
Epitome of National Disgrace: A Painting Illuminating Song–Jin Diplomatic Relations

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Narrative images with figures interacting in a landscape typify the earliest phase of Chinese scroll painting. As exemplified by the *Goddess of the Luo River* (Figure 1) attributed to Gu Kaizhi, its commonly acknowledged patriarch, works in this genre interpret a literary or historical theme through thoughtfully conceived imagery and composition to reveal the artist's or the recipient's perspective on the issues involved, be they political, philosophical, or moral.¹ The artistic caliber of the pictorial representation is crucial to the persuasive power of the message and its successful conveyance. A horizontal scroll in the Metropolitan Museum, *A Diplomatic Mission to the Jin* (Figure 2), embodies an advanced stage in the development of Chinese narrative landscape painting, when the dominant palette had changed from the early red and black (*dan-qing*) to blue and green (*qinglü*) and the scale and spatial relationship of the motifs had become rationally defined. As usual, however, the painter's primary motivation and his intended recipient's relish of it lie beyond the rarefied realm of "art for art's sake."

The Metropolitan Museum scroll (hereafter the *Mission* scroll) bears no title, date, or painter's signature and seal. Though it lacks textual references, it appears to depict an event taking place at a specific site. The massive mountain ranges with angular, fissured rock formations and the steep-roofed building surrounded by trees near the scroll's center (Figure 3) are characteristic of China's northern landscape. Sinuous bands of mist drift across a river valley in the middle ground, making the mountains appear higher by blurring their baselines. The river runs toward a wide bridge near the left end of the scroll and then disappears into the distance (Figure 4). To the right of the bridge a fortified town with

crenellated walls and prominent turrets guards the hilly terrain, most likely a mountain pass of strategic importance.

The painting's narrative focus is the scene in the right foreground (Figure 5), where three groups of people gather near a pine-sheltered pavilion. The middle group consists of four men on horseback wearing official apparel of the Song dynasty (960–1279). To their left are two equestrians in fitted uniforms, one, evidently a messenger, carrying a scroll on his back and the other turning to respond to the Song officials. To the right of the tall pines are five men in loose robes, three of whom hold musical instruments: a lute, a flute, and a zither (Figure 6). The conical hats worn by these five men and the two riders at the far left (Figure 7) identify them as nomadic Jurchen soldiers of the Jin, or Jurchen, dynasty (1115–1234), whose leaders kidnapped the last two Northern Song emperors, Huizong (r. 1100–1125) and his son Qinzong (r. 1126–27), and assumed sovereignty over northern China in 1127.² The rest of the Song imperial family fled south and established the Southern Song dynasty under Emperor Gaozong (r. 1127–62; son of Huizong and half-brother of Qinzong). The Song court, based in Lin'an (modern Hangzhou), continued the dynasty's mandate until 1279, when Khubilai Khan conquered the Southern Song empire and reunited China.

From the presence of the musicians and the empty table and wicker stools in the pavilion, it can be inferred that a repast hosted by the Jurchens has just ended, and the guests are ready to depart, guided by the Jin soldier and heralded by the messenger. The painting may thus be read as illustrating a stopover in a Song delegation's journey to the Jin court, one of many recorded diplomatic missions during the hundred years of Song–Jin relations between 1118 and 1218. The diplomatic relationship between the Song and the Jin began with the Northern Song emperor Huizong's sending Ma Zheng to the Jin in 1118 with the proposal that the two states join forces to expel the Khitan Liao. It officially ended

1. Attributed to Gu Kaizhi (ca. 344–ca. 406). *Goddess of the Luo River*. Section of a handscroll. China, 11th-century copy(?) of 4th-century original. Ink and color on silk, overall scroll 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. x 21 ft. 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (.26 x 6.46 m). Liaoning Provincial Museum. Photograph: Zhongguo gudai shuhua jian ding zu 1997–2001, vol. 1 (1997), pl. 46



2. Attributed to Yang Bangji (ca. 1110–1181). *A Diplomatic Mission to the Jin*. Handscroll. China, Jin dynasty (1115–1234), ca. late 1150s. Ink and color on silk, 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 60 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (26.7 x 152.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Edward Elliott Family Collection, Purchase, The Dillon Fund Gift, 1982 (1982.1.1)

in 1218 when the Southern Song barred the Jin emissary from entering their territory south of the Yellow River region. There were 190 missions in all, 15 in the Northern Song period and 175 in the Southern Song.³

In a colophon to the Metropolitan Museum scroll dated 1953 (see Appendix, Figure 34), the scholar and collector Chen Rentao first identified the subject matter as a Song diplomatic delegation to the Jin, a loyalist lament over the disgraced Song state. He also suggested Yang Bangji (ca. 1110–1181), a Jin official-artist, as the painter based on the work's stylistic similarity to a painting by Yang Bangji he had seen

earlier.⁴ Another scholar, Chiang I-han, examined the history of Song–Jin negotiations and warfare from 1111 to 1127 in a pioneering study of this scroll in 1979. He proposed that the painting depicts a special mission headed by four Song officials to Yanjing (present-day Beijing) to negotiate the return of six northern prefectures to the Song in 1123 and that it was painted by an unidentified Song artist in celebration of the recovery of the lost territory.⁵ Although Chiang's conclusion is questionable, his methodology—drawing on primary historical sources to interpret pictorial imagery—was appropriate. In 1990 Yu Hui affirmed Chen





3. Detail of the center section of Figure 2



4. Detail of the left section of Figure 2



Rentao's attribution of the painting to Yang Bangji on the grounds that Yang followed Li Gonglin (ca. 1049–1106) in painting horses and Li Cheng (919–967) in landscape and that late in his career he held positions in transportation and the military in Shandong and Hebei under the Jin. In addition, judging from the titles of his paintings recorded in various writings and painting catalogues, Yang was fond of depicting mountain passes with travelers.⁶

5. Detail of Figure 2, showing the pavilion scene



its execution date, authorship, intended recipient, and most importantly, unique standing as a political painting. The inadequacy of the earlier studies was due mostly to the serious loss and fading of the vibrant colors that once distinguished the pavilion scene, the thematic focus of the scroll, from its somber backdrop. As a result, the ambivalent portrayal of the Song delegation, the key to the meaning of the painting, failed to engender serious inquiry.

Building on the earlier scholarship, this article aims at a comprehensive understanding of the *Mission* scroll, including

The style of the *Mission* scroll corroborates earlier scholars' argument that this portrayal of twelfth-century Song–Jin



6. Detail of Figure 2,
showing the group of
musicians



7. Detail of Figure 2,
showing the two riders
at the left

8. Emperor Huizong (1082–1135). *Returning Boat on a Snowy River*. Section of a handscroll. China, Northern Song dynasty (960–1127), early 12th century. Ink and color on silk, overall scroll 12 x 75 1/8 in. (30.3 x 190.8 cm). Palace Museum, Beijing. Photograph: *Zhongguo lidai huihua* 1978–91, vol. 2 (1981), p. 85

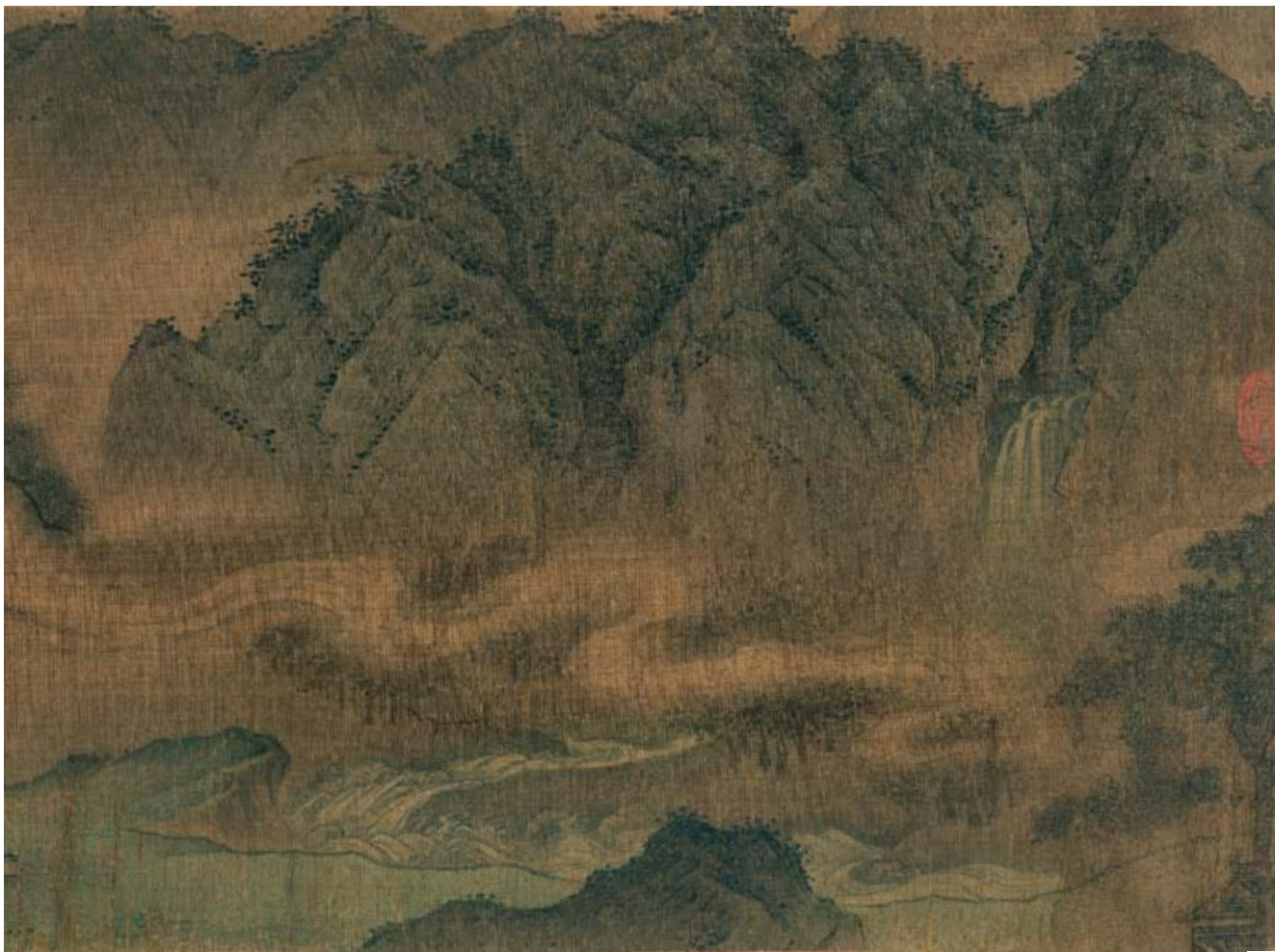


diplomacy was a contemporary production. Except for the bright green ground and the figures' colorful robes, the painting exhibits a strong stylistic affinity to paintings of the late Northern Song period, the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Like Emperor Huizong's *Returning Boat on a Snowy River* (Figure 8) and other late Northern Song handscrolls, the *Mission* scroll represents expansive space by progressing leftward along a consistent horizon, without

shifting perspective, and the composition features a distinct tripartite structure of foreground, middle ground, and distance.⁷ And the sensitively rendered atmospheric effects of distant mountains in cloud and mist also find striking comparisons in paintings of the period.

