

LS.Lect.Notes3.

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3. Six Dynasties Painting and Pictorial Designs

Intro. (me on camera? Or map?):

Must begin with note on nomenclature. I'm using an old-fashioned name for this period, which is the almost four centuries between two great unified dynasties, the Han and the Tang. In the *3000 Years* book it is called "The Three Kingdoms, Two Jin, and Northern and Southern Dynasties." This is more accurate but ponderous. Thorp and Vinograd call it "Age of the Dharma: The Period of Division," emphasizing the rise of Buddhism in this period, and the lack of any single ruling power in north and south. I will use the old, somewhat discredited term for convenience. As I emphasized at the beginning, you will have to get historical background elsewhere; I'm not going to lecture at length on the complexities of Six Dynasties power struggles, the rise and fall of states.

Nor will I give you more than the simplest remarks on Buddhism, which are that it enters China from India, by sea and later thru Central Asia, already in the Han period and becomes a great force in Chinese civilization in the centuries that follow. I was never strong in Buddhist art, and I won't show much of it in these lectures. I will completely leave out, for instance, the wall paintings in the Buddhist caves at Dunhuang, the site in the far northwest of China. These make up a lifetime pursuit for many scholars; and although I've been there and was as much overwhelmed by the wall paintings there as anyone else, they don't fit into my present account of early painting, especially landscape painting, in China. Also from Dunhuang are many portable paintings, on silk mostly, taken away by foreigners and now kept in museums in New Delhi and London, the British Museum—also Paris (drawings). I will show ptgs associated with the Chan or Zen sect of Buddhism in last lecture, and talk about Chan, but that's all.

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About the political-historical situation in Six Dynasties China, I'll say only for now that there was more or less constant warfare going on in the north, and occupation of big regions by borderland peoples from the north and northeast, both of which forced many Chinese families to emigrate to the south, and settle in the Yangzi delta region, especially in and around the city of Nanking/Nanjing, which became a major intellectual and artistic center in this period.



✓ <sup>we go</sup> So, on to look at paintings and pictorial designs from the Six Dynasties period found <sup>in various</sup> at other sites. Also some brief remarks on calligraphy in this period, and a few Six Dynasties texts on painting, the real beginnings of the great and rich Chinese literature on our subject.

Two notable developments in this period: first, appearance of important individual artists, and of one, Gu Kaizhi, to whom important early ptgs are attributed; and second, great dev. of ptg. theory, including LS ptg theory.

2.1.1, 2.5.6. Two slides from previous lecture, to remind you, and to correct two mistakes. I said the ptg on the left from the tomb of the Marquess of Tai near Changsha was listed in the inventory in the tomb as a *feiyi*, but then translated that as “spirit robe.” It really means, of course, “flying garment.” I also stumbled in trying to think of the word for what they did to her corpse: I said “dissected” when I meant that they “did an autopsy” on her. And in the tomb tile from Sichuan seen on the right, I spoke of ducks on the water and flying off. I meant, of course, geese. Probably lots of other mistakes, but those two struck me right after I recorded the lecture. These two pictures can serve to represent high points of Han ptg and pictorial art, and remind us of the beginnings of LS representation then. We’ll see it much advanced in the post-Han period in the lecture that follows now.

### 3.1. Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove, Nanjing Tomb

3.1.1, 3.1.2 (one above other? or beside) Bricks making up a tomb wall, with design. Rubbing. Immortal playing with dragon, pursuing jade *bi*- disk. (Explained rubbings last time.)

Must have been multiple-copy production to justify stamped or molded bricks; designs are repeated, more or less, in different tombs. Here is Thorp writing about it (p. 180 of T&V):

“ The technique employed required stamping the narrow edges of bricks into a master mold so that when they were assembled in proper order the larger composition took shape. The making of the master molds presumes drawing a full-scale cartoon that was transferred to the molds. The cartoon, in turn, must derive from an original design, whether conventional or from one of the famous painters of the period.”

3.1.3. Tomb-wall representing four of Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove. Large rubbings exhibited in Nanjing Museum, slides from those. Seven prominent figures in cultural life of Nanjing, who withdrew to commune, drink wine, and escape from human society in a bamboo grove—well known from writings of the time, and known to have been depicted in paintings by Gu Kaizhi, artist I'll speak of later. Tomb wall designs, stamped bricks, in tomb near Nanjing, late 4<sup>th</sup> century.

3.1.4. Other wall. Eighth figure, named Rong Qiji, added to fill out the space. 3000 Fig. 57, pp. 48-49; T&V 5-26, p. 17

3.1.5. One of figures, holding wine-cup. Conventional props attributing certain characteristics to them. Man-under-tree was conventional sign for man in nature, man escaping from human society.

3.1.6. Two figures. Don't respond to each other; must have been based on series of individual imaginary portraits? But characterizations effective, individualize the figures, convey attributes associated with them.

3.1.7. Ruanji was known for ability to whistle—kind of piercing sound that would reverberate through forest. Daoist's deep concern w. phenomena of sound: sympathetic resonance with nature, people and things vibrating in mysterious harmony.

This is the time to talk a bit abt Daoism—important to rise of landscape and writings on LS ptg in this period.

**READING: Keep images on, read from prepared text about Daoism.**

Daoism: had arisen in the 5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> cent. B.C. as alternative to human-centered systems of Confuc. & Legalism. Denied value of everything Confuc. preached, concerned itself w problem of understanding natural order, bringing one's self into accord w it. This was an individual quest, which could only be impeded by adherence to social conventions. This early form of Daoism was deflected or distorted in later centuries, Han & after, into a quest for magical powers or eternal life. In 6 Dyn period, another form called Neo-Daoism arose, taking several directions One was abstruse speculation, intellectualized commentaries on early Daoist texts. Another was practice of *qingtan*, lit. "pure conversation," kind of mystical dialogue full of metaphysical hyperbole, grandiose images, meant to induce a transcendental state of mind in participants., Most to the point



for us was a continuation of the early Daoist belief in the simple or natural life, unspoiled by urban sophistication; the “natural man” was the ideal. This led to the ideal of the Daoist recluse; to a desire to get away from cities into the wilderness, cleanse the spirit, Human society seen as contamination. Seven Sages of Bamboo Grove, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. people, epitomize this somewhat escapist mvt. About Ruan Ji (210-263), the whistler in the Nanjing tomb designs, a contemporary wrote: “He would sometimes climb mts and look down on waters, forgetting to return for days on end.” This, you understand, was some 1100 years before Petrarch in Italy, about whom Sir Kenneth Clark says in his famous series on “Civilization” that he was the first man to climb a mountain to enjoy the view. (etc.)

