, 1999, and Hebei sheng wenwu yanjiusuo, Zhangjiakoushi wenwu guanlichu, and Zhangbeixian Yuan Zhongdu yizhi guanlichu 2007.
13. Examples have been found at Ye of the Northern Qi, at Chang'an of the Tang, and in all later imperial cities.
14. Bushell 1874; Impey 1925; Harada 1941; and Wei Jian 2008.
15. Harada 1941.
16. On Olon Süme, see Egami and Miyake 1981.

3

Mongol Dress in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries

Joyce Denney

The Mongols under Khubilai Khan stood at the head of a hierarchy of ethnic groups. These included, in descending order, non-Mongol, non-Chinese groups such as the Uighurs, the Khitans, and Muslims; the northern Chinese (the Han); and the southern Chinese. The Mongols held the power, and their forms of dress, differing emphatically from the apparel of the Southern Song, were the clothing of a powerful elite.

MEN'S DRESS

The *zhisun* banquet was the most spectacular event of the Mongol court calendar. For the feast, high officials were required to wear the *zhisun* robe.[1] The *Yuanshi* (History of the Yuan Dynasty) delineates the various types of *zhisun* robe in great detail—by rank (emperor, nobles, senior officials), by season (summer, winter), and by the types of cloth from which they were made, most frequently *nasij*, silk woven with an overall pattern in gold. The text suggests that a *zhisun* robe made of *nasij* was an ordinary *nasij* garment further decorated with pearls and precious stones. There are no known depictions of a *zhisun* robe, nor have any excavated examples so far come to light.

The signature garment of Mongol men had a wide waistband, close-fitting long sleeves, and a flaring skirt, producing an unmistakable silhouette. An early example (fig. 105) was excavated from Mingshui, an Onggut site of the Mongol period in Inner Mongolia.[2] The Mingshui robe incorporates a wide waistband that resembles a cummerbund. Above the waistband the overlapping front closure forms a v at the neck, and the long sleeves, while not tight, are fairly close fitting. Below the waistband, the skirt section, pleated at the sides, allows freedom of movement. This garment is made from a *nasij* with a continuous pattern of rosettes within a diagonal lattice; the pattern of an additional textile on the underflap features a large grid with pairs of sphinxes enclosed in aligned roundels. The waistband is demarcated by fifty-four pairs of couched silk cords; in each pair the cords are plied in opposite directions (one z, the other s), giving the illusion that the waistband has a braided decoration (see detail).

Figure 105. Robe with "braided" (*bian xian*) waist, 13th century. Silk and metallic thread lampas (*nasij*) with silk and metallic thread samite underflap, 55⅞ × 96⅞ in. (142 × 246 cm). Excavated at Mingshuicun, Damao Banner, Baotou, Inner Mongolia. Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum [Exhib.]

Detail of figure 105

Figure 106. Illustration from the *Shilin guangji*, published 1330s, showing a man wearing a Mongol robe with "braided" (*bian xian*) waist and pleats

Robes with wide waistbands were worn during the Jin dynasty (1115–1234), which was in power in North China immediately before and during the Mongols' rise to dominance. Such robes, likely the antecedent of Mongol garments such as the Mingshui robe, are seen on figures of male musicians excavated from a Jin-dynasty tomb (see fig. 68).[3] The *Yuanshi* refers to a type of robe with lines at the waist (*bian xian*) and fine pleats. An example is seen in a Yuan-dynasty woodblock-printed illustration from the *Shilin guangji* (A Comprehensive Record of the Forest of Affairs; fig. 106). The *bian xian* robe is described in the *Yuanshi*, in the section on transport and dress, as the apparel of ceremonial guards.[4]

Not all robes with wide waistbands that have survived are made from *nasij*. An example in *kesi*, or silk tapestry, is in a private collection, and the Mingshui site yielded a fragmentary garment of this type made from a Jin-dynasty or Jin-style textile with offset motifs woven in gold on a plain-colored silk background (see fig. 264). An example made of unpatterned ramie that belonged to a fifteen-year-old boy of the Goryeo period (918–1392) is preserved in Haeinsa, a temple in South Gyeongsang Province, Korea.[5] The evidence thus suggests that this type of garment was made in various parts of the empire in different fabrics associated with specific ethnic groups.

Other types of men's robes were also in use during the Yuan dynasty. One features "badge" ornamentation on the chest and back that is the antecedent of the Chinese rank badge, which delineated the ranks of military and civil officials in the Ming and Qing dynasties. The Yuan

Figure 107. Robe with front badge with design of a falcon chasing a hare. Gold-brocaded lampas on silk twill damask, 55⅛ × 87⅜ in. (140 × 222 cm). Private collection, China

Figure 108. Liu Guandao (active ca. 1275–1300). *Khubilai Khan Hunting* (detail), dated 1280. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 72 × 41 in. (182.9 × 104.1 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei

badges appear to have been related not to rank but to occasion; robes bearing badges seem to have been worn for competitive leisure activities. For example, they were sometimes woven on to the front and back panels of the long robe worn for hunting. A surviving example bears a woven design of a small falcon attacking a hare (fig. 107). In the painting *Khubilai Khan Hunting* (fig. 108), most of the hunters wear robes ornamented on the chest and back, sometimes incorporating designs of game animals, such as deer. The *Shilin guangji* includes illustrations of men wearing robes with badges while they play a board game (fig. 109) and also while they engage in a form of football.[6]

Another type of men's robe with long sleeves features an opening on the seam that joins the sleeve to the body of the robe so that the arm can be slipped out of the sleeve. This feature is visible in the robes worn by some of the hunters in *Khubilai Khan Hunting*. The archer in green, for example (fig. 110), has slipped his arm out of the sleeve to afford himself greater freedom of movement. In the same painting, a robe with an obvious opening along the sleeve seam is also worn by the hunter in red (fig. 108). A surviving Yuan garment with underarm openings that allow the wearer to bypass the sleeves permits the sleeves to be fastened, out of the way, on the back of the robe.[7] A hypothetical history of garments with long sleeves and underarm openings by Elfriede Knauer finds their origins in the ancient nomadic cultures of the Asian steppes and notes further developments in examples such as coats in sixth- to seventh-century Persia and fourteenth-century Europe, while observing their continued presence in western and Central Asia.[8]

Another article of men's clothing is without sleeves. In the *Yuanshi*, Khubilai's chief consort, Chabi, is credited with designing a sleeveless garment.[9] Whether or not she actually did so, such a garment was incorporated into the dress of the imperial family, as seen in the tapestry-woven portraits of Emperor Wenzong (Tugh Temür; r. 1328–29, 1330–32) and his elder brother Emperor Mingzong (Khoshila; r. 1329), which appear in the lower left corner of an imperially commissioned monumental mandala (see fig. 146).

Chabi is also credited in the *Yuanshi* with adding—at Khubilai's suggestion—a brim to men's hats, to lessen glare from the sun.[10] In general there are two types of men's headgear, soft and rigid. The head covering in Khubilai's painted portrait (see fig. 1) is of the soft type. Rigid examples include the brimless hats worn by the game players in the *Shilin guangji* (fig. 109). These resemble the hat worn by the Jin figurine (see fig. 68) and a surviving piece in a private collection.[11]

Figure 109. Illustration from the *Shilin guangji*, published 1330s, showing men playing a board game.

Hats with brims (for example, fig. 111) were excavated in the 1970s from the thirteenth-century tombs of the Wang Shixian family in Gansu Province. The tops of such hats are ornamented, and a string of hardstone beads serves as a decorative chin band, similar to that of the brimmed hat in the tapestry-woven portrait of Tugh Temür (see top detail of fig. 146) and also sketchily indicated on the brimmed hats of the attendant figures in the *Shilin guangji* (fig. 109).

In paintings and other images consulted, the footwear of Mongol men consists exclusively of boots, sometimes with decorated boot covers, as seen in the garb of several of the hunters in *Khubilai Khan Hunting* (fig. 108) and in an excavated example in *kesi* from Mingshui.[12]

Figure 110. Liu Guandao (active ca. 1275–1300). *Khubilai Khan Hunting* (detail), dated 1280. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 72 × 41 in. (182.9 × 104.1 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei

WOMEN'S DRESS

Elite Mongol women wore very generously cut robes, examples of which may be seen in the *kesi* portraits of the Yuan empresses Budashiri and Babusha (see fig. 146, detail). The sleeves have narrow wrist openings with decorative banding that echoes the banding at the V-neck, likely produced in workshops that were set up in and around the capital of Dadu and dedicated to the production of *nasij* for decorative bands. Unseen in the portraits is the possible presence of long trains at the back of the robes. A painting of two standing female Mongol donors in the front entrance of Mogao Cave 332 at Dunhuang includes attendants who stand behind them, holding the long trains of their mistresses' voluminous robes.[13]

Another type of women's garment is a short overjacket. Surviving examples are frequently highly decorated. A gold-printed example (fig. 112) excavated from the site of Jininglu, Inner Mongolia, features a small overall pattern applied in gold leaf to the surface of the silk foundation cloth. The pattern is quite small in scale, and the adhesive that holds the gold leaf in place must have been applied with a stamp or through a small stencil, with a pattern area of approximately 3.5 inches in height and 8.25 inches in width. The process of applying adhesive and gold leaf was repeated until the entire surface of the cloth was covered with the continuous pattern. While the technique dates back to well before the Tang dynasty (618–907), it was frequently used during the Mongol and Yuan periods. According to a recent technical analysis, an improved adhesive made from peach tree gum was developed during the Yuan dynasty.[14] The cloth from which the jacket is made appears to be quite similar to that of a large-sleeved full-length garment worn in a seated portrait of the Daoist master Wu Quanjie (1269–1346; see fig. 174).

Also from Jininglu is a delicate jacket made of exquisitely embroidered purple gauze (fig. 113). Ninety-nine small asymmetrical motifs cover the front and back of the jacket in an offset arrangement. A larger scene appears on each shoulder, showing a pair of egrets at a lotus pond (see detail). The scene also includes reeds, rocks, and the auspicious fungus, along with clouds and the triumvirate of lotus flower, lotus leaf, and trefoil leaf that became very important in blue-and-white ceramics in the Yuan period. The tiny offset motifs on the front and back of the jacket are quite variable. Most are floral, but many feature birds and beasts—phoenix, egret, mandarin duck, goose or swan, pheasant, hare, deer, fish, and turtle. A few even show scenes of figures, usually near bodies of water.

An elegant "palace poem" by Ke Jiusi (1290–1343)—calligrapher and poet, painter of bamboo and landscapes, and connoisseur for the imperial art collection—specifically names the pattern of this embroidered jacket:

> *Viewing lotus, rowing on the Taiye*
> *Bright colored ducks among green leaves.*
> *Little ones, note this: Embroidered on*
> *Court ladies' coats are "ponds of beauty."*[15]

The poet's note, appended to the poem, reads:

> *In the Tianli reign, a common design pattern on imperial garments is the scene of a garden pond. It is called "pond of beauties."*[16]

Figure 111. Brimmed hat. Fiber, wood, gold, and semiprecious stones, diameter 13¾ in. (35 cm). Excavated from the Wang Shixian family tombs, Zhangxian, Gansu Province, 1972. Gansu Provincial Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 112. Woman's jacket with gold rosettes (front). Gold leaf on silk gauze, 24½ × 42⅛ in. (62.2 × 107 cm). Excavated from Jininglu Ancient City (dated 1312), Chayouqian Banner, Wulanchabu, Inner Mongolia, 1976. Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum [Exhib.]

This elegant jacket is a fortunate survival, and together with the poem it reveals the taste of the Yuan court.

The signature item of dress for elite Mongol women was a tall headdress, cylindrical in form and widening at the top. Such headdresses, called *gugu* or *guguguan* in the Chinese sources, could attain remarkable heights above the woman's head, especially when the top was decorated with feathers and other ornaments. William of Rubruck, a Flemish Franciscan cleric who traveled as far east as Kharakhorum in 1253–55, was impressed with the warlike appearance of the horse-riding Mongol women; when seen from afar crowned with their decorated headdresses, he thought they resembled soldiers with helmets and raised lances.[17] The headdresses have a rigid inner framework, sometimes of birch bark, which is attached to a base, covered in cloth, and ornamented with materials such as pearls, gold, or knotted silk. An ornament found with the remains of a *guguguan* in a Yuan-dynasty tomb, for example, was finely worked in gold and set with carnelian (fig. 114).[18] Although *gugu* headdresses are fragile, a few survive, at least in part.[19] The shape of the headdress differed in the various parts of the empire. Generally it was thinner in the more western regions and had a greater diameter in Yuan

Detail of figure 113

Back

Front

Figure 113. Woman's jacket with *manchijiao* pattern of lotus pond and other vignettes. Silk embroidery on silk gauze, 22⅞ × 42⅛ in. (58.1 × 107 cm). Excavated from Jininglu Ancient City (dated 1312), Chayouqian Banner, Wulanchabu, Inner Mongolia, 1976. Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum [Exhib.]

China.[20] During the Yuan dynasty, the *gugu* became even more elaborate.

The Yuan empresses wore the *gugu* headdress in their official portraits, such as that of Chabi, Khubilai's chief wife (see fig. 7). Chabi's luxurious *guguguan* is wrapped in red cloth, probably silk gauze, and ornamented with pearls and other precious materials.[21] The very top is embellished with colorful feathers arranged in the shape of a fan (and cropped in the portrait). A fitting headdress for an empress—even the dark silk ties used to affix the *gugu* have pearls at the ends—it finds no match in surviving examples.

MONGOL DRESS IN TOMB PAINTINGS AND IN THE SOUTH

Two garments have been described above as signature pieces. The man's robe with a wide waistband (fig. 105) and the woman's tall headdress (see fig. 7) are quintessentially "Mongol." These two garments make a conspicuous appearance in the tomb painting dated 1269 of a husband and wife (fig. 115), Zhang Andabuhua and Li Yunxian, from Dongercun, Shaanxi Province. The husband wears the robe described in the *Yuanshi* as the garb of a ceremonial guard, and his wife, the *gugu* of an elite Mongol woman. Because the image so clearly illustrates such key Mongol garments, it has long been used to explain

Figure 114. Ornament for a *gugu* headdress. Gold and carnelian, 2⅜ × 2⅜ in. (6.1 × 6 cm). Excavated from a Yuan tomb near the Enge'er River, Xilin Gol League, Inner Mongolia, 2001. Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum [Exhib.]

Mongol dress. While the wife, Li Yunxian, has been identified as Chinese, some have cast doubt on the Mongol ethnicity of her husband. Nevertheless, whether the couple is ethnically Mongol or Chinese, they come from a place that had not been part of China's Song Empire for generations. At the beginning of Mongol rule, many northerners—Jurchens, Khitans, Han Chinese—readily entered their service and adopted their customs, including dress. Shi Tianze, for example, was a Han Chinese with a Jurchen family whose lifestyle and conduct were thoroughly Mongol (for jewelry from his family's collection, see fig. 19). Furthermore, as previously noted, the signature men's robe with wide waistband was widespread in the Mongol Empire, and sometimes fashioned of textiles typically associated with specific non-Mongol ethnic groups. The presence of this garment type was not a sign of Mongol ethnicity; rather, it was indicative of Mongol power and sphere of influence.

While Mongol garment types were in wide use in the north, they were not commonly seen in the south. This statement is based on a comparison of articles of women's dress excavated from a Southern Song site in Fuzhou, Fujian Province, and a late-Yuan site in Suzhou, Jiangsu Province—a very small sampling.[22] The tomb in Suzhou is that of a southern woman (born with the name Cao and the mother of a man named Zhang Shicheng). Her dress indicates that she did not adopt the long one-piece Mongol robe of the north but retained the two-piece system of the Southern Song—skirt and upper-body garment. Also strongly in evidence in the Suzhou tomb were traditionally Chinese monochrome patterned silks (damasks and gauzes), which also predominated in the tomb at Fuzhou.

As we have seen, Mongol dress for men and women was the clothing of a powerful elite. During the expansionist Mongol period their signature garments, recognizably Mongol, spread to the far reaches of the empire, with some local variations—a more slender *gugu* for women of the western part of the empire, for example, and the use of local textile products for men's waisted robes, such as the ramie example used in Korea. But with the end of the Yuan, the signature garments identifiable with the Mongols faded from prominence. Nonetheless, despite the short duration of the Yuan dynasty, the system of elite clothing in China emerged in the Ming somewhat changed from that in the past. Imperial portraits show that unlike the voluminous sleeves of the Song, the early Ming emperors' formal robes featured close-fitting sleeves. Additionally, the badges we have seen on many men's garments from the Yuan continued in the Ming, but with

Figure 115. *Zhang Andabuhua and His Wife, Li Yunxian* (detail), Mongol period, dated 1269. Mural. From a tomb in Dongercun, Punchengxian, Shaanxi Province

a new purpose: the delineation of civil and military rank. In short, the clothing of the powerful Mongol elite in the Yuan dynasty provided a decided break with the past and opened up new possibilities for Chinese dress of the future.

1. This paragraph summarizes the discussion of the *zhisun* robe in Watt and Wardwell 1997: 138.
2. The Onggut Turks were frontier guards for the Jurchens of the Jin dynasty, but in 1204 became followers of the Mongols.
3. The *Jinshi* (History of the Jin Dynasty) also mentions a garment that is "pleated [*biji*] below," although the details of the robe's construction and appearance are not clear; see *JS* II, *juan* 43 (1975 ed.: 984).
4. *YS, juan* 78 (1976 ed., vol. 7: 1941).
5. The garment is illustrated in Yeon-Ok Sim et al. 2006: 79. See also Sun-Yong Lee and Yeon-Ok Sim 2005: 294, fig. 25.
6. Illustrated in Zhou Xinhui 2000, vol. 2: 180.
7. Illustrated in Zhao Feng and Jin Lin 2005: 52.
8. Knauer 2004: especially 8–19.
9. Rossabi 1988: 67–68, 246n50. See also Cleaves 1979–80.
10. Rossabi 1988: 67–68, 246n50. See also Cleaves 1979–80.
11. Illustrated and discussed in Zhao Feng and Jin Lin 2005: 69.
12. Illustrated and discussed in Zhao Feng 1999: 164–65.
13. Illustrated in *Tonkō Bakukōkutsu* 1980–82, vol. 5, no. 161. The sleeves in this painting are also voluminous by comparison with other representations and with two surviving garments in private collections published in Zhao Feng and Jin Lin 2005: 58–61.
14. Zheng Juxin 2005: 253.
15. The Taiye was a very large "pond" (or rather, a small lake) on the grounds of the Yuan imperial palace where ducks (perhaps mandarin) would swim amid water plants.
16. The Tianli reign lasted from 1328 to 1330. Translations of the palace poem and appended note by James C. Y. Watt.
17. Dawson 1966: 102.
18. Zhou Mu'ai and Peng Qiyun 2007: 156–57.
19. A base is illustrated in Ge Limin 2004: 92. An example from a private collection is illustrated and discussed in Zhao Feng and Jin Lin 2005: 66–67.
20. Zvezdana Dode (2008) notes these differences in an article illustrated with drawings.
21. Jing 1994a: 72. The author discusses Chabi's *gugu*, citing a contemporary source quoted in the *Gugong shuhua lu* (A Comprehensive Catalogue of the Paintings and Calligraphy in the Palace Museum) that gives many clues to the structure and ornamentation of the *gugu* headdresses of elite women of the Yuan period.
22. Fujian sheng bowuguan 1982; Suzhou shi wenwu baoguan weiyuanhui, Suzhou bowuguan 1965.

Religion

4

Buddhism and Other "Foreign" Practices in Yuan China

Denise Patry Leidy

During their conquest of regions in Central Asia, as well as in Tibet and China, the Mongols sought the knowledge and power of specialists involved in practice traditions such as those of Buddhism and Daoism. They assimilated a range of Buddhist centers often linked to one another through diplomatic and mercantile exchange as well as the travels of monks and the dissemination of texts and images. As a result, Buddhist art during the Yuan dynasty reveals a range of sources and a fascinating interplay between different visual traditions.

A full understanding of the complexity of the Chinese traditions encountered by the Mongols is hampered by the uneven distribution of texts and objects. We know very little about the practices of the Khitan Liao (916–1125) and Jurchen Jin (1115–1234) dynasties in the north, although a number of sculptures and murals have survived. On the other hand, we have more than fifty records of Buddhist history from the Northern and Southern Song, and much is known about the traditions developed under the rule of these Han Chinese administrations. And while there are surprisingly few Buddhist sculptures and paintings attributed to the Northern Song, a significant number of Southern Song Buddhist paintings are known, largely produced in or near the capital at Hangzhou. These works, preserved for the most part in Japanese collections, are often—and perhaps excessively—used for the discussion of Chinese Buddhist art in the period before the Mongol reunification of China in the fourth quarter of the thirteenth century.

While it is possible to distinguish between different traditions of mural painting in the north and different groups of artists in the south, Buddhist iconography is remarkably consistent throughout China. Generally it includes images of Buddhas and bodhisattvas, as well as portraits of monks and other exemplars. A hanging scroll in the collection of Jōbodai-in (Jōbodai Temple; fig. 116) shows the historical Buddha, Shakyamuni, seated on a high octagonal throne and attended by the bodhisattva Manjushri, symbol of wisdom, seated on a lion, and Samantabhadra, symbol of virtuous action, riding an elephant.[1] The throne, enlivened by the image of a crouching lion, floats on gold and white clouds. The Buddha is seated in meditation and holds his right hand in a gesture indicative of teaching, while his left hand rests in his lap. He wears traditional monastic garments, including a red shawl with geometric designs and green and brown edging, intended to suggest the patched-together rags from which such garments were made.

Both Manjushri and Samantabhadra, bedecked in jewels, are clothed in layered scarves and light pink garments that wrap at the waist. Manjushri, with an image of a seated Buddha in his crown, carries a *ruyi*, or ceremonial scepter, and Samantabhadra holds a lotus stem with a book resting on the blossom; at least six small Buddhas are seen in his crown. The Buddha seated on the large lotus held in the elephant's tusks likely conveys the *Sutra on Envisioning the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra*,[2] and the three small figures who dance on the elephant's head may represent the female divinities known as *rakshashi*, mentioned in the text as protectors of Buddhism.[3] However, they are usually shown in a group of ten, and other interpretations may be possible.

The gold inscription in the center of the foreground pillar identifies the work as dedicated to the *Lotus Sutra* and, by extension, links it to the East Asian school of Tiantai Buddhism rather than to Indian or Tibetan traditions. Tiantai, which traces its origins to the sixth century, was based in a monastery situated in the eponymous

Opposite: Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara in Water-Moon Manifestation, detail of figure 124

Figure 116. *Buddha Shakyamuni with Manjushri and Samantabhadhra*. Jin–Yuan dynasty, late 12th–13th century. Hanging scroll, ink, color, and gold on silk, 43⅛ × 21 in. (109.3 × 53.3 cm). Jōbodai-in, Maibara, Shiga Prefecture [Exhib.]

mountain of Zhejiang Province in South China. An important tradition from the tenth century onward, its adherents engaged in the close analysis of Indian texts found in China by the sixth century, organizing them hierarchically, with the *Lotus Sutra* deemed the most important.

Standing to either side of the pillar are the historical disciples of the Buddha. The young figure at the center right presumably is Ananda, cousin and personal attendant to the Buddha and noted for his prodigious memory, while his older counterpart represents Kashyapa, renowned for his supernatural powers. The two figures are traditionally paired in Chinese imagery. In the foreground are the Indian deities Brahma, with folded hands, and Indra, holding an incense burner, often found in East Asian imagery as attendants to the Buddha.

The combination of voluminous figures with unarticulated outlines, a relatively flat surface plane, and the use of gold highlights is found in temple murals in Shanxi Province, raising the intriguing possibility that this may be a rare example of a hanging scroll from North China.[4] The same triad of Shakyamuni, Manjushri, and Samantabhadra is seen on the east wall of Manjushri Hall at Yanshansi (Yanshan Monastery), thought to have been painted by Wang Kui and others between 1158 and 1167 (fig. 117). In that composition, which is similar to the one at Jōbodai-in, the foreground shows a vase on an elaborate stand surrounded by flames, indicated by thin lines. Similar lines are also used for the mandorla that encircles Shakyamuni in the Yanshansi mural and for the background of the Jōbodai-in triad. Furthermore, both works include cloud formations that are dense, scalloped, and volumetric.

Comparisons between the Buddha in the Jōbodai-in painting and an image of Bhaishajyaguru, the Buddha of Medicine, in a mural painted by Zhu Haogu and members of his workshop, dated to circa 1319 (fig. 118), suggest a thirteenth-century date for the former.[5] Both have square faces with relatively large features, fine, arched eyebrows, and a long thin nose with flaring nostrils. While the top of Buddha's head in the fourteenth-century mural is slightly pointed, they share a broad, fleshy *ushnisha*, or cranial protuberance, symbol of wisdom. Both figures sit in meditation, although there is a greater sense of volume and more articulation of musculature in the fourteenth-century depiction of the Buddha. Both wear the standard monastic shawl that covers both shoulders, but the clothing of the Bhaishajyaguru has more volume and there is a sense of movement in the folds of the clothing not found in the Jōbodai-in painting.

The bodhisattvas in both paintings wear similar jewelry that consists of long strands adorned with floral and other

Figure 117. Atelier of Wang Kui (12th century), *Buddha Shakyamuni with Manjushri and Samantabhadra* (detail). Jin dynasty, completed in 1167. Mural. East wall, Manjushri Hall, Yanshansi, Fanshixian, Shanxi Province

Figure 118. Atelier of Zhu Haogu (active early 14th century), *Buddha of Medicine Bhaishajyaguru* (detail), ca. 1319. Mural from Lower Guangshengsi, Shanxi Province, water-based pigment over foundation of clay mixed with straw, 296 × 595 in. (751.8 × 1511.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gift of Arthur M. Sackler, in honor of his parents, Isaac and Sophie Sackler, 1965 65.29.2

Figure 119. *Buddha Amitabha Descending from His Pure Land.* Southern Song dynasty, 13th century. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 41¼ × 21¼ in. (104.8 × 54 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Rogers Fund, 1987 1987.148 [Exhib.]

Figure 120. *Buddha Amitabha*, 14th century. Hanging scroll mounted as a panel, ink, color, and gold on silk, 55¾ × 25½ in. (141.6 × 64.8 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. William Sturgis Bigelow Collection 11.6141

elements and that cascades over the body without revealing the underlying physique. It is also notable that in the Jōbodai-in painting Manjushri and Samantabhadhra wear cloud collars, understood in China as foreign—presumably Central Asian—as early as the Tang dynasty. The term "cloud collar" first appears in the *Jinshi* (History of the Jin Dynasty), which suggests that this piece of clothing became more prevalent at that time;[6] cloud collars or patterns that derive from them are ubiquitous motifs on fourteenth-century porcelains and other three-dimensional objects (see figs. 310, 312). In addition, the hems of many garments worn by the figures in the Jōbodai-in painting are edged with gold or patterns on gold. Some of these borders illustrate the gold brocade weaving favored by both the Jurchen Jin and the Mongols. Others may illustrate the cloth of gold, produced in Central Asia in the mid-thirteenth century and treasured by the Mongols, who in the late thirteenth century brought Central Asian weavers specializing in this type of textile to the capital, Dadu, where it was used for garments as well as for hangings and decoration for tents. Clothing with broad gold borders became more prominent in Chinese Buddhist art in both the north and the south in the fourteenth century, reflecting Mongol interest in luxury textiles of this type.

A painting of the Buddha Amitabha in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 119) offers an example of Southern Song painting.[7] Amitabha is the focus of the East Asian Pure Land tradition, which like Tiantai developed in the sixth century and was important from the tenth to the fourteenth; it was frequently conflated with Tiantai after the tenth century.[8] Pure Land emphasizes devotion to the Buddha Amitabha in order to attain rebirth in the Western Paradise, or Sukhavati, a way station on the journey to *nirvana*. Much of the imagery that relates to the Western Paradise, such as this example, shows Amitabha as he descends to earth to take to this ideal realm the souls of the recently deceased.

Here, Amitabha stands on two lotuses and holds his right hand lowered to signify welcome. He wears a green undergarment with a wide hem decorated with floral patterns and a red monastic shawl with gold bands. The abstracted drapery folds on the right arm, the transparency of the green garment as it falls over the arm, and Amitabha's bean-shaped face are characteristically Southern Song, as is the rendering of background depth.

A seated Buddha in a hanging scroll in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (fig. 120), wears similar garments, although the gold borders of the shawl are larger than those seen in the earlier painting. The square face of the Buddha, and the volume of the clothing, seen, for example, in the way the red shawl is tucked beneath the Buddha's crossed leg, help date the painting to the fourteenth century, as do the lush and dramatic clouds in the background.[9] The three-dimensionality of the phoenix finials at the top of the pedestal also point to the Yuan dynasty.

The Buddha is shown seated on an elaborate tiered throne beneath a canopy filled with blossoms comparable to those found on fourteenth-century ceramics (see figs. 306, 316). The thumb of his right hand, raised in the gesture of teaching, touches the fourth finger, suggesting that he represents Amitabha. The painting may have been either an independent icon or part of a set of images that would have included bodhisattvas and other attendants.

A dense floral scroll embellishes the gold border of one of the garments worn by the standing figure in a painting dated, on the basis of the inscription at the top of the scroll, to the first decades of the fourteenth century (fig. 121).[10] The figure represents one of the many manifestations of Avalokiteshvara, the bodhisattva of infinite compassion and the most popular figure in Chinese Buddhism after the tenth century. The fish basket identifies a manifestation of Avalokiteshvara conflated with a young woman known as Malangfu. Malangfu had appeared in a village that did not

Figure 121. *Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara as Fish-Basket Guanyin*, early 14th century. Hanging scroll mounted as a panel, ink and color on silk, 33¼ × 14⅜ in. (84.5 × 36.5 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Special Chinese and Japanese Fund 05.199 [Exhib.]

yet follow Buddhist practice and offered to marry any man who could recite the full text of a sutra of her choice. A man named Ma obliged, and Malangfu became his wife. In this painting she is shown wearing several layers of clothing, including an upper garment decorated with gold roundels and an apron that ties at the waist. Unlike the Indian-derived garments that are usually found in Chinese representations of Buddhist deities, this clothing appears to be secular, though it is interesting to note the allusion to the decorative chains worn by Buddhist deities in the adornments seen under the raised part of the apron. The volume of the clothing, seen especially in the careful rendering of the apron sash, the heavy sleeves, and the subtle patterning of the hems, is typical of the fourteenth century.

The *Lotus Sutra* lists thirty-three manifestations for the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara; the most popular in Chinese Buddhism, which shows Avalokiteshvara resting in the Pure Land, derives from the *Flower Garland Sutra*. This text, the principal document of the Huayan sect, was influential in China after the eighth century. It was also associated with the Tiantai tradition and with other practices, such as those of the Pure Land. A wonderful ceramic sculpture (fig. 122) can be identified as a representation of Avalokiteshvara on the basis of the small Buddha in the headdress.[11] The raised position of the right foot indicates that the bodhisattva is seated in his Pure Land. This relaxation pose is often used to show the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara's mythical realm, known as Potalaka. In China after the twelfth century, this paradise was believed to be Mount Putuo, an island in the south off the coast of Zhejiang Province. The porcelain bodhisattva has an elegant and complicated headdress similar to those seen in mural paintings, such as the two examples discussed earlier, and he wears the cascading jewelry also found in sculpture and painting of the period. His plump face is typical of the fourteenth century, as is the attention to the folds and hems of the garments.

The sculpture is an example of Qingbai ware, a white porcelain with a thin glaze that was first produced in Jiangxi Province during the Southern Song. Found in Beijing, the sculpture, which may have had a rocky base, illustrates a little-understood Mongol use of the southern

Figure 123. Tibetan-style ewer, 14th century. Porcelain (Qingbai ware), height 9¾ in. (24.8 cm). Excavated from the tomb of Wotuochi at Lujiayaocun, Chongwen district, Beijing, 1963. Capital Museum, Beijing [Exhib.]

Figure 122. *Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara in Water-Moon Manifestation*, 14th century. Porcelain (Qingbai ware), height 26⅜ in. (67 cm). Excavated from a Yuan site at Dingfu Street, Beijing, 1955. Capital Museum, Beijing

ceramic industry for devotional and ritual purposes. A ewer (fig. 123) found in the Beijing-area tombs of an official of Kashmiri origins named Tieke (d. 1313) and his father Wutuochi, was also produced in the south for use in the north. The shape of the ewer, in particular the high edge at the back of the neck and the long narrow struts along the sides, indicates that it was copied from a prototype made of another material, one that would have required such supports, possibly leather or wood; the prototype may have had a metal spout and handle. It seems likely that the ewer represents a form introduced from northern India or the Himalayas.[12]

The representation of the bodhisattva in his manifestation as the Water-Moon Avalokiteshvara is seen in an ink painting from the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art (fig. 124). With an enormous moon behind him, the bodhisattva is shown on Mount Potalaka, seated on a promontory overlooking rapidly churning waters, a motif commonly found in fourteenth-century painting and ceramics (see figs. 307, 316). A willow branch, thought to have healing powers and often seen in images of the bodhisattva in the Pure Land, appears in a glass vessel to the figure's right. The transparency of the shawl and the wide hems that fall in broad, circular pleats are typically Yuan.

Ink paintings of Buddhist deities are generally associated in China with the tradition of Chan Buddhism. Better known as Zen, its Japanese form, Chan is the Chinese transliteration of *dhayana*, the Sanskrit term for meditation. Contemplation, visualization, and different forms of meditation are practiced in all Buddhist traditions. Chan is distinguished by its emphasis on mindfulness while performing the tasks of daily life and on meditation as the primary, and most effective, method for achieving enlightenment. Documents, including several found at the Mogao cave-temple complex near Dunhuang in Gansu Province, suggest that an emphasis on meditative practices was found in centers in North China as early as the sixth century; by the seventh century, individuals were following the teachings of specific masters. Like Tiantai and the other important traditions of the tenth to the fourteenth century, Chan historical records are indicative of a fascination with the development of lineages that mark much of the Buddhist historical writing of the period. During the Northern and Southern Song, many monks practicing in the Chan tradition were involved with the court and with members of the literati, who favored ink painting.[13] As a result, traditional Buddhist subjects such as Buddhas and bodhisattvas appear in many ink paintings. The background of this image, particularly the different types of brushstrokes used to delineate the rock upon which the bodhisattva sits and the pine and bamboo leaves, also derive from ink painting and calligraphy.

A dramatically sparse rendering of Avalokiteshvara signed by the little-known thirteenth–fourteenth-century master Jueji Yongzhong epitomizes the use of the ink-painting technique to capture the essence of an iconic image (fig. 125). The monastic shawl covering the head indicates that this figure is the White-Robed Avalokiteshvara, another of the bodhisattva's many manifestations popular in China, and one often conflated with the Water-Moon manifestation. The source for this manifestation, which has no obvious textual reference, remains unknown, though it is thought to derive from early Esoteric texts translated during the Tang dynasty that describe several deities as wearing white clothing; indigenous texts pertaining to this form of the bodhisattva are often short invocations with continued ties to Esoteric practices. As is often the case in China after the tenth century, such texts and the related images were popularly thought to bestow specific blessings, such as children.

The distinctive calligraphy at the top of the painting—the leftward tilt, the crowding of the characters, and the dark, bold, and powerful strokes—suggests the hand of Zhongfeng Mingben (1263–1323), one of the most influential Chan monks of the fourteenth century. In translation the inscription reads:

The right thinking is embodied within
His deep meditation on the Buddha.
Retaining not even one single object of thought,
A perfect harmony was wonderfully achieved.
In the endless time and space
His all-embracing compassion prevails.[14]

Zhongfeng Mingben also inscribed the poem at the top of a painting in the Hatakeyama Memorial Museum in Tokyo that depicts the Buddha Shakyamuni descending from a mountain wilderness after many years of meditation (fig. 126). Like the White-Robed Avalokiteshvara, this image does not have an obvious textual basis. It is believed to show the Buddha after he has achieved enlightenment through meditation. However, this assumption contradicts the more canonical hagiographies, which state that he meditated until he was near death and then returned to a more inhabited region, accepted food, and became enlightened while sitting under the *bodhi* tree.

Historical records suggest that the image of the Buddha descending from the mountains was first developed during the Northern Song by the painter Li Gonglin (ca. 1041–1106). The earliest extant representation, however, is

Figure 124. *Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara in Water-Moon Manifestation*, 14th century. Hanging scroll, ink, color, and gold on silk, 43¾ × 30 in. (111.1 × 76.2 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Purchase: William Rockhill Nelson Trust 49–60 [Exhib.]

Figure 125. Attributed to Jueji Yongzhong, *Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara in White-Robed Manifestation*, 14th century. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 31 × 12½ in. (78.7 × 31.8 cm). The Cleveland Museum of Art. Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund 1978.47.1

Figure 126. *Buddha Shakyamuni Descending from the Mountains*, 14th century. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 85 × 32½ in. (215.9 × 82.6 cm). Hatakeyama Memorial Museum of Fine Art, Tokyo [Exhib.]

attributed to the Southern Song court painter Liang Kai (ca. 1150–ca. 1220). The Buddha in the Hatakeyama painting stands with his robes fluttering before him to suggest the wind that pushed him from behind as he walks away from the mountain. The sketchy trees at the top of the painting hint at the remoteness of the location. As befits his hermetic existence, he is unshaven and has straggly hair and a beard. Zhongfeng's poem alludes to the difficulty of reentering the phenomenal world in an enlightened state:

> *He who emerges from the mountains*
> *And has entered the mountains:*
> *That is originally You.*
> *If one calls him "You"*
> *It is still not he.*
> *This venerable master Shakyamuni comes,*
> *Ha, ha, ha . . . he glances over ten million billows.*
> *Huan-chu Mingben salutes with respectfully folded hands.*[15]

Zhongfeng Mingben studied the Buddhist texts as a young man and received the tonsure at the Shiziyuan, a monastery on Mount Tianmu in Zhejiang, in 1287. After the death of his mentor in 1295, he declined the position of abbot at Dajuesi and, despite repeated offers, refused other important appointments. But while much of his life was spent in solitary wandering and meditation, he was also a teacher, with students not only from China but from Korea, Japan, and possibly Tibet.

Zhongfeng is easily recognized by his round face and sagging eyes in a portrait in the Jishō-in in Kyōto (fig. 127), but his identity is confirmed in the colophon at the upper right, written by his follower Guangyan (active 13th century). Zhongfeng's short crop of hair is also telling, as both he and his mentor Gaofeng Yuanmiao (1238–1295) were noted for disregarding the rule that monks must shave their heads. Wearing traditional monastic robes, Zhongfeng is here shown seated in meditation on a rock draped with a fine cloth, his shoes placed on a smaller rock in front of him. The careful flow of the hems is typically seen in fourteenth-century Buddhist images, in both ink monochromes and polychromatic portraits and icons. The towering pine and delicate bamboo, on the other hand, follow the ink-painting tradition associated with the Chinese literati. The landscape is characteristic of those depicted in Yuan images, where monochromatic backgrounds are first used in the portraits of monks.[16]

The identity of the sitter in a portrait from Tōfuku-ji, in Kyōto, is revealed as that of the Japanese monk Kokan Shiren (1278–1346) by the colophon inscribed in his hand at the top of the painting, which is dated 1343 (fig. 128).[17] The colophon also suggests that the portrait is one of three painted in China at the request of a high-ranking devotee of the illustrious master. The seal in the lower left corner, which reads *Jingtang* (Mirror Hall), indicates that the artist was Wang Zhenweng (active 14th century), one of several Chinese painters whose works are preserved exclusively in Japan. This is the only known commission by a Japanese devotee of a portrait in China, and it raises the question of how the likeness of the Japanese master was transmitted to the Chinese painter. The existence of such a portrait and the other two referred to in the inscription argues for the continuation of exchanges between Chinese and Japanese monastic centers during the Yuan dynasty despite the attempts by Khubilai Khan to invade Japan in 1274 and 1281.

Kokan Shiren was a master of the Linji (Rinzai) tradition, which was noted for its use of physical punishment as a goad to spiritual advancement; monks in this lineage are often portrayed holding a large stick, used to prod students. He was deeply involved in the *gozan* (five mountains) tradition, which combined the study of Buddhism with that of Chinese literature and culture. Kokan studied with the Chinese cleric and painter Yishan Yining (1247–1317). He was appointed abbot of the Tōfuku-ji in Kyōto in 1332 and later served in the same capacity at Nazen-ji, also in Kyōto. In this portrait he wears the elegant robes of a high-ranking abbot, including a black undergarment with an extraordinary gold-filled hem, a white brocade undergarment, and an elaborate monastic shawl. He is seated on a carved red lacquer chair that also raises questions about exchanges between China and Japan. In the fourteenth century, the carving of lacquer was unique to China. Such a chair must therefore have been made in China—most likely in the south, where the lacquer industry flourished—and then sent to Japan. An important cleric such as Kokan Shiren could certainly have acquired such a prized object, particularly in the *gozan* circles where luxury goods were cherished. On the other hand, it is also possible that the Chinese artist who painted the portrait could have added such a luxury item to a work commissioned by an important Japanese client.

Portraiture in the context of the Buddhist tradition can be traced to the belief that when an adherent died, his state of spiritual advancement was reflected in his incorruptible corpse.[18] These "true bodies"—preserved in lacquer and probably other materials—were often the focus of devotion because they were believed to contain

Figure 127. *Portrait of Zhongfeng Mingben,* 14th century. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 48⅝ × 20¼ in. (123.5 × 51.4 cm). Shōkoku-ji, Jishō-in, Kyōto [Exhib.]

Figure 128. Wang Zhenweng (active 14th century), *Portrait of the Japanese Monk Kokan Shiren,* dated 1343. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 48⅛ × 22½ in. (122.2 × 57.2 cm). Tōfuku-ji, Kaizō-in, Kyōto [Exhib.]

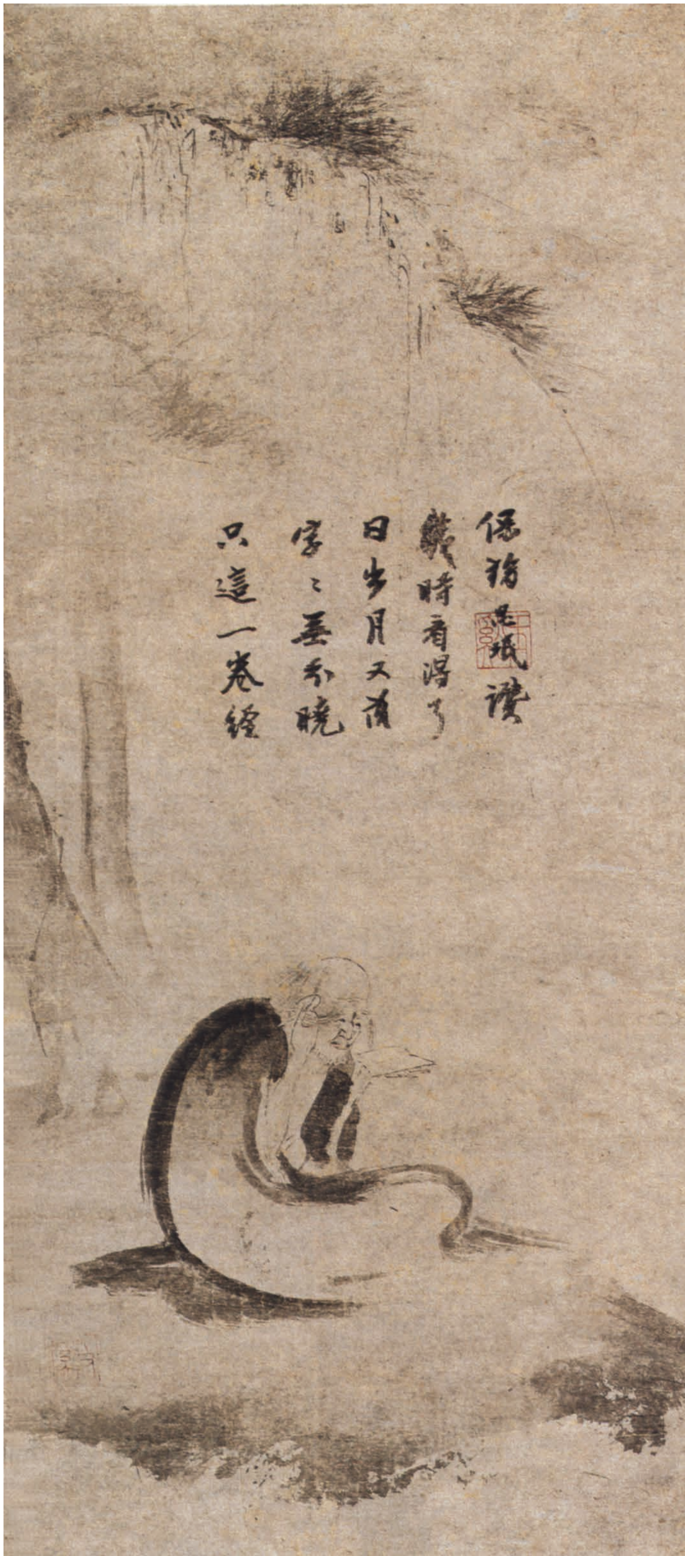


Figure 129. *Monk Reading a Sutra by Moonlight*, ca. 1332. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 29⅜ × 13 in. (74.6 × 33 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Edward Elliott Family Collection, Purchase, The Dillon Fund Gift, 1982 1982.3.2 [Exhib.]

the charisma and spiritual wisdom of the deceased. Over time, physical remains were replaced by sculpted and painted portraits, which in turn themselves became objects of devotion. Portraits were also displayed in image halls dedicated to the lineage of a temple or to a specific practice, and were given as gifts to patrons.

The Chan tradition added another type of exemplar to these portraits, one in which the activity rather than the monk serves as a guide to others. A painting in the Metropolitan Museum of a monk reading a sutra by moonlight (fig. 129) reflects the Chan emphasis on mindfulness in everyday life as an important aspect of practice and one method that can lead to enlightenment. This painting, which bears an inscription by the monk Yuxi Simin (d. 1337), shows an elderly cleric seated in a remote landscape and reading a sutra. With scraggly hair and a sparse beard, he holds the text in his left hand while with his right he twirls one of his long eyebrows. The delicate rendering of his face is complemented by the dark, wet strokes used to delineate his robe. The poem above his head reads:

> *Just this one fascicle of sutra*
> *The words are often difficult to make out.*
> *When the sun comes up, the moon also sets,*
> *When will I finish reading it?*[19]

Paintings of monks reading by moonlight were often paired with paintings of monks sewing in the sunlight. The reference in this poem to the sun perhaps indicates that the painting was one of such a pair. Yuxi Simin was the twenty-first successor in a lineage that included Huineng (637–713), one of the most famous Chan masters of the Tang dynasty. He had an illustrious career in the Hangzhou region, serving as the abbot of both Jixiangsi in 1330 and Baofusi until 1332. His signature here includes his affiliation with the latter, suggesting that the painting was made sometime around 1332, during the height of the Yuan.

EARLY INDO-HIMALAYAN TRADITIONS IN CHINA

The degree to which later Esoteric practices (associated today with Tibet) were known in China prior to the advent of the Mongols in the thirteenth century continues to be a matter of considerable debate in the study of Chinese Buddhism. The tenth to the twelfth century marked the last flowering of Buddhism in northeastern

India during the Pala dynasty (ca. 700–ca. 1200) and the transmission of texts, practices, and images to centers in the Himalayas and Central Asia. The new Indic traditions had their roots in earlier Esoteric practices developed in the seventh and eighth centuries, some of which had spread to China as early as the eighth century. These involved the use of cosmic diagrams known as mandalas and devotion to new manifestations of bodhisattvas such as Avalokiteshvara. Esoteric practices that evolved during the ninth and tenth centuries continued to emphasize visualizations and expanded the range of deities in the canon to include protective female figures such as *dakinis* and a group of terrifying protectors who functioned as Buddha-like beings.[20] Many of the latter show parallels to figures derived from the Hindu god Shiva. Both the Shaivite traditions and those associated with Buddhism are thought to have evolved in part as a result of activities of the Buddhist *mahasiddhas,* or great adepts, which involved sexual practices and other behaviors, often in unorthodox locations such as cemeteries, and initially had no monastic ties. By the eleventh and twelfth centuries, however, these new forms of devotion were practiced in monasteries, including the great Vikramashila in Bihar Province, where they were codified and recorded. Some of the earliest visual evidence for the new Esoteric practices is found in western and central Tibet in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, at the slightly earlier Uighur site of Bezeklik, near Turfan,[21] and in the art of the Xixia dynasty in northwestern China.

It is unlikely that the Han Chinese of the Northern Song dynasty, the Khitan of the Liao dynasty, or the subsequent Jurchens of the Jin dynasty were oblivious to, and uninterested in, the new and powerful forms of Buddhism that were sweeping through Asia from the tenth to the twelfth century. The creation of three-dimensional mandalas at Liao centers such as Fogongsi attests to the continuation of the earliest Esoteric traditions after the fall of the Tang.[22] Moreover, Zanning (919–1001), the great monk-scholar of the Northern Song period, discusses the existence of several Esoteric schools in China in the tenth century.[23] It is also worth noting that in northwestern China, specifically the provinces of Ningxia, Qinghai, and Gansu, there were significant Tibetan and Tibetan-related populations. As in Tibet at this time, they were often divided into clans or family groups that included both clerical and lay authorities. Many of these groups were Buddhist, and they maintained ties, both diplomatic and economic, with the Northern Song; others are thought to have contributed texts and other teachings to the second flowering of Buddhism in Tibet in the tenth and eleventh centuries.[24]

The Northern Song, especially during the reigns of the emperors Taizu (r. 960–76) and Taizong (r. 976–97), was one of the great periods of exchange with centers in India and Central Asia.[25] More than one hundred and thirty-eight Chinese monks are known to have visited these regions in the tenth and eleventh centuries.[26] Chinese inscriptions, dating to between 981 and 990 and circa 1002, have been found at Bodh Gaya, the site of the Buddha's enlightenment and an important monastic center.[27] Furthermore, more than eighty Indian and Central Asian monks visited the Northern Song, many of them participating in the acquisition, translation, and dissemination of texts.[28] The first printed version of the Buddhist canon, known as the *Tripitaka,* was produced during the Northern Song. It was a massive undertaking. Eventually it was offered as a diplomatic gift to the Uighurs, the Xixia, and the Korean court. It also inspired the production of rival versions.[29] While many of the texts translated during this period were short invocations known as *dharani,* it has been

Figure 130. *Buddha Shakyamuni,* India, Bihar Province. Pala period, ca. late 9th or 10th century. Black chlorite, height 37 in. (94 cm). The Cleveland Museum of Art. Dudley P. Allen Fund 1935.146

estimated that at least half of the other texts belong to the new Esoteric traditions that were developing in India in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries.[30]

There is evidence that contemporaneous Indian imagery was known in China at this time. In 983 an Indian monk known as Juexi presented a painting of the *bodhi* tree, the site of Shakyamuni's enlightenment, to Taizong.[31] In the early eleventh century another Indian monk, Juecheng, brought to China a painting of the Buddha in a style hitherto unknown. He also painted this type of Buddha on the walls of Xingguosi in the capital.[32] While Juecheng's work is lost, it may be one of the few icons mentioned in historical writings whose appearance can be approximated. A seated Buddha sometimes known as the Vajrasana Buddha (fig. 130) was the most important icon in the Pala region, and had a profound impact in Tibet.[33] It seems likely that this was the style of Buddha brought to China by Juecheng; this type of Buddha may also have been the subject of the painting of the *bodhi* tree brought by Juexi. The image represents the Buddha Shakyamuni seated in meditation beneath the *bodhi* tree just before he achieves enlightenment. With the gesture of his lowered right hand (the *bhumispharsha* mudra) he asks the earth to validate his right to seek this state. The broad shoulders, powerful chest, long legs, clinging drapery, and bare left shoulder reflect the art of the northeast during the Pala period. The pointed *ushnisha*, oblate halo, and narrow lotus pedestal with large petals are also typical of the Indo-Himalayan style.

Figure 131. *Buddha Shakyamuni Teaching the "First Sermon"* (detail), 11th–12th century. Mural. Cave 76, Mogao cave complex, Dunhuang, Gansu Province

Around the tenth century, Trailokyavijaya, the conqueror of the three worlds, became an important deity in India.[34] An image of this fierce protector, who is often shown with multiple arms, an Indic trope for great power, and standing on demons, was seen in a monastery in the Northern Song capital, Kaifeng, by a Japanese monk named Jōjin (1011–1082), who traveled throughout China between 1072 and 1073 and mentions the occasion in his memoirs. He also records his visit to a pavilion on the palace grounds that housed a representation of the deity Mahabala with snakes. Although Mahabala appears around the seventh century as an attendant figure in Indian art, he does not seem to have played an important role in later Esoterism.[35] Likely the presence of this icon at the palace is evidence of the translations of the *Mahabala Sutra* by Dharmapala, also known as Faxian, in 983.[36]

As mentioned earlier, the scarcity of works that can be incontrovertibly assigned to the Northern Song makes it difficult to determine the extent to which the newly introduced, later Esoteric, practices were followed during this period. Ties between India and the Northern Song court appear to have weakened after the tenth century as a result of a variety of factors, including the shift from Liao to Jin control of the north, the rise of the Xixia, and the emergence of Buddhist centers throughout Tibet, which by the mid-eleventh century had begun to eclipse India as the primary center in South Asia for Buddhist practice.

In addition to written documents recording the existence of Indo-Himalayan imagery in the Northern Song, there is visual evidence for a relatively widespread acceptance of Buddhist motifs throughout North China in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. At the great complex at Mogao near Dunhuang, the walls of Cave 76 are covered with scenes identified by inscriptions as eight events in the life of the Shakyamuni Buddha. Stylistically and iconographically, the scenes derive from the art of the Pala period in India.[37] The appearance of this theme at Dunhuang may be traced to a text entitled *Buddha's Spoken Sutra of the Names of the Eight Magically Potent Sutras* that was translated in the last quarter of the tenth century by Faxian as part of the great translation project sponsored by the Northern Song court.[38] Each of the eight scenes is set beneath an arch that is itself within a tiered structure intended to represent a temple or stupa. The stupas are

Figure 132. *Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara as Shadakshari-Lokeshvara*. India, Bengal Province. Pala period, early 12th century. Leaf from a dispersed *Perfection of Wisdom* manuscript, opaque watercolor on palm leaf, 2¾ × 16½ in. (7 × 41.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 2001 2001.445a

crowned with jewels and decorative banners, and the sides are filled with creatures derived from Indian mythology.[39] Celestial *apsaras* fly in a sky of floating petals.

The wheel at center and the two deer in the foreground identify one of the scenes as that of the First Sermon, the third of the eight great events that occurred at Deer Park in Sarnath (fig. 131). The five bodhisattva-like figures at the lower right are identified in the accompanying inscription as the recipients of the first preaching. Thought to represent the five adherents with whom the Buddha had previously practiced austerities, they initially rejected Shakyamuni when he chose another path to enlightenment. It was during the First Sermon that he convinced them of the value of the new path. The five clerical figures at the lower left, identified as nuns, have no textual source. The bodhisattvas at either side of the central scene are Manjushri at left and Samantabhadhra at right; each is attended by two additional bodhisattvas. Their participation in the scene, which finds no parallel in Indian imagery, attests to the importance of this triad—the Buddha with Manjushri and Samantabhadhra—in China.

This particular rendering of the First Sermon is unusual. Instead of showing one Buddha accompanied by two disciples, the scene includes three Buddhas, each seated on a separate lotus pedestal. Furthermore, the Buddhas hold their hands in a gesture of reverence (the *anjali* mudra) rather than in one that signifies the turning of the wheel of the law (the *dharmacakra* mudra). It is possible that the artist used as a source for the scene a traditional Pala rendering for the Miracle at Sravasti, another of the eight great events, in which the Buddha multiplies himself in order to underscore the significance of his teachings.[40] The style of the stupa, the use of an arch within an architectural structure, the decorative

Figure 133. Interior of Cave 465. Xixia dynasty, late 12th–13th century. Mogao cave complex, Dunhuang, Gansu Province

Figure 134. *Protector Chakrasamvara* (detail). Xixia dynasty, late 12th–13th century. Mural. West wall, Cave 465, Mogao cave complex, Dunhuang, Gansu Province

background against which the three Buddhas are placed, and the lush trees and blossoms that serve as backdrops for Manjushri and Samantabhadra are based on imagery found in palm-leaf manuscripts produced in the northeast in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (fig. 132). Also derived from Indian traditions is the depiction of the powerful and idealized forms of these divinities and the clothing worn both by the bodhisattvas in the lower right and by Manjushri and Samantabhadra.

The dating of Cave 76 remains undetermined. It has been suggested that it may have been opened during the late tenth or early eleventh century, when the Dunhuang area was under the control of the Cao family of Uighur heritage. While this dating accords with that of the translation of the sutra listing the eight great events, it is also possible that it dates slightly later, to the eleventh or twelfth century, when the region was under the control of the Xixia dynasty. The rulers of this multicultural kingdom, generally referred to as the Tanguts in Western sources, had ties to other Tibetan peoples based in the Hexi Corridor in Gansu Province in the late tenth century, and their rule was marked by avid support of various Buddhist traditions, including those found in Tibet and others from the Northern Song and Jurchen Jin. Buddhist art produced in the Xixia region includes works both in the Indo-Himalayan style and in styles derived from contemporaneous Chinese traditions.[41]

Cave 465, one of the largest and most spectacular caves at Dunhuang (fig. 133), is now thought to date from the late twelfth or thirteenth century, based both on stylistic analysis and on the large number of inscriptions in the companion Cave 464 that allude to the Song period.[42] Located at the northern end of the Mogao complex, some distance away from the other caves, it consists of a square chamber with an unusual truncated, pyramidal ceiling. A round tiered stucco base in the center of the chamber most likely held the principal icon. The sloping ceiling is decorated with depictions of five Buddhas and their attendants, while the walls are filled with images of protectors such as Hevajra, Vajravarahi, and Chakrasamvara, deities that become important in the eleventh and twelfth centuries as part of the florescence and codification of later Esoteric Buddhism.

Chakrasamvara, one of the last deities to be added to the Indic pantheon, first appears in the visual arts around the eleventh century.[43] In Cave 465, in the center of the west wall, he is depicted with a blue body and three eyes (fig. 134). In his two arms he embraces his consort, Vajravarahi. The couple is shown trampling on two demons, symbols of personal obstacles such as greed, fear, and envy, which must be overcome in the quest for enlightenment; they are adorned with jewelry fashioned of human skulls. Additional manifestations of the powerful Chakrasamvara fill the interior of the mandorla, and other, multiarmed protectors are shown with their consorts in the upper register. The absence of a clerical lineage in this register and the use of a blue background for the scenes of the cremation grounds found between Chakrasamvara and Vajravarahi and the figures at either side help date the construction of Cave 465 to the Xixia period.[44] Other figures include sky deities known as *dakinis* and adepts known as *mahasiddhas*, whose nontraditional and nonmonastic practices contributed to the development of Esoteric Buddhism from the eighth to the twelfth century. *Mahasiddhas* first became an important motif in the visual arts in the twelfth or thirteenth century, attesting to the speed with which the newer types of imagery traveled throughout Asia.[45]

Two delicate paintings on silk that also date to the twelfth or thirteenth century, found in the early twentieth century at Kharakhoto in the Gobi Desert, illustrate the

Xixia use of Chinese imagery. One of the paintings represents Manjushri and the other Samantabhadhra. It seems likely that both bodhisattvas appeared with a Buddha in triads such as those discussed earlier. Here, Manjushri holds a *ruyi* and rides a lion whose Central Asian groom wears a red hat, a tunic, and black boots (fig. 135). He is attended by a youth who may represent the young pilgrim Sudhana and another figure who holds a staff and wears Chinese clothing and a black hat. The latter usually represents the Kashmiri monk Buddhapali, who visited Manjushri in China twice in the seventh century and eventually was incorporated into the iconography of the bodhisattva in his Pure Land on Mount Wutai in Shanxi Province. However, the clothing worn here suggests that the figure may be a Chinese scholar-gentleman. The other painting shows Samantabhadra, holding a lotus and riding a six-tusked elephant that is, similarly, led by a foreign groom (fig. 136). He is accompanied by Sudhana, the youthful pilgrim protagonist of the *Flower Garland Sutra*, one of the core texts in the Huayan tradition. The figure holding an incense burner at the left represents the Indic Brahma. Both bodhisattvas are seen in front of expansive round mandorlas, and it seems likely that Manjushri was once beneath a floral canopy similar to that above Samantabhadra. Both wear the heavy, embellished robes seen on representations of bodhisattvas in the Jin-dynasty wall painting discussed earlier (fig. 117), and the attenuated *apsaras* that float above Samantabhadra clearly allude to similar figures found in Jin murals.[46]

An important and often-published sculpture of a bodhisattva in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art (fig. 137) also provides evidence for the appearance of Indo-Himalayan imagery in twelfth-century China. The sculpture was made using the hollow dry-lacquer technique that is found exclusively in East Asia, which indicates that it was made in China. Carbon-14 testing conducted recently of the textiles that were part of the substructure yielded dates ranging from 990 to 1130, disputing the traditional dating of the work to the fourteenth century.[47] The bodhisattva is shown seated in a relaxed cross-legged posture. The slight sway of the torso and the scanty clothing and abundant jewelry derive from Indo-Himalayan traditions, as does the triangular face with aquiline nose and prominent cheekbones. The high-braided topknot is based on the *jatamukata* of Indian art. This hairstyle, the long earlobes, the facial features, and the jewelry, as well as the treatment of the large, slightly plump hands, parallel those seen in a painting on the south ceiling of Cave 465 at Dunhuang of a seated bodhisattva who serves as an attendant to the Buddha (fig. 138). The posture of the sculpted bodhisattva suggests that it, too, served an attendant figure, perhaps as part of a triad or some other assemblage of Buddhist deities.[48]

INDO-HIMALAYAN STYLE UNDER THE MONGOLS

A distinctive variant of Indo-Himalayan imagery, found in Nepal and the central regions of Tibet, was introduced to China during the Yuan dynasty when the Mongols adopted the Sakya tradition of Tibetan Buddhism. Contact between the Mongols and Buddhist centers in Tibet, at that time ruled by various clans, intensified around 1240 when Koden, a grandson of Chinggis Khan, led a small force into the central regions and gained control of the area. Koden also took the great scholar Kunga Gyaltsen, known as Sakya Pandita (1182–1251), to the Mongol capital at Liangzhou around 1245, ostensibly to encourage the popular understanding and acceptance of later Esoteric Buddhism, which was adopted as the state religion by Khubilai Khan in 1268.

Sakya Pandita was accompanied to China by his nephew Chogyal Phagspa (1235–1280), who would devise a script for the Mongol language based on Tibetan writing, and by his younger brother. In 1260, Khubilai Khan was named ruler of the Mongol Empire and Phagspa was appointed the imperial preceptor, following a custom that had been established by the Xixia.[49] Phagspa was also responsible for introducing the young Nepalese artist Anige (1244–1306) to the Mongol court in 1262. Anige was the leader of a group of artists brought in 1261 to central Tibet, the stronghold of the Sakya sect, to construct a "golden pagoda." Although he was only seventeen at the time, Anige was himself already quite accomplished, known for casting metal sculptures and for painting and weaving. In China he quickly gained a reputation for his skills, and was named Director of All Artisan Classes in 1273 and Controller of Imperial Factories five years later. Anige supervised craftsmen throughout the Mongol realm, and was involved in numerous projects including the sculpting and painting of religious imagery. He also trained Chinese craftsmen such as Li Yuan in the style and imagery of the Sakya tradition. Buddhist art produced during the Mongol rule of China includes works in the traditional Chinese style, works with Indo-Himalayan imagery, and examples that reflect a melding of the two.

A sculpture of the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 139) provides one of the

Figure 135. *Bodhisattva Manjushri*. Xixia dynasty, 12th–13th century. Hanging scroll mounted as a panel, ink and color on silk, 37¾ × 23⅝ in. (95.9 × 60 cm). Collected by the Mongol-Sichuan Expedition at Kharakhoto, 1907–9. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg [Exhib.]

Figure 136. *Bodhisattva Samantabhadra*. Xixia dynasty, 12th–13th century. Hanging scroll mounted as a panel, ink and color on silk, 40¾ × 22⅝ in. (103.5 × 57.5 cm). Collected by the Mongol-Sichuan Expedition at Kharakhoto, 1907–9. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg [Exhib.]

Figure 137. *Bodhisattva*. Northern Song or Jin dynasty, 12th century. Dry lacquer, height 22⅞ in. (58.1 cm). Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Purchase F1945.4

Figure 138. *Attendant Bodhisattva* (detail). Xixia dynasty, 12th century. Mural. East wall, Cave 465, Mogao cave complex, Dunhuang, Gansu Province

Figure 139. *Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara*, dated 1282. Willow with traces of pigment, single woodblock construction, height 39¼ in. (99.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1934 34.15.1a, b [Exhib.]

Figure 140. *Buddha,* either Shakyamuni or Akshobhya, late 13th–early 14th century. Gilt bronze, height 13 in. (33 cm). The Palace Museum, Beijing [Exhib.]

Figure 141. *Mahakala of the Tent.* Tibet, dated 1292. Limestone with pigment and gilding, height 19 in. (48.3 cm). Musée des Arts Asiatiques-Guimet, Paris

first examples of the sophisticated blending of Indo-Himalayan and Chinese imagery. Identified by the small figure of the Buddha Amitabha in the headdress, the sculpture is dated 1282 by an inscription on the interior of the plate at the back used to open the consecratory chamber. The overall appearance of this sculpture, the long undergarment and covering apron, the thin scarf covering the shoulders, and the floral patterns on the necklace belong to well-established Chinese traditions. The slight twist in the torso, however, reflects Indo-Himalayan prototypes, as do the musculature of the chest and high cheekbones. The treatment of the hair, which rises above the head in long strands that end in spirals, is particularly intriguing. Developed in India in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, this hairstyle was traditionally seen not on benign deities, as here, but on terrifying protectors such as Mahakala (fig. 142).

A gilt-bronze sculpture of a Buddha (fig. 140) shows a similar mixing of imagery; however, in this case the Indo-Himalayan tradition predominates. The Buddha follows the Pala convention of showing a figure in meditation with the right hand in the earth-touching gesture, and like most sculptures from this period can be understood to represent either the historical Shakyamuni or the celestial Akshobhya, who was particularly important in later Esoterism. Akshobhya is the only other Buddha shown with this hand gesture. The pointed topknot, triangular face, long narrow nose, powerful physique, and scanty clothing are all based on Indian artistic traditions also found in the Himalayas. The pudginess of the hands and feet suggest the work of a Chinese artist. The patterning in the folds of the drapery, seen, for example, in the hemlines beneath the crossed legs and on the proper left shoulder, shows parallels to the rendering of drapery in Southern Song paintings dating to the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The sketchy floral scrolls at the edges of the clothing and the high-relief strings (see also fig. 308), in this case of pearl, that define the border are comparable to decorations on fourteenth-century ceramics. It thus seems likely that this sculpture can be dated to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century.

A dramatic stone sculpture of the terrifying protector Mahakala (fig. 141) that is dated by inscription to 1292 is the only known work that can be linked to the artistic traditions of both the Sakya and the Yuan courts.[50] A long inscription at the back mentions Khubilai Khan by name and alludes to discord at court and the creation of the sculpture to help promote cooperation and harmony. It also mentions Phagspa, a donor who was a high-ranking monk, and a sculptor whose name, A-tsar Bag-shi, implies that he was Tibetan. The tensions at court most likely concern the succession of the imperial line, which was resolved by the accession of Temür in 1295. Mahakala was the personal or tutelary deity of Khubilai Khan, and images of this fierce protector were produced, possibly in both Tibet and China, in some number during his reign, both for personal protection and devotion and to protect Khubilai's political realm.[51]

A small sculpture in a private collection (fig. 142), which is almost identical to the work dated 1292 (fig. 141), must also have been made in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. Both works represent a form of Mahakala that was particularly important in the Sakya tradition and is often known as the Lord of the Pavilion (or Tent). This manifestation, which is based on the *Panjara Tantra*, part of a larger text translated by Dharmapala in 983, shows Mahakala with two arms and two legs, standing on a supine corpse and holding a knife and a skull cup.[52] The staff resting on the upper arms is one of the primary attributes of this manifestation of the deity

Figure 142. *Mahakala of the Tent.* Tibet, late 13th–early 14th century. Limestone, height 8 in. (20.3 cm). The Kronos Collections [Exhib.]

and is understood to be the source of all other beings in the icon, including the birds, dogs, wolf, and small figure that serve as Mahakala's messengers.

The four figures that flank Mahakala are standard attendants and include, clockwise from the upper right, the goddess Ekajati, the goddess Shri Devi, another manifestation of Mahakala, and an image of Vajrapani. While the ultimate stylistic prototypes for these two representations of Mahakala can be traced to the northeast under Pala dominion, Nepali variants, as transformed in the Sakya monasteries of central Tibet, most likely served as the more immediate precursors. The abundant detailing seen in the rendering of the flames that surround all of the figures in both sculptures, the lush jewelry, and the relatively square faces are typical of Nepalese and central Tibetan art.

Another representation of Mahakala is found in South China, in the Baoshengsi not far from Hangzhou, the capital of the Southern Song and a major center for both Chinese and Indo-Himalayan practices.[53] Inscriptions at the nearby Feilaifeng (Feilai Grottoes) indicate that most of the 116 or 117 sculptures added to the site in the late thirteenth century, which include both Chinese and Indo-Himalayan imagery, were commissioned by Yang Liangzhenjia, by his consort, or by other members of his administration. Of mixed Tangut and Uighur ethnicity,[54] Yang, a married monk, served as Hangzhou's branch commissioner for Tibetan and Buddhist Affairs and was a

Figure 143. *Buddha Amitayus with Manjushri and Prajnaparamita,* dated 1292. Feilaifeng, Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province

Figure 144. *Illustration and Text to the Guhyasamaya Tantra,* 1301. Woodblock print, 12 × 4½ in. (30.5 × 11.4 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Marshall H. Gould Fund 1987.65

protégé of the infamous cleric Sangha (d. 1291), Khubilai's chief minister during the 1280s, who was later executed for treason. It seems likely that Yang's interest in the site was prompted in part by the dissension at court and concerns about the succession and Sangha's political plight.[55]

The inscriptions indicate that Yang commissioned both Chinese and Indo-Himalayan imagery at Feilaifeng, possibly continuing practices found earlier in the Xixia dynasty. The absence of imagery associated with the Sakya sect suggests that, like his Tangut predecessors, he may have been affiliated with the Kagyu tradition. One of his commissions, dated to 1292 by inscription, shows the Buddha Amitayus (a form of Amitabha) attended by the bodhisattvas Avalokiteshvara and Mahasthamaprapta, the standard Chinese grouping. Another commission from the same year shows the same Buddha with the bodhisattva Manjushri and the goddess Prajnaparamita (fig. 143), an Indo-Himalayan grouping. The Chinese imagery includes the typical heavy, flowing drapery and high lotus pedestal; the Indo-Himalayan figures wear thin, clinging garments and sit on narrow lotus pedestals placed on high thrones.

Similar thrones support the Buddha and monk shown teaching in the frontispiece to a woodblock-printed edition of the *Guhyasamaya Tantra* (fig. 144), which was introduced to China as part of the great translation project of the Northern Song.[56] This edition, datable to 1301, is from the Jisha printing of the Buddhist canon, which was begun in 1231 during the Southern Song and completed about 1322 under the Yuan. Many of the frontispieces name Cheng Sheng as the artist who designed the illustrations and Chen Ning as the engraver. Here, the Buddha and monk are seated against a backdrop of luxuriant trees that can be traced to the art of Pala India; the scattered flowers are more typical of Xixia imagery. The composition, however, derives from imagery found in the Sakya tradition, where two monks are often shown side by side. Both figures wear monastic shawls and are seated on thrones with characteristically Indian backs with mythical composite creatures at the sides, elephants' heads above the crossbar, and the birdlike garuda in the center of the arch. The Buddha, who has the pointed topknot typical of Indo-Himalayan art, is attended by one young monk and an elderly cleric; two younger monks attend the high-ranking ecclesiastic.