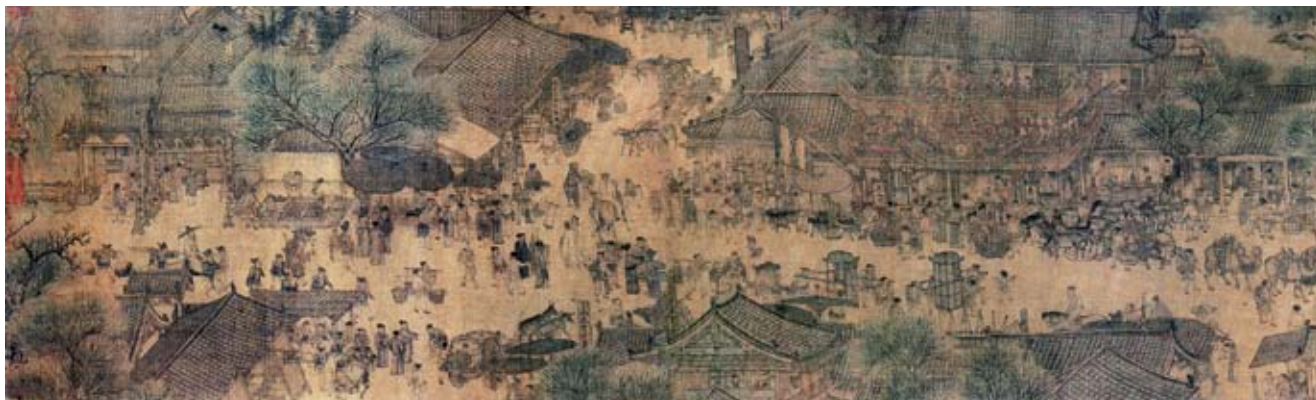
Although the *Mission* scroll has suffered losses on the top, bottom, and right edges, still visible along the bottom are the upper part of a building and the tops of rocks and

9. Detail of the right section of Figure 2





10. Hu Shunchen (active first half of 12th century). *For Hao Xuanming on Being Dispatched to Qin*. Handscroll. China, Northern Song dynasty (960–1127), dated 1122. Ink and light color on silk, 11 ⁷/₈ x 43 ³/₄ in. (30 x 111 cm). Osaka Municipal Museum of Fine Art. Photograph: *Chūgoku shoga meihin zuroku* 1994, pl. 13



11. Zhang Zeduan (active early 12th century). *Qingming Festival along the River*. Section of a handscroll. China, Northern Song dynasty (960–1127), early 12th century. Ink and color on silk, overall scroll 9 ³/₄ in. x 17 ft. 4 ¹/₈ in. (.25 x 5.29 m). Palace Museum, Beijing. Photograph: Fu et al. 1988, pl. 51, top image

trees that share a hidden common plane (see Figures 3, 9). This is a framing device used in early twelfth-century paintings such as Hu Shunchen's *For Hao Xuanming on Being Dispatched to Qin* and Zhang Zeduan's *Qingming Festival along the River* (Figures 10, 11). It distances the painter from his subject matter by setting up a boundary, however fragmented, between them. The implied detachment of the painter connotes the higher objectivity of his vision and the greater truthfulness of his work.

The *Mission* scroll seamlessly integrates the vocabulary of Northern Song court painting and monumental landscape painting with the aesthetic established by the poet and statesman Su Shi (1037–1101) and his circle of literati in reaction to court taste. The landscape is painted in the blue-and-green style that flourished at the Tang court in the mid-eighth century in the sway of father-and-son masters Li Sixun and Li Zhaodao and was revitalized in the late Northern Song period by Wang Shen (ca. 1048–after 1104), a scholar-artist and member of the imperial family.⁸ Instead of filling crisply delineated contours with flat, bright mineral colors in the Tang manner, Wang Shen applied blue and green pigments over ink washes and textures to create volume from the mildly fluctuating colors and to minimize the decorative charm of the Tang mode.⁹ After Wang Shen, the style continued to be favored until the twelfth century by Zhao Boju, Zhao Bosu, and other scholar-artists associated

with the court. The painter of the *Mission* scroll juxtaposed the two different blue-and-green modes for a theatrical effect: while the mountains, rocks, and trees are rendered in subdued hues and naturalistic shading, the terrain of the plateau, where the pavilion scene takes place, is flat, pure green. Its fresh luminosity transforms the site into a stage for human intrigue, set against the backdrop of the more muted landscape.

Several motifs in the scroll were derived from Northern Song prototypes. The tall pines with straight, columnar trunks; angular, knobby branches near their tops; and clusters of needles rendered in delicate brush lines and color washes (Figure 12) recall the trees in *Intimate Scenery in a Hunan Countryside* by Zhao Shilei (Figure 13), a relative of Emperor Huizong (r. 1100–1125). The horses' anatomical proportions and their dark, bony legs recall the horses in Li Gonglin's *Pasturing Horses, after Wei Yan* (Figure 14). The massive, ponderous mountain ranges exude an austere grandeur, with the rugged profiles and parallel folds delineated with the emphatic broken contours that were Yan Wengui's stylistic idiom (see Figure 15). As Hu Shunchen's landscape scroll (Figure 10) demonstrates, Yan's influence remained strong in the early twelfth century. The textural patterns of the rock surfaces show a mixture of Fan Kuan's "raindrop" dots and Li Tang's slanted hatch marks (see Figures 16, 17), but rendered loosely, without the earlier masters' rigorous

12. Detail of Figure 2, showing the pines by the pavilion



tactility. The painter's apparent lack of interest in his models' pictorial dynamism or complexity suggests a temporal and perhaps cultural distance between them.

The stylized bands of mist that wind across the river valley in the *Mission* scroll, on the other hand, are promi-

nent characteristics of the late works of Mi Youren, a major exponent of a new artistic sensibility who lived through the transition from the Northern to the Southern Song. In Mi's *Wondrous Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* of 1135 (Figure 18), for instance, the bands of mist that meander

13. Zhao Shilei (active ca. 1100). *Intimate Scenery in a Hunan Countryside*. Section of a handscroll. China, Northern Song dynasty (960–1127), late 11th century. Ink and color on silk, 16 7/8 x 92 in. (42.2 x 233.5 cm). Palace Museum, Beijing. Photograph: Fu et al. 1988, pl. 38, lower image





14. Li Gonglin (ca. 1049–1106). *Pasturing Horses*, after Wei Yan. Section of a handscroll. China, Northern Song dynasty (960–1127), late 11th century. Ink and color on silk, overall scroll 1 ft. 6 in. x 14 ft. 1 in. (.46 x 4.28 m). Palace Museum, Beijing. Photograph: Zhongguo gudai shuhua jian ding zu 1997–2001, vol. 2 (1999), pl. 92



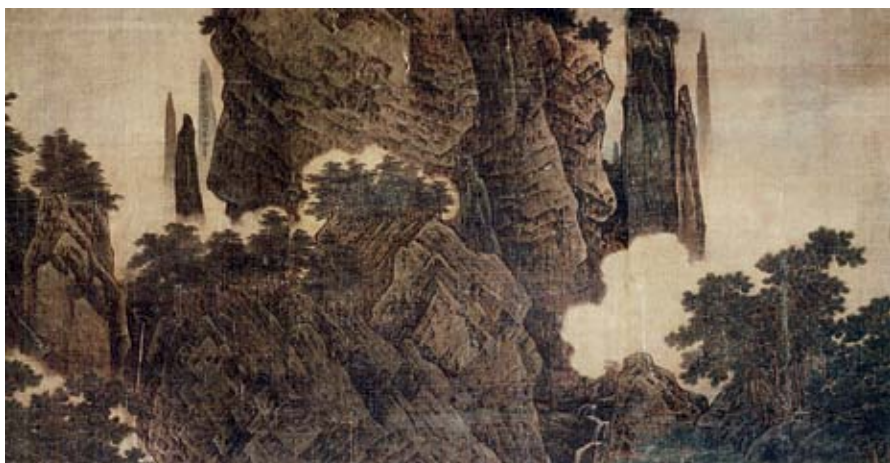
15. Yan Wengui (active late 10th century). *Buddhist Temple amid Streams and Mountains*. Section of a handscroll. China, Northern Song dynasty (960–1127), 11th century. Ink and color on paper, overall scroll 12½ x 63½ in. (31.9 x 161.2 cm). Osaka Municipal Museum of Fine Art. Photograph: *Chūgoku shoga meihin zuroku* 1994, pl. 8

along the river, obscuring trees and foothills, are rendered in intermittent, fluctuating dry brush outlines like those in the *Mission* scroll.¹⁰ Constantly changing in tonality and width, the lines twist and turn to evoke volume and movement, which is lacking in the hard-edged, patterned mist-clouds in court paintings (see Figure 17) and the vaporous ribbons of mist in lakeside scenes by Zhao Lingrang (see Figure 19). Drawing on calligraphy, Mi's simple but expressive method of representing mist-clouds reflects the intel-

lectual aesthetic initiated by Su Shi and his (Mi's) illustrious father, Mi Fu (1052–1107), in reaction to the high naturalism of Northern Song monumental landscape painting and the craftsmanlike polychromatic works traditionally favored by the court. That aesthetic valued the artist's inner character and creative impulse over verisimilitude and sensuous depiction of the physical world. A true artist, it held, revealed himself through freely, even playfully sketched natural imagery.¹¹ In both Mi's works and the *Mission* scroll,



16. Fan Kuan (active ca. 1023–1031). *Travelers among Streams and Mountains*. Detail of a hanging scroll. China, Northern Song dynasty (960–1127), ca. 1000. Ink and color on silk, overall scroll 81½ x 40⅔ in. (206.3 x 103.3 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei. Photograph: Zhongguo gudai shuhua jianding zu 1997–2001, vol. 2 (1999), pl. 58



the vivacious mist that separates the foreground from the distant mountains and also makes them mutually responsive is fundamentally a subjective vision of the artist.

Mi Fu is known for creating rich, substantial, cloud-covered mountains with layers of wet, gradated ink dots.¹² The contoured bands of mist were Mi Youren's innovation in the 1130s, when he outgrew his father's influence and began working in a more personal style and aesthetic. His *Cloudy Mountains* of 1130 (Figure 20) marks the crucial transition: Mi Fu's stippling technique was still applied in the mountains, but the clouds were rendered with tentative, vague contour lines.¹³ The fluid, kinetic linear patterns of the mist in Mi's 1135 scroll (Figure 18) bear witness to the maturity of his new technique.

