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Catching Sight of South Mountain: Tao Yuanming, Mount Lu, and the Iconographies of Escape

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To engage with the world or to withdraw from it—that has been the question for philosophically inclined Chinese from very early times. Public service and social responsibility were the goal of education and the core of an immensely powerful state-supported ideology. At the same time, it has long been believed that people of excellent character were really most themselves, and made their greatest contributions, when they could live at a remove from worldly affairs. Disengagement was their natural state of being, and their natural setting a simple place off in the country with nothing to divert them from intellectual or artistic pursuits, the cultivation of mind and body, and contemplation of nature.

The poetry of Tao Yuanming (Tao Qian, 365–427), a reclusive gentleman who quit his official post to live obscurely on a small private farm, is the classic body of writing on life in retirement.[1] In his famous prose-poem "Returning Home" (*Guiqulai Xi Ci*) Tao described his decision to give up his job, his eager journey home, and his expanding sense of pleasure and release as he settled into his rustic retreat; the text became a kind of manifesto of reclusion, both as an ideal way of life and as a moral choice.[2] His fable of the "Peach Blossom Spring" (*Taohua Yuan*) tells of a rural utopia concealed beyond a narrow rock tunnel, found by chance at the farthest reaches of a stream and never to be found again; it represents a wistful fantasy of escape from a troubled world. "Master Five Willows" (*Wuliu Xiansheng Zhuan*), a short essay whimsically summing up his character and principles, and many of his other writings also revolve around themes of solitude, reading, thinking, drinking, freedom, the countryside, the simple life.

These came to be the central ideals of elite private culture in China, and Tao was thought of as their ultimate embodiment; countless later texts summon him up through allusion, paraphrase, and commentary. He has a very strong presence in the visual arts as well. "Returning Home" has been illustrated in painting again and again, as have the "Peach Blossom Spring" and other verses on getting drunk, the rustic life, and favorite natural objects such as chrysanthemums and pine trees (*Figs. 1–3*). Anecdotes about Tao also circulated widely, many of them having to do with his excessive drinking and unconventional behavior; apocryphal or not, these too offered material for pictures made in both elite and popular contexts (*Figs. 20–21*). Motifs and images associated with him were used as decorative designs, attaching his unworldly model to objects of luxury and daily use (*Fig. 13*). All in all, this is certainly the most powerful of Chinese pictorial systems built upon the tradition of an historical individual.

Tao Yuanming imagery has always been understood to represent the ideal of the intimate scholarly retreat; and indeed his poetry is that of a homebody, among fields and gardens, *tianyuan*—sheltered, domesticated spaces (the graphs *tian* and *yuan* are both bordered by square enclosures). But the idea of leaving the world in Chinese culture had another dimension as well: it was closely linked to the idea of withdrawal from mortal life. The choice of living in seclusion was often motivated by, and almost inevitably conducive to, a heightened sense of one's finite life span in the broader scheme of things. This is altogether apparent in Tao's poetry, where the themes of "returning home" and of an "ultimate homecoming" crisscross again and again. Thoughts of mortality preoccupied him deeply: the rushing by of time, the brevity of life, its meaning within its narrow bounds, the onset of old age, and death—its darkness, its imminence, its inevitability. The mortal apprehensions and yearnings that pervade his writings often go unnoticed by readers looking to him as a model of serene self-fulfillment—of a person who knew "how easy it is to be content with a little space," as he said of himself in "Returning Home." Others have understood that his return was a process never really completed—that it was not the garden but the view into the distance that in many ways dominated his thoughts in retirement. As he wrote in another poem, "Again and again I gaze into the distance; / Born into the midst of this dream-illusion...."[3] Although many pictures portray him as snug and contented in his delightful garden (*Fig. 16*), a more troubled, less carefree Tao is also very much in evidence in the pictorial tradition. It may be noted that in many of the images referred to above, Tao is shown looking off into the distance rather than immersed in his immediate surroundings. This is a meaningful detail, one of several that give a corporeal form to his awareness of mortality and his unquiet groping after the idea of an ultimate destination.

The present study takes as its subject the ways in which illustrators of Tao's writings, along with other literary critics, have interpreted these aspects of the iconic poet's mes-

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Fig. 1. Li Gonglin (ca. 1041–1106). Third section of *Tao Yuanming Returning to Seclusion*. Handscroll; ink and color on silk; h. 37 cm, l. 518.5 cm. Freer Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

sage about freeing oneself from the world. It opens with an introduction to the view from his garden—in particular, the view of the nearby Lu mountains ("South Mountain")—as a theme in Tao's writing and in early illustrations. Tao's fifth "Drinking" poem is the key text here and serves as a focus of the discussion throughout. The succeeding two sections consider, in turn, the significance of Mount Lu—itself a symbol of transcendence and release—as a cultural object; and Tao's viewing of it (notably in the fifth "Drinking" poem) as a human experience revisited again and again in later texts and images. The cultural lore of the mountain and the critical exegesis of the text had a reciprocal impact, and this impact has strongly colored the received meaning of both monuments, the mountain and the poem.

1. SOUTH MOUNTAIN IN THE DISTANCE

Of the many points in Tao's writings where thoughts of worldly and otherworldly escape intersect, the most famous occurs in the fifth in his series of "Drinking Wine: Twenty Poems" (*Yinjiu Ershi Shou*). In the opening quatrain the poet speaks of his detachment from the hubbub of the human world; he then goes on to describe a momentary experience at a chrysanthemum patch by the eastern fence of his property, an experience which liberates him even from his place of retreat. It was Tao's custom to make a concoction of chrysanthemums and wine believed to promote longevity; he is going to gather these autumn flowers—thoughts of mortality naturally on his mind—when the sight of a distant mountain catches his attention.

> I built my cottage in a peopled place
> Yet hear no sound of passing carts and horses.
> Would you like to know how this can be?
> If the mind's detached, the place will be remote.
> Gathering chrysanthemums by the eastern fence
> I catch sight of South Mountain in the distance;
> The mountain air is lovely as the sun sets
> And flocks of flying birds return together.
> There's an essential meaning in all this—
> I would explain it, but can't find the words.[4]

This brief lyric is one of Tao's most famous poems and a key text in his tradition. In its image of the poet in a moment of intense but serene awareness, it encapsulates what was understood to be the central meaning of his life and thought. At an early date it was singled out by Xiao Tong (501–531) for inclusion in his *Wen Xuan* (*Anthology of Literature*). Its lines echo through later literature in allusion and paraphrase, and through literary criticism in gloss and commentary. It was a powerful inspiration to later thinkers; as the Ming critic Zhong Xing (1574–1624) wrote a dozen centuries later, "Those two words—'detached mind'—have inspired a thousand generations of famous scholars and lofty souls."[5] The extensive selection of enthusiastic remarks ("seven pages of critical effusions," in James Hightower's words) quoted in *Tao Yuanming Shiwen Huiping*, a compendium of Tao Yuanming criticism, represents but a fraction of the corpus of commentary on the fifth "Drinking" poem.[6] Its reverberations are still to be felt. A phrase from the poem serves as the title of a recent popular annotated edition of Tao's verse, *Nanshan Jiaqi* (*The Lovely Air of South Mountain*).[7] The back cover of another recent book on the history of Tao Yuanming studies refers to Tao by the epithet "the distantly-gathering-chrysanthemums recluse" (*youran caiju de yinshi*).[8] A substantial new monograph on Tao's poetry by

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Charles Yim-tze Kwong treats the fifth "Drinking" poem as key, devoting an entire chapter to it;[9] and the eight-line poem of his own composition, "To Yuanming," with which Kwong prefaces his book, concludes with these images: "The lone pine and fragrant chrysanthemum hum to him in the fresh breeze... / His shadow falls on the southern hills, as they gleam in the evening sun." The title of the present study is the latest, but unlikely to be the last, in this tradition.

My Old Home:

We will not try to put a name to the "essential meaning" or "truth" (*zhenyi*) for which Tao himself, in the fifth "Drinking" poem, had lost or forgotten the words (*wang yan*). A commentator in another, non-verbal medium might do better, and some paintings illustrating the poem—we will return to them below—have captured the current of yearning that flows through it and the *frisson* of revelation on which it turns (*Figs. 3, 18*). We can recognize, though, its nightfall imagery—the decline of the day, and of the year; and its reference to nearby Mount Lu (South Mountain), famed as a refuge of recluses—hermits, monks, immortality-seekers. This is valedictory imagery. Indeed, many motifs to which Tao returns again and again in his poetry—homing birds, sunset, autumn, wine, drifting clouds, evergreen pines—embody thoughts of enfranchisement through transcendence, forgetfulness, death, immortality, and other modes and images of escape.

"South Mountain in the distance" is a particularly vivid emblem of these thoughts. In another poem it stands for his very grave. That poem, untitled, is a meditation on death, lean and forlorn in tone:

> Reluctant days and months will not slow down,
> The year's four seasons jostle one another.
> An icy wind whips up the withered boughs,
> Fallen leaves conceal the long path.
> This frail stuff declines with time's circuit—
> Raven hair turned prematurely white,
> A pallid sign stuck on a man's head.
> The road to go grows ever narrower
> This my house is an inn for travelers
> And I am like the guest about to leave.
> On and on—where should I wish to go?
> My old home is there on South Mountain.[10]

Tao's thoughts turn to South Mountain here with a sense of emptiness and pain; in the fifth "Drinking" poem, with a sense of fullness and serenity. In both, though, South Mountain embodies the ideas of homecoming, death, and release. "Catching sight of South Mountain" may be broadly understood to mean: "thinking of death and otherworldly things."[11]

This image and idea also has a presence in texts where South Mountain is not specifically mentioned. It has often been conjectured or assumed, for instance, that Tao's conception of the remote and privileged "beyond" of the Peach Blossom Spring was directly inspired by Mount Lu. This supposition is stated as fact in a recent book on the Lu region's history and lore by Zhou Luanshu:

> The beautiful scenery of Mount Lu gave the poet the idea of the ideal setting for this ideal society, giving wings to his imagination. There are quite a few Mount Lu vistas that are similar to those in the "Peach Blossom Spring"; for instance, heading north from Mount Lu's Mouthing Po[yang] Outlet, along the path to the Pond of Heaven, there is just this [Peach Blossom Spring] kind of vista.

Zhou goes on to cite a travel account by the late Ming official, writer, and anthologist Cao Xuequan (1574–1646), describing his experiences while travelling in the Lu range. "Traversing one valley farther," Cao wrote, "it was as if I were entering the Peach Spring."[12] Paintings of the Peach Spring utopia, too, commonly represent it in the midst of spectacular mountain scenery suggestive of the Lu range, though nothing of the sort is mentioned in Tao's text.[13] Exotic, fantastic imagery of this nature imbues the Peach Spring story with the air of an immortality fable; it also reflects the paradise associations of Mount Lu itself. In other words, Mount Lu, the Peach Spring land, and paradise are equated with one another.

South Mountain is not mentioned in Tao's "Returning Home" prose-poem, but in a couple of passages its presence can again be intimated. The mood and setting described in the following lines, for instance—a mountain view and homing birds at sundown, a distant gaze—correspond closely to those of the fifth "Drinking" poem:

> Cane in hand I walk and rest
> Occasionally raising my head to gaze into the distance.
> The clouds aimlessly rise from the peaks,
> The birds, weary of flying, know it is time to come home.
> As the sun's rays grow dim and disappear from view
> I walk around a lonely pine tree, stroking it.

It is commonly assumed that the peaks mentioned here are mountains in the Lu range, enveloped with the aura of "essential meanings" Tao spoke of in the fifth "Drinking" poem. This interpretation underlies many remarks in later literature[14] and is also apparent in many pictures, among them the earliest extant illustration of "Returning Home," Li Gonglin's (ca. 1041–1106) *Yuanming Returning to Seclusion* (*Yuanming Guiyin*). Li's handscroll, preserved in an early copy in the Freer Gallery in Washington, D.C., presents a suite of seven pictures alternating with corresponding passages transcribed from the poem. In the third section, illustrating the lines quoted above, Tao is shown standing on a rocky mound by a pine tree as homing birds flutter past a cloudy mountain in the twilit distance (*Fig. 1*). The scene includes a fence; as Elizabeth Brotherton has pointed out, this detail—not mentioned in "Returning Home"—has been imported into the picture from Tao's fifth "Drinking" poem.[15] In the context of a scene of Tao "raising his head to gaze into the distance," the fence motif turns the vista in the background into South Mountain. As a matter of fact, in his poem on a stone engraving based on Li's

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Fig. 2. Li Gonglin (ca. 1041–1106). Seventh section of *Tao Yuanming Returning to Seclusion.* Handscroll; ink and color on silk; h. 37 cm, l. 518.5 cm. Freer Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Returning to Seclusion, the twelfth-century monk Shanquan mentions Mount Lu by name.[16] Other early illustrations of "Returning Home" seem to have led viewers to make the same connection. Discussing a Tang *Returning Home* painting, Mi Fu (1051–1107) remarked on the artist's admirable rendering of South Mountain, obviously taking it for granted that the distant peak was Mount Lu.[17] Like Li Gonglin's painting, this lost Tang scroll may have included elements that reinforced such an assumption.

The presence of South Mountain is perhaps invoked again in the seventh, concluding image of Li's scroll. Tao's figure appears twice in this scene: strolling, staff in hand, on a windy knoll; and dangling his feet in the water, looking off at a rocky peak while a servant stands nearby with a jug of wine (*Fig. 2*). Passing his days thus, Tao wrote in "Returning Home,"

> I manage to accept my lot until the ultimate homecoming.
> Rejoicing in Heaven's command, what is there to doubt?

The distant crag with its wrap of cloud that closes the scroll, carrying South Mountain ideas of ultimate destinations, is Li Gonglin's way of giving pictorial form to Tao's thoughts about life and death. Inklings of the poet's persistent yearnings and unsatisfied hopes are threaded through the very images of his rustic contentment. In the scenes illustrated here, Tao's figure—walking staff in hand, contemplating far-off prospects amid thoughts of solitude, nightfall, and death—embodies a haunting sense of restlessness and longing.

In far more concentrated imagery than "Returning Home," Tao's fifth "Drinking" poem invokes a site of truth and an object of desire beyond the poet's immediate space; and *Scholar of the Eastern Fence* (*Dongli Gaoshi*), a small hanging scroll on silk in the National Palace Museum in Taipei, is similarly focused directly on these South Mountain ideas (*Fig. 3*).[18] This is the earliest extant illustration of the fifth "Drinking" poem. The moment pictured is the turning point of the poem, the central couplet, where the poet's thoughts swerve from the flowers at his garden fence—this world—to the mountain, prospect of another. Tao enacts this moment simply but dramatically: chrysanthemum in one hand, staff trailing in the other, chin slightly raised, he looks off into the distance. It is a small painting, compact and condensed like the fifth "Drinking" poem itself; and like the poem, the image has been widely understood as a cameo of Tao's life. It is easily the most familiar likeness of him; as we will see, it represents the template for a codified Tao Yuanming figure to be repeated again and again in later portraits and narrative compositions.[19]

The scroll is signed "Servant [*chen*] Liang Kai," the name of a painter active at court in the early thirteenth century, but its authorship remains an open question.[20] James Cahill has called it a "Fine early work; original, representing Liang Kai's Academy Period?" On the other hand it has been summarily dismissed by Xu Bangda (who, incidentally, also does not accept as Liang Kai's the famous portrait of the Tang poet Li Bai now in Tokyo).[21] Informally, I have heard it ascribed by other distinguished contemporary scholars to the Southern Song academy, to a Yuan professional painter, and to Ming court circles. But most publications in which it is mentioned or reproduced skirt the question of its date and authenticity—as, in the end, I will here. In my view,

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the work is compatible with many generally accepted late Song paintings and may be taken as representing Liang Kai's time and milieu. Whether an original, a copy, or a later invention in the Song court style, it represents ideas, associations, and meanings that were available to viewers in Liang Kai's time and continuously thereafter.

2. A SHORT CULTURAL HISTORY OF MOUNT LU

Again and again in writings about Tao and in pictures of him, South Mountain stands as a key symbol of his central aspirations—the real, unrealized goals of his retirement. Yet Tao only mentioned the mountain himself a few times; as a matter of fact, there is no reason to think he ever actually set foot in the Lu range. In other words, there is very little in Tao's own life or writing to justify the prominent position it occupies in his later tradition. That prominence derives in part from the mountain's status as a major cultural icon in its own right. Unlike Tao's garden, a personal property and literary construct, Mount Lu is a national one, site of many stories and subject of many texts. Its lore embraced people and events from Tao Yuanming's time and earlier, and continued to expand in later centuries. Religious leaders and communities settled at Mount Lu; poets and writers, officials, recluses, and adventurers toured or sojourned there, and their poems and recollections added layers to the mountain's lore and looped it into other frames of reference. Many of these people were more closely enmeshed in the culture of the place than Tao had been. They lived in the mountain range itself rather than nearby, made purposeful pilgrimages there, and wrote concretely and extensively about its history or scenery. They have a presence in any encounter with its name or its image.

