Three Representational Modes for Text/Image Relationships in Early Chinese Pictorial Art

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Abstract: This paper focuses on the representational development of relationships between text and image prior to the Sung 宋 (960-1279) period. The author points out that the early evolution included three stages, each characterized by a representational mode for a specific literary style. In chronological sequence, they are: 1) the Han 漢 mode for illustrating prose, 2) the Six Dynasties 六朝 mode for illustrating prose-poems, and 3) the T'ang-Sung 唐宋 mode for representing poetry. These three modes served as archetypes throughout the later development of text/image relationships in Chinese art.

In the Han period, text and images both serve as signifier and signified in mutual reference to each other. This mode was appropriate for illustrating prose, as seen in the Ancient Emperors and the didactic narratives in the Wu Liang Shrine of the Eastern Han period. Artists of the Six Dynasties tried to represent the musicality of a prose-poem and structured text and images harmoniously in a rhythmic layout. This mode is best represented in *The Goddess of the Lo River*. However, their artistic pursuit changed. Trying to convert poetry into painting, T'ang and Sung artists experimented with poetic paintings, with an emphasis on the representation of the aesthetic quality of the poem into the painting. Furthermore, they created works of "three-perfections": a combination of poetry, painting, and calligraphy. It is the "three-perfection" mode, which became the leading aesthetic principle for literati painting of later periods.

Keywords: text-image interaction , poetic painting , three perfections , Wu Liang tz'u , Lo-shen fu , calligraphic brushwork

An interesting problem, the relationship between words and images has intrigued scholars in Chinese literature and art history for at least fifty years. There are numerous important publications, including books and articles, which have been published in Chinese, English, and Japanese since the 1950s.① In general, the issues scholars have discussed cover three main categories: the study of 1) the inscriptions on paintings as a literary genre (*t'i-hua wen-hsüeh* 題畫文學) ; 2) the convertibility between

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painting and poetry; and 3) the integration of painting, poetry, and calligraphy as the "three-perfections (*san-chüeh* 三絕)".

In terms of methodology, the majority of related studies focus on textual analysis and theoretical interpretation. Only a few papers deal with representational problems of text-image relationships, mainly regarding the Sung and succeeding periods. Since the representational development of relationships between text and image prior to the Sung period has not been fully explored, this paper will attempt to focus on this problem, and finish with a brief discussion of post-Sung developments.

According to my observations, the early evolution included three stages, each characterized by a representational mode for a specific literary style. In chronological sequence, they are: 1) the Han漢 mode for illustrating prose, 2) the Six Dynasties 六朝 mode for illustrating prose-poems, and 3) the T'ang-Sung 唐宋 mode for representing poetry. These three modes served as archetypes throughout the later development of text-image relationships in Chinese art.

The distinctive characteristics of each mode may be analyzed through three main aspects: 1) the pictorialization of the text; 2) the interaction between text and image;

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① Important books and articles related to this topic include the following publications, listed in chronological order: Aoki Masaru青木正兒, "A Study of Painting Inscriptions as a Literary Genre (*Daiga bungaku no kenkyu* 題畫文學の研究)," (1949), Chinese rendition by Ma Tao-yüan馬導源 in *Ta-lu tsa-chih* 大陸雜誌, vol. 3 (1951), no. 10, pp. 15-19; Hans Frankel, "Poetry and Painting: Chinese and Western Views of Their Convertibility," *Comparative Literature* (1957), no. 9, pp. 289-307; Richard M. Barnhart, "Li Kung-lin's *Hsiao-ching t'u*, Illustrations of the *Classic of Filial Piety*," Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1967; Ch'ien Chung-shu錢鍾書, "Chinese Poetry and Chinese Painting (*Chung-kuo shih yü chung-kuo hua* 中國詩與中國畫)" (Hong Kong: Lung-men shu-tien 龍門書店, 1969); Susan Bush, "Comparison of Painting with Poetry," in *The Chinese Literati on Painting---Su Shih (1037-1101) to Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555-1636)* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1971); Esther Leong Jacobson, "Transition and Transformation in a Chinese Painting and a Related Poem," *Art Journal*, vol. 31 (1972), pp. 262-267; *idem*, "Place and Passage in the Chinese Arts: Visual Images and Poetic Analogues," *Critical Inquiry* (1976), no. 3, pp .345-368; Jao Tsung-i, "*T'zu-poetry* and Painting: Transpositions in Art (*T'zu yü hua ---lun i-shu te huan-wei wen-t'i* 詞與畫 --- 論藝術的換位問題)," *National Palace Museum Quarterly (Ku-kung chi-k'an* 故宮季刊), vol. 8 (1974), no. 3, pp. 9-20; Michael Sullivan, *The Three Perfections: Chinese Painting, Poetry, and Calligraphy* (New York: George Braziller, 1974); Tai Li-chu戴麗珠, *Poetry and Painting (Shih yü hua詩與畫)* (Taipei: Lien-ching ch'u-pan shih-yeh kung-

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and 3) the pursuit of a specific aesthetic purpose. I will clarify my point by illustrating each of the above modes with specific examples.

I.The Han Mode for Illustrating Prose

Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 220) artists were aware of the fact that pictorial illustration of prose texts was different from cartographic or diagrammatic representation. They also understood that textual illustrations were not merely pictorial tran-

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ssu 聯經出版事業公司, 1978); Wu Hung, "The Earliest Pictorial Representation of Ape Tales---An Interdisciplinary Study of Early Chinese Narrative Art and Literature," *Toung Pao,* vol. LXXIII, 1-3 (1987), pp. 86-111; Symposium on Painting, Poetry, and Calligraphy at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (1985), related papers published in Alfreda Murck and Wen C. Fong eds., *Words and Images: Chinese Poetry, Calligraphy and Painting* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992), including: Johathan Chaves, "Meaning Beyond the Painting: The Chinese Painter as Poet," pp. 431-458; Chiang Chao-shen,"T'ang Yin's Poetry, Painting, and Calligraphy in Light of Critical Biographical Events," pp. 459-486; Richard Edwards, "Painting and Poetry in the Late Sung," pp. 405-430; Wen C. Fong, " Words and Images in Late Ming and Early Ch'ing Painting," pp. 501-512; John Hay, "Poetic Space: Ch'en Hsüan and the Association of Painting and Poetry," pp. 459-486; Kohara Hironobu, "Narrative Illustration in the Handscroll Format," pp. 247-266; Wai-Kam Ho, "The Literary Concepts of 'Picture-like' (*Ju-hua*) and 'Picture-idea' (*Hua-i*) in the Relationship Between Poetry and Painting," pp.359-404; for brief comments on these papers, see Jerome Silbergeld, "Chinese Painting Studies in the West: a State-of-the-Field Article,"*The Journal of Asian Studies* (Nov. 1987), pp. 866f; Chen Pao-chen, "The Goddess of the Lo River: A Study of Early Chinese Narrative Handscrolls," Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1987; Wang Po-min 王伯敏, *T'ang Painting Seen through Poems* (*T'ang hua shih chung k'am* 唐畫詩中看) (Taipei: Tung-ta t'u-shu kung-ssu 東大圖書公司, 1993); Tai Li-chu, *A Study of Painting and Poetry (Shih yü hua chih yen-chiu* 詩與畫之研究*)* (Taipei: Hsüeh-hai ch'u-pan-she 學海出版社,1993); Julia K. Murray, *Ma Hezhi and the Illustration of the Book of Odes* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1993); James Cahill, *The Lyric Journey---Poetic Painting in China and Japan* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1996); Yi Jo-fen 衣若芬, A *Study of Su Shih's Painting Inscriptions (Su Shih t'i-hua wen-hsüeh yen-chiu* 蘇軾題畫文學研究)(Taipei: Wen-chin ch'u-pan-she 文津出版社, 1999); Julia K. Murray, "Patterns of Evolution in Chinese Illustration: Expansion or Epitomization? " in Cary Y. Liu and Dora C.Y. Ching eds., *Arts of the Sung and Yüan: Ritual, Ethnicity, and Style in Painting* (Princeton, New Jersey: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1993), pp. 121-151.

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scriptions of the related text. Ideally they should represent not only the information gathered from, but also the connotations implied by, the text. To some extent, they successfully achieved that goal, as shown in the stone relief of the *Ancient Emperors* (*Ku-tai ti-wang t'u* 古代帝王圖) and the didactic narratives in the Wu Liang Shrine 武梁祠 (151 A.D.) in Shantung 山東 province.

1. *The Ancient Emperors*

The relief shows ten legendary emperors (two of them with companions) in the top frieze of the west wall of the shrine. Each emperor is separated from the other by a column of text on the left, thus forming an alternating image/text composition in a layout evolving in sequence from right to left. The text provides reference to its related image. According to Wu Hung's study these ten emperors can be separated into three groups: the three sovereigns, five emperors, and two rulers of the Hsia dynasty, each group signifying an important stage in the development of early Chinese civilization. Although the painting was based on Ssu-ma Ch'ien's 司馬遷 (145-86 B.C.) view of history as described in his *Historical Record* (*Shih-chi* 史記), the text captions in the frieze were not uniquely citations from his book (e.g. the cartouches for Ti K'u 帝嚳, Ti Chuan-hsü 帝顓頊, and Ti Yao 帝堯) but also from other literary sources, including the *Book of Change* (*I-ching* 易經) and the the *Pai-hu-t'ung* 白虎通 (compiled by Pan Ku班固, 32-92 A.D.) amongst others (i.e. except for the cartouche bordering Fu-hsi 伏羲 and Nü-wa 女媧). ②

Based on my observations, the content of these text passages include:

a) Eulogies (*tsan* 贊) to contributions by the emperors (i.e. Fu-hsi and Nü-wa, Chu-jung 祝融, Shen-nung 神農, Huang-ti 黃帝, Ti Yao, Ti Shun 帝舜 and Hsia Yü 夏禹);

b) Proclamations of the orthodox legacy of the emperors (i.e. Chuan-hsü and Ti K'u);

c) Captions limited to the given name of the emperor, as a denouncement of his misdeeds (i.e. Hsia Chieh 夏桀).

In each of these cases, the text is very short, ranging from one to twenty charac-

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② Cfr. Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine---the Ideology of Early Chinese Pictorical Art* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1989), pp. 156-167, 245-252.

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ters, which provide limited information. The contents of these captions moreover convey mostly abstract notions rather than concrete images. Confronting such difficulties, the artist tried at least three ways to translate text into image. First, when he found the full text too complicated to depict, he might select part of it for pictorialization. Second, when he found the text not satisfactory, he might turn to other sources in addition to the given text for creating an image. And third, he used both literal and metaphorical representations in pictorializing literary imageries and abstract concepts in the text. These devices are discernible in the cases of Huang-ti, Hsia Chieh, Fu-hsi and Nü-wa, and Ti Yao.

1.1. Huang-ti (**Fig.1**)

In the case of Huang-ti, the inscription on the left reads:

The Yellow Emperor:
He created and improved so much,
He invented weapons and regulated fields;
He had upper and lower garments hang down,
And created palaces and [people's] dwellings.
黃帝多所改作，造兵井田，垂衣裳，立宮宅。③

On the right the image shows the emperor in royal costume, including a crown, an upper garment, a lower gown, and shoes. He is represented in a three-quartered side view with his face turning leftward while his body turning rightward. In a superficial sense, this image is a literal translation of the third line of the inscription: "He had upper and lower garments hang down." The emperor's other contributions mentioned in the text are not represented. However, Wu Hung reads this image as a metaphorical representation by means of iconographical comparison. He interprets the emperor's costume as being much more sophisticated than those of his predecessors, and as such as a symbol of his great contribution in improving living conditions for his people. ④

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③ For the English translation, see *ibid.*, p. 249.

④ For a detailed discussion, see *ibid.*, pp. 158-9.

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1.2. Hsia Chieh (**Fig.2**)

The use of symbolic and metaphoric representation is more obvious in the image of Hsia Chieh. Starting from the inscription, this image has no accompanying text but a two-character cartouche, reading: "*Hsia Chieh* (Chieh of the Hsia dynasty)," on its left. Unlike other cases, the absence of an eulogy here symbolizes that the figure depicted was too notorious to deserve even a line of praise. His misdeeds are metaphorically represented on the right. There, he is seen in a three-quartered view facing right. Dressed in imperial costume, he holds a spear in his right hand and rides on two young women. The image symbolizes that the last emperor of the Hsia was a bellicose ruler and promiscuous womanizer. Obviously, this image was not based on its two-character cartouche, but on other references, preserved in the *Later Han History* (*Hou Han-shu* 後漢書 by Fan Yeh 范曄 398-445) and the *The Chronology Written on the Bamboo Books* (*Chu-shu Chi-nien* 竹書紀年, compiled ca. 3rd C. B.C.). ⑤ In this case, the image functions not as an illustration but as a pictorial reference to the inscription. In other words, the internal relationship between text and image is mutually referential. Such a relationship is also apparent in the representation of Fu-hsi and Nü-wa.

