

*The Suspension of Dynastic Time*

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In the conventional historical record, China's history appears as a succession of dynasties, a succession that is often complicated by the division of the country into areas under the rule of different regimes. But like the official maps of the London underground and the New York subway, which stretch, shorten, straighten and bend to create an illusion of carefully planned order, the chronological tables of Chinese history represent a ferocious editing of the historical process. The boundaries between dynasties were far from unambiguous to those who lived them. In this essay, I shall try to reconstruct some of the ambiguities of one such boundary, that between the Ming and the Qing dynasties, from the point of view of painting. The focus will be on what I shall call 'remnant' art, that is, the art of those intellectuals who defined themselves as the 'remnant subjects' (*yimin*), of the Ming dynasty.<sup>1</sup> Still more narrowly, I shall largely be concerned with two closely related painters working in the city of Nanjing, formerly China's southern capital under the Ming dynasty. Zhang Feng (died 1662) and Gong Xian (1619–89) are just two of many remnant artists who congregated in the suburbs of Nanjing, where the temples offered safe haven to Ming sympathizers and the Ming monuments were visible reminders of the previous dynasty.<sup>2</sup> The works I shall discuss are landscapes which exploit the heritage of landscape painting as the pre-eminent genre for the metaphoric exploration of the individual's relation to state and nation.

The year 1644 is commonly accepted now as the boundary between the Ming and Qing dynasties, the moment when the Mandate of Heaven passed from the Ming to the Qing. Yet there are nagging questions. Should the moment be localized more precisely in the suicide of the Chongzhen emperor on the nineteenth day of the third lunar month, as the 'rebel' Li Zicheng reached the city? Or in the arrival at the Forbidden City, in Beijing, on the first day of the fifth lunar month of the Manchu general Dorgon, after he defeated Li Zicheng? Perhaps the moment was a

longer one, bounded by these two events? In practice, the issue could be avoided neatly by the use of *jiashen*, the cyclical year corresponding to 1644. This usage gained symbolic support from the wave of loyalist suicides in that year, echoing Chongzhen's own. An alternative way of denoting the Ming-Qing boundary was as the '*jiayou* transformation', in reference to the two years *jiashen* (1644) and *yiyou* (1645): I take this to mean that what had been Ming at the beginning of 1644 was Qing by the beginning of 1645. The modern assumption of an objective boundary inscribed in the historical record thus coincides with a certain seventeenth-century recognition of the transfer of the Mandate. The issue becomes muddier, however, as soon as we move our standpoint away from the central linear axis of transmission of power. It then becomes important to take into account the fact that a (geographically limited) Qing dynasty had existed since 1636; and that the Ming resistance would maintain the existence of a Ming dynasty until 1662. If 1636 was not accepted to define the Ming-Qing boundary, it was because it was only in 1644 that the political centre – Beijing – passed out of the hands of the Ming and into those of the Qing. But a general consensus on 1644 as the defining moment did not emerge until the collapse of the Ming resistance in 1662, and was not finally cemented until the late 1670s when the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories, life-threatening for the Qing, had clearly failed.

I take the political boundary of 1644 to be an example of what Paul Ricoeur, following Emile Benveniste, has called an 'axial moment', the event 'in reference to which every other event is dated', thus making possible a calendrical form of time.<sup>3</sup> As 'the first year of the Shunzhi reign', inaugurating the Qing dynasty, 1644 belonged to a dynastic form of calendar time, in which the axial moment was periodically renewed by the initiation of a new dynastic cycle. From this point of view, what made the Ming-Qing boundary complex was that in its first, preliminary version, Qing dynastic time preceded 1644; while in its final, eventually abortive version, Ming dynastic time postdated it. For our purposes, the important point is that for some time after 1644 there were two truly competing frameworks of dynastic time. Though many people at the time probably accepted Qing dynastic time without question, Ming resisters continued to locate themselves within the Ming dynastic cycle. Neither of these options, however, accurately describes the situation of the many non-resistant remnant subjects, who included the vast majority of remnant painters of the post-1644 period.

While they acknowledged pessimistically that the Ming dynastic cycle was over, these men (and women) still refused to fully enter Qing

dynastic time. The limbo in which they found themselves can be seen from these few lines written by the painter Wan Shouqi during his final illness in 1652:

What year is it now?  
Muddled, won't remember  
So many feelings in the corner of the room  
Where there still hangs a calendar of Chongzhen.<sup>4</sup>

Similarly, Gong Xian inscribed a painting of the 1650s with a poem which includes the line, 'In calculating the date, I mistakenly use the calendar of the previous dynasty.'<sup>5</sup> He was tempted, that is, to date the painting 'such and such a year of the Chongzhen reign', since any dynastic calendar calculated its dates only in reference to the current reign. Given this convention, of course, use of the dynastic calendar incorporated a statement of loyalty to a given emperor. Consequently, Gong Xian, like most remnant painters, refused to employ the Qing calendar, preferring to employ the two-character cyclical dates (*jiashen* and *yiyou* are examples) from the endlessly recurring sixty-year cycle of years which traversed the millennia with a cosmic disregard for the succession of dynasties. For such remnant subjects, then, 1644 as *jiashen* was a different kind of axial moment, the reference point for a calendar transcending the world of affairs which mapped the mortal time of a generation directly on to the immensity of the cosmic process. It is appropriate in the case of these remnant artists, therefore, to speak of a suspension of dynastic time.

Events, it would seem, could be decisive in establishing a boundary both in politico-legal terms and in consciousness, but the boundary was open to different interpretations. It may be useful here to borrow another analytic concept from Ricoeur, the distinction between authority and legitimacy. Only the active resistant contested the authority as well as the legitimacy of the Qing, thus keeping open – in theory, at least – the possibility of a change in the political situation and the restoration of Ming authority. We should distinguish this from the less extreme option that more often characterized remnant culture, in which Qing legitimacy was contested while Qing authority was reluctantly acknowledged. In Ricoeur's terms, the remnant culture that did not align itself with active resistance can be said to have opened up an utopian space: 'is it not the function of utopia to expose the credibility gap wherein all systems of authority exceed . . . both our confidence in them and our belief in their legitimacy?'<sup>6</sup> For remnant painting, this implies that it is necessary to

make a distinction between work that has its context within the Ming resistance proper and work that, in a sense, stood in for resistance, transposing the resistance onto a purely symbolic level. What is striking, though not surprising, is that while the Ming resistance did give rise to paintings, there are relatively few of these; the overwhelming majority of surviving remnant paintings contested only the legitimacy, and not the authority, of the artists' political masters.