Despite records that cite extensive exchanges between the Yuan court and the Sakya sect of central Tibet,[57] few works survive that illustrate the Nepali-based artistic traditions thought to have been brought to China by Anige. One remarkable example, however, is preserved in the Palace Museum, Beijing (fig. 145). Dated to 1305 by an inscription on the base, the gilt-bronze sculpture represents a relatively unusual form of Manjushri that developed in India as part of the final flowering of Esoteric practices and is often associated with Sakya traditions. The bodhisattva, seated in meditation with his hands crossed in front of his chest, holds two large lotus stems that probably once supported a book and a sword, two of this deity's more traditional attributes. The square face and use of inlay derive from Nepali and Tibetan traditions, as do the crown and other adornments and the treatment of the two lotuses.

The donor portraits at the bottom of a spectacular tapestry in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 146) are identified by Tibetan inscriptions as Tugh Temür (Emperor

Figure 145. *Bodhisattva Manjushri*, dated 1305. Gilt bronze, height 7⅛ in. (18.1 cm). The Palace Museum, Beijing [Exhib.]

Figure 146. *Mandala of Yamantaka-Vajrabhairava*, ca. 1330–32. Silk tapestry (*kesi*), warp 96⅝ in. (245.4 cm), weft 82¼ in. (208.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1992 1992.54 [Exhib.]

Detail of figure 146
showing Tugh
Tëmur and Khoshila
(bottom left)

Detail of figure 146
showing Budashiri
and Babusha
(bottom right)

Figure 147. View of the interior of Juyongguan, 1343–45. Hebei Province

Figure 148. *Buddha,* either Shakyamuni or Akshobhya, dated 1336. Gilt bronze, height 8½ in. (21.6 cm). The Palace Museum, Beijing [Exhib.]

Wenzong; r. 1328–32), great-grandson of Khubilai Khan, and his elder brother Khoshila (Emperor Mingzong; r. 1329), with their respective spouses Budashiri and Babusha (see details on previous page). The combination of these four individuals helps date the tapestry to the period between 1330 and 1332. The tapestry belongs to a tradition of palace-architecture mandalas in which the principal deity stands in a circle placed within a square with gateways at the four cardinal directions and is further enclosed by three additional rings. Within the innermost rings are lotus petals that in the middle show the cremation grounds common in mandalas dedicated to terrifying protectors; the other ring consists of *vajras,* or flames.

The primary deity in this mandala is the protector Yamantaka-Vajrabhairava, who played a seminal role in Sakya and other schools of Tibetan practice; this mandala was probably produced for use in an initiation ceremony focusing on this deity. Yamantaka, shown with the head of a bull, conquers Yama, Lord of Death, and by extension transcends death as well. In this manifestation, he also embodies the powers of Vajrabhairava, who has the ability to destroy and thereby renew. Smaller manifestations of Yamantaka-Vajrabhairava, symbolic of the dissemination of his power, fill the inner areas of the mandala. Additional figures are found in the borders; these include different types of deities, as well as a lineage of teachers. A dense green floral scroll fills the background. Such scrolls, which first appear in Pala-period manuscript painting and are also found in the Xixia-period Cave 465 at the Mogao complex, are commonly found in mandalas produced in Sakya monasteries in the central regions of Tibet.

Similar scrolls also provide the background in the palace-architecture mandalas that decorate the ceilings and upper walls of the Juyongguan, to the northwest of Beijing, one of the three major passes to the Great Wall. The extraordinary platform, which once supported a group of Tibetan-style stupas, was constructed between

Figure 149. *Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara in Water-Moon Manifestation*, 14th century. Gilt bronze, height 14¼ in. (36.2 cm). The Royal Ontario Museum. Dr. Herman Herzog Levy Bequest Fund [Exhib.]

1343 and 1345 at the order of Emperor Shundi (Toghan Temür; r. 1333–68) to bring comfort to those who traveled beneath the pass. Kunga Gyaltsen Palzangpo (1310–1358), the Tibetan monk who served as the last state preceptor to the Yuan court, planned the monument and supervised its construction. In addition to the mandalas on the ceiling, the guardians of the four cardinal directions and ten seated Buddhas appear on the interior of the arch (fig. 147), which is further embellished with ritual invocations (*dharani*) in six scripts—Lantsa, Tibetan, Chinese, Phagspa, Uighur, and Xixia—witness to the astonishing range of individuals found in the Mongol realm.

Comparison between the Buddhas at Juyongguan and a gilt-bronze sculpture of either Shakyamuni or Akshobhya (fig. 148) illustrates the synthesis of Chinese and Indo-Himalayan imagery that emerges in the latter part of the Yuan dynasty. Dated to 1336 by an inscription on the back of the lotus pedestal, this figure, like the ten seated Buddhas, is shown in meditation, his hands in the earth-touching mudra that becomes predominant for representations of Buddhas during the Pala dynasty. All have pointed *ushnishas*, one bare shoulder, and clothing that reveals rather than obscures their powerful physiques. On the other hand, the sculpted Buddha's rounded face and plump hands and feet, as well as the use of beading to define the hems of his robes, are typically Chinese.

A similar blending of the two styles is seen in a gilt-bronze sculpture of Avalokiteshvara seated in the relaxation or royal ease pose (fig. 149). The bodhisattva wears the heavy flowing garments found in Chinese art, but he has a square face and is crowned by a high and complicated headdress with long matted braids more typically seen on contemporaneous Nepali and Tibetan works.

Chinese-style painting of the Yuan dynasty occasionally exhibits quotations from Indo-Himalayan iconography. One example is seen in a colorful rendering of Avalokiteshvara in the Water-Moon manifestation (fig. 150). The bodhisattva, seated in his Pure Land, is accompanied by

Detail of figure 150

Figure 150. *Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara in Water-Moon Manifestation,* 14th century. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 43½ × 21⅝ in. (110.5 × 54.9 cm). Enshō-in, Nara

a stout monk, the young pilgrim Sudhana, and a dragon with a long sinuous body, red flames, and bulging eyes. As is often the case in this period, flecks of blue pigment are added to provide a sense of depth to the black ink pine and bamboo in the background. The shape of the vase holding the willow branch at the bodhisattva's left derives from Indian art, while the blue and gold coloration reflects the influence of Islamic glass. The protector hovering at the upper left (see detail) is unusual. He wears a variant of the clothing worn by the guardians of the four cardinal directions, but he has a blue face, a scowling expression, and flaming red hair. A large staff rests on his forearms, behind his clasped hands, and it is likely that he represents Mahakala as the Lord of the Pavilion, the tutelary deity of Khubilai Khan who served as protector for the imperial family and for their rule.

ARHATS IN CHINA AND TIBET

It is not surprising that during the fourteenth century the strong ties between the Yuan court and the Sakya sect are also reflected in the art of central Tibet. The Buddhist monastery at Shalu displays on its walls a royal scene in which the central figure sits in a Chinese-style pavilion (fig. 151).[58] Many of the landscape details also derive from China, beginning a tradition in the art of Tibet in which Chinese influence waxed and waned. The introduction of the motif of the arhat, for example, better known by the Chinese term "luohan," had a lasting impact on Himalayan imagery. Although the term "arhat" is found in early Indian texts to describe both the historical Buddha and his disciples, representations of arhats are not found in Indian art or in related traditions in Southeast Asia.

Devotion to a specific group of sixteen arhats, and the representation of these figures in the visual arts, which began in China during the Tang dynasty, was based on the text *A Record of the Abiding Dharma Spoken by the Great Arhat Nandimitra,* which was brought to China in the mid-seventh century by the famous monk-pilgrim Xuanzang (602–664).[59] The *Record of the Abiding Dharma* describes the magical powers with which arhats are endowed and the paradisiac realms they inhabit. Further, it explains that arhats have chosen to remain in the phenomenal world to protect Buddhism during the tenebrous period between the lifetime of the historical Buddha Shakyamuni and the arrival of Maitreya, the teaching Buddha of the future. After the eighth century, devotion to arhats was an important aspect of Chinese practice, and many paintings and sculptures of arhats in groups of sixteen, eighteen, and five hundred were produced for use in temples and other settings.

A painting in the Kimbell Art Museum (fig. 152) illustrates the Chinese perception of the arhat, a figure sometimes shown with Chinese and at other times with "foreign"—presumably Indian or Central Asian—features and generally in clerical garb. The broad face and powerful features of this arhat reflect the style of Lu Xinzhong (active late 13th–14th century), an artist based in the Ningbo region and noted for his paintings of such figures.[60] However, the landscape background, the rendering of the trees, and the treatment of the caps of the foreground waves as long, gnarled shapes place this painting in the early part of the fourteenth century. The dramatic furling of the arhat's robes, as well as those of the guardian at his right, is also a Yuan characteristic, as is the flaming red hair of the protector. The arhat, the guardian, and a young monk and boy are transfixed by the appearance of the begging bowl that arises miraculously before the Yuan-style dragon in the foreground, similar to the one seen in the painting of Avalokiteshvara in the Water-Moon manifestation (fig. 150).

The vibrant intensity expressed in this painting is common to fourteenth-century Chinese renderings of arhats, particularly in the second half of the century, and is indicative of the shift from the less dramatic representations of the Southern Song. In a striking work in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 153) an arhat stands in an undefined space holding a begging bowl that has miraculously filled with flowers. Bearded and wearing a brown undergarment and a red and white shawl, he gazes intently at the bowl, oblivious of the

Figure 151. *Royal Scene* (detail), early 14th century. Ground floor, Shalu Monastery, Tibet

Figure 152. *Arhat in a Landscape*, early 14th century. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 48¼ × 20¾ in. (122.6 × 52.7 cm). Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth [Exhib.]

Figure 153. *Arhat*, late 13th–14th century. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 44¼ × 19⅜ in. (112.4 × 49.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Purchase, Seymour Fund and Bequest of Dorothy Graham Bennett, 1984 1984.226 [Exhib.]

Figure 154. *Arhat*, mid-14th century. Wood with traces of pigment, height 38⅝ in. (98.1 cm). The Victoria and Albert Museum, London [Exhib.]

wind that causes his robes to flutter. The broad, bare chest is unusual and may be another example of the influence of Indo-Himalayan imagery.[61] It is also possible that both the expressive intensity and the display of the upper body reflect an awareness of the importance of the great adepts, or *mahasiddhas*, in the Indo-Himalayan world. As was mentioned earlier, such figures are thought to have played an important role in the final development of Esoteric Buddhism and its spread to Tibet. Representations of *mahasiddhas*, who are often shown in indeterminate locations or in landscape settings, are generally characterized by their scanty clothing and focused expressions.[62]

Arhats and *mahasiddhas* are conceptually similar on several counts. They are neither monks nor laymen. Both are understood to have attained enlightenment through merit and virtue. Both are endowed with the ability to help others. And they are believed to have magical powers. It is possible that the knowledge of the *mahasiddhas* was conflated with arhat imagery to create the dramatic representations of the Yuan period. The large scale of the arhat in comparison to the picture plane in the Metropolitan Museum painting is typical of arhat representations in the second half of the fourteenth century, found in both two- and three-dimensional works.[63] A lifesize sculpted figure in the collection of

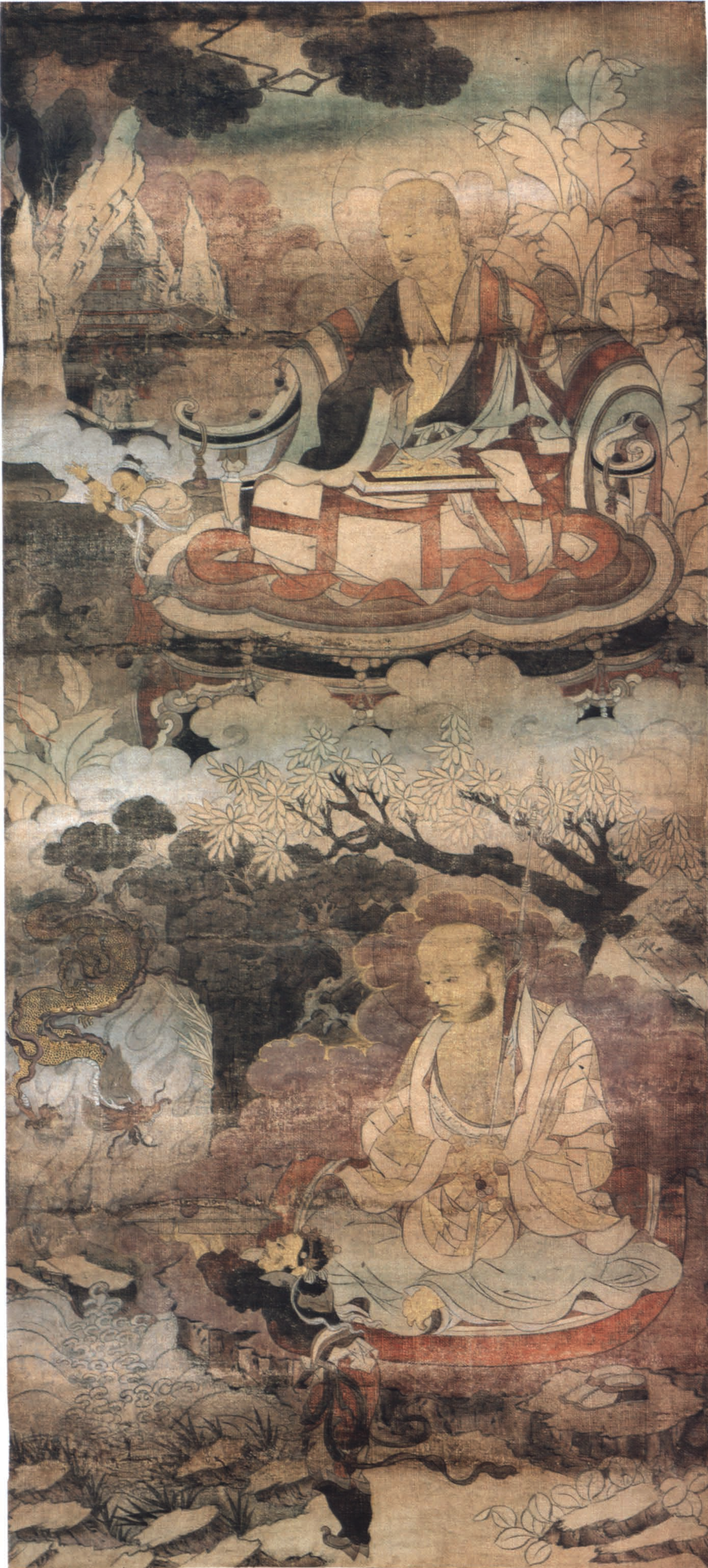


Figure 155. *Two Arhats in Landscapes*. Tibet, 14th century. Hanging scroll, color and gold on cotton, 28⅜ × 13⅜ in. (72.1 × 34 cm). The Cleveland Museum of Art. Leonard C. Hanna, Jr., Fund 1988.103 [Exhib.]

the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 154) is another example. The seated arhat is shown leaning on an armrest, gazing intently toward the ground. The careful rendering and the volume of his clothing and of the rocky ledge upon which he sits are also characteristically Yuan.

Two arhats are depicted in a painting in the Cleveland Museum of Art (fig. 155) that was originally part of a larger set. The companion paintings included images of arhats and of the guardians of the four cardinal points and presumably a Buddha.[64] While the treatment of space and the rendering of trees, plants, and clothing derive from Chinese art, the painting was likely produced in Tibet. The composition, which shows one figure above the other, has parallels in Tibetan painting, as does the use of cloth rather than silk for the support. Phrases in Tibetan on the surface of the painting give directions for the use of color, while a mantra and a standard Buddhist incantation, in the Newari script, are inscribed on the back.

The arhat in the upper register sits in a Chinese-style chair with curved arms. With his left hand resting on a book and his right held in the gesture of exposition of the Dharma, he is attended by a figure with upraised arms who watches a small creature as he gambols on the ground. A Chinese-style pavilion is nestled in the landscape background of broadleaf plants and pine trees. The arhat in the lower register sits on a carpet-draped rock holding a monk's staff and a vase. His attendant, in tunic, trousers, boots, and a cloud collar, lifts a tray toward the dragon at the upper left. The dragon, with long snout, whiskers, and bulging eyes, is very similar to dragons in two of the Chinese paintings discussed above (figs. 150, 152). The gnarled plant at the lower left is comparable in shape to the waves in these paintings as well. It seems likely that this work was made by a Tibetan artist following a Chinese prototype. And it is possible that the subtle colors allude to ink painting; such colors are found neither in Chinese depictions of arhats nor in Tibetan painting.

BUDDHIST IMAGERY AND MANICHAEAN ART

The interchange between various types and styles of Buddhist imagery that marked the art of the Yuan dynasty is also reflected in stylistic interchanges between Buddhist and other religious traditions, particularly Manichaeism, at that time. Founded by the prophet Mani (ca. 216–276), Manichaeism was one of the many Gnostic (esoteric wisdom) religions that flourished in West and Central Asia from the third to the seventh century. It has a complicated cosmology and focuses on the perennial struggle between the forces of light and good and those of darkness and evil. Manichaeism was known in China during the Tang dynasty and was one of the foreign religions (including Buddhism) persecuted in the mid-ninth century. It was chosen as the state religion of the early Uighur Kingdom in the mid-eighth century and was also practiced by the Uighurs when they reestablished their rule in the Tarim basin in the ninth century. Historical records, including the writings of Marco Polo, indicate that some form of Manichaeism was practiced in South China from the tenth to (possibly) the seventeenth century. It is known to have been important in the region of Quanzhou, Fujian Province, in the fourteenth century, where a sculpture depicting the prophet Mani (fig. 156), dating from circa 1339, was once found in a temple not far from that port city.[65]

A hanging scroll of a seated figure in the Seiun-ji in Yamanashi Prefecture (fig. 157) and another with narrative imagery from the Yamato Bunkakan in Nara (fig. 158) are among a handful of paintings in Japan that have recently been identified as showing Manichaean imagery.[66] The painting in the Seiun-ji shows a figure seated with crossed legs on a lotus that is supported by a tiered hexagonal pedestal. A round halo surrounds the figure's head, and traces of a mandorla and a canopy are visible. The figure, with long strands of black hair that fall along his upper shoulders, wears a white undergarment visible at the

Figure 156. *The Prophet Mani*, ca. 1339. Stone with pigment (no longer extant)

Figure 157. *Jesus Christ as a Manichaean Prophet,* 14th century. Hanging scroll, ink, color, gold, and gold leaf on silk, 60⅜ × 23⅛ in. (153.4 × 58.7 cm). Tenmokusan Seiun-ji, Kōshū, Yamanashi Prefecture [Exhib.]

Figure 158. *The Teaching of Manichaeism and Other Narratives.* Yuan–early Ming dynasty, late 14th century. Hanging scroll mounted as a panel, ink, color, and gold on silk, 64¼ × 29¼ in. (163.2 × 74.3 cm). The Museum Yamato Bunkakan, Nara [Exhib.]

neck, a robe decorated with a delicate floral brocade, and a white ceremonial shawl. The shawl, which is found in scenes showing Manichaean practice preserved from the Uighur centers in the Tarim basin, is embellished with four red insignia with women's heads (two at the shoulders, two at the knees).[67] In the Manichaean tradition, white was the color worn by the elect. The women in the insignia have been identified as Light Maidens, thought to play a prominent role in the endless contention between good and evil that is central to this religion.[68] The central figure holds in his left hand a red lacquer stand that supports a green lotus base with a cross; his right hand he raises in a gesture that may reflect the dualism central to Manichaean thought. The cross helps to identify him as a representation of Christ, here in the guise of a prophet, a role in this tradition that he often assumed. This rare and intriguing image of Christ as prophet is deeply indebted to Buddhist imagery. The composition, in which the central figure dominates an unarticulated space, the presence of the halo and mandorla, the canopy, the tiered pedestal, and the use of a lotus as a seat for a sacred figure all find parallels in Chinese representations of Buddhist and other deities.

The narrative painting (fig. 158) also shows striking parallels in Chinese imagery, evident in the scenes of hell, the lively demons at the bottom, and the Chinese pavilion in the heavenly scene at the top, as well as in such elements as the trees and clouds and the clothing worn by the various figures. The painting, which is divided into five horizontal registers, likely illustrates not only Manichaean teachings but the promulgation of Manichaean beliefs. The figure seated on a lotus set upon a tiered hexagonal base and the four figures who attend him, shown in the second register from the top, may illustrate two advanced adherents and two pupils with a sculpture of Mani. Mani raises his right hand and, with the left, shows, inverted, the gesture of dualism seen in figure 157. Also in his left hand he holds a green cloth, a possible reference to the use of cloth as a sacred symbol in various West Asian traditions. Mani has the long black hair found in the earlier image of Christ as prophet and is similarly encircled by a halo and mandorla. Like the Manichaean elect to the right, he wears ceremonial white robes, but his shawl has a notably richer gold border. The elect's position and robes, bordered in brown and gold, in turn reflect his status with regard to the figure at his left. The central figure holds a staff and gesticulates in a fashion that suggests speech; the standing figure at his left holds his hands in a gesture of reverence, one that is reiterated by the student in red seated at the left who is also accompanied by a standing attendant.

Figure 159. *Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara.* Ming dynasty, dated 1398. Hanging scroll, ink, color, and gold leaf on silk, 68¼ × 25¼ in. (173.4 × 64.1 cm). Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Gift of Robert W. Moore in honor of Mary Moore M.2000.13

Figure 160. *Buddha* (detail). West Uighur Kingdom, 10th–11th century. Mural from the Bezeklik cave complex, Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg

In the top register is the visit of a Light Maiden to heaven. Appearing with attendants on a cloud at the right, she then enters the pavilion and at the left departs on a cloud. In the third register are four vignettes with, from left, merchants, craftsmen, farmers, and a scholar-gentleman with an attendant. The four scenes perhaps illustrate different stages of rebirth, a Buddhist (or Indian) concept that may have been appended to Manichaeism. The fourth register shows a judgment scene. A Light Maiden, possibly intervening on behalf of the deceased (who wears a white loincloth), is seen at the left. This scene is clearly based on images of the kings of hell judging the dead found in Chinese Buddhist art. The tortures of hell are detailed in the bottom register: one man is sawn in half; another is shot with arrows; a third is crushed by a fiery wheel.

The gold tassels that decorate the upper tier of Christ's pedestal in the Seiun-ji painting, the use of a balcony to define the pedestal, and the thick strands in the canopy are very similar to those found in a painting of Avalokiteshvara in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (fig. 159). That image also provides parallels, in the oval shape of the mandorla and the dense red and gold cloud clusters, to the narrative painting with Mani. The painting of Avalokiteshvara is dated 1398 by inscription. The elements seen in that image and in the two paintings in Japanese collections would suggest a date in the second half of the fourteenth century for those two works as well. Also relevant to the dating of the narrative painting is the fact that the Light Maiden and her attendants wear cloud collars. As mentioned earlier, this piece of clothing appears as a decorative device on fourteenth-century ceramics and metalwork, suggesting that it may have been in fashion at this time.

While the compositions and other aspects of both paintings clearly parallel those found in contemporaneous Buddhist art, it is notable that the clothing worn by both Christ and Mani is rendered with deep creases that have been enhanced with a darker color for shading. This type of drapery fold may ultimately derive from Central Asia. It is found, for example, in the garments of the Buddhas and other deities in the Thousand Buddha Caves of Bezeklik near Turfan that were opened around the tenth or eleventh century under the patronage of the West Uighur Kingdom (fig. 160). It also appears in related imagery at the Mogao cave-temple complex and in Chinese religious art.[69] Manichaean art produced for the West Uighur Kingdom in the Tarim basin may have served as a source for similar imagery in China. Uighurs were among the first Central Asians to join the Mongol confederation, and they played a significant role in the administration of China

during the Yuan dynasty. It is possible that Manichaeism continued to be practiced by some of these individuals, and that this method of depicting drapery, with its ties to earlier Central Asian traditions, was reflected in the art they produced. It may also have been understood in China as part of Manichaean iconography, a feature that distinguished this tradition from other artistic styles and iconographies found in the vast, complex, and multicultural world of the Mongol Yuan dynasty.

1. Sanskrit names for Buddhist deities have been used in this essay because it discusses Chinese, Central Asian, Indian, and Tibetan art.
2. Citations to Buddhist sutras are based on the early twentieth-century Japanese printing of the entire Chinese-language canon, which often serves as the primary source for these texts (*Daizōkyō*, edited by Takakusu Junjirō and Watanabe Kaigyoku, 1914–32). The sutra in question is no. 277. In this essay, Chinese titles are used when Sanskrit renderings are unknown.
3. One highly speculative possibility is that the three dancing women, who are clearly wearing Indian-style clothing, are *dakinis*, the powerful beings found in Tibetan painting that become an important motif during the final flowering of Esoteric Buddhism in India.
4. An inscription in gold on the left reads *Da Song Gong Jin Hua Shi Li X Bi*, suggesting that the painting was made by an artist with the surname Li during the Song period. While it seems likely that the inscription is a later addition, it is worth noting that the term *Da Song* is found both in Southern Song paintings and in caves at the great center of Mogao, which date from the same period. For the former, see Ide Seinosuke 2001: 38. For a discussion of the problems in interpreting the latter, see Xie Jisheng 2004.
5. Revised identification of the iconography of this mural is the work of Anning Jing. See Jing 1991. I am grateful to Meng Sihui of the Palace Museum, Beijing, for confirming the attribution to Zhu Haogu.
6. Cammann 1951: 5. For further discussion, see Rawson 1984: 132–36.
7. This painting was originally catalogued as Korean. For the revised identification, see Ide Seinosuke 2001, pl. 25.
8. *Sacred Ningbo* 2009: 11–12.
9. It is possible that the square face of the Buddha alludes to the shape of faces in contemporaneous Nepali and central Tibetan art, an artistic tradition well known in Yuan China.
10. For a translation of the inscription, see Levine and Lippit 2007: 194.
11. Beijing shi wenwu yanjiusuo 1986.
12. See Chumei Ho 1994–95, especially 38–40.
13. Chi-chiang Huang 1999.
14. Translation by Wai-kam Ho in Ho and Lee 1980: 122.
15. Translation by Helmut Brinker (1973: 23).
16. Brinker 1973–74.
17. *Kyōto Gozan Zen no Bunka* 2007: 396.
18. Sharf 1992.
19. Translation by Yoshiaku Shimizu from Levine and Lippit 2007: 124.
20. For a good overview, see Davidson 2002.
21. Le Coq 1913, pl. 31. See also Leidy 2001.
22. Gridley 1993: 63–78.
23. Charles D. Orzech (2006a) suggests that the classification of certain practices as Esoteric can be traced to the work of Zanning, and that such classifications did not exist prior to the tenth century. This provides an interesting parallel to Jacob Dalton's suggestion (2005) that classification of teaching was also important in Tibet from the tenth to the twelfth century. The impact of Esoteric Buddhism in China is discussed in Orzech 1989, Sharf 2002, and Strickmann 1996.
24. Iwasaki 1993. See also Davidson 2005: 84–115.
25. Liu Yingsheng 2004: 180–83.
26. Sen 2002: 27.
27. Beal 1881, and Chou and Bagchi n.d.: 111–14.
28. Orzech 2006b.
29. Lancaster 1989.
30. Orzech 2006b: 144.
31. Heping Liu 2007: 100.
32. Soper 1951: 92–93.
33. Kossak and Singer 1998, pl. 10.
34. Orzech 2006b: 152.
35. Linrothe 1999: 54.
36. *Daizōkyō*, no. 1243. It is beyond the range of this essay to discuss the complicated issues regarding the identity of foreign monks such as Faxian and their original or Sanskrit names. For an interesting discussion, see Jan 1966.
37. Toyka-Fuong 1998: 67–89.
38. *Daizōkyō*, nos. 1684 and 1685.
39. The combination of creatures and thrones first appears in China during the Tang dynasty. See Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1998, fig. 16.
40. For an example, see Huntington and Huntington 1990, colorpl. 59.
41. Samosyuk 2006.
42. The redating of this cave from the Yuan dynasty to an earlier period is the work of Xie Jisheng (2001; 2002; 2003; and 2004).
43. Linrothe 1999: 178–92.
44. Lei Runze, Yu Cunhai, and He Jiying 1995: 183, 251.
45. Linrothe 2006.
46. Chai Zejun 1997, pls. 89, 90.
47. Jett 1995: 175. The publication of the Carbon-14 date led to much discussion because it was presumed that the sculpture could not predate the Yuan dynasty. Additional testing has also yielded dates that support a twelfth- or thirteenth-century date. However, the date remains controversial. See Jett 1997: 66–67.
48. There is additional evidence of Indo-Himalayan imagery in North China in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. For example, several attendant figures found in the Shanhuasi in Datong that can be dated to between 1123 and 1148 wear jewelry that is strikingly similar to that found (even today) in Tibet. See *Shanxi fojiao cai su* 1991, pls. 282, 283.
49. Dunnell 1992.
50. Stoddard 1985.
51. Evidence from Yunnan suggests that Mahakala was well known in some parts of China prior to the Mongol conquest. See Lee Yu-min 1996.
52. *Daizōkyō*, no. 892.
53. See "Yuandai Hangzhou de Zangchuan Mijiao ji qi youguan yiji," in Su Bai 1996: 365–87.
54. Chen Gaohua 1986.
55. For a good overview, see Linrothe 2009.
56. *Daizōkyō*, no. 855.
57. Jing 2004.
58. Vitali 1990: 89–122.
59. *Daizōkyō*, no. 2030.
60. For a comparison, see *Sacred Ningbo* 2009, pl. 110.
61. Bare chests are also sometimes found in Chinese representations of the Chan Eccentric Budai, a monk who becomes important in the visual arts during the Southern Song. It is not impossible that this eccentric figure was also subtly influenced by Indo-Himalayan imagery, and, in particular, the iconography of *mahasiddhas*.
62. Pal 1990.

63. This is attested by several paintings dated to 1345. See Weidner 1994: 194.
64. Little 1992.
65. Lieu 1998: 177–95.
66. Discovery of these paintings has resulted in much discussion. See Yoshida 2009; Gulácsi 2009b; Ebert 2009; and Izumi 2006. At least three more examples of Manichaean painting have been discovered in Japan. They will be published in an upcoming article by Yutaka Yoshida.
67. It is notable that very similar busts of women first appear in China in the sixth century, where they decorate the clothing worn by figures in a Northern Qi (550–77) tomb. See Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo and Taiyuan shi kaogu yanjiusuo 2003, figs. 32, 33.
68. Identification of these figures and of the imagery of both paintings is based almost entirely on the work of Zsuzsanna Gulácsi. See Gulácsi 2009a.
69. For an interesting discussion of painting under the Uighurs, see Russell-Smith 2005.

5

The Daoist Image: Portrait of the Immortal

Birgitta Augustin

Daoism, an indigenous philosophy and polytheistic religion deeply rooted in Chinese culture, reaches back to antiquity, to the era when Confucianism arose and Buddhism was founded in India. The two main scriptures, the eponymous *Laozi* and the *Zhuangzi*, are ascribed to the legendary founders of Daoism. The Dao, often translated as the Way, although beyond rational definition, may be understood as the unfathomable origin of the world and the path to enlightenment.[1]

Daoism proved useful to the pantheistic Mongols to promote their intention to rule. Ritual and the quest for immortality, the foundations of Daoist practice, appealed to the shamanistic nomads. Furthermore, the existing orders, which had a strong following, provided useful vehicles for influencing large segments of the population.[2] The Mongol emperors supported different orders at different times, according to their needs. At times of turmoil, both Daoists and Confucian intellectuals sought refuge in temples, secluded from the political centers of Mongol rule. Under Khubilai Khan (r. 1271–94), the Daoists' position was challenged, as the Mongol leader preferred Buddhism.[3]

Very little Daoist art from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries has survived.[4] What remains, however, reveals an intriguing account of the religious and social environment. During this period, Buddhist and Confucian ideas were incorporated into Daoism, as part of the mutual interchanges between these traditions. All of these connections are reflected in the visual arts. Daoist adepts and adherents, as is to be expected, created Daoist art, but court artists, artisans, and workshops also received commissions to produce this type of material. These individuals often brought to their projects different artistic practices, and stylistic distinctions often blur and iconographies overlap.

The separation of the country into northern and southern entities from 1127 until 1279 resulted in a division of the Daoist landscape. While the traditional orders in the south were cut off from the emerging centers of power, new orders were founded in the north. Tang (618–907) and Northern Song (960–1127) artistic styles were adapted by a succession of foreign dynasties in the north—the Khitan Liao (916–1125) and the Jurchen Jin (1115–1234). The northern influence is reflected most prominently in voluminous figures found in religious painting. In the south, the style of the Southern Song Imperial Painting Academy continued to prevail, as did the art both of the literati and of Chan Buddhism. Serene, and intensely personal, the southern manner would spread and gain renewed significance (see pp. 3–6).

With the reunification of the country under the Mongols, intellectual and cultural exchange was reinvigorated. Daoists of the southern orders and artists again had access to the north (and vice versa), and northern influence was felt in the south.

From impressive murals in the north (which serve as an important reference) and mural-like scroll paintings, representations of immortals for ritual and private use, portraits of important Daoist figures, dragon and landscape paintings, and poetic calligraphy, we can attempt to piece together a Portrait of the Immortal and to understand the quest for personal destiny during the short-lived Yuan dynasty.

Opposite: Attributed to Yan Hui, *The Immortal Yunfang Initiating Lü Chunyang into the Secret of Immortality*, detail of figure 166

Figure 161. *Nine Stars of the Northern Dipper*. Southern Song dynasty, 13th century. Hanging scroll, ink, color, and gold on silk, 44⅜ × 21⅜ in. (112.7 × 54.3 cm). Chikubushima Hōgon-ji, Nagahama, Shiga Prefecture [Exhib.]

The substantial and tangible Daoist pantheon consists of deities including stars, officials, lords, and generals. The number of these divinities and their hierarchy changed over time.[5] One of the most important star formations in the Daoist cosmology is Beidou, the stellar constellation of the Big or Northern Dipper. Recorded in early star maps and employed for divination purposes and apotropaic rituals, the individual stars of Beidou were regarded as "rulers of human destiny."[6] Under the Southern Song, Beidou was worshipped as a god of personal fate by the imperial family,[7] and during the Yuan dynasty, rituals for Beidou and other astral divinities were performed by both Daoists and Buddhists.[8]

The hanging scroll *Nine Stars of the Northern Dipper* (fig. 161) appears to be the earliest extant painting of this subject. The nine stars (seven brighter and two weaker) are represented anthropomorphically by seven androgynous figures in white gowns accompanied by two male figures with black-bordered red robes and black hats. Each star is named on the tablet held in the figure's hands.[9] The astral assembly is led by two sword-wielding female heralds crowned with intricate gold headdresses.[10] A divine radiance emerges from the stars' serene, idealized faces, their dark, nearly floor-length hair with receding hairline painted a deep blue black. Wearing white gowns patterned in fine gold lines and decorative cloud collars—the "gate at the apex to the universe"[11]—the figures descend on clouds, as if summoned to a ritual.[12] The garments worn by the heralds, belted over their rounded bellies and embellished by broad black borders with a curvilinear scrolling design in gold, echo in their emphatic color the robes of the male figures at the back.

Presumably part of a ritual set, the painting, with its ample use of gold, was perhaps created under imperial patronage by artists from religious painting workshops in the southern cities of Lin'an (Hangzhou) or Mingzhou (Ningbo),[13] Zhejiang Province, perhaps for use in the Southern Song temple halls devoted to Beidou. The Ningbo workshops were known especially for paintings of *luohans* (see fig. 41). Trade resulted in the transfer of many religious paintings to Japan, of which the present work is one example.

Associated with the cosmic center, Beidou is the administrative seat of a complicated celestial bureaucracy that includes a netherworld. The latter comprises the Offices of Heaven, Earth, and Water, which rule over the fate of sinners and petitioners.[14] *The Daoist Officials of Heaven, Earth, and Water* (fig. 162), a depiction of what the old texts refer to as Sanguan, but here appearing as offices with their respective entourages, is an early example of three scroll paintings perhaps intended for use as a ritual set. The subject was apparently a popular one, judging from a description by the Jin-dynasty scholar Yuan Haowen (1190–1257) of a Tang painting set by Zhu Yao (active 10th century).[15] Here, the officials are shown surrounded by their retinues who guide them (a), guard them (c), or witness them as they rule (b). Compositional elements suggest a lateral arrangement, with the *Official of Heaven* (b) in the center, flanked by the *Official of Water* (a) to the left and the *Official of Earth* (c) to the right. The movement of the figures from the flanking paintings toward the *Official of Heaven*, where the official appears slightly elevated in relation to the other two, emphasizes his—and the painting's—centrality.[16] The *Official of Earth*, bordered at the right by rocks and trees in the style of the Northern Song artist Guo Xi (ca. 1000–ca. 1090), would have served as the rightmost painting of the set. In that painting, the group of demons led by the demon queller Zhong Kui[17] at the lower right echoes the thunder guards in the upper left of the *Official of Water*. Similarly, the submerged buildings and emerging demons in the lower part of the *Official of Water* counterbalance the clifflike rock and overhanging trees in the upper part of the *Official of Earth*, stabilizing the entire composition.

While the three paintings were likely formed as a set, the first two show close correspondence in the coverage of the silk with color or ink, the density and elaboration of background details, and in the coloring, facial features, and attributes of the figures, while the third painting diverges in these aspects. This is perhaps the result of workshop execution.[18] It is also possible that the *Official of Earth* was made at a different time. The Officials of Heaven and Water, their faces alike, having no eye contact with their subordinates, and with their crowns displaying the character *wang* for king, appear divine (see details, p. 135 above right and left). By contrast, the Official of Earth, riding a horse, turns his head toward a figure below; his bearded face is more individuated, and his crown is without the royal insignia (see detail, p. 135 below). While in overall accordance with Yuan Haowen's observations about Zhu Yao's earlier set in terms of composition and iconography, the Officials of Heaven and Water appear almost without expression, befitting their divinity, and the Official of Earth appears drawn to more worldly concerns.[19]

The Daoist Officials of Heaven, Earth, and Water shares many stylistic, technical, and iconographic features with *The Life*

162a

162b

Figure 162a–c. Traditionally attributed to Wu Daozi (689–after 755). (a) *The Daoist Official of Water* (b) *The Daoist Official of Heaven* (c) *The Daoist Official of Earth*. Jin–Yuan dynasty, late 12th–13th century. Set of paintings mounted as panels, ink, color, and gold on silk, 49½ × 22 in. (125.7 × 55.9 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Special Chinese and Japanese Fund 12.880–12.882 [Exhib.]

162c

of Shakyamuni, two murals in the Manjushri Hall of Yanshansi, a Jin-dynasty Buddhist temple at Mount Wutai, in northern Shanxi Province, which were painted by a group of artists led by Wang Kui and completed in 1167.[20] The form of the foliate and meandering clouds, of the baldachins in the Water and Heaven paintings, and to a certain extent of the wave crests, is comparable to those in the Yanshansi murals. And the retinue of the Official of Water, in its swirling configuration around the deity (see detail, p. 135 above), is remarkably similar to the mural scene of the defeat of Mara (fig. 163). Gold, amply applied in the dodecahedral screen behind the Official of Heaven and in the officials' flamboyant crowns, jewelry, and weapons, is also prominent in the temple murals. The red shading of the faces in the present paintings is known from Tang murals, and can be seen in the wall painting in Foguangsi (Foguang Monastery) at Mount Wutai, Shanxi.[21]

The three paintings of the Daoist officials seem to combine figurative styles primarily of northern or Central Asia, which already in the Northern Wei (386–534) had begun to infuse Chinese art. The emphasis on volume in the sturdy figures' robes, the deep drapery folds, and the generous application of gold are typical of the northern style. The use of ink washes to suggest depth is known from early wall paintings in China and Central Asia, and appear in northern Buddhist scroll paintings dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (see fig. 157).[22] The vivid demons in the Water and Earth scrolls, specifically the emphasis on anatomical details, are reminiscent of figures in murals at Dunhuang of the middle Tang period; a demon by the Tang master Wu Daozi (689–after 755), today preserved in a Ming ink rubbing from a stone engraving in the Dongyue Temple at Quyang, Hebei Province; and demons in the above-mentioned Tang-dynasty Foguangsi mural.[23]

Other similarities with paintings and decorative art of northern origin are also significant. The composition of the *Official of Water* (fig. 162a), where the official is seen riding a dragon on clouds over water and the perspective of the seascape with a high horizon resembles that of tenth-century paintings on silk found in the hidden library at Dunhuang of the Buddhist deity Vaiśravana crossing the sea on clouds, perhaps suggests that Buddhist and Daoist iconography were used in various painting workshops.[24] A gold plaque, possibly once attached to a textile base dating to the Liao dynasty, also displays a similar scene.[25] The Official of Earth (fig. 162c), shielded by an impressive parasol, is led slowly on a horse tightly bridled by a guard who pulls the horse's head to his side with both hands. A comparable scene appears in a fragment of a Liao-dynasty

Detail of figure 162a (*Official of Water*)

Figure 163. Atelier of Wang Kui (12th century), *The Defeat of Mara* (detail of *The Life of Shakyamuni*). Jin dynasty, completed by 1167. Mural. West wall, Manjushri Hall, Yanshansi, Fanshixian, Shanxi Province

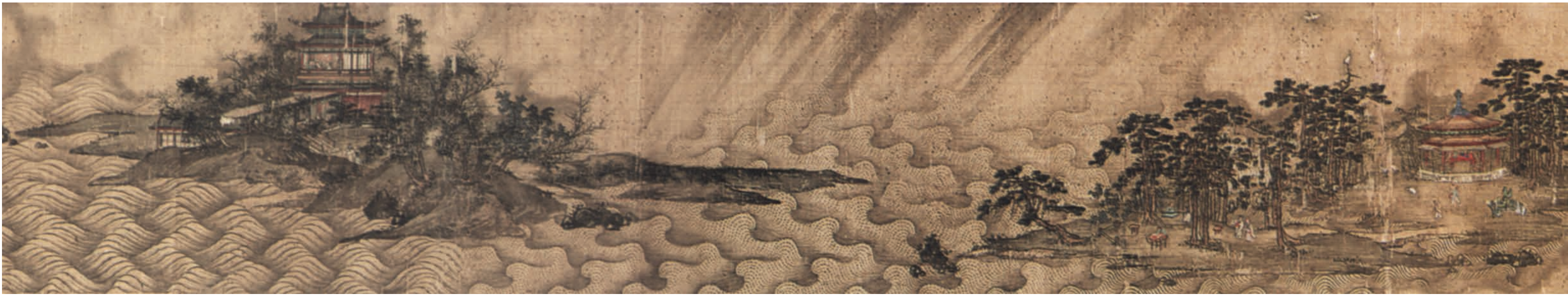
Detail of figure 162a (*Official of Water*)

Detail of figure 162b (*Official of Heaven*)

tomb mural in the Left Banner of Balin, Inner Mongolia.[26] This evidence would suggest that artists in mural workshops, employed in the decoration of temple walls and tombs, were familiar with these scenes, which were likely used in other mediums as well. The gold screen behind the Official of Heaven (see detail, above right) with two three-clawed dragons—confronted head to tail—amid a floral background is reminiscent of textile designs dating from the Liao and bronze mirrors from the Jin and Yuan dynasties. Also found on bronze mirrors with Daoist and other narrative content and in the remarkable *Isles of the Blessed* (fig. 164), a ten-meter scroll by the Chan Buddhist painter Puguang (active late 13th–early 14th century), are hump-shaped waves with striped patterns and clawlike wave crests (probably derived from woodblock prints). A similarly strong and dynamic presence of hump-shaped waves also appears in the *Official of Water* (fig. 162a).

The depiction of large areas of water became popular during the Tang and Northern Song dynasties. The walls of the Jade Hall in the Hanlin Academy, the institute of the Confucian scholars at court, for example, were covered with images of vast oceans and small islands.[27] In Puguang's painting, flat islands and steeply ascending rocky mountains overgrown with lush green trees emerge from great expanses

Detail of figure 162c (*Official of Earth*)



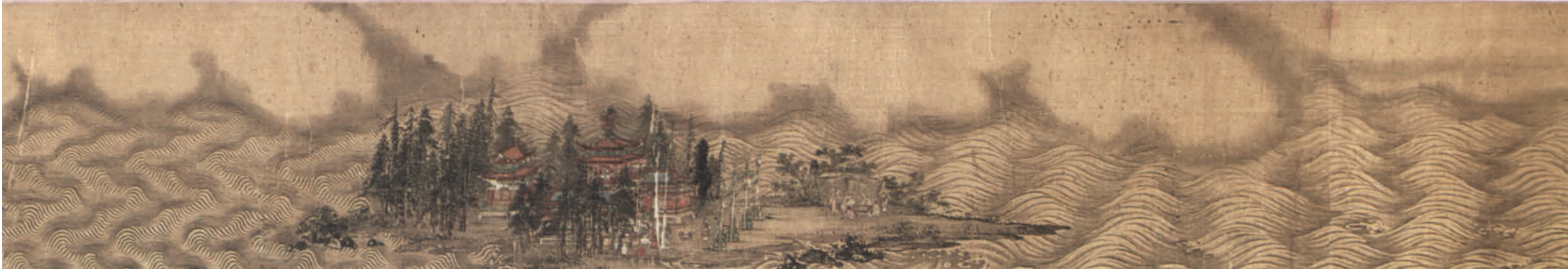


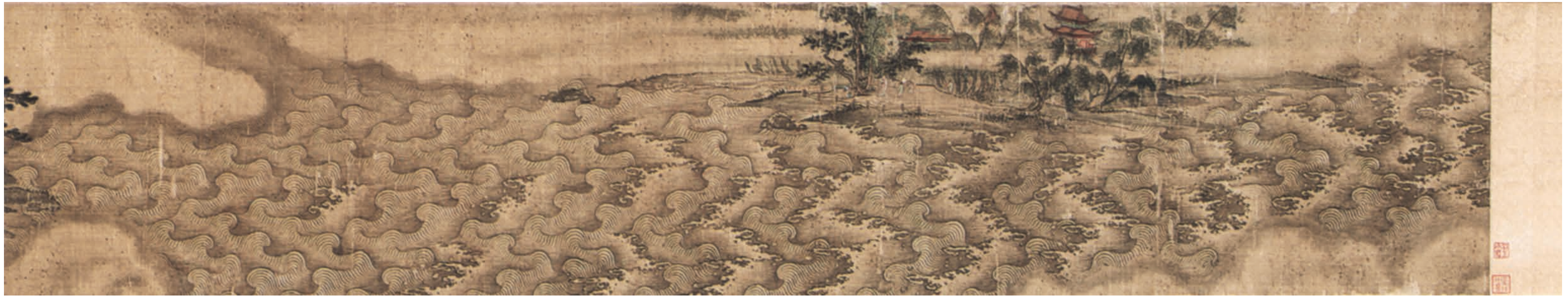
Figure 164. Puguang (active late 13th–early 14th century), *Isles of the Blessed*. Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 12½ × 382 in. (31.8 × 970 cm). The Royal Ontario Museum 2005.22.1

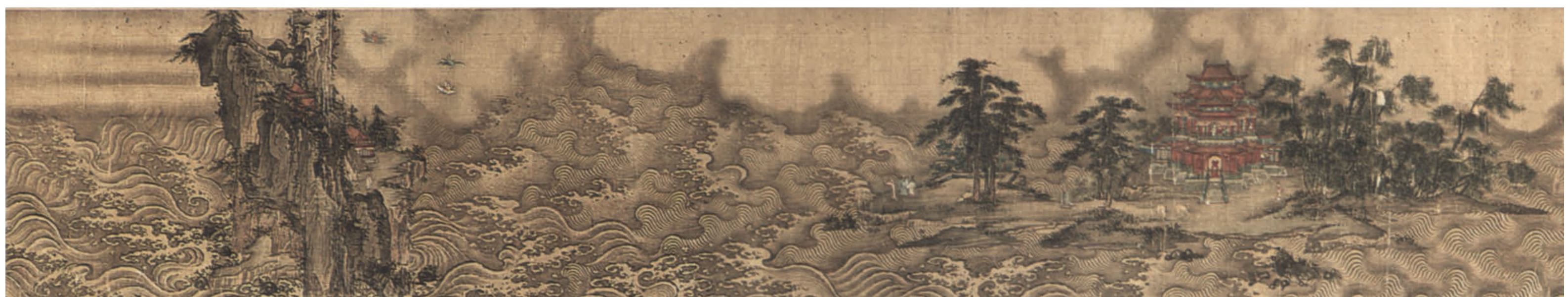
of water, areas of which are distinctly individualized. The painting recalls the "vast abyss . . . [the] bottomless oceanic trench . . . to which the waters from the eight directions of the sky and from their center and from the Milky Way all flow."[28]

Water in Daoist literature is perceived as "weak," meaning that it is not strong enough even "to support a wild goose feather."[29] Access to the mountains is thus possible only for immortals and through the air. Appropriately, the immortals in the *Isles of the Blessed* are depicted as airborne.

Puguang, who hailed from Datong (in present-day Shanxi Province), most likely painted *Isles of the Blessed* when he was in service to Khubilai Khan in Dadu. In the lake adjacent to the Imperial Palace was an artificial island, Qionghua (Magnificent Jade), where evergreens and azurite stones were said to flourish, lending to it the dazzling sparkle of the immortal realm.[30]

During the occupation of the north by the Jurchen Jin, the Daoist environment experienced significant changes.[31] New Daoist orders were established, the most popular of which was the Quanzhen, the Order of the Complete Perfection, founded in 1170. In late 1219, on the eve of the Mongol invasion, Qiu Chuji (1148–1227), one of the most important leaders of the order, was summoned by Chinggis Khan to his presence in Central Asia. Qiu had rejected calls by the Jin emperor Xuanzong in 1216 and by the Southern Song emperor Ningzong in





1219, but Chinggis Khan's he accepted because he hoped that he could be instrumental in securing Chinggis's support for the Quanzhen.[32] The Mongol leader had invited Qiu with the expectation that the adept would provide him with an elixir of longevity. Qiu, however, when he arrived, informed him that longevity was born of self-cultivation and good governance of his subjects rather than of the ingestion of an elixir. Disappointed, Chinggis nevertheless, in appreciation of Qiu's insights, made him head of "all good people who left their homes to become devotees." The meaning of this phrase, taken from a decree issued by Chinggis Khan in 1223, is ambiguous and could have referred to both Daoists and Buddhists.[33]

QUANZHEN: PORTRAITS OF THE IMMORTALS

The first hagiography of the Quanzhen order was compiled about 1240, long after the death of its founder, Wang Zhe (Chongyang; 1113–1170). Wang promoted the syncretism of the teachings of Daoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism (*san jiao he yi*) and emphasized the importance of meditation and self-cultivation. The legendary figures and Daoist immortals Zhongli Quan (Yunfang) and Lü Dongbin (Lü Chunyang) were said to have appeared to Wang and were therefore added to the official lineage of the Quanzhen possibly also to attract followers.[34] The increasing popularity of the order under the Mongols

Figure 165. *The Daoist Immortal Lü Dongbin.* Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 43½ × 17½ in. (110.5 × 44.5 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City. Purchase: William Rockhill Trust 62–25 [Exhib.]

culminated in a cultlike adoration of Lü in particular and witnessed the creation of many pictures and murals depicting the revered immortal.[35]

The Daoist Immortal Lü Dongbin (fig. 165), by an unknown artist, presents Lü self-confident in the guise of a scholar, elegantly dressed in a beige robe and white undergarment held by a black cord with pompons, his feet in hemp shoes, and wearing a blue cap, which came to be known as a Chunyang cap, with two bands.[36] He carries a sword and a small gourd-shaped bottle.[37] The long brushstrokes that delineate the angular folds of the gown, in particular the repeating lines of the sleeves and the contour line of the rounded belly, create an impression of lightness and volume. In posture and gesture, the immortal resembles bodhisattva figures seen in both paintings and sculptures (see, for example, fig. 139).

Lü was not always depicted as such an elevated personage. In early texts he is portrayed as "a slovenly dressed ink-seller with wide open eyes and a disheveled beard."[38] The Southern Tang emperor Li Yu (r. 961–75) commissioned a more fitting portrait, presenting Lü as a "divine being, the face displaying profound serenity, elegance, and purity."[39] This new image became the standard, allowing easy recognition by those hoping to be blessed by him with immortality.[40] In his purported autobiography, Lü writes of his own enlightenment:

> *I traveled to Hua-shan where I encountered Chung-li Ch'üan [Zhongli Quan] who transmitted the technique of Great Alchemical Medicine [the recipe of immortality] . . . to me. . . . I attained the Tao at the age of fifty.*[41]

The critical moment of Lü's initiation by Zhongli Quan is shown as an intimate and focused encounter in an unsigned scroll painting, *The Immortal Yunfang Initiating Lü Chunyang into the Secret of Immortality* (fig. 166). Zhongli Quan, with bushy eyebrows, long beard, hairy hands and feet, darker skin, and startling blue eyes, appears here almost as the blue-eyed "barbarian monk."[42] Wearing a leaf-woven apron over a black-bordered bluish robe, he grasps in his right hand the scroll of alchemical secrets.[43] The striking blue eyes, rarely found in other Chinese paintings, recall texts that describe Bodhidharma, the legendary founder of Chan Buddhism in China,[44] or Central Asian depictions of blue-eyed monks.[45] Lü, his hands hidden deferentially in his sleeves, bows to his master. Zhongli's focused gaze, his open mouth, and raised right index finger illustrate the intensity of his teaching. The impression of a powerful intimacy

Figure 166. Attributed to Yan Hui (active ca. 1270–after 1324), *The Immortal Yunfang Initiating Lü Chunyang into the Secret of Immortality*, ca. 1300. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 42¾ × 19¼ in. (108.6 × 48.9 cm). MOA Museum of Art, Atami, Shizuoka Prefecture [Exhib.]

Figure 167. Atelier of the followers of Zhu Haogu (active early 14th century), *Zhongli Quan Instructing Lü Dongbin*, completed by 1358. Mural. Outer side of north interior wall, Chunyangdian, Yonglegong, Shanxi Province

Figure 168. Atelier of Zhu Haogu (active early 14th century), *The Immortal Procession for an Audience with the [Three] Primordials* (detail), completed by 1325. Mural. Outer side of east interior wall, Sanqingdian, Yonglegong, Shanxi Province

between the two figures is enhanced by the void that surrounds them.[46] The work is attributed to the court painter Yan Hui (active ca. 1270–after 1324), known for his Daoist, Buddhist, and Chan Buddhist works, as well as for his wall paintings.[47] And indeed, Lü's voluminous gown, in economically applied ink outlines, and the fine brushstrokes used to delineate hair and facial features are reminiscent of those seen in Chan Buddhist paintings. Zhongli's robe, on the other hand, is painted with darker, rounder strokes, evoking a more sculptural sense of volume.

In its composition, this dramatic double portrait contrasts with a wall painting in the Chunyang Hall of Yonglegong (Yongle Monastery) of the two personages in a landscape setting. *Zhongli Quan Instructing Lü Dongbin* (fig. 167)[48] presents Zhongli in a relaxed pose, one leg casually crossed, his protruding belly exposed, while Lü, though deferential, is at an emotional remove.

Lü Dongbin's importance for the Quanzhen is magnificently revealed at Yonglegong, devoted to Lü and built at his reported birthplace in southern Shanxi.[49] Completed in 1262, the temple complex comprises a gate, also used as a stage, and three halls, the Sanqing, the Chunyang, and the Chongyang. All four structures house large murals painted between 1320 and 1368, some covering several hundred square meters and presenting the Daoist pantheon of nearly three hundred deities and the hagiographies of Lü Dongbin and Wang Zhe, respectively.[50]

The transmission of the teachings from Lü to Wang Zhe, the founder of the Quanzhen order, is part of Wang's "pictorial hagiography"[51] in Chongyang Hall. The mural *The Immortal Procession for an Audience with the [Three] Primordials* presents the pantheon of the Quanzhen in Sanqing Hall, completed in 1325.[52] In one scene (fig. 168), a devotee with a scroll at the right attends to an almost deified figure in a ceremonial robe and a semitransparent corona signifying his status.[53] The devotee wears a naturalistic robe embellished with the immortal islands, which may have been painted after sculptures originally in Sanqing Hall, a fragment of which is preserved in Yonglegong.

Lü Dongbin and Zhongli Quan were two of the so-called Eight Immortals. The oldest extant visual representation of the Eight Immortals assembled as a group is found on eight bricks molded in high relief originally placed on the ceiling of an early thirteenth-century tomb (fig. 169). In their placement on the ceiling, the figures may serve to guide the deceased to the Otherworld. This usage would support the importance of the Eight Immortals already in the Jin dynasty.[54] In the Yuan dynasty the theme

Figure 169. Ceiling tiles with the Eight Immortals. Jin dynasty, early 13th century. Molded bricks, height 23⅝ in. (60 cm). Excavated from a Jin-dynasty tomb datable to ca. 1210 near Houma, Shanxi Province. Shanxi Museum

Figure 170. *Beggar-Singer with Hound.* Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 30⅛ × 14¼ in. (76.5 × 36.2 cm). Museum of East Asian Art, Cologne [Exhib.]

appears on relief-molded panels on octagonal Longquan celadon jars (see fig. 293). The Eight Immortals also appear on a tomb pillow in the shape of a theater stage (see fig. 87). The Quanzhen are said to have used the Eight Immortals to spread their teachings through poems, songs, stories, and plays.[55] While the main protagonists were Lü and Zhongli, other mortals also entered their ranks. The actor Xu Jian, known on the stage as Lan Caihe, was made one of the Eight after he was initiated by Zhongli and Lü. Lan's elevation points to the growing importance of theater and "deliverance plays" in the Yuan period, which were performed in the vernacular, often at temple sites.[56]

The play *Lan Caihe,* dating from the late thirteenth century, tells the story of Lan's attainment of immortality.[57] Said to have lived in the tenth century, Lan wandered the streets begging and singing. He is usually depicted with a clapper. The figure in *Beggar-Singer with Hound* (fig. 170) appears in a female outfit. Accompanied by a white dog, the figure wears a patchwork dress with lattice pattern typically worn by actors and shoulders a *pipa* (lute) and a blue folded book, perhaps rehearsing a role before a performance.[58] The presence of the *pipa* perhaps points to *Zhang Zhongze and the Jade Girl: Sadness of the Lute,* a play that Lan, in *Lan Caihe,* offers to perform for Zhongli Quan, who when entering the Liang Yuan theater in Luoyang to find the actor says:

> *Just now as I was returning from the Halls of Heaven I saw a straight shaft of blue vapor rising from the world below and piercing the Nine Layers of the firmament. . . . It came straight from a theatre . . . in the city of Luoyang. There, there is a man called Hsü Chien [Xu Jian] whose stage name is Lan Ts'ai-Ho [Lan Caihe], whose destiny has already brought him halfway down the road of immortality.*[59]

The narrative of the painting and the fact that female roles were also played by male actors may indicate that the figure is Lan Caihe, although the indigo-paper book could represent either a script for a play or a religious text. The immortal status of the figure may be assumed from the presence of the white dog, a frequent companion of immortals, here probably a Central Asian saluki. Salukis appear on Tang murals, as well as in Liao, Jin, and Yuan paintings and in woodblock prints, often as part of hunting scenes.[60]

Female immortals occupy a very specific place in the Daoist world. The story of the eternally youthful Magu, the Hemp Maiden, is told in the painting *The Daoist Immortal Magu with a Crane* (fig. 171), signed "Chen Yuexi."[61] Magu, usually shown as here with long hair tied in a knot, talonlike fingernails, wearing the immortal's leaf-woven dress, the belt flowing in the breeze—a common feature in Yuan religious figurative art—is accompanied by a Red-crowned crane, and a basket of peaches and fungi tied to a hoe by her side. The lyrical landscape setting, with a prominent dragon pine in the middle ground and a stream in the foreground, is filled with Daoist imagery, symbolic of longevity and immortality.

Figure 171. Attributed to Chen Yuexi, *The Daoist Immortal Magu with a Crane*, 14th century. Hanging scroll, ink, color, and gold on silk, 40⅜ × 21½ in. (102.6 × 54.6 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. William Sturgis Bigelow Collection 11.6168 [Exhib.]

Figure 172. Atelier of the followers of Zhu Haogu (active early 14th century), *The Conversion of the Immortal Maiden He Xiangu*, completed by 1358. Mural. East wall, Chunyangdian, Yonglegong, Shanxi Province

The partitioning of the background with bluish clouds seems to introduce Magu's history. The high mountains in the upper left and the temple where a figure tolls a bell in the upper right may refer to a fourth-century account in which Magu appears to the sound of drums and bells, having traveled over the Eastern Sea from the magical island Penglai and having cultivated the Dao at the sacred mountain Guxu, in Mozhou, eastern Shandong Province.[62] The episodic style recalls the narrative murals in the Chunyang and Chongyang Halls of Yonglegong, where scenes are separated by trees and clouds, mountains and streams (fig. 172). The crane, whose beak points toward the episode in the upper right, may allude to Magu's journey to the immortal realms of the mountains and the oceans, their joint appearance representing a "ritual visit of divine beings."[63] The trees and bold landscape elements in the style of Guo Xi contrast with the delicate brushwork that delineates Magu's face, figure, and leafy dress, heightening the shyness and modesty of her appearance.

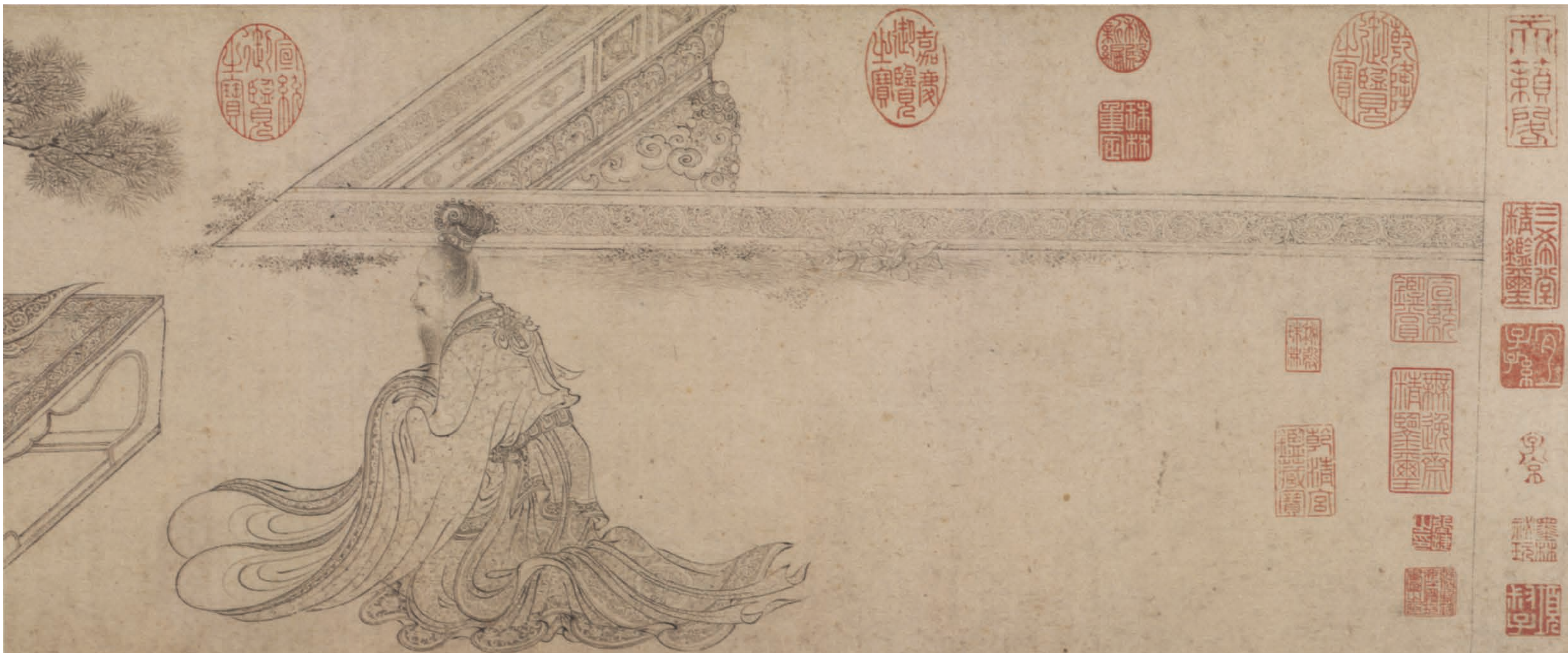
Under the Mongols, the Quanzhen order pursued an aggressive expansion, taking over many Buddhist temples. But after losing debates focusing on a centuries-old dispute with the Buddhists in 1281 concerning the primacy of the two religions—Daoism and Buddhism—the Quanzhen lost favor with Khubilai Khan, who ordered the entire Daoist canon destroyed and the temples reconverted to Buddhism.[64] The only Daoist text exempt from burning was the *Daodejing*.

QUANZHEN AND ZHENGYI: THE SCRIPTURE OF THE DAO AND THE DE

Laozi, the legendary founder of Daoism and purported author of the *Daodejing* (The Scripture of the Way and Virtue), is said to have lived during the Eastern Zhou dynasty (770–256 BCE). In the unattributed painting *Laozi Conferring the Daodejing* (fig. 173) a sagelike figure with a long white beard sits beneath a pine tree in a chair on a *shan* (couch). He is accompanied by a young attendant who holds a case with books, and he receives a visitor whose appearance and posture suggest those of a petitioner. Mounted with the painting is a calligraphy of the *Daodejing* in clerical script by Wu Rui (1298–1355), dated 1335. It is one of only a few extant works by Wu, a Yuan calligrapher whose family had moved south in 1126 following the relocation of the Song court to Lin'an (present-day Hangzhou). The ancient seal and clerical scripts experienced a revival during the Yuan, and Wu, who excelled in both, was known especially for his skill in the latter.

The painting has been interpreted as the transmission of the *Daodejing* from Laozi to the guard of Hangu Pass, Yin Xi, who is said to have asked for a written testimony of the master's legacy before he crossed over the pass on his way to the west.[65] Particularly noteworthy is the stark contrast of ink tonality and density in the work. Great attention was paid to the multilayered gowns and their heavy drapery folds painted with intricate patterns, potentially indicating different textiles. Both the fine designs and the dark pine trees recall northern woodblock prints (see figs. 232, 233). The figures, the pedestal, and the terrace fringe are meticulously painted in the ink-outline or *baimiao* style, using the architectural or ruled-line (*jiehua*) technique popular at the Mongol court, especially under Emperor Renzong (Ayurbarwada; r. 1312–20). Yet compared to other representations of Laozi on his journey to the west, where he is usually shown on the move, here he is stationary. The composition resembles that of the Buddhist *Vimalakirti and the Doctrine of Nonduality* painted by a court artist (see fig. 235), with the addition of Daoist symbols. The comparable subject matter of the two paintings—the transmission of doctrinal philosophy—

Figure 173. *Laozi Conferring the Daodejing.* Mounted with calligraphy, dated 1335, by Wu Rui (1298–1355). Handscroll, ink on paper, painting 9¾ × 46⅜ in. (24.8 × 117.8 cm), calligraphy 9¾ × 158 in. (27.8 × 400.7 cm). The Palace Museum, Beijing [Exhib.]



perhaps explains the similarity in composition. Both may have been modeled after paintings in the imperial collection. Laozi conferring the *Daodejing* was also the subject of a painting, no longer extant, by Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322), who possibly copied it from a work by the Northern Song painter Li Gonglin (ca. 1041–1106). Another painting by Li was likely also the model for the picture of Vimalakirti. This may suggest that the Daoist painting in the exhibition may have been made by a court artist as well, reflecting the popularity of both subjects with the Mongol emperors.[66] Another portrait of Laozi serves as the opening image to the *Daodejing* written by Zhao Mengfu, in the Palace Museum, Beijing. The format of the present works recalls that of Daoist scriptures and Buddhist sutras, known from woodblock prints (see fig. 144).

Originally a secular text, the *Daodejing* was canonized by the Order of the Celestial Masters (Tianshi), who were the first to practice Daoism as an organized religion in the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE). The invasion of mainly Buddhist Central Asian tribes to North China in the fourth century led to rivalry between the Buddhists and the Daoists for imperial favor. Disputes again arose in North China under the Mongols. Debates were held at the Mongol courts in Karakorum, Shangdu, and Dadu. The Quanzhen masters lost the debates,[67] and Khubilai turned his favor from the Quanzhen to the Order of the Celestial Masters in the newly conquered south, confirming their leadership within the Three Mountain Orders—the Lingbao at Mount Gezao, the Shangqing at Mount Mao, and the Tianshi at Mount Longhu. The Three Mountain Orders were renamed Zhengyi, Orthodox Unity, in 1304.[68] Eventually, although expanding southward, the Quanzhen was superseded by the Xuanjiao, or Mysterious Teaching, which existed only in the Yuan.

XUANJIAO, THE DAOISTS, AND THE CONFUCIAN LITERATI

The Song court, after fleeing to the south in 1127, settled in the vicinity of the above-mentioned three Daoist mountains. During the reign of Lizong (r. 1224–64), they were united under the order of the hereditary Celestial Masters at Mount Longhu. In 1276, Khubilai Khan summoned to Dadu the 36th Celestial Master Zhang Zongyan (1244–1291). Zhang Zongyan soon returned to the south, but his disciple Zhang Liusun (1248–1322) remained as his representative at court. Zhang Liusun gained favor as an influential advisor, and Khubilai offered to promote him to Celestial Master. Zhang Liusun, however, out of respect to his master Zhang Zongyan, declined. In 1287, Khubilai founded the Xuanjiao, or Mysterious Teaching, an order independent of the Tianshi, and appointed Zhang Liusun as first

Figure 174. Traditionally attributed to Chen Zhitian (active mid-14th century), *Fourteen Portraits of the Daoist Priest Wu Quanjie*, ca. 17th-century copy of a 14th-century original. Handscroll, ink, color, and gold on paper, 20⅜ × 328¾ in. (51.8 × 835 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Gift of Mrs. Richard E. Danielson 46.252 [Exhib.]

patriarch. The Xuanjiao was given official control over all Daoist affairs in the south and would become as well a channel to the Mongol court for the southern literati.[69] Wu Quanjie (1269–1346), a disciple of Zhang Liusun, was made the second patriarch under Emperor Yingzong (Shidebala; r. 1321–23).[70] He served six emperors and held Daoist prayer services at the coronation of Emperor Chengzong (Temür; r. 1295–1307). Wu was also appointed to the Academy of Worthies, which was responsible for overseeing Confucian affairs. Wu's southern origin, his profound knowledge of Confucian teachings, and his reputation among both Daoists and Confucians enabled him to assume the role of mediator between the Mongol court and the southern literati. In previous dynasties the Chinese literati, considered the intellectual elite, were appointed to the highest governmental positions. Under Mongol rule, Western and Central Asians ranked higher than the Chinese. After the Mongols abolished the civil service examination, the traditional path to government service, the Chinese literati, especially the southern literati, were rarely considered for positions.[71]

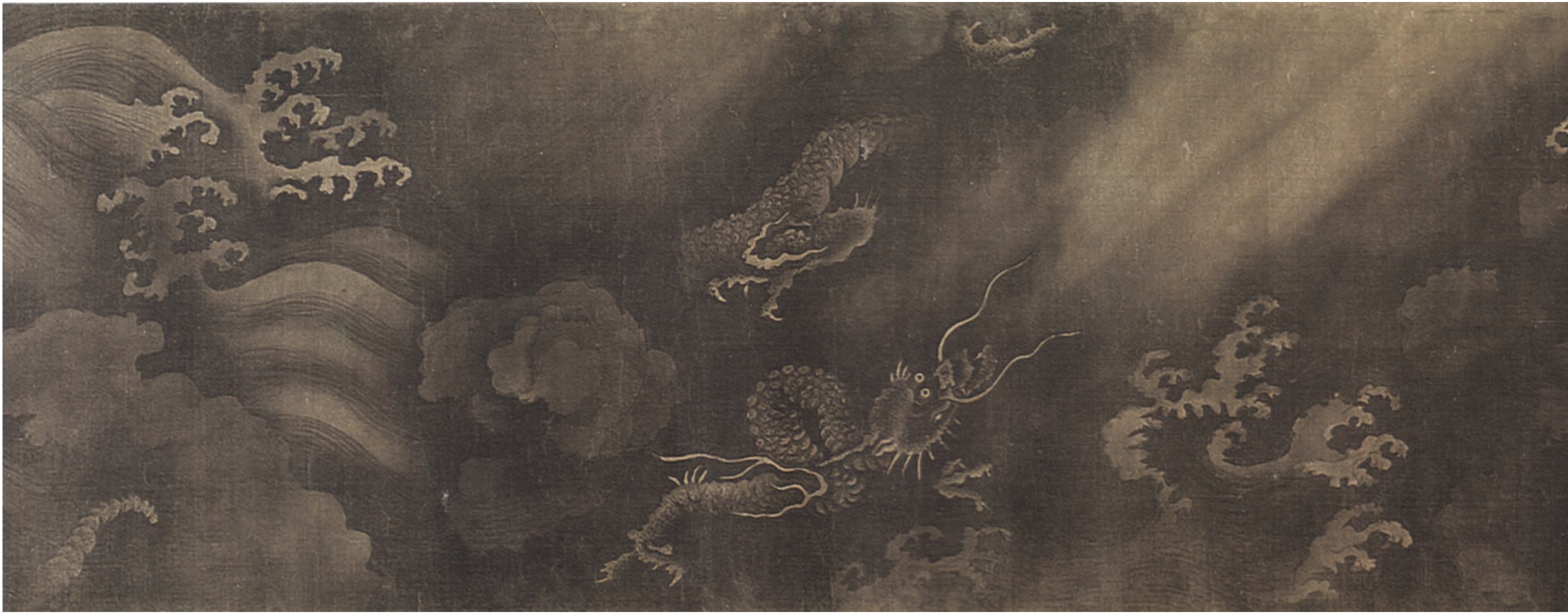
During Wu Quanjie's active career, seventeen portraits of him were painted. Laudatory inscriptions accompanying the images indicate the high regard in which he was held. They are written by such masters as Zhao Mengfu and Yu Ji (1272–1348), one of the most prominent Confucian scholars at court.[72] The inscribed paintings were later copied in reduced size onto single horizontal scrolls by the portrait painter Chen Zhitian (active mid-14th century), who had been commissioned by Yu Ji. The merging of these individual inscribed portraits on one work further reflects the close relationship between the community of Confucian scholars and the Xuanjiao patriarch.