Mi Youren's unique method for representing mist, developed in the south, may have traveled north via diplomatic channels. Southern Song envoys routinely brought works of art as gifts on diplomatic missions to the Jin. The Song scholar-official and renowned poet Yuwen Xuzhong (1079–1146), for instance, carried a number of paintings and calligraphies with him on such a mission in 1128.¹⁴ Highly respected by Emperor Gaozong as a connoisseur of painting and calligraphy, Mi Youren also held high-ranking court offices from 1141 on.¹⁵ Given his eminence at Gaozong's court and his father's national fame, his paintings would seem to have been a natural choice for gifts to the Jurchen elite. On a more personal level, Mi Youren's brother-in-law Wu Ji (1090–1142) was detained by the Jin on a diplomatic mission in 1127 and forced to serve in the Jurchen Hanlin Academy, the court's academic and administrative branch, until the last year of his life.¹⁶ An accomplished painter and calligrapher in the Mi style, Wu Ji also eventually became northern China's leading composer of the lyric poetry known as *ci*. Although there is no record of direct correspondence between the two brothers-in-law, their family tie and Wu's luminary status in lettered circles must have raised interest in Mi Youren's art among northern artists in the early decades of the Jin regime.

The strong presence of Mi Youren-type mist in the *Mission* scroll, in a landscape that combines the Northern Song monumental landscape styles with the blue-and-green tradition of the Tang court, points to the early Jin period, when such stylistic syncretism was still possible. Early Jin painters were either unaware of or unconcerned with the aesthetic opposition between these representational modes and felt free to mix them in a given composition. Later, as they became more attuned to the sociopolitical implications

17. Li Tang (ca. 1070s–ca. 1150s). *Wind in the Pines amid Ten Thousand Valleys*. Detail of a hanging scroll. China, Song dynasty (960–1279), dated 1124. Ink and color on silk, overall scroll 74¼ x 55 in. (188.7 x 139.8 cm). National Palace Museum, Taipei. Photograph: Lin 2006, no. 14



18. Mi Youren (1075–1151). *Wondrous Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers*. Section of a handscroll. China, Song dynasty (960–1279), dated 1135. Ink on paper, overall scroll 7¾ in. x 9 ft. 6 in. (.2 x 2.9 m). Palace Museum, Beijing. Photograph: Zhongguo gudai shuhua jianding zu 1997–2001, vol. 3 (1999), pl. 109



19. Zhao Lingrang (active ca. 1070–after 1100). *Whiling away the Summer by a Lakeside Retreat* (detail). Section of a handscroll. China, Northern Song dynasty (960–1127), dated 1100. Ink and color on silk, complete image 7½ x 63¾ in. (19.1 x 162 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Keith McLeod Fund, 1957 (57.724)



20. Mi Youren. *Cloudy Mountains*. Section of a handscroll. China, Song dynasty (960–1279), dated 1130. Ink, lead-white, and color on silk, 17¼ x 76 in. (43.7 x 193 cm). Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund (1933.220)

21. Li Shan (active late 12th century). *Wind and Snow in the Fir Pines*. Handscroll. China, Jin dynasty (1115–1234), late 12th century. Ink on silk, 12 ¼ x 31 ⅞ in. (31.2 x 79.2 cm). Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.: Gift of Eugene and Agnes E. Meyer (F1961.34)



22. Yang Wei (active ca. 1180). *Two Horses*. Handscroll. China, Jin dynasty (1115–1234), dated 1184. Ink and color on silk, 10 x 31 ⅞ in. (25.2 x 81 cm). Liaoning Provincial Museum. Photograph: Zhongguo gudai shuhua jianing zu 1997–2001, vol. 3 (1999), pl. 76



of pictorial styles, most Jin artists took sides. Wang Tingyun (1151–1202), for instance, painted purely in the vein of Su Shi's and Mi Fu's principles, whereas Li Shan and Wu Yuanzhi, who both worked in the late twelfth century, along with the early thirteenth-century painter known as Taigu Yimin (Man from Antiquity), derived their styles solely from Li Cheng, Fan Kuan, and Yan Wengui, among other northern masters. Particularly relevant to the *Mission* scroll is Li Shan's *Wind and Snow in the Fir Pines* (Figure 21). The shape of the thatch-roofed pavilion, the pines' imposing size and remarkably straight trunks balanced by gently drooping branches, and the central placement of the pavilion scene echo the *Mission* scroll. The artist pulled the mountains in the background much closer to the viewer, however, flattening the pictorial space by virtually eliminating the middle ground. The better-defined tripartite spatial structure of the *Mission* scroll reflects a stronger link to the Northern Song landscape tradition. The representation of the horses was also derived directly from the Li Gonglin prototype, before Jin art established the more distinct identity shown in such works as Yang Wei's *Two Horses* of 1184 (Figure 22). The *Mission* scroll can therefore be dated on stylistic grounds to

the early decades of the Jurchen occupation of northern China.¹⁷

Diplomatic procedures are ritualized manifestations of political relations. The visits of foreign envoys provide the best occasions for asserting national prestige and power. Paintings commemorating these occasions can convey messages that are not explicitly articulated in fact-based historical writings. And by objectifying them in pictorial terms, the paintings invest such messages with the aura of an embodied truth.¹⁸ As works of art, they are treasured by future generations as well as contemporary viewers. Aware of this potential for broad transmission, Chinese painters calculated how to fashion their idioms most effectively.

The presentation of the diplomatic procedures in the *Mission* scroll raises questions. In a departure from standard etiquette, the personnel of the two states clearly come from very different ranks. The Jin couriers and musicians are lowly soldiers in everyday uniforms, whereas the four Song delegates are officials in formal, color-coded robes. Song officials were divided into nine ranks. Starting in 1078, those in the top four ranks wore purple, ranks five and six wore red, the bottom three ranks wore green, and white robes could



23. Attributed to Xiao Zhao (active ca. 1130–60). *Auspicious Omens of Dynastic Revival* (*Zhongxing ruiying*). Section of a handscroll. China, Song dynasty (960–1279), 12th–13th century. Ink and color on silk, overall scroll 1 ft. 1 ½ in. x 48 ft. (.35 x 14.63 m). Private collection. Photograph: China Guardian sale 2009, lot 1256



24. Detail of Figure 2, showing the Song officials and a servant boy descending the steps of the pavilion



25. *Welcoming the Honorable at Wangxian*. Detail of a hanging scroll. China, Song dynasty (960–1279), 12th–13th century. Ink and color on silk, 76¾ x 43⅞ in. (195.1 x 109.5 cm). Shanghai Museum. Photograph: Zhongguo gudai shuhua jian ding zu 1997–2001, vol. 5 (1999), pl. 60

be worn by any official regardless of rank.¹⁹ In the fourth section of the Southern Song scroll *Auspicious Omens of Dynastic Revival*, which has been attributed to Xiao Zhao (Figure 23), a group of officials and their entourage pass through a city gate.²⁰ Although none of the officials wear white, the Prince of Kang, the future Song emperor Gaozong (r. 1127–62), wears a purple robe, and he is flanked by two officials wearing red and preceded by four horsemen in green.²¹

The three Song officials riding at the front of the group in the *Mission* scroll are dressed in red, white, and green, respectively (Figure 24). The pigments on the robe of the fourth equestrian are completely gone; only the ink underdrawing remains. Because those pigments have survived elsewhere on the scroll, his robe was not red, white, or

green. It was therefore most likely purple, the only possibility left for an official robe. The purple plant pigment lac, or gum-lac (*zikuang* in Chinese), has been used in traditional Chinese painting since as early as the ninth century. Made from natural tree resin and insoluble in water, lac must be ground into a fine powder and mixed with glue before it is applied to the painting surface. As it is not absorbed into silk or paper, it can easily peel off, leaving no trace of color. This may be what has happened on the *Mission* scroll. (The purple that has survived on the *Auspicious Omens* scroll may be a water-based vegetable pigment or a blending of such pigments.)²²

Other features of the official in a presumably purple robe distinguish him from his colleagues. He alone has an arc marked on the chest of his robe, the curvature and the position of which identify it as the upper edge of a circular ornament. This kind of pattern is used to indicate prestigious status in nondocumentary Song paintings, which sometimes take liberties with official apparel regulations. For instance, in the anonymous Southern Song painting currently entitled *Welcoming the Honorable at Wangxian* (*Wangxian yingjia*) (Figure 25), which presumably depicts an emperor welcoming his father to the capital, the emperor's red robe has such an ornament in gold, whereas the attire of his father and subordinates is unadorned.²³ Then too, the Song delegates in the *Mission* scroll wear different hats. The hats of the three in front have pairs of downward-curving tails, while the hat of the official riding behind them features straight tails that extend stiffly sideways. Although the straight tails normally denote formal apparel and the curved informal,²⁴ the painter may have used the distinction to underscore the fourth figure's superiority over his three companions, who precede him in a hierarchical arrangement loosely comparable to that in the *Auspicious Omens* scroll (Figure 23). Rather than lowering his dignity by addressing the Jin couriers directly, he turns to talk to his own servant, the figure dressed in Han costume standing on the stairs of the pavilion, and in so doing displays the ornament on his chest, as if incidentally.

This dignified envoy in formal apparel would never have been received by lowly Jurchens, with no official present, during the early phase of Song–Jin relations, when the two states were equals.²⁵ Xu Kangzong detailed the protocol for emissaries in this period in his account of his mission to the Jin court's spring residence in Maoli (near present-day Harbin) in 1125.²⁶ Upon entering Jin territory, Xu was met by an official escort (*jieban shi*, literally “reception conductor”) dispatched to receive him. The escort ushered him all the way to the Song embassy near the Jin court and was then replaced by an “ambassadorial conductor” (*guanban shi*) who accompanied him to all the activities at court. On his return, a “departure conductor” (*songban shi*) escorted him

from the Jin court to the Song–Jin border, where his Song colleagues were waiting. Once in Jin territory, Xu was never without an official escort of appropriate rank. The pavilion scene in the *Mission* scroll thus clearly violates diplomatic conventions observed prior to 1126.

The political equilibrium between the Song and Jin states collapsed early on. After the Jin laid siege to the Song capital, Bianjing (present-day Kaifeng, Henan), in 1125, the Song emperor Qinzong offered to change the relationship to that of uncle (Jin) and nephew (Song). When Bianjing fell on January 9, 1127, Qinzong formally relinquished his title as emperor and declared himself a minister (*chen*) to the Jin ruler, but he was still taken captive by the Jurchens. The succeeding emperor, Gaozong (r. 1127–62), tried without success to negotiate a peace treaty with the Jin, who were intent on conquering the south. It was not until the autumn of 1141, after the Song army had scored a few significant victories, that the two states began negotiating a peace treaty, which was completed in October 1142.²⁷ Although this Peace Treaty of the Shaoxing Era (*Shaoxing heyi*) ended the ravaging decade-long military conflict, the Song empire was degraded to a vassal state of the Jin in a hierarchical relationship defined as minister to ruler. Peace was broken in 1160 when the Jin ruler Hailing (r. 1149–61) led a military campaign against the Southern Song. His failed attempt encouraged the newly enthroned Song emperor, Xiaozong (r. 1162–89), to seek national and diplomatic equality in 1161. Wrenching disputes and tensions resurfaced as a result. A second peace treaty, in 1165, raised the Song–Jin relationship to that of nephew and uncle, though some of the highly humiliating terms, including the Song emperor's obligation to rise from his throne to receive the Jin ruler's letter, persisted. After repeated failures, the Song gave up their struggle for equality in 1175.²⁸ The second period of peace lasted thirty years, until conflicts resumed in 1206.