Zhang Feng, one of the two artists I will focus on, was the son of a senior military officer who committed suicide in 1631 after losing a battle. His brother, Zhang Yi, was a Battalion Commander in the Embroidered Uniform Guard at court during the Chongzhen reign, who despite torture refused to surrender to Li Zicheng's forces, yet escaped execution.<sup>7</sup> Having obtained the lowest-level official degree prior to 1644, Zhang Feng himself would normally have sat for the higher examinations leading to an official career, but the fall of the Ming led him to abandon that ambition, and he subsequently supported himself through painting.<sup>8</sup> The three dated leaves of his twelve-leaf *Album of Landscapes* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art were painted, respectively, on the last day of the sixth lunar month of 1644, one week later, and a further three days after that.<sup>9</sup> There is nothing in the other paintings or inscriptions to suggest that the album was painted over a very long period of time; perhaps it belongs entirely to that summer of 1644, when the painter was in the Nanjing area where he had grown up, now the capital of the post-Chongzhen Ming regime. But he painted the album in the recent knowledge of the Chongzhen Emperor's suicide, the fall of Beijing to the Manchus, and the proclamation in Beijing of Qing dynasty rule over the whole of China. Very likely, too, Zhang would have known of the letter sent by the Manchu general Dorgon to the Ming court in Nanjing early in the sixth month. This letter sought an alliance against the Chinese rebels led by Li Zicheng whose successes had precipitated the Chongzhen Emperor's death and the Qing invasion, and who had been fighting both the Ming and the Qing dynasties in the name of a third, Shun, dynasty ever since. It also, however, threatened an attempt by the Qing to unify China at a later date. And Zhang would certainly have been aware of the vicious debates at court between partisans of appeasement and the partisans of resistance and reconquest. The album was painted, then, against the background of political infighting in Nanjing, with a transfer of authority from Ming to Qing in prospect. Although Zhang is sometimes suspected to have subsequently been an active resistant, his response to his circumstances in this work was not to affirm the



Zhang Feng (d. 1662), leaf 1 from an album of twelve paintings, *Album of Landscapes*, of which three leaves are dated 1644, ink and colour on paper.  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

continuity of Ming dynastic time, but on the contrary to build up, through a series of very different images, a world outside dynastic time.

While the individual leaves are not extremely small, they were painted with very fine brushes, so that the paintings (and above all their inscriptions) only become fully legible when they are inches from the viewer's face – a visual equivalent to the hushed tones of conversations that should not be overheard. In the present sequence of leaves (which may or may not be the original one), the album opens with an image that the painter himself describes in his brief inscription as 'An inlet much like the Peach Blossom Spring, and yet it is not'. We see a moored boat on the left, and on the right a path leading into the mountains. Were this indeed the Peach Blossom Spring invented by the fourth-century writer, Tao Qian, we would be able to assume that the fisherman had left the boat, followed the path, and entered a cave to find on the other side a utopian community living in peace and harmony, unvisited by tax collectors, made up of the descendants of refugees from an ancient war. This was the classic literary embodiment of the suspension of dynastic time, and a favourite subject of post-1644 remnant painters. In this case, however, Zhang Feng's inscription does not allow the viewer the security of a



Zhang Feng, leaf 3 from the *Album of Landscapes*.



Zhang Feng, leaf 5 from the *Album of Landscapes*.

familiar fiction. Jarringly, he evokes escape only to suggest that it is unattainable.

In leaf 3, two men – perhaps Zhang Feng and the man for whom he painted the album, identified only by the name Beijin – sit in a back room of a house facing the garden, playing chess. One has the cap of a scholar, the other the hairknot of a Daoist. Wine gourds piled on a shelf are a further sign of withdrawal from public life. The garden wall, moreover, is partly ruined, while the gate in the wall for formal visitors, squeezed into the lower-left corner of the painting, is not only closed but is blocked off from the rest of the garden by thick bamboos. In contrast, we can see beyond the garden to the more utilitarian space of the courtyard and the side buildings, where a gate in the fence is conspicuously open, as if to welcome intimate friends.<sup>10</sup> Zhang's inscription turns out to hold its own dark surprise, qualifying the apparently idyllic character of the scene. The first three lines of poetry read:

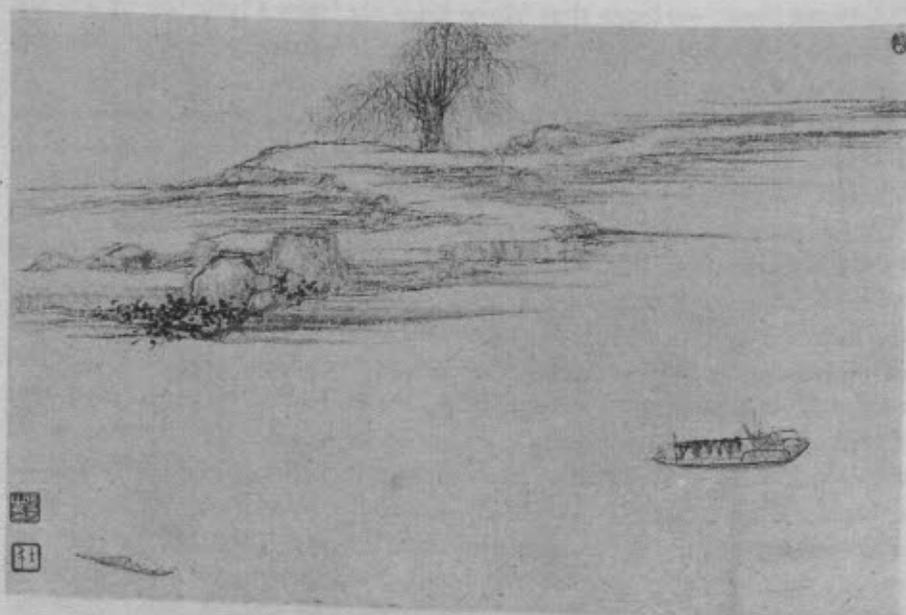
The red dust [of worldly affairs] does not pollute my doorstep,  
Green trees lean over, screening the corners of the house.  
Hazy mountains exactly fill the breach in the wall.

Following them, we learn that 'these lines are from a lyric (*ci*) by a Yuan poet', a poet, that is, who lived during the earlier period of Mongol conquest.<sup>11</sup>

In leaf 5, a single figure is framed by a group of pines: significantly, perhaps, there are four pines, instead of the canonical five, representing the various types of virtuous conduct. A mountain stream rushes past. 'The painting has no particular subject,' Zhang writes, 'it's just that where I was it was almost as if I could hear the sound of a mountain torrent. If you wish to take it as [Wang Wei's famous lines] "The bright moon shines through the pines; the clear stream flows over the rocks", you may. Brother Beijin will be thinking that Dafeng [Zhang Feng] also uses the methods of examination writing in painting. Ha!' One of the very few things we know of Zhang Feng's life at this time is that his response to the events of 1644 was to burn his examination notes, so the reference to examination writing is not only ironic but probably contains a political allusion as well. His citation of the eighth-century Wang Wei's couplet may be similarly pointed, for translated in a different way, it gives: 'The Ming moon shines through the pines, the Qing stream flows over the rocks.' The figure, framed by the pines, looks away from the rushing stream. The rigorous parallelism, evoking a tense equilibrium, is perfectly appropriate to the national circumstances of the summer of 1644.



Zhang Feng, leaf 8 from the *Album of Landscapes*.



Zhang Feng, leaf 10 from the *Album of Landscapes*.

Just as he cited the Peach Blossom Spring utopia only to leave it out of reach, here Zhang Feng cites one of the canonical couplets of the lyric tradition, only to subvert it, transforming the evocation of utter tranquillity into its opposite.