The handscroll *Fourteen Portraits of the Daoist Priest Wu Quanjie* (fig. 174) is most likely a later copy of the fourteenth-century scrolls (three of the portraits are lost).[73] Twelve of the portraits present Wu Quanjie either standing or seated in three-quarter view; in two he is seen in small round portrait busts. Both the portraits and the landscape elements—mountains, rocks, waterfall, and dragon pines—are reminiscent stylistically of Zhao Mengfu and the Uighur descendant Gao Kegong (1248–1310) and may signify a like-mindedness between Wu Quanjie and the southern scholars and artists. The collaborative effort involved in the production of such "environmental portraits"[74]—which present the subject's physical and

spiritual harmony with nature—in the Yuan is known also from paintings of the literati and of religious leaders, as, for example, the Chan Buddhist monk Zhongfeng Mingben (see fig. 127).[75] The painting on the lower right incorporates both Confucian and Daoist iconography, with Wu playing the *qin* (Confucian) accompanied by a crane (Daoist), under a pine tree (both Confucian and Daoist). The two rare portrait busts attest to the use of this format—known from Chan Buddhist portraiture beginning around 1300—in Daoist portraiture at that time.[76] The original opening portrait on the fourteenth-century scroll, *Under Pine Trees*, painted in 1310 (not included in the present copy), showed Mount Longhu, site of the origin of the Xuanjiao order, underlining the close ties between the southern literati at the Mongol court and the "political Daoist" Wu Quanjie.[77]

Pine trees, which symbolize longevity, are associated in Daoist geomancy with *yang*; water is associated with *yin*. Dragon pines, crooked trees, lichen, and exposed roots, which allude to coiled dragons with pitted scales, were believed to signify Daoist enlightenment. While dragon pines are seen in paintings prior to the Yuan, "portraits" of single dragon pines became popular only in the

Figure 175. Wu Zhen (1280–1354), *Pine and Spring*, dated 1338. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 41⅝ × 12½ in. (105.7 × 31.8 cm). Nanjing Museum



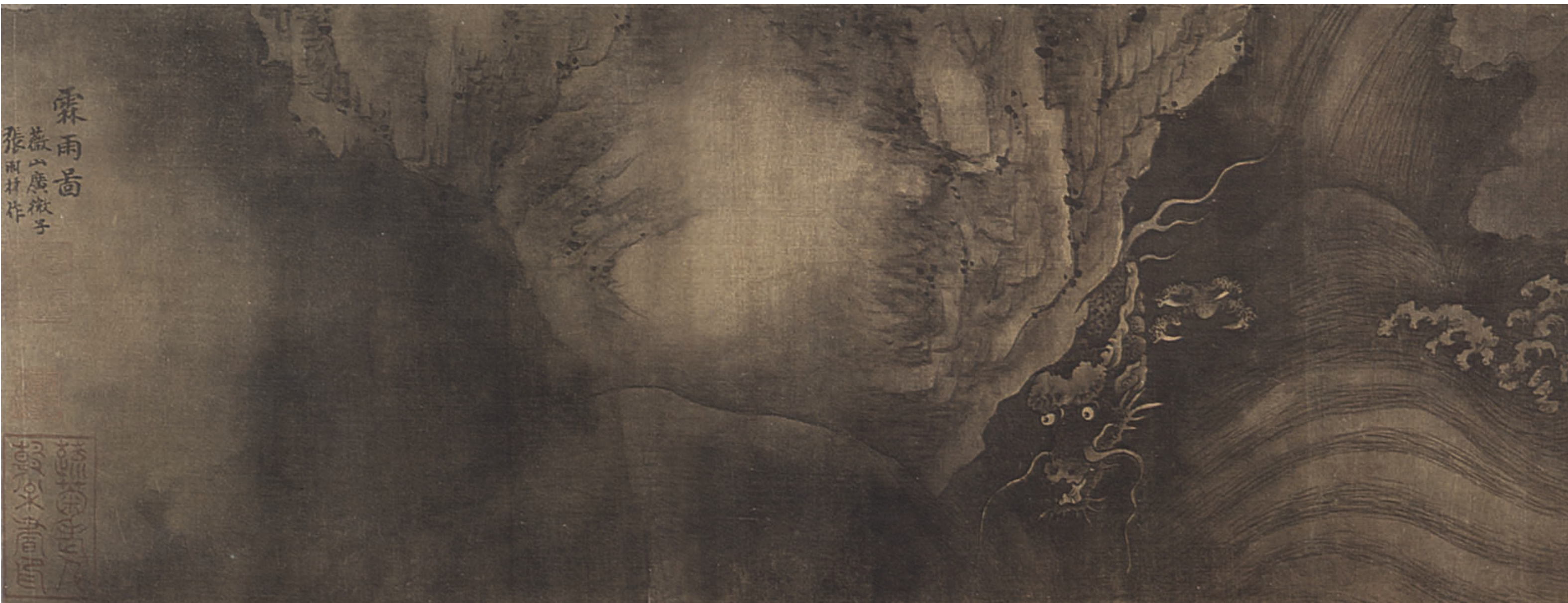


Figure 176. Zhang Yucai (active 1294–1316), *Beneficent Rain*, late 13th–early 14th century. Handscroll, ink on paper, 10⅝ × 107 in. (27 × 271.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gift of Douglas Dillon, 1985 1985.227.2 [Exhib.]

fourteenth century. They emerged from the brushes not only of Han Chinese, such as the southern literatus Wu Zhen (1280–1354), but also from those of Mongols and Uighurs.[78] Wu Zhen's *Pine and Spring* (fig. 175), dated 1338, sets the "dragon" at center, looming over a waterfall. Winding into the painting from the left, it coils upward in an s-curve, perhaps an allusion to the Daoist *yin* and *yang* diagram (Taiji).

DRAGON AND TIGER: THE QUEST FOR IMMORTALITY

Four dragons appear miraculously, emerging from splashing waves and thundery clouds in *Beneficent Rain* (fig. 176), the monumental horizontal scroll and only extant painting by Zhang Yucai (active 1294–1316), the 38th Celestial Master of Mount Longhu. It is only in the Yuan that

worthies of such rank begin to be mentioned as painters.[79] Ink washes in a fine gray scale create an impression of depth and a play of light and dark. The dragons appear as the scroll is unrolled, vanishing again into the dark as it is rolled up. They are painted with precise, sharp brushstrokes, their bodies illuminated in outline, their white eyeballs protruding from their horned skulls. While their claws resemble the great crests, their tails echo the corrugation of the waves, allowing the dragons to merge with the water.[80] Zhang Yucai was praised for his skills in bringing forth rain; *Beneficent Rain* may have been painted to accompany rainmaking rituals.[81]

While the dragons' bulging bodies recall clay sculptures and stone carvings (see fig. 101), their positions—upright, upside down, and spiraled—are seen in silk tapestries from Central Asia (see fig. 257). In contrast to the more

Detail of figure 176

Figure 177. Chen Rong (active 1235–62), *Nine Dragons* (detail). Southern Song dynasty, dated 1244. Handscroll, ink and color on paper, 18¼ × 431⅝ in. (46.4 × 1096.4 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Francis Gardner Curtis Fund 17.1697

graphic *Nine Dragons*, by the Southern Song painter and scholar Chen Rong (active 1235–62; fig. 177), *Beneficent Rain* evokes a realm of almost palpable sensuousness.[82]

The dragon, or *long*, is associated with fire, the east, and *yang*. It is complemented by its opposite, the tiger, or *hu*, associated with water, the west, and *yin*. Together *long* and *hu* also signify an alchemical balance. The first Celestial Master, Zhang Daoling, is said to have created the first elixir of immortality at Mount Longhu (Dragon Tiger Mountain), after which a dragon and a tiger appeared. In *Dragon and Tiger* (fig. 178), a painting datable to the Southern Song, the two celestial animals unite in a rare representation of the concept of alchemy—the harmonizing and balancing of the two cosmic forces *yang* and *yin*. In an extraordinary contest, dragon and tiger twist and grapple with each other, illuminated by a fiery lightning, their intertwined bodies bringing into visual and metaphoric harmony *yang* and *yin*, bright and dark, the complementary forces of the Dao.[83]

PERSONAL DESTINY: VIEW OF THE OTHERWORLD

The Otherworld, the realm of the immortals, is described by the prose writer Song Lian (1310–1381):

> *Myriad peaks and layered ridges . . . encircle and guard the mountain from the rear like a brilliant blue-green manner. Opposite, the thirty-six peaks of Mt. Yun-lin rise in ranks. Facing [Lung-hu shan] they seem to bow as if paying their respects. . . . The great river flows west until the Immortal Cliffs [Mt. Hsien-yen], rising halfway to the heavens, block its path. This is the capital of the immortals, the place where spiritual forces come together.*[84]

The desire to find one's destiny in this realm was the driving force behind Daoist thought and art. It is brought into being by the Zhengyi Daoist Fang Congyi (ca. 1301–1378) in the evocative and mysterious landscape painting *Cloudy Mountains* (fig. 179).[85] Active in the Shangqing Temple at Mount Longhu, Fang here diverges from the more restrained style of the Yuan literati, creating optical distortions with shifting degrees of focal depth.[86] Aside from a partially obstructed building, the picture seems devoid of human life. The mountain range dissolves in space, its silhouette like a dragon in bright mist. The presence of a dragon requires that of its counterpart, the

Figure 178. *Dragon and Tiger*. Southern Song dynasty, second half of 13th century. Hanging scroll, ink on silk, 57 × 38¼ in. (144.8 × 97.2 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. William Sturgis Bigelow Collection 11.6162 [Exhib.]

tiger. Here, the dark shrubby patch along the right shoreline might be imagined as representing a crouching tiger. This virtual pair of *long* and *hu* transforms the dramatic and tangible struggle presented in *Dragon and Tiger* into an idealized, intellectual space, abstracted from reality and liberated from representational constraints.

When his master died, Fang Congyi left Mount Longhu and traveled to Dadu. He arrived at the capital around 1342 and there met the artist Zhang Yanfu (ca. 1285–ca. 1345), an ethnic Mongol, a student of Wu Quanjie, and a Daoist priest of the northern Taiyi order who was a painter-in-attendance at court. Through Zhang Yanfu, the one Daoist priest of Mongol descent of whom we have a record,[87] Fang was presumably given entrée to the imperial collection and may have been influenced by the compositions of Jin-dynasty paintings he was shown at the Yuan capital (see, for example, fig. 229).[88] Fang was also inspired by the southern tradition of mountains in mist as painted by the Song artist Mi Fu (1052–1107) and his son Mi Youren (1086–1165). *Cloudy Mountains* thus may be understood as a synthesis of northern and southern styles. Offered an official position in Dadu, Fang Congyi chose instead to return to his homeland in the south.

Figure 179. Fang Congyi (ca. 1301–1378), *Cloudy Mountains*, second half of 14th century. Handscroll, ink and color on paper, 10⅜ × 57 in. (26.4 × 144.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Ex coll.: C. C. Wang Family, Purchase, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, by exchange, 1973 1973.121.4 [Exhib.]

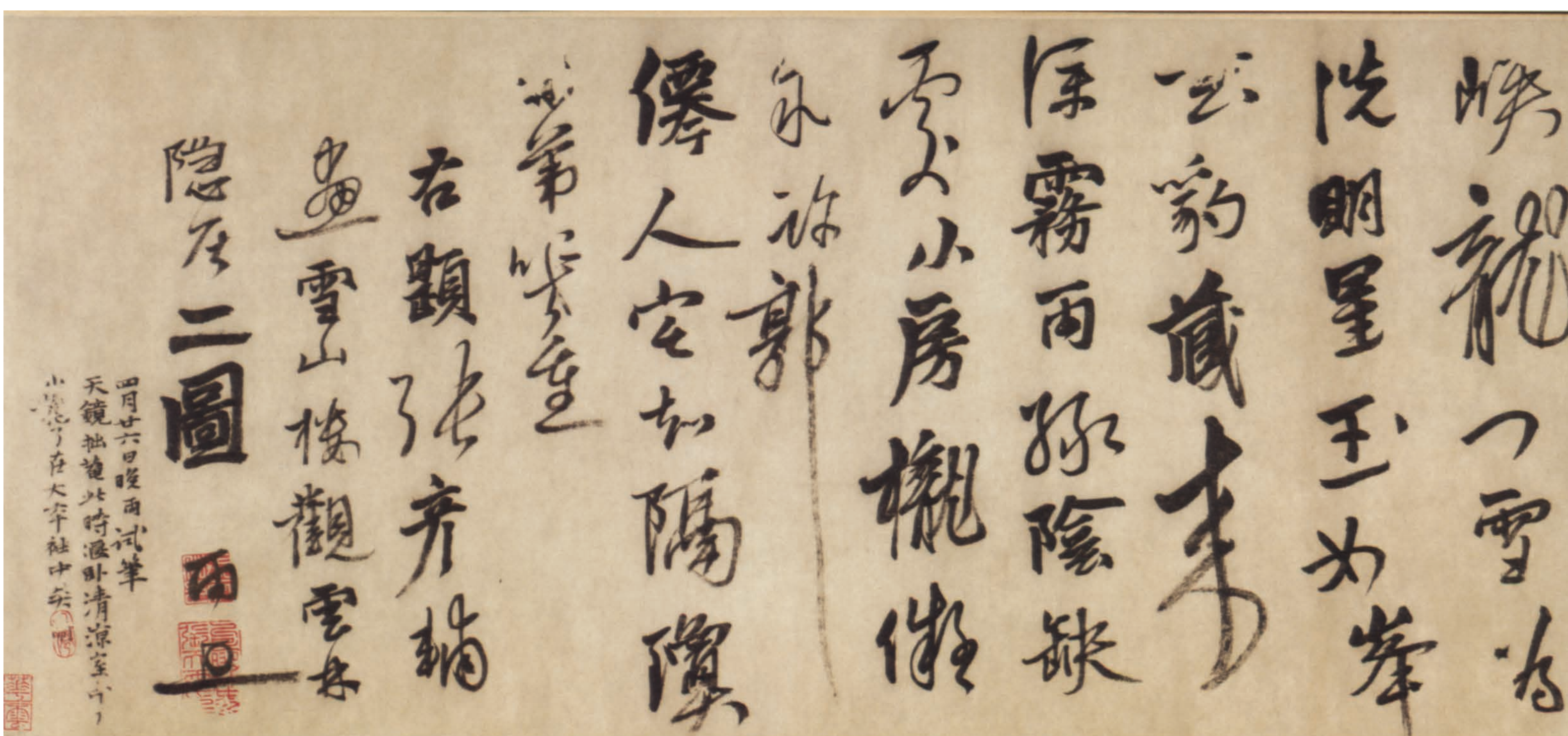
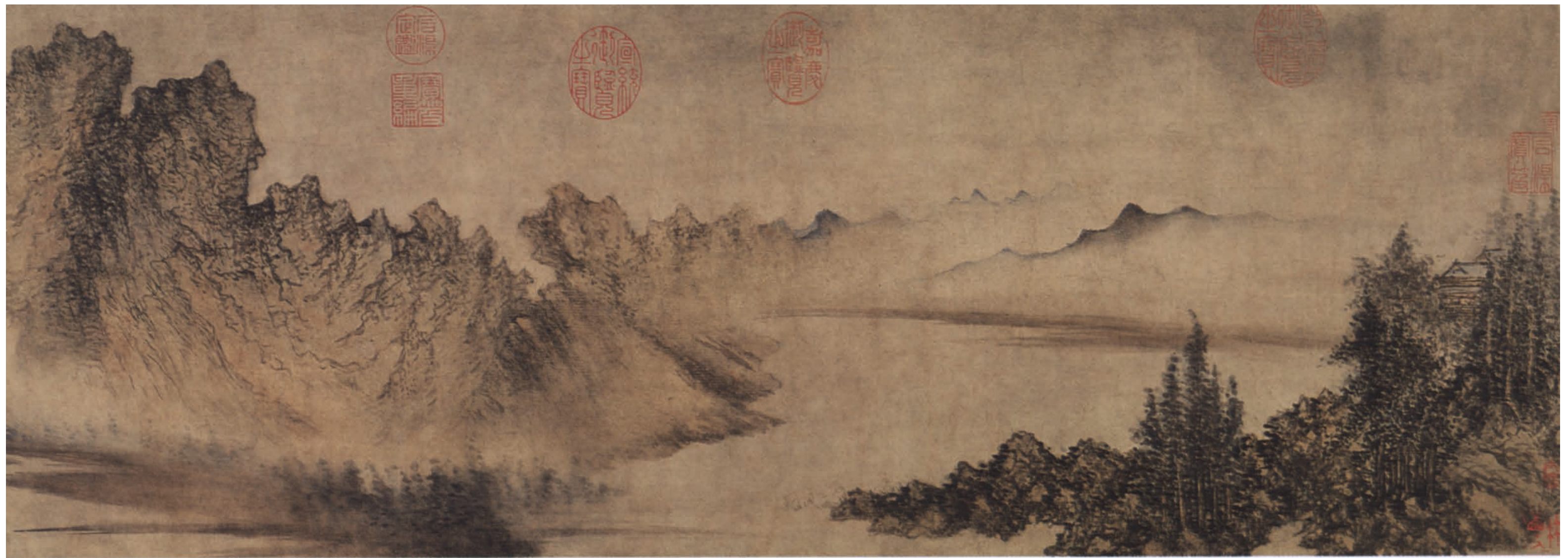
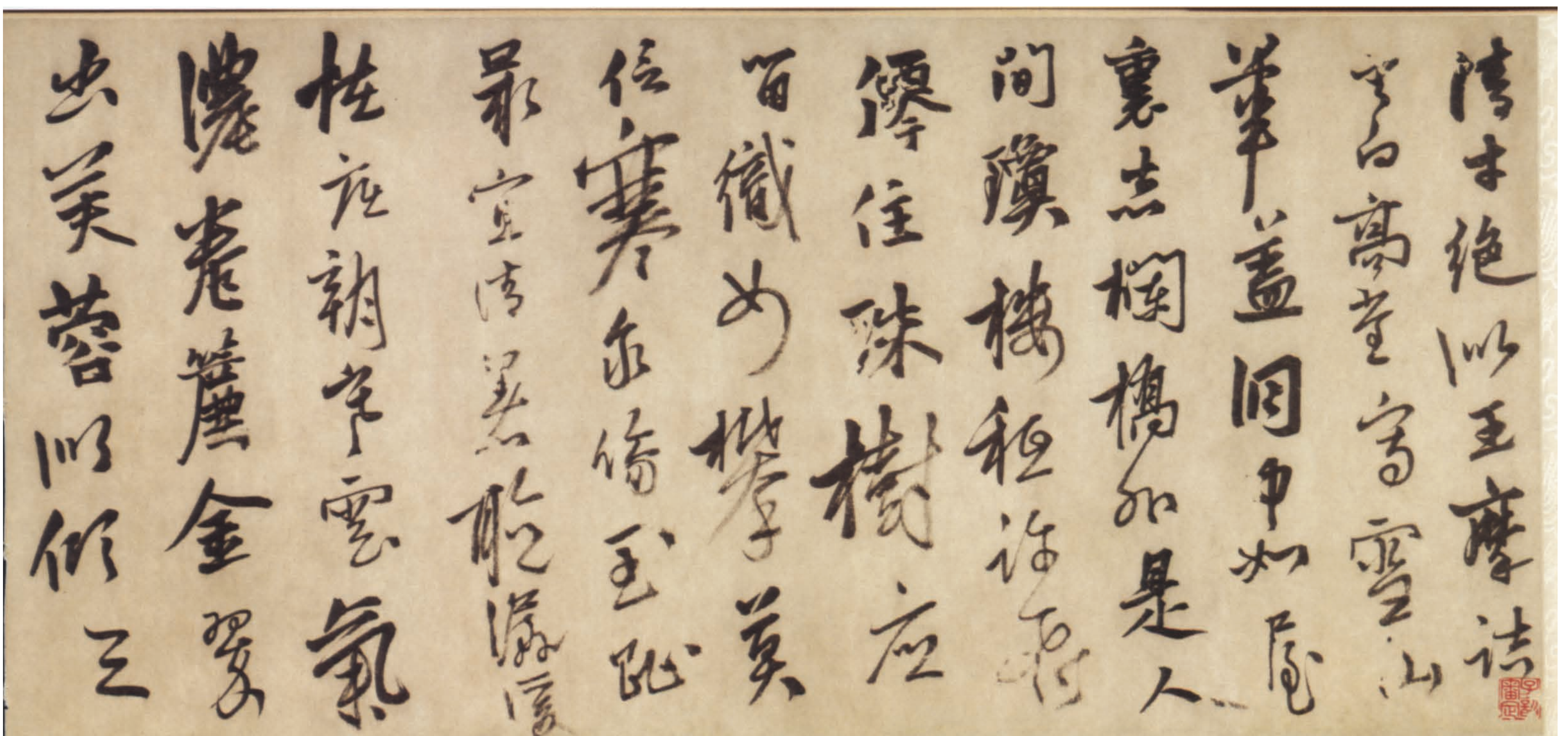


Figure 180. Zhang Yu (1283–1350), *Poems for Two Paintings*, mid-14th century. Handscroll, ink on paper, 11⅝ × 58½ in. (29.5 × 148.6 cm). The Palace Museum, Beijing

The Otherworld is also evoked in the calligraphy *Poems for Two Paintings* (fig. 180), by Zhang Yu (1283–1350), in which a synthesis of expressive characters and poetic meaning gives life to a vivid supernaturalism. Zhang Yu, one of the most prominent Daoist calligraphers of this time, was a pioneer in the vertical calligraphic scroll format.[89] He had close ties to the Shangqing order at Mount Mao near present-day Nanjing and served as abbot of several temples. Zhang studied calligraphy with Zhao Mengfu, who called him his "otherworldly friend,"[90] and he was befriended by the painter and Quanzhen adherent Ni Zan (1306–1374) and by Yang Weizhen (1296–1370), the former renowned for his stylistic austerity (see fig. 255), the latter for his poetry and—influenced in his turn by Zhang Yu—for his unrestrained and eccentric calligraphy (see fig. 253).





In *Poems for Two Paintings*, two regulated verses in seven characters, Zhang describes two no longer extant landscape paintings, *View of a Daoist Abbey in Snowy Mountains* and *View of Seclusion at Mount Yunlin*, by Zhang Yanfu, only one of whose paintings (see fig. 250) has survived. Zhang Yanfu is known from records to have painted landscapes in the southern Mi Fu style. In his two lost paintings, described in Zhang Yu's calligraphic poems, Zhang Yanfu appears to have expressed his yearning for the immortal mountains.

View of a Daoist Abbey in Snowy Mountains

A lofty talent strikingly like Wang Wei,
[Zhang Yanfu] loves to paint snow-covered mountains
on [the wall of his] large hall.

Figure 181. Chen Ruyan (ca. 1331–1371), *View of the Mountains of the Immortals*, second half of 14th century. Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 13 × 40½ in. (33 × 102.9 cm). The Cleveland Museum of Art. Bequest of Mrs. A. Dean Perry 1997.95 [Exhib.]

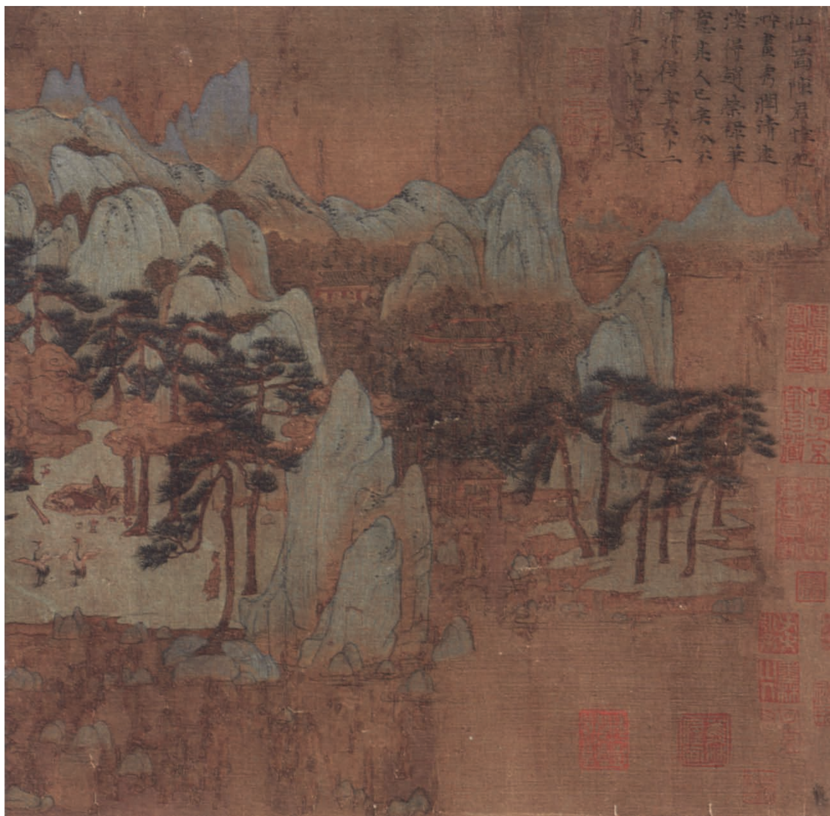
Inside the Huagai Cave, it is as [comfortable as] a mansion.
Beyond the crimson balustraded bridge is the world of the common people.
Only immortals are admitted to the Jade Pavilion,
The Pearl Tree should remain for the Weaving Maiden to climb.
Don't believe that jade toes are injured in the wintry spring,
Listening to its murmurings is best in cool summers.

View of Seclusion at Mount Yunlin

Strange valleys on a wintry morning draped in thick clouds,
[When the sun lifts the veil of clouds, as if] rolling up a bamboo curtain,
Hibiscus emerge between glowing gold and jade colors.
[The clouds] resemble snow tumbling down the Three Gorges at the Dragon Gate,
As if cleansing the bright stars above the Peak of the Jade Maiden
While dense misted rain hides the [abodes of the] black leopards.[91]
A gap reveals small houses clustered in a green vale.
I seek the mansions of the immortals Xu and Guo,
But I know not behind which range they reside.[92]

In the two poems, written consecutively on the horizontal scroll in manuscript cursive (*gaocao*) script, with large and small, heavily inked and fading characters, some elongated as if mimicking dark trees in snow-covered, mist-infused landscapes, Zhang Yu calligraphically re-creates Zhang Yanfu's immortal mountains—iconic expressions of the recluse Daoist—a white, elusive world, where images emerge only to dissolve, inviting the viewer into a dream world of appearance and dissolution.

Born to a Confucian family with a tradition of government service, Zhang Yu at the age of nineteen became a Daoist, and in 1313 accompanied his master, Wang Shouyan (the second-highest Daoist functionary in the south), to Dadu. Although he found favor with the emperor and was encouraged by such literati as Yu Ji to remain at the capital, Zhang Yu chose to return to the south. This decision, his subsequent secluded life, and his search for the Dao underline the discrepancy between Daoists working close to the center of Mongol rule, such as Zhang Yanfu, and Daoists such as Fang Congyi and Zhang Yu who rejected political engagement. Zhang Yu's personal quest may not, however, have been fulfilled, since he tells us in the last lines of his second poem that the abodes of the immortals remain in obscurity.



In *View of the Mountains of the Immortals* (fig. 181), by the scholar-official Chen Ruyan (ca. 1331–1371), bizarre, staggered, blue-green peaks—not unlike the immortal islands that embellish the robe of the Daoist devotee in the Yonglegong mural (fig. 168)—conceal a fantasy landscape of islands dotted with pine trees and flowing streams, where adepts, attendants, and auspicious animals together inhabit the utopian realm, escaping from the rebellion-torn world of the late Yuan.[93] An inscription on the painting by Ni Zan refers to Chen as having succeeded "profoundly in capturing the brush ideas" of Zhao Mengfu (see fig. 208).[94] Chen's view of the immortal realm is vastly different from that of the Daoists Fang Congyi (fig. 179) and Zhang Yu (fig. 180). The vision of the scholar-painter is a projection of a concrete world, inhabited by people and provided with Daoist symbols. The Daoists' vision is expansive, uninhabited, unknown.[95]

Under foreign rule, the intellectual world as it had been known was threatened. Uncertainty prevailed. One's thoughts, beliefs, and fears expressed in poetry, painting, and calligraphy were veiled in mist, hidden behind mountains, expressed in abstraction, to be understood only by the initiated. These soul portraits immortalized a frail worldly self, whose eclipse had begun with the arrival of the Mongols, when:

> *The seasons passed, and the fragrant flowers withered;*
> *The era shifted and the Big Dipper tilted.*[96]

1. Daoism as an organized religion started to be practiced by the Celestial Masters in the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE). On general aspects of Daoism, see Robinet 1997 and Kohn 2001. On more specific aspects, see Kohn 2000 and Pregadio 2008. On Daoist philosophy, see, among others, Bauer 2001.
2. Pregadio 2008: 1132.
3. Liu Ts'un-yan and Berling 1982.
4. Daoist art is a debated term and here understood as either representing Daoist content or made by Daoists. On Daoist art, see Little 1988, 1998, 2000a, and 2000b. Studies on specific aspects, artists, and works of art include Neill 1981, Jing 1994b, Katz 1999, and Shih-Shan Huang 2002. Exhibitions devoted entirely to Daoist art have been held in Chicago (Little 2000a), Tokyo (Saitō 2009), and Paris (Delacour 2010).
5. On the Daoist pantheon, see Pregadio 2008: 61–63. Deities were often assigned specific positions in the celestial hierarchy similar to state bureaucrats. Shahar and Weller 1996: 4–8.
6. Franke 1990: 97. The influence of Beidou on human fate is stated in the text *Beidou benming yanshou dengyi* (Lamp Ritual of Northern Dipper Individual Destiny for Extending Longevity), *Daozang* (hereafter *DZ*) 201, fasc. 83; see Schipper and Verellen 2004, vol. 2: 965. See also Needham and Wang 1959: 265, pls. XXIV, XXV; Little 2000a: 142–43, pl. 18; and Mollier 2008, chap. 4, "Under Stellar Protection." For a divination device featuring the Northern Dipper and its usage, see Harper 1978–79.
7. Duan Yuming 2006: 38, and Duan Yuming 2007 (English trans.): 160.
8. Franke 1990: 107.
9. These cult names differ from those in astronomical literature; ibid.: 104. The pigment used for painting the name tablets obviously damaged the silk. This can be seen in contemporaneous paintings such as Ma Lin's (ca. 1180–after 1256) *Orchids* (MMA 1973.120.10); see Hearn 2008: 68–69, pl. 14. Ide Seinosuke (in Shimada and Nakazawa 2000: 373–74) believes this work to be the earliest extant painting of this subject. Paintings of personified stars are known to have existed in the Tang dynasty, see Weitz 2002: 71, no. 2.3, and 114, no. 10.12.
10. The heralds are Tuoluo and Jingyang, indicated by the gold inscriptions next to the female figures; see *LHJ* (1987 ed.: 730).
11. Cammann 1951: 1, 8.
12. An important Daoist ritual related to Beidou is that of "walking along the guideline," or *bugang*, a walk or dance that follows the pattern of the cosmic constellation. Pregadio 2008: 237–40. Daoist ritual performances resemble those of theater. Little 2000a: 189.
13. Ide (in Shimada and Nakazawa 2000: 373–74, pl. 61) implies that the production site was the Southern Song capital Hangzhou. Taniguchi Kosei (in *Sacred Ningbo* 2009: 313, pl. 121) suggests that it could be the first painting of a water-land ritual set.
14. On deities as bureaucrats, see Shahar and Weller 1996: 4–8. The Three Officials were important deities in liturgical Daoism beginning in the Han dynasty. The configuration of the administration is described in the Six Dynasties (220–589) text *Taishang dongxuan lingbao sanyuan pinjie gongde qingzhon jing* (Scripture of Great and Minor Merits, and the Classified Rules of the Three Principles): *DZ* 456, fasc. 202; see Schipper and Verellen 2004, vol. 1: 230.

15. *YSXSWJ, juan* 34 (1967 ed., vol. 3: 945); cited by Shih-Shan Huang 2002: 223–24. Huang discusses in detail the close resemblance of the composition of the Boston set with Yuan Haowen's description of Zhu Yao's paintings, as well as the ritual use of those sets. Compositions with the Three Officials on one scroll can be seen in a Ming-dynasty painting attributed to the Southern Song painter Ma Lin (active ca. 1180–after 1256) in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, where the hierarchy of the deities is arranged vertically with the deities of Heaven on top, of Earth in the middle, and of Water on the bottom; see Guoli gugong bowuyuan 1996: 14–17, pl. 5.
16. The Official of Heaven in the fourteenth-century mural *The Immortal Procession for an Audience with the [Three] Primordials (Chaoyuan tu)*, in the Sanqing Hall of Yonglegong, Shanxi Province, is also placed in a slightly elevated position. The present paintings, because of the density of the composition, could easily be imagined as part of a much larger, extended mural. It is also possible that they were originally mounted as scrolls, which perhaps suggests that they were used as portable "mural substitutes" for ritual purposes.
17. Protector of the New Year, Zhong Kui was very popular during the Yuan dynasty. See pp. 183–86 in this volume.
18. Richard M. Barnhart (in Yang Xin et al. 1997: 106–8) suggests workshop execution. Wu Tung (1997: 149) observes the more expressive face of the Official of Earth. Shih-Shan Huang (2002: 8, 9) notes differences in the execution of the landscape elements in the *Official of Earth* painting.
19. Yuan Haowen (*YSXSWJ, juan* 34 [1967 ed., vol. 3: 945]) describes the faces of the Officials of Heaven, Earth, and Water in Zhu Yao's paintings as "profoundly tranquil," "authoritatively serious," and "severely resolute," respectively. In the fourteenth-century Daoist mural in the Sanqing Hall of Yonglegong the facial expressions of the Three Officials are distinctly different, similar to Yuan Haowen's description of those in the Tang paintings. In later paintings featuring the *Sanguan*, such as one in the Ming-dynasty Shuilu (Water-Land) ritual set from Baoning Temple, Shanxi, the faces of the Three Officials are alike. See Shanxi sheng bowuguan 1985, pl. 77.
20. Based on this resemblance, Wu Tung (in Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1992: 153) dates *The Daoist Officials of Heaven, Earth, and Water* to the twelfth century and suggests that it is "presumably the creation of professional artists from the north specializing in religious painting." Marsha Weidner (1986: 17) posits a northern origin and a possible Yuan date, "indicated by the conservative handling of the solid, heavily draped figures and the decorative treatment of the Kuo Hsi–style landscape setting provided for the Deity of Earth." On the temple murals, see Zhang Yaping and Zhao Jinzhang 1979 and Karetzky 1980. See also Jonathan Hay 2002.
21. See M. Fong 1989: 11, fig. 4. Wu Tung (in Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1992: 152–53) relates the figure style to the late-Tang-dynasty painter Wu Daozi (active 8th century).
22. Wen Fong 1981. See also M. Fong 1976.
23. M. Fong 1989: 11, fig. 4. A strong emphasis on musculature can be seen in several Yuan-dynasty paintings of demons, as, for instance, the painting of the demon queller Zhong Kui by the fourteenth-century painter Yan Geng (MMA 1990.134), which stands in contrast to the Southern Song painting of the same subject by Gong Kai (1222–1304), where this aspect is not as pronounced. On paintings by Zhong Kui, see Sherman Lee 1993 and Little 1985. See also, in the present volume, pp. 183–86.
24. Illustrated in Whitfield 1983, pls. 15, 16. Mary Fong states (1989: 12) that the Vaiśravana painting "reflects something of Wu Daozi's billowing style."
25. Illustrated in J. So 2004: 414, 415, pl. VIII:13.
26. Illustrated in Balin Left Banner Museum 1999: 56, fig. 7.
27. See Jang 1992.
28. See *LZ, juan* 5 (1963 ed.: 3). For Puguang's painting, see the detailed entry in *Kaikodo Journal*, Spring 2000: 76–77, 230–36.
29. On "weak" water, see *SHJ, juan* 16 (1989 ed.: 112). On water in Chinese painting, see also Maeda 1971.
30. *YS, juan* 5 (1976 ed.: 96). Ledderose 1983: 171.
31. Daoist art was apparently produced as well during two foreign dynasties, the preceding Khitan Liao (916–1125) and the contemporary Tangut Xixia (1038–1127). Works of art under the Liao include a vertical painting with a female immortal gathering herbs (Xiaoneng Yang 2004: 67, fig. 3), tomb murals with descending Daoist deities (J. So 2004: 114), and a gold plaque depicting a Daoist deity riding a dragon on clouds in front of a seascape (ibid.: 414, 415, pl. VIII:13). Among images produced under the Xixia are depictions of the Dark Warrior Zhenwu on scroll and wall paintings. For a Xixia scroll painting of Zhenwu, see Samosyuk 2006: 356, 357, pl. 182. On Daoism under the Jin, see Yao Tao-chung 1995.
32. See Yao Tao-chung 1986: 204–5.
33. See Waley 1931: 101 and Jagchid 1980: 81–82.
34. On the apparitions, which are said to have taken place in 1159, see Reiter 1994. Paul Katz (1999: 64) notes that the literature of the tenth to the thirteenth century portrays Lü Dongbin as similar to a bodhisattva.
35. Katz 1999. On how the cult changed over time, see Katz 1996.
36. Weidner (1989: 45 and 53n62) states that the painter Liu Guandao (active ca. 1275–1300) was credited with a portrait of Lü Dongbin and points out the similarity between the present portrait and Liu's *Whiling Away the Summer* (see fig. 234). See also Jonathan Hay 2002.
37. The sword may be a ritual implement; see Eskildsen 2008.
38. Baldrian-Hussein 1986: 154.
39. Ibid.
40. On Lü Dongbin, see Katz 1999.
41. Baldrian-Hussein 1986: 163–64.
42. The blue-eyed barbarian monk is mentioned in Zhongli Quan's biography; see *LXQZ, juan* 3 (1977 ed.: 115–16). For a translation, see Little 1988: 32–33, pl. 6. This painting was most likely trimmed.
43. Inscribed on the scroll in gold are six characters that refer to a text of the Southern School, the "Alchemical Formula for the Inner Purification of the Gold Treasure: Secret Writings from the Golden Box of Jade Purity, Transmitted by the Immortal Qinghua," ascribed to Zhang Boduan (d. 1082): *DZ* 240, fasc. 114; see Schipper and Verellen 2004, vol. 2: 829. I am grateful to Livia Kohn for this information.
44. Chapin 1945–46: 95.
45. See Le Coq 1913 for wall paintings in Turfan that feature blue-eyed monks.
46. For the discovery of surface in Chinese painting, see John Hay 1985.
47. Teisuke 1972; Hidemi 1992.
48. A painting fragment in the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, perhaps shows a similar scene. Samosyuk 2006: 376.
49. The entire temple complex was moved in 1959 to Ruicheng as a result of the construction of the Sanmenxia Dam. See Su Bai 1963.
50. On the Yonglegong, see Du Xianzhou 1963, Su Bai 1963, and Zhu Xiyuan 1963. On the murals, see Lu Hongnian 1963, Wang Chang'an 1963a, Wang Xun 1963, Katz 1993, Jing 1994b, Katz 1999, and Meng Sihui 2007.
51. The term is from Katz 1999: 132. For the transmission scene, see Wang Changan 1963b: 74, scene 5.
52. For an in-depth study of this mural, see Jing 1994b.
53. Jing Anning (1994b) argues that the godlike figure is Lü Dongbin, who in 1310 was elevated to the position of Sovereign Lord by Emperor Wuzong, and the smaller figure is Wang Zhe, who received Lü's teachings in the form of a scroll. For a different view, see Katz (1999: 149).

54. See Buck 2004. See also Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, Houma gongzuozhan 1997: 26. On the Eight Immortals, see Jing 1996 and Augustin 2010.
55. Katz 1999: 71.
56. On Daoist theater, see Hawkes 1981. Daoist rituals often resembled theatrical performances, employing music, words, and dance; Little 2000a: 189. On Yuan Quanzhen theater, see Yao Tao-chung 1980. For Yuan art related to the theater, see pp. 14–25 in this volume.
57. See Idema and West 1982: 299–343. According to Wilt Idema and Stephen West (ibid.: 305), two Buddhist plays show a remarkable similarity to two late thirteenth-century Daoist conversion plays.
58. Sherman Lee and Wai-kam Ho (1968, pl. 193) argue for the identification of this figure as the actor Xu Jian, who used the stage name Lan Caihe. For a depiction of a theater group in a tomb mural, see Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 1988: 76–90, fig. on page 4, nos. 1, 2.
59. Translation in Crump 1990: 47.
60. Here, the small bell around the dog's neck may refer to the dog of the Han-dynasty alchemist Wei Boyang, on whom Wei allegedly tested his elixir of immortality. For images of Wei Boyang, see Needham and Lu 1974, pl. CDXLIX, fig. 1329, and Little 2000a: 343, pl. 130. A woodblock print in the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, may also depict Wei Boyang with his disciple and his dog; see Samosyuk 2006, pl. 232.
61. Wu Tung (1997: 232) suggests that the painter could have been a Daoist priest.
62. *SXZ, juan* 7 (1991 ed.: 52). See also Eberhard 1968: 123–26.
63. The phrase is from Schafer 1985–86: 121. See also Schafer 1983.
64. On the debates between the Daoists and the Buddhists, see Thiel 1961 and Kubo 1968. For Khubilai's decree of the debate in 1281, see Jagchid 1980: 86–87.
65. See Yu Hui et al. 2005: 248, 249, pl. 120. The painting carries a spurious signature of Sheng Mao. The Tang text *Taisheng hunyuan zhenlun* (True Record of the Most High of Undifferentiated Beginning) relates Laozi's departure and his meeting with Yin Xi. See *DZ* 954, fasc. 604; see Schipper and Verellen 2004, vol. 1: 414.
66. The record of the paintings *Laozi Conferring the Daodejing* by Li Gonglin and by Zhao Mengfu is found in *MDZL, juan* 18 (1969 ed., vol. 1: 193).
67. During the last debate in 1281, the Quanzhen Daoists were joined by the southern order of the Celestial Master (Yao Tao-chung 1980: 163–64). The Buddhists joined forces too, including Buddhists from Kashmir and Tibet (Jagchid 1980: 90). For Möngke's decree of the debate in 1258, see ibid.: 83–84.
68. *YS, juan* 202 (1976 ed.: 4526–27). On Southern Daoism, see Sun K'o-K'uan 1981.
69. Sun K'o-K'uan 1981.
70. On Wu Quanjie, see *YS, juan* 202 (1976 ed.: 4528–29). See also Sun K'o-K'uan 1966.
71. The civil service examination was suspended in the north after 1233 and in the south after 1274. It was reinstated on a smaller scale in 1315. See Franke and Twitchett 1994: 638, 639, 644.
72. *SHMN, juan* 3 (1970 ed., vol. 1: 271–94), records nineteen inscriptions. See also Tomita and Chiu 1946 and Wu Tung 1997: 232–34, pl. 149.
73. The most comprehensive study of *Fourteen Portraits of the Daoist Priest Wu Quanjie* is Hong Zaixin 2003. Other scholars who inscribed the individual paintings include Ouyang Xuan, Yuan Jue, Jie Xisi, and Deng Wenyuan. Images 1, 15, and 17 are missing on the present scroll.
74. Dietrich Seckel (1997–2005, vol. 2: 242) uses "ambiente Porträt." See also Vinograd 1992 and Brinker 1973–74: 17.
75. For *xiao xiang* (small portrait) painting in the Yuan, see Itakura 2001.
76. Seckel 1997–2005, vol. 2: 216.
77. Sun K'o-K'uan 1981: 240. See also Hong Zaixin 2003.
78. Among the non-Han Chinese painters who made portraits of single dragon pines are Zhang Yanfu (active 1st half 14th century), an ethnic Mongol Daoist priest of the northern Taiyi order, and Boyan Buhua (active 1st half 14th century), an ethnic Uighur, high official, and possibly Daoist adherent. For a painting of the subject by Boyan Buhua, see Shih Shou-chien and Ge Wanzhang 2001: 101, pl. II-43.
79. Zhang Yucai became the 38th Celestial Master in 1294 (*YS, juan* 19 [1976 ed.: 402]). Xia Wenyan's *Tu hui bao jian* records three Celestial Masters as painters: the 38th, Zhang Yucai, the 39th, Zhang Sicheng, and the 40th, Zhang Side (*THBJ*, 1992 ed.: 886). This seems to be the first mention of Celestial Masters as painters; see Ma Jige 1992: 73. Xia Wenyan also records a Mongol painter, Boyan Buhua, excelling in dragon painting. See also note 78 above.
80. For paintings of dragons, see Hou-mei Sung 2009, chap. 7: 119–36.
81. See Wen Fong 1992: 362–67, pl. 81a. The *Yuanshi* records a ritual performed by Zhang Yucai in which he repels a sea monster; *YS, juan* 202 (1976 ed.: 4526–27).
82. The technique used by Chen Rong resembles that of Southern Song court painters such as Xia Gui (ca. 1180–1224). It is described by the fourteenth-century critic Xia Wenyan as "action painting"; Purtle 2001: 106.
83. Companion paintings of a dragon and a tiger by the Southern Song Chan Buddhist painter Muqi (ca. 1210–after 1269) are in the collections of the Daitokuji and in the Cleveland Museum of Art.
84. Translation in Neill 1981: 1.
85. For a comprehensive study of Fang Congyi, see Neill 1981.
86. Sherman Lee and Wai-kam Ho 1968: 62. Cahill 1976: 128.
87. On non-Han Chinese artists, see Chen Yuan 1966, Wang Lianqi 1989, and Xiao Qiqing 1997.
88. For a comparison of *Cloudy Mountains* with Jin painting compositions, see Vinograd 1979b: 318.
89. On Zhang Yu, see Sun K'o-K'uan 1973 and Chang Kuang-pin 1978. On his calligraphy, see Chang Kuang-pin 1992, Xiao Yanyi 1995, and Augustin 2004 and 2007.
90. *SGTSHHK, juan* 16 (1991 ed., vol. 1: 719).
91. The black leopard is a symbol of the recluse.
92. Xu and Guo possibly refer to the initiator of the Way of Filiality, Xu Xun (239–274?), and his follower the literatus and geomancer Guo Pu (276–324). Translation by the author.
93. On this painting, see Brown 1985. James C. Y. Watt points out the possibility that the blue-green landscape painting derives from the mural tradition in Kizil; see Watt 1990: 65.
94. Translation by Sherman Lee and Wai-kam Ho 1968: 264. The image of the immortal realm created by Chen Ruyan as a birthday present to a general involved in the rebellions in the southeast, and painted within the blue-green landscape tradition of the Tang, appears to follow closely a model seen in *Emperor Minghuang's Flight to Sichuan* attributed to an unidentified Tang artist, published in Guoli gugong bowuyuan 1996: 50, and Barnhart in Yang Xin et al. 1997: 68. Another landscape painting by a Yuan artist resembles the above-mentioned Tang work closely in style; see Yang Xin 1999.
95. Judging from Zhang Yu's two poems, Zhang Yanfu's two lost paintings were images of immortal landscapes, devoid of mortal presence. Another example of an immortal landscape by a Daoist priest was made by Leng Qian (active 14th century) for his friend the Confucian scholar Liu Ji (1311–1375). Leng's "travel painting" *Mount Baiyue* is devoid of figures. Leng and Liu are immortalized by their inscriptions on top of the vertical painting. The inscription by Liu appears in the style of Mi Fu, perhaps alluding to the resemblance of the painted rock formation to Mi's inkstone brushrest (*qiuchi*), reproduced in *Chuogeng lu* by Tao Zongyi (b. 1316). For Leng Qian's "travel paintings," see Ganza 1986.
96. Part of a poem by the Daoist poet Ma Zhen (active 1294–1307); Sun K'o-K'uan 1981: 250.

6

Quanzhou: Cosmopolitan City of Faiths

John Guy

On the southern coast of Fujian Province, in the region known as Minnan overlooking the Taiwan Strait, is Quanzhou Bay, the most extensive natural harbor on the Fujian coast. Among the last regions to be integrated into the Chinese state and much favored by mariners as a place of shelter, it was perceived in past centuries as noxious and unhealthy. An official consigned to Quanzhou in the mid-eleventh century described it as "a land of mountains and streams, and of the poisons of melancholy fogs, where malarial epidemics occur in both spring and winter."[1] The natural advantages of this region were nonetheless considerable, with abundant sea life and a hinterland capable of yielding two rice harvests a year. There thrived exotic fruit-bearing trees, many introduced from the region of the South China Sea, the Nanhai. The peoples of this region were renowned for their industriousness, for their skill as mariners—and for their lawlessness. Trade, piracy, and maritime warfare were conducted in equal measure. Order of a kind was imposed in the ninth century by local usurpers, who in the tenth century titled themselves the princes of the Empire of Min. Maintaining an active maritime profile for the region, they promoted overseas trade and so set the scene for their Song and Yuan successors.

Quanzhou emerged first as a smuggler's entrepôt allowing overseas merchants to avoid the high duties imposed on imports at Guangzhou, the major center of foreign trade during the Tang dynasty (618–907).[2] Its rise as a major seaport occurred in the interregnum period between the collapse of the Tang in the late ninth century and the unification under the Song in the late tenth century. When Fujian came under the administration of the Northern Song court in 977, a state monopoly was imposed on overseas trade goods passing through Quanzhou. The city prospered and by the 1060s was described in a contemporary account as a "port clogged with foreign ships . . . their goods were piled like mountains."[3] In 1087 the Maritime Trade Superintendency (*Shibosi*) was established to ensure effective state taxation on overseas trade. Quanzhou was now positioned to challenge its rivals, Guangzhou and Yangzhou. From the late twelfth century Quanzhou enjoyed the status of a principal port of the Song government authorized to receive foreign missions. By 1170 it was reported that there were "three prefectures that carry on trade relationships with the lands of the South Seas, among which Quanzhou is number one."[4]

Quanzhou thus flourished in a surprising and unexpected way from the eleventh to the mid-fourteenth century (fig. 182). It became for the Southern Song and its successor, the Yuan dynasty, the favored port for overseas trade and international exchange and came to represent one of the great mercantile port cities of the medieval world, praised by all who witnessed its busy harbor and voluminous godowns filled with the riches of the world.

THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER

The littoral region represented China's southern frontier, the maritime equivalent to the northern borders that had been China's interface with Central Asia and the West. And while both frontiers opened up China to the riches of long-distance trade and cultural exchange, they were also regions of vulnerability, to be defended and at times sealed off from aggressive outsiders seeking to penetrate China's heartlands.

Chinese culture was traditionally highly insular, and overseas trade had been viewed by Chinese rulers as an

Opposite: Architectural panel with elephant worshipping a Shiva *linga*, detail of figure 194

Figure 182. View of Quanzhou from the southeast, with the 13th-century Twin Pagodas of Kaiyuansi in the distance, ca. 1900.

undesirable necessity. The Song administration thus sought to rationalize its increasingly active role in this pursuit. In 1137 a decree was issued declaring that it would be preferable to promote overseas trade than to impose taxes.[5] The fundamentally isolationist policies of successive Chinese administrations stood in marked contrast to those of the periods when foreign dynasties ruled China. Never was this shift in approach more acute than under the Mongols.

International merchants were attracted to Quanzhou, and a remarkably cosmopolitan community came to be established in China's frontier seaport. Arabs (*Dashi*) and Persians (*Bosi*) predominated. When they rebelled in 758 against exploitative taxation, they were sufficiently powerful to sack the city, pillaging the storehouses and fleeing to Hanoi and elsewhere in the Nanhai. In 760 the northern port city of Yangzhou was also sacked during the suppression of civil disorder, and it is recorded that several thousand *Dashi* and *Bosi* merchants were killed.[6] Massacres of foreigners occurred also at Guangzhou in 878; the Arab writer Abu Zaid recorded the murder of Muslims, Jews, Christians, and Parsees, attesting to the presence in that city of international communities of different faiths.[7]

Tribute missions, a euphemism for trade in the dynastic records, arrived regularly from Java and Srivijaya in the course of the seventh and eighth centuries. Important missions are recorded from South India in 691, 710, and 720, and between 712 and 750 from Sri Lanka, a key staging post in the Persian Gulf–China trade.[8] It was in this period that the Buddhist teacher Vajrabodhi traveled to China to propagate Vajrayana teachings, supposedly presenting a copy of the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* (*Astasahasrika Prajnaparamita Sutra*) to the emperor in 720 (see fig. 132).[9]

The international character of Quanzhou not only shaped the economic fortunes of the city and its surrounding hinterland but transformed the cultural landscape of the city and that of other southern ports which shared, to varying degrees, in this new cosmopolitanism. Quanzhou flourished in new ways, brought alive by the presence of foreign communities, both settled and itinerant. The Mongols established a dynasty that was never trusted and much resented by the traditional Han elite. Aware of their outsider status, the Mongols in turn nurtured and promoted not only their own, but other "foreigners" over ethnic Chinese. The governed population was divided into four classes: Mongol, Central Asian, northern Chinese, and southern Chinese. Ethnic groups from Central and West Asia were favored, as were those who ventured to China's southern ports via the Nanhai. This included Arabic- and Persian-speaking West Asians. The Mongols thus established a patronage system that ensured a high level of loyalty. Muslims and Nestorian Christians were among the most strongly represented of the Central Asian population, and both rose to prominence. Nowhere were they more visible than in Quanzhou.

Two contemporary accounts of Quanzhou's overseas trade in the early thirteenth century have survived. The first is by Lin Zhiqi, who held the all-important post of superintendent of the Maritime Trade Superintendency in the years around 1160. Lin's knowledge of the city's maritime trade was unrivaled, and he provided descriptions of the traffic in goods passing through the port and perceptive

insights into the cosmopolitan community that facilitated the trade. Some sixty years later Zhao Rugua held the same post, and in 1225 he published the *Zhufanshi* (Treatise on Foreign Lands), a detailed account of the countries that traded with Quanzhou and the commodities they made available.[10] Zhao tells us that of the foreign merchants active in Quanzhou, those from Arab lands brought the greatest wealth to the city.[11] The foreign commercial communities appear to have been concentrated between the southern perimeter of the city wall and the Jin River, as is evident in the architectural stones, often with relief decoration, and funerary headstones belonging to the variety of faiths that have been discovered in this area.[12]

The policies of the Southern Song not only fostered maritime trade in the southern ports, they also encouraged more direct Chinese participation. Government shipbuilding yards were established at a number of Fujian ports. Southern Fujian had a long tradition of shipbuilding for riverine and coastal trading. As early as the tenth century, Quanzhou was already established as a major center for the construction of oceangoing vessels, drawing considerable prosperity from this activity.[13] Undoubtedly, the shipyards were also able to offer maintenance skills to visiting foreign ships, adding to Quanzhou's wealth. By the twelfth century the region was supplying warships to the Song navy.[14]

Private shipyards, the remains of which have been identified in the river estuary region, continued to prosper in the Yuan period. In 1973 a Chinese merchant vessel dating from the late Southern Song period was discovered in the shallows of Houzhu Harbor, Quanzhou Bay (fig. 183). The ship—24.2 meters in length and 9.15 meters wide midship, with an estimated displacement in excess of 200 tons—gives a vivid sense of the scale of the industry. That the vessel was on its homeward journey from the Nanhai is confirmed by the traces of Southeast Asian spices and aromatic woods—sandalwood, lakawood, and garro wood—that were recovered in storage jars and embedded in the bulkhead timbers. Spices and other luxury goods included pepper, betel nut, frankincense, ambergris, and cinnabar.[15] In all probability the vessel had been built in one of the newly established shipyards in southern Fujian, which are known to have continued to flourish in the Yuan period, enjoying commissions from the Mongol administration.

Evidence that ships from southern Fujian traveled to Japan has also come to light. In 1281, Khubilai Khan sent a fleet of some four thousand vessels to invade Japan. Most of the ships perished in the Kamikaze (Divine Wind), a catastrophic typhoon that struck near Takeshima Island, in the Sea of Japan. Recent analysis of hull timbers has revealed that many of the vessels were constructed of pine, cedar, and camphor, Chinese softwoods indigenous to southern Fujian.[16]

The inhabitants of Quanzhou consumed little of what they imported. Rather, the city's godowns served as clearinghouses for the commodities in demand in the sophisticated urban centers farther north, at the Southern Song capital of Hangzhou and its port, Ningbo, at Yangzhou, and, after 1267, at Dadu, the new Mongol capital of the Yuan dynasty. The distribution system was not confined to China, but extended northeast to Korea and to Japan. The Venetian adventurer Marco Polo, who traveled east and

Figure 183. Song-period Chinese merchant ship under excavation in Quanzhou Bay, 1973. Preserved in the multiple planking and bulkheads were traces of Southeast Asian spices and aromatics, evidence of the trade routes frequented by this vessel.

Figure 184. Great Treasure Hall (Daxiong Baodian), Kaiyuansi, Quanzhou, Fujian Province, 1983

claims to have served Khubilai Khan in some capacity, noted that "the splendid city of Zaiton [Quanzhou], at which is the port for all the ships that arrive from India laden with costly wares and precious stones . . . is also a port for the merchants of Manzi [China]. . . . [T]he total amount of traffic in gems and other merchandise entering and leaving this port is a marvel to behold. From this city and its port goods are exported to the whole province of Manzi [China]."[17]

No doubt over time Quanzhou came also to generate a considerable domestic market. Along with a burgeoning merchant class, Quanzhou was home to temples and shrines of many faiths, and the religious communities who served and supported them. All would have generated a high demand for luxury goods, especially the aromatics which were a ubiquitous part of daily worship.

FAITH AND ART

The Mongols, as was typical of nomadic peoples, were followers of shamanism, especially the Turkic cults as practiced by the Uighur peoples, whose habitat extended from western Central Asia to the Chinese borderlands. As such, they worshipped the spirits of the lands they occupied. Nevertheless, their foreign origins made them remarkably receptive and tolerant to peoples and faiths from beyond China's borders. Theirs was a culture of tolerance not expected from a warrior elite whose history was built on conquest.

Buddhism

Buddhism prevailed in Fujian alongside Confucianism as one of China's oldest religions, and despite periods of persecution, it remained deeply rooted in the culture. The extent to which Buddhism in Quanzhou experienced the added stimulus of Buddhist missionaries arriving from India and Southeast Asia is unclear. Certainly the southern ports of China received Chinese monks returning from the long pilgrimage to India. Foreign Buddhist monks are recorded as coming to Quanzhou in the early tenth century, one from the so-called Western Countries (Central Asia), the other from India. During the Northern Song dynasty an Indian holy man—whether a Brahmin priest or a Buddhist monk is unclear—arrived in Quanzhou by merchant ship. With financial support from merchants in his community he bought land in the southern district of the city and built a temple, later known as the Baolin Shrine. According to Zhao Rugua, writing in the 1220s, the temple, thought by him to be Buddhist, was still in use in the early thirteenth century.[18]

Quanzhou had a long history of benefitting from the charitable work of its monks. Kaiyuansi (Kaiyuan Temple), with its origins in the Tang dynasty, is the largest Buddhist temple in the city (fig. 184). The monastic population is variously recorded in the Yuan period as ranging from one to three thousand.[19] The temple is most famous for its twin pagodas, constructed in the second quarter of the thirteenth century on Song architectural principles, but to a design referred to in Japan temple literature as *tenjikuyo*,

or "Indian style." While the architecture is clearly in the Chinese temple tradition, the term as applied to the pagodas is perhaps intended to distinguish them from the classic Chinese *karayo*, or "Tang style" preserved in Japan.[20] Comparison with the towers of the so-called Chinese Pagoda of Nagapattinam, South India (fig. 185), probably constructed in 1267, adds substance to this nomenclature. Both the Kaiyuan pagodas and the Nagapattinam pagoda share a common origin in terms of patronage. Both appear to be the products of a wealthy mercantile class, not of royal endowments, and as such are a legacy of the age of commerce that the thirteenth century represented.

The monks of Kaiyuansi have a long tradition of active involvement in construction and renovation. It is as a result of one such renovation, conducted in the early Ming period (1368–1644), probably during the fifteenth century, that the first secure evidence of a Hindu presence in Quanzhou was revealed in the form of recycled architectural elements from a Hindu shrine that had been incorporated into the fabric of the Buddhist temple.

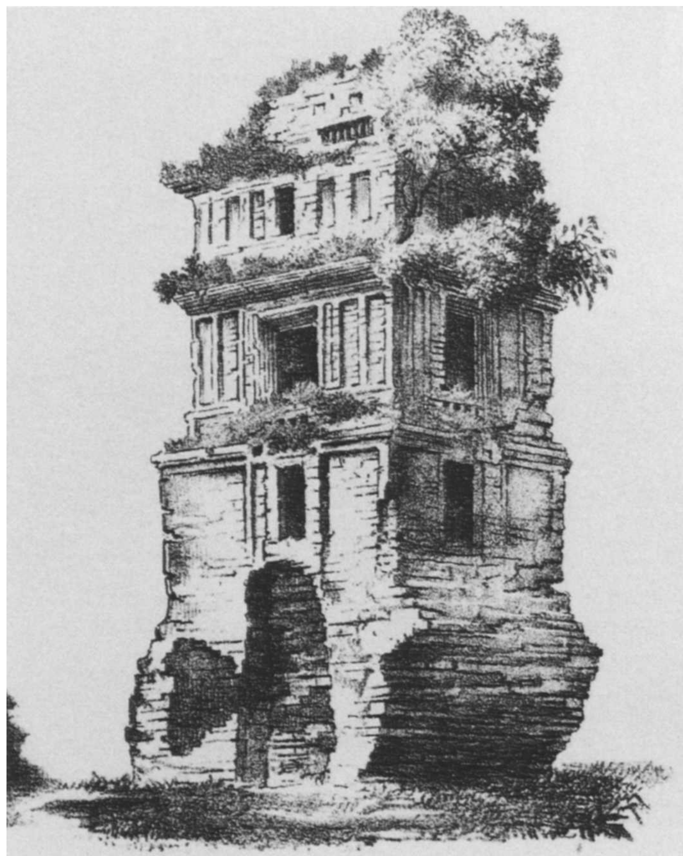


Figure 185. "Chinese Pagoda" of Nagapattinam, coastal Tamil Nadu, South India, as observed in 1846. Probably erected for the benefit of Chinese merchants in 1267.

Islam

The predominance of Muslim merchant communities at Quanzhou is witnessed by the extant mosques in that city, the extensive traces of others, and the number of tombstones inscribed in Arabic script, the largest recovered anywhere in all of China. An inscription stele prepared in 1310 to record the renovation of the Ashab Mosque (Qingjingsi) describes it as having being founded in the year AH 400 (1009/10 CE), and "known to all for its antiquity, its long endurance, its good fortune, [and as being] the first [Islamic] place of worship for the people of this place" (fig. 186).[21] The entrance gate, with its towering pointed arch and half-dome recess, dates from the 1310 renovation; in style these renovations echo mosque architecture of Mongol Central Asia, such as can be seen at Kashgar. Lin Zhiqi in the mid-twelfth century observed that three mosques were active in his time. One is recorded as being founded by a Siraf merchant soon after 1131. Around the same time another wealthy merchant—or perhaps the same one—purchased land as the site of a cemetery for foreign merchants who had died in Quanzhou. In 1350, when Wu Jian published his *Record of Qingjingsi*, the number of mosques had increased to six or seven, the peak of Islamic activity in Quanzhou.[22] Of these only the Ashab (Qingjing) Mosque survives today. The other mosques were wasted in the period immediately following the collapse of the Yuan and probably looted for building materials.

Memorial stones in Quanzhou provide vivid evidence that the Mongols appointed outsiders to key administrative posts. The Song-era graveyards of Quanzhou are no longer traceable beneath the city, but high on Lingshan Hill, to the east, are tombs probably dating from the Song period believed to be those of two Muslim saints; a stele inscription records the renovation of the tombs in 1322. Certainly the saints were sufficiently revered to attract the Muslim admiral Zheng He, who worshipped there a century later, on May 30, 1417.[23] The imperial Ming fleet routinely stopped over in Quanzhou to recruit Arabic-speaking crews and navigators before embarking for Southeast Asia and the Western Ocean (Indian Ocean).

The Muslim community of Quanzhou was deeply respected. Pu Zongmin, a merchant from Quanzhou, acted as ambassador for the Southern Song government in Southeast Asia in the mid-thirteenth century. He was buried in Brunei in 1264, and his grave site bears the oldest dated Chinese tombstone recorded in Island Southeast Asia.[24] Chinese Muslims from South China may well have played a significant role in the dissemination of Islam in Southeast Asia, a role that has traditionally been attributed to West Asian and Indian Muslim evangelists. In this

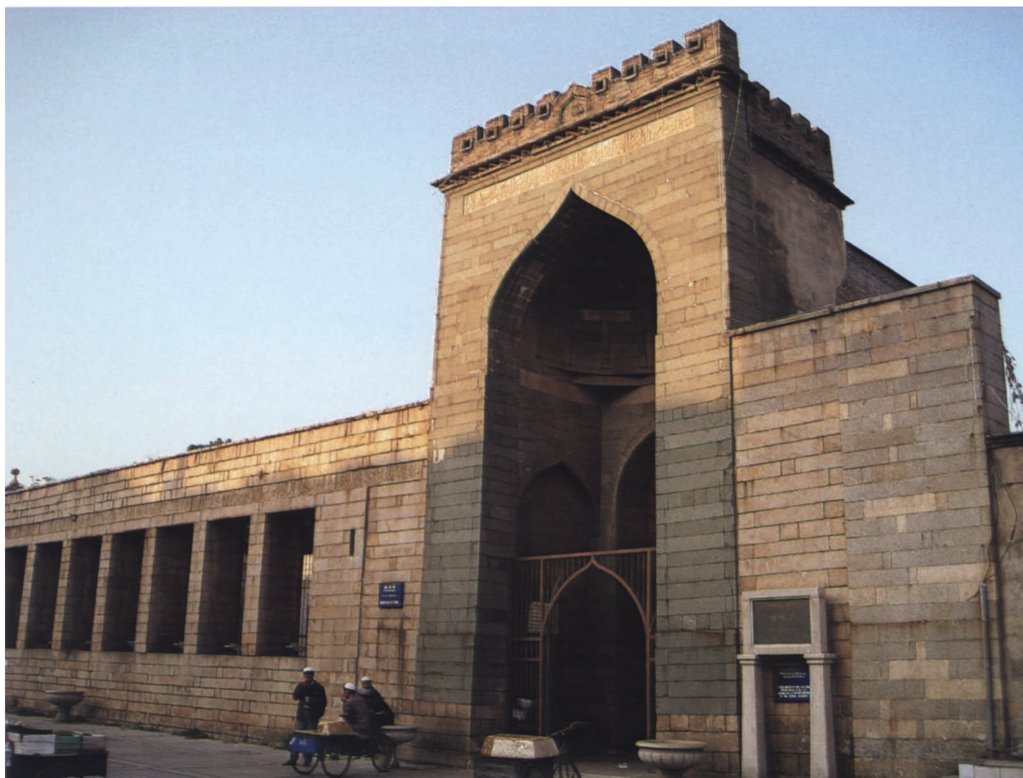


Figure 186. Ashab Mosque, Tonghuai Street, Quanzhou, with sweet-cake vendors at the entrance, 2009. Founded in 1009/10, this renovated structure is the only medieval mosque still intact in Quanzhou.

context, the presence of a Chinese Muslim merchant-ambassador assumes greater significance. Further evidence of this relationship appeared in 1986, with the discovery of the tombstone of a Brunei sultan at Bandar Seri Begawan. Although unnamed, the deceased is referred to in the Arabic inscription as both "Sultan" and "Maharaja Bruni."[25] In his analysis of this undated tombstone, Chen Dasheng describes the stone as characteristic of stones from Quanzhou and the calligraphic script as nearly identical to that on a Quanzhou tombstone dated AH 700 (1301 CE).[26] The tombstone was apparently ordered in Quanzhou for supply to Brunei in the early fourteenth century, mimicking the well-established practice of western Indian marble carvers at Cambay, who shipped both "blanks" and special-order tombstones to cities around the Indian Ocean to serve the Muslim diaspora.[27] This is the first evidence that Quanzhou tombstone carvers pursued the same practice.[28]

Throughout the Yuan period the Muslim community of Quanzhou appears to have been continually revitalized both through conversions of local Chinese and by the influx of foreigners. In 1312–13 an Iranian from Kazerun named Burhan al-Din was appointed bishop (*shaikhu'l*) of an Islamic order in Quanzhou and in 1350 imam of the Ashab (Qingjing) Mosque, where he remained until his death in 1370, two years after the collapse of the Mongol administration.[29] The cenotaph of Ghutub allah Ya'qub, who died in 1319, identifies him as a general whose family name links him to Khorasan, northeastern Iran.[30]

The tombstone of a Mongol official (fig. 187) exemplifies the achievement of the local Quanzhou stonemasons, who we may assume served a number of religious communities. The text on the stone includes a passage from the Koran. The cursive Arabic script is carved in high relief in the surviving five registers, showing great sensitivity in the graphic response of the letters to the cusped crown of the stone. The calligraphy is framed by a meandering vine border that typifies Yuan embellishment, as does the profile of the stele itself, with a silhouette reminiscent of Yuan lotus border designs.

This stele is one of several examples on which two languages appear, each employed for a different purpose. Arabic, here the language of the faith, is used for religious passages, and Chinese, the language of the deceased, provides name and position or rank. The Chinese passage translates as "Grand Master for Admonishment, Yongchun County Official Dalu [*huachi*]," identifying the deceased as the county magistrate of Yongchun, Fujian. The Mongolian-derived title *daluhuachi* was routinely assigned to ethnic Mongols serving as provincial officials in the Yuan administration. This official's origin and dates are unknown. The Arabic may be translated as:

> *Everything is perishable, except His face. The Prophet (may peace be on Him) said: "Who so hath died a stranger hath died a martyr. He hath passed from this illusory world to Paradise, and is in the good grace of Allah the most high."*[31]

Obverse

Reverse

Figure 187. Tombstone of the Mongol official Daluhuachi of Yongchunxian, Fujian Province, ca. 13th century, with quotations from the Koran in Arabic cursive script on the obverse, and the deceased's title and position in Chinese on the reverse. Diabase granite, 17⅜ × 16¾ in. (44.1 × 42.5 cm). Quanzhou Maritime Museum, Fujian Province [Exhib.]