The change in Song–Jin relations had a direct impact on diplomatic procedures, from the choice of delegates to reception formalities. Northern Song envoys to the subordinate Liao or Jin were mostly officials of the fifth or sixth rank, and sometimes even the seventh or eighth. Once the Southern Song dynasty declared itself a vassal state of the Jin, its envoys were invariably selected from officials of higher rank than before.²⁹ This further supports the assumption that in the *Mission* scroll the Song envoy's robe with a chest ornament was originally purple, as would have befit an official of the highest rank.

Most peculiar in the pavilion scene on the *Mission* scroll are the attitudes the two parties manifest toward each other (see Figure 5). Though he is still engaged in a conversation with the Song delegation, the Jin courier-guide has started riding away, not even bothering to turn his horse around to face them. The musicians, too, talk among themselves in

total disregard of the departing Song delegation. Their manners, as Chen Rentao and Yu Hui have observed, verge on insolence.³⁰ Nevertheless, the scene is notably serene, and no one appears tense or discontent. Song officials would more likely have tolerated such a slight during the two periods when they and the Jin were not disputing diplomatic formalities, from 1141 to 1161 and from 1175 to 1206. And since the Song–Jin relationship was that of minister to ruler in the first period and nephew to uncle in the second, this scene could more plausibly have taken place in the mid-twelfth century. The Song's greater humility during those years provides a better explanation for the Jin's disrespect of diplomatic decorum and the Song delegation's seeming acquiescence.

The portrayal of the group of musicians in the *Mission* scroll (see Figure 6) confirms the mid-twelfth century date. Although regular Jurchen attire featured narrow sleeves,³¹ the musicians wear garments with wide, flowing sleeves and dark borders on the cuffs, bottom, and sides, which is



26. *Eight Immortals Offering Birthday Blessings*. China, Song dynasty (960–1279), 12th–13th century. Tapestry, 15 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 9 in. (38.3 x 22.8 cm). Liaoning Provincial Museum. Photograph: Yang Renkai 1983, pl. 10

characteristic of the informal dress of Song scholars and commoners alike (see Figure 26).³² Han attire was prohibited in the early Jin dynasty, and violators faced the death penalty in 1129, during Taizong's reign (1123–35).³³ The succeeding emperors, Xizong (r. 1135–49) and Hailing (r. 1149–61), who ushered in the first florescence of the Jurchens' sinicization, reversed the policy.³⁴ Educated in the Confucian tradition, Xizong "chanted the classics with elegance and dressed himself as a Confucian scholar, . . . deviating from the old customs of his ancestors." He contemptuously called his conservative ministers "ignoramuses," while they wryly compared him to "a youngster of Han origin."³⁵ Brought up in the same way as Xizong, Hailing "adored the apparel, cultural artifacts, and ceremonial and official establishments of Jiangnan."³⁶ He adopted the Chinese emperor's sacrificial ceremony to heaven and earth (*jiaosi zhi li*), in which he wore the black-and-red ceremonial robe (*xuan yi xun shang*) and the regal crown (*gun mian*) and held a jade tablet (*gui*) as he rode through the countryside in a jade-ornamented carriage (*yu lu*) to the temple, a practice identical to its Song model even in terminology.³⁷

As early as 1125, the year of a reception banquet described by Xu Kangzong, Jin musicians were playing Northern Song tunes with Chinese instruments.³⁸ The zither and the lute held by the musicians in the *Mission* scroll had been popular in China for centuries. One of them plays a flute, an indigenous instrument of the Jurchens,³⁹ but even that must be a Han version to fit into the ensemble. The Jurchen fascination with Han music and costume was criticized when Emperor Shizong (r. 1161–88) ascended the throne.⁴⁰ While continuing to promote Han culture, he never forgot the old Jurchen customs practiced in Manchuria and regretted that the voracious absorption of Han culture was driving those customs into oblivion. In 1173 he announced at court that he was displeased with the prevalence of Han-style music and ordered singers to sing Jurchen tunes. In 1187 wearing Han-style apparel was again made a criminal offense.⁴¹ The Jin soldiers' Han-style attire and musical instruments in the *Mission* scroll, an uninhibited manifestation of Han fashion on the part of the state military, point to a time no later than the 1160s, which corroborates the dating of the execution of the scroll to between 1141 and 1161.

The style and the subject matter of the *Mission* scroll suggest that its creator was familiar with the landscape and horse painting of the Northern Song and technically accomplished enough to integrate the various motifs into a coherent whole. Unconcerned with the rivalry between the tastes of the literati and those of the court in the late Northern Song dynasty, he comfortably drew inspiration from both. His fair portrayal of the Jin soldiers as energetic equestrians and civil musicians reflects no ethnic bias against the

Jurchens. He was familiar with the diplomatic formalities of the mid-twelfth century and may even have been personally involved in the reception of Song envoys, which suggests that he may have been a Jin military officer posted on a regular courier route.

The *Mission* scroll is a highly refined and sophisticated work. All four connoisseurs who wrote the extant colophons (see Appendix) claimed that it was painted by a great master between the eleventh and the early thirteenth century. It must have been treasured since its creation, as witnessed by the ten early collectors' seals that are no longer legible. It was owned by the renowned Ming artist Wen Zhengming (1470–1559) and authenticated by the leading early Qing painter Wang Hui (1632–1717). Qualified early Jin candidates for authorship of the scroll are extremely few, and Yang Bangji seems to have been the only one capable of such a feat. Yang was a scholar with literary and artistic talents. After earning his *jinshi* degree under the Jin in 1139, he took the position of military supervisor of Luanzhou (present-day Luan Xian, Hebei) and later served in Taiyuan (in Shanxi) before being summoned back to court in 1148. He stayed at court through the 1150s, when he was demoted to a post in Shaanxi.⁴²

The unusual stylistic pluralism of the *Mission* scroll presupposes that its creator had access to a broad range of paintings and absorbed them despite the Han elite's aesthetic preferences and conflicts. In the chaotic early Jin society, few could rival Yang Bangji in his exposure to a broad range of artistic influences. There is no record of Yang's training as a painter, but he may have been exposed in his youth to private art collections and later to the imperial collection at the Jin court. A considerable portion of the Song imperial collection was dispersed during the yearlong siege prior to Bianjing's fall in 1127, as works of art were given away to princes and ministers or stolen by palace staff. Many of these works ended up in private collections in the north.⁴³ The best-known Jin private collector was Ren Xun (1133–1204), a native of Yizhou (present-day Yi Xian, Hebei), southwest of Yanjing. The Ren family collection must have begun with Ren Xun's father, Ren Gui, a known painter. By the time of Ren Xun's death, the collection amounted to several hundred scrolls of painting and calligraphy.⁴⁴ As his father served in Yizhou for many years until the city fell to the Jurchens, Yang Bangji may have known the Ren family since his youth. More important is his later experience in the Jin capital. After sacking Bianjing the Jurchens took the Song emperor Huizong's immense art collection to Huining (present-day Acheng, Jilin), in Manchuria. Between 1151 and 1153, when the capital was relocated to Yanjing, the collection was moved there. During his roughly decade-long service at court beginning in 1148, Yang Bangji's official distinction as secretary of the Ministry of Rites and

vice director of the Ministry of War may have won him easy access not only to the imperial collection but also to private collections in the capital region.

Yang was known to excel in landscape and figure painting as well as horse painting in the style of Li Gonglin, all of which are featured in the *Mission* scroll. The specificity of the depiction of the pavilion (Figures 6, 12) may relate to Yang's official career in the 1140s. The pavilion is elevated on a platform with a flight of stairs to the entrance and rails on four sides. A pointed crown tops its thatched roof. The building is not simply a generic accessory in a landscape painting. Rather, its unusual size and rich, sensitively characterized details, even down to the square table and wicker stools inside, give it a conspicuous presence. The domineering scale and dark tone of the three pines further enhance the significance of the site.

In 1124 the Jin emperor Taizong decreed that postal stations be established at regular intervals of fifty *li* (about seventeen miles) between the superior capital in Huining and Yanjing.⁴⁵ Because fresh horses had to be ready for dispatches, the route and stations in this courier system, which was exclusively for government use, were predetermined.⁴⁶ This was the route that both Xu Kangzong and the Song delegation in the *Mission* scroll took on their respective diplomatic missions. In the diary of his 3,150-*li* (ca. 1,000-mile) journey to the Jin court in 1125, Xu Kangzong recorded numerous important places but only one pavilion, the Zhuoqing Ting (Cleansed Pure Pavilion) in Luanzhou, a large prefecture of great strategic value located on the courier route to Huining:

The prefecture sits on a flat plain with hills at its back and rock ridges in front. About three *li* to the east are layers of rugged mountains, very steep and topographically precarious. The [Luan] river, three hundred footsteps wide, runs through them. The place holds strategic advantage in terms of controlling the area. The water is very pure and deep. By the river stands a large pavilion named Zhuoqing. It is a most extraordinary spectacle at the northern frontier. The resident military commander receives me here. On my way back, a banquet is held in this prefecture.⁴⁷

While serving as military supervisor of Luanzhou in the 1140s, Yang Bangji doubtless came to know the Zhuoqing Pavilion and its surrounding landscape well, and receiving Song envoys was within his official capacity. This makes him the strongest, in fact the only, candidate for authorship of the *Mission* scroll. It is likely that he painted the *Mission* scroll in the 1150s, when he served in Yanjing. The stylistic diversity and technical assurance demonstrated in the painting bespeak a mature artist who had benefited from exposure to a variety of sources. In addition, this painting recording the

disgrace of the Southern Song was meant to please the Jin ruling elite. Such an adulatory act would have appeared presumptuous for an official posted to the provinces.