Other leaves are uninscribed. In leaf 8, a massive ridge traverses the composition, separating the open space of a lake or river from the secluded enclosure where a few houses hug the bottom margin, with a lone, tiny figure visible within. A path snakes along the sides of the ridge, but seemingly makes no contact with the houses, leaving us to wonder where it leads. The ridge appears as the barrier against a world which, it implies, is hostile. In leaf 10 another snaking path traverses our view; where it comes from, where it leads to, are of no concern to the inhabitants of the scene. Flung out to the periphery of the image are a lone angler, a working fisherman, and – easily missed – Zhang Feng's own voice and presence, embodied in his oval seal. The angler echoes countless honourable recluse predecessors in the representation of interior exile, but his juxtaposition with a working fisherman adds a note of realism, prophetic of Zhang's post-1644 professional circumstances as a painter. An ancient tree, emblem of survival, anchors the scene, providing it with its centre of gravity. Against the implied movement of the road, the geometric patterns inscribed in the placement of the main motifs define a form of stasis.

Even after looking at only these five leaves, it is possible to map out and characterize the pregnant atmosphere of Zhang Feng's album. At a first level, the atmosphere is created by the abstraction of such moments from the flux of normal lived time, and their extension beyond reasonable bounds. But as the viewer passes from one landscape to another, their effect is cumulative, adding up to a dislocation of consciousness which removes the represented figure and the viewer from the specificities of dynastic time. The atmosphere of the album also has a specific emotional colouring, a mood that fluctuates between melancholy and desolation. This, no less than the accompanying dislocation, was to become a recurrent theme in remnant painting, as the principal expression of the feelings of loss attendant on the fall of the Ming. Indeed, the word most commonly used for the fall of the Ming dynasty was *wang*, referring to loss through death. The dynasty died and remnant painters such as Zhang Feng mourned its death, fulfilling their ritual responsibilities of mourning as surviving subjects by withdrawing from the world into the metaphoric space of exile known as the wilderness (*ye*). Like much of remnant painting, this very early album

could be described as articulating a wilderness iconography of withdrawal through a poetics of loss.

This is not to suggest that all remnant painting was of this kind: there was also, for example, an important poetics of guilt in remnant culture, particularly associated in painting with the name of Chen Hongshou, who took the name 'Belated Remorse'. Had not Ming intellectuals contributed to the fall of their dynasty and the loss of their country by their factionalism and materialism? Zhang Feng's depiction of four pines rather than five in leaf 5 might be construed in these self-critical terms.

One can also identify a poetics of defiance that spoke of yet another reaction to the Manchu invasion. Zhang most obviously contributed to defiant painting of this kind in his more heroic works, such as his bold portraits of the military tactician, Zhuge Liang, which bring to mind Zhou Lianggong's biographical evocation of the artist: 'After the *jiashen* year [1644] he burnt his study notes for the [advanced] examination. Then putting on a short robe without the back part [i.e. dressed like a soldier], and carrying a sword which was without a sheath and only wrapped with hempen cloth, he went to the Northern Capital.'<sup>12</sup> Two leaves of this album from 1644 edge on defiance. In one, a ragged flight of birds returns to the sparse shelter of a withered tree that protrudes from barren rocks at the centre of the image. In the other, a similarly centred group of three bare but upright trees is pulled up to the surface of the painting – thus confronting the viewer – by the horizontal brushstrokes defining the rock outcrop on which they grow. The beginnings of a bamboo grove soften the harsh scene with their implication of renewal. One painting restates a wintry theme of hunger and cold from the period of the Mongol occupation; the other is inscribed as being in the style of the displaced Yuan-dynasty artist, Ni Zan.<sup>13</sup> Iconic images of survival, these trees confront the world as signs, at once mute and eloquent, of the artist's symbolic resistance.

In May of the following year, 1645, the city of Yangzhou, not far from Nanjing, fell to the Manchus at great cost in human lives, and in June Nanjing itself surrendered. In July, the Manchu authorities revoked their initial suspension of the order by which the Chinese population had been ordered to shave their foreheads and wear their hair in the Manchu manner. This in turn led to renewed and ferocious resistance throughout the Jiangnan region, which lasted into the autumn of 1645 and was marked by several more huge massacres. In the wake of the brutal Manchu establishment of power, many humiliated Chinese intellectuals in Jiangnan took refuge in temples, where they could either conceal



Zhang Feng, leaf 6 from the *Album of Landscapes*.



Zhang Feng, leaf 2 from the *Album of Landscapes*.

themselves or take the full tonsure of a Buddhist monk, in order to avoid conforming with the haircutting edict. Although the main urban centres of Jiangnan were all under Qing control by the winter of 1645–6, resistance continued. Nanjing itself was attacked in September 1646, but the failure of the attempt announced what Frederick Wakeman has characterized as ‘a general loyalist collapse throughout South China in the fall of 1646’, from which the Ming resistance never recovered.<sup>14</sup>

The influence of Zhang Feng’s uncomfortable vision of disorientation, which we have seen at its beginnings in 1644, can be seen in an album of ten landscape leaves which the much younger Gong Xian painted almost thirty years later, in 1671.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, the eighth leaf, an appropriately disjointed image, bears an inscription alluding to Zhang Feng as a friend who had often sought Gong’s inscriptions for his work.<sup>16</sup> Gong himself spent most of the two decades after 1647 away from Nanjing, and only returned there definitively in 1666 to live in a house at the foot of the Mountain of Pure Coolness (Qingliang shan), which was located just within the western perimeter of the city wall, overlooking the Yangzi.<sup>17</sup> During most of Gong Xian’s exile from Nanjing, the Ming resistance, while suppressed in the Jiangnan region, remained active and dangerous for the Qing in China’s far south. Not until 1662 did the last of the Ming courts claiming succession to Chongzhen disappear, bringing the entire Ming dynasty (as a political fact) to an end. Gong Xian’s 1671 album was thus painted in political circumstances vastly changed from those of Zhang Feng’s much earlier album.

As is the case for that work, the leaves of Gong Xian’s album reach us today in a sequence which may or may not be original: if there is a programme to be found in this or any other sequence, it has yet to be discovered. Unfortunately, the leaves have been severed from their original album context and are now mounted separately as hanging scrolls. However, the fold line down the centre of each leaf is an insistent reminder of the greater intimacy of the original folded format, which combined two smaller compositions into a third – the overall composition we now see. The eleventh leaf provides a commentary on the whole work:

On New Year’s Day of the *xinhai* year [1671], sprinkling some tea about that I had specially set aside, I made sacrifice in the mountains to the vast heavens. I sealed my door and sat quietly, communicating with neither relatives nor friends. Having washed my ink-stone and tried out my brush, I brought out this plain album. I painted away like this for some ten days, but then my ‘flower activities’ became somewhat burdensome, and it was already the end of spring before I

finished it. I dare not say that I have enjoyed in full measure the unalloyed happiness of [this world of] man, and yet, compared with those who move attentively in the circle of ceremony and regulations, is not what I have attained much more? And so, I record this here with a smile. Resident of Half-an-Acre, Gong Xian. [seal] 'Left over in the wilderness'.<sup>18</sup>

Even at its inception, the execution of this work was clearly an event of some importance for Gong Xian. He aligns it with the beginning of the lunar new year, the new cycle of cosmic time, and locates himself cosmologically by a sacrifice in the mountains 'to the vast heavens'. He then empties his mind, breaking off contact with family and friends, and allowing himself to return to a state of quietude (this being one of the tropes of painting as self-cultivation). He prepares the inkstone, tries out the brush; finally, he brings out the 'plain' album. The theme is a familiar one, equating the creative process with cosmogony – the world spontaneously comes into being from an original non-differentiated state. However, it is the cosmological references of the first part of the inscription that are most relevant here, for they help to make preliminary sense of his comment on the finished work: 'I dare not say that I have enjoyed in full measure the unalloyed happiness of [this world of] man, and yet, compared with those who move attentively in the circle of ceremony and regulations, is not what I have attained much more?' We are to look for what he has achieved, not simply in the surface darkness, the lack of happiness, of his work, but in the favourable comparison between the order of his work and the order of 'ceremony and regulations'. Part of his claim is to have made contact with the moral order of the cosmos, in a way that 'those who move attentively in the circle of ceremony and regulation' could not do.