1.3. Fu-hsi and Nü-wa (**Fig.3**)

The inscription on the left reads:

Fu-hsi, the Black Spirit;
He initiated leadership;
He drew the Trigrams and made knotted cords,
To administer the land within the seas
伏羲蒼精，初造王業，畫卦結繩，以理海內. ⑥

The image on its right shows Fu-hsi and his wife, Nü-wa, facing each other.

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⑤ For reference, see *ibid.*, p. 252; for a study of the *Later Han History and The Chronology Written on the Bamboo Books* see Murohashi Tetsuji 諸橋徹次 ed., *The Encyclopedic Dictionary of China and Japan*, (*Dai kan wa ziden* 大漢和辭典) (1955, rept., Taipei: Heng-shen t'u-shu kung-ssu 恒生圖書公司, 1987, vol. 4, p. 832; vol. 8, p. 736.)

⑥ For the English translation, see Wu Hung, *ibid.*, p. 245.

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They are represented in anthropomorphic shape: their human bodies wearing royal costume, respectively holding a square and a compass in their hands, and their serpentine tails intertwined. Between them is a small human infant. This picture symbolizes the royal couple as the progenitors of the human race. According to Wu Hung, the textual references for this image are from the *I-ching* and the *Pai-hu-t'ung*.⑦ Seemingly, this picture represents nothing from the inscription. However, their attributes, including a square instrument held in Fu-hsi's right hand and a compass supposedly held in Nü-wa's left hand, which is missing, can be regarded as a metaphorical representation of the line:" To administer the land within seas." Moreover, the juxtaposition between the two-legged infant and the serpentine-tailed parents remarkably reflects the Han Chinese concept of evolution---human race came from a biological mutation of reptilian species. Again, the image here serves as a pictorial reference rather than merely an illustration to the text.

Sometimes, however, Han pictorial illustrations of prose texts find their limitation in the representation of abstract notions in the text, as shown in the image of Ti Yao.

1.4. Ti Yao (**Fig.4**)

On the left of this image, the inscription reads:

Sovereign Yao is named Fang-hsün,
Whose benevolence matches Heaven,
And whose wisdom resembles [that of] divinities.
Going toward him, he [is bright] like the sun;
Approaching him, he [is remote] like clouds
帝堯放勳，其仁如天，其智如神，就之如日，望之如雲.⑧

The image shows a figure in royal costume. While his body is represented in three-quartered side view, his head, hands, and feet are all in profile facing right. This image shows little of the emperor's noble character described in similes mentioned in

⑦ see note 2.

⑧ For the English translation, see Wu Hung, *ibid.*, p. 251.

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the inscription.

In this Han mode for illustrating prose, as seen in the *Ancient Emperors*, an image usually illustrates its accompanying inscription, but sometimes illustrates passages from other textual sources. While at this stage, devices for pictorializing the text include literal translation and metaphorical representation, these sometimes prove to be insufficient to cope with abstract concepts within the text. The relationship between text and image is specific and mutually referential. Formal clarity and simplicity characterize the aesthetic value of this type of documentary illustration.

This representational mode was prevalent not only in the Han, but also in later periods. The best examples include: *The Filial Sons* (*Hsiao-tzu hsiang*孝子像) (painting on lacquer box discovered in Lo-lang 樂浪, Korea, datable to the 2nd C.), *The Envoys* (*Chih-kung t'u* 職貢圖) attributed to Emperor Liang Yüan-ti 梁元帝 (r. 552-554) (ca. 12th C. copy, Historical Museum, Peking), and eulogized portraits by later painters (e.g. *The Portrait of Chung-feng Ming-pen* 中峰明本). Later artists also adopted this mode for their paintings, as may be seen in the *Ten Views of a Thatched Hut* (*Ts'ao-t'ang shih-chih* 草堂十志, National Palace Museum, Taipei) attributed to Lu Hung 盧鴻(fl. early 8th C.), and *The Revival of Duke Chin Wen-kung* (*Chin Wen-kung fu kuo t'u*晉文公復國圖, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) attributed to Li T'ang 李唐(1066-1150/1050-?).

2. Didactic Narratives

In addition to the *Ancient Emperors*, the stone reliefs of the same shrine include about thirty-nine narratives; each exhibits a meritorious deed of ancient personages, including filial sons, virtuous women, and royal assassin-retainers etc.⑨ In general, these narratives share in common a representational formula: an emblematic scene, in which characters and their actions are specified by accompanying cartouches. However, the form and content of the cartouches vary in different cases, as exemplified in the *Tseng-tzu* 曾子 and the *Ching K'o* 荊軻 stories (**Figs.5, 6**). The *Tseng-tzu* scene shows two characters in correspondence, each specified with a cartouche referring to their distinctive personalities. On the left, the filial son is seen kneeling on the ground, his hands raised up in a gesture of homage to his mother seated to the right. The

⑨ Cfr. Wu Hung, *ibid.*, pp. 167-193; 252-327.

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mother is shown seated at her weaving loom, turning around with one arm pointing at her son. The first cartouche, which appears above the son, is an eulogy written in six four-character columns, praising the filial qualities of Tseng-tzu:

> Tseng-tzu was naturally filial;
> This led him to communicate with divine wisdom.
> [His filial piety] deeply moved gods and spirits,
> And his reputation endures forever.
> He is the model for later generations.
> And [this mode enables them] to follow the Principle.
> 曾子質孝，以通神明，貫感神祇，著號來方，後世凱式，□□撫綱.⑩

The content of this cartouche describes the filial personality of Tseng-tzu, rather than specifying the incident illustrated in the relief. Instead, the incident is suggested by the second cartouche of eight characters, which is placed in the picture frame below the mother, and reads:

> Calumny came three times,
> Even the kind mother dropped her shuttle [and escaped].
> 讒言三至，慈母投杼.⑪

The literary imagery of the text is successfully translated into the pictorial image. In overall effect, the image of the scared mother, whose unsettled mood is indicated in the short cartouche below her, sharply contrasts that of the tranquil son, whose noble quality is illuminated by the eulogy on top.

In other cases, however, without the indication of the text, the Han artist was able to create a narrative painting representing different persona in dramatic actions suggested merely by simple cartouches. The best example in this kind is *Ching K'o Assassinating the King of Ch'in* (*Ching K'o ts'u Ch'in-wang*荊軻刺秦王), also in the same shrine. In a simultaneous composition, the Ching K'o scene shows four figures

⑩ For the English translation, see *ibid.*, p. 275.

⑪ *Ibid.*

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in dramatized poses. They are identified with cartouches, receding from right to left: "Ching K'o," "Head of Fan Yü-chi (*Fan Yü-chi t'ou* 樊於其頭)" ,"Ch'in Wu-yang 秦舞陽," and "King of Ch'in (*Ch'in wang* 秦王)". By reading these cartouches, we realize that this scene shows only the climax of the long-term plotted assassination as recorded in the *Shih-chi*. This dramatic act is represented in the Ch'in court, which is suggested by a post in the middle of the composition. On the left, the Ch'in tyrant is seen unshielding his sword in self-defense after having discovered the plot. On the upper right, Ching K'o is pulled away by a guard. *There, when realizing his mission is going to fail, the hero is overwhelmed by fury: his hair stands up, his mouth opens widely, he leaps up into the air, and he uses all his energy to hurl his dagger, which unfortunately misses its target and penetrates the column, as seen in the center of the composition.* ⑫

The iconography and the composition were so impressive that they became the pictorial archetype for the Ching K'o narrative and spread to as far as the Szechwan area. In this case, the images overwhelm the text in their physical presence. However, the iconography was still based on the literary imageries recorded in the *Shih-chi*; moreover, the four brief cartouches are extremely important because they specify characters and emblems and, thus, suggest a temporal progression for the narrative. The relationship between the images and the text is complementary.

This Han representational mode for narratives, as seen in the *Tseng-tzu and the Ching K'o* scenes, became an archaic formula and was widely used in later paintings, including the Buddhist narrative paintings in Tun-huang敦煌 (*e.g. Illustration to the Avalokittesvara Sutra, or Kuan-yin ching pien* 觀音經變, 8th C. Cave 45, Tun-huang 敦煌, **Fig.7**), *and The Life of the Buddha, or Fo chuan t'u* 佛傳圖, in the Yen-shang-ssu 巖上寺 mural in Shansi 山西(dated 1167, **Fig.8**).

II. The Six Dynasties Mode for Illustrating Prose-Poems

The great scholar, Lu Chi陸機(261-303) said: "For announcing words, nothing

⑫ Chen Pao-chen, "Time and Space in Chinese Narrative Painting of Han and the Six Dynasties," in Chün-chieh Huang and Erick Zürcher eds., *Time & Space in Chinese Culture* (Leiden・New York・Köln: E. J. Brill, 1995), p. 241.

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is more powerful than literature; for preserving forms, nothing is better than painting 宣物莫大於言，存形莫善於畫". ⑬ This means that painting and literature are two equally important expressive media; each has its own specific function.

Reflecting this concept, painting of the Six Dynasties developed rapidly in many ways. Celebrated painters, including Ku K'ai-chih顧愷之 (345-406) , Tsung Ping宗炳 (375-443), and Hsieh Ho謝赫 (fl. late 5th C.-early 6th C.), made significant contributions to its development. They created new styles, established new theories, pursued new aesthetics, and represented new methods for illustrating text.⑭ According to my observations, Six Dynasties artists used at least four methods for illustrating texts. In terms of physical layout, they are: 1) alternation of text and illustration for short texts (e.g. *Admonitions to Court Ladies by an Instructress* (*Nü-shih chen* 女史箴) attributed to Ku K'ai-chih (**Fig.9**, ca. 8th C. copy, The British Museum); 2) parallelism between text and illustration for long text, (e.g. the *Illustration to the Sutras of Cause and Effect Past and Present* (*Hui Kuo-ch'ü hsien-tsai yin-kuo ching* 繪過去現在因果經) (**Fig.10**, a mid - 8th C. Japanese copy of a Chinese model datable to the early 7th C., Nara National Museum); 3) adoption of the Han narrative illustration mode, as testified by *The Five Hundred Robbers* (*Wu-pai tao-tsei kuei Fo yüan* 五百盜賊皈佛緣) (**Fig.11**, dated 538-539, Tun-huang Cave 285); and 4) rhythmic integra-

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⑬ See Chang Yen-yüan張彥遠(fl. 840-879), *A Record of the Famous Painters of All the Dynasties (Li-tai ming-hua chi* 歷代名畫記), *Hua-shih ch'ung-shu* 畫史叢書(Taipei: Wen-shih-che ch'u-pan she 文史哲出版社, 1974), vol. 1, *chuan* 卷 1, p. 6; c.f. William R. B. Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts on Chinese Painting* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954), p.73.

⑭ For the art and the theories of Ku K'ai-chih, Tsung Ping, and Hsieh Ho, see Kohara Hironobu古原宏伸, "A Different View on 'The Record of Painting the Yün-t'ai Mountain' ('*Ga Untaisanki emon*'「畫雲台山記」異聞)," *Yamato Bunka*大和文華, no. 97 (1997), pp.7-29; A Preliminary Disscussion on the Aesthetic Theorical System of Hsieh Ho's 'Six Law's' (*Hsieh Ho Liu-fa te mei-hsüeh li-lun hsi-t'ung ch'u t'an* 謝赫「六法」的美學理論系統初論)," in *Wang Shu-min hsien-sheng pa-shih shou-ch'ing lun-wen-chi pien-chi wei-yüan-hui* 王叔岷先生八十壽慶論文集編輯委員會 ed., *Wang Shu-min hsien-sheng pa-shih shou-ch'ing lun-wen-chi* (Taipei, 1993), pp. 731-768. Chen Ch'uan-hsi 陳傳席, *A Study of the Six Dynasties Painting Theories* (*Liu-ch'ao hua-lun yen-chiu* 六朝畫論研究) (Taipei: Hsüeh-sheng shu-chü 學生書局, 1991); Susan Bush, "Tsung Ping's Essay on Painting Landscape and the 'Landscape Buddhism' of Mount Lu," in Susan Bush and Christian Murck eds., *Theories of the Arts in China* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 132-164; Wen Fong, "Ch'i-Yün-Sheng-Tung: Vitality, Harmonious Manner and Alive-

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tion of text and illustration, as seen in *The Goddess of the Lo River* (*Lo-shen fu t'u*洛神賦圖) (**Figs. 12, 13**). ⑮ Due to the limitation of space, I shall focus on the last method as unique illustrative mode, which was created by one of the major artists of the Six Dynasties. In *The Goddess of the Lo River*, traditionally attributed to Ku K'ai-chih, now in the Liao-ning Provincial Museum, the painter represents not only the content but also the musicality of the text. According to my research, the Liao-ning scroll is a twelfth-century copy based on a late 6th to early 7th-century original composition and reflects Six Dynasties aesthetics. ⑯

The Goddess of the Lo River illustrates the prose-poem by the same title composed by Prince Ts'ao Chih 曹植(192-232) in the year 223. ⑰ The prose-poem tells the love story between Prince Ts'ao Chih and the beautiful goddess of the Lo River. The story begins with the prince's vision of the goddess. Ts'ao Chih is immediately enchanted by her unusual beauty. They fall in love and exchange gifts. However, for fear of being forsaken by the goddess, the prince changes his mind; the goddess is heartbroken. After hesitating, she departs with her companions, leaving the prince, who now deeply regrets his decision to break off their romance. Trying in vain to trace her by traveling up-stream, the prince at last gives up the search but remains awake all night, missing her. At daybreak, he can do nothing but continue his east-bound trip to his fief, but his heart still lingers on the dreamy but tragic love affair that

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ness," *Oriental Art*, vol. XII (1966), pp. 159-165; *idem,* "On Hsieh Ho's 'Liu-fa'," *Oriental Art,* vol. IX (1963), no. 4, pp. 3-6; James Cahill, "The Six Laws and How to Read Them," *Ars Orientalis,* vol.4 (1961), pp. 372-81; Alexander C. Soper, "Life-motion and the Sense of Space in Early Chinese Representational Art," *Art Bulletin*, vol. 30 (Sept. 1948), no. 3, pp. 167-186; Kawakami Kei 川上涇, "The Technical Terms of the '*Six Canons of Hsieh Ho*' Translated into European Languages (*Sha Yaku Robbo' no Obi yakugo*謝赫六法の欧美譯語), " *Bijutsu Kenkyu* 美術研究, vol. 4 (1951), no. 165, pp. 31-46.