The painting's stylistic sophistication and subtlety of expression could only have been appreciated by someone versed in Han Chinese culture. The once brightly colored official robes were calculated to appeal to such an individual's fascination with Song bureaucratic rituals. And a political painting is effective only with an audience attuned to the political function of art. Emperor Hailing, who ruled through the 1150s, was therefore most likely the intended recipient of the *Mission* scroll. Hailing, whose reign saw the greatest proliferation of government offices and effectively transformed the Jurchen state from a tribal body politic into a Chinese-style government,⁴⁸ was the first Jin ruler to love Chinese art so much as to become a practitioner himself. He is known to have painted in the vein of Su Shi's and Mi Fu's "ink plays" and was particularly fond of rendering bamboo.⁴⁹ Nicknamed Boliehan (Aping the Chinese) by his fellow Jurchens,⁵⁰ he unabashedly assumed the role of guardian of the Chinese cultural heritage. In 1157 he implemented a policy that prohibited the exportation of antiquities to the south.⁵¹

In spite of, or rather because of, his love of Han culture, Hailing was determined to vanquish the Southern Song in order to rule all of China, and he used painting to pursue his goal. In 1151, less than two years after he ascended the throne, he initiated the relocation of the Jin capital from Huining to Yanjing, in China's heartland. In 1155 he made plans to move the capital farther south to Bianjing to facilitate his conquest of the Southern Song.⁵² As a preparatory tactic, he hid a painter in a diplomatic delegation to the Southern Song in January 1160 to draw the topography of Lin'an (present-day Hangzhou), the Song capital. Later, envisioning the glory of unifying the empires, he added his own image, on horseback on top of Mount Wu, to the painting of Lin'an.⁵³ He launched his southward campaign in the fall of 1161. Defeated within a few months, he was assassinated in Yangzhou that winter.

Underlying Hailing's aggressive act was his conviction of the Southern Song emperor Gaozong's unworthiness and his belief in his own superiority as ruler of China. He certainly had good reasons to challenge Gaozong's claim to Heaven's mandate. Ascending the throne when his elder half-brother, the rightful emperor Qinzong (r. 1126–27, d. 1161), was living in captivity under the Jurchens, Gaozong was deeply concerned with the issue of legitimate succession (*zhengtong*). Many of his court's artistic projects, the most actively programmed in all of Chinese history, were geared toward establishing dynastic legitimacy.⁵⁴ Most notably, the narrative scroll *Auspicious Omens of Dynastic Revival* (Figure 23) illustrates Gaozong's life prior to his



27. Zhao Lin (active mid-12th century). *Six Steeds of the Tang Emperor Taizong*. Handscroll. China, Jin dynasty (1115–1234), mid-12th century. Ink and color on silk, overall scroll 10¾ in. x 14 ft. 6⅞ in. (.27 x 4.44 m). Palace Museum, Beijing. Photograph: Fu et al. 1988, pl. 63

becoming emperor, when several supernatural signs pre-saged his ordained destiny to sovereign power. The painting *Duke Wen of Jin Recovering His State* in the Metropolitan Museum illustrates the story of Prince Chong'er, who in the seventh century B.C. returned from exile to become Duke Wen, ruler of the state of Jin, a classic precedent of dynastic revival. By commissioning the painting, Gaozong affirmed the identification of himself with Chong'er in the official proclamation of his succession in 1127.⁵⁵ Another painting, *Welcoming the Imperial Carriage* (*Ying luan*), in the Shanghai Museum, commemorates the return of Gaozong's biological mother, the empress dowager Wei, and the remains of his father, Emperor Huizong, and his empress from the north to Lin'an in 1142.⁵⁶ The painting publicizes not only Gaozong's filial piety but also the legitimacy of his succession, for the proper burial of the former emperor was an act symbolic of the direct transmission of power that rendered the faraway existence of Qinzong inconsequential.

Throughout his long reign Gaozong consistently sought peace with the Jin, often at the expense of national and personal dignity. The return of the imperial coffins resulted from the Treaty of Shaoxing of 1142, which was phrased in terms extremely humiliating to the Song. The treaty declared the Song, "our insignificant fiefdom" (*biyi*), a vassal state of the Jin, "your superior state" (*shangguo*). In official correspondence with the Jin, Gaozong, whom the Jin did not recognize as emperor, referred to himself as "your minister" and used his personal name, Gou. The annual material compensation of the Song to the Jin was termed a tribute (*gong*). Each new border was considerably farther south than the previous one. Gaozong's acceptance of the Jin as ruler of the Song in a diplomatic document in the form of an edict (*zhao*) may be considered the gravest humiliation in Song history.⁵⁷

Even more demoralizing, the Treaty of Shaoxing was negotiated when a few Song generals of extraordinary prowess, namely Han Shizhong, Zhang Jun, and Yue Fei, had just reached a military stalemate with the Jin forces, and for the first time in decades there was a glimpse of hope of recovering the lost northern territory. The sudden removal of the military command of those hawkish revanchists and especially the unjust execution of the most outspoken of them, Yue Fei, smoothed the way to peace, which Gaozong desperately needed to secure his sovereignty, however

debased it may have become.⁵⁸ His conciliation-oriented policies in military and diplomatic affairs alienated the educated class.⁵⁹ From the perspective of the Jin emperor Hailing, an acknowledged master of statecraft, Gaozong's failure as a ruler justified his ambition to unify China. The *Mission* scroll was therefore a pictorial embodiment of the Jin's triumph and the Song's humiliation that catered directly to Hailing's political aspirations. Hailing was suspicious and ruthless by nature. Being a Jin official of Han origin, Yang Bangji might have felt the need to show his loyalty to the Jin ruler by demonstrating his support of the planned conquest of his own people that was in its preparatory stages in the late 1150s.⁶⁰

Before the Jurchens, the Khitan rulers of the Liao dynasty (907–1125) had already learned from the Chinese the potential of painting as political propaganda. In 1018 Emperor Shengzong (r. 982–1031) commissioned Chen Sheng, a painter in attendance at court, to depict the Khitan army's victory over the Northern Song on a palace wall in the Upper Capital (present-day Chifeng, Inner Mongolia).⁶¹ And in 1048, during the reign of the next emperor, Xingzong (r. 1031–55), a Jurchen envoy on a tribute mission to the Liao saw in the devotional temple of Emperor Taizu (r. 907–25) a wall painting showing the conquest of Liao emperor Taizong (r. 925–47) over the Jin region (roughly equivalent to modern Shanxi province).⁶² These wall paintings celebrated dynastic pride. Placed in a palace or imperial temple, they served to strengthen the solidarity of the ruling elite. Emblematic of national prestige and military prowess, they inspired awe and fear in the envoys of vassal states.

With the Southern Song and the Jin competing for the claim of legitimate succession to the unified polity of the Tang and the Northern Song, the issue of dynastic legitimacy assumed greater importance. The *Mission* scroll was not the first politically motivated Jin painting. Early Jurchen leaders may have known about the Khitan wall paintings. The painting projects at the Southern Song emperor Gaozong's court must have intensified the interest of Jin emperors Xizong and Hailing in political art. One precious specimen of early Jin art, Zhao Lin's *Six Steeds of the Tang Emperor Taizong* (Figure 27), is distinctly political. Zhao Lin, a painter active during Xizong's reign, specialized in painting animals, horses in particular.⁶³ *Six Steeds* translates



into painting the reliefs of the six beloved horses of Tang emperor Taizong (r. 626–49) that were carved on the wall of his mausoleum, Zhao Ling (near present-day Liquan, Shaanxi). Zhao's painting, enriched with transcriptions of Taizong's statement exalting military accomplishments and a eulogy for each horse, celebrates the founding of a great dynasty through the power of horses, a national pride that the Jin shared with the Tang.⁶⁴

Self-conscious in their role as invaders, the Jurchen rulers took the issue of dynastic legitimacy seriously. In order to justify his invasion of the Song in 1125, the Jin emperor Taizong (r. 1123–35) invoked the righteous cause of eliminating the treacherous Song ministers who had persecuted the followers of Su Shi and Huang Tingjian (1045–1105). When Bianjing fell a year later, the Jurchens attributed the Song defeat to the disastrous politics of Prime Minister Cai Jing (1047–1126) and took special pains to collect the writings of Su, Huang, and their circle as a gesture of restitution and a display of their superior leadership.⁶⁵ The comprehensive Jin-sponsored compilation of official Song–Jin correspondence from the 1120s to the early 1140s is self-righteously entitled *Records of the Great Jin's Consoling (the People) and Punishing (the Evildoers)* (*Da Jin diao fa lu*) to euphemize their aggression.⁶⁶

The concern with legitimacy, as Susan Bush has observed, might have lain behind Jurchen efforts to continue the Northern Song's restoration of Tang imperial tombs when they took control of the Xi'an region in 1129. In 1134 a stele was erected at Qian Ling, the mausoleum of the Tang emperor Gaozong (r. 649–83) and his empress Wu Zetian (r. 684–704), with an inscription written in both Chinese and Jurchen.⁶⁷ Zhao Lin's painting of the Tang imperial horses indicates that the Jin rulers' interest in Tang mausoleums continued well into Xizong's reign. Emulating the Northern Song emperors, the Jin assumed the role of rightful successors to the Tang by conserving their imperial tombs. By the 1140s they had successfully cultivated their image as guardians of China's cultural legacy. It should come as no surprise, then, that the initial large-scale migration of the educated class from the north to the Chinese state of Song did not last beyond the late 1120s and 1130s.⁶⁸ By commissioning Zhao Lin's *Six Steeds* to invoke the glory of the Tang in the 1140s, Xizong insinuated a historical link to that prestigious dynasty and the legitimacy of his own state as its

successor. His endeavor was carried on by Hailing and revived in 1194 in an off and on court debate that lasted for twenty years on the appropriate cosmological symbol for the Jin in the line of legitimate dynastic transmission.⁶⁹

The *Mission* scroll addresses the legitimacy issue by illuminating the diplomatic inequality between the Song and the Jin. But it also refers to the Tang, because the subject of diplomatic procedures is particularly associated with Tang court painting. During Tang rule, China dominated its neighbors, and this bore directly on the depiction of diplomatic procedures. A mural in the tomb of the Tang prince Li Xian (654–684) near present-day Xi'an that was painted in 706 (Figure 28) may be the earliest known work on the subject. It shows an encounter between three foreign envoys and the Chinese delegation that receives them. Stereotypically, the Tang courtiers are endowed with fine facial features, elaborate apparel, and natural grace, while the foreigners, whose faces seem to be caricatures with animal features, approach clumsily in rustic outfits and either wearing outlandish headgear or hatless. The Chinese officials chat among themselves, ignoring the visitors who stare at them in a deferential manner, eager for recognition.

A similar intrigue in the diplomatic power game accounts for the seriously unbalanced composition of a short handscroll entitled *Emperor on an Imperial Sedan Chair* (*Bu nian tu*) attributed to Yan Liben (Figure 29). This painting commemorates the Tang emperor Taizong's audience in 641 with Ludongzan (d. 676), prime minister and chief general of the Tufan state (present-day Tibet), who had approached the Tang court on behalf of the Tufan leader to request a Chinese princess as his consort.⁷⁰ Sitting casually on a moving sedan chair amid elaborate imperial paraphernalia and lovely female attendants, the informally dressed Chinese emperor displays his superiority to the Tibetan envoy, the figure wearing an ornately decorated formal robe who stands respectfully between two other supplicants. This painting was well known among the Northern Song educated elite. Seventeen men of letters, most notably Mi Fu, wrote appreciative colophons between 1080 and 1086 that are still attached to the end of the scroll. Once in the collection of Zhao Zhongyuan (1054–1123), a member of the Song imperial family,⁷¹ it remained in the north after the Jurchen conquest and entered the Jin imperial collection by the 1180s.⁷² Given the painting's tremendous fame as



28. *Visit of Foreign Envoys*. Section of a wall painting in the tomb of the Tang prince Li Xian near Xi'an. China, Tang dynasty (618–907), datable to 706. Photograph: Zhang 2002, pl. 24

both a historical document and a work of art, there can be little doubt that someone of Yang Bangji's stature would have been interested in it and had opportunities to view it in person.