Earlier, from the Han, we have some high-pitched descriptive writing, lush, full of rich images, in rhymeprose form called *fu*; some of these deal with amorous encounters between humans and the gods or goddesses of mts and rivers—survivals of older shamanistic beliefs & practices, turned into poetic imagery. Not much evidence of response to real scenery of nature in Han. But this literary form underlies in some degree the Six Dyn conceptions of emotional response to nature.

From 3<sup>rd</sup> cent AD, a nature poetry begins to be composed, culminating in the 5<sup>th</sup> cent. in a contemporary of Gu Kaizhi, named Xie Lingyun (385-433), who wrote poetry about his direct experience of nature.

Altho early Daoism had seen the natural world as an antithesis to human society and given it metaphysical significance, had paid little attn to nature in itself. Nor did Buddhism place value in the phenomenal world. Neo-Daoists of Six Dynasties, on other hand, less serious philosophically than either, were more devoted to the cultivation of individuality and to the natural world.

And this was also a period when great figure painters were active in Nanjing—Dai Kuei, Gu Kaizhi. Later in this lecture we’ll look at ptgs attrib. to Gu Kaizhi. But first, we’ll pay some attn. to other pictorial materials surviving from the period.

### **3.2, Lacquer Screen, 484**

**3.2.1.** Designs on lacquer screen from tomb of Sima Jinlong near Datong, in north, dtd. 484 (death date of ~~deceased~~). 3000 fig. 42, p. 53; T&V 5-

still 4<sup>th</sup> cent



27, p. 180, Watt p. 159. This from reproduction; have slides taken from original, although with bad light reflections from flashgun.

3.2.2. Four scenes on each side. Top: story of Filial Shun, who became sage ruler in mythical antiquity. Will see again in stone engravings. Bottom: "Lady Ban Refusing the Seat." Will see in scroll attrib. to Gu Kaizhi, will speak of then.

3.2.3. Scene of Filial Shun. Drawn in lines of black lacquer over red base; some colors added. More fugitive painting for flesh tones, features drawn over this. Lacquer extremely inert, well=preserved. (Tell story, briefly. Two daughter of Sage King Yao whom Shun marries are Ladies of the Xiang, who, when they learned of the death of their husband, drowned themselves in the Xiang River.)

3.2.4. Another scene, don't know story (all told in panel at left.) Figures identified with cartouches. Woman appears to be dancing before man.

### 3.3. Dengxian Tiles

3.3.1. Molded and painted bricks from a tomb at Dengxian, Henan, also in north; sixth century AD. About 38 x 19 cm. 34 dif. designs. Relief designs with colors added by hand.

Watt no. 121, pp. 214-15.

Rubbing from one of them, with running horse and two grooms. Strong sense of movement seems principal aim of designer of much 6-Dyn. art.

3.3.2. Another, from original—painted. Daoist immortal, or magician, at left, shown to be outdoors by presence of tree, plays *sheng*, a kind of mouth-organ, to call up a phoenix, which arrives trailing clouds—again, for a strong effect of movement. Female immortal at right holds brush-like wand.

3.3.4. Another, painted in bright colors. Story of filial son Guo Qu, who spends all he has to bury his father, and as he is digging, finds pot of gold put there by his good fairy, seen at right. Will see this, too, in stone engravings next. Carver of mold hasn't allowed for reversal of design, characters are backwards.

### 3.4. Nelson Gallery Sarcophagus Slabs

- 3.4.1 (above), 3.4.2 (below). Filial Piety scenes engraved on stone sarcophagus found near Loyang, early 6<sup>th</sup> cent., Nelson Gallery, Kansas City. 3000 Fig. 45, pp. 54-55, also fig. 46-7; T&V 5-29, p. 182, Loehr figs. 13-14. pp. 24-25, Siren 24-28.

- One with +  
↓ S → front



Rubbing from one of two long slabs of sarcophagus (end panels less interesting), engraved w. scenes of filial piety; below, right 1/3 of this. Each long slab contains three scenes, each of which pictures two episodes of story. three stories. Paragons of filial piety are identified in written cartouches at top. . Each slab abt. 225 cm. long, 64 cm. high. Engraved in polished stone; probably based on paintings—Soper guesses that they may well have been based on ptgs from south, rather than local artist. Came from tomb near Loyang, which also contained an inscription, a funeral eulogy, dtd. 522. Sickman dated engravings around 525; others a bit later. Scenes set off by trees and rocks; each story w. two scenes, narrative sequence. Cloud-scrolls used for decorative borders.

These have special importance for development of our field: Alexander Soper's two articles, published in *Art Bulletin* in 1941 and 1958, defending them as early works, against doubts expressed by his teacher George Rowley, are among earliest art-historically high-level writings on Chinese pictorial art. (Describe) Still a controversy—still some who question the earliness and authenticity of these. But most now accept them, as I do, and I'll speak of them as works of the early 6<sup>th</sup> century.

- 3.4.2 alone, + 3.4.3 (detail). Filial *grandson* Yuangu. (Tell story) (Describe scene.). Compositions far more complex and sophisticated than anything we've seen up to now. Not such a strongly tipped-up ground-plane as in earlier pictures: straight-on view raises problems of keeping dif. planes of depth clearly separated. Accomplished by seeing things between other things, or above and beyond. Tall trees on FG plane serve as repoussoir: push back the rest. Along with "backstop" rocks, other elements, create "space cells" within which action takes place. Then (etc., describe distance) But break from middle-ground to far distance.