A survey of the Islamic tombstones recovered in and around Quanzhou has identified Muslims from across the Islamic diaspora, as well as those locally born.[32] The earliest dated Islamic tombstone recovered at Quanzhou is dated AH 567 (1171 CE) and identifies the deceased as being from Khalat, capital of Armenia.[33] From the significant number of tombstones that name Tabriz as the birthplace of the deceased we may suppose that this city, the modern capital of East Azerbaijan Province in northwestern Iran, had particularly close mercantile links with Quanzhou in the Yuan period.

A beautiful and rare example of Kufic script is preserved on an undated commemorative lintel relief recovered from

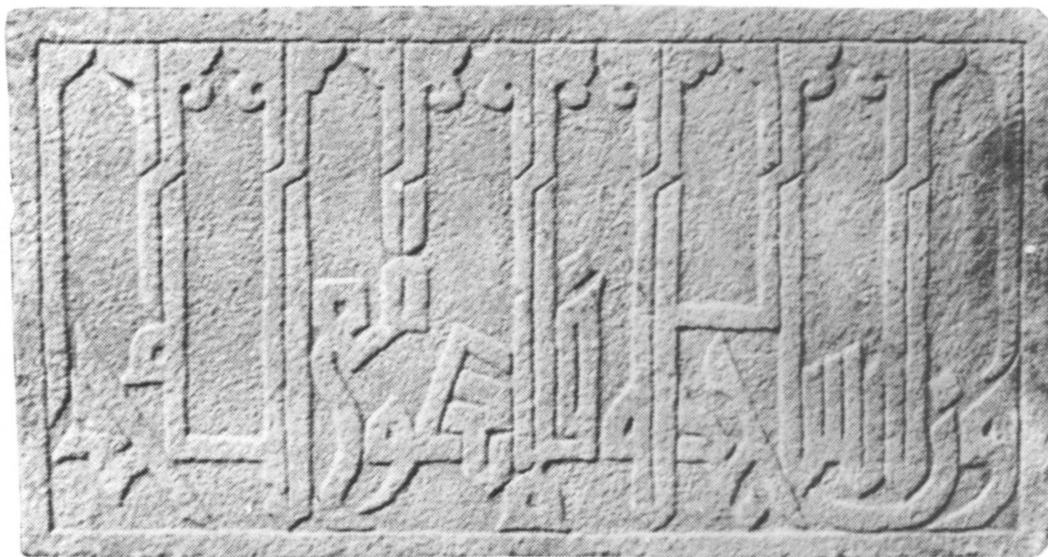


Figure 188. Mosque lintel. Song (960–1279) or Yuan (1271–1368) dynasty. Diabase granite, 19⅞ × 37⅞ in. (50.5 × 96.2 cm). The lintel is inscribed in an elegant squared Kufic script. Museum of Anthropology, Xiamen University, Xiamen, Fujian Province

the demolition of Tonghuaimen Gate in 1940 (fig. 188). It can very probably be assigned to one of the Song-dynasty mosques now lost to us. The extended vertical lettering makes this one of the finest examples of Islamic calligraphy preserved at Quanzhou. The text records the donation of funds by Naina Umar, a Yemeni merchant, "a pious and sincere elder of Yemin," for the construction of an entrance and enclosure wall to an unnamed mosque. In 1956, near the findspot, the remains of an unrecorded mosque were found at Jintoupu, possibly the source of this lintel.

A tombstone dated AH 692 (1292/93 CE) is especially important to our understanding of the place of Islam in thirteenth-century Quanzhou. It names the deceased as a young man of the Ahmad family who "died in Zaiton."[34] This is the earliest reference to Quanzhou by its Persian and Arabic name. Coincidentally, 1292 is also the year that Marco Polo visited the city, and he, too, refers to it as Zaiton in his *Travels*.[35] Several Muslim commentators, including Ibn Battuta, who visited the city in 1345–46, continued to use the name. The inscription on the tombstone, in Persian and Chinese, also indicates that the Ahmad family had lived in Quanzhou for generations, attesting to the long-standing intermarriage there of Persians and Chinese. It must have been this community that sustained Islam and its places of worship as best they could after the collapse of Mongol rule. This stele was unearthed at the same site as the Kufic-script lintel.

Hinduism

An Indian presence in the port cities of South China can be traced back to the Han period (206 BCE–220 CE).[36] Religious inscriptions in Sanskrit and secular inscriptions in regional languages, most notably Tamil, also attest to their presence in Southeast Asia in the centuries following.[37] In Guangzhou in the mid-eighth century, three monasteries established by Indian Brahmins were mentioned in the biography of the Chinese Buddhist priest Kanshin.[38]

It is recorded in the *Songshi* (History of the Song Dynasty) that in 1015 the South Indian ruler Rajendra Gangaikonda-chola (r. 1012–44), son of the famous emperor Rajaraja Chola of the Tamil Chola Empire, sent the first Chola delegation to China to promote commercial exchange and that these contacts were sustained throughout the Chola period.[39] Rajendra also claimed the conquest of Srivijaya in or around 1025, whence delegations also were sent to China's southern ports to encourage trade.[40]

The so-called Srivijaya Inscription, dated 1079, found at Guangzhou records the donation of funds for the restoration of temples in that city and for the maintenance of rice fields for their monastic communities. The gift was made a decade after the Cholas had sent a military fleet to Sumatra to enforce their hegemony over the vital trading entrepôt, Srivijaya, gateway to the markets of China.[41] The donor is named as Kulattunga I, the powerful Chola king (r. 1070–1118) who is eulogized in the inscription as the "Lord of Sanfuqi," the Chinese transcription for Srivijaya.[42]

It may thus be assumed that a significant Tamil presence existed as part of the foreign community in Guangzhou from at least the eighth century. In the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries additional temples were presumably constructed for the use of expatriate Indian communities in the major port cities of South China.[43] The Song architectural manual *Yingzao fashi* (Building Standards), for example, refers to a *Tianzhu*, or Indian Monastery, at Zhejiang near Hangzhou, of which no trace has been found. The only secure Chinese archaeological evidence for this claim is found at Quanzhou.

Figure 189. View from the southeast of the main entrance to Great Treasure Hall (Daxiong Baodian), Kaiyuansi, Quanzhou, Fujian Province, 2009. The foundation platform is inset with diorite greenstone panels and moldings in a South Indian Chola style depicting Hindu mythical creatures and lions between lotus-petal friezes.

The legacy of Indian temples was first witnessed in Quanzhou at Kaiyuansi. During a renovation made in the Ming period, architectural elements clearly of Hindu origin were integrated into the fabric of the temple, providing a decorative frieze of mythical leonine creatures in the foundation platform on the south elevation (fig. 189) and two Chola-style pillars on the north veranda (fig. 190). The latter are decorated with twenty-four panels devoted predominantly to the exploits of the Hindu god Vishnu. Another pair of pillars survive, similarly deployed at a Daoist shrine in Quanzhou, the Tianhou.[44]

The bulk of the remaining three hundred architectural and sculptural fragments of Hindu temples recovered at Quanzhou have come from the demolished city wall in the vicinity of the south and southwest city gates. This section of the wall underwent a major renovation during the reign of the emperor Hongwu (r. 1368–98) at the beginning of the Ming period, so it is reasonable to assume that the Hindu temples of the Yuan period survived up until that time, when the last remaining stones were pillaged for temple renovation and for masonry filler. The location of these remains would suggest that the Hindu temples, along with the mosques, were situated in the southern commercial suburb of the city, between the Song-period city wall and the river to the southwest (fig. 191).[45] Presumably, this was the foreign merchants' residential area and where their

Figure 190. Two granite columns in a South Indian Chola style, with roundels depicting Hindu deities. North veranda, Kaiyuansi, Quanzhou, Fujian Province, 2009

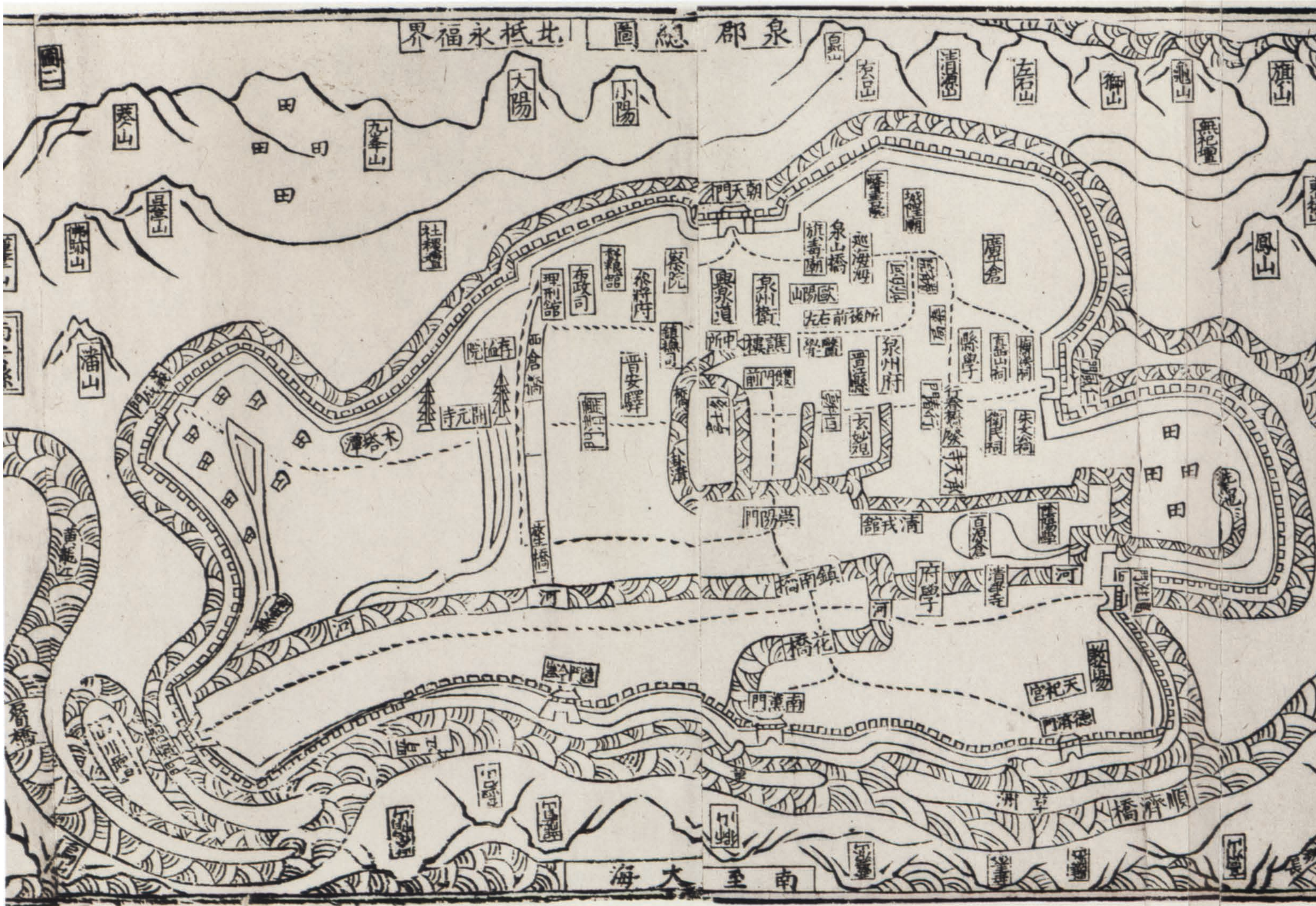


Figure 191. City plan of Quanzhou. The city had largely assumed its irregular plan in the Song and Yuan periods, when a series of major expansions of the city wall were undertaken to extend protection to the foreign merchant community, the last in 1352. Woodblock print, published in the *Quanzhou fuzhi* (1612)

godowns were built. According to an eighteenth-century source, this was also the site of the Maritime Trade Superintendency.[46] Once the temples were demolished, the sites were no doubt quickly absorbed into the city and have long since disappeared without trace. This stands in marked contrast to the principal surviving mosque, the Ashab, which, having started out as a place of worship for expatriate Muslim merchants in the eleventh century, managed to survive despite the widespread massacre of foreign and Chinese Muslims in Quanzhou following the suppression of local rebellions in the 1360s.[47] The Ashab Mosque must have been sustained by the local Muslim population, which had converted to Islam over many generations.

A unique find from Yuan-period Quanzhou is a Tamil inscription dated April 1281 (Chittirai, Saka Year 1203), the only secure dating parameter for these temples and the first archaeological confirmation of a Tamil-speaking community in the city (fig. 192). The inscription consists of six lines in Tamil script, with half the last line in Chinese characters.[48] The religious affiliation is Hindu, and the passage records the dedication of a new temple or icon to Shiva:

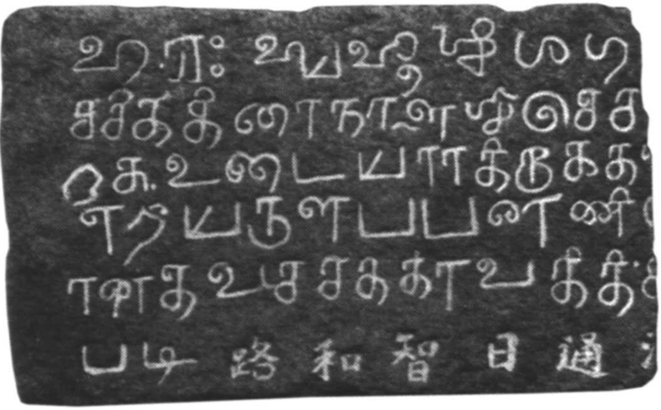
> *Obeisance to Hara [Shiva]. Let there be prosperity! On the day of Chitra in the month of Chittirai of the Saka year 1203, Champanda Perumal* alias *Tavach-chakkaravarttikal caused, in accordance with the* firman *of Chechchai Khan, to graciously install the God Udaiyar Tirukkanichchuram Udaiya-nayinar, for the welfare of the illustrious Chechchai Khan.*[49]

The dedication states that the monument was erected with the imperial authority (*firman*) of "Chechchai Khan," most likely Khubilai Khan. It is implied that the dedication marked the establishment of a new temple to Shiva, although it is also possible that it recorded the

installation of a new icon, a Shiva *linga*, in an existing temple. The donor was a Tamilian named Champanda Perumal. A number of surviving sculptural panels devoted to Shiva are recorded from Quanzhou; all but one represent devotees worshipping a Shiva *linga*. That panel, which is no longer extant, depicts Shiva in anthropomorphic form as the supreme dancer Shiva Nataraja (fig. 193). Attended by two female consorts, Shiva dances wildly on the prostrate dwarf Apasmara, the personification of darkness and ignorance. The scene takes place within a shrine setting, presumably a Chinese imagining of an Indian temple, hybrid and eclectic in the extreme. We may reasonably assume that the sculptural reliefs were part of the Shiva shrine. Most of the other Hindu architectural remains are either dedicated to the worship of the Hindu deity Vishnu or display generic Hindu decorative designs.

In 1276 the armies of Khubilai Khan seized the Southern Song capital of Hangzhou, thus completing the unification of China under Mongol rule. The Tamil inscriptions, written five years later, hail Khubilai as emperor and praise him as the head of a ruling clan sympathetic to foreigners in general and to foreign merchants in particular. The Tamil merchant community responsible for the construction of the temple knew well that their welfare and prosperity depended on Mongol patronage. Indeed, their judgment was confirmed by the persecutions of foreigners that immediately followed the collapse of Mongol rule.

It is symptomatic of the heightened level of Chinese–Indian relations that in February of the same year that the Shiva temple was dedicated—1281—the Mongol government sent a delegation, led by an envoy named Yang Tingbi, to South India to promote trade.[50] The name Tingbi indicates a Persian-speaking Central Asian, and his assignment affirms the Mongol policy of promoting



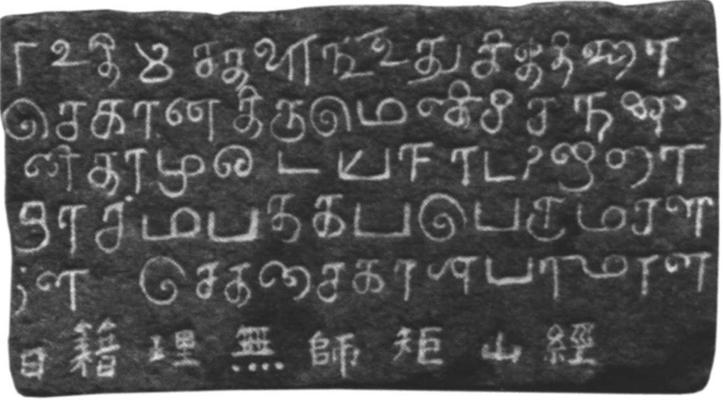


Figure 192. Stone inscription in Tamil, dated April 1281, recording the donation of a Hindu temple or image honoring Shiva by a Tamilian devotee. Recovered in Quanzhou. Museum of Anthropology, Xiamen University, Xiamen, Fujian Province

Figure 193. Architectural panel depicting the Hindu deity Shiva as Nataraja performing his cosmic dance in a temple setting. From an unrecorded Hindu temple in Quanzhou, late 13th–early 14th century. Diabase granite, 47 × 48 in. (119.4 × 121.9 cm). Formerly in Kaiyuansi; present location unknown

citizens of foreign origin to key governmental, military, and diplomatic posts.[51]

The most comprehensive account of China's southern sea trade in the Yuan period is provided by the *Daoyizhi lüe* (Brief Account of the Barbarian Islands), circa 1350, by Wang Dayuan.[52] Wang displays a detailed knowledge of many regions and offers an especially full account of Chinese contacts with South India, citing a Chinese community of merchants resident at Nagapattinam in coastal Tamil Nadu who undertook the construction of a temple.[53] According to Wang, it had a Chinese dedicatory inscription recording its completion in 1267.[54] This is corroborated by the Kalyani inscription of 1476 by King Dhammaceti of Pegu, Burma, which notes the existence of a Padarikarama monastery at Nagapattinam, built "by command of the Maharaja of Chinadesa" (see fig. 185).[55]

The sculptural reliefs recovered in and around Quanzhou depict a variety of Hindu subjects devoted to the worship of Shiva. The elephant worshipping a Shiva *linga* (fig. 194) is among the most spectacular. The subject depicted is a well-known South Indian devotional story, the *Gajaranya Kshetra* (Myth of the Holy Place of the Elephant). According to the legend, an elephant used to bring water in its trunk daily from the Kaveri River and pour it over a *linga* situated at the foot of a Jambu tree as a lustration. The elephant also used to shake the tree so that leaves would fall on the *linga* as offerings. One day a spider cast its web above the *linga*, also as an act of worship, but interrupting the fall of the leaves. When the elephant discovered that his offerings were being prevented from reaching the *linga*, he became enraged and destroyed the web. So the spider, in revenge, entered his trunk and tormented him. Driven by pain, the elephant struck his trunk repeatedly on the ground, killing both himself and the spider. The story nevertheless ends on a joyous note as both creatures, for their devotion, are granted liberation and are reincarnated.[56] The rendering of the elephant, and most evident in the treatment of the ears, reveals the work of a sculptor trained in the Chinese tradition. Similarly, the treatment of foliage and flowers in the tree and the cloud-pattern treatment of the base of the *linga* pedestal are clearly Chinese in their artistry.

A closely related theme is that of a cow worshipping a *linga* by bathing it with her milk, seen here in an architectural relief from an unrecorded Hindu temple in Quanzhou (fig. 195). The panel depicts a scene from the miraculous life of the eighth-century Shaiva *shidda*, or enlightened being, Thirumular, who used his yogic powers to enter the body of a dead cowherd in order to protect the cows who honored Shiva with their milk. Both this story and that of the elephant and the spider are linked to specific temples in the Tanjavur district of Tamil Nadu and are represented at a number of temples along the Kaveri River. The Kaveri Delta is near the city of Nagapattinam, which, as noted, had close relations with Quanzhou. The appearance of these two local South Indian legends in a Hindu temple in thirteenth-century Quanzhou raises the possibility of tracing the origins of the Tamil merchants responsible for commissioning the temple.[57] A strong contender for the town the merchants may have come from is Kumbakonam, where the Ayyavole and Manigramam merchant guilds (which had a long presence in Southeast Asia) operated.

Hindu merchant communities maintained an active presence in Quanzhou throughout the Yuan period. As late as the last decade of Mongol rule, as civil order in Fujian was fragmenting, they attempted to undertake the construction of a new temple for their use in Quanzhou.[58] Presumably it was never built, but the religious antagonism and commercial rivalry that the project triggered was recorded as one reason for the Muslim rebellion that ensued, which lasted from 1357 to 1366. The prestigious site chosen for the temple—that of the former Muslim governor's residence—is the only indicator we have of the ongoing prosperity of the Hindu community in Quanzhou at the close of the Yuan period. The suppression of the rebellions in 1366, two years before the demise of the dynasty itself, brought the persecution of foreigners and the collapse of trade. The Hindu communities that remained must have fled, abandoning their homes, godowns, and temples.

Figure 194. Architectural relief depicting the Hindu legend of *Gajaranya Kshetra*, the fatal contest between an elephant and a spider to demonstrate their devotion to Shiva. From an unrecorded Hindu temple in Quanzhou, late 13th–early 14th century. Diabase granite, 19¾ × 27¾ in. (50.2 × 70.5 cm). Quanzhou Maritime Museum, Fujian Province [Exhib.]

Figure 195. Architectural relief depicting the Hindu legend of the Shaiva saint Thirumular, who protected the cows who worshipped Shiva with their milk. From an unrecorded Hindu temple in Quanzhou, late 13th–early 14th century. Diabase granite, 17⅛ × 26¾ in. (43.5 × 68 cm). Formerly in Kaiyuansi; present location unknown

Manichaeism

Manichaeism, the Religion of Mani, was founded in what is today Iraq by the prophet Mani (ca. 216–276). Blending aspects of Judeo-Christianity, Gnosticism, and Zoroastrianism, it celebrates purity and light as expressions of the divine. The faith spread east along the Silk Route, and by the eighth century had become the state religion of the Uighur Turks. The Turks served as mercenaries to the Tang government, fighting their frontier wars, and over time their religion secured a place in Tang China. Manichaeans were permitted to establish monasteries in a number of northern Chinese cities, and these prospered until the Buddhist persecutions under the emperor Wuzong in the ninth century, after which Manichaeism survived only in the Uighur heartland of Turfan and, curiously, in Fujian.[59]

A local history, the *Minshu* by He Qiasyuan, tells of a famous Manichaean priest who preached in China during the late Tang—presumably prior to the religious persecutions of 843—and was buried in Quanzhou.[60] More securely it confirms the existence of a Manichaean shrine in neighboring Jinjiang:

> *[On] Huabiao Hill of the county of Jinjiang prefecture of Quanzhou . . . is a cao'an [thatched nunnery] dating from the Yuan period. There reverence is paid to Buddha Mani.*[61]

It is the only surviving Manichaean shrine known from the Yuan period (fig. 196).[62] Inside the shrine is a 1.5 meter-diameter medallion relief sculpture of Mani as the Buddha of Light, thought to be the image donated by "the believer Chen Qize," as recorded in an inscription of 1339 (see fig. 156).[63] The seated figure of Mani displays classic Manichaean attributes: he is bearded and wears robes displaying the double-knotted cloak and badges of rank (*segmenta*) worn by officials in Late Antiquity. Seated before a radiant aureole, the figure recalls Tang representations of the Buddha. A nearby rock-cut inscription dated 1445 extols Mani as the embodiment of "Purity, Light, Power, and Wisdom."

The reference in the *Minshu* to a Manichaean nunnery is supported by excavations conducted in the vicinity of the shrine in 1979. Some hundreds of fragments of brown glazed stoneware bowls were recovered, all incised *Mingjiao hui*, indicating that the bowls had been for use by the Society of the Religion of Light, that is, the monastic community of Huabiao Hill (fig. 197). Mass-produced utility wares and unique in the history of Manichaeism in China, they are typical of the ceramic production of southern Fujian, much of which by the Yuan period was destined for the export markets of the Philippines and Southeast Asia.[64]

Figure 196. Manichaean shrine, Huabiao Hill, Jinjiang, 2009. The existing structure largely dates from the Yuan period, though Manichaeism in Quanzhou claims an ancestry from at least the tenth century.

Figure 197. Bowl incised with the three-character inscription *Mingjiao hui* (Society of the Religion of Light). Glazed pottery, diameter 7¼ in. (18.2 cm). Jinjiang Municipal Museum, Fujian Province

Christianity

Christianity in Yuan China took two forms, the early Syrian Eastern Church, which came to be known as Nestorianism, and the Roman Catholic Church. Both were referred to in contemporary official sources, such as the *Yuandianzhang* (Institutions of the Yuan Dynasty) and the *Yuanshi* (History of the Yuan Dynasty), under the single nomenclature *yelikewen*.[65] According to the *Yuanshi*, a special department for the management of the Christian clergy was established in 1289 and at its peak had more than seventy branch offices under its supervision.[66] The prominence given to Christianity in Mongol China is at once surprising and unprecedented, for it was accommodated within the polytheistic climate fostered by the Mongol court. But it had another advantage, which secured it a privileged position in Mongol religious politics, intermarriage into the inner court.

The Nestorian Church

With the marriage in 1204 of a Nestorian Christian woman, Sorkaktani Peki, a Kerait Turk from Central Asia, to the son of Chinggis Khan, Tulei Khan, an intimate connection was established between the royal house and the Nestorian Christian community. Sorkaktani bore three sons, including Guyuk Khan (r. 1248–57), who was raised a Christian and actively protected and promoted Christians within the Mongol administration. Her most famous son was Khubilai Khan. Khubilai adopted Tibetan Buddhism as his personal faith, but he continued to extend tax-exemption privileges to the clergy and to permit Christian proselytizing. Sorkaktani held great influence at court, and it is a measure of her standing that when she died, in 1252, she was buried alongside her husband and Chinggis Khan himself. As a result, Christians assumed a favored place at court, the freedom to practice their faith, and opportunities for high office. Thirteenth-century Persian historians such as Rashid al-Din and Juyayni refer to Nestorian Christians among the Mongol elite.[67]

William of Rubruck, the Flemish Franciscan monk who, after participating in the crusade of Louis IX of France, set out on his own mission to the Mongol Empire, observed during his travels in 1253–55 that Nestorians were well established in fifteen cities in Mongol China.[68] The city of Zhenjiang, Jiangsu Province, was a center for Nestorians, boasting at least six Nestorian monasteries built in the 1270s by the city's vice governor Mar Sargis, a Nestorian of Samarkand descent.[69] Other monasteries were built in Yangzhou and Quanzhou.

The significant Nestorian presence in Quanzhou represented Turkic-speaking Nestorian merchants who frequented the city, together perhaps with Central Asian soldiers of the Mongol armies stationed there. Some fifty Nestorian steles inscribed in Syro-Turkic—East Turkic written in Syriac script—have been recorded in China, and of these nearly half were found in Quanzhou.[70] According to William of Rubruck, "Syriac" served as the principal liturgical language of the Nestorians, an observation supported by the prevalence of Syro-Turkic inscriptions in a variety of languages.[71] The use of Syro-Turkic ceased at the end of the Yuan dynasty. A recently discovered Nestorian tombstone recovered in Quanzhou and dated in both the Greek and Turkic calendars to 1312 records the death of a female missionary named Barqamca. It is inscribed in Syriac script, with passages in both Syro-Turkic and Uighur languages. Another tombstone, dated 1313, records the death of the Nestorian bishop of Quanzhou.[72] It is clear that the Nestorian establishment in Quanzhou rivaled that of the Roman Catholics; indeed, from the funerary evidence alone, Nestorians prevailed as the principal Christian presence in the thirteenth and especially the fourteenth century. It is notable that the crosses represented at Quanzhou are all of the square Greek type associated with Nestorians, not the elongated crucifix type, and none are known with the body of Christ, emblematic of the Church of Rome. This is the celebratory cross associated with the resurrected Christ, not the crucifix of his martyrdom.

Figure 198. Nestorian headstone with a cross above Chinese-style clouds, probably 13th century. Recovered in Quanzhou, near the East Gate. Granite, height 21⅝ in. (55 cm). Quanzhou Maritime Museum, Fujian Province [Exhib.]

Figure 199. Nestorian headstone with a crowned and winged angel dressed in the Mongol style. Recovered in Quanzhou. Granite, height 19¾ in. (50.2 cm). Quanzhou Maritime Museum, Fujian Province [Exhib.]

The hybridity of funerary carving at Quanzhou is exemplified by a Nestorian headstone discovered in the Shengshan district near the East Gate (fig. 198). The Nestorian cross, seen also in a processional example from Inner Mongolia (see fig. 43), hovers above Chinese-style clouds as if an apparition. This merging of imported and indigenous imagery, framed in a cusped arch enclosure, creates a powerful metaphor for the process of adoption and integration that was key to religious art in Mongol China.

Another Nestorian headstone (fig. 199) depicts a crowned and double-winged angel seated on clouds and bearing a small cross, set within a triple-cusped arch. The void above the angel may have been intended for a larger cross fixture. The angel wears flowing robes, including the lobed *yunjian* (cloud collar) characteristic of the Mongol period and with sleeves that bellow and extensions that flutter above and below, intercepting the wings and clouds. A celestial image that evokes the risen Christ, victory over death, and the promise of eternal life, it befits a Christian memorial. The stele was discovered in 1975 at the site of the Xia Shrine at Renfeng Street, near the West Gate, a district once reserved for Christian and Muslim burial.[73]

The Roman Catholic Church

The Roman Catholic Church was propagated in Mongol China by Franciscan and Dominican monks and encouraged by the Mongols' desire to nurture good diplomatic ties with Christian Europe. Not all Catholics in China were European; in 1318 a church was built in Dadu at the behest of a community of Armenian Christians.[74] The papal mission of the Franciscan monk John of Montecorvino first arrived in China at Quanzhou, before traveling via Yangzhou to the capital city. He lived in China from 1294 to 1328 and was appointed the first archbishop of Dadu in 1313. A papal legate was sent by Pope Benedict XII in 1342.

Catholicism flourished only briefly in Quanzhou and left no noticeable impact on the city's population. The Franciscan Andrew of Perugia, sent to China by Clement V in 1307, was appointed third bishop of Quanzhou in 1323. The Franciscan monk Odoric of Pordenone visited Quanzhou and Yangzhou around 1324 on his epic journey to Dadu for an audience with the Mongol emperor Yesun Temür (r. 1323–28).[75] Quanzhou he described as under the pastoral care of Bishop Andrew of Perugia. According to the bishop's memorial inscription, dated 1332, Andrew supervised the building of a new church outside the eastern city wall, of which no trace survives.[76] When the Franciscan John Marignolli visited Quanzhou in 1346, he admired "three magnificent cathedrals."[77] Architectural stones ornamented with winged cherubs are among the few remains of these structures to survive.

The Catholic communities in both Quanzhou and Yangzhou consisted mainly of Italian merchants; Marco Polo appears to have held some post in Yangzhou in the 1280s, claiming to represent the Mongol emperor in some capacity. This expatriate community was still thriving sixty years later, as so vividly witnessed by the tombstone of Katerina of Yangzhou, one of the most remarkable legacies of the Franciscan presence in coastal China (fig. 200).[78] The beautifully carved tombstone, dated June 1342, is a memorial to "Katerina, daughter of Sir Dominic de Viglione." The tombstone's dedication indicates that Katerina's father was from the vicinity of Genoa, a great port of medieval Italy, and in all probability a prosperous merchant from that region. The stone is engraved in Latin in an elegant Gothic script and illustrated with three engraved scenes of the martyrdom and entombment of Saint Catherine, the deceased's namesake and patron saint, presided over by an enthroned Madonna and Child. The iconographic accuracy of the rendering of the scenes suggests that the artist was given access to European depictions of this subject, probably those in a book of hours or an illustrated hagiography of Christian martyrs. Nevertheless, the distinctly Chinese physiognomy of the faces reveals the hand of a Chinese artisan working under the close direction of a Franciscan monk, as does the distinctly Yuan-style floral meander border.

Local Cults of South China

In South China local cults had always existed. Protector deities, typical of local deities in agricultural societies, offered relief from flood, famine, pestilence, and disease, and protection from marauding soldiers and brigands. A prominent concern, as might be expected in a littoral community, was the protection of mariners. The cult of the Duke of Manifest Kindness, cited in an inscription of 1138, refers to the Quanzhou captain Zhu Fang, who made an offering of incense before sailing to Srivijaya, where he "successfully complet[ed] the round-journey within a year and earn[ed] a hundred-fold profit." Another twelfth-century cult, that of the Lord of Illumined Kindness, in a 1115 stele inscription remarkably extended this protection to the vessels of foreigners (*haizhou fanbo*).[79] This is a revealing indicator of the integration of foreign merchants into Fujian society and even the degree to which the local elite depended on foreign merchants to secure a place in the profitable trade with the Nanhai.

Figure 200. Christian tombstone of "Katerina, daughter of Sir Dominic de Viglione," dated June 1342. Latin memorial engraved in Gothic script, with scenes of Saint Catherine's martyrdom. Height 22⅞ in. (58.1 cm). Yangzhou Museum, Jiangsu Province

Figure 201. The Hindu goddess Kali seated triumphant on Shiva. Formerly installed in a Hindu temple in Quanzhou, now worshipped as Guanyin, the Buddhist savior goddess, 2009. Xinji shrine, Chidiancun, Jinjiang, Fujian Province

Other local cults also rose to prominence during the Yuan period. In the maternal ancestor cult of the Divine Woman, the Buddhist bodhisattva Guanyin assumed a feminine aspect, as seen in porcelain Qingbai and in the Dehua white monochrome ceramic sculptures of Fujian (see fig. 122). When Zheng He, the Muslim eunuch leader of the great expeditions to the "Western Ocean" (Indian Ocean) in the early fifteenth century, embarked on his voyages, it was from the Divine Woman that he sought protection, as well as at the tombs of the Muslim saints on Lingshan Hill, above the city of Quanzhou.

Even today one can visit a small neighborhood shrine of the goddess in the narrow backstreets of Jinjiang, near Quanzhou. The image is worshipped as the Buddhist savior Guanyin. Yet the icon is a thirteenth-century sculpture of the wrathful Hindu deity Kali, seated triumphant on the prostrate figure of Shiva (fig. 201). Retrieved from an unknown Hindu temple, the icon was installed in the present shrine during the Ming period, according to its modern inscription. Any memory of the goddess's origins or identity has been lost, and she is now worshipped as a benign protectress of her community.

The collapse of Mongol rule and the establishment of the Ming dynasty had disastrous consequences for Quanzhou and its cosmopolitan population. Daoism and Buddhism were declared the only legitimate national religions, and all faiths considered foreign were suppressed. Hinduism, which had been practiced only by the expatriate Indian community, disappeared immediately, its temples pillaged for building materials. Christian places of worship undoubtedly suffered a similar fate. Manichaeism appears to have maintained a small presence, surviving by passing itself off as an archaic sect of Buddhism. Only Islam was sufficiently embedded in the local population to persist, albeit in much reduced circumstances.

The cosmopolitan cultures that emerged in South China in the course of the Song dynasties and flourished

under the Yuan were the product of a rare moment in China's history, when foreign religions and their artistic expression were welcomed and nurtured. The artistic legacy of the Mongol era was embodied in a reordering of the decorative repertoire, with an infusion of elements from Islamic Iran and Buddhist Tibet, two regions with a lasting impact on the religious and secular arts of Yuan China and its successors. Mongol tolerance in religious affairs and pragmatism in matters of state generated an era of internationalism not witnessed in China since the Tang period, and not seen again.

1. Translation of a poem by Wang Anshi (1021–1086) in the *Song Li Xuanshu cui Zhangzhou* kindly provided by Hugh Clark. For other descriptions of the region, see also Schafer 1967: 128.
2. Clark 1991.
3. Biography of Du Shun, a judicial inspector of Quanzhou, quoted in Clark 1995: 58.
4. Lin Zhiqi (1112–1176), quoted in Clark 1995: 54.
5. *Song Hui Yao*, cited in G. Wong 1979.
6. Wang Gungwu 1958: 80–82.
7. Lo Hsiang-lin 1967: 177.
8. Wang Gungwu 1958: 80.
9. Ramachandran 1954: 14. This Mahayana text had been introduced to China by the Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang, when he returned from India in the mid-seventh century with three Sanskrit editions from which he produced a Chinese translated edition.
10. Hirth and Rockhill 1911. Zhao Rugua drew heavily on the work of Lin and others and no doubt on firsthand descriptions provided by navigators and merchants.
11. Ibid.: 23.
12. The carved stonework from mosques, temples, and churches was evidently used in the early-Ming renovations of the city wall and presumably removed from the places of worship that the new administration was eager to obliterate. It remained concealed until the wall's demolition in 1940, and would have remained lost had it not been collected and stored by a local scholar, Wu Wenliang, who published a comprehensive catalogue in 1957. It is a tribute to his pioneering research that the catalogue has recently been republished in an expanded form (Wu Wenliang 2005).
13. Schafer 1954: 68.
14. Lo Jung-Pang 1970.
15. Salmon and Lombard 1979.
16. Ito 2008.
17. Latham 1958: 237.
18. Hirth and Rockhill 1911: 111.
19. Ecke and Demiéville 1935: 84–85.
20. Ibid.: 7.
21. Chen Dasheng 1984: 3.
22. Cited in ibid.: 1.
23. This was presumably during preparations for the fifth voyage of the imperial fleet sent by the emperor Yongle. The Ming voyages were undertaken between 1405 and 1433.
24. W. Franke and Chen 1973.
25. The ongoing reciprocity of this relationship is underscored by the record in the *Mingshi* (History of the Ming) of the death in Nanking of "Maharaja Karna of Brunei" while he was on a state visit to the court of the emperor Yongle in 1408. Despite the Indic title given to him by the Chinese chronicler, the Brunei ruler must have been a Muslim. For the rediscovery of his tombstone, see Nicholl 1984.
26. Chen Dasheng 1995: 60–61; Chen Dasheng 1992.
27. The vogue for Gujarati tombstones was at its height from the early fourteenth into the fifteenth century; for the distribution of Gujarati tombstones, see Lambourn 1999; for dated Cambay examples, Desai 1971.
28. For an overview of the Gujarati diaspora, see Guy 2004.
29. Maejima 1973–74, part 1: 28.
30. Chen Dasheng 1984: 56.
31. Translation from Chen Dasheng 1984: 46.
32. They are recorded from Bukhara, Khorezm (Central Asia), Khalet (Armenia), Malaq (Turkestan), Gilan, Hormuz, Isfahan, Tabriz, Jajarm, Kazerun, Khurasan, Shiraz, Siraf, Tabriz (Iran), Tunisia, Arabia, and Yemen.
33. Chen Dasheng 1984: 29.
34. Ibid.: 38–39, pl. 46-1,2.
35. Latham 1958: 237–39.
36. Wang Gungwu 1958.
37. Guy 2010b.
38. Sastri 1939: 118.
39. Wolters 1967: 250; Lo Hsiang-lin 1968.
40. The historical veracity of this claim, made in an inscription at his father's Rajarajaesvaram (Brihadisvaram) temple at Tanjavur, remains open; see Spencer 1983, chap. 7. An extension of suzerainty, or some factional alliance with Srivijayan rulers, seems more likely than actual occupation.
41. The Chola naval attack on Srivijaya in 1068, following on that of 1025, demonstrates the Chola dynasty's repeated efforts to exercise direct control of Srivijaya's China trade.
42. Tan Yeok Seong 1964.
43. As they were in peninsular Southeast Asia, as witnessed by stray finds of Chola architectural elements, the presumed legacy of now lost Chola-period shrines or temples at Tha Rua near Nakon Si Thammarat and in the Bujang valley in Kedah; see Guy 2010b.
44. The pillars at the Tianhou Shrine employed only Chinese-inspired floral and other motifs, not Hindu imagery, although they were designed according to the Dravidian-Chola architectural order. My assumption is that they represent evidence of the existence of a second Hindu shrine at Quanzhou; see Guy 1993–94, fig. 7.
45. For a Song-Yuan period map of Quanzhou, see B. So 2000: 22, map 7.1.
46. Ibid.: 169, map 7.3.
47. The rebellions marked the gradual collapse of Mongol authority in Fujian at the close of the Yuan period; see Zhuang 1980.
48. These twelve Chinese characters are not a translation of the Tamil and seem to bear no relationship to it. They may be a later addition, perhaps evidence of the inscription's having been reinstalled in a Buddhist context later in its history; Sen 2003: 228–29.
49. Subramaniam 1978: 6–8, with revisions by Karashima 2002: 16.
50. As recorded in the *Yuanshi*; see Rockhill 1914: 431.
51. I am grateful to James Watt for providing the etymology of this name.
52. Ptak 1995.

53. The earliest evidence of a temple for Chinese worship in South India, according to the *Kieou Tang Chou*, extends back to 720. Sastri 1939: 117.
54. Wang Dayuan 1981; Lo Hsiang-lin 1968: 513. The 1267 temple may well be the famous Chinese Pagoda of Nagapattinam that was described by the VOC (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie) Dutch minister François Valentijn in 1714, drawn in 1846, and published in 1878. It was demolished in 1867; see Guy 1993–94.
55. Taw 1893: 45.
56. The *Gajaranya Kshetra* myth is linked specifically to Talkad, a Hindu temple in southern Karnataka on the banks of the Kaveri River near the confluence of the Kaveri and Kapila rivers, where these miraculous events are believed to have occurred. The legend is cited by the Shaiva saints Appar and Sambandar in the seventh century, and by Sekkilar in his hagiography of Tamil saints, the *Periyapuranam* (ca. 1140). On Shaiva devotion, see Peterson 1989.
57. For a discussion of specific temples and their links to this myth, see Guy 2001.
58. Zhuang 1980: 23–24.
59. Schafer 1954: 102.
60. The Manichaean priest is referred to as *Hulu fashi*, Old Turkish for a senior or revered teacher; Lieu 2005.
61. Ibid.
62. Pelliot 1923; Schafer 1954: 102.
63. Goodrich 1957: 164. The original sculpture was destroyed during the Cultural Revolution; a modern replica has been installed in its place.
64. Guy 1986.
65. The term probably derives from the Greek *archon* (archdeacon); Moule 1972: 218.
66. Tang Li 2006: 9.
67. Boyle 1971; Boyle 1997.
68. Jackson 1990: 163.
69. Tang Li 2006: 10. Marco Polo records meeting Mar Sargis in Zhenjiang; Latham 1958: 211.
70. For a recent study with transcriptions, see Niu Ruji 2007; see also Lieu 2005.
71. Notably Syriac, Phagspa (Tibetan), and Uighur, in addition to Chinese; Jackson 1990: 163.
72. Niu Ruji 2007.
73. Wu Wenliang 2005: 367.
74. Rouleau 1954: 362.
75. Nicholl 1973: 62.
76. Foster 1954.
77. Tang Li 2006: 13.
78. Rouleau 1954.
79. I am grateful to Hugh Clark for sharing with me his current research on Fujian local cults cited here; Clark 2010 (in press).

Painting and Calligraphy

7

Painting and Calligraphy under the Mongols

Maxwell K. Hearn

Painting and calligraphy in China emerged under the Mongols from the complex stylistic currents that had characterized the art of the preceding one and a half centuries, when the Chinese polity was split into two contending dynasties. In 1127 the Jurchen Jin dynasty (1115–1234) overran the Song capital of Bianliang (present-day Kaifeng, Henan Province), captured the Song emperor, and occupied the northern half of the Song state, which they then ruled for more than a century until they were conquered by the Mongols. Meanwhile, the Song royal house presided over the southern half of their former territories for another 150 years before they too succumbed to Mongol forces in 1279. This political bifurcation inevitably influenced the arts in the two regions and had a formative influence on the early Yuan.

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN SOUTH CHINA

In the south in the second half of the twelfth century, the painting of court artists and scholar-amateurs becomes highly realistic. Landscapes are richly evocative of season, time of day, and atmospheric effects; figures are drawn with great attention to anatomical detail; and the texture and pattern of fabrics and other surfaces are carefully described.

This interest in minutely observed naturalistic detail gradually gave way to an increasingly simplified means of expression and a return to archaic models. Both these approaches resulted in greater abstraction and patternization. In the thirteenth century, landscapes are highly abbreviated and schematic, and stylized figures are placed within shallow, geometrically constructed settings that evoke archaic space cells.

But while much of the art produced in South China during the early Yuan dynasty inevitably grew out of the late Song pursuit of simplified or archaistic forms of expression, dynastic conquest created shifts in subject matter, style, and symbolic content.[1] With the fall of Hangzhou in 1276 and the death of the last Song claimant three years later, all hope of resistance to Khubilai Khan's Yuan dynasty was extinguished, and an entire generation of Song officials as well as younger aspiring students, the elite of Song society, was suddenly disenfranchised. Not only were southerners ranked last in the quadripartite Yuan social hierarchy—beneath Mongols, other non-Chinese (*semu*), and northern Chinese—but the civil service examinations, the traditional path by which the educated advanced into government, were abolished in favor of a biased system of direct appointments. Furthermore, because Confucian morality prohibited serving two dynasties, those who had held office under the Song were obliged to withdraw from public service. Suddenly out of work, many so-called leftover subjects (*yimin*) turned to art to express their enduring loyalty to the Song and their opposition to the new order of "barbaric" conquerors.

While professional painters of Buddhist, Daoist, and popular genre subjects generally perpetuated Song themes and styles, the scholarly elite, concentrated in the Hangzhou region of South China, rejected the more aestheticized art of the recent past, instead seeking inspiration from historical precedents. Early Yuan landscapes frequently revive images of reclusion created during times of political strife or foreign domination, while Yuan figural art often evokes ancient cultural paradigms that might serve as emblems of moral courage and survival in the face of adversity.

Opposite: Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322), *Water Village*, detail of figure 214

Song representation—the use of ink washes to evoke atmosphere or lyrical imagery to suggest a season or time of day—gives way to a more intellectualized approach that advocates a cool purity of execution and the rejection of virtuosity in favor of a naïve primitivism. Because the artist's choice of precedents was a conscious reflection of his state of mind, style becomes a symbolic language. Just as the calligraphic models followed in one's writing were a reflection of character, an artist's choice of stylistic prototype identified him with the values associated with that earlier master.

For the southern literati, the subject matter and styles practiced by the scholar-officials—notably Su Shi, Mi Fu, and Li Gonglin—of the Northern Song (960–1127), which had been preserved and perpetuated in North China, were important sources of inspiration. With reunification under the Yuan, a number of learned northern officials moved south, reintroducing Northern Song calligraphic and painting styles to their southern compatriots. A growing preference for paper rather than silk as the medium for painting is evidence of this transition. By the eleventh century, paper, because of its greater absorbency, had become the preferred ground for calligraphy. This greater responsiveness of the paper medium meant that the gestural qualities of calligraphy and painting—the touch of the artist—became an essential component of the aesthetic. This stylistic shift was joined by a sea change in symbolic content. The traditionally auspicious imagery of the Song assumed political overtones that alluded to Mongol rule. Furthermore, the artist's voice became an integral part of his creation, as artists added inscriptions directly on the picture surface. This had a radical impact on how paintings were perceived. No longer merely records of the external world, they asserted new meaning as personal expression.

The format of paintings was also influenced by the dynastic change. In lieu of large-scale decorative wall hangings and ornamental fans, handscrolls became the preferred format of early Yuan scholar-artists. The principal function of this intimate art form as a means of communication between like-minded individuals was underscored by the fact that the unrolling and viewing of handscrolls was of necessity limited to one or two people at a time. And as fellow literati added their responses to the work of art in inscriptions, the work became a forum for the transmission of shared commentary from one generation to another.

Gong Kai: Leftover Subject of the Southern Song

Noble Horse (*Jun gu*, literally, "the bones of a noble steed") (fig. 202), by Gong Kai (1222–after 1304), is one of the most powerful and moving images to survive by a "leftover subject" of the fallen Song dynasty.[2] Gong, a former Song official, had participated in the defense of his native Huai River region and was a close friend of the loyalist leader Lu Xinfu.[3]

The gaunt stallion—with its head down and ribs, spine, and haunch protruding through meager flesh—advances slowly, his thinning mane and tail blown forward by the wind. The horse, in profile against a blank ground and limned in a stark monochrome (*baihua*) style in which restrained shading is used to model form, evokes Tang precedents, when powerful steeds were seen as emblems of dynastic vigor. Horses also symbolized the scholar-official.[4] Given Khubilai's admiration of the Tang emperor Taizong (r. 626–50), whose mausoleum was decorated with six war horses in stone relief, the allusion to Tang models heightens the sense of disjunction between China's expansive past and the present reality, when such men as Gong Kai became alienated outcasts.

A long inscription by the artist, written in a blunt archaic clerical script, elucidates the intended meaning of his image:

> *Ever since the clouds and mist fell upon*
> *the Heavenly Pass,*
> *The twelve imperial stables of the previous dynasty*
> *have been empty.*
> *Who today laments over the bones of this noble steed?*
> *In the setting sun, along the sandy shore, he casts*
> *a shadow like a mountain.*
>
> *One of the classics says that a horse's ribs should be slender and numerous. An ordinary horse has only ten ribs. One with more than this is a noble steed. But only a thousand-league horse has as many as fifteen ribs. If you want to paint the bones beneath the flesh, especially if you intend to make fifteen ribs visible, they will only be visible if the horse is emaciated. With this in mind, I have made this image in order to show that the extraordinary deterioration of this thousand-league horse is not something to be concealed.*[5]

Gong Kai's horse, withers rising up like a great mountain and fifteen ribs discernible along his flank, is clearly an exceptional breed, but with the imperial stables empty and the road to official advancement obliterated, he must

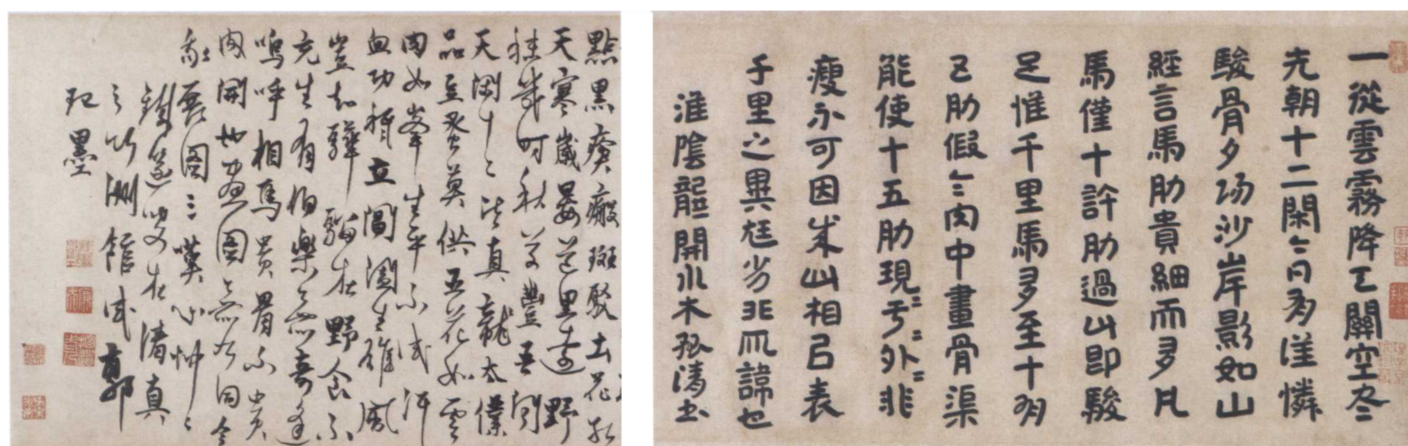


Figure 202. Gong Kai (1222–after 1304), *Noble Horse*, with appended artist's inscription (right) and colophon by Yang Weizhen (1296–1370; left). Handscroll, ink on paper, 11¾ × 22⅜ in. (29.8 × 56.8 cm). Osaka Municipal Museum of Art [Exhib.]

wander in exile in the afterglow of the lost Song dynasty. The artist nevertheless observes that only in times of hardship is one's inner strength revealed.

The self-referential aspect of this painting demarcates a new threshold in Chinese art.[6] Literati painters from this time forward understood that their paintings would be read as autobiography. This perception is confirmed by later Yuan admirers of Gong Kai's painting, including Gong Su (1226–1331), Yang Weizhen (1296–1370), and Ni Zan (1306–1374), who not only recognized the stylistic references to Tang models but also interpreted the image as a self-portrait.[7]

Yan Geng: The Continuity of Popular Culture

If Gong Kai's *Noble Horse* is stark testimony to the devastating changes wrought by the Mongol conquest, *The Demon Queller Zhong Kui Giving His Sister Away in Marriage* (fig. 203), by the professional painter Yan Geng, is evidence that daily life continued in spite of political upheavals.[8]

Among the most riveting spectacles of the New Year's festivities in thirteenth-century Hangzhou were the processions of costumed figures who impersonated the legendary demon queller Zhong Kui and his band of demons as they circulated through the neighborhoods,

Figure 203. Yan Geng (active late 13th century), *The Demon Queller Zhong Kui Giving His Sister Away in Marriage* (details). Handscroll, ink on silk, 9⅝ × 99¾ in. (24.4 × 253.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Purchase, The Dillon Fund Gift and Rogers Fund, 1990 1990.134 [Exhib.]

banishing evil in return for money.[9] Yan Geng transposed the street performers into a humorous caricature of an official with his retinue. The popular folklore figure is shown conducting his sister to her new home accompanied by an escort of demons performing feats of martial prowess. The wedding procession is led by a gong-beating herald followed by figures wielding weapons, holding aloft a boulder, spinning a pot in midair, and poised in mock combat. Other retainers carry Zhong Kui's symbols of office—a folding chair, parasol, bundle of scrolls, and writing brush. The comic climax is Zhong Kui himself—stone drunk and propped atop a small donkey while his sister sits helplessly astride a recalcitrant water buffalo. The procession ends with three musicians whose flute, drum, and clappers fail to rouse Zhong Kui from his drunken stupor.

The origins of the Zhong Kui legend derive from popular stories that relate how the Tang emperor Xuanzong (r. 713–56) is visited in a dream by a malevolent demon who has been dispatched by an imposing ghost who identifies himself as Zhong Kui, a loyal subject who had committed suicide after having failed the government examinations. When the emperor awoke, he commanded the court artist Wu Daozi (689–after 755) to paint an image of the demon queller on his door to scare away fiendish intruders. By the eleventh century, the practice of displaying images of Zhong Kui on gateways had become a New Year's custom—one that has continued to this day.

While Yan Geng's immediate inspiration may have been actual New Year's pageants, the source of his half-naked demons, with their grotesque musculature modeled with light and shade, derives from Buddhist guardians and demonic figures that are in turn based on Western or Central Asian prototypes.[10] Introduced into China with Buddhist iconography, this non-Chinese technique was already present in the works of Wu Daozi, who was noted for his compelling images of demons.[11] While similar demons with bulging muscles and distorted facial features are found in Southern Song depictions of the Buddhist Ten Kings of Hell, Yan Geng's bold chiaroscuro modeling and combination of ink wash and fine-line drawing are quite different and may represent a conscious revival of the Wu Daozi tradition.

A close parallel to Yan Geng's painting is the *New Year's Eve Excursion of Zhong Kui* (fig. 204), by Yan Hui (active ca. 1270–after 1324), a professional artist of the same surname.[12] The two paintings are executed on the same kind of coarse silk and are comparable in size, and several of the figures in the two scrolls are nearly identical in stance—revealing the use of common copybook models. It is even possible that the two artists were relatives working in the same studio.[13] Nevertheless, the individual hand of each is quite distinct. Yan Hui uses wash and line sparingly and his renderings are abbreviated, while Yan Geng makes extensive use of wash and has a penchant for linear elaboration. Yan Hui's drapery lines emphasize spontaneity and swiftness of execution; they are nervous and angular with abrupt shifts in thickness while Yan Geng uses more controlled, curvilinear lines of even width but with emphatic "nailhead" beginnings and sharp ends to describe drapery folds. Yan Hui's style is more abstract and expressive; Yan Geng's is more meticulous and descriptive. Both manners derive from vital traditions practiced in thirteenth-century Hangzhou: the abbreviated ink-wash style of Liang Kai (ca. 1150–ca. 1220) and the meticulous style of Buddhist paintings from professional ateliers in the nearby city of Ningbo.

In spite of their stylistic differences, both paintings share a new level of narrative complexity that reflects a proliferation of handscrolls no doubt inspired by the many historical, commemorative, and didactic subjects sponsored by the Southern Song court. In contrast to Wu

Figure 204. Yan Hui (active ca. 1270–after 1324), *New Year's Eve Excursion of Zhong Kui* (detail). Handscroll, ink on silk, 9¾ × 94⅝ in. (24.8 × 240.4 cm). The Cleveland Museum of Art. Mr. and Mrs. William H. Marlatt Fund 1961.206

Figure 205. Gong Kai (1222–after 1304), *Zhong Kui Traveling* (detail). Handscroll, ink on paper, 12⅜ × 66¾ in. (31.4 × 169.5 cm). Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington. Purchase F1938.4

Daozi's portrayal of Zhong Kui as a fierce exorcist, Yan Geng and Yan Hui have transformed him into a humorous figure, incapacitated by drink and escorted by an entourage of demonic attendants.[14] Yan Geng shows him not only drunk but riding on a donkey—both tropes that resonate with a number of scholar-recluse archetypes.[15] His depiction of Zhong Kui's sister astride a water buffalo probably derives from Daoist-inspired images of the alchemist Ge Hong or other sages moving their families. Further underscoring its literary nature is the fact that the painting illustrates a rebus: "marrying off one's sister" (*jia mei* 嫁妹) is a pun for the "subjugation of demons" (*jiamei* 駕魅).[16] While all these features imply a rich cultural milieu of pageants, storytellers, and popular dramas, they also suggest the existence of a knowledgeable and appreciative audience drawn from members of the scholarly elite, who may also have read the scroll as an ironic commentary on the fate of former Song officials.

The interpretation of the painting as political commentary is confirmed by Gong Kai's adoption of the same imagery in *Zhong Kui Traveling* (fig. 205).[17] Executed on paper in a simpler, more calligraphic brush technique, Gong exaggerates the grotesque features of his figures to disguise his political intentions as a humorous caricature. But his long inscription (not illustrated) invites the viewer to

Figure 206. Qian Xuan (ca. 1235–before 1307), *Wang Xizhi Watching Geese*, ca. 1295. Handscroll, ink and color on paper, 9⅛ × 36½ in. (23.2 × 92.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Ex. Coll.: C. C. Wang Family, Gift of The Dillon Fund, 1973 1973.120.6 [Exhib.]

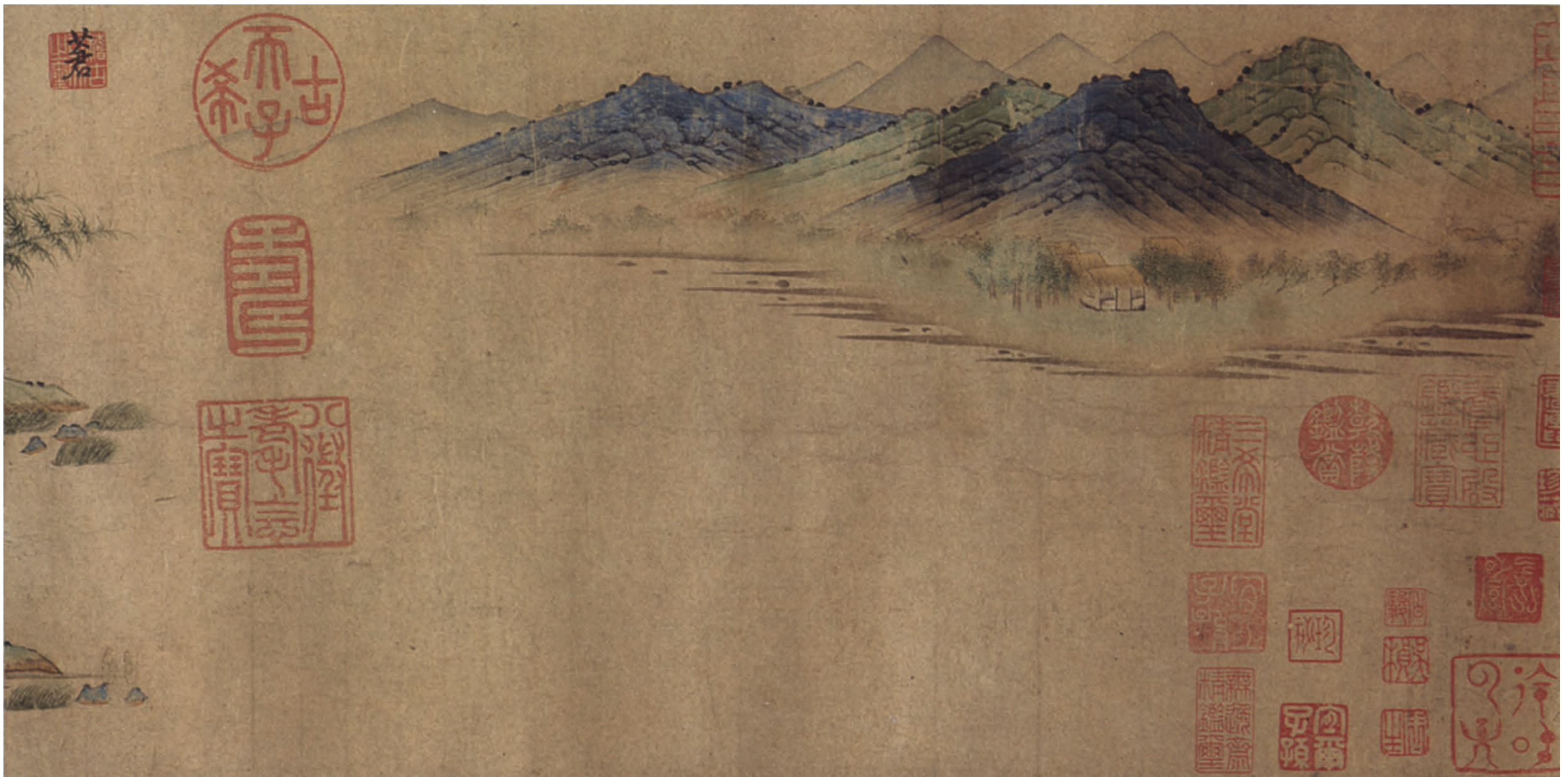
consider underlying themes, including political allusions to Gong Kai's status as a disaffected Song loyalist. Thomas Lawton has noted that Gong's inscription makes several references to the ill-fated Tang emperor Xuanzong, whose infatuation with his consort Yang Guifei led to his loss of the capital to the barbarian general An Lushan. It further suggests that Yang Guifei was the demon Zhong Kui sought to capture. Lawton goes on to observe that the handscroll could also be viewed as a parody of the travels of Yang Guifei and Xuanzong, perhaps a reference to their flight to Shu in 756. Such a reading would suggest that the painting is a thinly veiled indictment of the Song capitulation to the Mongols.

Without an inscription, Yan Geng's *Demon Queller Zhong Kui* gives no written clue as to a possible political subtext. While the imagery parodies other pictorial sources—notably Daoist-inspired works depicting families on the move—neither its manner of execution nor its content convey anything about Yan Geng's intention. Nevertheless, the painting, the product of a competent professional working in a well-established tradition, could perhaps serve as a baseline for measuring how a literati artist like Gong Kai might rework a familiar theme to serve explicitly self-expressive purposes.

Qian Xuan: Withdrawal into Art

Wuxing (present-day Huzhou), located on the southern shore of Lake Tai, about sixty miles north of the Southern Song capital of Lin'an (Hangzhou), was a region of country estates and the home of two of the most influential artists of the early Yuan era: Qian Xuan and Zhao Mengfu.[18]

Qian Xuan (ca. 1235–before 1307), a painter, poet, and scholar, was a senior member of a local literati circle known as the Eight Talents of Wuxing.[19] Qian had qualified for but never passed the "presented scholar" (*jinshi*) examination. After the fall of the Song capital in 1276, disillusioned with the scholar class and its ineffectual book learning, he burned his manuscripts, renounced his status as a Confucian householder, and thereafter supported himself through his art. In 1286, when Zhao Mengfu accepted an invitation from Khubilai Khan to take a high-ranking post in the Yuan capital, Qian Xuan did not seek an appointment, a decision that led to his later being praised by writers as a staunch Song loyalist.[20] While some later accounts claim that the two men's divergent careers led to a rift between them, contemporary sources suggest that they remained friends and continued to influence each other.[21] Both artists produced a body of work that included figure paintings,



landscapes, and flower compositions, and both sought inspiration through the revival of antique styles.[22]

Qian Xuan's admiration for cultural paragons is evident in *Wang Xizhi Watching Geese* (fig. 206), a painting that celebrates the patriarch of calligraphy, Wang Xizhi (303–361).[23] Wang is shown in his famous Orchid Pavilion at a moment of revelation, when the graceful movements of his prized geese inspired him to create the rhythmically modulated brushstrokes that are the basis of modern running and cursive scripts.

The composition, in handscroll format, could be seen as a variation of the "one corner" compositional type (see fig. 209) and the archaic blue-and-green palette the same as that found in works of the Southern Song period. But these links are superficial and ultimately misleading. Indeed, the painting differs radically from works of the preceding two centuries. The one-corner composition has been pulled apart and motifs flattened to create a lateral orientation, with a central axis marked by a startling emptiness. Pictorial elements on the left are tightly compressed to create a kind of flat screen of varied brushmarks that delineate foliage, rocks, and architecture. There is a disregard for spatial recession, a willful "repudiation of representational skill."[24]

The brilliant blue-and-green color scheme was popular throughout the Song dynasty as a way of describing the present as a worldly paradise. In Qian's radical reinterpretation, however, there is a rejection of naturalism in favor of a newly assertive primitivism. The triangular distant mountains and angular rocks rendered in unnaturally vivid mineral colors together with the intentionally naïve figures, pavilion, and trees all evoke the schematic landscapes of high antiquity. While in their rigid geometry and flat disposition on the picture surface the distant mountains may recall pre-Tang models, they are softened both by delicate interior texturing and by the receding diagonals of the marshy shoreline, with its mist-filled trees and rustic dwellings that recall the atmospheric visions of lowland hermitages created by the Song painter Zhao Lingrang (active ca. 1070–after 1100). The pale "eyebrows" of the farthest peaks—a motif derived from Southern Song academic works—also suggest the veiling effects of a moisture-laden atmosphere. The richly textured foreground rocks, dense clumps of grass, and wispy bamboo leaves similarly bespeak a lingering attachment to descriptive detail that is not present in antique models.

The eclectic archaism of *Wang Xizhi Watching Geese* reasserts the primacy of the scholar-amateur tradition. In

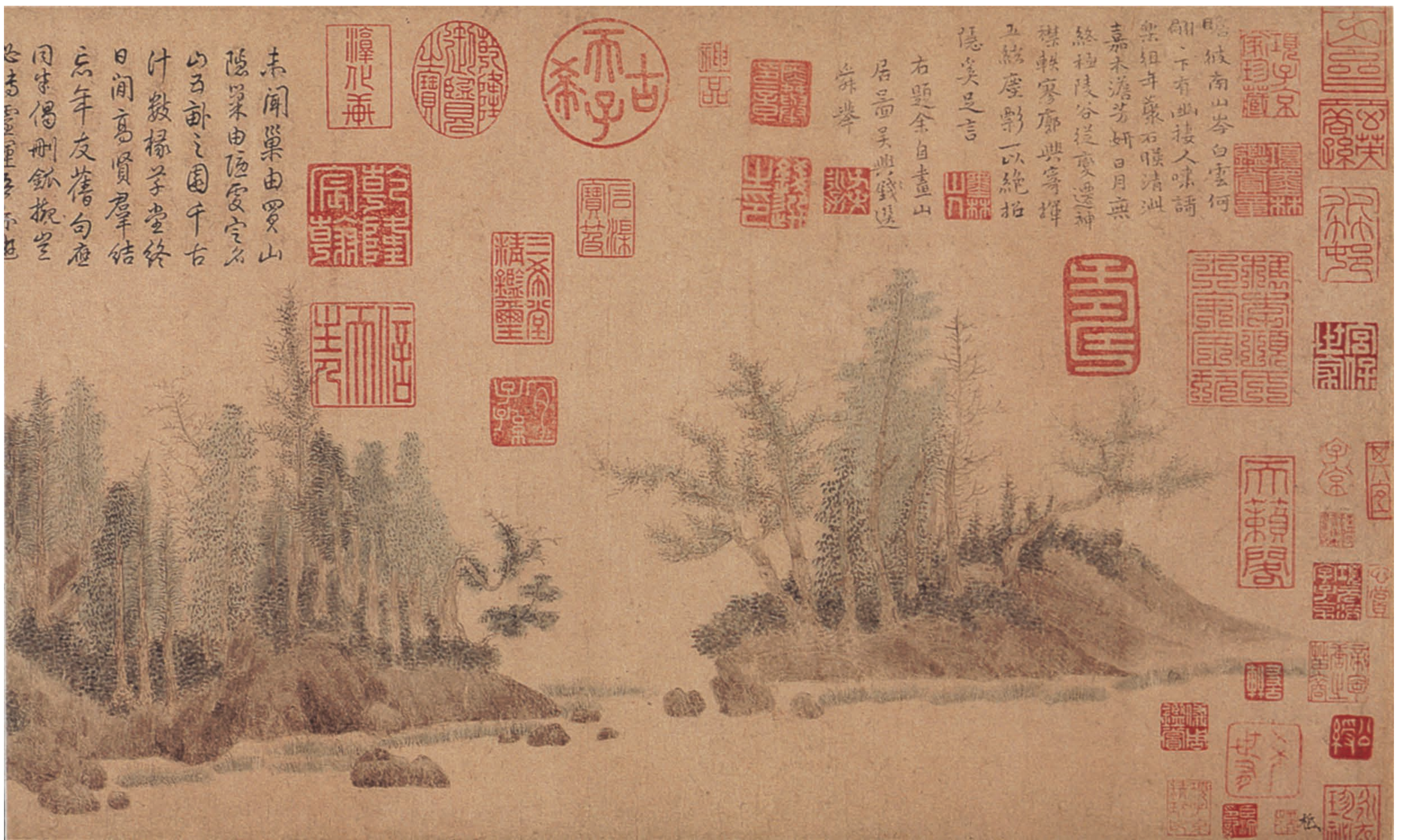
Figure 207. Qian Xuan (ca. 1235–before 1307), *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains.* Handscroll, ink and color on paper, 11⅝ × 38⅞ in. (29.6 × 98.7 cm). Shanghai Museum [Exhib.]

place of silk—the standard ground for Song academic works in heavy mineral colors—Qian uses paper, the preferred medium of the scholar-amateur. And while the poetic text is separated from the image by a sharp dividing line reminiscent of earlier narrative illustrations that intersperse images with text passages, the text is the artist's own—making this one of the earliest extant examples of the integration of poetry and "poetic space," in which both painting and writing share the same unifying ground. In keeping with this new unity of expression, the writing style is as archaic as the manner of painting, with square, unadorned characters styled after the calligraphy of Wang Xizhi's predecessor Zhong You (151–230).

Qian's poem celebrates Wang's carefree existence during a period of political upheaval, when half of China was ruled by a non-Chinese dynasty. Qian betrays no remorse about his own circumstances; rather, his nonchalant tone affirms his detachment from worldly affairs. By celebrating the life of a cultural paragon, he asserts his faith in the endurance of Chinese culture. In effect, Qian sees Wang as a role model for transcending the present:

How graceful the elegant bamboo and trees!
Relaxing with bare stomach in the pavilion, how peaceful it is!
Writing the "Daode Jing" for a Daoist friend,
He presents a romantic image, the man who loves geese.

Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains (fig. 207), the most austere of Qian Xuan's surviving works, presents a striking contrast to *Wang Xizhi Watching Geese.*[25] The short handscroll offers no obvious narrative content. Small structures and paths are visible, but landscape is the main subject. The mountains are conceived in flat overlapping planes that lie on the picture surface rather than suggesting three-dimensional forms in space. They are modeled in scratchy parallel brushstrokes that recall the archaic treatment of rock surfaces before texture strokes became standardized toward the end of the tenth century. The landscape is strangely remote and inaccessible. Its muted, largely monochrome palette and mixed stylistic references to tenth-century masters represent a major departure from Qian's more literal evocations of the archaic blue-and-green style in which he integrates several early sources. The opening



section presents a tree-covered island and a spit of land with rounded embankments modeled with softly rubbed parallel texture strokes inspired by the work of Dong Yuan (active 930s–60s).[26] Dong Yuan was a celebrated master from the Jiangnan region south of the Yangzi River, but his painting style had had little lasting impact until he was rediscovered by Zhao Mengfu, who returned south in 1295 with a collection of paintings that included a handscroll by Dong Yuan.[27] Zhao's *Autumn Colors on the Que and Hua Mountains* (fig. 210), painted in early 1296, was the first revival of the Dong Yuan manner. It seems likely that *Dwelling in the Floating Jade Mountains* was influenced by Qian's knowledge of that painting by Dong Yuan or by that of Zhao Mengfu, which was made for their mutual friend Zhou Mi (1232–1298).

But the high mountains in the second half of the composition, their angular outcrops and sheer cliffs with washboard-like facets topped with dense foliage, recall the northern idioms of Fan Kuan (active ca. 1023–1031) and Li Tang (ca. 1070s–ca. 1150s).

The recluse's dwelling is at the juncture of these two landscape schemata, suggesting a conscious unification of northern and southern idioms that is also seen in *Autumn Colors*. In both cases, the archaic landscape is more dream-like than real. In Qian's painting, the highest and most precipitous mountains are separated from the hermitage by an unbridged gulf. No human habitation is visible here, only a cloud-filled valley. This may be the Southern Mountain that Qian Xuan describes in his inscription:

> *Look at the Southern Mountain,*
> *Where white clouds float freely.*
> *Below is a man in a remote hermitage;*
> *He chants and sings, having enjoyed [this place] for years.*
> *The limpid river reflects clusters of stones.*
> *The trees have a delicate fragrance and beauty.*
> *Sun and moon shift without end,*
> *While the hills and valleys remain constant.*
> *My spirit is free in the realm of unbounded space,*
> *My ecstasy soars with the wordless vibration of*
> *the five-string zither.*
> *To my dusty image I bid farewell forever.*
> *What need have I to seek reclusion?*[28]

Figure 208. Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322), *The Mind Landscape of Xie Youyu*, ca. 1287. Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 10⅞ × 46⅛ in. (27.6 × 117.2 cm). Princeton University Art Museum. Edward L. Elliott Family Collection, Museum purchase, Fowler McCormick, Class of 1921, Fund Y1984-13 [Exhib.]

Qian Xuan suggests that, having achieved a lofty detachment from the world, he has no need to adopt the stance of a recluse—his life already exemplifies that ideal. Qian's picture of a dwelling sequestered within the fabled mountains of China's past not only revived tenth-century images of reclusion in the landscape but established a new pictorial paradigm for later Yuan artists: the mountain hermitage as a symbol of the reclusive ideal.[29]

Zhao Mengfu: Defining an Orthodox Canon

Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322), a younger contemporary and fellow townsman of Qian Xuan, was one of the towering talents of the Yuan dynasty.[30] At the height of his career he was praised by no less than the emperor Renzong, who described him as, "descended from an imperial lineage; endowed with an elegant appearance; highly learned, pure in character and upright in conduct; accomplished in literature; unsurpassed in calligraphy and painting; and possessed of a profound knowledge of Buddhist and Daoist teachings."[31] An eleventh-generation descendant of the founder of the Song royal house, Zhao, by virtue of his birthright, had been appointed to a minor sinecure as a teenager. After the fall of the Song capital to the Mongols in 1276, Zhao lived in voluntary exile in Wuxing. Ten years later, however, he accepted an invitation from Khubilai Khan to take up a post in the capital, Dadu. Over the next five years Zhao served as an effective advocate for currency reform, regulating the postal system and, at great risk to himself, helping to remove the powerful but corrupt minister Sangha (d. 1291).[32] Zhao's decision to serve the Mongol ruler led to his castigation as a traitor to his heritage. Nevertheless, while committed to government service, Zhao espoused the ideal of "reclusion at court" (*chaoyin*), becoming an official but detaching himself from political intrigue and maintaining the moral purity of a hermit. This tension between active participation and reclusion defined Zhao's career. It would find its clearest expression in his artistic pursuits.

Distancing himself from the social and political milieu of the fallen Southern Song, Zhao instead identified with the scholar-officials of the Northern Song and their intertwined traditions of poetry, painting, and calligraphy. Three exemplars of this literati elite—Su Shi (1037–1101), Li Gonglin (ca. 1041–1106), and Mi Fu (1052–1107)—had been not only poets, painters, and calligraphers, but connoisseurs and courtiers. Following their model, Zhao became both an antiquarian and an innovator and sought to incorporate into his own work the orthodox canon of the literati artists.[33] In landscape painting, he championed Dong Yuan, Li Cheng (919–967), and Guo Xi (ca. 1000–ca. 1090); in figure painting he drew inspiration from the Tang and from Li Gonglin; and in the depiction of rocks, trees, and bamboo he emulated Su Shi and Wen Tong

(1019–1079). Seeking to convey a "spirit of antiquity" (*guyi*) and mindful of Su Shi's condemnation of "form-likeness" as the goal of image making, he did not merely imitate past models, but reinterpreted them, distilling their imagery, abstracting their representational techniques, and asserting the equivalence of painting and calligraphy through the use of calligraphic brushwork and the placement of inscriptions on the picture surface.[34] By these means Zhao transformed his sources and made both style and content vehicles for self-expression.

The Mind Landscape of Xie Youyu (fig. 208) presents an autobiographical image in the guise of an antique narrative.[35] Zhao's classical reference is to an apocryphal portrait by Gu Kaizhi (ca. 345–406), the patriarch of Chinese figure painting, that shows Gu's friend Xie Kun (Xie Youyu; 280–322) in a landscape setting as a way of conveying Xie's conviction that although he might not equal others in conducting court ceremonies, he was superior in maintaining the incorruptible attitude of a recluse living amid hills and valleys.

Zhao's evocation is a scholarly reconstruction of the landscape manner of high antiquity. Painted in rich blue-and-green mineral colors on silk, the schematic landscape forms are defined by thin round outlines with no interior texture strokes. The sharply uptilted ground plane and frontally disposed trees together demarcate a shallow foreground space in which the oversize figure of Xie Kun, seated on a leopard skin, is framed in much the same way as the figures in a late fifth-century depiction of the *Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove*.[36]

In his use of the archaic blue-and-green palette and stylized landscape elements Zhao has clearly followed

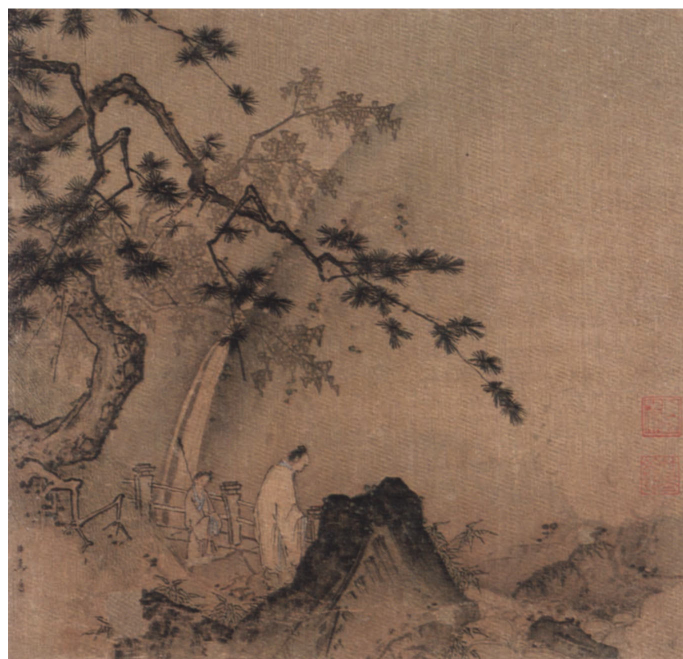


Figure 209. Ma Yuan (active ca. 1190–1225), *Scholar Viewing a Waterfall*. Album leaf, ink and color on silk, 9⅞ × 10¼ in. (24.9 × 26 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Ex coll.: C. C. Wang Family, Gift of The Dillon Fund, 1973 1973.120.9

Figure 210. Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322), *Autumn Colors on the Que and Hua Mountains*, dated 1296. Handscroll, ink and color on paper, 11¼ × 36¾ in. (28.6 × 93.4 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei

Qian Xuan. But while Qian Xuan's landscapes evoke a lost golden age, Zhao's image has a very different import. Painted around the time that Zhao entered Khubilai's service, it places Xie in a world where the auspicious omen of conjoined pines foretells a time when the world will be united by the ruler's virtue. In contrast to the assertive drama of Ma Yuan's treatment of a similar theme, with its bold brushwork and angular forms (fig. 209), *Mind Landscape* is subdued and cerebral. The round rocks and linear trees evoke pictographic seal-script forms, both in their frontal emblematic shapes and in the calligraphic discipline of their unmodulated lines (see Zhao's seal-script frontispiece, fig. 218). While Qian Xuan made use of antique motifs, it was Zhao's explicit identification with his subject through calligraphic brushwork that defined a new direction in Yuan art.

Following the death of Khubilai Khan in February 1294, Zhao was summoned to the capital to help write Khubilai's *Veritable Records*, but rather than face the uncertainties attendant upon the succession of Khubilai's grandson Temür, Emperor Chengzong, Zhao pleaded illness and the following year returned to Wuxing. Three months later he painted *Autumn Colors on the Que and Hua Mountains* (fig. 210), which he presented to his friend Zhou Mi.[37]

If *Mind Landscape*, painted at the outset of Zhao's government career, embodies an optimistic view of service under an enlightened ruler, *Autumn Colors*, painted shortly after Zhao left the Yuan court, may be understood as an expression of his reintegration into the society of the *yimin*. The painting presents an idyllic vision of a rustic fishing village on a lowland plain punctuated with trees and mountains. Easily mistaken for a Jiangnan ("south of the Yangzi River") landscape, it is, according to Zhao's inscription, a depiction of Zhou Mi's ancestral homeland around Jinan (in present-day Shandong Province), where Zhao was posted from 1292 to 1295. Zhao here merges his memories of the Yellow River lowlands around Jinan with the depiction of the Yellow River by the southern master Dong Yuan, which he brought south in 1295.[38] Zhao's appropriation of a southern landscape style to depict a northern landscape may indicate that, at least in cultural terms, the southern intelligentsia could now aspire to reclaiming the northern territories that their forebears had lost. His reformulation of this idiom also points to his identification with a tradition indigenous to his cultural roots.

Nevertheless, *Autumn Colors* is a radical reformulation of Zhao's model. The short handscroll, a distillation of a work that measured four times as long and twice as high, eliminates foreground and far-distance elements, pares away detail, and flattens out the houses and mountains so that everything presses close to the picture surface. In keeping with this self-consciously archaic treatment, *Autumn Colors* abandons rich description and spatial complexities in favor of an assertive primitivism with distortions in scale and viewpoint, simple architecture, and a jarring juxtaposition of the two dark blue schematic mountains with the paler green- and brown-toned lowlands from which they emerge. The naïveté of *Autumn Colors* recalls the work of Qian Xuan, but there is one important difference. The ropy texture strokes that define land and tree forms give them an independent calligraphic identity. The rhythmic energy that animated the trees in *Mind Landscape* now energizes the wavy contours of the earth and the staccato patterns of the water reeds. Zhao's prominent inscription (the fourth from the right, now joined by four others of the Qing emperor Qianlong and numerous collectors' seals) asserts that painting is not about creating an illusion of reality, but is instead a flat surface on which the artist leaves his autographic mark.[39] The expressive brushwork of both calligraphy and painting reflects the artist's state of mind, creating a narrative that is personal and immediate.

Figure 211. Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322), *Man and Horse*, dated 1296. Handscroll, ink and color on paper, 11⅞ × 69¾ in. (30.2 × 177.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gift of John M. Crawford Jr., 1988 1988.135 [Exhib.]

Figure 212. Li Gonglin (ca. 1041–1106), *Five Horses* (detail). Handscroll, ink on paper. Present whereabouts unknown; formerly in Kikuchi and Yamamoto Teijiro collections, Japan

Figure 213. Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322), *Man Riding a Horse*, dated 1296. Handscroll, ink and color on paper, 11⅞ × 20½ in. (30.2 × 52.1 cm), with appended colophons by Zhao Mengfu (right) and Zhao Mengyu (left). The Palace Museum, Beijing [Exhib.]

Man and Horse (fig. 211), executed less than a month after Zhao completed *Autumn Colors*, was painted, according to the artist's inscription, for Surveillance Commissioner Feiqing, a high-ranking official whose responsibility it was to ensure probity in governmental affairs.[40] The theme of the groom and horse was associated with the legendary figure of Bole, whose ability to judge horses had become a metaphor for the accurate assessment of candidates for official position. The monumental simplicity of the two figures, horse and master, set against a blank background and filling nearly the entire height of the paper evokes Tang-dynasty precedents, particularly as reinterpreted by Li Gonglin in *Five Horses* (fig. 212). Jonathan Hay has pointed to the striking geometry of the composition, which is built up of the nearly identical arcs that define the horse's haunch, belly, mane, and bridle and the groom's belt. Framed by the level groundline and vertical columns of Zhao's inscription, the image appears to have been constructed with a compass and square.[41] The Chinese term formed from the compound "compass-square" (*guiju*) means "regulation" or "order."[42] Thus, the painting may also be read as a metaphor for good government and, by extension, a measure of the moral rectitude of the recipient. Given the autobiographical nature of Zhao's work, the painting may also be understood as a self-portrait. With direct gaze and holding on to his unsaddled horse, the patiently waiting rider may be a thinly veiled reference to Zhao himself inviting Feiqing to recommend him for service.

In contrast to the attentive but stationary figures in *Man and Horse*, *Man Riding a Horse* (fig. 213), also painted in 1296, presents a man of action. Since Han times, outward-

bound processions were represented proceeding to the left, the direction handscrolls were unrolled, and return journeys to the right—back to the point of departure and, therefore, to the seat of power. Zhao's rider thus shows a man setting forth in the direction of the capital. Zhao painted this image for his younger brother Zhao Mengyu, perhaps as he was about to take up a new post.[43] The young man in the painting, with wispy beard and dressed in an official robe and hat, calmly controls his similarly young mount, its spirited nature revealed by the forward tilt of the ears.

The image is framed by a title along the right margin and a signature and date on the left, a formula that Zhao would continue to employ throughout his career. His brother's colophon acknowledges Li Gonglin as an important source of Zhao's inspiration:

> *These days Zi'ang's [Zhao Mengfu's] horse paintings so truly capture a horse's nature that unless Boshi [Li Gonglin] were born again, he cannot be surpassed.*[44]

Three years later, in 1299, Zhao wedged a rejoinder into the narrow space between his earlier inscription and the painting's left edge, asserting that his ultimate source of inspiration was the art of the Tang dynasty:

> *Painting is assuredly difficult, but understanding painting is even harder. I like painting horses because it is a gift, and I do my best. I may myself say that this work is not inferior to those of the Tang painters. Those today who understand painting may be able to see this.*[45]

Figure 214. Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322), *Water Village*, dated 1302. Handscroll, ink on paper, 9⅞ × 47½ in. (25.1 × 120.7 cm), with appended artist's colophon. The Palace Museum, Beijing [Exhib.]

Another inscription by Zhao following the painting pays tribute to the eighth-century painter Han Gan:

> *Since my youth I have loved to paint horses, but it was not until I saw three authentic handscrolls by Han Gan that I was able to grasp his conception.*[46]

Zhao Mengfu's particular admiration for Han Gan (ca. 715–after 781) is revealed in a colophon to a painting by Cao Ba (active 713–41) that was owned by Zhao's contemporary Tang Hou (ca. 1260–before 1317):

> *Among Tang painters, there were many who excelled in painting horses, but Cao Ba and Han Gan were the best, since their command of conceptions was lofty and antique, and they did not seek formal likeness.*[47]

By rejecting "form-likeness" (*xingshi*) in favor of self-expressive brushwork and the evocation of an "antique spirit" (*guyi*), Zhao aligns himself with the aesthetic goals of the Northern Song literati. And by invoking a Tang precedent, he identifies also with the ideals of the Yuan state as first articulated by Khubilai Khan, who modeled his own persona on the founder of the Tang dynasty.

Zhao Mengfu's belief in the immortality of painting and calligraphy is stated in a poem written in praise of Li Gonglin's *Five Horses* (fig. 212):

> *These noble steeds shall never perish!*
> *Through calligraphy and painting they shall live forever,*
> *While the proud stone steeds of the [Tang imperial]*
> *Zhao mausoleum*
> *Alas crumble through the passing years.*

In the same poem, Zhao offers his interpretation of Li's image:

> *Because the emperor has renounced military ambition,*
> *The [horses] feed on grass and grain through the bountiful years.*[48]

Zhao regarded Li's tribute horses, led to court by grooms—some foreign—as a metaphor for the rewards reaped by the able governance of an empire at peace. In his own paintings, he extends the metaphor. The horses are led not by grooms, but by dignified officials. They are not foreign tribute, but emblems of the state, now governed by scholar-officials.

Zhao's "retirement" was brief. After declining summonses in 1297 and 1298, the following year he accepted an appointment in Hangzhou as director of Confucian studies and auxiliary academician in the Academy of Worthies. There he occupied himself for the next ten years with the self-appointed task of defining a canon of orthodox masterworks.

Zhao's masterpiece from this period is *Water Village* (fig. 214). Painted in 1302, this outwardly unassuming work defines a new direction in scholar painting. Ostensibly depicting the hermitage of a friend, the handscroll instead presents an idealized image of a scholarly retreat that in a new painterly language constitutes a seamless synthesis of earlier styles.

Thematically, Zhao was inspired by Tang-dynasty pictorial and literary archetypes of scholarly residences,

Figure 215. Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322), *Monk in a Red Robe*, dated 1304. Handscroll, ink and color on paper, 10¼ × 20½ in. (26 × 52.1 cm). Liaoning Provincial Museum [Exhib.]

most notably the Wangchuan Villa of the Tang poet Wang Wei (701–761) and the Thatched Hut of Lu Hong (active ca. 713–42), both of which are cited in colophons appended to the painting. Lacking secure examples of these early styles, Zhao relied on more recent paintings to give substance to the early paradigms. From Dong Yuan he appropriated wavy texture strokes to define land masses. From Mi Fu and Mi Youren he took blurry ink dots to convey foliage. From Zhao Lingrang he adopted spiky arcs to suggest reeds and grasses and rustic dwellings nestled in woody groves. And from the Li Cheng and Guo Xi tradition he derived a "level distance" composition that juxtaposes a tree-topped foreground embankment with a watery lowland plain that recedes to distant mountains.

Water Village is radical in its reduction of painting to a simple set of brush conventions. By this means an equivalence is established between painting and calligraphy. Characters are composed of a few basic stroke types, variously combined, and as the handwriting of the artist, expressive of the artist's personality. Here, painting functions the same way, as landscape becomes a reflection of the artist's imagination. The painting also established a new

Figure 216. Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322), *Twin Pines, Level Distance*, ca. 1310. Handscroll, ink on paper, 10⅝ × 42⅜ in. (27 × 107.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Ex coll.: C. C. Wang Family, Gift of The Dillon Fund, 1973 1973.120.5 [Exhib.]

aesthetic ideal for later scholar-artists, that of *pingdan*, or "restrained understatement."

Monk in a Red Robe (fig. 215) bears Zhao's signature and the date, 1304, but no title. This conspicuous absence suggests that Zhao may have intended the painting to carry a personal message, a possibility supported by Hong Zaixin, who has proposed that the painting commemorates Danba (1230–1303), a Central Asian lama of the Sakya sect who had died the previous year. Both Danba and Zhao had served in the capital and were surely well acquainted. When Emperor Renzong (Ayurbarwada; r. 1312–20) posthumously honored Danba, Zhao Mengfu was commissioned to write the text of a memorial stele.[49]

The painting is dominated by a Buddhist holy man cloaked in a brilliant red robe. The halo encircling his head denotes his saintly status. The figure's blue eyes, dark complexion, thick beard, and hairy chest, as well as his gold earring identify him as Indian or Central Asian. Except for his left hand, which is extended palm upward in a gesture of offering, his body is concealed by a garment so simply rendered that the figure is reduced to a silhouette. The flat, patterned nature of the figure is reinforced by the landscape setting: the square shape of the textile on which he sits and the rocks and tree, which are schematized like a stage set, the outlines of which suppress the illusion of three-dimensionality. The blue-and-green palette evokes an archaic style to which Zhao refers in a postscript added in 1320:

> *This scroll, which I made seventeen years ago, roughly conveys a "spirit of antiquity" [guyi], but I don't know what viewers will make of it.*[50]

In 1309, Zhao was summoned to the capital by the heir-apparent, Ayurbarwada, who was actively recruiting men of talent, including older officials who had served under Khubilai, for top administrative posts. When Zhao arrived he was appointed reader-in-waiting to the heir-apparent in the Hanlin Academy, responsible for drafting, editing, and compiling documents for the emperor and other high government officials. Less than a month later Emperor Wuzong was dead and by April 1311, Ayurbarwada had been enthroned as Emperor Renzong. With only brief absences, Zhao remained in Dadu for the next eight years with frequent promotions, culminating in 1316 with his appointment as head of the Hanlin Academy.

Returning to the capital after an absence of nearly twenty years, Zhao Mengfu found himself in a set of circumstances very different from those he experienced when he first served under Khubilai Khan. Zhixin Sun has

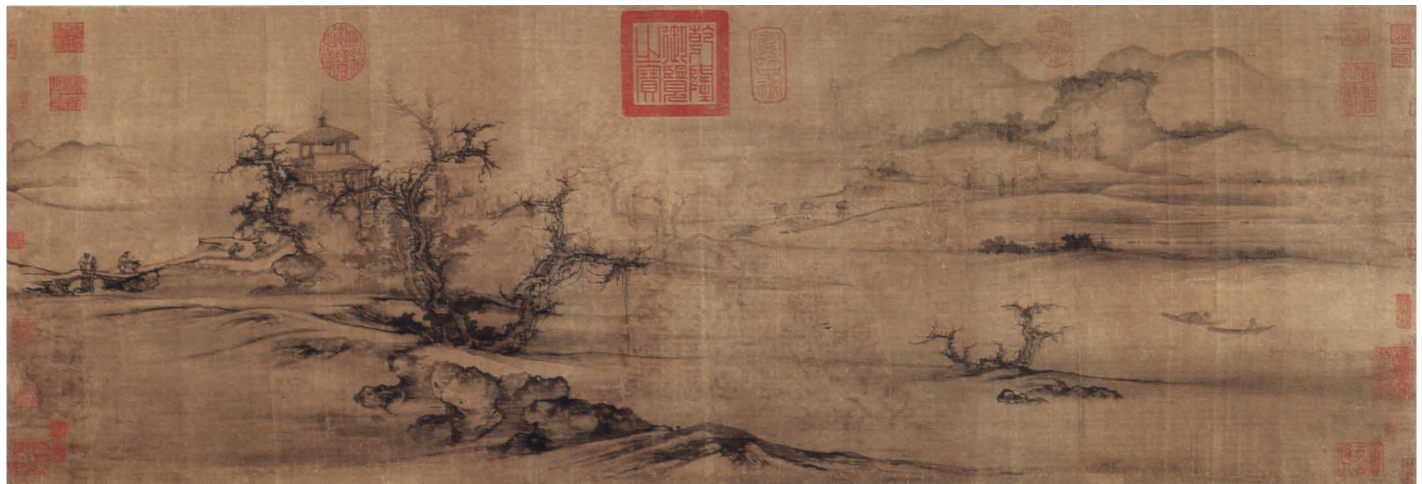


Figure 217. Guo Xi (ca. 1000–ca. 1090), *Old Trees, Level Distance.* Northern Song dynasty (960–1127). Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 13¾ × 41¼ in. (34.9 × 104.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. John M. Crawford Jr. Collection, Gift of John M. Crawford Jr., in honor of Douglas Dillon, 1981 1981.276

pointed out that while Zhao was greatly honored by Renzong, the emperor never used him as a policy advisor or administrator. Instead, he served primarily as a drafter of proclamations, a scribe for writing out commemorative stele texts, and as a curator of the imperial art collection. Resigned to his diminished political influence, Zhao devoted his energies to shaping artistic standards.[51]

Twin Pines, Level Distance (fig. 216), probably painted shortly after Zhao arrived back in the capital, illustrates the artist's embrace of northern Chinese culture but evokes a sense of isolation and vulnerability.[52] Reviving the imagery of tall foreground trees set against a "level distance" plain developed by the Northern Song masters Li Cheng and Guo Xi, the handscroll also relates directly to Guo Xi's *Old Trees, Level Distance* (fig. 217), which bears a colophon by Zhao:

> *Tall mountains and flowing rivers cover the earth,*
> *To draw them with water and ink is difficult.*
> *All my life I have aspired to [Guo Xi's] lofty forests*
> *and streams;*
> *Constrained by petty official duties, I have been unable*
> *to reach them.*

Figure 218. Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322), *Record of the Miaoyan Monastery* (detail), ca. 1309–10. Handscroll, ink on paper, 13½ × 143½ in. (34.3 × 364.5 cm). Princeton University Art Museum. Bequest of John B. Elliott, Class of 1951 1998-53 [Exhib.]

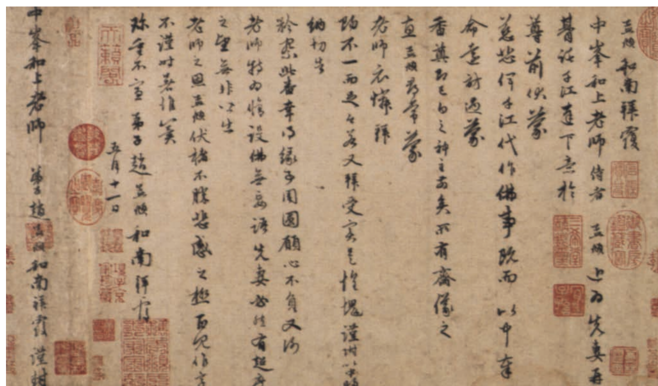


Figure 219. Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322), *Letter to Zhongfeng Mingben*. One of six letters mounted as a handscroll, ink on paper, 11⅝ × 19¾ in. (29.5 × 50.2 cm). Princeton University Art Museum. Bequest of John B. Elliott, Class of 1951 1998-54a [Exhib.]

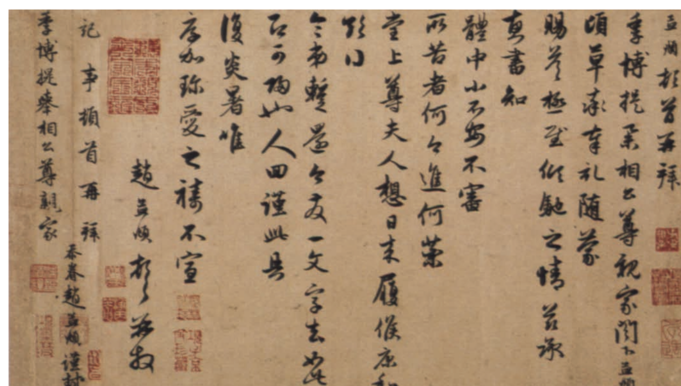


Figure 220. Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322), *Letter to Shu Jibo*. One of six letters mounted as a handscroll, ink on paper, 10⅞ × 19½ in. (27.6 × 49.5 cm). Princeton University Art Museum. Bequest of John B. Elliott, Class of 1951 1998-54b [Exhib.]

A comparison of the two works demonstrates Zhao's reinvention of the Li–Guo style. While Zhao includes a similar diagonal recession, layered distant mountains, and a fisherman, he reverses the compositional flow, placing Guo Xi's foreground trees (at the left) at the beginning of the composition. More significantly, the emotion-laden atmospheric and narrative details of the earlier work are eliminated. The imagery of Guo Xi is distilled, giving way to calligraphic style.

As early as 1300 calligraphy and painting are described as having "the same basic principles."[53] But Zhao Mengfu

was the first painter to fully explore the equivalence of these two art forms. To draw rocks, he wrote, one must use the flying-white (*feibai*) method of cursive script, in which the bristles of the brush separate, allowing the white paper to show through. To outline trees, one should use the unmodulated lines of seal script, and for bamboo, *bafen*, or clerical script.[54]

Zhao Mengfu's process of creatively transforming pictorial models was directly analogous to the method by which he achieved a new calligraphic synthesis. In calligraphy, Zhao sought to revive the orthodox ideal of Wang Xizhi (303–361), which was preserved mostly in rubbings and debased copies. To give "flesh" to the "bones" of Wang's writings, Zhao drew inspiration from the character forms and brush movements of Wang's later interpreters. In standard script (*kaishu*), these models included the Tang high officials Ouyang Xun, Chu Suiliang, Li Yong, and Yan Zhenqing. Zhao's synthesis of these disparate styles into a coherent idiom was so successful that his writing style was adopted as the standard typeface for printed books; the ensuing Ming dynasty made "Zhao-style script" (*Zhaoti*) the model for the court scriptorium.

Record of the Miaoyan Monastery (fig. 218) brilliantly exemplifies Zhao's synthesis of various calligraphic models.[55] Written in middle-size standard script on gridded paper, the scroll was made as a model to be copied and then reformatted into vertical columns suitable for engraving onto a tall stone stele. The scroll opens on the right with six large characters in seal script—the archaic script customarily used for titles—that would have been carved into the top of the stele. These six characters, "Huzhou [Wuxing] Miaoyan Monastery Record," are repeated in the first column of standard script followed by an indented passage that identifies the Song loyalist Mou Yan (1227–1311) as the author and Zhao Mengfu as the transcriber. Zhao's title, governor of Taizhou, Yangzhou Circuit, indicates that he wrote the text sometime after he was appointed to that post in 1309 and before his departure for the capital in late 1310.

The *Record* is an example of the artist's "public calligraphy."[56] Although in his letters and informal writings Zhao favored running or cursive script, those were not appropriate for the formal large-scale writings required for stone-carved monuments. Zhao's earliest efforts in this genre were inspired by the stele texts of the Northern Wei dynasty (386–534), which have compact character forms and broad, angular brushstrokes. Responding to the influence of Tang models, Zhao here softens the blunt angular forms with rounder, more modulated brushstrokes, taller characters that often tilt to the right, and abbreviated forms derived from running script, synthesizing the many sources by imposing a uniform scale and line width. The result was "perfect and beautiful characters that are round and smooth—lean without baring their tendons and plump without hiding their bones."[57]

During the last twenty years of his life, Zhao received a number of requests for stele inscriptions for Buddhist and Daoist temples. His association with different religious schools reflects not only the religious and intellectual syncretism of the Yuan era—Zhao had, after all, been educated as a Confucian—but a shift in his ambitions.[58] Thwarted by political intrigues in the capital during his tenure under Khubilai, Zhao, in his fifties, became increasingly involved with Chan (Zen) Buddhism, especially through his friendship with the eleventh patriarch of the Linji school, Zhongfeng Mingben (1263–1323).

Zhao wrote to the monk two years after the death of his wife, Guan Daosheng, on the occasion of a memorial ritual (fig. 219). In the letter he thanks Mingben for sending disciples to assist with the ceremony. While he states that he is "overcome by the extent of [his] grief," the cursive script betrays little trace of emotion. The

Figure 221. Ren Renfa (1255–1328), *Nine Horses* (detail), dated 1324. Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 12⅜ × 103 in. (31.4 × 261.6 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City. Purchase, William Rockhill Nelson Trust 72-8 [Exhib.]

characters are evenly spaced in neat columns and observe the convention of beginning a new line when the text refers to the recipient.[59]

The emotional undercurrent as revealed in Zhao's hand may be detected, however, if one compares the letter to Mingben with a letter written perhaps a decade earlier (fig. 220). Addressed to Shu Jibo, a relative who was probably connected to Zhao through the marriage of his daughter to Zhao's son, the letter expresses polite concern for Shu's recent illness.[60] The writing, an elegant running script executed with plump round brushstrokes and the unctuous fluidity of Zhao's mature style, is very different from the taut, attenuated lines of the letter to Mingben.

Zhao Mengfu's attempt to reinvigorate through reinterpretation the canon of scholarly models in both painting and calligraphy to a large degree succeeded. Linking the two art forms by shared techniques, he established precedents that profoundly influenced later generations of Yuan artists.

Ren Renfa: Equestrian Metaphors of Loyal Service

Ren Renfa (1255–1328), a contemporary of Zhao Mengfu's who initiated his official career under the Song but later accepted appointments under the Yuan, was also an accomplished painter. Like Zhao, Ren used his art as a way of furthering his career as well as defending his decision to serve the Mongols.[61]

Born into a family of modest means living in Qingpuxian (a present-day suburb of Shanghai), Ren placed first in the local civil service examination in 1272, barely four years before the Song dynasty capital fell to Mongol forces. In 1279 he was appointed a petty police official in the Yuan regional government. Many years in low-level posts and in the navy and a flair for hydraulic engineering led to prefectural work in irrigation and water management and the publication of an important book on water conservancy. Ren's value to the state was such that he was not permitted to retire until 1327, when he was awarded the title of Vice Commissioner of Pacification in Zhedong circuit.

Nothing is known about Ren's training as an artist, but his surviving works testify to his virtuosic technical skill, particularly in the genre of horse painting, where his talents were rivaled only by those of Zhao Mengfu (see figs. 211, 213).[62] The popularity of horse painting during the Yuan is in large measure the result of the new uses to which this theme was employed by these two artists. Both Zhao and Ren revived the traditional imagery of horses as a way of harmonizing Chinese values with the equestrian traditions of their Mongol and Central Asian overlords. In their paintings, "thousand-league horses" and their appreciative grooms served as metaphors for capable officials who were valued by their rulers. As presentation pieces, these paintings could either flatter aspiring Chinese officeholders by emphasizing that their talents would be recognized or prompt high-ranking non-Chinese to nurture and value the expertise of their Chinese colleagues.[63]

Characteristic of Ren Renfa's works in this vein is his *Nine Horses* (fig. 221), a long handscroll executed in 1324

that depicts steeds being fed, watered, and readied for an outing.[64] In contrast to images of horses being presented to the throne as tribute, these purebreds are already in the care of the imperial stables as evidenced by the elegantly attired grooms, ornamental stone troughs, red-lacquered pillars topped by gilt lions, and the distinctive red tassels worn by two of the stallions (not illustrated)—typically a feature reserved for the emperor's mounts. Ren's painting may thus be read as a metaphor of talented men valued by their monarch.

Like Ren's other extant horse paintings, which bear dates from 1280 to 1324, *Nine Horses* follows the Tang tradition in which horses and figures are set against an otherwise blank ground, a friezelike presentation with only minimal indications of setting that served as an effective foil for the meticulously drawn characteristics of each steed and groom. Unlike the restrained literati manner of monochromatic drawing on paper begun by Li Gonglin (see fig. 212) and followed by Zhao Mengfu, Ren's use of mineral colors on a silk ground, detailed realism, and finished style aligns his work with the court taste, making it suitable for presentation to a senior official as an emblem of enlightened governance.[65]

A strikingly similar image of grooms attending horses tethered to pillars by a feeding trough from a Jin-dynasty tomb mural in Pingdingxian, Shanxi Province (fig. 222), highlights the contrast between popular traditions of illustrating daily life and the metaphorical message. The mural is part of a suite of paintings that depict the tomb occupants surrounded by the appurtenances of daily life—

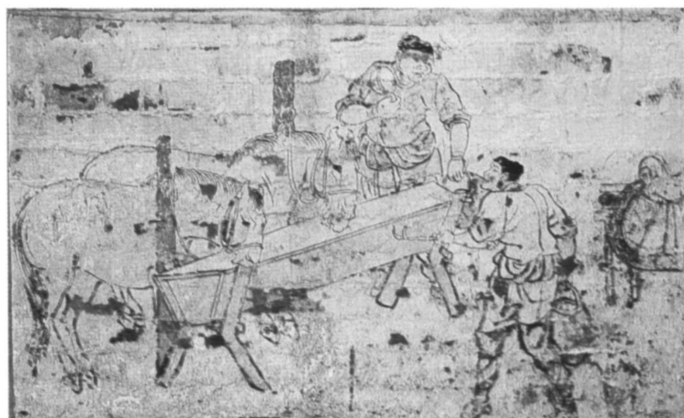
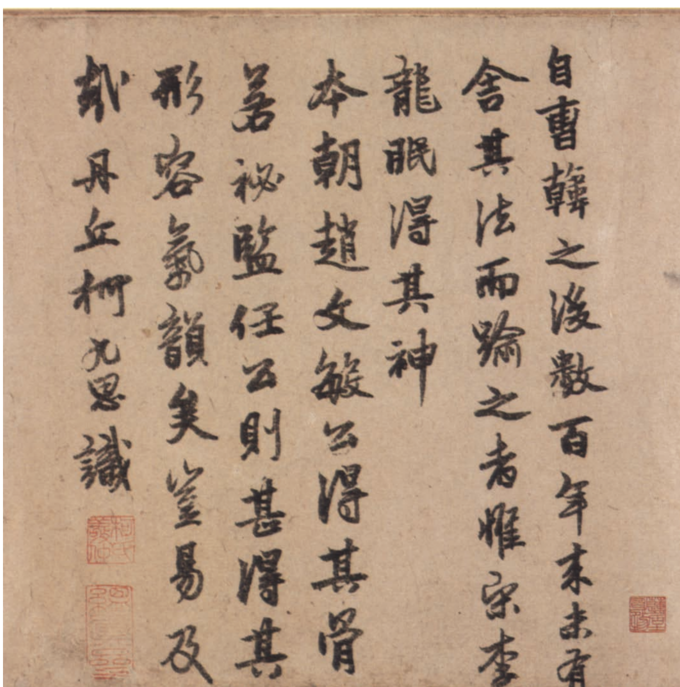


Figure 222. *Grooms and Horses*. Jin dynasty (1115–1234). Wall painting, ink and color, 30¾ × 44⅛ in. (78.1 × 112.1 cm). Southwest wall, tomb M1, Xiguancun, Pingdingxian, Shanxi Province

attendants serving them at a banquet, musicians, ladies-in-waiting, a camel and driver, and the stable scene. These images represent the ideal of a prosperous life and convey a sense of the tomb occupants' status, but there is no suggestion that they bear any symbolic message.[66]

Two Horses (fig. 223) presents a very different message.[67] The first steed prances ahead unfettered, his lead fluttering free between his legs, suggesting his ungoverned state. The powerful body and upright stance similarly convey the animal's high spirits. The sleek curves of the body,

Figure 223. Ren Renfa (1255–1328), *Two Horses*. Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 11⅜ × 56⅝ in. (28.9 × 143.8 cm), with appended artist's inscription. The Palace Museum, Beijing [Exhib.]



groomed mane, pink flesh around the muzzle, and handsome dappled coat all bespeak an animal at the height of his powers. In stark contrast, the second horse plods dejectedly with feeble gait and with bowed head. Its dull, dun-colored coat, emaciated body with protruding bones, and tucked-in tail describe a diminished state. With his lead wrapped around his neck, this horse no longer needs to be reined in.

This stark juxtaposition of a gaunt horse, clearly reminiscent of Gong Kai's moving symbol of the Song loyalist (fig. 202), with a sleek animal, like those painted by Zhao Mengfu as emblems of officials pursuing government service, appears to set forth the choice faced by former subjects of the Southern Song: to live in impoverished exile as a Song loyalist or to reap the benefits of serving under the conquerors. The long inscription by Ren Renfa points to the difficulty of making moral judgments based only on external appearances:

In my spare time away from official duties, I depicted these two horses, fat and lean. The fat one displays a marvelous bone structure and wears a [lead], and he stands tall and erect. Although sated with hay and grain, this is better than stumbling along a course without direction. The lean one's hide and hair are peeling away; he gnaws on coarse grass and stands in the frost and wind. And yet, although he seems to be ending his life as an outcast, he doesn't have the burden of galloping all day for his evening feed. Contrasts of circumstances are typified by this. Some of the scholar-officials of this age are chaste and some are profligate, differing like the fat and lean horses. If one remains lean yet fattens the whole nation, he will not be lacking in purity. But, on the contrary, if one seeks to fatten only oneself and emaciate the masses, how will he not bequeath a shameful reputation for corruption? So if you judge a horse only by its external appearance, you really will come to feel ashamed. Therefore, I have inscribed the end of this scroll to await those who will understand it.[68]

Ren first contrasts the fat and lean horses in terms that underscore their metaphorical roles as engaged officials and disenfranchised loyalists. Making his own position clear at the outset by declaring that the painting is done in his spare time, away from official duties, he acknowledges that those officials who serve the Mongols enjoy the emoluments of rank, while loyalists to the fallen Song are destined to live as outcasts. But Ren also notes that the fat animal stands tall and erect and has strong moral fiber ("marvelous bone structure") while the lean animal, though suffering deprivations, is nonetheless spared the heavy burdens of official responsibility.

He then goes on to note that even among scholar-officials, some who are virtuous remain unrewarded while others grow fat in spite of their profligacy. In such cases, if the "lean" official succeeds in benefitting the state, he will enjoy an unblemished reputation, while the avaricious

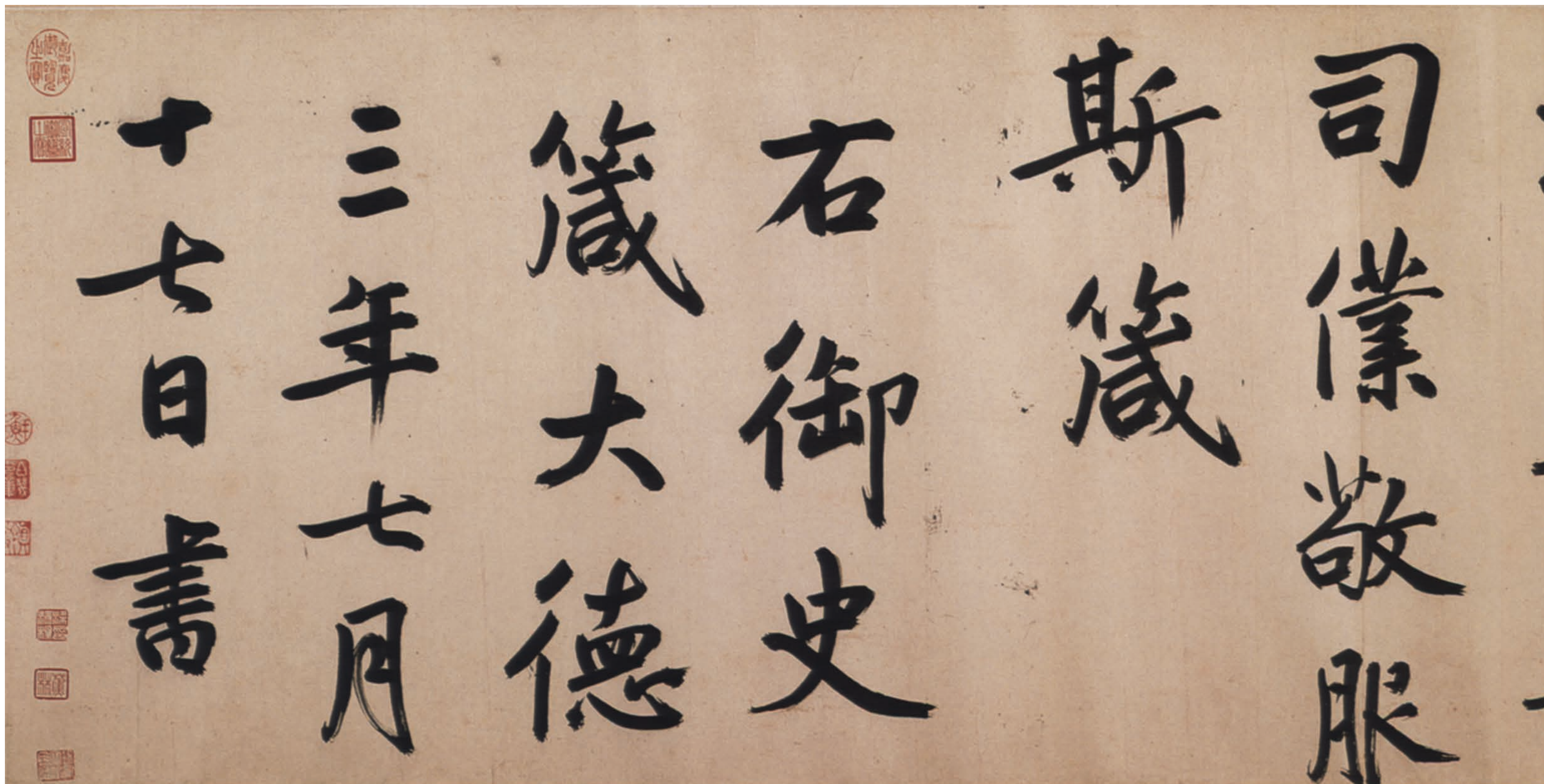


Figure 224. Xianyu Shu (1246–1302), *Admonitions to the Imperial Censors* (detail), dated 1299. Handscroll, ink on paper, 19¾ × 161¼ in. (50.2 × 409.6 cm). Princeton University Art Museum. Bequest of John B. Elliott, Class of 1951 1998-49 [Exhib.]

official, who reaps benefits at the expense of the masses, will face the condemnation of history.

Viewed in this light, both of Ren's horses may be seen as representing moral exemplars. Since both horses wear bridles, both have accepted official service. While some Chinese scholars, like Zhao Mengfu and Ren himself, were able to achieve high rank and recognition, the vast majority never advanced beyond low-level posts and had little to show for their dedication. Despite their differences, however, both horses have chosen to walk in the same direction, a course not defined by political authority but by a shared moral compass.[69]

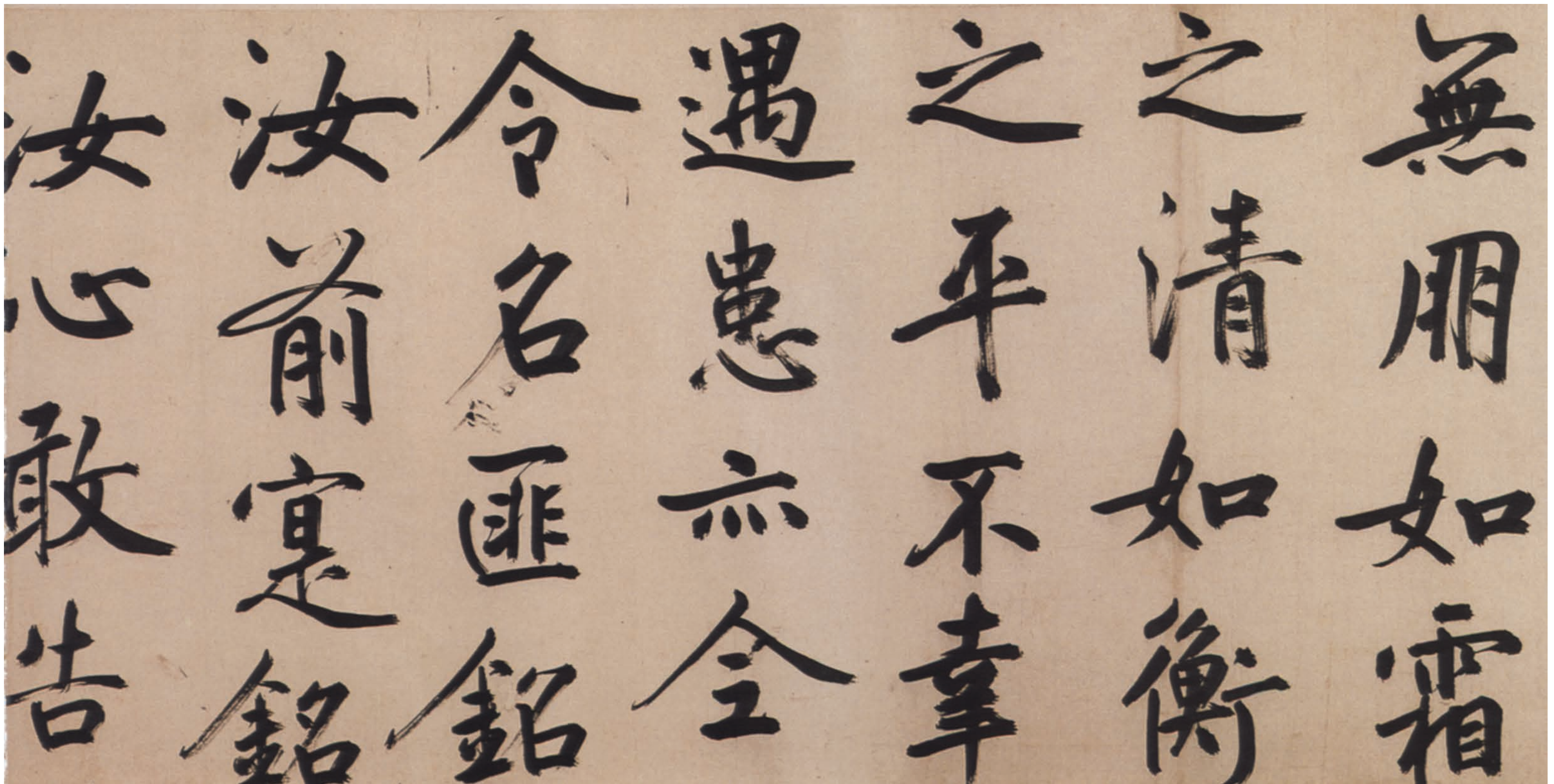
THE IMPACT OF NORTHERN TRADITIONS ON THE ART OF THE YUAN

One of the most important consequences of the Mongol reunification of China after 150 years of division was the renewed contact between north and south. The partitioning of the Song state resulted in the evolution of two very distinct regional cultures. While the arts under the Southern Song increasingly reflected the ultrarefined lifestyle centered around the imperial court, members of the northern Chinese intelligentsia living under the Jurchen Jin dynasty (1115–1234) continued to identify themselves with Northern Song culture, particularly the ideals of the Song literati, embracing a stern morality and an uncompromising individualism.

In the first decades after the fall of the Song capital Lin'an (present-day Hangzhou) in 1276, a few southerners, notably Zhao Mengfu, had the opportunity to travel to the north, but for most scholars living in the south, their reacquaintance with northern culture came through their contact with northern scholar-officials stationed in the south.

Xianyu Shu: A Heroic Northerner in the South

Among the northerners residing in the south in the years immediately following the reunification of China, perhaps none had a greater impact on the arts than Xianyu Shu (1246–1302).[70] Born in Shandong and growing up in the former Song capital of Bianliang, in 1278 Xianyu was posted in Yangzhou as a clerk in the Provincial Censorate, and by 1283 he had settled in Lin'an, where he remained for the rest of his life. It was here that he met Zhao Mengfu and became part of the vibrant literary and artistic circle of both northern officials and Song loyalists.



Xianyu Shu's 1299 transcription of *Admonitions to the Imperial Censors* (fig. 224) exemplifies the characteristics that southerners associated with their northern compatriots.[71] The text, composed by the prominent Jin poet and official Zhao Bingwen (1159–1232), is an exhortation to his fellow officials to remain "as pure as frost" and "as impartial as a pair of scales."[72] The characters, as inscribed by Xianyu Shu, are in vigorous "fist-sized" standard script that recalls the writings of other northern calligraphers working in the bold manner of Yan Zhenqing (709–785). For Xianyu's contemporaries, the piece recalled monumental writings carved on cliffs, especially the *Eulogy on Burying a Crane* (fig. 225).

Xianyu Shu's work was also influenced by his encounter with Zhao Mengfu and the ethos of antiquarianism that pervaded the literati culture of Lin'an. Many paintings, calligraphies, and antiquities from the former Jin and Song imperial collections became available during the early years of Mongol rule, and Yuan scholars documented these monuments of China's heritage, which, in turn, encouraged an engagement with the past. Colophons appended to works of art at this time attest to the lively interactions that occurred at literary gatherings where the principal focus was the examination and appreciation of earlier masterworks.

Xianyu Shu was an active participant in this endeavor. He owned several important works of cursive script in

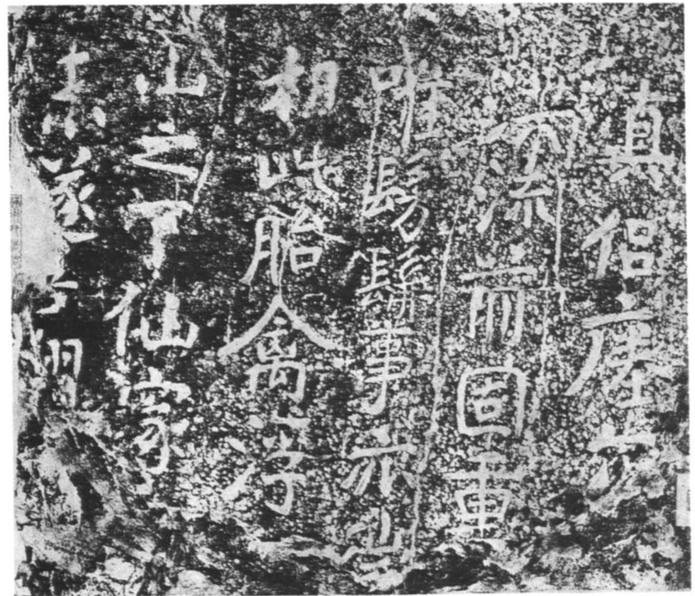


Figure 225. *Eulogy on Burying a Crane*, probably 514. Ink rubbing (detail) of a cliff engraving from Mount Jiao, an island in the Yangzi River near Zhenjiang, Jiangsu Province. Fujii Yurinkan Museum, Kyōto

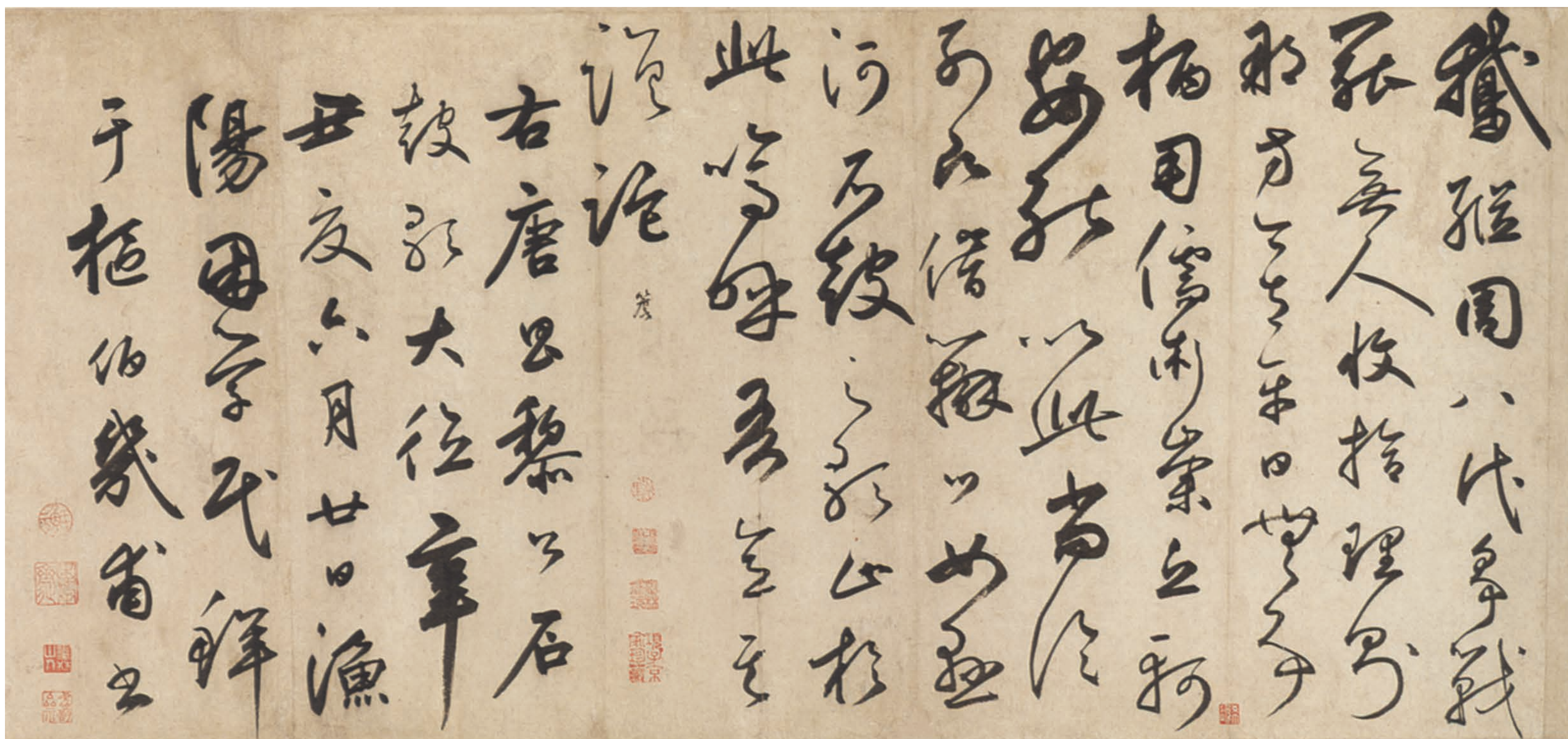


Figure 226. Xianyu Shu (1246–1302), *Song of the Stone Drums* (detail), dated 1301. Handscroll, ink on paper, 17¾ × 181⅛ in. (44.9 × 459.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Bequest of John M. Crawford Jr., 1988 1989.363.29 [Exhib.]

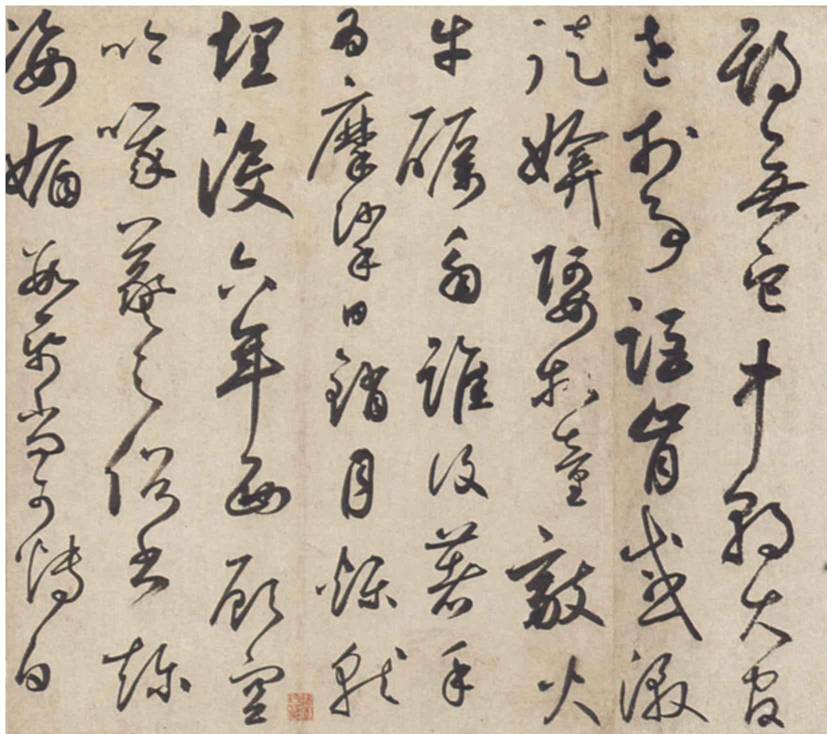
the tradition of Wang Xizhi, and his own cursive writings reflect his mastery of the forms and brush methods embodied in these works.

Critical of the flamboyant, highly individualistic tendencies of Huang Tingjian (1045–1105) and other Northern Song practitioners of cursive script, Xianyu Shu modeled his writing on the orthodox tradition established by Wang Xizhi and his son Wang Xianzhi (344–388). And like Zhao, he stressed the importance of "methods and principles" (*fadu*) and the "spirit of antiquity" (*guyi*).

Song of the Stone Drums (fig. 226), dated to mid-1301, is a prime example of Xianyu Shu's mature cursive script.[73] The long handscroll, a transcription of a poem by Han Yu (768–824), presents an argument for the preservation of the ten Stone Drums, ancient monuments originally located in Shaanxi, carved with poems in archaic seal script around the fifth century BCE.[74] Xianyu's transcription of the text reflects his close study of the archaic running clerical or "draft cursive" (*zhangcao*) script forms of Wang Xizhi and Wang Xianzhi; it also incorporates influences from two Tang works, *Draft of a Burial Memorial for a Nephew by Yan Zhenqing*, which Xianyu owned, and *Preface to the Manual of Calligraphy*, by Sun Guoting (648?–703?), which he had viewed in a Lin'an private collection. In this style, characters are abbreviated and individual brushstrokes are often linked, though connections between characters are few. While brushstrokes range from thick to thin and there are variations in the size of the characters, the momentum of the individual brushstrokes is held in dynamic equilibrium. There is a virtuosic flair to the writing, and indeed Xianyu's contemporaries who watched him write remarked on the "impressive sight" of the artist wielding his brush.[75]

NORTHERN ART IN THE SOUTH

One of the most influential paintings by a Jin scholar-artist to be brought south was *Secluded Bamboo amid Withered Branches*, by Wang Tingyun (1156–1202; fig. 227). The painting, executed in ink on paper, reflects the style and imagery first associated with Su Shi, Wen Tong (1019–1079), and their circle, in which boldly abbreviated brushwork is increasingly assertive but still serves a descriptive purpose. While the painting was not regarded by the artist as primarily a vehicle for self-expressive brushwork, for Yuan literati such as Xianyu Shu and Zhao Mengfu, it epitomized the equivalence of painting and calligraphy, a concept that Xianyu Shu enunciated in his colophon to this work and that Zhao Mengfu would embody in his art.[76]



Yelü Chucai: Khitan Advocate for Reform

A major calligraphic work to make its way south was the *Poem of Farewell to Liu Man* by a Khitan statesman, Yelü Chucai (1190–1244; fig. 228).[77] A descendant of the Liao dynasty ruling family, Yelü played a pivotal role in mitigating the harsh rule of the Mongols over the occupied territories of North China. He grew up in a thoroughly Sinicized family living in the Jin capital of Zhongdu (present-day Beijing). When the city fell to Chinggis Khan in 1215 he entered the service of the Mongols. No doubt because of his non-Chinese ethnicity he became a trusted advisor to both Chinggis and his son Ögödei. Summoned to Mongolia by Chinggis in 1218, he impressed the Great Khan not only by his candor but by his imposing appearance—he was unusually tall and had a long beard—and was appointed secretary and astrologer-astronomer. For the next eight years Yelü accompanied the Mongol leader on his campaigns in Central Asia. His skill as an astrologer led to his wielding considerable authority at the Mongol court. Appointed prime minister in 1231, he introduced fiscal reforms and an amnesty for tax debts. And, after the fall of the Jin capital at Kaifeng in 1234,

Figure 227. Wang Tingyun (1156–1202), *Secluded Bamboo amid Withered Branches*. Jin dynasty (1115–1234). Handscroll, ink on paper, 15⅛ × 65⅜ in. (38.4 × 166.1 cm). Fujii Yurinkan Museum, Kyōto

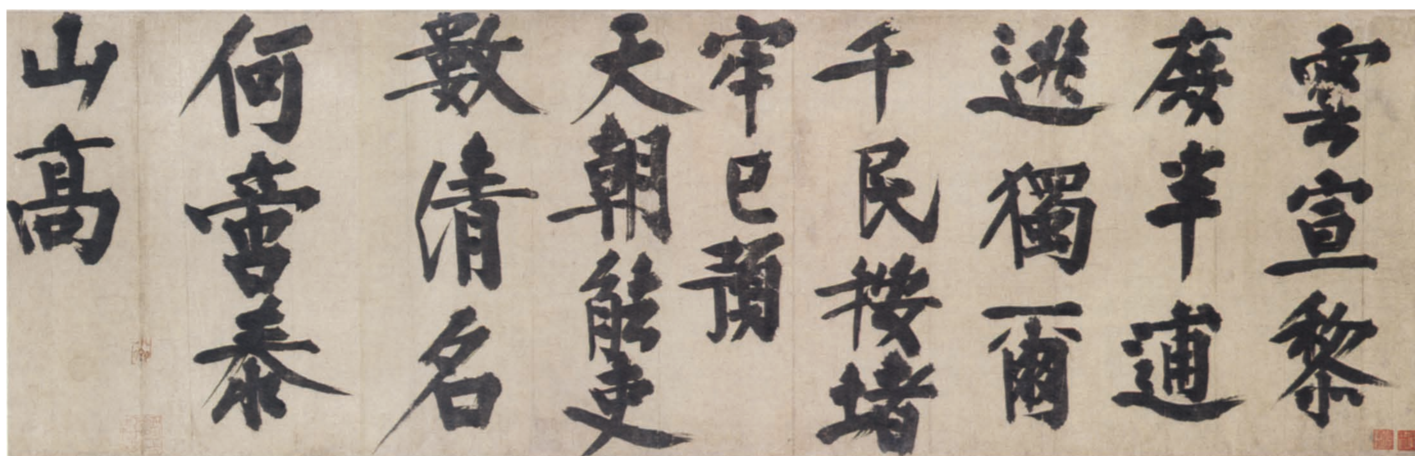


Figure 228. Yelü Chucai (1190–1244), *Poem of Farewell to Liu Man* (detail), dated 1240. Handscroll, ink on paper, 14½ × 111¾ in. (36.8 × 283.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Bequest of John M. Crawford Jr., 1988 1989.363.17 [Exhib.]

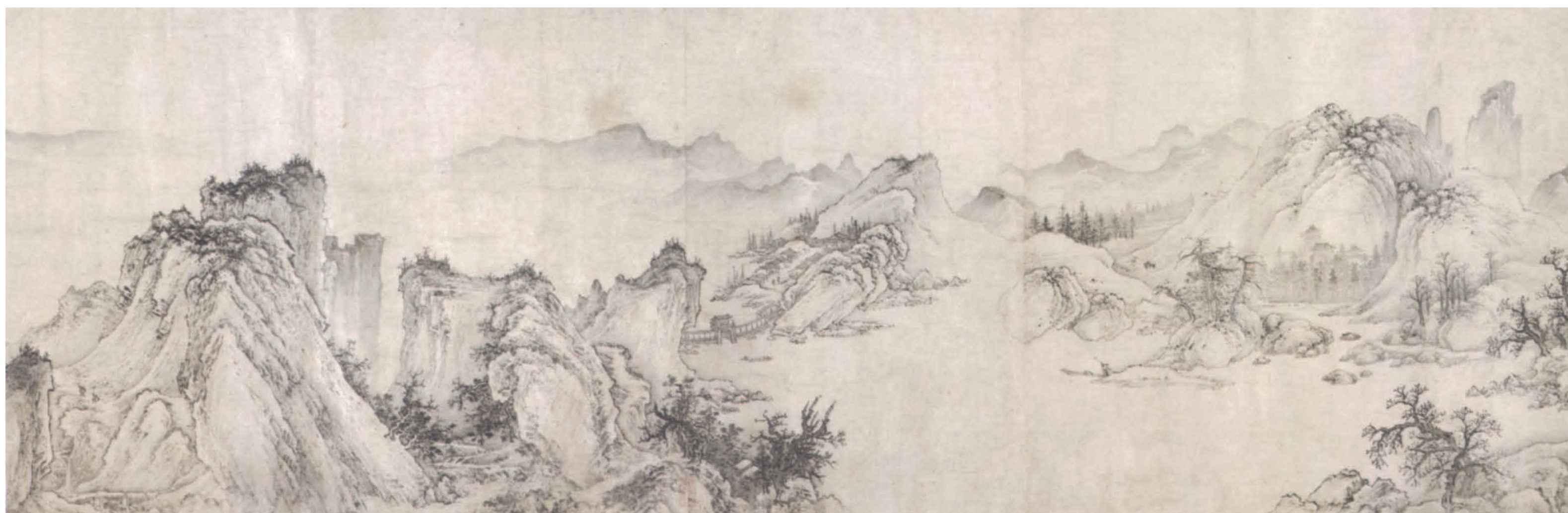


Figure 229. Taigu Yimin (first half of 13th century), *Traveling amid Streams and Mountains* (detail), predynastic Mongol period. Handscroll, ink on paper, 15⅛ × 164⅝ in. (38.4 × 418 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City. Purchase, the Kenneth A. and Helen F. Spencer Foundation Acquisition Fund F34-75 [Exhib.]

he had Jin scholars and courtiers released from captivity, appointing them to his newly established editing and publishing bureaus or to private academies set up to tutor the sons of Mongol grandees. In 1236 he established an Institute of Literature (*Jingji suo*) in Pingyang (present-day Linfen, Shanxi) to compile classical texts, and in 1237 he persuaded Ögödei to institute a civil service examination. Unfortunately, many of Yelü's administrative reforms were short-lived. As an anti-Chinese faction at court asserted itself, Ögödei ignored Yelü's warnings that exploitative taxes would lead many people to flee their homes, and in 1240 he placed tax collection under the direction of a Central Asian merchant.

Poem of Farewell to Liu Man is Yelü Chucai's only surviving work and a rare example of thirteenth-century calligraphy from North China. Written in late 1240, it reflects Yelü's indomitable spirit in the face of policy reversals and diminished influence. The poem, a seven-character quatrain (*jueju*) that lauds the virtuous administration of a young official in an era of widespread exploitation, is emblematic of Yelü's own attempt to engender the institution of more humanitarian policies by his Mongol overlords:

> *Half the population of Yun[zhong] and Xuan[de] have fled their homes;*
> *Only the few thousand people under your care are secure.*
> *You are among our dynasty's most able administrators.*
> *Your good name is as lofty as Mount Tai.*[78]
>
> *On the sixteenth day of the tenth lunar month in the winter of the gengzi year, Liu Man of Yangmen requested that I write a poem on the eve of his departure. I wrote this for him in admiration of his administrative ability. Abusive officials and wily functionaries should feel ashamed! Yuquan [Yelü Chucai]*

The blunt, monumental writing, with its emphatic hooks and dots and square character forms, recalls the unrestrained styles of the Northern Song masters. The exaggerated horizontal and diagonal strokes reveal the influence of Huang Tingjian, who advocated "driving every brushstroke with full force," and whose highly individualistic style remained influential in the north through the thirteenth century.[79] An even more immediate influence may have been the large-scale writings of the Southern Song calligrapher Zhang Jizhi (1186–1266), whose calligraphy was said to have been popular in the Jin territories as well as in Korea and Japan.[80]

Taigu Yimin: A Northern "Leftover Subject"

Traveling amid Streams and Mountains (fig. 229), a long landscape handscroll by an otherwise unknown artist who signed himself Taigu Yimin (Leftover Subject of High Antiquity), is another rare survivor from the predynastic Mongol era that found its way to the south by the mid-fourteenth century.