What he meant by this is made clearer by the present opening leaf of the album, which bears the following inscription:

Painting of the ancients compels respect and admiration from people when they view it. Like the Five Sacred Mountains, their peaks tower majestically upward. [From this] one knows for sure that they harboured no bits and pieces of mountains or tag ends of rivers in their breasts. This work derives from a study sketch by Lu Haoran [Lu Hong, active in the 8th century CE].

The Five Sacred Mountains were, amongst other things, the symbolic guardians of the nation, while the term 'bits and pieces of mountains and tag ends of rivers' was a standard way of referring to the loss of the nation. By insisting, indirectly, that his own landscapes are not 'bits and pieces of mountains', Gong Xian makes the same point that another remnant artist, Bada shanren, would later make in a painting inscription



Gong Xian (1619–89), leaf 1 from an album of ten leaves, *Landscape Album [Shanshui ce]*, mounted as hanging scrolls, dated 1671, ink and colour on paper. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri.

by claiming that the Yuan painter Huang Gongwang (whose style he was following) had continued to paint the mountains and rivers of Song.<sup>19</sup> The remnant painter could not accept the concept of a fragmented nation, any more than could the Qing state.

The reference to Lu Haoran (better known as Lu Hong), painter though he was, was probably meant to throw light less on the style of the painting than on its meaning. As we read in a text copied out by the loyalist artist Bada shanren in a 1702 album:

Emperor Xuanzong [r. 712–56] summoned the retired scholar of Songshan, Lu Hong, three times before he came, and then, when he presented himself at audience, he did not prostrate himself but merely bowed. The emperor asked him why he behaved in this way, and he replied, ‘Ceremony is the weakest part of loyalty and trust, and cannot be relied upon. Your servant from the mountains, Hong, dares to present his loyalty and trust directly to Your Majesty.’ Xuanzong was impressed, and commanded Hong to accept [various high positions and honours]. He refused to accept any of them.<sup>20</sup>

The mountain in Gong Xian’s painting is thus Songshan, the Sacred Mountain of the Centre, here representing the emperor to whom Gong Xian presents his loyalty and trust directly. The Ming is identified, not as a specific dynasty, but as dynastic legitimacy itself, symbolized in mythic, cosmic terms.

If myth offers one form of dislocation, the dream offers another. Gong’s inscription to leaf 6 reads: ‘Having painted what I saw in a dream,

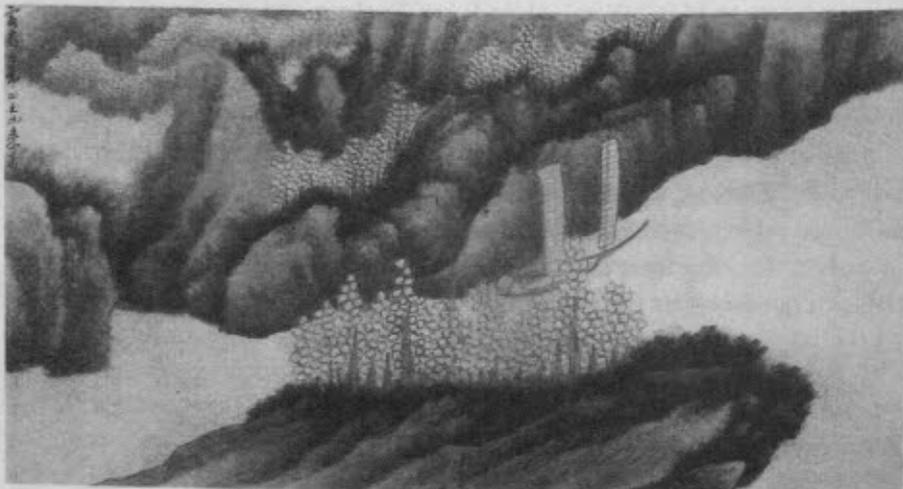
a friend now says, "The shores of the lake[s] in my Zhe[jiang] frequently have spots like this." We see villages, or a town, devoid of people but not ruined. If the village represents normal community life, one might suggest that for Gong Xian in his interior exile such normality was unrepresentable except as absence; an entire village or town was unrepresentable except as a dream.<sup>21</sup> In the painting, the unanswerable diagonal of the hillside leaves normal community life still further out of reach. This dream, with its geometricized surface structure, brings normal time to a halt.

A third form of dislocation is imagination, as in the effort to visualize what one has not actually seen. On leaf 2, Gong Xian writes: 'Some guests who came here from Changshan and Yushan tell me of the strange marvels of the landscape there. Taking up my brush, I record them here.' Changshan in the south-west corner of Zhejiang, and Yushan across the border in Jiangxi, marked the crossing-point between the two provinces. From Changshan one could travel by boat down the Fuchun River to Hangzhou, while from Yushan one could sail down the Xu River to Lake Boyang and the city of Nanchang. Between the two towns, however, one had to travel overland, so the image seemingly cannot refer to the journey between these two out-of-the-way, but strategically located, towns. Gong Xian does not tell us what, in his guests' description, stimulated his imagination. The stepped overlap of the boats echoes the oblique ridges of the foreground outcrop, suggesting movement, the flow of water. But then the movement is cancelled by a hidden geometry at the centre of the image: the top edge of the outcrop is perfectly horizontal on either side of the vertical axis, which is itself echoed in the stiff trees. A cove on the left corresponds to the boats on the right; a narrative is promised but not delivered: instead the artist operates a temporal short-circuit.

Although these pictorial strategies are reminiscent of Zhang Feng's album, they also differ in one fundamental way. Gong Xian's album depicts a world in which dislocation has a complex logic and confident equilibrium comparable to that of any reality. As he notes on the ninth leaf, 'The reality [of the scene depicted] here does not come up to what emerges from the paper and brush.' The implied diamond figure, the hint of a horizontal line traversing it – these are enough to ground an impossibly isolated pavilion in a dystopian stability. This album is not a shocked, disoriented response to the transfer of ownership, but a self-conscious symbolic refusal to allow possession. The painter is without illusions, and perfectly reconciled to his symbolic role. Thus, in leaf 10 –



Gong Xian, leaf 6 from the 1671 *Landscape Album*



Gong Xian, leaf 2 from the 1671 *Landscape Album*



Gong Xian, leaf 9 from the 1671 *Landscape Album*



Gong Xian, leaf 10 from the 1671 *Landscape Album*

his interpretation of, and identification with, Ni Zan who painted under the Mongols – a lone, bent willow claims the vastness of the lake against the wall of mountains that weighs down upon it from above. The stockade-like structure in the upper right may be a reminder of contemporary circumstances: Lake Tai, as the reference to Ni Zan suggests this lake to be, was a troublesome centre of unrest for the Qing. As such, in the present sequence of leaves, this leaf provides an image of illegitimate oppression at the end of the album to answer the image of dynastic legitimacy with which it opens.