The psychology involved in diplomatic procedures is always central to pictorial representations of them. By the time the *Mission* scroll was created, the status of the Han and non-Han states had reversed, and so had the characteriza-

tion of the figures and their manner in painting. Instead of degrading stereotypes, the Jurchens are now genteel musicians and energetic soldiers. By contrast, the Song delegates appear "low-spirited" and "submissive and ill at ease," as Chen Rentao described them in his colophon to the painting dated 1953.⁷³ And here it is the formally dressed Chinese officials who are slighted and ignored by the casual Jurchens.

The evocation of the Tang prototype and the reversal of its original connotation in the *Mission* scroll make its portrayal of the Song's disgrace all the more poignant. The Song envoys would no more have worn color-coded official robes on their long journey through an alien land than the Tang emperor would have received a foreign ambassador in the company of charming maids. Both paintings are "more an expression of a political idea than a record of an event."⁷⁴ The Song officials in colorful outfits and the vibrant green foreground stand out against the subdued, naturalistic landscape. The Tang chromatics spotlight the paradox, symbolizing as they do both the Song's cultural eminence and their national disgrace. Created by an educated Han Chinese to demonstrate his moral support of the Jin emperor Hailing's conquest of the south, the scroll shows how firmly the Jurchen sense of dynastic legitimacy had taken root among the northern Chinese intelligentsia by the mid-twelfth century. From an art historical perspective this illumination of Song-Jin diplomatic relations that revels in China's humiliation by drawing on well-established subjects and styles in Chinese painting is a unique anomaly. As such, it occupies a special place in the tradition of Chinese political art.



29. Attributed to Yan Liben (d. 674). *Emperor on an Imperial Sedan Chair*. Section of a handscroll (with detail). China, Northern Song dynasty (960–1127), copy of 7th-century original. Ink and color on silk, 15 1/8 x 50 3/4 in. (38.5 x 129 cm). Palace Museum, Beijing. Photograph: *Zhongguo lidai huihua* 1978–91, vol. 1 (1978), pp. 36–37

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NOTES

1. For a thorough study on the versions of this painting, see Ch'en 1987.
2. It is recorded in Bi Yuan, *Xu Zizhi tongjian* (1801), that in 1129 five thousand mounted Jurchen soldiers approached the Huai River, all wearing metal armor and white conical hats made of felt (see Zhou 1984, p. 353, ill.). Only traces of white powder now remain on the hats of the soldiers in the *Mission* scroll.
3. The names of 359 envoys are recorded in *Song shi* and *Jin shi*. See Zhang 2006, p. 31.
4. On Yang Bangji, see Chen 1984, pp. 800–813.
5. Chiang 1979a, pp. 32–40. Chiang identified the mission depicted as the one that took place in the fourth lunar month of 1123 regarding the return of Yanjing and six northern prefectures to the Song because four delegates, namely Yao Pingzhong, Kang Sui, Wang Gui, and Zhao Liangsi, were recorded in historical documents on this particular mission and there are four Song officials on horseback in this painting. But the Song diplomatic delegation to the Jin routinely constituted nearly one hundred people (see Zhang 2006, p. 32). The painter had no intention of literally representing the number of people in the mission. Chiang argues that the painting depicts the four Song officials hosting a repast for the Jin envoy on their way to Yanjing to negotiate with the Jin leaders residing there at the time and that it was meant to commemorate the success of their mission to retrieve the lost territory. Both views were challenged by Yu Hui (1990, pp. 38–39). Yu correctly interpreted the scene as Jin representatives receiving the Song delegation at a courier station, stating that a painting intended to glorify the Song triumph would have focused on the celebratory activities at court, as in the court painting tradition of the Song, rather than on a minor event that took place in the mountains. Chiang also suggested that the site depicted is the Pine Pavilion Pass (Songting Guan). He erroneously located this pass in Jingzhou (present-day Jing Xian,

- Hebei), south of Yanjing. The pass was actually in Luanhe Xian (present-day Luanyang or Kuancheng, Hebei), northeast of Yanjing; see Chen 1988, pp. 86–89. Departing from Bianjing, the Song delegation on the 1123 mission could not have stopped at the Pine Pavilion Pass on their way to Yanjing.
6. Yu 1990.
 7. See also Wang Shen's *Fishing Village after Light Snow* and Wang Ximeng's *Thousand Miles of Streams and Mountains* in the Palace Museum, Beijing.
 8. See Barnhart 1984, p. 66.
 9. This practice was probably originated by Dong Yuan (d. 962), a court painter of the interim Five Dynasties between the Tang and the Song (see Wang 1995, pp. 4–5). Dong Yuan was famous for his paintings in the blue-and-green manner, none of which has survived. Judging from *Subjects under Beneficent Reign* (*Long su jiao min*), a painting attributed to him that is now in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, his work in this manner relied heavily on the use of ink washes and textures. Wang Shen's blue-and-green landscape paintings, for example *Layered Peaks along Misty River* in the Shanghai Museum, exhibit the same method of applying color over ink. They confirm Mi Fu's statement that Wang Shen "used gold and green pigments to render textures of forms." See Mi Fu 1967, p. 25.
 10. For a sensitive discussion of this painting and Mi Youren's painting style in general, see Sturman 1997, pp. 8–11.
 11. Mi Youren once wrote of one of his own paintings, "It is truly my work of childish play that was successful" (recorded in Mi Fu, *Haiyue tiba*, translated and discussed in Bush 1971, p. 71).
 12. Mi Fu produced very few paintings, and none has survived.
 13. For the significance of this painting in Mi Youren's career, see Howard Rogers's comments in Ho et al. 1980, pp. 42–44, no. 24.
 14. Yu 1992, p. 40. Yuwen was detained in the Jin empire for seventeen years, during which he impressed the Jin luminaries with his literary and artistic compositions.
 15. According to Tang Hou's *Hua jian* (1329), whenever Emperor Gaozong found new paintings and calligraphies he would ask Mi Youren to authenticate and inscribe them (cited in Chen 1984, p. 584). Mi was appointed vice director of the Ministry of War (Bing Bu Shilang) in 1141 and promoted to the position of auxiliary academician of the Hall for the Diffusion of Literature (Fuwen Ge Zhixueshi) in 1145. See Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, cited in Chen 1984, p. 560.
 16. Ill equipped with administrative skills, early Jin rulers detained learned Southern Song envoys to help them deal with the large Han population in the north. On Wu Ji, see Tuotuo et al. 1344 (*JS*), *juan* 4, 125, 126.
 17. In her discussion of an anonymous Jin landscape painting in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, Bush (1965, pp. 163–72, in particular n. 4) rightly observed that the *Mission* scroll lacks recognizable Jin characteristics such as the sketchy calligraphic brushwork and certain types of landscape elements seen in later Jin paintings.
 18. Cahill 1988, p. 15.
 19. Tuotuo et al. 1345, *juan* 106.
 20. This handscroll originally consisted of twelve sections, three of which are preserved in the Tianjin Museum. At least two different but complete versions have survived, but I have not been able to examine them to verify their authenticity. Four sections of one scroll are reproduced in black and white in Xie 1957, no. 18, pls. 65–81. The other is published in color in the catalogue of China Guardian sale 2009, lot 1256.
 21. As a prince, he is wearing the same style of official hat and robe as his subordinates. Only the color purple reveals his superior status.