Of course, it is not possible to know in what ways this Mount Lu lore was present to the minds of individual readers or viewers—how much of it, in what combinations, with what degree of detail or generalization, carrying what kinds of affect or personal meaning. But no one was completely oblivious to it. The present section reviews the cultural history of the mountain. As we will see, that history is deeply informed by experiences of the place as locus of escape: haven for recluses and spiritual seekers, abode of transcendent beings and symbol of immortality, and site of revelatory visual experiences. The cumulative historical image of Mount Lu is, in other words, rich in qualities consonant with Tao Yuanming's reaction to it from his eastern fence. As we will also find, it is strongly colored by memories of Tao himself as well. Indeed, a curious text included in a late collection of Mount Lu materials goes so far as to equate the mountain itself with the man. Under the caption "Mount Lu Resembles Yuanming" (*Lushan Si Yuanming*), the author observes that Mount Lu is solitary and independent, like Tao; it produces no goods, as Tao was poor; and "not a day passes that it's not wrapped in clouds and mists, as Yuanming, reclining loftily by his north window, was muddled by drink."[22]

Fig. 3. Liang Kai (act. early 13th c.). *Scholar of the Eastern Fence*. Hanging scroll; ink and color on silk; h. 71.5 cm, w. 36.7 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Hermits and Immortals:

Mount Lu was not one of the cosmological "sacred mountains" of China, the five great peaks (*wuyue*) governing the

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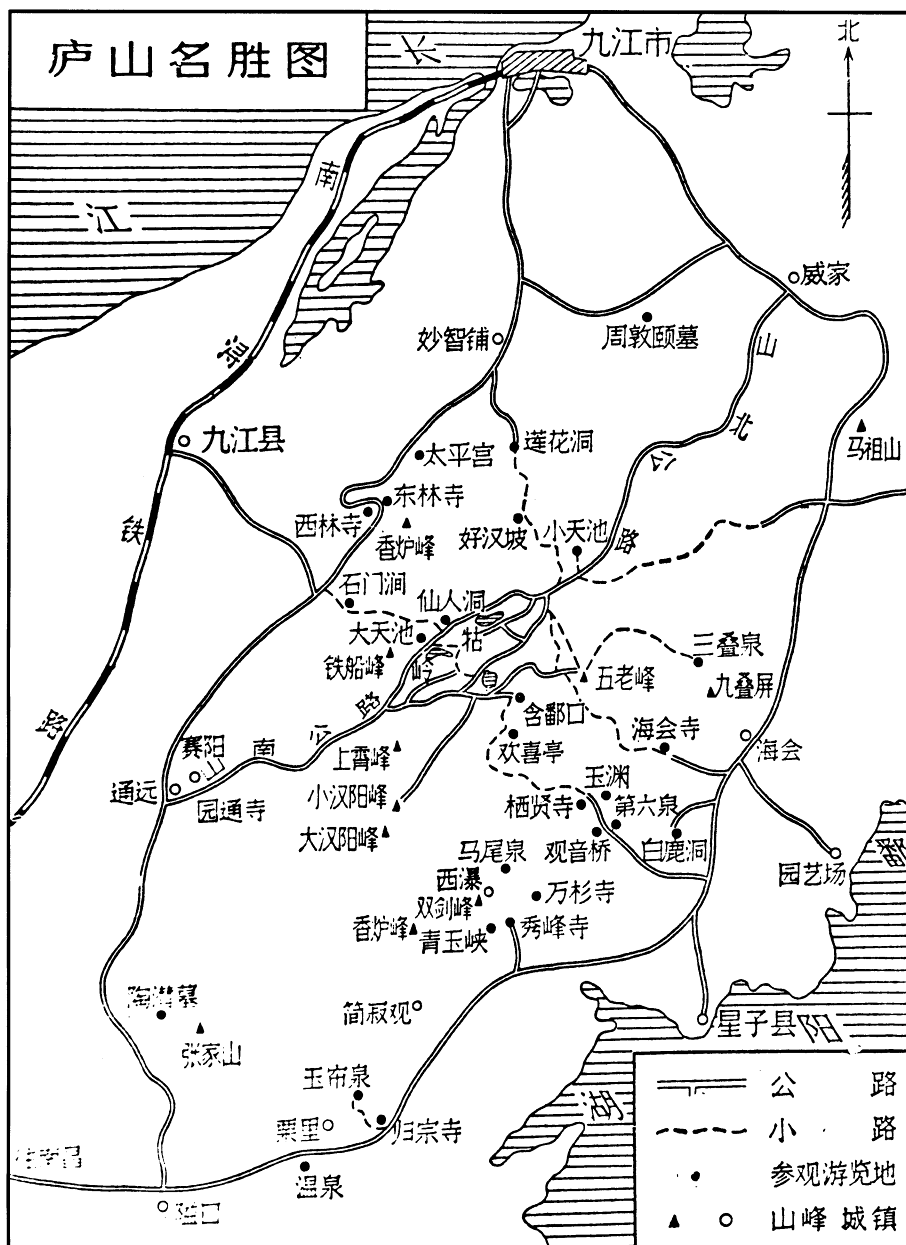

Fig. 4. Map of the Lu mountains (after *Lushan Shihua*).

four points of the compass and the center, vortices of geomantic and sacred energy; it was not in the next tier of the four "garrison" mountains, or among the other peaks associated with imperial ritual visits and sacrifices; it was not one of the three or four mountains of the great Buddhist pilgrimage circuit. It was numbered, however, among the Daoist *dongtian* ("cave-heavens"), a designation which probably reflects a very ancient belief in its sacred nature and explains its early attraction to thinkers and spiritual seekers. A region of densely massed peaks rising in a relatively compact area, the range extends in a broad oval about fifty kilometers northeast to southwest, south of the old city of Xunyang (also known as Jiujiang and Jiangzhou) on the Yangzi River and just west of Lake Poyang's northern reaches (*Fig. 4*). The proximity of the huge lake contributes to the animated, glowing mists and clouds for which the range is famous (*Fig. 5*).[23]

In the Southern Dynasties Mount Lu's literary image was alight with an air of divinity. Tao Yuanming's contemporary Xie Lingyun (385–433) spoke of it as an "immortals' mountain" (*xianshan*), and Jiang Yan (444–505) described it as a place of mythic birds and jade plants, frequented by immortal spirit-beings (*xianling*).[24] In a letter of 439 Bao Zhao (ca. 414–466) wrote breathlessly about the sight of Mount Lu at twilight, deep as Lake Poyang, high as the Milky Way—a nearer prospect of the view Tao had from his eastern fence:

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Fig. 5. Mount Lu. Photograph. From *Lushan* (Beijing: Waiwen, 1983).

> The blossoms of the [mythical] *ruo*-tree were luminous in the evening; a single atmosphere pervaded cliffs and marshes; the brilliant twilight scattered colors; the sky seemed a fiery crimson. Azure clouds were to its left and right; Purple Empyrean Peak was visible inside and out.... Truly it is an abode fit for a god, or the environs of the Celestial Emperor's capital.[25]

Places that seem like gods' abodes attract seekers of transcendent states. Mount Lu was the site of one of the classic early acts of eremitism: early in the Zhou dynasty, in the eleventh century BCE, the proto-Daoist Kuang Su had gone into seclusion there to cultivate the arts of attaining immortality. He built a cottage (*lu*) as his retreat, and from this the mountain took its names (Lushan, Kuangshan, Kuanglushan: "cottage mountain," "Kuang's mountain," "Kuang's cottage mountain").[26] So the idea of a hermit's retreat is built into the mountain's very name, invoked every time it is mentioned (Richard Strassberg's translation, "Hermitage Mountain," captures this association), and ever after it was thought of as a place for self-cultivation and spiritual quest.

By extension, the mountain itself represented the longevity and immortality thought to be a reward of such excellent strivings. Mountains in general suggested longevity in Chinese lore, but Mount Lu's longevity associations were particularly strong and ancient. "Longevity like South Mountain" (*ru Nanshan zhi shou*) was spoken of in the *Classic of Poetry* (*Shijing*), compiled about the sixth century BCE. The trope is echoed in a poem by Cao Cao (155–220): the speaker, an enfranchised spirit and "roaming Immortal" (*you xian*), travels to the Immortals' mountain Kunlun, meets with transcendent beings, eats magic substances, and claims to be "as long-lived as South Mountain" (*shou ru Nanshan*).[27] Local legends also told of Immortals who made their homes among the Mount Lu peaks, among them a three-hundred-year-old man so vital he could pass for thirty.[28] The names of many sites in the Lu range preserve these associations: two of its most famous peaks are Wulao Feng ("Five Elders Peak") and Xianglu Feng ("Censer Peak"; Han-dynasty incense burners were made in the shape of mountains as models of Immortals' realms). The landscape was also glimmering with the auras of local deities and spirits in the early Southern Dynasties period: gods of Mount Lu and of Lake Poyang, with shrines and shamans for their worship and propitiation.[29]

In those days the Mount Lu region was remote from the main institutional centers of China (as it has remained, to some extent); but in the third and fourth centuries it began to develop a complex and dynamic local culture, partly as a consequence of the massive social and intellectual upheavals that followed the fall of the Han dynasty in the early third century. Chang'an and Luoyang, the two great ancient cities of north China, were all but demolished by Xiongnu invaders, and throughout the fourth century the north was fragmented into numerous shifting, overlapping, and quarrelsome kingdoms ruled with few exceptions by non-Chinese clans. Many distinguished northern families moved south to take up residence at Jiankang (modern Nanjing), capital of successive flimsy but Chinese-ruled states known collectively as the Southern Dynasties (317–589), about 250 miles down the Yangzi River from the Mount Lu range. Life in the south was not easy either; the countryside was beset by bandits and uprisings, and political life fraught with intrigue and hazard. Even harder, perhaps, for northerners was their exile to a region alien in climate, scenery, food, customs, and speech, far from their

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Fig. 6. Li Gonglin (ca. 1041–1106), attrib. *Lotus Society*. Hanging scroll; ink and color on silk; h. 92 cm, w. 53.8 cm. Nanjing Museum.

ancestral properties and graves. It is a measure of the turmoil in the north that they made the move.

This brought to the south an infusion of people of talent, education, and wealth; people, it may be added, whose experiences of displacement and disillusionment were likely to dispose them to views compatible with the culture of eremitic retreat—a culture also favored by various other political and intellectual movements of the time.[30] This was in fact one of Mount Lu's heydays; Daoist adepts and Buddhist communities settled there, and scholars, artists, and aristocrats were attracted to the region. The canonical calligrapher Wang Xizhi (303–361) built a temple there, the "Cloud-Gazing Temple" (Zhanyun-si), and the painter Gu Kaizhi (ca. 344–ca. 406) made a picture of one of its famous peaks: *Clearing After Snow, Looking at Five Elders Peak* (*Xueji Wang Wulao Feng*). Gu also painted a *Gathering at Mount Lu* (*Lushan Hui*), a title acknowledging the culture of intellectual community there.[31] The gathering was probably a Buddhist one, perhaps presided over by Gu's contemporary, the monk Huiyuan (334–416).

Huiyuan and the Donglin Buddhists:

Of all the famous people throughout history associated with Mount Lu, Huiyuan is probably the first to come to mind at mention of the place. He contributed significantly to the acceptance and spread of Buddhism in China, especially in elite circles inhospitable to its alien origins and traits. He is also recognized as the founder of the immensely popular Pure Land (Jingtu) sect, whose influential teaching centered on worship of the Buddha Amitābha, presiding Buddha of the Western Paradise, or Pure Land, where devotees hoped to be reborn.

Huiyuan's story is embedded in Mount Lu culture, and has colored the received meaning of the mountain since his time. A native of northern Shanxi Province, he was educated in his youth in Confucian philosophy and versed in Daoist texts as well, before his conversion to Buddhism at about the age of twenty. His command of the Chinese classics served him well as a Buddhist teacher, earning him the respect of lay intellectuals and also furnishing him with tools for crosscultural mediation; an anecdote recorded in the *Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Gaoseng Zhuan*; ca. 530) tells how, as a young monk of twenty-four, he made use of a concept in the Daoist classic *Zhuangzi* to explain Buddhist scripture to a skeptical listener. In the 370s, impelled by the disturbances in the north, Huiyuan—now a famous divine—moved south with a band of his followers. About 380 he decided to settle at Mount Lu. A temple establishment, the Donglin ("East Grove") Monastery, was built for him in 384 at Censer Peak, and there he presided for the rest of his life. Though his was not the first Buddhist establishment at Mount Lu, Huiyuan can be credited with giving the place a definitive reputation as a center of the faith.[32]

The activities of the Donglin community in the early years of the fifth century resonated throughout the later Buddhist tradition. In 402, 123 of Huiyuan's followers made a collective vow before an image of Amitābha, pledging themselves to rebirth in the Pure Land. This is considered the founding moment of the Pure Land sect—an event so important, according to Tsukamoto Zenryū, "that the mere mention of Mt. Lu makes one think of the Buddha-recollection of [Huiyuan's] White Lotus Fellowship."[33] Some years later Huiyuan commissioned the making of an image known as the Buddha's Shadow (*Fo ying*).[34] The completion of the image in 412 was cel-

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ebrated in an inscription by Huiyuan himself, and another inscription in prose and verse, *Fo Ying Ming*, was written at Huiyuan's request by the poet Xie Lingyun. The fame of the Buddha's Shadow was immediate and potent, sanctifying the whole mountain.

As these events indicate, Huiyuan had a great regard for images; his devotional practices emphasized a form of visualization meditation focusing on a concrete object of contemplation. As he practiced it, visualization also took into account the scenery surrounding the images and rituals of the ashram. The mountain setting, long viewed as a favorable environment for worship, became in its own right an object of revelatory contemplation, a potential agent of spiritual insight.[35] Indeed, the Mount Lu range itself is integral to Huiyuan's biography and theology, and to the early development of what Richard Mather has called "landscape Buddhism." According to the *Gaoseng Zhuan*, Huiyuan had in fact been on his way to settle at Mount Luofu near the modern city of Guangzhou—another site of thriving Buddhist and Daoist communities—when, passing through Xunyang, he changed his plans because "he saw that Mt. Lu was pure and tranquil, and a place worthy to appease the mind." The biography continues:

> The *vihara* which Huiyuan had founded fully profited by the beauty of the mountain, with behind and above it the Incense Burner Peak, and bordering on the ravine with the waterfall.... Every spot seen by the eye or trodden by the foot was full of spiritual purity and majesty of atmosphere.[36]

Xie Lingyun's inscription for the Buddha's Shadow suggests that the efficacy of the image is not just enhanced, but almost informed by this setting: "Since this spot has so fair an aspect / The form of the image is also true."[37] At the Donglin Temple, the mountain was simultaneously the site and the object of devotional feeling. With Huiyuan, Mount Lu acquired the standing of a kind of Buddha-mountain, augmenting its longstanding reputation as a place of folk numina and Daoist transcendants.[38]

The integration of Mount Lu setting and Donglin religion is nowhere clearer than in the famous outing of thirty-odd of Huiyuan's followers to a site in the Lu range known as the Stone Gate in spring of the year 400. Their excursion, and the ecstatic revelations they experienced before the grand and mysterious beauty of the scene, were later celebrated by the group in poetry. The preface to this work, "Preface to Poetry on an Excursion to Stone Gate" (*You Shimen Shi Xu*)—unsigned, but possibly written by Huiyuan himself—describes the precarious ascent to the place and the thrilling views on arrival. Especially marvelous were the ever-changing effects of mists and sky, which suggested to the exhilarated climbers the presence of a transcendent being:

> Between the parting and closing [of the clouds], it looked as if there were a numinous being [or beings] there, but we could not clearly distinguish it.... When returning clouds transported it back, we imagined the arrival of a flying Immortal; a plaintive sound reverberated, with the strangeness of mystic tones....

"Truly there is a meaning in all this," the preface goes on to say, "but it is not easy to express in words." As night fell and the whole scene melted away, the climbers experienced a revelation of the "mystery of the universe and the real nature of things. How could the spiritual meaning of all this come solely from the [material nature of] mountains and streams?"[39] In the verses that follow they imagined their bodies feeling lighter, travelling on clouds, glimpsing the Immortals' mountain Kunlun, and disappearing into the void.

The Stone Gate epiphany before the expanse of the Lu mountain range has much in common with the experience of worship of Buddhist images, and Huiyuan's "landscape Buddhism," incorporating ideas and values from native Chinese traditions, appealed strongly to artistically inclined intellectuals.[40] Xie Lingyun represents this distinctive aspect of Donglin culture. A member of a great and wealthy family, Xie came under Huiyuan's influence as a young man; he spent some time at Donglin, and throughout his life was a devout lay Buddhist, widely and deeply read in the scriptures.[41] He was also a passionate mountain-climber, a lifelong mountain-lover, and one of the greatest of the early nature poets; he and Tao Yuanming are considered founders of the genre. People like Xie—participants in both the elite gentry and the Buddhist worlds—made up a significant group among Huiyuan's adherents. Another was Zong Bing (375–443), a painter, scholar, and member of a family of powerful officials. Zong lived at Donglin for an extended period, and his writings include major essays on Buddhism and on landscape painting, paired interests which correspond to the "landscape Buddhism" of Huiyuan's community.[42] Still another was Liu Chengzhi (known as Liu Yimin, "Liu the Hermit," 354–410), who gave up an official career to retire to a life of religious meditation, at once idealistic and easeful, on the mountain; it was he who composed the text of the vow made to Amitābha in 402.

Huiyuan's followers were later referred to as the Lotus Society or White Lotus Society (Lianshe, Bailianshe), after the lotus pond Huiyuan kept in the temple precinct. Thinkers and seekers, participants in seminal religious and intellectual explorations, they represented the flowering of Mount Lu culture; their gatherings at the Donglin compound have been the subject of a number of distinguished paintings, including one attributed to Li Gonglin (*Fig. 6*). The setting is the Donglin Monastery precinct, with lotus pond, altar, and lecture platform laid out in an archaistic map-like design.[43] The various worthies of the Society are gathered about in pairs or in groups, conversing, worshipping, and perusing sutras. At the upper right a monk and a layman, carrying staffs and descending from a climb, remind

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Fig. 7. Dong Bangda (1699–1769). *Mount Lu.* Handscroll; ink and color on paper; h. 38.9 cm, l. 310.2 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Reproduced with permission, ©2000 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. All rights reserved.

viewers that the mountain itself is the locus of this religious activity.[44]

From where Tao Yuanming stood at his eastern fence, the Mount Lu institutions and events described here seem truly to have been "in the distance." There is no reason to think he ever met Huiyuan, and he seems to have had little to do with the Donglin Buddhists, though he was acquainted with some of them. Furthermore, compared with other philosophically inclined writers of the time such as Zong Bing and Xie Lingyun, Tao's writings show hardly a trace of Buddhist thought—a point that Confucian partisans in later times, claiming him as one of their own, liked to stress. All the same, Tao and Huiyuan are sometimes assumed to have been acquainted, and Tao is even said to have been a member of the White Lotus fellowship. He is, in fact, present at the Donglin compound in the picture illustrated here, riding in a sedan-chair in the foreground (*Fig. 6*).[45] And indeed, Huiyuan was active and at the height of his fame during the period of Tao Yuanming's own maturity; when Tao "caught sight of South Mountain in the distance," thoughts of the Donglin community may actually have crossed his mind, liminally or otherwise. Nor can the later tradition pairing the two great Eastern Jin recluses be dismissed as altogether farfetched. The cult of nature, and in particular of Mount Lu, as a source and site of purification and spiritual release was a diffuse phenomenon emerging in the region by the turn of the fifth century, and the experiences and insights that the monk and the poet derived from the mountain are not without similarities. In his "Stone Gate" preface Huiyuan (assuming that he was the author) said of the spectacular mountain scene, "Truly there is a meaning in all this, but it is not easy to express in words."[46] In thought and language, the line is uncannily similar to the last couplet of Tao's fifth "Drinking" poem: "There's an essential meaning in all this / I would explain it, but can't find the words." A common vision links these two contemporary, independent accounts of moments of revelation in the Mount Lu twilight.