Gong Xian's visualization of the limbo of interdynastic time in this album goes beyond the poetics of loss that characterized Zhang Feng's album. Certainly, the melancholy and desolation that characterize the poetics of loss are present here, too, in the sombre stillness and the lack of human figures. But alongside this is a poetics of defiance that in Zhang's album is only anticipated by his iconic images of barren trees. It takes form in the lone tree that seems to defy the weight of the mountain wall, in the sacred mountain to which Gong Xian gives symbolic form, confronting us with it as if hoisting a flag, and in the visual barriers by which he prevents the viewer's easy access into the space of each painting. Resistance is here given symbolic form, exposing the gap between Qing authority and legitimacy. True, such imaginative resistance was always compromised, as it offered an escape from the death to which uncompromising courage would have led – as so many demonstrated in 1644. But what it lacked in finality, it made up for in endurance, as the painter stubbornly incarnated the memory of the fall of the dynasty, and of the nation, across the decades, locating himself in the interdynastic limbo – that is, in the dynastic boundary itself, which he thus prolonged. The necessary individualism of the gesture should not obscure its significance for the community. If such uncomfortable pictorial visions enjoyed widespread respect it was because the artists' articulation of broadly shared feelings of loss, hostility and guilt freed others to return to normal life.

Gong Xian lived on until 1689, through events and slower changes which gradually transformed the social significance of the remnant artists. In 1674, three Chinese warlords who had helped the Manchus to establish power turned against their former masters, and initiated the uprising which the Qing government termed the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories. After a moment of great danger for the Qing dynasty in 1674, the Qing soon gained the upper hand both militarily and in terms of public support, though the rebellion was not crushed until 1679. This

victory transformed government policy in the following decade, from 1679 to 1689. By 1679 the young Kangxi emperor felt secure enough to begin making active overtures toward southern intellectuals. In that year he decreed an extraordinary examination, many of the nominated candidates being drawn from remnant ranks. Five years later, in 1684, he essayed a first Southern Tour of inspection, which took him to Nanjing, where he was careful to pay his respects at the tomb of the Ming founder, Zhu Yuanzhang, located to the east of the city. In early 1689 the emperor came south again, this time to general acclaim. Kangxi used this decade to make it clear that remnant sensibilities would be respected, and remnant figures left in peace.

It was in 1689, the year of his own death in mysterious circumstances, that Gong Xian painted an extraordinary landscape hanging scroll that is now in the Honolulu Academy of Arts.<sup>22</sup> Ostensibly an art-historical work, a self-conscious exploration of the landscape painter's heritage, it also incorporates, as I shall try to show, a complex political discourse in and behind its stylistic concerns. In this work, Gong looked back to the origins of the landscape tradition to paint a mountainscape in which the heaped, rounded forms ultimately come from the southern artist Juran (active *c.* 960–85), while the towering mountain seemingly derives from such early northern landscapists as Li Cheng (919–67) and Yan Wengui (967–1044). These parallel references to the early landscape realism associated with the period of the Five Dynasties and Northern Song dynasty – when landscape and nation first became thoroughly identified in painting – are filtered through the calligraphy-inspired assertion of the painting surface which was the later innovation of literati painters under the Yuan dynasty. Gong Xian's dense inscription interweaves issues of social status, style and artistic lineage, but it is the last aspect that is most relevant here. Gong's opening words confirm the modern, art-historically informed view of the painting's antecedents:

In painting, one must make an orderly arrangement of the principles of the Song and the Yuan; afterwards, these may be distributed freely and [one's painting] will be of the untrammelled class.

Yet, the final part of the inscription puts the painting in a rather different light:

Mengduan [Wang Fu, 1362–1416] and Qinan [Shen Zhou, 1427–1509], in later years used Ni [Zan, 1301–74] and Huang [Gongwang, 1269–1354] for amusement, but for basic fundamentals they relied on Dong [Yuan, d. 962] and Ju [ran]. And these have truly been my own masters! I write this at the conclusion



Gong Xian, *Landscape*, dated 1689, hanging scroll, ink on silk.  
Honolulu Academy of Arts, Honolulu, Hawaii.

of this work on silk in order to set forth the intentions of my brush. Gong Xian, in the *jisi* year [1689], at the time of the 'grain-rains' [late spring].<sup>23</sup>

What is curious here is Gong's exclusion of northern painters from his list of antecedents. To be sure, his roster of painters recognizably evokes the concept of a Southern School of landscape painting, a concept associated above all with the name of the influential artist and critic, Dong Qichang (1555–1636). But when Dong argued in the early seventeenth century for a southern tradition as the orthodox lineage of landscape painting, 'southern' had a metaphoric and not a geographic meaning. Dong's Southern School included several artists of northern origin: notably, the Five Dynasties (907–60) artists Jing Hao and Guan Tong were prominent in his listing. Dong Qichang's Southern School theory was widely influential in Gong Xian's time, both among artists associated with Qing power and among remnant artists. But in Gong Xian's transformation of it to a narrower, geographically influenced formulation, the six painters Dong Yuan and Juran, Ni Zan and Huang Gongwang, Wang Meng and Shen Zhou define a south Chinese tradition.

The roster of masters in this inscription was not an arbitrary selection. It is clear from Gong Xian's many other theoretical inscriptions that the northern artists Jing Hao and Guan Tong had little place in his system. What is more, in his eyes the early northern masters who would normally have been considered followers of Jing Hao and Guan Tong – Li Cheng, Fan Kuan (c. 960–c. 1030) and Guo Xi (c. 1010–c. 1090), for example – were seen to derive their art from the southerners, Dong Yuan and Juran. In fact, the most important figure missing from this inscription (in the sense that Gong often cites him elsewhere) was yet another southerner, Mi Fu (1051–1107). Gong was not the only late seventeenth century painter to favour such a restricted canon: these are much the same artists to whom Bada shanren (like Gong Xian a fervent admirer of Dong Qichang) returned again and again during the 1690s and early 1700s, again largely omitting northern painters from Jing Hao to Guo Xi. The explanation for the restricted canon of these remnant artists may lie outside the realm of art altogether. Richard Barnhart has pointed out that Bada shanren, taking his cue from earlier loyalist artists such as Zheng Sixiao – who took the name, Suonan, or 'Face South', after the fall of the Song – 'symbolically faced the south in his landscape paintings, as he did in every aspect of his life after 1644'.<sup>24</sup> By defining a southern, orthodox tradition of landscape as a geographically southern tradition, Gong Xian and Bada shanren were asserting the place of the south, and especially Jiangnan, as the cultural centre of the Chinese nation, in contrast to north

China – which had fallen to the Manchus first, which had supplied the vast majority of early collaborators, and where the Qing capital was now located. Narrowly art historical as it seems, Gong's inscription is equally a political statement: he is refusing to align China's cultural centre with its political centre, and he is doing so within a month of Kangxi's visit to Nanjing as the new Son of Heaven coming south to bring Jiangnan fully into the orbit of Beijing.