⑮ Cfr. Chen Pao-chen, "The Goddess of the Lo River: A Study of Early Chinese Narrative Handscrolls," pp. 220-229.

⑯ There are eight extant handscrolls entitled *The Goddess of the Lo River*. Three of them are Southern Sung copies, now in the Liao-ning Provincial Museum, the Peking Palace Museum, and the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.. These three scrolls closely resemble one another in height, iconography, and composition. Only the Liao-ning scroll bears the text of the prose-poem and can be regarded as a faithful copy of the Six Dynasties original. For a detailed discussion, see *ibid*., pp. 1-2, 167-189.

⑰ For the dating problem of the prose-poem see *ibid*., pp. 42-46.

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occurred the night before.

In a lyric voice, Ts'ao Chih transforms this story into a romantic prose-poem noted for its colorful vocabulary, imagistic phrasing, and distinctive musicality. The musical quality of the prose-poem results from the poet's manipulation of different meters and rhyme schemes. In different configurations, these various metered verses alternate harmoniously to form discrete units. Each unit may share a single rhyme or may use different rhymes to introduce aural variations. The formal expansion and contraction of these variously metered verses, together with the rhyme variations from unit to unit lends this prose-poem a richly musical effect.

The painter sensitively translates the melancholy mood and the poetic language of this prose-poem into a pictorial image. In the first place, the artist chose for the brief tragic love poem a narrative handscroll with a continuous composition. When one reads the scroll from one scene to another a sense of temporal progress is felt, which corresponds to the continuous flow of the lyric mood of the prose-poem. In the second place, he structures the painting into five movements that correspond with the plot of the prose-poem: "The First Encounter," "The Exchange of Gifts," "Lament for Love Lost," "Departure of the Goddess," and "Finale," each punctuated by landscape elements. In the third place, the artist translates the rhythmic quality of the prose-poem into repetitive curves, which is the guiding principle in grouping figures and arranging text passages and illustrations. In each scene, figures are displayed in an imagined elliptical enclosure --- especially sensed at the left of each scene, where figures are almost always displayed in a counterclockwise curve (e.g. illustrations to the lines: "To the left planting her colored pennants, / To the right spreading the shade of cassia flags,/She dips pale wrists into the holy river's brink,/Plucks dark iris from the rippling shallows 左倚采旄，右荫桂旗；攘皓腕於神滸兮，采湍瀨之玄芝." **Fig.14**)⑱.Rhythmic quality also dominates the arrangement of text passages and illustrations, especially in the first scene of every movement --- the brief couplets accompanied by their respective illustrations are displayed up and down the picture plane and form a dynamic rhythm for the scene (e.g. illustrations to the lines: "Then the god Ping-yi calls in his winds , / The river lord stills the waves; / While Feng-yi

⑱ For the English translation, see Burton Watson, *Chinese Rhyme-Prose--Poems in the Fu Form from the Han and Six Dynasties Periods* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), pp. 55-60.

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beats a drum,/ And Nü-kua [wa] offers simple songs於是屏翳收風，川后靜波；馮夷鳴鼓，女媧清歌." **Fig.15a, 15b**) ⑲

In order to convey the meaning of the prose-poem, the artist employs in his painting four types of illustrative techniques: literal, metaphorical, suggestive, and symbolic. The literal illustration method is found in the second scene of "The First Encounter". Eight images, including two geese, a dragon, chrysanthemums, pine trees, the moon, the sun, snow, and lotuses, along with their accompanying text passages, are placed around the goddess, as literal pictorialization of the similes that describe the beauty of the goddess: "Her body soars lightly like a startled swan, / Gracefully, like a dragon in flight, / In splendor brighter than the autumn chrysanthemum, / In bloom more flourishing than the pine in spring, / Dim as the moon mantled in filmy clouds, / Restless as snow whirled by the driving wind. / Gaze far off from a distance: she sparkles like the sun rising from morning mists; / Press closer to examine: she flames like the lotus flower topping the green wave其形也翩若驚鴻，婉若游龍；榮曜秋菊，華茂春松；彷彿兮若輕雲之蔽月，飄颻兮若流風之迴雪；遠而望之，皎若太陽升朝霞；迫而察之，灼若芙蕖出綠波." ⑳

The metaphorical method is found in the left end of the second scene of "The Exchange of Gifts". There, an attendant turns his back to the viewer, as a pictorial metaphor for the prince's breaking his promise to the goddess. At least on one occasion, the suggestive illustrative method is used, as found in the first scene of the "Finale", showing the prince out boating as he tries to spy some trace of the goddess after her departure. In this scene the prince and his attendants are shown on the windy second floor --- instead of in the cozy chamber --- of the boathouse, to suggest how "eagerly" the prince longs to catch a glimpse of the disappeared goddess, as indicated in the text: "Hoping that the spirit form might show itself again 冀靈體之復形."

The symbolic illustrative method is found particularly in figure groupings on two occasions: 1) in the second scene of "The First Encounter" and 2) in the second scene of "The Departure of the Goddess". In "The First Encounter", the prince is accompanied by eight attendants on the right: he is dressed in an official costume that symbolizes his status, and his attendants hold different objects, including two para-

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⑲ *Ibid.*

⑳ For the English translation, see *Ibid.*, pp. 55-60.

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sols, a sitting mat, and a feather fan. All together, they stand for the world of man, that contrasts with the world of spirits to the left, as represented by the goddess and the eight images surrounding her as just mentioned. The formal contrast between these two groups of images symbolizes the impending conflict between the worlds of the prince and of the goddess, and conveys the poet's sentimental resignation "that men and gods must follow separate ways 恨人神之道殊兮." This sad idea that conveys the existence of an unbreakable barrier between the worlds of man and deity is again symbolically represented in "The Departure of the Goddess." There the prince accompanied by two attendants on the riverbank is physically separated from the goddess shown seated in a dragon-drawn carriage flying over the clouds by a long passage of text. Such an arrangement suggests that the only way man and deity can communicate or unite is through abstract notions rather than physical contact. ㉑

By means of these creative devices, the artist turns the melancholy romance into a visual polyphony, in which text and images correspond to each other in harmony. In overall effect, this painting visualizes not only the content and the implications but also the lyric mood, and the musical quality of the prose-poem. That makes this scroll a rare specimen in Chinese painting history. No one but a talented painter, who was also knowledgeable in literature and music could create such a painting. After the Six Dynasties, there were only a few artists who adopted this representational mode for their paintings, particularly for illustrating a prose-poem or a *tz'u* 詞-poem. The best examples include The *Red Cliff* (*Ch'ih-pi fu* 赤壁賦) by Ch'iao Chung-ch'ang 喬仲常 (fl. late 11th - early 12th C.) (**Fig.16**, Nelson Gallery, Kansas), and *Fishermen* (*Yü-fu t'u* 漁父圖)by Wu Chen 吳鎮 (1280-1354) (**Figs.17**, Shanghai Museum). ㉒

The reason for the lack in popularity of this Six Dynasties mode in later periods, might be that the technique was too complicated for most painters to master. However, a more probable reason could be the change of artistic pursuits during the T'ang and the Sung periods.

㉑ The seven passages above are cited from Chen Pao-chen's dissertation, *op.cit.*, pp. 21, 41, 7-10, with minor changes.

㉒ For a discussion of the *Red Cliff* by Ch'iao Chung-ch'ang, see *ibid.*, pp. 228-239. There are two versions of Wu Chen's *Fishermen*: one is in the Shanghai Museum, the other in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C..

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III. The T'ang and Sung Modes for Representing Poems

The T'ang and the Sung artists tried to establish a close internal relationship among painting, poetry, and calligraphy. Their ultimate goal was to create an artistic work characterized by a combination of the three arts, known as the "three perfections." This movement emerged in the T'ang and developed in the Sung period, as seen in three aspects to be mentioned in brief.

Firstly, during the T'ang period, the boundaries of painting and poetry expanded and overlapped slightly. Painters and poets looked for inspiration from, and created works for, the opposite field. Based on this aesthetic pursuit, they created two modes of representation: 1) poems for inscription on paintings (*t'i-hua shih* 題畫詩); and 2) poetic painting (*shih-hua* 詩畫).

1. Painting with Poems Composed by Others

In this mode, a painting is accompanied with a poem (or poems) composed by a poet other than the painter himself. Although initiated as early as the Warring States period (403-221 B.C.), it was not until the T'ang (618-907) period that this representional mode became popular.㉓ During the T'ang period, famous poets, including Ch'en Tzu-ang陳子昂(656-695), Li Po李白(699-776), and Tu Fu杜甫(721-770), became interested in, and wrote about, paintings.㉔ By doing so, they created a specific literary genre, known as poems for inscriptions on paintings (*t'i-hua shih*). The expansion of their interest from poetry to painting became a model for Northern Sung北宋(960-1127) scholar-artists, including Ou-yang Hsiu歐陽修(1007-1072), Su Shih 蘇軾(1036-1101), and their followers.㉕

Despite the fact that there are over one-hundred-and-forty T'ang poems of this genre recorded,㉖ it seems that no T'ang painting bearing such poems survives today. However, two mural paintings, *Sending Embroidery* (*Chi chin t'u* 寄錦圖) (**Fig.18**) and *Sutra-chanting* (*Sung-ching t'u*頌經圖) (**Fig.19**), recently excavated from a Liao

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㉓ Cfr. Tai Li-chu, *Shih yü hua chih yen-chiu, op. cit.*, pp. 92-94.

㉔ Cfr.Wang Po-min, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 1-165. More precisely, Tai Li-chu accounts for 142 poems on paintings by about 61 T'ang poets, see Tai Li-chu, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-143.

㉕ Cfr. Yi Jo-fen, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-34.

㉖ See Tai Li-chu, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-143.

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遼 tomb in Pao-shan 寶山,Ch'ih-feng 赤峰 County, Ning-hsia 寧夏 Province, datable around 923, serve as the earliest examples for this T'ang representational mode. ㉗

1.1. *Sending Embroidery*

On the south wall of tomb no. 2, a wall painting shows a richly dressed lady accompanied by four female attendants on the right. Facing left, she seems giving instructions to two attendants. To their left a poem, partially blurred but still identifiable, reads:

> [My beloved husband] has been in a battle against the Liao for years.
> Lady Su, myself, looks pale and weak, unable to bear [missing him].
> Carefully, I ordered a messenger to send scrolls of embroidery patterned
> with letters in circles I had woven.
> By which, I wish, to express my life-long heart-felt lingering love for him.
> □□征遼歲月深，蘇娘憔悴□難任；
> 丁寧織寄迴[文][錦]，表妾平生繾綣心。㉘

1.2. *Sutra-chanting*

On the north wall, the other mural shows a lady in gorgeous attire, pointing at a Buddhist sutra scroll on a rectangular desk, as if she were reading to the parakeet in the upper left corner of the painting. To the right a poem reads:

> Clad in snow-white, the red-beaked mountain bird
> came from the Long-shan area.
> It has been well taught [by the court lady] in the Palace.
> Never speak even a vulgar word to people.

㉗ The Institute of Archaeology of Inner Mongolia and CRAM of Alukertsim Banner内蒙古文物考古研究所與阿魯科爾沁旗文物管理所, "Excavation of a Liao Dynasty Tomb Containing Mural Paintings at Baoshan, Chifeng, Inner Mongolia 内蒙古赤峰寶山遼壁畫墓發掘簡報," *Wenwu* 文物, 1998 no. 1, pp. 73-95. This reference was brought to my attention by Professor emeritus Hsü P'ing-fang 徐蘋芳, former Director of the Institute of Archaeology and Social Science, Peking 北京社會科學院考古研究所.