Poets and Scholars:

These and many other famous figures of the Southern Dynasties established Mount Lu as a center of recluse culture, and ever since it has been a symbol and pilgrimage center for people wishing to align themselves with the values of Huiyuan, Tao Yuanming, Xie Lingyun, and their peers. The mountain's literary prestige swelled in the Tang dynasty with Li Bai (701–762) and Bai Juyi (772–846), among others, who visited or stayed there and wrote some of their best-remembered poems about the region. Li Bai wrote over twenty, many of them describing the supernatural aura of the place. In his "Ballad of Mount Lu" (*Lushan Yao*) he sings ecstatically of the mountain's numinous air, and speaks of eating the immortality drug cinnabar, sighting cloudborne transcendants, and making his own celestial journeys as well. Though flush with exotic Daoist images and far more sensual, his experiences recall those of Huiyuan and his party at the Stone Gate centuries before.[47] Li's famous poem on "Looking at the Waterfall at Mount Lu" (*Wang Lushan Pubushui*), describing its dynamic grandeur and magnificence, became a central text in the Mount Lu tradition.[48] Thereafter the waterfall was a special attraction for visitors to the mountain, who often wrote about it invoking Li Bai's lines; it is also a regular feature in Mount Lu paintings, usually accompanied by a gazing figure (*Figs. 8, 9, 11*).[49]

In a somewhat more intimate vein than Li Bai and closer in feeling to Tao Yuanming, Bai Juyi's account of his "Thatched Hut at Mount Lu" (*Lushan Caotang Ji*), which he built facing Censer Peak in 817, consolidated the idea of Mount Lu as a place of scholarly reclusion. Bai describes his retreat and its surroundings in loving detail; as it was with Huiyuan's Donglin Temple, the beauty of the mountain setting is at the heart of Bai's experience of the place.[50] "The tired bird now has a luxuriant tree!" he wrote, with Tao Yuanming's homing birds in mind, in a poem celebrating his newly built cottage.[51] He wrote many other

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verses on the Lu mountains, some of them mentioning Tao or in imitation of his style. Along with the old Eastern Jin temples, Li's waterfall and Bai's cottage became tourist and pilgrimage sites, and matter for a continually expanding Mount Lu literature.

The uneasy political climate of the late Northern Song brought a new influx of visitors and sojourners to the Lu range, among them some of the leading figures in the fierce ideological controversies of the period. It was a harrowing time for these people, as rival factions alternated in positions of power. Some of those in disfavor were banished for years to remote regions, others withdrew into obscurity. The experience of exile, voluntary or compelled, tinged the intellectual history of the period in many ways. Among other things, it stimulated a new attention to historical figures known for their lot of exile or withdrawal during politically troubled times, and to Mount Lu, which had come to epitomize retreat culture. Su Shi (1037–1101) stopped there on his return from exile in 1084; like so many earlier visitors (and prompted, no doubt, by their accounts), he was deeply impressed by the numinous aura of the place. The conversations he had at the Donglin Temple with the Chan monk Changcong touched on perceptions of the Buddha's form manifest in the mountain, echoing the landscape epiphanies of the Donglin Buddhism of Huiyuan's day. These revelations of the universal and sacred nature of Mount Lu—its Buddha-like nature—are a subtext of the poem he inscribed on the wall of the Xilin-si (Western Grove Temple), a companion institution to the Donglin. It is a famous quatrain:

> Seen straight on, a range; from the side, a peak—
> Far, near, high, low, it is never the same.
> You cannot know the true face of Mount Lu
> Because you are in the mountain's midst.[52]

Other distinguished Mount Lu visitors of the time included Song Di (ca. 1013–ca. 1080), Zhou Dunyi (1017–1073), Su Shi's brother Su Che (1039–1112), Zhang Shangying (1043–1121), and Chen Guan (1057–1122).[53] Several of them, alienated or in political trouble, made lengthy retreats there. Indeed, the scholar Liu Ningzhi (Liu Huan, 1000–1080) made his name as a Mount Lu retiree, leaving his official post to move there for life at the age of forty, modelling himself on Tao Yuanming's example, and so winning the high regard of his contemporaries. Ouyang Xiu's (1007–1072) "The Grandeur of Mount Lu" (*Lushan Gao*), one of the most famous of Mount Lu poems, was written for him. Li Gonglin painted a picture of Liu on oxback—apparently his preferred way of getting about in the mountains—and Huang Tingjian (1045–1105) inscribed it with a poem extolling his highminded reclusion. In another work Li depicted Liu riding an ox with his friend Chen Shunyu (d. 1074), and both Liu and Chen composed poems for it.[54] Chen Shunyu, in fact, was the first great chronicler of the Lu mountains. His *Record of Mount Lu* (*Lushan Ji*) describes its famous sites and the personages and events connected with them. The text includes tour guides, historical anecdotes, and religious lore, bringing together an extensive collection of writings and inscriptions associated with Mount Lu and consolidating its status as a cultural entity.[55]

Confucian academies had a presence at Mount Lu as well. Particularly famous was the White Deer Grotto Academy (Bailudong Shuyuan), named for the place where two reclusive brothers had lived for a time in the Tang dynasty, keeping a white deer as a pet; Zhu Xi (1130–1200), serving as prefect at Nankang, undertook to restore and promote it.[56] The scenic beauty of the Mount Lu setting began to take a place in the culture of these academies, in the spirit of Bai Juyi's thatched study—and, indeed, of Tao Yuanming's garden, which was continually recalled. Among Zhu Xi's Mount Lu writings is a "Returning Home Hall" (*Guiqulai Guan*) poem; the title is incised on a "Drunken Rock" (*Zuishi*) at a nearby site where, it was said, Tao had once passed out. Zhu speaks of his feeling of kinship with Tao, whose story never fails to fill him with admiration, of the beauty of the scenery, and of his wish to

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Fig. 8. Shen Zhou (1427–1509). *The Grandeur of Mount Lu*. Dated to 1467. Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper; h. 84.8 cm, w. 21.8 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

> Build my hut among these blue-green peaks,
> Raise a cup to pour a libation in a stream,
> Give a long whistle, imitating the wind,
> And rough out a "Returning" essay.[57]

Indeed, though the history and traditions of Mount Lu during Tang and Song competed with and to some extent eclipsed those of Tao Yuanming's day, at the same time they reinforced and authenticated them by constantly invoking them and laying claim to their legacy.[58]

It was, in fact, during the late Northern Song period, and largely in the circles of embattled scholar-officials and Mount Lu tourists of the time, that Tao Yuanming's reputation definitively moved into the central position it has enjoyed ever since. In his account of a four-day visit to Mount Lu, the Jiangxi native Zeng Gong (1019–1083) set down his thoughts about Huiyuan and his followers, Tao Yuanming, and the reclusive life. In Tao, he wrote, reclusion found its ideal form; the Buddhists, adherents of an alien religion, "could not match him." Nor could Zeng himself; the best he could do was share the poet's enjoyment of the landscape.[59] Su Shi liked to think of himself as Tao's reincarnation, and maintained an ongoing creative dialogue with Tao's oeuvre. The bruising experiences of his own life certainly intensified his appreciation of Tao; the poetry he wrote in exile, notably his eight "Eastern Slope" poems, circle and probe Tao's memory.[60] Tao had many other passionate fans among the great minds of the time, among them Li Gonglin, painter of the early handscroll illustration of "Returning Home" discussed above (*Figs. 1, 2*). Another was Huang Tingjian, who as a teenager used to go on country rambles taking a volume of Tao's poetry along for company; he admitted to a special sympathy with Tao's drinking habits.[61] Chao Buzhi (1053–1110), like his friend Su Shi affecting the guise of Tao's reincarnation, took "Master Returning Home" as his *hao*; during the years 1102–1109, when he was politically out of favor, he built himself a "Cottage of Master Returning Home" in emulation of Tao's retreat. The poet Li Qingzhao (1084–after 1151) and her husband Zhao Mingcheng (1081–1129), both great admirers of Tao, also had a "Returning Home" hall in their home. Writing in 1132 about their sufferings and catastrophic losses through the collapse of the Northern Song, Li was moved by the model of Tao's unworldliness and contented poverty.[62]

Picturing Mount Lu:

The foregoing is a sketch of some of the highlights of Mount Lu culture through the Song dynasty. In the following centuries, of course, visits by famous and articulate people multiplied and memorable monuments and texts continued to accrue to the mountain. While we will not examine it further here, two late documents—a painting and a travel account—may serve to suggest the density of accumulated local lore by mid-Qing times. A handscroll now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, painted by Dong Bangda (1699–1769) for the Qianlong emperor (r. 1736–1795), depicts the dramatic Mount Lu landscape, with the wildly tossing waters of Lake Poyang that open the scroll giving place to the even more twisting, heaving peaks and ridges of the range (*Fig. 7*). But the scenery seems minia-

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turized and preternaturally lucid, as if seen in a viewfinder; the famous Mount Lu mists emphasized in many paintings (*Figs. 8–10*) are absent from Dong's scene, perhaps because the emperor, who never visited Mount Lu, wanted an unobstructed depiction of its landscape and monuments. Indeed, the painting is less a view of the place than a cultural topography of it, studded with temples and other structures, with cartouches identifying famous scenic and historical spots.[63]

A comparably encyclopaedic overview of the mountain is to be found in Yun Jing's (1757–1817) *Record of Travelling in the Lu Mountains* (*You Lushan Ji*). Yun toured Mount Lu for several days in the spring of 1813, visiting both natural wonders and historic sites; his *Record* is a verbal version of Dong Bangda's map-like picture. Yun was a serious sightseer, and parts of his account read almost like a brochure for one of today's five-day whirlwind tours crammed with don't-miss monuments and scenic spots. His itinerary for one day, 13 April, is typical:

> I went to White Deer Grotto and gazed from there at Five Elders Peak. I passed through the Lesser Three Gorges and stayed at the Pavilion Facing the Mountain Alone. I had the doors unlocked and stopped briefly at the Hall for Literary Gatherings.... I followed the Stream That Threads Through the Dao past Fishing Terrace Rock and Sleeping Deer Field. Turning to the right I reached the rear of the mountain, where tens of thousands of pines and firs formed a "roof beam" across the feet of Five Elders Peak.[64]

Over the next few days Yun enjoyed a distant view of the town of Pengze, where Tao Yuanming had held his last job before retiring, admired the White Crane Temple, visited Wang Xizhi's Cloud-Gazing Temple and Ink-Washing Pond, gazed on Censer Peak and the renowned waterfall "cascading in the midst of the sky," and tried unsuccessfully to find Li Bai's studio, among much else. The Mount Lu of Dong Bangda and Yun Jing has become a welter of names, thoroughly claimed by its human history.

That human history is made up of the experiences of famous visitors and residents, from Tao Yuanming and Huiyuan to Li Bai, Su Shi, and a great many others. Many Mount Lu place names are traces of those experiences of exhilaration and illumination, and Dong's and Yun's notations of those names are really records of the mountain's power as an object of revelatory contemplation and a source of liberating insights. Indeed, pictures of Mount Lu stand out among the paintings of specific famous mountains or "named mountains" (*mingshan*), pivots of geography and culture. They appear early in the tradition of named-moun-

Fig. 9. Shitao (1642–1707). *Waterfall at Mount Lu.* Hanging scroll; ink and color on silk; h. 209.7 cm, w. 62.2 cm. Sen'oku Hakkokan, Kyoto.

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Fig. 10. Yujian (13th c.). *Mount Lu.* Fragment of a handscroll; ink on silk; h. 35 cm, w. 62 cm. Yoshikawa Eiji collection, Tokyo. From *Suiboku Bijutsu Taikei*, vol. 3, pls. 18-19.

tain painting in China; over time they have been especially numerous, and they are often especially compelling visions of the grand energies of heaven and earth.[65] The spectacular Mount Lu paintings by Shen Zhou (1427–1509) and Shitao (or Daoji, 1642–1707) are well-known and often-reproduced examples (*Figs. 8, 9*).[66] The densely packed mountain masses of Shen's *Grandeur of Mount Lu* vibrate with elemental energies, while in Shitao's *Waterfall at Mount Lu* the peaks loom as radiant apparitions in space. Anne Burkus-Chasson has described the latter painting as an exploration of visuality and visual experience; the light, as she notes, appears "supernatural," and the cloud an "auspicious sign of a divine presence."[67] Ouyang Xiu's "Grandeur of Mount Lu" is transcribed on Shen's painting, Li Bai's "Ballad of Mount Lu" on Shitao's; in both, the presence of a deeply absorbed, thoughtful observer incorporates into the image of the mountain a reminder of its powerful message for the human mind.

The earliest Mount Lu painting extant—a short handscroll by Yujian, an obscure monk-painter of the late Southern Song, close to Liang Kai's time—seems to take as its very theme the idea of the mountain's revelatory potency. Yujian's scroll now survives in two fragments, but the intact original composition is known from a copy in the Nezu Art Museum in Tokyo (*Figs. 10, 11*).[68] To the right, the mountain rises in grand rounded humps from a sea of dense mist. In the left-hand portion of the scroll, preserved in a smaller and lesser-known fragment, Li Bai's huge waterfall cascades down the mountain's left flank. An inscribed quatrain alludes ruefully to Huiyuan and his long-gone community, and indeed there are no figures or buildings in the painting, only the mountain itself. Yujian was a master of an improvisatory "splattered ink" (*pomo*) style associated with Chan concepts of sudden enlightenment, and his Mount Lu is a visionary landscape, apparition-like in the mist.[69]

Mount Lu's iconic status in religious and literary traditions, and its role as an object of meaningful contemplation in both of them, found formal expression in an unusual Buddhist triptych by a fifteenth-century Japanese painter, Chū'an Shinkō (*Fig. 12*). The conventional triadic Buddhist assemblage of such triptychs usually centers on an image of the Buddha or other major deity, such as the bodhisattva Guanyin; flanking panels hold attendant deities or devotees. In a distinctive Chan tradition familiar today mainly from Japanese examples but practiced in China as well, the flanking portions of triptychs may show landscapes with figures or other quasi-secular subjects.[70] The center panel of the triptych in question shows the bodhisattva Guanyin in a white robe seated on a rock overlooking water, a guise of the deity favored in Chan art. The right-hand panel is a picture of Tao Yuanming holding his staff and gazing off to the left, in a composition much like Liang Kai's *Scholar of the Eastern Fence*; a cluster of flowers grows at his feet, and a slender peak rises in the distance. In the left-hand panel Li Bai is seated on a ledge, looking to the right where, in the background, a long waterfall pours down a mountainside.[71] It is a common trope in Chinese Buddhist art to show Daoists and Confucians acknowledging the superiority of Buddhist teachings in some way.[72] Li Bai's encounters with Immortals on the mountain and Tao Yuanming's Confucian withdrawal to the farmlands nearby stand for the two indigenous Chinese traditions here. Framed by the vertical lines of Li's waterfall and Tao's mountain, the white-robed Guanyin is inescapably presented as a simulacrum of Mount Lu itself. In the form of the bodhisattva, the mountain manifests itself as the agent and site of release, contemplated by the two gazing Mount Lu poets.

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Fig. 11. Yujian (13th c.). *Mount Lu* (copy). Nezu Art Museum, Tokyo. From *Suiboku Bijutsu Taikei*, vol. 3, supp. fig. 38.

3. PICTURING CATCHING SIGHT

For all its resonance and power, Mount Lu is not pictured in Liang Kai's *Scholar of the Eastern Fence*; nothing of the revelatory view before the poet is shown. All we are given is his act of "catching sight."