Trees blown by wind: a convention, but effective one, to enliven scene. Similarly, we will see court ladies depicted with long ribbons from their robes blowing as if in the wind, even though they are indoors. *Activation of scene* is one of chief aims of artist. Rocks, tall and vertical with slanting tops, of type called *que*: Sullivan writes about these at length. Named after kind of tower, recorded in Han; in 6-Dyn. ptg, stand for dwelling place of deity or spirit. Then become convention, as here.

Detail of this. Fully articulated, individualized figures. We can imagine lively practice of narrative, moralizing etc. figure painting going on, either



in north, around Loyang, or (as some have hypothesized) in Nanjing in south, in designs that have been brought north, reproduced in these engravings.

✓ - 3.4.4, 3.4.5. At other end of this long slab: story of Filial Shun: legendary emperor; father (under inf. of wicked step-mother) tried to kill him. (Saw this in 484 lacquer screen). Along w. younger brother, sends him down well; Shun escapes thru passage to another well, climbs out. At right: Sage emperor of time hears this, summons him, presents him with two daughters, makes him next emperor. This set in outdoor setting, like all the scenes, even though it more likely took place indoors. Convention. 3.4.6. Detail of two ladies (Ladies of the Xiang). Like figures we will see in scroll attrib. to Gu Kaizhi, w. ribbons streaming out behind them as if in fast movement. No real sense of body beneath the robes. Etc.

- 3.4.6, 3.4.7. Other long slab. At left end: On p. 56 of 3000 Years book), story of filial brother Wang Lin, captured with his brother by bandits; offers to give his life if they will free the brother; bandit leader, impressed by this, frees them both, departs. Interesting entering-and-departing composition, figures seen coming and going—another composition type mastered by now.

- 3.4.8, 3.4.9. Center: story of filial son who saves mother's coffin when bldgs around it are on fire by throwing himself over it; it is indeed spared by fire. Loehr reproduces this (p. 25). Detail of people trying to put out fire. Figures facing in and out, repeating one another—seen also in early Italian Renaissance ptgs. Remember... mirror images of one another. Effective device for defining space: what each sees.

- 3.4.10, 3.4.11. Filial Dong Yong. (Borrows money to bury father; digs to bury him; finds pot of gold)—no, dif. story. Can't remember.

- Detail of deer. Can imagine supple, naturalistic ptg behind it. Nothing primitive any more.

— space-cell of Bachhofer —

### 3.5. Landscape on Buddhist Stelae

- 3.5.1, 3.5.2. Show both together. Landscape designs in relief on backs of two Buddhist stone stelae, early 6<sup>th</sup> cent., found near Chengdu. Watt pp. 221, 225. (Describe) I used to use these, along with landscape scenes in wall ptgs at Dunhuang, to talk of gradual conquest of large-scale

landscape scenes, from additive kinds in which shape of peaks repeated, scenes w/in these (see already in late Han Szechwan tile w. salt-mine), on to scenes with more unified space. That's very much worth doing; Bachhofer and Loehr made good tries at it (Loehr not in his book.)

Ludwig Bachhofer I didn't speak of last time in talking abt major figures in generation before me in Ch ptg studies; I should have. He was Loehr's teacher, moved from Germany to teach for many years at the University of Chicago, had distinguished pupils, including Harrie (Father Harrie) Vanderstappen, who succeeded him in teaching there; did important work on Ming painting—the so-called Ming Academy of ptg. Fine man, whom I knew well, and much-revered teacher. But, to get back to systematic style-history of dev of LS in pre-T'ang period, based on materials such as these: Somebody should do it; but it's outside my present purpose. Instead, I'll turn to handscroll ptgs ascribed to great master of the time, Gu Kaizhi. But first:

### **3.6. Six Dynasties Calligraphy** (quick look)

- 3.6.1, 3.6.2. Six Dynasties calligraphy. By or after Wang Xizhi (307-363), Wang Xianzhi. Cursive forms, *xingshu* (running script) and *caoshu* (draft script). Cf. T&V 5-23, 5-24, attrib. Wang Xizhi I'm simply showing these to point out that this is period of great rise of calligraphy, especially draft script (*caoshu*). Good scholarly writing on this by Wen Fong and Dick Barnhart, others. Not subject on which I myself ever published myself, and I won't do more than call your attention to it here.

### **3.7. Attrib. Gu Kaizhi, Admonitions Scroll.**

(Note: Texts illustrated in both Admonitions & Nymph of Lo River scrolls printed & translated by Hsio-yen Shih, in *Renditions*, Spring 1976: Special Art Issue. Also discusses method of illustration. Find in library.)

First ptg attrib. Gu Kaizhi we will look at isn't devoted to landscape, altho it has a mountain in it; it's mostly figure painting, and definitely Confucian in nature, not Daoist. It's the "Admonitions to the Court Ladies" scroll in the British Museum.

3000 Fig. 19-21, pp. 11-12; T&V 5-25, p. 178; Loehr Fig. 8-9, pp. 19-21, and Plate 11; Cahill Ch.Ptg. p. 14, Siren 11-15. (Those seriously



interested: Shane McCausland, ed., Gu Kaizhi and the Admonitions Scroll, London, British Museum, 2003.)

First work we have seen with artist's name attached to it. But only attribution—very different from saying “by” Gu Kaizhi. Chinese collectors wanted big names, had little patience with anonymous works, unless very old and fine, and even then, preferred to have names attached to them. C. C. Wang—used to argue that great work has to be by great master. Max Loehr tries to associate early works with names of great early masters. But in fact, most of what we have from early period is essentially anonymous. First ptgs we will see with reliable signatures are much later, 11<sup>th</sup> century. So: I'll use names, but continually caution agst. taking them as indicators of actual authorship.