22. See Yu 1961, p. 8, and also the well-annotated translation, Silbergeld and McNair 1988, p. 12.
23. The painting bears a label strip by Yongxing, the Qing Prince of Chengqing (1752–1823), that identifies the subject matter as the Tang emperor Suzong (r. 756–62) welcoming his father, Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–56), back to the capital after a devastating rebellion, which took place at Wangxian in 757. The modern scholar Li Lin-ts'an, however, thinks that the painting depicts the Han emperor Gaozu (r. 206–195 B.C.) welcoming his father to the capital after his founding of the Han dynasty, which took place in Xinfeng. See Zhang Lei's comment on this painting in *Zhongguo gudai shuhua jiating zu* 1997–2001, vol. 5 (1997), p. 14, nos. 59–61.
24. See Zhou and Gao 1984, p. 176.
25. For a detailed account of the conflicts and negotiations between the Song and the Jin regarding diplomatic proprieties, see Zhao 1996.
26. Xu and Zhong 1125, sections 10, 39. Xu Kangzong has traditionally been regarded as the author of the account of the 1125 journey to the Jin court. Chen Lesu argued quite convincingly in 1936, however, that Zhong Bangzhi, the official in charge of gifts on this mission, was the actual writer. See Chen 1936, pp. 262–64. But as leader of the mission Xu Kangzong would certainly have been involved in the writing process. In the chapter on foreign envoys' activities in the *Jin shi* (History of the Jin Dynasty), there is a section detailing the reception of the envoys from Xi Xia that closely corresponds with Xu's account (see Tuotuo et al. 1344 [JS], *juan* 38).
27. For a detailed study on the diplomatic correspondence that led to this peace treaty, see Franke 1970, pp. 76–81.
28. On Emperor Xiaozong's failed attempts during the decade, see Zhao 1996, pp. 61–62.
29. Zhang 2006, pp. 32–33.
30. See Chen Rentao's 1953 colophon to the *Mission* scroll in the Appendix and Yu 1990, p. 38.
31. Tuotuo et al. 1344 (JS), *juan* 43.
32. See also a scholar in the Song painting *Discussing the Dao under Pine Trees* (*Songyin lundao*) (Zhou and Gao 1984, pp. 165, 178).
33. Yuwen 13th c., *juan* 5.
34. It was under Xizong and Hailing that the Jin morphed from a tribal polity into a Chinese-style autocratic state with a highly hierarchical bureaucracy (Franke 1994, pp. 265–66). For a summary of the evolution of the Jin leadership from a tribal council to a full-fledged government, see *ibid.*, pp. 265–77. Due to his crimes of regicide and usurpation, among other atrocities, Emperor Hailing is always referred to as Prince of Hailing, Hailing Wang, in official histories of the Jin.
35. Xu 1194, *juan* 166.
36. Yuwen 13th c., *juan* 13.
37. For a description of Hailing's ritual practice, see *ibid.*, *juan* 33. The Song emperors' ceremonial costumes and paraphernalia are recorded in much more detail in Tuotuo et al. 1345, *juan* 151. For contemporary illustrations, with corresponding texts, of the emperor's ceremonial apparel and carriage, see Nie 962, 1: 3a–b, 9: 4a–5a, 10: 1a.
38. Xu and Zhong 1125, the 28th section of his journey to the Jin court. Most of the 200 musicians and singers at the Jin court were Khitans who had been captured by the Jurchens upon the loss of the Liao territory to the Jin between 1120 and 1125 (*ibid.*, 39th section).
39. Originally the Jurchens had only drums and flutes for making music (Yuwen 13th c., *juan* 39, "Chuxing fengtu" [Native Customs]).
40. For a summary of Shizong's attempt to restore native Jurchen culture, see Yang Zhongqian 2005, p. 30.
41. Tuotuo et al. 1344 (JS), *juan* 7.
42. On Yang Bangji's biography, see *ibid.*, *juan* 90.
43. On the works in the early Jin collection, see Chiang 1979b, pp. 29–30.
44. Yang Renkai 2005. On Ren Xun, see Chen 1984, pp. 795–99.
45. Tuotuo et al. 1344 (JS), *juan* 3.
46. Franke 1994, p. 297.
47. Xu and Zhong 1125, the 11th section of his journey.
48. Franke 1994, pp. 269–70.
49. Xia 1365, *juan* 4.
50. Franke 1994, p. 240.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 299.
52. Yuwen 13th c., *juan* 13, 14.
53. Yu 1992, p. 41.
54. There have been several in-depth studies on this topic. See, for instance, Murray 1985, Murray 1986, Shih 1987, and Murray 1989.
55. Gaozong was the ninth son of the former emperor Huizong, while Chong'er was the only one of his father's nine sons who survived to succeed the throne. And both faced multiple adversities drifting from place to place in early life. The coincidence prompted Empress Dowager Yuanyou (Madame Meng), the consort of Emperor Zhezong (r. 1085–1100), to identify the two men with each other in her official proclamation of Gaozong's succession in 1127 (Li 1211, 4: 30–31, vol. 1, p. 91).
56. For a detailed study of this painting, see Murray 1990–92.
57. Franke 1970, pp. 78–80.
58. For a succinct but lucid exposition of the complex situation during this period, see Tao 2009, pp. 677–89. On the complicated issues related to Yue Fei's execution, see Wilhelm 1962.
59. Liu 1995, pp. 43–44.
60. Yang Bangji was eventually demoted after a failed plea to Hailing on behalf of an in-law.
61. Tuotuo et al. 1344 (LS), *juan* 16.
62. *Ibid.*, *juan* 20.
63. In his colophon to this painting dated 1220, the eminent Jin scholar-official Zhao Bingwen (1159–1232) said that Zhao was a court artist under Shizong (r. 1161–89). Other later biographical sources, such as Zhu Mouyin's *Huashi huiyao* and Wang Yuxian's *Huishi beikao*, however, identify him as a painter during Xizong's reign (see Zhu 1958, pp. 332–33). He may have been active from the 1140s into the 1160s. Since this painting relates directly to the Jin government's restoration of Tang imperial tombs in the late 1120s and 1130s, it was most likely painted at Xizong's court.
64. For a concise and insightful study of this painting, see Bush 1995, pp. 188–94.
65. Franke 1994, p. 307; Toyama 1964, pp. 594–618.
66. For a well-annotated edition of this book, see Jin 2001.
67. Bush 1995, p. 194.
68. Franke 1994, p. 319.
69. See Chan 1984.
70. On the subject of the painting as related in the colophons attached to the scroll and in historical documents, see Su 1976.
71. Recorded in Mi Fu, *Hua shi* (History of Painting), cited in Su 1976, p. 25.
72. This painting bears three seals of the Jin emperor Zhangzong (r. 1188–1208).
73. See also Yu 1990, p. 38.
74. Cahill 1988, p. 15.

APPENDIX: DOCUMENTATION OF A *DIPLOMATIC MISSION TO THE JIN* (FIGURE 2)¹

金 傳 楊邦基 聘金圖 卷

(*Pin Jin*)

Attributed to Yang Bangji (ca. 1110–1181)

No artist's signature or seals

LABEL STRIP

Chen Rentao 陳仁濤 (active mid-20th century), 1 column in standard script (Figure 30):

A Diplomatic Mission to the Jin by Yang Bangji (ca. 1110–1181) of the Jin dynasty (1115–1234)

聘金圖, 金楊邦基

COLOPHONS

Yi Bingshou 伊秉綬 (1754–1815), 7 columns in running script, dated 1813 (Figure 31):

In the tenth year of the Jiaqing reign era [1805] Yungu [Ye Menglong, 1775–1832] invited me to take this anonymous painting to see Minister of the Court of State Ceremonial Weng Tanxi [Weng Fanggang, 1733–1818], who firmly identified it as a work of Ma Yuan (active ca. 1190–1225). He also pointed out in detail its refinement and subtle depth. It has been eight years since then. Viewing it now, I am convinced. On the nineteenth of the third lunar month in the *guiyou* year [April 19, 1813] Yi Bingshou wrote this in the Youshi Zhai studio.

[seals]: *Moqing, Wu dezhi zhongxin*

嘉慶十年雲谷邀予持此無款畫過翁覃溪鴻臚, 毅然斷以為馬遠之作, 且細指其精微澹遠之趣。今越八年, 讀之而信。

癸酉三月十九日友石齋中伊秉綬記。[印]: 墨卿, 吾得之忠信

Xie Lansheng 謝蘭生 (1760–1831), 4 columns in standard script, dated 1814 (Figure 32):

This painting must have been a longer scroll but lost part of its beginning and end due to damages. Examining its brushwork, I found lines sometimes thinner than a hair but all executed with the centered tip of a brush held from a suspended wrist, of which none but the Song masters were capable. Yungu bought it from a painting store at a low price. It has been identified as a work by Painter-in-Attendance Ma [Yuan] because its style was close to that of the Academy, and Ma was the best of the Academy painters. Xie Lansheng, Lifu, inscribed this in summer, the fifth lunar month, of the *jiaxu* year in the Jiaqing reign era [1814].

[seal]: *Xie Lansheng yin*

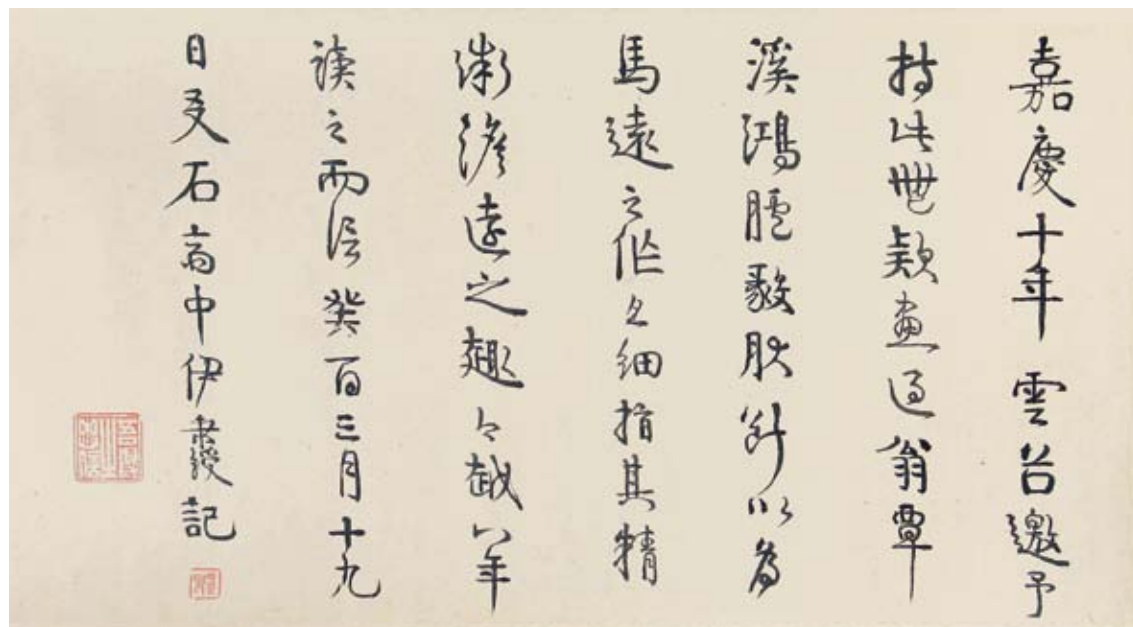
此圖當是長卷, 因剝蝕脫去前後矣。細玩用筆, 時或微於絲髮, 而皆懸腕中鋒, 非宋人高手不辦。雲谷向於畫肆以賤值得之, 論者指為馬待詔, 以畫近院體, 待詔則院中獨步故耳。嘉慶甲戌夏五里甫謝蘭生題。[印]: 謝蘭生印

Luo Tianchi 羅天池 (1805–after 1856), 10 columns in running script (Figure 33):

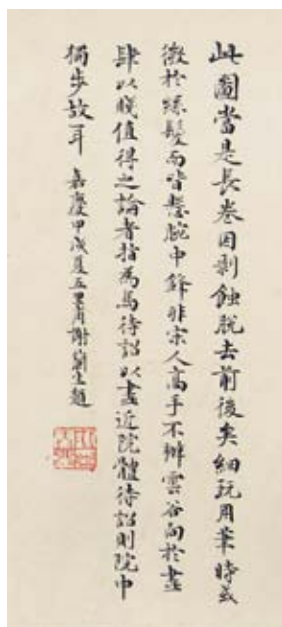
In terms of brushwork, [this painting] is close to those by Yan Wengui (active ca. 970–1030) and Liu Songnian (active ca. 1175–after 1195). Ma Yuan's brushwork has comparable vigor and antique flavor, but not its purity and expansiveness.



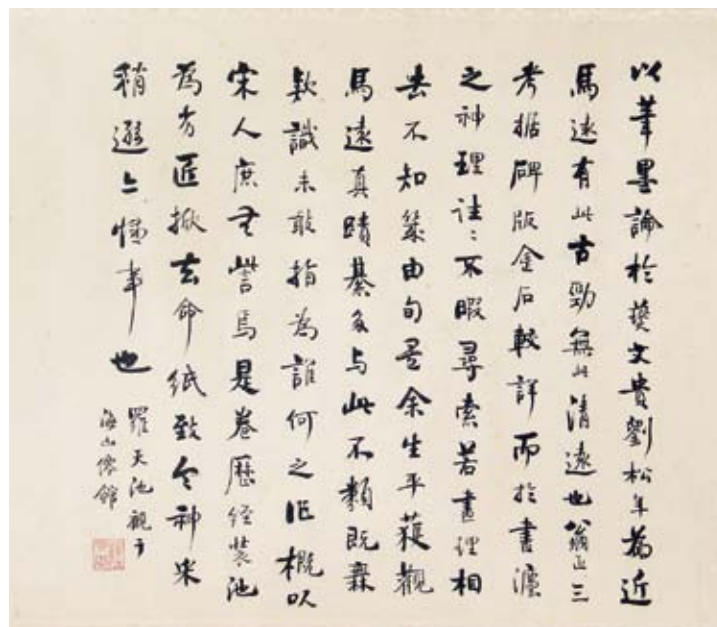
30. Chen Rentao, label strip attached to Figure 2



31. Yi Bingshou, colophon attached to Figure 2, dated 1813



32. Xie Lansheng, colophon attached to Figure 2, dated 1814



33. Luo Tianchi, colophon attached to Figure 2

Weng Zhengsan [Weng Fanggang] did detailed research on stone and bronze inscriptions but seldom spent time probing the spirit and principle of calligraphy. On painting he was even farther from correct. I have seen many genuine works by Ma Yuan in my life, which bear no resemblance to this painting. Since it has no [artist's] signature, I dare not name anyone as the painter. No one should complain, though, if I categorically attribute it to a Song master. This scroll has been remounted several times. A certain bad conservator peeled off its original backing paper, and the painting lost some of its luster as a result. It is regrettable. Luo Tianchi viewed this in the Haishan Xianguan Studio [of the Pan family in Guangzhou].