On Sight and Insight:

Tao Yuanming's sighting of South Mountain has been a subject of intense interest ever since a variant version of his fifth "Drinking" poem caught the attention of Su Shi. Su noticed that in place of the verb *jian*, here translated "catch sight of," suggesting a sudden, spontaneous flash of perception, some editions had substituted *wang*, "look at" or "gaze at," a word which implies prolonged, purposeful surveying and contemplation. To Su, this variant perverted the meaning of the poem. As he glossed the couplet:

> "Gathering chrysanthemums by the eastern fence / I catch sight of South Mountain in the distance": as he was gathering chrysanthemums he caught sight of the mountain, and the scene corresponded to his thoughts. This sentence is a great marvel. In recent years common editions all have "gaze at South Mountain"; the inspired air (*shenqi*) of the piece is completely dispersed. The old master brought his conceptions to bear in deep and subtle ways, but common scholars, who tend to be careless, have altered his conception. It's a big mistake.[73]

Su Shi's remarks on this variant and his preference for the verb *jian* were cited again and again by later critics, always with approval, and became the focus of a continuing discussion on the meaning of the poem and its central episode. The literature on this point is too extensive (and too repetitive) to review in detail; a couple of passages may convey the gist and tone of it. The following is by Su's friend Chao Buzhi:

> As Dongpo (Su Shi) said, Tao Yuanming was not concerned with poetry for itself; he used poetry as something in which to lodge his thoughts. "Gathering chrysanthemums by the eastern fence / I gaze at (*wang*) South Mountain in the distance"—that would be a matter of gathering chrysanthemums and also gazing at the mountain. The idea is all summed up here, there's nothing left out—this is not Yuanming's conception. Whereas "Gathering chrysanthemums by the eastern fence / I catch sight of (*jian*) South Mountain in the distance" is basically gathering chrysanthemums without any idea of looking at the mountain, happening to lift up his head and catch sight of it, and so, [his mind] far away, forgetting himself and feeling at peace.[74]

The matter is taken up again in a passage cited in *Shiren Yuxie* (*Jade Chips of the Poets*, prefaced in 1244) deploring the currency of the *wang* error, even among highly distinguished writers:

> On Yuanming's "Gathering chrysanthemums by the eastern fence / I catch sight of South Mountain in the distance," Dongpo observed that ignorant people took the *jian* to be *wang*. They can't tell the difference between an ordinary stone and a piece of precious jade! In Letian's [Bai Juyi] imitation of Yuanming's poem, I've noticed, there are the lines "Now and then I pour out a cup of wine / Sitting and gazing at (*wang*) east South Mountain," so it's evident this error has been common for a long time. Only Wei Suzhou [Wei Yingwu, 737–ca. 792], in his response to a poem by Deputy Pei Shui of Chang'an, wrote: "Gathering chrysanthemums, the dew not yet dry / Raising the head, catch sight of (*jian*) the autumn mountains." We can see he really attained Yuanming's poetic idea. Dongpo's comment is on the mark.[75]

The contrast is between the static, fixed "sit and gaze" and the dynamic, spontaneous "raise head, catch sight." In a word, as the seventeenth-century commentator Wu Qi (1615–1675) put it: "*Wang* is intentional; *jian* is unintentional."[76]

It may be noted that the high regard for a poetic vision that is glancing and intuitive, rather than concrete and fully spelled out, is to be found in Song criticism of pictures as well. The intuitive mode is commended in a well-known

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Fig. 12. Chū'an Shinkō (act. mid-15th c.). *White-Robed Kannon* triptych. Hanging scrolls; ink on silk; h. 125 cm, w. 48 cm (each). Sansō collection, Claremont, California.

conversation about Li Gonglin's painting of the Han dynasty general Li Guang drawing his bow and taking aim at an adversary who was chasing him. Huang Tingjian was discussing the painting with Li Gonglin. As Huang reported the interchange:

> When you followed the path the arrow would take if released, you saw that the enemy horseman would be hit and fall. Gonglin said to me with a smile: "If an ordinary artisan had done this painting, he would certainly have made the arrow actually strike the pursuing horseman."[77]

Intuition, process, potentiality—something "left out"—are valued over explicitness and finality. One may say the comparison made in this exchange is between the *jian* and *wang* of archery.

Su Shi's critical interpretation of Tao's sighting of South Mountain, insisting on the idea of abrupt, unplanned apprehension of meaning, is related to Chan concepts of sudden revelation, concepts in which Su was keenly interested.[78] In texts bearing on Buddhist meditation practices, the verbs *wang* or *guan* ("inspect," "view") imply the hope for a vision;

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Fig. 13. Covered box (14th c.). Carved lacquer; diam. 12 cm. Shanghai Museum. From Shen Zhiyu, *The Shanghai Museum of Art* (New York: Abrams, 1983), pl. 197.

jian delivers it. And as Wang Shumin has pointed out (for modern scholars are still mulling these questions), the word *jian* also engages Daoist concepts of self-forgetfulness. He quotes the following observation on poetry made by Wang Guowei (1877–1927):

> There are scenes with an "I" in them; there are scenes with no "I" in them.... In scenes with an "I," the "I" is used to view the objects, so the objects are all tinged with the "I." In scenes with no "I," the objects are used to view the objects, so it's impossible to tell what is the "I" and what is the object.

Wang Guowei is not speaking of the presence or absence of the word "I" itself, of course, but of the sense of an assertive authorial presence laying out the text's imagery. As the representative "scene with no 'I' in it," he cites Tao Yuanming's South Mountain couplet. Wang Shumin elaborates on this idea by noting that the absence of an "I" here hinges on the use of the word *jian*; *wang* would insert an "I" presence into the line, fundamentally changing its meaning and affect.[79]

The *jian/wang* question is easily the most worked-over point in the whole body of literary commentary on this, arguably Tao Yuanming's most famous line. Illustrations of the fifth "Drinking" poem are also, in essence, pictorial interpretations of his experience of "catching sight." Liang Kai's picture—the earliest extant illustration of the text—conveys an act of intuitive visual apprehension that seems close to what Su Shi had in mind, and indeed may reflect the authority of Su's view among readers in the Southern Song (*Fig. 3*). The poet's lightly unfixed expression, the tilt of his chin, and the startle of his sashes all suggest the dynamic onset of perception rather than steady, penetrating contemplation.

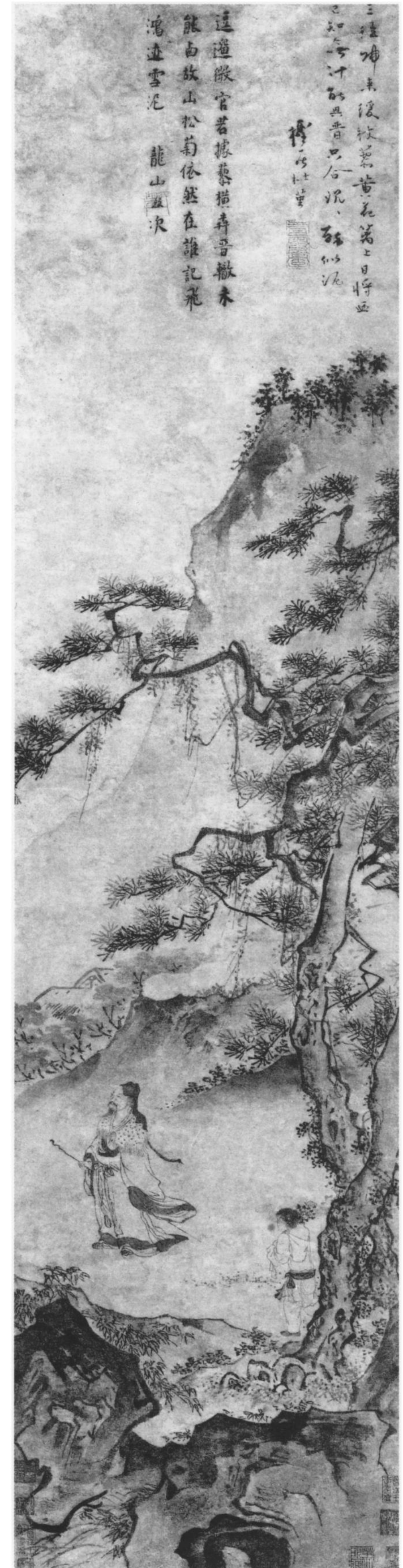

Fig. 14. Du Jin (act. ca. 1465–ca. 1509). *Tao Qian*. Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper; h. 148.3 cm, w. 36.2 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. C.C. Wang Family Collection, promised gift of C.C. Wang.

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Fig. 15. Wen Boren (1502–1575). *Landscape*. Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper; h. 37.7 cm, w. 29.8 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

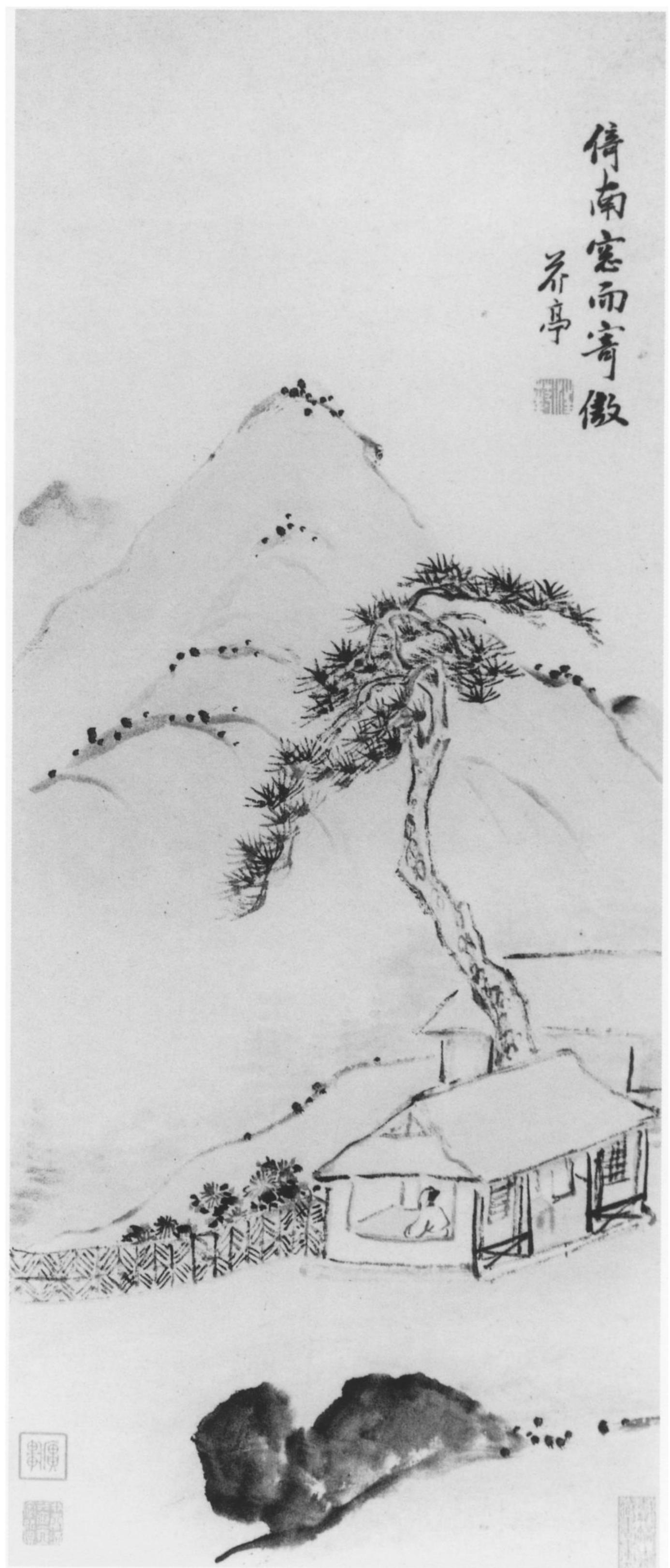

Fig. 16. Wang Feng (Qing dyn.). *Landscape*. Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper; h. 63 cm, w. 26.5 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

As for the mountain itself, it is obliquely represented in Liang's painting by the evergreen pine tree, not mentioned in the poem, whose branches surround the poet like his own thoughts. It is a grand, rugged specimen. Gnarled bark and old twigs attest to its endurance and might, an impression reinforced by the rocks, vines, and adjacent tree that flank and depend from it. In Tao's poetry the solitary pine represents longevity, strength, and integrity; mountainous qualities of grandeur and permanence are invested in it. It is also the destination of homing birds, their safe haven and resting place.[80] The longevity symbolism of the evergreen tree and South Mountain are in fact paired in a verse in the *Classic of Poetry* (*Shijing*), compiled about the sixth century BCE: "Like the everlastingness of South Mountain, without failing or falling, / Like the pine tree, the cypress in their verdure...."[81] The passage suggests the pine's qualifications as a South Mountain stand-in in Liang's "Eastern Fence" painting. In that image, the mountain as a presence implied rather than defined leaves the meaning of the moment vibrantly open—like the unsprung arrow of Li Gonglin's archer. The tree as metaphor for South Mountain may in fact have been Li Gonglin's invention. Li had painted an illustration of the fifth "Drinking" poem himself; now lost, it may have been known to Liang Kai, who is said to have made a study of Li's art.[82] Here too, in keeping with Chao Buzhi's criterion for Tao Yuanming's authentic expression, the idea is not completely summed up; something is "left out."

Liang Kai's composition was a template for many pictures of Tao. A carved lacquer box of the Yuan period, now

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in Shanghai, is one example (*Fig. 13*); Du Jin's *Portrait of Tao Qian* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art is another (*Fig. 14*).[83] In both, the poet, staff in hand as if ready for a voyage, stands looking earnestly off at an elusive object in the distance; servants nearby carry vases of the chrysanthemums that trigger Tao's South Mountain thoughts in the fifth "Drinking" poem. The act of looking, dynamic and vivid, is the signal event in both works.

Not all illustrations of the fifth "Drinking" poem have the *jian* quality of Liang Kai's, however, and proponents of Su Shi's textual analysis might accuse some of them of mistaking ordinary stone for precious jade. In a painting by Wen Boren (1502–1575) in the National Palace Museum Tao, strolling beside a thatched study, turns to look at South Mountain through a broad opening in his garden fence; the central couplet from the fifth "Drinking" poem is inscribed above (*Fig. 15*). Though the poet's posture suggests an alert interest in the view, the width of the gap in the fence rules out the sense of a sudden apperception. A work by Wang Feng, a Qing painter, in the same collection has an even more "intentional" air, with Tao seated stolidly indoors in a cottage next to his chryanthemum fence, facing the hill beyond (*Fig. 16*).[84] In both pictures the chrysanthemums, whose very association with longevity makes them reminders of mortality, are background details and not closely present to the poet's attention; the snug, secure cottage settings neutralize any thoughts of distant longings and "essential meanings," and the mountains themselves are modest shapes, pale and of a certain passivity.

The difficulty of seeing the mountain properly, on the other hand—of "catching" its meaning rather than just looking at it—is the very subject of an illustration of the fifth "Drinking" poem by Dai Benxiao (1621–1693), one of a set of twelve hanging scrolls after poems by Tao Yuanming now in the Yangzhou Museum (*Fig. 17*). Tao's garden compound appears in the middle distance, with five willows at the gate and chrysanthemums growing along the fence; behind it surges the zigzagging ridge of the mountain. Dai inscribed Tao's poem above the scene, along with the following comments on the rapport between man and mountain:

> The world of people is crowded and constricted, but the world of the mind can be vast and unbounded. For its air of profound serenity, nothing can equal South Mountain. There's never a day when South Mountain does not see (*jian*) people; but people who can truly see South Mountain are few indeed. South Mountain is just that which expresses itself without words. This sensibility of Yuanming—only South Mountain understands it. What about someone like me, who's not yet able to express it in painting?[85]

Fig. 17. Dai Benxiao (1621–1693).
Illustration of the fifth "Drinking" poem.
From a set of twelve hanging scrolls illustrating poems by Tao Yuanming, ink on silk; h. 189 cm, w. 53 cm.
Yangzhou Museum.

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Fig. 18. Shitao (1642–1707). Illustration of the fifth "Drinking" poem. From *Tao Yuanming Shiyi* album. Album of twelve paintings with poems on facing leaves, ink and color on paper. Palace Museum, Beijing.

As Dai explains it, Tao Yuanming was able to participate in the kind of boundless, serene and supra-verbal grasp of meaning that characterizes the mountain's own (bodhisattva-like?) vision of the world around it. In his picture a man, small and unobtrusive, is picking flowers by a fence; his back is to the mountain, and he seems to take no notice of it at all. It seems this is not Tao himself, but some later, lesser Tao emulator, someone like Dai himself, who can pluck chrysanthemums well enough but is blind to the meaningful mountain that watches him.

Shitao illustrated the fifth "Drinking" poem in two paintings which focus on the *jian* moment itself. One, a leaf from his album of twelve pictures inspired by Tao's poetry, *Tao Yuanming Shiyi*, in the Beijing Palace Museum, shares with Liang Kai's *Eastern Fence* a sense of immediacy and latent potentiality. The poet appears in his garden, standing knee-deep in a bed of yellow chrysanthemums bordered by a rickety fence, holding a bunch of the flowers in his hand (*Fig. 18*).[86] His cottage, shaded by a willow tree, is behind him. A large boulder separates him from the little house, almost blocking it from view and thrusting him forward into the open realm ahead. Tao's figure itself is small and lightly defined; it is nonetheless expressive, with his head distracted into a profile as if hearing a call, while his torso is still turned toward his flower patch. There is an air of momentariness about him, of a state of mind in transition or transformation. Floating like a thought in the upper left are the five characters "catching sight of South Mountain in the distance" (*youran jian nanshan*), and indeed in the distance, rising above a band of low-lying haze, the smoky mass of a mountain range reveals itself, its three-peaked silhouette repeating the shape of the graph *shan* ("mountain") inscribed just above it. Mottled and smudgy, unoutlined, it has an unfinished look, as if it had just come into being through Tao's glance.

Shitao pictures Tao in much the same way in another painting, a monumental hanging scroll of 1671 also in Beijing entitled *Gathering Chrysanthemums* (*Caiju*), but the "truth" (*zhenyi*) he encounters here, in no way apparitional or ghostly, has a monumental force (*Fig. 19*).[87] The scroll is inscribed with the South Mountain couplet and, like the album leaf, represents the sudden, powerful confrontation between the man, flowers in hand, and the mountain. Here Tao's house is near the foreground, and just beyond it a hill with his

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chrysanthemum patch. Around the house is a stand of stubby pine trees whose thick clusters of upward-pointing, needle-clad branch tips mimic the shape of the mountain in the background, which looms up in a series of shuddering layers, culminating in the dark, portentous oval of its crown.

The door into the cottage compound, facing the viewer in the near wall, is ajar, offering access to the garden—the preliminary, accessible retreat, from which one can see on to the next, the ultimate one. Tao is in the garden, seen from the side bending over his flowers; as in the album painting, his head is posed at an angle to his body as he turns to look at the mountain. The fleetingness of the posture, though, is at odds with the height, weight, and nearness of the mountain—how could one fail to be aware of this darkly vibrating mass even for a moment? The image insists that the truth represented by the mountain is indeed always there, whatever the ebb and flow of the man's thoughts. Tao has not only caught sight of it; he has apprehended its "essential meaning."