- 3.7.1 (right), 3.7.2 (left). (Or successively? To be decided.)

Handscroll, or horizontal scroll. (describe) Attributed to Gu Kaizhi (born ca. 345, died around 406). *Admonitions to the Court Ladies*. British Museum. Scroll was looted from Manchu palace during Boxer Rebellion in 1900, when British troops were in Palace, imperial garden; eventually brought to British Museum, sold to them in 1903.

Text composed AD 292 by Zhang Hua, Confucian scholar-official, as didactic text offering advice on deportment & conduct to palace ladies. (More historical implications, but not relevant here.)

Arthur Waley's commentary on ptg, from his 1923 book An Introduction to the Study of Chinese Painting, is still worth attention. I'll use his names for subjects.

Attribution to Gu Kaizhi not so early--earliest text ascribing this ptg to him is from early 12<sup>th</sup> cent., so attrib. not reliable. Much controversy about dating. (speak of symposium in 2001). Will speak more about that after we've looked at the painting.

- Scene 1: Lady Feng defends emperor Han Yuandi from bear which had escaped from zoo.

- 3.7.3, 3.7.4. Scene 2: Lady Ban declines to ride with another Han emperor in his imperial palanquin, “lest she should distract his thoughts from affairs of state.” (Waley points out: already young girl riding with him.) (Speak of mistake in drawing of supports for palanquin canopy; implications of that.)

- 3.7.5, 3.7.6. Scene 3: text reads. "In nature there is nothing high which is not soon brought low,...When the sun has reached its noon, it begins to sink; when the moon is full, it begins to wane." Man shooting arrow with crossbow at tiger on mountain. Sun & moon above.

- 3.7.7. Detail of mountain. (Discuss as early LS form.) Tiger.

- 3.7.8, 3.7.9. Next: "Men and women know how to adorn their persons; but few know how to embellish their souls." Picture shows ladies adorning their persons. More literal illustration to words than picture really embodying moral message.

- 3.7.10 (transition to next) Then: "If the words that you utter are good, all men for a thousand leagues will make response to you. But if you depart from this principle, even your bed-fellow will distrust you." Bearded man sitting in curtained bed with lady, who is distrusting him.

- 3.7.11, 3.7.12. Bed scene, and actual Chinese bed (later, Ming) in Nelson Gallery, K.C. (Talk abt. painting.)

- 3.7.13, 3.7.14. Next: "Your race shall multiply." Man with large family. Solid, triangular form. (etc.)

- 3.7.15. Then: text says: "No one can endlessly please; affection cannot be for one alone; if it be so, it will one day end in disgust." (Had this in my old Skira book.) Seems odd kind of moral admonition to us, with our favoring, at least in principle, long-lasting marital alliances. But this is about attachments within the court, for the emperor and his consorts, so different ideal. (Talk abt it as painting.)

- 3.7.15, 3.7.16. End of scroll; lady kneeling in pose of "calm respect," illustrating text: "Fulfill your duties calmly and respectfully."

- 3.7.17, 3.7.18. Then, lady writing on tablet which she holds; two court ladies in front of her. Text: "Thus has the Instructress, charged with the duty of admonition, thought good to speak to the ladies of the harem." "Signature" of Gu Kaizhi at end, probably added later, not to be taken seriously.

3.7.19, 3.7.20 (together or one after other.)



(Talk about seals, inscriptions, Qianlong Emperor (why called that), etc. Calligraphy in “slender gold” style by Emperor Huizong, reigned in early 12<sup>th</sup> cent.

Much argument about actual date of scroll. Essays in volume edited by Shane McCausland, symposium on the scroll at BM held in 2001, book pub. 2003. Wen Fong, Yang Xin, Dick Barnhart, others all argued for early, pre-Tang date. Paper by Chen Pao-chen (etc.) I wasn’t invited to contribute or speak—in fact, rather pointedly not invited at all. But went all the same, got permission to talk for 3 minutes, used it to agree with Ch’en Pao-chen, suggest date in 9<sup>th</sup> cent. or so. Could be wrong, a bit earlier. But not pre-Tang.

Haven’t pointed out “mistakes” made by copyist here; hard to see in slides I have. But will do that in talking about other handscroll composition attributed to Gu Kaizhi, “Nymph of the Luo River,” which exists in two early (Song dynasty?) versions plus another, incomplete, in Freer Gallery.

Rewrite

(Not showing: fine and important but unexciting: Attrib. to Gu Kaizhi, “Wise and Benevolent Women,” handscroll. 3000 38.)

Before going on to other composition attrib. to Gu Kaizhi, which exists in several versions, I want to pause and talk about slightly later critical text on painting, and set of criteria for judging paintings.

3.8. (Show slides of “Wise and Virtuous Women” scroll as I talk.)

**READING:** This is a good place to introduce, and explain briefly, the so-called Six Laws (*liufa*) (or Six Canons, or Six Principles, however one wants to render *fa*), contained in the introductory section of a text called *Gu huapin lu*, “Classification of Old Painters,” by Xie He, who was active around 500-535. Xie He gives critical comments on painters active before his time, preceding these with his six criteria of judgment, the *liu-fa*. A good discussion of these is in Susan Bush and Hsio-yen Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, pp. 10-15; good, except that Susan Bush ends up accepting a reading of the Six Laws proposed by a scholar named William Acker, which I think was wrong. On this matter, see on my website CLP 174, put there in 2007, titled “Good Grief, Not the Six Laws Again!” which was meant to be my own last word on the subject (but obviously wasn’t.) I cite there several major sinologists agreeing basically with my

construction of them, and disagreeing with Acker's. Three different renderings—Acker's, Alexander Soper's, and mine—are conveniently printed on p. 177 of Thorp and Vinograd.