In conception, the composition belongs to the grand panoramic landscape tradition of the Northern Song in which near-ground peaks and distant vistas are linked together by a narrative thread of travelers wending their way along trails and across waterways to rustic villages

or remote temples. But stylistically, the eclectic blend of tenth- and eleventh-century landscape idioms, the spatial integration of forms along a well-defined receding ground plane, and the graphically assertive brushwork with relatively little use of ink wash to model forms all bespeak a mid- to late thirteenth-century date.[81] Fu Xinian has suggested that the northern character of the architectural details indicates that the artist was a northerner.[82]

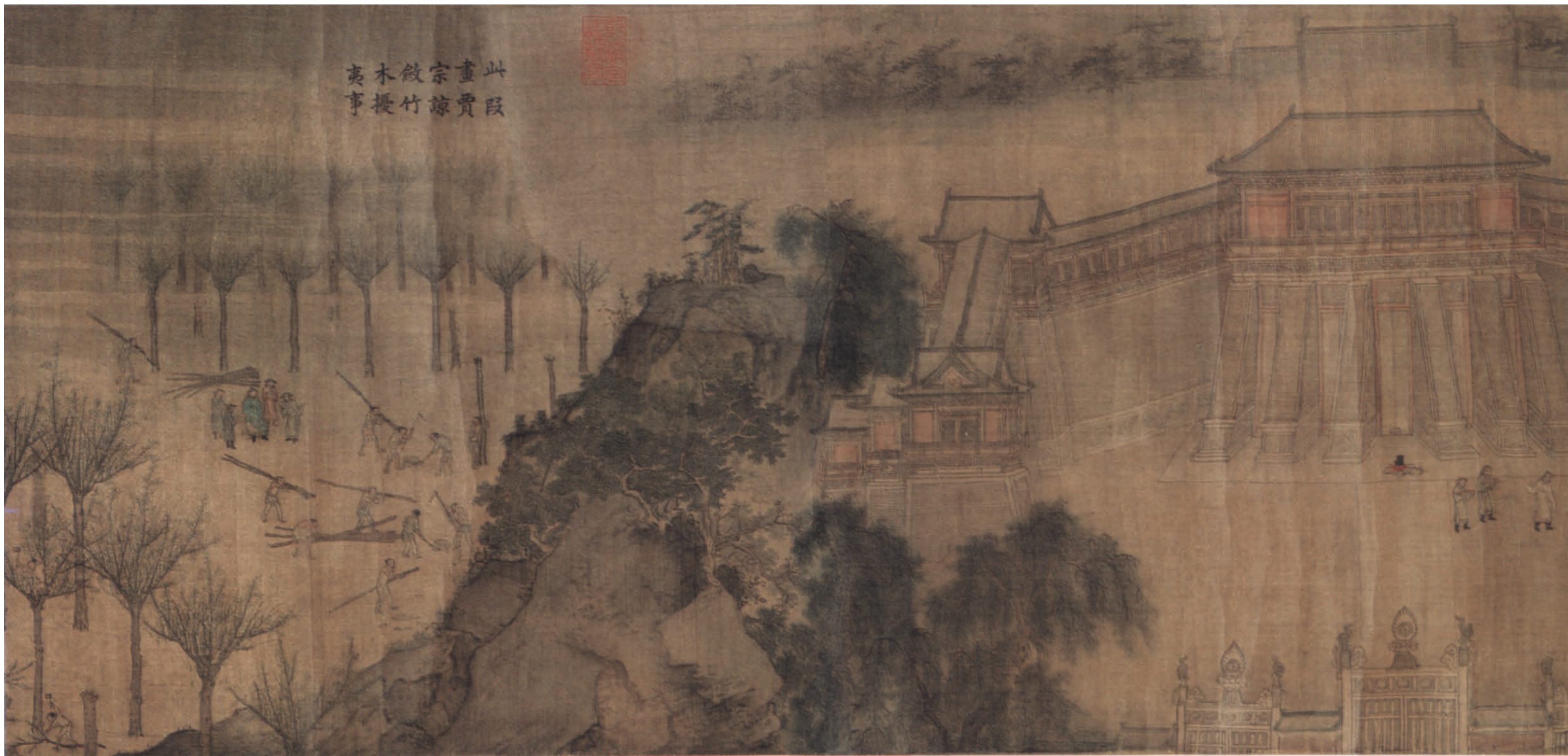
The simplified brushwork accords well with the Northern Song literati aesthetic that Zhao Mengfu and other southern scholars were attempting to revive. It is not surprising, therefore, that the painting found its way to the south, where artists such as Ni Zan (see below), whose seal appears on the scroll, would have seen in its austere linear style evidence for his revival of the angular rock outcrops that he associated with the tenth-century masters Jing Hao and Guan Tong.

Episodes from the Career of a Yuan Official

A very different response to the Mongol conquest is chronicled in a pictorial commemoration of a former Jin official's acceptance of a career under the Mongols (fig. 230).[83] This rare example of Yuan history painting, part of a long tradition of episodic narrative scrolls, opens with a view of a residential courtyard where a gentleman dressed in informal robes is attended by his family, presumably having retired from active service after his homeland in North China was occupied by Mongol forces. The second scene shows the same courtyard with the gentleman, now dressed in court robes and official hat, making obeisances before an incense burner while two men in Mongol garb, presumably envoys sent to recruit him, stand to one side, attended by a servant. In the third scene, the protagonist, now dressed in Mongol attire, points back to his former hat and robes, which he has left in a pile before a gate to the Yuan inner palace. The gate has been identified as the southern entrance to Dadu's imperial city, completed in the third lunar month of 1272, thus establishing the earliest possible date of the scroll's execution.[84]

The remainder of the scroll depicts the official's military exploits. In the first two of these vignettes, he oversees the chopping down of a line of trees such as those the Northern Song planted along its borders to impede incursions by nomadic cavalry. In the following episode the official leads a mounted troop out of the mountains, while in the final scene he is shown accepting the surrender of two captives as the enemy retreats into the distance.

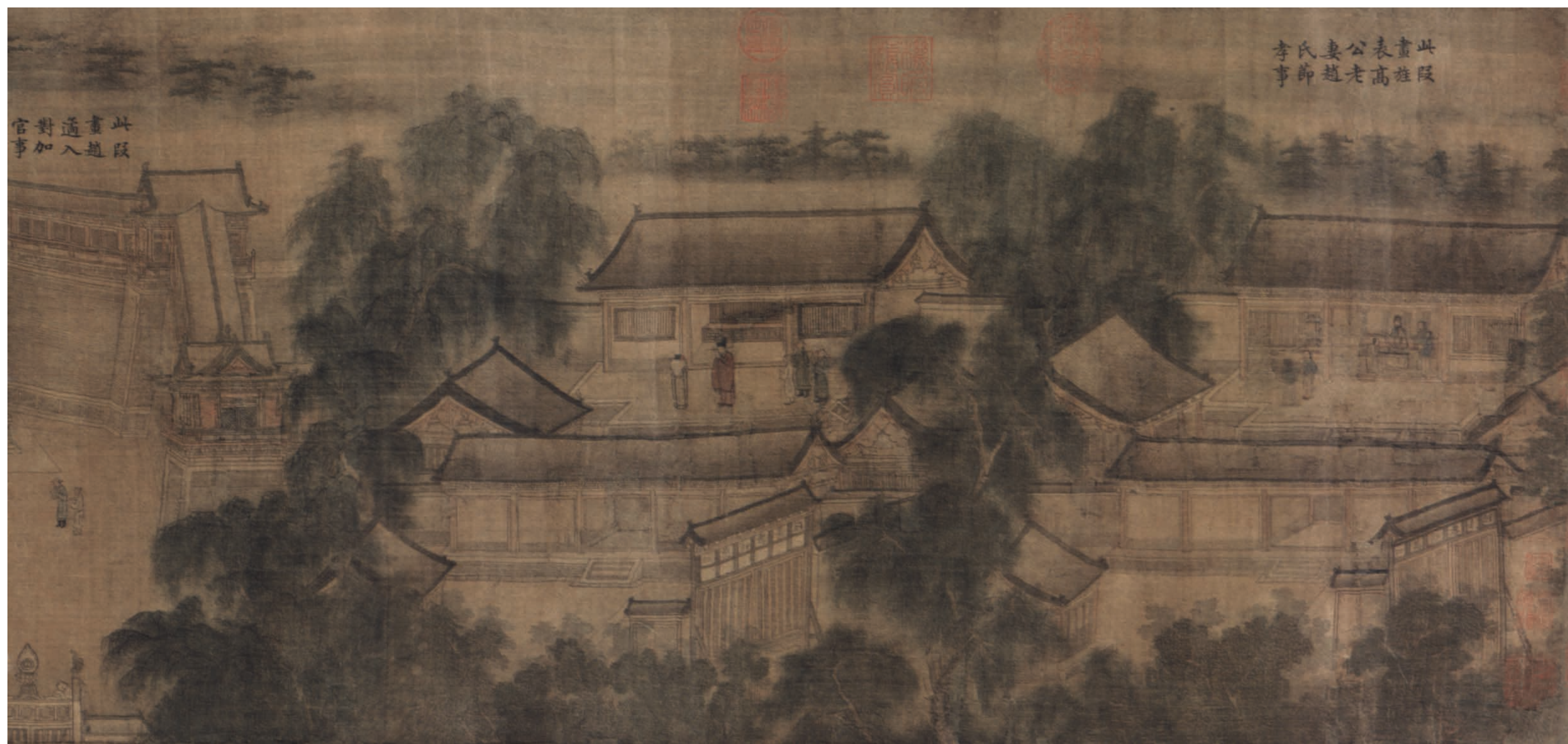
As early as the Ming dynasty the identity of the scroll was lost and a new identity was fabricated along with forged seals and a spurious colophon. Several scenarios of the narrative have been proposed, all assuming that the date of execution corresponds to the date of the actions depicted. But there is another possibility. If the painting was commissioned by a son or grandson of the protagonist in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, then the events may well have occurred during the Jin or predynastic Mongol period and the style of the costumes and architecture are simply anachronistic. Given the scroll's northern landscape setting, it is more likely that the main figure is a Northern Chinese official who



switched allegiance from the doomed Jin dynasty to the Mongols in the first half of the thirteenth century.

A late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century date is confirmed by its style. The integration of landscape elements through the blurring together of texture strokes and ink washes on the mountain surfaces and the vivid suggestion of atmosphere and a pictorial space that flows around the peaks relate this painting to a mural in the tomb of Feng Daozhen (d. 1265).[85] Also noteworthy is the high degree of realism and descriptive detail. The style, which derives from the traditions of Guan Tong (active ca. 907–23) and Li Tang (ca. 1070s–ca. 1150s), finds its closest parallels in the wall-painting tradition of North China, particularly in the sophistication with which the episodes of the narrative are integrated within a continuous landscape. The painting exemplifies the kind of narrative tradition that must once have been the preferred manner for decorating Yuan palaces; indeed, the scroll may have once been part of the imperial collection. At some point the painting was remounted with a frontispiece on paper for a Yuan palace and inscribed with the characters for Sincerity and Reverence (*du gong*), which well describe the virtues that the Mongols prized in their Chinese officials.

Figure 230. *Episodes from the Career of a Yuan Official* (details), late 13th or early 14th century. Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 15½ × 156 in. (39.4 × 396.2 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City. Purchase, William Rockhill Nelson Trust 58-10 [Exhib.]


此段
畫姪
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通入
對加
官事

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趙通出
師攻克
村囤諸
落事

Figure 231. Liu Yuan (active late 13th–early 14th century), *Sima You's Dream of the Courtesan Su Xiaoxiao*, ca. 1230s–50s. Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 11½ × 29 in. (29.2 × 73.7 cm). Cincinnati Art Museum. J. J. Emery Endowment and Fanny Bryce Lehmer Endowment [Exhib.]

POPULAR THEMES AND COURT STYLES IN NORTHERN FIGURE PAINTING

Another narrative painting from North China is *Sima You's Dream of the Courtesan Su Xiaoxiao* (fig. 231).[86] All that is known of the artist is encapsulated in his inscription: "Made by Liu Yuan from Pingshui, [a member of] the Crafts Office and a disciple of Santang Wang." Pingshui (present-day Xinjiangxian, Shanxi) was an important center for religious and secular art, theater, and printing. Liu's mentor, Santang Wang, painted a portrait of the poet Duan Chengji probably sometime after 1254, so it is likely that Liu was also active at that time. Liu's status as a professional painter is confirmed by his service in the Crafts Office (*Zhiyingsi*), which was responsible for painting and scroll mounting among other services beginning under the Jin.[87]

The painting illustrates an apocryphal story about the official Sima You. One day Sima You had a dream in which a beautiful girl serenaded him with a song called "Golden Threads" and told him that one day they would meet again on the Qiantang River, which flows past Hangzhou. Years later, Sima was appointed to a post in Hangzhou, where his official residence was next to the tomb of the late fifth-century courtesan Su Xiaoxiao. Several months later

Sima You, taken ill, is in a pleasure boat anchored in the Qiantang River. The boatman thinks he sees Sima take a beautiful girl aboard, but when he goes to greet them, a fire breaks out. Rushing to sound the alarm, he hears Sima's family already mourning his death.

The painting conjures up the moment of Sima You's dream. Then a young scholar, Sima has succumbed to the warm evening and has fallen asleep, as has his servant boy, who has nodded off at his feet. Su Xiaoxiao, emerging from clouds that signal that she is a ghostly apparition, leans toward the sleeping scholar. A number of dramatic clues convey the romantic longing and subtle eroticism of the encounter. The gentle breeze that tousles Su Xiaoxiao's hair and wafts her fluttering scarves toward the young man have also unsettled the candle flame and pulled at the scholar's cap strings, and the patterned silk of her upper garment appears again as the under robe revealed by Sima's provocatively elevated left foot.

Liu Yuan was likely inspired by images from popular sources, including dramas, Daoist legends, or secular stories that also appear on Cizhou-ware ceramic pillows produced in North China during this period that feature painted designs as their principal décor (see fig. 294). Some of the pillows show figures framed by clouds.[88]

Wall paintings produced in Buddhist and Daoist ateliers exhibit a number of motifs seen in the painting: figures framed by cloudy aureoles, fluttering scarves, angular drapery folds, and detailed settings.[89] Woodblock prints could have provided another source of inspiration (see fig. 232).

By the time of Liu Yuan's painting, the tale of Sima You's dream had gained widespread popularity; the *Song of the Golden Threads* was one of the best-known musical suites of the Yuan period. The protagonist's connections to the leading men of letters of the Northern Song would have insured the painting's appeal among literati circles. In that context, it is possible that the painting functioned as a political commentary. If Sima You's dream portends his early death, then Liu Yuan's painting, as Susan Bush has observed, may have been intended as a metaphor for the fall of the Jin, which like the dreaming scholar, was caught off guard.[90]

As noted earlier, Liu Yuan's home region of southern Shanxi was an important cultural center under the Jin dynasty and remained so under the Yuan. In 1130, just four years after Jurchen forces sacked the Song capital and carried off the books and printing blocks of the state university, the Jin set up a government printing office in Pingyang, just north of Pingshui. The area also boasted Buddhist and Daoist temples that organized major printing projects.

Two superbly carved woodblock prints represent the high level of visual arts production in this region.[91] One image shows four elaborately attired women strolling in a garden beside an ornamental railing and a rockery with flowers (fig. 232). The vertical composition is designed to resemble a hanging scroll framed by richly patterned mounting silks and embellished with a title strip above the picture, which reads:

> *Dynasty to dynasty, elegant beauties may*
> *overturn empires.*

Individual cartouches identify these ladies (right to left) as noblewomen of the Han and Jin dynasties: Lüzhu (d. 300), Wang Zhaojun (53 BCE–18 CE), Zhao Feiyan (d. 1 BCE), and Lady Ban (ca. 48–ca. 2 BCE). A larger cartouche identifies the maker: "Engraved and printed by the Ji family of Pingyang."

The first two women illustrate the perils of coveting feminine pulchritude. Lüzhu was a famous beauty kept by Shi Chong. When Shi refused to give her up to a powerful rival, he was accused of conspiracy and put to death along with his entire family; Lüzhu joined her lover by committing suicide.[92] Wang Zhaojun was in the harem of Emperor Yuandi (r. 48–33 BCE). She was, however, never

Figure 232. *Four Beauties*. Jin dynasty (1115–1234). Woodblock print on paper, 31⅛ × 13⅜ in. (79.1 × 34 cm). The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg [Exhib.]

shown to him until she was selected to be given away in marriage to a nomadic chieftain. When the emperor saw her great beauty he regretted the turn of events, but it was by then too late. After her husband died Lady Wang wrote to Yuandi's successor, Chengdi, requesting that she be permitted to return. Chengdi denied her request, and Lady Wang was forced to marry again within the nomadic camp.[93] The two women at left exemplify contrasting behaviors among imperial consorts: the abusive use of influence versus high moral rectitude. Zhao Feiyan, a slave girl who became empress to Chengdi, used her influence to alienate the emperor from his other consorts and was eventually forced to commit suicide.[94] Lady Ban, on the other hand, while a target of Zhao Feiyan's false slander, successfully maintained her virtue.[95]

Figure 233. *Guan Yu*. Jin dynasty (1115–1234). Woodblock print on paper, 28 × 13 in. (71.1 × 33 cm). The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg [Exhib.]

The second print (fig. 233), clearly meant to complement the first, presents the manly world of martial virtues personified by Guan Yu (160–220), the loyal lieutenant of Liu Bei during the war-torn era that culminated with the fall of the Han dynasty.[96] In the print Guan Yu is shown seated on a folding chair surrounded by an entourage of warriors, one of whom holds a banner emblazoned with his name. The figures are set within a shallow foreground space defined by a sharply tilted ground plane filled with a towering pine, clouds, and a rock cliff. The title strip reads: "Prince of righteousness, courage, martial prowess, and peace."

By Song times Guan Yu was worshipped as a popular deity and Daoist saint who symbolized martial virtue and loyalty, but the fact that he was unable to save the crumbling Han dynasty must have made his story particularly poignant for Chinese who lived through the fall of the Northern Song. Likewise, the stories of palace women who lived during the last years of the Han and ensuing Jin era must have also resonated with Song Chinese subjugated by the Jurchens—particularly Wang Zhaojun, who was forced to endure a nomadic life with a non-Chinese husband.

Stylistically, the two prints reflect the endurance of Song cultural traditions. Both display densely patterned costumes and elegant settings that find their closest parallels in works associated with the painting academy of Emperor Huizong (r. 1101–25). It is possible that artists attached to Huizong's court were abducted along with the emperor when the Jin captured Bianliang in 1126 and later found their way into the service of Shanxi ateliers.

DADU AND YUAN IMPERIAL CULTURE

After Khubilai's establishment of Dadu as the seat of power in 1272 and his successful reunification of China in 1279, the north once again became a magnet for artisans and craftsmen. Northern Chinese literati continued to follow the calligraphic and pictorial styles and themes favored by Northern Song scholar-artists, while professional painters either worked in ateliers specializing in religious painting—most notably murals—or perpetuated the court traditions of the Five Dynasties and Northern Song. After 1279, with the arrival of southerners in Dadu, the character of court painting began to change. Many scholars used their skills as painters to attract the attention of the Mongol elite. Figure painters emulated Tang precedents. Landscape specialists rediscovered the monumental landscape traditions of the tenth and eleventh centuries, particularly the imagery of imposing mountainscapes and craggy trees that had become metaphors for virtuous officials and rulers presiding over a well-ordered realm. And flower-and-bird painters returned to the tenth-century origins of that genre and its later flourishing during the Northern Song.

While the northern traditions of painting were the dominant mode of pictorial art during the early years of the Yuan, during the second half of the dynasty new literati traditions began to assert themselves. A blurring of stylistic distinctions developed between professional artists and literati amateurs. This had an impact on painting formats. Hanging scrolls, which had once functioned like murals and screen paintings as a

Figure 234. Liu Guandao (active ca. 1275–1300), *Whiling Away the Summer*. Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 11⅝ × 28⅛ in. (29.5 × 71.4 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City. Purchase, William Rockhill Nelson Trust 48-5 [Exhib.]

form of public art favored by court and professional artists, enjoyed growing popularity among literati painters, rivaling handscrolls as the dominant format of scholar art.

Liu Guandao: A Northern Professional

One of the earliest painters recorded as working at the court of Khubilai Khan was Liu Guandao (active ca. 1275–1300). Born just south of Dadu, Liu was a painter of figures, Buddhist and Daoist subjects, landscapes in the manner of Guo Xi, and flower-and-bird compositions.

Whiling Away the Summer (fig. 234) depicts an elegant man who has loosened his robes and moved furniture into his garden to escape the heat.[97] Reclining on a bed set between groves of banana and bamboo, he is surrounded by objects that identify him as a scholar-gentleman: an inkstone, a bundle of scrolls, a musical instrument, an antique bronze bell, and a wine service. A basin filled with fruit set on a block of ice sits on a low stool within easy reach, while two female attendants stand at the foot of the bed. But most remarkable is the standing screen that depicts the same man seated on the same bed in his study. There, provided with inkstone, brushes, books, a table full of accessories, and a brazier in the form of a lotus pedestal, he is attended by three male servants. In the background of this portrait within a portrait is yet another screen decorated with a landscape. The handscroll thus presents complementary images of the man at leisure outside in summer and at work inside in winter.

The composition is an artful assimilation of earlier sources. The scholar relaxing in a garden setting recalls fifth-century depictions of the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove, notably the figure of Ruan Xian, who holds an instrument known as a *ruan*.[98] The scholar's pose, reclining against a large bolster and holding a fly whisk, evokes equally early depictions of the Buddhist sage Vimalakirti as well as Daoist figures and luohans.[99] Finally, the depiction of a painting within a painting derives from tenth-century works: *Double Screen*, by Zhou Wenju (active ca. 960–73), and *Cleaning the Ear*, by Wang Qihan (active ca. 961–75).[100] The image of a gentleman in front of a landscape screen was conventionally understood as a device for representing the sitter's detached state of mind.

The style of Liu's painting reflects the highly descriptive realism of Song figure painting. Indeed, the Qing critic Gao Shiqi misidentified the scroll as the work of the Southern Song academician Liu Songnian. Correct authorship of the scroll was confirmed only in the twentieth century, when a signature was discovered along the left-hand margin, concealed in the leaves of the bamboo.

Wang Zhenpeng: Master of the Iron-Wire Line

One of the most successful southern painters to serve at the Yuan court in the first decades of the fourteenth century was Wang Zhenpeng (ca. 1275–1330).[101] A native of Yongjia (present-day Wenzhou, Zhejiang), Wang specialized in a meticulous version of the *baimiao* (plain drawing) style

that encompassed the subspecialty of *jiehua* (ruled-line) renderings of architecture. His creations, tours de force of intricate detail and precise brushwork, were a favorite of the Mongol elite, who appreciated his technical virtuosity, while his highly disciplined *tiexian* (iron-wire) drawing earned him the respect of literati connoisseurs. By 1308 he had attracted the attention of Ayurbarwada, the future emperor Renzong, to whom he presented his best-known work, *Dragon Boat Regatta on Jinming Lake*.[102] After Ayurbarwada came to the throne in 1311, he appointed Wang to the post of archivist in the Imperial Library, and there Wang was able to study the paintings in the imperial collection. By 1327, he held the post of supervisor of sea transport of tax grains, a grade-five sinecure that made him one of the highest-ranking southern Chinese in the Mongol bureaucracy.

Wang Zhenpeng's earliest extant work, dated 1308, is *Vimalakirti and the Doctrine of Nonduality* (fig. 235).[103] The dazzlingly polished monochrome drawing is a rare example of a preparatory draft of a finished painting that was submitted for Ayurbarwada's approval.

The draft depicts an episode from the *Vimalakirti Sutra*, a Buddhist scripture that recounts how Vimalakirti, a layman living in the Indian city of Vaisali, and Manjusri, the bodhisattva of wisdom, became engaged in a theological debate. According to the sutra, Vimalakirti proved the more subtle by remaining silent when asked to explain the ultimate meaning of Buddhist doctrine. The painting captures the climax of the debate as Manjusri clasps his hands together in acknowledgment of the layman's superior wisdom. Vimalakirti, seated on a Chinese dais with an armrest and feather fan, is presented in the guise of a Chinese Daoist sage or a Confucian gentleman, a befitting emblem of the syncretic notion of the compatibility of the three doctrines of Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism that was prevalent at the time. Other events related in the sutra are also illustrated. The Heavenly Maid holding a bowl of flowers and the monk Sariputra, who stand between the principal protagonists, recall the episode in which flowers scattered by the goddess clung to those who, like Sariputra, had not renounced their mundane desires. The female attendant who stands behind Vimalakirti with a mendicant's bowl refers to the latter's miraculous feeding of a multitude of attendees with a single bowl of rice.

Wang Zhenpeng's two inscriptions confirm the painting's status as a draft executed at the behest of Ayurbarwada. The first, added at the end of the painting, is followed by a seal that reads "Recluse of the Lonely Clouds," a sobriquet bestowed upon Wang by Renzong. The longer second inscription, mounted after the painting (not illustrated), relates how Wang replied to Ayurbarwada's request for an explanation of the phrase "single doctrine" or "nonduality."[104] Wang's detailed response demonstrates his intimate familiarity with Buddhism. He concludes:

> *At that time I was instructed to make a copy [of Ma Yunqing's painting] and decorate it with color. After I completed it, I summarized the story and presented it [to the throne]. Thus did I obtain the draft, which I treasure. In my spare time I unroll it to entertain myself.*

A painting in the Palace Museum, Beijing, formerly attributed to Li Gonglin, has now been identified as the Ma Yunqing (fig. 236) that served as Wang's model.[105] Ma's father had owned an unsigned painting attributed to Li Gonglin that was presumably the basis for Ma's composition.[106] The fact that the two works are nearly identical in size and content suggests that Wang may have based his draft on a tracing copy. The main differences between the two compositions are in the angle of Vimalakirti's dais and the position of one of the attendant monks. But stylistically, the easy informality of Ma's drawing has been supplanted by Wang's precise, masterfully controlled brushstrokes. Wang was clearly influenced by the calligraphic discipline advocated by Zhao Mengfu, who was summoned to Renzong's service in 1310. Not surprisingly, Wang's small standard script follows Zhao's impeccable style.

Wang's account of how he received the commission for this painting—in an informal audience in a palace garden—illustrates how Ayurbarwada assumed the role of a Confucian monarch as a way of winning the confidence of the Chinese Confucian scholars whom he wished to recruit into his service, recognizing the advantages of building up a base of support among Chinese officials.

The subject matter of the painting surely held appeal for China's Confucian elite because it demonstrated how a cultured layman could surpass even a bodhisattva in his understanding of doctrine. For the future Renzong, the image of a foreigner who could become an enlightened sage and be revered in China would also have been an appealing image to cultivate.

A similarly intricate monochrome painting with a Buddhist theme is *Mahaprajapati Nursing the Infant Buddha* (fig. 237).[107] The subject celebrates Mahaprajapati, the youngest sister of Queen Maya—the mother of Prince Siddhartha, the future Shakyamuni Buddha—and a secondary consort to Siddhartha's father, King Suddhodana. When Queen Maya died seven days after Siddhartha's birth, Mahaprajapati was selected to become his foster mother. She had just given birth to her own son, Nanda, but she relinquished

Figure 235. Wang Zhenpeng (ca. 1275–1330), *Vimalakirti and the Doctrine of Nonduality*, dated 1308. Handscroll, ink on silk, 15½ × 85¾ in. (39.4 × 217.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Purchase, The Dillon Fund Gift, 1980 1980.276 [Exhib.]

his care to nurses while she cared for Siddhartha herself.

The short handscroll depicts Mahaprajapati, seated on an ornate dais in a sumptuous garden pavilion, cradling the infant Siddhartha as she hands him a peach while her own child is supported by an attendant. Three other attendants stand behind Mahaprajapati's throne as a fourth offers a treat to a pet lion.

A number of the painting's features—the balanced composition dominated by the central, frontal Mahaprajapati, the clearly outlined figures rendered in brush lines of uniform thickness, and the linear elaboration of the design—all find parallels in fourteenth-century wall paintings preserved in the Fen River region of Shanxi Province, and suggest that Wang's inspiration was from a wall painting rather than from a narrative handscroll. Unlike the purely linear treatment of draperies in the *Vimalakirti* scroll, here the depressions between folds are subtlely shaded to give them an added three-dimensionality.

While the jeweled tree, patterned tile floor, ornate dais, and "royal ease" pose of Mahaprajapati all derive from Buddhist murals or sutra illustrations, other elements in the painting have Daoist or Confucian associations and demonstrate Wang's syncretic inclinations. The peach that Mahaprajapati offers the future Buddha is a Daoist symbol of longevity, while the scholar's rock adorned with a *lingzhi* fungus that sits atop a lotus-shaped pedestal and the antiquities set out on a table—including a coral tree in a glass vase and a Han-style incense burner—recall the accoutrements of the scholar in Liu Guandao's *Whiling Away the Summer* (fig. 234).

The theme of a powerful mother presiding over the peaceful coexistence of two half brothers was highly relevant to Ayurbarwada, whose enthronement in April 1311 was the first peaceful succession in Yuan imperial history. When Emperor Chengzong (Temür; r. 1295–1307) died without an heir, Ayurbarwada and his older brother Khaishan both raced to Dadu to support their candidacies to become emperor. It was their mother, Targi, who brokered an agreement that gave her older son Khaishan the throne as Emperor Wuzong (r. 1308–11), but made her younger son Ayurbarwada the heir apparent.[108]

Tang Di: Scholar-Official and Court Painter

Tang Di (1287–1355) was a southern scholar who came to the Yuan capital in search of official advancement and, like Wang Zhenpeng, found favor with the future Emperor Renzong.[109] He served almost continuously in the civil bureaucracy until his death in 1355.

Tang Di arrived in Dadu in 1310, the same year that his fellow townsman Zhao Mengfu returned to court service. In spite of their similar backgrounds, however, their contrasting responses to their artistic heritage exemplify the growing stylistic bifurcation between the works of scholar-amateurs and professional artists that came to define much of later Chinese art. Both Zhao and Tang Di were deeply influenced by the still-vital landscape tradition of Li Cheng and Guo Xi that they encountered in North China. Zhao's response is embodied in his *Twin Pines, Level Distance* (fig. 216), in which naturalistic description

Figure 236. Attributed to Ma Yunqing (active ca. 1230), *Vimalakirti Preaching the Doctrine* (detail). Handscroll, ink on paper, 13¾ × 81½ in. (34.9 × 207 cm). The Palace Museum, Beijing

Figure 237. Wang Zhenpeng (ca. 1275–1330), *Mahaprajapati Nursing the Infant Buddha*. Handscroll, ink on silk, 12⅝ × 37¼ in. (32.1 × 94.6 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Special Chinese and Japanese Fund 12.902 [Exhib.]

Figure 238. Tang Di (1287–1355), *Landscape after a Poem by Wang Wei*, dated 1323. Hanging scroll, ink and light color on silk, 50¾ × 27⅛ in. (128.9 × 68.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gift of Ernest Erickson Foundation, 1985 1985.214.147 [Exhib.]

Figure 239. *Watching Fish*. Predynastic Mongol period, datable to 1265. Wall painting, 35½ × 37¾ in. (90 × 96 cm). West wall, tomb of Feng Daozhen (d. 1265), Datong, Shanxi Province

gives way to calligraphic brushwork. Tang Di's mode of painting, as exemplified by his earliest extant dated work, *Landscape after a Poem by Wang Wei*, of 1323 (fig. 238), was likewise influenced by Guo Xi and shares with Zhao's painting a number of similar motifs—two foreground pines beside a rocky outcrop, a watery middle-ground expanse, and low distant mountains. In contrast to Zhao's stark reduction of descriptive detail, however, Tang Di's painting adheres closely to the stylistic features of his model. It is likely that Tang based his painting on a now-lost original by Guo Xi or one of Guo's immediate followers, since the painting's subject, a couplet from a poem by Wang Wei (701–761), was chosen by Guo, in his *Lofty Message of Forests and Rivers*, as an appropriate theme for painters:

> *I walk to where the water ends*
> *And sit and watch as clouds arise.*[110]

Another distinction between the two works is their inscriptions. The self-expressive function of Zhao's painting is emphasized by the artist's highly personal commentaries conspicuously placed within the pictorial space. Tang Di's inscription, by contrast, is little more than a formulaic date, title, and signature. Such terse impersonal inscriptions became the norm for Ming-dynasty court artists and professionals who similarly refrained from offering any interpretative commentary on their works. The fact that Tang Di retained this manner of inscribing his works throughout his career suggests that he continued to produce paintings for patrons, which remained an important means of support.

A comparison of Tang Di's *Landscape after a Poem by Wang Wei* with a mural by an anonymous artist executed in Datong, Shanxi, in 1265 for the tomb of Feng Daozhen highlights the differences between the work of Tang Di and that of a skilled artisan (fig. 239).[111] As in the *Landscape*, a gentleman is shown seated on a shoreline between tall foreground trees and an expansive vista while an attendant holding a *qin* stands nearby. Both works belong to the Li–Guo tradition, but the mural's low ground plane and dramatic separation between foreground elements and distant hills reflect thirteenth-century advances in rendering the illusion of continuous recession within a unified pictorial space. Tang Di's composition conversely revives the strongly uptilted ground plane and layered progression of picture elements from the near ground to the far distance that characterize tenth- and eleventh-century works (see fig. 217). Furthermore, the scale of the figures accords with Guo Xi's admonition to make the landscape elements the main expressive vehicle of the painting.[112]

Zhu Derun: Confucian Official and Daoist Recluse

Another southern scholar in the circle of Zhao Mengfu who adopted the Li–Guo style of painting was Zhu Derun (1294–1365).[113] A native of Suzhou, he traveled to Dadu in 1319, and was recommended by Zhao Mengfu to Emperor Renzong, who appointed him to the Hanlin Academy with concurrent responsibilities for editing dynastic records. Under Renzong's son Yingzong, Zhu was appointed professor of Confucian studies. After Yingzong's death Zhu withdrew from office and returned south, living in retirement for nearly three decades. Peasant uprisings ignited by the catastrophic flooding of the Yellow River caused him to briefly return to government service in 1352 as a military advisor to the governor of Jiang-Zhe Province, but he soon left, devoting his remaining years to the arts.

Playing a Zither beneath the Pines (fig. 240) follows a familiar Li–Guo-inspired "river landscape" formula—tall foreground pines silhouetted against a broad river that recedes diagonally past a further shore of low-lying banks to distant mountains.

Music making at scholarly gatherings, as shown here, was an important feature of elite life during this period, and the image serves as a metaphor for the harmony of

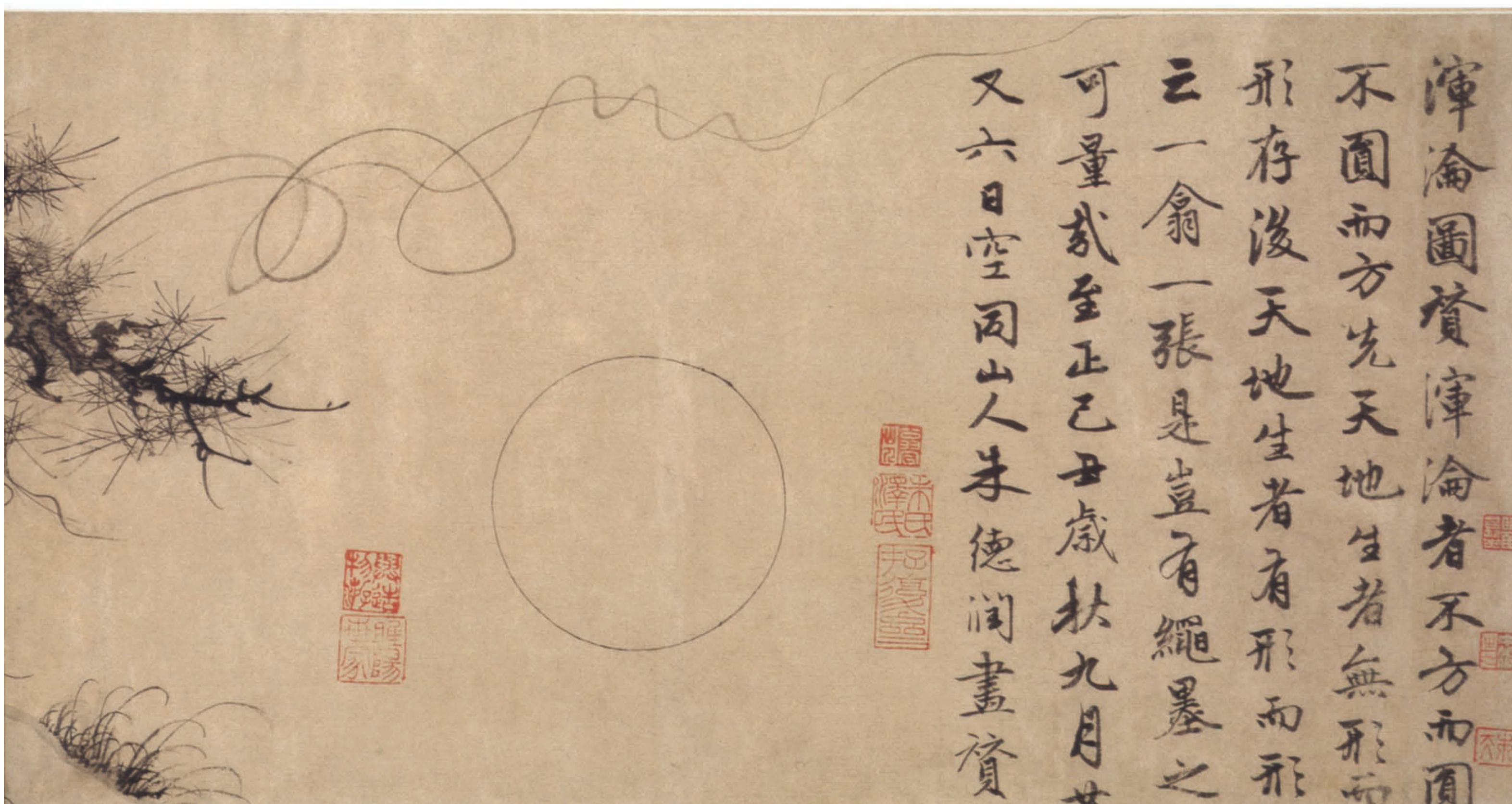
Figure 240. Zhu Derun (1294–1365), *Playing a Zither beneath the Pines*. Hanging scroll, ink on silk, 47⅞ × 22⅞ in. (121.6 × 58.1 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei [Exhib.]

Figure 241. Zhu Derun (1294–1365), *Cosmic Circle*, dated 1349. Handscroll, ink on paper, 11¾ × 34 in. (29.8 × 86.4 cm). Shanghai Museum [Exhib.]

man and nature. Such paintings may well have functioned as symbols of enlightened rulership and would have been welcome offerings for official patrons.

Cosmic Circle, dated 1349, presents a very different kind of image that reflects Zhu Derun's interest in Daoist philosophy (fig. 241).[114] The second half of the handscroll shows a Li–Guo-style gnarled pine and cloudlike rock on a foreground shoreline fringed with grass. These motifs find close parallels in several other paintings by Zhu Derun; it is the first half of the composition that is unique. A perfect circle, obviously drawn with a compass, floats between the pine and Zhu's boldly brushed inscription. Unruly windblown vines extend rightward from the pine to the inscription, tying the composition together. Zhu's inscription reads:

> *Primordial chaos [hunlun] is not square but round, not round but square. Before the appearance of heaven and earth there were no forms; yet forms existed. After the appearance of heaven and earth, forms existed but became undefined, their constant expansion and contraction, unfurling and furling, making them beyond measure.*[115]



Zhu's signature, "Merged with the Void Mountain Man," asserts the artist's identification with the image, which evokes both all of Nature and emptiness.

Ke Jiusi: Consummate Courtier

In 1319 when Zhu Derun traveled to Dadu, he was accompanied by another young southern scholar and protégé of Zhao Mengfu, Ke Jiusi (1290–1343).[116] Ke, born in Xianju (in present-day Zhejiang), was the son of Ke Qian, who held posts under three Mongol emperors and rose to the rank of vice director of Confucian studies in the Jiang-Zhe provincial government—the same office that Zhao Mengfu directed from 1299 to 1309. It is likely that the young Ke Jiusi made the acquaintance of Zhao Mengfu and members of Zhao's circle.

Shortly after Tugh Temür ascended the throne as Emperor Wenzong in 1328, Ke Jiusi was awarded a post in the capital, and the following year he was appointed to the newly established Pavilion of the Star of Literature, a scholarly academy created by Wenzong for the promotion of Chinese artistic and literary culture at court. In 1330, Ke became the official connoisseur of the imperial art collection. But in 1332 Ke Jiusi's close relationship with Wenzong precipitated a jealous attack by a member of the censorate who sought his impeachment. Wenzong took the precaution of appointing Ke to a provincial post, but the emperor died before the appointment was put into effect, and Ke Jiusi had little choice but to return to the south. There he devoted himself to the arts in the company of many of the leading painters and calligraphers of the day.

Among Ke Jiusi's duties while serving under Wenzong was the composition of *gongci* (palace lyrics), which describe palace life and ritual ceremonies in ways that celebrate Wenzong as an enlightened Confucian monarch. *Palace Poems* presents five such paeans (fig. 242).[117] The poems, originally composed between 1329 and 1330, were transcribed by Ke sometime after he retired to the south. The first poem, "Lyric on the Upper Capital Palace," describes the splendors of the emperor's summer residence in Shangdu (Xanadu) and concludes with an inquiry by Wenzong about the autumn harvest—an indication of the emperor's attentiveness to the well-being of his Chinese subjects.[118] The next two poems, "Responding to an Imperial Order: Two Poems on the Suburban Sacrifice," praise Wenzong for performing the ritual of suburban

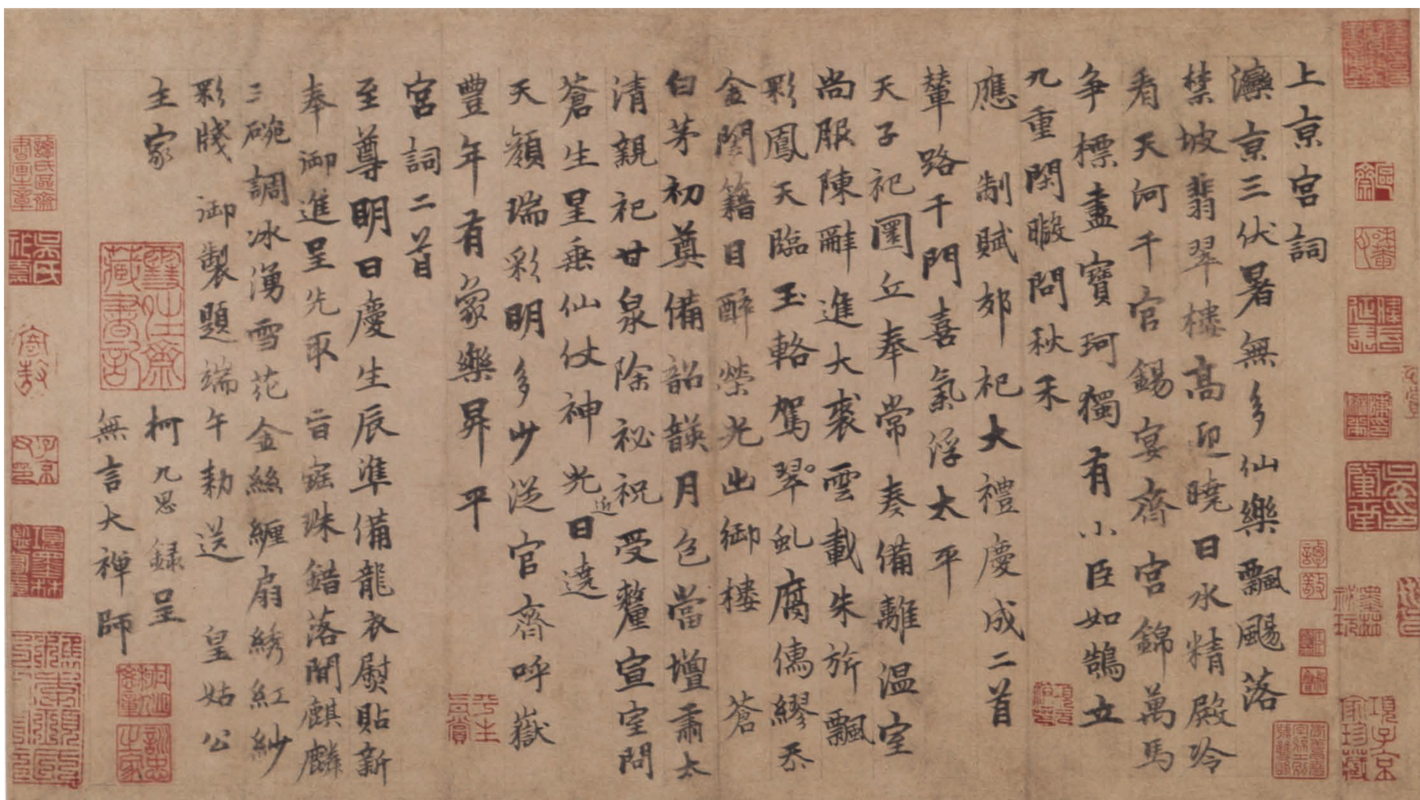


Figure 242. Ke Jiusi (1290–1343), *Palace Poems*. Handscroll, ink on paper, 12 × 20⅞ in. (30.5 × 53 cm). Princeton University Art Museum. Bequest of John B. Elliott, Class of 1951 1998-55 [Exhib.]

sacrifice and for his concern for the people's welfare. The scroll ends with "Two Palace Poems." The first recounts events surrounding the emperor's birthday celebration:

> *The emperor will celebrate his birthday tomorrow.*
> *Having made ready the dragon robes, ironing*
> *[them] smooth anew,*
> *The imperial valet, in presenting [one], first ascertains*
> *[the emperor's] choice:*
> *Gems and pearls [sewn] on a qilin [pattern].*

The second poem describes gifts prepared for Wenzong's aunt Princess Sengge.[119]

The handscroll conjures up visions of Ke Jiusi's days as an intimate of the emperor. The calligraphic style, derived from Ke's study of works attributed to Wang Xizhi as reinterpreted by Zhao Mengfu (see fig. 218), points to his connection both to the court and to the highest levels of literati culture.

In addition to his accomplishments as a poet and calligrapher, Ke Jiusi specialized in another literati art form: monochrome depictions of bamboo. Ke sought inspiration from the originator of the monochrome bamboo genre, the Northern Song master Wen Tong (1019–1079), whose reputation enjoyed a near-legendary status thanks to the praise of his friend the poet-painter Su Shi (1037–1101).

Bamboo after Wen Tong, dated 1343 (fig. 243), pays homage to the patriarch of monochrome bamboo painting while giving Ke Jiusi the opportunity to demonstrate both his broad knowledge of antique masterpieces and his self-confidence in comparing himself directly with the older master. The Wen Tong of which the painting is a copy no longer survives, but the composition recalls that of Wen Tong's best-known attribution (fig. 244). Both paintings show a single dramatically cropped stalk of pendant bamboo, but Ke's image departs from the representational intention of the Northern Song example. Transforming the antique methods of the earlier master by the application of the calligraphic techniques of Zhao Mengfu, Ke reduces the range of ink tones and the rich variety of leaves and twigs to a limited repertoire of graphic conventions.[120] The stylistic interplay of branches with the inscription further asserts the link between painting and calligraphy. The painting, formal and reserved, has none of the emotion-charged immediacy seen in the works of Ke's contemporaries, nor does the inscription reveal anything about the artist.[121] Trained in the etiquette of the court, Ke Jiusi maintained the discretion of the proper courtier.

Figure 243. Ke Jiusi (1290–1343), *Bamboo after Wen Tong,* dated 1343. Hanging scroll, ink on silk, 42⅜ × 18¾ in. (107.6 × 47.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Ex. coll.: C. C. Wang Family, Gift of the Oscar L. Tang Family, 2006 2006.571 [Exhib.]

Figure 244. Wen Tong (1019–1079). *Bamboo.* Northern Song dynasty (960–1127). Hanging scroll, ink on silk, 52 × 41½ in. (132.1 × 105.4 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei

Kangli Naonao: Confucian, Calligrapher, Central Asian

One of Ke Jiusi's colleagues on the staff of the Star of Literature Pavilion was Kangli Naonao (1295–1345). A descendant of the Central Asian Kangli tribe, Naonao rose to the directorship of the Hanlin Academy and eventually served as tutor to Emperor Shundi.[122] As Emperor Wenzong epitomized the transformation of Mongol khagans into Sinicized emperors, Kangli Naonao belonged to a generation of Mongol and Central Asian officials who received a traditional Confucian education and who became respected members of China's cultural elite.

According to Naonao, the Sinicization of the non-Chinese subjects of the Yuan began with Khubilai Khan:

> *Emperor Shizu [Khubilai] thought that Confucians might be of service in the governing of the country; so he ordered [his son Jingim] to study with Wang Xun, the tutor to the heir apparent. . . . Shizu often summoned my father to his bedside in the evenings and listened to him explain the [Confucian] "Four Books" and how the country was governed, what brought about peace, what disorder, according to the ancient histories; these audiences lasted far into the night.*[123]

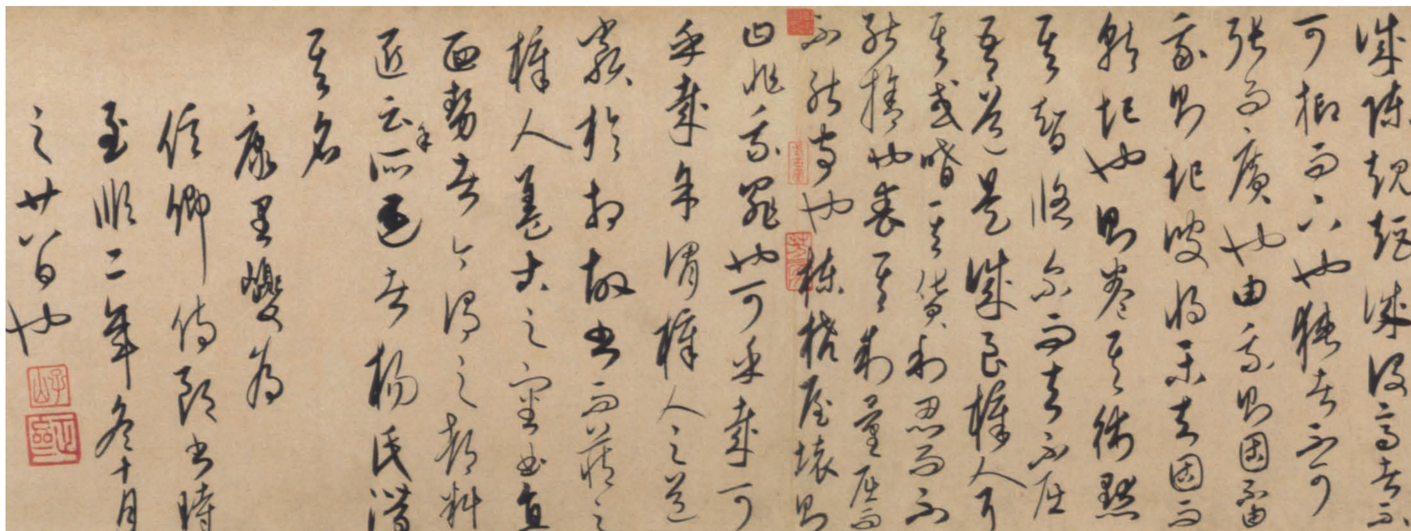


Figure 245. Kangli Naonao (1295–1345), *Biography of a Carpenter* (detail), dated 1331. Handscroll, ink on paper, 10⅜ × 110⅝ in. (26.4 × 281 cm). Princeton University Art Museum. Gift of John B. Elliott, Class of 1951, in honor of Lucy L. Lo Y1985-11 [Exhib.]

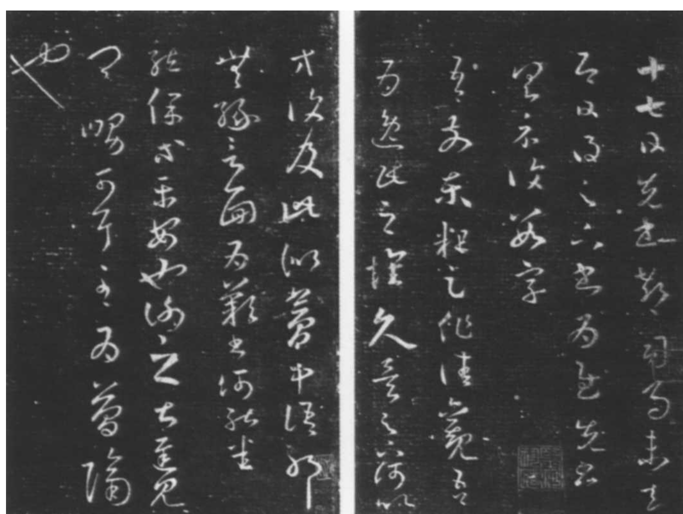


Figure 246. Attributed to Wang Xizhi (303–361), collection of letters entitled *On the Seventeenth Day* (detail). Song-dynasty rubbing, ink on paper, each leaf 9⅝ × 5 in. (24.4 × 12.7 cm). Kyōto National Museum

In the art of calligraphy, contemporaries ranked Kangli Naonao second only to Zhao Mengfu. The *Biography of a Carpenter* (fig. 245), dated 1331, tells the story of a carpenter who uses farsighted planning rather than merely the skills of a craftsman to become a master builder.[124] Written in the eighth century by Liu Zongyuan, the parable was used by Naonao to guide the emperor in assigning his officials to those tasks to which they were best suited.[125]

Following the lead of Zhao Mengfu, whom he knew as a young man, Naonao revived the cursive script of Wang Xizhi (fig. 246), in which characters are abbreviated but generally consistent in size and seldom linked by connecting strokes. What sets Naonao's writing apart from that of Wang and Zhao is his open character structure and attenuated lines. Written with a suspended arm and a centered brush tip, the characters have an airy lightness quite distinct from the calligraphy of Wang and Zhao, which have more compact structures and plumper, more modulated lines (see fig. 220).

Sadula: Poet and Calligrapher from the West

Another noted poet and scholar from the Western regions was the Central Asian Muslim Sadula (ca. 1300–after 1350), whose family belonged to the cultured Danishmand class.[126] As a consequence of the Mongols' western campaigns the family was relocated to North China, where Sadula's father served Khubilai Khan in the military. Born in Yanmen (present-day Daixian, Shanxi), Sadula earned his *jinshi* (presented scholar) degree in 1327. The following year he was posted to Jingkou (present-day Zhenjiang) as overseer, the first of many low-level government positions he held during his life. Widely known for his poetry, he was recognized as one of twelve leading non-Chinese poets by the late-Yuan scholar Dai Liang, who acknowledged that non-Chinese poets brought a new vitality to the indigenous literary tradition. Gan Wenchuan, in his 1347 preface to Sadula's collected poems, observed:

> *My friend's . . . literary compositions are vigorous, unconventional, and outstanding. . . . I have read them all, and found them to embody the spirit of loyalty and liberality of the men of the Zhou. They are entirely free from the decadent tendencies of the Song. . . . All those who read these poems may see this for themselves.*[127]

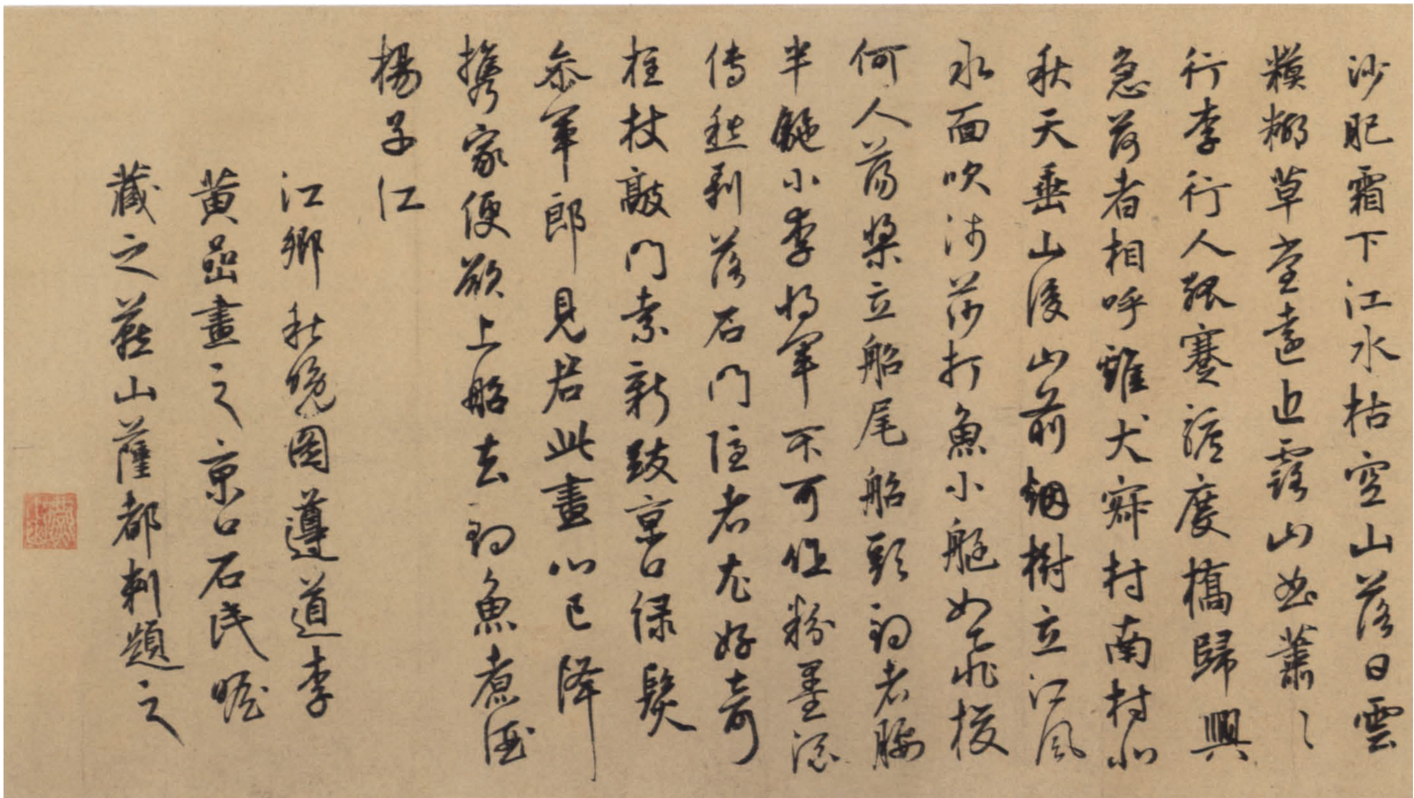


Figure 247. Sadula (ca. 1300–after 1350), colophon to *River Village on an Autumn Evening*, by Li Shixing (detail). Handscroll, ink on paper, 12 × 21⅝ in. (30.5 × 54.9 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei [Exhib.]

Sadula's reputation as a poet overshadowed his skill as a calligrapher, but his colophon to a handscroll painting by Li Shixing (1283–1328) attests to his abilities with the brush (fig. 247). Sadula wrote the colophon at the request of the scroll's owner, Shi Yan. His friend the noted scholar Guo Bi had already added a colophon in 1328.[128] Sadula's poetic colophon offers a description of the painting and celebrates the ideal of reclusion. He observes that he would like nothing better than to follow the example of the fisherman in the painting:

> *The recluse at the Stone Gate [Shi Yan] is fond of*
> *extraordinary things.*
> *Leaning on his walking staff, he knocked on my door,*
> *asking for a new colophon.*
> *[I,] the black-haired overseer of Jingkou,*
> *Upon seeing this painting, was enthralled.*
> *I felt like taking my family in a boat*
> *To fish and drink wine on the Yangzi River.*[129]

Sadula's calligraphy is modeled on that of Zhao Mengfu, but lacks the master's fluidity and complexity of internal brush movements. Nevertheless, as he progresses the writing becomes more relaxed. It is its spontaneity, along with the ability to move between different script types, that attests to Sadula's classical training.

Wang Yuan: Master of Flower-and-Bird Painting

The genre of flower-and-bird painting first came to prominence in the tenth century as a court tradition of large-scale, sumptuously colored and richly detailed decorative works. During the Yuan dynasty, however, this style was complemented by a new literati mode of small-scale compositions in ink on paper that often drew inspiration from archaic models.[130]

The most renowned practitioner of the new style was Wang Yuan (ca. 1280–after 1349). Wang traveled in scholarly circles and adopted literati principles of painting in his approach to the flower-and-bird genre, but like many scholar-artists of the time, he could also paint in the manner of the Northern Song Imperial Painting Academy. In 1328–29, when Emperor Wenzong sought to convert his former residence in Nanjing into a Buddhist temple, for example, Wang was among the many artists, including Tang Di (see above), who were recruited to help decorate the temple with wall paintings.

But Wang's upbringing was hardly that of a professional

Figure 248. Wang Yuan (ca. 1280–after 1349). *Pheasants, Swallows, Bamboo, and Rock,* dated 1344. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 54¼ × 23½ in. (137.8 × 59.7 cm). Shanghai Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 249. Huang Jucai (933–after 998), *Pheasant, Sparrows, Bamboo, Thorn, and Rocks.* Northern Song dynasty (960–1127). Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 38¼ × 21⅛ in. (97.2 × 53.7 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei

craftsman. Born in Hangzhou, he began to paint as a youth and received instruction from Zhao Mengfu, the quintessential scholar-artist. Like Zhao, Wang mastered a range of antique styles and subjects, including landscapes in the manner of Guo Xi and figural subjects after Tang masters, but he was best known for his depictions of flowers, birds, bamboo, and rocks in the tradition of the early Song painter Huang Quan (d. 968), the acknowledged patriarch of that genre.

Pheasants, Swallows, Bamboo, and Rock (fig. 248), dated 1344, exemplifies Wang Yuan's pursuit of antique spirit, expressive brushwork, and symbolic meaning. An ornately plumaged

male pheasant—a Cabot's Tragopan—stands regally atop a rock puffing out his chest feathers in a mating ritual while an admiring female looks on.[131] A new stalk of bamboo and a flowering peach tree denote the early spring season, but there is otherwise little indication of time or weather. The two pheasants in profile, set within a shallow foreground space, revive the manner of such tenth-century works as *Pheasant, Sparrows, Bamboo, Thorn, and Rocks* (fig. 249), attributed to Huang Jucai (933–after 998).

Wang Yuan's firsthand knowledge of his subjects is evident from their meticulously rendered plumage, which indicates that he had observed them at close range, probably in a private garden aviary. But the focus shifts from the accurate representation of nature to the imitation of an earlier style. The picture elements are organized in a balanced arrangement on the picture surface. In contrast to Huang Jucai's descriptive treatment of his subject, Wang's painting exhibits a linear quality in which the brushstrokes are emphatically calligraphic.

Beginning in the Tang dynasty pheasants were associated with the so-called five virtues and with constancy, steadfastness, loyalty, and marital fidelity; the colorful patterns (*wen*) of their plumage were a metaphor for literary cultivation (*wen*).[132] Above the pheasants are four sparrows, emblems of peace and prosperity, as they thrive when harvests are abundant.[133] By the Ming dynasty the combination of sparrows (*que*) and pheasants (*zhi*) had become a common rebus or visual pun for "reaching official rank" (*juezhi*), and it is likely to have had that connotation already in Wang Yuan's time.

The Java sparrows shown here would have come to China as part of a trade in exotic pets. Clearly Wang Yuan was intent on embellishing the painting with rare birds that reflected his patron's special status. The auspicious birds are paired with the favorite literati subject of bamboo and rock, a visual metaphor for endurance and virtue. That the stalk of bamboo is newly sprouted suggests an auspicious beginning.

Given these references the painting may be a celebration of marital virtue. Another possible reading, however, is suggested by Wang's dedication, where the words "hoping to equal my good friend" recall a passage in the Confucian *Analects*: "When we see men of worth, we should think of equaling them." In this context, the pheasants could signify the relationship of painter and recipient.[134] Wang's layered use of literary tropes, an archaistic style, and expressive calligraphic brushwork established a new paradigm for literati flower-and-bird paintings that had a major influence both on his contemporaries and on artists of the following Ming dynasty.

Zhang Yanfu: Mongol Daoist Master and Court Painter

A simpler, more modest version of the monochrome flower-and-bird theme is *Thorns, Bamboo, and Secluded Birds*, by Zhang Yanfu (ca. 1285–ca. 1345; fig. 250). Zhang, a Daoist master, court painter, and respected member of Chinese literary and artistic circles who also happened to be a Mongol, exemplifies the eclectic cultural mix of Yuan society.[135]

Like Zhao Mengfu, Zhang Yanfu was a master of many genres, including landscape, horse painting, and monochrome bamboo and rock. His most famous court commission was a portrait of a horse presented to Emperor Shundi in 1342 as a gift from Pope Benedict XII.[136] His landscapes were compared with those of Wang Wei, Mi Fu and his son Mi Youren, and Shang Qi. Indeed, his paintings were described, favorably, as indistinguishable from ancient works in the imperial collection.[137]

Thorns, Bamboo, and Secluded Birds, Zhang Yanfu's only surviving work, evokes the literati tradition of monochrome "ink plays." Intimate in scale, sparsely painted, and symbolic in content, the painting presents a shallow foreground scene in which a thorn tree, two tall stalks of bamboo, and an orchid grow beside a craggy rock. The bamboo—one

Figure 250. Zhang Yanfu (ca. 1285–ca. 1345), *Thorns, Bamboo, and Secluded Birds*, datable to 1343. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 30 × 25 in. (76.2 × 63.5 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City. Purchase: William Rockhill Nelson Trust 49-19 [Exhib.]

with full foliage, the other just sprouting new leaves—bend to the left and right, echoing the back-to-back posture of two birds that perch on the thorn. While the rock, bamboo, and orchid are emblems of the gentlemanly qualities of endurance, moral virtue, and loyalty, the thorn is often likened to those petty individuals who do what is expedient.

An inscription dated 1343 by the calligrapher Wu Rui (1298–1355) along the left margin of the painting establishes the work's date and explains the circumstances of its creation for a friend who visited Zhang at the Taiyi Temple in Dadu. Seven contemporary writers subsequently added colophons to the painting. The poem by Lin Quansheng is typical:

> *Secluded birds are at ease,*
> *Wing to wing they perch beneath the autumn clouds.*
> *What place is without thorns?*
> *[Knowing this] how could these gentlemen be perturbed?*

The painting is something of a hybrid, mixing subject matter and styles of both the literati and the court. While ink-on-paper depictions of rock and bamboo are quintessential scholar-amateur images, the highly detailed treatment of the subject, particularly the use of a dense array of texture strokes and ink washes to describe the rock, is quite different from the abbreviated, calligraphic brushwork of the literati artists. Furthermore, the addition of a pair of birds into the traditional composition links the painting to the flower-and-bird theme as practiced by such artists as Wang Yuan (see fig. 248) and Bian Lu (see below). Thus, while Zhang employed the literati manner, his own inclination tended toward the more representational mode associated with the court tradition.

Bian Lu: Intricate Realism and Ink Plays

Bian Lu (d. 1356) was another flower-and-bird specialist whose artistic output embraced both the scholar-amateur and the court and professional modes. A Uighur whose forebears had moved from what is now the Xinjiang Autonomous Region to present-day Linzhangxian, Hebei Province, Bian is little known today. In his own lifetime, however, he attracted the notice of contemporary literati who commented on the quality of his song-poems (*yuefu*) in the antique manner, his talent as a calligrapher, and his brilliance as a painter of flowers and bamboo, particularly flower-and-bird ink plays. Bian worked in Nanjing as a low-level officer in the Jiangnan Censorate; he died there after the city fell to the rebel forces of Zhu Yuanzhang, the future founder of the Ming dynasty, in 1356.

Peacock and Hollyhocks (fig. 251), a monumental flower-and-bird painting executed in rich mineral colors on silk, shows Bian Lu working in the highly polished style of the Song Imperial Painting Academy. Only the calligraphic character of the drawing, particularly noticeable in the rhythmically undulating outlines of the leaves, betrays its fourteenth-century date.

The painting presents a minutely observed corner of nature in autumn, perhaps an imperial garden, in which an elegant female peacock is poised beside an ornamental rock and a cluster of hollyhocks. There may once have been a companion scroll featuring the male bird. In keeping with Song precedents, the composition is limited to a shallow foreground space with the only suggestion of recession indicated through the intricate layering of motifs. From the peacock the viewer's eye is led from the blossoming hosta in the lower left corner across the deeply eroded surfaces of the rock and intertwining branches of the hollyhock to a pair of Java sparrows in the upper right. The meticulously detailed plumage of the peacock, gritty texture of the rock, and delicately shaded leaves and blossoms are a tour de force of representational illusionism in the Song manner. The bird's pose, dramatically balanced on one leg as it prepares to take another step, similarly recalls the Song manner through its reference to a famous anecdote about Emperor Huizong, who chided his court painters for failing to observe that when climbing, the peacock always takes the first step with its left leg.

In contrast to this highly descriptive style, Bian Lu's only other surviving work, *Magpie, Bamboo, and Rock* (fig. 252), exemplifies the ink-play manner. In the painting, executed in monochrome tones on paper, the emphasis has shifted from realism to a display of graphic techniques, with each motif embodying a different kind of calligraphic brushwork. This ability to move between the traditional Song court manner and the new literati aesthetic parallels the versatility of Bian's contemporary Wang Yuan (see fig. 248) and underscores the scholar-artists' adaptation of painting styles to the preferences of their patrons.

Yang Weizhen: Eccentric Poet and Unconventional Calligrapher

Yang Weizhen (1296–1370) was one of the most influential literati during the second half of the Yuan dynasty. His broad circle of acquaintances included not only leading southern literati painters such as Ni Zan and Huang Gongwang, but also northerners and non-Chinese such as Bian Lu and Sadula.

In addition to his renown as an eccentric poet and essayist Yang was a highly unconventional calligrapher, with a

Figure 251. Bian Lu (d. 1356), *Peacock and Hollyhocks.* Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 66⅞ × 40¼ in. (169.9 × 102.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Purchase, The Dillon Fund and The B.Y. Lam Foundation Gifts, 1995 1995.186 [Exhib.]

Figure 252. Bian Lu (d. 1356), *Magpie, Bamboo, and Rock.* Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 46⅝ × 19½ in. (118.4 × 49.5 cm). Tianjin Municipal Art Museum

flair for freely brushed works that often mixed models and script types. His originality as both an essayist and calligrapher is fully displayed in the *Commemoration for the "Cooking Words Retreat"* (fig. 253).[138] The scroll pays tribute to the fourteenth-century scholar of epigraphy and etymology Sheng Duanming, who endured great poverty in order to devote himself to his studies. Yang's inscription reads in part:

> *My knowledge of ancient writing is very limited. Whenever I have problems with inscriptions on ancient bronzes or stones, I turn to Duanming for guidance. Duanming's collection of epigraphic texts and manuscripts has grown larger and larger, while his wife and children suffer from hunger and cold. He enjoys conversing with like-minded friends, totally unconcerned with empty grain jars and a cold stove. He has named his retreat "Cooking Words.". . . Aristocrats cook phoenix and palace provisioners cook lamb, which stimulate people's appetite but cannot compare with your delicious and salubrious words.*[139]

The format of the text, a tall and narrow hanging scroll, represents a new calligraphic composition. While the vertical format of stone steles dates back to Han times and calligraphy mounted as vertical panels on walls or screens dates to at least the Tang period, it was not until the late Yuan that calligraphy began to appear in the hanging-scroll format, and Yang Weizhen's scroll is one of the earliest extant examples.[140] During the early Yuan, scholar-artists favored the intimate handscroll format for both calligraphy and painting. By the mid-fourteenth century, perhaps because the literati had been receiving

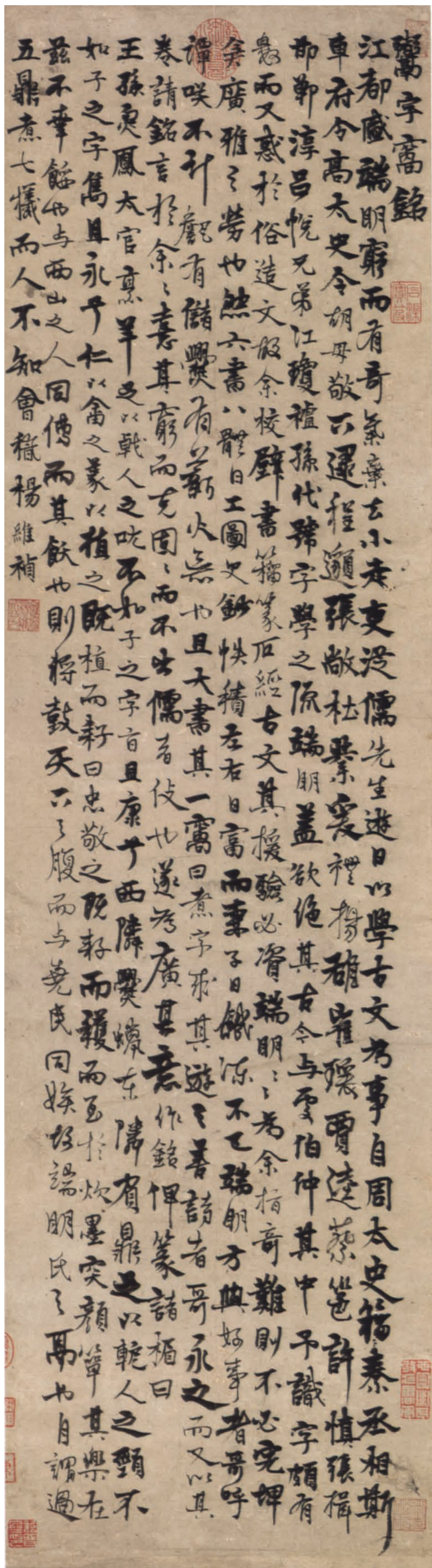


Figure 253. Yang Weizhen (1296–1370), *Commemoration for the "Cooking Words Retreat."* Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 41⅜ × 11½ in. (105.1 × 29.2 cm). The Palace Museum, Beijing [Exhib.]

commissions from official patrons for hanging scrolls, the vertical format became increasingly common. Late Yuan scrolls often allowed space at the top for the recipient or later admirers to add inscriptions (see figs. 250, 254, 255). As calligraphic painting became the principal vehicle of painterly expression and a means of fulfilling social obligations, it was inevitable that calligraphers would also make use of this format for presentation pieces. It is in keeping with Yang's flamboyant character that he would be among the first to avail himself of this innovative public form of display. The title is set off in a column of its own, and the word "commemoration" (*ming*), literally "engraved inscription," makes a connection to the public function heretofore served by steles.