But the ultimate pictorial statement of the mountain's meaning may yet be the earliest available to us, the Mount Lu handscroll by Yujian (*Fig. 10*). The elemental, roughed-out shape seems to have sprung into being in response to the encounter with the viewer's eyes, obliterating the distinction between the mountain and the apprehension it represents. The viewer of the painting is offered Tao Yuanming's own South Mountain experience; Mount Lu appears as the object of a transforming *jian* apprehension—it is, indeed, a scene with no "I" in it.[88]

The White-Robed Wine Bringer:

In the written and pictorial traditions discussed above, Tao's distant gaze and ruminations on mortality are construed as highminded and philosophical—a lofty soul's response to the big questions about human and individual existence, time, and destiny. In a parallel tradition, however, it was persistently recalled that all the while he was thinking, writing poems, and looking at far-off mountains, Tao was usually drunk or about to be so. After all, what were his eastern fence chrysanthemums but an ingredient for his autumn cocktail? The other ingredient, wine, was at least as important in achieving the desired result. Tao says as much himself in another poem, "The Double Ninth, in Retirement" (*Jiuri Xianju*; the ninth day of the ninth lunar month was traditionally an occasion for drinking chrysanthemum wine). He begins with a short preface: "This autumn the chrysanthemums are filling the courtyard, but I have no way to come by wine. So I vainly drink the blossoms...." The verses that follow open with the words "Life is short"; we are immediately presented with the poet's perennial awareness of his mortality. A scene of chilly, clear weather is set, with the migrating birds gone from the sky. Tao continues,

Fig. 19. Shitao (1642–1707). *Gathering Chrysanthemums*. Dated to 1671. Hanging scroll; ink on paper; h. 206.3 cm, w. 95.5 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.

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Fig. 20. Li Zongmo (act. 17th c.). "Tao Yuanming receiving wine." From *Tao Yuanming Gushi* handscroll. Yoshikawa Eiji collection, Tokyo.

Fig. 21. Li Zongmo (act. 17th c.). "Tao Yuanming drunk." From *Tao Yuanming Gushi* handscroll. Yoshikawa Eiji collection, Tokyo.

> Wine serves to exorcise all our cares,
> Chrysanthemums keep us from growing old.
> What is the thatched-hut gentleman to do,
> Helplessly watching time's revolutions?
> The dusty cup shames the empty wine cask,
> The cold flowers bloom in vain....[89]

Languishing thirsty and forlorn by his flower patch, Tao ruefully mocks his own poverty. Though he speaks of the small satisfactions of life as well—"Just to see it through is something gained"—his chrysanthemum-gathering here is certainly grittier and less romantic than in the fifth "Drinking" poem.

The scene Tao describes in this poem and its preface was elaborated in a well-known anecdote recounted in several of his early biographies—texts compiled in the fifth to seventh centuries which record stories and events of uncertain provenance, many of them focusing somewhat irreverently on unconventional, outrageous, or laughable aspects of his behavior. According to these texts the Double Ninth episode had a happy ending, for the prefectural governor Wang Hong (370–432) arrived to rescue the poet from his predicament. As it is told in the *Song Shu* (*History of the Liu-Song Dynasty*, compiled and edited in 487–488):

> Once on the Double Ninth when [Tao] didn't have any wine, he went out to the chrysanthemum clumps beside his house and sat for a long time among them. Then Hong arrived bringing wine; they poured it out straightaway, got drunk, and then went home.[90]

The apparent cordiality of this event masks an underlying tension, for other sources suggest that Tao quite disliked Wang Hong. The governor was known as a tough and exacting career official, probably the very sort Tao had retired in order to avoid; a hostile memorial he wrote about the poet Xie Lingyun in 418 got Xie into serious trouble (to be sure, Xie had killed a man in a jealous rage).[91] Wang was eager to make the acquaintance of the distinguished local recluse-poet, whereas Tao did his best to dodge his overtures. Evidently, however, on this occasion his need for wine outweighed his aversion to the wine bringer.[92] The anecdote, in other words, documents a lapse or weakness, in a spirit of indulgent amusement. As the Tang poet Li Bai—quite a drinker himself—pointed out, when a drink was at stake, Tao was quick to set aside his principled solitude:

> After Yuanming returned home
> He had no intercourse with the world.
> Yet because he was without "the thing in the cup,"
> When he chanced to meet his prefecture's governor
> He accordingly beckoned the white-robed man,
> And, smiling, he poured the yellow-flowered chrysanthemums.

Li Bai describes Tao's benefactor as a man in a white robe. The origins of this detail are unclear, but it appears in a retelling of the Wang Hong story recorded in the encyclopaedia *Beitang Shuchao* (*Excerpts from Books in the North Hall*), compiled about 630: "He saw in the distance a man in a white robe arriving—it was Hong bringing wine."[93] The white robe was firmly incorporated into the anecdote by Li Bai's time, and is almost invariably mentioned in later allusions and retellings; indeed, Wang Hong is most often referred to simply as "the white robe" rather than by his name or title. It is by no means an insignificant interpolation, because white robes are strongly associated with Immortals in Chinese lore. The wine bringer's white attire

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introduces a certain apparitional element into the encounter; Wang appears not as a pushy would-be acquaintance but as a supernatural visitor from afar, a savior of sorts, bringing, perhaps, no ordinary wine, but some wonder-working elixir.

As A.R. Davis has shown, the story of Wang Hong's Double Ninth visit was widely known and often served alongside of Tao's own writings as a source for literary allusions; Li Bai's poem is among the examples he quotes.[94] It found a place in the illustrative tradition as well, for the incident is depicted in handscroll compositions of *Episodes in the Life of Tao Yuanming* (*Tao Yuanming Gushi*, *Tao Yuanming Shiji*), or, as I shall call them here, *Tao Stories*. These scrolls are made up of a series of "episodes," each represented as a separate scene, drawn in ink monochrome; the material is taken largely from early Tao biographies such as that in the *Song Shu*, and lines transcribed from the source usually accompany each scene.[95] The *Tao Stories* genre is said to have originated in the Song dynasty, but extant examples—there are many, they must have been in demand—all appear to be of Ming or later date.

The illustration of the Wang Hong incident in a *Tao Stories* scroll by the seventeenth-century painter Li Zongmo is representative of the type (*Figs. 20, 21*).[96] The episode is presented as a pair of scenes: in one, Tao sits holding a chrysanthemum in his hand as Wang Hong's servant sets a jug of wine before him; in the other Tao, head sagging back on his slack neck, staggers off drunk on the shoulder of an attendant. Tao's stupefaction in the latter picture is broadly clownish; his more dignified demeanor in the first picture has its comic side as well. The scene is presented with a tongue-in-cheek solemnity, as if the wine delivery were a religious offering. Tao's pose is unmistakably Buddha-like, legs folded and torso erect, holding up his flower in an emblematic gesture; the delivery boy's air of gravity and reverence, hands clasped at his chest, goes beyond the decorum of a household underling. Some special understanding—some "essential meaning"?—seems mutely to occupy the air between them. It is in effect, playfully and indirectly, an allusion to the idea and meaning of South Mountain; specifically, to the role of chrysanthemum wine in transporting the poet there.

Tao Stories vignettes also occasionally served as the basis for independent compositions; in particular, Tao's portrait in the wine-delivery scene, reduced to a bust-length format, was one of the standard ways of representing him. An example is a small half-length portrait by an anonymous Yuan artist that serves as the frontispiece to an album of transcriptions of Tao's poems in the National Palace Museum; he holds the flower chest-high between thumb and forefinger like Li Zongmo's figure, and wears the same expression of solemn serenity (*Fig. 22*).[97]

Tao's two accounts of picking chrysanthemums—in his courtyard by the empty wine-jug in "The Double Ninth,

Fig. 22. Anonymous (Yuan dyn.). *Portrait of Tao Yuanming*. Album painting; ink and color on silk; h. 15.7 cm, w. 9.3 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

in Retirement," and at the eastern fence in the fifth "Drinking" poem—were sometimes mingled or conflated. As a result, Wang Hong is not infrequently imagined as playing a role in the episode of catching sight of South Mountain. In "Gathering Chrysanthemums" (*Caiju*), a quatrain composed by an anonymous Song writer for a painting of Tao by Li Gonglin, for instance, the four lines trace an easy movement from the mountain view to the small, promising flower in the poet's hand, and thence to the white-robed wine bringer and drunken oblivion:

> South Mountain is high and rugged before the eyes,
> Old trees, confused and tangled, brush the clouds.
> Don't offend [or, disappoint] the fence flower in your hand;
> A white-robed one sends wine—get drunk together.[98]

The verse mingles the seriousness of the fifth "Drinking" poem with the joviality of the Wang Hong story. It's a very common formula; many other examples could be cited.[99]

In a recorded poem Su Shi wrote for Li Gonglin's lost painting of *Yuanming at the Eastern Fence* (*Yuanming Dongli*), the wine bringer is on the scene again as Tao catches sight of South Mountain. Su begins by comparing Tao favorably with other famous gentlemen of the early post-Han period such as Xi Kang, Ruan Ji, and Cao Zhi, who parlayed their reputations as lofty recluses into worldly success. Tao, in contrast, remained truly in hiding among his tangled grasses and frosty willows. Su continues:

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Fig. 23. Lu Zhi (1496–1576). *Traces of Tao Yuanming*. Dated to 1523. Album painting; ink and color on paper; h. 34.2 cm, w. 23.8 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

> There were yellow flowers at the eastern fence,
> He was not thinking about the fragrant wine.
> The white-robed [bearer] of the ewer arrived.
> Drunk straightaway, turning and rambling back,
> He caught sight of South Mountain in the distance—
> His thoughts exalted as the autumn air.[100]

The white-robed caller appears at the eastern fence again in a poem Wang Shipeng (1112–1171) wrote on a picture of *Gathering Chrysanthemums* (*Caiju*):

> ...living at ease, he loved the Double Ninth.
> As he was gathering chrysanthemums,
> the white-robed man came—
> And suddenly his eyes were on South Mountain.
> The weary birds, too, know it's time to return.
> Still today the flowers of the eastern fence
> Are as fresh as the ferns of Shouyang.[101]

Like Su Shi, Wang Shipeng classifies Tao with the truly committed and unworldly recluses. His last lines allude to the story of Baiyi and Shuqi, Shang dynasty loyalists who refused to touch foods harvested under the conquering Zhou; retreating in protest to Mount Shouyang, they ate only herbs and grasses and gradually starved to death. Wang's poem describes a turning or opening-up of Tao's thoughts from the immediate setting of the eastern fence to the broader promise of his chrysanthemum drink, and on to the distant sites of escape and death. The moral example of heroes from high antiquity is invoked to sanction the whole.

We have no way of knowing to what extent the content and motifs of these lost Song paintings prompted the inscribers' allusions to Wang Hong. In many poems about Tao Yuanming not associated with pictorial images, Wang Hong and South Mountain allusions are similarly commingled. We may, however, note the ambiguities of some later images, such as Lu Zhi's (1496–1576) small picture of 1523 in the National Palace Museum, *Traces of Tao Yuanming* (*Pengze Gaozong*, *Fig. 23*).[102] As the inscriptions make clear, this is a self-portrait of the artist constructing himself as Tao. Lu represents himself seated on a slope leaning easefully back against a pine tree, a sprig of chrysanthemum raised in his hand, looking off into the distance. The figure is unmistakably related to the *Tao Stories* image type of the poet accepting Wang Hong's gift (*Fig. 20*); in that context, the off-stage object of his gaze is the white-robed figure, and the flower is raised in anticipation of its union with the approaching wine jug. At the same time his pure, serene expression, his intimate and comfortable relationship with nature and the openness of the space before him bespeak thoughts closer to those of Liang Kai's *Scholar of the Eastern Fence* (*Fig. 3*). He is both waiting for Wang Hong and contemplating his "old home." In this picture, as in the poems cited above, the two allusions overlap: seeing the wine bringer is essentially the same as catching sight of South Mountain—both represent escape from the world. The line is a blur between longing for transcendence and hankering for a drink.

We can also detect the discomfort some people felt at the injection of Wang Hong and his wine into the eastern fence episode. In his poem for Li Gonglin's painting cited above, Su Shi wrote that Tao had not been thinking about wine at all when his white-robed visitor arrived. The Jin dynasty poet and scholar Zhao Bingwen (1159–1232) made the same point in a poem written in response to a picture of *Gathering Chrysanthemums at the Eastern Fence*:

> ...Staff in hand at the eastern fence,
> How could he have been thinking of cloudy wine?
> He did not notice the white-robed man coming—
> His eyes were following the South Mountain geese....[103]

The role of drunkenness in Tao's experience of revelation is challenged in a sustained discussion by Han Ju (d. 1135) in his inscription, in prose and verse, for a chrysanthemum-gathering painting by an unnamed artist.[104] Han begins by quoting a quatrain he had written some time earlier for a handscroll picture of the same subject:

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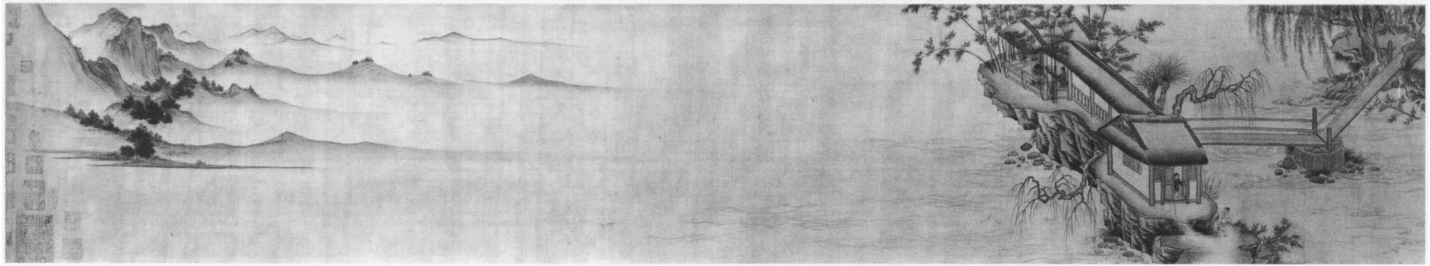

Fig. 24. Qiu Ying (1495–1552). *Garden of Solitary Enjoyment* (section). Handscroll; ink and color on silk; h. 27.8 cm, l. 381 cm. Cleveland Museum of Art. © Cleveland Museum of Art, 2000, Leonard C. Hanna, Jr., Fund, 1978.67.

> Gathering fallen petals at the eastern fence on the ninth day,
> Seeing a white-robed man in the distance, his eyes can brighten.
> Still today, if you have "the thing in the cup,"
> A piece of the tradition can be achieved.

A friend of his, he says, particularly admired this poem; but he himself had second thoughts. Recalling that the objects spoken of in poetry should be understood just as devices to "lodge" ideas (a point often made in literary criticism; see, for instance, Chao Buzhi's comments quoted above), Han writes that Tao, like the other ancients,

> may have lodged his feelings [symbolically or metaphorically] in things; but he wasn't really attached to any particular thing, that's why he could be so accomplished. As for Yuanming's inmost feelings, he lodged this idea [metaphorically] in the yellow flowers. When he spoke about drinking wine at his ease, that too [like flowers] was not something Yuanming was ultimately really attached to. If he'd had no wine when he caught sight of South Mountain in the distance, he would still have been elated. Having the wine, he would get drunk; after sobering up, how would he know the governor of Jiangzhou had been there?

Tao was not interested in wine—or, for that matter, in chrysanthemums—for themselves. Wang Hong's visit was immaterial, since Tao would not have been able to remember it at all. Han Ju then offers two new poems that more accurately express his new understanding of Tao's experience:

> What good are the yellow chrysanthemums?
> They're for lodging the feelings of one's life.
> Having wine, the elation is not shallow;
> Without wine, the feeling is wonderful anyway....

Since few people understand this, Han concludes, "in vain the chrysanthemum-gathering picture / Hangs lonely in the lofty studio." Similar thoughts occupy his second poem:

> ...If there were no beaker of wine
> What would this Double Ninth be like?
> [Thoughts] faraway, several cups are finished.
> How could satisfaction depend on having a lot?...

Reading between the lines here, we may suspect that Han Ju himself did not drink heavily or approve of it. In any event he rejected the constant emphasis on the poet's drunkenness (perhaps this picture made much of it), preferring to think that Tao's drinking was more cup than wine—a vessel to "lodge" his thoughts—and that his famous insights sprang from other, soberer sources.

The Wang Hong interpolation has a dual effect on the construction of Tao as chrysanthemum-gatherer and mountain-gazer, an effect at once demythologizing and romanticizing. On the one hand, by recalling the compromises forced upon a noble solitary who was also a needy addict, the Wang Hong allusion introduces a note of amiable condescension. At the same time, the high-minded philosophical ruminations associated with Tao's view of South Mountain raise the tone of his drinking session with Wang Hong.

The Mountain in the Garden:

As a haven over the centuries for people escaping from the world in quest of "essential meaning," Mount Lu was rather like Tao's garden on a national scale. And Tao's garden was understood to be his private Mount Lu. At first a shelter from workplace vexations and a place for modest pleasures, it became his "hermitage mountain." Later garden owners sought to tap into this ideal by creating replicas of Tao's garden on their own properties. They planted willows and chrysanthemums in Tao's honor; they molded terrain, laid out paths, and constructed outbuildings to suggest spots he wrote of; and they named garden sites with phrases from his poems.[105]

As a central symbol of the thoughts Tao had in his garden, Mount Lu itself was sometimes brought into these fabricated retreats. The estate of the Tang garden enthusiast Li Deyu (787–850) at Pingquan, near Luoyang, was embellished with a notable collection of rocks, and Li identified one of them as his own Mount Lu. He wrote these lines on it:

> In fresh scenery, holding a fragrant chrysanthemum,
> Under a cool sky, leaning against a luxuriant pine—
> What need is there to go to the famous mountain?
> There is a range of peaks right here.[106]

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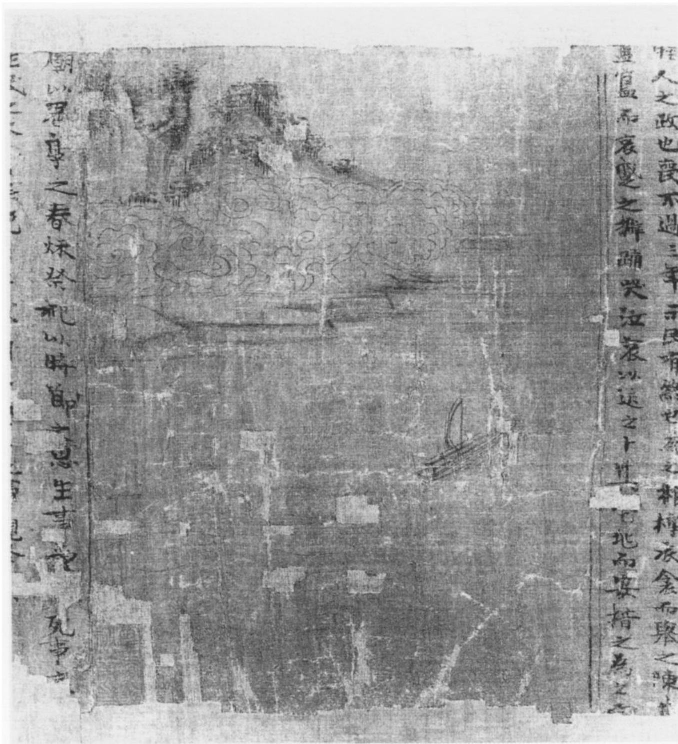

Fig. 25. Li Gonglin (ca. 1041–1106), Chapter 18 from *Illustrations to the Classic of Filial Piety*. Handscroll; ink on silk; h. 21.9 cm, l. 475.5 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. From the P.Y. and Kinmay W. Tang Family collection, partial and promised gift of Oscar L. and Jack C. Tang.