In my reading, the Six Laws are made up of three pairs of four-character phrases, each pair syntactically parallel, in good Six Dynasties style. The first pair is “Engender [a sense of] movement [through] spirit consonance” and “Use the brush with the bone method.” These are the most difficult and problematic; I won't use the time to discuss them here, except to say that the “sense of movement” must have to do with the liveliness of brush-drawing I referred to at the end of my first lecture, as well as the sense of animation in the things and people portrayed (as I've been trying to bring out in discussing early paintings); and “spirit consonance” must refer to that kind of sympathetic resonance between things of the world that early Daoists recognized—how the *shen* or spirits inhabiting things vibrate together in harmony even though removed in space. Anyway, my thoughts about the Six Laws are all in my CLP on my website, put there in 2007, and in my 1961 article “The Six Laws and How to Read Them.” Seriously interested people are referred to those.

The second pair of Xie He's laws is “Responding to things, depict their forms” and “According to kind, describe appearances.” (Artist responds to things of nature, or to other people, catches their outer and inner nature and appearance.

The third and simplest pair is “Dividing and planning, positioning and arranging” and “Transmitting and conveying [earlier models through] copying and transcribing.” These are simply matters of composition. and positioning one's style in a linked series of styles inherited from the past.

OK, to continue with the visuals: another important early composition ascribed to Gu Kaizhi is the handscroll composition “The Nymph of the Luo River.” (etc.)

### 3.9. Attrib. to Gu Kaizhi, Nymph of Luo River

✓ Again, attribution to Gu Kaizhi is late, unreliable: composition old, but earliest extant versions prob. not earlier than 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> cent. Gu Kaizhi known to have ptd LS themes; wrote essay on how he would depict a certain scene. And ptd portrait of a contemporary named Xie Kun placing



him among hills and rocks. Asked why, explained that Xie himself had said that even while serving in court, he felt most at home away from human society, among hills and streams.

- Attrib. to Gu Kaizhi (born ca. 345). *The Nymph of the Luo River*.

Version in Palace Museum, Beijing: 3000 fig. 43b, p. 55; Loehr Fig. 10-11; Siren 9B, ADD. 9A-B.

Version in Liaoning Provincial Museum: 3000 fig. 43a, p. 54; T&V 5-28, pp. 180-181;

Version in Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. Loehr fig. 10-11, pp. 20-21; Cahill Ch.Ptg. p. 27, Siren 9A, 10.

Three versions, two complete, in Palace Mus., Beijing and Liaoning Museum. I will spend some time with these, since differences are important to our understanding of Six Dynasties style.

- 3.9.1, 3.9.2, 3.9.3. Slides of long sections of Beijing version. Show these, one at a time, tell story.

- 3.9.4. Beginning of scroll: poet and his company have dismounted; grooms w. resting horses.

- 3.9.5. Poet and his entourage. Stories of men who sought reclusion in nature in Six Dynasties texts are offset somewhat, for us, when we learn that they took with them big parties of attendants who beat down the bushes, carried provisions, shaded them from the sun etc. Not like Berkeley Sierra Club mountain-climbers.

- 3.9.6. And here is the Nymph, as we first see her, floating over a lotus pond on edge of Lo River. Sun above with raven in it; very beautiful landscape in archaic manner—small, outlined hills, trees, distant hills.

- 3.9.7. Nymph alone. She turns back while inviting him. . . etc. Trailing ribbons indicate real mvt here. Very beautiful. (Sherman Lee story.)

- 3.9.8. Poet strongly tempted, but hesitates. . . etc. Nymph miffed, goes off over water. Other local deities appear—wind god, etc—seen in the sky. Won't identify.

- 3.9.9. Nymph departing. This version in Beijing especially well preserved; published first; we all went for it in big way. Captivated by its sheer visual beauty. But later, another version came to our attention:

- 3.9.10. In Liaoning Museum. Also came from Manchu imperial collection; also complete. Same composition, pretty much. But has text written in spaces between pictures (like Admonitions, but written in air etc., don't punctuate picture, which is continuous); Calligraphy specialists say that writing is maybe 12<sup>th</sup> cent. But always possibility that written in later.

Expand - prob. true



- 3.9.11. Slide from original. Another feature of this version that makes it less immediately attractive is bad preservation of landscape features, which were painted in mineral green. They have suffered chemical deterioration of kind Japanese call *rokushô-yake*: green pigment burning. (Etc.—years-long argument with learned Chinese friend who maintains it's yellow pigment that causes this. But no—chemist at Freer—long correspondence, never published. Also mounters, Meguro & others.

- 3.9.12. LS detail from Beijing version: this hasn't happened there. Something to do with mode of preservation?

- 3.9.13. Another detail of Liaoning scroll, further on. Application of heavy mineral pigment, copper compound, malachite? does it, not lighter wash.

- 3.9.14. Still another slide showing this, from Liaoning scroll, further on. Now, turning from technical matters of preservation back to style: will use fairy riding phoenix here to introduce... (etc., Chang Sing masters thesis.) I remember that this phoenix figured in her argument—etc. Don't remember entirely, haven't slides to illustrate that, but will show with others. . .

- 3.9.15. Passage in which two divine beings float over water, two others in air above. I'll show a good detail of the upper two. . .

- 3.9.16. Detail. Good examples of female figure in motion, as seen in Admonitions scroll, Nelson Gallery slabs. Ribbons attached, swirl around them to create space; also, space between them . . .

- 3.9.17. Sec'n of Beijing scroll w. these two figures. (I don't have detail). Note how flat they are, no space between them. All this indicates priority for Liaoning scroll, or at least closer adherence to original, supposing that both are copies. I'm not arguing datings, but closeness to original. Both prob. copies, but Liaoning version close to original—

(Rand: can you arrange a comparison on the screen, with the detail of the Liaoning scroll beside a detail made of the same two figures in the upper left of the slide from the Beijing scroll? )

- 3.9.18. Further on, in Liaoning scroll, nymph seen departing from the scene in a huff. Her huff is a chariot drawn by six dragons and accompanied by river monsters. Note drawing of ribbons that billow around the chariot's frame, far ones blown twd us by wind. Will see same in boat scene in a moment.