The scroll shows off Yang's virtuosic command of various forms of the script just as the learned references in the text demonstrate his knowledge of etymology. The large characters recall the large standard script used for stele inscriptions and indicates that the text was intended for display. Many of the heavily inked characters retain the blockish style of archaic clerical script or the forceful manner of the regular script of Yan Zhenqing (709–785), styles that were especially suited to stone-carved monuments. Such characters alternate with ideographs executed in thinner running or cursive script to create a lively syncopation in the pacing of the text.

Ni Zan: Art as Autobiography

Ni Zan (1306–1374) was a patrician landowner and aesthete of great refinement and sensitivity whose comfortable life was disrupted by the chaotic final years of Yuan rule. Enduring years of homeless wandering, Ni nevertheless created a distinctive body of highly personal paintings that established him as the ultimate paradigm of the noble scholar-recluse.[141] Forced to eliminate the inessentials in his life, Ni, pursuing the ideal of "unembellished naturalness" (*pingdan*), similarly distilled his manner of painting to achieve a minimalist personal style.

Ni Zan was born into a life of wealth and privilege as a member of one of the leading gentry families of Wuxi, a prosperous township on the Grand Canal near the northern tip of Lake Tai. At the age of twenty-two he inherited the responsibility of managing the family properties, but was able to enjoy an idyllic and by choice secluded existence at his family estate. Through the mid-1340s he spent most of his time surrounded by books, antiquities, paintings, and flowers at his Pure and Secluded Pavilion (*Qingbi Ge*).

Ni's earliest extant paintings show a dilettantish engagement with the idioms of the tenth-century masters Dong

Figure 254. Ni Zan (1306–1374), *Water and Bamboo Dwelling,* dated 1343. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 18⅞ × 11 in. (47.9 × 27.9 cm). National Museum of China, Beijing

Figure 255. Ni Zan (1306–1374), *Six Gentlemen,* dated 1345. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 24⅜ × 13⅛ in. (61.9 × 33.3 cm). Shanghai Museum [Exhib.]

Yuan and Juran as revived by Zhao Mengfu. In *Water and Bamboo Dwelling,* of 1343 (fig. 254), for example, the archaic blue-green color scheme, continuous recession along a nearly level ground plane, tall foreground trees on earthen hummocks, and naïvely rendered buildings reveal the artist's knowledge of Zhao's *Autumn Colors on the Que and Hua Mountains* (fig. 210).

Six Gentlemen (fig. 255), painted less than two years later, marks a dramatic transformation in Ni's vision of the world that presages many characteristics of his mature style. The earthen banks and distant mountains are still drawn with hemp-fiber texture strokes in the Dong–Ju manner, but a stark minimalist approach has replaced the earlier, densely worked picture surface. Executed on

Figure 256. *Rice Culture* (detail), ca. 1353. Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 10½ × 199⅜ in. (26.7 × 506.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Purchase, W. M. Keck Foundation Gift and other gifts in memory of Douglas Dillon, 2005 2005.277 [Exhib.]

the occasion of his visit to the collector Lu Heng, Ni describes the circumstances surrounding the creation of this strikingly new image in his accompanying inscription:

> *Every time we meet, Lu Shanfu [Lu Heng] immediately urges me to paint for him. On [May 10, 1345,] I had just moored my boat on the Bow River when Shanfu lighted a lamp and brought out this paper and asked for a painting. At the time I was utterly exhausted, but I forced myself to fulfill his request. Old master Dachi [Huang Gongwang; 1269–1354] will have a good laugh when he sees this.*[142]

While Ni offers no clue as to what occasioned the exhausting journey to his friend's home, the Yellow River's catastrophic breaching of its dikes the previous year and the subsequent homelessness, banditry, and peasant uprisings that had begun to spread across the Huai River area north of Wuxi may well have been on his mind. In the event, the resulting image, more sketch than finished painting, established a new paradigm for the artist. In contrast to the belabored substantiality and logical spatial progression of the 1343 landscape, the forms in *Six Gentlemen* are almost transparent and weightless, while the composition has been pulled apart, introducing an almost unbridgeable gap between foreground trees and distant hills. Even the low spit of land on which the trees stand is in danger of breaking loose from the two sides of the composition, to which it is only tenuously anchored. The stark spaciousness of the painting and its unrelenting geometry of horizontal groundlines and vertical trees draw attention to the tension between illusionistically described forms and the flat surface of the blank paper. Ni's inscription, placed to the left of the trees, intensifies this tension, emphasizing the graphic quality of the foliage patterns.

Ni's adoption of pale, dry brushwork recalls a stylistic shift similar to that seen in Zhao Mengfu's *Water Village* (fig. 214), while the exaggerated separation of tall foreground trees and far-distance mountains finds a parallel in Zhao's *Twin Pines, Level Distance* (fig. 216). That Ni's isolated trees carry symbolic significance finds confirmation in the inscription by the scholar-artist Huang Gongwang, who may well have been present at the time Ni executed the work:

> *Distant cloudy mountains range across the autumn river;*
> *Nearby, ancient trees huddle by the sloping shore.*
> *Six gentlemen stand facing one another,*
> *Upright, straight, outstanding, unbending.*[143]

Here, the metaphorical association with scholar-recluses is made explicit, the trees signifying six gentlemen. The painting may be read as a visual metaphor of the growing isolation that such individuals experienced in a society that was beginning to pull apart. Although Ni Zan lived another three decades, *Six Gentlemen* represents the defining moment in the formation of his personal style. The painting may also be regarded as emblematic of the end of art that was responsive to Mongol rule. A new indigenous mode of artistic expression, inward-looking, personal, and escapist, had taken its place.

ART AND AGRICULTURE

No painting better demonstrates the transformation of the Mongol elite from nomadic conquerors to administrators of an agrarian society than *Rice Culture* (fig. 256).[144] Commissioned by a Mongol official around

1353, the scroll depicts China's fundamental economic activity: the cultivation and harvesting of rice. It is based on a set of twenty-one poems and illustrations dating to about 1145 by the Southern Song court painter Lou Shou (1090–1162). Such court-sponsored didactic paintings were intended to signify the emperor's role in fostering sound agricultural practices and would have been suitable gifts to officials charged with overseeing its administration. This work not only documents the continuation of the Song-style court painting tradition but demonstrates how Mongol officials, in spite of their nomadic heritage, had come to appreciate both the fundamental nature of agriculture in Chinese society and its importance in sustaining the fiscal health of the dynasty.

Rice Culture, which preserves only the final nine illustrations from the series, begins with the irrigation of the rice paddies (scene thirteen) and continues with the harvesting, stacking, threshing, winnowing, hulling, grinding, sifting, and storing of the rice.[145] Each image is preceded by a title and a transcription of Lou Shou's text, which describes the activity illustrated. The illustrations, executed in ink and color on silk, are painted in a highly descriptive style with anatomically well-observed figures and vivid landscape passages that reflect the representational manner of the Southern Song Imperial Painting Academy. Indeed, the compositions are virtually identical to those found in a scroll attributed to the thirteenth-century painter Cheng Qi that is said to be based on the now-lost work by Lou Shou.[146]

The scroll is dedicated to Toghto, Grand Preceptor and chancellor of the right, the most powerful figure at the Yuan court in the 1340s and 1350s. In early 1353 Toghto launched a radical agricultural plan to introduce to North China the techniques of rice cultivation that are illustrated here. The dedication appears in an inscription written in Chinese and dated March 16–25, 1353, by a Mongol named Hugechi that is mounted following the last illustration. Citing a number of classical sources to support his commentary, Hugechi recounts the origins of agriculture and describes its fundamental importance to the well-being of the state. He then invokes the authority of Khubilai Khan as a precedent for current agricultural policy, then continues:

> *Here witness the Grand Preceptor's [Toghto's] policy to develop the wilderness into cultivated fields so that tens of thousands of future generations may prosper. . . . It suits the ruler's mind. . . . People in the millions will find stability . . . and relief from obligatory labor. . . . An epic accomplishment!*[147]

The timing of Hugechi's gift coincides with one of the most daring experiments in Yuan economic policy. In response to rebel-led interruptions in grain shipments from the south to the capital, Toghto embarked on a project to introduce rice cultivation in the region around Dadu. This entailed recruiting some two thousand paddy farmers from Shandong for a year to teach native farmers methods of cultivation.

The ultimate failure of Toghto's policies to restore social order and fiscal solvency undoubtedly hastened the dynasty's fall. Years of drought, famine, and plague, coupled with the flooding of the Yellow River in the 1340s, the interruption of grain supplies to the capital as a result of piracy, and political rivalries at court, had all brought the Yuan state close to collapse. The empire rapidly devolved into competing rebel camps. In 1368 the capital fell and a new native dynasty, the Ming, was proclaimed.

1. For a discussion of whether Yuan painting underwent a "revolutionary change," see the articles by Jerome Silbergeld, Robert E. Harrist, and Richard Vinograd in *Ars Orientalis* 37 (2007, published 2009).
2. On this painting, see Cahill 1976: 17–18. For a transcription of colophons and seals, see Ōsaka Shiritsu Bijutsukan 1975, vol. 2: 24–25. For an illustration of the painting and colophons, see Ōsaka Shiritsu Bijutsukan 1994, no. 25. For the painting's impact on Asian art west of China, see Steinhardt 1987: 59–60.
3. On Gong Kai, see James Cahill's entry in Franke 1976, vol. 4: 64–69. For the defeat of the Song dynasty and the fate of its last claimants to the throne, see Franke and Twitchett 1994: 429–35. For Gong's pragmatic attitude about the failure of the Song to merge civil and military worlds, see Silbergeld 1985: 191 and Langlois 1981: 69, 67.
4. On the political symbolism of the horse in Chinese literature and art, see Silbergeld 1985 and Harrist 1997.
5. Translation from Silbergeld 1985: 169n24. The "classic" referred to is the *Xiang ma jing* (Classic of Judging Horses), attributed to Bole.
6. Chu-tsing Li makes this point (1968: 306–7).
7. For a transcription of these colophons, see Ōsaka Shiritsu Bijutsukan 1975, vol. 2, no. 45.
8. On this painting, see Wen Fong 1992: 367–73. Heretofore, scholars had posited that images of a drunken Zhong Kui and Zhong Kui marrying off his sister did not appear before the Ming; see Lin Chunmei 1996.
9. See *MLL*, *juan* 6 (1982 ed.: 45–46). For Howard Rogers's translation of this account, see Sherman Lee 1993: 211.
10. Sherman Lee first noted the connection to Western or Central Asian sources; see Lee 1962: 39. On these sources, see also Lee 1993: 214 and Härtel and Yaldiz 1982, no. 133.
11. No reliable work by Wu Daozi has survived, but his style may be conveyed by a rubbing of *The Spirit of Heng Mountain*; see Sirén 1956–58, vol. 3, fig. 88.
12. On this painting, see Sherman Lee 1993; see also Ho and Lee 1980, no. 91, and Lee 1962.
13. Chun-Yi Tsai argues in an unpublished seminar paper that the iconographic and compositional similarities of the two scrolls as well as the wide spacing between figures with almost no overlapping strongly suggest the use of stencils or other modular production mechanisms; see Tsai 2009: 5.
14. Mary Fong (1977: 431) has written that a new conception of Zhong Kui emerged with Yan Hui, that of "a highly respectable court official who is accompanied by an impressive entourage of demon retainers." Conversely, Stephen Little (1985: 24–35) notes that a variety of Zhong Kui images, including images with his sister, had begun to proliferate by the tenth and eleventh centuries.
15. Tsai connects Zhong Kui on a donkey with similar images of unappreciated scholars, while high officials typically ride horses. Tsai also notes that drunkenness is a trope associated with scholar-recluses; see Tsai 2009: 7. For images of donkey riders, see Sturman 1995.
16. See Tsai 2009: 7. For the early use of rebuses in Chinese paintings, see Qianshen Bai 1999.
17. For a full illustration and discussion of Gong Kai's painting and poem, see Lawton 1973: 142–49, no. 35.
18. On Wuxing as a painting center, see Chu-tsing Li 1981.
19. For biographical information on Qian Xuan, see Chen Gaohua 1980: 309–25 and Shou-chien Shih 1984b. For the Eight Talents of Wuxing, see Chu-tsing Li 1976: 75n10.
20. For the evolution of Qian Xuan's image as a virtuous recluse and Song loyalist, see Shou-chien Shih 1984b: 11–39.
21. Wai-kam Ho makes this assertion. Ho also translates an account of the Eight Talents of Wuxing by Zhang Yu (1333–1385); see Ho 1968: 92.
22. For the diversity of Qian Xuan's oeuvre, see Xia Wenyan (*THBJ*; 1365) as quoted in Chen Gaohua 1980: 311. For a survey of Qian Xuan attributions, see Cahill 1980: 264–70.
23. On this painting, see John Hay 1991 and Wen Fong 1992: 316–20.
24. Vinograd 1979a: 110.
25. How the painting acquired its present name remains unclear. Qian Xuan's inscription identifies it as "Dwelling in the Mountains," while his poem makes mention of a "Southern Mountain." Regarding the painting's date, Chu-tsing Li and James Cahill view it as a late work; see Chu-tsing Li 1981: 354; Cahill 1976: 36; and Cahill 1997: 143. A seal on the first colophon sheet mistakenly identified as that of Jia Sidao (1213–1275) led Richard Barnhart (1981: 81), Shou-chien Shih (1984b: 168–73), and John Hay (1991: 186) to accept this as an early work. For proof that the seal is that of the early eighteenth-century collector Geng Jiazuo, see Wang and Yang 1988. Tan Shengguang (2009) has put forth other reasons for regarding this as an early work.
26. For comparable examples of Dong Yuan's style, see Barnhart 1970. The landscape's connection to the Dong Yuan idiom was first observed by Zhao Mengfu in his now-lost colophon to the painting; see Barnhart 1970: 45.
27. On the Dong Yuan handscroll and the revival of the Dong Yuan style, see ibid.: 11–21, 41–54.
28. Adapted from Shou-chien Shih 1984b: 170–71 and Wai-kam Ho 1968: 92–93.
29. See Shou-chien Shih 1984b: 184. Colophons by Zhang Yu, Huang Gongwang, and Ni Zan, among others, confirm the importance of this painting for late Yuan artists; see Zhongguo gudai shuhua jianding zu 1987, vol. 2: 69–70, Hu 1-0143.
30. On Zhao Mengfu, see Zhixin Sun 1999 and McCausland 2000; see also Hearn 1996: 272–73.
31. As quoted by Zhao's friend Yang Zai (1271–1323) in 1322; see Chen Gaohua 1980: 40; see also Ren Daobin 1986: 267–76. Translation from Wen Fong 1992: 421.
32. Zhixin Sun 1999: 304.
33. Jonathan Hay makes this point; see Hay 1989: 117.
34. For Zhao on the "spirit of antiquity," see Chu-tsing Li 1965: 76.
35. For a detailed study of this painting, see Shou-chien Shih 1984a; see also McCausland 2000: 191–202; Barnhart 1970: 46–47; Cahill 1976: 40–41; and Vinograd 1979a: 111–24.
36. See Watt et al. 2004: 206–9, no. 114.
37. For a detailed study of this painting, see Chu-tsing Li 1965; see also Hearn 1996: 274–77.
38. For a reconstruction of the lost Dong Yuan in Zhao's collection, see Barnhart 1970, fig. 6.
39. For a translation of Zhao's inscription, see Hearn 1996: 276.
40. This painting is part of a longer scroll that also includes paintings by Zhao's son and grandson; see Wen Fong 1992: 432–36. Zhao's inscription reads: "On the tenth of the first lunar month in the second year of the Yuanzhen reign era [February 11, 1296] I painted this *Man and Horse* for Surveillance Commissioner Feiqing's pure enjoyment. Inscribed by Zhao Mengfu of Wuxing."
41. Jonathan Hay 1989: 121–22, fig. 2.
42. Powers 1984: 157.
43. See McCausland 2000: 128ff.
44. See Tang Hou (*GJHJ*, 1967 ed.: 33–34); translation from Chou 2005: 69, 138.
45. Translation after McCausland 2000: 130.
46. Translation after James Cahill in Yang Xin et al. 1997: 148 and McCausland 2000: 131.
47. Translation from Bush and Shih 1985: 254.

48. Translation from Wen Fong 1992: 433, where the entire poem is translated.
49. Hong Zaixin 1995.
50. For a translation of the entire inscription, see McCausland 2000: 161–62.
51. Zhixin Sun 1999: 304.
52. On this painting, see Shen Fu et al. 1977, no. 13; Barnhart 1983: 118–21; Wen Fong 1992: 436–42; McCausland 2000: 230–35; and Hearn 2009: 88–90. My dating of this painting follows McCausland 2000.
53. The quotation is from a colophon by Xianyu Shu (1257?–1302) to *Secluded Bamboo amid Withered Branches* (see fig. 227) by the Jin scholar-artist Wang Tingyun (1156–1202); see M. Fu 1981: 409–10.
54. This comment appears in a colophon; see Wen Fong et al. 1984: 104–5.
55. For discussions of this work see ibid.: 94–102, 284–87, no. 7; and Harrist and Fong 1999: 124–25, no. 11.
56. See Harrist and Fong 1999: 124–25.
57. Translation adapted from Zhixin Sun 1999: 316 quoting Zhao Mengfu, "Ba Wang Xizhi qiyue tie" as recorded in *DGL*, *juan* 1; see Lu Fusheng et al. 1992–94, vol. 8: 142.
58. On this work as an example of religious syncretism, see Harrist and Fong 1999: 125.
59. For a translation and discussion of the letter by Shane McCausland, see Ibid.: 126, no. 12. See also Chiang I-han 1977.
60. For the likely identity of Shu Jibo and the date of this letter, see Chiang I-han 1977.
61. For Ren's biography, see Chen Gaohua 2004: 226–35; Sherman Lee and Wai-kam Ho 1961: 70; and Marc Wilson's entry in Ho and Lee 1980: 116–18, no. 95. A number of scholars have suggested that Ren's paintings be interpreted as a defense of his own conduct; see Silbergeld 1985: 169 and Harrist 1997: 43.
62. I am indebted to my colleague Walter Liedtke, Curator of European Paintings at the Metropolitan Museum, for sharing his specialized knowledge about horses, kindly reading my manuscript, and making several invaluable suggestions.
63. For the role of horse painting during the Yuan, see Chen Dexin 2003: 148–59.
64. On this scroll, see Marc Wilson's entry in Ho and Lee 1980: 116–18, no. 95, and Sung 2009: 183–87, no. 62.
65. Jerome Silbergeld speculates that Ren's "courtly style" may have established a link between that mode of painting and a progovernment message just as the literati mode of monochrome painting on paper practiced by Gong Kai became associated with antigovernment sentiments; see Silbergeld 1985: 170.
66. See Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo et al. 1996. See also Sung 2009: 185.
67. For discussions of this scroll, see Cahill 1976: 155–56; Silbergeld 1985: 159–202; Jonathan Hay 1989: 123–25; and Harrist 1997: 42–43.
68. Translation from Silbergeld 1985: 170n26.
69. For an alternative interpretation, see Cahill 1976: 155. See also Silbergeld 1985: 170n26 and Steinhardt 1987: 60.
70. On Xianyu Shu, see M. Fu 1981.
71. The scroll in its present state preserves the last half of the text. The first twenty-six columns were lost in 1945; see ibid.: 416n96. For an illustration and transcription of the existing scroll, including the colophons, see Ōsaka Shiritsu Bijutsukan 2003: 50–51, 295–96, fig. 14; see also Harrist and Fong 1999: 129–31, no. 13.
72. For a summary of the text, see Huiwen Lu's entry in Harrist and Fong 1999: 129–31.
73. For discussions of this work, see M. Fu 1981: 428–29 and Wen Fong 1992: 417–21.
74. For a translation of the poem, see Bynner and Kiang 1931: 33–35.
75. M. Fu 1981: 428–29.
76. On this work, see ibid.: 374, 409–16.
77. On this work, see Kwan Wong 1981: 58–61, no. 10, and Wen Fong 1992: 413–17. For a transcription of the text, see Ōsaka Shiritsu Bijutsukan 2003: 186–91, 319–20, no. 80.
78. Translation after Wen Fong 1992: 416.
79. Ibid.: 417.
80. See Kwan Wong 1981: 58–59 and Yang Renkai 1991: 32. For Zhang Jizhi, see Murase et al. 2002: 122–27.
81. On the painting's style and date, see Marc Wilson's entry in Ho and Lee 1980: 44–47, no. 25; Wen Fong et al. 1984: 66–69; and John Hay 1984: 116–17. On the narrative content of the scroll, see Carpenter 2005.
82. For more on the artist's identity, see Fu Xinian 1999: 85–88.
83. For a full illustration and discussion of this painting, see Ho and Lee 1980, no. 22.
84. Fu Xinian 1999: 88–90.
85. For Feng Daozhen's tomb, see Datong shi wenwu chenlieguan and Shanxi Yungang wenwu guanlisuo 1962: 34–46, no. 10; see also Bush 1965: 171.
86. On this painting, see Bush 1995: 196–202; Avril 1997: 59–61, no. 28; and Sherman Lee and Wai-kam Ho 1968, no. 199. On the literary significance of this theme, see Wai-yee Li 1990: 69–72.
87. Susan Bush (1995: 198) notes that the place-name Pingshui was only used under the Jin, but it seems possible that Liu Yuan continued to use this name in the predynastic era of Mongol rule.
88. See Whitfield 1975: 84; see also Mino 1981, fig. 60.
89. See Bush 1995: 197–98.
90. Ibid.: 202.
91. Both prints were recovered from the ruined city of Kharakhoto (in western Inner Mongolia) in 1907–9 by a Russian expedition led by P. K. Kozlov; see K. T. Wu 1950; see also Thorp and Vinograd 2001: 257–58.
92. On Lüzhu, see "Shi Chong zhuan" (Biography of Shi Chong) included in "Shi Bao zhuan" (Biography of Shi Bao) in *JS* 1, *juan* 33, *liezhuan* 3. For an English translation, see Minford and Lau 2000: 476–78.
93. On Wang Zhaojun, see "Nan Xiongnu zhuan" (Biographies of Southern Xiongnu), in *HHS*, *juan* 89.
94. On Zhao Feiyan, see "Ningxing zhuan" (Biographies of Those Favored by the Emperor), in *HS*, *juan* 93; see also Watson 1974: 265–77.
95. On Lady Ban, see "Waiqi zhuan" (Biographies of the Emperor's Consorts' Families), in *HS*, *juan* 97. See also Watson 1974: 261–65. Lady Ban was immortalized in *Admonitions of the Instructress to the Court Ladies*, by Gu Kaizhi (ca. 345–406), as the consort who declined to ride in the emperor's palanquin; see McCausland 2003, fig. 3, scene 2.
96. Guan Yu's exploits are celebrated in the fourteenth-century novel *Sanguo zhi yanyi* (Romance of the Three Kingdoms); for an English translation, see Roberts 1991.
97. On this handscroll, see Ho and Lee 1980, no. 92; Weidner 1982: 92–106; Wu Hung 1996: 130–33; and Jonathan Hay 2002: 68–73.
98. Two Qing catalogues record a painting by Liu Guandao of the Seven Sages; see Lin Shuzhong and Yang Zhenguo 1998: 124–25, fig. 70. For a late fifth-century depiction of the Seven Sages, see Watt et al. 2004, no. 114.
99. See Ho and Lee 1980: 113, no. 92; Bunker 1968; and Weidner 1982: 97–99.
100. See Sherman Lee and Wai-kam Ho 1968, no. 198; see also Wu Hung 1996 for an analysis of the genre of double screen paintings.
101. Wang's scant biographical information comes from Yu Ji's epitaph for Wang's father; see Chen Gaohua 1980: 261–63. See also Weidner 1982: 132–77. I wish to thank Karen Brock for sharing with me her unpublished paper on this artist.

102. Wang Zhenpeng states on his inscription to his 1323 version of this painting that it was based on a version he executed for Renzong in 1310 which is no longer extant. The 1323 version survives today in many renditions. See Sherman Lee and Wai-kam Ho 1968, no. 201, and Wen Fong 1992: 396–97 and pl. 88; see also Cahill 1980: 335.
103. On this painting, see Wen Fong 1992: 332–33; Weidner 1994: 349–54; and Bush 1995: 202ff.
104. For translations of these inscriptions, see Weidner 1994: 349–51.
105. Wen Fong 1992: 331. For the Beijing painting, see Gugong bowuyuan 1980 and Xu Zhongling 2004: 120–29, 160.
106. Bush 1995: 202–7.
107. On this painting, see Tomita 1944. See also Sherman Lee and Wai-kam Ho 1968, no. 200, and Weidner 1994: 138–42.
108. See Franke and Twitchett 1994: 505–7.
109. Tang Di has been the subject of a number of scholarly studies, all of which present different dates for his life and death. For a summary of the recent scholarship, see Shou-chien Shih 1991.
110. Harrist 1991: 307.
111. See Datong shi wenwu chenlieguan and Shanxi Yungang wenwu guanlisuo 1962.
112. On Tang Di as a precursor to Ming court artists, see Barnhart 1993: 42–45, no. 11.
113. On Zhu Derun, see Chen Gaohua 1980: 181–94 and Cahill 1976: 79–80.
114. On this painting, see Sun Guobin 1990 (where the painting's transmission through nine generations of the Zhu family is documented); Yang Xin et al. 1997: 163; and Yu Hui et al. 2005, no. 58.
115. Translation after James Cahill in Yang Xin et al. 1997: 163.
116. On Ke Jiusi, see Hearn and Fong 1999: 100–105. For additional biographical information, see Cleaves 1957: 393–415 and Harrist and Fong 1999: 289–93.
117. For a further discussion, see Shen Fu et al. 1977: 142, 170–71, 255–56; Chiang I-han 1981; and Harrist and Fong 1999: 132–35, 298–93.
118. For a translation of and commentary on this poem, see Harrist and Fong 1999: 291–92.
119. These two poems, the sixth and eleventh from the series "Fifteen Palace Poems," are translated in Cleaves 1957: 421, 423.
120. Ke's application of these techniques is recorded by Ke's biographer; see Xu Xian, "Baishi jizhuan," as translated in Cleaves 1957: 412–13.
121. The inscription reads: "The first day of winter in the *jiyou* year of the Xining reign era [1069], Wen Tong, Yuke, of Bajun. On the Duanwu Festival of the *guiwei* year of the Zhizheng reign era [May 28, 1343], Ke Jiusi, Danqiu, made this copy."
122. On Kangli Naonao, see *YS, juan* 143 (1976 ed., vol. 11: 3413–17); Cleaves 1947; and Wang Ting and Song Yongzhi 2005.
123. *YS, juan* 143 (1976 ed., vol. 11: 3415); translation from Chen Yuan 1966: 25.
124. On this handscroll, see Shen Fu et al. 1977: 86–87, 103, 256–57, no. 21; M. Fu 1981: 412, 415–16; and Harrist and Fong 1999: 136–37, no. 15.
125. *YS, juan* 143 (1976 ed., vol. 11: 3414).
126. For Sadula's dates, see Zhang Xuguang 1979. I am indebted to Chen Yunru of the National Palace Museum for invaluable advice in a personal communication about Sadula's dates. On Sadula's family's ethnicity and religion, see Chen Yuan 1966: 151 and n. 236.
127. Translation after Chen Yuan 1966: 293.
128. For a reproduction of the painting with all its colophons, see Guoli gugong bowuyuan 1989– , vol. 17: 185–94; see also Ho and Lee 1980: 127–30, no. 104.
129. Translation by Shi-yee Liu.
130. On this new type of literati flower-and-bird painting, see Fu Xinian 1989: 20–22.
131. I wish to thank Karen Hsu and Nigel J. Collar for their assistance in the identification of the birds in this painting.
132. Sung 2009: 81–90; see also Hartman 1993: 145–49.
133. Hou-Mei Sung, personal communication, March 2010.
134. I am indebted to Charles Hartman (private correspondence) for pointing out the significance of Wang Yuan's dedication and for providing the reference to *Analects* 4.17 (see Legge 1893–95, vol. 1: 170). For the symbolism of a pair of pheasants, see Hartman 1993: 161–62.
135. On Zhang's Mongol identity, see Hong Zaixin 1997: 7 and n. 43.
136. For a translation of an account by the fourteenth-century scholar Chen Ji, see Sherman Lee and Wai-kam Ho 1968, no. 243.
137. Chen Gaohua 1980: 278; translation from Ho and Lee 1980, no. 84: 105.
138. On Yang Weizhen, see Goodrich and Fang 1976: 1547–53; on the scroll, see Liu Zhengcheng et al. 2000: 180, 241, no. 35.
139. Translation by Shi-yee Liu.
140. The earliest extant calligraphic composition in the hanging scroll format is by Wu Ju (active 12th century), but it is unclear whether it was originally intended as a scroll or as part of a screen or wall panel; see Guoli gugong bowuyuan 1996: 40, pl. 12. Works attributed to Zhao Mengfu and Zhang Yu (1283–1350) also exist in this format, but their authenticity has not been established; see Augustin 2007.
141. On Ni Zan, see Wen Fong et al. 1984: 113–26; Wen Fong 1992: 475–97; and Wen Fong and Watt 1996: 311–19. On Ni's date of birth, see Li Runhuan 1976 and Tan Fuxing 1992.
142. Translation after Wen Fong in Fong et al. 1984: 114.
143. Ibid.: 116.
144. On this scroll, see Hammers 2002.
145. Lawton 1973: 55.
146. Ibid.
147. Translation after Hammers 2002: 360–62.

Textiles and the Decorative Arts

8

Textiles in the Mongol and Yuan Periods

Joyce Denney

The significance of luxury textiles in the Mongol Empire can hardly be overstated. They make appearances in scores of written records, ranging from official documents such as the *Yuanshi* (History of the Yuan Dynasty) to popular accounts such as that by Marco Polo.[1] Plunder, trade, diplomacy, ceremony, and tribute and taxation were occasions for the acquisition, distribution, and display of cloth—especially opulent silk textiles woven with gold—activities that were frequently public and symbolic of Mongol political power. Luxury textiles found many uses: in garments and personal accessories, horse and elephant trappings, tent and palace hangings, cushions and canopies, works of religious art, and even imperial portraiture. This essay discusses Central Asian and Chinese textiles and is based on the exhibition catalogue *When Silk Was Gold*, by James C. Y. Watt and Anne E. Wardwell, with some updates and supplementary information.[2]

In forming the largest contiguous land empire in world history, the Mongols used harsh tactics. They sometimes slaughtered entire populations, and yet starting as early as a campaign against the Jin dynasty in 1216, they usually spared artisans, especially textile workers.[3] The Mongols acquired textile technology through the relocation of weavers to production centers in other parts of the empire. They were by no means the first conquerors to use the talents of captured textile workers, though earlier instances of this practice seem insignificant by comparison.[4] The sheer geographical sweep of the Mongol Empire increased exponentially the distances that workers traveled and sometimes resulted in workshops composed of artisans from North China, eastern Central Asia, and the eastern Iranian world.

Opposite: Dragons amid Flowers, detail of figure 257

East–west cultural exchange in the early days of Mongol rule is largely a product of interactions between North China, eastern Central Asia, and the Iranian world. With the establishment of the Yuan dynasty in the 1270s, the styles that developed during the earlier period were gradually absorbed into local traditions.[5] Of all the arts, textiles provide the clearest examples of the dynamic stylistic and technical interactions that took place in the early years of the Mongol Empire; they also present more subtle instances of the absorption process during the later period.

SILK TAPESTRY: *KESI*

Scholars have addressed the intriguing question of the origins of *kesi,* Chinese silk tapestry weaving, but to date no definitive conclusions have been reached.[6] Focusing on later *kesi,* Watt and Wardwell use stylistic and technical characteristics to delineate groups of silk tapestry from post-Tang Central Asia and from the Song, Liao, Tangut Xixia, and Yuan dynasties.[7] They note the importance of the Uighurs, positing a connection between the presence of Uighurs and the production of *kesi* in all these areas, dating from the years following the collapse of the Uighur Empire in 840 through the rise of the Mongols in the thirteenth century.[8] Wherever groups of Uighurs were present, the production of silk tapestry appeared—during the Liao dynasty of the Khitans in North China, during the Song dynasty, and in the territory of the Xixia in northwest China. Nevertheless, despite the evidence of extant textiles and the strong circumstantial evidence of the presence of the Uighur people at critical times, the hypothesis of a Uighur connection still awaits further confirmation.

Figure 257. *Dragons amid Flowers*. Eastern Central Asia, 11th–12th century. Silk tapestry, warp 21⅛ × weft 13 in. (53.5 × 33 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Fletcher Fund, 1987 1987.275 [Exhib.]

Silk tapestries of eastern Central Asia (the eastern half of present-day Xinjiang) are remarkably similar stylistically to *kesi* of China's Song dynasty. *Dragons amid Flowers* (fig. 257), with its lively floral background and characteristic writhing dragon, must have been woven in eastern Central Asia, where a Uighur state had been established in Turfan after the fall of the Uighur Empire in 840. The treatment of both dragon and background is typically Central Asian. The dragon, with a long snout and its tail hooked around a hind leg, is a Central Asian survival of the Tang form of the dragon; such dragon patterns survived in Central Asia until at least the Yuan dynasty. The floral background, seen also in other Central Asian silk tapestries of the period, features different types of flowers and leaves in various sizes and colors, creating a foil for the dragon that is at once subtle and vibrant.[9]

Figure 258. *Dragon amid Flowers.* Northern Song dynasty, early 12th century. Leaf 1 from the album *Louhui jijin ce.* Silk tapestry, warp 8⅞ × weft 12⅜ in. (22.5 × 31.3 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei

A *kesi* of Northern Song China dating from the early twelfth century displays a distinct affinity with the *kesi* from Central Asia. *Dragon amid Flowers* (fig. 258) also shows a long-snouted dragon on a floral background. As Watt and Wardwell note, it seems reasonable to suggest that a Northern Song *kesi* such as this one derives from a Central Asian prototype.

The most distinctive technical feature of the Central Asian tapestries is an uneven surface. They are also quite uneven in weft density and frequently include eccentric weaving, a characteristic of tapestry in which wefts deviate from the horizontal. *Aquatic Birds and Recumbent Animal* (fig. 259), an example from eastern Central Asia or North China, is similar to a piece of tapestry-woven silk recovered from the twin pagodas of the monk Haiyun (1203–1257) and his disciple Ke'an in the Qingshou Monastery in Beijing.[10] It also resembles a boot cover made from a tapestry-woven silk textile with a purple background excavated from a Mongol-period site in Mingshui, Inner Mongolia.[11] The function of this charming tapestry with birds and an unidentified animal is not known, but the boot cover could point to the use of this type of textile for articles of clothing.

The *Lions with Palmettes* (fig. 260) is also Central Asian, but its pattern suggests that it may have originated farther west than eastern Xinjiang. The lion with parted mane and upraised head derives from Iranian sources as early as the Sasanian period, and antecedents for the form of the foliate palmettes are found in the art of both Central and Western Asia. Other tapestries with this pattern survive, but careful examination has shown that they are not all part of the same textile, thus confirming that the same *kesi* pattern was woven repeatedly. A corresponding piece has a pattern that includes a partial cloud-collar motif along one edge, which may indicate that the textile was used for garments.

A remarkable aspect of this example is the repeat system of the pattern. The tapestry technique allows complete freedom of design; nevertheless, this pattern—lions with palmettes in horizontal rows that alternately face left and right—repeats in the directions of both warp and weft. Woven silks with patterns that repeat in both directions are typically the product of drawlooms (looms with pattern mechanisms). The Persian influence on the pattern of *Lions with Palmettes* and the similarity of the pattern layout to that of drawloom silks suggest that this type of *kesi* may have originated in the early thirteenth century, at a time of massive movements of artisans from the eastern Iranian world to eastern Central Asia.[12]

Two general types of *kesi* are known from the Mongol and Yuan periods, one with small-scale repetitive patterns, the other resembling paintings. Extant works suggest that the more decorative form, used for garments, was more common in the Mongol period, while the pictorial form, seen in imperial portraiture and Buddhist art, was more common in the Yuan period. A fragment of a Mongol-style robe in a private collection (fig. 261) exemplifies the decorative type. The fragment comprises the skirt section, with a typically Mongol waistband that consists of cords couched to the surface. In the same collection are sleeves and part of the back in the same cloth, indicating that the

Figure 259. *Aquatic Birds and Recumbent Animal.* Eastern Central Asia or North China, 13th century. Silk tapestry, warp 11¼ × weft 24⅜ in. (28.5 × 62 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Purchase, Gifts in memory of Christopher C. Y. Chen, Gifts from various donors in honor of Douglas Dillon, Barbara and William Karatz Gift, and Eileen W. Bamberger Bequest, in memory of her husband, Max Bamberger, 1997 1997.7 [Exhib.]

Figure 260. *Lions with Palmettes.* Central Asia, 13th century or earlier. Silk and metallic thread tapestry, warp 25 × weft 13⅝ in. (63.5 × 34.7 cm). The Cleveland Museum of Art. Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund 1991.3 [Exhib.]

garment was once a complete robe. A rare survival, the garment was made from *kesi* of the decorative type, with a pattern of birds and floral elements. Extant robes of this typically Mongol form are more frequently made from textiles woven with gold. Before the Mongol period, the people known for their *kesi* garments were the Uighurs. A Southern Song official, Hong Hao (1088–1155), who kept records of his impressions during a period of captivity in the Jin capital (present-day Beijing), remarked upon the "resplendently beautiful" robes of tapestry-woven silk woven and worn by Uighurs who lived in the area.[13] It may be that this robe belonged to a Uighur man who served under the Mongols.

In a phenomenon unique to the Yuan dynasty, Chinese silk tapestry was used for imperial portraiture. Indeed, *kesi* and other textile techniques were the preferred mode for portraiture at the Yuan court, according to a provocative quote from Tugh Temür in 1329: "To weave an image so that it seems to come alive is not something that can be equaled by the application of colors [i.e., in painting].

Figure 261. Fragment of a Mongol-style robe with "braided" (*bian xian*) waist, 13th century. Silk tapestry weave with couched silk cord at waist, 29⅞ × 54 in. (76 × 137 cm). Private collection

To make an image of clay is even more inferior. Thus human skill can match the wonder of nature."[14] This passage suggests that painted portraits of the imperial family (see figs. 1, 7) served as models for portraits in other mediums, including portraits in silk tapestry (see the imperial portraits at the lower corners in fig. 146, details). Furthermore, historical records refer to the weaving of a posthumous likeness of Khubilai and his chief consort, Chabi, and to numerous slightly later commissions for imperial portraits.[15]

Kesi also served as the medium for works of Buddhist art, which varied in size from the monumental (see fig. 146) to the intimate. The *Cosmological Mandala with Mount Meru* (fig. 262) is a tapestry-woven diagram of Tibetan cosmology, which places the sacred world mountain, Meru, at its center. As in most Yuan textiles, the mandala features patterns from various sources: the blue-and-green landscapes in variously shaped cartouches at the cardinal points of the circle derive from the Chinese tradition, while the pattern of the lotus scroll emerging from a vase at the corners originated in India and was transmitted to China via Nepal and Tibet.[16]

Structural characteristics place this piece in the Yuan dynasty, with some traits echoing *kesi* of the Southern Song and at least one element anticipating *kesi* of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). Overall, as seen in tapestries of the Southern Song, the surface is smooth and the weave is quite fine, with little eccentric weaving. A practice that is present here and might have been common in *kesi* of the Yuan period is the wrapping of single warps, especially at vertical boundaries between color areas.[17] A structural aspect that anticipates *kesi* of the Ming dynasty is seen in the mandala's blue-and-green landscapes: at the border between two color fields, the interpenetration of spurs of color gives the effect of shading.

TEXTILES WOVEN WITH GOLD

Thomas Allsen has summarized scholarly research on the Mongol affinity for gold, stating, "the essential point is that this precious metal was not simply a glittering bauble to attract the eye of the avaricious barbarian . . . but a substance and a *color* with deep and specific cosmological meaning," representing, at the very least, the male principle, the sun, and the heavens.[18] Furthermore, gold was explicitly associated with Chinggis Khan and the imperial lineage, and with Mongol power in general, an association well known to peoples near and far at the time of the Mongol Empire.

The importance of gold in Mongol culture is reflected in its prevalent use by the Mongol elite, who very early in their conquests encouraged the production throughout the empire of textiles with patterns—especially overall patterns—woven in gold. To harness the required technology, they relocated weavers taken in western Central Asia to textile centers farther east.

Allsen summarizes these early relocations: From about 1219 to 1222, at the time of Chinggis and Ögödei's campaigns in Turkestan and Khurasan in western Central Asia, three textile centers known from historic documents employed relocated weavers. All three centers produced cloth with overall patterns woven in gold—*nasij*—and all three were

Figure 262. *Cosmological Mandala with Mount Meru*. Silk tapestry, warp 33 × weft 33 in. (83.8 × 83.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Purchase, Fletcher Fund and Joseph E. Hotung and Michael and Danielle Rosenberg Gifts, 1989 1989.140 [Exhib.]

reorganized in the 1270s, at the beginning of the Yuan period. One early center was in Beshbaliq, the former Uighur capital in the northern foothills of the Tianshan range. In 1222 one thousand households of weavers were relocated to Beshbaliq from Herat, which was known for its cloth of gold. (In 1236–39, 10 to 25 percent of the weavers at Beshbaliq were permitted to return to Herat to revitalize the textile industry there—the only recorded example of such a return.) The second center was in Hongzhou (in present-day Hebei Province). There three hundred artisans from the Western Regions (western Central Asia) and three hundred from Bianjing (present-day Kaifeng, Henan Province) were relocated. In other words, in Hongzhou weavers from two weaving traditions—those of North China and western Central Asia—found themselves working together. The third center was in Xunmalin (also in Hebei), the destination for three thousand households of Muslim artisans, many of them from Samarkand in Transoxiana, western Central Asia.[19]

Figure 263. *Robe with Cranes in Flight amid Clouds* (detail). Jin dynasty, 1162. Woven silk and metallic thread textile, 55⅞ × 88¼ in. (142 × 224 cm). Excavated from the tomb of Prince Qi (d. 1162) at Juyuan, Acheng, Heilongjiang Province, 1988. Heilongjiang Museum, Harbin

Two types of textiles with patterns woven in gold are discussed in the following paragraphs—silk textiles with patterns of offset motifs in gold on a plain background and silk textiles with continuous overall patterns in gold, the latter sometimes referred to as *nasij* and including the textiles known as cloth of gold.

Textiles with offset motifs in gold on a plain background have been excavated from sites of the Jin, Mongol, and Yuan periods. They can be divided into structural and stylistic groups. The first group, from the Jin and Mongol periods, is brocaded in gold on a plain background, and the pattern wefts are gold threads that turn at the left and right edges of each motif. (In brocading, pattern wefts are woven back and forth only where they are needed for the pattern.)

Two textiles from key excavations exemplify this group. One is from the tomb of a member of the Jin ruling elite, Prince Qi, who died in 1162.[20] We rely on this site, located near Acheng in Heilongjiang Province, for most of our direct knowledge of Jin-dynasty textiles. Many of the textiles in the tomb have offset motifs woven in gold. Prince Qi's wife, who was also buried in the tomb, wore a long dark-colored garment with a repeating gold pattern of a pair of cranes in flight amid clouds (fig. 263).[21] As in other pieces from this site, each of the scattered motifs is unbounded and asymmetrical, and they occur in an offset configuration (not aligned one above the next). The pattern of cranes and clouds appears rather freely drawn, with a graceful but irregular outline; the motif is like a scene taken from a larger image. An unusual variant of brocading is first seen in this tomb.[22] In the variant, to adjust for the thickness of the gold wefts that pattern the textile, some of the silk foundation wefts float on the

Front

Back

Figure 264. Fragment of a Mongol-style robe with teardrop-shaped motif of recumbent deer (detail), 13th century. Plain-weave silk brocaded with metallic thread, warp 8¼ × weft 16⅞ in. (21 × 43 cm). Excavated at Mingshui, Damaoqi, Inner Mongolia. Inner Mongolia Institute of Archaeology, Hohhot

back of the motifs and are introduced into the foundation weave between the motifs.

A second key excavated piece, a fragment that was formerly part of a Mongol-style robe with a cummerbund-like waist area, is from an Onggut site at Mingshui in Inner Mongolia (fig. 264).[23] The textile has a plain background and teardrop-shaped motifs of a recumbent deer with massive antlers and features the unusual brocading technique described in Jin examples.[24] The Ongguts may have acquired the textile directly from the Jin, either before their rupture with the Jin in the early thirteenth century or later, through plunder or siege warfare. Mongol forces acquired textiles with gold patterns in 1215, at the time of the fall of the Jin capital Zhongdu (Beijing), and again in 1234, at the end of the Jin dynasty, with the fall of their southern capital, Bianjing (Kaifeng).[25] In the years between, an eyewitness account of the Jin capital under Mongol siege in 1232 tells of Bianjing residents desperately giving the Mongols their gold and their silk textiles in the hope of receiving grain in exchange.[26] As this textile was found in a Mongol-period tomb, another possibility is that it was produced by Jin weavers working in one of the aforementioned workshops in the early years of Mongol rule.

The fragment with deer has the same unusual brocading technique first seen in the Jin tomb that yielded the crane textile (fig. 263). The motifs in both textiles are asymmetrical and unbounded; however, compared with the pattern edges of the crane textile, the outlines of the motifs of the Mingshui deer textile are more tightly constrained to fit within the teardrop shape. Furthermore, while all the motifs on the crane textile are the same, in the Mingshui fragment one row of deer faces left, another faces right.[27]

Three brocaded textiles in the exhibition have offset pattern units woven in gold, and all three are woven in the brocading technique seen in pieces excavated from the princely Jin tomb. The first two, a red textile with coiled dragon motifs and a green textile with offset teardrop-shaped motifs of a falcon attacking a swan, are based on the stylistic and structural tradition of the Jin dynasty. The third textile, a red silk with lotus flowers, is based on the stylistic and structural tradition of weavers originally from the eastern Iranian world who were relocated by the Mongols to conquered Jin territories.[28]

The *Textile with Coiled Dragons* (fig. 265) has brocaded motifs of the Jin-dynasty type, that is, with an asymmetrical borderless design and the typically Jin brocading technique. The pattern of a coiled dragon with flaming jewel has a long history beginning in the Tang dynasty (618–907), spreading in East Asia, and surviving for centuries. Watt and Wardwell note that the coiled-dragon pattern was first mentioned in a text dating from the Tang dynasty.[29] It occurs later on excavated textiles of the Liao dynasty[30] and on works of various mediums in the Tangut, Xixia, and Song dynasties.[31] The pattern spread throughout East Asia; it was in Korea by the late thirteenth century.[32]

Figure 265. *Textile with Coiled Dragons*. Jin dynasty (1115–1234). Plain-weave silk brocaded with metallic thread, warp 29⅜ × weft 13⅛ in. (74.5 × 33.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gift of Lisbet Holmes, 1989 1989.205 [Exhib.]

Figure 266. *Swan Hunt*. Jin dynasty (1115–1234). Plain-weave silk brocaded with metallic thread, warp 23 × weft 24½ in. (58.5 × 62.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Purchase, Ann Eden Woodward Foundation Gift and Rogers Fund, 1989 1989.282 [Exhib.]

The dragons in the present textile may be among the earliest extant five-clawed dragons in Chinese art.[33]

The annual hunt provided the subject for the motif on the textile with swans (fig. 266). At the top of the teardrop shape a falcon dives to attack a swan, its wings and neck outstretched. The hunt was an essential part of Jurchen and Mongol culture, and that of the Khitans before them. The Khitans of the Liao dynasty engaged in long seasonal hunts: "spring-water" hunts of swans (wild geese) by the water in springtime, "autumn-mountain" hunts of deer in the mountains in the fall, and in the summer and winter, seasonal camps as well. The Jurchens of the Jin dynasty also followed this custom.[34] For the spring hunt the Jurchens wore uniforms with gold patterns of a falcon attacking a swan. The Khitan uniform for the spring hunt was dark green, as was, most likely, that of the Jurchens at the same event.[35]

For the Mongol elite, as for their predecessors, the hunt provided relaxation, martial training, and occasions for displays of splendor and power. Two hunting parks were built for Khubilai Khan, one near the capital, Dadu, and the other at his summer residence, Shangdu.[36] In the mid-thirteenth century, falconry was popular among Mongols of many ranks. By the time Khubilai came to power, it

Figure 267. Liu Guandao (active ca. 1275–1300), *Khubilai Khan Hunting* (detail), dated 1280. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 72 × 41 in. (182.9 × 104.1 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei

was ostentatiously practiced among the elite; Marco Polo maintained that the Mongol leader traveled with hundreds of the trained birds.[37]

For the Mongols of the Yuan dynasty, as for the Liao and the Jin before them, the swan hunt was a major annual event. The practice is represented on jade ornaments such as the belt buckle with swan design from the Yuan-dynasty tombs of the Wang Shixian family in Gansu Province (see fig. 351). The practice is also depicted in a painting of Khubilai hunting, in which the accoutrements of a falconer clad in blue feature a white falcon attacking a white goose or swan (fig. 267). The *Shanju xinhua* (New Thoughts While Dwelling in the Mountains), a book of miscellaneous jottings of the late Yuan dynasty, notes that the imperial falconer whose bird downed the first swan of the season received as a prize a coveted gold ingot.[38]

Neither the coiled-dragon nor the swan-hunt textile is exactly like anything thus far excavated from a Jin site. The textiles from the Jin tomb are extremely high in quality. They are finely woven, and their unusual gold thread is gilded on both sides. Textiles such as the coiled dragon and swan hunt, which are less finely woven and have a lower-quality gold thread, were perhaps intended for use by officials outside the imperial family.[39]

The coiled-dragon and swan-hunt textiles are more similar to the deer fragment than to the crane textile. While asymmetrical and unbounded, the motifs of all three are constrained to fit a shape. None of the three has the free outlines of the textile with cranes. Furthermore, unlike the cranes, who face in the same direction, the dragons and swans face left in one row and right in the next, similar to the deer in the textile from Mingshui.

The third brocaded textile in the exhibition, a red silk with *Lotus Flowers* (fig. 268), is a remarkable piece of material evidence of the Mongols' relocation of weavers from conquered areas in Central Asia to other parts of their territory, where they worked together with weavers from North China. The lotus textile reflects the tradition of the eastern Iranian world, both stylistically and structurally. Its teardrop-shaped motifs have bilateral symmetry, with a vertical axis of mirror imaging at the center. That symmetry and the presence of paired foundation warps demonstrate its accord with the tradition of the eastern Iranian world.[40] Meanwhile, as in the swan-hunt and coiled-dragon textiles, the lotus textile also features the unusual brocading variation first noted in textiles from the Jin tomb, namely, the floating of occasional foundation warps on the reverse of the brocaded motif. In this textile the combination of traits from both the Jin dynasty and the eastern Iranian world strongly suggests that the piece was produced at a weaving center such as Hongzhou in west central Hebei, where Chinese weavers from Bianjing and weavers relocated from Transoxiana and Khurasan worked together under the Mongols beginning in the period shortly before Ögödei (r. 1229–41) became khan.[41]

Offset repeating motifs woven in gold on a plain background are a frequent occurrence in textiles of the Yuan dynasty. Such textiles are depicted in portraits of imperial Yuan women, as for example the neckband worn by a consort of Emperor Wuzong (Khaishan; r. 1308–11), where the teardrop-shaped motifs feature asymmetrical designs of the auspicious fungus (fig. 269). They are mentioned in Yuan texts, such as the *Yuandianzhang*, a book of regulations with rules about dress, which includes a chart that delineates the size of gold

Figure 268. *Lotus Flowers.* North China, 13th–mid-14th century. Plain-weave silk brocaded with metallic thread, warp 23 × weft 26⅜ in. (58.4 × 67 cm). The Cleveland Museum of Art. John L. Severance Fund 1994.293 [Exhib.]

patterns (*jin dazi*) associated with particular ranks.[42] And they have been excavated from Yuan sites, such as the Wang family tombs in Zhangxian, Gansu Province, which yielded textiles with small offset motifs of rabbits.[43] It is certainly possible for these more close-set motifs to be brocaded in the Jin variation we have already seen, but at least two other ways of weaving these designs also occur.

The Gansu textile with gold rabbits has a pattern of small offset motifs of running rabbits, one row facing left and the next facing right. Technical details of this textile have not been published, but a textile similar in appearance is in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 270). Its motifs are not brocaded. Instead of turning around at the side edges of the motifs, the gold pattern wefts in the Metropolitan textile are woven from selvedge to selvedge, and they float on the back of the textile when not in use for the pattern. This technique, a form of supplementary weft patterning, is one way, and a fairly efficient one, for producing textiles of this type.[44] The technique is frequently seen in the Mongol and Yuan periods.[45]

A third method that could be used to weave offset gold motifs on a plain background can be seen in a recently

Figure 269. *Consort of Emperor Wuzong,* 14th century. Album leaf, ink and color on silk, 30 × 22⅝ in. (76 × 57.5 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei

Figure 270. *Textile with Rabbits* (detail), 13th–14th century. Twill-weave silk with continuous supplementary-weft patterning in metallic thread, warp 3 × weft 4¼ in. (7.6 × 10.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Fletcher Fund, 1946 46.156.23

identified group of textiles. They are related to the brocaded pieces in the Jin tradition that we have examined, sharing the Jin trait of asymmetrical vignette-like patterns and sometimes featuring animals related to the hunt. This group, however, is structurally quite different from the coiled-dragon and swan-hunt textiles. In this group, a set of warp threads is added to bind the gold wefts of the motifs.

Modest examples of this technique occur in a patchwork in the Metropolitan Museum's collection. One of the patchwork's squares has an offset pattern of teardrop-shaped motifs of a recumbent deer in gold on a blue background (fig. 271). The deer of the patchwork is very much like the deer with massive antlers seen in the Mingshui textile (fig. 264), and in both pieces each of the motifs is brocaded in the Jin technique, with occasional foundation wefts floating on the back of the gold patterns. But there the similarity ends. Instead of one set of warp threads, as in the Mingshui textile, a second set of warp threads has been added, solely for binding the gold pattern wefts. The front of the patchwork square shows that the blue foundation warps are not used to bind the gold pattern wefts; instead, a light tan silk binding warp performs that task. On the back, the additional set of warps is not woven into the background weave between motifs.[46] The addition of a set of binding warps indicates that this is a type of lampas, a weave introduced into China from Central Asia during the Mongol period. The square thus exemplifies the marriage of techniques from North China (Jin-style brocading) and Central Asia (lampas). Possibly it was produced in a textile production center where artisans from the two areas worked together.

A more dramatic example of the same technique is the dark blue robe with a woven-in gold rabbit-and-falcon badge in a private collection (see fig. 107). The robe incorporates a set of binding warps for the gold wefts of the badge motif; at the edges of the badge, the binding warps are cut on the back instead of being woven into the cloth.[47]

Front

Back

Figure 271. Square from a patchwork of woven textiles (details). Plain-weave silk with brocaded lampas motifs in metallic thread, warp 3¾ × weft 3¾ in. (9.5 × 9.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Rogers Fund, by exchange, 1999 1999.44

TEXTILES WITH OVERALL PATTERNS IN GOLD

Head and shoulders above all others was *nasij*, the favored textile of the Mongol Empire.[48] The term *nasij* is thought to refer to silk textiles with overall designs woven in gold. The most spectacular examples, sometimes termed "cloth of gold," have gold both as pattern and background, with silk used only for outlines and details. In keeping with the importance of gold in Mongol culture, *nasij* is frequently mentioned in documents and histories of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The Mongol elite strongly encouraged its production, and as we have seen, especially during the conquest of western Central Asia, they moved weavers of *nasij* from one part of the empire to textile centers in other parts.

The presence of *nasij* in eastern Central Asia from the eleventh to the twelfth century is shown in two surviving cloth shoes (figs. 272, 273), one ornamented principally with embroidery (fig. 272), but both decorated with tiny pieces of cloth and applied cord. The two beautifully made shoes are quite similar in shape and ornamentation, suggesting that they date from the same period. Both were found outside the walled city of Gaochang and probably dates from the eleventh to twelfth century.[49] Among the types of cloth seen in both shoes are purple

Figure 272. Embroidered shoe. Central Asia, 11th–12th century. Wool, hemp, and silk textile upper with silk embroidery, leather sole, length 9 in. (23 cm). Collected by Sir Marc Aurel Stein, findspot Karakhoja (Gaochang). The British Museum, London 1928.1022.196 [Exhib.]

Figure 273. Shoe. Central Asia, 11th–12th century. Wool, hemp, and silk textiles, length 8⅝ in. (22 cm). Collected by Sir Marc Aurel Stein, findspot Karakhoja (Gaochang). The British Museum, London 1928.1022.197 [Exhib.]

Figure 274. *Cloth of Gold with Winged Lions and Griffins*. Central Asia, ca. 1240–60. Silk and metallic thread lampas, warp 48⅞ × weft 19¼ in. (124 × 48.8 cm). The Cleveland Museum of Art. Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund 1989.50 [Exhib.]

Figure 275. Robe with "braided" (*bian xian*) waist (detail of underflap), 13th century. Silk and metallic thread samite, robe 55⅞ × 96⅞ in. (142 × 246 cm). Excavated at Mingshuicun, Damao Banner, Baotou, Inner Mongolia. Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum [Exhib.]

silk gauze and *nasij*, the lampas-weave textile with a preponderance of metallic thread on the surface. The incorporation of these luxury textiles hints at the use of lengths of the cloth for garments that do not survive.

A silk and gold textile of the mid-thirteenth century, the *Cloth of Gold with Winged Lions and Griffins* (fig. 274), serves here as a textbook example both of *nasij* and of the Mongol policy of relocating weavers to spread production. The preponderance of gold and the fineness of the weaving make it likely that the textile was produced in a government-sponsored or imperial Mongol workshop. Woven in brilliant gold that covers most of the dark brown background, it features tangent aligned roundels with pairs of back-to-back winged lions, who turn to look at each other. Pairs of griffins, also addorsed and regardant, crowd the interstices against a background densely filled with palmettes and scrolling foliage.

Some details of the textile are from China or eastern Central Asia. At the end of the lion's tail, for example, is a long-snouted dragon's head that strongly resembles that in the Central Asian *Dragons amid Flowers* (fig. 257). By contrast, an aspect of the textile that recalls the Iranian world is the design of aligned roundels with addorsed regardant animals coupled with an interstitial ornament of animals, a type of patterning firmly established in twelfth-century Iran before the start of the Mongol period. In the final analysis, however, technical details such as the structure of the metallic thread strongly suggest a place of production much farther east than western Iran. The gold thread in the *Cloth of Gold with Winged Lions and Griffins* consists of a thin layer of gold on a paper substrate that was cut into strips and wrapped around a silk core. Gold threads with a paper substrate are typically used in textiles of China or eastern Central Asia.[50]

Figure 276. *Textile with Floral Pattern.* Central Asia, ca. late 13th–mid-14th century. Silk and metallic thread lampas, warp 4¾ × weft 7⅛ in. (12.1 × 18.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Rogers Fund, 1919 19.191.3 [Exhib.]

Figure 277. *Textile with Phoenix, Winged Animal, and Flowers.* Central Asia, 13th–early 14th century. Silk and metallic thread lampas, warp 9⅜ × weft 6½ in. (23.7 × 16.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gift of Mrs. Howard J. Sachs, in memory of Arthur Upham Pope, 1973 1973.269 [Exhib.]

The mixture of patterns, materials, and techniques in this textile can best be explained in light of the relocation of weavers. The combination of Chinese, Central Asian, and Iranian elements in the pattern, as well as the Chinese gold thread with paper substrate and other technical details, suggests that the piece was produced in a North Chinese textile center that employed weavers from the eastern Iranian world who had also been exposed to Chinese methods and materials.

Bearing interesting similarities to the *Cloth of Gold with Winged Lions and Griffins* is an intriguing textile used as part of the Mongol robe excavated from Mingshui (fig. 275). The pattern is a vertical and horizontal lattice, each of its aligned square cells filled with a roundel containing a pair of addorsed regardant sphinxes with the body of a winged lion and the head of a human wearing a crown. Like the tails of the winged lions, the sphinxes' tails loop around their legs, and floral elements occur between the pairs of both lions and sphinxes. The winged-lion textile is a cloth of gold with much surviving bright gold thread; the metallic thread that covers much of the surface of the sphinx textile has lost its gold. Finally, the weave of the two textiles differs dramatically. The winged-lion textile is lampas, a technique that moved eastward to China with the relocation of *nasij*-weaving artisans, but the textile with sphinxes is a weft-faced compound twill, a weave that had been in use throughout China since at least the Tang dynasty. More commonly, the older weave occurs in polychrome silk without metallic threads; here, the preponderance of metallic thread on the surface seems to be a response to Mongol taste.

Eastern textiles woven of silk and gold were known throughout Europe, and in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries they made frequent appearances in church inventories as *panni tartarici* (Tartar cloths). Anne Wardwell has examined in depth a number of textiles of this type, mostly in collections that originated in European church treasuries. She divides them into groups based on technical characteristics, which she associates with the place of

Figure 278. Dalmatic (detail). Central Asia, late 13th–mid 14th century. Silk and gold thread lampas weave with areas of compound weave; dalmatic 44⅞ × 53 in. (114 × 134.5 cm). Kulturhistorisches Museum der Hansestadt Stralsund 1862.14

production—Central Asia and the Middle East. She also describes patterns of *panni tartarici* in European inventories; patterns that fit these descriptions are seen in many surviving textiles, especially in European collections.[51]

The tiny overall pattern of the *Textile with Floral Pattern* (fig. 276) is so small and dense that resolving the design into a repeating pattern is a challenge at first glance. The textile's preponderance of gold is typical of textiles of the Mongol Empire during the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Its small-scale floral pattern is reminiscent of the dense leafy floral grounds of Central Asian *kesi*, such as the *Aquatic Birds and Recumbent Animal* (fig. 259). The textile's technical details, especially the use of a flat gold thread with an animal substrate, also dictate a Central Asian place of production. The piece is associated with a cope now in the Church of San Domenico in Perugia and traditionally associated with Pope Benedict XI (d. 1304). Based on its structural details, the Perugia silk is assigned by Wardwell to Central Asia.[52] Other examples of this type of Central Asian small-patterned textile survive from dated contexts, such as a textile from the tomb of Cangrande della Scala (d. 1329) in Verona.[53] An unusual survival outside a church treasury context is a silk-and-gold textile with a tiny overall pattern that was used for the collar of a caftan excavated from a Golden Horde context in the North Caucasus.[54]

Yet another kind of silk textile with an overall pattern woven in gold also originated in the tradition of Central Asia. This type features interacting animals, birds, and other creatures, frequently imaginary. The *Textile with Phoenix, Winged Animal, and Flowers* (fig. 277) displays the creative energy of the most vivid Central Asian textiles produced in the Mongol period. At the bottom is a row of angry birds with curving outstretched necks, and at the top a row of strange, incomplete winged beasts, all on an airy background of flowers with leaves and stems. Because the textile does not preserve the complete pattern, the beasts are missing their heads and cannot be identified. Even more disappointing is the fact that the dynamic interaction that very likely occurred between bird and beast is lost.

Another textile of this same dramatic type (fig. 278) served as a side section of a pieced dalmatic in Stralsund.[55] A fantastic lion-headed winged creature dives downward to attack a recoiling snoutless dragon that appears ready to strike back. The long snout of the Central Asian dragon has been transformed here into a central "horn."

Not one of the animals in these two pieces has an exact parallel in China or the Iranian world. Wardwell has noted aspects of Central Asian designs in textiles such as these.[56] The eclectic nature and longevity of eastern Central Asian motifs are seen in the embroidered *Textile with Animals, Birds, and Flowers* (fig. 279). The exuberantly colored pattern of animals, birds, and a profusion of flowers and leaves combines motifs that entered the Central Asian repertoire over a period of centuries.[57] The placement of animals at the four cardinal points of the square reflects a compositional device that entered Central Asia during the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE), China's initial phase of strong influence in Central Asian art. Here, instead of the four animals deriving from the Han cosmology, the animals—two deer or antelope, a rabbit, and a spotted horse—are of Central Asian origin. The spotted horse, for example, was a common mortuary figure in seventh-century burials in Astana, near Turfan. The birds, especially the parrot, originated in the second phase of Chinese influence, the Tang dynasty; in Tang art parrots were frequently represented in a perched position, both with and without support. Among the floral elements, the central motif, which combines lotus blossoms, a lotus leaf,

Figure 279. *Textile with Animals, Birds, and Flowers*. Eastern Central Asia, late 12th–14th century. Silk embroidery on plain-weave silk, 14⅝ × 14⅞ in. (37.1 × 37.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Rogers Fund, 1988 1988.296 [Exhib.]

and the trefoil leaf of a water plant, was seen in North China (in a Liao-dynasty tomb of 1116) and Central Asia (see fig. 257), but became widespread only in the Yuan dynasty, when it was especially notable in early blue-and-white porcelains, such as a stem cup in the Metropolitan Museum.[58]

Over many years patterns from China were transformed by artisans in Central Asia. Then in the Mongol period, as James Watt points out, Chinese motifs such as the phoenix returned revitalized from Central Asia.[59] One example of

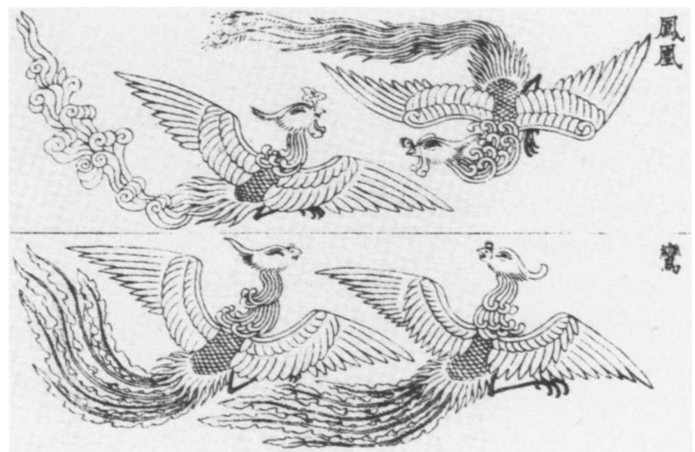


Figure 281. Illustrations from the *Yingzao fashi* (Building Standards), chapter 33, leaf 10. Reprint (1989) of the Song edition

Figure 280. Canopy. Silk and metallic thread embroidery on silk gauze, 56¼ × 53⅛ in. (143 × 135 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Purchase, Amalia Lacroze de Fortabat Gift, Louis V. Bell and Rogers Funds, and Lita Annenberg Hazen Charitable Trust Gift, in honor of Ambassador Walter H. Annenberg, 1988 1988.82 [Exhib.]

this phenomenon is the embroidered canopy (fig. 280). The phoenixes of the Yuan dynasty frequently appeared more powerful than their predecessors, seen, for example, in the *Yingzao fashi*, a Song-dynasty manual of construction and architectural decoration (fig. 281). The phoenixes on the embroidered textile are remarkably similar to those of a relief carving on an architectural element from Khubilai's capital, Dadu (fig. 282). The embroidery also shows the heavy use of gold thread so typical of textiles under the Mongols.

Figure 282. Architectural element. Stone, 47⅝ × 41⅜ in. (121 × 105 cm). Excavated from beneath the Ming-dynasty city wall at Huapichang, Beijing, 1966. National Museum of China, Beijing

ASIAN SILK AND GOLD TEXTILES IN ITALY

Interestingly, Mongol- and Yuan-period silks with patterns woven in gold were the inspiration for designs of Italian silks of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Sophie Desrosiers has pointed out an Italian textile with lion roundels, for example (fig. 283), that was very likely based on an import, noting the close resemblance of the lion roundel to that in the *Cloth of Gold with Winged Lions and Griffins* (fig. 274), including the unusual plainness of the circular border and the floral motif between the two animals.[60] The lively interaction among the animals in the Central Asian designs, such as those in the piece from the Stralsund dalmatic (fig. 278), surely inspired the makers of the Italian textiles, which are well known for the beasts and birds in their designs.[61]

Textiles patterned with gold are often pictured in Italian paintings of the first half of the fourteenth century, evidence of the importance attached in Europe at that time to imported silk-and-gold cloth. Such textiles are seen frequently in paintings from Siena, where their depiction was a specialty of Simone Martini (ca. 1284–1344).[62] The *Textile with Floral Pattern* (fig. 276) has been cited as an example of the type of small-patterned textile seen in the robe of the angel Gabriel in Simone's *Annunciation and Two Saints* of 1333 (fig. 284).[63] While it is unlikely that Sienese artists of the time used expensive imported silk-and-gold textiles as studio props, artists like Simone, who was patronized by the elite, would certainly have seen such cloths.[64] As already discussed, evidence of the presence of imported silk-and-gold textiles survives in church inventory documents, and technical characteristics of surviving textiles, such as those from the tomb of the Italian nobleman Cangrande della Scala (d. 1329) in Verona, indicate that they were produced in Central Asia.[65] Flourishing trade guaranteed that such textiles were certainly present: one record shows that "Tartar" textiles were imported directly to Siena during the first half of the fourteenth century.[66]

Trade or diplomacy must have figured in the movement of the *Damask with Cloud Palmettes and Chinese Characters* (fig. 285). This satin damask textile, now discolored to brownish black but originally blue, has a repeating pattern of a teardrop-shaped cloud palmette surmounted by a smaller teardrop shape, both of which contain a version of the Chinese character for longevity (*shou*).[67] The pattern has a sinuous quality, with the tails of one row of cloud

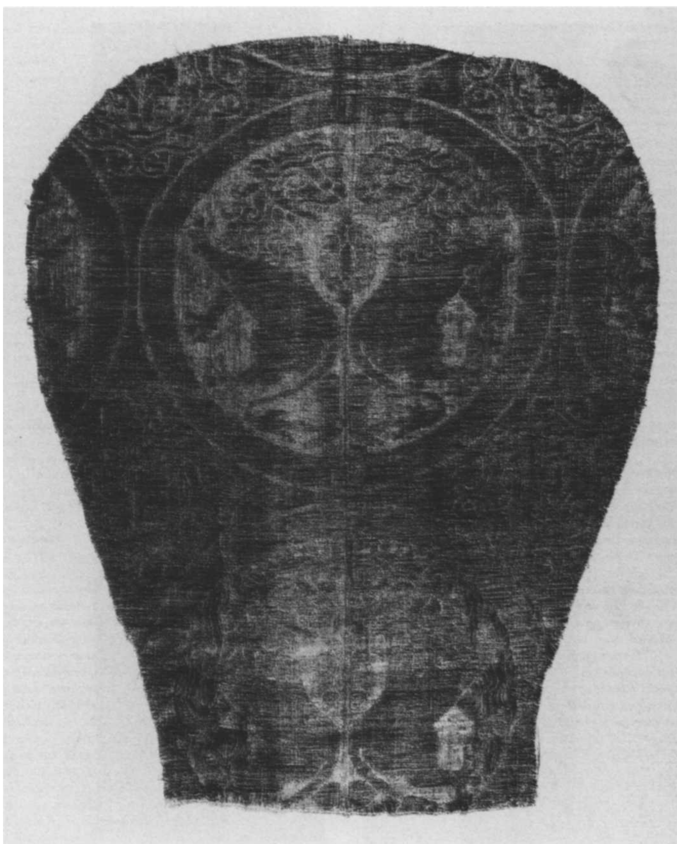


Figure 283. *Textile with Lions in Roundels*, Italy, second half of 13th–early 14th century. Silk, gold thread, and linen samite, warp 28⅜ × weft 22⅞ in. (72 × 58 cm). Musée de Cluny, Paris CL.21864

Figure 284. Simone Martini (ca. 1284–1344), *The Annunciation and Two Saints* (detail), 1333. Tempera on wood, 72½ × 82⅝ in. (184 × 210 cm). Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence

Figure 285. *Damask with Cloud Palmettes and Chinese Characters*. Silk satin damask, warp 11 × weft 8½ in. (28 × 21.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Fletcher Fund, 1946 46.156.20 [Exhib.]

palmettes extending to the right and those of the next row to the left.[68] Records about this textile state that it was acquired in Egypt. Similar textiles in the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, are given a date corresponding to the reign of the Mamluk sultan Muhammad ibn Qala'un (r. 1293–1341), which would suggest the same date range for this textile as well.[69]

The cloud palmette is a hybrid motif, combining features of foliate palmettes from both Central Asia and the eastern Islamic world (as seen in fig. 260) and aspects of clouds shaped like the auspicious fungus, as seen in textiles of the Liao dynasty.[70] The similarity of the pattern of this textile to that in a Turkish carpet from Konya dating from the late thirteenth to early fourteenth century perhaps suggests that the carpet's design was influenced by monochrome woven silks of China.[71] Another aspect of the carpet with interesting implications is the motif at the centers of the cloud palmettes, which contain not the character for longevity but a swastika, a Chinese symbol for longevity borrowed from India. The presence of swastikas in the carpet implies that further examples of damasks with Chinese longevity symbols may have been in circulation locally at the time the carpet from Konya was made.