㉘ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

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There is nothing but sutra-chanting from every uttered voice.
雪衣丹嘴隴山禽，每受宮闈指教深；
不向人前出凡語，聲聲皆是念經音。㉙

In both cases, the poem conveys the inner feeling of the figure instead of superficial description of the scene. The painting is much more detailed in content than the information provided by the poem. The relationship between these two vehicles of expression is complementary. By way of this device, the text and image assist each other to extend their meaning. This representational mode prevailed in the Sung, as seen in Ma Yüan's馬遠 (fl. ca.1190-1225) *Banquet by Lantern Light* (*Hua teng shih-yen* 華燈侍宴) (**Fig.20**, The National Palace Museum, Taipei), which bears a poem supposedly inscribed by empress Yang 楊皇后 (fl. 1194-1224). ㉚

2. Poetic Painting

In this mode, a painting represents the lyric mood of a famous poem or verse. Starting from the T'ang, painters including Tuan Tsan-shan 段贊善 (8th C.?) and others became interested in representing a poem or verse with an emphasis on its aesthetic quality rather than its content. By doing so, they initiated a new painting genre known as poetic painting (*shih-hua*). This genre was further developed by Northern Sung painters, including Sung Ti 宋迪(c.s. 1023-32), Li Kung-lin 李公麟(1049-1106), and Sung Hui-tsung宋徽宗(1082-1135), and rose to its apex during the Southern Sung 南宋(1127-1279) period. ㉛

Southern Sung painters would typically choose to represent only one or two verses from a poem for pictorial representation. In order to convert the usually obscure, indefinable implications and atmospheric quality of a poem or verse, they created a remarkable painting style, which is characterized by simple forms, economic

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㉙ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

㉚ Cfr. Chu Hui-liang, "Imperial Calligraphy of the Southern Sung," in Alfreda Murck and Wen C. Fong eds., *Words and Images:Chinese Poetry, Calligraphy, and Painting, op. cit.*, pp. 289-312, esp. p. 308.

㉛ Chen Pao-chen陳葆眞, "The Aesthetics of Emperor Sung Hui-tsung's Paintings (*Sung Hui-tsung hui-hua te mei-hsüeh t'eh chih--chien lun ch'i yüan-yüan he ying hsiang* 宋徽宗繪畫的美學特質－兼論其淵源和影響)," *Kuo-li T'ai-wan ta-hsüeh wen-shih-che hsüeh-pao*國立台灣大學文史哲學報, vol. 40 (1993), pp. 295-344, esp. pp. 316-324.

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brushwork, light coloration, rich ink tones, and extensive open space. ㉜ The best example is seen in Ma Lin's馬麟 (fl. ca. 1216-56) *Swallows at Dusk* (*Hsi-yang shan-shui* 夕陽山水) (**Fig.21**, Nezu Museum, Tokyo).

2.1. *Swallows at Dusk*

The painting shows three small-scaled mountaintops arranged diagonally from right to left at the lower section of the composition. ㉝ Behind them, a few sweeps of red suggest the setting sun. Below them, nothing is shown except for two small swallows flying against the misty air. These images occupying but a small portion of the picture space, give expression to a remote, misty, and sentimental atmosphere. The aesthetic quality is highlighted by a five-word couplet written by Sung Li-tsung宋理宗 (r. 1225-1264) on the upper section of the scroll. It reads:

> *Hills containing autumn colors look close;*
> *Swallows crossing the evening sky appear slowly.*
> 山含秋色近，燕渡夕陽遲。

In this way, the aesthetic quality of the painting and the poetry are converted to each other in a lyric mood.

However, because painters perceive things differently, their representations of the same poem will look different accordingly. This can be observed by comparing two paintings by the same title of *Orange Yellow and Tangerine Green* (*Ch'eng huang chu lü*橙黃橘綠) (**Figs.22-23**), respectively attributed to Chao Ling-jang趙令穰(fl. late 11th - early 12th C.) and an anonymous Southern Sung court painter.

2.2. *Orange Yellow and Tangerine Green*

Both paintings attempt to represent a seven-character couplet from a poem by

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㉜ Chen Pao-chen, "The Development of the Representation of Space in the Small-Scale Landscape Paintings of the Southern Sung Period (*Ch'ung k'ung-chien piao-hsien fa k'an Nan-Sung hsiao-ching shan-shui hua te fa-chan*從空間表現法看南宋小景山水畫的發展)," *National Palace Museum Quarterly* 故宮學術季刊,vol. 13 (April, 1996), no. 3, pp. 83-104.

㉝ Now mounted as a hanging scroll, painting and inscription were originally two separate album leaves, to be displayed facing each other; for reference, see James Cahill, *The Lyric Journey---Poetic Painting in*

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Su Shih, reading: "The best time of a year you should remember is when the oranges have already turned yellow and the tangerines are still green 一年好景君須記，最是橙黃橘綠時." The painting attributed to Chao Ling-jang shows two groups of trees bearing green and yellow oranges on sand-banks separated by a stream winding diagonally from lower left to upper right on a round fan. The images blur and color fades in gradation from near to far, remote scenery disappearing into the mist. Altogether the painting creates an atmospheric visual effect for the scene and represents the nostalgic mood conveyed in the verse.

Also on a round fan, the painting by the anonymous court painter shows one branch bearing two oranges, one in yellow, the other in green, and nothing more. The image is clear and vivid. The texture of the orange skin is described in detail. It literally translates the words "orange yellow and tangerine green," and represents no poetic quality at all. In this way, the painter pictorializes only the literal meaning but not the poetic content of the verse. ㉞

Though at the hand of mediocre painters, the aesthetic nuance of a poem would often fail to be converted into its painting, this representational mode became very popular in later periods. For example, it was adopted for woodblock prints, which served as textbooks for art students, as can be seen in the *Painting Manual of T'ang Poems* (*T'ang shih hua p'u* 唐詩畫譜) edited by Huang Feng-ch'ih 黃鳳池 during the late Ming 明(1368-1644) period.

3. The "Three-Perfections"

During the T'ang and Sung periods, talented artists experimented with the "three-perfections"-mode, aiming at uniting poetry, painting, and calligraphy into one work of art. In this mode a painting bears one or more of the artist's self-composed poems, inscribed in his own calligraphy.

Theoretically speaking, the concept of the "three-perfections," referring to the combined mastery of poetry, painting, and calligraphy, emerged during the T'ang period. ㉟ Cheng Ch'ien 鄭虔(fl. mid-8th C.) was noted for his mastery of these three

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China and Japan (Cambridge, Mass. And London, England: Harvard University Press, 1996), p. 30.

㉞ Cfr. Huang Feng-chih 黃鳳池 et al. eds., *The Painting Manual of T'ang Poems* (*T'ang shih hua-p'u*) (Taipei:Kuang-wen shu-chü 廣文書局, 1981 rept.), esp. pp. 197-510.

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arts, yet, no evidence further proves that he created any painting with his own inscription of self-composed poems. So far as I know, one of the earliest artists who accomplished paintings showing the three perfections, is emperor Li Hou-chu李後主 (937-978). According to Mi Fu 米芾(1051-1107), Li composed a scroll showing different flowers of the four seasons, each accompanied by a poem inscribed by the emperor himself.㊱However, the earliest painting of this mode extant today is *Mountain Birds in a Blossoming Plum Tree (La-mei shan-ch'in* 臘梅山禽) by Sung Hui-tsung (**Fig.24**, National Palace Museum, Taipei). In a diagonal composition, the painting shows a blossoming plum-tree, accompanied by narcissuses, arranged from the lower right to the upper left of the scroll. Two birds appear on a lower branch in the middle of the painting. Images are delicately and precisely depicted in brushstrokes of even thickness. On the lower left, the emperor inscribed a five-character quatrain in his "slender-golden calligraphic style (*shou-chin t'i* 瘦金體)." It reads:

> Mountain birds look proud and untrammeled,
> The plum blossoms pleasantly ridicule them with light and soft powder;
> Having had their vows painted in blue and red,
> They wish to be together for thousand years till their heads turn white.
> 山禽矜逸態，梅粉弄輕柔；已有丹青約，千秋指白頭。

The promise of love in the lyric voice of this poem is metaphorically represented into the painting it accompanies. Both the painting and the calligraphy share in common a balanced composition and stable brushwork. Formal clarity and atmospheric serenity characterize the aesthetics of this painting and calligraphy. At the lower right corner, the emperor's inscription reads: "I, the emperor, composed this painting and calligraphy at the Hsüan-he Hall宣和殿御製並書," and is followed by his signature identified as: "The first man under heaven (*t'ien-hsia i-jen* 天下一人)." This inscription thus proves that the emperor himself was the author of both painting, poetry, as well as calligraphy.

㉟ See Tai Li-chu, *Shih yü hua, op. cit.*, pp. 9-13; as well as her *Shih yü hua chih yen-chiu, op. cit.*, pp. 92-93.

㊱ Ch'en Pao-chen, "Li Hou-chu as an Artist and Emperor (Part III) (*Yi-shu ti-wang Li Hou-chu*藝術帝王李後主)," *Taida Journal of Art History* (*Kuo-li Taiwan ta-hsüeh mei-shu-shih yen-chiu chi-k'an* 國立台灣

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In a painting belonging to the mode of the three-perfections, the interaction among painting, poetry, and calligraphy is extremely close. They echo one another in form, content and style, as seen in this painting.

The integration of painting, poetry, and calligraphy has been the leading aesthetic principle for literati paintings ever since the Northern Sung period. Based on this principle, later artists further experimented with many representational devices to reinforce the interaction between text and image in form, style, and meaning.

IV. Later Development of the "Three-Perfections"

Based on my observations, the later development of this representational mode included three fundamental approaches to strengthen the relationship between painting and poetry: 1) formal integration; 2) technical conflation; and 3) stylistic correspondence. The following discussions with specific examples will clarify my argument.

1. Formal Integration of Painting and Poetry

It became a popular fashion that post-Sung artists would inscribe one or more poems on their paintings. They might also ask friends to do the same. We often find that later paintings bear poems by one or more poets, as seen in *The Six Gentlemen* (*Liu chün-tzu* 六君子(**Fig.25**) Shanghai Museum). Moreover, the length of the inscription becomes increased to occupy a conspicuous position on the painting surface, as seen in *Night-sitting* (*Yeh-tso t'u* 夜坐圖) (**Fig.26**, National Palace Museum, Taipei) by Shen Chou 沈周 (1427-1509). More often than not, artists often compose poems of the same rhyme (*ho-shih* 和詩) in response to each other, as seen in the case of Wen Cheng-ming 文徵明(1470-1559) and his followers, each of whom composed a *t'zu*-poem, entitled *Spring in Chiang-nan* (*Chiang-nan ch'un* 江南春) after Ni Tsan's rhyme scheme in spiritual resonance with the Yüan master. ㊲

大學美術史研究集刊), no. 6 (1999), pp. 71-130, esp. p. 88.

㊲ Cfr. Chiang Chao-shen 江兆申, *Wen Cheng-ming and the Su-chou Artistic Milieu* (*Wen Cheng-ming yü Su-chou hua-t'an* 文徵明與蘇州畫壇) (Taipei: National Palace Museum,1987 rept.), pp. 151-152, 158, 159; Ch'en Pao-chen, "Patterns for Wu School Painters' Modelling of Ni Tsan's Style, as Viewed from Lu

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Also, the verses they inscribed were no longer limited to the T'ang regulated *lü-shih* 律詩 style in five or seven characters, which their predecessors particularly favored. The best example can be seen in Tai Li's 戴醴 (fl. early 18th C.) *Ink Plum* (*Mo-mei* 墨梅), on which the artist inscribed a nine-character poem in three long columns along the left border of the painting (**Fig.27**, whereabouts unknown, formerly in the Edward Elliott Family Collection). ㊳ The ultimate aim of these devices for integrating text within painting, was to enrich, rather than to weaken, the image in form and content. On this basis, artists consciously organized text and images into a harmonious composition, as exemplified by *The Fantastic Pine Tree* (*Tung-mou ch'i sung* 東牟奇松) painted by Kao Feng-han 高鳳翰 (1683-1749) in 1734 (**Fig.28**, private collection, Hong Kong). ㊴ In this painting, the short and thick tree trunk is found rooted on the right end of the composition, while its twisted branches are represented extending horizontally from right to left and covering almost the entire sky. On the bottom of the composition, a long inscription by the artist is squeezed into a lateral layout from right to left, to correspond to the dynamic movement of the branches stretching in the same direction. In addition to formal integration, later artists also seek for technical conflation of written text and painted image. Their solution was to apply calligraphic skills to painting.

2. Technical Conflation of Painting and Calligraphy

Although not documented in historical sources, the calligraphic painting style must have emerged in the T'ang period. During the T'ang, painting and calligraphy began to be closely related in practice and in theory. Wu Tao-tzu 吳道子(fl. mid-8th C.), one of the greatest painters in Chinese history, employed calligraphic brushwork in his figure paintings. Regretfully, none of Wu Tao-tzu's paintings is extant today. How-

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Chih's *Immortal's Lodge among Streams and Mountains* (*Ch'ung Lu Chih te Hsi-shan hsien-kuan k'an Wu-p'ai hua-chia mo-fang Ni Tsan te mo-shih* 從陸治的《溪山仙館》看吳派畫家摹仿倪瓚的模式), *Taida Journal of Art History*, no. 1 (1994), pp. 63-94; esp. pp. 69-70.