Within the parameters of Gong Xian's aesthetic universe, the classicism of the 1689 hanging scroll represents a radical shift of approach from what we have seen in the 1671 album leaves. Those were austere views from the margins – margins to which Gong Xian had been thrown by the utter disruption of his life. There was no room in those paintings for the traditional rules of hierarchical order. Instead, Gong Xian's recurrent use of surface geometry – the ancient visual rhetoric of moral order – allowed him to bypass the rules of hierarchy to construct a compositional stability and monumentality of a radically different kind. That order had a fundamentalist character, corresponding to the claims in his final inscription for a direct contact with the moral order of the cosmos. In contrast, the composition of the 1689 hanging scroll restores the primacy of the ancient rules of hierarchical order current from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries in the works of the painters cited in his inscription: orderly recession, a load-bearing base, a stable centre, primacy of the cardinal axes. Nor was the 1689 landscape a new departure; the painting shows the fruits of Gong Xian's general pursuit of a more peaceful stability from the late 1670s onwards.

The earlier dystopian vision had gradually become unviable for Gong himself, who continued to respond as a person and a painter to his contemporary (and changing) circumstances. The shift in Gong Xian's late work is not merely the abandonment of an earlier approach but, through the embracing of classicism, a reconciliation with the tradition.<sup>25</sup> In order to seize its significance, it is helpful to take a broader perspective on late seventeenth century painting and make the connection with non-remnant artists. The painting of literati associated with Qing officialdom over the fifty years following 1644 demonstrates a consistent preoccupation with continuity, for which classicism was the pictorial language of choice. Whether it was the early landscapes of Cheng Zhengkui (1604–76) during his tenure as head of the Board of Rites in the late 1640s and early 1650s, or the work of Wang Shimin (1592–1680) and Wang Jian (1598–1677) from the 1650s to the 1670s, or that of Wang Hui (1632–1717) and Wang Yuanqi (1642–1715) in the 1690s and later, the ideal of

political and cultural continuity through Chinese officials was indirectly affirmed through an appeal to a concept of culture that transcended dynastic boundaries, and which was formulated in painting as a canonical tradition. Certainly, Gong Xian's canon was different from these artists, as was Bada shanren's, and he would not have associated his classicism with the Qing cause any more than Bada shanren would have done. What we can say is that in making this shift, Gong Xian moved his poetics of loss and defiance on to a terrain – that of a discourse of stability – to which the success of the Qing had given legitimacy.

Gong Xian's 1689 painting depicts a landscape which is in its own way lush and rich: the uncompromisingly barren trees around the foreground homestead seem almost out of place, left over from another landscape. The painting, in short, proffers a vision of a calm and peaceful nation. As such, it should be seen in the context of the metaphorically laudatory landscape paintings which were painted for presentation to Kangxi during his southern tours in 1684 and 1689, sometimes voluntarily and sometimes at the request of Qing officials.<sup>26</sup> Metaphoric political meanings may also be visible in the way Gong chose to give the date: *jisi*, 'the grain-rains'. The period known as the grain-rains fell in the third lunar month. Gong Xian's choice of the festival name, the grain-rains, over a simple monthly date, is unusual: the term itself refers to the spring rains that will bring forth all the potential abundance of the earth. Rain, of course, was closely tied to the mandate of Heaven: it was the Emperor's ancient role to ensure adequate rain and to prevent droughts and floods. Indeed, rain patterns attracted enormous attention in this period, both from Kangxi himself and from intellectuals, and rain-related themes provided one of the political discourses of painting.<sup>27</sup> Given that this painting, so dated, was executed immediately after the Manchu emperor completed his southern tour, a main purpose of which was to inspect the state of waterworks, it seems certain that the date indicates a political dimension to the painting. It is much less certain, on the other hand, how the painting should be interpreted, except that it can hardly have been meant to celebrate the achievements of the Qing.

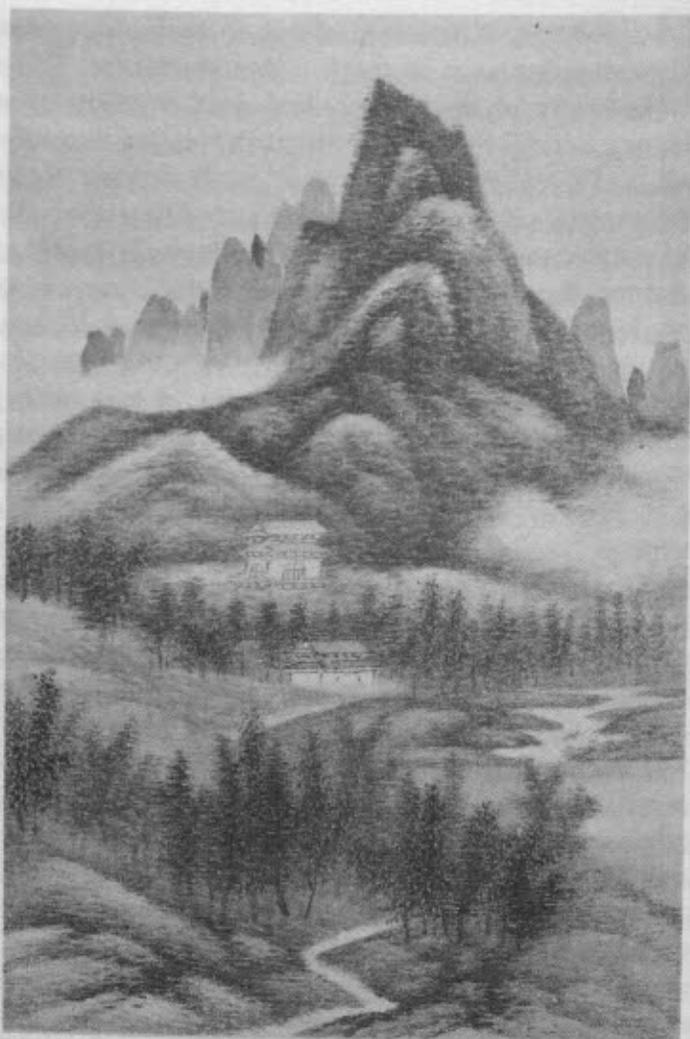
As the gap between authority and legitimacy rapidly disappeared, leaving nothing to expose, the whole basis of remnant art necessarily shifted. All around them, artists like Gong Xian saw the reconstruction of the country and the formation of a new national identity. Having served as the conscience of a generation, taking upon themselves the guilt of failure and the responsibility of mourning, they now came to represent a world of old-fashioned and increasingly marginalized values. They had from the

first been engaged in the struggle over national identity; now that the terms of the struggle had changed, the price of their continued participation was a transformation of their own role. It seems fair to say that the classicism and the peaceful vision of Gong Xian's 1689 painting were made possible – though they are not explained – by Qing respect for him and those like him and the role they had chosen to play. One can also safely argue that Gong's acknowledgement of that respect implies on his part a tacit recognition of the Qing as more than simply a disruptive force. And this in turn implies the historicization of the Ming, for it meant the restoration of dynastic time with its inexorable logic of succession. But how can we reconcile this with Gong Xian's undoubted life-long devotion to the Ming cause?