The "strange rocks" (*guai shi*) especially prized by garden designers, often cleft and pierced with holes—along with cave-like doorways, windows "leaking" into adjacent worlds, and other devices of garden architecture—are meant to call up the idea of "cave paradises" (*dongtian*) and the experience of mystic travel.[107] In the iconography of Tao's garden, it is the view of the Daoist *dongtian* Mount Lu that brings those elements into his reclusive space. With the symbolic mountain "right here," Li Deyu's own garden is sufficient to the master of the place; he need venture no farther. An idea close to Li's seems to be represented in a painting by Tōshun, a Japanese artist active in the first half of the sixteenth century, where Tao Yuanming stands with a staff under a pine by his chrysanthemum fence, contemplating a miniature dish landscape containing a jagged rock. Like the garden rock on Li Deyu's estate, this object can be understood as a miniaturized and domesticated South Mountain; Tao's destination, like his garden itself, is right at hand and wholly possessed. [108]

But the idea of the mountain "in the distance"—a beyond, a view, an ultimate prospect—was central to its meaning, and garden designers also found ways to bring South Mountain into the garden while keeping it far away. The various sites in Chao Buzhi's "Garden of Master Returning Home" were named with phrases from Tao's poem; among them was an artificial mound with a terrace dubbed "Gazing Afar" (*Xiaguan*).[109] In Zhu Changwen's (1039–1098) "Pleasure Garden" (or "Pleasure Flowerpatch"; *Lepu*) in Suzhou there was a hillock he called "Mound for Catching Sight of the Mountain" (*Jianshan gang*).[110] Sima Guang's (1019–1086) "Garden of Solitary Pleasures" (*Dule yuan*) in Luoyang was laid out in sections designed to evoke the memory of various great poets of the past; the one devoted to Tao is called the "Terrace for Catching Sight of the Mountain" (*Jianshan tai*).

Later on, in the sixteenth century, when gardens were a subject of keen interest to wealthy landowners and aesthetes, the "Garden of Solitary Enjoyment" was imaginatively reconstructed in a handscroll by the painter Qiu Ying (1495–1552). Tao Yuanming's mountain-viewing terrace makes up the final section of the scroll, where Sima's property ends by the shore of a river or lake (*Fig. 24*). The terrace, a roofed structure, offers leisurely enjoyment of the prospect of the hills beyond, inviting the latter-day scholar—Sima and his guests in the eleventh century, Qiu Ying's patron and his friends in the sixteenth, and ourselves today—to share Tao's ruminations on worlds and states of being other than this one. The mountain in Qiu's painting appears as a modest set of hills, but its significant positioning at the end of the composition, across a pause-giving stretch of water, acknowledges its meaning as the goal or conclusion of life.[111]

It is this very image and idea, in fact, that underlies Li Gonglin's original conception of Tao's own garden in his illustration of "Returning Home." The final scene of that scroll is of a mountain view beyond the water bordering Tao's estate; the poet stands on a hilltop facing it as he contemplates the prospect of his "ultimate homecoming" (*Fig. 1*). A mountain appears in a comparable context in another painting of Li's, his illustration to chapter 18 of the *Classic of Filial Piety* (*Xiaojing*), in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (*Fig. 25*). The chapter is on mourning for one's parents; it describes the feelings, expressions, and rituals that are right and fitting at such times of loss. None of this is shown in Li's picture. Instead, a solitary boat moves diagonally across an empty lake, with a mountain, its base obscured by curling mists, rising on the far shore—a shadow or reflection, like the Buddha's Shadow, of a world beyond.[112] We are hardly in the realm of text illustration here; it is rather a pure pictorial improvisation on the sensibility of loss and the idea of death. It is a mountain in this sense, watched by Tao from the water's edge, that closes Li Gonglin's "Returning Home" handscroll. This seminal image and the many subsequent ones of Tao facing the far-off mountain give form to the idea that his return home was really only a stage in an ongoing journey whose end remains forever *youran*, "in the distance."

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Characters

Bai Juyi 白居易
Bailianshe 白蓮社
Bailudong shuyuan 白鹿洞書院
Baiyi 白衣
Bao Zhao 鮑照
Beitang Shuchao 北堂書鈔
Caiju 采菊
Cao Cao 曹操
Cao Xuequan 曹學佺
Cao Zhi 曹植
Changcong 常聰
Chao Buzhi 晁補之
Chen Guan 陳瓘
Chen Shunyu 陳舜愈
Chū'an Shinkō 仲安眞康
Dai Benxiao 戴本孝
Dong Bangda 董邦達
Dongli Gaoshi 東籬高士
Donglin-si 東林寺
dongtian 洞天
Du Jin 杜堇
Dule yuan 獨樂園
Fo ying 佛影
Fo Ying Ming 佛影銘
Gaoseng Zhuan 高僧傳
Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之
guai shi 怪石
guan 觀
Guanyin 觀音
Guiqulai 歸去來
Guiqulai Guan 歸去來館
Han Ju 韓駒
Huang Tingjian 黄庭堅
Huiyuan 慧遠
jian 見
Jiang Yan 江淹
Jianshan gang 見山崗
Jianshan tai 見山台
Jingtu 淨土
Jiuri xianju 九日閑居
Kuang Su 匡俗
Kuanglu shan 匡盧山
Lepu 樂圃
Li Bai 李白
Li Deyu 李德裕
Li Gonglin 李公麟
Li Gou 李覯
Li Guang 李光
Li Qingzhao 李清照
Li Zongmo 李宗謨
Liang Kai 梁楷
Liu Chengzhi 劉程之
Liu Huan 劉渙
Liu Ningzhi 劉凝之
Liu Yimin 劉遺民
Lu Zhi 陸治
Lushan 盧山
Lushan Caotang Ji 盧山草堂記
Lushan Gao 盧山高
Lushan Hui 盧山會
Lushan Ji 盧山記
Lushan Yao 盧山謠
Mi Fu 米芾
mingshan 明山
Nanshan Jiaqi 南山佳氣
Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修
Pengze Gaozong 彭澤高蹤
Qiu Ying 仇英
Ruan Ji 阮籍
Shen Zhou 沈周
shenqi 神氣
Shenxian zhuan 神仙傳
Shijing 詩經
Shiren Yuxie 詩人玉屑
Shitao 石濤
Shuqi 叔齊
Sima Guang 司馬光
Song Di 宋迪
Song Shu 宋書
Su Che 蘇轍
Su Shi 蘇軾
Tao Qian 陶潛
Tao Yuanming 陶淵明
Tao Yuanming Gushi 陶淵明故事
Tao Yuanming Shiji 陶淵明事跡
Tao Yuanming Shiwen Huiping 陶淵明詩文彙評
Tao Yuanming Shiyi 陶淵明詩意
Taohua yuan 桃花源
tian 田
Tōshun 登椿
wang 望
Wang Feng 王葑
Wang Guowei 王國維
Wang Hong 王弘
Wang Lushan Pubushui 望盧山瀑布水
Wang Shipeng 王十朋
Wang Shumin 王叔岷
Wang Xizhi 王義之
wang yan 忘言
Wei Yingwu 韋應物
Wen Boren 文伯仁
Wen Xuan 文選
Wu Qi 吳淇
Wulao feng 五老峰
Wuliu Xiansheng Zhuan 五柳現生傳

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wuyue 五嶽
Xi Kang 嵇康
Xiaguan 遐觀
Xianglu feng 香爐峰
xianling 仙靈
xianshan 仙山
Xiao Tong 蕭統
Xiaojing 孝經
Xie Lingyun 謝靈運
Xilin-si 西林寺
Xu Bangda 徐邦達
Xueji Wang Wulao Feng 雪霽望五老峰
Yinjiu Ershi Shou 飲酒二十首
You Lushan Ji 游盧山記
You Shimen Shi Xu 游石門詩序
youran caiju de yinshi 悠然采菊的隱士
youran jian nanshan 悠然見南山
yuan 園
Yuanming Dongli 淵明東籬
Yuanming Guiyin 淵明歸陰
Yujian 玉澗
Yun Jing 惲敬
Zeng Gong 曾鞏
Zhang Shangying 張商英
Zhanyun-si 瞻雲寺
Zhao Bingwen 趙秉文
Zhao Mingcheng 趙明誠
zhenyi 眞意
Zhong Xing 鐘惺
Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤
Zhou Luanshu 周鑾書
Zhu Changwen 朱長文
Zhu Xi 朱熹
Zhuangzi 莊子
Zong Bing 宗炳
Zuishi 醉石

Notes

1. Tao's complete works are collected in Tao Shu (1778–1839), ed., *Tao Jingjie Ji* (Shanghai: Shangwu, 1935). For annotated translations, see James R. Hightower, *The Poetry of T'ao Ch'ien* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Pr., 1970), and A.R. Davis, *T'ao Yuan-ming (AD 365–427): His Works and Their Meaning* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Pr., 1983). Hightower's translations, with occasional slight emendments (these are noted), are used throughout this study.

2. For "Returning Home," see *Tao Jingjie Ji*, pp. 75–77; Hightower, *T'ao Ch'ien*, pp. 268–70.

3. The eighth of his "Twenty Poems on Drinking Wine," *Tao Jingjie Ji*, p. 42; Hightower, *T'ao Ch'ien*, p. 136, slightly modified.

4. *Tao Jingjie Ji*, p. 41; translation from Hightower, *T'ao Ch'ien*, p. 130, with slight modifications.

5. *Gushi Gui* (*Returning to Ancient Poetry*), a widely read anthology of early poetry compiled by Zhong and Tan Yuanchun (ca. 1585–1637) between 1614 and 1617; quoted in *Tao Yuanming Shiwen Huiping* (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1961, 1974; hereafter, *Huiping*), p. 169.

6. *Huiping*, pp. 167–73. The book is an anthology of commentaries on Tao's works from early to modern times, arranged poem by poem. Hightower's own appraisal of the poem is no less enthusiastic (*T'ao Ch'ien*, pp. 130–32).

7. Lin Meiyi, ed., *Nanshan Jiaqi: Tao Yuanming Shiwen Xuan* (Taipei: Shibao Wenhua, 1982).

8. Zhong Youmin, *Taoxue Shihua* (Taipei: Yunchen, 1991).

9. Charles Yim-tze Kwong, *Tao Qian and the Chinese Poetic Tradition: the Quest for Cultural Identity* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Center for Chinese Studies, 1994), chap. 10, pp. 183–93. The fifth "Drinking" poem is also a central example in Pauline Yu's discussion of Tao in her *Reading of Imagery in the Chinese Poetic Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Pr., 1987), pp. 146–48.

10. *Tao Jingjie Ji*, p. 57; Hightower, *T'ao Ch'ien*, p. 194; see also p. 131. It is not known how Mount Lu came to be called Nanshan, but the usage goes back to the *Classic of Poetry*. The references to *nanshan* in Tao's writings are not always unambiguous; the characters may simply designate some unspecified "southern hill" (or "hills"), and this is how some of his translators render them. In a number of poems, though, it is clearly Mount Lu. The fifth "Drinking" poem is one of these; Tao's epiphany at the moment he catches sight of Nanshan is triggered by a specifically meaningful object rather than a random one. Tao also wrote of straining to see Nanshan on a journey home, again a pretty unambiguous reference—and incidentally linked to the theme of "going home" (*Tao Jingjie Ji*, p. 35; Hightower, *T'ao Ch'ien*, pp. 98–99). In other cases, such as a reference to farming the southern hill in the third *Guitian* ("Returning to the Fields") poem, it is less clear whether *nanshan* is Mount Lu. Hightower argues that here it is not (pp. 52–53); on the other hand, Feng Zhaoping and Hu Caolun include the poem in their anthology of verse about Mount Lu, *Lushan Lidai Shixuan* (Nanchang: Jiangxi Renmin, 1980; hereafter, *Lushan Shixuan*). Tao's fifth "Drinking" poem is the opening poem of this collection.

11. As Zhong Xing said, "'Essential meaning,' 'lost words'—all that is in the [preceding] several lines" (the lines describing the view before the poet); "ordinary readers have to read right through to the end before they can get the point." In other words, most readers don't grasp the importance of the mountain view until they get to Tao's last line (*Gushi Gui*, quoted in *Huiping*, p. 169).

As Hightower has pointed out, there is a suggestive ambiguity to Tao's *youran* ("in the distance," "faraway"): it refers both to the location of the mountain, and to the poet's "detached" state of mind (*T'ao Ch'ien*, p. 132). Since in the poem both mountain and mind are far away, in a sense they are united, brought into conjunction with one another. Linking Tao's "far-off" mind to his South Mountain revelation, the early Qing critic Wu Qi wrote: "'detached mind' is the bones of the piece; 'essential meaning' is its marrow." Wu's word-by-word analysis of the fifth "Drinking" poem from his *Critique of Selected Six Dynasties Poetry* (*Liuchao Xuanshi Dinglun*) is quoted in *Huiping*, pp. 171–73.

12. Zhou Luanshu, *Lushan Shihua* (Shanghai: Renmin, 1981), pp. 59-60. Indeed, as the Qing writer Chen Zuoming understood it, it was this

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paradisiacal ideal that Tao glimpsed from his eastern fence: "Gathering chrysanthemums and catching sight of the mountain... this is what's called the Peach Blossom Spring" (*Huiping*, p. 170). Many centuries earlier, Bai Juyi had also associated the Peach Blossom Spring with the view of South Mountain, writing: "There is only the sound of chickens and dogs— / I hear no clattering of carts and horses / Now and then I pour out a cup of wine / Sitting and gazing at east South Mountain." The first line alludes to a passage in the "Peach Blossom Spring," the second to one in the fifth "Drinking" poem (*Bo Xianghan Shiji* [Taipei: Zhonghua, 1966], 5.9b; see below for commentary faulting, this poem for its use of the word "gaze").

13. The classic conception of the scene, an often-copied blue-and-green handscroll composition supposedly originating in the Southern Song, shows such a valley, rimmed with dramatic gem-like cliffs. See my "On Through to the Beyond: The Peach Blossom Spring as Paradise," *Archives of Asian Art,* vol. 39 (1986), pp. 23–47.

14. Often, for instance, later texts bring together the "Returning Home" phrase "raising my head" (*jiao shou*) with the "catching sight" of the fifth "Drinking" poem, as in a line from Wei Yingwu translated below. In a similar conflation, Chao Buzhi wrote of Tao's "lifting up his head" (*ju shou*) to see South Mountain, also translated below.

15. Elizabeth Brotherton, "Li Kung-lin and the Long Handscroll Illustrations of T'ao Ch'ien's *Returning Home*" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1992), pp. 164–66. See also her "Beyond the Written Word: Li Gonglin's Illustrations to Tao Yuanming's *Returning Home*," *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 59, no. 3/4 (2000), pp. 225-63.

16. Brotherton, "Li Kung-lin," p. 122.

17. Mi Fu, *Huashi* (*History of Painting*), Deng Shi and Huang Binhong, comps., *Meishu Congshu* (Taipei: Yiwen Yinshuguan, n.d.), vol. 10 (2/9), p. 13.

18. For a color reproduction, see *Yuanming Yizhi Tezhan Tulu* (*T'ao Yuanming's Poetry as the Painter's Muse*) (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1988; hereafter, *Yuanming Yizhi*), no. 1. This simple but richly nuanced painting associates Tao with a range of other iconographic traditions; I have discussed some of these in "Tao Yuanming's Sashes: or, the Gendering of Immortality," in *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 29 (1999), pp. 1–27.

19. The early history of the painting is unknown and its later history sketchy. In the sixteenth century it was in the collection of Xiang Yuanbian (1525–1590), and in the seventeenth in that of Liang Qingbiao (1620–1691). By the middle of the eighteenth century it belonged to the imperial family, and is recorded under its present title in the catalogue of the imperial collection, *Shiqu Baoji: qubian* (first series), published in 1745. There, and in the modern catalogue of the National Palace Museum in Taipei, its present home, it is given only a brief entry (*Shiqu Baoji, qubian* [reprint, Taipei: Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan, 1971], pp. 1104–5; *Gugong Shuhua Lu* [Taipei: Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan, 1965], vol. 3, p. 108). There may be a few other literary traces of this painting. Several Qing writers mention portraits of Tao by Liang Kai, though it is not clear from their notes whether these were the same as the scroll now in Taipei. Wu Qizhen records a *Picture of Yuanming* by Liang Kai, a small hanging scroll on silk; his description fits the *Scholar of the Eastern Fence*: "Yuanming holding a chrysanthemum and walking under a pine tree. The painting style is polished and fine, the expression surpassing; colors and ink are like new. A superior work of Liang Kai's" (*Shuhua Ji* [preface 1677] [Shanghai: Renmin Meishu, 1962], p. 236). Gu Fu also mentions a hanging scroll *Portrait of Tao Yuanming* (*Tao Yuanming Xiang*) by Liang Kai; it was, however, on paper, unlike the Taipei scroll (*Pingsheng Zhuangguan* [preface 1692] [Shanghai: Renmin Meishu, 1962], 8.54).