㊳ Cfr. Wen. C. Fong et al., *Images of the Mind---Selections from the Edward L. Elliott Family and John B. Elliott Collections of Chinese Calligraphy and Painting at The Art Museum, Princeton University* (Princeton, New Jersey: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1984), p. 475.

㊴ Cfr. Chuang Su-o 莊素娥, *A Study of Kao Feng-han's Paintings* (*Kao Feng-han hui-hua yen-chiu* 高鳳翰繪畫研究) (Taipei: Yi-shu-chia ch'u-pan-she 藝術家出版社, 1996), pp. 102,374.

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ever, the *Boddhisattva amongst Clouds* (*Yün chung p'u-sha hsiang* 雲中菩薩像) in the Shosoin Treasury 正倉院, Nara 奈良 (**Fig.29**, 8th C.) is regarded to reflect his style, which is noted for its thickening-and-thinning brushwork resulting from the lifting-and-pressing movement of a brush. Later on, Chang Yen-yüan 張彥遠 (fl. ca. 840-879), a great art historian, first expressed the notion that painting and calligraphy are of the same substance. ㊵ The movement of applying calligraphic techniques in painting continued to develop in succeeding periods. Sung artists, such as Li Kung-ling and Ma Ho-chih 馬和之 (c.s. 1131-62) are well-known for their paintings in the calligraphic style. As scholars have pointed out, Li Kung-lin adopted both Ku K'ai-chih's and Wu Tao-tzu's style in figure painting.㊶ In addition, he created his own calligraphic style, characterized by taut economic brushwork with angular turns and sharp hooks, as seen in the *Five Tribute Horses* (*Wu-ma t'u* 五馬圖) (**Fig.30**, private collection, Japan) attributed to him.㊷Ma Ho-chih 馬和之 (c.s. 1131-62), demonstrates in his painting another type of calligraphic techniques noted for its intense lifting-and-pressing movement for creation of drastic undulating linear movement, as seen in his *Illustrations of the Book of Odes* (*Mao-shih* 毛詩) (**Fig.31**, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). ㊸

However, the most important artist who advocated the use of calligraphic techniques in painting, was Chao Meng-fu 趙孟頫 (1254-1322) of the Yüan 元(1260-1368) period. In his inscription on *Bamboo and Rock* (*Chu-shih t'u* 竹石圖) (**Fig.32**, The Peking Palace Museum), Chao clearly pointed out that calligraphic techniques are a necessary requirement for executing paintings of this genre:

㊵ There are at least four instances where Chang Yen-yuan makes mention of the close relationship between painting and calligraphy, three of which were related to Wu Tao-tzu's style, see his *Li tai ming-hua chi*, quoted in Susan Bush and Hsio-yen Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1985), pp. 50, 51, 64, 65.

㊶ Richard M. Barnhart, "Li kung-lin's Use of Past Styles," in Christian Murck, ed., *Artists and Traditions* (Princeton, New Jersey: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1976), pp. 51-71.

㊷ Richard M. Barnhart, *Li Kung-lin's Classic of Filial Piety* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), pp. 18-22.

㊸ Cfr. Julia K. Murray, *Ma Hezhi and the Illustration of the Book of Odes* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

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A rock should be represented with calligraphic techniques similar to that of the 'flying-white (*fei-pai* 飛白)'. A tree should be represented in a brush technique similar to that of the archaic seal-script (*chou*籀). One cannot execute a bamboo painting without mastering the eight methods of calligraphy. If one asks why that is so, one must know that [the technique for] painting and [that for] calligraphy were from the same origin.

石如飛白木如籀，寫竹還需八法通；若也有人問如此，需知書畫本來同。㊹

An outstanding calligrapher himself, Chao Meng-fu applied various calligraphic skills to his paintings. For example, he made use of thin brushstrokes of even width, originating from seal script, to depict figures, as seen in his *Portrait of Su Shih* (*Su Shih hsiang* 蘇軾像) (**Fig.33**, National Palace Museum, Taipei).㊺ He also made use of the coarse and swift 'flying-white' brush technique to represent rocks in his *Twin Pines Against a Flat Vista* (*Shuang-sung p'ing-yüan* 雙松平遠) (**Fig.34**, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).㊻ In general, Chao favored the center-tipped brush technique (*chung-feng* 中鋒) for most of his paintings, as seen in the execution of rushes, trees, and waves in his famous *Autumn Colors in the Ch'üeh and the Hua Mountains* (*Ch'üeh Hua ch'iu-se* 鵲華秋色) (**Fig.35**).㊼

Among later artists, Ni Tsan was one of the most important masters who applied calligraphic techniques to painting. Throughout his entire life, Ni Tsan persistently painted and wrote in his own style characterized by formal simplicity and atmospheric serenity, as a reflection of his integrity and principle.㊽ As seen in his *Jung-hsi Studio*

㊹ For a publication of this painting, see Wen C. Fong et al., *Possessing the Past---Treasures from the National Palace Museum, Taipei* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996), p. 279, p. 592: note 30.

㊺ For a study of the painting of Chao Meng-fu, see Maxwell K. Hearn, "Reunification and Revival," in Wen. C. Fong et.al., *op. cit.*, pp. 269-282.

㊻ Cfr. Wen Fong and Marylin Fu, *Sung and Yüan Paintings* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1973), pp. 89-91.

㊼ For the *Ch'üeh and Hua Mountains*, see Li Chu-tsing, *The Autumn Colors on the Ch'üeh and Hua Mountains: A Landscape by Chao Meng-fu* (Ascona, Switzerland: Artibus Asiae, Supplementum 21, 1965).

㊽ Cfr. Maxwell K. Hearn, "The Artist as Hero," in Wen C. Fong et al., *Possessing the Past,* pp. 311-319; c.f. Wen C. Fong, *Beyond Representation---Chinese Painting and Calligraphy 8th-14th Century* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), pp. 475-497; Chang Kuang-pin 張光賓, *The Four Great*

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(*Jung-hsi chai* 容膝齋) (**Fig.36**, National Palace Museum, Taipei), Ni Tsan's paintings consistently show a composition bisected horizontally by a river in the middle, a few trees sparsely rooted on the barren river bank in the foreground, and distant mountains beyond the river as background. The trees are represented with center-tipped brushwork. However, the rocks on the riverbank and the mountains are represented with delicate brushwork, which starts smoothly in a horizontal movement and turns sharply downward to create squat angular forms. The simple formation of motifs and succinct brushwork result in creating a clear and placid visual effect for the painting. His calligraphy, characterized by the squat angular configuration of characters in even and sparse spacing, reflect exactly these same technical and aesthetic characteristics.

3. Stylistic Correspondence between Text and Image

In addition to technical conflation, stylistic correspondence between painting and calligraphy was a major concern for post-Sung literati artists, exemplified by Ch'en Ch'un's陳淳 (1483-1544) *Flowers* (*Hua-hui*花卉) (**Figs.37, 38**, National Palace Museum, Taipei). Ch'en applied the regular script style of his calligraphy to match the neat and static image of a branch of lilies to the right of the inscription. Nevertheless, in the following section of the same scroll, he chose the running script style for his calligraphy as a response to the dynamic image of orchids blown by the wind, accompanying the inscription to its right.㊾ In another instance, Shih-t'ao 石濤(1642-1705) employed the small regular script style for his calligraphy in his *Sixteen Arhats* (*Shih-liu lo-han* 十六羅漢) dated 1667 (**Fig.39**, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), which is executed in extremely subtle strokes of pale ink.㊿ On another occasion he applied the free running script style to the inscriptions on his *Peach Blossoms* (*T'ao-hua* 桃花) (**Fig.40**, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), which is represented in a relaxed manner with untrammeled brushwork and bright coloration. (51) As a result, inscribed text and painted image are closely related in form, technique, and style.

Masters of the Yüan (*Yüan ssu ta chia* 元四大家) (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1975), pp. 20-27.

㊾ Cfr. Chen Pao-chen, *A Study of Ch'en Ch'un* (*Ch'en Ch'un yen-chiu* 陳淳研究) (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1978), pp. 53-54.

㊿ Cfr. Richard K. Kent, "The Sixteen Lohans in the *Pai-miao* Style: from Sung to Early Ch'ing," Ph.D.

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Summary

As we have seen in the three principal modes of representations developing from the Han to the Sung and subsequent periods, the relationship between text and image in Chinese pictorial art is very complicated. In the Han period, text and images both serve as signifier and signified in mutual reference to each other. This mode was appropriate for illustrating prose, as seen in the *Ancient Emperors* and the didactic narratives in the Wu Liang Shrine of the Eastern Han period.

Artists of the Six Dynasties tried to represent the musicality of a prose-poem and structured text and images harmoniously in a rhythmic layout. This mode is best represented in *The Goddess of the Lo River*. However, their artistic pursuit changed. Trying to convert poetry into painting, T'ang and Sung artists experimented with poetic paintings, with an emphasis on the representation of the aesthetic quality of the poem into the painting. Furthermore, they created works of " three-perfections" : a combination of poetry, painting, and calligraphy. Taking painting as a synthesis of these three art forms, they inscribed self-composed poems, employed calligraphic techniques, and tried to convert poetic nuances into a painting. In this way, a " three-perfections" work of art not only represents the visual charm of painting and calligraphy but also conveys the meaning of the words inscribed.

The above-mentioned three basic representational modes developed from the Han to the Sung period, and eventually became archetypes for the interaction between text and image in later periods. However, it is the "three-perfection" mode, which became the leading aesthetic principle for literati painting of later periods. The later artists tried to solidify the relationships among these three arts in a more active way by means of formal integration, technical conflation, and stylistic correspondence of words and images. The physical integration of a painting and its inscriptions lends visual attraction to the painting, encouraging its audience to read the inscription closely and ponder on its meaning more carefully. One may find significant meaning in a brief text by means of allegorical, metaphorical, or symbolic wording, accompa-

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dissertation, Princeton University, 1995.

㊶ For the English translation of the inscription, see Richard M. Barnhart, *Peach Blossom Spring* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983), p. 100.

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nied with certain images. One's poetic thoughts may also be aroused by viewing a simple image with an inscribed poem. It is not exaggerating to state that Chinese literati painting needs not only to be appreciated visually but also to be understood intellectually.

The author wishes to express her appreciation to Miss Catherine Stuer, Miss Cheng Yü-hua and Miss Huang Szu-en for their assistance in preparing this paper for publication, including editing the manuscript and keying-in the text.

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a



1. Anonymous, *Emperor Huang-ti (Huang-ti)*, 151 A.D., stone relief, The Wu Liang Shrine, Chia-hsiang, Shantung



a



2. Anonymous, *Chieh of the Hsia Dynasty (Hsia Chieh)*, 151 A.D., stone relief, The Wu Liang Shrine, Chia-hsiang, Shantung





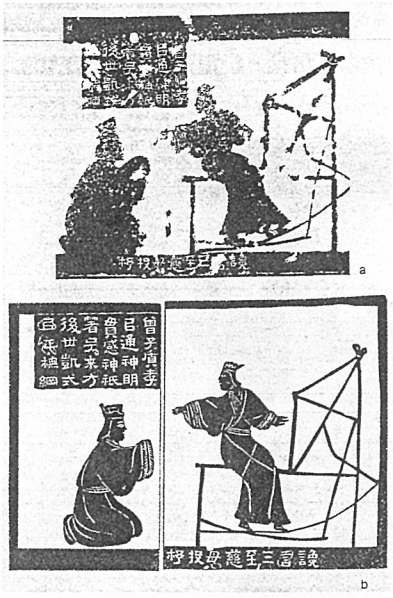
b

3. Anonymous, *Fu-hsi and Nü-wa*, 151 A.D., stone relief, The Wu Liang Shrine, Chia-hsiang, Shantung

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4. Anonymous, *Emperor Yao (Ti Yao)*, 151 A.D., stone relief, The Wu Liang Shrine, Chia-hsiang, Shantung