THE YUAN DYNASTY

In the 1270s, as Mongol forces battled the Southern Song, Khubilai Khan withdrew from the northern steppe and consolidated his power in North China. At the same time, the Uighur lands, including the city of Beshbaliq, were under attack from the Mongol house of Chaghadai, independent of the Mongols under Khubilai. In 1275, Khubilai relocated to his capital the artisans of the Beshbaliq textile workshop, and the following year a Beshbaliq office was

Figure 286. *Textile with Phoenixes and Dragons*. Silk and metallic thread lampas weave, warp 8 × weft 8 in. (20.3 × 20.3 cm). The Cleveland Museum of Art. Edward L. Whittemore Fund 1995.73 [Exhib.]

Figure 287. Cloud collar. Silk and metallic thread lampas weave, width at shoulder 27½ in. (70 cm), collar to hem 16⅞ in. (43 cm). The Palace Museum, Beijing

established there, dedicated to the production of *nasij* for collars and cuffs.[72]

Two examples here closely resemble textiles used in Yuan collars and cuffs. One, the *Cloth of Gold with Displayed Falcons* (see fig. 8), is remarkably similar to the cloth-of-gold textile of the outer neckbands depicted in the portrait of Khubilai's chief consort, Chabi, and other imperial women (see fig. 7). We have seen that neckbands on garments worn by imperial women also frequently included offset motifs woven in gold on a plain background (see fig. 269). In other words, two textile traditions from disparate parts of the Mongol Empire—the cloth of gold of the eastern Iranian world and offset gold motifs on a plain background from North China—were sometimes displayed side by side in garments of imperial women during the Yuan dynasty.

The fragmentary silk-and-gold *Textile with Phoenixes and Dragons* (fig. 286) features rows of offset lobed roundels on a background of tiny hexagons; in alternate rows the roundels contain a coiled dragon or a phoenix in flight. A Yuan-dynasty cloud collar in the collection of the Palace Museum, Beijing (fig. 287), is made from a textile with the

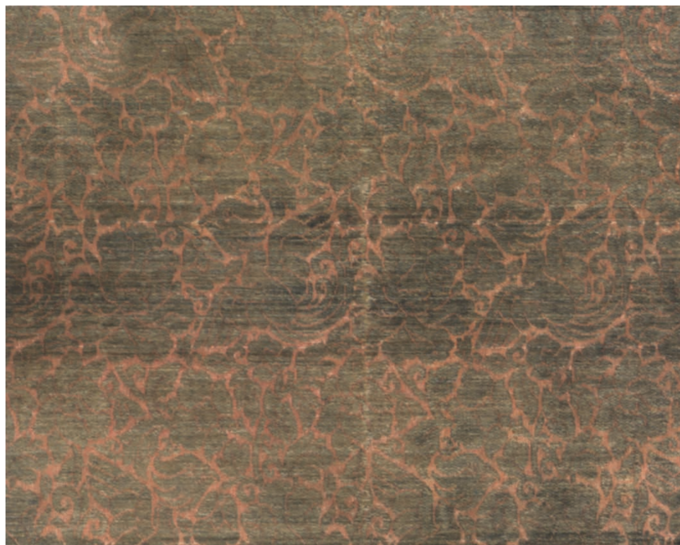


Figure 288. *Textile with Phoenixes amid Lotuses and Tree Peonies* (detail). Central Asia or Dadu, 13th century. Silk and metallic thread lampas, warp 26⅛ × weft 28⅜ in. (66.2 × 72.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Anonymous Gift, in honor of James C. Y. Watt, 1989 1989.191

Figure 289. *Quilt with Peonies, Lotuses, and Phoenixes* (detail). Silk lampas weave, warp 89 × weft 63 in. (226 × 160 cm). Excavated from Dove Cave, Baihugou, Longhua, Hebei Province, 1999. Longhua Museum

same design. They differ only in the color of the silk that is woven with gold—blue in the fragment, and red in the Beijing collar.

In the early years of the Yuan dynasty, aspects of many textile traditions (Southern Song, Jin, the eastern Iranian world, and Central Asia) gradually combined to transform the textiles of China for centuries to come. Our picture of that subtle and lengthy process is incomplete, but two textiles can reveal a partial view. One aspect of the process involved combining a Chinese pattern with a weave that originated farther west. The *Textile with Phoenixes amid Lotuses and Tree Peonies* (fig. 288), a *nasij*, has a Chinese pattern. In technique, it is similar to the *Cloth of Gold with Winged Lions and Griffins* (fig. 274); it is not clear whether it was woven in Central Asia or in Dadu, where the weavers from Beshbaliq were resettled. The phoenixes and flowers are Chinese, while the specific form of the peony was popular in North China before the arrival of the Mongols.[73]

Another part of the process was a moderation in the use of gold, possibly the result of intermittent enforcement of sumptuary laws. The quilt from the late Yuan site of Dove Cave in Hebei Province (fig. 289) also has a Chinese pattern—phoenixes, peonies, and lotuses. It is woven in polychrome silk without gold. The multicolor design in fact resembles a colorful silk tapestry, but the weave—lampas—is the same technique introduced by the relocated weavers for *nasij*.

As we have seen, in the Mongol period the Chinese of the Southern Song were well known for monochrome-patterned silks, such as damasks and gauzes of various kinds;[74] the Jin of North China were known for offset motifs in gold on a plain background; the eastern Iranian world, for symmetrical patterns woven in cloth of gold (especially important to the Mongol elite); and the Central Asians for polychromy and dynamic patterns. With the movement of goods and artisans at the time of the rise of the Mongols, all of these strands were gradually twisted together during the Yuan dynasty to enrich and transform the textiles of China.

1. For a list of primary sources, see Allsen 1997: 109–14.
2. Watt and Wardwell 1997.
3. Allsen 1997: 31.
4. See Rossabi 1997: 7–8, 12.
5. Watt 2002: 68, 71.
6. Among articles on this topic are Cammann 1948; Malagò 1988; and Sheng 1995 and 1998.
7. Watt and Wardwell 1997: 53–63.
8. On the origins of *kesi*, Schuyler Cammann (1948: 90–92, 109) cites the Uighurs in relation to tapestry weaving in the Northern Song.
9. For other examples of the floral background, see Watt and Wardwell 1997: 55, 66–68.
10. Beijing shi wenwuju wenwu diaocha yanjiuzu 1958: 29. For a small color image, see Zhao Feng 1999: 164.
11. Xia Hexiu and Zhao Feng 1992: 119. For a color picture, see Zhao Feng 1999: 165.
12. Watt and Wardwell 1997: 54.
13. Quoted in ibid.: 61–62.
14. Quoted in ibid.: 60.
15. Painted and woven portraits of Khubilai and Chabi are mentioned in the epitaph of Anige; see Jing 1994a: 53. The article also mentions the weaving of "brocade" portraits. See also Watt and Wardwell 1997: 95 and 140 (for details of imperial portraits in *kesi*) and 60–61 (for later commissions of woven portraits).
16. For a detailed description of the iconography, see Watt and Wardwell 1997: 101–3.
17. This comment is based on the evidence of three works, figs. 146, 262, and a small devotional tapestry from a private collection. By contrast, the wrapping of single warps is not noted at all in the analysis of the Cleveland Museum of Art's Vignantanka thanka of the Xixia dynasty, as described in Watt and Wardwell 1997: 94. That tapestry instead uses dovetailing, even though it too has many vertical boundaries between colors.
18. Allsen 1997: 60–63; the quotation appears on page 61.
19. Ibid.: 38–45. See also Rossabi 1997: 14–15.
20. The archaeological report for this site is Heilongjiang sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 1989: 1–10, 45. For a publication in English about the site, see Zhu Qixin 1990. A profusely illustrated book of Jin costume, based on this site, is Zhao Pingchun and Chi Benyi 1998.
21. Today in China the dye analysis of archaeologically excavated textiles is only now beginning. Research into colors and dyes by international textile scholars and scientists, which often focuses on red and purple, is building useful results for intercultural comparisons. At earlier times of excavation and publication, however, the colors of textiles were frequently described in contradictory ways. For example, the color of the robe with crane motif from Prince Qi's tomb, excavated in 1988, is described as purple in Zhao Pingchun and Chi Benyi 1998: 28–29. It is described as reddish brown in Zhu Qixin 1990 (1998 ed.: 110).
22. To this author's knowledge, no photographic evidence from this tomb of the variant brocading technique has yet been published. Occasional brief mentions of textiles from the site, by scholars who have examined them, identify some examples with the variant technique. For example, see Zhao Feng 1999: 216–17.
23. No site report for this excavation has been found. For a report on the textiles in the excavation, see Xia Hexiu and Zhao Feng 1992.
24. The background color of the piece sometimes looks reddish brown in published color photographs, such as Zhao Feng 1999: 172–73. However, it is consistently described as purple, both there and in Zhao Feng and Jin Lin 2005: 44.
25. Allsen 1997: 27.
26. Haenisch 1969: 25. I am grateful to my colleague in the Department of Asian Art Birgitta Augustin for this reference.
27. Zhao Feng and Jin Lin (2005: 44) include a reconstruction of the pattern.
28. Watt and Wardwell 1997: 107–10.
29. Ibid.: 110n15 and 116n2.
30. Zhao Feng 2004: 135–36.
31. Watt and Wardwell 1997: 116.
32. See, for example, an incense burner with a date corresponding to 1289 in Ho-Am Art Museum, Yongin (*Arts of Korea* 1998: 124–25).
33. Krahl 1997 (1998 ed.: 182).
34. Full references and additional information are given in Watt and Wardwell 1997: 107 and 110n3.
35. Ibid.: 107.
36. Allsen 2006: 44.
37. Ibid.: 69. Thomas Allsen also notes in his discussion of falconry (ibid.: 243) the rise in popularity of the gyrfalcon, especially the white gyrfalcon, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.
38. Ibid.: 89. See also *SJXH* (1991 ed.: 17).
39. Watt and Wardwell 1997: 108.
40. On paired warps, see Wardwell 1988–89: 116 (Category VI, attributed to Eastern Iran).
41. Watt and Wardwell 1997: 109, 122–23.
42. "Fu she," chap. 29, in *YDZ* (1990 ed.: 449).
43. See the unpaginated plate of illustrations in Gansu sheng bowuguan and Zhangxian wenhuaguan 1982.
44. This is continuous supplementary weft patterning as opposed to the discontinuous type, such as brocading.
45. Zhao Feng 1999: 274–75.
46. On the back between rows of motifs, the additional warps sometimes float and sometimes interlace with the gold wefts in a loosely woven separable layer.
47. Zhao Feng and Jin Lin 2005: 51. In this robe the foundation weave is twill damask, not plain weave.
48. The Mongol term *nasij* appears in Chinese records as *na-shi-shi*.
49. Whitfield and Farrar 1990: 170.
50. Watt and Wardwell 1997: 138 and 110n18. While textiles with gold threads with a paper substrate are common to eastern Central Asia and China (and other parts of East Asia), the presence of a gold thread with an animal substrate does not preclude the possibility that the textile was made in these areas. For a brief summary of gold threads from the Tang, Liao, and Jin periods in China, see Zhao Feng 2004: 96–98.
51. Wardwell 1988–89: especially 95–117 and 134–46.
52. Ibid.: 97–102, 133, figs. 22 and 22a.
53. Magagnato 1983: 21, 22, 130–52.
54. Dode 2005: 80.
55. A dalmatic is a type of ecclesiastical garment. For catalogue information and illustrations, see Fircks 2008: 206–22.
56. Wardwell 2000: 87–91, 96n8.
57. Watt and Wardwell 1997: 172–75.
58. Valenstein 1989: 132.
59. Watt 2002: 65–66.
60. Desrosiers 2004: 256–57.
61. See Wardwell 2000: 94, figs. 10 and 11. For an example of similarity between a Central Asian and an Italian textile with interacting birds and animals, compare the *Textile with Phoenix, Winged Animal, and Flowers* (fig. 277) and a small Italian silk fragment in Krefeld (illustrated and described in Tietzel 1984: 250–51).
62. On the techniques used by Simone Martini for representing luxury textiles, see Hoeniger 1991.

63. Klesse 1967: 55, 66–67. An even closer comparison with Gabriel's raiment would be a small-patterned gold-and-white textile reputedly from the dalmatic of Benedict XI in Perugia; Monnas 2008: 73. This comparison is also noted in Santangelo 1964: 20–21.
64. For details of pattern they more likely relied on model books and stock patterns. See Monnas 2008: 38, 39, 67.
65. Wardwell 1988–89: 97–102.
66. Monnas 2008: 70, 348n26.
67. The earliest satin damask from a dated excavation in China is from 1320 (Zhao Feng 1999: 230–31). However, China had a long tradition of producing twill damask and other forms of damask (in the broad sense of the term). Technical details of the present textile are in line with those of excavated satin damasks from fourteenth-century China. I am grateful to Zhao Feng, China National Silk Museum, for micrographic details of comparable satin damasks.
    Dye analysis of this textile was performed by Marco Leona and Nobuko Shibayama, Department of Scientific Research, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, April 9, 2009.
68. The change of direction in alternate rows is reminiscent of the pattern layout of several textiles with offset motifs discussed above, both woven in gold (see figs. 265, 266) and in *kesi* (see fig. 260).
69. Menshikova 2006: 96–97. See also Menshikova 1997: 56–57, 73 (I am grateful to Zvezdana Dode for her help in summarizing this article for me). In these publications, Maria Menshikova cites archives in the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. A textile with the same pattern was purchased in the late nineteenth century by Vladimir G. Bok from Faraga Kassir, who excavated El Azam, Asyut, in Upper Egypt. At the same time and from the same source, the Hermitage acquired a textile with a woven Arabic inscription referring to the sultan. Textiles with this cloud-palmette pattern are in collections around the world: St. Petersburg, London, Berlin, Düsseldorf, New York, Toronto, and Cairo, to name only those most easily found in published material.
70. See, for example, Zhao Feng 2004: 136.
71. Geijer 1963: 83–84.
72. Watt and Wardwell 1997: 130–31.
73. Ibid.: 150.
74. Chinese textiles were considered drab by the Mongols; see Allsen 1997: 11.

9

The Decorative Arts

James C. Y. Watt

In the Introduction, the idea of a "Yuan style" is proposed. It should be clarified here that this style applies only to artistic works by professionals and is best illustrated by the decorative arts and best defined by references to the arts of the Southern Song. (Literati painting is in a category of its own and cannot be included in a general discussion.) It should also be reiterated that the Yuan style was the result of the political unification of China and did not emerge until about the third decade of the fourteenth century. It came to fruition during the reign of the last Yuan emperor, Shundi (Toghan-Temür; r. 1333–68).

Reduced to its most basic and obvious elements, the Yuan style in the decorative arts, in contrast to that of the Southern Song, is characterized by an emphasis on three-dimensional modeling and by the complexity of surface decoration. The propensity for three-dimensional representation can be observed when we compare any piece of lacquer or porcelain in the Southern Song style with its equivalent in the Yuan style. The lacquer tray with carved decoration of two birds (fig. 290), dated 1294 (or 1234),[1] is typical of the late Song style in the thirteenth century: the flower-and-bird motifs are delineated by cutting away the ground and the top surface is flat. This manner of relief carving is reminiscent of carvings on the stone walls of ancestral halls in burial complexes of the Eastern Han period (1st–2nd century), except that in the Song lacquer the edges of the raised areas are polished round. By contrast, the carved lacquer dish of the late Yuan (fig. 291) is executed in high relief, with three-dimensional modeling. The composition of the flower-and-bird pattern is more complex, and the overlapping elements contribute to the illusion of three-dimensionality. In the Song version the ground plays a part in the composition, as is always the case in traditional Chinese graphic arts, particularly in calligraphy. In the Yuan piece this aspect of traditional Chinese art has been replaced by a totally different aesthetic.

Opposite: Bottle, alternate view of figure 319

CERAMICS

Song porcelain, represented by celadons, is characterized by fluid lines in profile, with no inflection points (fig. 292), and is decorated, if at all, with only incised lines. In the octagonal jar of the Yuan period, the appliqué decoration is finely modeled and left in bisque to retain its crispness (fig. 293). From the perspective of the potter's art, the major distinction between Song and Yuan lies in the different use of the properties of clay as an expressive and/or plastic medium. Song celadons were mostly thrown on the potter's wheel and allowed to grow "naturally" into shape, with minimal guidance from the potter's hands. This method can be seen as echoing the literary theory of the Northern Song, as espoused by Su Shi (1037–1101) and members of his family, namely, that creative writing should well up from the author like water from a spring, which runs where it will and stops where it has to stop.[2] Yuan potters made much greater use of the plastic quality of clay in modeling and molding. The octagonal jar, for example, was modeled after a metal container, and the appliqué decoration was created by molding, a technique that lends itself to mass production. The appearance of the Eight Immortals on the jar, which was produced in the south, is an indication of cultural influence from the north, as this set of immortals originated in northern Daoism in the Jin, Mongol, and Yuan periods during the first half of the thirteenth century. The unglazed relief images of the immortals

Figure 290. Tray with birds and flowers, dated 1294 (or 1234). Carved lacquer, length 8⅞ in. (22.5 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Asiatic Curator's Fund 58.689 [Exhib.]

Figure 291. Dish with two birds and hollyhocks, mid-to-late 14th century. Carved lacquer, diameter 12¾ in. (32.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Promised Gift of Florence and Herbert Irving L.1992.62.12 [Exhib.]

Figure 292. Bottle, Southern Song dynasty, 12th century. Porcelain (Longquan ware), height 10½ in. (26.7 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Bequest of Charles Bain Hoyt 50.933

Figure 293. Jar with Eight Daoist Immortals, ca. 1350. Porcelain with mold-impressed relief decoration (Longquan ware), height 10 in. (25.4 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art. Gift of Mrs. S. Emlen Stokes, 1964 [Exhib.]

remind one of Buddhist votive images made of clay, but Daoist figures in popular Yuan culture were not so much objects of worship as of entertainment and decoration. Daoist figures populated Yuan dramas, and theatrical scenes are often depicted on Cizhou pillows, such as the one in the Cincinnati Art Museum (fig. 294). Just as the center of writing and production of drama moved south in the second half of the Yuan, images of northern Daoism also migrated south.

Other examples of ceramic copies of metal shapes can be seen in such pieces as the celadon wine jar with the lotus leaf lid (fig. 295), which was the common form for silver jars of the time (fig. 296). We know that the jar is a container for wine, as its sides are inscribed with four characters for "fine wine delicate bouquet." Wine bottles and jars of the Yuan period are often marked in this way. On a tall bottle from a northern kiln the characters for "grape wine bottle" are incised on the shoulder (fig. 297). Yuan potters also copied vessels in other media, such as the wooden jug used by Tibetans (see fig. 123), and a later version known as the "monk's cap" ewer. An example of the latter in the exhibition (fig. 298) was found in Beijing and dated to the Yuan by archaeologists, although most similar extant examples are more comfortably dated to the Ming. Other instances of the plastic use of clay is seen in openwork pieces (fig. 299) and in figural sculptures (fig. 300). Some of the finest pieces were exported to the Philippines (mainly Luzon) and are now in various collections in Manila (for

Figure 294. Pillow. Pottery (Cizhou ware), length 17⅛ in. (43.5 cm). Cincinnati Art Museum. Museum Purchase [Exhib.]

Figure 295. Jar with lotus leaf–shaped lid inscribed *qing xiang mei jiu* (fine wine delicate bouquet). Porcelain with incised decoration (Longquan ware), height 12⅝ in. (32.1 cm). Museum of Huizhou Culture of China, Anhui Province [Exhib.]

Figure 296. Jar with lid in the shape of a lotus leaf. Silver. Wuxi Municipal Museum

Figure 297. Bottle inscribed *pu tao jiu ping* (grape wine bottle). Glazed pottery, height 17 in. (43.2 cm). Excavated at Jininglu Ancient City, Chayouqian Banner, Wulanchabu, Inner Mongolia, 1958. Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 298. Monk's-cap ewer. Porcelain, height 7¾ in. (19.7 cm). Capital Museum, Beijing [Exhib.]

Figure 299. Stand with openwork design. Glazed pottery, height 15 in. (38.1 cm). Capital Museum, Beijing

Figure 300. *Daoist Figure.* Porcelain (Qingbai ware), height 10¼ in. (26 cm). Jiangxi Provincial Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 301. *Fish-Basket Guanyin.* Porcelain (Qingbai ware), height 5⅞ in. (14.9 cm). The Roberto T. Villanueva Foundation

Figure 302. *Luohan with Monkey.* Porcelain (Qingbai ware), height 5⅛ in. (13 cm). The Roberto T. Villanueva Foundation

example, figs. 301, 302). It would appear that nearly all the porcelain figures are Buddhist or Daoist, although they must have been accepted—just as they are today—simply as works of art by customers in foreign lands.

The predilection for sculptural forms in the Yuan can be accounted for as the spread of an artistic tradition in the former Jin territory, with centers in Shanxi and Henan provinces, where many finely sculpted pottery figures are found, either as independent sculptures or in high relief on thick bricks that line the walls of burial chambers (see figs. 68–70). Indeed, it may not be too far-fetched to trace this northern sculpture tradition to the massive influence from Central Asia that came in during the Northern Wei dynasty (386–534), with its political centers in Shanxi and (in its later stages) Henan, since geometric form in the Western style is not native to the Chinese sensibility. As noted in the Introduction, the arts of North China were through the ages a hybrid of one form or another—at least up to the Yuan.

Most of the pottery figures of the Jin, Mongol, and Yuan periods from Shanxi and Henan are of actors and other entertainers. The prevalence of these figures is indicative of the change in Chinese society in North China after the retreat of the Song court to the south, taking with it imperial patronage of the arts. What remained were the popular arts, which had grown in the prosperous urban centers of the former Northern Song, particularly in the capital city of Bian (Kaifeng). Vestiges of fossilized Song court culture survived in the Yuan period, in the murals of Daoist temples and in the use of ritual implements by the upper classes (both those who were Chinese-born in the Jin dynasty and served the Mongols and the acculturated Mongols in the later Yuan period). What continued to develop and flourish was popular culture in every form, from literature to music, dance, and theater, all of which were interconnected. Unfortunately, all that has come down to us of this rich and vibrant culture are the lyrics of some of the songs (though not too many of the authentic popular songs, as most of what was printed and passed down were the "refined" versions written by the literati, thereby creating a new form of poetry unique to the Yuan period) and the texts of a number of plays—enough to sustain a theatrical tradition, now, with rather different music, and to provide occasional inspiration to Western writers from Voltaire to Brecht.[3]

The most durable survival of popular culture, manifested in objects of daily use, is pottery, and the most representative type in North China in the Jin and in the Mongol–Yuan period (the late 12th through the 13th century) is that from the kilns of Cizhou in southern Hebei Province, decorated with bold sweeping strokes that depict dragons and phoenixes (figs. 303, 304). Cizhou pillows with large, flat top surfaces provided scope to the potter-artist to paint scenes from life, some of them absolutely charming (fig. 305), and also to write down their favorite lyric poems or, as in the case of the aforementioned pillow, depict scenes from popular drama (fig. 294).

After the fall of the Southern Song in 1279, the social and cultural milieu of South China underwent a change similar to that of the north after the Northern Song retreat. Gone are the elegant Guan and Longquan celadons, which, like all Song works of art, required technical ingenuity and great expense to produce.[4] Longquan continued to manufacture Southern Song–type wares in the early years of the Yuan, after the official Guan kilns had stopped production, but kilns like Jizhou, which produced decorated wares, came to the fore (figs. 306, 307), to be overtaken later by Jingdezhen, when the latter began to adopt painted decoration on its white porcelain.

Throughout the Song period Jingdezhen had produced a monochrome ware in a bluish white translucent glaze known as Qingbai. In the thirteenth century some Qingbai cups were modeled after metal shapes (fig. 308), and in the early Yuan period a dull version of Qingbai with a thick milky glaze was produced in Jingdezhen. It was known as Shufu ware, so named on account of the characters *shufu* seen in the molded decoration on some pieces of this type. This term and another one, *taixi*, which appears on other similar pieces (fig. 309), suggest that this type of ware was at times produced on official order. However, the major innovation at Jingdezhen took place when the kiln began to decorate its porcelain with underglaze painting sometime in the early fourteenth century. The jar with a pagoda-shaped lid, similar to another found in Jiujiang, Jiangxi Province, and dated 1319, is typical of early painted ware from Jingdezhen (fig. 310). The underglaze pigment is iron, giving a rust color.[5]

The beginning of underglaze painted decoration at Jingdezhen can be attributed to a number of causes, the most probable of which was the desire to cater to changes in patronage and popular taste. In doing so, Jingdezhen potters took decorative patterns from other arts, one of which was the cloud collar (*yunjian*), seen on the shoulder of the jar with the pagoda lid. The cloud collar (a more accurate translation of the Chinese term is cloud shoulder) has a long and interesting history. It probably began life in the Eastern Han, during the first century, as the "four-leaf" pattern around the base of knobs of bronze mirrors or as silver foil decoration, usually surrounding a ring handle on the cover of lacquer boxes.[6] During the

Figure 303. Jar with dragon. Pottery with painted decoration (Cizhou ware), height 10½ in. (26.7 cm). Capital Museum, Beijing [Exhib.]

Figure 304. Jar with dragon and phoenix. Pottery with painted and sgraffito decoration (Cizhou ware), height 23¼ in. (59.1 cm). Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 305. Pillow with boy fishing. Northern Song (960–1127) or Jin (1115–1234) dynasty. Pottery with painted decoration (Cizhou ware), length 7⅞ in. (20 cm). Hebei Provincial Museum

Figure 306. Censer. Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279). Pottery with painted decoration (Jizhou ware), height 2¾ in. (7 cm). Jiangxi Provincial Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 307. Bottle with design of waves. Pottery with painted decoration (Jizhou ware), height 5½ in. (14 cm). Jiangxi Provincial Museum [Exhib.]

chaotic times at the fall of the Han dynasty, the four-leaf pattern disappeared from China—though probably not from Central Asia—and resurfaced from about the tenth century in Liao territory in northeast China, where it was a major decorative motif, particularly in metalwork, as seen in Liao gold crowns (fig. 311). It then traveled to Korea, appearing on the shoulder of twelfth-century Goryeo celadon. At about the same time it turned up on colorful silk tapestries woven for garments that are associated with the Uighurs in Jin territory and in the Turfan area.[7] The cloud collar would fall on the front, back, and shoulders of the coat. In the fourteenth century it became a universal pattern, seen on any kind of vessel, both metal (fig. 312) and ceramic. Yuan bodhisattvas, Daoist immortals, and mortal women sport the cloud collar on their garments (see fig. 116).

Sometime in the 1330s a recognizable cobalt blue was used. The earliest dated piece of porcelain with underglaze blue (and red) decoration is a granary in the form of a tiered building, found in a burial dated 1338.[8] At the latest by the year 1347, the date inscribed on a covered jar, Persian traders introduced cobalt ore from Kashan, from which derives the vivid blue color that is seen on nearly all Yuan blue-and-white porcelain (fig. 313).[9] The peak period of the production of blue-and-white porcelain coincided with that of other fine "handicrafts"—works of art by anyone's definition (excepting certain academic art historians). This was the time when such elaborately carved lacquers as the two-bird dish (fig. 291) and the silver bottle (fig. 312) were made, sold to rich merchants, officials, and monks.

Figure 308. Fluted cup with *chi*-dragon handle, early 13th–early 14th century. Porcelain (Qingbai ware), height 2⅜ in. (6 cm). The Cleveland Museum of Art. Severance and Greta Millikin Collection 1964.163 [Exhib.]

Figure 309. Plate with dragon and inscription *taixi*. Porcelain (Shufu ware) with impressed decoration, diameter 7 in. (17.8 cm). Beijing University, Department of Archaeology

Figure 310. Jar with lid in the shape of a pagoda. Porcelain with underglaze iron and cobalt blue decoration (Jingdezhen ware), height 16⅝ in. (42.2 cm). Hubei Provincial Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 311. Ornament from a crown. Liao dynasty (907–1125). Gold, height 2⅜ in. (6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Purchase, Lita Annenberg Hazen Charitable Trust Gift, 1991 1991.45

Figure 313. Bottle, 14th century. Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue decoration (Jingdezhen ware), height 16 ½ in. (41.9 cm). Collection of Andrew and Denise Saul [Exhib.]

Figure 312. Yuhuchun bottle with scenes of historical figures and their favorite plants or birds, one of a pair. Silver with parcel gilding, height 20¼ in. (51.4 cm). Dexing Municipal Museum, Jiangxi Province [Exhib.]

Detail of figure 312, showing the philosopher Zhou Dunyi (1017–1073) with lotus

Figure 314. Jar with the story of Guiguzi. Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue decoration, diameter 13 in. (33 cm). Private collection [Exhib.]

Blue-and-White Porcelain

Blue-and-white porcelain is undoubtedly one of the great achievements in the arts of the Yuan dynasty. It is distinguished by a high degree of skill in the use of the brush, not inferior technically to any painting on paper of that period. It is also distinguished by the liveliness of the graphic decoration, whether it is the representation of a scene from plays on popular subjects (fig. 314; see also fig. 37), a juxtaposition of assorted copybook motifs (fig. 315), a well-ordered, complex pattern (fig. 316), or a single dragon (fig. 317). The decoration on Yuan blue-and-white, like the Yuan drama it often illustrates, expresses a vibrancy in popular culture that contrasts sharply with the plaintive air of the eremitic literary set. It also demonstrates a more cheerful aspect of Yuan society that coexisted with the great suffering of a large part of the population, particularly the peasants, as vividly recorded in songs both popular and literary.

At the same time that cobalt blue began to replace iron as the colorant for underglaze painting, experimentation with copper red was also being carried out in Jingdezhen,

Figure 315. Plate with *qilin*, flowers, and plants. Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue deoration (Jingdezhen ware), diameter 18⅜ in. (46.7 cm). Asia Society. Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd Collection of Asian Art [Exhib.]

Figure 316. Plate with peonies and waves in reverse pattern. Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue decoration (Jingdezhen ware), diameter 17⅞ in. (45.4 cm). The Museum of Oriental Ceramics, Osaka [Exhib.]

Figure 317. Stem cup with dragon. Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue decoration (Jingdezhen ware), height 3¾ in. (9.5 cm). Excavated at Jininglu Ancient City, Chayouqian Banner, Wulanchabu, Inner Mongolia, 2003. Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology [Exhib.]

Figure 318. Stem cup. Porcelain with underglaze red decoration (Jingdezhen ware), height 3½ in. (8.9 cm). Gansu Provincial Museum

with striking results (figs. 318, 319). The splash decoration on some Yuan underglaze-red pieces may have been a case of making a virtue out of necessity—the flow of copper oxide in the glaze, especially in the initial stages, may not have been easy to control. On the other hand, Jingdezhen potters may simply have followed a practice of Jun ware potters in the north, who had been using copper splashes to decorate their wares since the Jin period at the latest (fig. 320). Splash glazing had in any case a long history in North China, going back to the Tang dynasty. The use of copper red was soon brought under control, even if not perfectly, making possible the decoration of vessels like the spouted bowl from Gao'an, Jiangxi Province, which sports one of the most common motifs in Yuan art, the bird with a reed in its beak (fig. 321).

Because there was no tradition of painted decoration in Jingdezhen before the Yuan, the decoration on underglaze blue (and red) porcelain is drawn from many sources, mostly woodblock prints. Of the subjects most often seen on blue-and-white decoration, quite a few are shared with paintings, including landscapes by the literati, and executed in the same style. The most obvious example is the "three friends of winter" (pine, bamboo, and prunus). A subject that deserves special mention is waves, particularly breakers, as seen in two bands on the plate in the Museum of Oriental Ceramics, Osaka (fig. 316), and on the neck of the jar with the story of Guiguzi (fig. 314).[10]

Water painting was a major genre in the Northern Song period—the poet Su Shi, who collected paintings, often wrote about it—and the tradition persisted into the Southern Song. One precious example of the genre is an album of twelve leaves with images of water in its every mood, from calm to agitated, by the court painter Ma Yuan (active ca. 1190–1225), now in the Palace Museum, Beijing. The last leaf of this album (fig. 322) features breakers similar to those on Yuan blue-and-white. Few water paintings from the Yuan are known (see fig. 164); nevertheless, the theme persisted in the decorative arts until the seventeenth century. In woodblock prints illustrating interiors, whether a scholar's study or a magistrate's court, the screens are usually decorated with a pattern of waves. No later version, however, matched the panache of the wave pattern executed on Yuan blue-and-white. The same pattern seen on porcelain of the Yongle period of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), barely half a century later, shows a much weaker hand. From such observations, we may conclude that the high artistic standards of professional painting in the Southern Song persisted throughout the Yuan, but they were not maintained. After the fourteenth

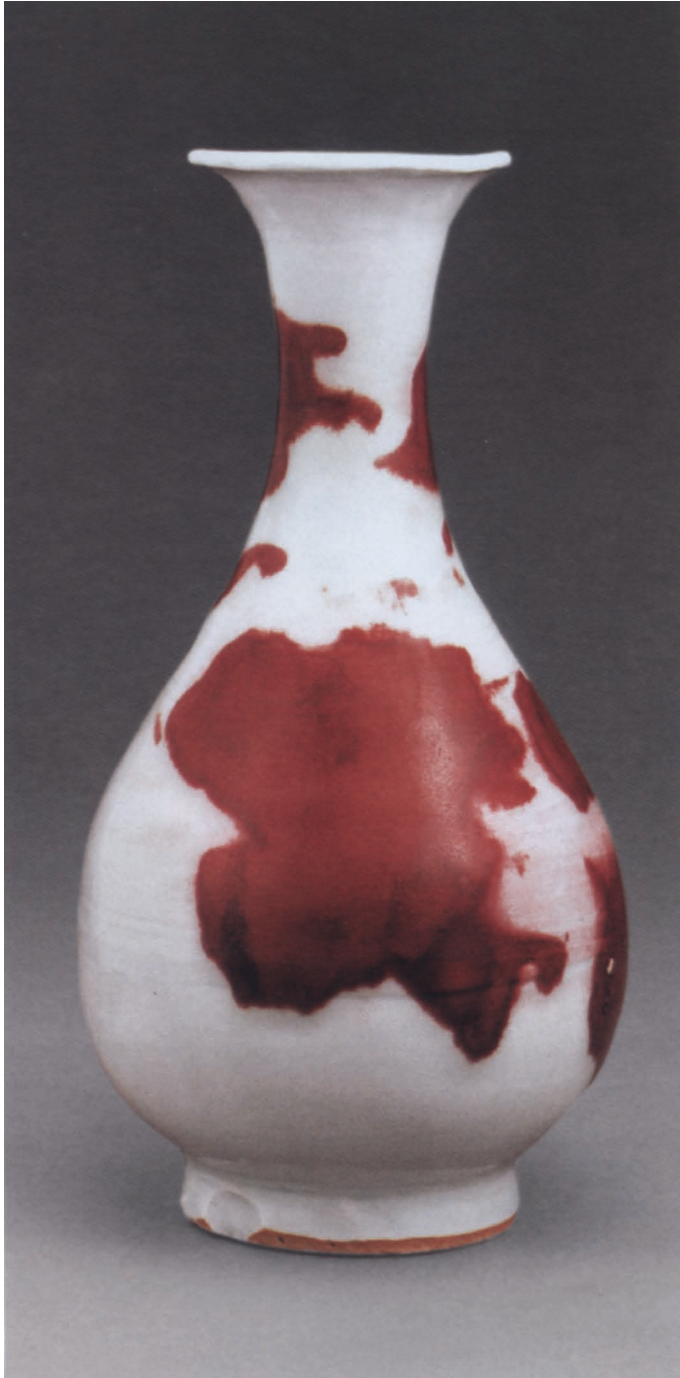


Figure 319. Bottle. Porcelain with underglaze copper red decoration (Jingdezhen ware), height 8½ in. (21.6 cm). Excavated at Jininglu Ancient City, Chayouqian Banner, Wulanchabu, Inner Mongolia, 2003. Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology [Exhib.]

Figure 320. Bottle. Porcelain with splashed copper decoration (Jun ware), height 14⅝ in. (37.1 cm). Hebei Cultural Relics Conservation Center [Exhib.]

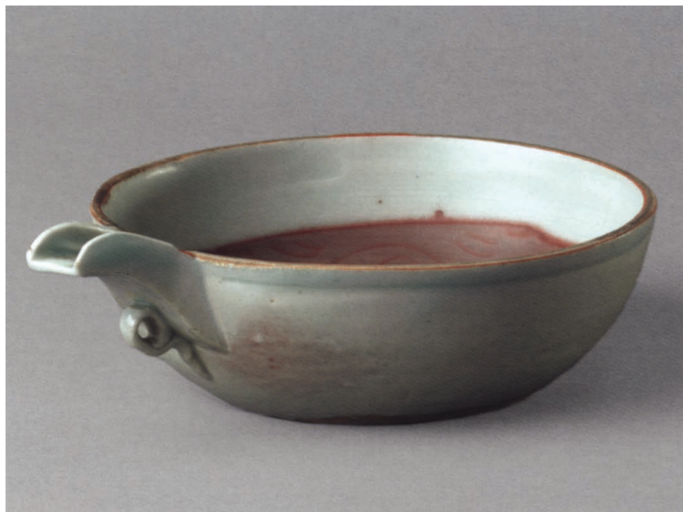


Figure 321. Spouted bowl. Porcelain with underglaze copper red decoration. Diameter of mouth at rim 5¾ in. (14.6 cm). Jiangxi Gao'an Museum [Exhib.]

Interior of figure 321, showing a wild goose holding a reed

century the quality of painted decoration on porcelain rarely matched that of the Yuan period.

The *meiping* bottle from Hubei, where some of the best blue-and-white porcelain has been found (fig. 323), displays all the typical features of mature Yuan blue-and-white. The shoulder is decorated with a phoenix against a floral background, a pattern derived from textiles, most often seen on silk tapestry. Within the ogival panels are representations of famous literary figures, and the lotus petal border on the base is taken from Tibetan Buddhist art.

The apotheosis of Yuan blue-and-white is a type of covered jar, such as the pair found in Baoding, Hebei Province (fig. 324). The cloud collar, discussed above, is here filled with blossoms floating on water, possibly also derived from textiles. The main decoration, within ogival panels with pearl borders, is an openwork pattern of flowers above a rockery in underglaze red and blue. The animal knob on the lid is sculpted in the round. Everything we associate with Yuan decorative art is assembled in this one object. The pattern of flowers and rockery is of special interest, as it also appears in other media in the late Yuan period. For example, Sadula (ca. 1300–after 1350), a poet of Central Asian ancestry, is shown in a portrait wearing a gown with the same pattern on the front (fig. 325).[11] A piece of openwork jade carving in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin displays the same pattern surrounded by inscribed Persian verses.[12] The jade is likely a Central Asian work, although the lack of archaeological or comparative data makes it difficult to date precisely. Nevertheless, it does point to the diverse cultural associations of Yuan art.

Commerce, both internal and international, accounted for the heavy demand and high production of trade goods, of which porcelain was an important item. Because of its comparative durability, porcelain is practically the only trade item that has survived to this day and has thus become the chief indicator of trade routes based on the location of archaeological finds and collections. The distribution of Yuan porcelain along the maritime trade routes all the way to the Middle East is well known. The larger pieces were carried by long-distance traders, and smaller pieces were destined for Southeast Asia.

Archaeological sites in Luzon, the Philippines, have yielded a large quantity of small vessels of the Yuan period, including many blue-and-white pieces, and porcelain figures from Jingdezhen (figs. 301, 302). It was once generally thought that blue-and-white wares were produced mainly for export, but recent archaeological finds in China have refuted this assumption. Large hoards of porcelain, including blue-and-white, have been found all over the

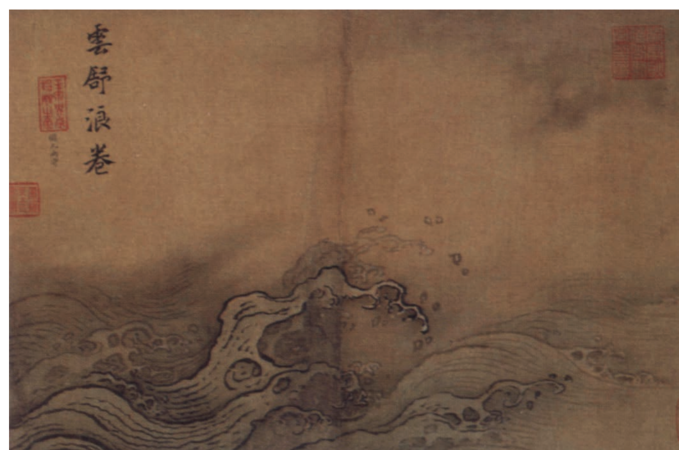


Figure 322. Ma Yuan (active ca. 1190–1225), *Twelve Scenes of Water*. Leaf from an album of twelve leaves, ink and color on silk, 10⅝ × 16⅜ in. (27 × 41.6 cm). The Palace Museum, Beijing

Figure 323. Bottle with scenes of the Four Favorites. Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue decoration (Jingdezhen ware), height 15¼ in. (38.7 cm). Hubei Provincial Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 324. Jar, one of a pair. Porcelain with underglaze copper red and cobalt blue raised decoration, height 16¼ in. (41.3 cm). Hebei Provincial Museum

country, from the southern provinces to Inner Mongolia.[13] Several pieces in the exhibition are from among the dozens of hoards in the ancient city of Jininglu in Inner Mongolia: the blue-and-white stem cup (fig. 317), the underglaze red bottle (fig. 319), already mentioned; the Korean celadon water dropper of the Goryeo period (see fig. 24), dating probably from the thirteenth century, and the straight-sided bowl with white slip glaze and a simple leaf decoration, probably from a northern kiln (fig. 326).

Figure 325. *Portrait of Sadula*, from a modern reprint of the *Sikuquanshu* (18th century) edition of the *Yanmenji* (Collected Poems of Sadula), 14th century

Figure 326. Bowl. Pottery with underglaze brown decoration, height 4⅛ in. (10.5 cm). Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum [Exhib.]

Before leaving the subject, mention must be made of a type of porcelain that is uniquely Yuan and that positively reflects Mongol taste. So far, this type of ware has been found only in Inner Mongolia, and the best examples are in the Shanghai Museum (fig. 327). The potting, body, and glaze are very much like the Shufu ware of Jingdezhen, and it is decorated in overglaze green and red enamels and gold. Overglaze enamel decoration is not unknown in Jingdezhen ware of the Yuan period, but what is odd about this ware is that the outline of the decorative pattern is delineated by applied strips of clay, which are then painted over with enamels and gold. Apparently archaeologists in Jingdezhen disown this ware.[14] Perhaps if the raised strips were in the form of a string of beads (the "pearl border") rather than a continuous line, the decoration would seem less strange. Other odd features are the not very well executed Tibetan "seed syllable" (*hum*) at the center of the interior and the lotus petals on the exterior, which enclose the "Eight Buddhist Treasures." The latter were not at this time standardized, as they would be in Sino-Tibetan art at the end of the Yuan period, as seen, for example, on the silver cup stand in the Metropolitan's collection (fig. 328). Wherever this type of porcelain was made or decorated, it was probably commissioned by a Buddhist community. The raised and gilded outline is known, for example, from Jin-period murals in Buddhist temples, such as the Yanshansi in Fanshi, Shanxi Province. This mural technique may have inspired the decoration of the Shanghai bowl, which, in turn, would be the predecessor of a type of pottery known as *fahua* ware that was produced mainly in Shanxi in the fifteenth century.

METALWORK

It was noted in the Introduction that when the Mongols first came into China they would have found that familiar gold cups, long in use on the steppe, were already being made and used in North China, especially in Xixia territory. The most typical shape among these would have been the stem cup, which in North China was often decorated with chased patterns; one from Baotou in Inner Mongolia (see fig. 3) has lotus plants on a stippled ground on the top and bottom borders and within ogival panels on the sides. Some of the shapes from the steppe were modified, such as the bowl with decorated flange (see fig. 4) and a

Exterior

Interior

Figure 327. Bowl with Eight Buddhist Treasures and the Tibetan syllable *hum*. Porcelain with raised decoration in overglaze enamels and gold, height 3⅛ in. (7.9 cm). Shanghai Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 328. Cup stand with Eight Buddhist Treasures, 14th century. Silver with repoussé decoration, diameter 6⅛ in. (15.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Purchase, 2006 Benefit Fund, 2007 2007.187 [Exhib.]

Figure 329. Bowl. Xixia dynasty (1038–1127). Gold, diameter of mouth at rim 4¼ in. (10.8 cm). Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum [Exhib.]

shallow bowl unearthed at Linhe city, Bayannaoer League (fig. 329). Others are more like copies of Northern Song porcelain and lacquer cups with stands (see fig. 5). These gold vessels in the exhibition are all from the pre-Yuan Mongol period (ca. 1215–75).

In the late Yuan period the prosperous Jiangnan area, in southeast China, produced large quantities of silver, and some gold, articles. Archaeological finds from sites in South China, whether in tombs or in hoards, usually contain silver vessels and ornaments. Among the largest hoards is one from Hefei, Anhui Province, numbering more than one hundred items and including six gold pieces.[15] The three objects from this hoard in the exhibition represent the most common types of silver articles in South China in the late Yuan period. The large silver bottle (fig. 330), one of nine in the hoard, has a character in Phagspa script incised on the base. Apparently it was fashionable in the late Yuan to inscribe the owner's name in Phagspa on valuable articles such as those made of lacquer (see fig. 348 below) and of silver. A Yuan edition of the encyclopedia *Shilin guangji*, published (1330–33) in the Zhishun reign, includes a section giving the Phagspa script (not always accurately) for the most common Chinese surnames.[16] Most likely, the mark on the base of the silver bottles from the Hefei hoard is the name of the owner. On other pieces from the hoard is inscribed the date of the "fourth year of Zhishun" (1333) and the maker, Zhang Zhongying,

Figure 330. Bottle. Silver, height 20⅛ in. (51.1 cm). Anhui Provincial Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 331. Spouted bowl. Silver, diameter of mouth at rim 7⅛ in. (18.1 cm). Anhui Provincial Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 332. Lobed box with phoenixes and flowers. Silver with chased decoration, diameter 13¾ in. (34.9 cm). Anhui Provincial Museum [Exhib.]

from a shop in Luzhou (Hefei). The spouted bowl (fig. 331) is a shape transmitted from North China and copied in porcelain (see fig. 321), while the lobed box (fig. 332) has counterparts in lacquer. The pair of circling phoenixes on the top is a variation of the pattern on the gold-thread embroidery in the Metropolitan (see fig. 280).

One of the pair of parcel-gilt Yuhuchun bottles (fig. 312), with a sculptural ornament on the lid like that on the Baoding porcelain jar (fig. 324), is from a hoard found in Dexing, Jiangxi Province. Parcel-gilt silver was popular in the Tang period. In the second half of the dynasty, its production was mainly in South China. The revival of this work in the Yuan is demonstrated by the pair of Yuhuchun bottles from Dexing and by one in the Palace Museum (fig. 333). The hoard from Dexing is not far from Jingdezhen, site of blue-and-white porcelain production, and, not surprisingly, the decoration on the silver shows many similarities with blue-and-white porcelain.[17] The pictorial decoration of the silver bottle within the ogival frames is similar to that on the blue-and-white bottle mentioned above (fig. 323).[18] The usual theme of these scenes is illustrious people who were known to be fond of a particular flower or bird. Among the most common subjects are the poet Tao Qian (365–427) with chrysanthemum, the calligrapher Wang Xizhi (303–361) with geese, the recluse Lin Bu (967–1028) with his plum blossoms and crane, and the philosopher Zhou Dunyi (1017–1073) with lotus. This last subject appears on both the blue-and-white bottle (fig. 323) and on the Dexing silver bottle (fig. 312). Most of these subjects are also depicted in paintings and other works of art in the Yuan, as well as in subsequent periods.

Gold pieces were less common in the south during the Yuan period, either because of people's taste or because of the scarcity of the material. However, quite a few gold objects were found in the tomb of Lü Shimeng (1234–1304) and his wife (d. 1313). A senior official in the Southern Song court, Lü Shimeng took part in the final negotiations with the conquering Yuan forces in 1275, preceding the fall of the Song capital the following year. He later served briefly in the Yuan government before retiring to Suzhou, the location of his tomb. The two gold belt ornaments from his tomb (figs. 334, 335) may well have been what he was wearing before the end of the Song, especially the piece that illustrates the legend of Jiang Shang (also Lü Shang), who assisted the early kings of Zhou in founding their dynasty (ca. 1066 BCE). Jiang Shang is usually portrayed at the moment he was discovered by King Wen of Zhou, fishing on the bank of the Wei River. Already advanced in age at that time, eighty years old, he was suitably qualified, as a near-immortal, to play a Merlin-like role to King Wen. The floral design on the other belt ornament (fig. 335) is perhaps the most common pattern on gold belt plaques of the Yuan period. Because the largest blossom looks like the *lizhi* (lychee) fruit, gold belt plaques decorated with the pattern were popularly known as *lizhi* belts and were frequently mentioned in Yuan drama as a sign of achieving high office. It was a pattern that already existed in the Northern Song.[19]

The third gold item from Lü Shimeng's tomb in the exhibition, an elaborately worked dish in repoussé and chasing (fig. 336), is certainly Yuan in style and technique. The *ruyi* or *lingzhi* (fungus of immortality) scroll on

Figure 333. Bottle with phoenixes and flowers. Silver with parcel gilding, height 12 in. (30.5 cm). The Palace Museum, Beijing [Exhib.]

Figure 334. Belt chape illustrating the legend of Jiang Shang. Gold, length 4⅜ in. (11.1 cm). Excavated from the tomb of Lü Shimeng (1234–1304) at Wuxian, Jiangsu Province, 1959. Nanjing Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 335. Belt chape with "lychee" pattern. Gold, height 6 in. (15.2 cm). Excavated from the tomb of Lü Shimeng (1234–1304) at Wuxian, Jiangsu Province, 1959. Nanjing Museum [Exhib.]

the four corners is a variation of a universal motif on Yuan objects that appears in practically every medium, particularly in carved lacquer.

Apart from gold objects, there is a class of bronze vessels, mostly vases, that is found in the north and is of considerable interest (figs. 337, 338). Like the ritual vessel donated by Princess Sengge to the Three Emperors Temple (see fig. 29), these bronzes seem to derive their form from ancient ritual vessels collected by Northern Song scholars, except that the forms have been creatively redesigned. The decorative patterns are mostly those of

Figure 336. Dish in the shape of four *ruyi* with floral design. Gold with repoussé and chased decoration, diameter 6⅜ in. (16.2 cm). Excavated from the tomb of Lü Shimeng (1234–1304) at Wuxian, Jiangsu Province, 1959. Nanjing Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 337. Vessel (*hu*). Bronze, height 7½ in. (19.1 cm). Found in Siziwang Banner, Wulanchabu, Inner Mongolia, 1956. Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 338. Vessel (*hu*). Bronze, height 8¼ in. (21 cm). Found in Xinhexian, Inner Mongolia, 1958. Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum [Exhib.]

the Yuan period, including, for example, the textile patterns in the three main registers on the square vessel (fig. 337) and the wave pattern on its foot. The other vessel sports tubular "ears" on the sides—a reference to the vase used in the ancient game of *touhu*, a darts-like game but played by throwing arrows into the vase or the ears—and the patterns on its sides are all creatively adopted from archaic vessels. Hardly any such vessels survived in China aboveground, but quite a few were kept in Japanese collections and were used for flower arrangements for centuries until the Meiji Reformation, after which some pieces entered Western collections. (Yuan bronzes of this type in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, were all collected in Japan in the nineteenth or at the turn of the twentieth century.)

LACQUER

As noted above, the rectangular tray in Boston (fig. 290) and the round dish in New York (fig. 291) are, respectively, representative of the Song and Yuan styles. Besides their stylistic differences, they also vary in the thickness of the carved lacquer. The production of carved lacquer is a laborious and time-consuming process. To build up a thick pile of lacquer, hundreds of coatings of lacquer have to be individually set (the molecules polymerized through exposure to air) before the next coat can be applied. In the case of pure lacquer, the setting time for each layer can take up to twenty-four hours. In pieces with geometric patterns, such as the two boxes on which the lacquer pile is made up of layers of alternate colors (fig. 339) or several colors (fig. 340), each consists of numerous coatings. In pieces from the thirteenth century (fig. 340), in addition to the usual red and black (as in fig. 339), there might be layers of yellow and, sometimes, a fourth color, green. In these earlier pieces, at least the top layers, which are translucent, are of pure lacquer. In the fourteenth century, there are only red and black layers and the dominant color is more opaque. The opacity is the result of the addition of vegetable oil, as well as some kind of finely ground material as temper for the lower layers. While the lacquer sets more quickly, and is perhaps also easier to carve, it is also less lustrous. However, the sheen on the surface of lacquer depends also on the fineness of polish after carving. The very large dish with a scene of children at play (fig. 341) is a masterpiece of fourteenth-century carving on lacquer.

Very few Yuan lacquer pieces carry a date or are datable by archaeological data. An exception is a small carved lacquer box in the Shanghai Museum with a decoration of Tao Qian and his chrysanthemum (fig. 342). Tao Qian, a poet's poet much admired by other great literary figures, such as Su Shi, was a particular favorite of Yuan writers and artists. There are numerous Yuan paintings that illustrate Tao Qian's life and work, and in small-scale decorative

Figure 339. Box with "pommel scroll" design, late 13th–14th century. Carved red lacquer with colored layers, diameter 5 in. (12.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929 29.100.713 [Exhib.]

Figure 340. Box with "fragrant grass" design, 13th century. Carved black lacquer with layers of red and yellow, diameter 3⅞ in. (9.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Purchase, The Vincent Astor Foundation Gift, 2007 2007.231a, b [Exhib.]

Figure 341. Dish with scene of children at play, second half of 14th century. Carved red lacquer, diameter 21⅞ in. (55.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Promised Gift of Florence and Herbert Irving L.1996.47.14

paintings he is usually shown looking at chrysanthemums. Found at a site that yielded four epitaphs of the Ren family, including that of the painter Ren Renfa (two of whose horse paintings are in the exhibition; see figs. 35, 221, 223), the box can be broadly dated to the period 1338–53.[20] Although not a masterpiece by Yuan standards, the box is invaluable as a guide to similar boxes in other collections, such as the small box in the Irving collection in New York (fig. 343). This type of box has traditionally been dated to the sixteenth century, though technically it has nothing in common with pieces made for the palace that bear sixteenth-century reign marks. On the other hand, both the style of carving of the main subject on the cover and the treatment of the geometric pattern on the sides are strikingly similar to those of the Shanghai box. There is thus reason to assign a much earlier date to the Irving box.[21] It is of course possible that because the Irving box was a commercial product of the south, where all the finest carved lacquers were produced in the Yuan period, the tradition of the Yuan style may have persisted well into the Ming.

An even more important archaeological find offering guidelines for dating carved lacquer is the table (fig. 344) from the tomb of Wang Weixian (d. 1287) and his wife (d. 1306; see p. 13). The Wang family tombs are in the far northwest in Gansu Province, but the table could only have come from Zhejiang in the southeast. For the lacquer table to have been buried in the tomb at the latest in 1306, it must have been produced in the late thirteenth century. And indeed it does demonstrate what one would expect of a carved lacquer of that period. It is much more elaborate than, say, the Boston tray (fig. 290) and not as sculpturally modeled as the two-bird dish (fig. 291) in full Yuan style (after about 1330). On the table the pattern of dragons on a floral ground is another instance of the spread of textile designs such as that on the Metropolitan's silk tapestry (see fig. 257). Although the pattern is quite faithfully copied, including the treatment of the dragon heads and the posture of their bodies, with one leg crossing over the tail, the relation of the heads and the positioning of the front legs is somewhat uncomfortable, indicating an unfamiliarity with the artistic representation of the dragon in the tapestry and a Central Asian origin.

A precisely dated lacquer box (fig. 345) decorated in the incised and gilded *qiangjin* technique, which gained popularity in the Yuan, is preserved in Japan in the Kyushu

Figure 342. Box with Tao Qian and his chrysanthemum, 1338–53. Carved red lacquer, diameter 4¾ in. (12.1 cm). Excavated from the Ren family tombs, Shanghai, 1953. Shanghai Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 343. Box with scene of bathing children. Yuan or Ming dynasty. Carved red lacquer, diameter 2½ in. (6.4 cm). Lent by Florence and Herbert Irving L.1996.47.31 [Exhib.]

Figure 344. Table with dragons and peonies, late 13th century. Carved red lacquer on wood, height 22⅞ in. (58.1 cm). Excavated from the tomb of Wang Weixian (d. 1287) and his wife (d. 1306), Zhangxian, Gansu Province, 1972. Zhangxian Museum

Figure 345. Sutra box with pheasants and flowers, dated 1315. Black lacquer with gilded engraved lines (*qianjin*), length 15¾ in. (40 cm). Kyushu National Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 346. Plate with flowering plum and birds, 14th century. Black lacquer with mother-of-pearl inlay, diameter 11⅝ in. (29.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Promised Gift of Florence and Herbert Irving L.1992.62.19 [Exhib.]

Figure 347. Box, dated 1301. Red on black lacquer, diameter 5½ in. (14 cm). Wuxi Municipal Museum

Detail of figure 347, showing the inscription, "made by Zhou Liulang, Siming [Ningbo], the year of *xinchou* [1301 or 1306]"

National Museum. It carries an inscription by a lacquer workshop in Hangzhou and is dated 1315. The artistic effect of the gold lines on a black ground is not unlike the illustrations and calligraphy on the scrolls of Buddhist sutras, painted and written in gold on dark paper and stored in such lacquer boxes.

Another popular decorative technique in Yuan lacquer is mother-of-pearl inlay. One of the finest examples is the octagonal plate in the Irving collection (fig. 346).[22] The mother-of-pearl inlay is in two tones. The darker color of the shells used for the prunus tree branch and parts of the birds was achieved by the use of thinner shells, as opposed to the application of a pigment on the back of the shells, which is a Korean technique.

Finally, there are plain lacquer utensils for daily use that were hardly known before archaeological finds made since the 1950s. They are nearly all red lacquer, or at least the top layer is red, even if the underlayer is black—like Japanese *negoro* ware. The red color may indicate a change in popular taste, as proposed by some authors,[23] or simply the greater availability of purer cinnabar produced by dry distillation. The Chinese term for the process was *shaozhu* or *shaohong* (heating red).

Many plain pieces are inscribed by writing in the lacquer, as is the case of the sutra box (fig. 345), recording the year and name of the maker or the shop. The box with a dome-shaped cover (fig. 347), inscribed on the base in red on black lacquer, gives the name of the maker as Zhou Liulang of Siming (Ningbo) and the cyclical year of *xinchou*, 1301 or 1361. The earlier date is more likely, as the style of the writing is close to that found on inscribed Song pieces. Furthermore, by the end of the Yuan period the maker's name and year of manufacture were more likely to have been incised with a sharp stylus.

Most, if not all, plain lacquerware of the Yuan was made in the south, and nearly all of it has been found there, particularly in Jiangsu Province. The bowl with the owner's name, Chen, in Phagspa (fig. 348) is another example of the custom of marking household goods with the owner's name in that script, as is the case on the silver bottle (fig. 330). The Phagspa script for the surname Chen is included in the aforementioned Yuan encyclopedia, *Shilin guangji*.

JADE

The love and use of jade, like Daoism, is as old as Chinese civilization. The craft of jade-working was developed over thousands of years. It began at the latest about 2500 BCE, in the late Neolithic period in southeast China in the areas around Lake Tai (Jiangsu and northern Zhejiang provinces, where local jade was found), and it flourished by the time of the late Warring States, in the fourth to the third century BCE. The centers of the craft, originally located in large Neolithic settlements, moved during the dynastic periods to metropolitan areas. The continuation of the craft depended on the prosperity and social conditions in the capital cities, such as Luoyang in the Eastern Zhou (770–256 BCE), which remained the nominal capital of the Zhou dynasty throughout the Warring States (481–221 BCE). The jades from Luoyang during this period were technically and artistically the most accomplished. The concentration

Figure 348. Bowl, 14th century. Red lacquer, diameter of mouth at rim 3⅛ in. (7.9 cm). Changzhou Museum, Jiangsu Province [Exhib.]

Detail of figure 348, showing Phagspa inscription on the base

of the best artisans in the capital cities also made the craft vulnerable to war and destruction. With each fall of a dynasty and the disintegration of the administrative structure of the government, there was a decline in the craft of jade carving. The biggest blow was the sacking of Luoyang in the year 190 by Dong Zhuo, which, to all practical purposes, ended the dynasty and began a period of political chaos in all of North China.

The recovery of jade carving, beginning with the Tang dynasty (618–907), took centuries and was carried on through the Liao (916–1125) and the Jin (1115–1234) until the coming of the Mongols. It should be noted that jade-working is the art of sedentary communities and is not indigenous to nomadic peoples, who are constantly on the move. For northerners who came south across the Great Wall, the use of jade was an acquired taste inherited from the Tang dynasty. One factor that contributed to the improvement in jade carving in the later Liao and Jin dynasties was the continued importation, as during the Tang period, of the precious stone by traders from Central Asia.

By the time Khubilai was ruler of North China, before he became Great Khan and emperor of China, jade carving was again a thriving craft. An important item in his grand project to build the Great Capital, Dadu, was to have an enormous jade wine bowl made for his reception hall (see fig. 59). Unfortunately, in the eighteenth century it was recut by order of the Qianlong emperor.

Khubilai's personal interest in jade can be gathered from comments he made on hearing reports (in 1273) that a jade worker by the name of Li was to be dispatched to Khotan to collect jade. He directed that Li bring back jade of all colors: green, yellow, black, and white. Khubilai further remarked that, in the case of big boulders, the outer crusts should be removed (to reveal the jade) in order to lighten the load for transport.[24] And indeed, jades of all these colors are known from carvings of the Yuan period.

Mongol use of jade followed a long tradition, going back to the Tang, of using jade for belt buckles (fig. 349), belt slides (fig. 350), and other belt ornaments, many of them carved with the motif of the swan hunt in the spring. The spring hunt was an annual event initially instituted in China during the Liao dynasty and perpetuated by the Jin. The officials who accompanied the emperor had to wear uniforms decorated with the motif of the spring hunt—a falcon swooping down on a wild goose. (The wild goose is sometimes referred to as a swan.) A fragment of an embroidered silk made for the spring hunt uniform is in the exhibition (see fig. 266). The small falcon, known as the *haidongqing*, is at the very top of the composition and not easy to discern.

It is ironic that the metallic belt ornaments of nomadic culture were replaced by jade ornaments in Tang China, a practice that persisted in the Liao and Jin periods in North China, while the Song dynasty in the south, without access to sources of jade in Central Asia, had to use gold. Taizong, the second emperor of the Northern Song, is said to have justified the use of gold by mandating that it be more highly valued than jade.[25] But then, Song-style gold belt ornaments with the lychee pattern (fig. 335) were also adopted in the Yuan.

A new use of jade in the Yuan was for the knobs of hats. A large number of these have survived, as they were later recycled as tops for the wooden covers of incense burners and other containers. They have also been found archaeologically in Yuan sites. A group of four, for example, was found at the site of Dafo Temple in Zhangye, Gansu

Figure 349. Belt buckle. Jade, width 2½ in. (6.4 cm). Found at Lishuixian, Jiangsu Province. Nanjing Municipal Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 350. Belt slide. Jin or Yuan dynasty, 12th–14th century. Jade (nephrite), length 2¾ in. (6.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Purchase, Florence and Herbert Irving Gift, 1991 1991.483 [Exhib.]

Province, two of which are in this exhibition. One (fig. 351) is carved in openwork with the spring hunt motif, while the other (fig. 352) has a scene of egrets among lotus plants, an equally popular motif in Yuan art.

The tops of Mongol hats were also made of gold. None has survived aboveground, because they could be melted down for other uses. A spectacular piece was found at Wulanchabu city in Inner Mongolia (fig. 353). Reflecting the influence of Tibetan Buddhist art, the hat ornament takes the form of garudas (mythical birds) above a group of dancing figures. There are also jade versions of garuda hat tops; one has a Sinicized version of a garuda standing on clouds.[26]

Figures and animals on clouds, as mentioned in the Introduction, are a Daoist motif. An example is the stone horse from the tomb of Yelü Zhu (1221–1285) in Beijing (see fig. 25). Given the prevalence of Daoism in the Yuan and the association of Daoism with jade, we find that nearly all jade figures of people and animals of the period are supported by clouds, as in the case of the phoenix hair ornament (fig. 354). The masterpiece of Yuan jade carving is the bowl with two handles in the form of female figures with flowing scarves like Buddhist apsaras, with clouds on their backs (fig. 355). A Daoist procession is carved on the sides of the bowl. The bowl was brought to the notice of the world in 1968 by Sherman Lee and Wai-kam Ho on the occasion of the exhibition at the Cleveland Museum of Art.[27]

Figure 351. Hat ornament with falcon hunting a wild goose. Jade, height 1⅜ in. (3.5 cm). Found at Zhangye, Gansu Province. Gansu Provincial Museum [Exhib.]

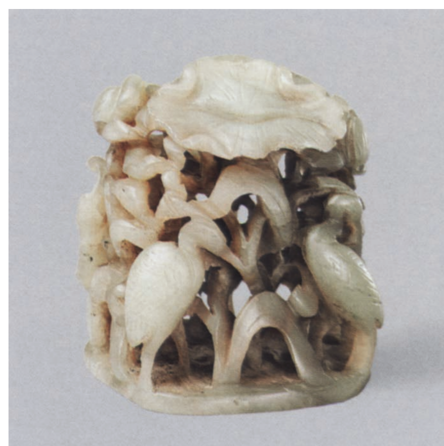


Figure 352. Hat ornament with egrets among lotus plants. Jade, height 1¾ in. (4.5 cm). Found at Zhangye, Gansu Province. Gansu Provincial Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 353. Hat ornament with garudas and dancing figures. Gold, height 1⅝ in. (4.1 cm). Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum [Exhib.]

Figure 354. Hairpin. Jade and gold, length 8¼ in. (21 cm). Excavated from the Shi family tombs, Houtaibaocun, Shijiazhuang, Hebei Province, 1994. Hebei Institute of Cultural Relics [Exhib.]

Figure 355. Bowl with Daoist figures. Jade, height 2½ in. (6.4 cm). The Cleveland Museum of Art. Anonymous Gift 1952.510 [Exhib.]

The Chinese love of jade goes beyond the appreciation of the material. From the Neolithic period on, it was made into ritual implements. Aristocrats in the Warring States era wore it as a sign of nobility. To the early Confucians the qualities of jade symbolized the virtues to which they aspired. In secular literature jade was a synonym for beauty. The Daoists naturally appropriated it. The word *jade* is a constant in Daoist scriptures, particularly in the titles of deities in the pantheon and in the names of patriarchs, where it has vague associations with notions of purity and eternity. However, very few actual jade objects of any age can be associated with Daoism, with the exception of the Cleveland bowl, which displays and embodies every aspect of Daoist art at its highest development. The bowl can be viewed as the realization of a Daoist's dream. For this, and for the superb artistry in its carving, it makes a fitting finale to an exhibition of the arts of the Yuan dynasty.

1. See Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1992: 176, 177, pl. 165. This piece is likely to be from a workshop in Lin'an.
2. Su Shi, "Zi ping wen," in *SSWJ* (1986 ed., vol. 5: 2069).
3. For the reference to Voltaire, see Weatherford 2004: 255. Brecht's *Caucasian Chalk Circle* is based on Li Xingdao's (Qianfu) *Hui lan ji* (Circle of Chalk).
4. For technical aspects of Southern Song Longquan, see Kingery and Vandiver 1986, chap. 3: 69–91.
5. Some scholars consider painted wares of this type to be blue-and-white on account of a trace of cobalt in the colorant, but it is more likely to be an impurity in the iron ore used.
6. See Cammann 1951.
7. Watt and Wardwell 1997: 61–62.
8. See Zhongguo taoci quanji bianji weiyuanhui 2000, vol. 11, no. 132.
9. See ibid., no. 133, for an illustration of the jar dated 1347. For an account of Persian cobalt used in the early blue-and-white porcelain, see Watt 1979—but ignore the abstract.
10. For the story of Guiguzi and illustrations, see Rosemary Scott in Christie's 2005: 66–69.
11. See *YMJ* (2002 ed.: 1).
12. Watt 2008.
13. For a listing of the main hoards up to 1999 compiled by Chen Kelun, see Zhongguo taoci quanji bianji weiyuanhui 2000, vol. 11: 305–11.
14. Verbal communication from curators at the Shanghai Museum.
15. Wu Wenliang 1957.
16. See the modern edition of *SLGJ*, with reduced facsimile of the original fourteenth-century edition.
17. See Sun Yigang 2000.
18. See Xiao Fabiao 2007.
19. Sun Ji 1986: 314.
20. For the discovery of Ren Renfa's tombstone, see Zong Dian 1959; for the excavation report of the lacquer box, see Shen Lingxin and Xu Yongxiang 1982.
21. The similarities were first observed by my colleague Denise Leidy.
22. Watt and Ford 1991: 126–28.
23. See Chen Jing and Bao Yanli 2005.
24. Extract from the *Jingshi dadian*, "zhan chi" section, in *Yongle dadian* 1962 printing, *juan* 19417.
25. Sun Ji 1986: 314.
26. Watt 1980: 92, no. 75.
27. Sherman Lee and Wai-kam Ho 1968, pl. 298.

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DYTZTG
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MDZL
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SHMN
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SSWJ
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SSXY
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SXZ
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