- 3.9.19. Poet left sitting disconsolately on the bank of the river. Attendants have brought platform seat, candles, parasol. Willow trees, gingko? Another fine example of man-in-nature motif.

delete



- 3.9.20. Poet goes off in his chariot, drawn by four horses. Note that like emperor in “Refusing the Seat” scene in Admonitions scroll, he is accompanied by young woman attendant. This is China, after all. Same observations could be made as for Nymph’s chariot, abt volumetric drawing of body of chariot.

- 3.9.21. At one point in poem, poet embarks on river. This is boat, from Liaoning version. (Describe.) Wooden pieces like rungs of horiz. ladder are set along edge of deck, for boatmen to push against when poling . . . etc.

= 3.9.22. Photo of boat in HK harbor—by Kit (Christopher) Luce. Shows these still in use.

- 3.9.23. detail of boat in Liaoning version. (Ribbons blow, etc. Interior of boat seen thru windows.)

- 3.9.24. Now, here is boat in Beijing version (from reprod.) Note ribbons: (etc., describe.) Window at end of boat: LS ptg set into it. (Indicator of age of copy.) Boatmen seem to dance along, not really pushing.,

- 3.9.25. And here is boat from third version, prob. based on Beijing scroll and still later, although prob. still Sung: in Freer Gallery. Famous, mainly because we didn’t know other two. (Describe)

- 3.9.26. Detail of Freer boat. Little ink-monochrome LS in window . . .

- 3.9.27. End of Freer scroll. So lovely in itself, such a fine example of archaic man-in-nature theme, that I used detail of it in Skira book:

- 3.9.28. as here—discussed it as example of archaic LS style, creation of space-cell by setting trees and rocks around fig., etc.

So much for Nymph of Luo River. Hope it has been an enjoyable and enlightening excursion.

✓ 3.10.0. Early landscape texts: Zong Bing etc. (Show slides of foggy peaks at Lu-shan while talking.) (Rand: eight slides taken at or from summit of Mt. Lu in Jiangxi Province.) ~~Show as you think best, as I talk.)~~

(Talk abt what we’re seeing: slides made at summit of Mt. Lu, looking down at valley, Yangtze River in distance. A few of us were taken there after a symposium on 17c master Bada Shanren in Nanchang, further south. This is where group I’ll talk about next, group Susan Bush writes about met to discuss and meditate etc.)

Up to this time, ptg had been regarded, as we know from scraps of commentary on it in Han & early 6Dyn texts, simply as means of representation, or as moralizing force (Confucian). 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. B.C. writer says: dogs and horses are difficult to paint, demons and goblins easy to



paint. Why? Because people know how dogs and horses look, while images of demons and goblins can't be criticized for failures of visual truth. Other texts relate to subjects: certain images inspire virtue, etc. But from Six Dyn period, and espec. from first half of 5<sup>th</sup> cent.; we have beginnings of a serious theoretical and critical literature abt ptg. Xie He's "Six Laws" etc. A few fragmentary writings by Gu Kaizhi; a short text on LS by writer named Wang Wei (not famous poet-ptr of Tang); and, most important, short essay of artist named Cong Bing titled "Introduction to Painting LS." He was a devout Buddhist, part of a lay community founded by a monk named Hui-yuan which met on Mt. Lu. Very good essay on him by Susan Bush, titled "Tsung Ping's Essay on Painting Landscape and the "LS Buddhism" or Mt. Lu," in a volume she edited, "Theories of the Arts in China."



About Cong Bing we read in an early text that as he grew old he was no longer able to roam around in the mts. as he had when younger, so he ptd the LS he recollected from his youth on the walls of his room, and lay contemplating these and re-experiencing his early travels.

His essay begins by saying that "mts. & rivers have a material existence but also a non-material, spiritual quality called *qu*: flavor, tendency, interest; that to which one responds. This is why, he writes, sages of old roamed in the mountains.

Goes on to allude to his age and inability to travel; "Therefore," he writes, I paint images and spread colors, constructing cloudy peaks." Then comes a very important passage that I would render in this way: "Now, if one takes response to his eye and accord with his mind as his principle, and achieves skill in representation, then all eyes will respond to, and all minds be in accord with, [his paintings]."

So, artist manages to embody in his ptgs his responses to what he sees in nature, and viewer responds to ptg as he would to scene in nature. Is this a romantic response, like Byron's to the Alps or Wordsworth's to the Lake Country? Some things in common; this 6 Dyn dev sometimes called a "romantic cult of nature." But not like Western in which human spirit seen as expanding to permeate nature, making nature a kind of sounding-board. No such central position given to man in nature. Rather, a correspondence is seen between phenomena of nature and inner phenomena of human spirit. Part of whole Daoist concept of organic world, with parts harmonizing in non-causal way. Something of magical remains in it:



investing of natural forms and scenes with *shen* (spirit, soul); human spirit feels affinity with this, responds—Ptr. captures this *shen* in ptg, viewer responds as if to forms or scenes in nature.

Could go on at length; but what I want to stress is basic idea that arises at this time and pervades theoretical writings: that ptg evokes responses that natural object or scene would evoke. In my 1958 dissertation, half of it devoted to first English-language attempt to deal with literati ptg theory, I called this the “primary concept” of artistic expression in China. (What “secondary concept” was we will learn in Lecture 9.)

End of this long lecture, which introduced several important ptgs and a lot of what I take to be important ideas. Next time, move on to Tang dynasty. Not as much talk, but great pictures.

#### Readings:

Alexander Soper, “Early Chinese Landscape Painting.” *Art Bulletin* 23, 1941, 141-64.

--- . “Life Motion and the Sense of Space in Early Chinese Representational Art.” *Art Bulletin* 30, 1948, 167-86.

See also the various readings on the “Six Laws” of Xie He suggested above in my discussion of those: section on them in Bush & Shih; reading of them she accepts, I think wrong, by William Acker; my article “The Six Laws and How to Read them,” in *Ars Orientalis* 4 (1961).