20. Not much is known about Liang Kai. His family originally hailed from Shandong Province, but presumably he was born and learned his art in south China under the Southern Song regime. He had a successful career as a professional painter in the capital city of Hangzhou, serving as painter-in-attendance in the imperial painting academy; *Scholar of the Eastern Fence*, signed *chen*, would have been painted at court. In the Jiatai period (1201–1204) of Ningzong's reign Liang was awarded the prestigious Golden Sash. But he declined it—a well-known anecdote, which suggests an abrupt and proud gesture, has him hanging it up on the premises—and left the academy (Xia Wenyan, *Tuhui Baojian* [preface 1365], scroll 4, in *Huashi Congshu*, comp. Yu Anlan [Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin, 1963], vol. 2, p. 104. Xia does not actually state that he left; the words are added in the later *Nan Song Yuanhua Lu* by Wang E [preface 1721]; see *Meishu Congshu,* vol. 17 [4/4], p. 166). Liang would probably have been in middle age when he was awarded the Golden Sash. His boldness in quitting his court position at that point suggests he had other plans and active years still ahead of him, and in fact he is credited with a substantial corpus of work that seems to fall outside the parameters of court taste, such as his painting of the Chan patriarch Huineng in the rough *yipin* ("untrammelled") style (reproduced in color in *Suiboku Bijutsu Taikei* [Tokyo: Kodansha, 1978], vol. 4, cpl. 4, among other places). It is generally supposed that Liang became involved with Chan Buddhism after leaving the academy. He was evidently a lay adherent; no monk's name for him has been recorded, nor is there any other evidence that he entered monastic orders. In any event, none of Liang's "untrammelled" works bear seals or inscriptions indicating they were done at court or kept in palace collections, nor did other academy artists practice "untrammelled" painting. Given the diverse character of his extant oeuvre, the authentication of Liang Kai's paintings has proven singularly difficult.

21. James Cahill, *Index of Early Chinese Painters and Paintings: T'ang, Sung, Yüan* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Pr., 1980), p. 129 (here and elsewhere, I have converted Wade-Giles to Hanyu Pinyin romanization in cited passages); Xu Bangda, *Gu Shuhua Wei'e Kaobian* (Jiangsu: Jiangsu Guji, 1984), vol. 2, pp. 19–20.

22. Wu Zongci (1879-?), ed., *Lushan Zhi* (Tapei: Wenhai, 1971), scroll 12, 8a (p. 2245).

23. Mount Lu is a whole subject of study in itself, rich in texts; see Ping Huishan and Chen Yuankai, eds., *Lushan Lidai Youji Xuanyi* (Nanchang: Jiangxi Renmin, 1981; hereafter, *Lushan Youji*), an anthology of travel accounts with annotations and translations into modern Chinese. Other modern studies and compendia of materials include Wu Zongci, *Lushan Ji* (4 vols.), in *Zhongguo Mingshan Shengji Zhi* (Taipei: Wenhai, 1971); and Zhou Luanshu, *Lushan Shihua.*

24. "On Climbing Censer Peak" (*Deng Xianglu Feng*), in *Lushan Shixuan*, p. 7.

25. For the text with annotations, see *Wei Jin Nanbeichao Wenxueshi Cankao Ziliao* (Beijing: Hongzhi, 1961), pp. 524–32. The translation here is from Richard E. Strassberg, *Inscribed Landscapes: Travel Writing from Imperial China* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Pr., 1994), pp. 75–76. "Inside and out" suggests the mountain's nature as one of the cave-heavens. A poem of Bao's on climbing Mount Lu is included in *Lushan Shixuan*, pp. 5–6.

26. See Huiyuan (334-416), *Lushan Lueji* ("Brief account of Mount Lu"), in *Lushan Youji*, pp. 1–2.

27. *Xian Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao Shi* (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1983), vol. 1, p. 348; for a translation of the entire poem see Kwong, *Tao Qian*, p. 107. Confucius, it may be noted, said that "the humane love mountains... the humane are long-lived" (*Lunyu* [*Analects*], 6.21).

28. Huiyuan, *Lushan Lueji*, in *Lushan Youji,* p. 2.

29. Hisayuki Miyakawa has discussed the strategies deployed by Daoist and Buddhist leaders to supplant or assimilate these cults in the fourth century. See his "Local Cults around Mount Lu at the Time of Sun En's Rebellion," in *Facets of Taoism: Essays in Chinese Religion*, ed. Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel (New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Pr., 1979), pp. 83–101.

30. The literature on Southern Dynasties eremitism is vast. See Alan J. Berkowitz, *Patterns of Disengagement: The Practice and Portrayal of Reclusion in Early Medieval China* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Pr., 1999), which includes an extensive list of references. For studies emphasizing political factors, see Charles Holcombe, "The Exemplar State: Ideology, Self-Cultivation, and Power in Fourth Century China," *Harvard Journal of*

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Asiatic Studies, vol. 49, no. 1 (1989), pp. 93–139, and his *In the Shadow of the Han: Literati Thought and Society at the Beginning of the Southern Dynasties* (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawaii Pr., 1994).

31. The first is mentioned in Guo Ruoxu, *Tuhua Jianwen Zhi* (ca. 1080), scroll 1; the second in Zhang Yanyuan, *Lidai Minghua Ji* (preface 847), scroll 5. See *Huashi Congshu,* comp. Yu Anlan [Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin, 1963], vol. 1, pp. 5 and 69.

32. On Huiyuan and Southern Dynasties Buddhism, see Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China* (Leiden: Brill, 1959), and Tsukamoto Zenryū, *A History of Early Chinese Buddhism from Its Introduction to the Death of Hui-yüan* (Tokyo, New York, and San Francisco: Kodansha International, 1985).

33. Tsukamoto, *History of Early Chinese Buddhism*, p. 844.

34. Supposedly a replica of a miraculous image in a cave at Nagarahara in what is now Afghanistan, the Buddha's Shadow (or Reflection; or Likeness) was probably based on descriptions provided by the Indian monk Buddhabhadra (d. 426), who had visited the Donglin Temple in 411.

35. As Susan Bush puts it, "Huiyuan made use of the setting as an aid to realization just as he would focus the minds of his congregation on the images of Amitābha" ("Tsung Ping's Essay on Painting Landscape and the 'Landscape Buddhism' of Mount Lu," in *Theories of the Arts in China*, ed. Susan Bush and Christian Murck [Princeton: Princeton Univ. Pr., 1983], p. 148). See also Zürcher on the importance in the Huiyuan/Mount Lu devotional tradition of icons or of some "concrete object of worship, perceptible by the senses" (*Buddhist Conquest*, p. 220).

36. From Huiyuan's biography in the *Gaoseng Zhuan*, translated in Zürcher, *Buddhist Conquest*, pp. 240–53.

37. Translated in J.D. Frodsham, *The Murmuring Stream: The Life and Works of the Chinese Nature Poet Hsieh Ling-yün (385–433), Duke of K'ang-lo* (Kuala Lumpur: Univ. of Malaya Pr., 1967), pp. 178–83. See also Richard Mather, "The Landscape Buddhism of the Fifth-Century Poet Hsieh Ling-yün," *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 18, no. 1 (November 1958), pp. 77–78.

38. Indeed, according to Huiyuan's biography in the *Gaoseng Zhuan*, even monks in foreign countries "whenever they burned incense and performed the ceremonies of worship...used to bow their heads to the East and respectfully to direct their thoughts to Mt. Lu" (Zürcher, *Buddhist Conquest*, pp. 248–49).

39. *Lushan Youji*, pp. 9–15, with annotations; the portion quoted is on p. 10, and the case for Huiyuan's authorship of the Stone Gate Preface is made on pp. 2–13. My translation has benefitted from those of Richard Strassberg (*Inscribed Landscapes*, pp. 70–71) and Susan Bush ("Tsung Ping's Essay on Painting Landscape," pp. 149–52). Huiyuan mentions an Immortal's ascent again in his *Lushan Lueji*, this time reporting it as an actual sighting rather than a vision. This may be another account of the Stone Gate episode, somewhat differently recollected (*Lushan Youji*, p. 2).

40. Erik Zürcher calls it "gentry Buddhism" (*Buddhist Conquest*, p. 204).

41. Xie is known to have done Buddhist painting as well; his wall-paintings in the Waguan Temple, which survived into the Song dynasty, were adjacent to a famous depiction of the Indian sage Vimalakīrti by Gu Kaizhi. The families of Xie and Gu were in fact connected; Xie Kun, whose likeness Gu had painted, was one of Lingyun's forebears. Xie was connected to the Wang family as well; his mother was Wang Xianzhi's niece.

42. The texts are the *Mingfo Lun* (*Treatise on Understanding the Buddha* or *Treatise Illuminating the Buddha*, ca. 433); and *Hua Shanshui Xu* (*Introduction to Painting Landscape*).

43. The map-like layout recalls Li's depiction of his own retreat in the Longmian mountains. On that composition, see Robert E. Harrist, Jr., *Painting and Private Life in Eleventh-Century China: Mountain Villa by Li Gonglin* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Pr., 1998).

44. References to the White Lotus Society do not seem to antedate the Tang, but from that time on it was an icon in literati culture, Buddhist culture, and the regional culture of Mount Lu. See Tsukamoto's post-script on "Huiyuan's monastery and his influence after his death," in *History of Early Chinese Buddhism*, pp. 861–69.

45. He can be recognized by his characteristic headscarf and the sedan-chair mentioned in some early biographies. For a discussion of the linking of Tao and Huiyuan in the pictorial tradition, see my "Bridge at Tiger Brook" (forthcoming).

46. The translation is Strassberg's (*Inscribed Landscapes,* p. 70), modified in light of an annotation in *Lushan Youji*, p. 14 (n. 31).

47. *Lushan Shixuan*, pp. 22–23; translated in Paul Kroll, "Li Po's Transcendent Diction," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 106, no. 1 (January–March, 1986), p. 100.

48. *Lushan Shixuan*, p. 19.

49. The waterfall is also sometimes a subject of painting in itself; see, for example, Sheng Maoye's (act. 1594–1640) huge hanging scroll in the Art Museum, Berkeley, with marvelling tourists at a fenced overlook near the upper right and two gazing men framed by a pair of trees in the lower left (Kiyohiko Munakata, *Sacred Mountains in Chinese Art*, exhib. cat. [Urbana and Chicago: Univ. of Illinois Pr., 1990], p. 120; see also Shao Mi's album painting on p. 121). Amazed viewers also people Gao Qipei's painting of the waterfall in the National Palace Museum (*Gugong Shuhua Tulu* [Taipei: Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan, 1989–], vol. 11, p. 19).

50. The annotated text is in *Lushan Youji*, pp. 21–29; see also the translation and notes by Strassberg, *Inscribed Landscapes*, pp. 134–37. According to the late eleventh-century *Linquan Gaozhi*, Bai also painted a picture of his Mount Lu retreat (Yu Jianhua, *Zhongguo Hualun Leibian* [Beijing: Zhongguo Gudian Yishu, 1957], vol. 1, p. 637).

51. *Lushan Shixuan*, p. 41; on birds, see in particular Tao's fourth "Drinking" poem. For other Bai Juyi poems on Mount Lu, see *Lushan Shixuan*, pp. 41–53; *Tao Yuanming Yanjiu Ziliao Huibian* (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1962; hereafter, *Huibian*), pp. 20–22.

52. *Su Shi Shiji* (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1982), vol. 4, p. 1219. Su's record of this trip, *Jiyou Lushan*, is included in *Lushan Youji*, pp. 30–34. See also Beata Grant's discussion in *Mount Lu Revisited: Buddhism in the Life and Writings of Su Shih* (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawaii Pr., 1994), pp. 123–28.

53. Song Di came with Zhou Dunyi in 1065. Su Che made a brief visit in the summer of 1080; some of his writings about it are collected in *Lushan Youji*, pp. 35–39 and *Lushan Shixuan*, pp. 78–79. Later Hong Mai (1123-1202), who was from Poyang, also retired to Mount Lu.

54. *Lushan Shixuan*, pp. 66–69, for Ouyang's text and the ox-riding paintings.

55. Chen Shunyu, *Lushan Ji* (Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō 2095 [Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1919-29], vol. 51, pp. 1024-52).

56. The brothers were Li Bai (not to be confused with the famous poet) and Li She, who lived at Mount Lu in the Zhenyuan period (785–804). See John W. Chaffee, "Chu Hsi and the Revival of the White Deer Grotto Academy, 1179-1181 A.D.," *T'oung Pao*, vol. 71 (1985), pp. 40–62. See also Linda Walton, "Southern Sung Academies and the Construction of Sacred Space," in *Landscape, Culture, and Power in Chinese Society*, ed. Wen-hsin Yeh (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, Univ. of California, Berkeley, 1998), pp. 28–31.

57. *Lushan Shixuan*, p. 106; for other Lushan poems by Zhu Xi, see pp. 103–5. Tao's "Drunken Rock" was also the subject of a poem by Cheng Shimeng (act. early twelfth c.); see *Lushan Shixuan*, p. 92.

58. In the late Northern Song the Mount Lu monk Shanquan declared Tao to be the originator of the mountain's tradition of resident poets; Lu Jiuyuan (1139-1193), a Jiangxi native, also spoke of the importance of the "stream of Pengze." The idea of a Jiangxi school of poetry (*Jiangxi shipai*), formulated by Lü Benhong (1084-1145) in an essay of 1133, since lost, reinforced this idea. About twenty-five poets were numbered as members. Not all were from Jiangxi —the criteria for membership emphasized style or "flavor" as well as actual regional affiliation— and most have been considerd relatively minor figures. Nonetheless, the school attained a credible status and gave contemporary Jiangxi writing a presence on the literary map. Huang Tingjian

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was recognized as its immediate forbear, but as local literary self-awareness took shape, Tao Yuanming emerged ever more clearly as the region's chief culture hero. See Jonathan O. Pease, "Lin-ch'uan and Fen-ning: Kiangsi Locales and Kiangsi Writers during the Sung," *Asia Major*, ser. 3, vol. 4, no. 1 (1991), pp. 39-85.

59. "Record of Travelling in the Mountain" (*Youshan Ji*), in *Zeng Gong Ji*, 2 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1984), pp. 781–82. Zeng wrote extensively about places in Jiangxi.

60. For recent studies with references to many others, see Ronald C. Egan, *Word, Image, and Deed in the Life of Su Shi* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Pr., 1994), in particular the section on "East Slope, Tao Qian, Determined Contentment" (pp. 229–37); and Michael Fuller, *The Road to East Slope: The Development of Su Shi's Poetic Voice* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Pr., 1990).

61. *Shangu Quanji* (Shanghai: Zhonghua, 1927–36), *waiji*, 1.4a.

62. Li's father, Li Gefei (d. 1106; author of an essay on scholars' gardens in Luoyang), had belonged to Su Shi's literary circle. Stephen Owen tells her story in "The Snares of Memory," in *Remembrances: The Experience of the Past in Classical Chinese Literature* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Pr., 1986), pp. 80–98.

63. See Munakata, *Sacred Mountains*, cat. 53, and Ju-hsi Chou and Claudia Brown, *The Elegant Brush: Chinese Painting under the Qianlong Emperor, 1735–1795*, exhib. cat. (Phoenix: Phoenix Art Museum, 1985), cat. 27; the latter has translations of the place-name cartouches, some of which (the "Drunken Rock," for example) pertain to Tao Yuanming. Dong Bangda also made a copy of Jing Hao's hanging scroll of Mount Lu; see Osvald Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*, 7 vols. (New York: Ronald Pr., 1955–57), vol. 6, pl. 437.

64. From Strassberg, *Inscribed Landscapes*, pp. 413–16. Yun's supplementary text, *You Lushan Houji*, is reprinted in *Lushan Youji*, pp. 136–41.

65. Mount Lu paintings by Five Dynasties and early Northern Song landscapists such as Dong Yuan and Juran are recorded, and some may be preserved in copies, among them Jing Hao's hanging scroll in Taipei and a Guan Tong copied by Wang Hui, dated to 1692; see Sirén, *Chinese Painting*, vol. 3, pl. 144 and vol. 6, pl. 401.

66. Shen Zhou's "The Grandeur of Mount Lu" (*Lushan Gao*; 1467) is reproduced in color in Wen Fong and James Watt, eds., *Possessing the Past: Treasures from the National Palace Museum, Taipei*, exhib. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1996), cat. 187, among other places; Shitao's "Waterfall on Mount Lu" in James Cahill, *Chinese Painting* (Geneva: Skira, 1960), p. 183 (minus the top portion containing the inscriptions).

67. "'Clouds and Mists That Emanate and Sink Away': Shitao's *Waterfall on Mount Lu* and Practices of Observation in the Seventeenth Century," *Art History*, vol. 19, no. 2 (June 1996), pp. 169–90.

68. The two sections of Yujian's painting are reproduced in color in *Suiboku Bijutsu Taikei*, vol. 3 (1978), pls. 18–19; for the copy, supp. fig. 38, see p. 187 and the color reproduction in *Catalogue of Selected Masterpieces in the Nezu Collections: Painting and Calligraphy* (Tokyo: Nezu Institute of Fine Arts, 2001), no. 123 (p. 137).

69. Though not labeled a "Mount Lu" painting, the extraordinary *Evening Landscape* (literally, "Evening Sun," *Xiyang Tu*) by the court painter Ma Lin (ca. 1180–after 1256), may be related to Tao's tradition (for a color reproduction, see *Selected Masterpieces in the Nezu Collections*, no. 3, p. 16). One of a pair of album paintings with a palace seal for the year 1254, it issues from much the same context as Liang Kai's picture (*Fig. 3*). On the companion leaf is a poetic couplet inscribed in two grand columns by Ma's patron, the emperor Lizong (r. 1225–1264): "The mountain holds the colors of autumn close; / Swallows traverse the evening sun in the distance." Replicating the fifth "Drinking" poem's view of mountain, autumn, sunset, and returning birds, the lines are a close match to Tao's fourth couplet: "the mountain air is lovely as the sun sets / and flocks of flying birds return together." The echo of Tao's *rixi*, "the sun [or, day] at evening," in Lizong's *xiyang* "evening sun" seems more than fortuitous. In the picture, the silhouette of a mountain range floats beyond a deep, mist-filled valley across which four birds venture in flight; at once evanescent and unforgettable, it seems to realize the view of South Mountain that caught Tao's eye at his eastern fence—a view Liang Kai refrained from painting in his scroll.