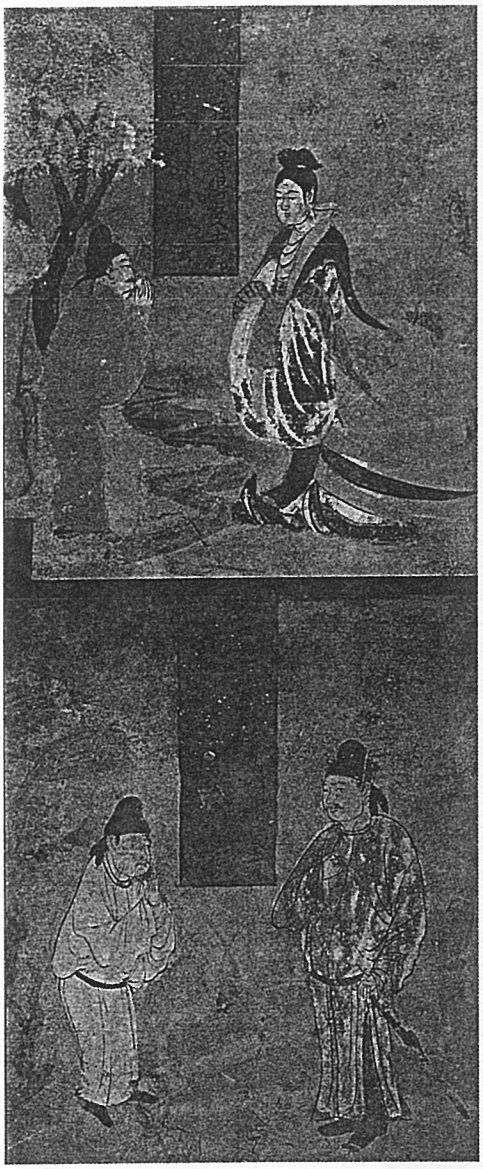


5. Anonymous, *Tseng-tzu and His Mother*, 151 A.D., stone relief, The Wu Liang Shrine, Chia-hsiang, Shantung

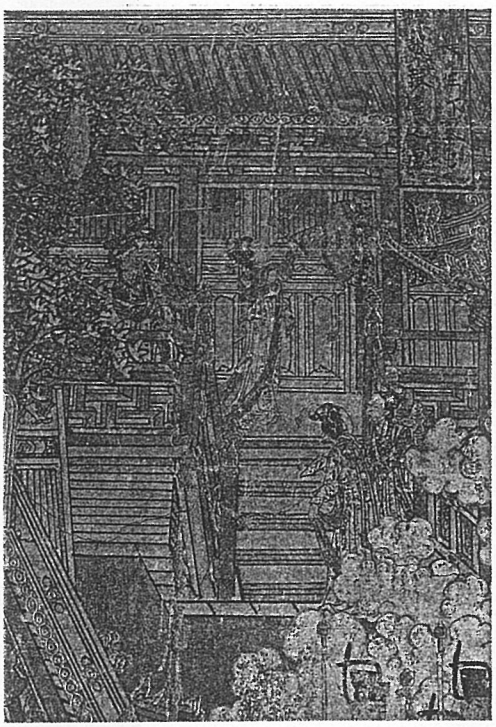


6. Anonymous, *Ching K'o Assassinating the King of Ch'in (Ching K'o ts'u Ch'ing-wang)*, 151 A.D., stone relief, The Wu Liang Shrine, Chia-hsiang, Shantung

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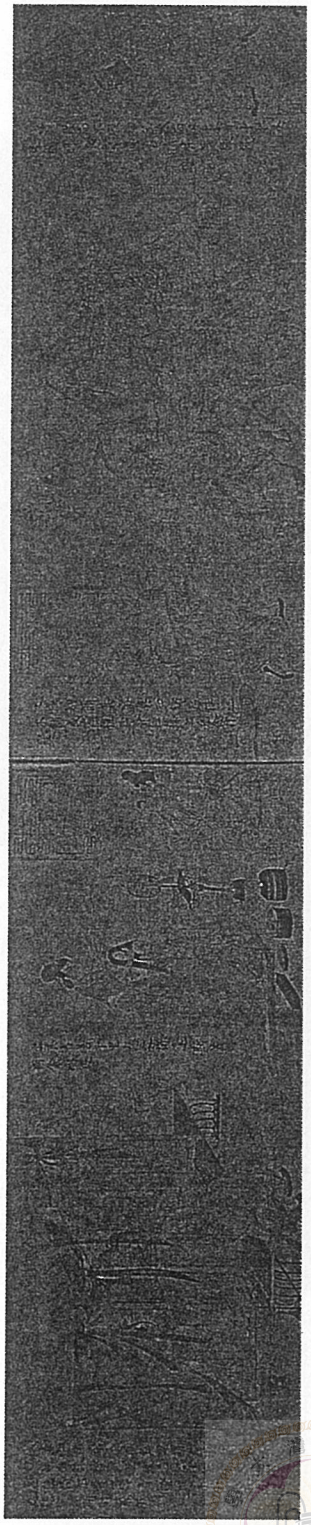


7. Anonymous, *Illustration to the Avalokittesvara Sutra (Kuan-yin ching pien)*, detail, 8th C. Cave 45, Tun-huang



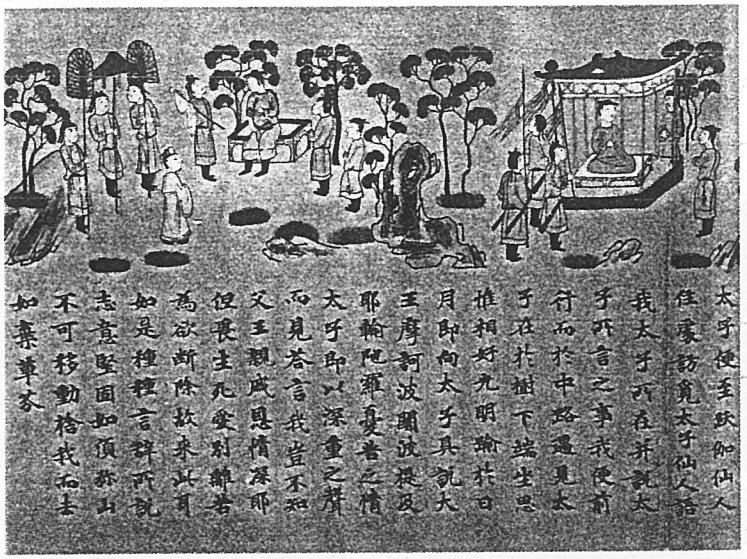
8. Anonymous, *Life of the Buddha (Fo chuan t'u)*, detail, 1167, wall painting, The Yen-shang Temple, Fan-shih, Shansi

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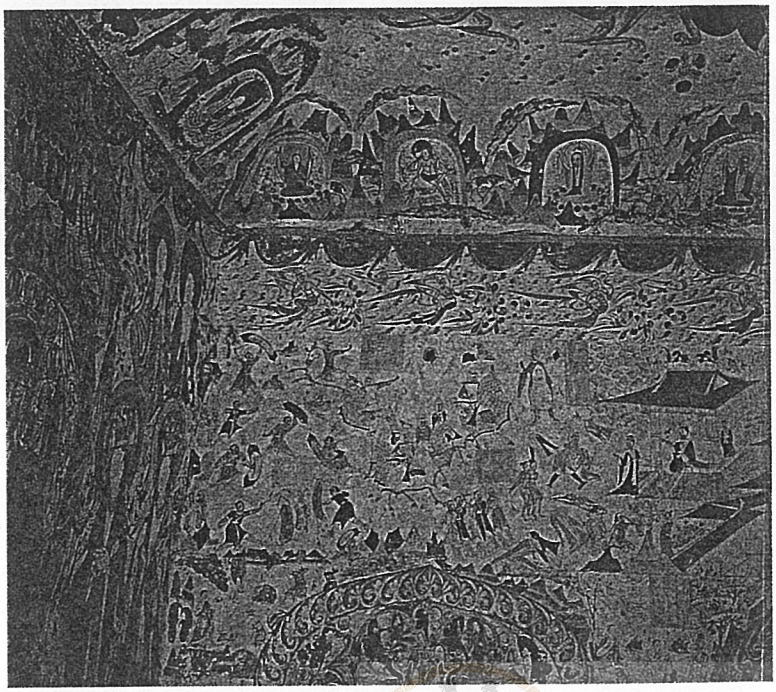


9. Ku K'ai-chih (345~406), attributed, *Admonitions to Court Ladies by an Instructress (Nü-shih chen)*, detail, ca. 8th C. copy, light color on silk, handscroll, The British Museum

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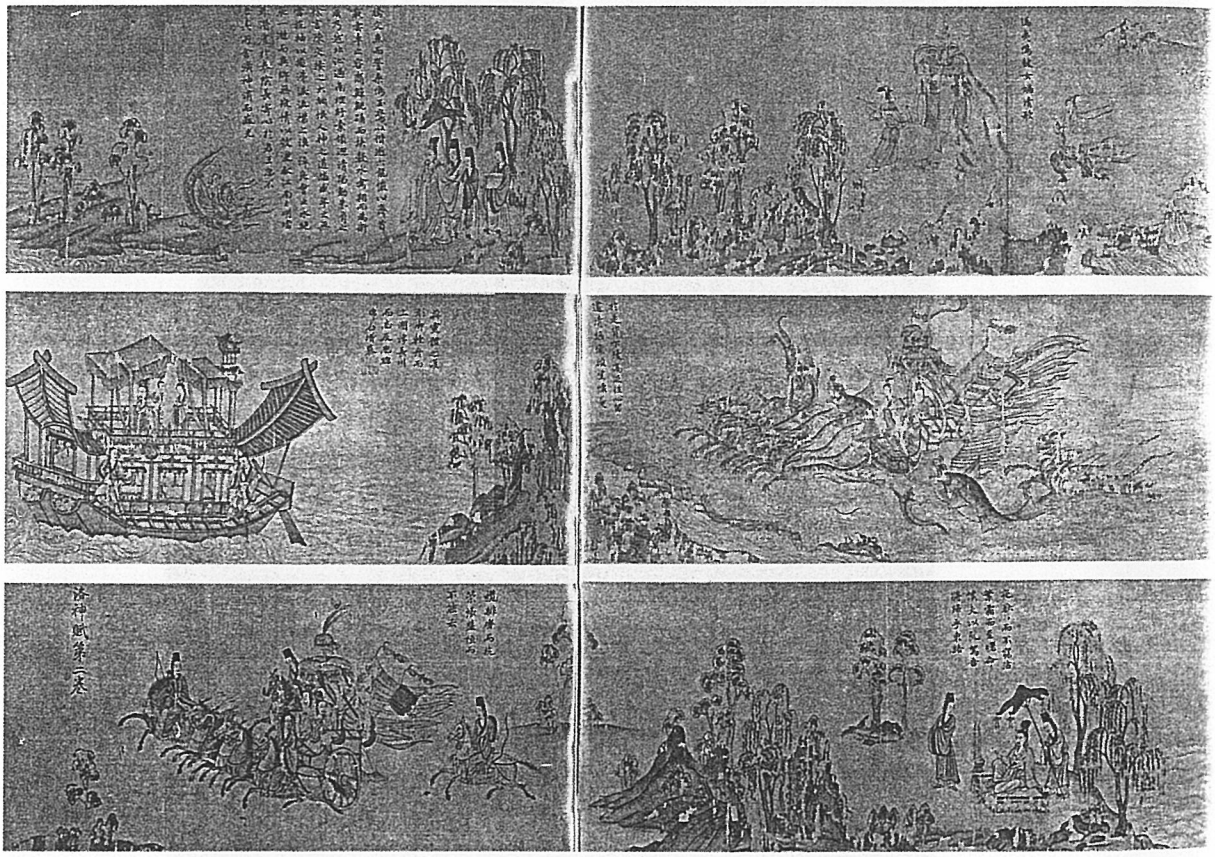


10. Anonymous, *Illustration to the Sutras of Cause and Effect Past and Present (Hui Kuo-chü hsien-tsai yin-kuo ching)*, detail, ca. mid-8th C. copy, light color on silk, handscroll, Kyoto National Museum, Japan



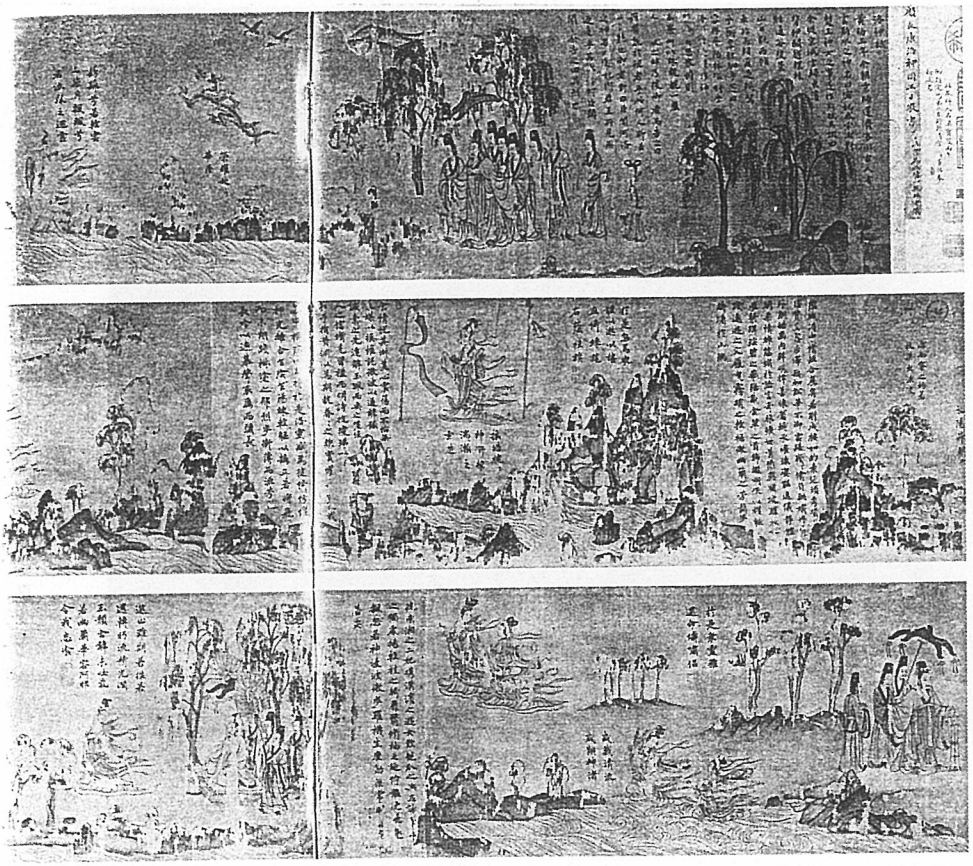
11. Anonymous, *The Five Hundred Robbers (Wu-pai tao-tsei kuei Fo yüan)*, 538-539, wall painting, Cave 285, Tun-huang