Susan Bush, “Tsung Ping’s Essay on Painting Landscape and the ‘Landscape Buddhism’ of Mt. Lu,” in Susan Bush and Christian Murck, ed., Theories of the Arts in China (Princeton U. Press, 1983, 132-164,)

Shane McCausland, ed. Gu Kaizhi and the Admonitions Scroll. London, British Museum Press, 2003.

For texts of the “Admonitions” and “Nymph” scrolls in translation, see Hsio-yen Shih, “Poetry Illustration and the Works of Ku K’ai-chih,” in Renditions no. 6, pp. 6-29.

# 3 additions

## AddImages.3

.55 after . . . autopsy on her. Insert image C20 (goats)

Add audio 1. In this detail from a Han tomb model of a granary, I spoke of the animals as “sheep”; now I see that they look more like goats, with curled horns and longer legs. (Continuing) And then the tomb tile from Szechwan, seen here . . etc.

6:38 ff. insert before “Here’s a close-up of Juan-chi . . . Q18, *ch’in* player.

Add audio 2: Here’s a close-up of the *ch’in* player, plucking the strings of his instrument with his right hand, fingering the strings with his left. We saw an actual *ch’in*, or zither, in the previous lecture, along with a group of tomb figurines playing them.

7:45 ff. Cut out talk on Taoism, from “This is the time to talk a bit about . . .” Cut to 12:34, insert:

Add audio 3. I’m not going to speak at length about Taoism here, but there will be a separate section on it for this lecture which you can listen to.

Work in image Q17 between present b76 and b72, image of Shan-t’ao. (I’ll add audio after seeing how it fits together and where it’s needed.)

14:08: bad reflection of light on this image can be partly edited out—I have “highlight” on IPhoto that removes much of it . .

15.23, slip in b68, scene over well.

Add audio 4: here’s a detail of the father and brother dropping stones down the well. You can see the thickness, the substance, of the lacquer line-drawing.

15:38 After “. . . a scene I don’t recognize, women ..” Insert Q14:

Add audio 5. But here’s a detail of it, taken from the original. This image of the female figure, with the heavy robes occupying all the volume and no sense of body beneath, and with ribbons fluttering behind them to give a sense of motion to the image, is one we’ll see quite a few times later in this lecture.

16:20 beginning “well, ...” Isn’t this repetitious? I already talked about lacquer. Remove, here to 17:08.



17:09, "one of the sage emperors of China." Insert passage above, from 15:38, here? Since it follows Filial Shun.

My repetitive talking: did it come from two versions spliced together? Audio 15 to 18 were all Lecture 3... Has to be re-edited to eliminate repetition.

17:20 etc., story of Lu: edit out highlight & shadow?

20:55, before "Here, another one, . . ." insert: Q13.

Add audio 6: Another of the Teng-hsien painted tiles features a design showing a serpent copulating with a tortoise—these belong to an old Chinese creation myth. Movement here is rather in the long curving lines of the serpent, and the highly activated plant forms at both sides.

23:53 ff: insert picture of Sickman in his late period, as shown in previous lecture? (Laurence Sickman)

24:40 ff. Insert picture of Soper (Alexander Soper standing) from first lecture?

33:53: bandit leader coming in: cursor is too far right—move left, to man on horseback (with attendants beside him)

33:59 "and then you see the two brothers . . ." Cursor too far right; move left and down to show brothers, tied, one kneeling.

34:08, "and then again at the right ..." cursor much too far right—point it on departing horseman.

34:13 ff, "and then later you see them . . ." Insert detail b54? (Just leave space on soundtrack maybe—I don't need to add words ...)

41:44. . . much revered teacher. Insert: bring back Bachhofer image.

Add audio 7: When I talked about the art-historical concept of the space-cell, in the previous lecture and this one, I failed to note, as I should have, that it was Bachhofer who formulated the concept, through his analysis of early pictorial designs, and who first used the term. He had studied in Munich with the great pioneer art-historian Wolfflin, and was attempting, with considerable success, to work out a style-periodization of the same kind for early Chinese pictorial art. This was an entirely valid project, for

which Bachhofer deserves a lot of credit. Instead, he was criticized by sinologists because he didn't read Chinese, and later by politically-driven critics, whom I referred to in the first lecture, who charge him and others with wrongly imposing art-historical patterns derived from western art history onto the Chinese materials. This is, I think, entirely wrong-headed; Bachhofer and Loehr and Soper and others weren't imposing, they were observing and describing, enabled by their training in the much more developed field of western art history to recognize visual phenomena that others couldn't recognize. In doing this, they made important contributions to the field. Loehr's triumph in defining the earliest styles of Chinese bronze décor, before archaeology proved him right, at a time when all his book-reading opponents had it wrong, has now come to be recognized (there's a recent book about it by Robert Bagley who teaches at Princeton, and is like myself a Loehr student. Bachhofer's contributions should be recognized as well.

42:18 ff: replace bad image of calligraphy at right with better one, AB103.

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46:40 ff. where I talk about handscrolls: replace image of scroll w. me looking at reproduction of Ch'ing-ming scroll (to be made with other footage of me in study.) Continuing to 47:42, "OK, and here we see . . ."

51:45 on seals, "As most of you know," etc. up to 52:09: "and then you impress it on the painting. ." Insert: Q07. (Edit to eliminate repetition)  
Add audio 8: Here I show a real seal with its carved end toard us; an impression made from it at right; and at left a covered dish with a padof seal pigment in it, on which the seal is patted so as to coat its surface with the pigment.

58:33. Before going on to detail, insert AB95.

Add audio 9: the motif of an archer shooting at a tiger on a mountain is much older than Ku K'ai-chih: it appears, as seen here, on one of the stamped pictorial tomb tiles from the Han dynasty: the archer seated on the left mountain in each scene, aiming his crossbow at the tiger seen near the top of the right peak. The extreme disproportion in sizes of this scene persists in the image in the "Admonitions" scroll; back to that.