At present *Evening Landscape* is in the form of a small hanging scroll made up of the two leaves expertly sewn together. With the couplet now boldly filling the sky above a more distant and spacious landscape, this conception, the work of one of the leaves' early owners, is itself an admirable constructed image worthy of study.

70. Helmut Brinker and Hiroshi Kanazawa, *Zen: Masters of Meditation in Images and Writings* (Ascona, Switzerland: Artibus Asiae, 1996), pp. 41–45. For a Chinese example of a white-robed Guanyin flanked by two landscapes with figures, dated to the Yuan dynasty, see the Honpō-ji triptych reproduced in Suzuki Kei, *Chūgoku Kaiga Sōgō Zuroku* (*Comprehensive Illustrated Catalogue of Chinese Paintings*) (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppan Kai, 1982–83), vol. 4, p. 72 (JT 50.004).

71. See Yoshiaki Shimizu and Carolyn Wheelwright, *Japanese Ink Paintings* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Pr., 1976), pp. 72–77; and Brinker and Kanazawa, *Zen: Masters of Meditation*, fig. 18. It would seem this triptych was not unique. A pair of hanging scrolls of Li and Tao, with an attribution to Ishii (act. early fifteenth c.), is known (Shimizu and Wheelwright, p. 76 and n. 19). In another pair in the Idemitsu Museum of Art, by Gakuō Zokyō (act. late fifteenth–early sixteenth c.), the Peach Blossom Spring fisherman makes his way toward a canyon-like opening between peach-rimmed cliffs, and Li Bai with his servant gazes up at his waterfall; as we have seen, the utopian retreat of the Peach Spring land was popularly associated with South Mountain and represents it here. Both pairs of scrolls may originally have flanked a Buddhist image.

72. See, for example, Confucians and Daoists dazzled by Buddhist sutras in a painting of 1178 by Zhou Jichang (Wu Tung, *Tales from the Land of Dragons: 1,000 Years of Chinese Painting*, exhib. cat. [Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1997], cat. 41); and respectfully watching scenes of "washing the elephant" (*saoxiang*, a punning image for the Buddhist "sweeping away of illusion"), as in an example in the Indiana University Art Museum (Marsha Weidner, ed., *Latter Days of the Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism, 850-1850*, exhib. cat. [Lawrence, Kansas and Honolulu: Spencer Museum of Art, 1994], cpl. 32, cat. 66).

73. Quoted in *Huibian*, p. 29. In fact, the *wang* variant was not "recent"; it appears in some early anthologies, among them *Wen Xuan* (compiled about 530 by Xiao Tong) and *Yiwen Leiju* (about 620). *Shen*, here translated as "inspired," refers to a spirit-like insight or power, something beyond the ordinary human reach.

74. Quoted in *Huiping*, p. 167.

75. Wei Qingzhi, comp., *Shiren Yuxie* (Beijing: Zhongguo Wenxue Cankao Ziliao Congshu, 1961), scroll 13, p. 281. See also the comments on this issue by Cai Ji and Sun Yuefeng, quoted in *Huiping*, pp. 167–69. Bai Juyi's line is from one of his "Sixteen Poems in Imitation of Tao Qian's style"; see *Bai Xiangshan Shiji* (Shanghai: Zhonghua, 1927–36), *Changqing Ji*, 5.9b.

76. From Wu's discussion of the fifth "Drinking" poem in his *Liuchao Xuanshi Dinglun*, quoted in *Huiping*, pp. 171–72. Wu thought Tao's plucking of the chrysanthemums was also impromptu and unintentional.

77. Translated in Susan Bush and Hsio-yen Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard Univ. Pr., 1985), p. 204.

78. On Buddhism in Su's thought, see Beata Grant, *Mount Lu Revisited*. Li Gonglin too was deeply interested in Chan Buddhism.

79. Wang Shumin, "Shuo 'Youran jian Nanshan'," *Zhongguo Yuwen Xuebao*, vol. 8 (August 1976), pp. 1–4. Wang Shumin raises the possibility that Tao had written *wang* in a draft of the poem, revising it to *jian* in his final version. For another recent study of the *jian / wang* matter, see Lin Wenyue, "'Southern Mountain' and 'Spring Grass'," trans. Felicia Hecker, *Renditions*, vol. 16 (Autumn 1981), pp. 44–61.

80. See, in particular, the fourth and eighth "Drinking" poems (*Tao Jingjie Ji*, pp. 41, 42; Hightower, *T'ao Ch'ien*, pp. 129, 136). The latter poem

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situates his favorite pine in the "eastern garden," suggesting it might have been near his "eastern fence." In his second poem in "Reply to Secretary Guo," Tao also associates stroking a pine with a view of distant "soaring peaks" (*Tao Jingjie Ji*, p. 24; Hightower, *T'ao Ch'ien*, p. 81).

81. The translation is Arthur Waley's, from his *Book of Songs* (New York: Grove, 1960), p. 176, slightly modified.

82. Su Shi's inscription for Li's *Yuanming at the Eastern Fence* (*Yuanming Dongli*) is recorded in Sun Shaoyuan, *Shenghua Ji* (preface 1187) (Shanghai: Shangwu, 1978), 1.21a-b; it is partially translated below. Liang Kai's place in Li Gonglin's lineage is emphasized by most commentators, and he is also said to have studied Li's follower Jia Shigu—highly regarded in his time, but a shadowy figure today (Zhuang Su, *Huaji Buyi* [*Supplement to the Huaji*], 1298; Xia Wenyan, *Tuhui Baojian*, preface 1365). Certainly Liang Kai's Tao bears a strong resemblance to the Tao of Li Gonglin's Freer scroll, especially to the figure standing on the east hill (*Fig. 2*). Still, the connection between Li and Liang is not obvious, nor has it been universally accepted. Li is associated with literati subjects and disciplined drawing in a restrained scholarly taste, whereas by the fourteenth century Liang was known for his rough *yipin* manner and Chan orientation rather than for paintings like his *Eastern Fence*. As early as 1298 Zhuang Su characterized Liang's drawing as "whirling and untrammelled" (*piaoyi*), making no mention of a fine style. In 1365 Xia Wenyan did acknowledge Liang's "fine and skillful" (*jingmiao*) style, but added that only his very sketchy (*caocao*) paintings were still to be seen. Song Lian (1310–1381), a distinguished scholar and official in the first Ming reign, flatly dismissed the notion that Liang had followed Li Gonglin (see Chen Gaohua, *Song Liao Jin Huajia Shiliao* [Beijing: Wenwu, 1984], p. 722.) The modern art historian Xie Zhiliu was also skeptical, until he became acquainted with Liang's painting of the Daoist master Zhang Daoling (like *Eastern Fence*, signed "*chen* Liang Kai") in the Wan-go Weng collection. In the fine-scaled ink outline drawing of this work—the "plain drawing" style cultivated by Li Gonglin—Xie found confirmation of Liang's connection with the manner of Li and Jia Shigu (Xie Zhiliu, *Liang Kai Quanji* [Shanghai: Renmin Meishu, 1986], p. 2). In fact, Liang Kai's repertory evidently did include scholars and other worthies of secular literary culture, notably his portrait of Li Bai in Tokyo (reproduced in color in *Suiboku Bijutsu Taikei*, vol. 4, pl. 5, among other places). Other examples known from records and from more or less far-fetched extant attributions include paintings of Confucius, Boyi and Shuqi, Su Wu, and Wang Xizhi "writing on a fan" and "watching geese"; his set of hanging scrolls of the four scholarly accomplishments is listed in the collection of the Ashikaga shogunate in the fifteenth century.

83. For a color reproduction of the box, which was found in a fourteenth-century tomb near Shanghai, see Shen Zhiyu, *The Shanghai Museum of Art* (New York: Abrams, 1983), pl. 197. For Du Jin's painting in color, see Richard Barnhart, *Painters of the Great Ming: the Imperial Court and the Zhe School*, exhib. cat. (Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art, 1993), fig. 143. Some further examples are illustrated or cited below (e.g., *Fig. 24*), and many others could be mentioned.

84. In color in *Yuanming Yizhi*, no. 30 and no. 32.

85. The set is published in color in *Ming Qing Anhui Huajia Zuopin Xuan* (Anhui: Anhui Meishu, 1988), pp. 120–25. On the unknowability of South Mountain, Dai is echoing the verses Su Shi inscribed on the walls of the Xilin-si during a visit in 1084, quoted above.

86. For this album, see Nakamura Shigeo, "Bannen no Shi-i Gasatsu ni tsuite" ("On Albums Illustrating Poetry of the Late Period," *Sekito Kenkyū*, vol. 2 [1983]), pp. 77–86. See also Cang Kejia, "Tao Shi, Shi Hua, Wang Shu" (Shitao's Paintings with Themes from Tao Yuanming's Poems and Inscriptions by Wang Wenzhi) in *Gugong Bowuyuan Yuankan* 1979. 3, pp. 44–45.

87. For a color reproduction and discussion of the scroll, see Howard Rogers and Sherman E. Lee, *Masterworks of Ming and Qing Painting from the Forbidden City*, exhib. cat. (Lansdale, Pennsylvania: International Arts Council, 1988), cat. 45.

88. In contrast, Dong Bangda's similarly laid out but rigorously detailed and lucid panorama of the Lu range (*Fig. 7*) may be considered a *wang* view of the scene.

89. *Tao Jingjie Ji*, p. 15; Hightower, *T'ao Ch'ien*, p. 47 (slightly modified). "In vain," I think, because Tao valued the immediate release of drink more than the doubtful medicinal benefits of the plant. For other possible explanations, see Hightower's notes (p. 48).

90. *Song Shu* (edited by Shen Yue, himself a would-be recluse and nature poet), reprinted in *Huibian*, pp. 3–6; the excerpt quoted is on p. 4.

91. See Frodsham, *The Murmuring Stream*, vol. 1, p. 24.

92. Their uneasy relationship is suggested in another anecdote: in this case Wang Hong manages to meet Tao by having a mutual friend bring him wine, and then joining the party when Tao was sufficiently mellow (*Song Shu*; see *Huibian*, p. 4). Versions of the story also appear in Xiao Tong's *Wen Xuan* (ca. 530; see *Huibian*, pp. 6–8); *Nan Shi* (a seventh-century text, in *Huibian*, pp. 13–14); and *Beitang Shuchao*, cited below.

93. Yu Shinan, comp., *Beitang Shuchao* (Taipei: Wenhai, 1962), 155.12a (vol. 2, p. 369).

94. A.R. Davis, "The Double Ninth Festival in Chinese Poetry: A Study in Variations upon a Theme," *Wen-lin*, 1968, pp. 45-64. Li's poem, "Climbing a Hill on the Ninth Day" (*Jiuri Dengshan*), is translated on p. 52 (slightly modified here). Davis thinks the parallels between the Wang Hong anecdote and Tao's "Double Ninth, in Retirement" poem are coincidental.

95. Li Gonglin is said to have been the originator of the *Tao Yuanming Gushi* type; some versions are attributed to him (for one in the National Palace Museum, see *Gugong Shuhua Tulu*, vol. 15, pp. 333–36; also reproduced in *Yuanming Yizhi*, pp. 48–49), and all are done in an archaizing "plain drawing" (*baimiao*) style stemming from his tradition. Many, though, are attributed to Yuan artists—Qian Xuan (ca. 1235–before 1307), Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322), Zhu Derun (1294–1365)—and the genre is unlikely to antedate the late Song.

96. Li Zongmo's version, of higher quality than most, is in two scrolls, now in the Yoshikawa collection, Tokyo, and in the Yamato Bunkakan, Nara. On this and other *Tao Stories* handscrolls, see Kohara Hironobu, "Ri Shūbaku Hitsu Tō Enmei Jiseki Zukan" ("On 'Scroll Paintings of Chinese Poet T'ao Yüan-ming's Deeds' by Li Tsung-mo," *Yamato Bunka*, vol. 67 (February 1981), pp. 33–63.

97. In color in *Yuanming Yizhi*, no. 6. A picture by Zhou Wei (act. ca. 1368–1388) in the same collection, *Yuanming Supremely Untrammelled* (*Yuanming Yizhi*; the catalogue takes its name from this painting), replicates the scene of Tao drunk, listing forward on his servant's arm (see no. 3). It may be, as Kohara thinks, that this leaf is not an independent composition but a fragment separated from a handscroll; see "Ri Shūbaku," p. 38.

98. *Shenghua Ji*, 1.20a; it is one of three anonymous poems, quatrains of six-character lines, "respectfully inscribed for Li Boshi's painting of Yuanming in [Wang] Xingzhi's collection." The other two poems are on other themes. Wang Xingzhi owned Li's *Returning Home* or a very early reproduction of it (see Brotherton, "Li Kung-lin," pp. 114–20), and these poems may have been written for it. The *Caiju* quatrain may refer specifically to the third scene of Tao with a pine which, it has been noted, incorporates some elements from the fifth "Drinking" poem.

99. For a poem with a very similar theme and trajectory, see an inscription by the Ming writer Zhang Yining on a painting of *Yuanming Sent Wine* (*Yuanming Songjiu*): "In front of Five Willows' gate the willow leaves wither, / The lovely atmosphere of South Mountain suffuses the eastern fence. / A white-robed man arrives at the [plot of] yellow flowers— / It's time to send the Master wine!" See Chen Bangyan (1603–1647), ed., *Yuding Lidai Tihua Shilei* (Taipei: Shangwu, 1976), 37.9b. A Ming inscription for a painting entitled *The White-Robed Man Sends Wine* (*Baiyi Song Jiu*) is recorded on the same page.

100. *Shenghua Ji* 1.21a-b. It is possible that the anonymous "Gathering Chrysanthemums" poem translated above was composed for the same painting.

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101. Wang Shipeng, quoted in *Huibian*, p. 64. Tao Yuanming speaks of eating the ferns of Shouyang himself, in a poem about emulating virtuous men of yore (*Tao Jingjie Ji*, p. 55; Hightower, *T'ao Ch'ien*, p. 182).

102 Tao held office in a town called Pengze, and is sometimes referred to by that name. The painting is reproduced in color in *Yuanming Yizhi*, no. 5, among other places. Lu often drew on Tao Yuanming's poems, particularly the "Peach Blossom Spring," for his pictorial imagery. He was also a great chrysanthemum fancier; *Traces of Tao Yuanming* was painted for a friend in thanks for a gift of chrysanthemum plants.

103. Quoted in *Huibian*, p. 119. Zhao, like Su, was a great admirer of Tao.

104. *Ti Caiju Tu Bing Xu*; recorded in *Shenghua Ji*, 6.13a-b. Han was associated with the Jiangxi school of poets.

105. On Song gardens and Tao Yuanming allusions, see Robert E. Harrist, Jr., "Art and Identity in the Northern Sung Dynasty: Evidence from Gardens," *Arts of the Sung and Yuan* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), pp. 147–63.

106. *Quan Tang Shi* (*Complete Tang Poetry*) (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1979), vol. 14, scroll 475, p. 5395. For Li Deyu's garden and rock collection, see John Hay, *Kernels of Energy, Bones of Earth: The Rock in Chinese Art* (New York: China Institute, 1985), pp. 19–20.

107. See Kiyohiko Munakata's study of Ming gardens in Suzhou, "Mysterious Heavens and Chinese Classical Gardens," RES, vol. 15 (Spring 1988), pp. 61–88. As Munakata shows, many Ming gardens were thoroughly infused with the imagery of paradise and Immortals' realms.

108. See *Of Water and Ink*, exhib. cat. (Detroit Institute of Arts, 1986), cat. 50.2. The work is one of eleven paintings mounted on a pair of screens. A poem by Keijo Shūrin (d. 1518), inscribed on the painting, gives the scene a socioeconomic construction. As the text is translated in *Of Water and Ink*: "After a thousand years Master Tao appears as if before one's eyes / Standing beneath a tall pine tree by a fence of chrysanthemums / During the Eastern and Western Jin, lands were still granted to worthy nobles / Now they have been decimated into the dish gardens of the common people." It is not clear whether the inscription deplores the Tao family's loss of grander properties that had belonged to forebears such as Tao Kan (259–334), or the substitution a millennium later of ornamental dish landscapes for real country retreats such as Tao's own. Either way it seems to have little to do with Tao's own writings or his constructed image. The inscription by Ishō Tokugan on a painting of Tao attributed to Shūbun (1425) is also political, speaking of Tao's contempt for Liu Yu, who overthrew the Jin and founded the Liu Song dynasty (see *Of Water and Ink*, cat. 11). Both of these paintings resemble the "Scholar of the Eastern Fence," as does the right-hand panel of Chū'an Shinkō's triptych (*Fig. 12*); clearly some version of Liang Kai's composition was known in Muromachi Japan.

109 See "Guilaizi Ming Minchang Suo Chu Ji," *Jilei Ji* (Sibu congkan ed.; Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1975), 31.208-9.

110. Zhu Changwen, "Lepu Ji" (1081), in *Lepu Yugao* (Siku quanshu ed.; Taipei: Shangwu Yinshu Guan, 1983), 6.1a-4a.

111. On this painting and for a discussion of mountain-viewing, see Ellen Johnston Laing, "Qiu Ying's Depiction of Sima Guang's Duluo Yuan and the View from the Chinese Garden," *Oriental Art*, vol. 33, no. 4 (Winter 1987–88), pp. 375–80.

112. Reproduced in color and discussed in Richard M. Barnhart et al., *Li Kung-lin's* Classic of Filial Piety (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), pp. 150–53. Barnhart traces the boat image to a poem in the *Classic of Poetry*; he does not comment on the mountain.

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