[seal]: Luo shi Liuhu

以筆墨論，於燕文貴、劉松年為近；馬遠有此古勁，無此清遠也。翁正三考據碑版金石較詳，而於書法之神理往往不暇尋索，若畫理相去不知幾由旬矣。余生平獲觀馬遠真蹟綦多，與此不類。既無款識，未敢指為誰何之作，概以宋人，庶無訾焉。是卷歷經裝池，為劣匠掀去命紙，致令神彩稍遜，亦憾事也。羅天池觀於海山僊館。[印]：羅氏六湖

Chen Rentao 陳仁濤 (active mid-20th century), 37 columns in running script, dated 1953 (Figure 34):

The long handscroll on silk to the right, which I entitled *A Diplomatic Mission to the Jin*, is a rare masterwork among northern paintings. In it is a courier pavilion-station with tall pines on its sides. To the right stand clustered mountains and valleys; to the left is a pass with a bridge. Beyond the pass and the bridge, fragmented views of mountains and

waters flicker in and out of distant clouds and dark mist. In the pavilion the table is empty without wine utensils. In front of the pavilion are three members of the Jin courier station. The one holding a lute seems to be bidding farewell to his guests before his return. To the left of the path stand two clerks with clasped hands expressing goodwill and gratitude. Alone on the stone steps to the left of the pavilion is a lowly menial in Han costume, reluctant to see the Chinese delegation leave. To the left of the stone steps are four Chinese emissaries on horseback. Looking low-spirited, they whisper among themselves rather than departing immediately. Farther left, a Jin soldier holds the reins and looks back, seeming to urge his horse forward with a command. Still farther to the left, a soldier with a courier's letter on his back spurs his horse on, seemingly on a mission to order the pass's gatekeeper to allow the emissaries' return. Spreading out this painting, one vividly senses the humiliation of the defeated Song regime and the arrogance of the Jin through the silent brush and ink. It used to be considered a Song work. Yi Bingshou and Weng Fanggang thought it was painted by Ma Yuan. Luo Tianchi thought it was close to Yan Wengui's or Liu Songnian's style. They were all wrong. Since the painting's subject is the Jin, it would not have been painted by a Song artist. But there is deep, hidden meaning beyond the painted images that a Jurchen artist would not have attempted either. In my opinion, after the court moved [to the south], a former Song subject who turned to serve the Jin may have painted it out of longing for the perished nation, a sad man with conflicting emotions.

34. Chen Rentao, colophon attached to Figure 2, dated 1953. Above: right side, below: left side

右稍本長卷余名之曰聘金
畫北畫中罕見之劇迹也中
作驛亭翼以長松右簇岩
谷左峙閑梁閑梁之外香霽
蒼煙剩山殘水若有美無亭
中几案空陳酒漿不設亭而
金驛使三一抱琵琶作酬賓
已將歸狀二吏於立道左迎勞
之獨亭西石磴上一漢服賤役
眷目送中使行石磴西中使
四輩神態蕭瑟竊議馬上未
行又西一金平攬轡遙領若吮
聲遠之西一卒背驛書驟馬
似將命節閑使歸蓋宋季
衰敗之辱金人賄賂之情披斯
也舉可於無言筆墨之外歷
得之圖畫以為宋人筆伊秉綬翁
方個以為出馬遠羅天池以為近道

文貴劉松年皆非是良以金南主
題在金宋人不應有此畫外寄慨
深隱金人亦所不意者殆播遷
之後宋遠氏之什金者不勝喬木如
國之威而傷心人別宮懷抱者之所
作歟而風格尤與楊邦基為近邦
基字汝懋陝西華陰人仕金為祕
書少監翰林學士永興軍節度
使善畫山水人馬父陶宋易州、佐
城陷狀于金邦基以舊雅區僧舍
得免則固忠烈之嗣而祔移鼎遷
服官于雛仇之國也所謂孤臣
孽子其操心也危其慮患也深夫
腐心刻意以成斯畫以曲達拳
本朝志也宜柳子瞻年所見
其仿李成山水老松盤坡人物
道潔與此南出出一手然則此卷
殆即楊祕所製歟
癸巳冬日陳仁壽識

Its style particularly reminds me of Yang Bangji. Bangji, whose zi is Demao, was a native of Huayin in Shaanxi. Under the Jin, he served as Vice Director of the Palace Library, Hanlin Academician, and Military Commissioner of Yongxingjun [present-day Xi'an region]. He painted landscapes, human figures, and horses well. His father, Tao, served as Assistant Administrator of Yizhou [present-day Yi Xian, Hebei] under the Song. At the fall of the city, he was killed by the Jin army. Bangji, a young child, hid in a Buddhist temple and escaped death. He was, therefore, a descendant of a loyalist, who served his enemies after the dynastic change. He was the so-called "official of a perished

ruler or son of a concubine who worries with a sense of urgency and fears disasters with deep apprehension."² It was only appropriate that he exhausted his mind and thought to paint this scroll to express obliquely his inner loyalty to his own country. Years ago I saw his landscape painting after the style of Li Cheng (919–967). In it old pines spread disarrayed branches and the human figures appear energetic and spirited. Both seemed to be painted by the same artist as this scroll. So should not this scroll come from the hand of Vice Director of the Palace Library Yang as well? Chen Rentao wrote in the winter of the *guisi* year [1953].

[seals]: *Jingui Shi, Jingui Shi zhu, Chen shi Rentao*

右絹本長卷，余名之曰《聘金圖》，北畫中罕見之劇跡也。中作驛亭，翼以長松；右簇巖谷，左峙關梁。關梁之外，杳靄蒼煙，剩山殘水，若有若無。亭中几案空陳，酒漿不設。亭南金驛使三，一抱琵琶，作酬客已將歸狀；二吏拱立道左迎勞之。獨亭西石磴上一漢服賤役，眷眷目送中使行。石磴西中使四輩，神態蕭瑟，竊議馬上未即行。又西一金卒攬轡返顧，若吮聲速之。又西一卒，背驛書，驟馬似銜命飭關聽使歸。蓋宋季喪敗之辱，金人驕矜之情，披斯圖也，舉可於無言筆墨之外，歷歷得之。圖舊以為宋人筆，伊秉綬、翁方綱以為出馬遠，羅天池以為近燕文貴、劉松年，皆非是。良以全圖主題在金，宋人不應有此。圖外寄慨深隱，金人亦所不為。意者殆播遷之後，宋遺民之仕金者不勝喬木故國之感，而傷心人別具懷抱者之所作歟？而風格尤與楊邦基為近。邦基字德懋，陝西華陰人，仕金為秘書少監、翰林學士、永興軍節度使，善畫山水人馬。父絢，宋易州州佐，城陷戕於金。邦基以齒稚匿僧舍得免，則固忠烈之嗣，而祚移鼎遷，服官於讎仇之國者也。所謂孤臣孽子，其操心也危，其慮患也深。其腐心刻意，以成斯圖，以曲達拳拳本朝之心也宜。抑予于昔年所見其仿李成山水，老松離披，人物道潔，與此圖如出一手。然則此卷殆即楊祕監所製歟？癸巳冬日陳仁濤識。[印]：金匱室，金匱室主，陳氏仁濤

COLLECTORS' SEALS

Wen Zhengming 文徵明 (1470–1559)

Zhengming jianding 徵明鑑定

Wang Hui 王翬 (1632–1717)

Shigu jianshang 石谷鑑賞

Bi Yuan 畢沅 (1730–1797)

Qiufan shi jiacang 秋帆氏家藏

Ye Menglong 葉夢龍 (1775–1832)

Yungu jiacang 雲谷家藏

Ye shi Liujie? Zhai shuhua yin 葉氏六皆齋書畫印

Meng Jinyi 孟覲乙 (active first half of 19th century)

Litang jianding 麗堂鑑定

Xu Xiang 許鵠 (Qing dynasty)

Qi'an xinshang 杞庵心賞

Qi'an bingchen fan Yun hou suode 杞庵丙辰返雲後所得

Chen Kuilin 陳夔麟 (1855–1928)

Baoyu Ge shuhua ji 寶迂閣書畫記

Song Qi 宋岐 (1878–1943)

Song Qi siyin 宋岐私印

Shanyin Song Shouyao zi Tiyun hao Zhishan hang

shiwu jiancang jinshi tushu 山陰宋壽堯字梯雲號支

山行十五鑒藏金石圖書

Tiyun guomu 梯雲過目

Xiao Song shending 小宋審定

Chen Rentao 陳仁濤 (active mid-20th century)

Jingui Shi 金匱室

Rentao 仁濤

Jingui baocang Chen shi Rentao 金匱寶藏陳氏仁濤

Rentao qiyuan 仁濤奇緣

Jingui baocang 金匱寶藏

Jingui Shi jingjian xi 金匱室精鑒璽

Jingui Shi cang shenqi miaoyi wushang guyi 金匱室藏
神奇妙逸無上古藝

Jingui miji 金匱秘笈

Wushuang 無雙

Ma Jizuo 馬積祚 (b. 1902)

Ma Jizuo jianshang zhang 馬積祚鑑賞章

Unidentified

Fang shi Shi 方氏適

Yunpu shi jiacang shuhua ji 芸浦氏家藏書畫記

Lu Gui zhi yin 盧貴之印

Qianling Shanqiao 黔靈山樵

Pan shi Suyun zhencang shuhua yin 潘氏涑筠珍藏書畫印

Tiehua jianding 鐵華鑑定

Jingxiu xinshang 敬修心賞

Guomu 過目

Ten additional seals are illegible.

NOTES TO THE APPENDIX

- References: Chen 1956, vol. 1, pp. 79–81, vol. 2, pl. 16; Chiang 1979a, pp. 25–53, pl. 1; Alfreda Murck in MMA, *Notable Acquisitions, 1981–1982*, pp. 74–75; Suzuki 1982–83, vol. 1, A17-088; Yu 1990, pp. 30–41; Fong 1992, pp. 187–91, pls. 24, 24a; Lin 1998, pp. 1–10, ill. p. 2.
- The quotation is from the chapter “Jinxin” of Meng zi (*The Book of Mencius*). See Zhu 12th c., *juan* 7.

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