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12. Ku K'ai-chih, attributed, *The Goddess of the Lo River (Lo-shen fu t'u)*, detail, ca. 13th C. copy of a late 6th-early 7th C. composition, color on silk, handscroll, The Liao-ning Provincial Museum

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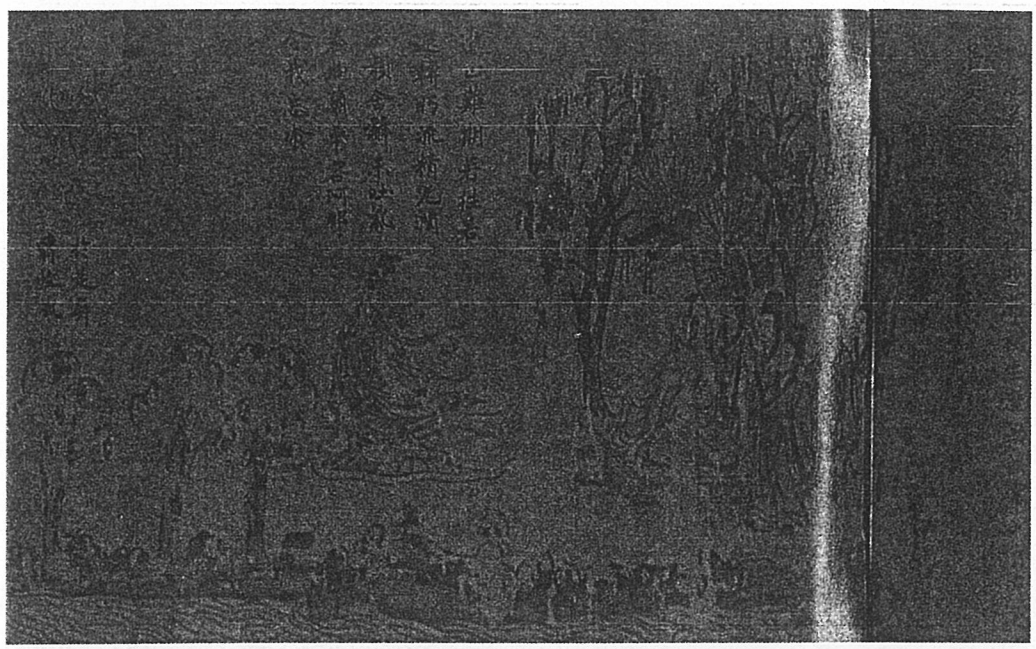
u K'ai-chih, attributed, *The Goddess of the Lo River (Lo-shen fu t'u)*, detail, ca. 13th C. copy of a late th-early 7th C. composition, color on silk, handscroll, The Liao-ning Provincial Museum

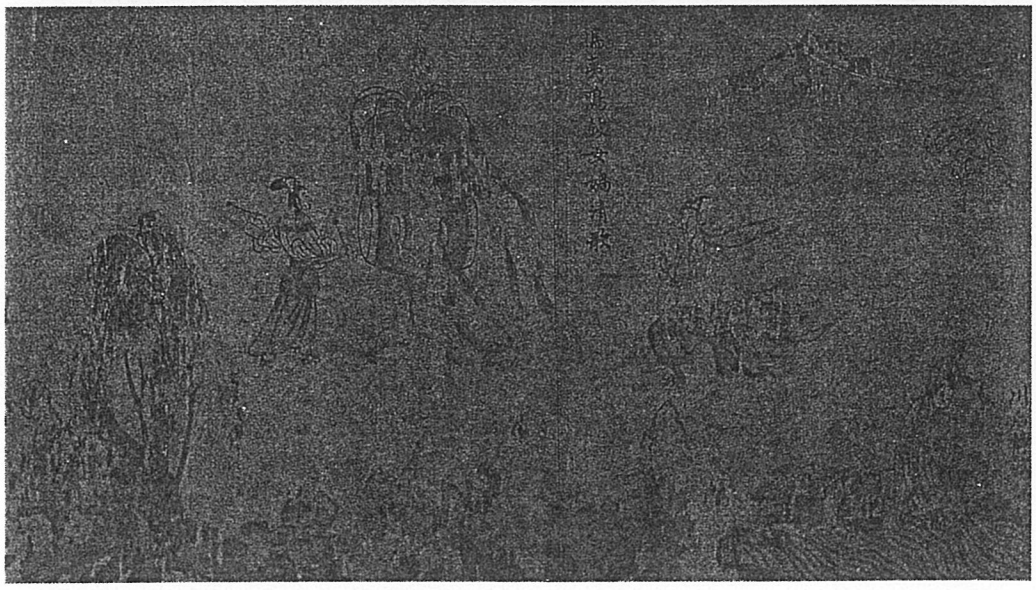
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14. Ku K'ai-chih, attributed, *The Goddess of the Lo River (Lo-shen fu t'u)*, detail, ca. 13th C. copy of a late 6th-early 7th C. composition, color on silk, handscroll, The Liao-ning Provincial Museum

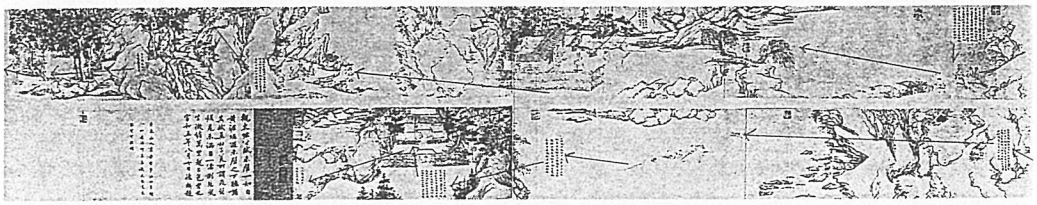
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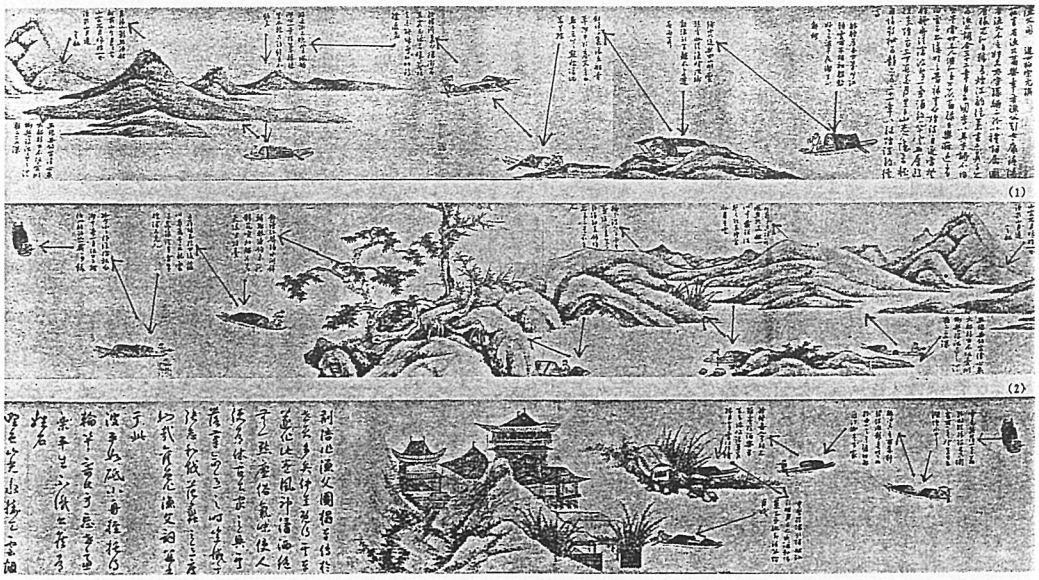


15a,b. Ku K'ai-chih, attributed, *The Goddess of the Lo River (Lo-shen fu t'u)*, detail, ca. 13th C. copy of a late 6th-early 7th C. composition, color on silk, handscroll, The Liao-ning Provincial Museum

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16. Ch'iao Chung-ch'ang (fl. late 11th-early 14th C.), *The Red Cliff (Ch'ih-pi fu)*, undated, detail, ink on paper, handscroll, The Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas

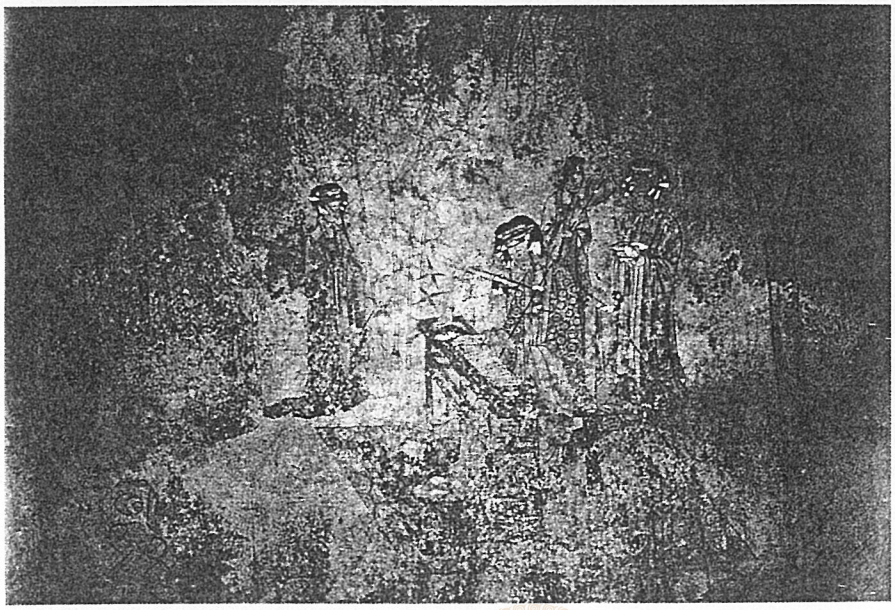


17. Wu Chen (1280-1354), *Fishermen (Yü-fu t'u)*, detail, 1345, ink on paper, handscroll, Shanghai Museum

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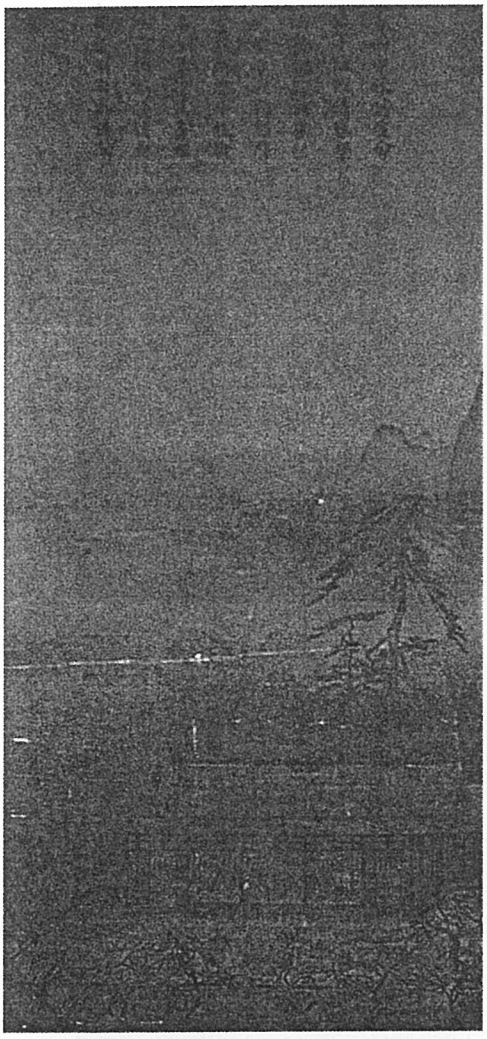


18. Anonymous, *Sending Embroidery (Chi-chin t'u)*, detail, c. 923, wall painting, tomb no.2, Pao-shan, Ch'ih-feng County, Ning-hsia Province



19. Anonymous, *Sutra-chanting (Sung-ching t'u)*, detail, c. 923, wall painting, tomb no. 2, Pao-shan, Ch'ih-feng County, Ning-hsia Province