It is at this point that one can look again to mourning as the remnant artist's fundamental imperative. Most crucial is the fact that the decorum of mourning required that it not be taken to unreasonable lengths. Thus the classical text, the *Liji* [*Book of Rites*], stipulates: 'Three years are considered as the extreme limit of mourning; but though (his parents) are out of sight, a son does not forget them.'<sup>28</sup> And again: 'The rites of mourning are the extreme expression of grief and sorrow. The graduated reduction of that expression in accordance with the natural changes (of time and feeling) was made by the superior men, mindful of those to whom we owe our being.'<sup>29</sup> Looked at in this way, if the remnant artists as bereaved subjects of the Ming embodied the memory of the dynasty, at the same time those of them who lived on as late as 1689 might well be expected to have gradually softened their symbolic opposition.<sup>30</sup> This argument provides a context for understanding the painting's iconic dimension, its character as an image, and in the process Gong Xian's reference to the 'grain-rains'. The symbolic centre of the mountainscape, and at the same time the geometric centre of the composition, is marked by a large formal structure – a two-storey building with a hipped double-roof – nestled in the mountainside within a dense and extensive grove of pines. This building, in Jerome Silbergeld's evocative description, 'seems to glow with an inner light, as if having gathered into its custody all the eerie lights that had disturbed his earlier landscapes.'<sup>31</sup> At ground-level next to the water, meanwhile, framed by barren trees and bamboo, a homestead composed of three simple buildings confronts the viewer. A stretch of water at the bottom of the painting cuts off the viewer physically and psychologically from the almost face-like home, which seems easily understandable as the artist's metonymic self-reference, and exists in the protective shadow of the mountain and the important building at its centre.

Clearly, this painting is as much about these buildings and their hierarchical relationship as it is about a mountainscape. What is the building at the centre of the image? And does it relate to any real building? Many paintings by remnant artists in Nanjing, including Gong Xian himself, had a topographic reference, partly because Nanjing had been a Ming imperial city and was littered with Ming sites, and partly because topographic painting was part of the heritage from late Ming painting. Among the places which attracted the attention of these painters was the site of the tomb of the Ming founder at Mount Zhong (Zhongshan), amid the densely wooded Purple Gold Mountains (Zijin shan) to the east of the city. In their pictures, a two-storey formal building, nestled in a grove of conifers, identified the site from afar. Two identified depictions of the site by Hu Yukun (active *c.* 1630s–70s) make it possible to identify an unidentified 1682 album leaf by another remnant artist in Nanjing, Gao Cen, as a representation of the same subject, on the basis of the two distinctive structures at its centre which are also found in Hu's two paintings.<sup>32</sup> Taking even more liberties than Hu Yukun, Gao Cen has transformed the low hills of Zhongshan into a monumental mountainscape, the better to bring out the symbolic importance of the scene. The striking similarity of Gao's image to Gong Xian's 1689 painting, in turn suggests strongly that this truly monumental work is yet another, and still further transformed, representation of the Zhongshan mausoleum. It is true that there is only one structure at the painting's centre, rather than two, and that we do not see the wall of the mausoleum precinct. However, the point is not to make of Gong Xian's painting a topographic work, since his preoccupation here as elsewhere in his work is quite clearly with a symbolic landscape structure. Rather, my suggestion is that Gong drew upon the symbolic landscape of Nanjing in elaborating his own landscape image. We may assume that, for Gong Xian, no building in all of China could have laid a greater claim than the Ming founder's tomb – the pre-eminent icon of the Ming cause in the south – to the visual rhetoric of the 'centre' with which he dignifies this building. As we have already seen in his 1671 painting of Mt Song, this is a rhetoric which he associated with dynastic legitimacy. The issue of legitimacy was, of course, particularly alive in this spring of 1689 following Kangxi's triumphal southern tour. So too was the symbolic status of the Zhongshan mausoleum, for in 1689 the Qing emperor once again made a point of visiting Zhongshan to claim the Ming founder as his political ancestor, pouring the libations with his own hands.

This landscape is, then, a vision of the Ming nation, since one cannot



Gao Cen, *Album of Landscapes*, dated 1682, leaf 4 from an album of eight leaves, ink and colour on paper.

imagine this die-hard Ming loyalist invoking the Song national landscape and the life-giving power of spring rains to celebrate the Qing dynasty. Gong Xian's death, barely half a year later, was attributed by his friends to harassment by some powerful figure with whom he refused to cooperate, the implication of their veiled accounts being that the person represented Qing power.<sup>33</sup> The painting is all the more precious because visions of the Ming nation as a complete thing seem to have been rare. Perhaps the reason is that to represent the Ming as a closed entity was to step outside it – to step to the very edge of the interdynastic experience,

and thus to the very edge of Qing dynastic time. This image of the Ming dynasty depicts a national landscape centred on the south, and on Nanjing. At the symbolic centre of the remnant painter's Nanjing, as the counterpart to the Forbidden City in Beijing now occupied by the Qing emperor, is the tomb of the Ming founder – the very sign of dynastic death. In the shadow of this 'spirit palace', as tombs were sometimes called, there stand the houses that are the signs of Ming community; but these are houses whose inhabitants are to disembodied to be representable. What we see here, I believe, is proof of a sort that the remnant subject – much like the fisherman who passed through a cave to the utopian world of the Peach Blossom Spring beyond – by turning away from the normality of dynastic time into the dynastic boundary itself, found his way to a world that from one standpoint can be termed interdynastic, but which in the terms we see here is better described as the Ming dynastic afterlife. It is a realm of idealized but ghostly peace and prosperity that in the end is not unlike the interior of a tomb: Gong Xian could not have been more faithful to his subject. One must wonder if we do not have here a partial explanation of the lack of human figures elsewhere in Gong Xian's work, and in the work of many other remnant painters.

Elegiacally, the landscape offers a vision of the Ming's greatness that would certainly not have been possible in the years before the fall of the dynasty. Perhaps in conscious symmetry to contemporary representations of Qing power, the Ming is visibly idealized, the memory of its governmental incompetence and societal disruption repressed. The central reference to the Ming's hopeful Hongwu beginnings fits in with this, as does the fact that Gong traces the landscape tradition no further than Shen Zhou, who died in 1509. Just as the deceased parent underwent a process of idealization in the transition from life presence to ancestral presence, so too the lost Ming was finally represented by Gong Xian in an idealized fashion – an idealization that was a condition of its being represented at all. One may suspect a recognition of the negative, purely imaginary status to which Gong Xian's vision is condemned in the way that he has allowed mist to encroach from both sides, and has left the foreground riverbank strangely floating, like an island of the immortals, as if the mountainscape might at any moment begin to drift free of its moorings and slowly disappear from sight, bearing with it the artist himself. Indeed, only the deaths, now imminent, of the final remnant subjects of the Ming would bring the Ming-Qing boundary to a complete end, and free the dynastic record to reduce the boundary to the brief linear moment of 1644.

think that the fact that literati painting was intended for a coherent and exclusive group would mean that any topological transformation here would be disqualified by a tear rather than a twist. Nevertheless, the notion of what 'being a stranger' might mean is obviously subject to broader sociological conditions and it is possible that the fabric might be preserved. Derrida's view of psychoanalysis as 'a repetition of the structure it seeks to analyse' (see Barbara Johnson, *Yale French Studies*, nos. 55-56 [1978], pp. 498-9) might be of some interest here. There is already, of course, an established practice of psychoanalytic textual criticism (see Peter Brooks, 'The Idea of a Psychoanalytic Literary Criticism', in *Critical Inquiry*, XIII [Winter 1987], pp. 334-48; and Michael Riffaterre, 'The Intertextual Unconscious', *Critical Inquiry*, XIII [Winter, 1987], pp. 371-85). I am suggesting that Yuan literati painting may have been written this way to begin with.