01:28:41 Insert:

Add audio 10: I should correct my mispronunciation—it's *yake*, not *yaki*. I have just posted on my website a note on this, under "Reminiscences," no. 74, titled "*Rokushô-yake*: Green Pigment Burns Silk." Read that if you are especially interested.

01:34:13. Insert two images: Q20 and Q19.

Add audio 11: Here is another comparison, the figure of the poet with his attendants, from the Liaoning scroll at left, the Beijing scroll at right. And we can see the same difference: drapery drawing that reads as depicting three-dimensional forms in space, defining volume, in the Liaoning version, whereas that in the Beijing version flattens. See for instance the sleeves that hang down from his arms: shaded folds that look like truly hanging cloth, vs. repeated, flattening lines in the other.

1:44:45: Don't change yet! I'm still talking about the little landscape in the boat window.

1:45:10, change to end of Freer version.

AddImages.3

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① 1:55 (after) category on her, insert image c 20 (goats)  
add audio ① In this detail from a Han tomb model of a granary, I  
saw the animals as "sheep," now I see that they look more like  
goats, with curved horns and longer legs, (Continuing...) At the tomb like  
from Szechuan, see here... ② 1:18, chin, legs  
6  
1:38 ff insert before "Here's a close-up of Juan-chi"  
add audio ② Here's a close-up of the chin-players.  
Placing the strings of a instrument with his right hand, fingering  
the strings with his left. We saw an actual early chin, or zither, in the  
previous lecture, along with a group of tomb figures playing them.  
"This is the time to talk a bit about..."  
1:45 ff, cut out, from "This is the time to talk a bit about..."  
insert cut to 12:34  
add audio ③ I'm not going to speak at length about Daoism here, but  
that will be a separate section in a further lecture which you can listen to.  
Work in image ④ 17 between present b 76 and b 72, image of  
Shan-tao. (I'll add audio after seeing how it fits together and  
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(17:20 etc: string of Lu; edit out highlight & shadow?)



2) 20.55 refers "Here, another one," insert Q13, add note 6 Another, the my-horn-tiles features a design showing a torso of a seated copulating - 6 painted these belong to an old Chinese relation myth, I've not been as rather in the line drawing - the long away movement, the serpent, the highly activated plant forms at both ends

23.53 p. insert picture, fiddle, late period, a shorn in pre-erectile? (Lawrence Sullivan)

24.40 H insert picture of super (Alexander type) from front view (Alexander type.)

33.54 <sup>3</sup> back leader coming in: cursor is too far right - move left, to man on horseback (w. attendant behind him) to show further test, one kneeling.

33.59 / cursor too far right, moved left + down to show further action you see the two further - much

34.08 add then again at the right: cursor too far right - put it on depicting horseman.

34.13 ff "the whole the test back reports. insert \$55c, detail of this: deputy horseman.

37.13 ff "and then later you see them ... insert detail \$54? (just has space in soundtrack maybe - it don't need to add words.) (then in the deer in foreground)

37.54

41:44. "much-revered teacher. insert; long back Bachhofer image; add notes 6 When I talked about the art-historical concept of the space-cell, in the previous lecture of the one, I failed to note, as I should have, that it was Bachhofer who formulated the concept, through his observation of early pictorial designs, and who first used the term. He had studied in Munich with the great screen art historian Wipfler, and was, attempting, with considerable success, to work out a style-phenomenology of the so-called 'Ch. art'. As this was an entirely valid project, for which Bachhofer deserves a



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contributions should be as well.

42:18 ff. Replace bad image y calling. at right with better one;  
AB 103,

44:46 don't put on next scene yet,  
4 6, 40 ff on head scroll - ~~put on~~ <sup>replace w. ~~that~~?</sup> image of me looking at  
reprod. of thing my scroll. TO 47:42. "OK, at then we see the..."

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Add another ⑧; Here I show a real seal, with its carved end turned  
toward us; an impression made from it as it is; at the left a carved  
dish with a polycast pigment in it, on which the seal is pressed to  
cover its surface with the pigment.

⑧ up to 52:09, "and then you impress it on the pig." Closest;

~~52:09~~  
78:33 Before going on to detail, insert AB 95  
Add another ⑨; The motif you are looking at on tiger on a  
mountain is much older than K'uei-chi; it appears, as seen here,  
on one of the stamped printed silk tales from the Han dynasty; the  
archer seated on the left mountain in each scene among the crossbar  
and the tiger seen near the top of the right peak. The entire composition  
in sizes of the scene persuade in the arrangement in the "Admonition" scroll.  
Back to that!

(↓ to 1:14:41)



④

01.26:20 <sup>using</sup> <sup>WIP</sup>  
add audio ⑩ I should add that the writing apparatus have been added.  
some time after the ptg done - dip. salt, ~~at~~ not ~~hypothetically~~ <sup>integrated</sup> is.  
the ptg. & date by context - <sup>also</sup>, speculate say <sup>long</sup> - needs <sup>to</sup> determine  
the date of the ptg, which could be for earlier, <sup>certains</sup> earlier. I'm not happy  
regarding a guess - this is ~~an important~~ topic for study.

01.28: ~~1.27.45~~ - insert  
41 add audio ⑩ I should correct that - yake not yake'. I have just  
posted on my website a <sup>10</sup> not on the, under "Reminiscences," "no."  
of 74 titled Rokko - yake: Seen Pagant Beans, Dill, "Read this if you  
are especially interested."

01.34:13 insert 2 images: Q 20 and Q 19.  
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with his attributes, from the <sup>long</sup> scroll as <sup>seen</sup>, the <sup>very</sup> scroll  
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his <sup>arms</sup>; <sup>shaded</sup> <sup>fold</sup> that look like truly hanging cloth, vs. repeated  
flattening lines in the other.

1.44:45 Don't change! I'm talking about little <sup>LS</sup> in  
end of boat  
1.45:10 change to end of free version.