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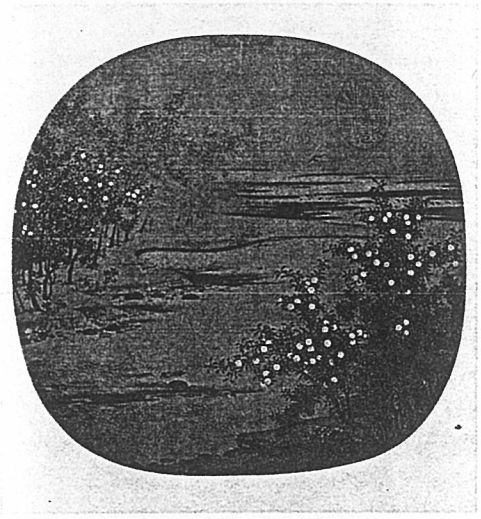


20. Ma Yüan (fl. ca. 1190-1225), *Banquet by Lantern Light (Hua-teng shih-yen)*, undated, light color on silk, hanging scroll, The National Palace Museum, Taipei

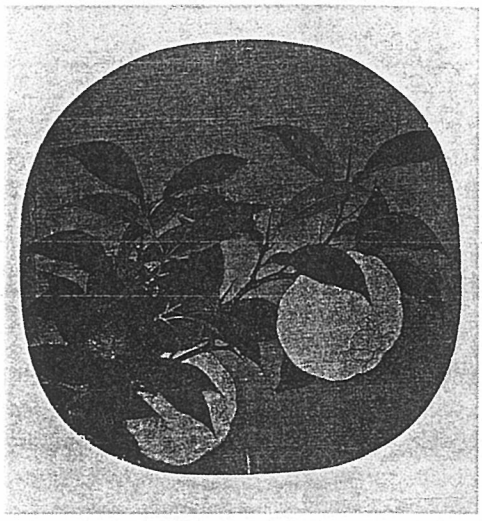


21. Ma Lin (fl. ca. 1216-1256), *Swallows at Dusk (Hsi-yang shan-shui)*, undated, light color on silk, two album leaves mounted as a hanging scroll, Nezu Museum, Japan

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22. Chao Ling-jang (fl. late 11th -early 12th C), attributed, *Orange Yellow and Tangerine Green (Ch'eng-huang chü-lü)*, undated, light color on silk, fan mounted as an album leaf, The National Palace Museum, Taipei



23. Anonymous, *Orange Yellow and Tangerine Green (Ch'eng-huang chü-lü)*, 13th C., light color on silk, fan mounted as an album leaf, The National Palace Museum, Taipei



24. Sung Hui-tsung (1082-1135), *Mountain Birds in a Blossoming Plum Tree (La-mei shan-ch'in)*, undated, light color on silk, hanging scroll, The National Palace Museum, Taipei

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25. Ni Tsan (1301-1374), *The Six Gentlemen (Liu chün-tzu)*, 1345, ink on paper, hanging scroll, Shanghai Museum

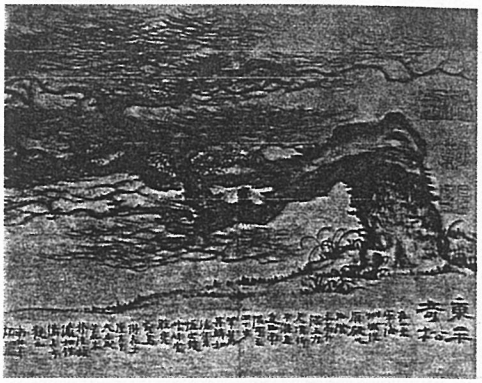


26. Shen Chou (1427-1509), *Night-sitting (Yeh-tso t'u),* 1492, light color on paper, hanging scroll, The National Palace Museum, Taipei

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27. Tai Li (Fl. late 18th C.), *Ink Plum (Mo-mei)*, light color on paper, hanging scroll, formerly The Edward L. Elliott Family Collection





28. Kao Feng-han (1683-1749), *The Fantastic Pine Tree at Tung-mou (Tung-mou ch'i-sung)*, 1734, light color on paper, album leaf, private collection, Hong Kong

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29. Anonymous, *Bodhisattva amongst Clouds (Yün-chung p'u-sa hsiang)*, ca. 8th C. ink on cloth, Shosoin, Nara, Japan

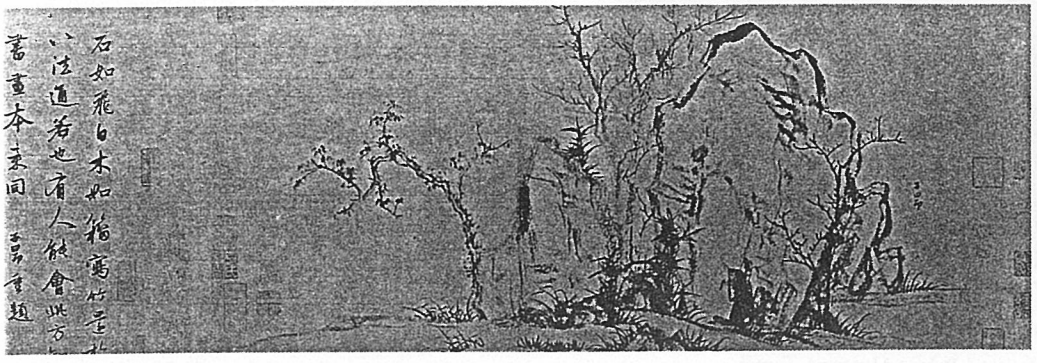


30. Li Kung-lin (1049-1106), attributed, *Five Tribute Horses (Wu-ma t'u)*, detail, datable to 1090, ink on paper, handscroll, private collection, Japan

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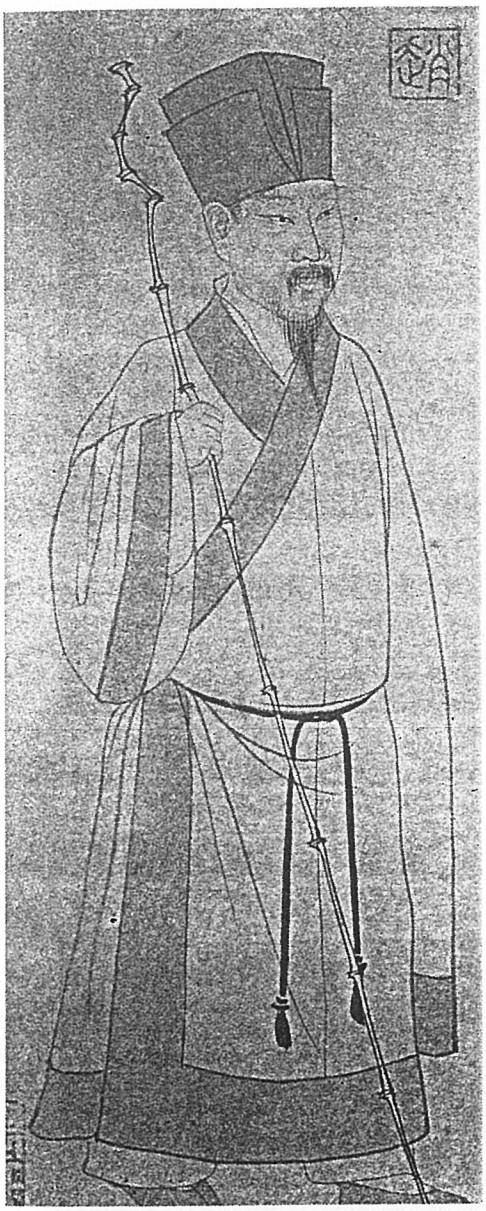


31. Ma Ho-chih (c.s. 1131-1162), *Illustrations of the Book of Odes (Mao-shih t'u)*, detail, color on silk, handscroll, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

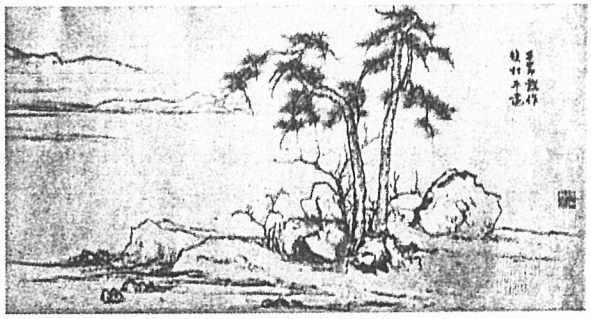


32. Chao Meng-fu (1254-1322), *Bamboo and Rock (Chu-shih t'u)*, undated, ink on paper, handscroll, The Peking Palace Museum

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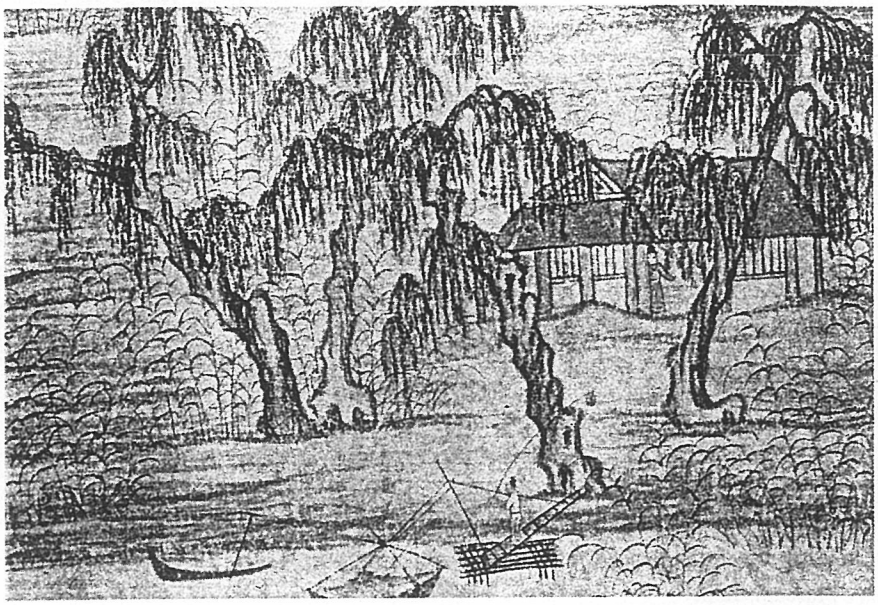


33. Chao Meng-fu, *Portrait of Su Shih (Su Shih hsiang)*, undated, ink on paper, album leaf, The National Palace Museum, Taipei



34. Chao Meng-fu, *Twin Pines against a Flat Vista (Shuang-sung p'ing-yüan)*, detail, undated, ink on paper, handscroll, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

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35. Chao Meng-fu, *Autumn Color in the Ch'üeh and the Hua Mountains (Ch'üeh Hua ch'iu-se)*, detail, 1296, light color on paper, handscroll, The National Palace Museum , Taipei

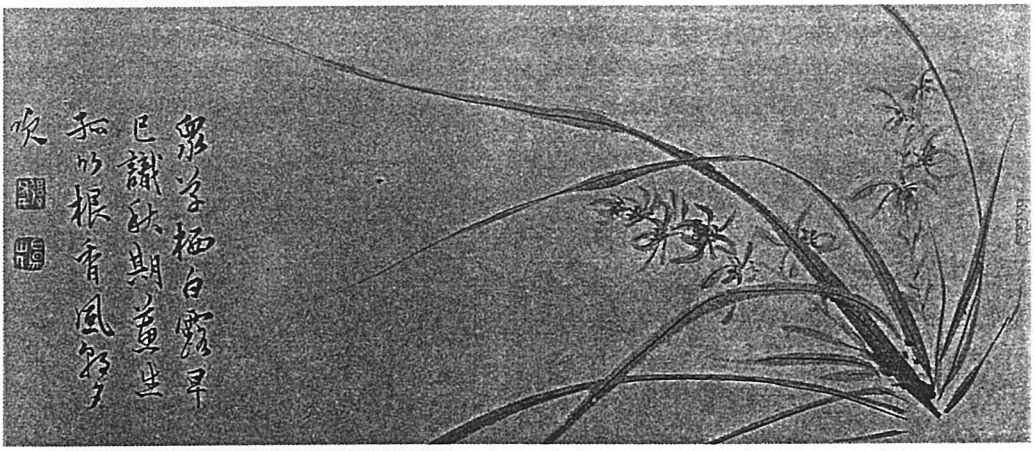


36. Ni Tsan, *The Jung-hsi Studio (Jung-hsi chai)*, 1372, ink on paper, hanging scroll, The National Palace Museum, Taipei

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37. Ch'en Ch'un (1484-1544), *Flowers (Hua-hui chüan)*, detail, 1542, ink on paper, handscroll, The National Palace Museum, Taipei



38. Ch'en Ch'un (1484-1544), *Flowers (Hua-hui chüan)*, detail, 1542, ink on paper, handscroll, The National Palace Museum, Taipei

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39. Shih-t'ao (1642-1707), *The Sixteen Lohans (Shih-liu lo-han)*, detail, 1667, ink on paper, handscroll, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



40. Shih-t'ao, *Peach Blossoms (T'ao-hua)*, datable 1695-1705, color on paper, album leaf, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

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