95 Lacan, *Four Concepts*, p. 9.

5 Jonathan Hay, *The Suspension of Dynastic Time*

- 1 The term *yimin* is usually given the rather clumsy translation of 'left-over subjects'. Frederick Wakeman, Jr, in his recent study of the Ming-Qing transition, *The Great Enterprise: The Manchu Reconstruction of the Imperial Order in Seventeenth-Century China* (Berkeley, 1985), uses the term 'remnant'. Wakeman's study is the basis for the information on historical events presented here.
- 2 On the Nanjing art world in the late seventeenth century, see Hong-nam Kim, 'Chou Liang-kung and His "Tu-hua-lu": Patron, Critic and Painters in Seventeenth Century China', Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1985.
- 3 Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, III (Chicago, 1990), p. 106.
- 4 Wakeman, op. cit., p. 783.
- 5 Jerome Silbergeld, 'Political Symbolism in the Landscape Painting and Poetry of Kung Hsien (c. 1620-89)', Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1974, pp. 233-4.
- 6 Paul Ricoeur, *Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York, 1986), p. 17.
- 7 Richard Strassberg, *The World of K'ung Shang-jen*, p. 205.
- 8 On Zhang Feng, see Rao Zongyi, 'Zhang Dafeng jiqi jiashi' [Zhang Feng and His Family Background], *Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong*, VIII/1 (1976), pp. 51-69; and Kim, op. cit., III, pp. 116-22, for a discussion of Zhang Feng by Zhou Lianggong. According to a poem by Zhang Feng's brother, Zhang Yi, included in Zhou Lianggong's discussion, 'He painted landscape in order to escape poverty.'
- 9 For earlier discussions of this album, see Julia K. Murray, 'Chang Feng's 1644 Album of Landscapes', unpublished manuscript, 1976; and the catalogue entry on the album by Maxwell K. Hearn in Wai-kam Ho, ed., *The Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555-1636)* (Kansas City, 1992), II, pp. 118-20. I have drawn on these authors' translations of Zhang Feng's inscriptions as the basis for my own.
- 10 As pointed out by Hearn, op. cit., p. 120.
- 11 The lines come from a lyric song by Ma Zhiyuan (c. 1260-1324), included in a larger song cycle entitled 'Autumn Thoughts', See *Yuan Ming Qing Qu xuan* [Songs in the Qu Form from the Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasties], 1953, vol. 1, p. 28. I owe this information to Murray, op. cit.
- 12 Kim, op. cit., p. 117.
- 13 On this theme in the work of Luo Zhiquan (active c. 1300-30), see Richard Barnhart, *Wintery Forests, Old Trees: Some Landscape Themes in Chinese Painting* (New York, 1972), p. 43.
- 14 Wakeman, op. cit., p. 734.
- 15 This album, in the Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, has been published by Marc

- Wilson in *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting: The Collections of the Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum and The Cleveland Museum of Art* (Cleveland, 1980), no. 214.
- 16 Silbergeld, op. cit., p. 259.
  - 17 Kim, op. cit., III, p. 100.
  - 18 This and subsequent translations of inscriptions from the album are by Marc Wilson, from *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, with a few slight modifications.
  - 19 Wang Fangyu and Richard M. Barnhart, *Master of the Lotus Garden: The Life and Art of Bada shanren (1626-1705)* (New Haven, 1990), p. 141.
  - 20 Author unknown, text copied by Bada shanren in an album of calligraphy from 1702. See Wang and Barnhart, op. cit., pp. 201-2.
  - 21 Cf. the concept of 'internal emigration' which has been applied to the work of certain painters who remained in Germany after the Nazis took power. See David Elliott, 'Absent Guests - Art, Truth and Paradox in the Art of the German Democratic Republic', in *The Divided Heritage: Themes and Problems in German Modernism*, ed. Irit Rogoff (Cambridge, 1990).
  - 22 Silbergeld, op. cit., pp. 71-4.
  - 23 Translation by Jerome Silbergeld (abbreviated), op. cit., pp. 231-2.
  - 24 Wang and Barnhart, op. cit., p. 144.
  - 25 This is the same shift which we can see in the work of the Ming prince-painters Bada shanren (after 1692) and Shitao (after 1697). On Bada shanren, see Wang and Barnhart, op. cit.; and on Shitao, see my 'Shitao's Late Work (1697-1707): A Thematic Map', Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1989, Chapter 5.
  - 26 See Hay, op. cit., pp. 14; 19-23.
  - 27 See Hay, op. cit., pp. 429-30, n. 55.
  - 28 *The Sacred Books of China, Part III: The Li Ki, I-X*, translated by James Legge (Oxford 1885; Delhi 1968), p. 124.
  - 29 Ibid., p. 167.
  - 30 Richard Barnhart notes that Bada shanren only attained 'relative serenity' in the 1690s. Op. cit., p. 18.
  - 31 Silbergeld, op. cit., p. 117.
  - 32 The two works by Hu Yukun are: leaf F of the album *Scenic Views of Jinling (Nanjing)*, dated 1660, reproduced in *Baiyun tang canghua*, vol. I, p. 135; and the hanging scroll *Cloudy Mountains in Mist and Rain* in *Chinese Paintings and Calligraphy*, exhibition catalogue: Hanart Gallery Inc., 1988, cat. no. 27. Gao Cen's painting is the fourth leaf of his *Album of Landscapes*, dated 1682 (Christie's New York, *Fine Chinese Painting and Calligraphy*, 25 November 1991, lot 136). This group of Zhongshan images can probably be expanded to include a large hanging scroll on satin by Gao Cen's nephew, Gao Yu, *Verdant Ring of Spring Mountains*, dated to the 16th day of the eleventh month of 1689 (Christie's New York, *Fine Chinese Paintings and Calligraphy*, 4 June 1993, lot 124). Gao Yu signs himself as 'Gao Yu of Zhongshan'.
  - 33 Silbergeld, op. cit., pp. 71-4.
- 6 Dorothy Ko: *Lady-Scholars at the Door: The Practice of Gender Relations in Eighteenth-Century Suzhou*
- 1 Li Chi, *Book of Rites*, tr. James Legge (New York, 1967), I, pp. 478-9. The *Book of Rites*, [*Li Ji*] one of the Confucian classics, is an eclectic text; its content ranges from philosophical pronouncements to precepts for daily conduct. This collection of Zhou to early Han texts was compiled in the Han dynasty.
  - 2 Ren Zhaolin and Zhang Yunzi, *Wuzhong nüshi shichao* [Poems of Suzhou Ladies] (1978). Copies in the Harvard-Yenching Library and Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo, Univer-